

# THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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# SAVE GROVE STREET COLLEGE



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## Editorial

# SURVIVAL AND FREEDOM

Two years ago on March 29, 30 and 31, the Black Panther Party held its first massive Black Community Survival Conference in Oakland and Berkeley, California. Sixteen thousand persons, mostly Black and Third World, from oppressed East Bay communities attended the three conferences.

Ten thousand shopping bags of quality food were distributed free; 13,282 persons were tested for Sickle Cell Anemia and 11,120 persons were registered to vote.

The decision to launch the many free survival programs which are now a standard part of the Black Panther Party's service to Black and other oppressed communities across this country, arose out of the Party's recognition of the need for such programs and its determination to demonstrate in an organized and consistent way its ability to, in some measure, meet those needs.

An integral part of the 1972 East Bay Black Community Survival Conferences, and each Survival Conference that followed around the country, was the massive and successful effort to register members of the community to vote. The Black Panther Party also recognizes that an essential aspect of survival for Black and other oppressed peoples in this country is the securing of political power.

The oppressed in this country outnumber the oppressors. So long as some measure of the democratic institutions of this land remain intact, we have an obligation to use them toward our survival and the survival and expansion of the democratic ideals upon which this country was allegedly founded.

The charge that the Black Panther Party's survival programs do not contribute to Black and other oppressed people's liberation and control over the institutions governing our lives is thus exposed as both foolhardy and, from some, dishonest.

The spectacular showing of Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown as independent People's Candidates for Mayor and councilwoman, respectively, in last year's Oakland municipal elections is the proof of the correctness of the Party's line.

The admiration, love and respect the Party receives from the community is its reward and is essential to the Party's ability to continue to play its vanguard role. □



OBSTACLE COURSE

## COMMENT

# BARBEE: F.B.I. SPYING INTENDED TO DESTROY LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Wisconsin State Assemblyman Lloyd A. Barbee analyzes here the implications of the recent disclosure of the FBI's extensive spying of progressive organizations in the past.

The paranoid tendencies of the federal government became even more obvious with the recent disclosure of secret government documents describing some of the past activities of the FBI.

As a result of a successful lawsuit initiated under the 1967 Freedom of Information Act, the U.S. Attorney General ordered the FBI to make public some of these secret documents. These documents describe seven domestic counter-intelligence programs that were operating in this country during the last ten years.

While many of the programs were used for the surveillance of coalitions within what has been called the "New Left", the major goals of the programs were described as preventing Black nationalists from forming "a real Mau Mau" group in this country and to prevent the emergence of a Black "Messiah" who might organize and unify Blacks under a single cause.

The information also disclosed that the programs employed a campaign to harass and discredit the efforts of Black leaders in our country.

This new exposure of FBI activities is representative of a belief which many of us hold that the federal government is more than willing to act on its fears and paranoia and is dangerous.

It is one thing for Blacks and other minorities to experience pressures exerted by White hate groups and reprehensible bigots such as the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch Society, but quite another when the federal government gets into the act and becomes the oppressor.

The documents disclosed that as many as 41 federal agencies were involved in domestic clandestine activities against leaders of minority causes. When such a large number of federal agencies, supposedly watchdogs of the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5

## Letters to the Editor

Dear Editor,

I am confined at the U.S. Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. The reason I am writing this letter is to try and get some outside support to help correct the many wrongs done to the inmates here at the U.S.D.B. To think that few people know that this institution even exists is bad for the inmates because of the pacification tactics used to keep most of the inmates unaware and submissive.

First of all let me say that as inmates of this institution subject to the Uniform Code of Military Justice (so-called), placed in the category of E-1, why aren't the inmates paid by that scale or some basic wage?

Then too, inmates here with a family to support are not given any form of money to help them survive. The shops here grossed over \$1 million last year which supposedly went to an inmate fund. Why aren't inmates working at these various shops being paid for their labors?

These shops all do well despite the fact that none have school trained instructors and all have outdated equipment. We need to be able to gain the necessary skills for work on the outside.

If an inmate injured or sick he will be in trouble due to the fact that the medical facilities are inadequate as are the intern doctor or dentist skills. There is no medical personnel on duty at night. Inmates are also sent to Disciplinary Segregation (DS) or Maximum Security for months and subjected to brutal beatings by guards. All of these grievances must stop!

It is very hard to get inmate unity because quite a few people here are in for less than a year. As I said before, pacification will keep them quiet until release. I believe as a few others do that we need outside help to change this institution. Please help us gain some outside support.

Sincerely,

Bra. B  
Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas

Comrade Editor,

Thank you very much for your letter of November 30, 1973. Already, we believe, you must be receiving *Zimbabwe News*, despite our delay in replying to your letter. We are glad to inform you that we have placed your paper, *THE BLACK PANTHER*, on our permanent mailing list. We hope you will continue sending us your revolutionary paper.

The two or three issues of your paper we have received so far have been very encouraging. Your coverage of the events in Zimbabwe as seen through the African revolutionary eyes is highly appreciated. This is much so since the circulation of your paper in the United States is far wider than our own *Zimbabwe News*.

Yours in the struggle,  
Godfrey Chigware  
(for ZANU Publicity and Information Secretary)

PAMBERI ne CHIMURENGA!  
(FORWARD with the REVOLUTION)

## THE BLACK PANTHER

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# SAVE GROVE STREET COLLEGE

## COMMUNITY PROTESTS "PHASE OUT" VOTED BY BOARD OF TRUSTEES

(Oakland, Calif.) - In blatant disregard for the expressed wishes of the predominantly Black student body and community, the Board of Trustees of the Peralta Community Colleges voted last week to "phase out" the North Peralta Community College, formerly known as Grove Street College.

In the presence of nearly 500 students, faculty and staff of North Peralta College, and members of the immediate community, Chancellor Thomas Fryer, kept his promise made days before and recommended to the Board at its March 18 meeting, the phasing out of the tradition bound, badly needed "Grove Street College".

A hint of the callous mood of the Board came at the beginning of the Board meeting when it refused to adopt a recommendation of the assembled students and others to set aside all issues not related to the future of North Peralta Community College, requiring the community citizens to sit through Board action on other matters.

The fight to save "Grove Street College" has been going on since 1971. Last year, Oakland's Planning Commission recommended that the Grove Street site be



This is the much needed, much loved North Peralta Community College that the Peralta Board of Trustees has seen fit to "phase out."

developed, and voted monies for that purpose in response to community pressure to maintain and develop the school.

But last week's action would appear to seal the fate of North Peralta College, to be "replaced" by a proposed "Berkeley Learning Pavillion," located outside the North Oakland community, near the Berkeley campus of the University of California, in Berkeley.

A ray of hope emerged at the Board meeting when Berkeley Mayor Warren Widener, in a forceful appearance before the Board, urged the Peralta trustees

to postpone their decision until the Berkeley Planning Commission had had an opportunity to review the recommendation. He also urged that the decision should not be made until a joint meeting of the Berkeley City Council and the Peralta District Trustees could be held.

Mayor Widener informed the Board and the assembled citizens that "there has been no consultation between the District and the Berkeley City Council on the Chancellor's recommendation for a new school in Berkeley."

In the face of this revelation, the action of the Board in voting to accept the recommendations of Fryer was all the more startling, reflecting the Board's total disregard for the wishes of the people as well as their elected officials.

North Peralta Community College is one of four Peralta District community colleges. North Peralta is located in the heart of a depressed Black community. Its student body is predominantly Black and Third World. A very active community services program provides a variety of educational and cultural opportunities relevant to the community the college serves—unavailable otherwise.

Bernardo Garcia Pandavenes, president of the Peralta Federation of Teachers (PFT), challenged the clear circumvention of the normal channels of decision-making engaged in by the Board and called for the present program at North Peralta College to

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SAN QUENTIN SIX

## WARDEN'S OBJECTION TO PSYCHIATRISTS' VISIT DENIED

(Marin, Calif.) - A U.S. District Court judge here denied a legal request filed by San Quentin Warden Louis S. Nelson to block the testimony of three progressive psychiatrists in the hearing of a damage suit filed by the San Quentin Six against Nelson and Raymond Procunier, director of the state Department of Corrections. The suit charges that the two corrections officials unconstitutionally kept the Six locked down in the maximum security "Adjustment Center" for over two years.

Attorneys for the Six chose three prominent psychiatrists, Phillip Zimbardo, Lee Coleman and Bernard Diamond, to act as experts for the defense and tour San Quentin to examine firsthand the dehumanizing conditions. They are also to interview the six prison inmates.

Warden Nelson submitted an affidavit to federal judge Alfonso Zirpoli requesting that Dr. Zimbardo and Dr. Coleman be denied permission by the court to enter the prison. In his two-page brief Nelson states "Their presence in close contact with inmates in the maximum security area of the institution could well be the trigger for an immediate violent reaction and could also constitute a factor in inciting future organized riots and disturbances." He blamed persons like Dr. Zimbardo and Dr. Coleman for causing "violence in recent years" through the "encouragement of violent inmate disturbances."

Nelson also said that because of past studies by Dr. Zimbardo and Dr. Coleman he feels that they will be "biased observers."

Judge Zirpoli gave no heed to Nelson's paranoia and denied the request completely. The three psychiatrists are scheduled to examine San Quentin this week.

In the conclusion of his affidavit Nelson states that he wanted his objections to be part of the legal record "should any incident occur" during the doctors' visit. It would appear the he is trying to set the stage to provoke an incident.

*Fallen Comrade*

ARTHUR MORRIS

ASSASSINATED:

MARCH, 1968



Brother Arthur Morris worked diligently along with his brother Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and other comrades in building the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party, the first Party Chapter organized outside the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area. Shot and killed by government agents, Arthur Morris gave his life in the service of his people.



ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



## YOUTH INSTITUTE

## GROUP 1 EDUCATION: FROM THE GENERAL TO THE SPECIFIC

AGES TWO AND THREE

With this article, *THE BLACK PANTHER* begins a series on the eight primary skills groups at Oakland's model school, the Intercommunal Youth Institute. The purpose of the series is to give an in-depth view of the kinds of educational experiences the different age groups are provided. This week's article describes the activities of Group I, children of the ages two and three.

(Oakland, Calif.) - Too much cannot be said about the love and respect that exist between the children and staff at the Intercommunal Youth Institute. The Group I children were hovering around and climbing over one of their two instructors, Frank Kellum, the day this reporter was attempting to question Frank about just exactly what Group I does. Somehow, he found time to talk to me, give the children love and help they needed and conclude arrangements for a field trip to San Francisco Zoo later that morning.



Brother FRANK KELLUM teaches children a game at the Intercommunal Youth Institute.

As Deborah Ponder, the other Group I instructor, was taking roll call for the field trip, Frank, a former elementary school teacher in the San Francisco school system, explained that the Institute's staff attempts to teach the children by going from the general to the specific.

For instance, Frank said that before the children can learn the letters in the alphabet and learn how to write, they must first have a conception of what a straight line is because the alphabet is a series of lines. Therefore, shape identification becomes an important step in the process of learning to write.

In addition to being able to identify a line, Group I children also learn how to recognize such symbols as circles, squares, and stars. Once they learn what a line is, they move on to letter recognition and then spelling their names.

