

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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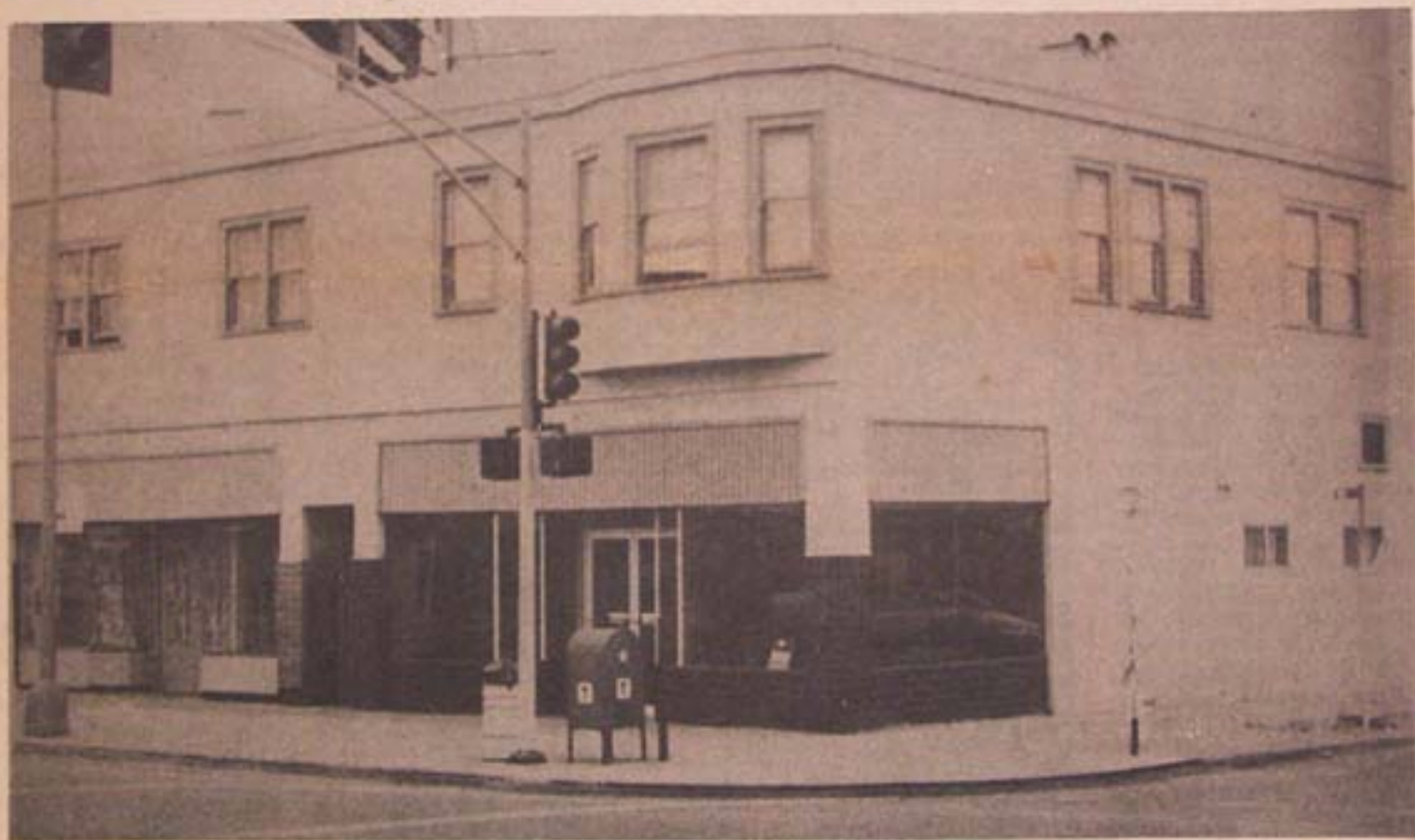
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1974

25¢



MORE CHARGES FILED

POLICE CONSPIRACY AGAINST B.P.P. INTENSIFIES



Central Headquarters, Black Panther Party, Oakland, California

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Editorial

THE POLICE STATE SPECTRE

Black and oppressed people were viciously attacked and threatened last week by the Ford administration.

While the President met with the Congressional Black Caucus in a futile effort to make amends for his predecessor's callous disregard for Black and poor people, U.S. Attorney General William B. Saxbe, the nation's chief law enforcement officer, told a gathering of big city police chiefs that rising crime rates may necessitate the establishment of a national police force.

Citing FBI statistics which show that crime rose six per cent in 1973, Saxbe said that "war" must be declared against the "career criminal" and bitterly added that "crime is not the fault of society. Crime is the fault of criminals."

The creation of a national police force looms as a frightening spectre, especially for minority and poor people since they are overwhelmingly the victims of "criminal justice," and for the nation as a whole. Saxbe is a racist fool. Crime is the fault of society. The father who steals \$100 to feed his hungry family did not create an economic situation whereby unskilled Black or minority men and women cannot get a job. Inflation and rising food prices are not the fault of this father or mother.

The real criminals are the empire builders, ruthless men — those who control the Rockefeller dynasty and others — whose cutthroat competition and lust for power has made it impossible for a poor man to feed his family. They and those who sit silently by are the real reason why prisons are full today.

We have said before — and we repeat — oppressed people can expect nothing from the Ford administration. Saxbe has made this blatantly clear. The proposed national police force and a stepped-up war on crime can only mean increased terror and death for oppressed people and a police state for the nation. □

REGISTER TO VOTE



"Welcome aboard, Rocky, Rocky!"

Letters to the Editor

Dear Comrades,

In the September issue of *Ebony*, Lerone Bennett, Jr., gives a lucid account of the qualitative transformation of Pan-Africanism. It is seemingly no longer a Black exclusivist-nationalist ideology, but limitations still exist. I am in accord with the ideological statement of the sixth Pan-African Congress, held in Tanzania, that Africans and people of African descent should embrace the struggle of all oppressed people, regardless of color, against imperialism. But this adopted view point has been taken to an extreme. Pan-Africanism, once defined by Stokely Carmichael as the highest manifestation of Black Power, is now delineated as a class struggle.

Notable revolutionaries... have, in the redefining of it (racism), in the attempt to avoid racist tendencies, ignored that racism is a veritable phenomena. Thus they are historical materialists and not dialectical materialists. Marxism-Leninism must be stretched when applying it to the peoples of color. Fanon pointed this out in *The Wretched of the Earth*. It is not a dogma but a guide to action. Instead, Pan-Africanism must be an ideology including the dynamics of racial and class polarization.

What they formulated at the Congress has already been theorized by the Black Panther Party. History is in the stage of Revolutionary Intercommunalism — a theory that has been developed and spread by the Party for at least four years. This is one reason why the Party is the vanguard party. If it was not, then why is the state constantly attacking Party members?

Even though the statement is a mechanical application of political theory to concrete conditions, it is nonetheless a progressive step towards the building of a human culture and the destroying of the American Empire.

Death to the American Fascist Regime.

Pervis Fenner, Jr.



Brother WALTER NEWTON (left), father of HUEY P. NEWTON.

MEMORIAL WALTER NEWTON

Died: September 1, 1974

THE ENTIRE MEMBERSHIP OF THE BLACK
PANTHER PARTY WISHES TO EXPRESS OUR
SINCEREST AND MOST HEARTFELT REGRETS
TO THE FAMILY OF BROTHER WALTER NEWTON
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS DEATH

COMMENT

INCOME GAP WIDENS BETWEEN BLACKS AND WHITES

Proof that we should not be fooled by federal government and mass media claims of Black economic progress is contained in the following article, reprinted from the August issue of *Focus*, the newsletter of the Joint Center for Political Studies. Citing a new study from the U.S. Census Bureau, the report states that the income gap between Black and White Americans grew larger in the years between 1969 and 1973.

THE BLACK PANTHER thanks Wisconsin assemblyman Brother Lloyd A. Barbee for sending us this most revealing article.

The income gap between Blacks and Whites grew larger in the years from 1969 to 1973, according to a new study from the U.S. Census Bureau.

In 1969, the Bureau reported, the median income of Black families was equal to 51 per cent of the White family median. By 1973, the figure had dropped to 58 per cent. The Black family median in that year was \$7,270, compared to \$12,600 for White families. Half of the families in each group are above the median, half below it.

This widening of the gap was the most dramatic result of an apparent slowing of overall Black economic progress in the early 1970s. Census figures show that between 1965 and 1969, the median income of Black families rose by 32 per cent in terms of actual buying power after inflation was taken into account. Between 1969 and 1973, however, there was no increase at all in Black median income after inflation was counted — in fact, there was a decrease of 0.2 per cent. Black families were just barely keeping up with increased living costs. White families were increasing their actual spending power to 6.1 per cent during the same period, well ahead of inflation.

These are overall figures. Of course, some Black families did better than the median, some did worse. According to the Census CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

THE BLACK PANTHER

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STATE RESTS POLICE CONSPIRACY AGAINST CASE IN SAN B.P.P. INTENSIFIES

QUENTIN 6 HEARINGS

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Without much fanfare, the state rested its case recently in the eight-week long San Quentin 6 hearing here in federal court.

Now begins the long and slow process of bureaucratic paper filing, transcript review and perhaps calling back to the stand certain witnesses in order to clarify particular trouble spots in the testimony. Attorneys for the six Black and Brown brothers estimate that it will be another five months or more before a ruling by U.S. District Court Judge Alphonso Zirpoli is handed down.

EARLY 1975

Thus, it won't be before sometime in early 1975, almost one year after the case was filed, that the San Quentin 6 - Black Panther Party members Johnny Larry Spain and Hugo Pinell, David Johnson, Luis Talamantez, Fleeta Drumgo and Willie Tate - will learn whether the court considers their continued confinement in San Quentin's notorious Adjustment Center as "cruel and unusual punishment" and therefore a violation of the Eighth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

Specifically, the estimated five-month long process began in the last week of the hearings when Judge Zirpoli ordered the state to provide the Six with copies of the transcript of the state witnesses.

Following the Six's review of the transcript, a decision will be made as to whether or not to call additional witnesses to refute or clarify aspects of the testimony.

In addition, Judge Zirpoli has ordered attorneys for both sides to prepare a list of proposed findings and relevant laws as well as substantial and well-documented briefs. Finally, transcripts of the entire proceedings must be drawn up, a two-month process in itself.

Attorney Fred Hiestand, who represented Brothers Johnny Spain and Luis Talamantez, reports that the Six are understandably anxious as to Judge Zirpoli's ruling. On the whole they feel confident of a disposition of the case in their favor. □

(Oakland, Calif.) - Reacting in vindictive anger over the disappearance of Brother Huey P. Newton and the thwarting of the state's plans to imprison and possibly kill the leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, Municipal Court Judge Jacqueline Tabor last Friday jailed Brother Robert Heard when he appeared in court for a pretrial hearing.

This action, plus the filing by the Oakland Police Department of "new" charges against both Brother Huey and Brother Bob, has stirred an intensification of the efforts by the Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton to push forward their demand for a citizens investigation of the now blatantly obvious campaign to discredit and vilify the Black Panther Party and its leaders.

Judge Tabor's move to imprison Robert Heard, was made, she announced, because Ted Williams, the bail bondsman, asked to be relieved of "responsibility" for him and his \$20,000 bail, creating the false and ludicrous impression that Brother Bob, might also fail to appear in court and go into hiding.



HUEY P. NEWTON

The additional charges against Brothers Huey and Bob - two counts of battery each plus the charge of false imprisonment against Brother Huey alone - are equally ridiculous, and clearly are meant only to create additional media sensationalism in which the victim, in this case the Black Panther Party, is further scandalously victimized.

True to form, the Bay Area media quickly seized upon the opportunity to fan the flames against the Party, spreading the police lies far and wide that Brothers Huey and Bob are chronic women beaters. Just why they would allegedly commit such acts in front of a restaurant and bar known to be frequented by Black Panther Party members remains unanswered.

