Chicago's Tranquility Center Bombed

(Chicago, Ill.) - "We'll be there, we're not going anywhere. We will continue to struggle."

That is the determined sentiment expressed by Marion Stamps, coordinator of Tranquility Community Center here, in the aftermath of a violent explosion and resulting fire which totally destroyed the popular facility late last Saturday night.

Located at 1529 North Larrabee within the Cabrini Green Housing Development, Tranquility Center was a virtual haven for the area's Black and poor community, sponsoring a variety of Survival Programs to serve the needs of local residents. Among these programs were:

* The Chicago Tenants Organization - a city-wide housing organization that works with tenants in both public and private housing, making people aware of certain kinds of housing programs.
* Senior Citizens - Tranquility Center sponsors, in conjunction with its youth component, an escort service for senior citizens, in addition to having helped to organize a health clinic which the seniors run themselves.
* Youth - the Center maintains a 24-hour hot line to handle youth problems as well as sponsoring after-school components and discussion groups. In addition, the Center was in the process of establishing a progressive community school.
* Food Co-op - provides low-cost, high quality food for the community.

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Chicago's Tranquility Center, which served many Black and poor residents with its Community Survival Programs, was totally destroyed by a bomb blast last week. The Center relocated within two days and continues to serve the community.
Editorial

TAINTED "HALO"

The "halo" that reborn Christian Jimmy Carter likes to make believe sits atop his head — and by implication his noncampaign was titled and tarnished last week by an exclusive story in the Los Angeles Times which exposed the Democratic Presidential nominee's use of "street money" in an attempt to buy the Black vote.

Although Carter has consistently refused to make public a program on the issues which confront and confound the Black community's survival, according to the Times report he and his followers readily distributed funds to needy Black ministers in California, New Jersey and Ohio — a barefaced attempt to use the church for his own political ends.

According to the Times report, $5,000 in "street money" was distributed in the Oakland-San Francisco Bay Area, part of over $150,000 in unaccounted for Carter campaign funds that must be returned to the government. Estimates of improperly spent Carter campaign funds run as high as $300,000.

Adding to the insult were the racist slurs of Paul Hemman, national Carter campaign administrator, who said: "I guess when Jimmy stood in Maryland and said, 'I don't intend to deal with political hacks,' he was talking about not dealing with White hacks, not Black ones."

Although the Times article states that Black ministers — all Carter supporters — sought the funds from the Carter campaign, Hemman, made another back-of-the-hand attack against the Black clergyman, when he commented, "We had some White hustlers too, but they were more sophisticated."

"We have to cover our own behinds," Hemman said, in a remark strangely reminiscent of the imperial Nixon regime. Indeed, the Carter campaign seemed poised to throw the Black clergymen to the wolves, producing a stream of instant disclaimers, the likes of which have not been seen, again, since Nixon. (Funny how the Carter campaign more and more tends to remind people of the Watergate of yesteryear.)

The Black community needs no "blessing," no handouts from Jimmy Carter. His attempts to use the Black church are the height of arrogance and ruthlessness. (See centerfold.)

Letters to the Editor

BLACK INMATE MURDERED

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I received from Alphonso Harrison. Plain cold blooded murder. I have written many letters of protest to the authorities and I will do all in my power to prevent the whitewash.

I have received three letters about this tragedy so far and one is quite long and written in a very nervous state, of course, but I will have the time to type it out and send you a copy. When a brother gets murdered like this we must all together see to it that action is taken and no cover-up is possible. This is the second murder in 25 months inside that human warehouse McAlester. Please contact me and tell me what more can be done. Distance is my biggest enemy at the moment.

The Medical & Judicial Committee here in Holland promised to send me a protest telegram and I am also trying to get the people from the Judicial Faculty to send a motion to the ambassador and the governor. I do hope to hear from you this time because it is in the interest of all. Ray Herrod is dead, that is a fact — but who will be next if we do not try.

Write soon.

Fraternally yours in struggle,
Corrie Courten

Dear Corrie Courten,

Today, Saturday April 24, 1976, about 1:30 p.m. On the Rock while the inmates were being allowed to go to the recreational yard for outdoor exercise, two (2) inmates began to quarrel over a bone (the meat had been eaten off the bone). One of the inmates began to use the bone to puncture the other inmate's skin (which caused some minor wounds on the inmate's hand and arm).

The guards shot the inmate in the back, the bullet went through his heart, killing instantly. The guard's name is C. Bolling and the dead inmate is Ray Herrod. He was an American-Indian.

P.S. Be sure to get word to Michael Tobin. I have no more stamps. Thanks.

Alphonso Harrison 77602
Oklahoma State Penitentiary
P.O. Box 97
McAlester, Oklahoma 74501

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THE BLACK PANTHER
GRAND JURY REFUSES TO INDICT OAKLAND KILLER COP

Family Of Jose Barlow Benavidez To File
$2 Million Suit

(Oakland, Calif.) - Typical of its history of dealings with Black and minority people, the Alameda County Grand Jury last week refused to indict White Oakland cop Michael Cogley for the June 11 shotgun murder of Jose Barlow Benavidez, a 27-year-old Chicano.

According to Deputy District Attorney Buzz De Vaga, who presented the case in closed hearings, the grand jury was not unanimous in its decision and several members sought to indict for at least involuntary manslaughter. Others believed that Cogley was negligent, but that the rookie cop's conduct did not rise to the level of criminal negligence.

Benavidez was killed on the 4400 block of East 14th Street, when he was stopped by Cogley because his car resembled one sought in a robbery case. Holding his shotgun in one hand against the base of the neck, Cogley was attempting to frisk Benavidez when the weapon was fired, killing him instantly.

The young Chicano lay on the street, his body uncovered and surrounded by a pool of blood, for over 45 minutes before an ambulance came. Eyewitnesses reported that Benavidez never made any quick movements or attempted in any way to get away, as Cogley later alleged.

In an interview with THE BLACK PANTHER the day after the August 4 announcement of the refusal to indict, Ms. Andrea Benavidez, the victim's 24-year-old sister, explained that she and her family were "really upset" by the grand jury decision.

"I always thought that when somebody killed someone else, they would have to be put away but not this guy," Ms. Benavidez said of Cogley.

"This means we'll have to start all over," Ms. Benavidez said. "Putting on more pressure, more demands, more marching, getting out more literature, making more people aware that they didn't indict him." She added that her family intends to file a $2 million wrongful death suit against Cogley and the city of Oakland.

On August 15, 1969, Comrade Sylvester Bell was assassinated. He was the fourth member of the Black Panther Party to fall victim to FBI COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) operations carried out by members of Ron Karenga's US organization. Sylvester's death came at a time when the trial of US members who assassinated Southern California Black Panther Party leaders Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins on January 17, 1969, had just begun in Los Angeles. Comrade Sylvester's murder in San Diego, California, was a blatant but futile attempt to intimidate witnesses at the Los Angeles trial.

At the time of his assassination, Sylvester Bell was 34 years old. His murderers have never been prosecuted. Long Live the Spirit of Sylvester Bell! Long Live the People's Struggle!

ANDREA BENAVIDEZ denouncing the police murder of her brother, Jose Barlow Benavidez, at a recent demonstration.

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ELAINE BROWN HIGHLIGHTS “KEEP STRONG” BANQUET

Recently, Elaine Brown, chairperson of the Black Panther Party, was the keynote speaker at a Chicago banquet celebrating the first full year of the publication of Keep Strong, a progressive monthly magazine, produced by the Intercommunal Survival Committee. In her address, the conclusion of which follows, Elaine criticized the “shameless, unprincipled unity” she saw unfold at the Democratic National Convention — where she was an official delegate from California — and stated the need for those concerned about developing “Power to the People” to seriously organize in their respective communities so that this ideal will become our reality.

CONCLUSION

“We don’t have any choices in November, as we never do have any choice in life,” said Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. I actually began to call them Gerald Carter and Jimmy Ford because it looks like that to me. I think that it’s important that we recognize that fact, that we don’t have any choice in life. We come November, but we should also recognize that we can begin to build some choices in our neighborhoods. We can begin to organize ourselves, and we have got to have our media out there.

“Either way, there was no voice at that Democratic Convention — our Democratic Convention presenting dissenting thoughts. I am ashamed to tell you this, but we had to fight with the (Democratic) Black Caucus to get Ron Dellums nominated as Vice-President, so he could get a few ideas out at that Convention on national television; so that somebody should know that the world hadn’t completely come to an end.

“I don’t have very much that I can tell you because there isn’t any blueprint of what we can do. This is the single most powerful country in the history of human kind; without question, more powerful than any single country today and more powerful than any country in the history of the world.

“I think that the only thing that we can do is to instantly support each other. We’ve got to keep magazines like Keep Strong going because it’s the only place where we are going to get an enlightenment or any truth. It’s the only place where we are going to read about what can be, and the only place where we are going to get an analysis of what we might be able to do not only to survive but, as I like to say, to win. That’s what we’re talking about doing. I’m not looking to tell my daughter or to tell Fred Hampton, Jr., ‘Well, listen, we did our best, but it wasn’t enough.’ I’m looking for us to win.

“Us: poor people; Black people; Puerto Ricans; Chicanos; Puerto Ricans; and old people, people that don’t have jobs and the few of us that do have jobs from time to time, those people who are hustling on the street, those people who are going to the churches and those people that don’t go to churches. For all of us to organize ourselves together is the only way that we can win.

“Of course, we have got to support each other and to put aside some of our differences. We were misrepresented in New York. You must recognize what happened there. It was as though they were all there saying, ‘It’s all right. Jimmy Carter is our man. We’re going out there in November in unity’ — unprincipled and reactionary unity that was driven on people and sold to us like a Cadillac is sold with a Ford motor inside.

“Look at all of us here in this room. We’ve stuck this thing out; a lot of people have been here a long time. It’s important that we get out to other people, to the people on welfare, to the people who are angry about their housing, to the people that have all kinds of grapes. There are millions and millions and millions of us, most of us than there are of them. We must not let our voice be misrepresented at Democratic Conventions — I don’t care about the Republican Convention; it’s really one big Convention — but we must not let ourselves be misrepresented.

“We’ve got to have a place where we can spread our message. One of the ways we can do that is through a magazine, through an entity like Keep Strong. We need TV stations and radio stations. We must be running for alderman and con

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25
SAN ANTONIO TENANTS' UNION PLANS H. U. D. DEMONSTRATION

(Oakland, Calif.) - Fresh from their recent confrontation with the Oakland City Council, active members in the San Antonio Tenants' Union are gearing up for a demonstration this week at the San Francisco offices of the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

The demonstration, slated to take place on Thursday, August 12, at 1 Embarcadero Center, focuses on HUD to pressure the Oakland Housing Authority (OHA) to correct the many violations of "decent, safe and sanitary" housing as required by city, state and federal law.

HUD monies were used to build the 178-unit facility 13 years ago and therefore, as a result of that initial outlay as well as other federal funds the OHA receives, HUD maintains a degree of responsibility for the maintenance and upkeep of San Antonio Villa.

For example, for the funding period from July 1, 1975, to June 30, 1976, HUD gave the OHA some $3,616 million for maintenance purposes. Also, from January 1, 1975, to the present, HUD gave the OHA over $1.5 million for modernization, of which records show that $165,000 allegedly went for San Antonio Villa.

"I can't see where they've spent $165,000 on San Antonio in 13 years, let alone since '75," said one area resident when told of the HUD figures. "That's a lie," said another.

Many of the problems to be raised at the HUD demonstration, have been previously raised at meetings with the OHA, as well as before the Oakland City Council, yet, in some instances, no action has been taken.

During that Council session, Besse Thomas, co-president of the Tenants' Union, Elaine Brown, chairperson of the Black Panther Party, and Julia Blackwell, all made strong presentations, pointing out the need for concrete solutions to the tenants pressing housing problems.

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents excerpts from a "Statement from the San Antonio Tenants' Union" presented to the City Council last week by Mrs. Thomas and signed by over 200 Villa residents:

"We, the San Antonio Tenants' Union, address the City Council this evening as an avenue for the redress of our long-standing grievances concerning the inadequate and inadequate public housing facilities in which we live. We have been to the Oakland Housing Authority to inform them of our problems. We have even invited the OHA commissioners to inspect San Antonio Villa firsthand. As expected, they found the conditions there, in the community we call "home," appalling. Yet nothing has been done to right these wrongs, to improve and upgrade the Villa, to provide "decent, safe and sanitary" housing as demanded by state and federal law.