The social skills learned by the children include: identification of the parts of the body; hygiene habits; knowledge of directions; obeying commands; and sensory motor skills, including manual dexterity.

"The children exercise all parts of their bodies," Frank said. He asked two or three of the children to do a hand exercise that develops the muscles in their fingers, thus contributing to good penmanship. The exercise consisted of putting all ten fingers up and, one by one, putting them down.

By being able to identify the parts of the body, the children simultaneously learn the function of these parts as well as good hygiene for such parts as the mouth, the nose, the face and the ears.

In his discussion of the handling of discipline Frank repeated the progressive educational philosophy of the Institute, "We have much love and great understanding for our children." Corporal punishment, the way one finds it in public schools, is not a basic form of discipline, because as Frank explained, "External force is the easiest but not the most effective force (of punishment). If self-discipline is internalized, there is not as much need for external discipline."

Both the students and the staff participate in a variety of exercises to achieve self-discipline. The children do such exercises as "woodchopping", a breathing and arm exercise to improve upon their attention span. Because the staff needs patience in teaching the children—"We define patience as seeing the situation and understanding it," Frank said—they do exercises in yoga and the martial arts.

Since, the theme of the Intercommunal Youth Institute is "The world is the children's classroom," a variety of field trips, are part of the learning experience. Frank commented, "We are creating experiences so they (the children) will know more about the world." In a nine-month period, Institute children go on more field trips than the average public school child goes on in his entire school life.

Group I children may only be two and three years old, but, as Frank insists, "We are not a baby sitting process." Indeed, Group I children and all children at the Institute are educated by constant repetition of words, shapes and exercises. Constant repetition, Frank pointed out, is the key to the process. □

## BLACK HISTORY

MARCH 30, 1870

The Fifteenth Amendment, providing the right to vote for all U.S. citizens regardless of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude," became a part of the U.S. Constitution on March 30, 1870.

MARCH 31, 1930

In a move he later deeply regretted, President Herbert Hoover nominated Judge John J. Parker of North Carolina to the Supreme Court on March 31, 1930. Infuriated by the nomination of a diehard segregationist and an outspoken opponent of granting Black people voting rights, the NAACP launched a highly successful nationwide campaign against Parker. Not only was Parker's nomination not confirmed by the Senate, the NAACP was credited with preventing 11 senators' re-elections who supported the nominee.

MARCH 30-31, 1960

Angered by the suspension of 18 fellow students the day before, Black students at Southern University in New Orleans rebelled on March 31, 1960, boycotting classes and requesting withdrawal slips.

MARCH 25, 1965

On March 25, 1965, over 40,000 people, predominantly Black, rallied in Montgomery, Alabama, following the completion of the second Selma to Montgomery protest march led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Following the rally, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, a 39-year-old White civil rights worker from Detroit, Michigan, was shot and killed on Highway 80 by members of the Ku Klux Klan.

MARCH 29, 30, 31, 1972

The Black Panther Party held its first Black Community Survival Conference on March 29, 30, 31, 1972. On March 29, the Party also released its revised 10-Point Platform and Program. (See Editorial, page 2.)



## "Until We're Free"

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

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## BROTHER SHOT

## DALLAS COMMUNITY STORE BOYCOTT 95% EFFECTIVE

(Dallas, Texas) - The West Dallas Community Survival and Action Committee and the Dallas Chapter of the Black Panther Party have launched a major boycott of Miller's grocery store on the corner of Hampton Road and Life Street in response to the recent shooting of Brother Jody Brown by White store owner Fletcher Miller.

The daily picket line of community residents has been 95 per cent effective and all but brought Miller's business, situated in the heart of the Black community, to a standstill.

Marvin Crenshaw, coordinator of the boycott, has announced that the picketing will continue until Miller is forced to close and sell the store to a responsible Black person or to a Black community cooperative.

During his seven years of exploiting the West Dallas community, Miller has killed three Black men. His latest atrocity was the shooting of Jody Brown. Miller claimed that the unarmed young Black man tried to rob the store and Miller shot him six times.

When Brown's girlfriend protested the shooting and the police arrest of Brown, during which he was brutally beaten despite his serious gun wounds, she was attacked by the police and her arm was broken in five places.

Miller and the clerks in his store openly wear and brandish guns and consistently threaten Black customers. He boasts that the police encourage the display and the use of his guns. He also keeps a vicious bulldog in the store to intimidate customers.

In the face of repeated customer protest, this corrupt petty capitalist persists in selling spray paint and plastic bags to school children, thus encouraging the use of a dangerous narcotic among the Black and Brown youth of the community.

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# REGISTER TO VOTE

## MURDER OF BLACK OFF-DUTY COP SPURS DALLAS COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE DRIVE

(Dallas, Texas) - The South Dallas Black community is enraged by the recent murder of an off duty Black policeman by a White Dallas cop. The call for community control of police grows louder and a new method of implementing people's power is being used.

Since the cold-blooded murder of off-duty plainclothes Patrolman Truman Graves by Officer R.L. Ries on February 15, the Black Panther Party has been working closely with the people of Dallas' oppressed communities on a plan to implement community control of police. Some of the many other instances of police terrorism in the neighborhoods of Dallas are being recorded and documented. Groups of community residents are then presenting their testimony and evidence about brutality cases they have observed to the Civil Service Board.

The Dallas Civil Service Board has a procedure whereby three or more citizens "shall have the right to prefer written charges of misconduct...against any officer or employee" of the city. If the charges are found to be true after a Board hearing the accused employee may be fired.

Although the rule has been on the books for forty years no one has ever attempted to apply it. Police officers are civil servants and therefore are subject to the Board's rulings.

The Committee for Justice for Truman Graves went before the Civil Service Board accompanied by Brother Fred Bell of the Dallas Chapter of the Black Panther Party and preferred written charges against Officer Ries. The Committee has also filed charges against Officer Ries' partner, Reserve Officer Reves, and Officers M.D. Cosby and J.L. Craig.

In an affidavit signed by six witnesses and presented to the Civil Service Board, Officer Ries reportedly came upon his victim, Truman Graves, while he was engaged in a domestic quarrel with his wife wielding a small caliber revolver. When Ries commanded the off-duty cop to "drop it," he did. Then, as Ries aimed his own gun at Graves, Mrs. Graves told the cop that she wasn't in danger, that the man was her husband and begged him not to shoot.

Ries shot Truman Graves and both he and his wife fell to the ground. Graves lay immobile, as he had fallen, across his wife's leg.

Ries aimed again. In her signed statement Mrs. Graves said: "I cried out, 'Please don't shoot him anymore, he's my husband, please, please'...but he just kept firing on him. Ries shot Graves a total of six times, emptying his revolver.

Assistant district attorney Swily, who is responsible for the state's presentations to the grand jury, has indicated that he is reluctant to see any decision in the murder case except justifiable homicide.

On January 9, 1974, Officer Craig is alleged to have kicked a suspect, Jody Brown, because he wouldn't (couldn't) stand with his hands spread on the roof of a police car after having been shot six times. Craig then used karate blows to break Sister June Page's arm in five places when she protested against his savagery towards Brown. (See story, this page.)

According to nine witnesses, on February 11, 1974, Officer Cosby tried to kick in a door in order to arrest a man who alleg-

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Sister BEVERLY EVANS and her brother, JOHNNY, were cruelly beaten by Philadelphia police.

## PHILADELPHIA POLICE BEAT AND ARREST BROTHER AND SISTER

(Philadelphia, Pa.) - Philadelphia police have again made headlines in this city for brutalizing Black citizens.

According to the *Philadelphia Tribune*, twenty-year-old Johnny Evans and his sister Beverly, age twenty-two, were beaten and arrested without provocation on Monday night, March 4. The two victims are preparing civil and criminal suits against the city government.

Brother Johnny Evans was told to get out of his mother's car in front of their house on Sansom Street in the West Philly Black community. He got out of the car and one officer slapped his face, knocking a cigarette from between his lips. The cops asked for ownership papers but wouldn't let Brother Johnny get them from inside the house.

It was then that at least three White policemen knocked Johnny to the pavement and beat him with flashlights, blackjacks, fists, knees and feet.

Terrified neighbors watched and one ran to the Evan's house to tell Johnny's sister, Beverly, who was the only one home. Shocked at the sight of blood flowing from her brother's head, Beverly ran to the street. Johnny was roughly thrown into a police car as she reached the scene and she jumped to his side in the car. Sister Beverly wanted to ride to the station with her brother. "But police dragged me out by my legs, hit me with blackjacks, handcuffed me and threw me into another car."

They were taken to the West Philadelphia police headquarters at 58th and Pine Streets and

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### TOWER RECORDS



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# SIX LEAVENWORTH BROTHERS ARRAIGNED IN U.S. DISTRICT COURT

## ODELL BENNETT BROUGHT TO COURT FROM PRISON HOSPITAL

(Leavenworth, Kansas) - Wednesday, March 13, six inmates from the U.S. Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, were arraigned before Judge Arthur Stanley, U.S. District Court at Leavenworth, on indictments resulting from the July 31, 1973, rebellion.

Odell Bennett, one of the six inmates, was brought from the prison hospital to court where he has been since Friday, March 8. Bennett has been on a hunger strike since January 2, 1974, to protest the conditions of his solitary confinement at Leavenworth Prison.

Bennett, who is 5' 11" tall, stated his hospitalized weight as 116 pounds. In court, he appeared visibly weak, dizzy and disoriented; he had to be helped to a chair while addressing Judge Stanley. Bennett said, "I am real confused and weak due to my condition." In spite of this, Bennett made a motion that Judge Stanley disqualify himself from the current and future proceedings involving prisoners because of his "obvious bias."

### 13 GRIEVANCES

Bennett said that he was a member of the nine man committee (3 Black, 3 Chicano, 3 White) that presented 13 grievances stemming from the rebellion and that Stanley was one of them: "Investigation of Judge Stanley, District Court, State of Kansas, City of Leavenworth, who has consistently denied our petitions to his court for redress under the Law." Judge Stanley denied Bennett's motion.

On February 4, 1974, Odell Bennett appeared before Judge Stanley to determine if he was on a hunger strike and should be transferred to a medical facility as Bureau of Prisons policy stipulates. Judge Stanley's opinion was that Odell Bennett was not on a hunger strike and refused to order his transfer for medical treatment. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, March 9, 1974.)

The six inmates, known as the "Leavenworth Brothers," dismissed their court appointed attorneys stating they wanted counsel of their choice as guaranteed under the Constitution. William Hurst rejected public defender Bunker, stating, "As far as I'm concerned he is a government agent; we have information that the public defender is



Brother ODELL BENNETT as he was being carried to a court appearance on February 13.

cooperating with the prosecution."

There was some confusion as to whether new attorneys had been secured. Judge Stanley asked if a member of the Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee could clarify the issue. Perry Sanders of the Committee responded that "negotiations are currently in progress, but as of this date, no commitments have been secured." The prosecution requested that they be informed of any new counsel as soon as possible. Sanders assured Judge Stanley and the prosecution this communication would occur.