The jailing of Brother Bob culminated a full week of false media stories about the Party, some retracted, others left hanging for their full hysterical value, which included the amazing story that Brother Huey had fled to Bangkok, Thailand. Only the total see-through nature of this tale prevented the U.S. Attorney in San Francisco from using it as pretext for the issuance of a federal warrant against Huey.

In fact, pressures against the Party have increased to the point where, last Monday, for no known or apparent reason, Oakland police surrounded the Central Headquarters of the Party at 8501 E. 14th Street and began pushing and shoving against the front and back doors in an openly provocative and threatening manner. Only the cool-headedness of the comrades in the office prevented an ugly police scene involving several women and young babies who were in the office at the time.

The growing Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton has announced that all goes well for the upcoming release of their pamphlet exposing the local and federal police campaign of terrorism, harassments, intimidation and threats against the Party and Huey P. Newton.

As the Committee's press release states:

"...Only a complete public investigation can prevent a Watergate-like cover-up of their
CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

FALLEN COMRADE

LARRY ROBERSON

Assassinated

September 4, 1969



LARRY ROBERSON

Investigating police harassment in the city of Chicago has always been a courageous act. On the morning of July 14, 1969, Brother Larry Roberson, 20, a member of the Illinois State Chapter of the Black Panther Party, noticed a group of elderly Black men being forced to line-up against a wall and took up that challenge—to intervene in the people's interest. An argument ensued and the police immediately pulled their guns and started shooting, critically wounding Brother Larry in the stomach, thigh and leg. Taken under police guard to notorious Cook County Hospital, Brother Larry was harassed, threatened and periodically beaten. On September 4, Larry Roberson died while still hospitalized, never having recovered from his wounds. Long live the spirit of Larry Roberson! Long live the spirit of the People's Struggle!!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



Brother ROBERT HEARD

CLASSES TO OPEN SEPTEMBER 23 AT INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH INSTITUTE

(Oakland, Calif.) - After an active and fun-filled summer of field trips, camping, swimming and other sports, students of the Intercommunal Youth Institute, Oakland's model school, will return to classes Monday, September 23.

The coming year promises to be an exciting one with, among other new and exciting innovations, concentrated development of the curriculum under the guidance of Brother Bill Moore, new curriculum coordinator for the Intercommunal Youth Institute.

Brother Moore, father of twin sons, holds a Ph.D. in the history of consciousness from the University of California, Santa Cruz campus. As a discipline, the history of consciousness involves the study of economics, political science and sociology. The point at which these subjects connect is called "consciousness" but, Brother Moore explains, no one knows exactly where that point is.

Discussing the uniqueness of the Intercommunal Youth Institute, Brother Moore told THE BLACK PANTHER: "We are a

model. We can't copy anything as we attempt to develop intercommunal children."

Projected enrollment for the 1974-75 school year is 110, composed of children from ages two-and-one-half to 11. The core of the academic curriculum includes Language Arts, Mathematics, Science, Health, People's Art and Environmental Studies. Brother Herman Bailey, renowned artist, will teach People's Art.

Some 19 instructors, under the leadership of Sister Ericka Huggins, director of the Institute, will teach Groups 1-7. Students are placed in the various groups according to their ability rather than their chronological age. This allows the children to progress at their own rate of development.

PARENTS

Parents will play an even more active role in the school this year. Brother Moore explained that many parents have volunteered to assist as teachers' aides; to raise funds for any equipment or uniforms the children may need; and to demonstrate or teach the children some of the skills they (the parents) possess, many of which may be very useful to the children.

Brother Moore and the instructors will be concentrating their efforts on how best to transmit



Brother BILL MOORE, new curriculum coordinator for the Intercommunal Youth Institute.

information to the children. He stressed the importance of the method of teaching in the learning process.

His enthusiasm for his work came through as he emphasized the Institute's importance. "The school can be a model for the country. We're developing our own educational psychology here. We have our own specialists. Except for the language barrier, a child should be able to leave this school and go into any community in the world. This is what we mean by intercommunalism," he said.

"It's going to be a very successful year," Brother Moore concluded. □



"Until We're Free"

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

To purchase this album, send \$4.00 cash or money order to: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621. Also available at major record stores near you.

WORDS WRITTEN AND PERFORMED BY ELAINE BROWN

Album produced and distributed by MOTOWN RECORDS CORP.



DEBORAH WILLIAMS (top, left) first graduate of the Intercommunal Youth Institute; students (top, right) at the dedication for the Institute; and (bottom) students in class.

THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

AUGUST 30, 1800

A sudden rainstorm forced the postponement of an all-out attack on Richmond, Virginia, by Gabriel Prosser and some 1,000 armed slaves on August 30, 1800. Betrayed by two house slaves before plans could be re-assembled, Gabriel and 15 of his followers were hanged on October 7.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1838

On September 3, 1838, a strong young Black man named Frederick Douglass, rushing headlong into history's destiny, escaped from slavery in Baltimore, Maryland.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1865

On September 6, 1865, Thaddeus Stevens, the powerful U.S. congressman, urged in a stunning speech before the House of Representatives the confiscation of the plantation estate of Confederate leaders and the distribution of that land to adult freedmen in 40-acre lots.

SEPTEMBER 1-8, 1865

White racist terror struck down hard upon Blacks in Mississippi in early September, 1865. On September 1, in Yazoo City, 10 to 20 Black people were killed. On September 4, 20 to 80 Black leaders and Black Republicans were murdered by revengeful White terrorists. On September 8, the governor of Mississippi requested federal troops to protect the rights of black voters. The request was callously refused.

SEPTEMBER 3-7, 1970

More than 2,500 Black people, representing four of the earth's continents, convened in Atlanta, Georgia from September 3 to 7, 1970, at the first Congress of African People.

CHATTANOOGA B.P.P. DEMANDS INQUIRY INTO MURDER OF ALLEN BROWN

(Chattanooga, Tenn.) - Responding to this city's enraged Black community, the Chattanooga Branch of the Black Panther Party has demanded that the City Commission set up a people's board of inquiry to investigate the fatal shooting on August 12 of Brother Allen J. Brown by a White police officer.

In a speech on August 20 before Mayor Walker and the City Commission, Brother Ralph Moore, coordinator of the Chattanooga Branch of the Black Panther Party, also demanded that Ronald Conner, the White policeman, be relieved of his duty and be charged with murder.

A number of questions remain to be answered about the shooting reported in last week's THE BLACK PANTHER. Conner allegedly received a call from the police dispatch to check out a citizen's complaint that someone was stealing gas at 27th and Hickory Streets. In the events which followed, Brother Brown, 21, was brutally cut down.

During the City Commission meeting, several other concerned Black people, including the victim's mother, Mrs. Erma Brown, watched Mayor Walker, at the height of arrogance, attempt to sweep the matter under the table and proceed to other business. But Rev. Robert Richard, president of the local chapter of Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) insisted that the Commission consider the demands because of mounting tensions and indignation in the Black community.

In a weak defense of Conner, Commissioner of Fire and Police Gene Roberts produced a prepared statement from which he read, defending Brother Brown's murder. Roberts claimed that Conner was "under stress," outnumbered and in a combat situation.

POLICE CONSPIRACY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3
(the police's) official campaign of terror."

The Committee believes that last year's "powerful electoral race" for Oakland city offices struck deep fear in the hearts of the powers-that-be, and that coupled with the prospect of another progressive ticket headed by Ms. Elaine Brown running in the 1975 elections, local authorities are using the police to forestall the capturing of a City Council seat by the people's forces. □

Conner testified that he was firing at two Black men running away from a building in an alleged burglary attempt. What kind of combat situation is that? What threat was there to the officer's life if the two men, both unarmed were running away?

While Roberts claimed that a "thorough investigation" had been made by the police department, Allen's mother has yet to receive a coroner's report of the murder. She said police never notified her of her son's death. She saw it on the 11:00 news.

Despite the attempts of Mayor Walker and Commissioner Roberts to sweep the matter under the rug, the Black community of Chattanooga does not consider Brother Brown's murder a closed case.

Brother Moore told THE BLACK PANTHER, "we're talking about petitioning the community, getting thousands of names and then going back to City Hall with some 500 people. You can't get 500 people in that meeting room, but we're going up there...to say...we are here to demand that you fire that racist police officer and charge him with murder." □



CLARENCE JOHNSON, HOWARD GAYLE'S COLLEGE AT SON OF MAN TEMPLE

(Oakland, Calif.) - Last Sunday's exciting Celebration Services at the Son of Man Temple, East Oakland's community forum, featured a message from Brother CLARENCE JOHNSON, who was fired last week from radio station KRE in Berkeley for his progressive work in the interests of the Black community, and the popular rock-soul band, HOWARD GAYLE'S COLLEGE. Brother Johnson passionately discussed the plight of Black employees at White-owned KRE (see article, on page 7) and his efforts and those of others to make programming at KRE relevant as well as entertaining to the Black community. Howard Gayle's College Band thrilled the Temple's audience with their soulful renditions of such favorites as "Can You Handle It" and "You Haven't Done Nothing." □

HOSEA WILLIAMS WINS DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY FOR GEORGIA STATE REPRESENTATIVE

(Atlanta, Ga.) - Rev. Hosea Williams, pastor of "The People's Church of Love" and who at one time in the tumultuous 1960s played the role of field general to the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., within the ranks of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), won the Democratic primary election on August 13 for state representative from the 54th District. At this time, there is no Republican opposition in November. Rev. Williams presently president of the Atlanta SCLC, is considered by many to be "home free."

This was Rev. Williams' third bid for public office, having tried for the U.S. Senate in 1972 and having run for president of the Atlanta City Council in 1973.

The basis of Rev. Williams' campaign according to a press release issued by the SCLC office here was to challenge those



Rev. HOSEA WILLIAMS, head of Atlanta's SCLC.

ineffective Black politicians who spend their time wheeling and dealing and also to change the age-old policy of "separation of church and state."

During his campaign he repeatedly brought out the fact that the separation of church and state was what has allowed "the Maddoxes, George Wallaces and the Bull Connors to get on their knees each Sunday and pray to God while exploiting God's children from Monday morning till Saturday night."

The press release also quotes Rev. Williams' comments on the recent nomination of Nelson Rockefeller for Vice-President of the United States:

"I guess it's no more than right, the selection of Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller as Vice-President of the United States just sets the record straight. Now the man who owns the country is running it."

"Also, this may be another case of 'truth crushed to earth rising again,' because we must never forget Attica - where 39 Americans were killed by state police bullets. The trials of four of the 61 brothers, who were indicted for 1,300 crimes, will begin September 4."

"The election of Mr. Nixon resulted in the truth about Watergate - we all should pray that the selection of Mr. Nelson A. Rockefeller as the Vice-Presidential nominee will result in the truth about Attica." □

"TOP SECRET" 1970 SPY PLAN MADE PUBLIC

**BLACK PANTHER
PARTY AMONG
ORGANIZATIONS TO
BE "NEUTRALIZED"**

(Washington, D.C.) - More than a year after the document was made available to Congress, a heavily censored version of a 1970 spy plan has finally been made public.

The document, labeled "top secret," was published July 18 as part of the impeachment evidence collected by the House Judiciary Committee. It confirms that President Nixon specifically approved illegal spy operations against many groups and organizations in the antiwar and Black movements.

The groups are all named and described in the first part of the plan, titled "Summary of Internal Security Threat." They include, among others, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Venceremos Brigade, the New Mobilization Committee to End the War and the Student Mobilization Committee, Weathermen, the Black Panther Party, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, and various Puerto Rican nationalist organizations.

The plan, drawn up by White House Aid Tom Huston and approved by Nixon in July, 1970, was the government's reaction to the massive May, 1970, protests against the invasion of Cambodia, the killings of students at Kent State and Jackson State Universities and the support shown for the Black Panther Party displayed at a rally in New Haven on May 1.

