

# THE BLACK PANTHER

## INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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VOL. XV NO. 3

SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1976

25¢



9th Anniversary Issue

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# F.B.I. TAKES “CREDIT” FOR FRED HAMPTON MURDER RAID

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MAY 5 1976

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



Smiling Chicago police carry out the body of slain Black Panther Party leader FRED HAMPTON (inset) after they murdered him in his sleep in a December 4, 1969, predawn raid. A COINTELPRO document recently released in Chicago reveals that the FBI proudly took "credit" for this murder.

(Chicago, Ill.) - The Chicago office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) claimed "credit" for the murders of Illinois State Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark a few days after the December 4, 1969, predawn raid in which the pair were killed by police gunfire.

Proof of FBI responsibility for the raid, contained in a self-glorifying letter to late FBI czar J. Edgar Hoover, is just one of several shocking disclosures revealed in FBI COINTELPRO documents recently released to the plaintiffs in the \$47.7 million Fred Hampton murder case. These COINTELPRO documents, the subject of ongoing stormy debate during the course of the trial, were withheld for months by the FBI and their U.S. Justice Department attorneys despite repeated court orders.

Among the other revelations contained in the documents are: that, in 1969, when he was a state official, present Cook County State's Attorney Bernard Carey intercepted 21 private letters mailed to Fred Hampton while he was a prisoner at Menard State Prison and provided copies of this mail to the FBI; that the FBI began an undercover surveillance campaign against Hampton in 1967 when he was a 19-year-old NAACP youth leader in suburban Maywood, Illinois; that even more COINTELPRO documents are being withheld by the 28 law enforcement defendants in the case.

The existence of the continuing cover-up was revealed in an additional statement "concerning concealment of evidence by the

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## Editorial

# STOP S.B. #1

"Since Black Americans as a group constitute the most disadvantaged and denied, and thus that segment of the population most in need of the Constitutional rights to assemble, to speak freely, to petition and to agitate for massive change in our condition, we consider Senate Bill No. 1 a special danger to Black Americans."

The above statement, contained in a letter to Black U.S. Senator Edward Brooke and the subject of a vanguard front page feature story in the March 1, 1975, issue of THE BLACK PANTHER, remains today the firm position of the Black Panther Party on S.B. #1. The appearance of Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown at the May 1 March and Rally in Sacramento to "Stop S.B. #1" highlights year-long organizing efforts by the Party to combat this legislation.

And don't be fooled by the "amendments" proposed to clean up S.B. #1; they're only the same side-stepping maneuver toward "reform" that George Jackson always warned against. At its heart, in its essence, S.B. #1 is FASCIST.

Under S.B. #1, "Demonstrating to Influence a Judicial Proceeding," such as publicly protesting the continued shackling and chaining of the San Quentin 6, would become a federal crime. Gatherings of 10 or more that someone arbitrarily decides "Threatens Damage to Property" will be labeled as riot. Strikes that damage the bosses' "Business Reputation" falls under the "blackmail" provisions of S.B. #1. Jury trials are suspended, and jail terms indefinite to those the government has "reasonable cause" to believe are suffering from a mental disease.

The Black Panther Party is no stranger in regard to Sacramento demonstrations. It was on May 2, 1967, that between 25 to 30 armed members of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense went to Sacramento to deliver to the Party's Executive Mandate #1, a statement written by Huey P. Newton protesting the proposed Mumford Act and asserting Black people's right "to arm themselves against this terror before it is too late." Nine years later, a broad cross-section of groups, minus the guns of course, will venture to Sacramento to warn the country of the dangers of S.B. #1, to rally against the creation of a police state "before it is too late." □



'Aw, shucks! When I said ethnic purity, I didn't really mean it!'

## 9th ANNIVERSARY OF THE BLACK PANTHER

**THE BLACK PANTHER**

VOLUME 1 APRIL 25, 1967

P.O. BOX 8641 OAK CALIF. EMERYVILLE BRANCH

**WHY WAS DENZIL DOWELL KILLED**

"I BELIEVE THE POLICE MURDERED MY SON" SAYS THE MOTHER OF DENZIL DOWELL.

Brothers and Sisters of the Richmond community, here is the view of the family's side of the death of Denzil Dowell as compiled by the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, Oakland, California, and the Dowell family. As you know, April 1st, 1967, Denzil Dowell (age 22), was shot and killed by an "officer of the Martinez Sheriff's Department," so read the newspaper.

But there are too many unanswered questions that have been raised by the Dowell family and other neighbors in the North Richmond community. Questions that don't meet the satisfaction of the killing of Denzil. The Richmond Police, the Martinez Sheriff's Department, and the Richmond Independent would have us think contrary to Mrs. Dowell's accusation. That is, her son was "unjustifiably" murdered by a "Nazi" cop.

There are too many questionable facts supporting the Dowell family's point of view. These questionable facts are as follows:

1. Denzil Dowell was unarmed so how can six bullet holes and shot gun blasts be considered "justifiable homicide"? (Cont's Page 2)

**BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE**

NUMBER 1

PUBLISHED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE

APRIL FIRST 3:50 a.m.

**WE BLACK PEOPLE ARE MEETING SATURDAY 4:30 AT 1717 SECOND STREET LET US SUPPORT THE DOWELL FAMILY EVERY BLACK BROTHER AND SISTER MUST UNITE FOR REAL POLITICAL ACTION**

The tragic police murder of 22-year-old Denzil Dowell in Richmond, California, on April 1, 1967, led to the first publication of THE BLACK PANTHER Intercommunal News Service on April 25, 1967. (See page 13.) Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton explained, "Lacking access to radio, television, or any of the other mass media, we needed an alternative means of communication . . . a way of interpreting events to the community from a Black perspective."

Throughout its nine years of continuous publication, THE BLACK PANTHER has grown from that four-page mimeographed leaflet to 28 pages of news that reports and interprets worldwide events as they affect the lives of Black, poor and oppressed people everywhere. Indeed, until humankind is free, "The voice of the PANTHER must be heard across the land."

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

## COMMENT

### Historic Intercommunal Talks Pledge Support For People's Angola

Presidents Sekou Toure of the Republic of Guinea, Luis Cabral of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Agostinho Neto of the People's Republic of Angola and Prime Minister Fidel Castro of Cuba held historic summit talks on March 15 in Conakry, Guinea, at which the governments of Guinea, Guinea-Bissau and Cuba pledged to provide all necessary aid in order to consolidate the Angolan revolution.

The four revolutionary leaders addressed a mass rally at the 26th of September speech of solidarity expressing the Cuban people's firm support of the liberation struggles of southern Africa. The speech is reprinted from the Cuban daily Granma.

#### PART 2

Dear Comrade Ahmed Sekou Toure;

Dear Comrades Agostinho Neto and Luis Cabral:

We must be brief, because, as you can see, I speak no French and need an interpreter.

