

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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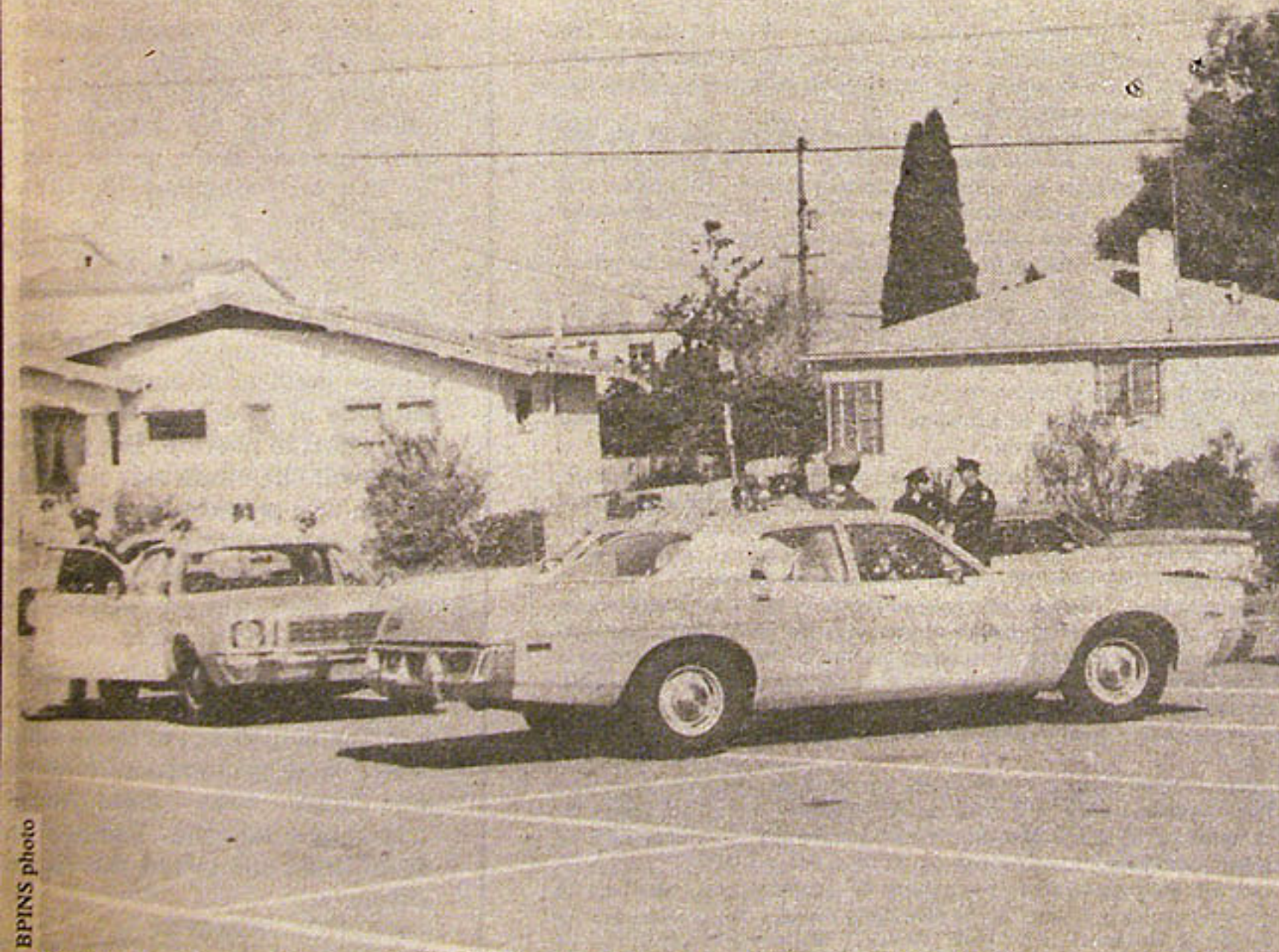
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(Oakland, Calif.) - The Oakland Community School (OCS), acknowledged as one of the most important models in elementary education in California by the state Department of Education and the recent recipient of a special Certificate of Commendation by the Alameda County Board of Supervisors, was the victim of unprovoked and unwarranted police harassment last week.

The incident, which took place on the morning of Tuesday, March 30, was seemingly instigated by unknown higher-ups in the much-maligned Oakland Police Department and crudely carried out by a group of 10 arrogant, foul mouthed patrolmen, plus an alleged woman officer. Thanks to the coolheaded and calm reactions of the staff of the OCS and the Oakland Community Learning Center (OCLC) present at the scene — who refused to react to the verbal threats and taunts from the police — the disruption was minimized.

According to the police patrolling the area, an alleged "stolen car" was spotted at the far edge of the Center's spacious parking lot around 8:15 a.m. (Later, the staff of the OCS reported that the unknown vehicle had not been there the night before.) Its presence that morning was of no particular concern to the early arriving staff — preparations for the first of the three free meals prepared daily for the 125 children who attend the OCS begin at 7:00 a.m. — since it is a common practice for neighbors to park their cars at the end of the lot

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Oakland police vehicles clutter Oakland Community School parking lot in an unsuccessful attempt to disrupt activities at the acclaimed five-year-old community-based school.

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Editorial

BLACK COPS AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Black police in the Black community—just whose side are they on?

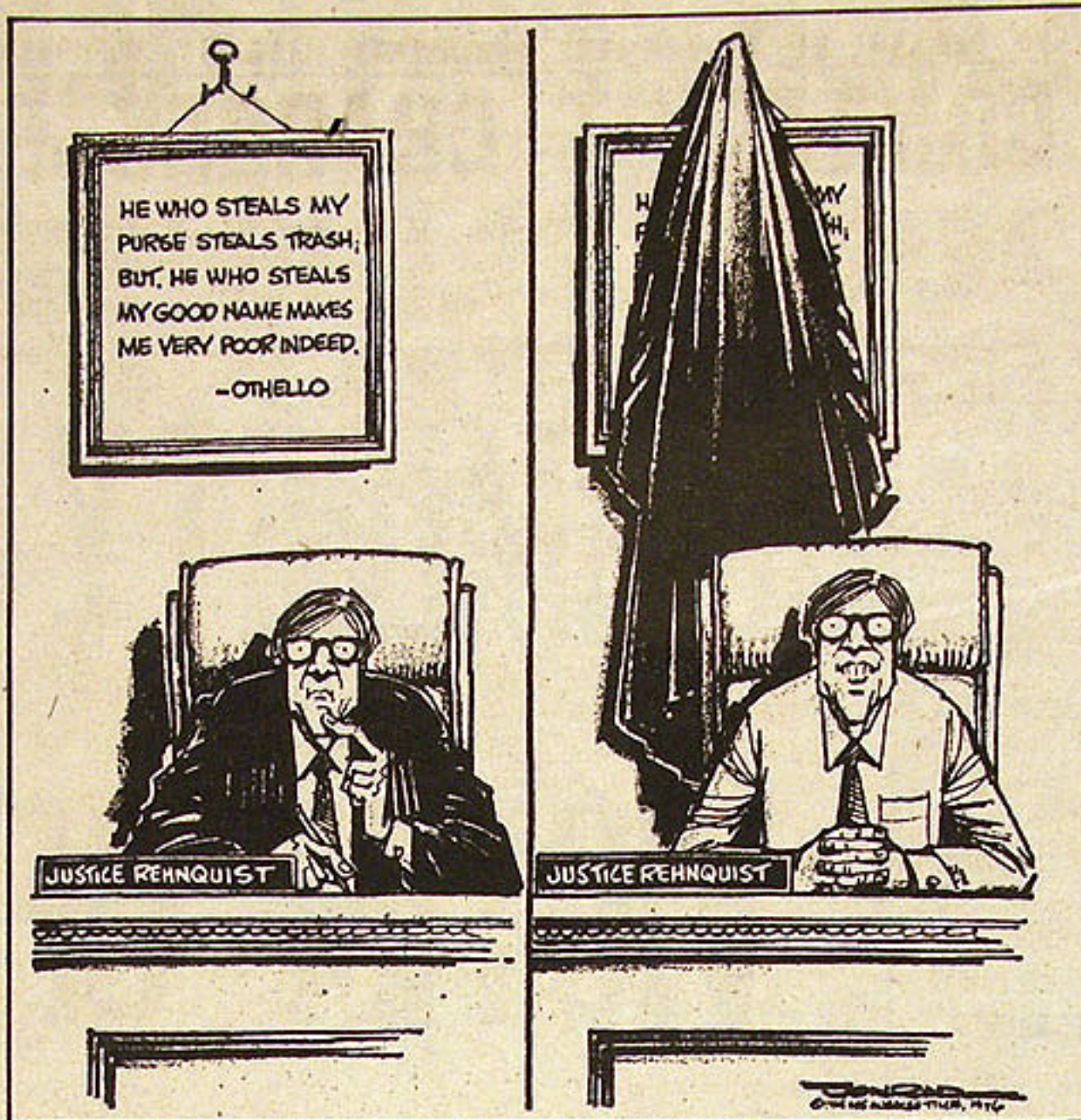
Two events here in Oakland within the past week have brought this issue to a head locally, placing pressure and responsibility on the Oakland Black Officers Association (OBOA) to develop a coherent policy position in regards to its members' dealing with the Black community.

The first incident, headlined on the front page of this issue of THE BLACK PANTHER, concerns the unwarranted and unprovoked police harassment of the Oakland Community School. In that incident, a situation evolved where one of the Black cops (W. Brown, Badge #403, to name names), actively took a leading position in verbally threatening and abusing the OCS staff members who investigated the disturbance. There were 11 cops, nine Whites, one "Tom" and one "Thomasina." Now both "Tom" and "Thomasina" could have adopted a different posture, could have straightened their curved backbones, gritted those white pearly teeth, told the White cops to back off and dealt with the OCS staff in a responsible and respectful manner.

In the second situation, which took place across the street from the Black Panther Party's headquarters last Sunday, Black officers Peaker and Turner almost turned red in threatening to arrest two members of this newspaper's staff for legally taking pictures of a community incident.

Interestingly, in this week's centerfold, we present a survey of Black police and soldiers in Rhodesia and a cross section of Blacks in South Africa. In both studies, the overwhelming majority of Blacks said that when it comes down to the nitty-gritty, they wouldn't fight against the liberation forces. In the meantime, said one, "I have to make a living. It isn't easy for Blacks here, you know."

We know it isn't easy for officers Brown, Turner, Peaker or "Thomasina" either. It isn't easy for any of us. Yet Black cops have a responsibility and a blood duty not to make it harder, and it's up to Nate Kimbro, as the newly elected president of the OBOA, and the entire OBOA to explain to us all exactly which side they're on. □



The Supreme Court ruled recently that innocent citizens cannot sue police or other public officials who accuse them (citizens) of being "criminals."

Letters to the Editor

MARYLAND PEN I.S.C. CHARGES INMATE MURDER

Dear Editor:

We charge the officials and medical personnel with the murder of Carroll Crouner, a Black prisoner known throughout the prison population as "Brother Link."

On Monday, March 8, 1976, Brother Link was killed by the criminal neglect of so-called medical personnel of the Maryland Penitentiary and University Hospital. Brother Link, a worker in Survival Programs in the Maryland Pen. had undergone a major operation at the hands of state prison doctors in late 1972, an operation in which cancer was supposed to be removed. However, Brother Link was told that none was found.

The operation left him weighing 97 pounds and in constant pain for the last four years. These so-called doctors gave no reason for the many places they cut him. Link was released from the hospital and prison system, still in pain and without medical care. He was returned to the prison system in 1975 in need and fear of another operation at the hands of the so-called state prison doctors.

On February 24, 1976, bleeding from the mouth, he was rushed to the prison hospital by fellow prisoners. He stayed in the Pen. hospital for six days, receiving no medical treatment. Doctor Holljes evicted Brother Link from the Pen hospital on March 1: without treatment or medication. Less than one half hour later he was pushed (on a cart) back to the hospital after falling into a semi-coma. At the hands of prison medical personnel who are untrained and unconcerned, Brother Link lay in a hospital bed all day where he was found bleeding profusely from the mouth.

He was finally rushed to University Hospital where he died one week later. With proper medical treatment this man may have lived. The lack of such is of course nothing new at the Maryland Penitentiary. Many men have died due to this criminal neglect, while many more still suffer today because of inhumane, racist, unconcerned and unskilled medical personnel and guards.

The removal of Doctor Holljes, who is head doctor at the Maryland Pen., is and has been one of the main demands of prisoners for years. Riots, protests, court petitions and articles have all fallen on deaf ears. Once again attention is being called to the extremely poor treatment at the Maryland Pen. hospital. This hospital has already been condemned by the Health Department but remains operational in open contempt of the law and our survival. Now who is the outlaw??

This, a condemned hospital run by racist, so-called doctors with no concern for the lives of prisoners is where we are forced to go for medical attention! We call once again on all concerned people and community groups to help us correct these conditions.

We call for an investigation by parties or agencies, organizations or otherwise, who are independent of the Maryland correctional system into the death/murder of Brother Carroll "Link" Crouner. Nothing changes unless we start changing it. If you are concerned, please contact: Joy McLaughlin, 2500 Eutaw Place, Friends and Families of Prisoners, Baltimore, Maryland, telephone (202) 327-5600.

THIS IS NOT ANOTHER DEATH TO US. THIS IS ONE TOO MANY!

Maryland Penitentiary
Intercommunal Survival Collective (M.P.I.S.C.)

MORE LETTERS ON PAGE 25

COMMENT

Attica—An American Atrocity

By Tom Wicker

Since his participation as an "observer" in the negotiations at Attica State Prison in the midst of the 1971 inmate rebellion, columnist Tom Wicker has been a persistent and outraged critic of the failure of the state of New York to prosecute those responsible for the murders of 39 inmates and guards during the brutal "retaking" of the crumbling correctional facility. Following is Wicker's latest comment on the Attica Massacre, reprinted from the April 1, 1976, edition of The New York Times.

The dismissal of two grand juries that for years have been looking into the 1971 revolt at the Attica Correctional Facility puts an end to one set of injustices but perpetuates another. The loose grab bag of indictments against more than 60 inmates — about 1,300 charges in all, most of which proved insupportable — had already been dropped by the state, and the dismissal of the grand juries means no more such charges will be brought.

It also means that no charges are going to be brought against those who pulled the triggers, and those who let the triggers be pulled, in the six minutes of indiscriminate state police gunfire that on September 13, 1971, took the lives of 29 inmates and 10 guards and prison employees who were being held hostage. More than 80 others were wounded seriously enough to require medical attention, which the state of New York had made little effort to provide. But no one now will be indicted for the known and provable incidents of violent physical retaliation visited upon inmates by guards and state police after the prison's recapture.

As far as can be ascertained, moreover, there will be no indictments, either, of those state police and prosecution officials who have been three times castigated for the manner in which they conducted the Attica affair.

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THE BLACK PANTHER

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90 PER CENT OF GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS ILLEGALLY WITHHELD

CONTEMPT CHARGES FILED AGAINST F.B.I. IN FRED HAMPTON MURDER CASE

(Chicago, Ill.) - Contempt of court charges have been filed in federal court here against five present and former FBI agents and three Justice Department attorneys in the wake of revelations that the government illegally withheld from the plaintiffs in the \$47.7 million Fred Hampton murder case literally mountains of COINTELPRO documents.

At the same time, trial judge Joseph Sam Perry has denied a motion to delay the trial proceedings until attorneys for the plaintiffs can review the recently revealed files, which take up more than 40 feet of filing space.

Sparked by an inadvertent comment by FBI special agent Roy Mitchell, Justice Department attorneys two weeks ago pushed into the courtroom four cartloads of COINTELPRO (counterintelligence program) documents that Judge Perry had ordered turned over before the trial began. The withheld documents, all potential evidence in the case, represents over 90 per cent of the government files on the Illinois State Chapter of the Black Panther

Attorneys JAMES MONTGOMERY (left) and HERBERT REID, counsel for the plaintiffs in \$47.7 million damage suit against the murderers of Fred Hampton.



BPINS photo

Party, the Chapter's dynamic founder/coordinator Fred Hampton and FBI agent provocateur William O'Neal.

1,600 DOCUMENTS

For example, of the more than 1,600 documents in Fred Hampton's file, the government had produced only 57.

The filing of the contempt charges followed Judge Perry's adamant refusal to halt the trial proceedings until the withheld documents could be reviewed.

James D. Montgomery, chief counsel for the plaintiffs — the families of Hampton and Mark Clark along with seven former Party members who survived the December 4, 1969 predawn police attack — filed the motion when Perry ruled that the documents would be reviewed as the trial continued.

Montgomery contended this procedure would fragment his presentation of the case and would "irreparably prejudice" the jury.

Montgomery was further outraged at last Tuesday's stormy court session when Perry somewhat cryptically told the jury about the missing documents, saying that if the jury wanted to blame someone for the delay, it should be the judge rather than the lawyers.

Asking that the middle-aged jury of five Whites and one Black be excused, Montgomery angrily shouted at Perry: "You're asking the jury to find you at fault, when the fact is that it is the fault of these federal lawyers who sit right here in court and make false representations to you."

Perry's response to this, the motions for a mistrial and other arguments presented to him was flatly, "Just leave me alone."

Meanwhile, prior to the delay over the withheld documents, the testimony of FBI special agent Mitchell had highlighted the trial.