The government feared a recurrence of the May explosion which started with student strikes but began to spill over into the population as a whole. As the "Summary of Internal Security Threat" points out, "increasingly, the battlefield is the community with the campus serving primarily as a staging area."

The final version of the plan approved by Nixon called for intensifying government attacks on the left by stepping up the use of police and military informants, mail tampering, burglaries, and electronic surveillance.

Nixon has claimed that the plan was rescinded five days after its implementation, because of the opposition of J. Edgar Hoover, then head of the FBI, but many



Picture shows the bombed-out headquarters of the Black Panther Party in Des Moines, Iowa. The Party was among those progressive organizations designated to be neutralized in the 1970 Nixon-approved spy plan.

groups and individuals feel that the incidences of repression against the left since 1970 give weight to the charge that the plan was never really rescinded.

Many of the groups named in the plan were the victims of government attacks after the summer of 1970. Senator Lowell Weicker (R.-Conn.) a member of the Senate Watergate Committee, has himself concluded that "events took place which closely parallel the recommendations in the 1970 plan."

EVIDENCE

"In contrast with the evidence that the plan was approved," he added, "there is no evidence that the plan was at any time officially withdrawn." Weicker's comments ignored by the media for the most part, were appended to the Senate committee's final report, published June 27.

Evidence that Nixon approved the plan comes directly from a memorandum dated July 14, 1970 from H.R. Haldeman to Huston himself in which he states, "The recommendations you have proposed...have been approved by the President."

The Black Panther Party is attacked and vilified by the report as "the most active and dangerous Black extremist group in the United States...[it] is in the forefront of Black extremist activity today. The Black Panther Party has publicly advertised its goals of organizing revolution, insurrection, assassination and other terrorist-type activities."

The Panther newspaper, is maligned by the report as "filled with messages of racial hatred and call for terrorist guerilla activity in an attempt to overthrow

the government," and it asserts that the Panthers were involved "in a substantial number of planned attacks against law enforcement officers, and its leadership is composed in large part of criminally inclined, violence-prone individuals."

At the same time, the plan sees the power of the Panthers growing. Panther representatives, the report states, spoke at 189 colleges in 1969 while in 1967 there were only 11 such appearances.

It concludes, "Although no direct information has been received to date indicating that the Black Panther Party has initiated any large-scale racial disorders, the year 1970 has seen an escalation of racial disorders across the nation compared to 1969. This fact, coupled with an increasing amount of violent Panther activity, presents a great potential for racial and civil unrest for the future."

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

FARM WORKERS DEMAND FREE TIME

(Oakland, Calif.) - The United Farm Workers Union (UFW) announced last week it is demanding free radio and television advertisements for its boycott of Gallo Wines, under the Federal Communications Commission's (FCC) "fairness doctrine." The demand is based on the fact that the UFW can in no way afford to match Gallo's advertisements for their wines. FCC officials declined to comment on the demand.□

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

BLACK COLLEGE ENROLLMENT

(New York, N.Y.) - Blacks and other minorities are still under-represented in U.S. colleges and universities, says a 250-page Ford Foundation report entitled "Minority Enrollment and Representation in Institutions of Higher Education." The report disputes the "popular belief" that Blacks and other minorities "have closed the gap between them and White students and special efforts to assist these minorities are no longer necessary."

KLASSEN'S LUXURIOUS LIFE

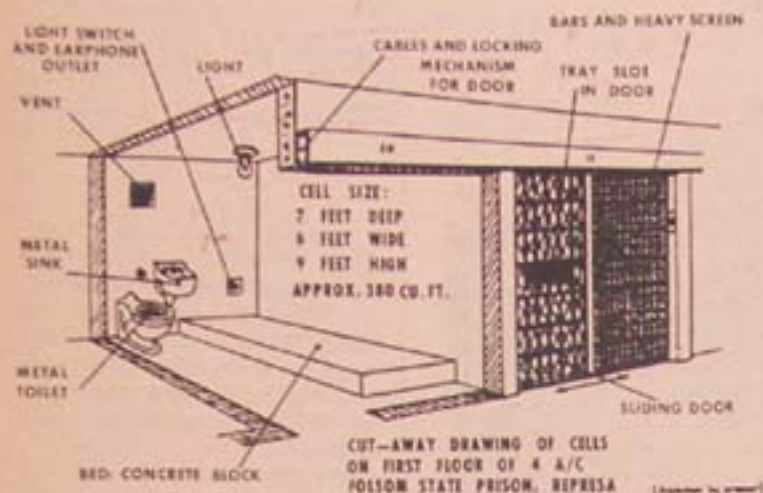
(Washington, D.C.) - The U.S. Post Office is \$500 million in debt and postal service is declining rapidly, yet Postmaster General Ted Klassen has built himself the most luxurious office in Washington and regularly leaves it for personal trips, all paid for with taxpayer funds. According to columnist Jack Anderson, Klassen, who has just warned that the price of stamps is going up again, spent \$12,870 on 32 trips to 18 cities in 1973, to visit his real estate holding.

DIGGS SUES DENT

(Washington, D.C.) - Black Michigan Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr., has filed a suit charging Secretary of Commerce Frederick B. Dent with violating international obligations and U.S. laws by permitting discussions with South African authorities on the import of fur seal skins from South-West Africa (Namibia). Congressman Diggs said that by his actions Secretary Dent was giving implicit recognition to "the legality of South Africa's illegal occupation" of Namibia.

MINORITY JUDGES IN N.Y.C.

(New York, N.Y.) - More Black and Puerto Rican judges are needed in New York City courts, says a study by the Coalition of Concerned Black Americans, a group formed to monitor the criminal justice system from a Black perspective. Partly the result of interviews and questionnaires sent to the 39 minority judges sitting in New York City criminal, family and civil courts, the study indicated that many judges felt that racism pervaded the criminal justice system.□



The drawing above of the inside of a maximum security cell in California's Folsom Prison is similar to maximum security cells in Louisiana's Angola Prison.

"SUPER-INHUMAN" CONDITIONS OF ANGOLA PRISON REVEALED

(Angola, La.) - The "super-inhuman" conditions within Angola Prison's Maximum Security unit (CCR) have been dramatically portrayed in two letters to the director of the Louisiana Department of Corrections, Elayne Hunt. Signed by Brother Herman Wallace, two-and-a-half years a prisoner inside CCR, and a member of the Black Panther Party, the letters have attached to them a sheet containing 24 signatures, presumably of all the CCR inmates.

The second letter, dated August 19, 1974, was sent to Ms. Hunt because she failed to reply to a letter dated August 4, 1974, which called for an investigation into the cruel visitation policies for CCR inmates. "All I (we) are asking," the letter states, "is that some measures be taken whereas we are able to embrace our families like human beings, rather than like animals."

Brother Herman writes that since he has recently been convicted of the alleged killing of a security guard at Angola, he is "very pessimistic of ever being classified to a more suitable environment where the visitation is more relaxing."

Citing a cheap trick used by the prison administration to deny visitation, Brother Herman says, "Last year sometime, the Chief of Security launched a communique stating that all inmates of the CCR will be eligible to visit at the large shade, except for those considered a security risk. But when each as an individual endeavored to exercise that right, we were all categorized as a security risk, and for that reason we were refused in the attempt."

The letter concludes by urging an investigation into the matter

so that the "present contradictions" can be resolved through "negotiations."

Exposing some of the lies circulated by the prison authorities, the follow-up letter states that the director of corrections and her staff have lied to the people of Louisiana about improvements in prison conditions in the last few years.

"Have you informed the people," it says, "that you allow the raping of younger inmates to prevail in this institution for the mere purpose of controlling the rapists' mentality? Have you informed them of the methods you use to cause certain inmates to riot so you could appeal for more money from the public?"

Copies of both letters have been sent to the news media, the letter says. □

RACIST FIRINGS SPUR BLACK WALKOUT AT RADIO KRE

(Berkeley, Calif.) - "Funky" working conditions plus the firing of two Blacks has resulted in a walkout by Black employees at radio station KRE here. Because of their creative efforts, KRE has become one of the most progressive and Black community-oriented stations in the country. Yet, KRE is exclusively White-owned and managed.

Brother Clarence Johnson, one of the fired employees and author of KRE's truly relevant news program "Black News Magazine," was interviewed last weekend by THE BLACK PANTHER. Upon being notified of the termination of his program last Thursday, Brother Johnson did a broadcast exposing KRE's exploitative practices. When Brother Donnell Lewis played the tape on his show later that evening, he too was immediately fired.

A few days before these incidents, the White management also got rid of all the Black sales personnel. Then in solidarity with the removed Black employees, all of the other Black employees at the station have walked out.

The Black staff of KRE is urging people to write the Federal Communications Commission demanding that it investigate KRE's discriminatory and racist employment practices. A rally to show the KRE management the intense community support for the Black staff is planned for Monday, September 2 in KRE's parking lot.

The White station manager, Alice Potter, told Brother Johnson that his show was being terminated because it was "too radical" and failed to reach a broad enough audience. Brother Johnson pointed out however, that KRE was geared to a Black audience with its music, and that this was the same audience reached by the "Black News Magazine."

Ms. Potter was unavailable for comment, but when asked, a KRE employee told THE BLACK PANTHER that "everyone here is in the dark" about the firings.

KRE's recent success was the result of painstaking labor by Brother Donnell Lewis, who was later joined by Brother Marvin Robinson and Brother Clarence Johnson. Several months ago the station, composed of an all-White staff catering to an all-White audience, was faltering and on the verge of bankruptcy. Brother Lewis, who was employed as a salesman at the time and the station's only Black employee, convinced the management to turn its programming toward the Black community. The result was the extraordinarily well-received "African Roots" program, jazz and blues variations by Black artists only.

Even when "African Roots" and other progressive programming pulled KRE out of its financial difficulties and established a solid Black audience for the station, the three brothers remained unsalaried, only drawing a commission from advertising they themselves arranged, while all the Whites at the station drew salaries. The management eventually consented to pay the brothers \$1.75 an hour for four days work, although they worked seven.

Referring to KRE's lack of community affairs programming, Brother Johnson said the station felt that "all Black people needed was some music to nod their head by and didn't need anything else and would pump them full of commercials." He pointed out that this was also a violation of the station's Federal Communications Commission (FCC) license, which requires weekly a certain number of hours of community affairs programs.

The only community affairs program KRE has broadcast recently was initiated by the brothers without the consent of management and was a righteous

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CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

MORE CHARGES DROPPED AGAINST LEAVENWORTH BROTHERS

(Wichita, Kansas) - In another victory for the Leavenworth Brothers, U.S. Judge Frank Theis dismissed mutiny charges against four of the Leavenworth Brothers, two counts of assault against defendant Alfred Jasper and one count of assault against defendant Alf Hill following the conclusion of the government's case in mid-August.

Theis' decision was based on his conclusion that the government had not presented its evidence in a way most favorable to its case.

The Leavenworth Brothers are four Blacks — Odell Bennett, Jesse Lee Evans, Alf Hill Jr. and Alfred Jasper — and two Chicanos, Jesse Lopez and Armondo Miramon. The trial of Lopez and Miramon has been severed from that of the other four.

FRAMED

All are charged in connection with the July 31, 1973, rebellion at Leavenworth (Kansas) Penitentiary. They have been unjustly framed and used as scapegoats by the prison administration because of their leadership in protesting inhumane conditions at the prison.

A rally held August 16, sponsored by the Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee (LBO/DC), featured Philip Berrigan, the well-known Roman Catholic priest and anti-war acti-



Leavenworth Brothers (left to right) ALF HILL, ODELL BENNETT, JESSE LOPEZ and ALFRED JASPER, with guards. The Brothers won a victory recently when mutiny charges were dropped against Brothers Bennett, Hill, Jasper and Jesse Evans and assault charges against Jasper and Hill.

vist who himself served over three years in federal prison for destruction of draft records.