Free Health Tests In East Bay

(Oakland, Calif.) The Berkeley-based People's Free Medical Clinic and the Seventh Day Adventist Church conducted free health testing last Saturday at 98th Avenue and Edes. Clinic volunteer workers tested 60 people for Sickel Cell Anemia (left, top photo) while Seventh Day Adventist volunteers conducted a variety of other medical tests, including blood pressure (right photo) and diabetes. They also provided information and counseling in family planning and other health areas.

The two community-minded organizations are planning future free health screenings in other Bay Area locations.
HIROSHIMA SURVIVORS SEEK MEDICAL AID FUNDING

(San Francisco, Calif.) - At 9:15 a.m., the morning of August 6, 1945, America dropped the world's first atom bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. There was, Kuniko Jenkins remembers, "a terrific flash and an intense heat." Within seconds, over 80,000 people were dead with thousands to die within weeks as a result of radioactive burns.

Kuniko Jenkins, a 19-year-old nurse when the bomb fell, was one of several hundred who attended a somber memorial service here last Friday, both to honor the dead of Hiroshima and Nagasaki (where the second atom bomb fell three days later, on August 9, 1945) and to call attention to the special medical needs of surviving survivors.

Mrs. Jenkins, now 50, is one of more than an estimated 1,000 surviving victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, who presently live in this country, 175 of whom live in the Bay Area. As a result of the lingering effects of radiation — excitement interferes with her sight and ability to breathe — Kuniko Jenkins could not tell her story herself last Friday. Rather, she fought back tears as it was read to the press.

MEDICAL BENEFITS

The Committee of Atom Bomb Survivors, one of the sponsors of the service, is seeking legislation that would extend medical benefits to the survivors. A push for state legislation of this kind failed last year when legislators backed away by saying it was a national issue and that laws should come out of Congress.

Kanji Kuramoto, one of the Committee's co-founders, explained that one problem is the attitude of some that "maybe it was okay to drop the bomb" in retaliation for Pearl Harbor. That "very callous, racist" thinking must change Kuramoto said.

Since 1947, the U.S. has spent over $30 million in research on the effects of atomic radiation on humans, but "this has never been translated to actual medical care for the survivors," said David Ushio, national director of the Japanese American Citizens League. He also repudiated "the war attitudes and prejudices (that) still exist."

Mariko Lindsey was a two-month-old fetus still in her mother's womb when the bomb dropped. It wasn't until a recent medical exam showed an extremely low white blood cell count, making her very susceptible to a variety of cancers and illnesses, that she knew that she, too, was a bomb victim. She says she knows now why the survivors "worry their entire lives."

"It's a terrible mental anguish they bear," Ushio echoed, explaining why other Japanese-American survivors, unlike Mariko Lindsey, refuse to tell their doctors their particular medical history. Victims of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, he said, need frequent medical check-ups and expensive care, many still haven't gotten it.

"Adorning the wall of the room in which the service was held were streamers of brightly colored, flattering origami birds — 1,000 in all — symbolizing hope that the tragedy will never recur. The disease and mental retardation suffered by the survivors, like Sadako Sasaki contracted leukemia shortly after the bombing. To ease her tears, her grandmother told her to fold 1,000 paper cranes. She reached 947 before she died."

"Mighty Panthers" Perform

At Community Forum

(Oakland, Calif.) - THE MIGHTY PANTHERS Drill Team highlighted last Sunday's Oakland Community Learning Center Community Forum, doing their fast-stepping routine as well as pantomiming some of the latest soul hits. Drill team member Dee Dee Burks, Nyota Archibald and Valerie Wilson each recited some of their own beautiful poetry.

Following the Mighty Panthers, everyone listened to Ericka Huggins, Oakland Community School director and member of the Alameda County Board of Education, give her informative "County Board Report" on KDIA Radio.

EYES ON CITY HALL

County Education Board Approves $12 Million Budget

The Alameda County Board of Education last week approved a $12,059,599 budget for county educational programs for the 1976-77 fiscal year — a $2,571,000 increase over last year's budget.

Among the expenditures in the coming year's budget are administration, $267,211; special schools (programs for the educationally handicapped and children in juvenile detention centers), $1,076,744; institutionalized pupils (those in foster homes), $2,000,000; and development centers (educational facilities for severely physically and mentally retarded minors), $1,470,947, including $960,276 for the proposed North County Development Center, $997,081 for Hayward Development Center and $113,590 for South County Development Center.

During discussion held prior to the vote, Board member Mary Hardy presented a map showing that the site for the North County Development Center — located on Chabot Road off Highway 24 East — lies along the San Andreas earthquake fault. Prior to the final selection of the property, seismic studies were conducted determining the safety of the site. Mrs. Hardy, however, expressed her concern that the proposed North County Development Center, which will serve Oakland, Berkeley and Albany youth, will be a split-level building, meaning that stairs will have to be built. Many of the children who will attend the Development Center are unable to walk; in event of an earthquake they would be trapped inside the building.

A majority of the Board members agreed with Mrs. Hardy that there should be further investigation of the North County Development Center project.

At its August 12 meeting, the Board will meet with county district school superintendents and will continue to interview candidates for the Personnel Commission.
Black Surgeon Brutalized By L.A. Police

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - Dr. Herbert Avery, a prominent Black surgeon here, was viciously beaten without cause last week by two members of the Hollywood Division of the Los Angeles Police Department.

The incident occurred when Avery and a friend, Pedro Ferrer (husband of Supremes star Mary Wilson), were driving in the Hollywood area and the Black doctor noticed police shaking down his 12-year-old son.

"My son and his friend were standing with their hands held over their heads as they were being interrogated and searched by police," said Avery. He was concerned, naturally, and he stopped his car and went to investigate.

He learned that the car had been stopped allegedly because its 1976 license sticker was improperly placed and a rear tail light was missing. The officers were assured by him that the necessary corrections would be made the next day.

INTERFERING

Avery then asked one of the officers why it was necessary for them to search the car. The officer responded by saying that Avery was "interfering with an investigation." The officer then asked the officers where it would be proper for him to stand while they were conducting the search.

The cop struck him in the throat with his forearm and then proceeded to beat him with a nightstick.

The other cop also joined in and Dr. Avery was then taken to jail, charged with interfering with police officers.

As a result of his mauling by police, Avery stated that his hands were swollen and that he was suffering from pains in his ribs, back and neck. He was later forced to postpone some appointments with patients who were in need of major surgery.

Avery's attorney, Johnny Cochran, said that legal procedures are now being initiated against the Los Angeles Police Department.

In a separate incident, Lynwood (Calif.) police beat Joseph W. Island, a 26-year-old Black Vietnam war veteran, for allegedly robbing his brother, who has a record of emotional problems.

He stated, "I still don't understand why the police did what they did."

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1,500 MARCH IN NEW ORLEANS TO "FREE GARY TYLER"

(New Orleans, La.) - Over 1,500 people marched and rallied here on July 24 to demand the freedom of 18-year-old Gary Tyler, who is presently on Angola, Louisiana, Prison's death row as the result of a frame-up murder conviction.

Two banners at the front of the march told the story to downtown shoppers on Canal Street: Proclaiming "St. Charles Parish Supports Gary Tyler" and "Gary Tyler Freedom Fighters," the banners were held by a contingent of 200 Black people from Tyler's home community, St. Charles Parish, Louisiana, followed by students from New Orleans mobilized by the Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR).

The march down Canal Street was preceded by a rally at city hall, across the street from the Louisiana Supreme Court. The court is expected to hear Tyler's appeal for freedom this fall.

Featured speakers at the rally were Walter Collins, coordinator of the Gary Tyler Defense Committee; Bill Hampton, brother of Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton, who was shot to death in his bed by Chicago police in 1969; and Tyler's mother, Juanita Tyler.

In October, 1974, a White racist mob attacked a school bus carrying Black students away from New Orleans' Destrehan High School, and a 14-year-old White in the crowd was killed by an unknown assailant. Gary Tyler was singled out for protesting police harassment and threats against Black students. He was subsequently charged with the murder.

One year later, Tyler was framed and convicted for murder.

The state's key witness later retracted her testimony, admitting that she was coerced by the police. The state of Louisiana, however, has refused to grant Tyler a new trial.

After greetings from Black community leaders in New Orleans, 16-year-old Terry Tyler came to the microphone and gave a clenched-fist salute. The response from the crowd was electric: "Free Gary Tyler, Free Gary Tyler!"

"I want to thank you all for helping to free my brother," Terry Tyler told the crowd. Again they shouted, "Free Gary Tyler!"

Terry and his classmates at Destrehan High School have organized the Gary Tyler Freedom Fighters. In the week prior to the rally, the Freedom Fighters and the Student Coalition Against Racism went door to door through the towns in St. Charles Parish urging everyone in those Black communities to come to New Orleans July 24.

At each home, they asked for small contributions to charter buses for the day. The Freedom Fighters and SCAR members drove through St. Rose, Norco, and New Sarpy with bullhorns announcing that buses were continued on page 10.

John George Campaigns

(Berkeley, Calif.) - After a brief respite following his primary victory in June, popular Oakland Black attorney JOHN GEORGE was back on the campaign trail last week, door-knocking and talking with the community in the South Berkeley area.

George, who ably topped four other candidates on June 8 in his front-running bid to become the first Black on the Alameda County Board of Supervisors, faces a run-off for the Fifth District seat in the November elections. If the results of last week's campaigning are an indication, George is a shoe-in.
TENSIONS MOUNT IN I-HOTEL STRUGGLE

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Tensions are high in the Chinatown district here as the struggle to save the International Hotel, with its 80 elderly Filipino and Chinese residents, has reached another critical point.

The focus is on what would happen if the sheriff evicts the elderly tenants who occupy the building in the 900 block of Kearny Street. Supporters of the tenants have vowed to form a "human chain" around the building to prevent any evictions.

The eventual fate of the building, a center of Filipino and Chinese community life, will be decided on August 19 by the California Supreme Court. On that date, the court will meet to decide whether or not to grant a hearing on the eviction order. The elderly tenants have already vowed not to move, so any eviction by the San Francisco Sheriff's Department may be carried out with force.

The Sheriff's Department has placed spies at rallies in support of the I-Hotel residents, allegedly looking for persons with "a history of violence." The Workers Committee to Fight for the International Hotel and Victory Building (an adjacent building facing the same possible fate) have also charged that police are preparing dossiers on supporters and seeking to intimidate them.

The Sheriff's Department is claiming that I-Hotel tenants and backers have blocked fire escapes in the three-story building and are storing food and possibly weapons for use in battle against eviction.

However, Steve Arno of the Workers' Committee points out, "They have created this big atmosphere of undercover activity... We would not want to initiate any violence. We would want to draw people here who would be organized and disciplined. If the sheriff wants to carry out the eviction... they pay the highest political price possible; so that thousands of people in the Bay Area and in the country can see the sheriff and landlord for what they are."

Another committee member stated, "It's ridiculous to talk about firearms. For the eight years the hotel struggle has been going on, it's always been waged by mobilizing disciplined, working people. These are not people CONTINUED ON PAGE 25.

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

Prison Hospital Closed

(New York, N.Y.) - New York state recently decided to close the controversial Matteawan State Hospital for the Criminally Insane in Beacon and transfer most of the responsibility for handling mentally disturbed inmates to the Department of Mental Hygiene. Matteawan has long been criticized as a corrupt facility and an institution that provides little in the way of needed psychiatric care.

White Students Decline

(Louisville, Ky.) - The number of White pupils in the Louisville public school system has been dropping steadily as a result of court-ordered busing, reports the Oaklard Tribune. Dave Espin, associate superintendent of schools, said that, "There are large numbers of new private schools being opened this fall. Many Whites are moving out of the county; they've been moving all summer long."

State Department Lagging

(Boston, Mass.) - Vernon E. Jordan, executive director of the National Urban League, said recently that he would meet with the Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to suggest ways in which the national civil rights organization could help in the State Department's recruitment and upgrading of Blacks and other minority group members, reports The New York Times. Kissinger has claimed that one reason why the State Department has lagged in recruiting Blacks is the "complicated" examinations and difficulties in finding qualified Blacks.