Significant features of Mitchell's testimony have been:

1. The Racial Matters (RM) Squad, which included Mitchell

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Los Angeles Groups Unite To Fight Police Brutality

(Los Angeles, Calif.) — A demonstration at the Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners (LABPC), tentatively scheduled for May 6, will be the first major activity sponsored by the recently created Coalition Against Police Abuse (CAPA), an organization of community groups formed to wage a unified struggle against police brutality in Black and poor oppressed communities throughout southern California.

JOINT PRESENTATION

The Coalition — whose member groups have mostly evolved from harassments and murders by police — plans to make a joint presentation of six demands before the LABPC, which is located in Parker Center, the central headquarters of the fascist Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). A picket line will be held outside Parker Center during the presentation.

Nearly 100 predominantly Black and Third World concerned citizens attended a meeting at the People's College of Law here on March 26 out of which CAPA was formed. Those present decided that the major thrust of CAPA will be for member groups to hold

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Fallen Comrade

"LIL" BOBBY HUTTON

Assassinated

April 6, 1968



Born on April 25, 1950, "L'il" Bobby Hutton was the very first member of the Black Panther Party. He joined Black Panther Party founder Huey P. Newton at the age of 14 in 1966, the year the Party was founded. "L'il" Bobby struggled to advance the early development of the Party's daily organizing tasks by serving as finance coordinator, and also by his active involvement in the "Free Huey" movement.

Bobby Hutton was one of those arrested in the legendary May 2, 1967, Sacramento legislature protest when the Black Panther Party position on self-defense (Executive Mandate No.1) was read before California lawmakers. Almost simultaneously the Party gained nationwide fame in Black and poor communities across the country.

However, two days after the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, "L'il" Bobby was surrounded by dozens of racist Oakland police and was shot down in cold blood after he had surrendered himself. Long Live the Spirit of "L'il" Bobby Hutton! Long Live the People's Struggle!



ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



STUDY PROVES CALIF. PRISONS UNSAFE—FOR GUARDS AND INMATES

(San Rafael, Calif.) - There were no court proceedings last week, the first week of the second year of the San Quentin 6 trial, due to an illness on the part of prosecuting district attorney Jerry Herman.

When court resumes on Monday, April 5, Herman is expected to continue his cross-examination of Council T. McCoy, 28, a Black former guard at San Quentin presently warden of the city jail in Gary, Indiana.

Testifying two weeks ago, in the defense of Black Panther member Johnny Larry Spain, McCoy vigorously disputed the prosecution's "gun-in-a-wig" theory regarding a weapon author/revolutionary George Jackson allegedly smuggled into the prison's Adjustment Center on August 21, 1971. He also related to the court terror tales of guard brutality in the AC yard in the aftermath of the assassination of the Black Panther Party Field Marshal.

TESTIMONY

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents Part 5 of the intriguing court testimony of Dr. Philip Zimbardo, a Stanford professor and an expert in the field of social psychology. In prior excerpts from his testimony, Dr. Zimbardo related details of his famous Stanford Prison Experiment which conclusively proved that inhuman prison conditions are responsible for the irrational violence and rage on the part of both guards and inmates. In Part 5, Zimbardo discusses the conditions in the Adjustment Center.

PART 5

ZIMBARDO: In talking to the inmates, they reported not only that there was the noise (in the Adjustment Center), but the lengths they had to go to to cope with it. Some make earmuffs out of their socks. Some put cotton in their ears. Some leave the water in their cell running all the time. Some flush the toilet constantly.

"Another thing is the smell. There's an awful smell of — I don't know how to describe it, except the smell of urine, of excrement, of decaying food, which is unpleasant in every way.

"One is overwhelmed by the barrenness, the sterility of the



Children and adults line up to be searched at entrance to San Quentin 6 trial at the Marin County Courthouse.

environment. If you think in ecological terms, it's a non-human environment.

"There is no furniture in the cells except a slab and a mattress and a toilet, no chair to sit on, no bureau, no bookcase, not a hook to hang a coat on, and so the cells are overflowing with garbage bags and books all over and clothes in disarray.

"Prisoners are forced to sleep with their heads adjacent to open toilets, because if you sleep the other way, then you face the tier and the light is in your eyes, so you are sleeping facing your open toilet.

NO PICTURES

"There are no pictures on the walls. You cannot see out of the windows, which are opaque. You don't see the sunlight. You don't see the earth.

"There is the absence of privacy. When you go to the toilet, you are in full view of anyone passing by.

"There is the lack of exercise. Until Judge Zirpoli ruled that exercise was necessary, the exercise that I observed was a man walking up and down the corridor for a half-hour or 45 minutes at a time, and not even on every day.

"There is the absence of regular hygiene, men can only shower, I think, at most two times a week for a very short period.

"There is the absence of any kind of program, occupational, educational or therapeutic. Any meaningful occupational education in a therapeutic program.

"Men do nothing for 23 hours a day, constructive or rehabilitative.

"Then there is the most important thing, which is the physical, emotional and social isolation. That means that men, human beings, are separated from other people, and this is the ultimate punishment that a human being can suffer.

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THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

April 7, 1712

Even before American independence, the seeds of conflict sown by slavery were evident. On April 7, 1712, there was a slave revolt in New York. Nine Whites were killed in the rebellion which resulted in the execution of 21 slaves.

April 9, 1815

As African culture, language and traditions were systematically destroyed by the slave system, Black people turned to the institution of the church. However, when Richard Allen and Absalom Jones were pulled off their knees and thrown out of a White church in Philadelphia in early 1815, they came to the same conclusion that most Black people eventually reached — that the White church was devoid of meaning for Blacks. Allen and Jones immediately organized the African Free Society out of which grew the African Episcopal Church, founded at a Philadelphia convention on April 9, 1815.

April 5, 1839

On April 5, 1839, Robert Smalls, a Black Civil War hero and Reconstruction congressman, was born in Beaufort, South Carolina.
april 5, 1856

April 5, 1856

Booker T. Washington was born a slave in Franklin County, Virginia, on April 5, 1856. Founder of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, Washington was the most prominent Black man in America during the critical years from 1895 to 1915. A conservative, shrewd, hard working and, some say, devious, man Washington refused to attack racial segregation and urged Black people to subordinate their political, civil and social strivings to economic advancement, which he developed as "industrial education" at Tuskegee.

April 4, 1899

On April 4, 1899, Edward Kennedy "Duke" Ellington was born in Washington, D.C. Ellington was famous throughout the world as a jazz pianist, composer and arranger of such popular tunes as "Satin Doll."

Waupun Prison Study Blasts Arbitrary Segregation Unit Procedures

(Madison, Wisc.) - The Wisconsin State Department of Health and Social Services (DHSS) has recently completed a study here of the Segregation Unit of Waupun State Prison, which, although refusing to admit racial bias in commitments to the disciplinary section, is severely critical of several features of the maxi "prison within a prison."

In a letter to Wisconsin Governor Patrick J. Lucey, DHSS Secretary Manuel Carballo said that the study "disclosed a serious shortcoming relating to commitment procedures, the staffing of the unit, the administration of the unit, and the length of time for which men are retained in segregation."

In the study conducted by the Clinical Services Bureau staff of the DHSS Division of Corrections it was found that:

1) A majority of the disciplinary committees reviewing an inmates' conduct are security-orientated; and 2) that many of them see their role as deciding the length of confinement rather than guilt or innocence.

RESTRUCTURING

Carballo has said that the Division will undertake a complete restructuring of the prison's disciplinary committee with the participation of the staff of the state attorney general, supposedly to insure adherence to the principles of due process.

At the same time the report claimed that there was no "pattern of systematic racial bias in commitments to the Segregation Unit," although Carballo stated "that further study will be undertaken."

A well-founded inmate complaint in the Segregation Unit has been that the rules governing disciplinary procedures were ambiguous and permitted too much discretion on the part of disciplinary committees and staff.

Carballo announced that the current maximum limit of 120 days in segregation "will be severely analyzed, for probable substantial reduction." A recent finding has shown that "unusual pressures" in the Segregation Unit frequently results in provocative behavior by both inmates and staff. □

PUBLIC HEARING EXPOSES CRIMINAL NEGLECT IN S.F. JAIL HEALTH CONDITIONS

"Take Two Aspirins"

Common Prescription

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The public hearings on jail health care sponsored last week by the Prisoners' Health Project provides pages of documentation of the abuses that local, city and county jail inmates have to endure because of inadequate medical conditions.

The hearings were called as a result of the San Francisco County Board of Supervisors' consistent refusals to upgrade the grossly inadequate jail health conditions or even to call for full public hearings on the issue. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, March 27, 1976.) Over 40 Bay Area groups, including the Black Panther Party, endorsed these hearings which fully exposed a problem prevalent in jails and prisons throughout the county.

EMBATTLED

The people who came to testify represented inmates, public officials and staff workers from the embattled Prisoners' Health Project (PHP), whose funds are scheduled to be cut off this summer by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW).

Case after case documented violations of prisoners' health rights, while a panel composed of representatives from the PHP, the San Francisco County Sheriff's Department, community groups and educators asked direct and penetrating questions.

One fact that was consistently raised throughout the testimony



Former San Francisco City Prison inmate **WILTON McGLORY** (top) testifies on medical abuse he suffered while incarcerated there. Dr. **RICHARD FINE** (right), the co-founder of the Prisoners' Health Project, details funding problems during jail health hearings held last week.



was the disgraceful lack of medical equipment at the jail facilities. One health worker complained that there were not even enough stethoscopes, a common medical tool, so he had to bring one with him. It was detailed how prisoners had to compete to be on the infrequent hospital runs to see a doctor. If a prisoner's condition is not considered severe by jail authorities, it may be weeks before he sees a doctor.

PHP mental health worker Hedda Gardenas exposed some startling facts in regard to the mental health care available to

persons. She explained that there were only four dispersed beds for mental patients in the security ward at San Francisco General Hospital, with no separate facilities. If a person cannot be treated by prison health workers, she said, he is sent to the California state mental institution at Napa.

ESCAPE RECORD

However, if an inmate has an escape record or has been charged with a felony crime, he is thrown into a "strip cell" which only further aggravates his condition. In ending her testimony she declared, "It is our responsibility (to care) for patients returning to the community who are sick."

Wilton McGlory, a former inmate at San Francisco City Prison, stated that most prisoners' medical treatment could be described by the common prison doctor's statement, "Take two aspirins." He explained how his ulcer had progressed to the point where he was coughing up blood.

When he went to see a doctor he was told to "take two aspirins" (he is allergic to aspirins), and was not allowed to have the medicine prescribed by his private doctor. He found most

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Graham—Allen Receive Death Sentences

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The political frame-up trial of Eugene Allen, 23, and Ernest (Shujaa) Graham, 24, ended last Friday with the mandatory death penalty imposed on the two Black prison activists. Tried by an all-White jury, Graham and Allen were convicted as scapegoats for an unsolved 1973 murder of a Tracey Prison guard.

The pair stood solemn as Judge Claude Perasso pronounced the sentence — under Section 4500 of the California Penal Code, the death penalty is mandatory if prisoners serving life terms are convicted of assaulting non-inmates. When asked if they had any remarks, Graham turned to the audience of between 25 to 30 supporters urging them to continue the struggle to liberate oppressed humankind. (See next week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER for more details on the Graham-Allen case.)

JOHN GEORGE HARD AT WORK ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

(Berkeley, Calif.) - It was a busy, but triumphant week on the campaign trail for popular Oakland attorney John George in his bid for the Alameda County Board of Supervisors, Fifth District seat.

Last Friday evening, George and a host of East Bay notables, supporters and friends celebrated the opening of the "John George for Supervisor" campaign headquarters, located at 3250 Adeline Street in Berkeley. M.C.'ed by the enthusiastic campaign publicity director, Focus Cable's Elijah Turner, the spirited celebration was highlighted by speeches by both George and Black state assemblyman John Miller, who came out to lend his support.

The next afternoon, George was hard at work again, pounding the streets of South Berkeley, sincerely listening to the people's concerns and interests while informing them of his progressive platform for responsible county government.

George's candidacy received yet another big plus last week, winning the prestigious endorsement of the Alameda County Democratic Central Committee.

ELECT JOHN GEORGE. Vote June 8. □



BPINS photos

(Above) Alameda County Supervisorial candidate JOHN GEORGE with family, children REGGIE and ANGIE and wife ARABELLA. (Right) Attorney George confers with California state assemblyman JOHN MILLER.



Bay Area NAACP President ALPHONSO GALLOWAY (left) with JOHN GEORGE.



JOHN GEORGE with Alameda County Supervisor TOM BATES (right).



JOHN GEORGE on the campaign trail (left) talking to prospective voters and soliciting the support of star Golden State Warrior guard GUS WILLIAMS (above).

EYES ON CITY HALL



LANEY CONFERENCE ON CITY BUDGET

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Oakland Study Group is sponsoring a conference next week to provide an avenue for people to discuss progressive new sources of revenue for the city of Oakland. The conference is entitled "Towards A Community Budget." Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown will be featured among the panelists and workshop participants. Because of Oakland's so-called "budget crisis," topics which will be discussed will be the effect of service cutbacks, the police and fire department pension fund controversy, the Port of Oakland as a source of revenue, and the common interests of residents and their public employees. The conference will be held at Laney College on Saturday, April 10.

WARD ADVOCATES SUE

(Oakland, Calif.) - Advocates of changing Oakland's city-wide election system to a ward system have filed suit in Alameda Superior Court to get the issue put on the ballot in the upcoming June 8 primary election. Laney College professor Victor James, along with Tom Stallard, attorney for the Committee to Change Oakland's Aims, obtained a writ of mandamus from Judge Robert Barber last week asking that City Clerk Robert C. Jacobsen certify the Committee's petition as sufficient to qualify for the ballot or show cause why not. Jacobsen had previously ruled that out of the over 19,000 signatures turned in by the Committee, a partial examination had supposedly disclosed enough technical violations so that the Committee did not obtain the 15,657 valid signatures that were needed.

BEAUTIFY OAKLAND

(Oakland, Calif.) - As part of a neighborhood beautification effort the Oakland Parks and Recreation Department has created a program to assist citizens in getting trees planted in their neighborhoods. All pertinent information on the plan, which was worked out between the city of Oakland and the Oakland Citizen's Committee for Urban Renewal (OCCUR), can be obtained free of charge by dropping by the OCCUR office at 1419 Broadway, Room 811, or by calling 839-2240.



FRED BELL, coordinator of the Dallas Chapter of the Black Panther Party.

Angry Dallas Citizens Reject Telephone Rate Hikes

(Dallas, Texas) - Angry local citizens appeared before the City Council here last week urging the Council to reject the recent Bell Telephone Company requests for rate increases.

The telephone company had made a request before the Dallas City Council asking an additional charge for calls to directory information. Just recently the Council approved a rate hike of 20 cents for local pay telephone calls while in neighboring Louisiana such calls are still only five cents.

A long list of speakers addressed the Council, among them Dallas Black Panther Party leader Fred Bell.

"We are opposed to the proposed additional charge to Bell Telephone customers," Fred said. "The ultimate power to determine the destiny of something involving governmental or economic decisions rests with citizens, the people."

IN THE SAME BED

Many of the speakers expressed their belief that lawmakers had probably already made up their minds in favor of the telephone company. One irate citizen at the meeting remarked that "big business and government sleep in the same bed."

The most eloquent speaker at the meeting was a local citizen, Bob Putter, who unleashed a scathing attack upon the phone monopoly. Part of his statement follows:

"AT&T conveniently owns the only supplier of equipment and supplies that our Ma Bell uses. The prices that Southwestern Bell pays for that equipment, for those supplies, and for the labor provided by the Western Electric Company has no relationship to

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PETITIONS DEMAND PORT OF OAKLAND DIVERT FUNDS TO EASE CITY FINANCIAL CRUNCH

(Oakland, Calif.) - "The Port of Oakland is getting FAT while Oakland SUFFERS" is the eye-catching, provocative headline on thousands of brochures distributed here announcing one of the most intriguing and worthwhile petition drives to come around in a long while.

Circulated by representatives of the Committee for Financial and Civic Reform for Oakland (CFCRO), the petitions aim to help solve this city's grave financial problems by placing an amendment to the City Charter on the election ballot requiring the vast Port of Oakland complex to divert some of its rich earnings to the city coffers.

Actually, there are several main goals of the CFCRO petition drive:

1) Requiring the Port of Oakland to pay for the vital city services it presently receives for free, as well as diverting a certain portion of its surplus revenue to the city.

2) Making appointed commissioners more accountable to local residents by giving the mayor the power to remove those from city Board and Commission posts — including the Port Commissioners — who are out of touch and unresponsive to the communities' need.

3) Requiring candidates in Oakland elections to disclose their investments, income from all sources, political party affiliations and possible conflicts of interest.

4) Creating greater interest in local elections and a more representative voter turnout — as well as saving taxpayers' money — by consolidating city elections with state and federal elections.

5) Placing a \$1,000 limit on campaign contributions.

The key feature of the petition drive is, of course, to muzzle the

sprawling Port mini-empire and demand that it fulfill certain responsibilities in a city where the budget deficit for 1977 has been estimated at \$68 million — "the most serious financial crisis in the city's history."

In contrast to the city's fiscal plight, in 1975 the Port of Oakland maintained a gross income of approximately \$23,300,000; a net income of over \$4,000,000; and a fat rainy-day "surplus" fund just sitting around.

Although legally a part of the city of Oakland, Port financial records and accounting are a tightly-kept secret, with access limited to a closed circle of businessmen. Under its unusual structure, the Port can become involved in any business for profit, but it pays no city, state, property or income taxes. Every dollar the Port of Oakland takes in is spent on its own growth.