Berrigan told an enthusiastic gathering of Leavenworth Brothers' supporters that it would be necessary for people to dedicate their lives to a lifetime of resistance to change conditions imposed by the ruling class. He said:

"...The criminals at the top, what did they get? Kleindienst actually, received praise, Agnew got off, and now Nixon will probably get complete immunity, and receive a pension of \$60,000 a year for life. These men are the true criminals. Watergate is the least of their crimes."

Perry Sanders of the LBO/DC told the rally: "What is a crime? Is it a crime for the U.S. government to kill millions of Vietnamese and continue the war through billions of dollars in aid and personnel in violation of the (Paris) Peace Agreement of 1973? Is it a crime that thousands of Americans die each year because they cannot afford medical care? Is it a crime that thousands die of starvation and thousands more live on the edge of malnutrition?"

"...No, these are not crimes. But it is a crime if a person robs a store of \$100 to feed their family. Now that is a crime...We know whose interests the law really serves." □

FIRINGS SPUR WALKOUT

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE
example of relevant community programming. Broadcast from behind the walls of San Quentin Prison, the program focused on conditions within the prison by utilizing the technique of on-the-spot interviews with inmates and officials. The program, also brought live professional entertainers to the prison.

KRE, owned by Horizons Communications in New York, is currently being sued by the Coalition for Media Change, along with previous employees of the station, for unfair employment practices.

Summarizing the goals of KRE's Black staff, Brother Johnson said, "We were trying to build something that would be meaningful and acceptable to the Black audience, something that would speak to the Black experience." □



S.L.A. VICTIMS' FAMILIES SUE FOR DAMAGES

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - The families of two Symbionese Liberation Army members have filed suits against the city of Los Angeles for \$7.5 million in damages. The claims were filed on behalf of Donald Defreeze and a follower, William Wolfe, by the families' attorney Leonard Weinglass. City Attorney Burt Pines says it is most likely that the city will refuse to pay the damages because the suits are "without merit."

Recently released evidence, however, indicates that L.A. police fired 5,371 rounds into the SLA hideout, as well as 83 tear gas canisters, said to be responsible for turning the house into a blazing inferno.

YOUR DOLLAR

INTRODUCTION

Starting in next week's issue, THE BLACK PANTHER will run a regular column examining the economic issues affecting us daily. This is in keeping with the spirit of this paper to provide relevant information about the world and its oppressed communities.

For the Black and poor, the capitalist economic system manifests itself as a dominant reason for our continued oppression. Spiraling inflation, exorbitant taxes and cutthroat interest rates combine to produce a demoralizing feeling of entrapment and helplessness upon the psyches of all of the American people. Indeed, the very meaning of many of the words used to describe America's economic picture remain clouded in mystery.

A closer examination of one of the particulars of capitalist exploitation will shed light on an inhumane, selfish, basically faltering economic system. The U.S. economy is manipulated by a group of government policymakers whose interests are those of the industrial giants of the land. This group, composed of career government economists, bourgeois university professors, corporation lawyers, and Wall Street investment bankers, has fumbled with the problem of "inflation" ever since the Johnson Administration. Casting themselves as "Presidential Economic Advisors," recent events have shown their ineptitude is surpassed only by their treachery. The United States' current 11½% rate of inflation (4½% in 1964) should attest to this.

These advisors have continually double-talked and confused the problem of inflation. Their "solutions" have never been in the interest of the people.

What did Agriculture Secretary Earl L. Butz have to say about the situation? "Eat fish." When the price of fish shot up also, our expert (Ph.D., Purdue University) countered, "Eat cheese."

Another administration official said food prices are so high because the American shopper engages in "panic buying" and then added, if people would refrain from buying so much food, the prices would eventually drop.

BAY AREA GROUP DEMANDS S. AFRICA'S REMOVAL FROM U.N.

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The Bay Area Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation is calling upon all progressive people in the Bay Area to support a petition to expel South Africa from the United Nations, according to a press release issued by the group.

The release goes on to say that: "In the past, African peoples have watched and supported the massive struggles against racism and for liberation in the U.S. We in turn can increase our support of the struggles carried on by African peoples against colonialism and neo-colonialism and for total independence.

"In recent months, African liberation forces have made significant military and political progress. The toppling of the fascist Caetano regime in Portugal by progressive forces has, we hope, hastened the day of independence for the Portuguese colonies.

"South Africa, one of the most heavily armed and the most industrialized nation on the continent, presents one of the greatest obstacles to African liberation. South Africa provides arms and security troops to Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) to help suppress the liberation movements of the African people. In turn, the racist Ian Smith regime of Zimbabwe may be expected to attempt an invasion of Mozambique with South African arms and troops when Black Africans win independence from Portugal.

"POLICE STATE"

"Additionally, South Africa, itself a fascist, racist police state, rules, arms and defends outright the racist administration in Namibia and suppresses the Black African organizations in that southwest African country. It is clear that no southern African nation will be or become securely independent while the fascist Republic of South Africa exists.

"The Republic of South Africa has generated the greatest repugnance amongst the world's freedom loving people by continuing its racist policy of apartheid. Fifteen million Black Africans are ruthlessly separated and held in virtual economic, political and social bondage.

"The United Nations Charter states in Chapter II, Article 6: 'A



Black South Africans face daily interrogation and harassment from White police.

member of the United Nations, which has consistently violated principles contained in the present charter may be expelled from the organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

"In the adopted report of the first committee of the International Conference of Human Rights of the United Nations, it states, 'The International Conference of Human Rights, deeply concerned about the manifestations of racial discrimination still occurring in various countries and regions of the world which disturbs the conscience of all mankind, constitutes gross violations of the United Nations Charter and are contrary to the Universal Declarations of Human Rights...The General Assembly of the United Nations...'

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

COALITION FIGHTS FOR INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' RIGHTS

(Tuscaloosa, Alabama) - In response to a letter written by David Du Bois, Editor-in-Chief of THE BLACK PANTHER INTER-COMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE, expressing solidarity with the Coalition to Stop South African Coal, Andrew Himes, coordinator of the Coalition, has provided recent news and background information concerning the southern-based fight for workers' human rights both in this country and internationally.

The letter received from Himes also expresses the determination "that the rank-and-file of both miners and longshoremen have been serious about protesting slave labor in South African mines." The letter adds that, "the bureaucrats and misleaders of both UMW (United Mine Workers) and International Longshoremen Association have sabotaged and sidetracked the struggle, and have focused on their very narrow personal interests and encouraged the chauvinistic tendencies of workers in their unions."

Dated August 19, Himes' letter clearly expressed the enthusiasm within the Coalition at each step ahead:

"Something which recently happened which was exciting was that Tapson Mawere, the chief



American dockworkers protest unloading of South African coal.

representative of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in North America, visited Alabama this past week. Last Monday we went early in the morning to the State Docks in Mobile to talk to some of the longshoremen, who are 95% Black.

"A spontaneous mass meeting was called when the longshoremen found out who he was, and Tapson addressed more than 250 longshoremen. He explained the conditions in South Africa and Rhodesia, described the nature of the enemy (U.S. imperialism), and asked for the longshoremen to boycott all Rhodesian and S. African goods, not just coal. The longshoremen were unanimous in their agreement to support the boycott.

"Yesterday, Tapson spoke to a mass meeting of some 500 Alabama UMW miners, expressing the appreciation of the African people for the reception by the rank-and-file, with many handshakes and warm smiles, and a very icy reception by the union bureaucrats."

Because the importation of South African coal represents an attack on all working people, Alabama miners and others are joining the protest against the Southern Company, the fifth largest public utility in the U.S.

In December of 1973, the Southern Company announced a \$80 million contract with coal companies in South Africa for two million tons of coal. Yet in Alabama alone there are more than 2.1 billion tons of low sulfur coal to be mined.

When the Southern Company imports South African coal it is not only propping up the racist regime in South Africa, it is also warning coal miners here that if they demand higher pay and safer working conditions, the coal can be gotten elsewhere. [E]

DELLUMS' CORNER

BLACK CAUCUS MEETS WITH FORD

(Washington, D.C.) - Following a presentation by U.S. Representative Ronald V. Dellums at the Congressional Black Caucus' August 21 meeting with President Ford, the President promised to review the defense budget, telling Caucus members that "the defense budget is not sacrosanct."

Dellums stated the Caucus position that "we firmly believe there is tremendous slack in the military budget, slack which could be tightened without any noticeable loss in overall military efficiency."

The Caucus was vigorous in its criticism of the Nixon administration for eliminating most federal programs relating to human needs, particularly those of Black and other poor people. Ford, seeking an undeserved image as a friend of the Black and poor community, met quickly with the Black Caucus after his ascendancy to the Presidency. Dellums, a member of the House Armed Services Committee, spoke for the 16-person Caucus on the key issue of economic policy and the defense budget.

According to the East Bay representative, "inflation is not the most critical issue facing us today. The soaring rate of inflation is a dangerous sign—and so is the extremely high unemployment rate—but both of these indicators are in reality no more than symptoms of serious economic dislocations which have been with us since the beginning of the Vietnam war."

In Dellums' presentation to the President, the Caucus made three overall policy recommendations: (1) Major cuts in the defense budget; (2) An overhaul of the tax and government subsidy system; and (3) Strong government actions to promote competition and a fair wage-price policy.

INDIAN WOMEN ILLEGALLY STERILIZED IN CLAREMORE, OKLAHOMA

(Claremore, Okla.) - Through investigations conducted by a group of concerned, health-oriented people, it has been discovered that the Indian Health Service (IHS) has been conducting unauthorized, forced sterilizations of Native American Indians.

Run by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), the IHS has sterilized 48 women, most of whom are in their twenties, in the month of July alone. Hospital records indicate that over the past two years several hundred Indian women have been sterilized in this city.

The operations performed on the women are hysterectomies (the complete removal of the uterus) or bilateral tubal ligations (the tying of tubes in the female reproductive system). In normal medical practice the performing of hysterectomies on women of child-bearing age is very rare, unless there is obvious danger of cancer or some other medical danger.

INVESTIGATION

Dr. Connie Uri, a Choctaw/Cherokee physician who has been doing an intensive investigation of Claremore's hospital explains, "In most medical circles, any hysterectomy under age 40 must be approved by a medical review board."

In further violation of established guidelines, issued by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the prescribed 72-hour waiting period after a woman's request for the sterilization surgery has been ignored. Also, the woman's husband must sign a statement of approval after the physician has explained that they will not be deprived of benefits such as welfare, if she does not consent to the operation.

One woman was coerced into consenting after being harassed by social workers and hospital personnel. She was told that she was a bad mother, drank too much, and that her children would be placed in foster homes.

Even though HEW official Robert Hayward claims that any Indian at any time can get the full range of services at any IHS hospital, many have been refused admission under the guise of there not being sufficient funds to take care of them. Potential patients living farther than 35 miles from Claremore are routinely turned away.

Sterilization practices at Claremore were exposed in the course of complaints about other discriminatory practices at the hospital. Indian nurses complained about the racist personnel practices of the White administrator and the White supervisor of nursing. When the tribal-appointed Indian Advisory Board refused to respond to the nurses' just grievances, a group of concerned Native Americans pitched a tipi on the hospital lawn and raised the American Indian Movement flag on the hospital mast.

One of the more serious complaints regarding the illegal sterilizations is that they are being performed by hospital employees not licensed to do so — another violation of Oklahoma law. The hospital purportedly also does not have funds with which to obtain the much-needed medicines in order to properly perform the operations and to do post-surgery treatment.

A team of negotiators — including Dr. Uri, Phyllis Jackson, a Creek Indian registered nurse, and Milo Fat Beavers, an inhalation therapist — are now raising these issues publicly. In addition, they have set up a clinic in a tipi offering health services, which patients prefer to obtain there, and which are unavailable to them in the hospital.