S.F. Payoffs

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Indictments are expected next month as the result of investigations by a federal grand jury and the U.S. Strike Force on Organized Crime of payoffs to San Francisco police from Tenderloin bar owners, the San Francisco Chronicle reported last week. Both Tenderloin businessmen and San Francisco policemen have testified within the last three months before the grand jury that is probing a scheme whereby a group of police officers shared $3,000 in monthly payoffs.

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

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

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

IN ORDER TO HELP CREATE A CLIMATE IN WHICH HUEY NEWTON CAN COME HOME, WE NEED MONEY. PLEASE BE AS GENEROUS AS YOU CAN.

I WOULD LIKE TO DONATE TO THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY SUIT AGAINST THE FBI, CIA & IRS:

$100 $50 $25 $10 $5 $

Please send me:    
☐ the full text of the lawsuit ($3.00) 
☐ more copies of the newsletter to give to friends 
☐ copies of insights and poems by Ericka Huggins & Huey Newton ($2.30)

THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
P.O. Box 297, Oakland, California 94604

NAME
ADDRESS
CITY_ STATE_ ZIP_ (PLEASE MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO: THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON)

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

P.O. Box 297, Oakland, California 94604

WE NEED YOUR PARTICIPATION!
Seattle Black Man Acquitted Of "Resisting Arrest"

Victim Of Police Brutality To File Suit

(Seattle, Wash.) - Anthony Harper, a Black victim of Seattle police brutality, was recently acquitted here on charges of resisting an officer.

Harper was stopped on March 24 by two Seattle policemen as he was riding with his wife, Dee, and a friend named Earl Debnam. They were stopped by officers Jacobsen and Hou who said there was an alleged warrant on the car.

Harper identified himself and stated that there was no warrant on the car but admitted to having a warrant on a jaywalking ticket. Debnam was arrested on a four-year-old traffic warrant.

Meanwhile, Officer Jacobsen grabbed Harper very roughly by the arm, claiming that he was resisting an officer. The policeman then twisted Harper's arm behind his head, handcuffed him and threw him into the police car. Following Harper's loud protest of this treatment, Jacobsen got into the car and began choking him.

Other police officers who arrived on the scene, totally ignored the brutality inflicted on Harper.

Debnam and Harper were then taken away to jail and Harper's wife, Dee, was written up for allegedly having a defective license display and defective windshield. The charge against Ms. Harper was really the result of her refusal to stand by and watch her husband being viciously beaten.

On the way to the station Harper recalled that he said, "You all are cold. You wouldn't do me this way if I weren't cuffed." Seemingly the officers became more incensed towards Harper because of this statement.

After Harper was taken to the police station, Jacobsen yanked him by the neck and threw him up against a wall. The police officer then threw his Black victim on the ground and jumped on his back and began punching him, in the process knocking Harper's teeth out of his mouth. He continued to suffer abuses and insults until he was released around 11:30 that night.

AN EXCUSE

Giving an excuse for arresting Harper, Jacobsen claimed that Harper refused to identify himself when, in fact, Harper had done that several times. At his subsequent trial, Harper was acquitted in municipal court.

With the assistance of the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party, he is planning to file a civil suit against the Seattle Police Department for the senseless brutality he suffered.

Seattle police take Black man to jail. A community uproar arose when the department refused to reveal secret "special" police officers.

COMMUNITY UPROAR

SEATTLE SECRET POLICE REVEALED

(Seattle, Wash.) - As a result of growing public pressure, the Seattle Police Department was recently forced to reveal the names of persons holding commissions as "special police"—many of whom are store detectives and private security guards.

The issue was raised by concerned individuals and organizations, such as the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party and The Seattle Times, when it was learned that Fred Powell, head of the Lang Towing Company, held one of the commissions.

The towing company was under investigation for overcharging the public for towing fees through its contract with the city for towing towing of cars. As a result of a Board of Public Works hearing, the company lost its contract with the city.

The controversy arose when it was learned that Powell, a long-time friend of Seattle police chief Robert Hanson, had been given special police powers and a badge. This was allegedly done to help Powell calm down irate customers, by enabling him to produce a badge or a gun, claimed Lt. Ben Van Den Wyer of the Seattle Police Department.

When all this was revealed, the Seattle City Council and other public officials stated their intent to look into the 1907 ordinance which authorizes the appointment of "special police." King County Public Safety Director Lawrence Waldo correctly stated that, "Giving private citizens the same authority as a commissioned and trained police officer could possibly lead to abuses of that authority."

FILES REFUSED

Meanwhile, the Seattle Police Department, the only city agency that had the complete information on the status of the secret "special officers," refused to divulge its files. The department stated to stand on some vague "right to privacy" clause of the Washington State Public Disclosures Law.

However, the pressure began to build on Hanson, already a center of controversy from his association with Fred Powell, and he was forced to make public a partial list of "special police" commission holders.

Despite this list, Seattle city Councilman Randy Revelle stated the intention of his Public Safety and Justice Committee to continue to look into the entire matter of special police commissions, which carry arrest powers but no requirements for special training.
WAUPUN INMATES DETAIL PRISON ABUSE AT PRESS CONFERENCE

(Waupun, Wis.) - Prison inmate spokespersons, speaking at a recent press conference here, revealed that the sole intent of the revolt which erupted last month at Waupun State Prison was to focus attention on the long-neglected dehumanizing conditions at the Wisconsin penitentiary. During the protest, a "Bi-centennial Revolution," over 80 inmates held 14 prison employees hostage in an effort to get their grievances aired. The revolt lasted for 14 hours and ended only after Warden James Matthews granted amnesty for all involved.

Anthony Miller, one of the leaders of the revolt, explained at the press conference, "I told my wife about it beforehand, so she wouldn't worry. I told her we were doing it for a cause. We had to open this place up and really show what's happening here.

The conditions at Waupun began to receive widespread publicity last year when the Milwaukee Journal of the Black Panther Party and other concerned organizations and indi- viduals initiated a public outcry over the planned use of sound-proof underground segregation cells, termed "death chambers" or "screamers" by the inmates.

10,000 SIGNATURES

The Milwaukee BPP Chapter, which has collected over 10,000 signatures against the "death chambers," enlisted the aid of state Senator Monroe Swan in order to halt prison abuse at Waupun. They were successful in that Wisconsin Governor Lucey was forced to order that the cells not be used until they were shown to be necessary and humane.

However, other abuses that were exposed such as overcrowding, inadequate health care, coverage of solitary confinement, arbitrary disciplinary rules, beatings, druggings and racial abuse still have not been alleviated.

The lack of concern for the well-being of inmates caused the revolt in which the prison Industrial Building was seized and the stairway to the corridor where the hostages were kept were soaked with a flammable liquid. At the request of the inmates, state senator Monroe Swan, the state's only Black senator and most vocal critic of the state's penal system, monitored the negotiations which freed the hostages.

Also, at the inmates' request, Swan was present to guarantee the safety of the inmates, especially the Black prisoners, when the hostages and protesters walked out of the building.

"We wanted Senator Swan to be there because we feared that the Black inmates would receive the brunt of the reprisals," said inmate spokesperson Clayton Cook, who is White.

Pointing out that Black, White, Native American and Latino inmates participated in the rebellion, Cook stressed that inmates would not stand for what he described as efforts by guards to divide prisoners along racial lines.

"This was not a racial thing," he said. "We have solidarity here in this prison. These people are not used to seeing it. They better get used to it."

Cook explained, "It was a matter of the prisoners in this prison being fed up with the policies of the Division of Corrections. We feel we have exhausted all peaceful means for getting a response to our demands." Cook and other inmate spokespersons said frankly that they expected very little to be changed as a result of their protest.

CHANGES

There have been some changes that have occurred, the most notable the resignation of prison doctor Robert Turratt. Turratt was notoriously callous toward inmates and admitted during an interview that he jabbed his fingers into the eyes of inmates as an examination procedure.

Turratt, who had been on sick leave for some time, supposedly had resigned a week before the revolt took place.

Another result, reports the Milwaukee Courier, was the hasty authorization of several hundred thousand dollars to study prison conditions and to construct a new 150 bed dormitory at Waupun. Still, state Senator Swan and others have vowed to continue their fight for meaningful prison reform.

Black Jobless Rate At 25.4%

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

The National Urban League's director of research, Dr. Robert B. Hill, said that joblessness among Blacks had leveled off in the general labor field, but that it had continued to rise in poverty areas and among teenagers.

Dr. Hill said that the unemployment rate for Black teenagers was 64 percent during the second quarter of 1976.

The report pointed to movements by Black families around the country, saying: "Apparently, the severe economic crisis in Northern urban areas may have contributed to an acceleration of reverse migration among Northern Blacks to the South where the cost of living is lower. One out of every three Black migrants (people who moved from one municipality to the other) from the Northeast and the North Central regions moved to the South between 1970 and 1975."
CONGREESMAN URGES U.S. SUPPORT OF ZIMBABWE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

(Washington, D.C.) - A White U.S. congressman who recently met in Mozambique with leaders of the Zimbabwean (Rhodesian) Liberation Army (ZILA) has called for U.S. support of the fighting force which seeks majority (Black) rule in Zimbabwe.

Congressman Stephen Solarz, a democrat from Brooklyn, New York, went to Africa as a representative of the House Committee on International Relations. Discussing his meeting with ZILA leader Robert Mugabe, Solarz told INTERNEWS:

"I think that Mr. Mugabe made it very clear that he and his people are very much committed to the armed struggle as the only way they can envision winning their independence. They don't believe that the (Rhodesian 'Prime Minister' Ian) Smith regime has any intention of relinquishing power voluntarily. They believe they can only achieve majority rule in Rhodesia through the force of arms. They made it very clear that they did not want any foreign troops fighting their way of liberation for them, but that they very much wanted the pride of having liberated themselves."

Solarz said he thought ZILA - the military arm of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) - was committed to a policy of national independence: "I got the very strong feeling that they are committed not only to achieving their own independence, but to remaining independent after they achieve it. I don't believe that they can properly be viewed as the stooge of either Moscow or Peking."

"Their position is that they will take assistance from wherever country where they can get it, because without such assistance their prospects for success would be very slim. But they have no intention of surrendering their sovereignty, once they achieve it, to any foreign power."

The Brooklyn Democrat also described the guerrillas' policy toward the Whites in Rhodesia: "They have no intention - they made it clear - of deliberately driving the Whites out of Rhodesia after they come to power. But, on the other hand, they also made it clear they had no intention of providing any special privileges or guarantees for the Whites in order to induce them to remain."

Solarz admitted there was little support in Congress for ZILA, but he said the more Americans learned about what was happening in southern Africa the more support there would be for the fight for Black majority rule.

Solarz' talks with Mugabe and Edgar Tekere took place in Quelimane, Mozambique. ZILA forces are primarily based in Mozambique from which they have been launching intensified military attacks against the Rhodesian government.

C.I.A. Used Narcos To Test Truth Drugs

(Washington, D.C.) - The CIA used federal narcotic agents to test experimental truth drugs on unsuspecting informants and 'criminals' in a program aimed at finding chemicals that could alter human behavior, according to newly declassified government documents made public last week.

As outlined in a previously secret CIA inspector general's report, MKULTRA - the code name for the program authorized by then CIA Director Allen Dulles on April 3, 1953 - involved some testing of LSD and other drugs by the Bureau of Narcotics, as it was known then. The report revealed that much of the testing was done at the California State Medical Facility in Vacaville and the U.S. Drug Treatment Center in Frankfurt, Kentucky, and that narcotics agents used the drugs in efforts to obtain information from their suspects.

The August 14, 1963, report criticized the testing as ineffective because Bureau of Narcotics agents were unqualified to make scientific observations on the effects of the drugs. MKULTRA, created out of CIA concerns during the early 1950s that the Soviet Union had developed drugs and other mind-altering techniques that could be used against captured U.S. soldiers or intelligence agents, was allegedly scrapped shortly after the report.