William Hurst, Jesse Lopez, and Armondo Miramon have been charged with assault and kidnapping, while Odell Bennett, Alf Hill, Jr., and Alfred Jasper were charged with assault, mutiny and murder. Jesse Evans was previously arraigned on the latter charges.

At the arraignment hearing March 13, the prosecution stated that "the government is ready to move expeditiously on the trial of these cases and anticipates a two week period the end of April or the first part of May." The location of the trial has not been disclosed. □

# MURDER SPURS DALLAS COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE DRIVE

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

edly had parked his car on the wrong side of the street. The man, Brother Robert Sauls and his wife Ozell were then arrested, beaten and choked even though they surrendered peacefully. On

the way to the station house Cosby told Brother Sauls, "I can't stand your people."

The Black Panther Party is seeking the removal from the force of any police officer who abuses citizens. □

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# BARBEE: F.B.I. SPYING AND LIBERATION STRUGGLE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

public, become mad dogs in their vile attempts at destroying the credibility of our socially concerned leaders and groups, then the entire government structure becomes the epitome of subversiveness and illegality.

The FBI released documents provide undeniable proof that the Executive Branch of the federal government enlisted a racist program to keep the vocal protests of Blacks and minorities at a minimum and the people, themselves, in a downtrodden position.

The goal of the federal government to prevent the emergence of a so-called "Messiah", who could unite the existing militant Black nationalist organizations, has implications far and above that which most people might normally conceive of... especially if we consider the rapid turnover of Black leadership in this country.

Since the government's counterintelligence programs were adopted, at least four of the more renowned Black leaders of this country were assassinated...

Malcom X, Fred Hampton, Martin Luther King and Medgar Evers. And then there are the separate frame-ups initiated against Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale (co-founders of the Black Panther Party) during the same period of time that the FBI was involved in their illegal activities. Lucky for a few of our Black brothers that the courts did not follow the same twisted logic practiced by the federal Executive Branch.

The point that becomes evident from these FBI disclosures is this: As long as the lives and livelihood of minority groups and their leaders remain so threatened, self-preservation will sustain a strong anti-government feeling.

Government programs, such as those disclosed by the FBI, will only act as an antagonistic force adding to the growth of the larger, stronger, and more radical groups. These efforts can provide a proverbial finger that scratches away at a case of poison ivy... the more one itches, the farther the poison ivy spreads.

If the government in our country truly desires to ease its fears of a revolution, it will become necessary to cure the itch. Once the government begins a sincere effort to solve our social problems and injustices, the need for radical activity will cease. □



## CONCLUSION OF CHAPEL HILL SPEECH

# BOBBY SEALE: "THE AMERICAN DREAM HAS BEEN CORRUPTED"

*In the following, concluding, excerpt from Brother Bobby Seale's address at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill campus, Bobby deals with a subject of growing discussion and support, the Black Panther Party Proposal for the Elimination of the Offices of President and Vice-President of the United States. Breaking down the Proposal and connecting it with the struggle to elect true "people's representatives", Bobby explains the urgent need to come together, as in last year's People's Campaign in Oakland, to transform the system into one that serves the people's interest.*

"What we are talking about in this country is the American Dream. This country was founded upon the American Dream. All human beings should be able to come into this society and live and flourish and develop. But the dream has been distorted. The American Dream has been corrupted; segregated, oppressed, brutalized, murdered, right down the line. And it's still going on. Really, it's the World's Dream, because America is supposed to be setting an example.

## ORGANIZE

"It's high time the American people started dealing with what the real American Dream is; stop letting the press and these crooked politicians and these *miseducators* miseducate you. It's high time you started dealing with it. Organize on a concrete, grassroots level.

"Brother Martin Luther King and Malcolm X were trying to tell us something. Martin said, 'I've been to the mountaintop.' And while he was trying to tell you that he had been to the moun-



DR. MARTIN L. KING, JR.

tain-top, some young brothers and sisters and young human beings went down near the base of the mountain, at the babbling brook, where a stream of water flowed down to try to get a drink and take a freedom walk. They looked down and saw the stream was polluted, polluted with the king.

"I'm saying that Richard M. Nixon has opted to be king—King Richard I of America. He tried to do it like King George. This man has been responsible for a wholesale cutback of fundamental human rights; a cutback in services for capitalistic profit; a rising cost of living, and on and on, right down the line. I've heard Congress make reference to the fact that Richard Nixon could possibly pull a coup d'etat and say there aren't going to be any elections.

"What I'm getting down to is that the most monstrous elective offices—not only in America, but in the world—are the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States. They've been



MALCOLM X

monstrous offices since the time the Constitution was written.

"The Black Panther Party, and many other groups it associates with are calling for the Elimination of the Offices of President and Vice-President of these United States. Now, that might upset a few young boys who say they always wanted to grow up and be President. (You always wanted to grow up and be corrupt.) That office is outright controlled by every capitalistic corporation system in this country—the fascist corporate power structure.

## COMMUNITY CONTROL

"I don't want to grow up to be President. I'm talking about community control of electoral politics; that congressman down in the community that gets elected every two years. We want more community control. If you don't do what we ask you to do, then we're going to vote you out. It's a front, it's a show.

"We're not electing anything when we elect a President. All you're doing is electing war. All you're doing is electing Water-gates and burglars. All of the agencies of government under the Executive Branch are supposed to be created by the Congress of the United States. The Constitution gives Congress the right to minimize the power that Nixon and the others have usurped from the people.

"We better think about what was created. When the Constitution was written, it was written so that there would never be a person trying to be a divine king. There are checks and balances. That's why the agencies of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

## F.B.I. OPPOSES BILLS TO PROTECT CITIZENS' PRIVACY

(Washington, D.C.) - The FBI has expressed its opposition to two bills that would protect the American citizen's right of privacy. The bills propose the sealing of certain police records so that both police and nonpolice agencies would no longer have access to them.

The FBI's opposition to the bills came during six days of testimony from about 200 witnesses before the Senate Judiciary Committee on Constitutional Rights. One of the purposes of the hearings said Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr., the Subcommittee Chairman, was "to learn how law enforcement agencies collect, use and disseminate" data held in more than 100 criminal history information banks throughout the country.

## "A STEPPING POINT"

Senator Ervin and Senator Roman L. Hruska from Nebraska, introduced the bills to serve as "a stepping point" for final legislation to control the expanding network of federally funded criminal data banks. Testifying on March 7, FBI Director Clarence M. Kelly said he was "completely opposed to sealing any criminal justice information from criminal justice agencies."

The bills would seal an individual's police record seven years after a felony has been committed and five years after a misdemeanor. The record would be sealed only if there had been no conviction during those years, no prosecution was pending and the person was not a fugitive. The bill would set varying penalties, from \$5,000 to \$10,000 and one year in jail, for anyone wrongfully disseminating police information.

Under the Ervin proposal, computerization of police intelligence information—which overwhelmingly consists of unsubstantiated allegations—would be prohibited and raw arrest records could only be disseminated if the arrest was less than a year old and prosecution was pending. The Hruska measure would require that arrest records could not be released to other police agencies without disposition of the case.

"...The need is clear that strong action must be taken to protect the privacy of American citizens," said Ervin. "I see the

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# WHITE PRISON ACTIVIST INDICTED ON PHONY MURDER CHARGES

## STEPHEN KESSLER FACES EXTRADITION

(Eugene, Oregon) - A White prison inmate who has been active in organizing prisoner unity was recently indicted on phony six-year-old murder charges. Stephen Kessler, a prisoner at the Oregon State Penitentiary, was suddenly told he was being extradited to Georgia to stand trial before he even received any word of the indictment.

In fact, Stephen Kessler's extradition would have been complete by now had it not been for a last minute demand for justice organized by his friends on the outside. He had already been transferred from the state prison to the Clackamas County Jail in preparation for the trip. He had not been given an extradition hearing or a chance to collect his few belongings before the transfer process.

Kessler was seized in the visiting room of the Oregon State Penitentiary on February 20 and within five minutes was en route to the Clackamas jail. Only when his lawyers, alerted by friends visiting with Kessler at the time he was seized, went before federal District Court Judge Burns was he returned to the Oregon facility.

He still may be extradited to Georgia to be tried for the murder of two men and the attempted murder of another which took place six years ago in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary. Charged with him is Joe Martinez, a Chicano who is now being held at the federal prison in Marion, Ill.

Both men happened to be in the Atlanta prison at the time because of frequent transfers around the country that they, as all political prisoners, are sub-

jected to. Stephen Kessler has been in six penitentiaries and fifteen county jails around the country since 1968 in an effort by penal authorities to isolate him from other prisoners.

Stephen has consistently worked for unity and progressive awareness among his fellow inmates at all of the prisons and detention centers in which he has

been held. It is for precisely these reasons that he is now bearing this harassment and the possibility of an extended term. He was due for parole next year and an appeal of his original conviction was developing successfully. The federal government would rather keep Stephen Kessler's revolutionary energy and political awareness behind bars. □



Dallas citizens picket in front of Miller's grocery store where Brother Jody Brown was shot by the owner and then beaten by police.

## DALLAS COMMUNITY STORE BOYCOTT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

In a letter sent to Fletcher Miller announcing the decision to boycott his store, the sponsoring organizations and "The Concerned Citizens of the Exploited and Oppressed community" wrote:

"Let this be a lesson to you and your other petty capitalist exploiters in the community. The community will only support businesses that support the community and that respect the

community. Remember that the people have the right to buy or NOT to buy and the right to political expression under the 1st Amendment — a right we choose to exercise." □

## PHILADELPHIA POLICE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

booked on charges of simple and aggravated assault. Neither were allowed to make phone calls, but both were taken to Philadelphia General Hospital where they were X-rayed and treated.

Johnny received twelve stitches for three cuts in his head while Beverly was treated for a sprained hand and resultant fever. Both also required care for numerous cuts and bruises. Each was kept without being informed of what became of the other at 55th and Pine and later at police headquarters downtown for twenty-four hours, and were not allowed any communications to or from the rest of the Evans family. They were released approximately twenty-four hours after their arrest at 10:30 p.m.

The two are filing civil suits against the city and criminal suits against the police department. □

## PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

### T.V. IN S.F. POLICE CARS

(San Francisco, Calif.) - San Francisco police have installed the first five "keyboard-television screen" units to link officers in squad cars directly to a central computer as well as to Bay Area, state and federal police information centers and the FBI. The units enable officers to check license plate numbers in less than half a minute without talking to an operator and to instantly run checks of traffic and felony warrants as well as obtain other information on individuals.

### EQUAL OPPORTUNITY ORDER

(Washington, D.C.) - *Newsweek* magazine has been ordered to pay attorneys for Samuel F. Yette \$20,000 and set up a fair employment program in its Washington office. The order was handed down by the D.C. Commission on Human Rights on March 8 in response to the charge that *Newsweek* was guilty of racial bias in firing Yette, its only Black reporter in Washington. The magazine fired Yette in 1972, following publication of his award-winning book, *The Choice: The Issue of Black Survival in America*, after a *Newsweek* editor subjected him to racial slurs and told him the book "embarrassed" the magazine.

