

DOES OAKLAND FACE A BUDGET CRISIS?

See centerfold.

# THE BLACK PANTHER

## INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

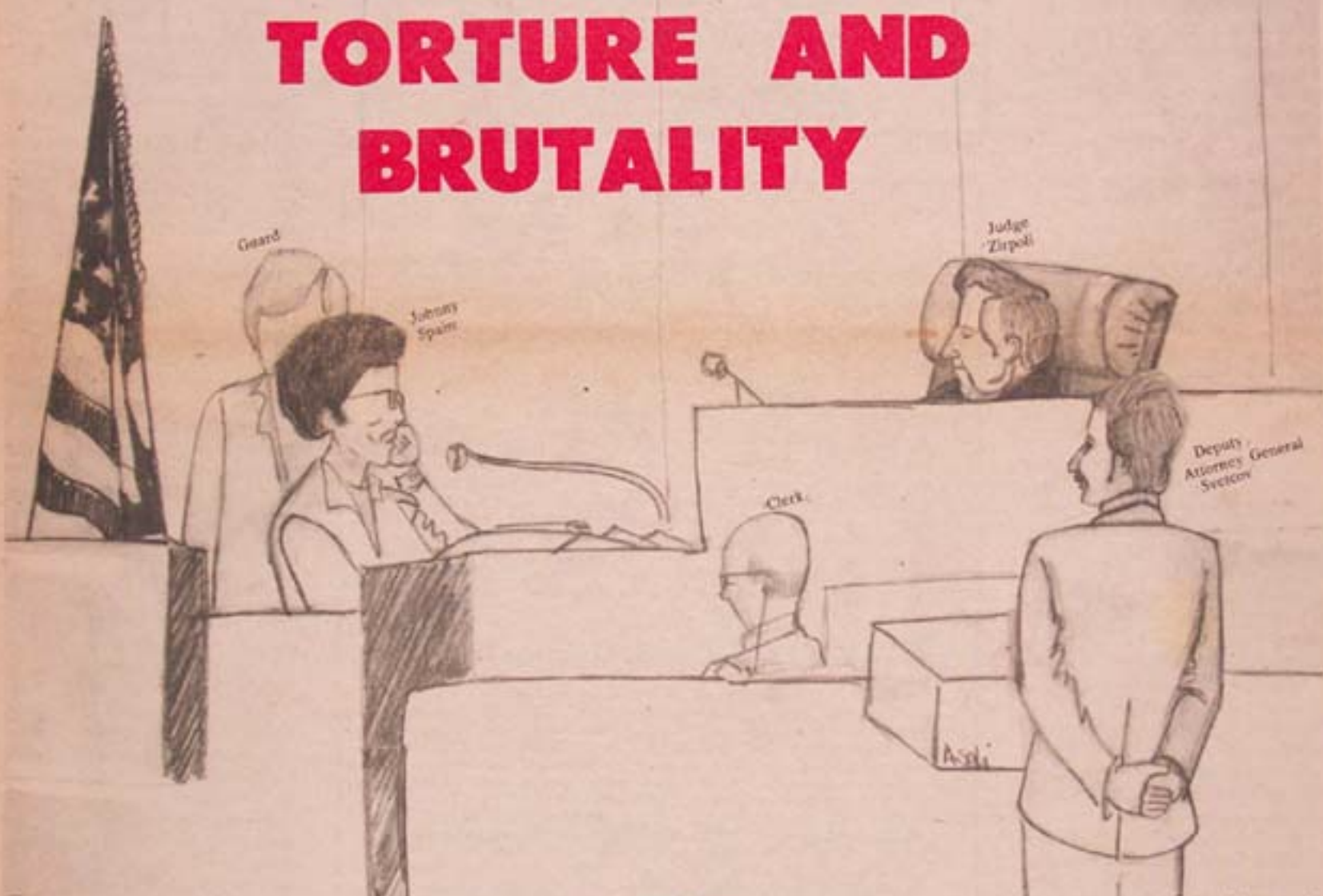
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VOL. XI NO. 27 SATURDAY, JUNE 29, 1974

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# SAN QUENTIN 6 DETAIL TORTURE AND BRUTALITY



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M.P.L.A. Commander  
Spartacus Monimambu

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## Editorial

# SAVE THE CHILDREN

The widely circulated news photo of New York policeman Thomas Shea with drink in hand celebrating his acquittal for the murder of 10-year-old Brother Clifford Glover was an infuriating mockery of claims of justice in U.S. courts for Black people. It was also a clear provocation of the Black community.

The righteous indignation and rage that erupted into flashes of violence in the Queens community in which Clifford lived was inevitable. It was an expression of the desperation of the Black community in the face of continuing police violence against our children and injustice in the courts.

In Oakland, the three Emeryville policemen that murdered 14-year-old Tyrone Guyton continue to escape indictment. In San Mateo, police officer Larry Bringhurst remains unindicted for the murder of 15-year-old Brother Gregory White. In Berkeley, patrolman Charles Crane remains free after gunning down 12-year-old Brother Byron Nelson for "tampering" with a car belonging to his girl friend.

Are we to stand by dumb and silent watching our children cut down by racist cops whose crimes are repeatedly whitewashed and excused by phony police investigations or made light of by courts of injustice? Our children are our future. It is to guarantee that future with dignity that we make the total commitment.

Where is the outcry from the broader community at these outrages against our children? Where are all those Americans who make claims of sympathy and understanding of the plight of Black America?

We are constantly warned that we must not take the law into our own hands; that faith in the judicial system will be rewarded; that injustice will be punished. While at the same time we observe the highest officers of the land taking the law into their own hands, interpreting that law to fit their criminal objectives and, whenever it suits their purpose, ignoring that law altogether.

Are we to be left no alternative but to take the law into our own hands and inflict a people's justice on the criminal perpetrators of our sorrow? There is a higher justice than the laws made by man. □



## Letters to the Editor

(Editor's note: THE BLACK PANTHER disagrees with the position taken in the following letter. We welcome the reactions of our prison-inmate readers on the question.)

Dear Comrades,

My name is David L. Paschall and I'm confined in the military's largest concentration camp, called the United States Disciplinary Barracks (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas).

I was reading the April 20th edition of the people's paper (THE BLACK PANTHER) and a particular article caused me to write this letter to my brothers and sisters. The article was "Pontiac Prison." I noticed that one of the grievances the brothers are protesting for is more Black guards, due to the prison's population being 80 per cent Black, with only three out of 150 guards being Black. This seems to be a grievance that the majority of America's prison camps have and I would like to relate to you my opinion about it.

I feel that this grievance is voiced with the expectation that the racial hostility and brutal treatment would be alleviated or less severe if there were more Black guards. I don't think the reality of this happening is more than wishful thinking. I feel that one of the tactics used in the prison administration's objective to rehabilitate the Black man is to instill fear in his heart, to dehumanize him into a submissive state of being, where he'll accept his life as an outcast, as they (the courts and all our keepers) would like us to believe.

I believe that the things that are done to us in these camps, the way we live and are treated, are nothing more than modernized slave tactics, the same that were used in making the Black man, woman and child slaves in the beginning of our slave history. I believe rehabilitation for the Black man (race) is nothing more than being good slaves again (if ever we were) and accepting the American system as it is, with its slave labor producing for the few and not the many; with its slave ghetto shacks and everything else our slave fathers and mothers had, but just more deceiving to the eyes. I believe the prison administration uses the White, racist, pig, lackey guard for the sole purpose of keeping a racist hate boiling in the Black man, so our unity with the White inmate will be hard to achieve. The only time the head pigs are really fearful of the inmates' power is when Black and White inmates are mobilized as one. Not only that, the White guard is a symbol of their power or their wealth.

I don't think we should ask for more enemies and to have more Black guards would be just that. It will be their job to maintain us at all cost. When we speak up as men for our rights, that's a security risk and it will be our own Black people that will be used to maintain us and to beat us. We have more than three whitewashed Negro guards here and they will jump you, no matter what color you are. As a matter of fact, a couple of them even gave the order to do so.

My brothers, my outlook on this may be wrong and I accept criticism, but let's not ask for our people to help this brutal, racist, capitalist system keep us locked up like animals. My enemy is anyone who locks my cell door. He cannot be my friend or my brother.

Struggling For Freedom  
Comrade David L. Paschall  
U.S.D.B.  
#53990

MORE LETTERS ON PAGE 22

## COMMENT

# U.S. TO SPEND \$250 MILLION EVERY DAY IN 1974/75 FOR MILITARY

(Palo Alto, Calif.) - Over the coming 1974-75 fiscal year, the average American family will spend \$1,480 in taxes on military-related programs, according to information released by the Peace Union here.

Comparing this figure with the \$216 in tax monies (per family) spent for education and manpower, \$63 for community development and housing and \$45 for natural resources (environmental programs), the priorities of the Nixon administration are clear. In fact, the expenditure of the \$85 billion military budget averages out to nearly \$250 million per day.

Two new over-kill weapons systems, the Trident submarine missile program and the B-1 Bomber program, will each take a sizable chunk of the military funds. Together, the Trident submarine and B-1 Bomber systems will cost over \$100 billion before completion.

Intended to replace the Poseidon submarines, each capable of destroying over 100 major cities with individually targeted nuclear warheads, the Trident would be able to destroy 200 to 500 cities.

Every new weapon developed by Nixon and the military/industrial complex increases the possibility of the destruction of all life on this planet.

Instead of specializing in the economics of death, the government must be compelled to expend the vast wealth of this country to rebuild our cities, provide decent housing, health care, food, clothing, education and the other necessities and requirements of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

Clearly, the Nixon administration is not working for our survival. So we must. □

## THE BLACK PANTHER

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YEARLY DOMESTIC SUBSCRIPTION RATE: \$8.75 APPLICATION TO MAIL AT SECOND-CLASS POSTAGE RATES PENDING IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

## B.P.P. WINS CONSUMER FIGHT

### COLLECTION AGENCIES' RECORDS MUST BE PUBLIC

(Sacramento, Calif.) - As the result of an almost two-year long fight by the Black Panther Party and the California Legislative Council for Older Americans, the California Department of Consumer Affairs must now open its records on collection agencies to the public.

This major victory in the struggle for Black and oppressed people's right to know was contained in a 2 to 1 decision issued here by the Third District Court of Appeals, which reversed a Sacramento Superior Court decision allowing the Department of Consumer Affairs to keep the records secret.

In August, 1972, the Black Panther Party, joined by the California Legislative Council for Older Americans—a 5,000 member organization of senior citizens based in San Francisco—filed suit against the director of the Department of Consumer Affairs and the chief of the Bureau of Collection and Investigative Services. The suit, directed at confronting the people's right to know, said in part:

#### FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

"This freedom of information action is brought to compel the defendant officials of the Department of Consumer Affairs...to make available for public inspection complaints they receive from consumers against unethical and abusive practices of collection agencies." (See THE BLACK PANTHER, June 23, 1973.)

While the court basically upheld the right to confidentiality of the records, it ruled that disclosure of the records to the collection agencies makes the records public to all. The Sacramento Superior Court has been ordered to reconsider the case in light of the Department's policy of selective disclosure.

The major goal of the Black Panther Party in the two-year battle has been to gain access to records of all complaints charging unethical or abusive practices on the part of state licensed collection agencies. Once the Party obtains this information, it will expose the unscrupulous agen-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

# SAN QUENTIN 6 DETAIL TORTURE AND BRUTALITY IN ADJUSTMENT CENTER

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Characterizing their existence in San Quentin's notorious Adjustment Center as life within a tormenting chamber of horrors, four members of the San Quentin Six relived the painful events of the last three years of their lives in federal court here last week.