The inspector general's report was one of 59 secret CIA documents released under the Freedom of Information Act. The illegal operation first became known last year in a report of Vice President Nelson Rockefeller's Commission on Domestic Activities of the CIA and later was reported by the Senate Intelligence Committee.
...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting Novel Examines Lives Of Black Americans In Egypt

In this week's excerpt from ...And Bid Him Sing, Malcolm X who is in Egypt for the 1964 Organization of African Unity (OAU) meeting discloses to journalist Bob Jones that he will be visiting several African countries before his return to the U.S. Malcolm also reveals that an attempt has been made to assassinate him following his appeal to the OAU for its support of Black liberation struggle in America.

PART 42

"Malcolm, is it necessary to believe...what I mean is, in God...or in a religion...any religion? I don't know. I hesitated. 'I've toyed off and on with the idea of adopting Islam since I've been here in Egypt. Your being here has made me think about it...more seriously.'

I hadn't planned to ask him this question. But as he sat across from me I was overwhelmed by his all-pervading serenity, and suddenly realized that this serenity dominated every aspect of his person in all the great and small situations I had seen him in over the past four weeks. With him it seemed so natural, so effortless...so...real. I wondered what was the source of such serenity; what made it possible.

CRYSTAL GLASS

He took up the long-stemmed crystal glass of lemonade, took a swallow and sat it down carefully on the table between us. We sat as we had three weeks earlier, in his Shepheard's suite.

"For me religion...Islam has been like a harness, a guide to how I should behave. You know the life I led before I found the Nation. Everybody knows. I needed to be reigned in. I needed guidelines...limits beyond which not to go. Islam provides these for me."

He paused, picked up the glass of lemonade and held it with both hands, twisting it slowly and looking into the pale green liquid. He sat thus for what seemed a long time, and then, looking up and directly at me said:

"Perhaps everybody doesn't need guidelines imposed from outside, a harness to keep him on the straight and narrow. But I am convinced that built-in controls are part of everybody's equipment...but...a hard life is hard on those controls...tears 'em down...in some of us, almost destroys them."

He paused again. "When I see the good sisters, the mothers of our people, so many of them holdin' on to those controls, livin' by them...in the face of the White man's deviltry...and struggling to teach us how to live by 'em...sometimes using their version of the man's religion...sometimes not, well, I guess there's something bigger, something like the angel that Allah put in each of us...pushing outward to...be..."

I was terribly relieved. I guess it showed, though I wasn't aware of having moved or altered my expression.

He smiled very slightly and said: "You'd make a good Moslem."

It was my turn to smile, but I said nothing.

After another moment Malcolm rose and strolled over to the alcove. His attaché case lay open on the desk. He took out a long envelope and returned to where I sat. Reaching into the envelope,

"The Egyptian government has given me an air ticket that will make it possible to visit several African countries on my way back. 'He held up the ticket by one end and folded the filled-out forms cascaded down. It seemed yards long. 'They have been very generous.'

"I'm very glad...but,' I'd wanted to ask the question several times before, 'do you think it's wise you traveling around so much alone? You need somebody with you...a bodyguard. They'll try to kill you, you know."

"They've already tried, but, thanks to Allah, they didn't succeed."

"That's not what I mean. I don't mean Elijah's people. I mean the powers-that-be. After what you've said here, in front of all these African leaders, and your intention to go to the U.N. with our case; after your letter to the Times and then talking about forming black armed self-defense units in the South...Man, they can't let you live."

They tried in Alexandria three weeks ago...tried to poison me." He said it matter-of-factly, without anger, fear, or resentment. He must have seen the question in my startled expression.

"If I hadn't suspected it and known how to empty my own stomach, they would have succeeded. It was probably the cook at the guest villa I stayed in. He'd worked for Americans. He told me so. After that, the authorities took away the cook and gave me the two gentlemen at my door."

He paused. I was still too startled to say anything.

"Last night I was invited to a gathering at the home of an American Embassy official. I went. But didn't eat or drink a thing. Said I was recovering from a stomach condition." He smiled slightly. Perhaps in response to the look on my face, he added:

"When you've lived the kind of life I've lived you learn to survive. It's just like in the gangster world. You take your chances...if they kill me, well...I'm in the hands of Allah."

"That would be small comfort for the millions who need your leadership," I wanted to say. But I said nothing.

At that moment the telephone rang and Malcolm went to answer it. It would be Suliman. We'd agreed to meet at the hotel to bid Malcolm farewell. He was leaving the next day. I'd come earlier than the appointed time and had been waiting in the lobby for the others when Malcolm came into the hotel from outside. I saw him and invited him to come up to his suite with him. Suliman and whoever else had come with him had probably been waiting for me in the lobby. It was well past the time at which we had agreed to meet.

...yes, he's here," I heard Malcolm say. "Come on up." He hung up. "It's brother Suliman and brother Ibrahim and that other brother from Guyana. They're on their way up."

"They'll be furious with me," I said. "I was supposed to wait for them in the lobby."

TO BE CONTINUED
REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"Aftermath"

In this next chapter, "Aftermath" from Revolutionary Suicide, written by Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton, Huey describes the inhumane treatment he received from the Oakland police after they failed in their attempt to murder him on October 28, 1967.

PART 63

"Black brother, think you life so sweet
That you would live at any price?
The weight of your great sacrifice?
Or can it be you fear the grave
Enough to live and die a slave?
O Brother! be it better said,
When you are gone and tears are shed,
That your death was the stepping stone
Your children's children cross'd
Men have died that men might live:
Look every freedman in the eye!
If necessary, your life give
For something, ere you pass away.

Ray Garfield Dandrige.
Time to Die

Long after I was shot I hovered between consciousness and unconsciousness. I remember some things and have no memory of others. It was a terrifying time: the blood was pouring in my head, waves of pain engulfed me, and everything around me receded into a vast blur. I lost all sense of minutes and hours.

The next thing I recall is arriving at the entrance to Kaiser Hospital, which is about five miles from the scene of the shooting. I have no idea how I got there. I remember a platform at the entrance about the height of my waist; it seemed to have no steps leading up to it, and I wondered how I would get up on it.

Although I was in excruciating pain, I managed to roll onto the platform. Then I rose and somehow staggered into the hospital where I asked for a doctor. I do not remember the person I spoke to, but whoever it would not call a doctor and kept mentioning the police.

ENDLESS

The time seemed endless, and I grew weaker and weaker. Someone finally helped me into a room and put me on a gurney, and a doctor came at last.

As he began to examine the wound in my stomach, the police burst in. Although I was in terrific pain and completely helpless, they grabbed my hands and stretched them above my head, handcuffing them to the gurney on both sides. This pulled and stretched my stomach, causing real agony; then they began to beat on my handcuffs, already too tight and cutting into my flesh (for more than one year after I had a pinched nerve, where they had pounded the steel into my wrists).

Before long the pain in my arms was more intense than the pain in my stomach. It was more than I could stand, and I screamed, begging the doctor, who was watching this, to make the police loosen the handcuffs. He told me to shut up. (This doctor, Thomas Finch, a young man of thirty-five, committed reactionary suicide shortly after my first trial, in 1968. He had been a witness for the prosecution at the trial, testifying about the nature of my wound and the sequence of events at Kaiser Hospital the morning of October 28, 1967. It is generally believed that he took his own life out of a sense of remorse and despair over his conduct in the emergency room that morning: because he had violated all medical ethics in his treatment of a suffering human being, his conscience would give him no peace.) There was also a Black nurse in the room, and she became very upset, but there was nothing she could do. The police were all around me, hitting me in my face and head, and calling me names.

"They said I had killed one policeman, John Frey, and had wounded another, Herbert Hanes, and that my life was no longer worth anything. "You're going to die for this," they promised. "If you don't die in the gas chamber, when you're sent to prison we'll have you killed there, and if you're acquitted we'll kill you in the streets."

Some of the police spat on me, and I spat back, getting rid of some of the mucus and blood in my throat. Each time they came at me I spat blood in their faces and over their uniforms. Finally, the doctor put a towel over my mouth, and the police continued their attacks. I was still screaming in pain when I passed out completely.

I regained consciousness in Highland — Alameda County Jail in East Oakland, having been moved there because I was not a member of the Kaiser health plan. My wound had been treated, and I was in bed with a penile catheter and tubes running into my nose and abdominal area. Machines arranged around the bed removed the excess fluids and mucus from the tubes. The police had awakened me. Whenever I fell asleep, they would wake me up again.

TO BE CONTINUED

HUEY P. NEWTON in 1968 during his incarceration in the Alameda County Jail. On October 28, 1967, the Oakland police failed in their cowardly attempt to murder Huey. While in a hospital after being wounded, he was forced to endure inhumane medical treatment.

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

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

Huey P. Newton

With power and passion, the co-founder of the Black Panther Party tells his life story here in the dynamic account of the making of a revolutionary. Deyouned amid a deeply religious and loving family, Adolfo was the hustler, ghetto-survivor, Murder trial for the death of a police—man—a hero—hero turned into the militant created Free Huey Conviction, Imprisonment, And final escalation Huey P. Newton's autobiography is a most moving sense is a testament to the black American's pain and promise in the 1970s.

24 pages of photographs $8.95

To purchase this book send $8.95 ($1.95 postage and handling) to Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94606. Also available by Huey P. Newton: To Die, For The People, 54.95.

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich
BEHIND THE SMILE

A Disquieting Look At The Jimmy Carter Non-Campaign

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER plunges behind the all-pervasive smile of Democratic Presidential nominee Jimmy Carter, reprinting a disquieting inside look at his campaign written by Robert Shrum, a speechwriter who quit. In the article, Part 1 of which appears below, Shrum weaves the base hypocrisy and lies of this aspiring and, indeed, ruthless Georgia peanut farmer, rattling skeletal bones astonishingly reminiscent of one Richard M. Nixon, whose terrible legacy the American people had hoped to have laid to rest.

PART 1

"The first two things I would do if I were running for President," a Washington political operator once told me, "would be to get the best fund-raiser in the business, and then fire Bob Shrum."

The operator was merely stating a truism. In that curious world of speech-writing, Bob Shrum is the acknowledged class of the field, a man who not only strings words together with consummate skill but, unlike some of the people who later mouth them, knows and cares about their meaning.

Thus, when I heard that Shrum had gone to work for Jimmy Carter, I was glad — for Carter. To have Shrum on your side is, to the insiders of Democratic politics, a mark that you have arrived, that, on the important issues, you are okay. Shrum has that kind of clout.

Or rather did. Because Bob Shrum is out of politics, and, in all probability, he has written his last speech. What he did was commit that unpardonable sin: he quit a winner. And on principle.

Resignations for reasons of conscience have been few and far between in American politics, and when they occur, the smart guys are always looking for a cynical angle. That is what happened in Shrum's case. Within days of his quitting the Carter campaign, the word was out in Washington that Shrum had quit in a panic — or worse. For a time, Carter himself insisted that Shrum hadn't even worked for him, that he was merely on a "tryout" and never on the payroll. Then the darker stories began to circulate. Rumors that Shrum had been a "plant" or a spy. His former employers were asked whether he had a history of mental instability. One reporter, acting on such a tip, called one of Shrum's friends to inquire whether Shrum — a teetotaller — was a drunk.

If someone was trying to undermine Shrum, they miscalculated. Because the people who know him volleyed back, people like Dick Goodwin and Sargent Shriver and George McGovern and Joe Kraft and Mary McGrory. In the end, it was Jimmy Carter, not his former speech-writer, who was tarnished.

Here then is his story, the first inside look at the Carter campaign, written by a man who came wanting to believe and finally left because he did believe — in things bigger than Jimmy Carter.

— Robert Sam Anson

Pat Caddell, Carter's pollster now and McGovern's in 1972, talked seriously with me about Carter when I returned from a January trip to South Asia. Caddell looks and acts like the genius he may be — disheveled, absentminded, always late for planes. He has one of the best intuitive minds I've ever encountered. He was still in college when he was polling for McGovern and being touted as a political seer in Time. We became close friends in that losing cause.

In the following weeks, I discussed Carter with his campaign manager, Hamilton Jordan, with Jody Powell, his press secretary, and with other Carter operatives. Pat asked me to read a long mimeograph of Carter's issues positions. Thin in places, ambiguous at points, but generally impressive, even a few surprises — for example, Carter favored American withdrawal from South Korea.