### POLICE SCANDALS EVERYWHERE

(New York, N.Y.) - Police corruption scandals are rocking six major U.S. cities. New York, Philadelphia, Houston, Indianapolis, Chicago and San Francisco police departments are under investigation for various charges of corruption for which many officers have been indicted, dismissed, convicted or sentenced to jail.

### U.S. JUSTICE ON TRIAL

(New York, N.Y.) - A massive federal suit which could affect the functioning of criminal justice systems throughout the country will be heard here April 20. The trial will feature testimony from judges, criminologists, sociologists and prisoners and will focus on the lack of speedy trials, coercive plea bargaining, illegal probation procedures for pretrial detainees and excessive bail.

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## COLLEGE STUDENTS DEMAND

# "FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT TO AN EDUCATION!"

The following editorial, "Fight for the Right to an Education," is reprinted from *Fight Back the New York* monthly newspaper of the Attica Brigade, a rapidly growing, campus-based national organization which seeks to play a vanguard role in building struggle on campuses across the country.

In the November issue of *Fight Back* we ran an editorial called "We Are Under Attack." In it we talked about the fight for the democratic right to a college education. In that same issue we ran stories about anti-tuition struggles at Michigan, anti-cutback fights at Madison and Boston State.

Since then, the nation-wide plan of attacks on education has become even clearer. As we said in Nov.: "The people who control the universities, like the Rockefellers, think the student move-

ment is dead. They think they can now take back what we won and they lost. Kick out 3rd World and working class students. According to all the commissions and reports now coming out, Big Business has decided that there is now a surplus of college graduates. They need more people for cheap labor and for their volunteer army. And the people who run the whole show, through their agents on Boards of Trustees and Boards of Regents, think they can do it. We know who they want to get rid of.

So they cry about lack of funds. Or how it was a mistake to believe that everybody should go to college. That only those who "really want" to go to college should. But that shit won't shovel.

In spite of all the attempts to convince us that cutbacks are good for us, from the government's Committee on Economic



U.S. college students protest aid cutbacks.

Development to the Carnegie Commission, to the Master Plan in Massachusetts, students just aren't buying it. In the two months since we wrote that editorial, students have fought back on a dozen new campuses like Ramapo in N.J., Cal State and Lehman College in N.Y.

As it becomes clearer to students that the cuts are for real, it also becomes clear that we aren't going to stand for it. Already Big Business and their lackeys in government are thinking up schemes to try and divert us. In N.Y. Gov. Wilson claims he's in favor of more money for the City University of N.Y. But we'll believe it when we see it. We know that all politicians, "conservative" or "liberal", are working for the same boss—the giant monopolies like ITT. Sure, we'll go to the state capitols or even Washington when we have to, but not to lobby or plead with "our" representatives. We'll go using the only tactic that has worked for students or any other people in this country: Mass-militant action. ☐

## STUDENT AID VICTORY

(Mahwah, N.J.) - A challenge by minority students to the administration of Ramapo College here has ended with the college agreeing to increase its share of financial aid to students receiving assistance under the Educational Opportunity Fund and assign work-study jobs to those students in greatest need first.

The dispute arose over charges by Black and Spanish-surnamed students that the college administration practiced racial discrimination in awarding financial assistance and in other aspects of college operation. ☐



U.S. citizens face daily harassment by police.

## F.B.I. OPPOSES BILLS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

controversies surrounding the establishment of criminal justice data banks as a microcosm of the general controversy about governmental data banks and the invasion of privacy."

In confronting the dangers to the millions of Americans who are included in police records, Ervin said, "We will be taking the first steps toward the development of a comprehensive policy on all data banks and the protection of personal privacy."

A House Judiciary Subcommittee plans to continue hearings within the next few weeks on the two Senate bills as well as House bills relating to the control of criminal data banks. ☐

## LAW TO AID EX-PRISONERS STUDIED

(Albany, N.Y.) - A bill that would prohibit government agencies and departments from asking a job applicant whether he has ever been arrested has passed the New York State Assembly and is now under consideration in the state Senate. The measure, which was sought by civil liberties groups, would also make it unlawful for an employment agency to act upon information concerning an arrest which has not been followed by a conviction. ☐

### Write Us

THE BLACK PANTHER is your newspaper, so let us know what you think about the opinions expressed in our columns. Write us. The Editor and staff are eager to know your reactions. As space permits we will share your letters with our readers.

## DELLUMS' CORNER

### ON VETERANS BENEFITS

California Congressman Ronald V. Dellums has sponsored legislation to prevent increases in monthly Social Security checks from being computed in determining eligibility or benefit amount for veterans' pensions, thus "passing through" to veterans recent and future Social Security benefit hikes.

"The intent of this bill is very simple," Dellums explained. "It seeks to end once and for all, the financial sleight of hand that happens every time Congress increases Social Security benefits."

By the terms of the proposed legislation, no veteran, dependent or widow would lose eligibility for a Veterans' Administration pension or have the amount of their pension benefits reduced, because of the increases in Social Security—totalling 16.9 percent—enacted during the first session of the 93rd Congress. Veterans and their dependents

would also be protected against harm from all future cost of living increases in Social Security.

The congressman predicts that unless this legislation is enacted soon, thousands of veterans will lose their eligibility for benefits they have earned.

In other Dellums news, the congressman received a 100 per cent rating from the Communications Workers of America for his voting record during the first session of the 93rd Congress.

The ten House of Representative "key votes" considered important by the Communications Workers of America during the last session were: (1) Wage-price controls; (2) Public service employment; (3) Minimum wage; (4) Crop subsidy; (5) Labor, Health, Education and Welfare; (6) Food stamps for strikers; (7) Impoundment; (8) Emergency medical services; (9) Minimum wage veto, and (10) Foreign trade.



# RUSSELL MEANS DEMANDS PROBE OF PINE RIDGE ELECTION

(Pine Ridge, South Dakota) - Native American community leader Russell Means has demanded that the circumstances of the recent election on the Pine Ridge reservation be investigated. Brother Means came in second in the run-off for president of the Oglala Lakota (Sioux) tribe despite a landslide victory in the primary.

Means is a member of the activist American Indian Movement (AIM) which has spearheaded the Native American struggle on the Pine Ridge reservation. The AIM came to Pine Ridge reservation and Wounded Knee at the request of the oppressed residents of the government compound for Indians at Pine Ridge.

## ARMED LIBERATION

Following a period of armed liberation of Wounded Knee by Pine Ridge occupants, AIM members and Native Americans from other tribes throughout the country and a long violent U.S. government siege of that liberated territory, Russell Means entered the tribal presidency elections. Enjoying the support of the broad majority of the people from the start, Means, a Sioux himself, had no trouble taking the primary race before the run-off election.

Incumbent tribal president Richard Wilson, a long-time enemy of the Oglala Lakota people and a man who has never refrained from the use of violence or treachery in order to meet his interests, won the run-off, by a small majority. And the reason for Wilson's victory—despite the widespread hatred and fear his people feel for him—was his use of strong-arm tactics throughout Pine Ridge Reservation region.

In Martin, many ineligible people—including White ranchers—were allowed to vote and Indians who actively supported Russell Means have been fired from their jobs. In Potato Creek, more people voted than there are registered voters in the district. There was shooting and violence during election night and several people report being bribed to vote for Wilson.

All of this election rigging by Wilson and the U.S. government



RUSSELL MEANS (left) and DENNIS BANKS are on trial for the Wounded Knee occupation.

was anticipated by Russell Means. He had made several requests before the election that outside supervision by independent observers be provided. However, Wilson and his appointed election board forestalled any such restraints being placed upon his tyranny. □



Oakland resident discussing his voter registration.

## BOBBY SEALE: "THE AMERICAN DREAM HAS BEEN CORRUPTED"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

government in the Executive Office are supposed to be set up by the Congress; so that it, Congress, also has legal power to minimize the Executive's powers. We must also deal with our congressmen and begin electing some new ones because many of them are corrupt.

"The offices of President and Vice-President of the United States need to be eliminated so that we can transform the system; transform some of these institutionalized functions so that they will serve the people's desires and interests. Anytime a President jumps up and says he's going to impound funds that are allocated by law by Congress for domestic problems, we're in trouble. Sure, he lost the case in the courts, but the pity is—he did it! The Watergate bungler is acting just like King George III. King George III had this special divine right or special veto power. Well, Richard M. Nixon is trying to pull the same thing with his divine right to 'Executive Privilege.'

### "THEY MURDERED HIM"

"I was telling you that Martin Luther King went to the mountaintop. Before he could get the words out, they killed him. They murdered him. He had something else to tell us. When the young brothers and sisters went down to get a cool drink of freedom water out of the stream that originates at the top of the mountain, Martin Luther King—and Malcolm X before him—were trying to tell us it is correct to talk about an American Dream, but also that there's a hog in the stream. At the top of the mountain, where the stream originates, there's a hog.

"We're going to have to control every congressman, every state legislator; we're going to have to take all these council seats in local legislative bodies. We're going to have to organize and unify the con-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

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# IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND

CONVERSATIONS WITH ERIK H. ERIKSON  
AND HUEY P. NEWTON

*The natural topic to emerge when Brother Huey P. Newton and Professor Erik Erikson met for the second time in Oakland was their earlier conversation at Yale University in New Haven. The following excerpt from their book, In Search Of Common Ground, continues the opening phase of the Oakland talk. Erik Erikson's son, Kai Erikson, a Yale professor of sociology and J. Herman Blake, a Black professor of sociology at the University of Santa Cruz, participated.*

**K. ERIKSON:** And that is certainly how we arranged the room: like a Roman spectacle.

## REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE



### Huey P. Newton

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

24 pages of photographs \$8.95

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

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**E. ERIKSON:** They felt each of us betrayed our mandate, in a way, and that we overadjusted to those rows of books all around us.

**K. ERIKSON:** I think that is partly so, but something else may have been going on at the same time. Most of the students I know want to relate more closely to people they admire or are interested in. They wanted to hear a little more from each of you about who you are, what you are thinking, and how all of that is connected to the realities of their lives. But what they got was theory—and a pretty abstract brand of theory at that. They wanted to be responded to, accepted as deserving people, and I am not sure that they were.

**E. ERIKSON:** I could make that clear to myself in terms of my own theory and say that first of all they wanted to identify and then they wanted to understand. So they were mostly interested in challenging Huey—in finding out how they might identify with or against him and what he could mean to their identity choices.

**K. ERIKSON:** That's it. They were more interested in coming to terms with Huey as a person than with intercommunalism as an idea, which certainly isn't hard to understand.

**E. ERIKSON:** And that's their birthright, of course. We should remember, too, that one of their dominant conflicts right now is between being students in order to study for an occupation and a profession and a career, or being students so as to be informed activists in the meantime. I don't know what is going on at Yale right now, but when I came out here a month ago a number of professors at the University of California told me how depressed the students are because they don't see at this moment any genuine access to activism; and I'm not sure that we didn't get some of that conflict at Yale. You know what I mean?

