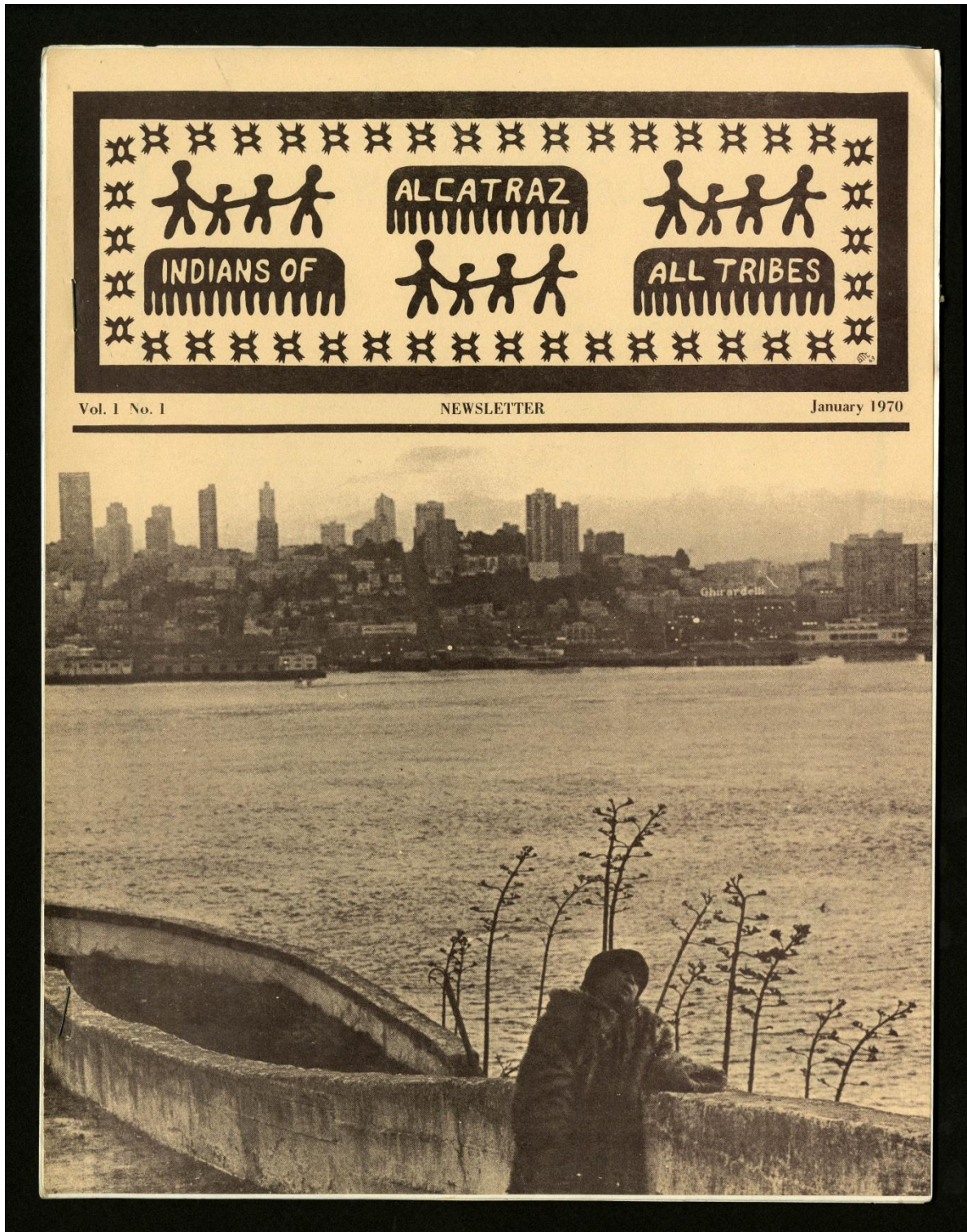


Image



Alcatraz: Indians of All Tribes [Volume 1, No. 1, January 1970]  
(The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC09792.02 p.1)



INDIANS OF ALL TRIBES

Newsletter Staff

Editorial:

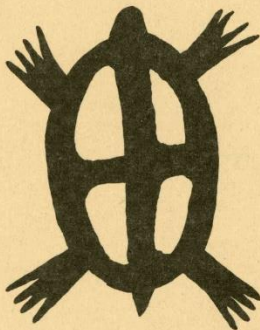
Peter Blue Cloud  
Young-Robbed-Bird-Free-At-Last  
John Robinson  
Denise Quitiquit

Reporters:

Marilyn Miracle  
John Robinson  
Grace Thorpe

Art & Design:

Peter Blue Cloud  
Alan Harrison  
Earl Livermore  
Louie Mitchell  
Alvin Willie  
Young-Robbed-Bird-Free-At-Last



## We Hold the Rock!

Indians Of All Tribes greet our brothers and sisters of all races and tongues upon our Earth Mother. We here on Alcatraz Island, San Francisco Bay, California represent many tribes of the United States as well as Canada, Alaska, and Central and South America.

We are still holding the Island of Alcatraz in the true names of Freedom, Justice and Equality, because you, our brothers and sisters of this earth, have lent support to our just cause. We reach out our hands and hearts and send spirit messages to each and every one of you -----WE HOLD THE ROCK!

Our anger at the many injustices forced upon us since the first whitemen landed on these sacred shores has been transformed into a hope that we be allowed the long-suppressed right of all men to plan and to live their own lives in harmony and co-operation with all fellow creatures and with Nature. We have learned that violence breeds only more violence and we therefore have carried on our occupation of Alcatraz in a peaceful manner, hoping that the government of these United States will also act accordingly.

Be it known, however, that we are quite serious in our demand to be given ownership of this island in the name of Indians Of All Tribes. We are here to stay, men, women and children. We feel that this request is but little to ask from a government which has systematically stolen our lands, destroyed a once-beautiful and natural landscape, killed-off the creatures of nature, polluted air and water, ripped open the very bowels of our earth in senseless greed; and instituted a program to annihilate the many Indian Tribes of this land by outright murder which even now continues by the methods of theft, suppression, prejudice, termination, and so-called re-location and assimilation.

We are a proud people! We are Indians! We have observed and rejected much of what so-called civilization offers. We are Indians! We will preserve our traditions and ways of life by educating our own children. We are Indians! We will join hands in a unity never before put into practice. We are Indians! Our Earth Mother awaits our voices.

We are Indians Of All Tribes! WE HOLD THE ROCK!



