

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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EAST OAKLAND CELEBRATION

OVERFLOW CROWD HAILS MOZAMBIQUE INDEPENDENCE



(Top) THEO BEN GURIRAB, SWAPO representative to the U.N., addressing audience at Mozambique Independence Celebration in East Oakland. (Bottom) A view of the enthusiastic overflow crowd letting out a cheer for the People's Republic of Mozambique.

(Oakland, Calif.) - More than 700 Bay Area residents crowded into APUMEC Hall on East 14th Street, Sunday, June 29, for a rousing celebration of Mozambique Independence Day sponsored jointly by the Liberation Support Movement, the Ethiopian Student Union, Friends of Namibia, Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization and the Black Panther Party.

In a rare demonstration of revolutionary enthusiasm and unity, the almost equally divided Black and White audience of mostly young adults greeted the welcome from the Committee to Celebrate Mozambique Independence Day with a sustained, standing ovation with shouts of "Viva FRELIMO" and "Long Live Mozambique" ringing throughout the hall.

The celebration featured an address by Brother Theo Ben Gurirab, South West Africa Peoples Organization representative to the United Nations, a greeting of solidarity from the Union of Vietnamese in the United States, remarks by Brother T. Kangai representing the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), readings of poetry from African liberation movements by Ericka Huggins of the Black Panther Party and a showing of the film *A Luta Continua* (*The Struggle Continues*) an account of the struggle of FRELIMO in Mozambique.

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Editorial

KOREA FOR THE KOREANS

More and more these days the establishment media warns of the "danger" of aggression against South Korea from the North. This repeated lie should, in fact, alert us to the real danger of a massive provocation by the dictatorial regime of Chung Hee Park from the South, encouraged, instigated and master-minded by powerful U.S. interests as an excuse for U.S. military intervention.

This week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER carries a very revealing series entitled "Who Owns South Korea?" We have printed this story in an effort to inform our readers of the extent of U.S.-multi-national economic penetration into South Korea, the vast majority of which occurred after the division of Korea into North and South.

What is sometimes called the "economic miracle" of South Korean development under U.S. tutelage is the result of giant U.S. industrial complexes moving lock, stock and barrel out of the U.S. into such "underdeveloped" areas where labor costs are a fraction of what they are here and markets and natural resources are closer to the place of production.

This process has contributed in large measure to the widespread unemployment facing U.S. workers today, while greatly increasing profits for the industrialists and consolidating their ability to influence local political events and developments.

In fact, the people of Korea, North and South, have clearly had enough of the "economic miracle" claimed for South Korea under U.S. "guidance." That miracle has meant little for the toiling masses of South Korea. It has only fattened the coffers of the Chung Hee Park clique of corrupt and self-seeking politicians of the South Korean regime.

It is this combination of U.S./European imperialist bloodsuckers and local Korean puppets who are in very real danger of being finally overthrown by the Korean masses from both North and South. The interests of the Korean masses are precisely the interests of the American people — for peace, jobs and independence.



"You need a catchier slogan, kid!"

An Appeal To Our Readers

Dear Readers,

This is an appeal for help. THE BLACK PANTHER is in desperate need of funds in order to continue to appear. As with everything else in the U.S. today, our production costs have sky-rocketed, while the ability of those for whom we primarily publish our paper to afford even the 25 cents it costs grows more and more difficult.

We have been able to continue to appear because those of us who produce THE BLACK PANTHER receive no salaries. We all contribute our time and our skills because we believe strongly in what we are doing.

THE BLACK PANTHER receives no income from its ads. All the ads that appear in the paper are placed either in gratitude for regular contributions by the advertiser to one or more of the several Free Survival Programs of the Black Panther Party, or because the "product" advertised directly contributes to the liberation of oppressed humankind.

The many encouraging letters we receive from readers assures us that THE BLACK PANTHER is valuable and must not only continue to appear but must reach more and more readers. Its ability to do so depends on you.

THE BLACK PANTHER is your newspaper. We who produce it are only the instruments through which your voice is heard throughout the land. Help us keep your voice out there. Help us make it stronger and stronger. Send us whatever you can, and send it TODAY!

With every contribution of \$25.00 or more you will receive free a one year's subscription. For every contribution of \$100.00 or more you will receive free a life-time subscription.

But we need your \$1.00, \$5.00 and \$10.00 contributions also.

By helping to keep THE BLACK PANTHER alive and well you will be directly contributing to your liberation.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

David G. Du Bois

David G. Du Bois
Editor-in-Chief

COMMENT

"What To The Slave Is The 4th Of July"

By Frederick Douglass

On July 4, 1852, Frederick Douglass, the most outstanding Black orator, writer and militant champion of freedom for America's slave class in the 19th century, addressed a large audience in Rochester, New York, as the featured "Independence Day" speaker. What follows is the text of Frederick Douglass' speech that day, a biting, blistering attack on those who would celebrate "justice" and "independence," while allowing over four million African slaves "in the land of liberty" to remain in chains.

Fellow Citizens: Pardon me, and allow me to ask, why am I called upon to speak here today? What have I or those I represent to do with your national independence? Are the great principles of political freedom and of natural justice, embodied in that Declaration of Independence, extended to us? And am I, therefore, called upon to bring our humble offering to the national altar, and to confess the benefits, and express devout gratitude for the blessings resulting from your independence to us?

Would to God, both for your sakes and ours, that an affirmative answer could be truthfully returned to these questions. Then would my task be light, and my burden easy and delightful. For who is there so cold that a nation's sympathy could not warm him? Who so obdurate and dead to the claims of gratitude, that would not thankfully acknowledge such priceless benefits? Who so stolid and selfish that would not give his voice to swell the hallelujahs of a nation's jubilee, when the chains of servitude had been torn from his limbs? I am not that man.

I say it with a sad sense of disparity between us. I am not included within the pale of this glorious anniversary! Your high independence only reveals the immeasurable distance between us. The blessings in which you this day rejoice are not enjoyed in common. The rich inheritance of

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THE BLACK PANTHER

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Seattle B.P.P. Member Brutalized While Collecting For Survival Programs

(Seattle, Wash.) — The Seattle Police Department is continuing its harassment of the Black Panther Party. Comrades JoAnn Moton and Morris White were stopped from selling THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper and collecting donations for community survival programs sponsored by the Black Panther Party on Friday, June 13, in the University District, at the corner of N.E. 43rd Street and University Way, N.E.



Comrade MORRIS WHITE collecting donations for survival programs.

While the comrades were collecting donations, two Seattle police officers, Bisson and Elmore, approached Comrade White and told him he was under arrest. Both of these officers are known for their hatred of people soliciting for Party programs and have arrested Comrade White previously as well as other Black Panther Party supporters.

Comrade Morris demanded to know what he was under arrest for three times before he was told he was "blocking pedestrian traffic." Brother Morris then asked the officers why they did not write him a citation instead of arresting him, which meant a bail would have to be set.

The officers answered this question by pushing Brother White and attempting to take his collection can and papers. They forcibly placed a handcuff on Comrade White, and then, brutalized him, as they put a second handcuff on him. Immediately, as a second patrol car with two

"LUDICROUS & INSULTING"

ATTY. GARRY BLASTS PRESS FOR WILD CHARGES AGAINST B.P.P.

(Marin, Calif.) — Describing a recent series of articles in the *San Francisco Chronicle* claiming Black Panther Party involvement in various plots to forcibly achieve courtroom breakouts of political prisoners in the early 1970s as "ludicrous and insulting," famed defense attorney Charles R. Garry last week filed a motion to separate the trial of Black Panther Party member Johnny Spain from the rest of the San Quentin 6.

In the motion, attorney Garry described the *Chronicle* allegations as "damaging to the integrity of my client." Along with five other Black and Brown prison activists — David Johnson, Hugo Pinell, Fleeta Drumgo, Willie Tate, and Luis Talamantez — Brother Johnny Spain is currently on trial on frame-up charges arising out of the state's assassination of author/revolutionary George Jackson, Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party, on August 21, 1971.



JOHNNY SPAIN and his famed defense attorney CHARLES GARRY.

The *Chronicle* series to which attorney Garry referred is allegedly based upon "secret" police intelligence reports — compiled from the Los Angeles Police Department's (LAPD) vast network of spies and informants and a mysterious three-page set of notes allegedly written by Ms.

Margret Burnham, one of the defense attorneys for Angela Davis during her highly publicized political trial, and retrieved from a wastepaper basket where they had been discarded.

The *Chronicle* series theorizes that Jonathan Jackson, George Jackson's heroic 17-year-old brother, was abandoned by a squad of Black Panther "guerrillas" moments before he led the famous August 7, 1970, breakout attempt at the county courthouse here. Young Jonathan, prison inmates William Christmas and James McClain, and a judge were ruthlessly murdered by San Quentin guards during the incident.

PLOTTING

A second part of the *Chronicle* series, which has been denounced by Ms. Burnham, alleges that Black Panther Party members were plotting another assault on the Marin courthouse, less than three months after the August 7 incident.

Many progressive people have said that certain authorities, particularly the LAPD, intentionally fed the *Chronicle* reporters false and misleading information in order to counter a more factual account of police spying and set-ups filed in Marin Superior Court recently by Frank J. Cox, attorney for San Quentin 6 member David Johnson. The Cox affidavit asserts that both George and Jonathan Jackson were set up by police agents working closely with defense committees for George Jackson, and that at least one of these agents was later murdered by the LAPD's notorious "Red Squad." □

FREE JOANN LITTLE RALLY & PICKET LINE

RALLY
FRIDAY — 8:00 P.M.
JULY 11, 1975

COMMUNITY
LEARNING CENTER
6118 E. 14th St.
Oakland, Calif.

PICKET LINE
MONDAY — NOON
JULY 14, 1975

FEDERAL BUILDING
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Sponsored by the July 14th Committee To Free JoAnn Little
1300 Delaware St., Apt. 2 — Berkeley, Calif.

For further information, call (415) 853-7283 or 533-6878.



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EAST OAKLAND CELEBRATION

OVERFLOW CROWD HAILS MOZAMBIQUE INDEPENDENCE

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

A delicious dinner was served featuring East African dishes, including ugali, dried maize (corn) and beans, pilau, made with rice and vegetables and chicken; peanut stew made with collard greens, eggplant and peppery peanut sauce; Ethiopian chicken stew and a variety of salads and fresh fruits.

The celebration's keynote address by Brother Theo Ben Gurirab was forceful and informative. Brother Gurirab hailed the victory of the Mozambique people under the leadership of FRELIMO and recalled the experience of the Vietnamese people after defeating the French colonialist at Dien Bien Phu. He reminded the audience that the U.S. imperialists attempted to undermine that victory and caused many more years of suffering and destruction in Vietnam.

Brother Gurirab warned against the threat of U.S. imperialist maneuvers against the new independent Mozambique and emphasized the importance of vigilance. He also reminded the audience of the imminent inde-



(Left to right) THEO BEN GURIRAB, SWAPO representative to the U.N.; ERICKA HUGGINS, director of Intercommunal Youth Institute; T. KANGAI, ZANU representative.

Following the showing of the film *A Luta Continua*, Ericka Huggins held the large audience spellbound with the reading of a group of poems from the liberation movements of Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Guinea-Bissau, Namibia and Azania (South Africa).

A message from the sponsoring groups to the Frelimo government of Mozambique was read to the audience and adopted by acclamation. A number of organizations, in addition to the sponsoring groups, prepared special messages of greetings to be

forwarded to Mozambique along with all the proceeds of the large and successful gathering.

The large hall was bedecked with slogans of "Long Live FRELIMO", "Long Live the Victory of the Mozambique People" and "Viva Armed Struggle." The new flag of Mozambique adorned each side of the front of the hall. The flag is a tri-color of red, green and yellow strips with a black triangle at its base.

The spirited meeting ended with the singing of the FRELIMO Anthem (FRELIMO Vencera), and everyone in attendance (except, of course, the planted agents) went away more convinced than they had been in a long time that victory is certain for all oppressed humankind. □



(Left) Overflow crowd sampling delicious Afritak food. (Below) Crowd letting out a joyous cheer for the people's victory in Mozambique. (Inset) Sister SALIM of Ethiopian Student Union, served as mistress of ceremonies.

pendence of Angola and the importance of Angolan independence to the struggles of the peoples of his country, Namibia (South West Africa) in their fight for independence from South Africa.

Brother Gurirab's address was repeatedly interrupted with applause and he was given a rousing, standing ovation at the conclusion of his address. He apologized for leaving the meeting early, explaining he was due for deportation hearings at 8 a.m. Monday morning at the U.S. immigration office in New York City.



THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

July 4, 1776

On July 4, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was adopted, making the United States a self-governing country. Racism was ingrained in the body-politic from its inception. The section of the Declaration of Independence denouncing the slave trade was stricken in deference to South Carolina and Georgia.

July 4, 1776

The African Baptist Church was organized in Williamsburg, Virginia, on July 4, 1776. This Black church would grow to become the strongest institution in the Black community, helping to insure the survival of Black people against that same racism justified in the Declaration of Independence.

July 3, 1970

On July 3, 1970, the National Committee of Black Churchmen, a group of 41 Black U.S. church and civil rights leaders, published a "Black Declaration of Independence" as a full-page advertisement in *The New York Times*. The declaration contained a pledge by the Black leaders to "renounce all allegiance" to the U.S. unless Black people received "full redress and relief" from "the injustice, exploitative control, institutionalized violence and racism of White America..."

July 6, 1971

Dr. Andrew F. Brimmer, who was then the only Black member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, told the NAACP's sixty-second annual meeting on July 6, 1971, that the job outlook for Black Americans was so dismal that some had "given up and no longer attempt to enter the labor force."

July 6, 1973

On July 6, 1973, James E. Baker, a Black career foreign service officer, was named economic and commercial officer at the U.S. Embassy in Pretoria, South Africa. He was the first Black American diplomat to be named to the racist South African regime on a permanent basis.



Parental pressure and a state order is forcing Richmond schools to initiate Affirmative Action Program.

Richmond Schools Ordered To O.K. Minority Hiring Program

(Sacramento, Calif.) - Acting under strong and united parental pressure, the state Board of Education has mandated that the Richmond public school system adopt an affirmative action hiring policy by January 31, 1976, or face the loss of \$4.5 million in state and federal funds.

The state's action was not wholly satisfying to the parents however, who, led by Billy Alexander, chairman of the Richmond District Advisory Committee, had argued for the funds to be cut off at the end of June, 1975.

In a long and stormy hearing before the state Board's Federal Aid Committee, Alexander charged that the Richmond Unified School District, "has a long record of being insensitive to the needs of children, minority groups, poor Whites and women."