Times have changed. Only a few years ago, the Republic of Guinea, the revolutionary people and the brilliant leader of Guinea were completely isolated. The imperialists and the neocolonialists had succeeded in liquidating practically every progressive country in Africa, but they couldn't liquidate the Revolution of Guinea, nor could they liquidate President Sekou Toure or the Republic of Guinea.

Only a few years ago, Portuguese mercenaries invaded Conakry and tried to assassinate President Sekou Toure. Some time later mercenaries at the service of Portugal assassinated our unforgettable comrade Amilcar Cabral. Imperialism was on the offensive and the peoples of Portuguese colonies were fighting heroically for their independence.

Today, things are different. Here with us is President Sekou Toure and the Guinean revolution is now on firmer foundations than ever before. Here is President Neto, representing the victorious

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**THE BLACK PANTHER**

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TESTIMONY FROM ELAINE BROWN, ERICKA HUGGINS, BLOCKED AT S.Q.6 TRIAL

# GUARD BACKS TACKWOOD'S STORY OF SMUGGLED IN .38 REVOLVER

(San Rafael, Calif.) - Testimony substantiating the case-shattering presentation of Black former agent provocateur Louis Tackwood, and the arbitrary denial by trial judge Henry Broderick to allow testimony by Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown and Oakland Community School Director Ericka Huggins highlighted the San Quentin 6 trial last week.

Undoubtedly the most crucial testimony last week was provided by Department of Corrections officer Bill Hampton, a former San Quentin Adjustment Center guard who now works at Chino.

Called to the stand by Black Panther Party chief counsel Charles R. Garry in defense of Party member Johnny Larry Spain, Hampton testified that on August 21, 1971, he was working on the AC's second tier when he suddenly heard a gunshot emanating from the first tier.



Adjustment Center, corridor on August 21, 1971, after the murder of Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson.

Hampton said that he rushed down to the first tier, unlocked the door, took a few steps inside

and was immediately confronted by Johnny Spain. In Spain's hand, Hampton said, was a .38 revolver.

"Hold it right there," Spain said, according to Hampton. He said he also heard Willie Tate yell to him, "Get the hell out of here," at which point he beat a hasty retreat.

Hampton's testimony is particularly significant in so far as it lends credence to Tackwood's assertion that on August 1, 1971, he accompanied CCS (Criminal Conspiracy Section of the Los Angeles Police Department) agents Sharrett and Mahoney in smuggling an inoperative .38 revolver into San Quentin. The gun, concealed in a brown paper bag along with some shells, was secretly passed to a guard, Tackwood testified.

## MEETING

Tackwood said that at a meeting at CCS headquarters in Los Angeles on August 22, the day after George Jackson's assassination, a Lt. Keel told the assembled police conspirators that "CII (the Criminal Identification and Investigation section of the state attorney general's office) fucked up. The dumb shits brought in a .9mm and we had a .38. We're going to go and get the .38 and our man out."

The next week, around August 29, Tackwood testified that when he went back to CCS the .38 revolver had been retrieved, and was presented to him as a "surprise."

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ELAINE BROWN

SACRAMENTO, MAY 1

## Elaine Brown To Address

## "Stop S.B.#1" Rally

(Sacramento, Calif.) - Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown will be among the featured speakers at a rally to "Stop Senate Bill No. 1" to be held here on Saturday, May 1, on the grounds of the state capitol building.

Sponsored by a number of progressive, community-based organizations throughout the state of California, the purpose of the rally is to educate the public about the serious threat Senate Bill No. 1 (S.1) poses to the basic Constitutional rights of the American people.

S. 1, currently being debated by the Senate Judiciary Committee, is a 799-page reform of the U.S. Criminal Code that was drafted by the Nixon administration and introduced in the Senate on January 15, 1975. It has been described as "the most dangerous, anti-democratic, repressive piece of 'law and order' and press censorship legislation since the days of the 'Alien and Sedition' laws."

Because of the growing opposition to the bill, a new strategy has been developed by its supporters to water down the more objectionable portions of S.1 in order to secure its passage. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.)

The May 1 rally will begin with an 11:00 a.m. parade and march that will proceed from 5th and U Streets in Sacramento to the capital grounds. There, the afternoon's program will begin at 1:00 p.m. with entertainment from several groups, including Badma, a women musicians' group.

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## Elaine Brown Exposes Cleaver Treachery

(Oakland, Calif.) - At a major press conference held here at the Black Panther Party headquarters in East Oakland, last Wednesday morning, Party chairperson and leading member ELAINE BROWN read a statement exposing the treachery of Eldridge Cleaver.

The three-point statement, presented "as our obligation and duty since Cleaver was once a member of our Party," asserted:

(1) That the BPP has a witness who heard Cleaver say that Party member Sam Napier was murdered in 1971 in New York City in an attempt to crush THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper; (2) that Cleaver secretly provided some testimony to an executive session of Eastland's Senate Internal Security subcommittee; (3) that Arthur Jefferson, a chief counsel for the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, has admitted his group flew Cleaver's wife to Washington, D.C., and allowed her access to unpublished FBI COINTELPRO documents, while flatly denying similar access to representatives of the Black Panther Party.

"As the evidence accumulates, it is apparent to the BPP that Eldridge Cleaver is the Black community's Patty Hearst," Elaine remarked.

BPINS photo



B.P.P. CHAIRPERSON SPEAKS OUT ON 'THE POLITICS OF OAKLAND'S FISCAL CRISIS'

# ELAINE BROWN: "TOWARD MAJORITY CONTROL IN OAKLAND"

Recently, at a forum sponsored by the Oakland Study Group and held at Laney College, Ms. Elaine Brown, chairperson and leading member of the Black Panther Party, was invited to participate in a panel discussion on "The Politics of Oakland's Fiscal Crisis." Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents Part 2 of Elaine's timely and insightful analysis.

## PART 2

"The main thing I want to talk about is the real question of control of the city's economy, and how do we see to it that there is no such thing as a 'fiscal crisis.' It's my contention that Oakland never really has to have a fiscal crisis, simply for one basic and obvious reason: the Port of Oakland.

"The Port of Oakland delivers a large amount of money into this city, or at least into the Port, while more and more the San Francisco Port is falling apart. I'm certain that the Port of Oakland, at this point in history and for the next several years, is not going to collapse but, in fact, will build itself up. That means there is a possibility for us to live in this city — not even talking about federal support or state support. I'm just talking about what we can do in this city with the Port of Oakland, that the Port can be a way to resolve whatever financial or fiscal crises that exist in this city.

### QUESTION OF CONTROL

"The question of control, then, becomes how to control the Port. That's the only question I'm always talking about — the question of control. It's not a question of whether this is right or wrong. For example, people will argue that technology is bad but I argue that it's only bad because it is in bad hands. There are good, positive things that can be done with everything if they are in the hands of the majority of us because I really don't think that we will move toward our disinterest if we understand where our true interest lies.