Supported by a number of expert witnesses, the four—Johnny Larry Spain, 24, Fleeta Drumgo, 28, Willie Tate, 29, and Hugo Pinel, 29—as well as David Johnson, 26, and Louis Talamantez, 31—are testifying in relation to a civil rights lawsuit they have filed against the California Department of Corrections charging that their continued confinement in San Quentin's Adjustment Center (AC) constitutes cruel and unusual punishment, in violation of the Eighth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

In addition to seeking their immediate release from the AC, the lawsuit asserts that the six Black and Brown prison inmates are denied their Constitutional rights in regards to access to legal counsel, visits, communication with family and media and the illegal use of shackles and chains.

Due to a court order won by Fred Hiestand and Mark Merin, attorneys for the Six, the brothers are appearing in court individually, without chains.

The direct testimony of the brothers in open court before Judge Alphonso Zirpoli began on Monday, June 17, when Brother Johnny Spain, a member of the



Artist's sketch of the San Francisco courtroom where the San Quentin 6 documented the cruel and unusual punishment they've suffered. On the stand is Brother JOHNNY SPAIN.

Black Panther Party and a close comrade-in-arms of assassinated Party Field Marshal George Jackson, took the stand.

Brother Spain began by relating what it is like to spend more than three years in an isolation cell, measuring five feet, 11 inches by seven feet, 11 inches, equipped with only a steel bunk, a sink and a toilet.

Questioned by his attorney, Brother Spain said on Monday that since his transfer to the AC from the "hole" in Soledad on May 1, 1971, he has spent almost 24 hours a day in his cell. Exercise is sporadic and he is only allowed a maximum of one hour in the corridor outside his

cell. He also related an occasion when he received a "write-up" (a disciplinary report, sometimes called a "115") for refusing to allow the guards to cut his exercise time down to 45 minutes.

When asked what he does in his cell, Johnny said he sits on his bed writing, reading, or just thinking but in order to do even this, "I take a pair of socks and roll them up, put cotton inside them and use them as earmuffs. I run cold water in the summer to make the cell a little cooler and hot water in the winter to make it a little warmer." Because of the constant noise in the AC, Spain testified that he keeps the water running "to help drown out the sounds so I can think."

Monday afternoon, the first two expert witnesses were called. Charles Garry, the noted people's advocate and Spain's lawyer in the murder-conspiracy case arising from the August 21, 1971, incident in which George Jackson was murdered (currently under appeal by the state following the quashing of the indictments), testified to the difficulties surrounding his prison visits and other legal defense communication with Johnny.

Also, Dr. Cory Weinstein, a staff doctor at U.C. Berkeley Medical Center in San Francisco, testified concerning Spain's poor health care. Dr. Weinstein said that Johnny is suffering from

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

## NIXON ORDERED TO PAY BACK SALARIES TO SERVICEMEN

(Washington, D.C.) - Nixon has been ordered to pay back salaries to tens of thousands of servicemen whom he tried to cheat by withholding pay increases in October, November and December of 1972. Those who served in these months during 1972 are due the back pay.

In order to receive the pay the Pentagon said that former servicemen must file claims including their name, Social Security number, rank, current mailing address, date of separation and duty station during October to December, 1972.

The back pay was ordered by a Court of Appeals. Under the decision, a typical E5, or Army sergeant with four years in the service in 1972, would be due about \$86. Check with your local V.A. office for further information.

# CAR TUNE-UP BENEFIT FOR COMMUNITY LEARNING CENTER

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Community Learning Center will sponsor an extravaganza benefit on Saturday and Sunday, July 13-14, when it will hold a community Car Tune-up in the parking lot at 6118 E. 14th Street in East Oakland.

The two-day fund raising event will begin at 9 a.m. and end at 4 p.m. both days. Tune-ups will cost \$12.00 plus the cost of parts, with the price for some cars being slightly higher. All makes and models of cars, including foreign cars, will be welcome for servicing by volunteer mechanics.

Arts and crafts made by students at the Intercommunal Youth Institute, Oakland's model school housed at the Community Learning Center, will be on sale both days. Refreshments will be provided, and entertainment will be provided by the Intercommunal Youth Band.

Organizers of the Tune-ups are appealing to mechanics and auto repairmen in the community and from throughout the Bay Area to volunteer some of their time and expertise over the two days to help make the benefit a success.

All proceeds from the Tune-up benefit will go to help finance the

variety of free community activities available at the Learning Center. These include Adult Education instruction, Music, Dance, Drama and People's Art instruction (the Cultural Arts program), Self-Defense instruction for women, free films, sports

and recreational activities.

Anyone interested in participating in this very worthy community service is urged to call Beatrice Kelly at (415) 562-5261 or come by the Community Learning Center at 6118 East 14th Street, Oakland. ☐

FOR \$12.00 PLUS PARTS

# TUNE-UP



Foreign Cars Welcomed

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EMERGENCY AUTOMOBILE TUNE-UPS

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6118 EAST 14TH STREET, OAKLAND

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SAT. JULY 13  
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• REFRESHMENTS

• MUSIC

For Further  
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562-5261

THE ESMERALDA

## OVER 300 PICKET ARRIVAL OF CHILEAN TORTURE SHIP

(Alameda, Calif.) - Greeted by a seven foot high sign reading "Junta, No!" and buzzed by a small flotilla of motorboats displaying banners proclaiming, "This ship has blood on it!" the Chilean training ship Esmeralda docked here last Friday at the Naval Air Station.

Organized by the Committee to Stop the Esmeralda, the Friday protest also included a well organized, peaceful demonstration by over 300 picketers at the Air Station's front gate and a rally attended by over 400 supporters at Glide Memorial Church in San Francisco. The rally featured a taped message of support and encouragement by the wife of the late Chilean president Salvador Allende, Hortencia Allende.

At issue is the Esmeralda's role as a place for interrogation, detention and torture during and after the bloody right-wing military takeover in Chile last September 11, which toppled the popular, progressive government of Marxist president Allende.

The charge against the Esmeralda was accidentally confirmed by one of the 373-foot schooner's junior officers during an afternoon press conference following the ship's arrival. According to friends of the Committee who attended the press conference, Chilean lieutenant Dario Hunter said that the Esmeralda was used for three days as a prison ship.

Later, the ship's captain, a veteran in the Chilean Navy for 24

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

## THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

JUNE 27, 1833

Culminating a scandal that outraged the New England states, Prudence Crandall, a liberal White woman, was arrested on June 27, 1833, for conducting an academy for young Black girls in Canterbury, Connecticut. The academy was soon closed.

JUNE 29, 1874

One of the great collective hopes of Black people in America lay forever shattered and in ruins when, on June 29, 1874, the Freedman's Bank, the pride of the Reconstruction era's feeble gestures, closed with over \$3,000,000 in Black depositors' funds lost.

JUNE 21, 1915

On June 21, 1915, the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed the discriminatory "grandfather clauses," from the constitutions of several Southern states. The "grandfather clause" had served those states as one of several means used to disenfranchise Black voters, while keeping poor, illiterate Whites on the voter rolls; if one's ancestors had voted in any federal, state or municipal election on or before a certain date—that date carefully chosen to be one when there were no Black voters—only then could the prospective voter cast his ballot.

JUNE 23, 1951

Responding to a suit filed by the NAACP which challenged segregation in elementary and high schools, a federal court in South Carolina ruled, on June 23, 1951, that segregation was not discriminatory.

JUNE 26, 1959

In a bitter and vindictive action, on June 26, 1959, the Prince Edward County, Virginia, Board of Supervisors abandoned its public school system to avoid school integration.

JUNE 26, 1962

On June 26, 1962, the civil rights movement began the action-oriented struggle against conditions in Cairo, Illinois. Sit-in demonstrations and passive resistance were the tactics used as protests against segregation in swimming pools, skating rinks and other public facilities continued for months.



## "Until We're Free"

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

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

SHIRLEY, 1971-74, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 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# 10 OAKLAND COMMUNITY GROUPS RESIGN FROM COMMISSION ON SCHOOL SAFETY

## BLACK PANTHER PARTY JOINS FRUSTRATED ORGANIZATIONS IN WALKOUT

(Oakland, Calif.) - Angrily charging that they refused to be used by the Oakland Board of Education to allow the entry of police in city public schools and openly admitting "total frustration," 10 Oakland community organizations, including the Black Panther Party, walked out and resigned from the Commission on School Safety last Saturday.

The dramatic move highlights the ongoing contradiction between school bureaucratic forces and many of this city's concerned people's organizations over the decline in quality education in Oakland.



Thousands of Black students are deprived of a decent education by the Oakland Board of Education's racist policies. The Board's support of police in schools is an example.

Included in the mass resignation and walkout were representatives from: Coalition to Save Our Schools (CSOS); Ad Hoc Committee for the Selection of a

Superintendent of Schools; East Bay Asians for Community Action; Peralta Concerned Parents; American Federation of Teachers; Metropolitan Unified Ministerial Council; Thresholds; Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton; Westlake student body; and the Black Panther Party.

Together, the groups represent a broad, multi-ethnic cross section of the greater Oakland flatlands communities and make up the majority of the community groups asked to participate in the Commission.

Prior to the walkout, Ms. Darlene Lawson, co-chairperson of CSOS, read an open letter signed by the group representatives to an assembly of Commission delegates outlining the reasons for their action. The letter, addressed to the Oakland Board of Education (which set up the Commission to draft recommendations concerning violence in Oakland schools), said:

"We joined the Safety Commission with an open mind, willing to work for a better education for the children of Oakland. We are resigning because we feel totally frustrated.

"One cause of violence in the schools is that students and parents from the flatlands community do not feel the schools belong to them because they do not make important decisions affecting their lives. By excluding the community, this Commission perpetuates violence in the schools.

"From the beginning the School Board made it clear it did not truly want the community to be involved. It met in secret with the administration to choose the chairman (Lawrence Bowling, a Black conservative Republican), to decide who would be represented on the Commission, and to decide what the subcommittees should be. The original Com-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 14



The Chilean training ship Esmeralda, tied up at the Alameda Naval Station, met wide-scale protest.

## ESMERALDA

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE  
years, attempted to smokescreen his junior officer's truthful response saying that he was "incorrect" and that he must have been confused by the question. The lieutenant, however, spoke fluent English.

Joining the Committee in their demand to withdraw the Esmeralda's invitation to dock at U.S. ports were Bay Area congressmen Ron Dellums and Pete Stark. Both representatives sent letters to the Defense Department citing the "floating prison" charge against the Esmeralda as well as reports that the military dictatorship has imprisoned over 6,000 political activists. The Pentagon ignored their requests. In addition, the Committee picketed the Oakland City Council and later, over the objection of conservative Oakland mayor John Redding, addressed the Council in a vain attempt to elicit that group's support.

The Committee's strong organizing appeal did however, gather enough support to force worried Navy officials to abruptly change the Esmeralda's scheduled San Francisco docking to the Oakland Marine Terminal and then, just as quickly, to the Marine-guarded Alameda Naval Air Station. Also, fearing a troublesome confrontation, a soccer match between the Esmeralda's crew and a local team scheduled for Sunday was cancelled.

Before the Esmeralda's departure next Wednesday, the Committee says it plans to picket the San Francisco hotel where Chilean ambassador Walter Heitman is currently lodged. Heitman, 56, a Chilean of German descent, was a former chairman of Chile's joint chiefs of staff and was the head of Chile's intelligence/spy agency.