"Parents agree that it is important that students see themselves in the role of educators, administrators and counselors," Brother Alexander said, arguing that the district be compelled to adopt a strong affirmative action program.

Recently, the Richmond School Board voted 3 to 2 against accepting a minimal affirmative action policy which called for the hiring of 25 minority personnel over the next five years.

Reaction from Richmond school officials to the state's decision

S.W.A.P.O. REPRESENTATIVE: "... IF YOU HAVE GUNS, WE CAN USE THEM"

Press Conference With Ben Gurirab At Learning Center

(Oakland, Calif.) - In town as the featured speaker for the Bay Area's Mozambique Independence Day Celebration, Brother Theo Ben Gurirab, the South West Africa Peoples Organization's (SWAPO) representative to the United Nations, told a press conference last Saturday that the significance of the newly-proclaimed People's Republic of Mozambique lies in its implications for ridding the rest of southern Africa from the "combined evils" of colonialism, racism and imperialism.

In a statement leading off the hour-long press conference, Brother Gurirab, a member of the Central Committee of SWAPO, the revolutionary vanguard organization which for the past 9 years has led the people of Namibia (South West Africa) in armed struggle against the illegal domination of racist South Africa, said (in part):

"...The colonialism that Portugal represented in Africa and the support that the regime in Portugal was receiving from Western imperialist countries are the same evils that we ourselves are fighting against in Namibia.



(Left) Map of Namibia. (Right) THEO BEN GURIRAB, SWAPO representative to the U.N.

"Therefore, we look at the victory of the people of Mozambique as also the victory for the people of Namibia and also a victory for our brothers in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Azania (South Africa).

"We are looking forward to a day, now with renewed inspiration and encouragement, when we too in Namibia will celebrate independence, and will join those who have achieved that status after long bloody struggles against the combined evils of colonialism, racism and imperialism.

"We are confident of this because of the political and military changes that are taking



place in southern Africa as a result of the victories that are taking place by the liberation movements of the former Portuguese colonies.

"We see the situation changing in our favor. We see the independence of Mozambique as bringing new opportunities for the liberation forces in Zimbabwe. The liberation forces there will seize the hour and bring to an end the illegal situation (referring to the racist Ian Smith regime) in Zimbabwe.

"We believe firmly the independence of Mozambique and the stabilization of the situation there will give us the opportunity to expand and intensify our own struggle in Namibia against South Africa.

"We also look at the developments in southern Africa in their wider international context.

"We see the defeat of imperialism in Indochina as a positive development which yet brings us much closer to the day of our victory. And, we see the difficulties experienced by the advanced capitalist countries at home as also to be an opportunity for the progressive forces in these capitals to take advantage of the situation and continue to identify themselves with the struggles for liberation in southern Africa and elsewhere.

"So it is these developments that we must bear in mind when, tomorrow, we celebrate an historic revolutionary moment, the Mozambique Independence Day Celebration, a day on which the people of Mozambique must be reassured that they may continue to rely on the assistance and support from those who all along have stood with them in the struggle against 500 years of decadent colonialism of Portugal."

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People's Free Clinic Donates Supplies To S.W.A.P.O.

(Berkeley, Calif.) - In a concrete expression of solidarity and support, the People's Free Medical Research Health Clinics here have donated a large amount of medical supplies and equipment to the South West Africa People's organization (SWAPO), the U.N. - recognized revolutionary vanguard organization engaged in armed struggle for the liberation of its homeland from racist South African domination.

The supplies, delivered to the Bay Area Liberation Support Movement in early June for future shipment to SWAPO guerrillas in Namibia (the African name for South West Africa), included: over 2,000 tabs of antibiotics; over 40,000 tabs of vitamins; 6,224 tabs of cardiac medications; 918 ounces of gastric-intestinal medications; and 1,076 urinary tract medications.

Equipment donated to SWAPO included: 400 syringes; 10 rolls of examination table paper; 600 surgical dressings; 50 suture removal kits; 10 pre-op skin scrub sets; one sterilizer; one autoclave; two baby scales; and three large boxes of assorted bandages, splints and gauze.

The donation to SWAPO, which is daily advancing the Namibian people's struggle for self-determination against the illegal South African presence, represents the Clinic's continuing commitment to oppressed humankind throughout the world, with particular concern for the liberation movements of southern Africa. In the past the Clinics have donated medical supplies and equipment to FRELIMO (the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique), which last week took control of its country's government from Portugal after a decade of valiant armed combat, and the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands), the vanguard organization which led the people of Guinea-Bissau to national independence last September 25.

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CHARGES DISMISSED AGAINST SHANGO IN ATTICA TRIAL

(Buffalo, N.Y.) - A major setback to the Attica prosecutions came this week as the kidnapping and felony murder charges against Shango (indicted as Bernard Stoble) were dismissed here by Judge Joseph Mattina.

Shango had been charged in three indictments, along with four other defendants, with the kidnapping and murder of inmates Kenneth Hess and Barry Schwartz during the 1971 Attica rebellion. The charges now remaining against Shango are two counts of unlawful imprisonment, which were substituted by Judge Mattina for the kidnapping charges, and the "common law" murder charge for the death of Schwartz.

FINAL WITNESS

On Monday, June 16, the prosecution presented their final witness, Dr. Michael Baden, the deputy chief medical examiner for New York City, who testified concerning the autopsies and exhumation he performed on the bodies of Hess and Schwartz.

Dr. Baden had originally been called to Attica at the request of Commissioner Oswald because of the state's dispute with the findings of the original medical



Famous Attica rebellion scene — inmates letting their demands be known to Commissioner OSWALD and to the world.

examiner, Dr. Edlin, who announced after the autopsies that all hostages had been killed by gunfire of state troopers and not by the prisoners, as Oswald and other prison officials had claimed.

STAB WOUNDS

Baden testified that Hess had received approximately 50 stab wounds and Schwartz 36 stab wounds all of which are as yet unexplained by the prosecution. There has been no prosecution testimony as to when these stab wounds were inflicted or who inflicted them. Baden also testified that the cut throats of Hess

and Schwartz were not sufficient to cause the immediate death of either of the men.

DISMISSALS

On Wednesday morning, Judge Mattina read a lengthy decision on the dismissal motions in which he dismissed indictments 38 and 41 and substituted two counts of unlawful imprisonment. He said that taking the prosecution's evidence in its most positive light, the state had not established an abduction. Reviewing the evidence he cited the following factors:

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8



"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

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OUR HEALTH



Crab Lice And Head Lice

Lice are small sucking insects which cause infections of pubic hair and head hair and are easily spread from person to person by direct body contact or sharing of clothing or bedding without prior washing.

Crab lice — "crabs" — lay eggs in pubic hair and commonly infect sexual partners and others living in close personal contact. Pin head size crabs and smaller eggs of crab lice attached to pubic hairs can be seen.

Persons infected with crabs who live together or have sexual relations should be treated at the same time. Their bedding must be changed and thoroughly washed. Each person should take a hot soapy bath or shower with particular attention to the pubic hair and folds of the skin.

Doctors prescribe Kwell shampoo or A-200 Pyrinate solution for crab lice. One ounce of the medication should be applied like an ordinary shampoo with continued lathering to cover all pubic hair and skin areas. Kwell shampoo should be lathered for a full four minutes and A-200 Pyrinate for 10 minutes. Rinse thoroughly and dry. A repeat treatment may be necessary, but the medication should not be used more than twice in one week.

All family members with head lice should be treated at the same time, and their clothes and bedding should be changed and thoroughly washed.

The same medication used for crab lice may be used for head lice. One ounce of the medication should be applied after wetting the hair with warm water. Kwell and A-200 Pyrinate are dangerous to the eyes, so careful attention should be given to protecting them. The hair should be thoroughly washed. Rinse completely and dry with a towel. As with crab lice, a repeat treatment may be necessary, but the medication should not be used more than twice in one week.

Good personal hygiene and clean living conditions can best prevent lice infections.



Even now blatant racism is still prevalent throughout all of our institutions.

Racist Campus

Club Bars

Blacks At U.S.C.

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - In another move reminiscent of the outright and overt racism of the era before the civil rights struggle in the South, a Black student at the University of Southern California has been refused admittance into a campus organization, allegedly for men of "superior ability," almost solely because he is Black.

The student, Thomas McLarkin, had inadequate high school grades for USC, an exclusive private institution. He practically begged for admission and was admitted on a special experimental admissions program. Until recently there were hardly any Blacks at USC and even now there are only 800 out of 20,000 students.

Brother McLarkin immediately proved his capability as a student at USC and tried to get involved in the mainstream of student affairs at USC. He was a force in Kappa Alpha Psi, USC's only Black fraternity, became the first Black yell leader, and as a sophomore was president of the Squires, a sophomore service organization.

In the spring of 1974 he applied for admission to the elitist Knights who had never before admitted a Black person. USC is located in a heavily Black section of Los Angeles, and USC President John Hubbard has admitted the school's racism. In fact, in the past, Black students were hesitant to protest at the school because of threats by campus security that they (Black students) might be thrown off campus because they couldn't be distinguished from outsiders.

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STANFORD UNIVERSITY GRADUATION

BLACKS LEAD WALKOUT ON MOYNIHAN

(Stanford, Calif.) - Some 500 persons, including 140 graduating students, most of them Black, walked out on United Nations Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan as he rose to deliver the commencement speech at Stanford University, Sunday, June 15.

The protesters included professors and spectators in the sun-drenched Frost Amphitheater in a dramatic gesture of objection to the selection of Moynihan as graduation speaker.

The Moynihan protest was spurred by past remarks by Moynihan about racial problems, the Black graduates said in a leaflet passed out before the ceremony.

Moynihan advocated "benign neglect" of race problems while adviser to former President Richard Nixon and, as a Labor Department official, released a report in 1965 (*The Negro Family*), which "attributed the inferior social and economic status of Black people" to what he saw as a "disintegration of the Negro family."



Graduating Stanford students, mostly Black, walking out on racist Daniel Moynihan.

The leaflet went on to state that "Daniel P. Moynihan has risen to the point where he has become extremely influential."

"To those of us who can look beyond the veil of eloquence and

recognize the threat of 'benign neglect,' he is a symbol that must be spoken out against."

In the statement signed by the Black graduating students, they said:

"Our aim is not to disrupt Moynihan's right to free speech, but rather to draw attention to the subtle racism Moynihan represents."

At the end of Moynihan's speech, the graduating seniors returned to their seats and took part in the rest of the commencement exercises.

SIT SILENTLY

As soon as the university announced its plans to invite Daniel P. Moynihan as the 1975 commencement speaker, the Black students began organizing themselves against the insult of having to "sit silently" and listen to Moynihan.

After complaining to the university and having those complaints ignored (see the June 2, 1975, issue of THE BLACK PANTHER), the students mobilized their parents and other Stanford Third World students, faculty and staff to take "visible" action that would express their feelings regarding not only Moynihan but also the callous disregard on the part of the Stanford administration to their feelings.

Congratulations to the Black graduating students of Stanford University for expressing the feelings of the entire Black community toward Daniel P. Moynihan and his brand of "subtle racism."



A Musical Extravaganza At Community Forum

(Oakland, Calif.) - A "Musical Extravaganza" featuring local talent was presented at last Sunday's Son of Man Temple Community Forum.

OASIS was the first group to perform and put everyone into the groove with "Sadie" and "Feel the Need." Next, the HARMONISTICS, a Son of Man Temple favorite, sang a variety of songs, including a Temptations' medley, "There's No One Without You," and "Buffalo Soldier."

The program continued with four beautiful sisters called THE SUNSHINE OF LIFE. They sang some of their own soulful compositions as well as "Daddy could Scream, I Declare."

The finale of the swinging show was the Son of Man Temple's own LOVE, POWER AND STRENGTH. The group sang their show-stopping interpretation of Quincy Jones' "Everything Must Change," followed by "Something About Love" and "People Get Ready," which had the audience so worked up that the group had to come back on stage for an encore, "My Imagination."

"DEATH CHAMBERS" AND INHUMANE TREATMENT AT WAUPUN PRISON

In last week's issue of *THE BLACK PANTHER* we printed an article on the soundproof cells under construction at Waupun State Prison here. This week we are reprinting the petition being circulated in Wisconsin to abolish these cells (See page 24.) Also, we have received more information on these underground cells from the Milwaukee Journal. This week's continuing article contains this information.

(Waupun, Wisc.) - The "death chambers" have been in the planning since 1971 when they were requested by Secretary of Health and Social Service Wilbur Schmidt. Work on the project was delayed by the governor of Wisconsin who would not approve the project. But on May 14, 1975, the work was allowed to proceed, and inmates claim the work has been kept secret.

Already conditions in the regular isolation cells in the Segregation Building are extreme. An inmate receives no mail, no linen and no cigarettes. The only reading material is the Bible. One inmate said he has read the Bible 25 times since last September. Because of the repressive atmosphere here, 60 to 70 per cent of the men spend time in some form of isolation before completing their sentences.

INHUMAN TREATMENT

Once an inmate is put in isolation, he can expect inhuman treatment. One inmate who was unable to walk because his legs were trembling violently had to go without food for four or five days because he couldn't go to his cell door as food was being passed out. When asked about this, Warden Ramon Gray stated, "We suspect he may be malnourishing, we're not sure."

Inmates in segregation also have to endure beatings, macing, drug injections and being chained to their beds. Inmates are injected with thorazine or spartine even though the American Medical Association has labeled these drugs ineffective or unwarranted. Both drugs can induce convulsions, lower blood pressure and affect liver functions. Gray said the drug injections are used on an unruly inmate "to put him out of commission for a few days."

Inmates at Waupun want no part of these new isolation cells.



These underground, soundproof, electronically-monitored cells at Waupun Prison (above) are constructed to leave an inmate without any control over his environment.

They do not want to be put in a situation where anything could happen to them with no one seeing or hearing anything. A group called the Waupun Bro-

thers Defense Fund is already at work to halt the use of these underground cells, despite the prison administration's efforts to block the group. □

Charges Dismissed In Attica Trial

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

1. There was no evidence that the inmates at the negotiating table who allegedly "tried" Hess and Schwartz for treason used any threat of physical force.

2. The evidence that Hess and Schwartz were taken to D Block in Attica prison by other inmates did not meet the requirement of an abduction that the victim be secreted in a place where they were unlikely to be found.

3. The evidence that Shango carried a knife during the rebellion did not in any way meet the requirements for an abduction that threats of deadly force be used. Mattina noted that the prosecution's own witnesses made it abundantly clear that nearly everyone in D Yard carried a weapon of some type for protection.