I argued with skeptical friends. I gradually slipped into near advocacy. I dismissed some doubters and complaints as anti-Southern or anti-fundamentalist. Literal belief in a living God is not a disqualification for high office. I began to resolve all the doubts in Carter's favor. He wasn't evasive, he just understood the complexity of issues. He didn't have a program for every problem, but who honestly did? Carter dared to be what politicians dream of becoming — a candidate with the nerve to admit: "I don't know." Often politicians don't, but nearly all pretend they always do. Instinctively, they abhor a programmed vacuum, any limits to their three-or-five point plans.

What of the criticism of Carter's record in Georgia, his past campaign tactics, the charges of waffling? I decided — in retrospect, a convenient decision — that no one in national Democratic politics would speak the unprobabilities attributed to Carter — for example, the quote in Harper's that McGovern's biggest mistake (was to) "make the Vietnam war an issue." Later, too late, I found out that this was the kind of improbable thought Carter blurted all the time. What was different about "ethnic purity" was that the blunting took place in public.

March 3, six days before the Florida primary, Caddell and I spent several hours rethinking Carter's television spots. I wasn't committed yet — or I wasn't acknowledging my commitment, but I was against Wallace. Primary night I suggested Carter's theme of the "New South" as the harbinger of a "New America."

March 14, two days before the Illinois primary, I met with Carter at the Illinois Hotel in Washington. He walked in from the connecting room in his bare feet and sat on the edge of the bed. A warm smile; it looked real, not practiced, not professional. Easy gestures. Carter volunteered his "admiration" for George McGovern. He couldn't fathom
Figuratively. I was back on the road, too—the road to a dream. Everybody has a dream. I’ve been lucky enough to have a chance at mine, several chances. I was active in politics as far back as Adlai Stevenson in 1962; as a child heard but not seen, my nine-year-old voice invariably elicited a polite “Yes, miss” at the other end of the line. I handed out press releases from Pierre Salinger’s cluttered office at the 1960 Democratic convention. In 1968 I campaigned for “Gene” and hoped for “Bobby”—which were the nicknames we called them in bull sessions at Harvard Law School.

For occasional conversations with myself, I did keep in reserve a self-defense for being in politics the way I was. Politics was a profession where success could bring more than its own reward. There could be larger purposes and real commitments—I saw them in McGovern, Muskie and Lindsay. I saw compromises in them, too, and that was a legitimate part of the game. It was important to win; a President could stop a war, propose tax reform, enforce the antitrust laws, budget for full employment, and the cities instead of an ABM or a B-1 bomber. There were, there had to be, limits to political gamesmanship; politics was more than a game; things more precious than points or power were won or lost. There were principles worth losing for. For me, the pain of losing with McGovern in 1972 felt better than winning with Nixon, even before his early retirement to San Clemente.

This time, I wanted both purpose and power for the Democratic Party. By early April, I thought Jimmy Carter offered both. It’s not in the style to admit you’re a liberal, but I am. I suppose I’m also a progressive, the currently acceptable synonym. At least chronologically, I fit into Jerry Brown’s “new generation.” But I’m not hung up on labels. I welcomed Carter’s nonideological appeal. His pronouncements seem to transcend old antagonisms; I don’t care whether it’s called “amnesty” or “a general pardon” as long as the war resisters of my generation can come home from Canada and Sweden. I don’t care whether the federal government guarantees local bonds—the “liberal” position—or guarantees state bonds guaranteeing local bonds—Carter’s position— as long as the cities make it through the fiscal night.

I turned out to be half-right about Carter: he was a winner. I left when he was winning because the other half of my judgement turned out to be diametrically wrong. Jimmy Carter was the opposite of what he seemed.

“I will never tell a lie”—he did, though, and he also trafficked in technical truths. It had a familiar ring a week after I left when Carter insisted that he hadn’t sought Birch Bayh’s “endorsement,” just his “support.”

“I will never intentionally misleading you”—he did that, too, all the time. The deceptions, the calculated manipulations of people’s yearnings, were routine. In private he could coldly dismiss every specific proposal to improve mine health and safety as “too radical”; only hours later he would speak fervently in public of safety in the mines, the timbre of his voice plucking chords of credibility for his words. The same dichotomy, private man and public figure, was pervasive: public compassion, private callousness; public indignation over tax loopholes, private concern to mollify special interests; public allegiance to new priorities, private sympathy for the military-industrial complex; private smiles, but no private smiles. A finely tuned warmth, a smile to the unconverted.

“I will never avoid a controversial issue”—but if it was controversial and it couldn’t be avoided, it was double- and triple-talked away. Carter claims that in Iowa he promised to “minimize,” not “restrict” abortion. “Controversial” is the most active word in his vocabulary. It is adjective as expletive: he applies it frequently, to the fundamental and the innocuous.

I stayed on Carter’s staff for nine days. I signed on after weeks of reflection, discussion, and an increasing degree of commitment. I resigned after days of increasing doubt, which I couldn’t suppress, though I tried to. It was as though I passed through a door and once inside the campaign they showed me the trick. The assumption was that everyone wanted to play it for power. Every promise to me was kept except one—the promise of Carter’s character and belief. My problem wasn’t that I lacked access, but that I had it.

TO BE CONTINUED

McGovern’s “attitude” toward him. “We believe in essentially the same things.” He asked me to join the campaign. I really understood its “meaning.” I would travel with him and handle issues and writing on the plane. I liked him. I almost said yes. I wrote him an issue memo for Wisconsin and rewrote his health care speech.

Sunday, April 11, Caddell called. So did Jody Powell. Carter wanted me; they wanted me. As soon as possible before Pennsylvanians, to “run issues and writing on the road.” A salary of $23,500—a 40 percent cut from my Senate salary, but “equal” to the top pay in the campaign. I wasn’t after a raise anyway.

Carter called my Senate office the next day. I was at Harvard to give a guest lecture for the Institute of Politics. He called there and left a number. I returned the call. Carter answered the phone himself. A small touch, a nonverbal promise of a nonimperial presidency. It made me feel better about my decision—which was, finally, confidently, to do it. Carter responded with warmth and reassurance. I could almost hear the smile in his voice. “It’s going to come out all right, man. We’re going to win.” A week later, I flew to Atlanta.

I was back on the road, literally. Presidential primary campaigns work a state like the carnivals once did, only faster, on planes instead of buses. The same performance, often in three or four cities a day; each night, the sameness of different Hiltons, Sheratons, Ramada Inns: “If this is Friday, it must be...
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM, WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.
We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities. We must control all the institutions which exist in our communities.

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

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.
We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restoration for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.
We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY.
WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.
We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

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

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE. OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.
We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its police and its economic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.
We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government since its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is in the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.
We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.
When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

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

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - Black discontent with South Africa's apartheid system threatened to cripple the country's economy last week as thousands of well organized protesters - 25,000 at the peak of the protest - in the Black "township" of Soweto on the outskirts of this city persuaded over half of the urban ghetto's 220,000-person work force to boycott their jobs in the city.

In the three successive days of student-led confrontations between Sowetans and police - the most serious violence since 1,000 Black students were killed and over 10,000 were wounded by police in the June 16 Soweto uprising - six Blacks and one White, the latter a policeman, were killed, according to government reports. Two other Blacks died in unrelated incidents, and hundreds of residents of the township were wounded.

The latest Black explosion in South Africa began on Wednesday, August 4, when police opened gunfire on 25,000 Sowetans who were attempting to march out of the "township" to John Vorster (South African "prime minister") Square in downtown Johannesburg. There they intended to protest the detention of hundreds of Black students originally detained by the government following the June 16 rebellion. The Vorster regime had promised to release all students on bail, as part of an agreement made with Black moderate leaders of Soweto, which led to the reopening of Soweto schools two weeks ago, The New York Times reported.

OTHER INCIDENTS

There were also incidents between Blacks and police in the other Johannesburg area "townships" of Kalitshwong, Tembisa and Vosloorus.

On the morning of August 4, students went to bus stops and train depots in Soweto to convince Black workers to stay home from their jobs in the city and join in the protest march. Reuters news agency reported that the students succeeded in persuading 60 percent of some 220,000 Black commuters to stay in Soweto. The protesters then proceeded to stone and set numerous buses and trains on fire to ensure that no transportation would be available to Johannesburg, nine miles away.

The Soweto mass march was disrupted, however, when police fired tear gas and bullets into the air to prevent the demonstrators from leaving the sprawling Black suburb of 1.5 million people. Driven back into Soweto, the marchers separated into several groups which attempted to break through police roadblocks simultaneously at different points. One group that did break through got as far as the New Canada Railroad station, about five miles from the center of Johannesburg, where charging policemen shot at the demonstrators, driving them back into Soweto.

RENEWED ATTEMPT

The next day, August 5, a renewed attempt by over 5,000 Blacks, including a large number of adults, to march on Vorster Square was again repulsed by the predominantly Black South African police force. Although police denied that there were any casualties on this second day of confrontation, eyewitnesses reported that at least one student was carried from the scene after the first police shots were fired.

Police did confirm that in the violence of the preceding day three Blacks were killed - two youth in their 20s from police
"THE PALESTINIANS ARE SPEAKING WITH GREATER STRENGTH"

(Occupied Palestine) - The Arabs living under the Israeli occupation celebrated the 20th anniversary of the creation of the Zionist state with strikes and demonstrations. For six months the Palestinians of the "Al Quds" (the West Bank of the Jordan occupied in 1967) and those of the Galilee (a region integrated into Israel in 1949) have defied the Zionist order with an impressive determination and vigor. This growing Palestinian resistance has accentuated the divisions within the Israeli government which, obedient to the Zionist extreme right, has no other recourse than to involve itself a little more each day in an outright colonial style occupation.

Doctor Ahmed Hamzeh, expelled from his country by the Israeli government on March 27, 1976, on the eve of the elections which took place on the West Bank, has confirmed this. A surgeon, he was a mayoral candidate at Al Khalil (Hebron) where he had a good chance to unseat the Shafiq, a feudal collaborator discarded in the eyes of the population. Dr. Hamzeh is a leading member of the Palestinian National Front in the occupied territories. The Palestinian National Front is a member organization of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

PART I

Q: Some say that you Palestinians within Israel are the "Palestinians of Silence" and there is much speculation as to the aspirations of this part of the Palestinian people, who are often contrasted with the "Palestinians in Exile."

HAMZEH: Precisely. The concept of the 'Palestinians of Silence' has been degraded and utilized in books, in investigations and articles for purposes one can easily guess. There has been an attempt to propogate the idea that "these Palestinians there" have adopted a passive attitude and that they do not struggle against the Zionists practices in the occupied territories. It is not true. From the very first months of the 1967 occupation, petitions were circulated, meetings were held and committees of national orientation were created in all the towns of the occupied territories.

The effects of these actions were quite modest in the beginning. The vigor of the repression, together with the embryonic character of the patriotic current undoubtedly explains why certain people have been tempted to speak about "silent populations."

However, since 1973, on the occasion of the October war, we have given proof of our will to massively meet the Zionist challenge. The demonstrations and the strikes which have taken place in the occupied territories have destroyed these myths and have shaken the convictions of the Zionist "establishment."

The popular rising of November, 1974, was a decisive turning point since the explicit objective of the demonstrations was to support the decisions of the Rabat summit meeting and, particularly, to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. This recognition was confirmed some weeks later following the speech of our comrade Yasser Arafat to the United Nations. The effects of continued on page 20.

West Bank Revolts Over Tax Increase

(Nablus, Occupied Palestine) - Arab shops were closed and demonstrations were staged throughout the occupied West Bank territory in early August as Palestinians protested a new Israeli-imposed sales tax which will hike prices by five percent.

At least one Israeli soldier was injured here in Nablus when scores of protesting youths, marching with raised flags and banners of the outlawed Palestine Liberation Organization, were attacked by Zionist forces. Rock-throwing incidents also occurred in Tulkarm, Ramla and Qalqilya as the Palestinian people demonstrated their resistance to Israeli oppression.
FIVE COMPANIES INVOLVED IN "PAPER CHASE" PLOT

U.S. FIRMS CONSPIRE TO SUPPLY RHODESIA WITH OIL

(New York, N.Y.) - By means of an elaborate, illegal conspiracy led by U.S. oil firms, involving the creation of fake corporations, the White minority regime of Rhodesia has managed to survive 10 years of "strict" international sanctions, the Guardian reports.