**NEWTON:** Sort of...

**E. ERIKSON:** And when you, of all people, talked like a damned professor!

**NEWTON:** Well, they're not the only ones I have had that problem with.

**BLAKE:** But I wonder if that didn't paralyze them a bit.

**K. ERIKSON:** It's funny. You know, a lot of people were upset because they thought we had

chosen nothing but conservative students for the conference—and maybe they were in some abstract class sense—but in the Yale scheme of things a number of them were reckoned to be rather radical.

**BLAKE:** Well, we won't go into that.

**K. ERIKSON:** How about radical with a small *r*?

**BLAKE:** No, I know what you mean. I think one of the things people don't understand or refuse to see is that the Black Panther Party is not just some willy-nilly helter-skelter bunch of people who run around trying to upset everybody. It is a program, a distinct pattern of thinking and ideology, delivering certain conclusions from which strategies and actions derive. The ideology is critical here: revolutionary intercommunalism is a way of visualizing reality so that people can understand the critique the Panthers have been developing all along. It's not simply that Huey talks like a professor, which I wouldn't deny for a moment, but that people cannot accept the logic of what he says because they are not ready to go that far.

**K. ERIKSON:** I suppose that's true too. But students have not really heard very much ideology before. Radical politics on campus has largely been a thing of action, movement, feeling, protest; students are just not accustomed to hearing anyone present a calm and reasoned ideological statement, no matter how revolutionary its thrust. That's one reason why the young White radicals these days and the older socialist radicals who learned their politics in the thirties and forties have such a hard time getting together. Have you heard very many serious ideological conversations on campus?

**BLAKE:** No, I haven't. I agree with you. A lot of students just do this and do that without thought, although it's understandable when you consider that they spend so much time in classrooms (I thought I'd toss that in). But in my opinion, and in the opinion of some of the colleagues with whom I work very closely, revolutionary activity without serious planning and thought is in fact counterrevolutionary.

**NEWTON:** As a matter of fact, that's a very good statement



Brother HUEY P. NEWTON

about unplanned action—about revolutionary action and counter-revolutionary action. Young people generally feel that the role of the revolutionary is to define a set of actions and a set of principles that are easy to identify and are absolute. But what I was trying to explain to them was the process: revolution, basically, is a contradiction between the old and the new in the process of development. Anything can be revolutionary at a particular point in time, but most of the students don't understand that. And most other people don't understand it either.

**BLAKE:** What was your reaction, Erik, to Huey's original statement? I've always wondered about that.

**E. ERIKSON:** I've wondered too. Much of it I simply didn't understand, to tell you the truth—or maybe I was just waiting for a combined personal and intellectual impression without which I do not "understand." Maybe what we just said should have been the very introduction to the whole thing, the relation of revolutionary action to revolutionary ideology and theory. I am glad that our readers—if it comes to that—will have a chance to hear this, because otherwise some might have the same difficulty we attributed to the students of not appreciating that there are a number of different passions in a revolutionary. Hot action is one of them, cold theory is another; and we have been exploring the affinities of the two in political and psychological theory. Incidentally, if I may change the subject slightly, it seems to me now that it was a mistake for me to begin my remarks in New Haven by comparing the young Newton and the older Newton. I meant that half humorously, of course. I did

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15



## MITCHELL-STANS TRIAL A FRAUD

Washington, D.C. — James Anthony Goodrich, John W. Mitchell and Arthur Brisbane of the American Surety Bond Co., the two highest officials in the Surety administration to be indicted in Watergate-related cases, are simply being tried here for charges of prosecutive malfeasance and perjury, according to an attorney with a major \$100,000-a-year contribution from Senator Walter D. Dill, senior partner in law firm of Goodrich and Lawrence Cunningham, 2327 L St. Northwest, Washington. D.C.

Goodrich, a former member of the House and Mitchell being prosecuted for the crimes they committed against the American people and against the justice system, are not obtaining a clear and fair trial by the district court presiding over the case, says J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

There is a conspiracy on behalf of the government to indict the Mitchell-Brisbane trial. The government has arrested the government in this case to have one of the witnesses arrested of a hearing of a trial to which James W. Mitchell, former Governor of Virginia, and Arthur Brisbane, attorney-in-fact, were subpoenaed. The subpoena would be illegitimate if the witnesses were in one of the defendants. The witnesses are not arrested but the government has arrested to give the appearance of one of the defendants in one of the charges in this case.

## OPERATION GEMSTONE: THE GREAT WATERGATE CONSPIRACY

BY CRIC and DONALD FREED

Operation Gemstone: The Great Watergate Conspiracy is a multi-part account of the hidden activities of Nixon and his staff of agents, informants and assets. It includes the story of how the Nixon White House tried to keep the secret from the public and the press about the activities of the Nixon White House's secret agents and informants. It is the story of the hidden activities of the Nixon White House's secret agents and informants.

On Jan. 25, 1974, Donald Freed called James W. Mitchell and Arthur Brisbane and told them that they were being indicted for prosecutive malfeasance and perjury. He told them that they were being indicted for prosecutive malfeasance and perjury. He told them that they were being indicted for prosecutive malfeasance and perjury.

There is a conspiracy to let the government prosecute when to let the trial this week. Goodrich and Mitchell would not be indicted for the same crime as the other two. They are being indicted for prosecutive malfeasance and perjury. It is not clear whether Dill's testimony will have any effect on the prosecution's case.

Therefore, the prosecution is conducting a fraudulent trial to give the appearance of a fair trial. The charges are not clear. It is not clear whether Dill's testimony will have any effect on the prosecution's case. The government is conducting a fraudulent trial to give the appearance of a fair trial.



JOHN W. MITCHELL



ARTHUR BRISBANE



JAMES W. MITCHELL

There is a conspiracy to let the government prosecute when to let the trial this week. Goodrich and Mitchell would not be indicted for the same crime as the other two. They are being indicted for prosecutive malfeasance and perjury. It is not clear whether Dill's testimony will have any effect on the prosecution's case.

The Mitchell - Stans trial has gotten pushed into the background. Just as the American people are demanding the impeachment of Richard Nixon, we must demand the conviction of Mitchell and Stans. These two rogues cannot stand for a minute in justice.

**ELIMINATE PRESIDENCY PAPER AVAILABLE**

THE BLACK PANTHER has available upon request copies of the Black Panther Party's Pasture Paper on the Constitution of the Office of President and Vice President. This important document may be obtained free of charge by writing: General Distribution, 3001 E. 14th Street, Oakland, Calif. 94612.

## CONGRESS IMPEACHMENT COMMITTEE GETS GRAND JURY REPORT

Washington, D.C. — In the face of intense enemy opposing impeachment, Nixon has been indicted.

When the article appeared, the House Judiciary Committee regarding impeachment will probably have the grand jury report which, it is believed, demands Nixon's removal to the Watergate coverage. The U.S. Court of Appeals, sitting on a motion on behalf of seven former White House aides on trial in Watergate, had been refused to prevent the report from going to the grand jury, the report being the grand jury's report on the matter. In the House Committee eight previous impeachment proposals.

In the face of this report, it is believed that the House will impeach Nixon. The House Judiciary Committee will probably have the grand jury report which, it is believed, demands Nixon's removal to the Watergate coverage. The U.S. Court of Appeals, sitting on a motion on behalf of seven former White House aides on trial in Watergate, had been refused to prevent the report from going to the grand jury, the report being the grand jury's report on the matter. In the House Committee eight previous impeachment proposals.

This would be a final impeachment of the Committee to the House. Under the Constitution, the Senate has the power to judge a President's conduct in office. The House is simply empowered to impeach a President. The House has the power to impeach a President. The House has the power to impeach a President.



There is a conspiracy to let the government prosecute when to let the trial this week. Goodrich and Mitchell would not be indicted for the same crime as the other two. They are being indicted for prosecutive malfeasance and perjury. It is not clear whether Dill's testimony will have any effect on the prosecution's case.



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IMPEACH NIXON



# THE GLASS HOUSE TAPES

By C.R.I.C. and

Louis E. Tackwood

The Glass House Tapes by Louis Tackwood and the Citizens Research and Investigation Committee of Los Angeles, utilizes Tackwood's elaborate confession as a police agent provocateur to weave the frightening picture of this country's secret police intelligence network. The previous excerpt related the early history behind the information of today's awesome police intelligence system. This week continues by recounting the recent history of the intensified coordination between police agencies.

## TACKWOOD:

"C.I.I. sent me to Berkeley to work on the coalition. I was to get information on the Revolutionary Union and the Panthers and everyone involved in militant organizations. I made contact with one of C.I.I.'s contacts who was a Minuteman. He was supposed to sell some guns. C.I.I. coordinated the whole thing. That's Criminal Identification and Investigation. They are undercover for the state. They have their own little technical squad, then L.A. has its own little technical squad, and Frisco has its, and so on."

Since 1955 and the formation of the Law Enforcement Intelligence Unit, two major factors have spurred the growth of the police intelligence establishment and intensified the coordination of data and activities: a revolution in data processing technology and the upsurge of political dissension and activity in the nation.

Out of the quietude and fear of the McCarthy witch hunt years emerged movements for civil rights, an end to the expanding war in Indo-China, and for the implementation of the promises of "The Great Society."

The ghettos, college campuses, and rural South seethed with unrest. Youth were no longer willing to accept the existence of the democracy on the word of their textbooks—they wanted to test its strength and limits. Growing sectors of the populace were unwilling to accept the government's definition of national "security" and demonstrated their opposition to its military implications. Blacks and other minorities were unwilling to

suttle for "equality" that left them jobless, powerless and undereducated.

Hard hit by unemployment, poverty, police brutality, the ghettos of the United States "blew up" in the mid-sixties. Millions of words were written in government-financed studies, analyzing the disturbances and making recommendations for remedial action. While the studies spoke of the need to correct the social injustices that had sparked the uprisings, they all recommended that the most immediate task of government was to create broad intelligence networks that could "predict" where and when "trouble" was likely to erupt.

Intelligence Department budgets, not the budgets of ghetto families, were doubled. New jobs were created, not for members of the "troubled" communities, but for new police operatives and researchers.

During this period, advances in computer and data processing technology enabled police and Federal agencies to increase their coordination. In 1965, the F.B.I. created the National Crime Information Center (N.C.I.C.). The Center and system provides for the compilation, coordination and



Members of the radical Citizens Research and Investigation Committee with LOUIS TACKWOOD [center in white coat].

transmission of information on "suspects" intelligence reports, etc. in a matter of seconds. Despite the technological sophistication of the system the data for the Center is still gathered by local Intelligence Departments as it always has been.

In Los Angeles, METRO does the job.

In 1967, two years after the Watts uprisings, Metro was expanded from a unit of 85 men to well over two hundred specially-trained men. The activities of the Intelligence Division are described this way in *Police Operational Intelligence*, a well-known police intelligence text: "The Intelligence Division is responsible for gathering information and the investigation of all phases of organized crime. This includes individuals who by their previous associates or suspected endeavors constitute a potential hazard to society." Perhaps the best

example of what is meant by "potential hazard to society" can be found in an article by Reuben Salazar which appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, April 2, 1970.

Los Angeles police sergeant Robert J. Thoms, once a "Community relations" officer has gone into the intelligence business and has testified before a U.S. Senate subcommittee about what he considers subversive and violent organizations.