4. The testimony concerning assaults and a sexual molestation of Hess and Schwartz never contained any allegations that Shango participated in these incidents. In fact, witnesses during the trial repeatedly said that they never saw Shango harm anyone during the rebellion or instigate anyone else to harm anyone.

Furthermore, none of this evidence was ever presented to the grand jury. Mattina continued saying that if the prosecution believed that Shango aided in the

alleged acts, then they should have sought an indictment for them and not for kidnapping — "It is not in the best interests of the criminal justice to substitute one set of more serious crimes for another."

In denying the motion to dismiss the common law murder, he said that he would leave it to the jury to determine the credibility of the witness on the murder indictment, James Ross.

CONCLUSION

At the conclusion of the judge's decision, prosecutor Frances Cryan, in an angry statement to the court for having "taken away 90 per cent of my case," charged the judge with exceeding his jurisdiction, threatened to appeal the decision immediately, and asked for an adjournment. Mattina cut Cryan off, saying: "I've listened to you for six months now and we are going to proceed with this trial as I have decided."

Commenting on the dismissal of the kidnapping and felony murder charges against him, Shango stated that he could hardly rejoice after "four years of suffering at the brute and repressive hands of the state of New York." Also, he did not see this as a victory for justice but the result "of the defense team's indefatigable struggling against the political forces of the state of New York." □

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

Ministers Convicted For Protest March

(Pensacola, Fla.) - Two Black ministers, the Rev. B.J. Brooks, and the Rev. H.K. Matthews, face prison terms of up to 15 years after being convicted here of extortion in connection with a march protesting the slaying of a local Black man by a sheriff's deputy. Deputy Doug Raines had shot and killed Wendell Blackwell, 23, on December 20, after a high-speed chase. The ministers were accused of threatening various officials with harm in order to get the sheriff's deputy dismissed. They were convicted by an all-White jury and as stated by Rev. Matthews, "That's what happens when you are Black in this community."

Oakland Schools Deficit \$4 Million

(Oakland, Calif.) - A tentative \$9 million budget presented the Oakland School Board contained a projected \$4.3 million deficit. Acting school superintendent Robert Blackburn warned that more teachers would have to be laid off and that fringe benefits may be cut. The district has already sent dismissal notices to 186 teachers. Harold Boyd, executive director of the Oakland Education Association, has countered that, "There will be a strike if our fringe benefits are touched."

Alameda County Sheriff Sued

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Alameda County Sheriff Thomas Houchins was sued in U.S. District court in San Francisco, June 17, on charges that he won't let public television station KQED televise conditions and interview inmates at Santa Rita Rehabilitation Center. The suit was brought by KQED, Inc. and the Oakland Branch of the NAACP. According to the complaint, a Black inmate — Alvin Holly — committed suicide on March 31 at Santa Rita's Greystone section. A report asking to inspect Greystone was refused with the only reason offered by Houchins, is that "it is policy."

MOTHER OF SLAIN I.F.A. LEADER FILES SUIT

Alabama State And Prison Officials Charged

(Birmingham, Ala.) — Mrs. Carrie Bush, the mother of assassinated Inmates for Action (IFA) chairperson George (Chagina) Dobbins, has filed a suit charging Alabama state and prison officials with murdering her son in the aftermath of a rebellion at Atmore Prison Farm on January 18, 1974.

Chagina was chairperson of the progressive IFA when IFA members and other Atmore inmates took control of the segregation unit and demanded to see six elected officials.

Two guards were taken hostage and one was murdered during an Attica-like attack led by Warden Harding.

Chagina was wounded on the arms and back during the onslaught, but not seriously, charges the suit. He had no wounds on his face and head, but when he arrived — dead — at Mobile General Hospital, he had nine axe-like stab wounds on his face and head (see autopsy photo).

NEGOTIATIONS

The suit, which names Harding, G.S. Byrne, sheriff of Escambia County, L.B. Sullivan, commissioner of corrections, Alabama Governor George Wallace and several others, maintains that during negotiations between Dobbins and Harding, the warden told him:

"You're a walking dead man and don't even know it...a lot of you are going to die if anything happens to any of my guards."

There is evidence that Alabama prison officials are working their way through a "death list" found at Holman in March of 1974. IFA leader Tommy (Yukeena) Dotson was murdered at Holman and more recently, IFA leader and Atmore-Holman Brother Frank X. (Moore) died in Escambia County Jail. This is the jail run by Sheriff Byrne. When the events leading to Dobbins' death were reconstructed, Byrne was found to be riding in the ambulance with the IFA leader.

The suit filed by Mrs. Bush is just one of the steps taken by IFA members and supporters to end racist repression and murder of prisoners who speak out for human rights and dignity.



Autopsy photo of GEORGE (CHAGINA) DOBBINS.

The people of Alabama and especially the neighborhood in Birmingham where Frank X. (Moore) grew up are enraged about his recent murder. There have been a series of large community meetings and mass public protests are planned. □

Lack Of Medical Care Causes Brutalization At Menard And McAlester Prisons

(McAlester, Okla.) — In two separate incidents, one here at McAlester Prison and the other at Menard Correctional Center in Menard, Illinois, two sick prisoners, for whom medical help was requested by their fellow inmates, were sadistically neglected resulting in the death of one and the disappearance and possible death of the other.

On Sunday, June 8, inmates confined to the maximum segregation unit at McAlester Prison were attacked with tear gas and high-powered water hoses after they demanded medical attention for inmate Ray Charles Carolina. The inmates had begged for over two hours for Carolina to be taken out of his cell to see a doctor or to go to the prison hospital.

Warden Crisp and Deputy Warden O'Reilly responded to the inmates' demand by saying that medical attention was not a "right" but a "privilege." The angry inmates then promptly ripped out the plumbing and the bunks from the walls.

Afterwards, prison officials immersed the inmates in water and gassed them for three hours. Ten inmates, all Black, were beaten and dragged out of their cells and

taken to the "dungeon" or the hole. Throughout this harassment, the inmates were threatened with rifles, clubs, and the new "stun gun."

Inmate Ray Carolina never saw a doctor. He was dragged from his cell and was beaten so badly, according to reports received by THE BLACK PANTHER, that he had to be taken to an outside hospital. His fellow inmates have not seen him since.

On Sunday, June 15, William Graham, a Black inmate in Menard's east cell house, was brought out of his cell at 3:00 a.m. to be treated for an asthma attack, according to an eyewitness report received by THE BLACK PANTHER. Instead of being properly treated, Brother Graham was given tranquilizer shots.



Inhumane medical treatment is common in American prisons.

The treatment did not work because Graham's attack continued while he was in his 4' X 8' cell. Prisoners in Graham's cell block vehemently protested over his suffering. For protesting, the inmates received threats and were told the medicine had not taken effect yet.

At 6:30 a.m. Graham's coughing stopped, but at 7:30 he could not be awakened for breakfast. One inmate screamed out that Graham was dead. Prison officials tried to dupe the inmates by taking Graham out on a stretcher without covering his face. But he was dead, a victim of prison negligence.

Since William Graham's death, the 200 prisoners in segregation at Menard have been sprayed, beaten and handcuffed for protesting Graham's death. Some have been thrown in the "box," a section which contains nothing more than trash, flies, rats, and spiders. □

DELLUMS' CORNER

Energy Act A "Legislative Travesty"



(Washington, D.C.) — Congressman Ronald V. Dellums has voted against passage of the Energy Conservation and Conversion Act, calling it a "legislative travesty." Dellums said that it was obvious that something had to be done about the energy crisis but added that "this bill is worse than no action at all." He noted four serious defects in the final version of the measure:

(1) No quotas on imports of foreign oil. This would only force world petroleum prices higher and is an egotistical foreign policy, according to Dellums.

(2) Weak automobile efficiency provisions. Dellums supported an unsuccessful amendment sponsored by Rep. Joe Fisher to speed up and impose stronger auto fuel efficiency taxes.

(3) Establishment of an energy trust fund which Dellums said would subsidize expensive energy forms and reinforce concentration of economic and political power of the major oil companies.

(4) Massive tax write-offs and loopholes for a wide variety of industries. "If we really want to deal with basic causes of the energy shortage, we would radically change consumption patterns," Dellums said (i.e.) "mass transit as opposed to highway funds."

In conclusion, Dellums stated, "This bill guarantees higher petroleum prices around the world; it enhances the position of the huge energy companies, and I could not support it." □

S.W.A.P.O.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

During the course of the question and answer period, Brother Gurirab revealed that he has been told to attend immigration hearings in New York City, June 30 for possible deportation. Commenting on this direct attack against him by U.S. authorities, Brother Gurirab was quite forceful:

"It is something that I don't particularly worry about too much. I am here to carry out the responsibilities and duties imposed upon me by my movement. I am not here because I like the U.S. so much. I would rather be in Namibia. I am here to carry out the work necessary."

ARMED STRUGGLE

Regarding the current status of the armed struggle in Namibia, Brother Gurirab replied:

"So far, we have not had liberated areas in Namibia because the objective conditions of geography are rather against our efforts. But, we have been able to establish what we call operational zones, areas primarily in the northeastern part of Namibia—the Caprivi area and the Ovambo-land area—where we are able, on a full time basis, to engage South African police and the army."

"We have been able to set up a kind of network infrastructure, through which we have been able to send in units and establish underground bases and from which we carry out both the political mass mobilization of the people and also engage in very carefully planned out attacks on military installations, police stations and also landmine the roads."

"The independence of Angola, therefore, would provide us with a much wider area to operate from. Based on the revolutionary solidarity that we have had with the liberation movements of Angola, we are sure that we will continue to receive assistance from them in a much larger sense when they establish their sovereignty, which we are looking forward to very much."

INVESTMENTS

Brother Gurirab also revealed that the extent of American investments in Namibia were quite large and that the U.S. was providing the reactionary apartheid regime of South Africa with large quantities of military supplies. These supplies included, Brother Gurirab said, the makings for atomic bombs, which South Africa was "quite willing to use to threaten the liberation movements and to blackmail the whole of southern Africa."

ON THE BLOCK

What Do You Think About The Recent News That Food Stamps Will Be Harder To Get?

ASKED AT PAYLESS IN ROCKRIDGE CENTER MALL.

Mrs. Kathy Maxwell
1732 37th Ave.
Unemployed



Really, I think it's ridiculous because how do they expect for people to make it?

Well, I don't feel that they should because the cost of living is hard enough for people with pretty good jobs. Something should be done about it.

James Johnson
Mail Carrier



I think it's a terrible thing. The poor people of this world have a hard enough time trying to make it now. I think they should be giving them away, let alone making them harder to get.

It's absolutely ridiculous. Things are hard enough as it is.

Mabel Woodruff
Housewife



I think it would be bad because they're so many Black people who don't have jobs. They're just on welfare. A lot of people need food stamps.

Well, I work with senior citizens and if it's for real, it's going to be pretty rough. Seniors won't be able to get enough to eat.



Glenda Goodman
895 52nd St.
Computer Aide



Diane Swan
2600 Waring St.
Berkeley
Singer



Frank E. Winfree
732 56th St.
Community Aide

Racist Campus Club

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

When McLurkin took the written test for admission to the Knights, he made a perfect score but was told he couldn't be admitted because of "personality conflicts." He took the test a second time, again with a perfect score.

Some of the alumni of his Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity (among whom are Thomas Bradley, mayor of Los Angeles, and Lt. Governor Mervyn Dymally) found out about his case and immediately began to pressure

the university and talked of going to court.

McLurkin then decided to apply for a third time and convinced two of his friends to apply also. All three were rejected.

Because of this triple rejection, Robert Robinson, chairperson of the Black Student Council, sent a letter to the university asking that the Knight's charter be suspended until they were investigated for racism. Robinson accused the Knights of not only having a racist selection process but also of making racial slurs and remarks and derogatory references about a Black house on Fraternityrow. □



FBI agent snaps photos of antiwar demonstrators.

F.B.I. Plot Against Peace Movement Exposed

(Washington, D. C.) - A mass of anonymous letters and fake publications created by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) during the late 1960s to discredit and harass antiwar activists was revealed in documents made public here last week.

The documents, part of the FBI's COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) — an illegal domestic spying plan directed against progressive political organizations in the U.S., including the Black Panther Party — were obtained by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in connection with its suit against the Justice Department.

The 256 pages of documents, entitled "COINTELPRO—New Left," expose publicly for the first time the extent to which the FBI attempted to disrupt, confuse and "neutralize" the domestic antiwar movement. The FBI operation against the antiwar movement was one of 12 separate activities initiated by COINTELPRO between 1956 and 1971.

Described in the FBI files are numerous incidents between 1968 and 1971 in which FBI agents, by sending "anonymous" letters to employers and parents, tried to remove teachers and other individuals from their antiwar activities.

Among the documents released was a memorandum dated April 27, 1971, that allegedly ended the seven COINTELPRO efforts aimed against the New Left. "White hate groups," the U.S. Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, civil rights organizations and others, which were then in operation.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

U.S. RECRUITING MERCENARIES TO FIGHT IN ZIMBABWE

(New York, N.Y.) - Reports that at least 60 American mercenaries are actively fighting for the racist, White minority regime of Ian Smith in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) against the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), and more are being actively recruited in the U.S. has once again exposed U.S. government hypocrisy as regards its policy to southern Africa.

Brother Tapson A. Mawere, chief representative in the U.S., Canada and the Caribbean of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), in a statement issued recently revealing the presence of U.S. mercenaries in Zimbabwe, writes: "We now have proof of the recruitment of White mercenaries in this (U.S.) country intended to fight the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe in order to support and save the fascist and racist regime of Ian Smith."

Brother Mawere, who on June 7 was brutalized by Delaware policemen without provocation, (see THE BLACK PANTHER, June 30), asserts in his statement that the U.S. State Department certainly has knowledge of this activity because it "is in keeping with the U.S. policy of secretly supporting the White minority regimes in southern Africa as spelled out in National Security Study Memorandum (NSSM) No. 39, option No. 2, the infamous "Tar Baby Memo."

Temple Cole, the State Department's desk officer for Rho-



desia, is quoted by the UPI as saying "there are certainly indications" that Brother Mawere is accurate. Cole identified the recruiter as Robert Brown from an organization called Phoenix Associates, located near Denver, Colorado.

RECRUITING

Contacted by telephone, Brown confirmed he had been recruiting since September and claimed Phoenix Associates aims to "merchandise information on mercenary opportunities abroad." He said his advertisements have drawn "about 300" responses, but he did not know how many Americans had actually joined the Rhodesian army.

Brother Mawere has also charged that American mercenaries bound for Rhodesia were being trained at the Quantico Marine Base in Virginia, disguised as South African troops. Cole denied any knowledge of any such training.