A 48-page report researched by a secret group of South African (Azanian) revolutionaries known as OKHELA was made available here in late June. Entitled "The Oil Conspiracy," the report provides extensive documentation revealing that Mobil Oil Corporation - one of the 10 largest companies in the world - has been involved in the refinement, shipment, sale and retailing of almost all of Rhodesia's oil needs since economic sanctions were imposed on the former British colony following its Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) of November, 1965.

Landlocked, with no domestic oil wells and one refinery that has been nonfunctional since 1965, Rhodesia is dependent on a steady flow of imported fuel. When the regime of "Prime Minister" Ian Smith proclaimed UDI, within two weeks Great Britain succeeded in getting the United Nations to call for all its members to break economic and diplomatic links with the Smith government.

However, it quickly became clear that the sanctions would only be partially enforceable since South Africa and Portugal, then still in control of neighboring Mozambique, refused to participate. Also, Britain, due largely to its economic ties to South Africa, soon proved unwilling to demand the enforcement of the sanctions.

Successively stronger sanctions were imposed in 1966, 1967 and last year by the U.N. Security Council. Congress made the sanctions part of federal law through two executive orders issued during the Johnson administration. All the provisions called for the prohibition of the sale of oil and oil products to the Smith regime; corporations were also ordered to cease selling products to any company that intended to resell them to Rhodesia.

However, Mobil, in conjunction with Shell of Great Britain, Total of France, British Petroleum and the U.S. conglomerate Gulf, devised an intricate scheme with the South African government whereby petroleum and its by-products were to be supplied to Rhodesia and later resold to the Rhodesian retailers of those companies in violation of the U.N. embargo.

Through a complicated "paper chase," as Mobil documents describe it, the five oil giants made it impossible to trace the origin of the fuel imported into Rhodesia. Genta Ltd., the oil importing agent in Rhodesia's capital city of Salisbury, is a fake company created by the Smith regime to oversee oil importation and maintain the official secrecy that has characterized the country's economic and political activities since UDI.

PRIORITY TO 1968

Briefly, the conspiracy worked as follows prior to 1968:

Genta placed orders for Rhodesian fuel needs quarterly with Mobil's South African subsidiary (MOSA). Since sanctions even outlaw MOSA's trade with Mobil's Rhodesian affiliate (MOSR), Mobil sold exactly the amount of oil ordered by Genta to the South African Coal, Oil and Gas Corporation (SASOL) which is owned by a government-controlled company.

SASOL in turn sold the same amount of fuel to a private company called Parry Leon & Hayhoe. Without writing its own invoice, Parry Leon would then conclude the "paper chase" by sending a copy of SASOL's invoice to itself (Parry Leon) which sent it on to Genta. The fuel arrived in Rhodesia by truck and later by the more economic

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Eritrean Benefit At La Peña

(Berkeley, Calif.) Left photo (left to right), DANIEL MESFIN ARAIA TSEGGAI of the Eritreans for Liberation in North America, Bay Area Chapter, and GUS DAVIS, chairperson of the Eritrean Relief Committee, discussed the Eritrean liberation movement and the critical need for aid at a well-attended benefit last Wednesday at La Peña Cultural Center and Restaurant. The program also included an intriguing slide show as well as a dance presentation (right photo) performed by members of the Bay Area Chapter. BP&NS photos.
"Palestinians Gaining Strength"

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This event has had a great impact among our people.

Finally, there is the endemic revolt which has shaken our country for the last six months. As you have stated it, the Palestinians of the interior are not silent. They are speaking with greater and greater strength.

Q: But one will respond to you that this only pertains to the Palestinians of the West Bank who have lived under occupation for only nine years. The problem, one will say to you, is different regarding the Palestinians who have lived within the borders of the Zionist state since 1949.

HAMZEH: I know this very well, but those who take this position are either badly informed or are determined to create confusion, because I know the movement of last March took place in Galilee. We don’t say, certainly, that the social and political reality is identical within the borders imposed in 1948-49. However, the 500,000 Palestinian Arabs who are integrated into the Zionist State have never resigned themselves to their situation as second-class citizens who are denied their national reality. They have known and know, under very particular forms, about “interior exile” and see themselves reduced to immigrant workers in their own country.

What we say is that the Palestinian people are one, and that all the elements of our people desire self-determination. In the interior this demand is more and more explicitly formulated. In the exterior, to affirm the right to return is the precondition to be able to practice the right to self-determination.

Q: You were a candidate in the municipal elections and you had a good chance of being elected. What is your interpretation of the Israeli decision to hold elections?

HAMZEH: I think that it was a hazardous gamble. But one cannot judge the results of the elections without referring to the context in which the decision to hold them was made. The Israelis thought that the conditions were favorable. I will only cite a few.

First, the systematic use of the American veto concerning the Palestinian question, which had been interpreted, justly, as an encouragement. To this one adds the appearance and the development of certain negative tendencies within certain Arab countries. From the Sinai accord to the civil war in Lebanon there were multiple signs of a vast plot against the Palestinian revolution.

ZIONISTS

The Zionists judged that, under these conditions, it would be possible for them to systematize the provocations and the actions aimed at consolidating the current de facto situation.

TO BE CONTINUED
**Ericka’s Poem**

A long, tall, slim and brown
Heavy Afroed sister stood there,
looking intellectual and reserved
actually seemed timid;
I had seen pictures of her.
But didn’t recognize her
as the sister
who had
lost a good man
and continued to stand
as an impassible gate
for the people
with a sign
in her eyes
reading
exploiters and oppressors
Keep out
I didn’t recognize her
as the very caring
example of Black courage
that stood in positive Black comparison
to the hypocrisy of the alleged
“Statue of Liberty.”
I saw in New York one time
I only saw
A long, tall, slim and brown
Heavy Afroed sister, standing there.
Yearning for the People “to breathe Free.”

**Poem For Panthers**

Panthers are being,
Bold, Black, Brown, light skinned
Brothers and Sisters,
who are not intimidated
by thoughts of
the finite quality
of the Revolutionary life
cause Panthers be seeing and singing
“You can kill a Revolutionary
but you can’t kill the Revolution”
and
Panthers be knowing
That the struggle of
the people for alleviations of
a myriad of grievances
is an inheritance
passed down
through generations
of Black and poor, and dispossessed
years, decades, centuries, even
millennia
of resistance to repression
being known
that the inheritance must be passed on
“Until we’re Free”
“Until we’re Free”

Akinunde A. Fasuo
Sacramento, Calif.

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**NEW RESTAURANT AND COCKTAIL LOUNGE OPENS**

**“JO-NEL’S”: “AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE RIP-OFF”**

(Oakland, Calif.) Local Black businessman Nelson “Jo-Nel” Fields, long known for his dedicated service to his community, has opened up a hot new nightspot in Oakland, Jo-Nel’s Restaurant and Cocktail Lounge, at 3869 Telegraph Avenue.

Fields has been a long-time supporter of the Black Panther Party’s Community Survival Programs, among them such programs as the Free Breakfast for Schoolchildren Program, the Free Food Program, the People’s Free Medical Clinic and Free Sickle Cell Anemia testing, as well as an avid and active supporter of the Party in its bids to gain electoral offices in Oakland.

In an interview last week at the plush, yet inexpensive, establishment, Jo-Nel explained that he is trying to “create an institution with no ‘rip-offs.’”

At the bar, he pointed out, he serves drinks “$5 to 60 cents cheaper than any place else in town.” With premium liquors in his “well” bar drinks, customers can expect to be served “J and B” Scotch instead of “Old Tennis Shoe.”

Despite claims from other Black clubs that he’ll have to raise his prices, Jo-Nel boasts that in six months we’ll drop our prices.

“Many Black businesses,” he said, “are driving their customers off with high prices.”

Serious and sincere, Jo-Nel frankly believes that “if it wasn’t for the Black community, I wouldn’t be here.”

Already, Black patrons have told him how proud they are of his new business.

Since he is not “officially” opened yet, he wants to tell his patrons that “the pudding is going to be fine if they can just wait until it is done.” Beside the bar and restaurant, there will be a full size banquet room and a discotheque. For the “disco” there will be no cover charge because Jo-Nel feels “it is insulting to make a person pay to spend his money.”

**STUNNING LOOKS**

Besides its stunning looks, the Black-owned establishment features a full and able staff who are paid union scale wages, with benefits. Sidney Jones is the club’s full-time “customer relations” representative whose primary job is to make “Jo-Nel’s an institution instead of just another bar and grill.” Chef Mitchell Franklin is well-equipped with his 40 years of experience, and bar manager Wilma Harris, one of the few Black women in this position, is known and respected throughout Oakland for her abilities.

Jo-Nel emphasizes that he is “not trying to take anything from any other Black business,” yet he is advising them to “wake up and look.” There is no reason, he stresses, “that Blacks can’t have a first-class place at reasonable prices.” He and Jones proudly state that once “Jo-Nel’s” opens up, Blacks who go to the so-called high-class White spots “will be shunning it.”

“We want to set an example,” the two men stated, “that it can be popular as well as profitable to patronize the Black community.”

Contradicting Black businesses that put more White communities than their own,” “Jo-Nel’s” will develop close ties with community organizations so that some of this profit will be returned to the community.

Right now, “Jo-Nel’s” is seeking to secure some business from the city of Oakland and its businesses. Recently, the restaurant lost a bid to provide meals for senior citizens to Serv-O-Mation, the producers of frozen foods as well as the low-quality food found in many vending machines.

Upset by this, Jo-Nel wondered, “How can the city expect Black restaurants to learn catering if they do not contract them?... How can we be qualified if we don’t get the opportunities?”

The BLACK PANTHER feels that Jo-Nel has the qualifications, and we urge all of our readers to patronize his beautiful new club which is, in his words, “the alternative to the ‘rip-off.’”

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**JO-NEL’S LIQUOR STORES SUPPORT THE COMMUNITY**

![Jo-Nel's #1](#)

**Jo-Nel’s #1**

AT 7494 E. 14th ST., OAKLAND

EVERYTHING ALCOHOL LUNCH MEATS AND DAIRY PRODUCTS
HOT AND COLD SANDWICHES

**Jo-Nel’s #2**

AT 6584 E. 14th ST., OAKLAND

EVERYTHING ALCOHOL LUNCH MEATS AND DAIRY PRODUCTS
HOT AND COLD SANDWICHES

**NO DELIVERIES**

**BUY FROM JO-NEL’S**

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**Akinunde A. Fasuo**

Sacramento, Calif.
U.N. Report Condemns Sharpeville Massacre

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statement when addressing the Security Council in 1974, saying:

"It will be remembered that when this case began we refused to plead because we felt no moral obligation whatsoever to obey laws which are made exclusively by a White minority. But I would like to quote what was said by somebody before, that an unjust law cannot be justly applied. We believe in one race only — the human race to which we belong. The history of the human race is a long history of struggle against all restrictions, physical, mental and spiritual. We would have betrayed the human race if we had not done our share."

The good rapport between the struggling African majority in South Africa and the international community suffers, however, from the economically inspired indifference of major industrial nations whose business companies have not only reversed the outflow of capital sparked off by the PAC antipass campaign but have multiplied manifold their investments in the apartheid republic.

Typical of the unfeeling attitude of foreign investors is a disclosure in the U.S. magazine, Newsweek, which reveals that:

"Top executives of 16 major U.S. corporations (there are 500 all in all) operating in South Africa met secretly in January to discuss whether their presence was a tacit vote for apartheid. . . The consensus was that they should stay and use their considerable economic influence to better conditions for Black workers from within."

RATIONAL

This rationale lacks credibility and could never survive the test of an open meeting. South Africa has depended on foreign investments throughout its economic growth which dates to the last century. During that time Africans have had their every political, social and labor right taken away by an unending stream of Draconian laws.

It comes as no surprise when we find that erstwhile advocates of 'foreign investments in South Africa to influence change, like Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of the Kwa Zulu bantustan and the Rev. Beyers Naude of the Christian Institute, say in a joint statement published recently that: 'Foreign investment in the central economy is devoid of all morality.' They were responding to a statement made by the 'Minister of Bantustan Administration,' Mr. M.C. Botha. Mr. Botha had spelled out in unequivocal terms just how little the so-called homelands are ever going to get by way of 'autonomy'.