# PROCLAMATION:

TO THE GREAT WHITE FATHER AND ALL HIS  
PEOPLE

We, the native Americans, re-claim the land known as Alcatraz Island in the name of all American Indians by right of discovery.

We wish to be fair and honorable in our dealings with the Caucasian inhabitants of this land, and hereby offer the following treaty:

We will purchase said Alcatraz Island for twenty-four dollars (24) in glass beads and red cloth, a precedent set by the white man's purchase of a similar island about 300 years ago. We know that \$24 in trade goods for these 16 acres is more than was paid when Manhattan Island was sold, but we know that land values have risen over the years. Our offer of \$1.24 per acre is greater than the 47 cents per acre the white men are now paying the California Indians for their land.

We will give to the inhabitants of this island a portion of the land for their own to be held in trust by the American Indian Affairs and by the bureau of Caucasian Affairs to hold in perpetuity - for as long as the sun shall rise and the rivers go down to the sea. We will further guide the inhabitants in the proper way of living. We will offer them our religion, our education, our life-ways, in order to help them achieve our level of civilization and thus raise them and all their white brothers up from their savage and unhappy state. We offer this treaty in good faith and wish to be fair and honorable in our dealings with all white men.

We feel that this so-called Alcatraz Island is more then suitable for an Indian reservation, as determined by the white man's own standards. By this we mean that this place resembles most Indian reservations in that:

1. It is isolated from modern facilities, and without adequate means of transportation.
2. It has no fresh running water.
3. It has inadequate sanitation facilities.
4. There are no oil or mineral rights.
5. There is no industry and so unemployment is very great.
6. There are no health care facilities.
7. The soil is rocky and non-productive; and the land does not support game.
8. There are no educational facilities.
9. The population has always exceeded the land base.
10. The population has always been held as prisoners and kept dependent upon others.



## Alcatraz: Indians of All Tribes [Volume 1, No. 1, January 1970]

Further, it would be fitting and symbolic that ships from all over the world, entering the Golden Gate, would first see Indian land, and thus be reminded of the true history of this nation. This tiny island would be a symbol of the great lands once ruled by free and noble Indians.

What use will we make of this land?

Since the San Francisco Indian Center burned down, there is no place for Indians to assemble and carry on tribal life here in the white man's city. Therefore, we plan to develop on this island several Indian institutions:

1. A CENTER FOR NATIVE AMERICAN STUDIES will be developed which will educate them to the skills and knowledge relevant to improve the lives and spirits of all Indian peoples. Attached to this center will be traveling universities, managed by Indians, which will go to the Indian Reservations, learning those necessary and relevant materials now about.
2. AN AMERICAN INDIAN SPIRITUAL CENTER which will practice our ancient tribal religious and sacred healing ceremonies. Our cultural arts will be featured and our young people trained in music, dance, and healing rituals.
3. AN INDIAN CENTER OF ECOLOGY which will train and support our young people in scientific research and practice to restore our lands and waters to their pure and natural state. We will work to de-pollute the air and waters of the Bay Area. We will seek to restore fish and animal life to the area and to revitalize sea life which has been threatened by the white man's way. We will set up facilities to desalt sea water for human benefit.
4. A GREAT INDIAN TRAINING SCHOOL will be developed to teach our people how to make a living in the world, improve our standard of living, and to end hunger and unemployment among all our people. This training school will include a center for Indian arts and crafts, and an Indian restaurant serving native foods, which will restore Indian culinary arts. This center will display Indian arts and offer Indian foods to the public, so that all may know of the beauty and spirit of the traditional INDIAN ways.

Some of the present buildings will be taken over to develop an AMERICAN INDIAN MUSEUM, which will depict our native food & other cultural contributions we have given to the world. Another part of the museum will present some of the things the white man has given to the Indians in return for the land and life he took: disease, alcohol, poverty and cultural decimation (As symbolized by old tin cans, barbed wire, rubber tires, plastic containers, etc.). Part of the museum will remain a dungeon to symbolize both those Indian captives who were incarcerated for challenging white authority, and those who were imprisoned on reservations. The museum will show the noble and the tragic events of Indian history, including the broken treaties, the documentary of the Trail of Tears, the Massacre of Wounded Knee, as well as the victory over Yellow Hair Custer and his army.

In the name of all Indians, therefore, we re-claim this island for our Indian nations, for all these reasons, We feel this claim is just and proper, and that this land should rightfully be granted to us for as long as the rivers shall run and the sun shall shine.

Signed,

Indians Of All Tribes  
November 1969  
San Francisco, California

Alcatraz: Indians of All Tribes [Volume 1, No. 1, January 1970]  
(The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC09792.02 p.5)



## NCIO Meets With Alcatraz Council

On January 4 and 5, 1970, Robert Robertson, executive director of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, met with the council of Alcatraz Island Indians. The meetings, held in the mess hall of the island's main cell block, were attended by the council and membership of Indians Of All Tribes, Inc.

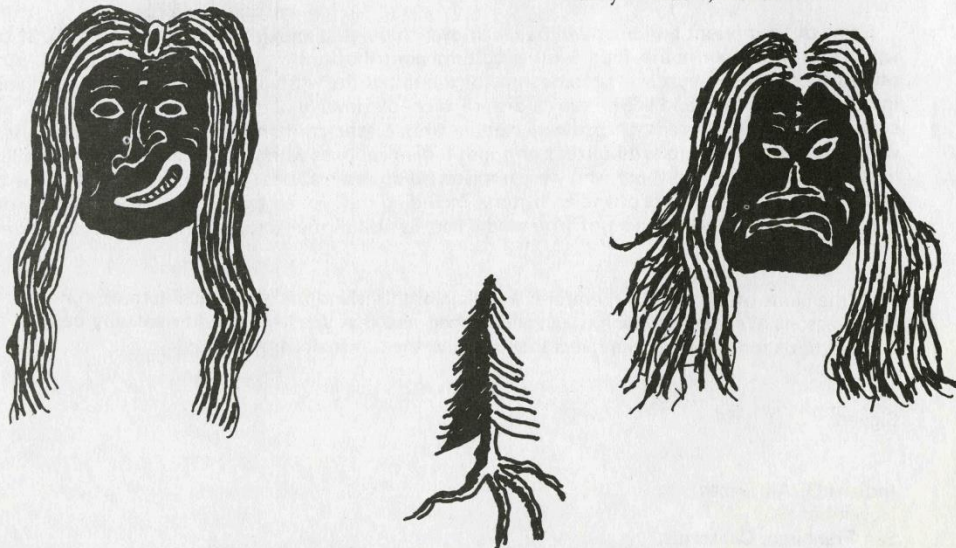
With the main thrust of the government being to get the Indians off the island and the Indians determination to remain, the meetings ended in a deadlock. Mr. Thomas Hannon, Regional Administrator of General Service Administration, continually repeated his statement advising the Indians they were on the island as trespassers, in violation of Federal law. Each repetition of his statement was greeted by laughter from the Indians.