While IHS area director John Davis has the authority to fire nonresponsive White hospital employees and institute improved hospital procedures, he refuses to do so. This fact, coupled with loosely worded legislation regar-



Two young Indian women are representative of Native American women who are victimized by racist American health practices.

ding forced sterilizations condones the illegal practice.

(THE BLACK PANTHER thanks *Liberation News Service* and *Akwesasne Notes* for information contained in this article.)

BAY AREA GROUP

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

Nations condemned the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination as a crime against humanity.

"There is no doubt that a massive petition campaign throughout the United States, urging expulsion of the Republic of South Africa from the United Nations because of its White supremacist government and that the United States break economic and diplomatic ties with that country, would indeed be a massive and meaningful blow against racism both within the United States and the Republic of South Africa. Such a campaign would be a significant step toward world peace — eliminating the possibility of another Vietnam in southern Africa."

OUR HEALTH



BLACK HEALTH BRUTALIZATION

"To be poor and Black is to be assailed by a whole range of health problems that mean the shortening and brutalization of Black life."

Infant deaths among Black people between 1964 and 1966 occurred at a rate roughly four times that found among Whites — 195 deaths per 1,000 live births for Blacks versus 37.6 deaths per 1,000 live births for Whites.

Black babies die at a very high relative rate as a result of infections and trauma. Such high infant mortality implies inadequate medical care that is unquestionably related to the health of the expectant mother. As many as one-third to one-half of Black women who deliver in public hospitals have no prenatal care. Many hundreds that deliver in crowded apartment rooms have neither prenatal care nor delivery hygiene.

As a result, Black babies and mothers have little chance of survival. Since 1955, death rates among Black mothers have run about four times those of White mothers. For White mothers, the overall number of maternal deaths per 100,000 live births is 24.2; for Black mothers the rate jumps to 98.1 per 100,000.

Black mothers at the moment of conception suffer from a host of illnesses which they pass on to their offspring. Malnutrition is perhaps the most serious. It has perhaps the most damaging effects on the life of the Black child. Federal and state survey reports indicate that mental retardation and disabilities are highest among babies of women receiving inadequate maternal and infant health services. Because of malnutrition and its weakening effects, Black children suffer from loss of learning time and interference with learning during the critical periods of development. Annually malnutrition destroys the minds of hundreds of thousands of young Black children who were born malnourished and who remain malnourished. In the American system of racism and health brutalization, Black life is painfully punctuated with maternal mortality, infant mortality, premature births, lead intoxication and accidents, malnourishment, and untreated chronic disabilities such as asthma, epilepsy and Sickle Cell Anemia.



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"BLACK CAPITALISM RE-ANALYZED"

BY HUEY P. NEWTON

Written in 1971 by Brother Huey P. Newton, the following essay by the leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party re-examines the relationship between the small Black businessman and the Black community. The formula for the unity of the two—via the people-oriented Survival Programs offered by the Party—not only strengthens the progressive movement in general but eventually leads to the liberation of all.

CONCLUSION

In the past the Black Panther Party took a counterrevolutionary position with our blanket condemnation of Black capitalism. Our strategy should have been to

analyze the positive and negative qualities of this phenomenon before making any condemnation. Even though we recognized, and correctly so, that capitalism is no solution or answer, we did not make a truly dialectical analysis of the situation.

We recognized that in order to bring the people to the level of consciousness where they would seize the time, it would be necessary to serve their interests in survival by developing programs which would help them to meet their daily needs. For a long time we have had such programs not only for survival but for organizational purposes. Now we not only have a breakfast program for schoolchildren, we have clothing programs, we have health clinics which provide free medical and dental services, we have programs for prisoners and their families, and we are opening clothing and shoe factories to provide for more of the needs of the community. Most recently we have begun a testing and research program on Sickle Cell Anemia, and we know that 98 percent of the victims of this disease are Black. To fail to combat this disease is to submit to genocide; to battle it is survival.

NOT SOLUTIONS

All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution. We say that the survival program of the Black Panther Party is like the survival kit of a sailor stranded on a raft. It helps him to sustain himself until he can get completely out of that situation. So the survival programs are not answers or solutions, but they will help us to organize the community around a true analysis and understanding of their situation. When consciousness and understanding is raised to a high level then the community will seize the time and deliver themselves from the boot of their oppressors.

All our survival programs are free. We have never charged the community a dime to receive the things they need from any of our programs and we will not do so. We will not get caught up in a lot of embarrassing questions or paperwork which alienate the people. If they have a need we will serve their needs and attempt to get them to understand the

true reasons why they are in need in such an incredibly rich land. Survival programs will always be operated without charge to those who need them and benefit by them.

In order to carry out such programs we have always needed money. In the past we received money from wealthy White philanthropists, humanitarians, and heirs to the corporate monopolies. At the same time we were engaging in a blanket condemnation of the small victimized Black capitalists found in our communities. This tactic was wrong since we receive the money for our survival programs from big White capitalists, and we freely admit that.

When we say that we see within Black capitalism the seeds of its own negation and the negation of all capitalism, we recognize that the small Black capitalist in our communities has the potential to contribute to the building of the machine which will serve the true interests of the people and end all exploitation. By increasing the positive qualities of the Black capitalist we may be able to bring about a non-antagonistic solution of his contradiction with the community, while at the same time heightening the oppressed community's contradiction with the large corporate capitalist empire. This will intensify the antagonistic contradiction between the oppressed community and the empire; and by heightening that contradiction there will subsequently be a violent transformation of the corporate empire. We will do this through our survival programs which have the interest of the community at heart.

We now see the Black capitalist as having a similar relationship to the Black community as the national (native) bourgeoisie have to the people in national wars of decolonization. In wars of decolonization the national bourgeoisie supports the freedom struggle of the people because they recognize that it is in their own selfish interest. Then when the foreign exploiter has been kicked out, the national bourgeoisie takes his place and continues the exploitation. However, the national bourgeoisie is a weaker group even though they are exploiters.

Since the people see Black capitalism in the community as Black control of local institutions, this is a positive characteristic



The Black Panther Party's Free Shoe Program has met a real need of the Black community.

because the people can bring more direction and focus to the activities of the capitalist. At the same time the Black capitalist who has the interest of the community at heart will respond to the needs of the people because this is where his true strength lies. So far as capitalism in general is concerned, the Black capitalist merely has the status of a victim because the big White capitalists have the skills, make the loans, and in fact control the Black capitalist. If he wants to succeed in his enterprise the Black capitalist must turn to the community because he depends on them to make his profits. He needs this strong community support because he cannot become independent of the control of the corporate capitalists who control the large monopolies.

CONTRIBUTING

The Black capitalist will be able to support the people by contributing to the survival programs of the Black Panther Party. In contributing to such programs he will be able to help build the vehicle which will eventually liberate the Black community. He will not be able to deliver the people from their problems, but he will be able to help build the strong political machine which will serve as a revolutionary vanguard and guide the people in their move toward freedom.

Our re-analysis of Black capitalism and its relationship to the community from the perspective of dialectical materialism, and our practical understanding of the needs of the community and the attitudes of the people toward

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

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

Huey P. Newton

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

24 pages of photographs \$8.95

To purchase this book, send \$8.95 in cash or money order to: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621. Also available by Huey P. Newton: To Die For The People. \$1.95.

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

"Revolutionary Suicide" is now available in paperback at \$1.95, from Central Distribution. (See address above.)

STRUGGLE LAUNCHED AGAINST BUILDING OF THREE NEW JAILS IN ALAMEDA COUNTY

(Oakland, Calif.) - A press release recently received by THE BLACK PANTHER foretells of a new and important struggle that all community-oriented groups and concerned individuals should become aware of.

Sent out by the Criminal Justice Project of the Joint Strategy and Action Commission (JSAC), the release announces that they staunchly oppose and are organizing opposition to the construction of three new detention centers in Alameda County. Instead, JSAC is calling for a country-wide moratorium on prison and jail construction and that the Alameda County Board of Supervisors should fully implement the alternatives to such construction listed in a 232-page Kaiser Engineers feasibility study.

Studying the Kaiser Engineers report, the JSAC Criminal Justice Project has found reason to doubt the use of upwards of \$24.5 million in construction costs plus \$6 million in annual operating costs when as the study states, "...it is not possible to project future facilities' (jails) needs with much precision."

Attacking from another angle, the JSAC release quotes remarks by the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice, to the effect that: "Confinement is not a successful or promising method of handling persons drawn into the criminal justice

ALAMEDA COUNTY COURT HOUSE.

where numerous Blacks have been sentenced to jail and repeated attempts have been made to falsely convict Black Panther Party leaders.



system; it is an admission of failure. The confinement of individuals, whether awaiting trial or after sentencing, should be imposed only where no other alternative is appropriate."

13 RELEASE PROGRAMS

Altogether, there are thirteen basic "pretrial release programs" recommended by the Kaiser Engineers, divided into seven which have a "quantifiable impact on detention requirements" and six which are "essential to the efficient operation of the pretrial release process."

The first seven are:

- Release all public intoxicants
- Increase use of citation release
- Increase use of release on own recognizance
- Reform the bail system
- Diversion of drug addicts to a community drug program
- Speed up court system
- Supervised release

The other six detention alternatives are:

- A Hold Clearinghouse to quickly resolve minor holds on detainees
- Diverting low-risk first and second time offenders into vocational training and employment counseling programs.
- Institution of warrant release procedure to OR defendants answering warrants
- Development of community treatment strategies for alcoholic and mentally-disoriented defendants
- Establishment of a Pretrial Services Agency to coordinate activities of different pretrial services offered
- Elimination of practice of quarantining prostitute defendant for V.D. examinations.

The Kaiser Engineers note that compared with the millions of dollars required in jail construction and operating costs, the total identifiable expenditures for the implementation of all thirteen recommendations is only \$515,000. □

FORD TOOK PAYOFFS FOR POLITICAL FAVORS

CONGRESS, PRESS FAIL TO REPORT EVIDENCE

(Washington, D.C.) - Underneath President Gerald Ford's smiling face and good press image lies a criminal no less corrupt than former President Richard M. Nixon, evidence has revealed. While a member of the House of Representatives, Ford received numerous payoffs in return for doing political favors. The evidence was contained in nearly 100 pages of testimony to the House Judiciary Committee during confirmation hearings when Nixon nominated Ford for the Vice-Presidency in October 1973.

Now that Ford is top dog, he has the chance to vent his criminality on all the people of America. His criminal voting record in Congress — to step up the Vietnam War and cut back civil rights, for instance — has been reported in a number of sources.

Congress and the press, however, failed to report Ford's Congressional wheeling and dealing for profit. The testimony against Ford to the House Judiciary Committee by Robert Winter-Berger, a former Washington lobbyist is reported in *Liberation News Service*. Winter-Berger charged that he had personally paid Ford \$15,000 for various favors during a five-year period and, in return for still more favors, had channeled \$125,000 to finance Republican Party campaigns at the request of Ford.

Before testifying to the House Committee, Winter-Berger had detailed his accusations against Ford in a book called *The Washington Payoff* in which he tells of his activities as a

Exhibit A-1000

Congress of the United States
Office of the Minority Leader
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

May 20, 1968

Mr. Robert R. Winter-Berger
223 East 12th Street
New York, N.Y. 10003

Dear Bob:

I hasten to send you the enclosed copy of the notification that arrived this morning from the Committee General, in Washington, containing information that a wire was received in St. Petersburg on May 16.

You will be relieved, I hope, and I am delighted that all went well after the General learned that his personal attention called to the case.

It has been a pleasure for me to get this worked out for you. It's really been like a game of chess, hasn't it?

Respect personal regards,

Sincerely,
Gerald R. Ford, P.S.

(Typed name)
encl.

The above is an example of the "favors" President Ford had done for him.