"The question of control then becomes how do we accomplish this. I obviously don't have an answer or any answers because if I did we would be in control today. If I had figured that out, then we would all be happy. So obviously I don't have any answer but I do not think that the answer lies simply in the question of

Black Panther Party chairperson ELAINE BROWN addressing recent Oakland Study Group conference on this city's so-called "fiscal crisis."



BPINS photo

running for elected offices although I think that is a way of organizing people. I don't think it can reach much beyond that point. That is one reason why we did run for office.

"I think that one of the things we have to consider is the question of who controls the economy in this city. Until we understand that or realize our relationship to it, then we'll always be sitting around knifpick-ing at the fact that they are doing this or they are putting money here and there. Unless we are in control, they will continue to do all those little things that irritate us so much and cause our lives to be so unhappy and oppressive.

"I think that one of the things we have to consider is the strategy for serious control and to identify where control lies. Does it lie in the hands of those people who are in control of the Port of Oakland, or is it in the politics of the city?

"I think it lies in both of those arenas and we will have to start moving if we want to see to it that there is no fiscal crisis in this city. But even more important than that, we are going to have to start moving to see to it that the economy of this city is in the hands of those people, all of us, who really deserve that control. It is our tax money, it is our labor, it

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## O.C.L.C. Petitions For Teen Funds



(Oakland, Calif.) - A community-wide petition drive is underway here in support of a proposal by the Oakland Community Learning Center which has applied for funding for a juvenile delinquency prevention program to be funded by the Alameda County Regional Criminal Justice Planning Board. Since 1973, the Learning Center has provided a number of quality, teen-initiated programs for East Oakland youth and seeks to expand this effort through the delinquency prevention program.

Above, MARVIN FLOYD (left), an active participant in the Learning Center's teen programs, secures a signature on one of the many petitions being circulated throughout East Oakland.

BPINS photo

## THIS WEEK IN



## BLACK HISTORY

### April 28, 1855

The present upheavals in Boston over the desegregation of schools have a long historical precedent. In 1849 Benjamin Roberts filed the first school integration suit on behalf of his Black daughter Sarah, who had been denied admission to "White" schools in Boston Mass. The Massachusetts Supreme Court initially rejected the suit and established the controversial "separate but equal" precedent. Finally, on April 28, 1855, the Massachusetts legislature, at least on paper, abolished separate schools.

### April 27, 1874

When Federal troops were withdrawn from the South, after Reconstruction, white racist organizations cropped up all over the South to terrorize Black people and take away the political and economic rights gained during Reconstruction. The Ku Klux Klan, founded in April, 1874, was followed closely by the founding of the White League at Opelousas, Louisiana, on April 27, 1874.

### April 27, 1903

On April 27, 1903 "The Souls of Black Folk" was published by W.E.B. Du Bois. The book crystallized opposition to Booker T. Washington's program of social and political subordination.

### April 25, 1959

On April 25, 1959, Mark Parker was lynched in Poplarville, Miss. He was only one of scores of unnamed Black people who were victims of White racist terror.

### April 28, 1967

The racist World Boxing Association and the New York State Athletic Commission withdrew its recognition of Muhammad Ali as the world heavyweight boxing champion on April 28, 1967, because of Ali's refusal to serve in the U.S. armed forces. The Black Muslim boxer insisted he was a conscientious objector to the U.S. war of aggression against South Vietnam, a stand for which he received widespread support from Black and progressive people. Other state boxing commissions were to follow suit and Ali, in his prime years as a fighter, was forced to withdraw from professional boxing for over three years.



## S.F. Hearings Detail Widespread I.R.S. Abuse

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Testimony before a Senate panel at the Federal Building here last week revealed case after case of harassment and intimidation by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) and its agents.

The Senate Subcommittee on Appropriations, headed by Senator Joseph Montoya, held its hearings last Thursday on IRS procedures and practices, and heard the sometimes loud, sometimes irate, always troubled grievances of taxpayers who made it very clear how the tax agency is both inconsistent and abusive.

Newport Beach, California, attorney Clyde Maxwell complained of IRS "administrative summonses" which made IRS agents "one-man grand juries." He stated that the summonses are intended for use in civil matters but instead are used for criminal investigation, opening up a person's tax records to be reviewed by any law enforcement agency.

More often than not these summonses are used against those who can least afford proper legal representation, Maxwell said, and they can be put into effect for years.

He cited the case of a Black judge in Nevada who was accused of accepting bribes in traffic cases. After acquiring the judge's tax record, the IRS then stole court records from the judge's own court — breaking Nevada state laws. After a lengthy investigation, no charges were filed and complaints to the IRS drew no response.

Philip and Susan Long, a Bellevue, Washington couple, who have been working for taxpayers' rights for the past six years, insisted that the IRS maintained a "sensitive" list of persons who were singled out for special treatment. In instances of contested tax returns, the Longs explained that the IRS "wins 95 per cent of its cases." Again, the Longs charged, persons who are affected the most are those who are in the lower income brackets or, in other words, Black and poor minority people.

Almost every speaker before the panel detailed how he or she was harassed and intimidated by IRS agents who had very little regard for their legal rights. Many had lost property or had

## F.B.I. BID TO TAP INTO COUNTY CRIME COMPUTER SYSTEM BLOCKED

(Oakland, Calif.) - Fear of FBI abuse of Alameda County's massive computer law enforcement information system, known as CORPUS (Criminal Oriented Records Production Unified System), last week led the body that controls the system to postpone action on a request from the FBI that it be allowed to wire its own terminal into CORPUS.

The overall sentiment expressed by the Alameda County Committee on Criminal Justice and Data Processing (ACCCJDP) at its regular monthly meeting last Wednesday was that further investigation was needed to determine exactly how the FBI intends to use CORPUS.

### SPECIAL AGENT

Charles W. Bates, special agent in charge of the San Francisco FBI office, wrote a letter last month to ACCCJDP chairman, Municipal Court Judge Courtland D. Arne, requesting that the Bureau be allowed to set up a CORPUS data terminal in its Oakland office. Presently, the FBI primarily obtains information on criminal records of Alameda County residents through the county sheriff's department, although it is also entitled to use information supplied to it by any other CORPUS agency.

The heated discussion at last Wednesday's meeting centered around the strong opposition of providing a non-CORPUS agency such as the FBI, with its own data terminal from which the Bureau could tap any available information. As Ms. Connie Hoseman, one of the Committee's five



An FBI bid to tap into the Alameda County crime computer was blocked at a recent meeting. Paranoid FBI agents (left corner) hide their faces as photo is being taken.

public members, expressed it, "The track record of the FBI makes me believe we need safeguards. I have grave reservations that the FBI would feed this information into international data banks."

The notorious record that the FBI has established regarding illegal surveillance of individuals and organizations throughout the country led to the heart of the debate — how would the Bureau use information it obtained from CORPUS?

Fred Cooper, chairman of the Alameda County Board of Supervisors, said that Bates should answer this question and also whether the Bureau would agree to submit a report on its information gathering activities

to a CORPUS "audit."