## OVER 100 U.S. SAILORS ABANDON THE USS MIDWAY

### PRESS, MILITARY TRY TO COVER UP AIRCRAFT CARRIER REBELLION

(Tokyo, Japan) - More than 100 American sailors, crewmen of the aircraft carrier U.S.S. Midway, have abandoned ship and gone into hiding here, refusing to sail with the giant carrier when it left Yokosuka Naval Base on maneuvers on June 14.

In an attempt to minimize the rebellion, the naval command at Yokosuka base announced that 32 U.S. sailors were absent without leave on June 14, but that half had turned themselves in by June 18. As a result the U.S. media has either ignored the incident or briefly reported the command announcement.

However, our source, *New Asia News*, a publication of the Pacific-Asia Resources Center located in Tokyo, reports that at

least 100 Midway crew members are still in hiding from the U.S. military in Japan. Approximately half of these are Black and most are young and at their first duty station.

The Midway is the first and only U.S. aircraft carrier to be "homeported" outside the United States. It is slated to remain at Yokosuka Naval Base through 1976. Demonstrations by up to 30,000 Japanese citizens protested the ship's arrival in the days before its mission began on October 5, 1973.

Many of the Midway's crew have come to realize that the carrier sits on the Japanese people in order to patrol and protect U.S. economic and military interests.



U.S. aircraft carriers like these battle-ready ships in the south Pacific seem to be the most common trouble spots in the generally troubled U.S. Navy. They are the largest, most expensive modern-day warships.

## SUPREME COURT TO RULE ON STUDENT SUSPENSIONS

(Washington, D.C.) - Students are entitled to hearings before they can be suspended, a suit now before the U.S. Supreme Court charges. The suit grew out of the suspensions of many Columbus, Ohio, Black high school students following a racial disturbance there.

"Students, like all other members of our society, have a right to fair treatment as required by the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment," the Na-

ging the Ohio statute permitting a public school system to suspend a student for up to 10 days without any hearing. The court ruled that a school administration should provide a student written notice of the reasons for the suspension and an opportunity beforehand to present a defense or explain his conduct.

If the student's conduct is alleged to be disruptive, the hearing must be granted within

three days after the suspension begins, the lower court ruled. As a result of the defendant's failure to follow minimally acceptable procedures, the court also ordered all references to the suspensions deleted from the students' records. The city of Columbus then appealed the ruling to the Supreme Court.

Not only do student suspensions violate the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Supreme Court brief notes, but they also infringe on a protected liberty and property interest of students since Ohio

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



Black and poor students are often unjustly suspended from school, depriving them of an education.

tional Education Association (NEA) declared in a brief to the Court. Joining NEA in the brief is the National Committee for Students in Education and the Education Law Center, Inc.

The Court's decision, the brief notes, will have a significant impact on which procedural rights will be made available to students threatened with expulsion or suspension in the years ahead, says an NEA news release. The brief emphasizes that the issue in the case is not a school administration's right to suspend students when circumstances are appropriate, but only its right to suspend without a hearing.

None of the students summarily expelled in the wake of racial disputes during Black History Week at the Columbus high school were given even the most basic procedural protections. Some students were never told they were suspended, the brief charges.

As a result of the suspensions, all students received failing grades for the work they missed. Some students were transferred to other schools as punishment and permanent notations of suspension were included in the school records of others.

After the suspensions, a federal court suit was filed challen-

## B.P.P. WINS CONSUMER FIGHT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

cies in THE BLACK PANTHER, rating the collection agencies according to the number and seriousness of the complaints.

Writing for the majority opinion Justice Leonard Freedman said that the Department of Consumer Affairs has a practice of showing complaints against collection agencies to the agencies themselves, with no regard for the privacy of the complainant. He wrote, "As we view the Public Records Act, the practice of disclosing complaints to the affected licensees destroys the privilege of confidentiality otherwise permitted..."

In a statement on the suit last year, Huey P. Newton, leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, said, "The Black Panther Party understands why the Department of Consumer Affairs does not want to release these complaints to the public. It is because the Department—despite its name—is more representative of business, including the collection agencies it is supposed to police, than of the consumer. The Black Panther Party (believes) that publication of these complaints will insure that the Department does a better job in investigating consumer complaints..."

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## CALIF. SCHOOL BOARD

## COALITION SEEKS REMOVAL OF BIASED TEXTBOOKS

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - A coalition of minority organizations and women's groups have filed an administrative complaint before the California Board of Education demanding that discriminatory textbooks be removed from the state's schools.

The complaint, filed on behalf of over five million school children, seeks to enforce statutes that are already in the state law but have been ignored. The action lists four popular series of books that are particularly offensive and asks that all other books be re-evaluated to check for compliance with the Education Code. The coalition also advised the school board to revise its procedure for the evaluation of all instructional materials so as to insure compliance with the law.

The group charges that the books in question are White-male dominated and that women and minorities are consistently depicted only in traditional stereotyped roles. Mexican-American, Asian and Native American citizens are virtually ignored.

### DOCUMENTATION

The coalition provided the Board of Education with "extensive documentation" of their failure to comply with several provisions of the law. Furthermore, a press release, dated Thursday, June 13, 1974, reports that "If the Board fails to exclude these books with this kind of evidence before them, we have no choice but to seek court action to assure enforcement of the law."

The four series of books in question are: Harper and Row, *Designs for Readers*; Holt, Rinehart and Winston, *Sounds of Language*; Macmillan, *Reading Program*; and Scott-Foresman, *Language and How to Use it*. The coalition's press release additionally charged that "a careful evaluation of the remaining materials on the current adoption list would show that the majority of them are also non-complying."

In the coalition's words, the reason for the widespread dissemination of racist, sexist, illegal books throughout California's schools is that "the entire process for the screening and evaluation of books is inadequate, irrational and frustrating of the purposes of the law."

## BLACK MEDIA GROUPS OPPOSE LICENSE RENEWAL EXTENSION

(Washington, D.C.) - Black leaders and organizations throughout the country are lining up in strong opposition to the proposed Broadcast License Renewal Act (HR 12993) which would extend the period for a broadcaster to renew his license from three to five years.

The bill is now pending before the Senate where public hearings before the Senate Commerce Committee were scheduled two weeks ago. The License Renewal Act has already passed the House of Representatives.

Black media groups and civil rights organizations charge that the bill, if passed, would stifle attempts by Blacks and other minorities to gain access to the broadcast media. Dr. Carlton Goodlett, president of the predominantly-Black National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA), says in an NNPA editorial that under the three-year renewal system "Black groups can now challenge the renewal of a station's license and obtain the license for themselves."

"However, the proposed License Renewal Act would extend the license period from three to five years and effectively eliminate, through its other provisions, all forms of challenge... Just the threat of challenge has forced television stations to be more responsive to Black needs. Now we stand to lose even that," Dr. Goodlett states.

A high level strategy meeting at the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR) was held earlier this month to outline a grassroots campaign in opposition to the bill. □

## N.A.A.C.P. DEMANDS ABOLISHMENT OF DEATH PENALTY PETITIONS SUPREME COURT FOR REVIEW OF NORTH CAROLINA CASE

(New York, N.Y.) - The legal Defense and Education Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people (NAACP) has petitioned for the Supreme Court to review the sentencing of four North Carolina men as a test case in the NAACP's continuing battle to have capital punishment outlawed in the United States.

Two years ago the Supreme Court came close to abolishing the death penalty but left the path open for states to reinstate it under certain conditions. The NAACP is now asking the high court to go all the way and declare the death penalty "cruel and unusual punishment."

Twenty-eight states have reinstated death penalty laws since the Supreme Court ruling in 1972. The number of men awaiting execution on death rows has grown to 103, over half of

them Black and non-White persons.

The Courts' 1972 ruling held that statutes that left to the judge or jury complete discretion to choose between death and some lesser penalty resulted in "arbitrary, freakishly rare, and possibly discriminatory" use of the death penalty.

The 28 states that have reinstated capital punishment have done so in laws that attempt to eliminate any discretion by making the death penalty mandatory and automatic upon conviction of certain offenses. The NAACP lawyers, however, are contending that even under these statutes there is considerable discretion from the moment of arrest to the possibility of clemency by a state governor.

Civil rights organizations have cited since 1963 that the great majority of persons who received

## BLACK COMMUNITY TO SEEK JUSTICE FOR 10-YEAR-OLD MURDERED BY ACQUITTED COP

(Queens, N.Y.) - Residents of South Jamaica, Queens, an oppressed Black community in New York City, are discussing methods that might be used to achieve some degree of justice in the murder of 10-year-old Brother Clifford Glover by a White policeman who was acquitted for the murder.

Although the sporadic violence that followed the acquittal of Officer Thomas Shea has ended, the Black community's anger and determination to prevent a recurrence of such crime has not. At a meeting called at the Storefront Museum on Liberty Avenue in South Jamaica, 150 people gathered to decide upon a course of action.

### PROPOSALS

According to *The New York Times*, several proposals were heard. A proposal was made to file suit against Officer Shea under a federal civil rights law charging that the killer-cop "conspired against the life of Clifford Glover."

Shea shot young Clifford in the back one morning last April after calling Clifford and his stepfather "Black sons-of-bitches." The two were walking down the street, unarmed, when Shea who was

plainclothed, jumped out of his unmarked patrol car and attacked them without identifying himself and without any provocation. Despite huge differences in height and weight, Shea later claimed he thought young Clifford was a burglar then being sought by the N.Y.P.D.

At the meeting a proposal was made that New York Boulevard be renamed Clifford Glover Boulevard, although many of those attending the assembly felt that such a tribute would be a meaningless token.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



Officer THOMAS SHEA drank a toast to his acquittal for the murder of a 10-year-old.



A blueprint of San Quentin prison's gas chamber and operating instructions.

the death penalty are Black, that sentencing is uneven, and that a Black person convicted of a capital crime in which the victim was White is much more likely to be sentenced to death.

Considerable support for capital punishment is being voiced in White communities across the country, their racial fears kindled by press-distorted news of kidnappings and the so-called Zebra killings in San Francisco. However, civil rights lawyers note that when the "man on the street" is made a juror, his approach seems to change.

"When jurors had discretion over sentencing," remarked David Kendall, associate counsel for the NAACP, in a recent issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*, "in only one out of eight or nine cases was the death penalty imposed."

Mr. Kendall also cited Georgia's capital penalty law as an example of the new statutes which are supposed to provide strict standards for sentencing. The Georgia law, he said, provides the death penalty for "murder, rape, armed robbery, or kidnapping" that was "outrageously or wantonly vile, horrible, or inhuman...and involves torture or depravity...."

"We contend these are no guidelines at all," the young attorney explained. Such laws Kendall argued, are too broad and are not administered evenhandedly.

NAACP lawyers feel that their chances of having the Supreme Court tackle the issue again are good. They think the precedents already set by the new laws provide a new issue for the Court to rule on. □

### ALI VICTORY

On June 28, 1971, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously reversed the conviction of popular heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali, saying that he had been improperly drafted.

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## YOUNG LORDS' LEADER ANNOUNCES CANDIDACY FOR CHICAGO CITY COUNCIL

(Chicago, Ill.) - Jose (Cha Cha) Jimenez, general secretary of the Young Lords Organization, announced his candidacy for alderman of Chicago's 46th Ward last week. The leader of the progressive Latino organization, which developed from a street gang to a viable political force, revealed plans for a vigorous grassroots campaign in the Ward's huge Latino, Black and poor White communities.

At a press conference held at the Christian Fellowship Church here last Thursday, Jimenez said that a community coalition of "Latinos, Blacks, Native Americans, southern Whites, Asian Americans and Jewish people" has been organized to put a stop to Mayor Daley's corrupt machine politics in the 46th Ward.