Washington lobbyist. Winter-Berger also told of his payments to Ford in a signed affidavit

which was used as the basis of an October, 1973 Jack Anderson article dealing with Ford's openness to political payoffs.

In the affidavit for Anderson, Winter-Berger explained that "between 1966 and 1969 I personally loaned Gerald Ford in the neighborhood of \$15,000...This money was never repaid. I never asked for repayment and it was never offered. At other times he complained that he was short of money. The loans were made in amounts of \$50 to \$250."

\$125,000 CONTRIBUTION

Winter-Berger also added that "I helped arrange for \$125,000 to be contributed to the Republicans by Francis Kellogg, now a high State Department official.

"I arranged for Kellogg to meet at least twice with Gerald Ford at Kellogg's request. Ford agreed to help Kellogg get a government post. Kellogg was seeking the ambassadorship to Kenya. I have correspondence in my possession which proves that Kellogg was in touch with Herbert Kalmbach in reference to his desired appointment.

"All of the \$125,000 contributed by Kellogg was contributed at the suggestion of Ford."

This affidavit, in addition to *The Washington Payoff*, was submitted as evidence to the Judiciary Committee. The House at that time wanted a replacement for Spiro Agnew, aware of the fact that the person chosen might someday have to replace Richard Nixon, Ford, as a 25-year veteran of the House, was "one of their own" and as a result, most of those

ROCKEFELLER FAMILY WEALTH THREATENS AMERICA

(Washington, D.C.) - The Rockefeller family's unrivaled wealth coupled with Nelson Rockefeller's upcoming confirmation as Vice-President poses a threat to America unsurpassed in its history. As a member of the "Royal Executive," Rockefeller will combine the immense power of his office with his enormous family and personal wealth to prey upon the world like the tyrannical monarchs of old. Rockefeller holdings, reported in last week's **THE BLACK PANTHER**, are formidable. The certain danger that so treacherous a robber baron will present in office is revealed in the following list of family holdings.

BANKS	Assets (in millions of dollars)
Chase Manhattan National	19,014
First National City Bank	19,335
Chemical Bank N.Y.C.	8,967
First National Bank, Chicago	5,746
Northwest Bancorporation	4,002
First Bank Stock Corp.	3,815
Republic Nat. Bank, Dallas	2,176
First Nat. Bank, Dallas	1,714
Mercantile Trust, St. Louis	1,291
First Nat. Bank, St. Louis	891
Iowa-Des Moines Nat. Bank	255
INSURANCE COMPANIES	
Metropolitan Life	25,840

Equitable Life Assurance	13,391
New York Life	10,025
Banker's Life, Des Moines	1,811
Continental Assurance	1,532
Southwest Life	966
Northwestern Life	599
Southland Life	464
General American Life	464

UTILITIES	
International Tel. & Tel.	4,022
Consolidated Edison	3,845
Texas Utilities	1,371
Union Electric, St. Louis	1,135
Northern States Power	1,010

AIRLINES	
Pan American Airlines	1,458
American Airlines	1,418
Eastern Airlines	976
Northwest Airlines	627
New York Airways	5

OIL	
Standard Oil, N.J.	16,786
Texasco	8,686
Mobil-Socoro Oil	6,871
Standard Oil, Calif.	5,769
Standard Oil, Ind.	4,737
Amerasia Petroleum	471

ELECTRICAL & ELECTRONICS	
Ling-Temco-Vought	2,648
Honeywell	987

General Dynamics	865
CBS	720
Whirlpool	413
Emerson Electric	316
General Cable	217
Hewlett-Packard	185

FOOD & BEVERAGES	
General Foods	1,044
Borden	1,023
Ralston-Purina	626
Armour	560
Anheuser-Busch	527
General Mills	505
Pepsico	471
Pet	294
Pillsbury	246

CONSUMER GOODS	
Proctor & Gamble	1,611
Colgate-Palmolive	531
Time Inc.	513
Bell & Howell	200

MERCHANDISING HOUSES	
Sears	6,507
J.C. Penney's	1,187
Macy's	499
Marshall Field's	218

PRODUCER'S GOODS	12,818
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METALS	9,927
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RAILROADS	8,061
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SAVINGS BANKS	2,718
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CHEMICALS	2,467
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OTHER FINANCIAL COMPANIES	1,678
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Jerry Ford became Speaker of the House, and I knew Jerry Ford."

Another particularly interesting case involved a Dutch doctor, Alfred Buytendorp, who purchased Winter-Berger's assistance to help find a legal loophole to remain in the U.S. Buytendorp paid Winter-Berger over \$2,000 for his services and between February and May, 1968, Ford and Winter-Berger were in almost constant communication on the matter.

A DOZEN LETTERS

Winter-Berger submitted to the Judiciary Committee a dozen letters written to him by Ford, explaining the activities Ford was involved in on behalf of Buytendorp. In one of the letters Ford urged, "don't hesitate to contact us here if we need to lend a hand."

Finally, the efforts paid off and the case was resolved in favor of Buytendorp. At that time Ford sent a letter to Winter-Berger, dated May 20, 1968, saying, "You will be relieved, I know, and I am delighted that all went well after the General Consul had his personal attention called to the case."

Ford added, "It has been a pleasure for me to get this worked out for you. It's really been like a game of chess, hasn't it?" The letter was signed, "Warmest personal regards, Jerry."

Since all the payments to Ford were made in cash there were no records that he had received money from Winter-Berger, though there was documented evidence that he had intervened in the Buytendorp case. The Judiciary Committee, perhaps sensitive to its own relationships with Washington lobbyists, attacked Winter-Berger's lack of documentation. With it being his word against that of Gerald Ford, the 38 people on the Judiciary Committee were more than willing to accept the word of "one of their own." □



President GERALD FORD

ELIMINATE PRESIDENCY PAPER AVAILABLE

THE BLACK PANTHER has available upon request copies of the Black Panther Party's Position Paper on the Elimination of the Offices of President and Vice-President. This important document may be obtained free of charge by writing: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, Calif. 94621.

questioning Winter-Berger spent most of their time trying to discredit his testimony against Ford.

Winter-Berger explained, though, that a man named Nathan Voloshen gave him most of the \$15,000 which he passed on to Ford. Voloshen, in return, would have an "in" with the then House minority leader. "What Nathan Voloshen was doing," said Winter-Berger, "was buying what he thought was an ear at court...There was a lot in it for him...if

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

ONE DEAD, SEVERAL WOUNDED IN PORTUGAL DEMONSTRATION TO SUPPORT AFRICAN LIBERATION

(Lisbon, Portugal) - A demonstration held here August 14 in support of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) and the other liberation movements in Portugal's crumbling colonial empire resulted in the death of one person and the wounding of several others when Portuguese police fired into the crowd of demonstrators.

The demonstration of several hundred people had previously been prohibited by the Portuguese government. The country's ruling junta had recently published its program for Angolan independence, which it said would include representatives of all the liberation movements.

Radio Portugal, however, said that the demonstration had been prohibited allegedly because

MPLA "up to now has refused all peace proposals and truce offers made to it, and as such should be looked upon as an enemy force."

Seeking to justify its violence against the people, a statement by the Portuguese government prior to the demonstration declared that the demonstration "would be inopportune for the normal development of the political process relating to the interests of the peoples of Angola" and therefore should not take place.

Several hundred people, however, defied the government ban and converged on Lisbon's Sports Stadium where they carried banners in support of MPLA, PAIGC and FRELIMO, the latter two being the vanguard liberation movements of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique.

When the demonstrators attempted to hold their rally in Rossio Square after being blocked by police at the Sports Stadium, helmeted military police waded into the crowd with long clubs, scattering the demonstrators. As some of the police withdrew, the people stoned them and attacked their cars. The police then opened fire, apparently with machine guns, and one unidentified man was hit in the head, neck and chest, and died before he could be taken to the hospital.

Although the Portuguese claim that some of the demonstrators "made use of firearms," no reports have confirmed this.

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



Portuguese Foreign Minister MARIO SOARES (left, seated) and Guinea-Bissau Deputy Defense Minister PEDRO PIRES signing independence pact for Guinea-Bissau last week in Algiers, Algeria.

PORTUGAL SAVES FACE, GRANTS INDEPENDENCE TO GUINEA-BISSAU

FORMAL PACT EFFECTIVE SEPTEMBER 10

(Algiers, Algeria) - Eleven years of successful fighting led by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC) led last week to Portugal's agreement to formally grant independence to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau on September 10.

The pact, signed here August 26 by Pedro Pires, deputy defense minister of the Guinea-Bissau government and a representative of PAIGC, and Mario Soares, Portugal's foreign minister, was correctly described by one PAIGC soldier as a "Portuguese face-saving formality."

"We have been independent since we declared ourselves independent last September 24," he said.

The soldier was referring to PAIGC's proclamation on September 24, 1973, of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which has since then been given full diplomatic recognition by over 100 countries.

Last week's agreement ended on paper five centuries of Portuguese colonial rule in the West African country. Negotiations on Guinea-Bissau's future began in London on May 25, but reached a stalemate over the question of the inclusion in the independence pact of the Cape Verde Islands, 300 to 400 miles off the coast of West Africa.

The accord contains a provision for a referendum to be held at some unspecified date on the future of the islands, which have been administered as part of Guinea-Bissau.

Despite the formal pact, Portugal is expected to try to impose neo-colonial rule in Guinea-Bissau. The agreement says that after Portugal recognizes the nation's independence, the two countries will "establish and develop relations of active co-operation, notably in the economic, financial, cultural and technical fields..." This means, in effect, that Portugal will seek to retain as much influence over



Woman of MPLA, Angolan independence movement nearing victory in struggle against Portuguese domination.

MEXICO FIGHTS BIAS AGAINST WOMEN

(Mexico City, Mexico) - Mexican President Luis Echeverria has announced sweeping reforms to end bias against women. "It is necessary to break the barriers that impede women from achieving their total development within the political, economic and social life, and which obstructed the integral advancement of Mexico," he said in his fourth state of the union address before Congress. □

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CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

ETHIOPIAN MILITARY NATIONALIZES EMPEROR SELASSIE'S PALACE

COMMAND COMMITTEE SEEKS "DIALOGUE" WITH ERITREAN GUERRILLAS

(Addis Ababa, Ethiopia) - In a move apparently designed to cut deeply into the right of "divine power" claimed by Emperor Haile Selassie and force his abdication, the Ethiopian military has announced the nationalization of his private Jubilee Palace and all of the emperor's other palatial estates in the country's 14 provinces.

The armed forces military committee has also abolished the Ministry of Imperial Court, the last instrument of power left to the emperor other than the imperial bodyguard, and has nationalized the National Resource Company, which owns millions of dollars worth of real estate and resort centers throughout Ethiopia, according to a recent news report in the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

Already included in the military's plans to dismantle Selassie's monarchy are the arrests of over 155 imperial advisors, powerful aristocrats, ministers and officers.

EMPEROR ACCUSED

In unprecedented radio and press interviews, Ethiopians, many of them previously jailed as political prisoners, but now freed, have accused the 82-year-old emperor of everything from treason during the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 to squandering the people's money and being responsible for the country's appalling poverty and backwardness. The interviews are said to be part of a campaign in the media to discredit the monarchy.

Western diplomats who are familiar with the emperor's tough and sinister diplomatic experience, which has brought him through half a century of coups, find it hard to believe that he will abdicate willingly.

Yet, it now appears that his ouster is imminent. The power of the emperor became threatened when wide scale rebellions broke out against his rule and conditions within Ethiopia; a bloodless military coup followed.

The dismantling of Haile Selassie's monarchy and the subsequent transfer of power in the hands of the military coordination



committee coincides with stepped-up military equipment to Ethiopia's armed forces from the U.S., undoubtedly in recognition of the smashing victories won by the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) safeguarding the people's interest in that area.

As the U.S. arms begin to arrive, the ruling military committee in Ethiopia is saying that they want to establish a "dialogue" between themselves and the ELF.