The Committee voted unanimously to request such information from Bates.

In a related matter, the feasibility of preparing a report on how Alameda County agencies use the information they obtain from CORPUS was referred to the Subcommittee on Security and Privacy.

### C.O.R.P.U.S.

The threat that CORPUS poses to the rights of the people is exemplified in the recent case of a county judge who checked CORPUS files of several individuals against their court records. He found a number of serious errors in the CORPUS files.

It was confirmed at last week's meeting that CORPUS is now being used by certain agencies to check the backgrounds of potential jurors, a practice opposed by Andrew L. Schultz, Superior Court administrator, who insisted that screening of jurors should be done "in open court."

In existence since November, 1973, CORPUS is used by all 13 city police departments in Alameda County as well as the county sheriff, municipal and superior courts and other county agencies. Most citizens are unaware of its existence although they have the right to obtain a copy of their individual CORPUS record.

The ACCCJDP, which administers CORPUS, is made up of members of the Alameda County Board of Supervisors, local police chiefs, the county district attorney, the county probation officer, the county clerk, various judges and five public members appointed by each of the county supervisors. □



## African Dance Highlights Sunday Forum

(Oakland, Calif.) - The AFRICAN MUSIC AND DANCE ENSEMBLE of the University of California, Berkeley (UCB), delivered a thrilling, crowd pleasing performance to over 200 people last Sunday, April 25, at the Oakland Community Learning Center Sunday Forum. The very talented Ensemble was founded in 1973 after its director C.K. Ladzekpo joined the faculty of the Music Department of UCB. Ladzekpo has had a brilliant career as a performer and teacher which was amply shown in the enthusiasm his students put into their performance.

BPINS photo



# F.B.I. TAKES "CREDIT" FOR MURDER RAID

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

defendants" filed by attorneys for the plaintiffs with U.S. District Court Judge Sam Joseph Perry last Monday.

Condemning "the wholesale deceit, bad faith, and manipulation of evidence by the FBI defendants and the U.S. Attorney's office," the statement repeats the plaintiffs' demands for a mistrial, sanctions against the defendants, including a default judgement, as well as seeking written legal justifications for the numerous deletions on those documents which have been turned over.

It is in regards to Perry's arrogant remarks — stated to ward off growing charges of judicial error and bias — that the new COINTELPRO documents are basically "useless" or "only about one per cent useful" to the plaintiffs, that last week's statement centers.

"To demonstrate the extent and impact of the defendants' deceptions regarding the documents," the statement says, "plaintiffs draw the court's attention to the following samples from the FBI materials just recently surrendered:

"a. Just a few days after the raid, writing in connection with an application to headquarters for authority for a special bonus payment of \$300 to the informant-provocateur, William O'Neal, the defendant Piper boasted that the raid was based on information furnished by (O'Neal). Piper reported that the information provided to the Chicago Police — which included an inventory of legal weapons and a detailed floor plan of the apartment, and was not available from any other source and proved to be of tremendous value in that it subsequently saved injury and possible death to police officers participating in the raid. (Compare sworn testimony of Mitchell

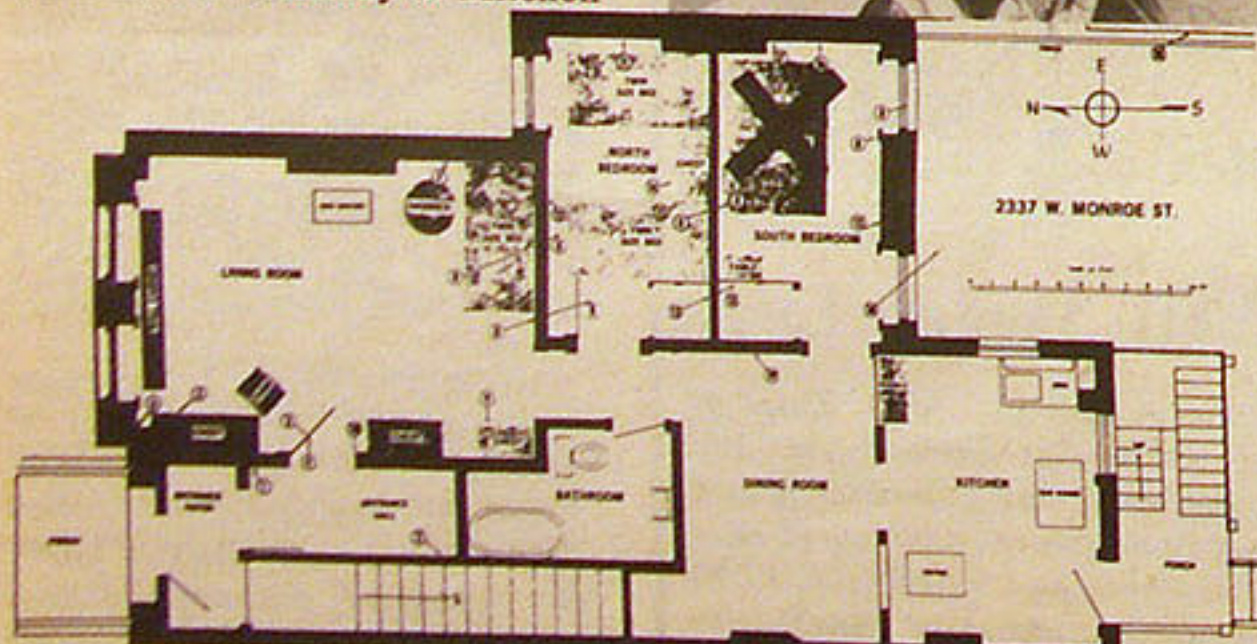
in the trial, in which he calls O'Neal a 'secondary source' of information used in preparing for the raid, and claims the police were not very interested in the floor plan he brought them.)

"b. Documents showing that Mitchell hired a second informant two days after the shooting of two police officers, Gilhooly and Rappaport, on November 13, 1969; who reported to him on December 2, 1969, that legally purchased weapons were present at 2337 W. Monroe Street.