Robertson summed up the government position when he said, "After two days of patiently listening to their ideas, I could draw no conclusion other than that safety and health requirements could not be met until the women and children are off the island and the Indian group is reduced to a sensible size". He further stated that no "substantive talks about Alcatraz" could be carried on until all the women and children were off the island and the group reduced. His offer to maintain a symbolic force of 5 or 10 men on the island on Federal payroll was rejected by the council and the general membership. The Indians felt that they were being "bought off" and refused to leave, despite the cold and inconveniences.

During the meetings, Stella Leach, council member, presented Mr. Robertson with a letter listing needs to provide for health and safety. (letter included in this issue)

A general feeling among the Indians at the conclusion of talks was that they were no further ahead than before in beginning meaningful negotiations.

Marilyn Miracle, Mohawk





Indians Of All Tribes, Inc.  
Indianland, Alcatraz  
4339 California Street  
San Francisco, California

Robert Robertson, Executive Director  
National Council on Indian Opportunity  
726 Jackson Place, Room 2201  
Washington, D.C.

January 11, 1970

Dear Sir:

This is in reference to your request about some needs for the health and safety of Indian occupiers on Alcatraz Island.

CLINIC NEEDS: Standard clinic supplies - emergency hospital equipment - portable laboratories - bathing and laundry facilities - portable heaters - sterilizers - Coleman stoves and Lanterns.

TELEPHONES are needed in case of:

[

1. Health emergencies on the Island.
2. Emergency utility repairs on the Island.
3. Families on the Mainland should be able to contact "Alcatrazans" in case of emergency situations.

TRANSPORTATION: Federal docking privileges on the Mainland - boat capable of carrying 40 people and supplies - two pick-up trucks - emergency helicopters service - adequate docking facilities.

MAINTENANCE MEN to repair or install:

1. Plumbing
2. Wiring
3. Heating
4. Stairway treads
5. Install fencing in dangerous areas.
6. Water pumps for toilets

OTHER NEEDS: Surplus food commodities - garbage and sewage disposal equipment - janitor and maintenance (supplies and tools) - office equipment and machines - a large generator capable of supplying electricity for the Island - a portable kitchen suitable for 200 feeding 200 people (field type) - fire fighting equipment - recreation and athletic equipment.

The above needs were discussed on January 11, 1970, and approved by the General Membership and the following council members present were Stella Leach, Al Miller, Ray Spang, Judy Scrapper and David Leach.

We consider these needs important, but not as important as our dreams of an Indian Culture Center on Alcatraz.

Yours sincerely,

EARL LIVERMORE  
COORDINATOR OF INDIANS OF ALL TRIBES' INC.



## Statement to Indians on Alcatraz

January 12, 1970

As Regional Administrator of General Services Administration, I again want to reiterate that numerous and varied dangerous areas exist on this Island, making it extremely hazardous for human habitation.

There are so many dangerous areas that it is impossible to enumerate and post warnings at such locations. It is not economically possible to restore these areas to a safe condition.

You and your Indian predecessors on the island have been warned repeatedly of such dangers by me. Such warnings commenced on November 20, 1969, when you initially appeared on the island, and I have taken every opportunity since then, both on personal visits here and in press statements, to keep all of you apprised of the dangers. It is impossible to convey this message to you individually because of the continuing turnover of personnel.

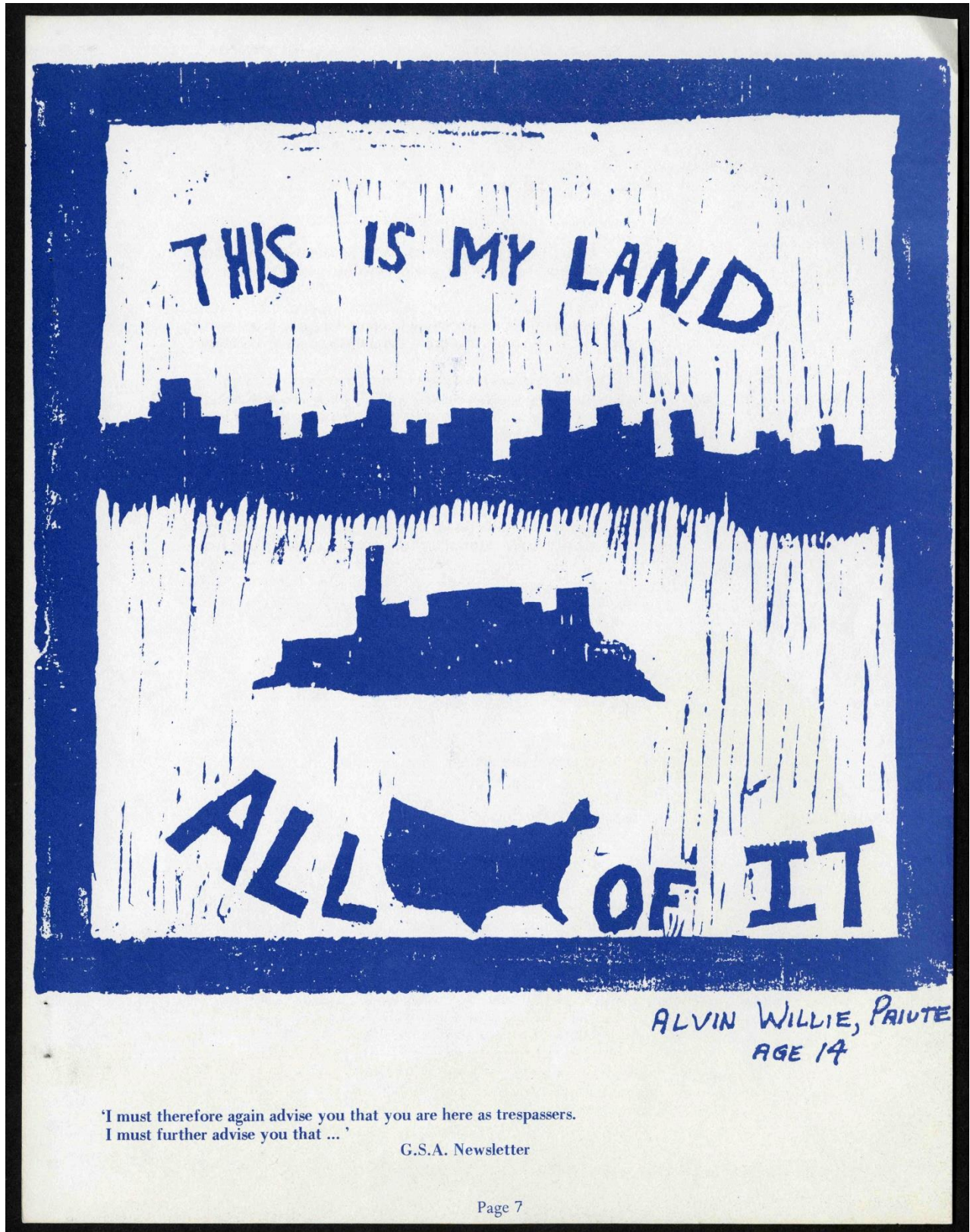
In spite of the numerous warnings, several serious accidents have occurred.