Evidently, support for the ELF throughout the "province" is expanding. *The New York Times*

reports one on-the-spot observer as commenting: "This may be Addis Ababa's (the capital city of Ethiopia) last chance to keep Eritrea. The guerrillas are everywhere around us and they have infiltrated Asmara (capital city of the province) as well. If the military movement doesn't appease the rebels now, they simply will move into Asmara one day very soon and take over." □

POSTERS CRITICIZE SELASSIE

(Addis Ababa, Ethiopia) - Posters attacking Emperor Haile Selassie have appeared in the streets of the Ethiopian capital, marking the first time the monarch has been directly and publicly criticized in an intensifying press and radio campaign against the country's former government. The posters depict the emperor feeding huge dogs on the palace grounds while a starving inhabitant of famine-stricken Wallo province lay dying. □

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AFRICA IN FOCUS



ETHIOPIA

Nobel "Peace Prize" winner, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, is reported to have overruled the advice of both Pentagon and State Department officials and has ordered a step-up in American arms deliveries to Ethiopia. In the past two weeks, in fact, several dozen M-60 tanks have arrived in Ethiopia and shipments of new model helicopters to replace older ones flown by the Ethiopian air force are predicted. While sources close to Kissinger say the build-up is due to a similar build-up of Soviet weapons in neighboring Somalia, its build-up as well might be taken to represent the continued unrest in eastern Ethiopia of the Eritrean Liberation Army, whose struggle for the independence of that land continues to provoke Ethiopian military repression.

GUINEA-BISSAU

In joyful anticipation of the formal granting of independence to the Republic of Guinea-Bissau after 11 years of full-scale war with Portugal, hundreds of refugees are leaving southern Senegal daily to return to their homeland. African guerrilla leaders report that Portuguese authorities are generally cooperating in the return process and are clearing hidden landmines from the roads.

SOUTH AFRICA

The continued successes of the African liberation movements in both Mozambique and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) are shaking up the South African government to the core. Two weeks ago, the government announced a 60 per cent increase in its 1975 military budget. Just a few days before that, officials announced that all physically fit South African policemen would be required to spend a tour of duty fighting with Rhodesian security forces.

FRELIMO STRANGLING RHODESIAN ECONOMY

(Manchester, England) - The economic strangling of Rhodesia by FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) is not far off, says a recent article in *Manchester Guardian*. With Mozambique likely to win independence in a few months, a FRELIMO-led government is likely to impose both political and economic sanctions on White-ruled Rhodesia and cut the rail links to the key Mozambican ports of Beira and Lourenço Marques.

Under the circumstances, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith will have to turn to South Africa for help, but he may be rudely disappointed. "Not only will he find South Africa unable to provide all the replacement facilities necessary," says *The Guardian*, but he may discover South African President Vorster "Increasingly unwilling to do so."

"At the moment," continues *The Guardian*, "the Rhodesians have three main import-export rail lines—but none of them providing a direct link with South Africa. Primary export commodities, which earn Rhodesia the bulk of her foreign exchange, are routed on one of the two Mozambique lines. The Beira link

has daunting disadvantages: the Royal Navy — which still blockades the port and searches ships for Rhodesian products, and FRELIMO guerrillas who stage attacks on the track and on trains. The Lourenço Marques link is more important to Mr. Smith. Not only is the port exempt from the naval blockade, but Rhodesia imports almost half of her oil requirements from the Portuguese Sonap refinery near the capital.

"FRELIMO has already said it will impose sanctions against Rhodesia, and the withdrawal of

the two ports could cripple Mr. Smith's export drive.

"Rhodesia's third rail link — to South Africa — is long and in poor condition. It meanders through Botswana on its way to the Republic's border, and in any case — given a Mozambique blockade — the Botswana government could come under considerable international pressure to shut down the remaining lifeline for the few months necessary to collapse the White regime.

"So the Rhodesians are racing to complete a direct rail line to



South Africa — a six million rand link from the town of Rutenga to Beit Bridge, but it will probably be a year before this is completed on the Rhodesian side. Even then, there will be no guarantee that the South African Railways will have brought their stretch of line to Beit Bridge up to the required standard.

"Transport Ministry officials in Salisbury have already asked Mr. Vorster's government for financial help if it becomes necessary to route all sanctions-busting products through South Africa. In particular, the Rhodesians want 'assistance' with railway rates, and there are signs that the South Africans are dragging their heels over their decision.

PROBLEMS

"Even if these problems are overcome, there is no certainty that the already congested South African ports will be able to cope with a considerable increase in Rhodesian traffic.

"South Africa herself uses Lourenço Marques for some exports — principally citrus — and there is no guarantee that a FRELIMO government given substantial financial assistance from the United Nations and the OAU, will not feel inclined to close its ports to the entire White South. If Mozambique does this, then the pressure on the port of Durban will increase considerably. As it is, there is nearly always a long queue of ships waiting to enter Durban harbor — sometimes stretching for 12 miles up the coast.

"Other South African ports are not much better. Mr. Smith's requests for more facilities would be difficult to meet, even if the political will was present. And here is the biggest question mark of all.

"For years, South African foreign policy has accepted that there will eventually be a Black government in Rhodesia. The question was merely one of time. Until the changes in Mozambique, Black rule in Rhodesia seemed decades away. Now the time scale has telescoped.

"Some White Rhodesians speak fondly of a union with South Africa, but there appears



SAMORA MACHEL (right), head of FRELIMO, shakes hands with Portuguese soldiers who surrendered in August to FRELIMO forces in Mozambique.

"THE DIARY OF INHAMINGA"

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

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

We are grateful to the Angola Committee of Amsterdam, Hol-

land, for providing us with this translation.

4th February - Monday.

Since it was rumored that we leave the church door open for FRELIMO at night, we were told by the police to lock the church up more thoroughly. It was the case that Br. Andreas van Kampen usually locked up the church after the 5:30 p.m. mass every night. The church door consisted of two parts, one of which was always open during the day, so that the other part was bleached by the burning sun and could give the impression at night through the streetlamps or the moonlight that it was open. We painted the whole door with brown paint. On

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

OFFICIAL BULLETINS LIBERATION MOVEMENTS in AFRICA

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RHODESIA

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE
to be no good reason why Mr. Vorster would want his lines of defense extended to the Zambezi River, rather than the Limpopo, or why he would wish to take on an extra six million Africans and a guerrilla war. Certainly some South African units are on active service in Rhodesia, but there is a wide difference between sending a thousand men to gain practical experience in guerrilla warfare on someone else's land and committing an entire army permanently.

"South Africa will want to establish friendly working relations with a Black government in Rhodesia — creating, in effect, another Lesotho, or Botswana, where abhorrence of apartheid is cancelled out by economic necessity. However, it would be unrealistic of Mr. Smith to expect South Africa to prop up his government until the moment of its collapse, and then immediately try to forge friendly links with the new Black administration.

"There will have to be a period when South Africa draws away, in preparation for the changeover.

"South Africa is anxious for Mr. Smith to reach a settlement with the Africans, and the Rhodesian leader has said he will try once more.

"However, he will not only be talking from a deteriorating economic and security position, but he will find the Africans more confident and less flexible than ever before.

"If Mr. Smith fails to settle — and this seems certain — then the wind of change may begin to blow in from South Africa, strong and chill." □



JOURNALISTS INVESTIGATE MASSACRE CHARGE IN NAMIBIA'S CAPRIVI STRIP

(Caprivi Strip, Namibia) - Villagers of the Caprivi Strip welcome journalists to this desolate, seldom-visited area of Namibia (South-West Africa). The journalists, 15 from various foreign publications and television organizations and 14 from South Africa, were here to investigate charges that South African troops murdered 105 villagers at Kalonga on September 19, 1973. (See last week's *THE BLACK PANTHER*, August 31, 1974.)

The South African government, which illegally rules Namibia and has repeatedly refused all requests to visit the Caprivi Strip, invited the journalists to investigate the murder charge after two free lance journalists and an elderly African brother made the charge on a Swedish television program this summer. The journalists also said they had entered the Caprivi area with guerrilla forces of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO), representing the movement for Namibian independence. On August 9, 1974, at a news conference on Lusaka, Zambia, SWAPO officials introduced the elderly brother, named Aaron.

The recent investigation by various foreign and South African journalists, however, failed to uncover evidence of the massacre, because the South African government, which promised to take the party where it wanted to go, claimed it could not find the village where it was charged the murders took place. □

INDEPENDENCE TO GUINEA-BISSAU

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15
Guinea-Bissau as it (Portugal) possibly can.

PAIGC's astounding military victories coupled with the weariness of the Portuguese army in fighting a losing battle in Guinea-Bissau (as well as in Portugal's other two African colonies, Mozambique and Angola), led this past April to the fall of the fascist regime of Premier Marcello Caetano. An army-led government coup, headed by General Antonio de Spínola, has been ruling Portugal since then and has been negotiating to get the country off the hook in Guinea-Bissau as well as in Mozambique and Angola. Observers speculate that the granting of formal independence to Guinea-Bissau came first because that country is less

rich in natural resources than the other two countries.

The West African nation of Guinea-Bissau is about the size of New Jersey and contains a population of between 600,000 and 800,000, of which only 2,260 are Portuguese settlers.

Luis Cabral, PAIGC head, is the first president of the Republic. His brother Amílcar Cabral, who founded PAIGC in 1966, was assassinated by the Portuguese government last year.

Early last month Portugal declared its intent to back Guinea-Bissau's application for membership in the United Nations. The General Assembly, which admits new countries, is expected to act on the motion at the session which opens in New York on Sunday. □

WORLD SCOPE



CUBA

Mexico Foreign Minister Emilio O. Rabasa last week asked the U.S. to support moves in the Organization of American States (OAS) to lift the 10-year-old trade and diplomatic isolation against Cuba. Following President Ford's promise to act in agreement with the OAS on Cuba, Rabasa met with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to press for what he called "a positive attitude" by the U.S. toward moves to end the sanctions.

UNITED NATIONS

The two-week long United Nations World Population Conference ended last week in Bucharest, Rumania, with the approval of a Plan of Action. The over 10,000 word-long document containing 108 items, set no national or international population goals in terms of numbers. Instead, it suggested that with proper policies devised individually by nations, the world's population growth rate of two per cent could be substantially reduced by 1985.

CANADA

U.S. Customs Service officers, who claimed they were in "hot pursuit" of a fugitive, admitted last week crossing a few yards into Canada to recapture a U.S. Army deserter who tried to escape arrest. Ronald J. Anderson, 31, was first arrested by customs agents while he and his car were in the primary inspection area for U.S. customs at Blaine, Washington. When he was taken inside U.S. customs headquarters, he broke away and ran across the Canadian border where the agents chased and caught him. Canada has officially asked U.S. officials to release Anderson and return him to his adopted home.

GREECE

Greece has sent messages to the U.S. and other North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) members informing them that the government wants to begin talks on the future of foreign military installations in Greece. The messages, signed by Premier Constantine Karamanlis, stressed the government's desire, in light of the Cyprus conflict, to assert its sovereignty over all installations. It was not clear if this meant Greece would demand the withdrawal of NATO forces from its borders.



Rhodesia's Prime Minister IAN SMITH has trouble ahead as Mozambique's FRELIMO is expected to impose economic sanctions against Rhodesia.

ENTERTAINMENT

MOVIE REVIEW

"THE EDUCATION OF SONNY CARSON": BLACK REALISM

(Oakland, Calif.) - Immediately capturing the interest as well as the hearts of its predominantly Black audiences, the movie *The Education of Sonny Carson* is an explicit testimony of the nightmarish horror of our Black youth growing up in the slums of America's inner-cities, surrounded by immense poverty and hardship.