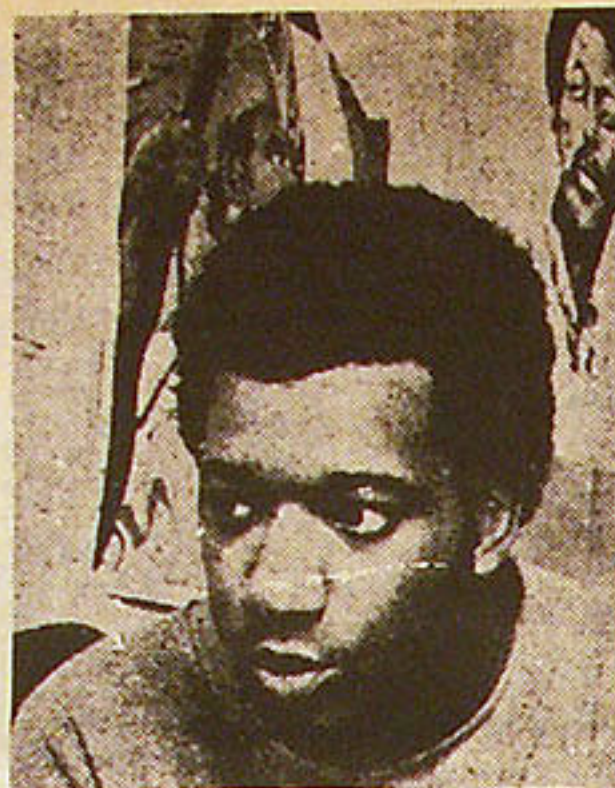
"c. Wiretap records of some 25 illegal interceptions of attorney-client conversations on the FBI wiretap of the Black Panther Party office phone.

"d. Evidence in the Hampton file that the FBI Racial Matters squad, under the supervision of defendants Piper and Johnson, and in cooperation with the then Director of Public Safety of the State of Illinois, Bernard Carey, illegally intercepted and copied twenty-one private letters to Fred Hampton while he was in the State Penitentiary at Menard during the summer of 1969.

"e. A memo from Mitchell to the Director of the FBI, dated 2/23/69, which seeks a raise in pay for O'Neal from \$300 to \$600 a month. As grounds, Mitchell cites O'Neal's counterintelligence exploits, including his 'instrumental role' in preventing a coalition between the Panther Party and the Blackstone Rangers during December 1968; his ac-



FBI agent WILLIAM O'NEAL supplied layout of apartment where Fred Hampton was murdered in his bed, (see X) to Chicago FBI Racial Matters Squad.



FRED HAMPTON

tions in 'aborting merger talks between the Vice Lords and the Panthers;' and his 'significant accomplishment' in causing the 'public arrest of Fred Hampton under circumstances which proved highly embarrassing to the BPP.

"f. Evidence that the FBI put Fred Hampton on its 'Security Index,' meaning he would be summarily arrested and detained in a time of 'national emergency,' and its 'Agitator' and 'Rabble Rouser' Indexes, making him a distinct target of the counterintelligence program, as early as December, 1967.

"g. Evidence that the FBI campaign against Fred Hampton began in 1967 when he was a youth leader of the NAACP Chapter in Maywood, Illinois; that two informants were assigned to surveillance of him at that time;

"h. A document kept in the O'Neal file, captioned Counterintelligence Program — Black Panther Party, dated November 28, 1969 and based on information supplied to the FBI by O'Neal, which discusses the possibility of intercepting and distorting tape recordings sent by Hampton to Black Panther Party headquarters in California.

In closely related matters, the *Chicago Defender* reports that "the blatant concealment of evidence" has prompted Illinois state senator Richard Newhouse and state representative Harold Washington to write to U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi demanding "a thorough public investigation" of the FBI's involvement in the 1969 raid.

The legislators also called for three assistant U.S. attorneys in the case to be relieved from their duties and "removed from the offices they have used to violate the law and the public trust."

The existence of many more volumes of COINTELPRO documents still withheld from the plaintiffs was admitted to last week by Richard Held, present Chicago FBI chief. □

## EYES ON CITY HALL



### United Way Cuts

(Oakland, Calif.) - Spanish-speaking community leaders expressed anger and disappointment last week at United Way budget cuts totalling more than \$65,000 to agencies serving Spanish-speaking and other minorities. The agencies who were scheduled to receive the largest cuts are the Spanish Speaking Unity Council, which had its 1976 allocation slashed from \$70,000 to \$35,000, and the East Bay Spanish Speaking Citizens Council whose budget was cut from \$104,500 to \$89,600. Arnold Mendoza, president of the East Bay Spanish Speaking Citizens Foundation and spokesman for a group of Chicano community leaders, remarked, "It is significant, that, of the 192 United Way agencies funded, those primarily recommended for cut-backs were programs serving substantial numbers of Blacks and Browns.

"The cuts signal a hostile trend toward Spanish-speaking community-based organizations and minority agencies in general," Mendoza said. Another program, the Alameda County

### Grove-Shafter O.K.'ed?

(Oakland, Calif.) - Oakland Mayor John Reading is claiming that the state of California can complete the controversial Grove-Shafter freeway without matching federal funds because of an agreement reached with U.S. Transportation Secretary William Coleman. Reading claims the city has obtained a federal ruling that the \$5 million already spent by the state on replacement housing will suffice as California's matching fund contribution for the Grove-Shafter.

### Consumer Prices Rise

(Oakland, Calif.) - The price of consumer goods in the Oakland-San Francisco area rose eight-tenths of one per cent from December to March, a 6.1 per cent increase over last year, the Bureau of Labor Statistics said last week. This means that it now costs \$16.50 to purchase what \$10 would buy in 1967. Most of the advance was the result of increases in the cost of housing, health and recreation, the Bureau stated. However, a 2.1 per cent drop in food prices substantially slowed the overall advance.



## PETITION CAMPAIGN UNDERWAY

## Oakland Jobs Alliance Set To Fight City Layoffs, Cutbacks

(Oakland, Calif.) - In response to plans for drastic cutbacks in city services and large-scale layoffs, a city-wide coalition is forming to call on the City Council not to make cutbacks, but to solve its fiscal problems through tapping new sources of revenue. This coalition of city workers, community groups, and concerned citizens is called the Oakland Jobs Alliance.

Emerging from the Workers' Rights Center, a valuable community project sponsored by the New American Movement (NAM), the Alliance considers preservation of city jobs as especially important. Oakland now suffers from an official unemployment rate of over 15 per cent, double the national average.

If the council fails to act, the Alliance charges that by July 1 there will be an additional 1,000 unemployed workers in Oakland. Minorities and women hired under the city's affirmative action plan constitute a high percentage of those to lose their jobs under the current scheme.



Oakland city cutbacks will create even more unemployed workers.

Everyone who lives or works in Oakland will be affected by the cutbacks in city services. Funding for the Fire Department is to be reduced by 20 per cent; Parks and Recreation programs will be eliminated or reduced; library services will be curtailed, includ-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

# WHO CONTROLS THE PORT OF OAKLAND?

*"The Port of Oakland is the only thing going in this town — everything else is dead."*

These are the words of a local banking executive. Ironically, when the Port Commission was established in 1927, its objective was to encourage industrial development and economic prosperity in the city. Yet, while the Port has prospered, the fruits of that prosperity seem to have had little effect upon the Oakland economy.

As a matter of fact, as the Port has risen to international prominence during the past 10 years, the city of Oakland has sunk deeper and deeper into the mire of economic stagnation and poverty. Since 1965, unemployment in Oakland has doubled, and manufacturing and commercial establishments have continued to abandon the city at an alarming rate.