I must therefore again advise you that you are present here as trespassers. I must further advise you that the Government assumes no responsibility for your safety while you remain on this island.



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## Education in Progress

On December 11, 1969, Alcatraz's new "Big Rock School" opened its doors for the first time, admitting 12 enrolled students, ranging in levels from kindergarten to level 6. Since this time, the school has reached a peak enrollment of 22 students on December 30.

The instructors; Linda Aranaydo, Creek; Vicky Santana, Blackfeet; Douglas Remington, Ute, and Woehsa Cloud North, Winnebago, with the assistance of the permanent aides, Justine Moppin, Mono, and Rosalie Willie, Paiute, and a number of teenagers have all worked co-operatively to give each child as much individual and group attention as needed.

The Big Rock School was set up as an experimental school, with the order of subject material flexible, varying with each individual student. The guidelines the instructors use for the student depend entirely on how the subject material is grasped by the student, and how this learning fits into his own growth and development.

The subject material itself includes reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, health and science studies. There are also native studies, which include native history, culture, and as much specific tribal information as may be provided by the parents of the children, and others familiar with this field.

Francis Allen, Sac & Fox, is our very able instructor in Arts and Crafts. Under his direction, all of the students may participate in native arts such as beadwork, leatherwork, wood carving, costume decoration and sculptural activities.

An important part of our studies are the field trips, which we go on at least once every two weeks. So far, we have visited the San Francisco Zoo, the Planetarium, and the Oakland Art Museum. The children of California tribes were especially interested in the Indian exhibit at the museum, and responded enthusiastically to the artifacts pertaining to their own tribes.

### Alcatraz Nursery School

Alcatraz Nursery School was started in December in the caretaker's building although it was previously in operation in the office quarters of the main cell block.

When it originated, the nursery was operated as a day care center for the working mothers on the island. Now, although the basic idea is the same, the nursery has evolved into a pre-primary institution and enables the youngsters of Alcatraz to learn through a wide variety of stimuli such as painting, modeling clay, collages, paper cut-outs, block building, story telling, and most interesting song - sessions in which Mr. Francis Allen, Sac & Fox, participates by singing Indian songs to the children.

The nursery enrollment includes from 7 - 12 children in ages ranging from 1½ years to 5 years and is staffed by Maria Lavender, Yurok, and Lu Trudell, Sioux. Lunch and a mid-morning snack is furnished to the children during the school week.

The staff is interested in procuring more help and is asking mothers to donate at least one hour a day. We are also interested in what the individual mother wants her child to learn while attending Alcatraz Nursery School.



## Health Clinic

The health clinic of Alcatraz, run entirely with volunteers, started November 21, the second day after the invasion. Clinic hours: 8:30 AM - 5 PM daily. 24 hours in case of emergency. Stella Leach, LPN, Colville - Sioux was put in charge. Mrs. Leach, a dynamic grandmother, took a three month leave of absence from her job at the Well Baby Clinic in Oakland.

Grandma Stella reports, "I wouldn't have missed this opportunity for the world. This Indian movement is the greatest thing that has ever happened to me." When asked about the health on the island she said, "We have the usual colds at this time of the year, but other than that everybody on the island is well."

Volunteer doctors are on duty from 2PM to 4 PM daily. Heading the staff are Doctors: David J. Tepper, Robert Brennan, and Richard Fine. Miss Jenny Joe, Navajo, RN, runs the clinic on weekends.



## Kitchen and Stores

Organization of storage rooms for canned goods, dry goods, and meats, vegetables, etc., is now in smooth operation. Dry ice is being used in our food lockers at the moment, but it is hoped that better means of refrigeration will be put into operation soon. All orders for food are taken from the cooks and passed on to the Finance Committee who in turn do all the buying through our expert purchasing agent, Judy Scaper.

Three stoves and a water heater run on butane are now functioning in the kitchen. The cooks include; Vernon Conway, Wailacki - Yuki - Wintun; Ted Jake, Yakima, and Manny McDougal, Colville. Our expert on nutrition is Gloria Duran, a student at U.C. at Berkeley. A number of volunteers help with food preparation as well as dishwashing and general cleanup. On weekends we welcome the many women who contribute so much time to kitchen chores.

Things are going pretty well in the kitchen.

THE STOREKEEPER

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## Radio Free Alcatraz

Radio Free Alcatraz broadcasted for the first time on December 22, 1969 from Alcatraz Island. Radio Station KPFA - FM, Berkeley, California, of the Pacifica Foundation offered us prime time (7:15 PM) in which to broadcast. We are free to air any type of programming we wish.

Radio Free Alcatraz reaches an Indian listening audience of approximately 100,000. Besides KPFA, are her sister stations; KPFK, Los Angeles, and WBAL, New York. We are making use of this opportunity by broadcasting Indian affairs and problems confronting our Indian People all across our lands as well as here on Alcatraz.

We will also stress cultural awareness by presenting the Indian Arts such as music, poetry, legends, and stories of our past and the present.

If anyone is interested in submitting material for broadcast or wishes more information concerning Radio Free Alcatraz, please contact John Trudell through the Alcatraz Relief Fund Office. Participation is needed and will be welcome, as we believe it is one step closer to Indian unification.

JOHN TRUDELL :SANTÉE SIOUX

## Rock Talk

The following question was asked of Alcatraz residents: "What would you like to see on Alcatraz?"

Douglas Remington, Ute, Denver, Colorado, former teacher, current educational coordinator on the rock said: "I would like to see Alcatraz returned to its original state, with a blending of the buildings in harmony with the earth."