Just a few of the Port's luxurious expenditures that the CFCRO have uncovered are:

• Spending \$25,500,000 on

various expansion projects, including nearly \$6 million to enlarge the Oakland Airport. This comes at a time when the airport has been reprimanded in Alameda County Superior Court for "exaggerated" growth projections — overstating airport growth by 20,220,000 passengers!

• In 1975, the Port spent \$800,000 on publicity and promotion, including \$23,500 on photographs.

• In 1975, Port Commissioners' travel expenses increased by 292 per cent, including \$72,000 on junkets to Tokyo, Singapore, Hawaii, Rio de Janeiro and Cairo. On one trip to Japan, the Port rented an entire golf course for the day!

• In 1975, the Port spent an estimated \$90,000 on lobbying, another \$45,000 on limousine services, and is currently spending approximately \$1,000,000 or more to install two "Plane-Mate" mobile lounges to carry its guests to and from their private planes in comfort.



Ship docking in Port of Oakland, the second largest containerized port in the world.

Seattle B.P.P. Wins King Humanitarian Award

(Seattle, Wash.) - The Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party won the prestigious Martin Luther King Humanitarian Award last week in honor of its hard and dedicated work in the Black and oppressed communities here.

Given out annually by a local community-based newspaper, *The Medium*, the Seattle Chapter topped a large field of 16 local groups and individuals nominated for the "Unsung Heroes" award by the paper. The award is generally considered the highest acknowledgment of community service or Black individual or organization can receive in the Seattle-Tacoma area. See next week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER for pictures and more information regarding this award.

• In 1976, the Port plans to spend \$269,992 in lawyers' salaries and fees.

• Only 38.5 per cent of the employees on Port properties actually live in Oakland. The Port is also a notorious violator of equal employment opportunity clauses for Black and minority persons.

If you are approached by a friendly, well-mannered representative of the CFCRO asking that you sign a petition for the Charter Amendment, please sign and urge others to do so. Help make the Port of Oakland start carrying its share of the load. □

BANK ROBBER PATTY HEIRESS TO HUGE HEARST FORTUNE

Recently convicted bank robber Patricia Hearst is heiress to a vast publishing empire founded by her grandfather, William Randolph Hearst. The Hearst holdings include newspapers, magazines, books as well as activities in television and radio. Some of the most prestigious publications in America are owned by the Hearst Corporation, underscoring the dangerously powerful force the Corporation wields in molding American public opinion.

The following are excerpts from a longer article which appeared in the February 16, 1976, issue of Advertising Age magazine detailing the vast wealth of the Hearst Corporation.

(New York, N.Y.) - It will be 25 years next August 14 since William Randolph Hearst died and left his huge publishing empire to his sons and a group of longtime Hearst executives who helped him build the company. At the time, there were those who felt that without the charismatic and controversial "W.R.," what was then a \$350,000,000 operation averaging more than \$11,000,000 a year in profits for 10 consecutive years would surely begin to fall apart.

Such forecasts, however, reckoned without Hearst's success at providing for transition and continuity. The management team that took over in 1951 has, of course, been succeeded by another generation, and today Hearst Corporation continues to pile up profits even as yet another generation of hard-chargers moves into key positions. If anything, the new emphasis is more than ever on profit.

PATERNALISTIC

Long regarded as a paternalistic organization, where old-timers could count on loyalty being rewarded beyond comfortable retirement, it now appears that Hearst management is more apt to play down the sentimental attachments, is quicker to ease aside those who would otherwise choose not to retire. This may mark the passing of an era, but it also marks a hard-headed approach that seems to be paying off. . .

"W.R.'s" will warned executors and trustees that they were "not to part with ownership or control of any newspaper, magazine, feature service, news service, photographic service or periodical. . . unless it shall, in their opinion, be necessary and prudent to do so."

The phrase "necessary and



RANDOLPH and CATHERINE HEARST leave recent trial of convicted bank robber/daughter, Patty. The Hearst publishing empire continues to expand and exert a powerful influence on American public opinion.

prudent" supplied the escape hatch, and the Hearst empire of 200 separate units was trimmed to 17 units when Richard E. Berlin became president. Ten Hearst papers carried nearly 263,000,000 lines of advertising 25 years ago, with ad revenue accounting for \$130,000,000 of an estimated \$250,000,000, newspaper gross. Today, eight Hearst newspapers average 1,500,000 daily circulation while 1975 sales, estimated at about \$265,000,000, outperformed the newspaper industry's five per cent ad revenue gain last year. . .

The Hearst Corporation consists of:

NEWSPAPERS

Hearst Newspapers: (Morning): Albany Times-Union; Seattle Post Intelligencer; Boston Herald American and Sunday Boston Herald Advertiser. (Evening): Albany Knickerbocker News Union-Star; San Antonio Light; Baltimore News American; San Francisco Sunday Examiner; San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle; Los Angeles Herald-Examiner.

MAGAZINES

Hearst Magazines: American Druggist, Avon Books, Cosmo-

politan, Good Housekeeping, Harper's Bazaar, House Beautiful, Motor, Motor Boating & Sailing, Popular Mechanics, Science Digest, Sports Afield with Rod & Gun, Town & Country.

BROADCASTING

Hearst Broadcasting: (WAPA AM), San Juan, P.R.; (WBAL AM, FM, TV), Baltimore; (WISN AM, FM, TV), Milwaukee; (WTAE AM, FM, TV), Pittsburgh.

PUBLISHING COMPANIES

Also: Hearst Metrotone News, International Circulation Distributors, King Features Syndicate, Pejepscot Paper Division, Periodical Publishers' Service Bureau, Puck - The Comic Weekly, plus real estate, mining, livestock and paper mill interests.

LONDON OPERATIONS

In London, Hearst operates the National Magazine Co. Ltd., which includes The Antique Collector, British Antiques Yearbook, Car, The Connoisseur, Containerisation International, Cosmopolitan, Ebury Press, Good Housekeeping, Harper's & Queen, The International Antiques Yearbook, She and Woman-craft. □

F.B.I. To Apologize?

(Washington, D.C.) - Thousands of persons who were victims of the FBI's notorious COINTELPRO program may receive letters of "apology." Under the orders of U.S. Attorney General Edward H. Levi, a study is being made of a notification program in which letters will be sent to "one time" targets of COINTELPRO (the domestic counterintelligence program) apologizing for FBI harassment and spelling out the tactics which were used against them.

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

Death Row Protest

(Tamal, Calif.) - Inmates on San Quentin's Death Row staged a hunger strike last week to demand decent and humane treatment. The 43 inmates who participated in the protest were pressing for 11 demands. Among them were greater accessibility to the prison's law library, better food and adequate medical care.

Talamante Released

(Gilroy, Calif.) - Political prisoner Olga Talamante has returned to her home here after being imprisoned in Argentina for 16 months of false charges of political subversion. She had visited the South American country in 1974 after graduating with honors from the University of California at Santa Cruz. Recounting the ordeal she endured, Ms. Talamante explained, "They wanted me to talk. Eight men asked me questions. They used two cattle prods and kept shocking me until I signed a 'confession' which was as ridiculous as the charges."

Push For Jobs

(Sacramento, Calif.) - California Governor Edmund (Jerry) Brown, Jr., has offered an innovative new proposal for state spending to create jobs. The proposed bill, the Jobs Opportunity Act, would finance public works projects built by private contractors who would employ union supervisors along with work crews. The projects, picked by the state's Employment Development Department would be "tangible neighborhood improvements," such as painting schools or fixing up low-income houses.

Jewish Priorities

(Washington, D.C.) - The American Jewish Congress last week announced a major shift in its domestic priorities which will now focus on programs promoting full employment, national health insurance and welfare reform. Naomi Levine, executive director of the group, warned that unless every American was "provided with useful work and decent medical care, the nation's cities will continue to decline and intergroup tensions will mount as Americans turn against each other for their share of the pie."

Official Charges

Federal Gov't. Fails To Attack Job Bias

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - The federal government was charged last week with failing "to mount a coherent attack on employment discrimination" by the director of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

Speaking here before a conference sponsored by the University of California at Los Angeles Institute of Industrial Relations, Commission Director John Buggs brought out into the open a government controversy concerning a proposal to create a single federal agency to replace the four now empowered to deal with job discrimination among minorities and women.

Buggs pointed out that:

•A single discrimination agency is needed because the present structure is too complex for workers, employers and "aggrieved citizens."

•The present diffusion of authority for enforcing equal employment "is one of the paramount reasons for the failure of the government to stem discrimination."

AGGRESSIVE EFFORTS

•Although the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission "has made the most aggressive efforts," it has a complaint backlog of 120,000 cases. It takes three years to resolve a charge of discrimination.

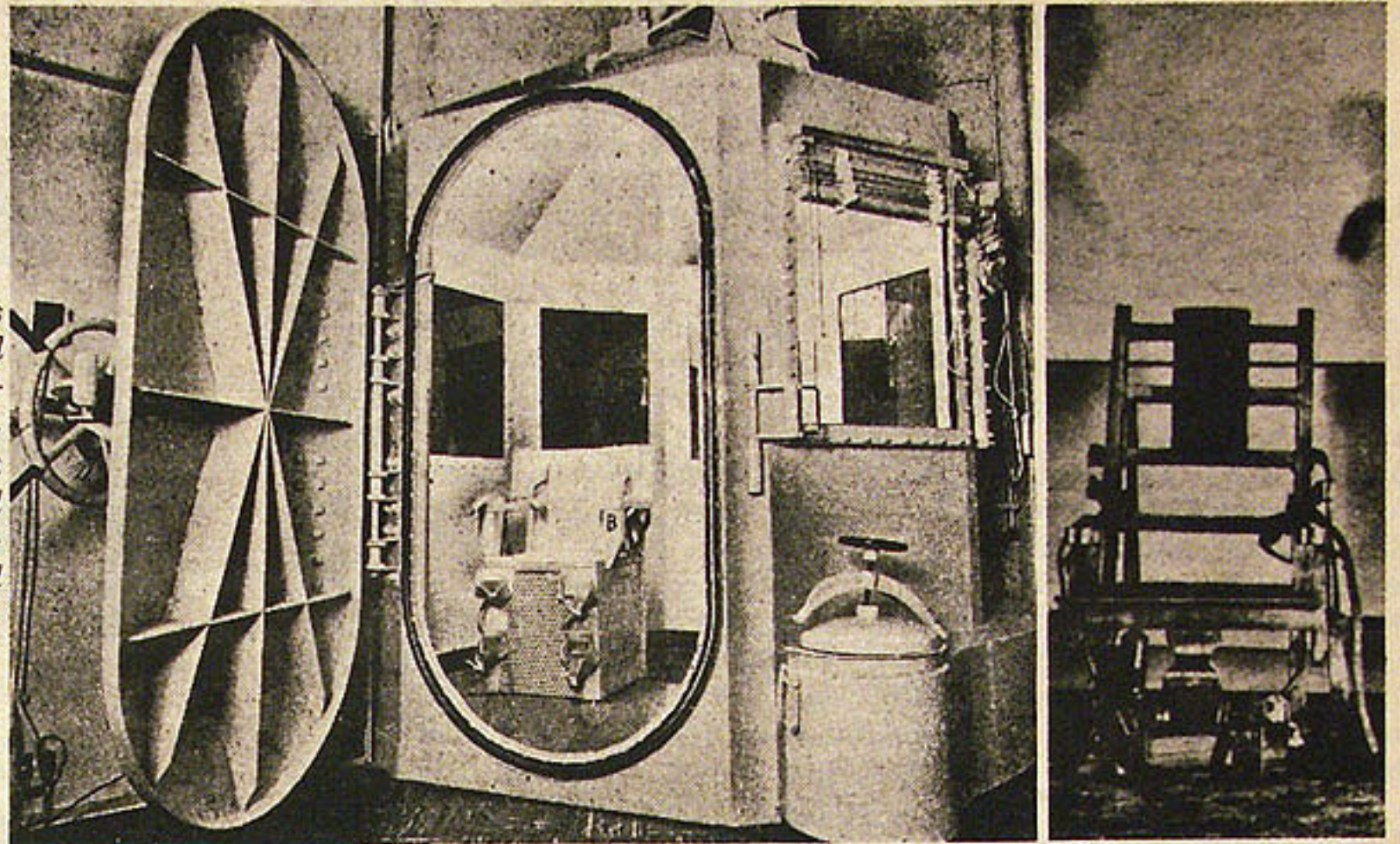
•The Office of Federal Contract Compliance is supposed to act against discrimination by firms holding federal government contracts, but that agency has failed to set up an effective enforcement program.

•The Labor Department's Wage and Hour Division, which is responsible for enforcement of the Equal Pay (for men and women) Act, has no national enforcement program.

•The Civil Service Commission does not require the government to follow the same equal employment practices required by private industry.

Buggs stated that a proposal is now before Congress to create a single National Employment Rights Board. It is hoped that this Board will correct the present system which has resulted in complaints by employers that they are being harassed and "forced to comply with conflicting and overlapping regulations while aggrieved women and minorities charge their complaints are lost in a snarl of bureaucratic red tape." □

San Quentin's gas chamber (left) and Sing Sing's electric chair. The Justice Department recently denied that the death penalty is biased against Blacks.



U.S. JUSTICE DEPARTMENT DENIES DEATH PENALTY BIASED AGAINST BLACKS

(Washington, D.C.) - The U.S. Justice Department told the Supreme Court here last week that the death penalty does not discriminate against Black people even though they receive a disproportionately high number of death sentences.

The Justice Department's brief, filed by U.S. Solicitor General Robert Bork, was made at the request of the Supreme Court which is currently hearing arguments asking the Court to uphold the death penalty under laws enacted by 35 states since 1972. In that year, by a vote of 5-4, the Court ruled that death penalty laws then in effect were un-Constitutional under the Eighth Amendment which bans "cruel and unusual" punishment.

The 1972 ruling was based on

the Court's finding that death sentences were applied randomly, with some defendants being sentenced and others not. Opponents of capital punishment have gathered statistics showing that while Black people represent 11 per cent of the population, they receive 60 per cent of the death sentences.

HARD LINE

Reflecting the Ford administration's typically hard line on Black and other Third World people, Bork insisted that Black people commit a high proportion of capital crimes. He cited the latest FBI crime figures which claim that Blacks account for the majority of arrests in murder cases, robbery and aggravated assault.

Bork failed to mention, however, because Blacks do not make

up as large a part of the population as Whites, their (Blacks) rate of arrests are disproportionately higher.

Arguing on behalf of the 527 men and women currently on death row across the country, Stanford University Law School Professor Anthony Amsterdam — who is representing the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund in the Supreme Court hearings — charged that "the death penalty is an atavistic (primitive) butchery which has run its course."

Amsterdam was subjected to unusually harsh questioning from the nine-member, predominantly conservative Court. At one point during the proceedings, Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr., appealed directly to the emotions of "law and order" advocates when he said:



PERFECTLY OBVIOUS

"It is perfectly obvious from these figures (showing a 50 per cent jump in the homicide rate between 1968 and 1973), that we need some way to deter the slaughter of Americans..."

The high court is expected to make a decision on the death penalty before it recesses in late June.

In another matter, the Supreme Court voted 5 - 3 that states and localities covered by the federal Voting Rights Act do not have to prove that proposed reapportionment (redistricting) discriminates against Black people. The decision, considered a setback by civil rights lawyers on the scope and effectiveness of the Voting Rights Act, now shifts the burden of proof of discrimination to Black voters, lawyers and, in some cases, the Justice Department. □

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

HUEY P. NEWTON - ERICKA HUGGINS

When HUEY P. NEWTON, co-founder and ideologist of the Black Panther Party, disappeared in August, 1974, he left behind his **INSIGHTS** which embody, as Ericka Huggins has said, "a sensitivity and a humanness that make this man, in his aloneness, a friend to all people." **ERICKA HUGGINS' POEMS** are the telling introspective record of her own life during the years since her husband, Jon Huggins, was assassinated in Los Angeles in 1969. Since then she has also co-edited the Black Panther newspaper and is director of the Intercommunal Youth Institute, a model elementary school in Oakland.

INTRODUCTION BY ZENTATSU BAKER-ROSHI
of the San Francisco Zen Center

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ERICKA HUGGINS

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Fred Hampton Murder Case

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

as well as COINTELPRO coordinators Stanley and McCabe, was headed by an agent Piper. Mitchell testified that the federal laws the RM Squad concerned itself with were ones relating to sedition, insurrection, Smith act, anti-riot statutes and federal firearms laws. Yet, he could not recall one single prosecution the RM Squad had brought for federal prosecution under these laws, exposing the RM Squad as a political intelligence group, tracking down the movements of individuals thought to be dangerous.

The RM Squad and Mitchell in particular did not begin monitoring the Black Panther Party in Chicago because of any knowledge that any federal laws might have been violated. They began monitoring the Chapter here when the only thing known about the individuals organizing were that one was a leader of the NAACP in Maywood (Fred Hampton), one was a former leader in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the third was a man with an honorable discharge from the U.S. army.

INFORMER

2. Mitchell met O'Neal and began utilizing him as an informer in October of 1968. He was aware that O'Neal had a psychiatric history and that he had been arrested by a local police officer for "impersonating a federal officer." O'Neal was never prosecuted on this charge.