The following article is the first in an exclusive series featured in *THE BLACK PANTHER*. This series is going to examine how the Port operates, who benefits from its operations, the wealth the Port controls and creates, and the peculiar economic, legal, and political relationships which prevail between the people of Oakland and the Port.



The Port of Oakland prospers while the city of Oakland sinks deeper into debt.

### PART 1

#### WHAT IS THE PORT?

The Port of Oakland stretches more than 19 miles from just north of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge down along the Oakland estuary to the Oakland International Airport near San Leandro Bay.

The Port is divided into three sections. First, are the Marine Terminals, four of them to be exact. Most of the facilities here service containerized cargo shipping. Container shipping is the

form which automation has taken in the freight transportation industry. The introduction of this technology has been extremely profitable for the maritime shipping industry, while marine terminal employment per ton of cargo has declined by over 60 per cent.

Next, there is the Oakland International Airport which covers approximately 2,500 acres of land. The Airport is small by comparison to San Francisco International. It has not been a very profitable operation for the Port. However, in the future, the Port Commission hopes to strengthen the position of the Airport and to expand its operations almost eight-fold.

Finally, the Port also controls 1,000 acres of industrial and commercial land available for lease or sale down near the Oakland Coliseum.

These holdings constitute only about one-fourth of the lands under the control of the Port, for it also owns 11,500 acres of undeveloped land and tidelands along the Bay. As a matter of fact, the Port wanted to turn that stretch of land extending north from the Bay Bridge to the Watergate Apartments in Emeryville into a giant containerized shipping terminal. However, the proposal was vetoed for environmental reasons by the Bay Conservation and Development Commission in 1969.

The Port of Oakland is thus not simply a harbor, but a large industrial and commercial complex which has affected the development of a large number of industries in the city and the region: transportation, warehousing, utilities, finance, real estate and construction.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10



## Moscone Endorses John George

(Oakland, Calif.) - Continuing to stack up an impressive line-up of supporters in his election bid for the Alameda County Board of Supervisors, Fifth District, attorney JOHN GEORGE (right) last week landed the prestigious endorsement of San Francisco Mayor GEORGE MOSCONE (left). The mayor's endorsement came at a benefit cocktail party held for attorney George on April 22 at the home of Eugene and Rama Vernon. Among the other noted John George supporters on hand for the occasion were Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown, Congressman Pete Stark, Alameda County Supervisor Tom Bates and County Clerk Rene Davison.

BPINS photo



# NEW YORK POLICE BREAK UP HOSTOS COLLEGE TAKEOVER

(New York, N.Y.) - New York City police forced their way into the main building of Hostos Community College here on April 12, arresting 32 students and teachers who were protesting the planned closing of the bilingual school.

The building had been occupied since March 25, when the Community Coalition to Save Hostos organized over 500 demonstrators to take over the facility in defiance of the city's

"I will continue to fight to save Hostos."

Meanwhile, 150 students, most of whom were Black, occupied the administration building of Cornell University for 10 hours on April 23, demanding the reinstatement of a Black financial aid director. The director, Herbert Parker, had been fired last month for insubordination.

In the takeover of the building, Day Hall, students ejected university president Dale R.

Carson and other top administrators. As the students left the building, a spokesperson stated, "We have decided to leave the building not because of pressures from the university but because we have achieved our objectives."

The takeover was the third incident of student unrest on the campus in two days and recalled a 1969 protest when armed Black students took over the Cornell student union. □



Hostos College students in New York protest the planned closing of the school, the only bi-lingual college in the U.S. The city spent over \$60 million to renovate Yankee stadium yet CUNY colleges will face drastic budget cuts.

announcement of its proposed closing of the school. (See last week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.)

The school, the only bilingual school in the U.S., opened its doors in 1970. It was named after Eugenio Maria de Hostos, an outstanding leader of the Puerto Rican independence movement in the late 1800s. Hostos is the first college in the City University of New York (CUNY) system designed to serve the needs of a ghetto — the Puerto Rican neighborhood of the South Bronx.

Half of the school's 2,600 students are enrolled in special courses teaching English as a second language, and Puerto Rican educators warn that closing Hostos "would literally ostracize the Puerto Rican community from the CUNY structure."

The arrests were timed to coincide with the Easter vacation break so as to minimize student and community response, but 200 people gathered and followed the police to the nearby courthouse where those arrested were taken. Students vowed that the protest will continue. "I am defending my education," one student said.



## Beaten Boston Black Decries Racism

(Boston, Mass.) - THEODORE LANDSMARK, a Black Boston attorney seriously injured when part of a mob of 200 White students seized and beat him with an American flag amid shouts of "Get the nigger, kill him!", told news reporters last week that he would wage a personal campaign "to see that all those responsible for the violence are fully prosecuted."

"I intend to take such legal actions as are necessary against certain members of the Boston City Council and Boston School Committee... to insure that Boston City Hall can no longer be used as a sanctuary for racism."

Even as Landsmark held his press conference, a gang of White youths attacked two Black busdrivers, in downtown Boston.

## PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

### Ola Mae Davis Found Guilty

(Milwaukee, Wisc.) - A circuit court jury here has found Mrs. Ola Mae Davis, a Black woman courageous enough to challenge a police version of the fatal shooting of a 16-year-old youth two years ago, guilty of perjury for her testimony.

Police accounts reported that patrolman Ray Marlow was searching young Jerry Brookshire on the night of December 24, 1974, when a struggle ensued and Marlow's gun discharged. Mrs. Davis testified during the inquest, which ruled the shooting "accidental," that she saw Marlow shoot Brookshire in the back as he was running away from the police.

### Livernois 3 Trial Hung Jury

(Detroit, Mich.) - The second murder trial of the Livernois 3, three young Black men framed on a charge of fatally beating a White man during a rebellion in Detroit last July, has ended in a hung jury.

James Henderson, 26, Raymond Peoples, 20, and Ronald Jordan, 20 were charged with the death of Marian Pyszko, 54, who died as a result of a beating he suffered during the 1975 revolt. Community anger had flared up after a Black youth, Obie Wynn, 18, was murdered in cold blood by a racist White bar owner.

The prosecution admitted during their first trial that its witnesses had been coerced with the threat of being charged with the murder themselves.

### Black Cleared On Gun Charges

(New York, N.Y.) - A Black resident of Rosedale, Queens, whose home has been bombed twice and whose family had been subjected to a campaign of hate mail was cleared recently of criminal charges stemming from his use of a gun in a confrontation with a "Whites rights" group last summer. The gun incident was the climax of a series of attacks and harassing actions directed at the Spencer family and their home in the largely White, middle-class community of southeastern Queens.





L.A. doctors are striking to improve the care of poor patients.

## Patients' Care Fund Key To L.A. Hospital Slowdown

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - Young doctors and interns at three of Los Angeles County's largest hospitals (County-USC Med. Center, Harbor and Martin Luther King General hospitals) slowed down operations last week in a three day strike for better patient care and more decentralized administration of a model Patients' Care Fund.