Vicky Santana, Blackfeet, Browning, Montana, former child welfare case worker, works at the Alcatraz mainland office, said: "My tribe always says when the buffalo comes back they will come from the west, I hope that Alcatraz is the beginning."

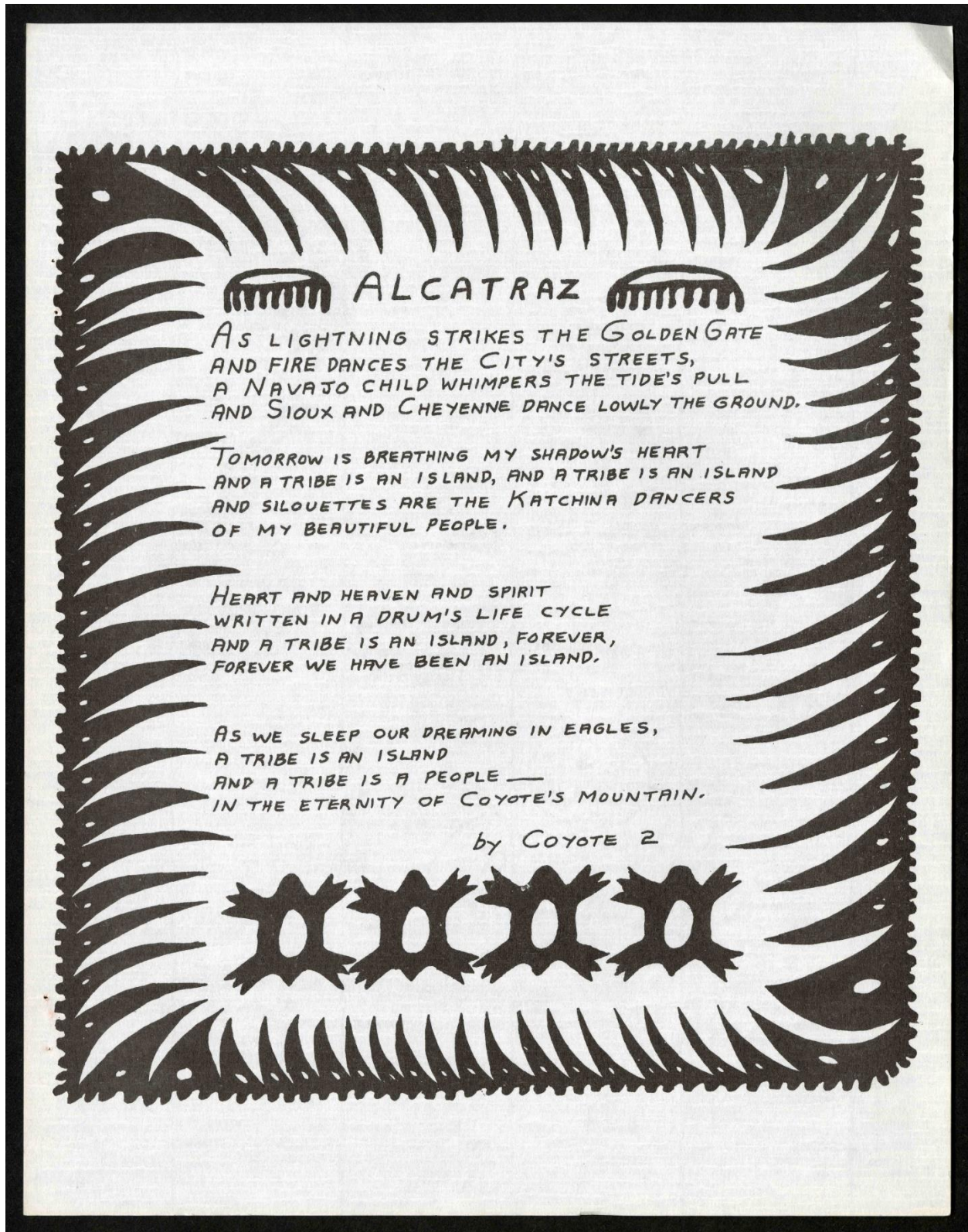
Marilyn Miracle, Mohawk, Six Nations Reservation, Ontario, Canada, former counselor O.E.O., works in Public Relations Alcatraz office said: "I would like to see a new way of life, which is a return of the old life style in today's terms."

Willie Lewis, Apache - Pima, Phoenix, Arizona, former upholsterer, currently working on the shuttle boat as a security guard said: "I would like to see hot water."

David Leach, Colville - Sioux, college student, on the first invasion, former member of Alcatraz council said: "I would like to see the strengthening and the return of our Indian religions by establishing a branch of the Native American Church and a revival of the Sioux and other religions."