ECONOMIC FRAMEWORK

"In the economic framework of the country, the economy of the homelands is interwoven with that of the Republic of South Africa and it stands to reason that the development of the homelands cannot be carried out at a pace which would have detrimental effect on the economy of the country."

Mr. Botha's statement makes it clear that South Africa is one country and effectively undermines the 'independence' gimmick for so-called homelands.

TO BE CONTINUED

New Soweto Uprising To Cripple Economy

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

gunfire and a 15-year-old girl, apparently trampled to death by panicked crowds fleeing from a police attack.

The August 6 march followed a student meeting in a Soweto high school that played a major role in the June 16 rebellion. The meeting was held in defiance of a government ban imposed the day before. Facing a determined police roadblock, the demonstrators, who carried signs reading "Don't Shoot!!" "We Are Not Fighting, We Are Crying," and "I Hate You, Kruger" (James Kruger is South African 'minister of justice'), chanted, "Freedom Now!" and clenched their fists at the 'Black power' salute.

Out at daybreak morning roadblocks and picket lines at Soweto's bus and train stations, Black students again succeeded in getting a large number of workers to boycott their jobs for a second straight day. Absenteeism in Johannesburg’s factories, which rely solely on Black labor, ranged as high as three-fourths.

South African policeman arrests Black protester during demonstration in downtown Johannesburg.
**MARTIAL ARTS**

**Strategy**

Martial arts systems, styles or methods are basically patterns of action designed to achieve specific goals. A style whose techniques, tactics and strategies stem from an integrated set of principles trains its practitioners to make all movements work towards an end.

In many schools people simply add on techniques because they "look good," or they "work." The student should ask: "Work towards what end?" In a well thought out school of combative/martial arts, particular tactics for particular situations are created.

Techniques solve the problem of attacking a particular area with a particular striking point that travels along an open line of attack in a manner consistent with human anatomy and good body mechanics. In today's martial arts there is too much emphasis on new, eye-catching techniques rather than on what can be done with techniques.

In the development of a method of combat/martial arts there must be planning at several levels of strategy to make the chain of decision-making which often define the style or method. Most methods of combat/martial arts are based on a set of interrelated principles which are used to decide on certain goals and means of achieving those goals through strategies for selecting tactics, techniques and targets. Each action within a method should be consistent with the principles defining the method.

The need for levels of strategy comes from the fact that there are many different kinds of actions which one individual may take to influence another: physical attack, threats, promises, ethical arguments, economic rewards or punishments, appeal to self-esteem. Strategies at any level may be divided into direct and indirect kinds. Direct strategies bring force against force. Indirect strategies seek to disrupt the unity and rhythm of the attacker before a decisive attack is made against the sources of his strength, which leads to positions where defeat is inevitable.

**INTERVIEW WITH BERKELEY SPORTS SOCIOLOGIST HARRY EDWARDS**

"OLYMPICS POLITICAL FROM THE BEGINNING"

Recently, East Bay Voice, a new and progressive "opposition newsweekly," conducted an interview with Harry Edwards, a highly regarded Black sociologist at the University of California at Berkeley. Edwards is best known for his organizing efforts involving the Black boycott of the 1968 Mexico City Olympics. Following is an excerpt from that interview.

**QUESTION:** Do you think the Canadians were justified in keeping the Taiwanese out unless they came as Taiwanese and not as representatives of China?

**EDWARDS:** I think there are many people like myself who regarded Canada's stance as it eliminated one more hypocrisy that has permeated the Games.

**Q:** Some people would argue that the Olympics should be beyond politics.

**EDWARDS:** That's nonsense. They were political from the beginning. Baron De Coubertin started them in the 1890s because he wanted to use sports to help develop nationalism. There was a saying then that it was on the athletic fields of Eton that the British Empire was established.

So long as the Western powers were dominant in the world, there were no overt political overtones, except when conflicts arose among them. This occurred in the 1930s. But, as the Third World countries have developed, the potential for political conflict that was at the root of the Olympics has come to the surface. Over the last 10 or 15 years, the Olympics have become, outside of the United Nations, the most opportune political forum for international politics.

**RELEVANT**

**Q:** And that is how the China dispute became relevant?

**EDWARDS:** Yes, the Chinese refused to participate in the Games as long as the regime in Taiwan was recognized as the official Chinese government. To get a handle on the way they look at it, you can imagine what the response of the United States government in Washington, D.C., would be if Hawaii decided that it wanted to be an independent state and wanted to participate in the Olympics under a flag called the Republic of the United States.

**Q:** What was your impression of athletics in China?

**EDWARDS:** I was very impressed with sport in China. The Chinese are aware of the relationship between politics, ideology and sport. The Chinese even have a provision in their constitution that sport and physical culture must serve the interests of the proletarian revolution.

In the United States, sport is considered to belong to the toy department of human affairs. And politics is compartmentalized from every other aspect of life. Therefore, people here not only cannot see the political character of sport, they don't see politics in human relations as a whole.

**Q:** But how exactly do sport and physical culture fit in?

**EDWARDS:** The Chinese have developed an easily understood rationale for involvement in sport. It goes like this: the decisive factor in social reconstruction is people. And people have a revolutionary responsibility to develop healthy bodies through sport, because human bodies are the tools through which the human mind implements the goals that people set for themselves.

And so everywhere you go in China you see people exercising. In public, you go out onto the street at five in the morning and you see thousands of people jogging in open air places. Between 12 noon and 2 all work stops. There is time for people to eat lunch and to engage in sports...

At the hotels where we stayed, the entire staff would be out in front of the hotel playing basketball, badminton, doing Tai Chi, shadow boxing, and calisthenics of various kinds. And this includes women and old people.

**Q:** Women and old people?

**EDWARDS:** In China, sport is not conceived of as a primarily male endeavor the way it is in American society. In China, there is a proverb which states that women hold up half the sky. The same holds for old folks' participation in sport. In China, people do not become excess baggage when they pass the age of 60. Old people are thoroughly integrated into the fabric of life. And so in the communes we saw people 70, 80, or 90 years old engaging in physical activity. They exercised because they have to keep their bodies in condition so that they can fulfill their responsibilities in the socialist reconstruction of China.

**Q:** In the United States, there is practically no organized public exercise of this kind. Why not?

**EDWARDS:** It is tied into the competitive ethic that pervades every aspect of American life. We compete for mates, we compete in the classroom and on the job. To exercise publicly is to tactfully admit that our bodies are not up to the competitive standards set by Rascal Welch or Mr. America.
TRANQUILITY CENTER BOMBED

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

In a brief telephone interview with THE BLACK PANTHER, Ms. Stamps angrily charged that, “I think that because of the different positions we have taken, not only in the community but throughout the city, we pose a threat to the powers that be.”

“We have intensified our efforts to educate and organize the people around, for instance, the Chicago 21 Plan, which is a plan that definitely concerns the removal of Black and other poor people out of the inner city. We talk about the fact that tenants have a right to determine their own lives in public housing. We’ve come out on the issue of police brutality. It’s just our total involvement.”

Continuing, Ms. Stamps explained: “People have seen that the members of Tranquility Center aren’t going anywhere, that we’re going to be here, and as long as we’re here we’re going to continue to raise questions and push issues that are contradictory and oppressive to our people. That’s something they don’t want.”

“Our Center is the only community center on the Northside; the only Center that doesn’t just talk about people’s problems, but moves consistently to solve people’s problems. We are not an ‘agency.’ We are a community center governed by community people.”

Backing up her statements, Ms. Stamps remarked that by Monday, two days after the explosion, the Center had relocated into a new office two doors away and had served 500 free lunches to local children.

Concerning the explosion and fire, several neighborhood residents have reported seeing an unknown white man around the front and back doors of the Center around 7:30 to 8:00 Saturday evening, and that one-half hour before the powerful blast—which shook buildings several doors away—this same person was parked across the street from the Center.

The eyewitnesses describe the man as in his late 20s or early 30s, light brown hair, 5’9” to 5’10” tall, 150 pounds, wearing light pants and a dark sports shirt. They say he was driving a late model Chevy Nova or Camaro.

Despite these eyewitness accounts, however, the Chicago Fire and Police Departments seem ready to write the incident off as “accidental.” They claim that either the clothes in the back of the Center ignited or that a gas stove leak was the cause.

Yet, the physical evidence contradicts both these theories. Neither the clothes in the back nor the wood in that area were totally burned, as they would have been if the fire began there. While the stove was scorched on top, it is still upright and connected to the wall, an unlikely occurrence in an explosion. Plus, objects on both sides of the stove are still in place, as was the typewriter placed inside the stove for safekeeping. Considering the power of the blast, the lightweight typewriter would have certainly been blown out.

In addition, the explosion and fire only destroyed Tranquility Center. The blast went straight out, front to back, with no damage to the apartments on either side or above the Center.

Community residents, in fact, overheard two telephone repairmen state that it looked like “a professional torch job.”

Ms. Stamps said that the Center will call for a thorough investigation, although she doubts favorable results.

San Antonio Tenants’ Union

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

Compounding our problems is the recent unjust notoriety our community has been subjected to through increased police patrols—which have proved to be hazardous and abusive to the safety of many residents and their children, as well as through a series of misleading articles in the local newspaper. We are here tonight to set the picture straight:

A. The Physical Conditions Within San Antonio Villa itself

1) Maintenance must be improved. This includes a more than once-a-week garbage pick-up, the removal of dangers to health and safety (like effective extermination for rats and roaches, as an example), as well as speedy and thorough repair work.

B. Recreation/Beautification

1) There are approximately 600 children in San Antonio Villa with no place to play. The area’s only recreational center is a disgraceful, dirty, dilapidated structure which should be torn down immediately. Other play areas consist only of dangerous metal forms surrounded by glass. We suggest that a few of the parking lots in the back of some buildings be converted into safe recreation/park areas and we demand a new, fully equipped recreation center.

C. Safety

1) Better street lighting and the construction of street “bumpers” would go far in creating a safe environment for our children and ourselves.

2) Both the OHA security guards and the Oakland police officers must be nonabusive and sensitive to the needs of Villa residents.

In conclusion, let us say that both HUD and OHA officials have admitted to us that San Antonio Villa is a “mistake.” We, the San Antonio Tenants Union, the victims of this error, have come together and have come here to have this “mistake” corrected for the benefit of our children, our families and, indeed, all the people of the city of Oakland.

Grand Jury Refuses To Indict Killer

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

community question whether the Alameda County District Attorney conducted his investigation and presented this case as aggressively as he would in another criminal prosecution not involving a policeman," a press release from the Barlow Benavidez Committee Against Police Crimes states.

"The District Attorney's motives are clear; every day he must work hand in hand with the police department. Usually when a person is murdered by another and the suspect is arrested, a complaint is filed by the District Attorney and the suspect is forced to answer to the charge in an open court, not to a secret grand jury."

The Committee is presently planning a community march for "Justice for Barlow Benavidez," slated to take place on August 29.

There’s a licensed killer out there," remarks Andrea Benavidez, a young woman who knows what it's like.
Free Lureida Torres
CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

political affiliations as well as questions concerning FNLF. Judge Charles Brian who charged the Miss. Torres with contempt of court, for which she was eventually jailed.

Her lawyers, Martin R. Stolar and Jose Antonio Lugo, explained that the questioning was being conducted illegally. They contend that any questioning involving Ms. Torres' political beliefs can be challenged under the First and Fifth Amendment Constitutional rights and that the government had used illegal wiretapping to obtain information against other persons subpoenaed by the grand jury.

In an earlier hearing, reports L'Espresso, Stolar and Lugo charged that the grand jury being used to aid the FBI investigation that it had "targeted the whole Puerto Rican independence movement" for the investigation because of its pro-terrorist beliefs and not due to any criminal conduct.

According to a declaration issued by the Washington, D.C.-based Coalition to End Grand Jury Abuse: "Lureida Torres' grand jury nightmare is, incredibly, as commonplace as it is outrageous. Until the grand jury apparatus, left to us by the Nixon administration, is dismantled, the government will send scores more through the grand jury trap to jail."

For more information on the Lureida Torres case or for financial contributions, contact: Campaign to Free Lureida Torres, 29 Grand Jury Project, 883 Broadway, Room 1415, New York, N.Y. 10003, (212) 533-2299.