Ted Lockwood, director of the Washington Office on Africa, a private organization concerned with southern Africa liberation issues, said he answered Brown's ad placed in the February, 1975, issue of *Shooting Times* magazine. The ad said: "Mercenaries! Wanted Now! In Africa and Mid-East!"

Lockwood received an issue of Brown's magazine, *Soldiers of Fortune*, plus Rhodesian government applications and documents necessary for enlisting in the "British-South African Police." South African police are actively fighting together with Rhodesian Army units and police against the Zimbabwean freedom fighters.

Cole admitted that there was a possibility that Phoenix Associates might be violating a law that requires agents of foreign governments to register with the U.S. government. However, Brown of the Phoenix firm claimed to UPI that "I have no official or unofficial contact with any country. I am not an agent or a foreign power." He claims he is only making available information about the desire for mercenaries in Rhodesia.

Meanwhile, writing in the *Sunday Times of Zambia* published in Lusaka, Zambia, Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, leader of ZANU, has called on the Zimbabwean people to strengthen their unity for fighting against the common enemy. "Unity is strength," he said and added that the purpose of unity is to form a united front for a common cause and against a common enemy.

Rev. Sithole wrote: "The people of Zimbabwe are united in their demand for a majority rule now, united in the determination to prosecute armed struggle to its logical conclusion." He stressed that the Zimbabwean people's "freedom and independence cannot be born in the ballot box, but on the battlefield." □

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Ralph J. Gleason
San Francisco Chronicle

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"What To The Slave Is The 4th Of July"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

justice, liberty, prosperity, and independence bequeathed by your fathers is shared by you, not by me. The sunlight that brought life and healing to you has brought stripes and death to me.

This Fourth of July is yours, not mine. You may rejoice, I must mourn. To drag a man in fetters into the grand illuminated temple of liberty, and call upon him to join you in joyous anthems, was inhuman mockery and sacrilegious irony. Do you mean, citizens, to mock me, by asking me to speak today? If so, there is a parallel to your conduct. And let me warn you, that it is dangerous to copy the example of a nation whose crimes, towering up to heaven, were thrown down by the breath of the Almighty, burying that nation in irrecoverable ruin. I can today take up the lament of a peeled and woe-smitten people...

MOURNFUL WAIL

Fellow citizens, above your national, tumultuous joy, I hear the mournful wail of millions, whose chains, heavy and grievous yesterday, are today rendered more intolerable by the jubilant shouts that reach them. If I do forget, if I do not remember those bleeding children of sorrow this day, "may my right hand forget her cunning, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!" To forget them, to pass lightly over their wrongs, and to chime in with the popular theme, would be treason most scandalous and shocking, and would make me a reproach before God and the world.

My subject, then, fellow citizens, is "American Slavery." I shall see this day and its popular characteristics from the slave's point of view. Standing here, identified with the American bondman, making his wrongs mine, I do not hesitate to declare, with all my soul, that the character and conduct of this nation never looked blacker to me than on this Fourth of July. Whether we turn to the declarations of the past, or to the professions of the present, the conduct of the nation seems equally hideous and revolting. America is false to the past, false to the present, and solemnly binds herself to be false to the future.

Standing with God and the crushed and bleeding slave on this occasion, I will, in the name of humanity, which is outraged, in the name of liberty, which is fettered, in the name of the Constitution and the Bible, which are disregarded and trampled upon, dare to call in question and

to denounce, with all the emphasis I can command, everything that serves to perpetuate slavery — the great sin and shame of America! "I will not equivocate; I will not excuse"; I will use the severest language I can command, and yet not one word shall escape me that any man, whose judgement is not blinded by prejudice, or who is not at heart a slaveholder, shall not confess to be right and just.

But I fancy I hear some of my audience say it is just in this circumstance that you and your brother Abolitionists fail to make a favorable impression on the public mind. Would you argue more and denounce less, would you persuade more and rebuke less, your cause would be much more likely to succeed. But, I submit, where all is plain there is nothing to be argued. What point in the anti-slavery creed would you have me argue? On what branch of the subject do the people of this country need light? Must I undertake to prove that the slave is a man? That point is conceded already. Nobody doubts it.

The slave-holders themselves acknowledge it in the enactment of laws of their government. They

acknowledge it when they punish the disobedience on the part of the slave. There are seventy-two crimes in the State of Virginia, which, if committed by a Black man (no matter how ignorant he be), subject him to the punishment of death; while only two of these same crimes will subject a White man to like punishment. What is this but the acknowledgment that the slave is a moral, intellectual, and responsible being?

The manhood of the slave is conceded. It is admitted in the fact that Southern statute-books are covered with enactments, forbidding, under severe fines and penalties, the teaching of the slave to read and write. When you can point to any such laws in reference to the beasts of the field, then I may consent to argue the manhood of the slave. When the dogs in your streets, when the fowls of the air, when the cattle of your hills, when the fish of the sea, and the reptiles that crawl, shall be unable to distinguish the slave from the brute, then I will argue with you that the slave is a man!

For the present it is enough to affirm the equal manhood of the Negro race. Is it not astonishing



FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

that, while we are plowing, planting, and reaping, using all kinds of mechanical tools, erecting houses, constructing bridges, building ships, working in metals of brass, iron, copper, silver, and gold; that while we are reading, writing and cyphering, acting as clerks, merchants, and secretaries, having among us lawyers, doctors, ministers, poets, authors, editors, orators, and teachers; that while we are engaged in all the enterprises common to other men — digging gold in California, capturing whale in the Pacific, feeding sheep and cattle on the hillside, living, moving, acting, thinking, planning, living in families as husbands, wives, and children, and above all, confessing and worshipping the Christian God, and looking hopefully for life and immortality beyond the grave — we are called upon to prove that we are men?

LIBERTY

Would you have me argue that man is entitled to liberty? That he is the rightful owner of his own body? You have already declared it. Must I argue the wrongfulness of slavery? Is that a question for Republicans? Is it to be settled by the rules of logic and argumentation, as a matter beset with great difficulty, involving a doubtful application of the principle of justice, hard to understand?

How should I look today in the presence of Americans, dividing and subdividing a discourse, to show that men have a natural right to freedom, speaking of it relatively and positively, negatively and affirmatively? To do so would be to make myself ridiculous, and to offer an insult to your understanding. There is not a man beneath the canopy of heaven who does not know that slavery is wrong for him.

What! Am I to argue that it is wrong to make men brutes, to rob

THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY is an independent citizens' group concerned about the systematic and widespread violation of the civil liberties of minority and political groups (such as the Black Panther Party) by federal law enforcement and intelligence agencies. We insist that the Congressional Committees investigating the IRS, FBI, and CIA expose these violations fully.

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- ☐ I will do the following in support of the Committee for Justice:
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- ☐ Please send more information on the Committee.

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(Please make checks payable to: The Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton.)

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

"Starting Out" By Huey P. Newton

In this excerpt from "Starting Out," the first chapter of Revolutionary Suicide, Huey P. Newton, leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, finishes his background history of Oakland — providing a cold account of the poverty he lived under and how he and his sisters and brothers as children were being severely oppressed without fully realizing it.

PART 5

There are two very distinct geographic Oakland, the "flatlands" and the hills. In the hills, and the rich area known as Piedmont, the upper-middle and upper class — the bosses of Oakland — live, among them former United States Senator William Knowland, the owner of

the ultraconservative Oakland Tribune, Oakland's only newspaper. His neighbors include the mayor, the district attorney, and other wealthy White folks, who live in big houses surrounded by green trees and high fences. The other Oakland — the flatlands — consists of substandard-income families that make up about 50 per cent of the population of nearly 450,000. They live in either rundown, crowded West Oakland or dilapidated East Oakland, hemmed in block after block, in ancient, decaying structures, now cut up into multiple dwellings.

Here the majority of Blacks, Chicanos, and Chinese people struggle to survive. The landscape of East and West Oakland is depressing; it resembles a crumbling ghost town, but a ghost town with inhabitants, among them more than 200,000 Blacks, nearly half the city's population. There is a dreary, grey monotony about Oakland's flatlands, broken only by a few large and impressive buildings in the downtown section, among them (significantly) the Alameda County Court House (which includes a jail) and the Oakland police headquarters building, a ten-story streamlined fortress for which no expense was spared in its construction.

GHOST TOWN

Oakland is a ghost town in the sense that many American cities are. Its White middle class has fled to the hills, and their indifference to the plight of the city's poor is everywhere evident.

Like countless other Black families in the forties and fifties, we fell victim to this indifference and corruption when we moved to Oakland. It was as difficult then as it is now to find decent homes for large families, and we moved around quite a bit in my early years in search of a house that would suit our needs.

The first house I remember was on the corner of Fifth and Brush streets in a rundown section of Oakland. It was a two-bedroom basement apartment, and much too small to hold all of us comfortably. The floor was either dirt or cement. I cannot remember exactly; it did not seem to be the kind of floor that "regular" people had in their homes. My parents slept in one bedroom and my sisters, brothers, and I slept in the other.

Later, when we moved to a two-room apartment at Castro and Eighteenth streets, there



Shabby run-down housing in West Oakland, the area where Brother Huey grew up.

were fewer of us. Myrtle and Leola had married, and Walter had been drafted into the Army. On Castro Street, I slept in the kitchen. That memory returns often. Whenever I think of people crowded into a small living space, I always see a child sleeping in the kitchen and feeling upset about it; everybody knows that the kitchen is not supposed to be a bedroom. That is all we had, however. I still burn with the sense of unfairness I felt every night as I crawled into the cot near the icebox.

We were very poor, but I had no idea what that meant. They were happy times for me. Even though we were discriminated against and segregated into a poor community with substandard living conditions, I never felt deprived when I was small. I had a close, strong family and many playmates, including my brother Melvin, who was four years older than me; nothing else was needed. We just lived and played, enjoying everything to the fullest, particularly the glorious California weather, which is kind to the poor.

Unlike many others I knew, we never went hungry, although our food was the food of the poor. Cosh was standard fare. Cosh was made out of day-old cornbread mixed with other leftovers, such as gravy and onions, spiced very heavily and fried in a skillet. Sometimes we ate cosh twice a day, because that was all we had. It was one of my favorite dishes, and I looked forward to it. Now I see that cosh was not very nutritious and was downright bad for you if you ate it often; it is just bread — cornbread.

Life grew even sweeter when I was big enough — six or seven years old — to play outdoors with

Melvin. Our games were filled with the joy and exuberance of innocent children, but even they reflected our economic circumstances. We rarely had store-bought toys. We improvised with the materials at hand.

Rats were close at hand, and we hated rats because they infested our homes; one had almost bitten off my nephew's toe. Partly because of the hate and partly for the game of it, we caught rats and put them in a large can and poured coal oil into the can, then lighted it. The whole can would go up in flames while we watched the rats scot around inside, trying to escape the fire, their tails sticking straight up like smoking grey toothpicks. Usually they died from the smoke before the flames consumed them.

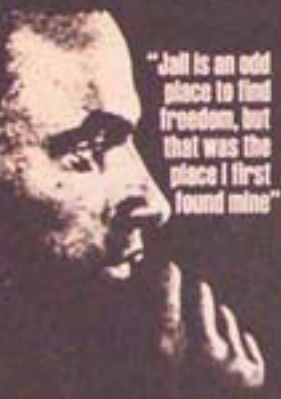
CATS

We also despised cats, because we were told that cats killed little babies by sucking the breath out of them. We tested the tale about cats always landing on their feet. When we caught cats and took them to the top of the stairs and hurled them down, they would land on their feet — most of the time.

Dirt was a favorite toy. We used it to play at being builders. The roof of the house was our building site. We would climb up there and pull up the dirt-filled buckets behind us with rope, hand over hand, to the top of the house, and then dump the dirt down on the other side. There were no swimming pools near us but when we got a little older we began to wander down to the bay with the other kids and go swimming off the pier in the dirty water. Dirt, rats, cats: these are the games and toys of the poor, as old and cruel as economic reality.

TO BE CONTINUED

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 exasperation. 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 (hardbound) or \$4.95 (paperback) in cash or money order to: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621. Also available by Huey P. Newton: To the People, \$1.95.

Marcourt Brace Jovanovich

CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED TO CUT U.S. MILITARY SPENDING

(Cleveland, Ohio) - A massive campaign to pressure Congress into cutting U.S. military spending and halting its intervention in other nations is being sponsored by several anti-war and peace groups.

The campaign grew out of a Conference on National Priorities and Peace Conversion attended here in April by over 800 anti-war activists, including members of such organizations as the American Friends' Service Committee, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Coalition on National Priorities and Military Spending and SANE.

The nationwide campaign to cut U.S. military spending has four major goals:

1. Cutting \$15 billion from the military budget.
2. Blocking construction of the B-1 bomber.
3. Reducing U.S. overseas military forces by 100,000.
4. Committing the freed-up monies to the needs of working people through tax cuts and federally funded social programs.

A major focus of the campaign to cut military spending is a nationwide letter-writing campaign. Citizens are being urged to write President Ford, the State Department, local congressional representatives and senators.

The wasteful and irrational aspects of American military spending were emphasized

at the conference. U.S. civilian industry depends heavily on the exploitation of Third World resources and labor, and this exploitation often depends on U.S. military power. U.S.-based transnational corporations are increasingly unable to function without Pentagon support, and efforts to significantly reduce the amount of U.S. military spending are in opposition to the basic interest of U.S. corporate monopoly power.

CONFERENCE

The conference on National Priorities and Peace Conversion opened with keynote addresses from California Congressman Ronald V. Dellums and Congressman Leo Aspin of Wisconsin. Dellums sharply criticized U.S. intervention in foreign countries, linking the struggle against U.S. military intervention to the Black liberation struggle. Dellums, who is a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, said:

"Twenty years ago, young Black people questioned whether it was civilized to sit in the back of the bus. Today we must ask whether we live in a civilized society. How can Ford say he supports Vietnamese orphans when he spent 12 years supporting the death of their parents through the Phoenix program, search and destroy missions, forced evacuations and free-fire zones?"

"Why aren't we rebuilding our cities?" Dellums continued. "Why are health and education a privilege not a right? Why is class, race, sex and age chauvinism a reality in this country? Because of our insane priorities."

Turning to the economic crisis, Dellums noted that "when Black people addressed the problems of unemployment and economic oppression in the 1950s, the government said it was a race problem. But it can't be swept under the rug as a Black-White issue any more, because now all people are affected by the same conditions."

Aspin also focused on opposition to U.S. intervention against other nations, pointing out that the U.S. presently maintains sufficient armed force to "invade almost anywhere at any time."