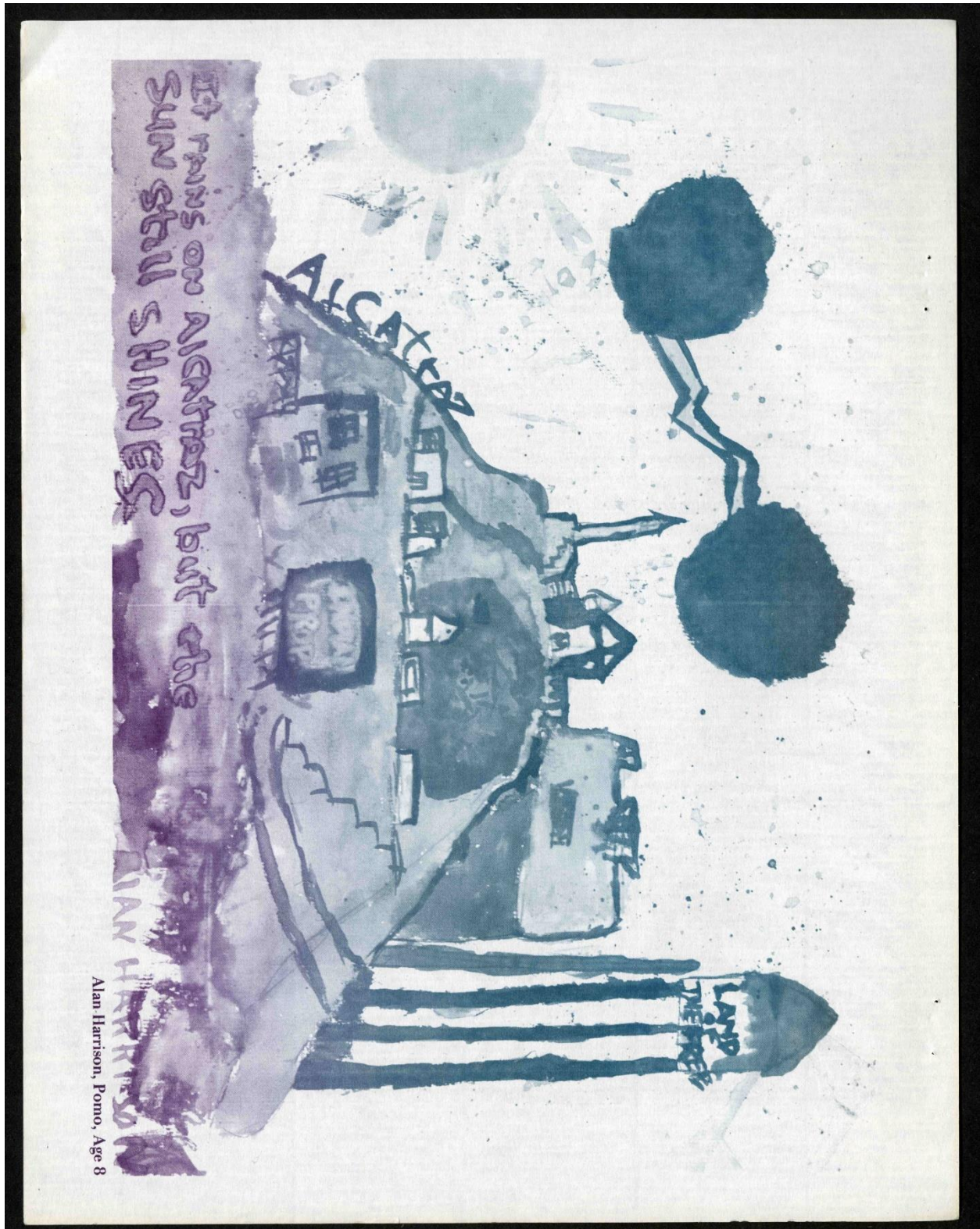
Grace F. Thorpe, Sac & Fox





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(The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC09792.02 p.14)





Alan Harrison, Pomona, Age 8

Alcatraz: Indians of All Tribes [Volume 1, No. 1, January 1970]  
(The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC09792.02 p.15)





INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

LOCAL 1364  
45201 FREMONT BLVD.  
FREMONT, CALIFORNIA 94538  
PHONE: 657-0800

ROBERT GREATHEAD  
PRESIDENT

DAVID N. CHAMBERS  
1ST VICE-PRESIDENT  
VERNON A. DIAS  
2ND VICE-PRESIDENT

FLOYD M. BUENO  
FINANCIAL SECRETARY  
GEORGE NELSON  
RECORDING SECRETARY



January 23, 1970

Mr. Earl Livermore  
Coordinator of Indians of All Tribes, Inc.  
4339 California Street  
San Francisco, California

Dear Sir:

We would like to take this opportunity to thank you and your Council members for the wonderful hospitality extended to the U.A.W. representatives who visited your island on Saturday, January 17, 1970. U.A.W. Region 6 Director Paul Schrade at that time informed your people that the United Auto Workers Union would give you their full support for your plans to develop an Indian Cultural Center on Alcatraz Island.

Your letter dated January 11, 1970, addressed to Mr. Robert Robertson, Executive Director, National Council on Indian Opportunity, clearly outlines the needs for the health and safety of Indians who occupy Alcatraz Island. A copy of this letter was presented to our Executive Board Members at a meeting held on January 21, 1970, for their examination. The Executive Board of Local No. 1364, U.A.W. recommended that an appropriate amount of money be donated by this local to be used for the purchase of janitorial supplies and tools need by your people.

At the Executive Board Meeting on January 21, 1970, a committee of five members were appointed by the Board as the official representatives from this local for "Project Alcatraz". Those appointed were: Robert Greathead, President; David Chambers, Vice President; John P. Herrera, Chairman Shop Committee; John Miracle, Insurance Representative and George DeShais, Member of Local No. 1364. This committee will keep in close contact with you in regard to the progress being made on Alcatraz Island.

We would also like your office to keep us informed on the up-to-date progress and new developments occurring on the island so that we may inform our membership at the regular monthly membership meetings. Any literature that you may send us concerning the Indians at Alcatraz would be greatly appreciated, as this will help us with our campaign. Materials such as bumper strips or buttons would also be very helpful if they are available.

Sincerely yours,

George DeShais, Secretary  
Project Alcatraz Committee  
U.A.W. Local No. 1364

Gd:hf  
oteu no.29  
aflcio  
cc P. Schrade

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THE WESTERN SHOSHONE NATION OF INDIANS

Chief Frank Tomoko, Ruby Valley, Nev.  
Chief Oscar Johnson, Elko, Nev., Interpreter  
Chief Glen Holley, Carlin, Nev., Interpreter  
Chief Sagle Williams, Battle Mountain, Nev.  
Chief Edward McChade, Las, Nev.  
Chief Robert Egan, Owyhee, Nev.  
Chief Sam Harney, Owyhee, Nev., Interpreter  
Chief Tommy Sage (Yellow Tail) Owyhee, Nev.

TRADITIONAL COUNCIL

Chairman Kenneth Harney, Owyhee, Nev.  
Chief Dave Crutcher, McDermitt, Nev.  
Chairman Stanley Smart, McDermitt, Nev., Interpreter

Mailing Address:  
John Rolling Thunder Pope (Legal Advisor)  
P.O. Box 707  
Carlin, Nevada 89822

Carlin, Nevada  
November 25, 1969

Mr. Richard Oakes

To Our Brother American Indians,  
The Defenders of Alcatraz Island:

Hear this: It is a historic and just cause that has inspired you to occupy the island known as Alcatraz.

As the first people upon this land, and as the keepers of this land, under the laws of The Great Spirit, it is only fitting that the White Man and his government should take steps toward correction of past wrongs, including land stealing, by returning some lands to Native American Indian People. And, especially, where it is demonstrated that we can make better use of the land than the White Man has done, such as your proposal to use Alcatraz for Centers for Medical Care, Ecology Study and Indian Education.

So, also, the White Man and his government might be enabled to keep even some small part of the hundreds of treaties which have been made with the American Indian People. Then, let it be done that Alcatraz should be returned to its rightful owners.