O'Neal joined the Chicago Chapter of the BPP at Mitchell's instruction and he was paid according to the value of the information he gave. This value was determined by Mitchell — with authorization from Chicago agent in charge Marlin Johnson and the Washington office as well — under the criteria that the information served the general purposes of the FBI. According to Mitchell's testimony, the goal was to "curtail the effectiveness of the Black Panther Party." Mitchell frequently paid O'Neal by leaving cash in a broken lamp post way out on Highway 44. O'Neal was one of between eight to ten informants for which Mitchell was the contacting agent, all inside the Chicago Chapter of the BPP.

3. The identity of one other of these informers is Maria Fischer, it was revealed. Fischer, a former mental patient and heroin addict, lives in the Uptown community and often appears at the trial, thus showing that the great security measures taken around

O'Neal have nothing to do with fear of retaliation by the BPP.

4. Personal surveillance and a special investigative file was initiated on Fred Hampton long before he began organizing the Black Panther Party. In fact, it began when he was the youth director of the NAACP in Maywood, Illinois. His records were kept in the category of "agitator files."

5. Mitchell lied on the stand attempting to cover up discussions he has had with O'Neal last summer, and since the trial has begun. He said he had not been in personal contact with O'Neal, had not flown anywhere to meet with him and had not talked to him on the phone. After lunch time counseling from federal attorneys, Mitchell admitted he had flown to another city to meet and talk with him, and that he had talked to O'Neal on the phone since Marlin Johnson began testifying in the trial earlier last month.

These discussions are important because there are serious contradictions between the first and second depositions that attorneys for the plaintiffs have taken from O'Neal, showing the FBI got him to change his testimony to support their story.

PRIOR TESTIMONY

6. Contrary to prior testimony by Johnson, McCabe and Stanley (all FBI agents), Mitchell testified that he was thoroughly familiar with the COINTELPRO, its goals, methods and objectives, and was present at weekly meetings where it was discussed. Further, Mitchell testified that O'Neal carried out COINTELPRO objectives such as causing division between the BPP and Black organizations and between the BPP and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at Mitchell's instructions. This is an important link because the FBI witnesses previously have tried to say that Mitchell's action in getting Hanrahan's police to raid the apartment was totally separate from the goals of the COINTELPRO.

7. Mitchell's testimony proved that he lied to a federal grand jury that was investigating the December 4 raid. Mitchell testified that after a June 4 raid during which no shots were fired by BPP members, orders were given that "The Party would not stand behind any member who did not get off at least one shot on being arrested. Mitchell said he got this information from the informer O'Neal and there is indeed a document which he admits writing that cites this information



FRED HAMPTON, slain Illinois Black Panther Party leader.

coming from O'Neal. Only the document is dated before the June 4 raid, in which no shots were fired, where BPP members were arrested and bailed out and remained in the Party in good standing. Mitchell's grand jury testimony therefore had been an attempt to rationalize the method of attack during the later December 4 police attack.

FOCAL POINT

8. The focal point of Mitchell's testimony concerns the period from November 19, 1969 to December 12, 1969.

On the morning of November 19, Mitchell gets a phone call from O'Neal, in which O'Neal listed the weapons in the 2337 W. Monroe St. apartment and states that to his knowledge they are all legal weapons. Mitchell then dictates an internal report which goes to Supervisor Piper and SAC Johnson and onto Washington, detailing this information. The information is also sent to local law enforcement agencies.

Then according to Mitchell, he meets with O'Neal in the afternoon and gets a floor plan of the apartment, including a marking where Hampton slept. According to Mitchell, O'Neal then also tells him about two illegal weapons, a sawed off shotgun and a stolen

police riot pump. But Mitchell does not put this information in writing in any report, or according to him, did he tell any other FBI agents until December 12 when he writes a full memorandum for Marlin Johnson. And although the sawed off shotgun is a federal violation, he never informs the Treasury Department agents. This last is especially odd since he happens to be in court during this time on a civil matter together with the Alcohol, Firearms and Tobacco agent in charge of "militants."

According to Mitchell, he did give the information about the illegal weapons to Jalovec and Groth of Hanrahan's special unit, but not in writing. It was this information that was used to get the search warrant on December 4. Only the search warrant listed 3 sawed off shotguns and did not mention the stolen police riot pump.

9. It was also brought out that Mitchell failed to testify to his frenzied efforts to get Hanrahan to raid the apartment where Fred Hampton stayed or his role in allegedly providing a floor plan and the necessary information to get a search warrant when he appeared in front of the grand jury. □

Dallas Black Women Workers Stage Walkout Against "Slave" Conditions

(Dallas, Texas) — Black women workers staged a walkout here recently at a manufacturing plant, saying they were "fed up" with what they termed a "slave like" atmosphere and hazardous working conditions.

The women, employed at L-S Marlan Manufacturing in short periods varying from three to six months, said that they had taken all they could take from their 22-year-old White supervisor. They reported that the man constantly insults their intelligence, gives them no respect, and "doesn't mind cursing them out."

Barbara Dews, spokesperson for the women employees, said that the walkout was triggered when the supervisor fired her for

assigned to do things like pick up trash outside of the plant.

Accompanied by Lipscomb, the women went to see company president Joe Buryman who admitted that "the supervisor was lucky not to be shot because of his attitude toward people" but then said that he was powerless to change the situation because the supervisor was the owner's son.

After meeting with Roger Karl of the Dallas Community Relations Committee and members of the Justice Department, the women vowed to escalate their fight, stating, "We intend to go all the way to get something done about it or change it. 'If it can't be changed,' they said, 'then it needs to be closed down.'"



Women workers at L-S Marlan Manufacturing Company discuss grievances with press at South Dallas Information Center.

alleged lack of speed in her performance. Ms. Dews stated that the supervisor began shaking his finger in her face and using foul language.

Prior to her firing (she has been recently rehired) Ms. Dews had circulated a petition among other employees asking for their verification of the unsafe working conditions they were subjected to as well as the racism of their supervisors.

The women went to the South Dallas Information Center (SDIC) to seek aid in either alleviating the situation or having the plant closed down. Talking to SDIC Director Al Lipscomb, they explained that the job duration at the plant was usually six months because "no one could put up with the supervisor."

Besides his unnecessary profanity, employees explained that they even had to ask the supervisor's permission before going to the doctor. When there was no work to do, they were

Wilmington 10 Defense Protests Rev. Chavis' Transfer To Mental Unit

(Washington, D.C.) - Rev. Ben Chavis has been transferred to a state mental institution as North Carolina correctional officials continue their attempts to silence the Black activist minister.

Chavis, a principal defendant in the "Wilmington 10" frame-up was transferred from North Carolina's Caledonia Prison Farm to the McCain correctional complex, which serves as a combination prison-hospital sanitarium.

In a statement issued by the National Wilmington 10 Defense Committee, the group charged that "The state (of North Carolina) has placed the 29-year-old minister/activist in an unhealthy environment where there are inmates with serious contagious diseases as well as mental disorders in an effort to murder him."



Marchers proceed down Harlem's famous 125th Street in protest against the closing of Sydenham Hospital.

5,000 MARCH AGAINST CLOSING OF HARLEM'S SYDENHAM HOSPITAL

(Harlem, N.Y.) - Over 5,000 angry Black people marched here last week to protest the closing of a small municipal hospital that has become a symbol of the current struggle against cutbacks in New York's Black and poor areas.

Black community leaders are busily organizing to fight fiscal cutbacks which they feel are disproportionately affecting the Black and poor communities of this city. In the words of Diane Lacey, one of the organizers of the coalition which led the march, Sydenham Hospital is "the beachhead of us in Harlem."

The march proceeded down

Harlem's 125th Avenue and ended up at the 49-year-old, 196-bed hospital at 124th Street and Manhattan Avenue.

Speaking beneath an effigy of Dr. Lowell E. Bellins, chairperson of the Health and Hospitals Corporation, Manhattan Borough President Percy E. Sutton remarked that he saw people with whom he had marched 15 years ago "against injustice" and "in the cause of Black liberation."

Lillian Roberts, associate director of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal employees, expressed the fact that "if Sydenham closed, Harlem Hospital could not accommodate the patients" and that "the community was fighting for its life." New York City Councilman Frederick E. Samuels threatened to hold up passage of the city budget "unless (funds for) Sydenham was in it."

CULMINATION

The successful protest was the culmination of over two months of hard work.

In this short amount of time, the coalition organized numerous churches, community organizations, labor unions and staged various fund-raisers to raise money for the campaign.

Ministers of Harlem's major churches spoke in favor of the protest before their congregations the Sunday prior to the march while the Harlem Commonwealth Council paid for a half page ad in the *New York Amsterdam News*, which had been carrying stories and editorials in favor of saving the hospital. □

The Committee also revealed that hospital personnel have attempted to administer thiorazine, a powerful mind-altering drug, to Rev. Chavis. He has refused all medication but there are fears that prison authorities might put these drugs into his food.

Prior to his transfer, Chavis had been very active in prison organizing at Caledonia. He had organized a peaceful meeting of over 200 inmates and was working with a committee which had just established a prison newsletter.

During Chavis' confinement at Caledonia, inmates were able to win three major concessions: extension of visiting hours; access to lawbooks and an end to the strip-searches before being allowed to receive visitors.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting Novel Examines Lives Of Black Americans In Egypt

In the following excerpt from . . . And Bid Him Sing, for the first time Bob Jones hears the beautifully moving, yet bitter poetry of his friend Suliman Ibn Rashid, who like Bob is a Black American living in self-exile in Cairo, Egypt, during the time of the 1967 Middle East War. The critically acclaimed novel is the work of BLACK PANTHER Editor-in-Chief David G. Du Bois who himself lived in Cairo for 12 years.

PART 25

He tapped the sheets of paper into some order, stood up, stepped just inside the open french doors and turned to face me, framed by the door jambs. He hitched up his pants, ran the palm of his right hand down his goatee, cleared his throat noisily, glanced at the top sheet, and said:

"This one is called. . ."

The ringing of the telephone cut into the resonant rhythms of Suliman's voice as he completed a tender embrace of the ancient Al Azhar mosque. He put the papers down on the table, excused himself and headed for the toilet. I didn't move. Nearly two hours had passed and now I sat exhausted, limp as a damp cloth, thoroughly and completely spent.

I had wept hot tears of anger, roared with laughter, cringed with loathing, pained at a tortured loving, floated in tenderness, burned with rage and been plunged repeatedly into the dreadful depths of pity. As I slowly and with effort reassembled my shattered soul, it was this awful pity that lingered; for in that two hours there had been no joy, no hope, not a hint of a better tomorrow.

It seemed a long time before Suliman returned from the toilet. As he sat down a faint whiff of my cologne dallied and then was gone, carried away on a night breeze. A second whiff lingered a moment longer, then it too was caught up and carried away. He took up my package of cigarettes, offered me one and took one himself. We lit up.

"How about a glass of beer," I said.

"Man, ain't you got no brandy?"

"Yeah," I said, pushing myself

out of my chair and heading for the kitchen.

"No ice," he called after me.

As I returned to the balcony with the two brandies, I said, "Have you ever tried to get any of your poems published?"

A hint of a smile played at the corners of his mouth. "I've hardly ever let anybody know I write poetry," he said. "Besides, I don't know nothing about how to get anything published." He paused. "Do you think that ofay woman you know would publish some of my poems?"

"We could send them to her — the ones you consider your best — and see."

At this Suliman got up from his chair, took up his brandy, sat down at my desk, and began to

tinker with the typewriter.

"I don't have a typewriter," he said. "Could I come over here and use yours — when you're not using it, of course — to type up clean copies of the poems?"

"I've got another typewriter, a small portable one that I could let you use. I don't need it. You can take it with you tonight, if you want."

"Crazy, man!" he almost shouted. "I'll be careful with it. Learned to type in the hospital rehabilitation center. 'Bout the only good thing I got from the bastards."

"Where was that?"

"In Wisconsin. I been in and out of hospitals, mostly charity wards, most of my life with this fuckin' leg. I split from the last one I was in and made it to California on the road. Bitchin' trip. Picked oranges for a while 'til my leg broke down. Had to make it back. Son o' bitches put me in the security ward and had me goin' to a head shrinker. They swore I was crazy 'cus I raised so much hell.

"Shit! I always did raise hell. I

was the baddest motherfucker on the block. Cats called me Barra-cuda. Niggers used to be scared of me 'cus I'd bust they skulls open with my crutch if they fucked with me. They mammas used to tell'em not to play with me because I had TB, 'fraid they'd catch it.

"Shows how stupid they was. Couldn't nobody catch no bone T.B. Soon's my leg got better I split again. Went to Philly and joined the mosque there. Kamal was some kind of assistant. We got tight 'cus I could type. But the shit that went down with those jiving niggers was outta sight. When the shit broke with Elijah we cut out. That was when Kamal got the idea about setting up the public relations agency. He used some of his mosque contacts to get some bread. He's a slick cat. But it didn't work out. So we split with the money that was left and made it here."

He looked at his brandy glass, lifted it to his lips, tossed down the contents and wrung up his face.

"Ofays thought we was crazy



Cairo's Nasir City, the first apartment cooperatives built in this ancient Arab city.



...AND BID HIM SING

An exciting novel of Black Americans living in Egypt in the 1960s

By BLACK PANTHER Intercommunal News Service Editor-in-Chief DAVID G. DU BOIS

...David G. Du Bois' first novel makes a new space on the slim shelf labelled Black expatriate fiction... (his) frighteningly accurate characterization of Ugly Afro-Americans in Africa is a sobering reminder of the special cultural baggage and blinders we carry home. In this case home is Cairo, Egypt. . . In And Bid Him Sing, David Du Bois has given us a picture of our sixties through the eyes of another Black culture and understanding.

"Those of us who are planning to visit or live in Africa should see And Bid Him Sing as a kind of guide to bad manners abroad. And we who are ready to nostalgize the sixties would do well to read and recognize some parts of all of ourselves who grew so quickly and changed our race before we could change our minds."

Francille Rusan Wilson
The Black Scholar

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when we came down off that plane at Cairo Airport. We knelt down and kissed the earth of Mother Africa. I was ready to bust some heads if any of those motherfuckers said anything. But nobody did."

He got up from the desk, passed across the room and sat down on the sofa. I came in from the balcony, took his empty glass from him and headed for the kitchen.

"But I been feeling like bustin' some heads around here since I been here." He spoke without anger, almost apologetically.

"I know," I answered, "but don't. You'll be wrong."

"I wouldn't be wrong," he said, raising his voice as he rose from the sofa and followed me into the kitchen. "Somebody's got to teach'em!"

"Maybe, but it sure in hell isn't you or me," I countered. "We got our own thing to do over there. They got theirs to do over here."

TO BE CONTINUED

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"Patrolling"

Shortly after the Black Panther Party started its armed patrols in self-defense of Black people's rights, the inevitable illegal police harassment began. Huey P. Newton, Party leader and chief theoretician, exposes the true cowardice of these police in the following portion of the chapter "Patrolling" from Revolutionary Suicide.

PART 45

We responded in kind, calling them swine and pigs, but never cursing — this could be cause for arrest — and we took care not to be arrested with our weapons. But we demonstrated their cowardice to the community with

our "shock-a-buku." ("Shock-a-buku" is a term we made up. In the Black community shock-a-buku is a tactic of keeping the enemy off balance through sudden and unexpected maneuvers that push him toward his opponent's position.) It was sometimes hilarious to see their reaction; they had always been cocky and sure of themselves as long as they had weapons to intimidate the unarmed community. When we equalized the situation, their "real" cowardice was exposed.

Soon they began to retaliate. We expected this — they had to get back at us in some way — and were prepared. The fact that we had conquered our fear of death made it possible to face them under any circumstances. The police began to keep a record of Black Panther vehicles; whenever they spotted one, it would be stopped and investigated for possible violations. This was a childish ploy, but it was the police way.

We always made sure our vehicles were clean, without violations, and the police were usually hard-pressed to find any justification for stopping us. Since we were within the law, they soon resorted to illegal tactics. I was stopped and questioned forty or fifty times by police without being arrested or even getting a ticket in most instances.

FEW TIMES

The few times I did end up on the blotter it merely proved how far they were willing to go. A policeman once stopped me and examined my license and the car for any violation of the Motor Vehicle Code. He spent about half an hour going over the vehicle, checking lights, horn, tires, everything. Finally, he shook the rear license plate, and a bolt dropped off, so he wrote out a ticket for a faulty license plate.

Some encounters with the police were more dramatic. At times they drew their guns and we drew ours, until we reached a sort of stand-off. This happened frequently to me. I often felt that someday one of the police would go crazy and pull the trigger. Some of them were so nervous that they looked as if they might



"Black" officers PEAKER (left, inset) and TURNER (right, inset) led recent police assault on East Oakland community (above). Because of his rock-hard stand against police brutality, Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton is a frequent target of police abuse.

shake a bullet out of their pistols. I would rather have a brave man pull a gun on me, since he is less likely to panic; but we were prepared for anything.

Sometimes they threatened to shoot, thinking I would lose courage, but I remembered the lessons of solitary confinement and assigned every silly action its proper significance: they were afraid of us. It was as simple as that. Each day we went forth fully aware that we might not come home or see each other ever again. There is no closeness to equal that.

FIRST OFFICE

In front of our first Black Panther office, on 58th Street in Oakland, a policeman once drew his gun and pointed it at me while I sat in my car. When people gathered to observe, the police told them to clear the area. I ignored the gun, got out of the car, and asked the people to go into the Party office. They had a right to observe the police.

Then I called the policeman an ignorant Georgia cracker who had come West to get away from sharecropping. After that, I walked around the car and spoke to the citizens about the police and about every man's right to be armed. I took a chance there, but I figured the policeman would not shoot me with all those eyes on him. He was willing to shoot me without cause, I am sure, but not before so many witnesses.