As a community relations officer from March 26, 1962, to February 11, 1968, Sgt. Thoms worked with many of the barrio and ghetto organizations which, if nothing else, understand the problems of people who do not relate to, much less participate in, the mainstream of American life.

Thoms gained the confidence of leaders in barrios and ghettos who felt there was still hope for at least a working relationship between frustrated and disadvantaged communities and the equally frustrated but relatively powerful police force.

After working for a year in this sensitive area, Sgt. Thoms was transferred by the Police Department to intelligence work.

The next time the communities, which had known Sgt. Thoms as a community relations officer, heard from him was as an Intelligence Officer testifying before a U.S. Senate subcommittee investigating subversive and violent organizations.

In the 59-page report, however, Sgt. Thoms also touches upon such diverse organizations as the Ford Foundation, the League of United Citizens to Help Addicts, the Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles, the U.C.L.A. Industrial Relations Commission and the East Los Angeles Community Union.

Thoms's report should be read by all Americans concerned with the problem of the credibility gap. TO BE CONTINUED

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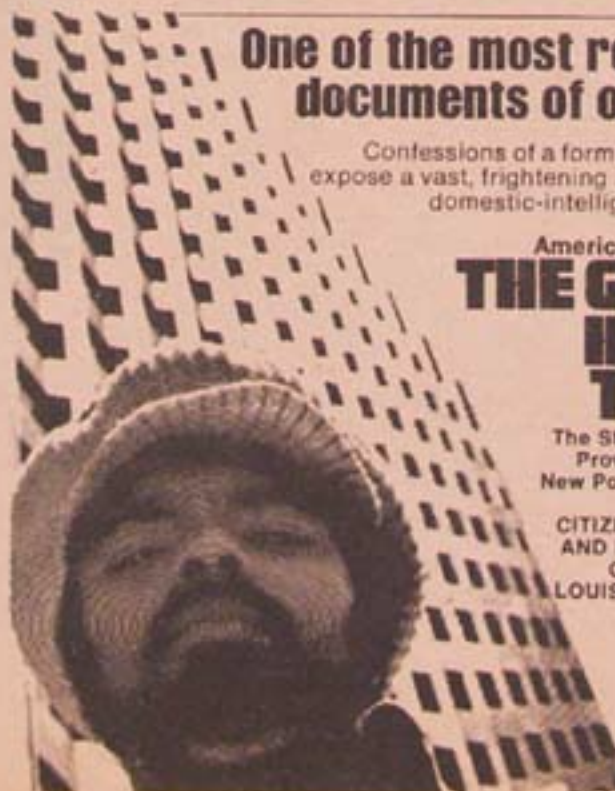
Confessions of a former police agent expose a vast, frightening and expanding domestic-intelligence network.

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New Police-Intelligence  
Complex by  
CITIZENS RESEARCH  
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COMMITTEE and  
LOUIS E. TACKWOOD

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## Intercommunal News

AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLES  
CAUSE CRISIS IN PORTUGAL

Women of Mozambique have taken up arms to struggle for national independence.

## MAJOR VICTORY

FRELIMO  
DESTROYS 21  
PORTUGUESE  
AIRCRAFT

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) - In one of the most devastating victories of the Mozambique war, FRELIMO guerrillas have destroyed 21 Portuguese aircraft on the ground at Mueda, the Portuguese provincial military headquarters in Cabo Delgado province.

In a war communique issued here last week, the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) said that on January 20, the first anniversary of the murder of Guinea-Bissau leader Amilcar Cabral, guerrilla units struck Mueda military camp and airport destroying six Harvard bombers, three Fiat G-91 fighter bombers, three Dorniers, seven Alouette helicopters and two Harpoon bombers.

Mueda has been the target of repeated attacks by the guerrillas in Cabo Delgado. In September, 1972, FRELIMO guerrillas destroyed 19 aircraft there in a major operation.

In other action, FRELIMO guerrillas blew up a goods train near Mecito station about 450 kilometers northwest of Beira. Railway sources said the explosion derailed two engines pulling the long train after them. Two crew members were killed.

The important Tete railway line, which serves the Cabora Bassa Dam, had not been attacked since the end of August according to South African sources, when a series of landmine explosions and train ambushes were reported.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

(Lisbon, Portugal) - A major crisis rocked Portugal last week over the war being waged against the African people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. A brief army mutiny ended peacefully when 200 members of the Fifth Infantry Regiment were stopped at the edge of Lisbon by armored forces and police last Friday. They were protesting the dismissal of Deputy Chief of Staff, General Spínola.

Spínola was dismissed by Portugal's Prime Minister Caetano for asserting in a book published

last month that the wars in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau could not be won militarily. He proposed offering the territories equal status with Portugal in a federation.

Shortly after, General Francisco de Costa Gomes, the Chief of Staff of the Portuguese armed services, was fired by Caetano for siding with Spínola. It has since been learned that the commandant of the military academy, General Amaro Fomau and the Naval Secretary of the Armed Forces Defense Staff, Admiral

Tierno Baghula, have also been dismissed. The number of other officers, mostly junior grade, who have been arrested was reliably reported to have reached 33, as of this writing.

The book by Spínola is called *Portugal and the Future*. The first edition had a print order of 50,000. *The New York Times* calls this a phenomenal number in a country where a serious work is considered a best seller if 3,000 copies are sold. The book reportedly sold out in two days.

Thomas Johnson, writing from Dakar, Senegal, for *The New York Times* reports that Luis Cabral, president of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), during a recent visit to Dakar described General Spínola as a man who had "talked a lot and made a lot of promises."

Cabral added that with the general no longer in a position of authority in Portugal, guerrilla leaders are wondering what effect his thinking may have on the country's policies. An official of PAIGC in Dakar is reported to have said: "We are watching the events in Portugal and trying to analyze them. Spínola's solution, of course, is not our solution and our greatest concern is how these events in Portugal will be reflected on the battlefields of Africa."

Emergency measures confining all military personnel to barracks throughout Portugal were ended on Monday 18, after having been on and off for a week. But the crisis continues. A sweeping purge is underway throughout the armed services following the holding of a series of protest meetings against the sacking of Spínola.

Young officers, from the rank of major down, are reported to be in a continuing rebellious mood. The dismissal of Spínola only adds to a long list of grievances that have existed for some time. These include pay, working conditions and what is described here as "war weariness." The intensity of the war being waged against the African liberation armies results in most junior officers doing several tours of "overseas" duty.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

ALGERIANS URGE EXPROPRIATION  
OF NATURAL RESOURCES

(Algiers) - Opening a recent three-day meeting of Foreign Ministers from 17 non-aligned countries, Algerian Foreign Minister Abd Aziz Bouteflika called on the world's developing countries to seize control of their natural resources and force the consuming countries to pay higher prices.

He declared that the successful use of the oil weapon

by the Arab states was just the first step in the poor countries struggle for their rights.

The meeting was convened by the Algerian government to form a common strategy for the unprecedented session of the United Nations General Assembly on the raw material problems due to open in New York on April 9.

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## NEW P.A.C. PUBLICATION

# "AZANIA COMBAT" REPORTS ON LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA

(London, England) - *Azania Combat* is an exciting new publication written and compiled by Azania's (the Republic of South Africa) Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) office in London. The newsletter must be published in London because of the fascist laws the White-minority government of Azania has instituted against African publications. *Azania Combat* provides the world outside Azania with information and analyses of the liberation struggle being waged in Azania for African majority rule and self-determination.

The first issue of *Azania Combat* includes a featured article on the 6th Pan Africanist Congress to be held this June in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania; an article on the recent assassination of Azanian patriots Abraham Ramothibi Tiro, a leader of the South African Student's Organization (SASO), and John Dube, representative of the African National Congress (ANC) (see THE BLACK PANTHER, March 9, 1974) and an editorial commemorating the 14th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre in 1960.

*Azania Combat* reports news that the establishment media of the West, led by the U.S., purposefully omit in their pro-government reporting of conditions in Azania.

## SYSTEMATIC PERSECUTION

The systematic persecution of leaders of the Black student's movement is being intensified by the security police and the law courts of the White settler minority, *Azania Combat* reports. Brother Kingdom Khubitswane, regional SASO secretary in the Transvaal, was recently forced by the government to testify against a colleague who is banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, Welile Nhlapo, in the Johannesburg Regional Magistrate's Court. The ban was imposed on Nhlapo on October 31, 1973, and in this recent court action he was charged with committing a "criminal offense" by associating with his SASO friends.

The close cooperation between the U.S. and the White ruling fascists in Azania has once again been documented. It was revealed in January that a CIA agent who once operated in London is now based in Cape

Town. Asked to comment on the report, Prime Minister John Vorster said, "You're kidding. Absurd. Utterly. You don't expect me to comment on that, do you?"

Vorster once told Azanian newspapermen that agreements about military and related matters between Azania and the U.S. are handled at the highest levels. CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

## M.P.L.A. DENOUNCES COLONIAL-LINKED OIL COMPANIES

(Angola) - "The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) denounces the activities of all oil companies which, directly or under any form of combination of association with Portuguese and South African interests, pilfer the oil and gas of Angola thanks to a colonial regime," begins an MPLA statement on oil policy in Angola, as reported last week by the People's Translation Service.

"This Angolan oil is not only used against MPLA fighters," the statement reads, "but it is also, since the current oil crisis, sent to Mozambique to combat FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) fighters, and to South Africa and Rhodesia to reinforce minority racist regimes.

"The MPLA hereby states that with the inevitable independence of Angola all these companies which operate off-shore or inland will be chased from our national territory and all their equipment and assets seized.



MPLA guerrillas fight to free Angola.



Workers descend from train station on way to work in Johannesburg, South Africa.

"This warning is not only addressed to companies already operating in Angola but equally to such companies which intend to operate in Angola as long as colonial rule will permit...

"...The MPLA is in possession of all the 'combination of association' details of all these companies, and further notes, after study of documents concerned, that the rush to pilfer Angolan oil and gas is such that companies request, and Portuguese colonial authorities grant, concessions which encroach on each other.

"...The MPLA," concludes the statement, "states that the dangers and risks of war to which would be submitted the foreign personnel working for these companies in Angola will be of the sole responsibility of said companies."

Among the companies the statement lists as now operating in Angola are Gulf Oil Corp., Texaco and Argo (Argo Petroleum Corp., of Los Angeles). Included in the companies attempting to operate in Angola are Mobil, Occidental, Shell, Standard and Tenneco.

Particularly active in exploiting Angolan oil is Gulf, which retains the Cabinda off-shore oil monopoly just north of Angola. Portugal has reportedly rushed troop reinforcements to Cabinda in preparation for a major guerrilla offensive against the Gulf installation.

Thus far, exploitation of the huge Cabinda oil reserve has proceeded without much obstruction from the MPLA. However, the group has recently increased its attacks on Portuguese troops in Cabinda. (See article, page 15.)

## Africa In Focus

### GUINEA

Representatives of seven countries that produce some 63 per cent of the world's bauxite (raw material from which aluminum is refined), met early this month in Conakry, Guinea, and set up a permanent structure to promote their collective interests. The move was directly inspired by recent successes of the Arab oil-producing countries in undercutting the power of the foreign oil companies. Countries attending were Sierra Leone, Guyana, Jamaica, Surinam, Yugoslavia and Australia. A permanent secretariat of the new organization will be set up in Kingston, Jamaica.