Jimenez said that a voter registration drive which he had spearheaded had registered over 2,000 voters since September and plans to register 5,000 people before the election. He stated that the campaign coalition would organize over 2,000 workers for election day campaigning. The coalition will maintain several hundred campaign workers throughout the Ward.

Jimenez says that he will run on a \$30,000 campaign budget. He plans to raise \$10,000 by selling support buttons throughout the campaign, \$10,000 more through fund-raising events and projects, and he has \$10,000 already pledged by a local contributor.

Jimenez tops his list of campaign issues with a demand for



Brother JOSE JIMENEZ is running for a city council seat.

community control of the Urban Renewal program in the city, and pledges to work for greater community control of police. If elected, he will be the first Latino on Chicago's city council.

Jimenez's campaign will center around the city's urban renewal master plan to push Latino and other poor people from the Lakefront and other desirable areas of the city. "If this city is in fact concerned with ridding itself of slums," he declared in his statement of candidacy, "it should develop massive high quality, low-income housing and provide for jobs in the innercity. The answer to eliminating slums is not to relocate them but to provide decent jobs, a decent standard of living and stable neighborhoods."

Jimenez's chance of becoming Chicago's first Latino alderman seems excellent in the 46th Ward, where the population is nearly one-third Latino, one-quarter poor southern White and one-fifth Black and Native American. □

*Register  
To Vote*

## ONE HUNDRED SAILORS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

tary interests from Singapore to South Korea, against the interests of the Asian people.

New Asia News reports that the sailors feel that they are being used to protect dictatorial governments and immoral business ventures by U.S. cartels in Asia. The young sailors are lonely and tired of the imperialist quality of their mission. They are as anxious to see their loved ones and be at home as the Japanese are to see them go.

When on leave, "all we have to do is drink," reports one sailor, "and even then the Shore Patrol harasses us." Harassment of enlisted men is common and racism is widespread on the Midway. Large numbers of Filipino crewmen face the same racism as Black and other minority sailors. "They (the command) aren't just prejudiced against Blacks, they're prejudiced against everybody," one AWOL Black sailor said.

The rebelling sailors report that there is deep discontent and low morale aboard the Midway. Their daring protest is evidence of this. The majority of the crew use drugs to make their lives seem more bearable, the sailors admit. Enlisted men are packed into close, crowded quarters without any privacy. Lower ranking enlisted men cannot afford to pay the cost of transporting their families to Tokyo or of maintaining them once they are here.

Racist Captain R.J. Schulte is the supreme law on the ship. Appeals are seldom granted and by the time they are, the brig time has already been served. Before the rebellion there was a waiting list for the ship's brig.

Brutality is the primary characteristic of the Midway's brig, the soldier's report. Brig beatings are one of the central complaints in the current rebellion.

The Midway rebellion is only the latest in a series of protests carried out by American sailors and armed forces personnel who are tired of the racism, fascism and imperialism they encounter and take part in every day. It appears to be the most highly organized of these protests to date. □

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## PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

### SOUTHERN BAPTISTS REJECT "GOD-GIVEN" RIGHTS

(Dallas, Texas) - In rejecting numerous resolutions to establish rights for minorities and women, the 117th annual Southern Baptist Convention here tabled one recommendation which asked Baptists "to affirm our commitment to the Bible's teaching that every individual has infinite worth and that, in Christ there is neither male nor female." One pastor argued, "I do not feel that God intends women to be pastors."

### WHITE SNIPER IN BLACK CHURCH

(Miami, Florida) - Joseph Fales, a 20-year-old White man, has been sentenced to spend his Sunday mornings in a predominantly Black church for firing a rifle into the home of an interracial couple here last February. "You're going to find out what it's like to live in a Black community," Judge Al Sepe told Fales.

### VETS WIN DISCHARGE RECORDS CHANGE

(Washington, D.C.) - Veterans with other-than-honorable discharges have succeeded in getting the Pentagon to abandon its practice of coding the discharge papers of one million veterans with codes signifying "unsuitable," "inaptitude," "bed-wetter" or "homosexual." In representing the veterans, the American Civil Liberties Union further demanded that the Pentagon issue a recall of all defective discharge papers. The Pentagon has thus far refused. Veterans who wish to have the coding eliminated from their discharge papers can do so by applying to their former service.

### ARMY LOSES DEADLY FUNGUS

(Washington, D.C.) - First, the Army made 70 tons of a deadly biological warfare substance. Next, it buried the substance in the Rocky Mountains. Then, forgot where. Now, they can't find it. The fungus, developed by the Pentagon, destroys wheat. Needless to say, farmers in the area are upset. The Rocky Mountain Farmers Union plans to file a formal complaint against the Army for its carelessness.

## "JESSE JAMES" CHARGES DROPPED AGAINST TWO LOS TRES DEFENDANTS

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - Two of the three defendants in the Los Tres case won a victory recently when the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals dropped the notorious "Jesse James" charges against them. (The report by *Liberation News Service* did not identify the two defendants by name.)

The community organizing done by the Committee to Free Los Tres was instrumental in getting the charge dropped which carries a 25-year sentence for assault upon a custodian of federal mail, money or other property.

Los Tres del Barrio — Rodolfo Sanchez, Juan Fernandez and Alberto Artiz — were members of a Chicano community organization, La Casa de Camalismo (House of Brotherhood), which launched a campaign during the spring and summer of 1971 to combat drug traffic in East Los Angeles. The campaign in the Boyle Heights area began to reduce the sales of heroin and Seconal (downers).

In August, 1972, Los Tres were charged with conspiracy to commit crimes against the United States (five-year maximum sentences), conspiracy to commit assault on a federal agent (10-year maximum sentence); and the "Jesse James" law.

In their activities to drive drug pushers out of the barrio, Los Tres had shot Bobby Parker (actually federal agent Robert Canales), not knowing he was a federal officer. Canales, known in the community as a heroin pusher, had been in prison for bank robbery, and was offered a parole if he would infiltrate leftist organizations.

Canales was involved with the frame-up of the Soledad Brothers — George Jackson, Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette — and was sharing his services with four different government agencies: the FBI; the Special Service Unit of the Los Angeles Police Department; the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs; and the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Division of the Treasury Department.

On June 3, lawyers for Los Tres filed motions with the Court of Appeals to drop the remaining charges against them. □

## McALESTER PRISON INMATE MURDERED

### JUDGE ORDERS IMMEDIATE REFORMS

(McAlester, Okla.) - Conditions at the 70-year old Oklahoma State Penitentiary here, which inmates burned down last July 27 in protest, may improve as the result of the gassing death of an inmate and a recent ruling by a federal judge.

Inmate Robert Forsythe was murdered on May 23 by prison guards who sprayed CN and CS gas into the maximum segregation area of the prison, referred to by prisoners as "the rock," according to an article in the June 8 packet of the *Liberation News Service*.

Forsythe's death followed the brutal beating on May 20 of another inmate, Danny Kuykendall, by prison guard Jack Cohen. Kuykendall, one of the alleged



Most of the Oklahoma State Penitentiary in McAlester, Oklahoma, was burned to the ground last year by rebelling prisoners because of conditions and brutality.

leaders of the July, 1973, rebellion is a member of the Committee Against Prisoner Exploitation (CAPE) and was beaten for refusing to surrender his radio in the prison's maximum security section.

The day after Kuykendall's beating, 20 guards, explained an inmate, "armed with M-79 gas

guns, 12-gauge guns and a large pepper fogger machine gassed inmates (confined to 'the rock') with two and one-half hours of billowing clouds of CN and CA gas." After the gas had dissipated the next day, four inmates were removed to the prison hospital. Forsythe died.

On May 30, federal court Judge Luther Bohannon ordered the Oklahoma Corrections Department to begin immediate and far-reaching changes at McAlester. These changes touch on everything from racism to disciplinary procedures, living conditions and censorship. The ruling came as a result of a long legal battle, begun more than six months before the July rebellion, waged by the Oklahoma Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) on behalf of 150 McAlester inmates.

Racism was a prime issue in the inmates' suit, and Bohannon ordered that the Corrections Department cease discrimination in jobs and housing and present a total plan for the eradication of racism in the prison at the end of 60 days.

Bohannon also ordered that the "hole" be closed and that "isolation" (putting inmates in dark, maximum security cells for long, indefinite periods of time) punishment be reviewed by competent and impartial medical authorities to determine its physical and mental effects on inmates. In addition, Bohannon forbade the use of CS and CN gas to punish inmates.

The federal judge totally rejected prison officials' excuse that they have not moved to reconstruct the prison or provide adequate living and working facilities because the inmates are allegedly too dangerous to let out of their cells. He instructed prison officials to immediately resume normal prison activities.

## MASS. FURLOUGH SYSTEM UNDER LEGISLATIVE ATTACK

(Cambridge, Mass.) - The Massachusetts prison furlough system is under attack and may soon be legislated out of existence.

The newsletter *Doing Time*, published by families and friends of prisoners in Massachusetts, and the *Boston Globe* report that a bill approved by the state house of representatives on May 16 would restrict the present furlough system, which grants furloughs of from one to seven days to all prisoners approved by the corrections commissioner and the prison superintendent.

The new proposal, which is expected to pass the Senate, will: (1) prevent any prisoner serving a life term for first-degree murder from obtaining a furlough; (2) grant furloughs to prisoners convicted of most violent crimes only when they are within 24 months of parole eligibility; and, (3) require notification of the attorney general's office, the district attorney of the county in which the prison is located, the police chief in the prisoner's hometown and numerous other law enforcement officials before the furlough.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18



The Massachusetts state legislature is considering discontinuing the furlough system that has given prisoners there some relief from cold, cramped cell conditions. These conditions only tend to worsen their victims' attitudes and slow adjustment.



Up to 3,000 Native Americans have marched in protest against murders and discrimination afflicting their people in the Four Corners reservation area. Demonstrations like the one above in Farmington, New Mexico, have taken place almost weekly. Unemployment, unfit housing, poor education and economic exploitation have all contributed to the necessity for these demonstrations.

## NEW MEXICO INDIANS MURDERED BY WHITE RACISTS

### 34 ARRESTED IN PROTEST AGAINST RACIST PARADE

(Four Corners, New Mexico) - American Indians on the Four Corners reservation are fighting a battle against White American racist oppression in the wake of 10 recent murders of Native Americans here.

In the past few months the bodies of several Native Americans have been found in city dumps, ditches, rivers and fields near the towns of Gallup and Farmington, New Mexico. Their bodies had been burned, stabbed, castrated and mutilated. Autopsies have revealed that two had been killed while their hands were tied behind their backs.

Seven of the victims were Brothers Kee Jones, George Dennison, Gilbert Saunders, John Harvey, Herman Bernal, David Ignacio and Willie Harrison. Most of the victims, according to *El Grito*, newsletter of the Chicano Communication Center in Albuquerque, New Mexico, were from the Navajo tribe or nation.

There were at least 59 other Native Americans missing from the same area where the body of David Ignacio was found.

When three White teenagers confessed to three of the murders and were given light terms in a boy's reform school, the Indian community was outraged. A request was made in Farmington by the Coalition for Navajo Liberation for a parade permit for the

following Saturday to protest the court's decision. The request was denied in favor of a permit requested for the same date for the "San Juan County Sheriff's Posse Rodeo."

When the police parade began Indian observers were shocked by the racist lack of consideration for their terrified and grieving community. Six White deputies dressed as 1800s era U.S. cavalrymen led the procession bearing American flags.