Another policeman admitted as much during an incident in Richmond. I had stopped to watch a motorcycle cop question a citizen. He was clearly edgy at my presence, but I stood off quietly at a reasonable distance with my shotgun in hand. After writing up the citizen, he rode his motorcycle over to me and asked if I wanted to press charges for police brutality. About a dozen people

were standing around watching us.

"Are you paranoid?" I replied. "Do you think your're important? Do you think I would waste my time going down to the police station to make a report on you? No. You're just a coward anyway." With that, I got into my car. When he tried to hold my door open, I slammed it shut and told him to get his hands off.

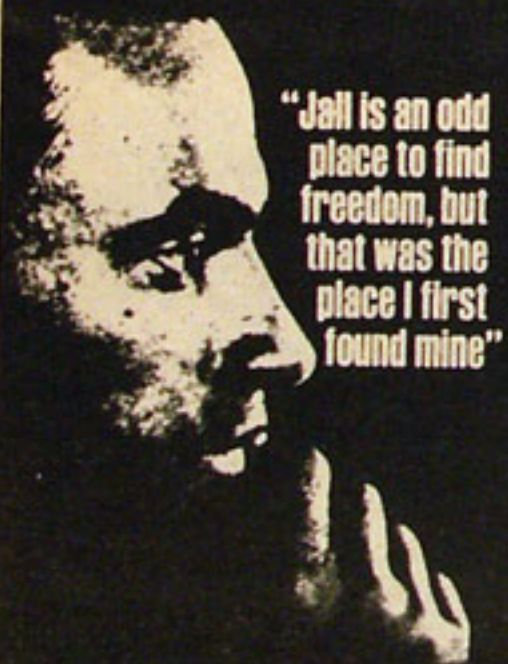
By now people were laughing at the cop, and rather than suffer further humiliation, he drove off, steaming mad. About halfway down the street, he turned around and came back; he wanted to do something, and he was about fifty shades of red. Pulling up beside me, he stuck his head close and said, "If it was night, you wouldn't do this." "You're right," I replied, "I sure wouldn't, but you're threatening me now, aren't you?" He got a little redder and kicked his machine into gear, and took off.

The police wanted me badly, but they needed to do their dirty work out of view of the community. When a citizen was unarmed, they brutalized him any time, almost casually, but when he was prepared to defend himself, the police became little more than criminals, working at night.

On another occasion I stopped by the Black Panther office after paying some bills for my father. Since I was taking care of family business, I had not carried my shotgun with me — it was at home — but I did have a dagger, fully sheathed, in my belt. In the office were two comrades, Warren Tucker, a captain in the Party, and another member. As we talked, an eleven-year-old boy burst into the office and said, "The police are at my friend's house, and they're tearing up the place."

TO BE CONTINUED

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 thief, hustler, ghetto-survivor. Murder trial for the death of a policeman—a cause celebre 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

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Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

Freedom Fighters Educate Black Youth Of Zimbabwe

Z.A.N.U. Appeals For Needed Materials And Supplies

The United People's Army of Zimbabwe (ZIPA) was formed last November by freedom fighters throughout the breakaway British colony of Rhodesia in their efforts to reorganize and continue the armed struggle. This was in the aftermath of the imprisonment in Zambia of over 2,000 leaders of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) — the leading Black revolutionary party of Zimbabwe — and the defection of ZANU President Rev. Ndbanangi Sithole. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, March 6, 13 and 20, 1976.)

Below, THE BLACK PANTHER reprints a communique recently received from ZANU headquarters in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The communique explains the intensive program now being waged to educate the Black youth of Zimbabwe and urges all progressive people and organizations throughout the world to help ZIPA (the military wing of ZANU) acquire the materials and equipment needed to carry out this important task.

POLICY OF FIGHTING

In line with our policy of fighting for the total liberation of Zimbabwe on all fronts, educational, economic, administrative, cultural, as well as military, we have been struggling since the initiation of the Chimurenga (liberation war) to establish our own schools in operational and base areas within Zimbabwe. The stage in the struggle has now been reached where we can consolidate our work in the field of



Black Zimbabweans protest against racist Ian Smith regime.

education along more solid and permanent lines than had previously been possible when our army operated in contested zones and was not yet firmly established in base areas.

INFAMOUS POLICY

As you are aware, since the infamous policy of detente was initiated by Pretoria (South Africa) in October, 1974, as a means of completely destroying Chimurenga, the armed struggle for the total liberation of Zimbabwe, we have been working under extreme pressures especially as our leaders were and are still incarcerated in jails in Zambia. Yet despite the period of extreme hardship which we have undergone, our freedom fighters, operating entirely from bases within Zimbabwe, have continued to relentlessly wage armed struggle as well as struggle in the fields of agriculture, education and the economy. Our courageous freedom fighters have struggled on when hostile neighboring countries, under the influence of (South African Prime Minister) Vorster and (Rhodesian Prime Minister) Smith, had cut off all food supplies, ammunition and arms supplies and reinforcements.

Inevitably the passage of time has proved that we, the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe, had correctly analyzed and assessed the situation — that is, that it is only through Chimurenga that the total liberation of Zimbabwe will be won, and that detente was

WILL BLACK AFRICANS FIGHT FOR WHITES?

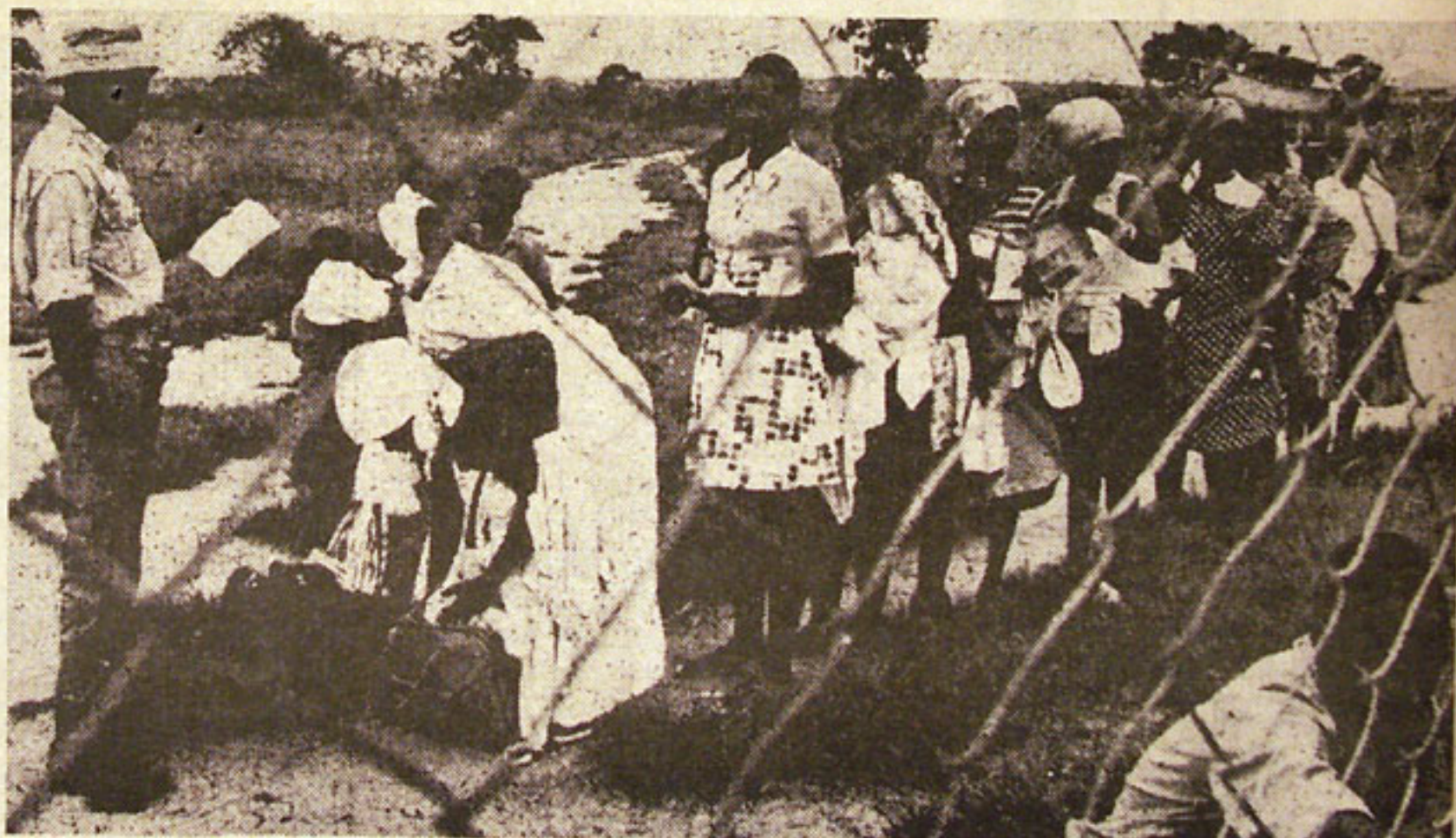
(Johannesburg, South Africa) - The dying White racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa find themselves faced with a critical dilemma whose answer may well determine their fate: Will Black Africans fight for their White oppressors?

Internews recently reported on a poll conducted by the World newspaper, the largest daily publication in South Africa aimed exclusively at Black people. World readers were asked, "Would you fight for South Africa if we are invaded from Angola?"

Eighty-three per cent of those polled said "no" and 17 per cent "yes." Of those Blacks who said they would fight for the South African government, most said they would only do it in return for full citizenship rights.

The World poll was conducted following a debate in the South African Parliament in which a leader of a small opposition party expressed his doubt that South Africa's 19 million Black people would fight to defend the White minority regime. Supporting this doubt, one Black South African wrote to a newspaper: "The Whites represent the Blacks in Parliament, so tell them to represent us in this war."

In Rhodesia, where the ratio of Blacks to Whites in the army is almost two to one and in the police, three to one, the White settler regime of Ian Smith finds itself equally disturbed about what position Blacks will take as the liberation struggle intensifies in the former British colony.



Black Rhodesian soldier searches Zimbabwean villagers in "protected village" near Mozambican border. "Protected villages" are similar to Vietnam's "strategic hamlets" where friendly villages are blocked from aiding liberation fighters.

A Black soldier in the Rhodesian Army recently told a correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor: "Of course, I am a nationalist. White rule can never last here. Power will be ours — and soon I think, from the way things are going." When asked if his support of the liberation struggle did not conflict with his job in the military, the soldier replied, "I have to make a living. It isn't easy for Blacks here, you know."

Denied widespread employment opportunities under the racist Smith government, many Black Rhodesians are forced to join the army or the police in order to survive. The majority of these are Karangas, one of the most dominant sub-tribes of the Shona people. Ironically, however, most of the country's Black freedom fighters also belong to the Shona tribe. This connection is "too close for comfort," according to one White Rhodesian.

only a dishonest and sinister trick to disarm us while openly strengthening the reactionary forces of imperialism, colonialism and settlerism in Zimbabwe. Inevitably, despite heavy losses and great suffering on our side, we have emerged stronger and more united than ever before, from a year of total isolation when we had to struggle for survival and liberation on our own.

OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE

We are relieved that at last we are to receive some recognition and outside assistance, for although we are prepared to struggle entirely on the basis of self-reliance, there is no doubt in our minds that any assistance from the progressive forces of the world will accelerate our struggle towards total liberation and will relieve the weight of some of the burdens and responsibilities we have engaged ourselves to carry on behalf of the people of Zimbabwe.

One of the most important areas in which we have been working for some time is that of education. At present we are working entirely on our own without any outside help whatsoever. Lack of materials and lack of money are a serious handicap especially as our self-help projects to raise funds for ourselves face many problems arising from the extreme material poverty among our people, a poverty created and sustained by colonialism and settlerism, and exacerbated by the harsh conditions of the war. We have therefore made a list of equipment and materials which we need for our schools, and we appeal to all progressive groups to assist us however modest this assistance may be. This assistance can be in the form of money or materials.

We have an extensive and ambitious

educational program involving, among other things:

- a) The re-training and training of teachers;
- b) Integration of academic education with agricultural and industrial education and work so that there is no dislocation between various forms of knowledge and no alienation of the educated from the masses;
- c) Literacy program and other types of training programs for adults including accountancy, administration, industrial training, etc.;
- d) The writing, cyclostyling and later printing of our own textbooks;
- e) A new integrated and comprehensive primary and secondary educational system lasting 10 years, the last two years of which include vocational training.

Our forces at present control scattered base areas containing a population of 500,000 people within Zimbabwe. The number of young people of school-going age in these base areas is about 72,000. To cater to these young people educationally, we are establishing 180 schools, containing a total of 2,400 classes. We would like to ask our progressive support groups overseas to assist us by providing materials for these schools.

Contributions may be sent to the Zimbabwe African National Union, 89-09 162nd Street, Jamaica, N.Y. 11432, phone (212) 291-8039, the Zimbabwe People's Army, P.O. Box 20462, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, or ZANU, P.O. Box CP279, Quilimani, Mozambique. □



Drawing depicting Black African revolutionaries caring for and educating their youth.

"They (Black police officers and soldiers) won't fight their own tribesmen in a full contradiction," he added.

A White army officer claimed that "Once an African joins the Rhodesian Army, he can't switch sides. The guerrillas would shoot him. He'd never be trusted."

Observers point out that the army officer may be expressing a vain hope of Rhodesia's White minority population. Since 1966, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and its recently reorganized military arm, the United People's Army of Zimbabwe (ZIPA), have successfully organized the Black population in the armed struggle against colonialism. ZANU and ZIPA can be expected to step up their organizing efforts among their brothers in the police and military since the latter are in a key position to overthrow the colonial regime.

As one Black soldier put it, "Yes, I will stay in the army. While Whites are in control, it is the best job I can get. If the guerrillas start to move in, well, I don't know. The Whites are not our friends."

FULL SCALE WAR

Fearful of the action Black Rhodesians might take against the White population in the event of full scale war, the government is currently detaining nearly 900 Blacks under the fascist Emergency Act for Law and Order Maintenance, *Internews* reports. Hundreds more are being held for questioning at any given time; often entire villages are detained.

"There are government informers everywhere," a teacher at an African school in Nyanyadzi, Rhodesia, complained in a news interview. The teacher was referring to the government's use of Black people as agent



Black Rhodesians man observation post near border of Mozambique. The Rhodesian Army is made up primarily of Black Zimbabweans, many of whom tacitly support the liberation movement in their country.

provocateurs who spy on and sabotage the liberation struggle. People suspected of being involved in nationalist movements, particularly ZANU and ZIPA, are arbitrarily arrested by the government without any stated cause.

Amnesty International, a voluntary human rights group that systematically examines political abuse throughout the world, reports that torture is routinely employed by the police and security forces to get information out of

Blacks suspected of aiding ZIPA forces. A key technique of government repression, Amnesty International found, is the "forced resettlement" of villagers behind the barbed wire of "protected" villages. It is estimated that as many as 300,000 Black Rhodesians are imprisoned in protected villages from which they can only leave to work in the fields during the day. Persons found outside at night can be shot on the spot. □

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

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

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

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

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor

people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

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

Intercommunal News

ELAINE BROWN INTERVIEWED

Palestinian Report
Charges EldridgeCleaver An F.B.I.
Agent

Following, *THE BLACK PANTHER* reprints a news release received by our office last week from Wafa, the radio voice of Palestine liberation forces, denouncing Eldridge Cleaver as an FBI agent. The release also includes a brief but timely and important interview with Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown, who points out blatant contradictions in Cleaver's new-found "anti-Arab" attitudes, commenting, "He cannot be trusted." Wafa broadcast this release throughout occupied Palestine and the Arab world in early March, 1976.

(New York, N.Y.) - A few weeks ago the American newspapers hinted at the possibility that even before the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, the FBI was trying to create a Black leader, who would be its agent. To succeed him. It seems to be now that the one they selected was Eldridge Cleaver, who once denounced Israel and Zionism and now is attacking the Arabs.

Cleaver, now in jail in California, has written an attack on the U.N. General Assembly Resolution equating Zionism with racism. The *New York Post* quotes him as saying that the Arabs are "among the most racist people on earth."

"No one knows this better than the Black Africans along the edges of the Sahara," he said.

Cleaver declared that he had the "deepest sympathy for the Palestinian people in their search for justice, but I see no net gain for freedom and human dignity in the world if power blocs, because of their ability to underwrite sagging economics for a season, are able to ram through the U.N. resolutions repugnant to human reason and historical fact."

In an exclusive telephone interview with Wafa from Black Panther headquarters in Oakland, California, Elaine Brown, chairperson of the Party, said that when Cleaver "says the Arabs have slavery, he fails to point out, for example, that when he was in Algeria, he had several servants

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

PALESTINIANS IN ISRAEL STAGE
FULL SCALE REBELLION AGAINST
ILLEGAL LAND SEIZURES

(Nazareth, Israel) - The myth of Arabs living within Israel's pre-1967 borders as passive and contented with their lot as second-class citizens died a bloody and violent death last week as an unprecedented Palestinian people's rebellion rocked the Galilee region last Tuesday, March 30.

Planned as a peaceful, general strike to protest Israeli land seizures — "The Day of the Land" — widescale rebellion instigated by Zionist military brutality marked the scene in dozens of villages and towns in the area. Six Palestinians were killed in cold blood by gunfire from Israeli security forces, scores of Arabs, young and old, were injured in the fighting and over 300 were arrested.