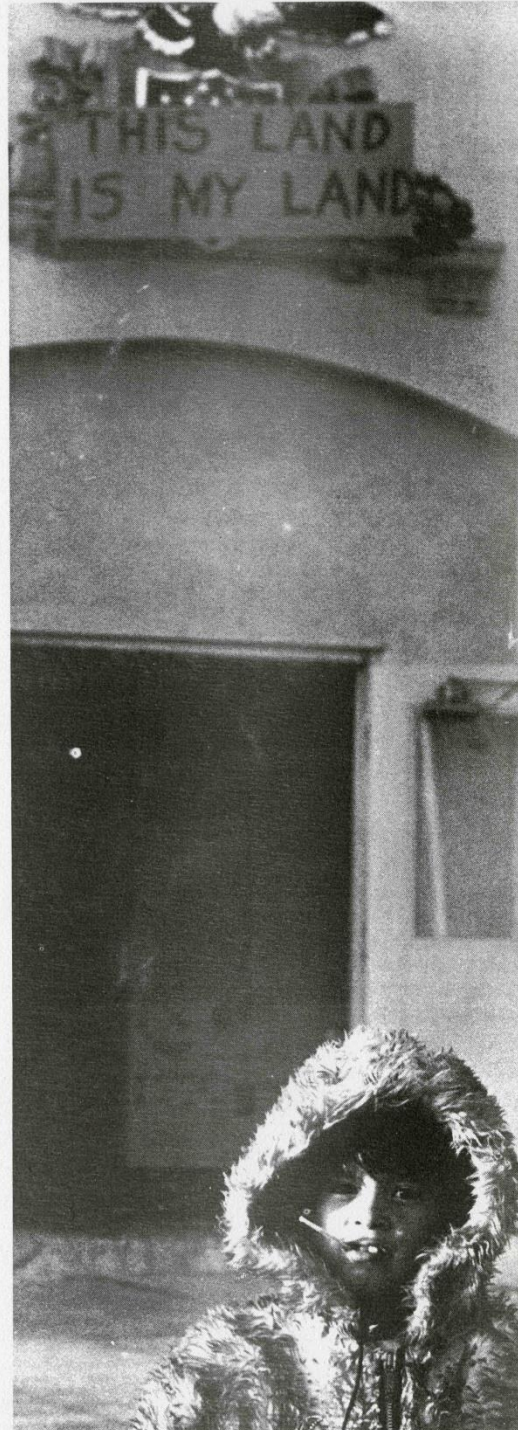
Therefore, then let it be known that the Western Shoshone Nation of Indians does whole-heartedly support you in this endeavor, even to the extent of a thousand warriors, should you need reinforcements. Then, just say the word and it shall be that way.

May The Great Spirit watch over you in this undertaking.

*Glenn Holley*  
S/B Chief

*Sam Harney*  
Sub Chief

*Rolling Thunder*  
Legal Advisor







## Newsletter Plans



After the first two issues of this newsletter, we are hoping to be able to present a twice - monthly newsletter with photographs, illustrations, poems, and other works submitted by Indians from across our lands. Your response to the first two issues will tell us whether or not we can do so. We are asking, therefore, that you subscribe to this newsletter for a donation of \$3.00, for the year 1970, to cover the costs of production and mailing.

All Indian artists are invited to send in any art or written works which may be used in our paper. Articles and reports on all subjects concerning our Indian people are needed. We want YOU to be the reporter! Indians Of All Tribes must be just that -- a means of communicating information and ideas between all of our people.

We also plan on announcing all pow-wows, meetings, elections, etc., which are brought to our attention, as well as letters to the editor, and a question and answer column.

Another part of our plan is already being carried on; the printing of special reports to be sent free to all of our subscribers. Our first such report deals with the first conference held here on Alcatraz. It is a summary of the round table discussions which drew so many participants. This special report will be sent to all supporters of our peaceful occupation, and extra copies are available for a donation of \$.50 per copy.

Please write and give us any other ideas you may have for our newsletter; or just write to let us know if this is the kind of newsletter you want.

### DONATIONS NEEDED

Donations of money, canned foods, blankets, cots, and toilet articles are some of the most urgent needs at this time.

Office equipment of all types is needed. Office typewriters are urgently needed, as we have many projects being held back for lack of typewriters.

Professional tape recording equipment is needed. Our Radio Free Alcatraz, the education classes, the council, and other concerned persons wish for good recorders to enable us to begin recording in a more professional manner; meetings, lectures, classes, songs, dances, stories, etc., for a permanent tape library for our future use.

All medical supplies would be most welcome to the Alcatraz Clinic.

Arts and Crafts can use any and all materials it receives. Some things needed at the present are: Deer and other hides and skins, deer antlers, leather, sinew, feathers, lacing, glass beads, bells; tools for wood carving, leatherwork, linoleum, and all printing and painting materials of oils, casein, enamel, watercolors, brushes, etc.