Native American brothers confronted the men who had blocked their protest and then dared to wear the hated invader's uniforms. City police and mounted "cavalrymen" charged into the brothers. The horsemen used their flags as spears and clubs to beat and injure their victims. Tear gas filled the air and 34 Native Americans were arrested.

For 16 hours the detainees were neither fed, told their rights, nor given blankets or mattresses. Those arrested were charged with disturbing the peace, disorderly conduct and battery on a police officer.

That night Andrew Acuña, Arnold Cellicion and Alfred Yazie, three Zuni nation Indians, were stabbed to death in Gallup, New Mexico, 120 miles south of Farmington, bringing the number of genocide victims to 10 in the area.

The Coalition of Navajo Libe-

ration was born out of the instinct to survive of the people of Four Corners. The Coalition consists of a number of organizations and individuals banded together to fight for the human rights of the Native American populace; included among these are AIM (the American Indian Movement) and the NAACP. The group has sponsored demonstrations almost every week with as many as 3,000 Navajo, Zuni, Hopi and Ute Indians participating. Their demands are common to poor and non-White people in America, more jobs, education, decent housing and an end to racist brutality and murder. Of the over 130,000 Indians on the Four Corners reservation, 56% of the labor force is unemployed and over 60% of the homes have no electricity or running water.

Meanwhile, the world's largest strip mine is located in Four Corners. The coal that the Kennecott Copper Corporation takes from the Indian land is used to fuel the \$300 million "Four Corners Power Plant" complex. All of this makes Kennecott rich and Farmington the "energy capital of the world," but only polluted water is left for the Native American population. Even the electricity produced there is not utilized in the Four Corners community. It is sent to Los Angeles and other corporate industrial centers. □

## BLACK AND PUERTO RICAN CREWMEN TAKING COURTS-MARTIAL TO MILITARY APPEALS COURT

(Naples, Italy) - Ten Black and one Puerto Rican crewman from the USS Little Rock are taking their courts-martial cases to the Court of Military Appeals. They are charged with riot and assault in an incident aboard the Little Rock on November 8, 1973.

The eleven brothers were selected by the military establishment and their commanding officer in particular to be scapegoats for the widely publicized violence that shook the giant aircraft carrier last year.

The Little Rock riot was one of a series of disturbances that exposed the deep-seated racism and tense atmosphere throughout the Navy. Black sailors aboard the Little Rock were outnumbered 50 to 1,300 at the time of the incident. At least 200 White sailors attacked the brothers.

The brothers contend that the Little Rock's top officer, Captain Cullins, was directly and personally involved in the incident. Several witnesses have testified in support of this argument at pretrial hearings here.

According to the Uniform Code of Military Justice, any officer who is himself involved in an incident cannot be the convening authority in any court-martial arising out of that matter. That is, he can not press charges against anyone. He must instead refer the case to another officer who will decide the merits of his charges and bring the case to court if necessary.

Captain Cullins did participate in the disturbances aboard the Little Rock on November 8, 1973, and yet he is still the convening authority in the brothers' courts-martial. It is for this reason that they are appealing the case before it actually goes to trial. □

### POOR EAT DOG FOOD

(Washington, D.C.) - The Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs reports that "as much as one-third of the dog and cat food sold in city slums is being eaten by humans. When asked by the Committee 'whether or not people in the neighborhood thought pet food might be a good buy when food money was short,' most answered that they knew people who had to buy dog food quite regularly. □

# "ON THE DEFECTION OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER FROM THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND THE DEFECTION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FROM THE BLACK COMMUNITY"

BY HUEY P. NEWTON

## PART I

THE BLACK PANTHER reprints here this historic document because of its continuing relevancy and brilliant insight into the demands of struggle in the Black community under present conditions in the United States. Written shortly after the defection of Eldridge Cleaver from the Black Panther Party, it appeared originally in THE BLACK PANTHER of April 17, 1971, and

continues to be a chief theoretical work studied by members of the Black Panther Party and others committed to revolutionary consciousness raising, organization and change.

Part I follows:

The Black Panther Party bases its ideology and philosophy on a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, using dialectical materialism as our analytical method. As dialectical materialists we recognize that contradictions can lead to development. The internal struggle of opposites based upon their unity causes matter to have motion as a part of the process of development. We recognize that nothing in nature stands outside of dialectics, even the Black Panther Party. But we welcome these contradictions, because they clarify and advance our struggle. We had a contradiction with our former Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver. But we understand this as necessary to our growth. Out of this contradiction has come new growth and a new return to the original vision of the Party.

## DEVELOPMENT

Early in the development of the Black Panther Party, I wrote an essay titled "The Correct Handling of a Revolution." This was in response to another contradiction—the criticism raised against the Party by the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM). At that time RAM criticized us for our aboveground action—openly displaying weapons and talking about the necessity for the community to arm itself for its own self-defense. RAM said that they were underground, and saw this as the correct way to handle a revolution. I responded to them by pointing out that you must establish your organization aboveground so that the people will relate to it in a way that will be positive and progressive to them. When you go underground without doing this, you bury yourself so deeply that the people can neither relate to nor contact you. Then the terrorism of the underground organization will be

just that—striking fear into the hearts of the very people whose interest the organization claims to be defending—because the people cannot relate to them and their is nobody there to interpret their actions. You have to set up a program of practical action and be a model for the community to follow and appreciate.

The original vision of the Party was to develop a lifeline to the people, by serving their needs and defending them against their oppressors who come to the community in many forms—from armed police to capitalist exploiters. We knew that this strategy would raise the consciousness of the people and also give us their support. Then, if we were driven underground by the oppressors, the people would support us and defend us. They would know that, in spite of the oppressor's interpretations, that our only desire was to serve their true interests; and they would defend us. In this manner we might be forced underground, but there would be a lifeline to the community which would always sustain us, because the people would identify with us and not with our common enemy.

For a time the Black Panther Party lost its vision and defected from the community. With the defection of Eldridge Cleaver, however, we can move again to a full scale development of our original vision and come out of the twilight zone which the Party has been in during the recent past.

The only reason that the Party is still in existence at this time, and the only reason that we have been able to survive the repression of the Party and murders of some of our most advanced comrades is because of the Ten Point Program—our survival program. Our programs would be

meaningless and insignificant if they were not community programs. This is why it is my opinion that as long as the Black community and oppressed people are found in North America the Black Panther Party will last. The Party will survive as a structured vehicle, because it serves the true interests of the oppressed people and administers to their needs—this was the original vision of the Party. The original vision was not structured by rhetoric nor by ideology. It was structured by the practical needs of the people, and its dreamers were armed with an ideology which provided a systematic method of analysis of how best to meet those needs.

When Bobby Seale and I came together to launch the Black Panther Party, we had been through many groups. Most of them were so dedicated to rhetoric and artistic rituals that they had withdrawn from living in the Twentieth Century. Sometimes their analyses were beautiful, but they had no practical programs which would deliver their understandings to the people. When they did try to develop practical programs, they often failed, because they lacked a systematic ideology which would help them do concrete analyses of concrete conditions to gain a full understanding of the community and its needs. When I was in Donald Warden's Afro-American Association, I watched him try to make a reality of community control through Black Capitalism. But Warden did not have a systematic ideology, and his attempts to initiate his program continually frustrated him and the community too. They did not know why capitalism would not work for them, even though it had worked for other ethnic groups.

TO BE CONTINUED



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"Revolutionary Suicide" is now available in paperback at \$1.95, from Ballantine Books, New York City.



## SENATE INVESTIGATORS UNCOVER 858 COMPUTER DATA BANKS

(Washington, D.C.) - Senate investigators disclosed last week that they have discovered 858 federal government computer data banks containing more than a billion records on individuals. Senator Sam Ervin, Jr., chairman of the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, released a four-year study on the mammoth federal data banks in preparation for hearings which began last week on bills which would provide citizens with more protection of their privacy.

Ervin, a North Carolina Democrat and chairman of the Senate Watergate Committee, said, "I suspect there are many more we haven't found." He stated that the study showed the overwhelming need for legislation "to keep Americans from being numbered, punched, processed and filed away."

### BILLION RECORDS

The Subcommittee said that 54 executive branch agencies surveyed reported a total of 858 data banks containing personal information about individuals. These data banks contain more than 1.25 billion records on citizens in this country.

Ervin said that the Subcommittee encountered difficulty in finding out about many agencies' secret data banks. Many agencies do not even report when they establish a data bank. Many agencies have information on race, drug addiction, and salary; some 29 are primarily concerned with derogatory information; only ten per cent are authorized by law; more than 40 per cent do not inform persons that records are kept on them; about half do not allow persons to review and correct their files; and more than one-third prohibit access by individuals.

The April 10-13 issue of the *Rochester Patriot* reports that a bill co-sponsored by Senator Ervin would impose far greater restraints on the government's right to collect and disseminate personal data. Presently an individual usually cannot get through local police and federal red tape in order to see his file (if the person actually knows he has one), though FBI "policy" supposedly guarantees this right.

Senator Ervin's bill would require that citizens be informed of any files existing on them, and be allowed to check the records and correct any mistake. The new bill would establish a fed-

eral-state board to regulate the operation and establishment of computerized data banks. Richard Nixon has proposed a bill opposing Ervin's reforms, leaving the regulation of data banks completely in the hands of the attorney general.

More importantly, the Ervin bill would prohibit the previously unrestricted computerization of "raw intelligence data" which the FBI and the Nixon administration so dearly love. Under the current law—or lack of it—many local, state and federal government agencies have a legal right to see the data in addition to police. The Ervin bill would restrict that also.

Growing public outrage in response to increased knowledge of the extensiveness of these computerized 'paper prisons' is expected to pressure many congressmen to take a firm stand in favor of Ervin's stringent reforms of the government's data banks. It is this support, ever increasing with greater mass awareness of this computerized Pandora's Box that will be the critical factor in harnessing these technological information banks. □



FBI personnel are well equipped for police work in the field and in their offices.

## "WORK-FOR-WELFARE"

(Sacramento, Calif.) - The "work-for-welfare program" (WIN)—brain child of Governor Ronald Reagan—has temporarily been spared the agony of defeat, by a "surprising" change-of-mind vote by several Senate Health and Welfare members. The Reagan administration won its point when during a committee hearing several members decided they would vote to kill a measure by Assemblyman John Foran, aimed at abolishing the program. □

## CALIFORNIA SCHOOLS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5  
mission was stacked in favor of the school system...

"The School Board prepackaged the content of the Commission's discussions by limiting our charge to the symptoms—violence, vandalism, truancy—not the causes of unrest in the schools which lie in the failure of the education system...We feel that the Board will use this Commission's report as it did the grand jury report—as an excuse to put police in the schools.

"Many people already have dropped out of the Commission, among them representatives of six flatlands organizations and 12 students—more than half of the original student representation.

"We know there are people on the Commission who sincerely believe that education in Oakland should be improved. But we also know that whatever this Commission decides represents the thinking of school employees and a narrow spectrum of the Oakland community. We refuse to be used by the Oakland Board of Education to make it look like there is widespread community participation when in fact there is not."

Reference in the letter to a grand jury report relates to a highly critical Alameda County Grand Jury study of schools in Oakland completed last year. While their report put forward numerous recommendations toward solving Oakland's education problems and improving the school programs, the Oakland School Board seized on a single grand jury recommendation—the police in schools plan. From this evolved the Commission on School Safety and its facade of community participation.

Contacted following the walk out, the groups say they intend to formulate a minority report criticizing the Commission and specifying the community recommendations.