The scope and effectiveness of both the general strike — which succeeded despite an all out effort by authorities to discourage participation — and the rebellion have stunned observers here, including Israeli officials. "We have witnessed something none of us in Israel has experienced before," said one local minister.

Yet, despite an assessment of the rebellion by the country's leading journalist as a "considerable victory," Prime Minister Rabin, in an intensely anticommunist speech, indicated that the land seizure plan would continue.

Although the planned expro-



Israeli troops trap Palestinian demonstrators during last week's "Day of the Land" protest against Israel's seizure of Arab lands.

priation of 5,000 acres of Arab land was the specific issue which prompted the general strike, the demonstrations clearly reflected a much broader set of grievances. According to one journalist writing in *The New York Times*:

"The land issue was the catalyst that provoked the 518,000 Israeli Arabs to protest what they see as a generation of discrimination in economic, social and political fields."

Legally, the Palestinians living in Israel are full citizens, with all the civil liberties of Jewish Israelis. Yet, the reality of the situation reveals that:

•Only five Arabs have managed to win seats in the 120-

member Israeli Parliament;

•Arabs lack job opportunities;
•Arabs have a significantly lower per capita income than Jews.

Meanwhile, in the aftermath of the rebellion widespread charges have been raised concerning wanton Israeli brutality.

According to Tawfig Ziyad, 46, the newly elected communist mayor of Nazareth, "Our people behaved with cool heads in spite of the police provocations. They (the Israelis) attacked us. It was not the other way around. They seemed to be mad. They were out of control."

Ziyad's home was nearly destroyed by the crazed Israeli troops according to one telling account in the *Los Angeles Times*.

According to this on-the-scene report, a group of 25 to 30 heavily armed Israeli soldiers, claiming rocks had been thrown at them from the mayor's house, tried to storm the two-story building but were blocked by Ziyad's 29-year-old wife, Naila, who stood in the doorway with her arms outstretched and vowed, "You shall not pass."

The soldiers were enraged but momentarily confused. They used their riot batons to smash the front door and windows in the house and break potted plants on the porch.

Shattered glass was flying all around the head of Mrs. Ziyad, yet she refused to move. An Israeli soldier suddenly fired a burst from his machine gun into the air. Still, she stood her ground.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

25¢



As a bonus to readers who renew their subscription to *THE BLACK PANTHER*, for a limited time only we're offering FREE a copy of the Fall '74 issue of the *CoEVOLUTION QUARTERLY*, guest edited by the Black Panther Party.

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NAMIBIAN LIBERATION NEARS AFTER 57 YEARS OF STRUGGLE

(Windhoek, Namibia) — The South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) has indicated its willingness to take part in national elections based on a proposed constitution for Namibia (South West Africa) now being discussed in "constitutional talks" here between South Africa and over 100 delegates representing 11 ethnic groups of the country, *Internews* news agency reports.

SWAPO, the vanguard Black political organization of Namibia, has been excluded from the seven-month-old talks on the future of the country, which is illegally ruled by the White racist government of South Africa. A SWAPO official indicated, however, that his organization would win 80 per cent of the votes if it took part in a national election.

Following, *THE BLACK PANTHER* presents Part 3 of an article written by Mike Mercer of the Bay Area Unit of the Liberation Support Movement (LSM) describing the history and growth of the Namibian people's 57 years of resistance to colonial rule by South Africa. This week's excerpt continues the discussion of the "constitutional talks" begun in September, 1975, between the South African regime and reactionary Namibian tribal chiefs.

PART 3

"The so-called constitutional talks have created an atmosphere in which the overwhelming majority of the people of Namibia are looking at those who are supporting these talks as traitors."

While this move toward "independence" was designed to alleviate pressure both from within and without, it has so far fooled very few. Still, key figures have been swept up in detente's deceptive air of reform, and for SWAPO the strategy presents a marked danger. Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, who has housed SWAPO guerrillas inside his country, has picked up the drumbeat of detente, encouraging SWAPO to stop the fighting and negotiate with South Africa to elicit peaceful concession. This encouragement has turned to pressure, to the point that recently Zambia shut down a SWAPO training base in Lusaka. SWAPO has made it clear,



Namibian youth sells newspaper in which headline tells of fire bombing of a police dormitory by Black migrant workers. The Namibian freedom struggle is rapidly escalating.

however, that it will fight until Namibia is free. South Africa will never negotiate itself out of the country; it is far too valuable to let go.

From a purely economic standpoint, Namibia is extremely valuable, both to South Africa and to international imperialism. These two interests are largely intertwined, in that Namibian operations are jointly-owned, and moreover that South African corporations are children of international capital. If "foreign" investment appears limited to a handful of multinationals, South Africa's administrative expropriation of wealth is the reason why. (After 1967 South Africa no longer published separate figures for Namibia; it was considered a "fifth province.")

A QUESTION MARK

Actually, the exploitation of Namibia has not yet realized its full potential, because Namibia's future has been a question mark. Corporations have yet to make long-range commitments. Several oil companies, including Texaco and Getty, are paying thousands just to prospect, waiting for political stability before investing. AMAX was recently reported to be pulling out of Namibia, probably hoping to re-enter a neocolonized country.

On the other hand, South African plans to "develop" Namibia are going ahead full steam in an attempt to cement economic control. The Cunene

Dam scheme, upon completion in the mid-1980's, would supply the mining industry with hydroelectric power and provide irrigation for White farming. It consists of a series of dams and power stations along the Angolan Cunene River, which reaches and runs along the northern Namibia border and into the Atlantic.

When originally contracted with the Portuguese in 1966, the scheme presupposed long-range control over both Namibia and Angola. With the fall of Portuguese colonialism, however, neither South Africa nor the British, German and U.S. corporations have faltered: construction continues, and South African troops have invaded Angola to allegedly protect dam sites. Adherence to the long-range scheme for increased exploitation of Namibia seems an indication of South Africa's true intentions of the country.

More important perhaps is the strategic aspect of Namibia's value to imperialism. Lying to the north of South Africa, it serves as a buffer zone against guerrilla activity; SWAPO, conversely, represents the ruin of this *cordon sanitaire* (guarded line). A truly independent Namibia would provide South African ANC (African National Congress) guerrillas with a friendly border, thus accelerating the demise of the South African White minority regime.

TO BE CONTINUED

AFRICA IN FOCUS



Mozambique

A United Nations-appointed four-person mission was scheduled to arrive in Maputo, People's Republic of Mozambique, on April 2 to examine the country's needs for economic and technical assistance following its decision last month to break all economic and trade relations with the White racist government of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). The mission includes Assistant U.N. Secretary-General Abdulrahim Abby Farah; Sir Robert Jackson, adviser on Special Economic Operations; Adebayo Adedeji, executive secretary of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), and Kurt Jansson, resident representative of the U.N. Development Program (UNDP).

Liberia

W. Beverly Carter, the Black diplomat who successfully negotiated with Zairean revolutionaries last summer for the release of three Americans kidnapped in Tanzania, has been nominated as ambassador to Liberia, *Internews* news agency reports. Carter, 55, who was ambassador to Tanzania at the time of the kidnappings, was attacked by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger for offering to pay a ransom to the Zaireans for the release of the Americans.

Tanzania

Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere said at a recent seminar on self-reliance that agriculture must play a major role in the national development of Tanzania. The *Tanzanian Daily News*, as reported by *Hsinhua* news agency, said that President Nyerere emphasized the importance of villages as the backbone of the existence of national industries which are totally dependent on agricultural production.

United Nations

The United Nations is scheduled to hold a seminar entitled "In Support of the Struggle for Liberation of South Africa" in Havana, Cuba, next month. The seminar will be sponsored by the General Assembly's Special Committee on Apartheid, all of whose members will attend. Madame Jeanne Martin Cisse of Guinea, chairperson of the Committee, will preside at the seminar.

U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL CONDEMNS SOUTH AFRICAN "AGGRESSION" IN ANGOLA

(United Nations, N.Y.) — The United Nations Security Council passed a resolution last Wednesday condemning South Africa's "aggression" in the People's Republic of Angola and demanding that the White racist government pay "full compensation for the damage and destruction inflicted" by its invasion of Angola.

The Council passed the resolution by a vote of 9-0. The United

States, Britain, France, Italy and Japan abstained from voting and the People's Republic of China did not participate. The measure was approved by Sweden, the Soviet Union, Benin (Dahomey), Guyana, Libya, Pakistan, Panama, Rumania and Tanzania.

The debate on South African aggression in Angola had been requested by the government of Kenya at the direction of the

Organization of African Unity (OAU). The resolution:

- Condemns South Africa's "aggression" against Angola.

- Demands that South Africa "scrupulously respect" Angola's territorial integrity.

- Demands that South Africa "desist from utilizing" the territory of Namibia (South West Africa) to mount "aggressive acts" against Angola. Namibia is illegally ruled by South Africa.

- Calls on South Africa to pay "full compensation. . ." for the damage it inflicted during the invasion of Angola.

The abstaining Security Council members refused to vote out of their petty anger that the resolution had not denounced Cuban involvement in Angola. During the recent war in the West African nation, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)-led government requested the assistance of Cuba in the fight against the Western-backed Black reactionary factions of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

PEOPLE'S CHINA

People's China did not participate in the vote due to its longtime ideological struggle with the Soviet Union which also provided requested assistance to the MPLA during the war.

Addressing the Security Council during the four-day debate on Angola — which began on March 26 — Ricardo Alarcon Quesada, the chief Cuban delegate to the U.N., praised the victory by "Angolan revolutionaries," declaring that it had raised new hopes among the "millions of men and women who are oppressed in southern Africa."

Quesada, as reported by *The New York Times*, said that due to the heroism of the Angolan people and the "firm solidarity" of people throughout the world who had contributed to the triumph in Angola, "the dawn of liberty begins to shine for all those fighting against colonialism and racism."

The Security Council action came four days after the South African regime withdrew its nearly 5,000-man force from the Cunene River dam in southern Angola (see last week's issue of *THE BLACK PANTHER*), a move reluctantly made by South Africa in the vain hope that it would avoid condemnation by the U.N. □



Black living conditions in apartheid South Africa.

Black South Africans

Live In Inhumane

"Squatter" Camps

(New York, N.Y.) — Whether "endorsed out" of traditionally occupied urban areas now designated "White" by White South African planners, or "erased" from "Black spots" in predominately White rural areas, thousands of African and Colored squatters in South Africa must live on the fringes of human existence, both literally and figuratively.

Their housing consists of shacks of cardboard and tin, sacking and bits of wood. Malnutrition, violent crime, disease, constant uncertainty and insecurity are the rule in squatter camps. Toilets, water taps, schools, shops, medical care and adequate shelter are nonexistent.

In the Cape Peninsula alone, official figures put the number of squatters living at places like Vrygrond, Crossroads, Werkgenot, Michell's Plain and Lourdes Farm at 200,000. And the actual number may be twice as great, since that figure is only an estimate of Colored or "mixed race" squatters and does not include the ever-increasing African squatter population at all.

Squatting has been a forced phenomenon of African life in South Africa since the first White settlers dispossessed the Khoisan population in the 17th century. Today, squatter settlements are the miserable product of apartheid's political, economic and social requirements, at the core of which lies the maintenance of White supremacy.

Since 1959, the South African government has forcibly removed

South African troops after being captured in Angola (right) and below making a hasty retreat after their invasion of newly-founded People's Republic was repelled.



Liberation Support Movement (LSM) is offering a Spring, 1976, Tour with speakers and slide shows detailing first-hand documentation of the liberation movements in Africa.

Their main focus will be Angola, where the conflict between imperialism and progressive forces is now most intense.

The three programs being offered are: "People's Power in Angola," "Women in Guinea-Bissau" and "Revolution in Southern Africa & Guinea-Bissau."

Their tentative itinerary is, New York City: March 17-24; Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, D.C.: March 25-29; Hartford, Providence, Boston: March 30-April 7; Upstate New York: April 7-14; San Francisco Bay Area: April 16-30; Los Angeles, San Diego: May 2-6; Sacramento: May 9; Eugene, Portland: May 11-12; Seattle: May 14.

For further information contact: LSM Tour Headquarters, P.O. Box 94338, Richmond, B.C. Canada, V6Y 2A8, or call (604) 278-2992 or (604) 873-6051.

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS DECLARES:

"ARMED STRUGGLE IS THE TOP PRIORITY IN SOUTH AFRICA"

The following is the conclusion of the text of a report made by the United Nations mission of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of South Africa (Azania) to the U.N. concerning the PAC's recent Central Committee meeting in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Inspired by the people's victories in Angola and Mozambique and the approaching liberation of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South West Africa (Namibia), the PAC — the vanguard Black revolutionary party of Azania — has declared that "armed struggle is the top priority" for the millions of Black Azanians fighting for their freedom.

CONCLUSION

The other important decisions adopted by the Central Committee of the Pan Africanist Congress are:

a) The setting up of a subcommittee to organize for the stepping-up of the role of women members in all of the PAC's organs.

b) The call on all members of the PAC who are desirous of returning to the fold to carry out national work to immediately contact the party's representative offices in their area or nearest to



Scores of Black South African men and women lay dead in the aftermath of the infamous Sharpeville Massacre on March 21, 1960.

them.

c) The acceleration of the procedure for clearing members in the above category and their assignment in the Party machinery.

d) The setting up of a subcommittee to enter into preliminary united front negotiations with ANC (African National Council) of Azania as soon as the former succeeds in resolving its current internal problems and produces a unified leadership with a clear mandate. (On every occasion that the OAU has brought the two organizations together to discuss possibilities of a United Front, ANC delegation after ANC delegation has pleaded the lack of a mandate "from the leadership.")

The PAC Central Committee

decided to send a special message to the People's Republic of Angola and President Agostinho Neto congratulating them for their ascendance to full membership of the OAU. The message, which was conveyed directly to the People's Republic of Angola delegation to the 26th Ordinary Session of the OAU Foreign Ministers by the delegation of the PAC at the same meeting, singled out the people of Angola's triumph over South African apartheid aggression for special praise. PAC has also expressed sincere hopes of national reconciliation in Angola. The OAU meeting was held in Addis Ababa for one week from February 23.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

WORLD SCOPE

**Tunisia**

A Symposium on Information of Nonaligned Countries was held recently in Tunis, Tunisia, with over 50 nations participating, Hsinhua news agency reports. The Symposium was called as the result of a decision of the Foreign Ministers Conference of Nonaligned Countries held in Lima, Peru, in April, 1975. The agenda of the Symposium included discussions on the improvement of means of communications in nonaligned countries; the role of information in strengthening economic and social cooperation and in promoting cultural relations among them.

Trinidad & Tobago

The Trinidad and Tobago Parliament recently approved a new draft constitution making the country a republic within the British Commonwealth, Hsinhua news agency reports. When Trinidad and Tobago became independent of Britain in 1962, the country was given dominion status within the Commonwealth. Under the new constitution, the dominion status will be eliminated and the state will be headed by a president.

Peru

The president of the second session of the United Nations Commission of Transnational Companies held recently in Lima, Peru, denounced the transnational companies for their economic plunder of Third World countries. Eduardo Valdez, who was head of Peru's delegation to the meeting, told a press conference held at the end of the 12-day meeting that a plan had been worked out whereby in the next two years a code of conduct for transnational companies would be drafted.

North Vietnam

The North Vietnam government last week demanded that the U.S. fulfill its promise to provide North Vietnam with postwar aid in response to a request made by the U.S. embassy in Paris that relations be normalized between the two countries. By repeating what it has said many times — that the U.S. "must fulfill its obligation to healing the wounds of war and the postwar reconstruction of Vietnam" — North Vietnam indicated little interest in renewing talks with the U.S. at this time.



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KIM NASH: PROGRESSIVE SONGWRITER STRESSES THEMES OF STRUGGLE AND SACRIFICE

Songwriter Kim Nash is a founding member of the Intercommunal Survival Committee (ISC) — a progressive White organization that follows the ideology of the Black Panther Party — of St. Louis, Missouri. A member of the Chicago ISC for the past four years, Kim is coordinator of that city's ISC Welfare Defense Program.

Kim, who has been singing since the age of six, believes that the content of music can organize the community to bring about the social changes so badly needed in America. Below, THE BLACK PANTHER is pleased to present some of the original compositions of Kim Nash, songs which reflect her determination and that of all oppressed people to triumph over the powers that deny them their freedom.

NINETY-NINE SHOTS

The following song was written on December 4, 1973, for the brothers at Pontiac Correctional Institution (Pontiac, Illinois) on the fourth anniversary of the murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

We so easily recall, how we come
from our history
Then so easily forget how today
forms our destiny
By those who are afraid of the
new, who will die clinging to the
old.

And it wasn't no ninety-six
tears were shed.

No nine hundred ninety-two
arguments said.

But ninety-nine shots still ring
through my head.

I remember Mark, I remember
Fred.

As we look at the world around
us, we can always see one thing.
Some things are dying, others are
coming into being.

Sisters and brothers are dying to
see a brighter world unfold.

Sisters and Brothers are trying
not to treat each other so cold.

And it wasn't no ninety-six
tears were shed.

No nine hundred ninety-
two arguments said.

But ninety-nine shots still ring
through my head.

I remember Mark, I remember
Fred.

Hanrahan, Oh Hanrahan, you
shot our chairman dead.

You thought that you killed him,
but you killed yourself instead.
You thought you killed the
movement when their lives you
did erase.

But "Whenever one of us falls, a
thousand more will take his
place."

And it wasn't no ninety-six
tears were shed.

tears were shed.

No nine hundred ninety-two
arguments said.

But ninety-nine shots still ring
through my head.