U.S. Firms Conspire
CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19
method of train.

Gentz resold the fuel to the five companies once it arrived in Rhodesia, fuel that originated at Mobil's Durban refinery in South Africa. Payments from Gentz to MOSA took place in reverse order.

Since 1968, the paper chase has become more complex with the creation of at least five corporations that exist solely on the letterheads of invoice orders.

This elaborate scheme netted Mobil $26 million in profits from its African operations in 1972. Of that figure, MOSR reported before-tax profits of $1.6 million and MOSA, which supplied Rhodesia with all its oil, before-tax profits of $13 million.

Letters to the Editor

INMATE ASKS TO JOIN B.P.P.

Brother Newton,

I am writing this letter to you because of my respect for what you have tried to do. For the last 34 months I have been incarcerated for crimes I didn't do. I realize that practically all inmates claim they are innocent. My case is quite different. I am serving time for a crime I haven't been sentenced for. To prove my innocence to this state I have asked for a polygraph test, truth serum and even hypnosis.

I ask you, brother, do you know how many have pleaded for these tests to prove innocence beyond all doubt? Brother, the cruel thing is that the law knew from the beginning I didn't commit these crimes. During my stay in prison I've almost been killed by acts of conspiracy - and not by inmates. Please read between the lines. I am again eligible for parole in September. Brother, in August of 1974 left a prison camp and turned myself in the media in Atlanta to try to succeed in getting one of the truth tests. All I wanted to prove is my innocence. I have studied criminal law from a previous lawyer. With a write of habeas corpus I proved in 1974 I'm serving time for a crime I haven't been tried for. The writ was dismissed.

I've studied all Black organizations; never have I joined one. I almost have said that if I ever did, it would be my life. Brother I don't want to wait until I get out, if I live to get out, to become a Black Panther. Will you make me a member now? If there's any way you can help me in proving my innocence soon, all advice and help will be highly appreciated.

I'm sorry I can't send you the money for a subscription to the paper. The stamps on this letter were donated to me by other brothers, to write you. If I ever live to free, I will be paid for each day of my incarceration. By the way, when I was in the media I received another card to run consecutively with my sentence. I am serving seven years now. After I receive my discharge, I'll prove my innocence within three days' time. Afterwards, I planned on going to Los Angeles, California, to Motown Recording Company to try and start a Motown Corin. I was writing a book all about my illegal incarceration, it was totally destroyed. But the mind lives on.

There's more to tell, brother, but I can't, in a letter. Several brothers here have been asking this letter to you. I don't have to explain why. I'm sure you already know. I hope sincerely, brother, that your judgement is to help me and let me become a Black Panther now.

Peace,
Robert H. Veal
Georgia State Prison
Reidsville, Ga. 30453
Power to the People!

INMATE APPEALS FOR HELP

Dear Editor,

I am a twenty-four-year-old Black brother serving a life sentence on a frame-up rape charge, for which I'm not guilty. By being a black man I didn't receive a fair trial. I've been incarcerated seven long years. And, just last week I read over my case and found some errors that would help me if I were given another trial.

My problem is I don't have a family on the outside who are able to aid me financially. I'm asking all my brothers and sisters in the free society to please send me a money order in a financial amount. That would aid me to get some legal defense so I might gain my physical freedom.

My freedom is in all my Black people's hands. Please help me make the brothers and sisters.

In The Spirit of Blackness,
Bro. Harry James Snow #59987
Georgia State Prison
Reidsville, Georgia

P.S.: All sisters and brothers who would like to write me I will answer all and would appreciate receiving some letters.

K.K.K. ON THE RISE

Dear Black Panther Party,

If you read these few magazine articles (enclosed), you will read how the Ku Klux Klan is trying to rebuild itself in the South and continue on their idiotic ways of harassing Blacks, stealing dynamite from construction companies, building crosses on private property along with waving Dixie flags in Black power faces. With the Klan burning in Maryland and Brooklyn, and with the other parts of the South, the police departments, the FBI and various politicians haven't even lifted a finger in speaking out against the Klan, when at the same time all of them know exactly where the Klan holds their meetings, burns their crosses and how they try to wave those worthless Dixie flags in front of Black faces to try to breed hostility.

I hope that more of this gets printed in the BLACK PANTHER newspaper because they are White and the Black Panther Party is constantly harassed while trying to make it in White America just because the Party is Black.

Thank you,
Karl Crosby
2542 Francis Street
Baltimore, Md. 21217

P.S. I am a yearly subscriber.

New York Firm
CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17
more U.S. investment there, he said South Africa was the United States' best ally in Africa.

Hatchet is not the only Black American defending South Africa. According to a recent article in The New York Times, Vernon Jordan, executive director of the National Urban League, and Dr. Kenneth Clark, a prominent Black educator, have both recently traveled to South Africa as representatives of U.S. corporations doing business in that country.

Dr. Clark is now president of an executive consulting firm which was hired by Seagram Distillers to see if it should open a distillery in a bantustan or tribal reservation in South Africa. Clark told the Times that when he returned from his trip to South Africa, he advised Seagram that he could publicly support them if they decided to build the distillery.

The American Committee on Africa notes that South Africa is very anxious to maintain market on behalf of Black Americans, especially Black-owned companies. The Committee reports that a Black cosmetics firm headquartered in Meridian, Mississippi - the E.F. Young Company - has signed a contract with a South African company to market skin lighteners and hair straighteners in South Africa.

Tensions Mount
In I-Hotel

Struggle
CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8
who see strength in weapons.

Steve Arno explains, "Our main thing is that we will do the best we can to keep the rich on the hot seat until the eviction order is withdrawn. You see, that is the real violence here."

The Hong Kong-based Four Seas Corporation, owners of the building, admit that they have no immediate plans for the property occupied by the I-Hotel and the Victory Building.

San Francisco Mayor George Moscone has said that he plans to have the building purchased and brought up to code by the city's Housing Authority and then sold back to the I-Hotel Tenants Association.

This plan has been approved by the Housing Authority but still needs the approval of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.
Elaine Brown Highlights Banquet

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

gressman. We need every vehicle we can get our hands on to spread this message.

I know you can't go into the Black community right now and say anything against Martin Luther King, Sr., about the way he got up there and talked so crazy until I was ashamed. I know that Martin Luther King, Jr., would be ashamed in his grave. And Coretta King standing by his side, tears flowing down her face as though she had seen her son in the form of Jimmy Carter — that happened a couple of days ago. After all this struggle this is what we have to look at. Andrew Young is a young man whom I have no forgiveness for. I forgive Martin Luther King, Sr., because he's old; he wants to ride in a Cadillac these last few years of his life. I don't forgive Andrew Young. He ought to know better and he does know better.

"I saw a film the other day called Rollerball. It was interesting. Film. A lot of people on the left say, 'I don't go to the movies.' Well, I go to everything. People go to the movies and go to baseball games and all that kind of madness. If you want to talk to people, you go to a baseball game and talk to a whole lot of people. Anyway, I saw a movie called Rollerball and in this movie — it takes place 50 or 100 years from now — a world corporation is ruling the world. All the problems that we are faced with now are resolved by corporate capital ism and everybody is living relatively well because they had agreed to consent to the ruling class.

"One day, this man asks a question, 'How did this ever happen?' (He wasn't around when it took place.) A woman told him: 'Well, listen. We had an oppor tunity to make a decision on whether we wanted to be powerful or comfortable. We were happier being comfortable. We were happier going to a football game called the Democratic Convention and cheering for Jimmy Carter because it made us feel good. And we were happy being comfortable, thinking that we won't have to get out there and do any kind of work. They'll fit it all for us in our name and we keep up so that we'll never have anything to say about our lives.

"POWER TO THE PEOPLE"

"We are talking about Power to the People, and that's all of us in this room and all of us throughout Chicago; all of us throughout Illinois and Pennsylvania, New York and California and Mississippi, everywhere throughout this country. We are talking about our right to govern ourselves and to have something to say about our lives.

"And if we can't get ourselves together, I tell you our alternatives are limited. We don't have any choice in November and we won't have any choice in the next four to six years. All I have to say to Fred Hampton, Jr., is: 'Remember when I came to Chicago, that I saw your father dead where he'd been lying, and it was bloody, and I didn't do anything about it.' That's all we'll say. We'll be walking along saying, 'Well, yeah, we tried.'"

"We have got to do better than that in the next two years because we don't have that much time. They have a game plan that is much more cold than the CIA (Central Intelligence Program) activity. Those of you sitting in this room, even if you just wrote a check out to the 'Keep Strong' magazine, you're on a list now. You've been here. You're on a list. They've got you going into a computer, getting ready to be dealt with. All of us are on those lists; this is how they see us. I don't care whether you stood up today and didn't say anything or you don't stand up tomorrow and don't say anything — you came to this little meeting so you're on a list. It will be constantly like that until we get ourselves together, until we pull our strength together so we not only 'Keep Strong' but we gain strength, and we gain 'Power to the People.'"

TONIGHT

"I know that you've listened to a lot of talk tonight and a lot of rhetoric. I'm through talking and giving you what I have to say. But, I want to tell you that I feel very good about tonight, very emotional. And if my words don't come together, like the song says, it's only because I feel such mixed emotions having come from one reactionary set of circumstances to be among people that I love and that I respect.

"I want to thank you for this opportunity for allowing me to speak before you tonight and I want to tell you that we are going to 'Keep Strong' and we are going to have to 'Get Strong' and gain 'Power to the People.'"

"You Can Kill A Revolutionary, But You Can't Kill A Revolution"

FRED HAMPTON

If You're "Brown" - Or Maybe "Purple" - You're "White"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

does "South African." If you're feeling whimsical, and write in "pink" or "polka-dot" or "purple" or "spotted" or "vanilla" — or if you simply decide to list yourself as a member of the "human" race — you'll be listed as "White."

There's more. The United States now has more than 11 million persons of "Spanish" origin. Many of these people use the catch-all word Hispano to describe themselves. If they do, the Census Bureau calls them "White."

But a Hispano from the Dominican Republic, who happens to list his national origin, is "Black." Hispanos from Cuba or Puerto Rico, however, are "White."

After the Census Bureau expects millions of dollars in compiling this misinformation, will it be of any use?

When most Americans were either European immigrants, or the descendants of African slaves, perhaps it made sense to inventory them as "Black" and "White" or "Brown." But today, the situation is different. The same family may have members whose skin tones range from dark brown to cafe au lait, to what is called "Java White." In Boston, we have seen tragicomic incidents, where light Puerto Ricans are bused to Black neighborhoods, and dark Puerto Ricans are bused to White neighborhoods. Creating artificial, ugly divisions among a people who have lived in relative racial harmony in their native land.

Billions of dollars in federal funds are apportioned according to population size in geographic areas. This makes it essential that there be an accurate census count in 1980. And since politics is still a very ethnic game, political leaders want their people to be counted, in order to get a fair share of attention from government policy-makers.

But today's criteria make sense? Wouldn't it be a good idea to overhaul the confusing, contradictory — often absurd system of racial categorization being used by our government?"
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PART 3

WE TOOK OUR PROBLEMS TO THE SLUM PUBLIC HOUSING AUTHORITY AND NOTHING HAPPENED.

WE GOT THE RUN-AROUND FROM THE HOUSING COMMISSIONERS AND NOTHING HAPPENED.

WE MUST NOT GIVE UP. WE WILL FIGHT. MAYOR JOHN RED NECK HERE WE COME!

HMM, ISN'T THAT SOMETHING?

LET'S GO IN.

SH! SH! LISTEN.

THE GOOD LAW-ABIDING CITIZENS OF MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASS AVENUE RECEIVE FOR THE 15TH CONSECUTIVE YEAR THE AWARD FOR NEIGHBORHOOD BEAUTIFICATION.

OKAY, WHO'S NEXT?

MAYOR JOHN RED NECK. WE ARE HERE AS CONCERNED CITIZENS OF THE CITY OF OAKLAND TO PROTEST THE GOVERNMENT'S SLUM PUBLIC HOUSING.

WELL! WHAT DO YOU NIGGERS WANT? SOME TREES, A NEW FREEWAY, MORE POLICE PROTECTION OR A CIVIC CENTER?

ACTION

TO BE CONTINUED