### TOGO

All foreign interests in the Togo Benin Mining Co. were expropriated by the Togolese government recently. The company, formerly controlled by French interests, had a stranglehold on Togo's rich phosphate deposits, one of the country's chief exports and income sources.

### NIGERIA

A Boeing 707 cargo plane belonging to the Donaldson International Airways of Britain was seized by Nigerian authorities at Lagos airport recently on suspicion of carrying war materials to Portuguese forces in Angola. The plane landed to refuel on a flight from Amsterdam, Holland to Luanda, Angola. Nigerian airport security men became suspicious when they learned the plane's cargo was listed as insecticides and it was due to go on to Luanda via Lusaka, Zambia.

### MOZAMBIQUE

FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) forces derailed six Portuguese tankers carrying petroleum products in Manica e Sofala province with landmines early last month. A FRELIMO spokesman explained that in any war lines of communication and means of transport were always a major target because they facilitate the enemy's transport of war materials. He called on landlocked African countries that may be temporarily affected to understand this and accept the sacrifice entailed for the sake of the liberation struggle of southern Africa. The petroleum tankers moving through Mozambique were destined for the African republic of Malawi.



## POLYNESIAN PANTHER PARTY WINNING RESPECT AND SUPPORT

(Auckland, New Zealand) - THE BLACK PANTHER has recently received in-depth information from the Polynesian Panther Party (PPP) about its organization and the struggle of the Polynesian people in New Zealand. The information was sent from the PPP's Central Headquarters in Auckland to the newspaper via a member who recently moved to California with his family. This was one of the few successful communication attempts between THE BLACK PANTHER and the PPP, several earlier communications having been intercepted.

In a warm and comradely letter which accompanied a large quantity of PPP literature, the PPP outlined its history and the programs it is presently implementing. It pointed out that the organizers had been guided by applying revolutionary principles learned from reading THE BLACK PANTHER, *Seize the Time* by Bobby Seale, *Revolutionary Suicide* and *To Die for the People* by Huey P. Newton, as well as works of other revolutionary writers. The PPP organizes along similar lines to those of the Black Panther Party, but adapts strategies applicable to the particulars of class and race oppression in New Zealand.

The letter includes a summary of the organization's development:

"On June 16, 1971, six street brothers decided to form an organization to aid the Polynesian people. Our only guidance was *Seize the Time* and media reports and articles of the Black Panther Party. But most important was our own experience from the streets. During the first year we aimed at winning respect and support... through community programs, participating in community affairs and generally serving the true interests of the people.

"The media has tried to discredit us, but has difficulty in trying to distort the realities of a Free Christmas Party for children, running education centers, organizing prison aid, helping the elderly or having dedicated full-time community workers."

The letter goes on to explain a major development in the PPP in January, 1973, when the organization went through an "attitudinal revolution" and purged itself of members who were slowing down the organization and creating disunity. It was at this time that the present cadre of dedi-

cated members created the Polynesian Panther Party from the Polynesian Panther Movement, which had strayed from its original purpose of being close to and serving the community.

Since 1973, the PPP has moved progressively toward implementing a wide range of survival programs to aid the community. Work thereafter focused on quality and efficiency.

### PROGRAMS

"The PPP has implemented Community Education Centers for young Polynesian students; a Legal Aid Program; a Prisoners Aid Program; a Tenants Aid Brigade to protect tenants from landlords; a Police Investigation Group to patrol police and prevent brutalization of Polynesians; and an Interpreting Program for Polynesians having problems speaking and reading English. The PPP plans to publish a newspaper in the near future.

### PANAMA CANAL ZONE

## FORT GULICK: "THE FACTORY" FOR U.S. IMPERIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA

(Panama Canal Zone) - Perhaps the only outcome that can be assured from the recent talks between the embattled President of Panama, Brig. Gen. Omar Torriko Herrera and U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, is



Polynesian Panthers demonstrating solidarity with struggle of Australian Aborigines before the Australian embassy in Auckland, New Zealand.

The letter continues:

"Our ideology is determined by the analysis power of Marxist-Leninism with the guidance of Polynesian culture as a link to our people. We totally believe in Huey P. Newton's theory of Revolutionary Intercommunalism and

the need to unite all world liberation struggles against international capitalism, imperialism and racism...Thanks to Brother Huey and Bobby, who began the Panther spirit that we are proud to be a part of." □

the fate of Fort Gulick, run by the U.S. government here.

Created by the Pentagon in 1949, Fort Gulick, "the factory", as it is called, has become the center for the training of the reactionary, counterinsurgency

troops in Latin America. In its 25 years of existence, the Military School of the Americas (USARSO) here has trained more than 29,000 officers from throughout Latin America, officers who are in constant touch with Pentagon and CIA officials.

Fort Gulick has become, in fact, the backbone for many of the military dictatorships and juntas now in control of their countries. Reporting on a recently conducted interview with the Director of USARSO, Col. William W. Naira, Drew Middleton, the *New York Times* expert in military affairs, revealed that six of the vital command posts of the Chilean armed forces are filled by graduates of Fort Gulick. Middleton also said that Fort Gulick graduates are in charge of the Chilean Military Intelligence Service, the Second Infantry Division, the Support Division (all three in Santiago de Chile), the Third Infantry Division of Concepcion, the Army Engineers School of Tejas Verdes and the Parachute and Special Forces School near the Chilean capitol.

U.S. military officials at Fort Gulick, hidden away in part of the





## BOBBY SEALE:

### 'THE AMERICAN DREAM HAS BEEN CORRUPTED'

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

munity to elect representatives who have internalized the philosophy of people's struggle.

"So, we can get ourselves a lot of mountain climbing equipment, a whole lot of jeeps and trucks, whatever we need, so we can solve our domestic problem; so we can climb up to the mountaintop.

"Don't tell me about an energy crisis. The only energy crisis in this country is that the American people in general—black, white, blue, red, green, yellow, purple—haven't mustered up enough energy to impeach and kick Richard Nixon out of office.

"Get up and muster some energy if you feel like it. Stand up! Feel like you need to impeach Nixon and kick Nixon out of office.



During recent Oakland election, Sister ELAINE BROWN and Brother BOBBY SEALE [right] took their campaign directly to the people.

"Don't let anybody tell you about democracy. There ain't no democracy! Don't let anybody tell you about People's Power. We don't control the institutions that affect our lives! Don't let anybody tell you that you have a right to do this and you have a right to do that. You're stopped every step of the way!

"We've got to move on. We've got to climb that mountain and get that hog out of the stream. He's been polluting our American Dream.

"Power to the People. Thank you very much for inviting me." [Loud and sustained standing ovation.] □

## IN SEARCH OF COMMON GROUND

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

not mean to say that these are two different Hueys, but I wanted to remind the students that you are the same man who is always pictured with the gun. Maybe I should have said then exactly what I said just now about the several passions that a revolutionary has; that all revolutionaries, even when armed, love to argue things in theoretical and ideological terms. Didn't you come to the meetings with the expectation that that was understood?

NEWTON: Not really. That's why I said in the beginning that we were dropouts and that the students would need more of an explanation because they would not understand. Dropouts understand things students don't.

BLAKE: Erik, would you be a little more specific about what you expected?

E. ERIKSON: Oh, no, we have talked enough about that. I just did not expect to hear a sermon on materialism as a theory. But why not? I was glad to listen. I should repeat, however, that I did expect others to participate more: we had two sociologists and a historian there, after all, not to mention the students coming from how many different academic fields, and I definitely felt that there should have been a number of other approaches represented there to help fill in

the spaces between the ideological and the psychological. I listened for where my concepts might fit in, and that's what I responded to on the second day. In the background, of course, there were always two great spirits, Marx and Freud. If we have any theoretical grandfathers in common, they are Marx and Freud—and maybe Darwin as well, but that's something else again. In historical perspective, the young Marx and the young Freud were much less far apart from each other than was the case when they became Marx and Freud. So if we could not resolve the relationship of materialism and psychology, we went on living that historical split.

You must remember that where materialism entered psychology, it became behaviorism, which is not my field, and I think that one of the names I expected to be called was "idealist." So where does that leave us? Can one be a materialist psychologist without reducing everything to conditioned reflexes?

NEWTON: I would only consider a psychologist or a psychoanalyst an idealist if he attempted to explain the phenomenon of personality strictly in nonmaterial terms—in other words, if he did not acknowledge that the "spiritual" side of a person finds its genesis in a material source, you see. You would agree with that, wouldn't you?

E. ERIKSON: Sure, I would agree with that.

Now some of your materialist friends or readers, of course, might think that you shouldn't have a conversation with me or anyone else coming from the Freudian establishment. But, on the other hand, I feel that I, in my time, also, have been part of a kind of "revolution"—even though we might want to put the word in quotation marks. Now I believe that a revolutionary of the future would at least implicitly have to acknowledge some of what we have found out about man's nature or he would be in danger of rerepressing it to the disadvantage of the kind of forward vision which is part of any true "movement."

TO BE CONTINUED

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## WORLD SCOPE

### FRANCE

(Washington, D.C.)—French Ambassador to the U.S., Jacques Kosciusko-Morizett, has denied that a crisis exists between the U.S. and France or between the U.S. and the nine-member European Common Market.

"I do not see this crisis," he said at a Washington luncheon meeting with newsmen. "I don't see the slightest sign of hostility or confrontation." The French ambassador made his statement despite President Nixon's recent accusation that Western Europe is unwilling to cooperate with the U.S. on economic and political fronts.

### ARGENTINA

(Buenos Aires, Argentina) - Several hundred right-wing student followers of Argentina's dictator, President Juan Peron, last week occupied the prestigious law school of the University of Buenos Aires to demand the appointment of conservative Peronists as deans and administrators.

Other right-wing protestors seized control of the University of Plata, about 30 miles southeast of Buenos Aires. The protests represent the start of a right-wing offensive against the national universities, the last institutional stronghold of left-wing supporters of Peron.

### INDIA

(New Delhi, India) - Government troops have moved into Patna, the capital of Bihar state, to control rebellious students. Official sources said police opened fire on the crowds, killing ten people in one clash and wounding several others.

So far 24 persons have been reported killed in the violence. The students are leading a revolt which is spreading throughout India against government corruption, unemployment and lack of vocational education.



## ENTERTAINMENT

# "THE UNQUIET DEATH OF JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG"

## ...A LESSON FOR TODAY

"We will not help purify the foul record of a fraudulent conviction and a barbaric sentence...our respect for truth, conscience and human dignity is not for sale. History will record, whether we live or not, that we were victims of the most monstrous frame-up in the history of our country."

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg (in reply to President Eisenhower's offer to "confess" days before they were executed)



JULIUS and ETHEL ROSENBERG, victims of the "Red Scare" hysteria of the early 1950s.

The *Unquiet Death of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg* by the National Public Affairs Center for Television (NPACT) is an intelligent, moving and honest presentation of what the victims themselves called "the most monstrous frame-up in the history of this country."