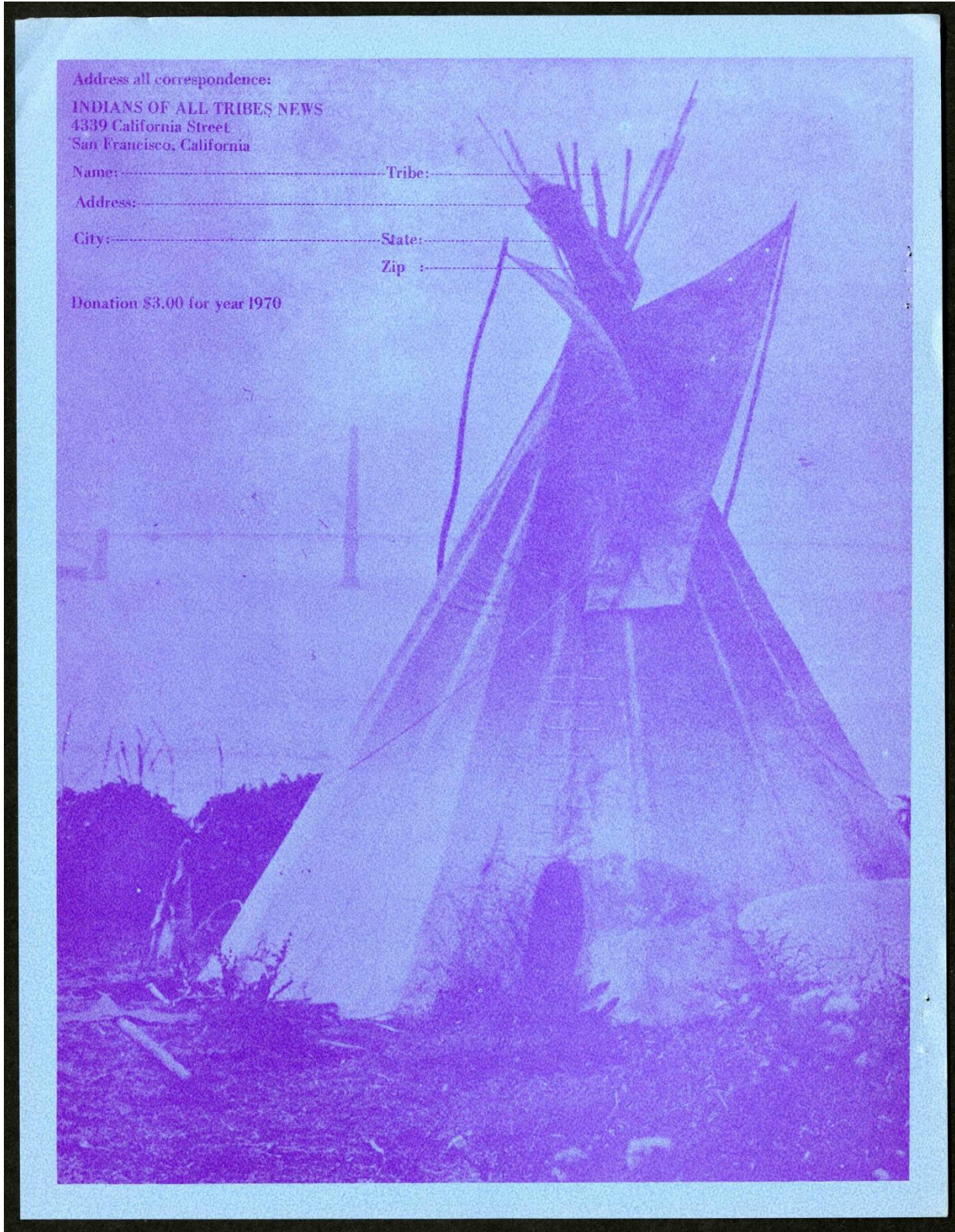
An offset printing press to enable us to print our own paper is needed. This would fit in with our plans to instruct our own people in various jobs so that all of our activities in the future could be handled by Indians.

We also wish a hand press to print works of art to present to the public. When we are able to handle these things ourselves, more funds would then be available for other projects.

Please send all monetary donations in care of the Alcatraz Relief Fund, and indicate in which area you wish your monies spent if you have a preference.



Alcatraz: Indians of All Tribes [Volume 1, No. 1, January 1970]



Address all correspondence:

INDIANS OF ALL TRIBES NEWS  
4339 California Street  
San Francisco, California

Name: ..... Tribe: .....

Address: .....

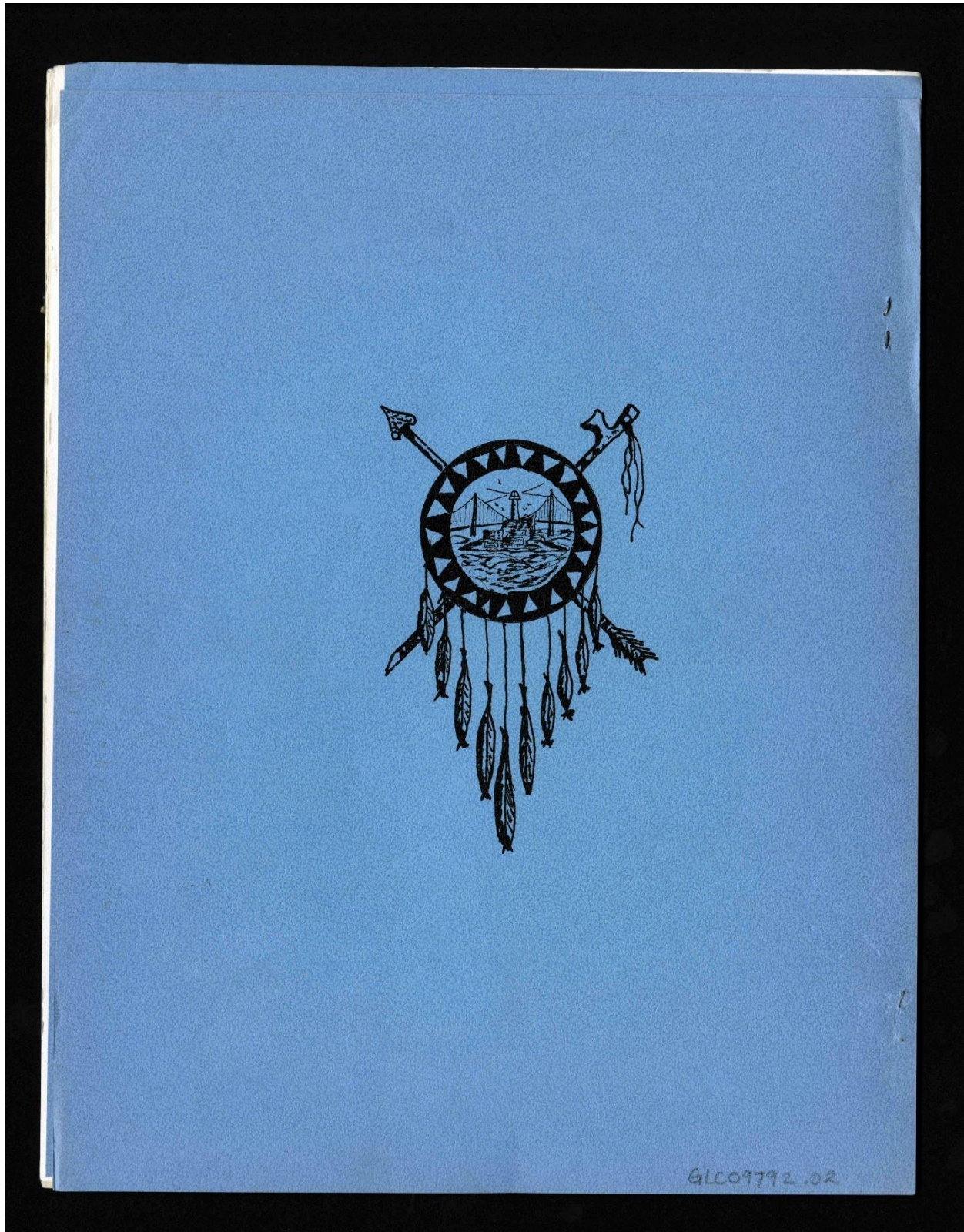
City: ..... State: .....

Zip : .....

Donation \$3.00 for year 1970

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(The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC09792.02 p.18)





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(The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, GLC09792.02 p.19)