THE PENTAGON

"The Pentagon," Aspin noted, "has at least 73 contracts for arms or military training with other governments. The U.S. maintains 42 military bases around the world, and has 40 military treaties with other governments." In light of Vietnam," he asked, "can we afford to get involved in such action again? The common sense lesson of the Indochina war is that we cannot."

"Conventional forces — like those used against Vietnam — comprise 80 per cent of the

BLACKS IN THE MILITARY: THE MYTH OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

In these days of recession and unemployment, many young people are turning to military service as the only available job or source of training. This is especially true of Black and other minority youth, who have entered the military in record numbers during the last two years. Promised a chance to get ahead, many of our brothers and sisters instead encounter racial abuses as severe as those of civilian society; as a result they frequently fall victim to the military's harsh disciplinary system. Far from being an opportunity for advancement, the all-volunteer force thus becomes another form of exploitation — "economic conscription" in a way — in which Black people are again forced to serve in a system which denies us the basic dignity and freedom we are supposedly defending.

The following article, sent to THE BLACK PANTHER in pamphlet form by the Center for National Security Studies (CNSS), explodes the myth of the military service as an "equal opportunity employer." The CNSS is a group working for a more democratic and humane service and for the reduction of excessive military influence in society.

THE PROMISE...

"YOU CAN BE BLACK
AND NAVY TOO."

"Blacks Expect A Fair Shake From The Service And They Got It."

—Navy Recruitment Ad

...AND THE REALITY

"Racism has become institutionalized at all levels of the military ... Black and other minority servicemen are victims of discrimination from the time that they enter the services until the time that they are discharged."

—Congressional Black Caucus, "Racism in the Military," 1972

"Systematic racial discrimination exists throughout the armed forces and in the military justice system. No command or installation ... is entirely free from the effects of systematic discrimination against minority servicemen."

—Department of Defense, "Report of the Task Force on the Administration of Military Justice," 1972

Jail

"Here ... is where I feel the greatest racism comes out. It is in the discretionary use of military justice."

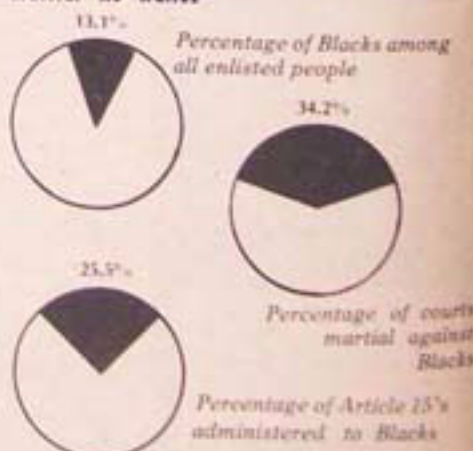
—Nathaniel Jones, General Counsel NAACP

Article 15 — (Military law permitting commanders to impose reduction in rank or loss of pay without trial.)

"No military procedure has brought forth a greater number of complaints and evidences of racial discrimination than ... nonjudicial punishment. Article 15 ... has without doubt resulted in irreparable damage to the service careers of Blacks."

—Congressional Black Caucus

Blacks Receive Twice As Many Article 15's And Nearly Three Times As Many Courts Martial As Whites





Wasteful and irrational military spending cause economic hardships and deprivations at home and rampant terror abroad.

military budget," Aspin continued, "but we no longer need to maintain the level of military force that is required for the U.S. to act as policeman of the world."

Seymour Melman of SANE spoke on "Militarism and the Present Depression,"

arguing that the present economic crisis is caused in large part by military spending. Melman's opened his speech by stating that "this is a great day for we who have called for peace in Indochina. We were right and events now are showing that we were right."

Melman noted that "the U.S. has a permanent war economy. The Pentagon controls 23,000 corporations — the largest industrial empire in the capitalist world. Since the end of World War II, more than \$1.5 trillion, or 63 per cent of all money invested in manufacturing in the U.S. has been invested in the military." As a result, Melman explained, the development of the civilian industrial sector has been blocked. "Industry depends on two factors," he stated, "new investment and new technology. But 70-80 per cent of all research funding goes to the Pentagon, and the technology it develops is not readily transferable to civilian industry as the Pentagon claims."

"Further," Melman said, "since 1951, the new money given to the Pentagon each year has exceeded the total profits of the civilian sector. This means that a majority of the money available for investment every year is invested in the military."

"There is a crisis in productivity in the U.S. economy," Melman continued. "Since the 1960s, the trend toward productivity growth in U.S. industry has reversed. For example, the machine tools in use in the U.S. are the oldest of any industrial nation. This was the same situation that existed at the end of the Great Depression."

(We wish to thank Recon for the information included in this article.)

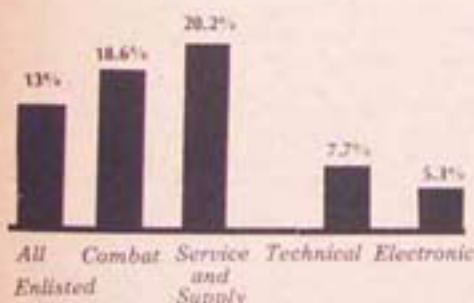
End All Wars Of Aggression

Dead End Jobs...

"A disproportionately large number of blacks wind up in the Air Force's 'soft core field' and the Army's infantry units."

UNDESIRABLE ASSIGNMENTS

Black Percentages



The Black recruit "is assigned primarily and permanently to those low-skilled, dead-end jobs which the military terms 'soft care.'"

...Slow Promotions

"Hampered by a poor socio-economic environment... the minority serviceman comes into the service where he is immediately evaluated and classified by tests he is ill equipped to master, and therefore, his duties and career progression are to a large extent forecast, forestalled and foredoomed."

—DOD Task Force

Military Justice?

PRETRIAL CONFINEMENT

Supposedly designed to detain only serious offenders, pretrial confinement frequently becomes a tool of command racism. Because of a lack of legal guarantees, an officer may imprison someone for trivial or even nonexistent offenses, just to get rid of that person. This practice leads to widespread racial discrimination.

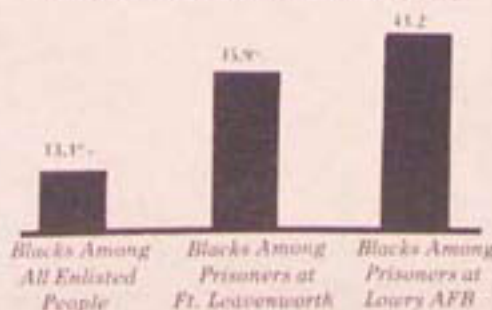
According to the Congressional Black Caucus, 50 per cent of the airmen held in pretrial confinement during 1971 were Black.

PRISONS

"A disproportionately large number of Black prisoners is serving sentences in military stockades... It is of special significance that Blacks were more likely than Whites to be confined for offenses that involved a challenge to authority, usually a White superior officer."

—NAACP

SAMPLE STOCKADE POPULATION, 1972



...And A Bad Discharge

"In all services Blacks receive a lower proportion of honorable discharges and a higher proportion of general and undesirable discharges than Whites with similar educational levels and aptitude."

—DOD Task Force

BLACKS ARE TWICE AS LIKELY TO RECEIVE A BAD DISCHARGE THAN WHITES

In fiscal year 1971 approximately one out of 14 White servicemen received a less than honorable discharge. For Blacks, however, bad discharges were handed to one out of every seven enlistees.

—DOD Task Force

Opportunity Or Obstacle?

"The total effect of a Black serviceman's encounter with the military is that when he leaves the military he is usually in worse condition than when he entered. He has generally received little training... he has been subjected to harassment and discrimination at the hands of his superior officers... and he too often winds up with a less than honorable discharge which guarantees that his civilian life will be at least as difficult as his former military life."

—Congressional Black Caucus

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 bonds 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

Latin American Oil Producers Begin Planned Cooperation

(Caracas, Venezuela) - The Latin American Association for Mutual Assistance in State Petroleum (ARPEL) held its 21st Meeting of Experts in Maracaibo, Venezuela, from June 9 to 13 for the purpose of discussing technical cooperation among Latin American oil producers, according to a June 17 *Hsinhua* news agency release.

The meeting was attended by delegates from the state oil companies of Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The experts exchanged experiences on a wide variety of subjects and worked out a detailed program for technological transfer with no strings attached.

The resolutions adopted at the meeting pointed to the need for state-owned oil companies and for all the members of ARPEL to set up interdisciplinary groups which will facilitate more direct exchanges. The formation of these groups will serve as the first step towards a Latin American technological center which will provide technology for the best uses of oil resources.

The general coordinator of the meeting, Ulises Olmos from the Venezuela Petroleum Corporation (CVP), told the closing session on June 13 that it is necessary for the developing countries to get rid of technological dependence on industrialized countries. Technological cooperation among Latin American countries in petroleum will lead to closer ties in other areas, he added. □

Viet Intelligence Head Taken From Refugee Camp

(Montreal, Canada) - One of the most recent arrivals to Canada is Lieutenant Dang Van Quang, head of the former Saigon Central Intelligence Organization, as reported in the *Liberation News Service*.

Quang was originally flown out of Saigon during the April 29 evacuation and was sent to Fort Chaffee, Arkansas. But according to the *Washington Post*, "the CIA (U.S.) pressed hard to obtain the speedy release of Quang from the refugee camp because he complained his life was in danger... threatened by other refugees." □

"DREADS" LEADER AWAITS APPEAL ON TRUMPED-UP MURDER CHARGE

(Roseau, Dominica) - Twenty-one-year old Desmond Trotter, leader of the Black Power Movement of the Caribbean, locally known as the Dreads, awaits a final appeal verdict from the British Privy Council on a murder conviction and death sentence arising out of an escalation of political repression of the disenfranchised masses demanding basic social change in this semi-colony of Britain.

More than 20 other young people are also being held at the filthy dungeon of "Her Majesty's Royal Jail" here, under inhumane conditions, some convicted and sentenced and others awaiting trial for charges based upon the "Prohibited and Unlawful Societies Association Act."

KILLING

Section 9 of the Act sanctions the cold blooded killing of any person without the killer having to face even the barest formality of a court trial. This section reads: "No proceedings, either criminal or civil, shall be brought or maintained against any person who kills or injures any member of an association designated unlawful, who shall be found at any time of day or night inside a dwelling house."

The Black Power movement emerged in the Caribbean during the late sixties as a direct result of the deplorable economic situation confronting the masses of Black workers in the area. From 1967 to the present time, 20 rebellions involving large sections of the masses have taken place throughout the Caribbean against English, French, American, Dutch and Canadian imperialism.

Private capitalist investment in the area over the last two decades has increased tremendously. For



the smaller, less developed islands, every effort is being made to implement a "swift" transition from the sugar plantation to the tourist plantation, with the economic subject to complete foreign control by corporations.

It is within this context that the youth, like progressive youth throughout the world, began to question the rationale of a government representing a bankrupt bourgeois class determined to perpetuate the status quo in exchange for the crumbs of imperialism, while the creativity of their own people is stifled and ultimately buried before many arrive at the age of 40 years.

Desmond Trotter sought to organize youth initially, to discuss the situation, achieve clarity and act to secure power for the workers, peasants and disenfranchised masses. His activity spurred rural workers, miners, farmers, and other segments of the people to organize and demand that their voice be heard. Full scale repression followed with the cooperation of the police,

the courts, the defense forces and the prisons.

During the carnival celebrations in February, 1974, a White American tourist, John Jirasek, was shot. He died several hours later in a hospital after grossly inadequate medical attention. A few days after the incident the Premier, Patrick John, insinuated on radio that it was none other than the youth locally called the "Dreads" who were responsible, thus justifying intensification by police of harassment and intimidation of local organizing efforts.

A few weeks later Desmond Trotter was arrested at his home and taken to the police station. A 16-year-old girl whom Trotter had never seen before in his life claimed to police that he told her he "had killed a White man." On just this evidence Trotter was convicted.

Later, the girl admitted that she had been intimidated by the police and subsequently been paid to give the frame-up evidence against Trotter. She admitted she had never seen Trotter until she identified him before the police. This evidence was not permitted to be submitted by the judge during the trial, and all local appeals were turned down.

SICK IN BED

In addition, Desmond was sick in bed under a doctor's care at the time of the shooting. This evidence was in fact medically confirmed in court. It was impossible for him in his condition to have traveled the distance he would have had to travel in order to commit the crime.

Letters of protest against the persecution of Desmond Trotter should be sent to Patrick John, Premier of Dominica, Roseau, Dominica, West Indies. Send duplicates to the Movement for a New Dominica, 6 Canal Lane, Goodwill, Dominica, West Indies. □

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Repression Breeds

Resistance

"WHO OWNS SOUTH KOREA?"

ECONOMIC LINKS BETWEEN U.S. AND FASCIST PARK REGIME REVEALED

The American government's opposition to the reunification of Korea under a progressive people's government is directly linked to America's extensive investments in South Korea, where the U.S. keeps the dictatorial President Park Chung Hee in power.

The following, Part I of a series entitled "Who Owns Korea?" reprinted from the May/June 1975, issue of Korea Link published in Palo Alto, California, reveals the depth of the economic ties between the U.S. and South Korea.

PART I

Under the fourteen-year-old regime of Park Chung Hee, South Korea's gross national product (GNP) and exports have grown at a phenomenal rate. It has often been said that South Korea has created "economic miracles" that should be emulated by other Third World countries.

None of the "economic miracles" are related with raising the standard of living for the vast majority of the population. Further, the dazzling statistical increases become substantially deflated when currency devaluations and the high inflation rate are considered. The reality of South Korea's economy is more akin to the predicament of a drug addict, who requires ever-increasing doses of foreign injections (capital), and whose health steadily deteriorates.

"EXPORT FIRST"

South Korea has pursued a vigorous "export first" strategy in light, labor-intensive industry. Heavy industry needed for the labor-intensive exports has also been promoted, such as oil, petrochemicals, steel, machine tools, fertilizer plants, and nuclear power projects. Manufactured goods accounted for 88% of exports in 1972 as opposed to only 20% in 1961. Principal exports are garments, electrical goods, plywood, textile fabrics, steel plates, footwear, and ships.

The \$9.9 billion GNP (1972) and last year's record \$4 billion plus in exports have failed to help the urban worker or the farmer. A 1974 survey by the country's only labor federation, the Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU), reported that 60% of its 544,000 members earned less than the government-calculated cost of living for the average family. The average hourly wages for workers in the mining-manufacturing sec-



U.S. Army sentry standing guard for U.S. interests in Korea's Demilitarized Zone.

tor is 28 cents and in the textile-clothing sector, 20 cents.