As an active participant in the futile effort to save the Rosenbergs, I watched this in-depth portrayal of the power elite created circumstances and contrived hysteria which led to the "legal" murder of these two victims of America's anti-communist fever of the early '50s with an aching heart— for them and for this country.

The historical setting that introduced the 90-minute documentary, set the tone for the presentation and eased my fears that this was going to be another superficial and distorted mockery of truth such as characterized ABC-TV's production in January, called *The Trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg*.

Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois had also been a victim of the post-World War II power elite assault against the progressive thrust that was sweeping the country in horrified reaction to the dropping of the atom bomb on the Japanese people. Gloria Agrin, assistant to attorney Manny Bloch (who defended the Rosenbergs), had also been a member of the legal team that successfully defended Dr. Du Bois.

In 1951, the same year Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were convicted, Dr. Du Bois, at the age of 84, together with his colleagues

of the Peace Information Center, were hauled into a federal court in Washington, D.C., and indicted as "agents of a foreign power." Their so-called "Crime-organizing and carrying out a national campaign for signatures on a petition that was being circulated around the world for the banning of the atom bomb.

Only the pressure of world public opinion, and particularly that of the emerging independent West African state of Ghana—under the leadership of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah—prevented the power elite's courts from sending Dr. Du Bois to his death in the prisons of this country. The Rosenbergs, whose innocence Dr.

Du Bois steadfastly insisted upon, were not so fortunate.

Those of us who were deeply involved in the efforts to save the Rosenbergs could not at the time believe that they would be put to death. One of the most moving scenes in the documentary is that of the thousands gathered in Union Square in New York City on the night of the execution. I was there.

The rally had originally been planned to celebrate the granting of a stay of execution by Supreme Court Justice William Douglas. The documentary captured the shock, grief and disbelief that swept over us on learning that

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

## THEY SAY ....

They say there's a population explosion  
and so they gave me some pills, free,  
and told me abortions were free  
and you're there and  
I'm here and I'm scared

and then they said  
there's a shortage of food,  
including that they throw away  
and it's against the law to steal,  
and I'm hungry  
and you're there and  
I'm here and I'm scared

they told me that the police are to serve and protect,  
and they ridin'  
and it makes me wonder who they protectin', niggas ain't done nothing to me  
and you're there  
and I'm here and I'm scared

And then they say that there's  
an energy crisis  
and the house is cold,  
and I can't get no gas  
and you're there  
and I'm here and I'm scared.

Vicky  
Los Angeles, California

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## FRELIMO DESTROYS 21 PORTUGUESE AIRCRAFT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

This last derailment is clearly a continuation of the successful attempts by FRELIMO to disrupt the flow of supplies to the Cabora Bassa Dam building project. The dam is being built by Portuguese, South African and West German interests with the objective of greatly increasing hydro-electric power for the colonial regime in Mozambique and the White settler regime of South Africa.

Large numbers of Mozambique Africans are being forced off their lands of many centuries to accommodate the building of the dam. A militarized White settler zone is planned to be built in the area of the dam to act as a buffer zone between African liberation forces to the north and the Republic of South Africa to the south.

### JOBS FOR BLACKS WON

(Newark, N.J.) - The Department of Justice has obtained a consent decree in which two Electrical Workers Union Locals and two contractor's groups here agreed to expand job opportunities for Black workers. □

Meanwhile, in Angola, Portugal is reported to have rushed troop reinforcements to the enclave of Cabinda, in readiness for a major guerrilla offensive against U.S.-owned oil installations in the area. Oil from Cabinda, which is a small densely-forested territory between the republics of Congo and Zaire, has been an important factor in Portugal's ability to continue its war efforts in Africa in spite of an Arab oil boycott. (See story, page 16.)

Guerrillas of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) were reported to have wiped out a 36-man Portuguese patrol on February 23. The Portuguese unit was apparently making towards the town of Mikonji in northeast Cabinda which was partially evacuated last October after an MPLA attack.

Other guerrilla units are reportedly preparing widespread infiltration and sabotage in Cabinda. Last autumn President Mobutu of Zaire ordered the removal of White Portuguese from Zaire's borders with Angola and Cabinda for "security reasons." The move was widely interpreted



Mozambique freedom fighters in rare moment of rest.

as a preparation for fresh rounds of guerrilla attacks against Angola.

In Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), the London Times reports that South Africa is secretly supplying large financial aid to combat guerrilla activity in the northeast of Zimbabwe, according to informed sources in Salisbury.

In the past 12 months the Rhodesian government has mounted a major development operation in the thick bushland close to the Mozambique border. A network of roads is being laid down and rural Africans are being forcibly "resettled" in armed villages. □

## AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLES

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 15

Portugal is the poorest country per capita in Europe with extremely high unemployment, much poverty, rampant inflation and general economic and social chaos. Spinola places the cause of this condition on the 13 years of war against the African liberation forces.

Indication that the crisis is not over and involves long range problems is found in a paper secretly circulated through Lisbon by a group of some 300 officers. Backing Spinola's thesis the paper said the solution to the "overseas problem" was political not military.

The paper was vague on what specific policy should be adopted, talking only of "a political solution that safeguards national honor and dignity but which takes into account the incontestable and irreversible reality of the deep aspirations of the African people." □



Portuguese Premier MARCELLO CAETANO.

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## SPORTS

## "THE BATTLE OVER RACISM IN SPORTS"

BLACKS IN COLLEGE SPORTS  
RESEMBLES SLAVE TRADE

## PART 4

In the following excerpt, Part 4 in our ongoing series, "The Battle Over Racism in Sports", Brother Paul Hoch, a professor of the sociology of sports at Canada's Dawson College, examines the "integration" movement in college and professional sports. The selection is taken from Brother Hoch's book, *Rip Off the Big Game*.

Whenever college athletes become "rebellious"—and even more especially whenever Black college athletes become rebellious—some coach or sportswriter will inevitably come out with the old garbage about how "the college has given these athletes a free education for which they should be grateful." The argument goes that the sports teams were the first things on campus to be integrated, and "if it wasn't for sports they'd still be back in their ghettos." (This is like a boss who tells his striking employee, "if it wasn't for me you wouldn't have a job.")

First of all, is it not curious that the first college sport to be "integrated," namely football, is also the sport that makes the most money? Is it not curious that the "integration" of college basketball, especially at some of the Big Ten schools, has come along only in the last decade? That college baseball is still 98 per cent lily white? That schools such as the University of Texas at El Paso which were eager to welcome Black athletic crowd-pleasers onto their campus with open arms took quite awhile to extend the same admission to nonathletic Black students?

"The Black athlete in the predominantly White school," says Harry Edwards in *The Revolt of the Black Athlete* (New York: Free Press, 1969), "was and is first, foremost, and sometimes only, an athletic commodity."

But, you say, at least he gets an education. Yes, an "education" composed mostly of courses in things like phys ed and basket weaving. He's expected to give most of his time to the "team." And after his athletic eligibility ends, so does his scholarship. Most never even graduate. They end up right back in the ghetto.

Lately, with the exception of the lily-white teams of the deep South, as more and more Black faces are seen on the playing fields, some White sports fans have been getting more and more impatient.

During the 1969 Notre Dame-Michigan State basketball game at South Bend, the Notre Dame coach committed the extreme *faux pas* of having five Black faces on the court at the same time. Never mind that they were his best players. The overwhelmingly White "Fighting Irish" student body at Notre Dame field house nearly had a fit. Hoots and boos rang through to the rafters whenever the five Black players were on the court together. The Black players resigned and did not rejoin the team till they received a public apology from the president of the Notre Dame student body.

The mask of White liberalism was wearing very thin, and the racism was increasingly showing through. A few years earlier, Dick Harp, the basketball coach at Kansas had resigned in disgust at the abuse he had received from fans and alumni for starting four Black players during the 1963-64 season.

No doubt the exploitation of the White athlete is almost equally ruthless. He too gets his share of junk courses. Gives his all for the team, while the college collects the profits. He, too, a large part of the time never graduates. But he also has a lot of job opportunities that his Black teammate does not. He has not been so thoroughly coaxed into believing that sports is his best chance to "make it" in life.

Jack Olsen points out that although sports has led a few thousand Blacks out of the ghetto, for hundreds of thousands—maybe millions—of others, "it has substituted a meaningless dream. It has helped to perpetuate an oppressive system."

Though sports may also have provided an arena in which Blacks vicariously acted out their aggressions against Whites by cheering on their heroes, it did little to deal with the grievances that caused such aggressions. Hence, even integrated sports have been used as a racial opiate.

At times the use of Black athletes in college sports resembles nothing so much as a modern version of the slave trade, in which coaches send their scouts

out looking for quality Black horse flesh to reel in the trophies (and the cash), only to be thrown back in their ghetto cages when the game ends. "The Whites call the Negro football players cannibals," said UTEP (University of Texas at El Paso) basketballer Willie Worsley, "and the basketball players (who in 1966 won the NCAA Championship) animals. You play basketball and that's it. When the game's over they want you to come back to the dormitory and stay out of sight."

His athletic director George McCarty replies, "Four of our colored alumni are playing pro basketball right now . . . and you can't just say that we got a bunch of cattle in here and milked them. It was profitable both ways."

And who says they aren't still being "milked" in the pros? "You know those junkyards along the highways in Jersey?" says former Cleveland Indians outfielder Larry Doby, who was the first Black to be allowed into the American League. "Well, they have scrap heaps just like that for athletes—most of them Black. Black athletes are cattle. They're raised, fed, sold and killed . . . Baseball moved me toward the front of the bus, and it let me ride there as long as I could run. And then it told me to get off at the back door."

"They look upon us as nothing but animals," said Olympic sprinter John Carlos.

"Low animals, roaches, and ants . . . They give us peanuts, pat us on the back and say, 'Boy, you did fine.'"

Behind all the outrage that Blacks are not more grateful for "the chances we've given them" lies the old apartheid attitude that, after all, Blacks don't really belong on "our" sports fields and colleges; they are only there because we "gave" them something. As if anything that great were happening on the football fields and colleges! The main thing happening in football is that a lot of guys are being injured so that others can make big profits. As for the colleges, the main things they are teaching are the top-down view of the world, contempt for all those not in college, and absolute obedience to the administration. (Happily, many students have other ideas.)

TO BE CONTINUED

## WORKERS LAYED OFF

(Detroit, Mich.) - General Motors Corporation announced last week it will lay off more than 56,000 workers and close 15 of its 22 U.S. assembly plants for one week.

DAVID THOMPSON  
LEADS N. CAROLINA  
STATE WIN  
OVER UCLA

Led by their remarkable All-American DAVID THOMPSON [right], North Carolina State ended UCLA's seven year dynasty in college basketball with a dramatic, double-overtime, 80-77 win in NCAA National Collegiate Tournament semi-final play. A high-jumping, strong, 6'4" forward, Thompson, besides scoring 28 points, grabbed a missed free throw, drove upcourt, and hit a fade away jump shot to put N.C. State ahead with 53 seconds left.





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(Being Implemented)

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(Being Implemented)

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

### PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM

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

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Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

## CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

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

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

Bobby Scale



"COLOR ME BLACK"