I remember Mark, I remember
Fred.

Yes I still hear the shots, see
the blood on the bed

I remember Mark, I remember
Fred.

Two bullets came from behind
and travelled through his
head.

I remember Mark, I remember
Fred.

They shot him three times just to
make sure he was dead.

I remember Mark, I remember
Fred.

REVOLUTIONARY LOVE

(Dedicated to Sister Ericka Huggins)

To love one person, one person
only

That's immature love.

But to love the people, love all the
people

That's revolutionary love

Can you understand

That the people are more important
than a man



Progressive songwriter KIM NASH of Chicago's Intercommunal Survival Committee.

to love the people!
to love the people
Is revolutionary love.

My survival — your survival
Both of them are at stake
How can we love each other,
If we're buried in our grave
My love for you is strong but you
see

It's not as great as my desire to
be free

to love the people
to love the people
Is revolutionary love

There is oppression
In our community
Genocidal acts infested
To an enormous degree
That's why our love can't be a
selfish love
For to love the people is a whole
love

to love the people
to love the people
Is Revolutionary love

It's not an ordinary love
It's a very special love
Not an ordinary love
Is a revolutionary love.

ALL THE FALLEN COMRADES

(Dedicated to Johnny Larry Spain)

All the fallen comrades
Who've been murdered by the
fascists
We don't shed a tear
There'll be time for crying
Tears of grief, tears of laughter,
When victory is here

ALL THE FALLEN
COMRADES
WE MUST AVENGE
THEIR SLAUGHTER
THE DRAGON LIVES —
HE'S IN OUR HEARTS
WE MUST FINISH WHAT
HE STARTED

We won't be tamed by blood-
shed,
We won't be tamed by terror,
Or trampled by the fascists.
As we all become
More like the Dragon's brother,
Become — the dragon's Brother

All the Fallen Comrades
We must avenge their
slaughter
THE DRAGON LIVES — HE'S IN
OUR HEARTS
We must finish what he
started,

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COMMUNITY SCHOOL VICTIM OF HARASSMENT

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

if street space is filled.

When a few staff members noticed the "investigating" police car entering the parking lot, they went out to ask why the police had come on to the School's private property.

The situation escalated when an Officer Bricker, Badge #700, astonished the staff by calling in that he was being "verbally abused." Suddenly, as if on cue, seven loaded police cars and motorcycles zoomed into the parking lot. (Additional police dotted the street corners of the Center, on 61st and 62nd Avenues and E. 14th Street and on E. 16th and the same cross streets.)

When the staff asked if so many police were necessary to remove a "stolen car," the cops arrogantly began demanding identification from them. One cop who became particularly insulting was a "Black" named W. Brown, Badge #403, who at one point said to a woman staff member, "If you think this is harassment. . ." The unfinished threat went unanswered.

None of the 11 police would admit that they were in charge, all claiming that the officer who first spotted the "stolen car" had conveniently left the scene. This plus other features of the disgusting spectacle led many to believe that racist officials in the Oakland Police Department, vainly hoping to discredit the highly acclaimed OCS, had instigated the entire incident. Many even suspected the "stolen car" was planted by the police themselves.

As the police slowly went about moving the car, parents bringing their children to school had great difficulty in entering the back parking lot, which leads to the



BPINS photos

Black woman cop (left) who was among the crude, arrogant police officers who harassed the Oakland Community School last week. Racist cop (right) shows OCS staff member KAYE CASEY his badge.



cafeteria entrance of the Center. Access to the parking lot was limited and at times totally blocked by the police vehicles, seemingly intentionally placed to create added confusion.

Initiated in 1971 as a model in quality education for Black and poor children, the OCS has been endorsed by a wide variety of individuals and groups, including such persons as Mario Obledo, secretary of Health and Welfare for the state of California, and U.S. Congressman Ron Dellums.

Incorporating its progressive philosophy that children should learn how, not what, to think into a full curriculum — which includes Language Arts, Spanish, Mathematics, Science, Social Science, Environmental Studies, Physical Education, Music, Drama, Dance and Art — the OCS provides its 125 enrolled students with three free meals a day, new

clothes and shoes, family counseling, health screening and tutoring.

The OCS is sponsored by Educational Opportunities Corporation (EOC), a tax-exempt, nonprofit, community-based corporation. A recent benefit Radiothon, co-sponsored by EOC and KDIA Radio (1310 AM), helped raise over \$13,000 to support the OCS and its monthly budget of \$22,000. At that Radiothon, a broad cross section of state and Bay Area notables — church and civic leaders, educators, politicians and entertainers — pledged their support for the OCS, its methods and its goals.

It is this kind of support and backing for the OCS, a true community institution, for youth and learning, that the racist and backwards elements of the Oakland Police Department seeks to destroy. Their efforts are futile. □



BPINS photo

Class at Oakland Community School led by instructor VANETTA MOLSON (center, standing). Elementary level school is known for innovative and successful approach to education of Black and poor children.

L.A. Groups Fight Police

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

community meetings and rallies in their own areas to encourage people to start standing up for their rights when they are abused by police.

CAPA will serve as a support and resource body in the efforts of individuals or communities to obtain justice in cases of police brutality. It was suggested that CAPA participants attempt to make the Coalition's range as wide as possible by locating and contacting other groups concerned with police abuse.

STEERING COMMITTEE

A steering committee, composed of two people from each group represented in CAPA, met on March 30 to further plan the May 6 action and to solidify the demands raised at the March 26 general meeting. The present demands of CAPA are:

1. Suspension without pay from the force and indictment of all officers involved in cases of police abuse.

2. An investigation of the Los Angeles district attorney's office for its lack of indictments of police officers.

3. Elimination of the special tactics squads, SWAT squad, undercover agents, etc., because of their threat to the safety of the community.

4. Elimination of the Internal Affairs Division, the investigative body of the LAPD, and the establishment of an impartial community-controlled board to investigate charges of police abuse.

5. An end to the illegal involvement of police in deportation (no more deportation).

6. Establishment of a special prosecutor for all cases of police crimes, to be appointed by the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors.

Among the organizations presently in CAPA are the Scott-Smith Committee For Justice; the Barry Evans Defense Committee; Timmy Grandpre Defense Committee; De Wayne "Waheeb" Williams Defense Committee; Gary Tyler Defense Committee; Rubin Castraneda Defense Committee; Jimmy Blando Defense Committee; National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR); Los Angeles Raza Unida Party; Equal Rights Coalition; Concerned Citizens Against Police Brutality; Michael Zinzun Defense Committee; and the Philip Allen Defense Committee. □

SPORTS

MARTIAL
ARTS

Combat

The strategies of individual combat are based on physical and psychological factors common to all of us. The training of our arms, legs and eyes is an example of one such factor. More important than the physical attributes are the psychological ones. We have three basic kinds of choices for survival in a conflict situation. We may fight to defeat an aggressor/opponent, freeze into concealment and be passed by, or leave the field of the conflict.

A person may yield by total surrender, negotiated settlement (a tie or draw) or mutual withdrawal. Each of these choices is based on the fighter's decision regarding his or her chances of achieving the individual's goal. Accordingly, the ultimate goal in a fight is to create the decision by one's opponent that his chances of success are minimal and his best alternative is to surrender, or, at least, stop the attack.

The combat condition itself, the fight, is a product of the continual adaptation of each fighter to the strategy, tactics and techniques of each other. The principle of adaptation in combat is not new, but seems to be rediscovered in each generation of fighters.

The earliest reference available to most readers is in the *Art of War* by Sun-Tzu. The statement says, "Water shapes its course according to the ground over which it flows: the soldier works out his victory in relation to the foe whom he is facing. Therefore, just as water retains no constant shape, so in combat there are no constant conditions."

Strategy may be seen as the art of the practical adaptation to circumstances and resistance in selecting, distributing and applying the force necessary to achieve a given goal. The goal of strategy in combat is to achieve the maximum result with minimum effort by means which offer the greatest chance of success and the smallest loss in the event of failure.

The basic rule for achieving the goal and purposes of strategy is to bring your strength against an opponent's strength (or weaknesses). Such a plan involves using those body parts against vulnerable and easily damaged areas.

KAREEM ABDUL-JABBAR WINS PRO
BASKETBALL'S M.V.P. AWARD

(New York, N.Y.) - In a surprise move, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar of the Los Angeles Lakers was awarded the National Basketball Association's (NBA) Most Valuable Player (MVP) Award last week for the fourth time in his career.

The 7 foot, 2 inch center edged out Bob MacAdoo of the Buffalo Braves and Dave Cowens of the Boston Celtics in a competition which was dominated by centers. Jabbar led the league in minutes played, rebounding and shots blocked. In the balloting of NBA players, he received 490 votes to MacAdoo's 393 and Cowen's 378.

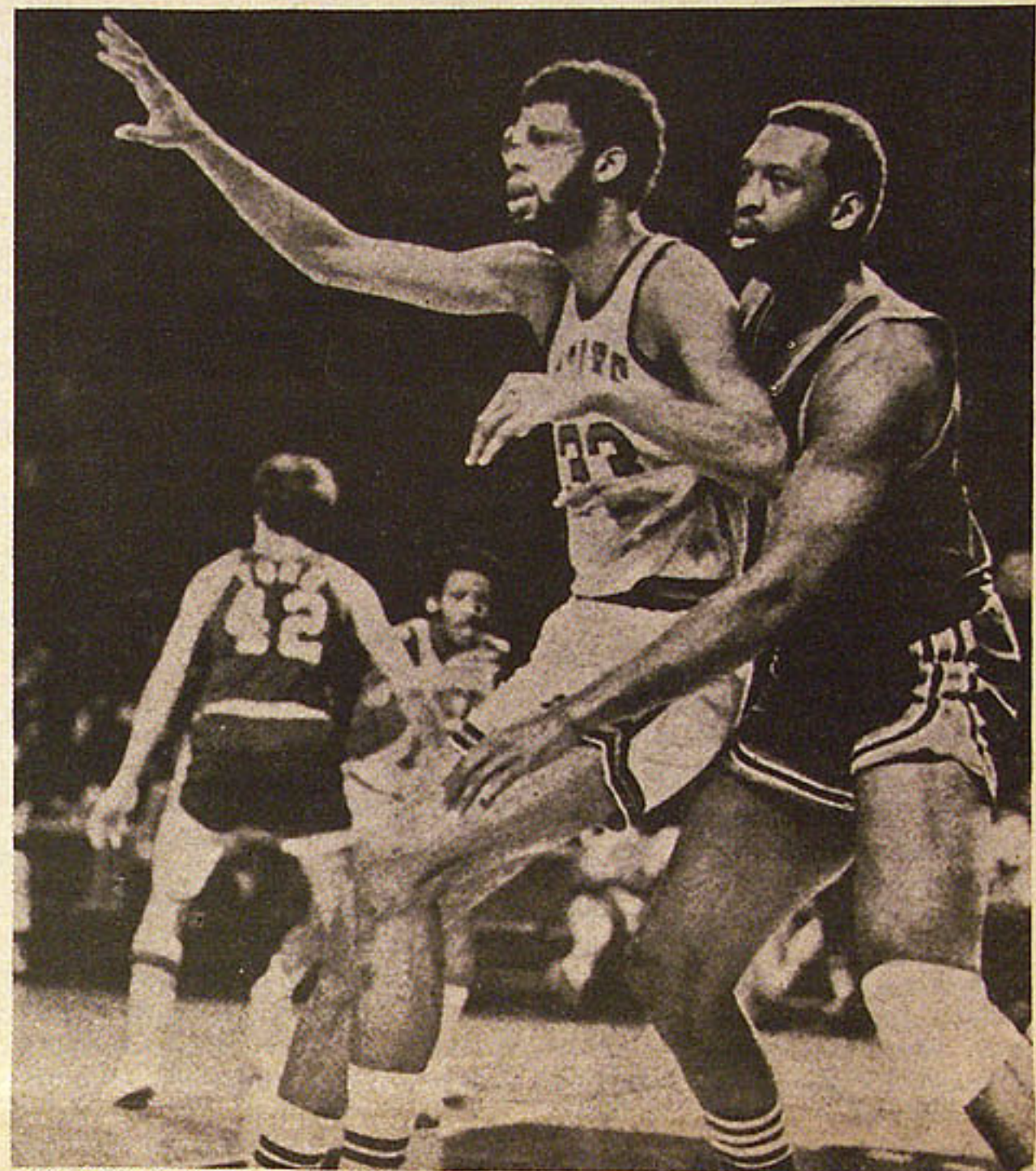
The MVP Award traditionally goes to a player on a winning or playoff team. This past season was a disaster for the Lakers as they won only 38 of the 78 games in the NBA's Pacific Division after being picked to give the defending NBA champion Golden State Warriors of Oakland, California, a run for their money.

FLATTERED

"I'm very flattered to win the award," Abdul-Jabbar said. "I didn't expect I would win because it usually goes to a player on a winning team. But I thank the guys I play against for voting for me..."

The former University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) star was traded to the Lakers from the Milwaukee Bucks last year in a surprising move after he had won the MVP Award in 1971, 1972 and 1974. MacAdoo took the honors last year while Cowens won in 1973.

After graduating from Brooklyn's Catholic Memorial High



KAREEM ABDUL-JABBAR (33, in white), the NBA's Most Valuable Player for 1975-76, battles with Detroit Piston star BOB LANIER.

School, Jabbar (then known as Lew Alcindor) was the most sought after high school basketball player in history. After selecting UCLA — whose basketball team was then coached by "wizard" John Wooden — Jabbar led the school to three consecutive National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) championships in his three var-

sity years.

Heralded as the greatest college-basketball player of all time by many sports writers, Jabbar guided UCLA to an all-time college record of 75 straight victories.

Jabbar then went on to become an instant hit with the NBA Milwaukee Bucks, leading them to the playoffs or the championship in every year he played for the team.

HIGH RANKING

Other players who ranked high in last week's MVP balloting were Rick Barry and Phil Smith of the Golden State Warriors, George McGinnis of the Philadelphia 76ers and Dave Bing of the Washington Bullets.

Earlier this year Jabbar was severely critical of NBA officials who refused to call fouls against opponents who were unnecessarily rough. Jabbar vowed not to be intimidated by officials and "to play his own game." His firm position gained him the respect of his fellow players.

THE BLACK PANTHER congratulates Kareem Abdul-Jabbar for a phenomenal season with the hope that there are many more to come. □

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BUY FROM JO-NEL'S



State troopers line up Attica inmates after famous September, 1971, rebellion. Although inmates were charged with over 1,300 crimes, guards and troopers were not indicted for sadistic brutality they unleashed on "Bloody Monday."

Attica — An American Atrocity

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

Bernard S. Meyer, the Superior Court judge who carried out a special investigation of the Attica prosecution, and former Manhattan Assistant District Attorney Alfred J. Scotti, who was appointed special Attica prosecutor after the Meyer report, have both been heavily critical of the one-sided prosecution and particularly the state police, who in the aftermath of Attica were allowed by the Rockefeller administration to investigate themselves.

Mr. Scotti made the point again in asking Justice Carman F. Ball to dismiss the grand juries. He had hoped to seek indictments of two members of the state police, one for intentional homicide and one for obstruction of justice. But, he said, "the unavailability of the evidence required for successful prosecution of these two matters may be ascribed . . . to the serious deficiencies in the state investigation. . ."

POSSIBILITY

Mr. Scotti's assistant, Irwin Rochman, raised the possibility of administrative discipline by the state against some state policemen and Attica guards who took part in the recapture of the prison, the beatings of inmates afterwards, and the later obstructions of justice during the investigation.

But if the state has evidence to warrant "discipline," it should have had evidence to warrant prosecutions; and the record so far does not justify much hope that state administrators will take strong action against the perpetrators of the numerous crimes of September 13, 1971, and the cover-up.

That record does not include failure to prosecute the inmates who took part in the revolt. One guard is known to have been killed by inmates; for that crime

one man is serving a sentence for murder, and another has been convicted of assault. Eight inmates pleaded guilty to various charges. Another remains under indictment, while a fugitive, for the killing of another inmate. All others of the 62 inmates named in 42 indictments have been acquitted, or the charges have been dropped for the lack of evidence.

So every citizen of New York should be clear as to the facts. While the inmates who revolted were prosecuted, and convicted when juries believed the evidence sufficient, the state did not even bring indictments against those who killed 39 men and wounded 81, who organized and supervised — or failed to supervise — the attack, who failed to provide sufficient medical care, who conducted or permitted illegal physical reprisals, and who obstructed justice during the later probe.

If that had happened in any other country, Americans would call it an atrocity, which is what it was — an American atrocity. The state's dismissal of the grand juries merely puts on its final seal of official indifference. □

Angry Dallas Citizens

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

an competitive pricing situation, nor to real market value, nor to any sensible reality! When utilities speak of the pressures (real or not) that inflation is placing on their ability to operate, why is it that that office and this council feel that it is better that these inflationary pressures should be transferred to the citizens who pay the bills. . . who bear the load of all the inflation?

"Why is it better that my family be deprived of the good things in life that I work so hard to give them so that the telephone company can have an oversized

Public Hearing Exposes Criminal Neglect In S.F. Jails

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

of the doctors he saw to be incompetent, stating that because of their lack of concern, prisoners would be "better off without them."

Dr. Dick Fine, co-founder of the Prisoners' Health Project along with Dr. Jerry Frank, spoke specifically on the problem of the lack of a security ward in the proposed new San Francisco General Hospital and the inadequate health conditions in the present hospital.



Dreary conditions of San Bruno County Jail hospital ward provides vivid example of the lack of concern for inmates' health.