The \$1.1 million Fund, which is the focal issue of the strike, was created one year ago, as the result of another strike involving the interns and residents of the Martin Luther King General Hospital. Part of that fund came from a 5 per cent pay increase which striking interns and residents agreed to contribute if such a fund were established.

Later, the L.A. County Board of Supervisors ordered a freeze on hiring of all health personnel and related expenses. The freeze didn't affect the newly created patient care fund, since part of the 1975 strike settlement agreement stipulated that control of the fund would be shared jointly by the County and the Joint Council of Interns and Residents.

Due to the freeze, however the Council now had a hand in the control of the *only* available funds for improving patient care in the County. Controls over such funding had previously rested with the various department heads of the hospitals, most of whom are members of their medical school faculties.

The County and the deans and heads of the hospital departments have tried various ploys to reduce

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## INTERVIEW WITH FORMER C.I.W. PRISON INMATE

# "IF YOU DON'T HAVE YOUR MIND TOGETHER, THEY WILL BREAK YOU"

(Oakland, Calif.) - "I feel sorry for anybody who doesn't have their mind together before they go to jail. If you don't, they will brainwash you."

Twenty-four-year-old Danetta Wise knows the harsh reality of struggling to survive in prison, of daily fighting to preserve her personal dignity while at the mercy of those dedicated to destroying the human spirit. Danetta was recently released from California Institution for Women (CIW) at Frontera where she spent three and one-half years.

CIW made headlines in March when a behavior modification program, known as the Alternative Program Unit, was opened at the prison, a program strongly opposed by concerned women throughout the state. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, March 27, 1976.)

### 800 WOMEN

CIW houses nearly 800 women — the majority of whom are Black and Chicano — who are incarcerated for everything from murder to child beating. Women in prison are largely forgotten by the American society, but after five minutes of talking with Danetta you begin to feel the plight of mothers forced to give up their newborn babies, of women subjected to the degrading chauvinism of male guards.

A proud, spirited young Black woman who is the mother of three, Danetta Wise is one of the lucky ones who had the inner strength necessary to withstand imprisonment. "They (CIW officials) put me in the psychiatric ward because they thought I was crazy. They thought I was crazy because I wouldn't go along with



DANETTA WISE, recently released from CIW, with children (left to right), DEMAR, 4, CHARLEZETTA, 6, and FELECIA, 8.

the program," Danetta explained. "I have *never* liked being told what to do," she added.

The psychiatric ward is the common punishment for women at CIW, who, like Danetta, refuse to go along with the "program." Branded "crazy," Danetta also earned a reputation among CIW officials for being outspoken, of refusing to turn her head when she observed inhumane treatment of her fellow inmates.

This outspokenness brought her time in the "hole." She also refused to perform the menial jobs generally assigned to women at CIW. "They moved me from one job to another because I didn't do anything they wanted me to do. First, they put me in the kitchen, but they soon saw that I wasn't going to do anything there. Then they moved me to the yard, to clean up the yard. But I wouldn't do that either," she said.

"They didn't pay enough money," Danetta added. "I didn't have anyone sending me

money and I needed it badly. If they had paid more money, then maybe I would have worked."

CIW inmates who dare to defy authority or those whom officials just don't know what to do with are forced to take a variety of mind-altering drugs. Danetta spoke of the anguish of watching a sick friend take drugs month after month until she had lost so much weight that she was a "stick" of her former self. She was subsequently released, but Danetta added, "I'm sure she must be dead now."

In March, San Francisco Superior Court Judge John E. Benson arbitrarily decided that CIW inmates have no right to keep children they give birth to while confined. A class action suit has since been filed on behalf of all women imprisoned at CIW with children less than two years old.

### CLOSE FRIEND'S PAIN

Danetta described the pain of a close friend whose baby was taken from her although she wanted to keep it very badly. "They said she was crazy, mentally unfit to be a mother," Danetta said.

Racism pervades CIW. Danetta spoke of an incident in which a Black friend of hers was racially insulted by a White inmate who said, "Shoot your shot, Black bitch." A scuffle broke out between the two women in which the White inmate received a knife wound. "She (Black inmate) got a case behind that," Danetta said, "but nothing happened to the White girl and she was at fault. She's even out of jail now. My friend's still in."

Continuing to describe the racial situation at CIW, Danetta

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## "Redlining" Abandoned

(Sacramento, Calif.) - California Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr., issued a set of powerful new regulations last week which will make it illegal for state chartered savings and loan associations to systematically deny home loans in low-income neighborhoods.

The new rules will ban the lending policy known as "redlining," in which lending institutions refuse to make home loans in areas labeled as "high-risk" — in other words, Black and poor communities — even though a customer has a good credit rating. Brown called the regulations the "most stringent" rules against "redlining" issued by any state.

"These regulations will set the stage for renewal of home ownership in areas where it is declining and hopefully bring it back in those areas where it has disappeared," Brown said.

Donald Burns, state Secretary of Business and Transportation, said the state savings and loan commissioner would have the power to close down a business that refused to abide by the regulations.



## Milwaukee Bar Owner May Face Racial Discrimination Charges

(Milwaukee, Wisc.) - After a five-month investigation of racial discrimination allegations, an eastside Milwaukee cocktail lounge may end up with criminal charges being brought against its owner by both the city and district attorney's office, it was revealed here recently.

The business, Victor's Cocktail Lounge and Restaurant, has been the subject of complaints of racial discrimination dating back to 1973. However, it wasn't until the testimony of 10 people — which included that of a state probation officer and the wives of two Milwaukee Bucks basketball players — were taken last week did the possibility of any legal action come to the surface.

### DISTRICT ATTORNEY

According to the district attorney's office, the 10 people testified that they were required to show Wisconsin state identification while Whites were freely admitted. Under city statutes the owner, Victor James, could be fined \$100 and if formal charges are filed by the district attorney's office, Jones could face a fine of \$200 and six months in jail.

According to a Black state probation officer, Ronald Grace, other incidents took place at the bar involving police misconduct which should also be investigated. After being asked for ID while Whites were being admitted without question, Grace called the police. When they arrived, they began searching Black men at the bar, claiming that someone had called to report that a Black man was brandishing a gun.

"It was totally uncohesive, however, because even though they supposedly were talking about me," Grace said, "they searched every brother there, throwing them up against cars although none of them looked like me."

In the case of Milwaukee Bucks wives Barbara Dandridge and Renee Brokaw, Ms. Brokaw, who is White, was admitted into the bar while Ms. Dandridge was denied entry. □

## CHATTANOOGA ELECTION COMMISSION BIAS EXPOSED

(Chattanooga, Tenn.) - Several Black organizations, including the Black Panther Party, have charged the election commission here with racial discrimination in the distribution of voter registration forms.

The Citizens Non-Partisan Voter Registration Committee, which is made up of representatives from all of the progressive Black organizations in Chattanooga, had attempted to procure some forms for a voter registration drive but received only "a handful."