The South Korean government and foreign investors openly acknowledge and even advertise that cheap, controlled labor is the source of Korea's "economic miracles." The director of foreign investment for South Korea's Economic Planning Board told *Business Week* that wages were one-tenth that of the U.S. and one-sixth that of Japan. *U.S. News and World Report* quoted a U.S. businessman in Seoul: "The biggest attraction here is the labor force — intelligent, energetic and low paid. It's Korea's major natural resource."

The government's "export first" strategy has neglected the development of agriculture. Government-regulated rice purchase prices are kept to a level which has never exceeded the farmer's production costs. The govern-

ment must ensure low food prices so that wages can remain low and foreign investments will grow.

FOOD GRAINS

Meanwhile, food grains are imported from the U.S. and Japan to replace declining domestic production. South Korea has received more than \$2 billion in U.S. food aid through the Public Law 480 "Food for Peace" loans and grants programs, more than any other country in the world except for India. Last year, 2.85 million tons of cereal grains were imported at a cost of \$725 million.

These factors, in addition to the low capital outlay for agricultural development (less than 20% of the 1975 government budget) and the small size of the average farm (2.2 acres), have resulted in a mass migration of bankrupt farmers to the cities.

TO BE CONTINUED

AFRICA IN FOCUS



Mozambique

The government of Mozambique has set up state-owned stores in order to curb speculation and to stabilize prices of daily necessities. These stores mainly provide the people with rice, corn and other foodstuffs as well as articles for daily use. Prices are 10 per cent to 50 per cent cheaper than those in private stores. The opening of these stores has dealt a blow to price jacking by speculators and has forced private stores to reduce prices.

Mali

The necessity for the establishment of a new international economic order and for strengthening the struggle against racism was stressed by President Moussa Traore of Mali in a recent interview with the Algerian Press Service. Drawing lessons from the past, he said, the nonaligned movement and the Third World in general stand for the establishment of a more equitable international economic order. He expressed the hope that under the Third World's sponsorship, the declaration and plan of action on the establishment of a new economic order can be carried out effectively so that the underdeveloped countries can finally control their own natural resources.

O.A.U.

The 25th session of the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity concluded in Rabat on June 15, according to *Hsinhua* news agency. The session adopted the final report of the drafting committee which will be sent for approval to the forthcoming ministerial council and summit conference of the OAU to be held in Kampala, capital of Uganda. Ahmed Laraki, chairman of the session and Moroccan minister of state for foreign affairs, said that the session had studied the problems of Angola, Namibia, South Africa, the Somali coast, the Comoro Islands and the Spanish Sahara.

JUST RELEASED

—Johnny Spain "... a penetrating probe for truth."




**HUEY
NEWTON
ERICKA
HUGGINS**

**INSIGHTS
& POEMS**

When HUEY P. NEWTON, cofounder and chairman of the Black Panther Party, disappeared in August, 1967, he left behind his INSIGHTS which inspired, as Ericka Huggins has said, "a personality and a commitment that made the man, in his absence, a threat to all people." ERICKA HUGGINS' POEMS are the telling interpretation of her own life during the years with her husband, Huey P. Newton, who was sentenced to San Quentin in 1968. Since then she has also continued the Black Panther struggle and is director of the International Youth Institute, a model elementary school in Oakland.

INTRODUCTION BY REV. JAMES BEYER, JR.
of the San Francisco Zen Center

City Lights Books

By Black Panther Party leader
HUEY P. NEWTON
and
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Z.A.P.U. LEADER APOLOGIZES FOR GROUP'S ACTION IN ZIMBABWE

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) — Joshua Nkomo, leader of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), responding to the murder of 13 Zimbabweans by Rhodesian police on June 1, has expressed regret for the actions of certain elements of his organization, ZAPU, in helping to create the disturbances.

According to the June 6 issue of the French daily *Le Monde*, Nkomo declared that he "regretted the actions of the police, as well as the actions of certain elements of ZAPU." The ZAPU representation within the African National Council (ANC) has been compelled recently to declare its intentions to back an immediate majority ruled government as the condition for negotiations with the Ian Smith regime.

The incidents of June 1 occurred as the ANC was meeting to discuss negotiations with the Smith regime for a constitutional convention. While categorically rejecting the principles of African majority rule in Rhodesia, Smith nevertheless insists upon holding a constitutional convention for his own ends.

MAIN DEMAND

From the onset of talks within the ANC, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) has pushed for acceptance of its main demand that negotiations with the Smith regime take place only when it agrees to majority rule in Zimbabwe. Consequently, ZANU has refused all along to be a part of the convention maneuvers and has urged continuation of the armed struggle.

In light of the above, Rex Chiwara, ZANU's European representative, has made the following statement on the recent events in Zimbabwe:

"The ZAPU faction of the new ANC believed it could use the absence of various leaders to make a few decisions on its own. These absent leaders included the militants of ZANU, Sithole and Mugabe (who the Smith regime has threatened with re-imprisonment if they re-enter Zimbabwe) and even Bishop Muzorewa, the chairman of the ANC, who was visiting the U.S. for talks.

"A meeting with Smith was to be arranged, and discussions were to take place around holding the constitutional convention, as well as a congress of the ANC in Salisbury, where ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo hoped to be elected the new chairman of the



Racist Ian Smith Regime murdered 13 Blacks during a recent demonstration in Salisbury, Rhodesia.

ANC. In order to insure his election, Nkomo wanted to have control over who would meet with Smith, who would attend the congress, and who would vote.

"The Zimbabwe people learned of Nkomo's plan and peacefully demonstrated against it in front of the hall where the congress was held. The police were already there. We assume that they had been notified by ZAPU to react to any actions taken by ZANU. And that's just what they did when ZAPU followers, who were gathered on the other side of the street, attempted to rip down the banners of our people.

"Our people were shouting that only 'Chimurenga' (armed struggle) can solve the problems of Zimbabwe, and that it is necessary to continue the struggle. They also called out for the 'Seizure of power by the majority, now!' and 'Down with the sell-outs, the so-called moderates!'

"The police, assembled between the two groups in the middle of the street, began firing at the ZANU followers. We believe that the police intentionally wanted to develop the situation in such a way that ZAPU would create an incident, because

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

M.P.'s Assault Okinawan Civilians

(Kosai City, Okinawa) — An incident involving a Japanese citizen, a civilian American and two U.S. military police has re-ignited a broad wave of resistance to the presence of U.S. military installations here.

On May 24, Takamine Tomosai, a Japanese news reporter, and Phil Parker, a Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO) activist working at the Pacific Counseling Service GI Organizing Project, were beaten, maced and illegally detained by U.S. military police.

While driving, Parker and Takamine came upon two MPs who were holding two GIs and a woman companion spreadeagled on the ground at gunpoint. Realizing that MPs no longer have the right to harass GIs off base, Takamine and Parker stopped to investigate. Parker approached Marine Lance/Corporal Paul Roseboro to tell him that he was engaging in unlawful police activity in an off-base area. (The Japan-U.S. Status of Forces Agreement prohibits such activity by U.S. military police.)

"CLEAR OUT!"

Roseboro told Parker to "clear out!" When Parker protested Roseboro threw him up against the MPs' truck and proceeded to beat him. When Takamine yelled "Stop!" the other MP, Lance/Corporal Carl Murray jumped on him, punching Takamine in the face and beating him with a nightstick. Then Murray took a can of mace and while yelling "you gook, you motherfucker," maced Takamine in the eyes.

Takamine and Parker were then illegally taken to Marine Air Station Futaba, held incommunicado for three hours and released in the custody of the Japanese police. MPs have no authority to take civilians to an American base.

(We wish to thank the GI newsletter *Semper Fi* and Peoples' House in Okinawa and San Francisco for the information in this article.)

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U.S.

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SUPPORT MOUNTS FOR KUOMINTANG EX-P.O.W.s DENIED ENTRY TO TAIWAN

(Hong Kong) - Support is growing here for nine former high-ranking Nationalist Chinese (Kuomintang) prisoners of war who are being denied entry into their homeland of Taiwan, after 25 years, by the fascist Kuomintang government of Taiwan, reports *Media Service Bulletin* here.

The nine, most of whom are over 70 years old, are among 10 of 293 Kuomintang prisoners of war released last March by the government of the People's Republic of China who asked to be allowed to return to Taiwan to visit their families and friends. (One of the 10 men later hanged himself here out of despair over the long wait to return home.)

The 293 had been imprisoned since the 1949 Chinese civil war between the revolutionary forces of the Chinese Communist Party, led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and the Kuomintang, U.S.-puppet forces of the late Chiang Kai-shek.

People's China granted the request of the 10 officers to return to Taiwan, but the Kuomintang regime said they must return as "refugees." On April 18, Chiang Kai-shek's successor, Taiwan President Yen Chia-kan, said:



Reactionary Taiwanese government constantly tries to negate achievements of People's Republic of China.

"The Kuomintang government welcomes all anti-communist elements to come to Taiwan, but not communist spies playing with 'united front tactics.'" Thus, the men were required to return as refugees.

Tuan K'e-wen, one of the 10 former prisoners, angrily replying to Chia-kan's statement, said:

"For 45 years I served with the Kuomintang, after which I was captured and confined in a POW camp. After my release I came straight to Hong Kong to await passage to Taiwan. I am quite clear what my status is — I am not a refugee."

Tuan K'e-wen steadily refused to enter Taiwan as a refugee. None of the 10 cooperated with the Kuomintang regime by verbally attacking the government of People's China. The Taiwan government seeks to use the prisoners as part of its propaganda, picturing People's China as "a living hell, a place where there is no freedom," *Media Service Bulletin* reports.

Observers report that the Taiwan regime's attitude toward the ex-prisoners of war is meant to disrupt the growing popular movement for the reunification of China. □

WORLD SCOPE



United States

U.S. Air Force B-52 bomber crews have begun training to fight a limited nuclear war as part of a long range White House program to adopt a "flexible nuclear strategy," the *Washington Post* reports. Called the Limited Nuclear Option (LNO), the program "represents another step by the White House to prepare the nation for a small nuclear war, where destruction might be controlled, as well as for a war of massive incineration," the *Post* said.

Iran

The U.S. company Rockwell International has signed a multi-million dollar contract to set up a communications intelligence system in Iran, the *International Bulletin* reports. Rockwell is recruiting former employees of the National Security Agency (NSA) and its Air Force component, the Air Force Security Service (AFSSS), for the project. The system will ultimately cost \$500 million and will be capable of intercepting military and civilian communications throughout the Persian Gulf.

People's China

The government of the People's Republic of China has ended all military aid to the CIA-backed Front for the National Liberation of Angola (FNLA). The decision came after several progressive African governments expressed their distress over the support Peking was giving to the FNLA, which was created by the CIA to sabotage independence in Angola.

North Vietnam

North Vietnam said last week that the U.S. cannot continue its search for more than 2,000 missing and dead Americans in Vietnam unless the U.S. provided postwar aid to North and South Vietnam. The statement was in a commentary in the North Vietnamese official Communist Party newspaper, *Nhan Dan*, and was broadcast by Radio Hanoi. The North Vietnamese charged the U.S. with continued "crimes" against the Vietnamese people and demanded that America "contribute to healing the wounds of war caused by (its) criminal war of aggression."

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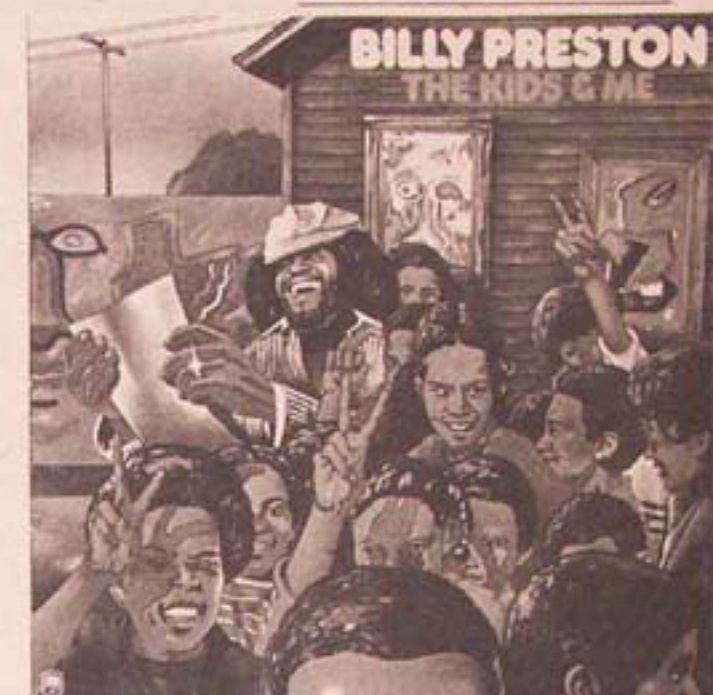
ALBUM REVIEW

BILLY PRESTON'S "THE KIDS & ME" COMBINES SOULFUL ROCK WITH GOSPEL

The first thing that strikes you about Billy Preston's album, *The Kids & Me*, is the beautiful color album cover, which are paintings by truly gifted Black youth at Los Angeles' St. Elmo Village, a community arts and craft center. Brother Preston hosted a fund-raising event for St. Elmo, and as a project, many of the youth painted portraits of him. Billy liked the paintings so much he decided to include as many as he could on the cover and dust jacket of *The Kids & Me*.

No doubt the artistic talents of the St. Elmo youth helped to inspire the production of *The Kids & Me*. The album is as delightful as its cover. Billy Preston's music is a distinctive blend of soulful rock combined with a gospel sound. He comes by that naturally because of his early singing experience in church and later as organist in the Ray Charles band. *The Kids & Me* gives Billy another opportunity to display his fine singing as well as his skillful keyboard talents.

Two of the best known songs on *The Kids & Me* are the popular vocal "Nothing From Nothing,"



Album cover of BILLY PRESTON's recording, *The Kids and Me*. The children depicted are the children of St. Elmo Village in Los Angeles.

and the rock instrumental "Struttin'." As one brother told this reviewer, "I really relate to this cut. Nothing from nothing leaves nothing. That's what's happening with Black folks in the struggle. We ain't got nothing to lose." "Struttin'" has some fine keyboard work and makes you feel like, well, struttin'.

GOSPEL

Another well known selection on the album is the lovely "You Are So Beautiful." The gospel influence is especially evident in this song, both in the "testifyin'" way in which it is sung and the musical arrangement itself. "You Are So Beautiful" is a simple,

refreshing love song, of which there are too few today.