When the testimony of all those who spoke before the panel was concluded, there were over 500 pages of testimony relating directly to the myriad health problems facing San Francisco's city jails and the lack of funds to solve them.

All of the testimony was recorded by a court stenographer and will be presented to the city's finance committee which meets April 13 and during public

budget hearings by the Board of Supervisors set for April 26. The city and county are currently reviewing next year's budget.

Since 80 per cent of the money for the current prison health program is coming from the federal government, the PHP and scores of others concerned feel that the city government must step in and fulfill its responsibility. □

Wilmington 10 Defense Protests Chavis' Transfer

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

Led by area superintendent F.K. Saunders — who threatened Chavis' life in 1972 — prison officials began an intense campaign of intimidation and harassment against Chavis and Wilmington 10 co-defendant Marvin Patrick.

Eventually, Rev. Chavis was placed in 24-hour lockup at Caledonia before he was transferred in leg irons and chains to another 24-hour lockup at Central Prison in Raleigh, North Carolina. From there he was moved to his current location at McCain.

The National Wilmington 10 Defense Committee is appealing to all concerned citizens to show their support for Rev. Ben Chavis and all the Wilmington 10 in their struggle against continued harassment and for immediate release from the combined 282 years of sentences they are now serving. □



Rev. BEN CHAVIS, Wilmington 10 activist.

Protest Hikes

public relations office explaining to you why we should pay more for telephone service?

"Who speaks for me when the utility spends extravagant sums sponsoring programs on TV, radio, and county fairs to solicit business for a company without competition?" Putter asked.

And, as Fred Bell pointed out, "Even if the Council votes in favor of Bell Telephone, we do have an alternative. . . there is hope. But this hope rests with the collective decision of the people as the collective willingness to make and enforce just demands." □

Palestinian Report On Eldridge Cleaver

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

working in his house that were underpaid. He had one woman and an older lady who did very heavy work. But he didn't seem to mind any of this, while on the other hand, he chooses to now point out what he considers to be problems in the Arab world. He fails to point out the fact that, for example, the Palestinian people have no homeland at this time."

His statements are also opportunistic, Ms. Brown said. "Because while he was in the Arab world, he supported the Arabs, and when he got to where he needed Jewish money, he then supports the Jews. So beyond everything else, he cannot be trusted."

When asked if it is possible that Cleaver might have been the man intended by the FBI as a successor to Martin Luther King, Ms. Brown replied that it was "very possible," but she had someone else in mind as a possibility.

In answer to WAPA's question as to whether the Black Panther Party would be ready to call for a Palestinian democratic state in Palestine, Ms. Brown replied, "Yes, this is the position of the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) and this is the position we support." □

Palestinian Rebellion

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

When it was over — a police captain, directing the operation from about 40 yards away, had yelled a command to withdraw — Naila Ziyad surveyed the wreckage of her porch and said — in perfect Hebrew, making it more ironic — "This is the face of Israeli democracy."

A second incident, this one between Palestinians, further demonstrates the motivation and determination of the rebellion.

This incident occurred in Kafar Canna, a small village east of Nazareth. Youthful Palestinian demonstrators had dragged rocks and boulders out of the roadway to form a barricade.

Yet, despite the popular enthusiasm, an elder in the town's ruling clan bitterly opposed the protest. At one point, when a group of women and girls marched down to the roadway chanting slogans, the old man smashed the first young woman in the face.

The woman crumpled to the ground weeping. But she kept chanting, "We will defend the Galilee with our blood." □

Letters to the Editor

"SYSTEM DRINKING YOUR BLOOD"

To The People,

The time will come when you, the people of this country, will realize that you are prisoners within a system that is slowly drinking your blood.

The time will come when you will realize that there are thousands of degradations being committed against humanity everyday... with you as the co-sinner — not only around the world but at your own front door.

As I sit here in my 6' by 8' cell on death row, my body is restricted but my mind is free, therefore my thoughts are on you... because even though you may not realize it, I know that I could wake up some morning and find you as my next door neighbor.

The time will come when you will realize that you are a co-conspirator in a plot to commit first degree murder. But don't just take my word for it. Look around you. That young man or young woman that you used to see or know — maybe you just read about 'em in the newspaper — well you are about to be a party to their murder with your silence and your "not none of my business" policy.

But the time will come when you'll wake up and realize that everything that happens in this country is your business, and that you can do something.

Don't let the government of this country make you a party to first degree murder because the time will come when you'll realize that that's what's happening.

I only hope that this government is not about to murder your mother, father, sister, or brother before you wake up and realize that you may be next.

Power to the People!

Ben W. Jones

McAlester, Okla.

DEATH ROW UNITY

People,

We that are on the death rows in this stupid country need to unite! The 411 already facing death need to fight together against our executioners. If you're on death row or if you're just against kapital murder, write me and SOON! I've got some ideas that may help us all if we fight for each other!

Write, I'll answer.

Bobby Joe Williams

O.S.P. No. 87945-DR

P.O. Box 97

McAlester, Oklahoma 74501

INNOCENT BLACK MAN SEEKS SUPPORT

Dear Sir:

The enclosed letter explains who I am and what I am trying to accomplish. I am sending it to you with the sincere hope that you will print it in the next issue of your newspaper.

I am hard pressed for financial aid. Other than depending upon the generous contributions of concerned human beings, I have no way to secure money.

Please understand. Please support me. This is not a hoax. Please print the enclosed letter.

Thanking you for your cooperation, I am...

Unpretentiously yours,

Robert L. Lynn 57320

Drawer N

Trenton, New Jersey 08625

Dear Friend,

My name is Robert L. Lynn. I am also known as Jake Johnson, D.Y., and Din Yero. I am serving a 53 to 60-year sentence in the New Jersey Trenton State Prison.

On October 17, 1975, I was found guilty of committing several crimes: bank robbery, possession of a dangerous weapon, assault with intent to kill a police officer, etc.

I am not guilty!!! I DID NOT COMMIT THOSE CRIMES!! This I have maintained since the very first day I was "picked up." I AM NOT GUILTY!!!! but I cannot "prove" my innocence unless I can get back into court.

Therefore I am currently trying to raise enough money to hire a competent, sincere lawyer to represent me. I am in desperate NEED OF FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS from CONCERNED HUMAN BEINGS to win my release from prison. YOU CAN HELP... Please send a \$1.00 (or more) "money order" to: Robert L. Lynn 57320, Drawer N, Trenton, New Jersey 08625. Then make five (5) EXACT copies of this letter and mail them to five (5) of your friends. If you wish, you can also include a letter of your own.

In closing, I leave you with my sincere thanks and URGE you to REMEMBER THAT WHAT IS HAPPENING TO ME TODAY COULD BE HAPPENING TO YOU TOMORROW...

Yours in Humanhood,

Robert L. Lynn 57320

Drawer N

Trenton, New Jersey 08625

South African "Squatter" Camps

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

over two million Africans from their homes in order to implement its apartheid policies. Most of these people have been thrown into "resettlement camps" in the desperately overcrowded Bantustans or "homelands," where Africans are theoretically supposed to be at "home" and govern themselves.

But there is no work in the Bantustans and not enough land to grow food for survival. So people must escape to survive. Seeking work, they go to the towns, but there they are "illegal" immigrants and there is no legal place to live — hence they become squatters.

Bantustan residents and squatters are a crucial part of White South Africa's strategy for migrant labor manipulation and racial separation.

"We have labor peace and stability among the Bantu who are performing essential work in our White areas," explained the deputy minister of Bantu Administration and Education in 1969.

HARASSMENT

Harassment of the squatters is constant. In Vrygrond near Cape Town, for instance, an estimated 500 families are consistently threatened that if they do not break down their shanties and move further into the bush, bulldozers will be sent to do the job for them.

Reports of resistance are hard to come by as it is not the sort of news the South African government wants to make public, but Vrygrond residents, many of whom have been forced to move as much as three or four times in one year, banded together into a "We Will Not Move Again" campaign in the summer of 1975.

At Lourdes Farm, a squatter who had moved there was told to remove his shack after one week to another part of the farm. "We're not going to move," he said angrily. "We'll fight the inspectors if they come to pull down my house."

But it is difficult to organize resistance. Explained Pang, who has lived at Lotus farm for four years:

"You can't go to the council (the puppet government set up by White South Africans to control the camps) and say you come from Lotus Farm and the people there want this or that. The council knows what the people want. If you go there they'll say you're a rebel and you cause trouble — then you'll never get a council house." □

Study Proves Calif. Prisons Unsafe — For Guards And Inmates

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

"Worse than losing your liberty of the freedom of movement, the design of the adjustment center and all such constituted physical environments of incarceration break down human interaction between people, the need that people have to feel a sense of community and feel responsible to other people.

"The consequence of that is that inmates, in general, and I think even these six inmates that I've spoken to, have now developed a basic mistrust of other people, not only the guards, but other inmates. As an instance of that, when as their expert in the Zirpoli trial, I went to interview them, many of them refused to even come up to the bars so we could talk to them. Many of them reported feeling the need for the bars to separate them from any stranger, as they came to rely on the external restraints, shackles and bars to control their behavior.

FREE HUMAN BEING

"In order to be a responsible, free human being, you have to have internal control of your behavior; you can't depend on the environment.

"The consequence of those conditions, then, is to produce a sense of dependence, of passivity. A general state in which paranoia begins to flourish, little things become extremely significant, like whether or not you get a letter, whether or not a visitor comes on time, or especially meals.

"There's a great deal of — you could call it, free flowing paranoia, about meals, whether or not the meals have been adulterated. Some inmates report finding substances in their meals; some inmates refuse to eat because they think they are being poisoned or given food which is unpleasant. That may or may not be true. It's really irrelevant.

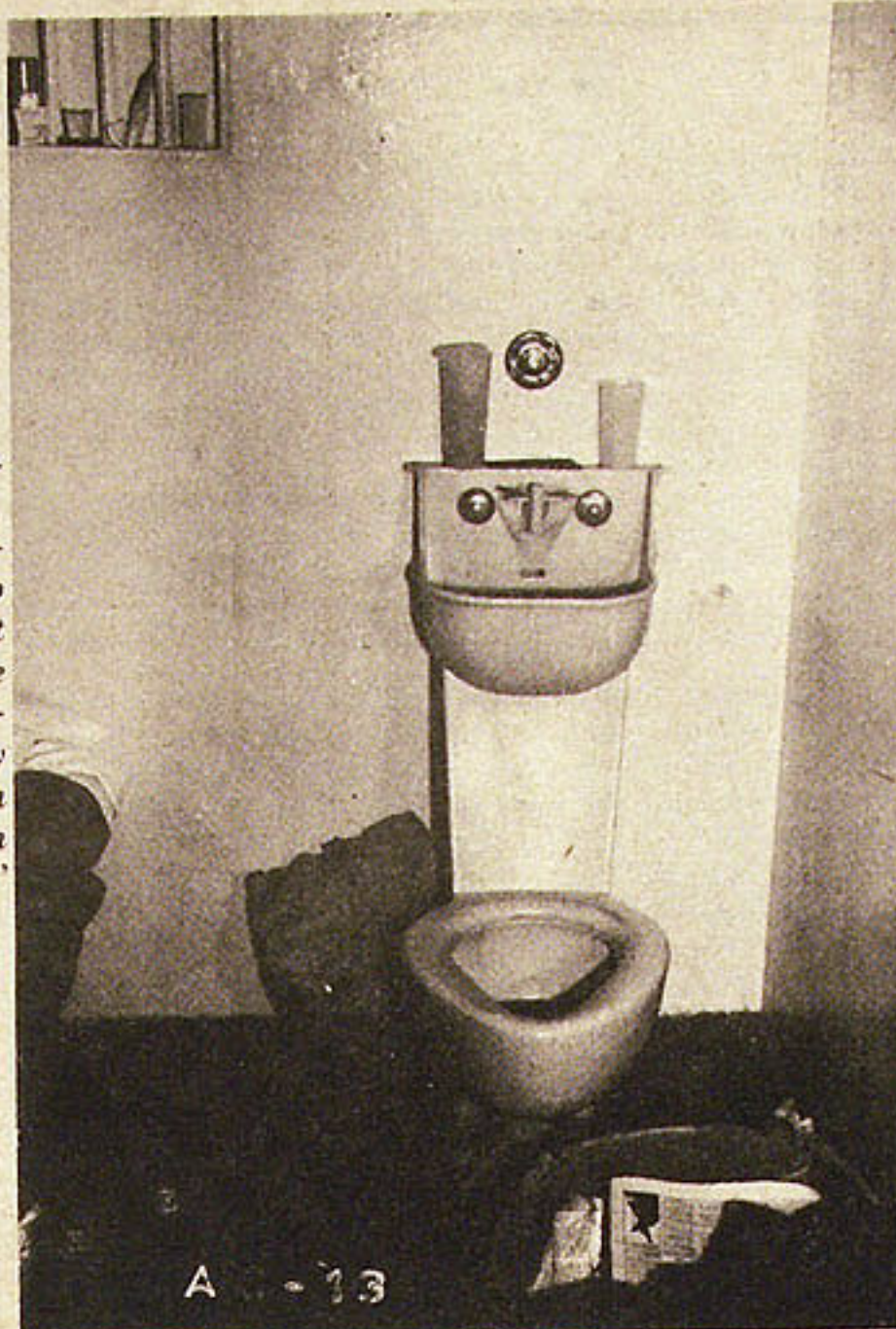
"The important thing is, it is, psychologically. In a situation where you have no control over the informational input and the situation is threatening, or dangerous, then you begin to think only the worst."

GARRY: "What do you mean by that?"

ZIMBARDO: "That there is no way to know whether or not food has been adulterated except to eat it and get sick.

"You don't have access, you

First floor Adjustment Center cell. Psychologist Philip Zimbardo pointed out that the design of the Adjustment Center severely "breaks down human interaction between people."



can't go back to the kitchen and talk to the chef about it, you know, complain about the meal. You complain to the guard and he can just take the food away, and if you don't eat, you have to wait until the next time.

"When you are free, you have access to ways of checking on whether food, for example, has been adulterated or mistreated in some way. When you are in prison, you are dependent or mistreated in some way. When you are in prison, you are dependent on what is brought to you.

"I should say, another aspect of the dehumanization is the way in which prisoners are fed and watered. There is a little slot in the door in which food and water is passed in, in much the same way as meals are fed in San Francisco zoo.

CELLS

"The cells are arms' length this way (indicating). There is no more than three feet of walk space, and they are smaller than my toilet, or than the average toilet; and some men live in those for four or five years at a time.

"So that total set of conditions creates, as far as I can see, virtually unbearable psychological and physical stress that men have to cope with in various ways in order to survive."

GARRY: "Is there an element of fear involved in any of this?"

ZIMBARDO: "Yes, there are only two kinds of fear that prisoners have, that I have

spoken to, is that they fear guards and they fear other inmates."

GARRY: "Why is that?"

ZIMBARDO: "Well, the fear of other inmates is justified by the extremely high level of violence at San Quentin.

"I don't remember what the number of homicide and attacks were last year, but at least 20 or more inmates were killed by other inmates, and at least 30 were stabbed or whatever. So there is a realistic fear of other inmates as a consequence of a variety of conditions, failure to pay off a loan or a gambling debt, a racial confrontation of some kind, a homosexual assault of some kind.

"There are a variety of reasons why inmates can — or the possibility that an inmate might be an informer. That would be a reason, whether you are or not; the important thing is someone thinks you are. And under those circumstances, then your life is in jeopardy.

"Inmates also fear the guards, fear that guards — some guards — do not like them, despise them for their political views, for their racial views, because they come from different socio-economic backgrounds or because they pose a physical threat in the mind of the guard. So that those two kinds of fears mean an environment — or there are prisoners and guards that literally feel everybody is your enemy until proven otherwise."

TO BE CONTINUED

"Armed Struggle"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 20

Other declarations of solidarity were sent concerning the heroic struggles of the fraternal and brotherly peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe, Somali (Djibouti) and Palestine. The Pan Africanist Congress Central Committee reaffirmed revolutionary solidarity with all the liberation movements struggling to rid Africa of the last vestiges of foreign and White settler domination, Zionist occupation in Palestine and the Middle East and superpower hegemony in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Through the Central Committee, the PAC has called on all justice-minded nations to take full cognizance of the prevailing situation in southern Africa and rally to the side of the champions of freedom and justice — the oppressed masses and their liberation movements. PAC also appeals for increased material assistance so that its forces, who largely practice self-reliance, can be even more effective against the western imperialist backed apartheid regime in South Africa.

MEANINGFUL ASSISTANCE

Simultaneously, meaningful assistance should be granted to the countries surrounding Azania or directly concerned in the struggle against White minority regime by the international community. These countries include Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Angola, Zambia and Tanzania.

The meeting was concluded on a high revolutionary note with all comrades in the Central Committee pledging to work relentlessly and fearlessly for the overthrow of apartheid fascism and the creation of a democratic and socialist Azania.

In the name of the Central Committee, Comrade Potlako K. Leballo, the acting president of the PAC who is also chairman of the Central Committee, solemnly called on all members of the Party to close ranks, at home and abroad, and concentrate their full efforts in the struggle to win liberation from apartheid fascism and imperialism and defend the Azanian revolution from superpower hegemony.

In a clear sounding voice Comrade Leballo called out:

"IZWE LETHU" (The Land is Ours).

Back came a full throated reply:


"I AFRIKA" from the rest of the Central Committee. (IZWE LETHU! I AFRIKA! is the main slogan of the PAC). □

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