## F. A. O. BLAMES WEALTHY COUNTRIES FOR FOOD SHORTAGE

(Geneva, Switzerland) - "North American measures to curb national surpluses, and large-scale Soviet purchases on the world market were contributing factors in reducing grain reserves," putting the world in what is today probably "the most critical food shortage in history," reports the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). □

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## Intercommunal News

O.A.U. CONFERENCE  
SUPPORTS ARMED  
STRUGGLE AGAINST  
PORTUGAL

(Mogadishu, Somalia) - The 11th annual Organization of African Unity Conference of Heads of State and Government ended here last week with a call to the peoples of Portuguese occupied Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau to continue the armed struggle for total independence despite overtures from the new government of Portugal, under General Antonio de Spínola for "moves toward" African rule.

The four-day conference was participated in by all 42 independent African countries and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, recently proclaimed independent. On the opening day of the conference Luis Cabral, head of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, was elected a deputy chairman of the Organization of African Unity, in recognition of the proclamation of the new Republic and to honor the struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau against Portuguese colonialism.

Recent events in Portugal, destined to affect the whole of the African continent, dominated considerations of delegates to the conference. Final resolutions advised support to the Portuguese requests for cease-fire discussions "if it appeared that a lessening of hostilities could lead to a settlement."

But, the OAU warned that the Arab and African states would withhold recognition of the new regime in Portugal unless the Spínola government recognized the right of the African territories of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau to independence and called on Portugal to "proclaim unequivocally her recognition of the inalienable right" of the African people to independence.

The OAU assured the liberation movements in the Portuguese territories all necessary and financial support in their continuing fight. The organiza-



Angolan military commanders planning an attack against the armed forces of Portuguese colonialism. Despite overtures by the new Portuguese government, MPLA has pledged to carry on the armed struggle to victory.

ANGOLA: PORTUGAL BIDS TO  
HOLD ON

The newly published, Berkeley, California-based International Bulletin features in its June 14 issue an important piece on the African liberation struggle under the title: "Angola: Will Portugal Hold On?" THE BLACK PANTHER here reprints a major portion of the article.

The new Portuguese government has opened talks with the liberation movements in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, but virtually no progress has been made in ending the 13-year-old colonial war in the east African territory of Angola.

In an interview published in an Angolan newspaper on June 9, Portuguese Foreign Minister Mario Soares said, "Angola is Portugal's most difficult decolonization problem because of its riches and the fact that the three nationalist movements here are split among themselves."

The Portuguese government remains divided on its African policy. There are reports that many of the young officers who carried out the April 25 coup have grown impatient with the reluctance of the government they installed to grant independence to all three African territories. These officers are said to have held meetings recently to discuss the situation.

However, General Antonio de Spínola, the provisional presi-

dent, and other senior officers have insisted that a referendum be held in each of the territories following negotiated cease-fires. They hope that whatever the outcome of the votes in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, where they do not expect to win, they can work out some special relationship with Angola, granting a limited form of autonomy, but retaining economic ties.

Angola is Portugal's largest (almost twice the size of Texas) and richest African territory, although the population is for the most part impoverished, illiterate, and subject to endemic malaria. There are only nine doctors per million people.

But Angola has major oil deposits, diamonds and high-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18



The Organization of African Unity Foundation Summit poster showing the 31 founder heads of state.

tion pledged an annual contribution of \$3.9 million to assist guerrilla movements. In addition more than \$700 million was pledged by Arab oil-producing countries to assist African nations with development loans and projects.

The representatives of independent Africa expressed concern with the situation in Angola because of the existence of three Angolan liberation movements

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

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## SCOTLAND YARD INVESTIGATES NAMIBIA "PEOPLE'S ARREST" THREAT

(London, England) - The Special Branch (SB) of Scotland Yard's security division has been conducting belated but extensive inquiries in an attempt to discover who was responsible for the "Friends of the United Nations Executive" letter sent in March to the heads of about 30 European companies known to be illegally investing in Namibia (South West Africa). (See THE BLACK PANTHER, April 20, 1974.)

The letter threatened the company heads with "people's arrest" and imprisonment in conditions "comparable with the working conditions of the workers in Namibia you are violating" if they had not ceased to violate international law by August 1.

No definite reason has yet been revealed as to why the SB would suddenly be investigating this letter, three months after it was sent out, but it has been suggested that American secret police agencies have a more serious view of the threats and therefore asked the SB to prepare a report about it.

Thus far, the SB investigation has been directed largely at individuals and groups working on the Namibian issue in London and in Manchester and Liverpool, the two cities from which the letters were mailed. Also, much of the inquiries have been based on a detailed analysis of the original letter.

Although Namibia has been declared a United Nations protectorate state, the racist White minority regime in South Africa refuses to relinquish control granted by the old League of Nations. As a result, the U.N. has placed sanctions on trade with and investments in Namibia, which many Western and European companies refuse to honor.

## ARRESTED FOR KIDNAPPING

(Paris, France) - Four men and three women police claim to be part of the International Revolutionary Action Groups (GARI), have been arrested here for the kidnapping of Angel Suarez (top executive of the Spanish Bank of Bilbao).

GARI had demanded \$600,000 ransom and release of political prisoners for Suarez's release. □

## U.S. AND NATO ADMIT PLANNING MILITARY OPERATIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

(New York, N.Y.) - American and NATO military officials have been forced to admit that they have been actively engaged in secret contingency planning for military operations in the southern Africa area.

These contingency plans could turn into a direct U.S. military commitment to defend the White supremacist regimes in South Africa, Rhodesia, and in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, according to a recent report prepared for the United Nations Committee on Decolonization.

The commitment has already reached the point at which the NATO ministers, in a communique issued last June in Brussels still classified as secret, authorized the Supreme Allied Commander in the Atlantic region (SACLANT) to plan for contingencies "outside the NATO area." NATO activities are authorized only north of the Tropic of Cancer, which excludes all the continent of Africa south of the Sahara Desert.

But the still unpublished U.N. report says that the NATO study is intended to prepare the way for the setting up of a "counter-intervention" force in the area with South African cooperation. NATO denies this.

SACLANT, headed by American Admiral Ralph W. Cousins and based in Norfolk, Virginia, has already begun gathering information on bases that might be required in the southern African area. So far, SACLANT has reached the conclusion that NATO itself does not have sufficient forces to deal with that area. A defense arrangement involving the White supremacist regimes of southern Africa—South Africa in particular—is therefore necessary.

The United States is still an official adherent to the U.N. arms embargo on South Africa, passed in 1963. However, there have been several signs lately that, at least within the Pentagon and probably at other levels of the administration, there is a growing desire to establish friendly military relationships with South Africa.

In early May, Admiral Hugo H. Biermann, commandant of the South Africa Defense Forces, arrived in the U.S. for what was termed a "private" visit. It was the first time in over ten years that the head of the South African Defense Forces had visited the U.S. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, May 25, 1974.)

Biermann is one of the chief architects of South Africa's cur-



The southern tip of Africa is engulfed in rebellion against White colonial rule.

rent military strategy which seeks to involve the U.S. and other NATO countries in a close regional alliance against what the South Africa minister of defense recently described as the forces of "international communism and its cohorts, leftist activities, exaggerated humanism, permissiveness, materialism and related ideologies."

South Africa is in urgent need of allies. The events of late April, 1974, in Portugal, where the almost 50 years of fascist rule were replaced by a military junta with many promises of reform and possible settlement of the wars in the Portuguese African colonies, create new uncertainties for South Africa.

### BUFFER COLONY

Now, the Portuguese colony of Mozambique where FRELIMO guerrillas have made significant military gains in the last year, provides a buffer between South Africa and a hostile independent Black African continent. A liberated Mozambique under the leadership of FRELIMO however, would pose immediate threats to the stability of South Africa's White minority rule. South Africa, accordingly, was the first country to recognize the new regime in Portugal.

South Africa's military expenditures have already grown dramatically. They are 10 times greater than they were in 1960, and jumped from \$500 million in 1972-73 to \$700 million in 1973-74.

Although a spokesman for Admiral Cousins insisted that NATO activities remain limited to north of the Tropic of Cancer, the official spokesman for NATO in Brussels conceded that most of the disclosures in the UN report were correct. He added that the conditions under which the NATO forces could be mobilized included not just "war" but "crisis" as well. He would not elaborate on what "crisis" meant.

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



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## PORTUGAL BIDS TO HOLD ON

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

grade iron ore, as well as plantations of coffee, cotton, timber, and sugarcane. Portugal and U.S. multinational corporations are particularly interested in maintaining control of the offshore oil wells in Cabinda, a 2,800 square-mile enclave located north of the Congo River estuary and administered by Angola. Gulf Oil has over \$150 million invested in Cabinda and plans to double this investment in the near future. Gulf leads the pack of multinationals in Angola, but others are increasingly active.

Another important factor in the political future of Angola is the presence of an organized European community vastly outnumbered by more than five million Africans, but there is talk that the Europeans—concentrated in the cities—might try to declare an

independent, White-dominated state, like Rhodesia did in 1965.

Angola, like Mozambique, is also strategically located in southern Africa. There is always the possibility that South Africa might intervene militarily if a hostile Black government came to power.

The commander of the 70,000 Portuguese troops in Angola says he has halted all offensive operations against guerrillas. "There is no more defoliation," he told *The New York Times*, June 2. "No more destruction of crops. All that is finished."

But Agostinho Neto, the leader of the best known liberation organization—the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)—has warned guerrillas not to be cheated or tricked by the Portuguese into laying down their arms. Saying a cease-fire offer without a guarantee of complete independence is meaningless, Neto has called for stepped up fighting "to bring the struggle to its conclusion." Holden Roberto, leader of the other main independence movement—the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FLNA)—also holds this position. And over 100 Chinese military instructors arrived this month in Zaire to equip and train FLNA guerrillas, according to the Zaire press agency on June 3.

Only Jonas Savimbi of the London-based National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) has ordered his troops to suspend their operations. However, the UNITA forces are small and are not recognized by the Organization of African Unity (OAU).



SPARTACUS MONIMAMBU; MPLA Central Committee member and head of Military Commission of MPLA.

The Angolan independence movement is splintered and the various groups have suffered from internal divisions. Holden Roberto's FLNA has even attacked MPLA military columns in the field. As a result, guerrilla actions throughout Angola have decreased in the last few years, although there has been a surge of fighting in Cabinda. The MPLA is said to control about 25 per cent of Angola—mostly in the sparsely populated central and southeastern region. The FLNA is strongest near the border with Zaire, the base of their operations.

The Reverend Joachim Pinto de Andrade, the brother of a former MPLA president, recently returned to Africa after 14 years of prison and exile in Portugal. In a June 6 radio appeal broadcast from Brazzaville, Congo, he called for the formation of a united front of Angolan nationalists, saying, "Now is not the time, on the eve of generalized independence in Africa, for us to be divided and to allow the enemy to pick us off one by one." □

## FURLOUGH SYSTEM

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

is granted and require a public hearing if anyone objects to the furlough. The governor would have the last word on granting a disputed furlough.

The new proposal, conceived by Democratic Rep. Clifford Marshall (who is also running for Norfolk County Sheriff), plays on the public's fears of "dangerous criminals on the loose."

One of the difficulties in the present furlough system is that prison administrators, who have the final say over a prisoner's temporary release, exploit the program as a means of behavior control. Only those prisoners who conform get furloughs, and since the program started in November, 1972, the prospect of a furlough has "bribed" many prisoners out of political activism.

The superintendent of Walpole Prison, Douglas Vinzant, during his first six months in office, arbitrarily flouted furlough guidelines and only granted furloughs to 67 men, out of a total prison population of over 500.