Each penetrating scene in the film brings us to grips with the dangerously malicious and ever-present threat of genocide. Each scene vividly displays the true "education" young Sonny Carson receives: dope addiction, police brutality, inhuman living conditions and the overall wretchedness of life in the Black community of Bedford-Stuyvesant, in Brooklyn, New York, where the filming of the movie took place.

The movie is directed by Michael Campus and stars Ronny Clanton as Sonny Carson, whose sensational, real-life performance depicts the frustrations of many

Black youths who have their aspirations, dreams and hopes washed away because of the oppressive environment. All the actors in the movie, especially Sonny Carson's childhood friends played by New York teenage street gangs, give top-notch performances adding a new dimension to "realism" in Black film making. A host of Black writers and technicians also contributed to the film's fine production.

The Education of Sonny Carson is based on the autobiography of Robert Carson, and tells the story of teenage street gangs in New York City. Leader of The Lords gang, Sonny, during his teenage years, indulged in gang wars, stealing, hustling; doing anything and everything he could do at his young age in order to survive.

In what turned out to be the last gang fight of his life, Sonny's best friend, "Little Boy," is killed. Afterwards, Sonny and members of his gang attended the funeral ceremony where he was deeply moved by a sermon preached by the minister of the church. This time the minister's words do not talk of going to the promised land but instead ask the question: Was "Little Boy" really killed in a "gang fight" or was his death caused by America's neglect?

Deeply hurt and motivated by a need to express his love for his dead friend, Sonny goes out and robs a telegram delivery boy so



Sonny (Ronny Clanton) lays a wreath of flowers on the casket of his best friend, "Little Boy."

that he can purchase a wreath of flowers for his friend's coffin.

The telegram boy informs the police of the robbery, leading to Sonny's arrest. The next scene shows Sonny handcuffed and being beaten by a racist and heartless detective (excellently portrayed by Don Gordon) who has wanted to kill him (Sonny) all of his life. In this scene, the true nature of many policemen working in the Black community is exposed as not only being incompetent but also as being ruthless criminals.

Yet, despite their torturing of Sonny, he did not tell them the whereabouts of the money even at the risk of being killed. This scene undoubtedly was the turning point of Sonny's life.

Convicted of robbery and sentenced to three years in prison, Sonny, after meeting a long time friend in prison, really begins to understand the significance of maintaining his human dignity, rather than being immobilized and overwhelmed by the reactionary conditions.

While in prison, tragedy struck again when his friend was killed by prison guards because of his refusal to submit to being controlled by the prison administration. This served to strengthen Sonny's will and later led him to denounce the parole board while being interrogated for parole.

In the last scene of the movie, Sonny gets out of prison (after doing his full three years) and goes home where he receives a very warm and affectionate greeting by his family. Back on the streets again, Sonny, searching endlessly for his old friends, finds out that most of them are either dead, in prison, or like his teenage girlfriend, living a life of dope addiction. But, for reasons not fully explained in the movie, Sonny continues not to succumb to the oppressive conditions. The movie ends with Sonny a grown man in possession of his human dignity.



Sonny and his girlfriend Virginia (Joyce Walker), who later becomes a junkie.

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POETRY

BY

D. WATKINS

I won the silver star at the Plane
of Jars
They flew me to Saigon for my
purple heart
My son was just enrolled in
Headstart
President Thieu came through,
said he was proud
But there's just too few,

I am white, black, brown, yellow
and red, I served in the
American division
That's where heroin and I had a
head-on collision
They say an M-16 can be very
mean, you should see what a
26 gage needle and eye
dropper demean
At May Lai I didn't like the things
I did but I never ran or hid
I broke out a dropper and spoon
and prayed it'd be over soon
I was also devout, I would say the
23rd psalm
While out of the sky they would
drop napalm
I never went on a mission without
being prepared
I never thought of boarding a
chopper minus my spike and
dropper
Do you think if they see these
needle scars they'll take
away my star?
When people at home found out
I was hooked they all pointed
and said, "What a fool,"

You ever have to ask for help to
get on and off a toilet stool?
Son, if they ask you what's wrong
with your daddy,
Tell them I left my legs in a rice
paddy.

D. Watkins
San Luis Obispo Prison
California



REGISTER
TO
VOTE

INHAMINGA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

the inside we placed a cross beam.

Joao Menano, the owner of a lumber-mill informed us that at the beginning of last week the population of Chief Moises Pangacha and other population groups were told to leave their homes and come to Inhaminga by pamphlets distributed by airplane. Up until that day no one had yet turned up; but it was certain that many had left for the freedom fighters further away. They had pitched their tents there.

In the morning two trucks with militia left for Muanza. One of the trucks driven by an African driver called Banque, had trouble with one of the rear wheels and had to return to Inhaminga. At Milha 94 he was stopped by FRELIMO. It was 1 p.m. The three members of the militia sitting in the back hid themselves. Banque got out of the truck and one of the soldiers threw a hand grenade at the freedom fighters. Everything remained quiet. Banque went back to the truck and was shot and wounded by the freedom fighters. Although badly wounded, he managed to drive the car to the Inhaminga police station. From there he was flown to Beira by airplane. While he was being carried into the plane, his wife was drawing water from the pumps at the edge of the airfield. She still did not know anything, although some hours had already passed.

A group of paratroopers arrived in Inhaminga as reinforcement. Lwanga Manuel Chomba, teacher of the mission school in Dimba was taken from his class by members of the militia. He had supposedly said that FRELIMO had enough ammunition to overrun all of Inhaminga. On their way they met the commander of the unit which guarded the Dimba waterpumps, who defended the teacher's innocence. As a result of this favorable testimony he was released again.

At 4:30 p.m. the Father Superior was summoned by the police and asked: "Have you got a teacher in Dimba? Where is He?" He was asked to send the teacher to the police station. When Lwanga arrived there, after three minutes he was half undressed, questioned and thrown in prison.

That day, in addition, there was no more passenger trains to Beira nor to Sena. However there was a lot of military transport by road to reinforce the army in the Inhaminga area.

TO BE CONTINUED

INCOME GAP WIDENS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

Bureau, a large part of the reason for the slowdown in Black economic progress was the increase in numbers of Black families where a woman was head of the household, with no male wage earner present. Such families earn less, on the average, than families headed by men. The proportion of Black families headed by females went up from 28 per cent in 1970 to 34.6 per cent in 1973, bringing down the overall median income figures. White female-headed families stayed at approximately nine per cent of all White families during this period.

At the same time, however, the proportion of Black families with median incomes of more than \$15,000 was going up. In 1969 it was 13 per cent; in 1973, 16 per cent. Near the other end of the scale, the proportion of Black families earning between \$3,000 and \$5,000 was also going up, from 16 per cent to 18 per cent. These two movements tended to balance each other.

One further trend was shown in the census figures: in both 1969 and 1972, Black families where both husband and wife were working came closer to equaling White incomes than did Black families where only one parent worked and such families actually showed less of a gap in 1972 than they did in 1969—82 per cent of

White income as opposed to 77 per cent earlier.

The best showing among Black families was made by those where both husband and wife worked and where the head of the household was under 35 years old. Even here, such families have not yet reached full equality, but are earning only 90 per cent of the income of their White equivalents. The fastest improvement in earning power of Blacks relative to Whites was shown by young couples in the South, who advanced from 73 to

84 per cent of their White counterparts.

One fact remained constant: Black families worked harder for their money and had to spread it around to more family members than did White families. For example, Black families with total family incomes between \$5,000 and \$7,000 showed an average of 1.44 wage earners per family compared to 1.20 for White families. The Black families had almost two nonwage earners (children or elderly persons) for each wage earner compared to a ratio of only 1.5 to 1 in White families. □

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SPORTS

"OF CHEERLEADERS AND JOCKS"

BY PAUL HOCH

The following article, "Of Cheerleaders and Jocks," written by Dr. Paul Hoch, a frequent contributor to the sports page of THE BLACK PANTHER and a professor of sports sociology at Dawson College in Montreal, Canada, explores the not-so-subtle relationship between sports and repressed sexuality in contemporary American life. Breaking through the frills and glitter of the "big game," Dr. Hoch critically examines the updated roles of the "vestal virgins" and "brute male gladiator" particularly as it robs the progressive movement of much of its overall strength.

"Of Cheerleaders and Jocks" first appeared in the July-August, 1974, issue of The Sportswoman.

Psychologists like Erich Fromm and Paul Goodman have noted that, in America, a large part of the military impetus for both war and for militarized sports like football, hockey, and boxing has always come from repressed, and hence diverted, sexual energy. Repressed sexuality is one of the biggest things making big games so big.

The homecoming game, the bowl game bashes, the big winter weekend football booze-up—all have been the officially recognized occasions when our sexually repressed collegians and alumni of former generations have gotten together to blow off a little steam. Alcohol has always flowed freely at the parties (and in the stands), and the conception of masculinity and health being pushed has always been of the hard-drinking, hard-fighting, hard-loving, womanizing brute.

Like New Year's Eve, the big gladiator festivals have been established occasions when the barriers of sexual repression have been allowed to come down. At such times, sex is O.K. If enjoyed in the proper plastic spirit, that is—combined with alcohol, fraternity parties, and spending money. And the whole thing has been sold to the old grads who come back for the big game as "tradition" and even "Americanism."

An important aspect of the ancient Roman gladiator spectacles was the sanctifying presence

19-YEAR-OLD MOSES MALONE SIGNS \$3 MILLION PRO BASKETBALL CONTRACT

(Petersburg, Va.) - Amidst a growing storm of controversy and chaos, Moses Malone became the richest 19-year-old on his block last week, signing a \$3 million, seven-year contract with the Utah Stars of the American Basketball Association (ABA).

Leaping with the full length of his slender 6 feet 11 inch tall frame directly from high school into the world of professional basketball, Moses Malone was enticed to sign only days before he was scheduled to begin his freshman year at the University of Maryland, the school which won his talents over 300 other colleges and universities last spring.

The controversy surrounding the signing of Brother Malone centers on the ethics of his recruitment into the professional ranks—just as that same topic of conversation swirled just a few months ago as wave upon wave of college recruiters swarmed to the Malone family door.

Yet, according to Moses' close friend and neighbor, 17-year-old Leroy Cole, the choice between college and the pro contract was made on a personal level that cared little for someone else's version of societal ethics.

"We talked about it both ways," Leroy told a reporter from The New York Times. "Basically, it came down to the fact that this was his dream, and his dream became reality."

Moses' desire to fulfill that dream, even at the sacrifice of his college education and the fame of an undergraduate basketball career is easily understandable.



This deteriorating house in Petersburg, Virginia, is the home of Brother Moses Malone, 19, who last week signed a three-million dollar contract with the Utah Stars basketball team. Malone's mother has long dreamed of a new, modern home, and now she may realize her dream.

Born in Chesterfield County, midway between Petersburg and Richmond and deserted by his father when he was two, life for Moses Malone has never been easy. Young Moses' mother, Mary, who works as a \$100-a-week packer at a local supermarket, struggled hard to raise her shy, rapidly growing only child, who for the past six months suddenly became embroiled in the pressurized world of sports recruitment. Part of Moses' "dream," in fact, is undoubtedly the new house his mother has always wanted, a home said to be part of his pact with the Stars.

Hypocritically, it is some of the same college coaches who harassed Moses to the point of his devising a special set of signals with his friends so he could know when recruiters were coming to

his door, that now yell "foul" at his signing of a pro contract.

While critics might sight Brother Moses' loss of an immediate college degree, what do they expect when a 19-year-old Black youth is confronted by White evangelist faith healer Oral Roberts, and Roberts tells the youth that he will heal his mother's ulcer if Moses plays basketball for Oral Roberts University.

Besides, as the Times pointed out last week, young Moses gets a \$30,000 bonus from the Utah Stars for every year of college he completes in the off-season. □



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Brother MOSES MALONE (left) and JAMES A. COLLIER, Utah Stars' owner.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

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(Being Implemented)

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—Huey P. Newton