Billy was probably thinking about the St. Elmo youth in the song "Little Black Boys and Girls." The lyrics have a relevant message for all Black youth:

... Little Black boy, it's hard to be a man...

Be brave. You will make the way...

You got to be strong, little boy, You got to be brave...

Compliments go to Brother Preston's band, which includes Manuel Kellough, drums; Bobby Watson, bass guitar; Tony Maiden, guitar; Joe Walsh, the slide guitar; Albert Perkins, banjo; Kenneth Lupper, keyboards; and Hubert Heard, keyboards.

The Kids & Me is well worth checking out. Not only will you hear some nice sounds but you will see some fantastic art work. Brother Preston is to be congratulated for introducing us to the youth of St. Elmo Village. □

All
Power
To The
People



Always
Tomorrow

Oppressed in a world of sorrow
But some people say things
Be right tomorrow
They said it yesterday
And the day before
Goddamn.....
Look like they gonna
Say it some more.
Things be right tomorrow
Tomorrow
Things be right tomorrow
A-L-W-A-Y-S tomorrow
Things gonna be right.
A lot of years ago
Our people crossed the sea
S-L-A-V-E-S in C-H-A-I-N-S
And today.....
Things is still the same.
Slave wages
For the work we do
Just enough
To buy a little food
And pay the rent
When it's due.
Lack of jobs
Fatherless homes
Beautiful sister
Struggling.....
Wine, drugs, pills,
and things
Who's to blame?
Starving B-A-B-I-E-S
Projects, prisons and wars
And the ghettos
Is being raped.
Tomorrow
Things be right tomorrow
S-L-A-V-E-S

T-O-M-O-R-R-O-W
J'Muff Kinard
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Z.A.P.U. Leader

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

they could have separated the groups without firing.

"They shot five comrades on the spot. The news spread quickly through all of Salisbury and led to fights with the White oppressors throughout the city, in the course of which the police murdered eight more people.

"We were represented by two comrades at the ANC congress called by the ZAPU faction. Enos Nkala was already there, and Morton Malinga, when he arrived later, was attacked by ZAPU followers. The two representatives declared at the congress that they had not agreed to a meeting with Smith to discuss the convention, and that they would disassociate themselves from all decisions made there.

"They found it unacceptable that a congress was being held while other national leaders were out of the country. In addition, the Smith regime was not prepared to discuss a majority form of government with them, which made even preparatory discussions about negotiations with Smith senseless.

"Our leaders were thereupon physically beaten by the 'moderate' leaders and thrown out of the congress. Comrade Nkala heaved bodily through a closed window.

"With regards to the June 22 ANC congress decided upon by the ZAPU faction, we have disassociated ourselves from it and everything decided upon this faction. Other members of the ANC also refused to agree to the announced congress. For example, Chavunduka, general secretary of the old ANC, Pastor Kachidza, treasurer, and Edison Sithole, in charge of information in both the old and new ANC — they will not take part in the congress."

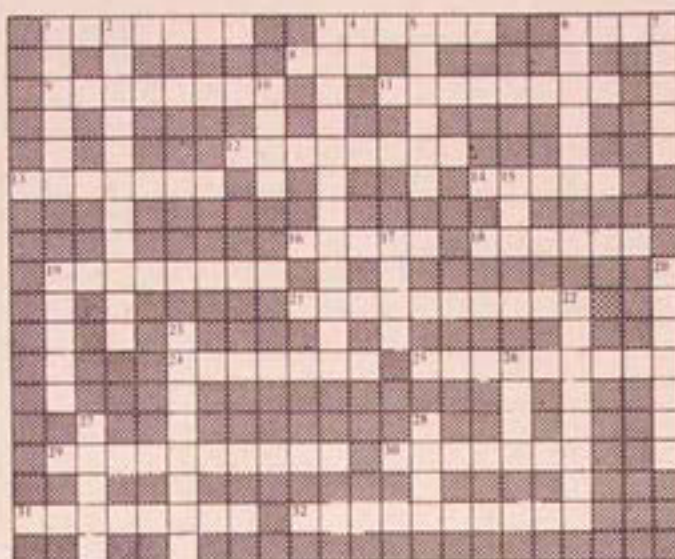
(We thank People's Translation Service for information in this article.)

Crossword Puzzle

Answers

Across: 1. Masters 3. Cullen 5. Gail 8. Fox 9. Douglass 11. Breakers 12. Hammerer 13. Defaney 14. Truth 15. Yanks 16. Indies 17. Caribbees 18. Kidnaping 19. Wainwright 20. Plantation 21. Wainwright 22. Caribbees 23. Wainwright 24. Wainwright 25. Caribbees 26. Plantation 27. Wainwright 28. Caribbees 29. Wainwright 30. Plantation 31. Wainwright 32. Caribbees 33. Wainwright 34. Plantation 35. Wainwright 36. Caribbees 37. Wainwright 38. Plantation 39. Wainwright 40. Caribbees 41. Wainwright 42. Plantation 43. Wainwright 44. Caribbees 45. Wainwright 46. Plantation 47. Wainwright 48. Caribbees 49. Wainwright 50. Plantation 51. Wainwright 52. Caribbees 53. Wainwright 54. Plantation 55. Wainwright 56. Caribbees 57. Wainwright 58. Plantation 59. Wainwright 60. Caribbees 61. Wainwright 62. Plantation 63. Wainwright 64. Caribbees 65. Wainwright 66. Plantation 67. Wainwright 68. Caribbees 69. Wainwright 70. Plantation 71. Wainwright 72. Caribbees 73. Wainwright 74. Plantation 75. Wainwright 76. Caribbees 77. Wainwright 78. Plantation 79. Wainwright 80. Caribbees 81. Wainwright 82. Plantation 83. Wainwright 84. Caribbees 85. Wainwright 86. Plantation 87. Wainwright 88. Caribbees 89. Wainwright 90. Plantation 91. Wainwright 92. Caribbees 93. Wainwright 94. Plantation 95. Wainwright 96. Caribbees 97. Wainwright 98. Plantation 99. Wainwright 100. Caribbees

Crossword Puzzle



ACROSS

- The owners of the large plantation trade up the _____.
- A 1791 document which study the separation of certain slaves from white control & then increased the demand for more slaves in great numbers was called the _____.
- Historical painting illustrating a scene of _____.
- One of various documents characterized by their complexity, examples: _____, _____, _____.
- A Black plantation, writer, author who published the "Black Star" newspaper.
- The most charged with breaking the spirit of young white slaves was a woman who went to become slaves in the New World were called _____.
- _____ was a free-born Black man, scientist & mathematician who published a series of documents & was appointed by President Washington to the commission that led out of Washington, D.C.
- A Black abolitionist, writer, editor & physician who led a campaign to free the Negro & later signed a treaty with French rulers granting him permission to settle American Blacks in the United States.
- Black woman abolitionist from New York who could not read write, but was a powerful speaker.
- _____ was a slave who purchased his freedom in America, moved to England & wrote a 2-volume history of his life.
- _____ was a Black abolitionist who organized the Emancipation Society from the United States to place in a place to take slaves & make them free slaves for U.S. plantation.
- The persons who were sent out to catch runaway slaves were called _____.
- The act of taking away people, without their consent, and then transporting them to another place to work is called _____.
- _____ was one of the first Blacks in the U.S. to publish a book & poem to which he urged freeing of young Black men from slavery.
- In order to obtain documents from the slave trade, the captain had to _____ all their ships.
- The large number of the slaves on which generations of slaves existed, worked & died.
- An 1829 pamphlet written by a Black man which urged all slaves in the U.S. to rise up & show all the color of slaves was called _____.
- A 1791 document which study the separation of certain slaves from white control & then increased the demand for more slaves in great numbers was called the _____.

DOWN

- That part of the slave trade from Africa to the Americas was based on the _____.
- A major slave revolt in 1831 which caused many deaths & loss of a general revolt by slaves throughout southern U.S. occurred in _____.
- The process of selling slaves to another land or country is called _____.
- _____ was a Black man who was the first to publish a book & poem to which he urged freeing of young Black men from slavery.
- _____ was a Black man who was the first to publish a book & poem to which he urged freeing of young Black men from slavery.
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F.B.I. Plot Exposed

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

However, the SWP released details of hundreds of more recent COINTELPRO-style incidents clearly indicating that the FBI's disruptive activities continued well beyond 1971. Included in these incidents were cases in which FBI agents freely provided landlords, employers, parents and friends with information on individuals' political activities.

One case involved Evelyn R. Sell, an SWP member who lost her job in 1970 with the Austin, Texas, independent school district. Ms. Sell told *The New York Times* that as late as January, 1972, FBI agents continued to visit her subsequent employers to inform them about her SWP activities and to find out if she was "still working here." Over two years before, FBI agents in San Antonio, Texas, had requested and received from the Bureau's Detroit office information concerning Ms. Sell's unsuccessful candidacy in 1968 on the SWP ticket for the Michigan Board of Education.

In two other cases, the FBI offices in Detroit and Washington prepared fake letters, signed "a concerned citizen" and "a fed-up taxpayer," that described the radical activities of a Washington public school teacher and a professor at Wayne State University in Detroit. Two other files disclosed arrangements for the FBI's publication of fake, right-wing, pro-Vietnam war "college newspapers" to be distributed at Indiana University and American University in Washington, D.C.

Seattle Survival Programs

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

officers arrived on the scene and all of them assaulted Comrade Morris. According to eyewitnesses, a K-9 unit was also called in.

Morris White was unjustly and falsely charged with resisting arrest, assault, and disorderly conduct. Because of the tightness of the handcuffs on him, the brother's wrists were injured and swollen. His trial has been set for July 22 at Municipal Court of Seattle in Department 4. Because of this blatant act of brutalization, the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party has filed a complaint with the mayor's office.

MARTIAL ARTS



Strength

The Western (American) created myth, that very little or "no strength" at all is required in skills such as aikido, judo, certain forms of Chinese boxing, etc., is not the case. Strength is a necessity in each and every activity that brings into play the muscular and nervous systems of the human body. The development of the individual will involve a greater or lesser understanding of the vital systems involved in performance and consequently, the appearance of "little" or "no" strength being involved.

The amount of force that a person can apply with a particular part of the body is the strength of that part. This understanding implies the necessity of strength and the application of force in human performances. Even though nearly all human movements are performed against some type of resistance, bodily movements usually involve greater resistance than normal. For instance, jumping, running, swimming, leaping and other such related vigorous movements require that the participating parts (arms, hands, legs, etc.) apply near maximum force, and the amount (the quantity) of force that can be applied has strong influence on success (effectiveness) of the performance.

Because Strength accompanies all physical performance, let us examine how it works. Strength is essentially the result of: (1) the combined contracting forces of the muscles which create the pushing or pulling or stabilizing necessary for a given activity; (2) the correct order of the muscles as they are brought into play (action); and (3) the individual ability to coordinate all of the mover muscles (those directly responsible for a specific action) into a unified group acting towards the same goal, accomplishing an action.

Strength is also basic for muscular endurance. Endurance is the ability to resist fatigue and to recover quickly after the muscles reach existing performance levels. Endurance enables a person to persist at a given level of performance efficiently.

AN INTERVIEW WITH JACK AND MICKI SCOTT, BILL WALTON

Trio Attempts To Humanize Sports In America

Bill Walton, Jack Scott and Micki McGhee-Scott are three politically active sports figures whose lives were recently disrupted by the FBI and the commercial media in their frantic search for fugitive heiress Patricia Hearst. The Scotts started the Institute for the Study of Sports and Society several years ago for the development of progressive ideas in athletics. Walton is the highly acclaimed professional basketball player with the Portland Trailblazers, whose tour of the Community Learning Center in Oakland was featured in the February 8, 1975, issue of THE BLACK PANTHER. Friends who share a home in Oregon, the trio has been the subject of much cruel publicity in recent months because of their dedicated commitment to humanize sports in America. The following interview, conducted by the Radical Sports Center of New York City, is reprinted from Liberation News Service.

Q.: How do you explain the harassment that the three of you have recently experienced?

MICKI: What happened to us has happened to a lot of people in a lot worse circumstances. Every day it seems there's a new story about the activities of the FBI and the CIA and their systematic harassment of social activists. For the last ten years or more, the FBI has had a counterintelligence program. It was responsible for the murders of Mark Clark and Fred Hampton, leaders of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, and the massive assaults on the Black Panther Party, and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, among other things.

TRIMENDOUS SUPPORT

We got off lightly, and I think that's partly because we're White and partly because of the tremendous support we received from people throughout the country. Watergate has educated people to the corruptness and deadly foul play of the government. Our cries of harassment and persecution were easier to understand because of the Watergate revelations.

JACK: It's interesting that when Dave Meggsey (an ex-pro football player) and I wrote in our



JACK and MICKI SCOTT, radical sports activists, at press conference, BILL WALTON (inset).

book *Out of Their League* in 1970 about how the CIA had begun to harass Dave once he started showing up at antiwar demonstrations, many of our liberal friends laughed at us. They told us that they liked the book but that we should have left out the part about the CIA. "The CIA isn't involved in domestic surveillance," they told us. Now in 1975, government spying is taken for granted.

Q.: Where is the sports liberation movement now, and where is it headed?

JACK: The movement has grown tremendously. You can see the truth of this almost every day in the newspapers as they report about players' strikes, lawsuits, girls in Little League, etc.

Then, too, more and more people are becoming involved in sports. There's a new awareness that physical activity needs to stop at graduation from high school at age 17 or from college at age 22.

People's consciousness has developed to the point where they reject the passivity and unhealthy consumer lifestyle fostered by the system. They're much more aware of what they eat and how that affects their physical organism. It's all part of a total ecological awareness, an awareness of where humankind fits in and how we can live harmoniously with nature and each other.

Q.: What changes have you seen in the way people approach sports in America that suggest that new modes of sports activity are being developed?

MICKI: Let me start by saying that there will never be any really meaningful change in sports until we're successful in changing society. Sports is both a reflection and a reinforcement of the dominant values of the system. As the system changes, so do sports. There's a time lag involved of anywhere from two to ten years.

The civil rights movement wasn't caught up with until 1968 with the Olympic Commission For Human Rights and the demonstration by Tommie Smith and John Carlos in Mexico City (two Black track stars who raised clenched fists while receiving their medals.) The counterculture and antiwar movement came into sports as athletes began to re-examine the "win at any cost" philosophy of Vince Lombardi and William Westmoreland. Lastly, the women's movement has had a very important impact on sports, both good and bad.

Q.: Would you explain that and give us examples of what you mean?

MICKI: Sure. When I go running, I see more and more women out there asserting their right to participate. I'm not just talking about women track stars, but about lots of women who have overcome or are working to overcome the embarrassment they've been made to feel about actively engaging in sports or exercise. I think this is a really healthy thing for both women and men.