Despite its problems, however, the furlough system has been successful. From November of 1972, (when the program started) until March, 1974, on 164 people did not return at the end of their furloughs—a 1.6 per cent lapse rate. Most of the these 164 were only a few hours late, turning themselves in voluntarily. □

## WORLD SCOPE

### UNITED NATIONS

(United Nations, N.Y.) - A new report by the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), showing that the needy in the U.S. are hungrier and poorer than they were four years ago, has raised doubts that a bountiful American harvest can forestall the threatened world food shortage. The report prepared by a group of experts for the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs published last week explains clearly that neither increased spending nor rising agricultural output will be enough, domestically or internationally, to solve an increasingly critical world food problem.

### PORTUGAL

(Lisbon, Portugal) - A strike of some 125,000 postal workers ended late last week, considered by foreign observers to be a major victory for Portugal's beleaguered provisional government and for the Communist Party. The alleged unpopularity of the strike throughout the country and the government's threat to draft the postal workers into the Army and force them to work caused the workers to back down.

### UNITED NATIONS

(Caracas, Venezuela) - Representatives of almost all the nations of the world have gathered here for the largest international conference in history, a summer-long meeting to draft a treaty that will govern man's use of the ocean. Over 5,000 delegates and official observers from 148 nations were on hand when the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea opened, a conference which by the end of August will deal with some 100 issues.

### NATO

(Ottawa, Canada) - NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) members have agreed to wider and more intimate consultation on common problems, including issues affected by situations outside the alliance such as the Middle East. The U.S., however, reserved the right to take unilateral military action in an emergency. The agreement was part of a declaration intended to guide NATO through its second 25 years.

## HERE I STAND

by  
**Paul Robeson**  
an autobiography

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## ENTERTAINMENT

# SUSPENDED BLACK AMERICAN MUSICIAN SUES PUERTO RICAN MUSIC SCHOOL

(San Juan, Puerto Rico) - Musical circles here and Black musicians in the U.S. are eagerly awaiting the decision of federal court Chief Judge Jose Toledo in the case of percussion Professor Frederick King vs. the Puerto Rico Conservatory of Music, the (Pablo) Casals Festival and specified individuals.

Professor King, a Black American, was summarily dismissed without pay from his position at the Conservatory last January under conditions that he charges smack of racism. Professor King has filed a \$275,000 damage suit over his suspension and for his reinstatement.

headed the Percussion Department at the Conservatory of Music.

Charges, containing alleged student complaints about his teaching method, were originally filed in August, 1973. But, no administrative hearing was ever held and Professor King was told on January 4 that as of January 14 he would be suspended without pay.

Professor King charges in his suit that besides his right to due process being violated, he has been discriminated against by the defendants because he is Black and a "continental." Professor King is from the state of Iowa, and like Ms. Elayne Jones, Black tympanist of the San Francisco Symphony recently denied tenure, is an internationally known tympanist.

A four-man committee formed in support of Professor King is composed of university of Puerto Rico (UPR) music professor Donald Thompson, UPR humanities professor Jose Ferrer Canales, natural resources secretary Cruz Matos and Joel Magruder, a local publicist.

In a statement the committee said: "We deplore the sort of treatment the conservatory has handed Mr. King, who not only created the percussion department, but who also has insisted on the highest standards of professional conduct and who has given so much of himself for the advancement of music in Puerto Rico." □



## UGANDA'S GEN. AMIN SLANDERED BY EUROPEAN FILM

(Paris, France) - African residents and students here are protesting a documentary film on Uganda's leader, General Idi Amin, that is currently showing to packed audiences. Directed by Barbet Schroeder of Switzerland, the film produces roars of laughter from its European viewers, reflecting their racism, ignorance and lack of understanding of the African scene.

One student from the Cameroons said of European amusement at a scene in which General Amin lectures his ministers on the necessity for honesty and hard work, "I don't see what Europeans have to be so smug about. Corruption among ministers is not an altogether unknown phenomenon here either." □

Ms. Elayne Jones, Black first-chair tympanist with the San Francisco Symphony, has entered suit in U.S. District Court in San Francisco for tenure with the Symphony and is demanding \$50,000 damages for emotional distress and anguish caused by denial of her tenure after two years in the post. The suit charges both the San Francisco Symphony Association and the Musicians Union Local 6 with violating the antidiscrimination provisions of the contract under the Taft-Hartley Act.

Professor King, who has been a member of the Pablo Casals Festival Orchestra since 1968 and the Puerto Rico Symphony Orchestra since 1967, founded and, until his suspension last January,

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and justice  
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behind walls/bars and given  
a vicious and a new reality.  
I will speak to you, Johnny  
as soldier to soldier—  
real, true and loving—  
I will not lie  
To say it is easy—'cause you  
know it is not.  
You are important.  
Your example is raising the  
consciousness of many—  
We need you.  
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harvest is coming—  
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## Africa in Revolutionary



# SAN QUENTIN 6 DETAIL TORTURE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

second degree malnutrition (he has lost close to 40 pounds since coming to the AC), and has poor eyesight and tension headaches. Dr. Weinstein shocked the court spectators with his disclosure that prison doctors were treating Spain's tension headaches with drugs almost exclusively prescribed for epilepsy.

On Tuesday, Brother Spain showed up in court with blood stains on his jacket and cut marks on his face. He testified that he had been forcibly shaved by eight to ten guards shortly before he left San Quentin that morning. Chained from head to toe at the time, Brother Johnny said he was thrown to the ground and shaved with a pair of hair-cutting shears.

"I was told to 'stop moving or you'll get it in the eye,'" Spain said.

## RESTRAINING ORDER

Judge Zirpoli refused to issue a restraining order to stop the guards from the forced shaves.

Spain then went on to relate a string of daily life experiences he undergoes in the AC: the placement of foreign objects such as pieces of wire, match stems, and human defecation in his food; showers two times a week when the water is arbitrarily cut off before all the soap can be washed off; cell searches in which personal possessions and legal materials are torn up and destroyed; being stripped, searched and chained, every time he leaves his cell; wearing "whites," dirty, smelly "prisoner of war" uniforms for family visits, being unable to touch or have human contact during visits and having conversations overheard by guards; being denied a view of natural sunlight. The daily abuse and harassment by the guard-tormentors is constant, he reported.

Johnny commented at one point that he is being "put in a position of having to prove I'm a human being. I don't like that in itself."

Under cross-examination by deputy Attorney General Stanford Svetcov, Spain testified that he believed that he was being held in the AC for "political reasons" and that he had been told by the guards—and also personally believed—he would never leave the AC alive.

Similar testimony of constant threats and intimidation was provided Wednesday and Thursday by Brothers Fleeta Drumgo and Willie Tate and on Friday by Black Panther Party member Hugo Pinell.

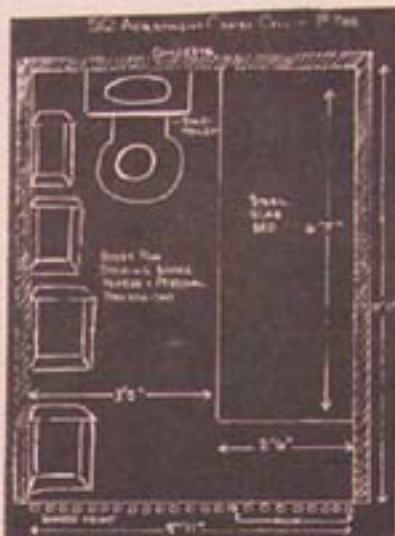
Brother Fleeta told the court that on one occasion, when returning to the AC from a visit, a guard put a knife to his throat and threatened to kill him. Willie Tate said that he was first confined in the AC when he threw water on a guard after the guard (K.E. Thomas) continually made degrading sexual remarks about him and other Black prisoners while in the shower.

When Hugo Pinell related his personal feelings about receiving a visit from his mother while in chains, a male spectator, himself a former prisoner, broke down in tears, sobbing loudly.

Hugo also testified to the choking and burning effects of being teargassed in his cell.

Shortly thereafter, another expert witness, Dr. Sumner Kalman, a professor of pharmacology at Stanford University, corroborated the harmful effects of Pinell's first-hand experience. Dr. Kalman said that in his studies of "CN" (teargas and mace) since 1967, he has found that high concentrations of the gas could be lethal and that he knew of four persons who had been killed by it.

Extra security measures have been taken to intimidate spectators at the San Quentin Six hearings. Outside the 17th floor



JOHNNY SPAIN made this simple sketch of his cramped 8' x 6' cell in the Adjustment Center at San Quentin.

courtroom, U.S. marshals screen everyone who enters with a metal detector and all packages, purses and briefcases are searched.

The hearings will continue for another two to three weeks, starting at 10:00 a.m., Monday through Friday, at the San Francisco Federal Building, 450 Golden Gate Avenue. Come and show your support for the San Quentin Six and all our unjustly incarcerated brothers and sisters.

## COCAINE CAPTURED

(La Paz, Bolivia) - At least 74 cocaine factories were discovered in 1973 and 211 people were arrested in connection with the factories, the Office of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs of the Bolivian police has announced. Statistics released from the Office showed that from February, 1972, to April, 1974, authorities seized 284 pounds of refined cocaine, representing a value of nearly \$38 million.

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## SPORTS

# "HOW I LEARNED TO STOP WORRYING AND BE A 'GOOD SPORT'"

The following excerpt is Part Two of "How I Learned To Stop Worrying and Be a 'Good Sport,'" from the book *Rip Off the Big Game* written by Paul Hoch, a professor in the sociology of sports at Dawson College in Montreal. This week we pick up in the middle of Professor Hoch's discussion of the highly profitable mass circulation of both sports and the ultra-American sports ethic.

And in the context of this system, in which work is at best almost meaningless and play the best available escape, the pitch for basketball went over big.

This is not to say that owners single-handedly created the market for these sports. In a society of fragmented and uncreative work, most people are particularly pleased to exercise their creative faculties in new games. After all, for most people it is

their only creative outlet. (This also explains in part the rise of conspicuous consumption, and particularly the recent rise in the conspicuous consumption of sex. It may not be much of a game, but for many it's the only game in town.) And in a society without sufficient athletic facilities for everyone to play, it is very likely that most people will end up as spectators of other people's play.

Successive generations of sports owners have cashed in on this phenomenon in our society. The manufacture and sale of mass pro-basketball watching was only one of their many manipulative achievements. Perhaps I was able to see it easiest with this sport because the promotional boom for basketball was just picking up steam in the early fifties. It had not been around long enough for us to imagine that it always was there, and always would be.

Schechter points out that one reason sports reporters "easily become what are called 'house men'" is that those (very few) who occasionally tried to criticize a home team have suddenly found themselves out of a job. He cites various specific examples of this. Moreover, when he himself uncovered the fact that in the '50s about 30 per cent of the basketball players at St. John's never graduated, his paper, the *New York Post*, flatly refused to print the story.

Announcer Phil Rizzuto told the *Daily News* that he does not "expect a guy to bite the hand that feeds him" (i.e., an announcer to knock his club), and so, too, may it be with newspapers and clubs. Purdue sport sociologists Gelfand and Heath who themselves were former sportswriters, seem to have just discovered this mutually profitable symbiosis. They insist, "Sports editors

should not forget that the more people they lead into athletic activity, the more avid readers they recruit." And Malcolm Mallette, associate director of the American Press Institute adds, "Circulation managers say that about 30% of the people who buy their papers do it primarily for the sports news."

Such newspapers as the *Manchester Guardian*, which are supposedly against gambling, have not been loathe to carry point spreads and betting tips when they thought it would boost their circulation. Schechter says that the wedding of media sports departments and sporting organizations has been so thoroughly consummated that the two are often "partners." "There is the real possibility," he adds, "that the newspaper needs the team more than the team needs the newspaper."

## COMMISSIONER

National Football League Commissioner Pete Rozelle once remarked that "Whatever success the NFL has had is due, in no small measure, to the wholehearted support it has received through the years from newspapermen, radio announcers and commentators, and, more recently, television announcers and commentators."

Over the years one of the newspapers most friendly to the sports establishment has been the *New York Daily News*, America's largest-selling paper. The *Daily News* is also the long-time owner of television station WPIX, which has televised New York Yankee baseball for as long as I can remember (and now televises the New York Nets basketball games as well). Thanks in part to sympathetic news coverage in the *Daily News*, the Yanks and Nets can draw big TV audiences on WPIX, which can then raise its advertising rates for the games. Which means more money in the bank for the *Daily News*.

This is not to say that the *Daily News* doesn't treat the Mets and the Knicks every bit as good as the Yanks and the Nets. After all the paper's main sports "interest" is not its WPIX ad revenue, but its daily circulation of around a million, including people it has trained to be good "fans" (and hence good readers of the *News* sports pages).

The TV commentators are not far behind. "I'm a house man," sportscaster and ex-catcher Joe Garagiola reportedly used to say. "That's what they're paying me to be."

TO BE CONTINUED

## UCLA'S BILL WALTON RISKS CAREER FOR STAND ON SOCIAL ISSUES

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - UCLA basketball star Bill Walton is one of the most successful college athletes of his generation. He has led his team to the longest winning streak ever, 88 games.

Last year he was offered \$3 million to turn professional but chose to remain an unpaid amateur until his college career ran its normal course.

Despite his super-star status, few people know what Walton does off the court. This is because Walton doesn't fit the image of the gung-ho All-American jock - the image of sports heroes that America and the media like to project. Walton is different.

Bill Walton has been playing much of his college career on probation - from both school and the NCAA. The probation is a result of Walton's leadership in a sit-in and takeover of a college building when Nixon ordered the mining of Haiphong harbor in May, 1972.

Walton was charged with unlawful assembly, disturbing the peace, rioting, and failure to disperse. Afterwards he said, "I've been taught my whole life to respect my fellow man. So when I see my government annihilate a whole country, I have

to do something about it. We're trying to make people think about things instead of just accepting them. Some people dislike it because we stir things up, but things need to be stirred up."

Team mate Tommy Curtis, recalling the incident, said, "Bill wasn't the only basketball player demonstrating; there were half a dozen. But the rest of us ran when the cops came. Bill didn't. It took courage. He was the first one they went after - rough. Every cop wanted to get the 'White Hope' that was messing up."

School administrators, politicians and some members of the press were among those who disliked Walton's involvement in the demonstration. When they found out that Walton also considered himself a revolutionary, and supported people who refused the draft or deserted, there were efforts to have him thrown off the team, blackballed from basketball and dismissed from school. This has happened to other athletes. It didn't happen to Walton because he is such a great player. And because he is White, in a sport dominated by Blacks. "Let's face it," he said, "I've gotten twice as much attention as



BILL WALTON is UCLA's star basketball player.

I deserve because I'm White. Racism is one of America's biggest problems. I'm ashamed of the way Whites have denied rights to Blacks and I don't want to hear about how things are better than they used to be, because they're not like they should be. I can't blame Blacks for any steps they take to get their freedom. We Whites have a lot to

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

## SUPREME COURT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

law requires school attendance of all children between the ages of 6 to 18. Substantial student interests could be affected by the disruption of scholastic continuity, the effect of references to suspension in school records and the stigma of suspensions.

If the Supreme Court decides in favor of the students, Columbus would join the cities of Pittsburgh, Houston, Seattle and others, which have been operating for years on the prior hearing basis without significant difficulties.

The brief points out that the city of Columbus "would teach the children of this nation that our principles of government allow school authorities to suspend a student for substantial periods of time without giving the student a reason for the suspension or any opportunity to defend in even a rudimentary manner against the most egregious (blatant) cases of mistake, bias or overreaction by school authorities, even though serious personal consequences to the student may follow." □

## BILL WALTON

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

learn from Blacks — especially to learn to believe we're really brothers and sisters."

Walton recently signed a five-year contract with the Portland Trailblazers for a reported \$2-plus million. He has talked of putting his money to good use. "I couldn't spend that much money in a lifetime," he said. When asked what he would do with it, he said, "I'll tell you one thing, I won't invest it in the United Fruit Company. I'm a socialist and I believe the wealth should be spread around. I don't have a specific program yet, but I'm going to put it where it can do some good."

People magazine recently reported that Walton had instructed his lawyer to hold onto the money and give him a \$25 a week allowance.

At the end of the school year, Walton was organizing campus opposition to an experimental prison behaviour modification program in California which does brain surgery on prisoners.

(We thank the Wisconsin Patriot for the information contained in this article.)

## Letters to the Editor

Dear Oakland Comrades,

I have been working with the Party here since April 1974, and helped organize our Sickle Cell Program here in 72. We have tested over 10,000 and are reactivating the program by expanding it to include hypertension testing also. An article I wrote that was published in the Medical Tech Journal was printed in THE BLACK PANTHER in late July last year. I was very proud to have had my story in the paper.

Also I am enclosing the pamphlet I helped write to recruit community workers in our new program. We have had two classes already and a number of community workers are already proficient in blood pressures and Sickle Cell testing.

I was pleased to see the article about the child that died in the last issue of the paper. For about two years there was a lot of publicity about Sickle Cell Anemia in the paper. Just because there is not a lot of publicity about Sickle Cell now there are a lot of people already forgetting the importance of testing and how important it is for people to know if they are trait carriers of Sickle Cell. At least if people know they are trait carriers, they have a choice of whether or not they will take the chance of producing a child with the disease.

I want to highly recommend a book I have read recently that is very complete about Sickle Cell. It covers what the disease is; how to do genetic counseling; how to get community support; legal complications involved in testing; and what the latest legislation is, including a report from Ron Dellums. Please get the book and give it to the people that head that Survival Program. The book is *Sickle Cell Anemia—The Neglected Disease*, Department P, University Extension, University of California, 2221 Fulton Street, Berkeley, Calif. 94720.

The cost is only \$3.00. I train people to become medical technologists at Fourth Ward Clinic here in Houston and that book is one that I require all my workers to read as we daily test and counsel people about Sickle Cell Anemia. Education of the people still seems to be the major drawback, but we will all keep on in the struggle.

Power to the People  
Shirley Mitchell  
Houston, Texas

Greeting, Comrades,

Revolutionary Greeting - I greet you the voice of the Black man. My greeting is not a new—but as old as the sun, moon and stars.

Sisters and Brothers, beloved comrades, I have been receiving the B.P.P. paper for four and one-half months and adhere to it. There is no doubt that this is a beautiful paper. I send my congratulations to all the Sisters and Brothers who have devoted time and opportunity to seek the important news of what's going on across the city and states. My greatest to this beautiful paper. Without the Party, most poor Black, Red, Yellow, Brown people would be still dead of the knowledge. My regards again to the Comrades.

Your Brother in his Blackness,  
Leon Toliver #98374  
Sekou Toliver  
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Black Panther:

I want to commend you for your powerful statement on the Middle East in the May 25, 1974, issue. At least someone other than a few elderly statesmen of the left in the U.S.—such as Noam Chomsky and your neighbor Paul Jacobs—has seen through the fog of bullshit that passes for a Marxist analysis of the Middle East. I am an American Jew and a radical Zionist (read progressive Jewish nationalist) and for at least three years have held views very similar to those expressed by the Black Panther Party in their Middle East Position Paper.

I think the article is significant for at least two reasons. First because of the power of the analysis and the way it is presented. It is a very clear statement of what is important and what is not—taking both sides to task for their grievous failures.

However, it is also important because the Black Panther Party, both in the Black community in the U.S. and in the American left, can now set a lot of heads straight and demonstrate a sensible way to deal with the Arab-Jewish conflict. Not only can this become an antidote to the powerful reactionary poison which has separated Jews and Blacks from each other in the United States, but it can be a clear signal to the "vast" anti-Zionist (as opposed to anti-Israeli) leftist elements to begin replacing their romanticism of the Arab and/or Jewish self-hate (a clear phenomenon which you should be well able to understand) with a clear Marxist understanding of the historical problems and historical necessities of Jews, Palestinians and other Arabs.

I urge you to continue to elaborate your views and spread this Position Paper far and wide. You should specifically challenge the American left to publish it...and you should specifically take (as you did in the article) to task those American Jews who have lost contact with Israel and their own national existence as Jews. By this I mean the uncritical support of American Jewry for Israel. By this I mean those anti-Zionist (Jewish nationalist) Jewish leftists with all their brain power cannot even see the historical forces that act on themselves and fellow Jews.

Again...I salute the Panthers for their statement. I'm going to try to get it distributed in Israel. If some members of the group that wrote the statement (or the individual and some of his comrades) are interested in coming to Israel and meeting some of the Marxist groups here I suggest you contact Paul Jacobs. Judging by what he has written and what you are now writing I wouldn't be surprised if you have already had some contact with him.

To end with a personal...when I lived in the States my friends and I were convinced that some leftist groups would eventually catch hold of reality in the Middle East and chuck their irrationality. Congratulations to you for having done it.

Shalom and Struggle,  
Reuven Plaskin  
Jerusalem

## ACQUITTED COP

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Sister Viola Plummer suggested that jobs and improved conditions in the Black community were also important needs in South Jamaica. She pointed out that the Chamber of Commerce and large businesses that depend upon the poor people of New York for their profits should be made to support a suit against Shea.

"It is the Chamber of Commerce that holds the power in this community," she said. "If we don't organize and effectively pull the strings behind the Chamber of Commerce, it is over."

The sister suggested that economic pressures must be brought to bear on the business institutions in the city to win improvements in Black people's conditions of existence. She recommended that an economic boycott of the Macy's and Gertz department stores might bring about some of the desired changes. She was broadly cheered by the audience. □

## U.N. GROUP BLASTS MURDER OF AFRICANS

(Geneva, Switzerland) - The United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid ended its meetings in Geneva on May 31, after condemning the killing by South African police of two African miners at the Lorraine gold mine in South Africa's Orange Free State. □

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# A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

## PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL RESEARCH HEALTH CLINICS

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

### THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Established to test and create a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia. The foundation informs people about Sickle Cell Anemia and maintains an advisory committee of doctors researching this crippling disease.

### PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

Provides free dental check-ups, treatment and an educational program for dental hygiene.

### PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRY PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eyeglasses for the people.

### PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM

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

## FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

### FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Provides children with a free, nourishing, hot breakfast every school morning.

### FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

Provides food for the people through community participation and community cooperative buying.

## PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people.

## PEOPLE'S FREE SHOE PROGRAM

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

### PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.

## INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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



PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA

## FREE FOOD PROGRAM

## LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

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

### FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of prisoners.

### FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

Provides imprisoned men and women with funds to purchase necessary commissary items.

## SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT [S.A.F.E.] PROGRAM

Provides free transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks on the first of each month.

## PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

Provides, with federal government aid, decent, low-cost and high-quality housing for Black and poor communities.

### PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's homes.

## FREE PEST CONTROL PROGRAM

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

## INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH INSTITUTE

Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking about and analyzing things. This method develops basic skills for living in this society.

### LIBERATION SCHOOLS: FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS

Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Intercommunal Youth Institute.

## CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

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

*"The survival programs are the means by which you organize and unify the people for their future liberation. They give a new character to the Black liberation movement in America."*

Bobby Seale