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

Sports Interview

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

It's healthy for women because they're gaining strength and self-confidence by doing something that feels good. It's healthy for men because it forces them to redefine their own role in sports. Hopefully, sports will be more enjoyable and less and less a proving thing for men, because of women's involvement.

The other side of the coin is that a great deal of women's involvement in sports has been co-opted. Little girls are now going to be gobbled up into the regimentation of the Little League just like little boys. Women are getting athletic scholarships to college but there are going to be the same problems of exploitation and bribery now with women as there have been with men.

Q: In Cuba, you had a chance to see sports as a part of a more progressive social system. Would you tell us what you saw?

MICKI: Well, before the revolution in Cuba, the major sports were prostitution, gambling, boxing and baseball. The whole country was a playground for rich Americans, who despoiled the land and exploited the athletes.

Pro baseball scouts would sign a few outstanding ballplayers and ship them to the U.S. where they'd lead segregated and lonely lives. Years later, these "stars" would return to Cuba nearly penniless.

CUBA

Today, Cuba is a society of mass sports participation. Almost everyone plays with no discrimination because of color or sex. I asked one young girl whether she had been mocked or ridiculed for her participation in sports. She looked at me with a puzzled expression. She couldn't conceive of the idea that a girl or woman would be looked down upon for exercising and enjoying physical activity. There's no "tomboy" syndrome in Cuba.

Another interesting anecdote that I think helps to explain the role sports play in Cuba is the story of Teofilo Stevenson — the winner of the gold medal for heavyweight boxing in the 1972 Olympics.

Shortly after his victory he was approached by a group of North American fight promoters who had received permission (much to their surprise) to negotiate with him. They offered him a \$1 million contract. Teofilo politely refused and said he preferred to stay in Cuba, study for his

CONTINUED IN FOURTH COLUMN

PETITION

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, HEREBY PETITION THE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES, THE DIVISION OF CORRECTIONS, THE WISCONSIN LEGISLATURE AND THE GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF WISCONSIN TO STOP CONSTRUCTION OF THE SOUND PROOF CELLS ("DEATH CHAMBERS") NOW UNDERWAY AT WAUPUN STATE PRISON.

WE, FURTHER, DEMAND THAT THE INHUMANE SOUND PROOF CELLS ("DEATH CHAMBERS") BE ABOLISHED COMPLETELY!

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Clip and Send Filled Out Petition To: Black Panther Party, Milwaukee Chapter, 2750 N. 16th Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53206, (414) 263-5563.

CONTINUED FROM FIRST COLUMN
engineering degree, and work for the revolution and his people.

The promoters suggested that he sign and donate his earnings as a boxer to the government. He again politely declined.

By this time, the promoters, already shocked enough, became frustrated. One shouted, "Do you know what a million dollars is?"

Teofilo answered, "Maybe not, but do you know what eight million Cubans are?"

Another thing in Cuba that was impressive has to do with equipment and what Cubans call the "sports industry." As a result of the North American boycott which cut off the flow of sporting goods to Cuba, the Cubans decided to set up their own manufacturing. Whatever is produced is distributed free to communities so that everybody has a chance to play, not just those who can afford \$30 baseball gloves or \$50 tennis rackets.

The equipment is manufactured in a building right next to the college that trains physical educators and athletes. The athletes and students spend time each semester working in the factory, so that they have a real sense of how their equipment is made. They develop a very strong social responsibility towards that equipment. You just don't see people throwing equipment around like you do here. If a ball is hit into the stands at a baseball game, it's immediately returned to the players. People understand what went into making that ball and that it's not theirs.

SPORTS EXPERIENCE

One last thing, which I think is very important about the Cuban sports experience: In Cuba, there's a lot of emphasis placed on camping and hiking-recreational sports for the people. Young people are taught a great deal about camping, and in the process of camping and learning about it, they're taught about ecology and nature and how they fit into the environment. They develop a whole different consciousness about their relationship to the world we all share.

Q: Finally, Bill, what would you like to tell young people, women and men, about what they can do to keep control over sports, so that it doesn't become an oppressive and alienating experience?

BILL: Just do it for yourself, and don't let other people force you into doing it for them. Your health is your responsibility. You can't rely on the President's Council on Physical Fitness to get you healthy. Listen to what's coming out of your heart and body naturally. □

Richmond Schools

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

was to draw a harder line on hiring minority personnel.

Referring to Brother Alexander, Richmond School Board Chairman Goy, Fuller totally distorted the content of Brother Alexander's demands, saying, "He feels it's meaningful for Black children to have Black teachers and Black principals. He also thinks it's good experience for White pupils. Under his program, there would be no White teachers."

Richmond Schools Superintendent Dr. W.W. Snodgrass was equally reactionary in his comments, thinly hiding his racist intent.

"We feel that quality education is related to a quality staff," Snodgrass said, clearly implying that Black and minority teachers are not qualified to perform their duties.

Snodgrass added that 40 per cent of all district personnel are minority group members. Yet, over 50 per cent of the 38,000 school children attending Richmond schools are Black, while other minority group children (Chicano, Asian, Native American, and others) are another 10 to 15 per cent.

When the state committee's decision was announced, Snodgrass, in threatening tones, said that the action may mean the cancellation of the entire state-federal aid program in Richmond.

"If I'm not assured of the money, then I better not go into it at all," Snodgrass said.

Directly affected by the Richmond board's refusal to adopt an affirmative action program are 120 teachers employed with combined state-federal monies; 7,500 predominantly Black "disadvantaged" students; and 400 predominantly Black and minority teacher's aides. □

Letters to the Editor

Comrades, Sisters, Brothers, and Friends,

I am an inmate at San Quentin State Penitentiary. I have been trying to understand my conditions. But without faith I have been unable to get any results.

My guilt is not important because I feel that I have suffered enough. I have a family which I have not seen or been with for at least three years because of confinement and conditions.

I live in Seattle, Washington, and because of the distance they are unable financially to travel to visit. Disregarding my race and belief, I had hoped for justice. But disregarding the welfare conditions and oppressive suffering of my family, I have also been denied parole.

My problem is no different from any other Black brother here in the racist penitentiary system. My family is all I have and I would like very much to keep them if at all possible.

But at this time they are in jeopardy and I call upon the attention of the people, the masses of the people is seeking any kind of assistance possible to help me in this racist matter.

They are without the necessary funds to continue a decent life or the needed necessities to survive in a capitalist society.

I call upon the masses of the people to support my wife and children, to enable them to survive until I am released from custody of imperialism. They are:

Ms. Mary Montley

Kelley M. Montley

Edward Montley, Jr.

118-31st, #3

Seattle, Washington 98122

Power to the people.

Edward Montley

P.O. Box B-56159

Tamali, California 94964

Dear Sir:

On page 9 of today's Panther News is an article which I regard with particularly serious attention. This is the state of California's (so-called) Child Health Disability Prevention Program. It's aiming at mental, emotional, and behavioral "disorders"—with which I strongly agree—could and without doubt would be used to the severe disadvantage of not only Blacks but other minority children and children of poor families, physically disadvantaged children who also would be wrongly judged. (And I personally have had some pretty horrible childhood experiences with "scientific" people who came very close to ruining me.)

There are, and have been for a long time, some pretty weird members of the medical and teaching professions who could and would ruin the lives of a large number of all kinds of disadvantaged children if once they were given a chance. I could go into many pages of detail on this, but I must now restrain myself.

If anything, I may well have an even more negative mistrustful attitude toward this matter than you do—and your own ears on this matter are indeed only too well founded.

There is in this world a particularly devilish pseudo science which incidentally began by "justifying" African slavery and can be used on any group which a dominant power wishes for evil reasons to suppress, and, this pseudo science can sound very learned and convincing to those who are not wise to it, including, for example, Nazi scientific studies that "proved" that Jews and all lesser races should be murdered.

Now concerning this particular rotten bit of pseudo science with which the state of California proposes to "help" disadvantaged children—and get them officially and permanently labeled as inferior humans.

Right now, it may be aimed at Black children more than any other group. But, if that's allowed, it will only be a beginning. Of course—on these proposed tests—Black children will be rated inferior. In this rotten kind of rotten pseudo science one first decides what evil things you wish to do with a group of humans—then you build up a "shell game" of scientific "proof" which no reputable scientist would recognize as proof at all. Then, when you have full control and an honest scientist disputes these so-called "proven facts"—then you beat him in the month and throw him into a concentration camp in the name of Law and Order.

In the past years working for Boeing Airplane Company as a timekeeper, I have met a number of reputable German scientists who explained to me in full how they saw that sort of thing develop under Adolph Hitler—until one could do nothing about it without severe risk of being sent to Hitler's wholesale gas ovens.

We need none of that dangerous garbage here, and the sooner it is stomped out the better for all decent people regardless of race or physical or financial conditions.

Sincerely,

Paul H. Dabmar

Seattle, Washington

Mr. Reginald Bryant

KOED-TV

San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Mr. Bryant:

I saw your program with Mr. De Bois today. A very fine leader with vision. Is he related to the great W.E.B. DuBois? I have a new and hopeful understanding of the Black Panthers today. This small check is more to make me feel good than to help them much, but can you pass it on to them?

John Schaffley

Los Angeles, California

"What To The Slave Is The 4th Of July"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 12

them of their liberty, to work them without wages, to keep them ignorant of their relations to their fellow men, to beat them with sticks, to flay their flesh with the lash, to load their limbs with irons, to hunt them with dogs, to sell them at auction, to sunder their families, to knock out their teeth, to burn their flesh, to starve them into obedience and submission to their masters? Must I argue that a system thus marked with blood and stained with pollution is wrong? No; I will not. I have better employment for any time and strength than such arguments would imply.

What, then, remains to be argued? Is it that slavery is not divine; that God did not establish it; that our doctors of divinity are mistaken? There is blasphemy in the thought. That which is inhuman cannot be divine. Who can reason on such a proposition? They that can, may; I cannot. The time for such argument is past.

SCORCHING IRONY

At a time like this, scorching irony, not convincing argument, is needed. Oh! Had I the ability, and could I reach the nation's ear, I would today pour out a fiery stream of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke. For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder. We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake. The feeling of the nation must be quickened; the conscience of the nation must be roused; the propriety of the nation must be startled; the hypocrisy of the nation must be exposed; and its crimes against God and man must be denounced.

What to the American slave is your Fourth of July? I answer, a day that reveals to him more than all other days of the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty is an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciation of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are to him mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy—a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. □

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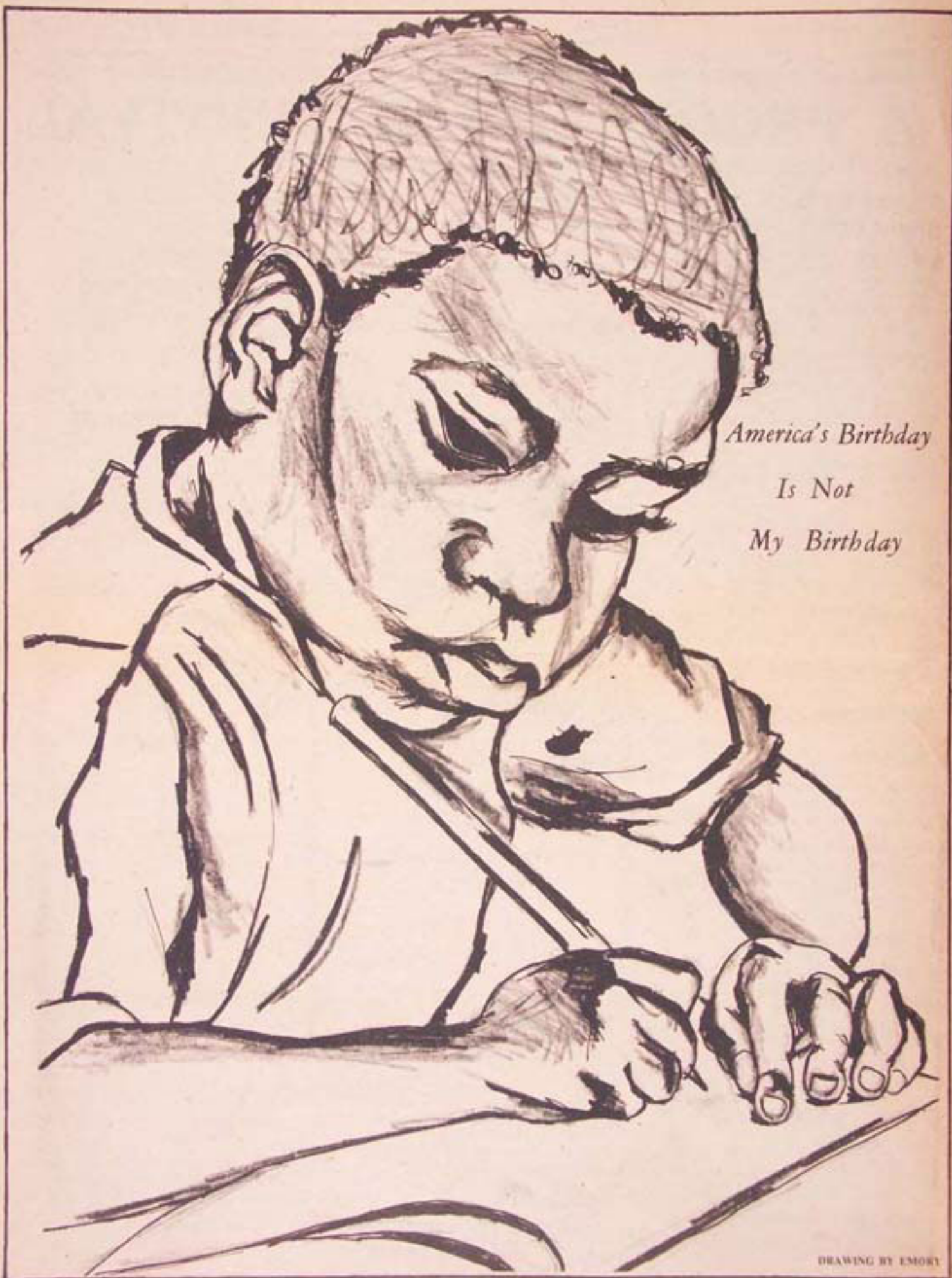
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Provides 24-hour child care facilities for infants and children between the ages of 2 months and three years. Youth are engaged in a scientific program to develop their physical and mental faculties at the earliest ages.

"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."

— Huey P. Newton



*America's Birthday
Is Not
My Birthday*

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