A White representative from another organization came into the office at the same time and he received "a case load" of forms. When the Black representatives asked for more forms, he received only "a handful" more.

Two election commissioners joined the Black organizations in their protest. Commissioner Claude Clark termed the treatment in the office "a beautiful slap in the face."

Registrar-at-large Tom Moore denied this and other charges of racial discrimination, claiming



*The Black community equates its newly-won right to vote with political freedom. In Chattanooga, Blacks have blasted the racism within the local election commission.*

that the county was "running out" of the forms.

After discussing the complaint of Commissioner Clark, the Commission adopted a rule that any person or organization be given 1,000 voter registration forms on demand every five days and that the Commission begin keeping a "central" record. It was feared that the Commission would entirely run out of forms before the cutoff date for the May

25 county Democratic primary.

Another charge was leveled by Rev. Paul McDaniel, a Black church leader, who serves as chairperson for the voting rights committee. Rev. McDaniel told the Commission he was "distressed" to find that there are no Blacks employed by the office. He urged the Commission to establish an affirmative action program to immediately remedy the situation. □

## Who Controls The Port Of Oakland?

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7  
WHO OWNS THE PORT?

The wealth of the Port comes in two forms: 1) land; and 2) buildings and facilities. The Port owns most of the land under its domain. While it owns and operates one of the harbor terminals and the Airport, a portion of the marine facilities as well as some of the land in the

industrial park are privately-owned.

However, the Port has come to own more marine facilities insofar as it has tended to provide low-cost financing for container-terminal development to large shippers like Seatrain and Sealand through a method called sale-leaseback. Under this method, the Port buys the facilities built especially for the shipping firm and then leases these back to the firm at special rates.

Legally speaking, the Port of Oakland is a public corporation, established by the city of Oakland to own, operate, and develop the Port area. The corporation is run by a seven-man Board of Commissioners appointed by the mayor and the City Council. The Port Commission in its turn appoints an executive director who administers and manages Port operations on a day-to-day basis. The Commission's power stems from the fact that it is responsible for setting policy and must approve all decisions. Of course, in most matters the Commission defers to the technical expertise of the executive director and his staff.

The Commission itself handles

business by operating through three committees: 1) Marine Terminals; 2) Airport; 3) Real Estate. The latter is very powerful because it approves all land dealings and construction contracts.

It is presided over by the illustrious Y. Charles ("Chet") Soda. Soda is probably the most powerful and influential figure on the Port Commission; he has the final say on who gets what in the way of construction contracts and real estate.

A wealthy Alameda County landowner himself, Soda was a long-time supporter of Ronald Reagan who appointed Soda to the California State Horse Racing Board. Soda achieved political prominence in 1971 when he became the finance director of the Northern California branch of the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CREEP) — the notorious campaign organization which Richard Nixon established as a vehicle to ensure his re-election in 1972.

Soda also co-signed a Wells Fargo loan to finance Mayor John Reading's election campaign in 1973. Reading appointed Soda to the Port in 1969.

TO BE CONTINUED



*The Port of Oakland is run for the benefit of its business tenants, like Kaiser Steel.*



## Texas Prisoners

## Fight Unlawful

## Medical Practices

(Huntsville, Tex.) - Imprisoned Black activist Lee Otis Johnson and 13 other inmates incarcerated here at Ellis Prison recently lost in their attempt to force Texas Attorney General John Hill to investigate medical abuse and other forms of mistreatment they suffer.

Johnson, the former field secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) who is presently serving a 17-year sentence on a burglary frame-up, maintains that Hill has not acted on the inmates' request to "eliminate unlawful practices of medicine at the prison and investigate other matters." The Texas Supreme Court refused to issue a writ of mandamus against Hill which would have legally ordered him to conduct the investigation.

The 14 inmates charged that inmate medical attendants were making medical decisions at sick call as to who should be treated and who should be sent back to work. One prison inmate was denied treatment for Sickle Cell Anemia.

### FAILED TO ACT

The group stated that Hill had also failed to act on a request to sue for the removal of all the members of the Texas Board of Corrections.

Meanwhile, in Houston, Texas, U.S. District Court Judge Carl O. Bue, Jr., issued an order recently that summoned county officials to hearings to account for "serious health hazards" that exist in the Harris County Jail and the "continued poor performance" of the county Pre-trial Release Agency.

The hearings, a result of a civil suit against Harris County, will investigate conditions "that may seriously jeopardize the health of the entire jail population." A report from the Harris County Health Department described "an abundance of roaches through all kitchen and cell areas stemming from the continued serving of food to inmates in individual cells."

Also listed in the report were open sewage leaks, overflowing grease traps, inadequate ventilation, inmates sleeping on the floor and the continued housing of persons with mental health problems in the downtown Houston jail. □

# BLACK MENTAL PATIENT GUNNED DOWN BY WHITE HOUSTON MAN-WOMAN

## POLICE TEAM

(Houston, Tex.) - A Black mental patient was shot to death by a White man-woman Houston police team recently as he attempted to pull a Bible from his pocket.

Milton Glover was killed by White officers Richard L. Watson and Doreen M. Miller when Glover allegedly blocked their path as they were transporting a prisoner. The 28-year-old Black veteran was said to be suffering from "shell-shock" following a tour of duty in Vietnam and had a habit of walking down the middle of the street reciting Bible verses.

Witnesses stated that Watson got out of his patrol car and asked Glover what was wrong with him. Glover replied, "This is what I've got for you," reaching toward his back pocket for his Bible.

Instantly, Watson pulled out a .44 magnum revolver and Miller a .357 magnum revolver, and they shot Glover at least six times, leaving him dead in the street.

Rev. Allen Robinson happened to be driving down the same street and was almost killed by a bullet which passed through his windshield. "This man crossed right in front of us," he said. "Just as he got about 20 yards in front of us he threw up both hands as if he was going to say



**EVANGELIST  
ALLEN ROBINSON**

Houston police officers **RICHARD WATSON** (top, left) and **DOREEN MILLER** (bottom, left), murderers of Black mental patient Milton Glover. Rev. **ALLEN ROBINSON** (right) barely escaped death as a bullet went through the window of his van.

something. . . The only thing I can remember is that all of a sudden the police car was screeching up and then all I heard was a lot of noise."

Describing his injury, Rev. Robinson stated, "I felt the pain in my eye. . . I heard someone saying that 'You've killed a churchman.'"

"I was bleeding and holding my eye because a bullet had come through my windshield and sprayed glass all over me and my

wife."

An autopsy report showed that Glover had been killed by one bullet ripped through his groin; one bullet struck him in the leg; one bullet hit him in the left arm pit and was followed by a second bullet in the same area; a bullet hit him in the left shoulder; another bullet shattered his elbow and the seventh bullet ripped off the victim's right ring finger. Even the Bible which lay near Glover's body had a bullet in it.

### GLOVER'S AUNT

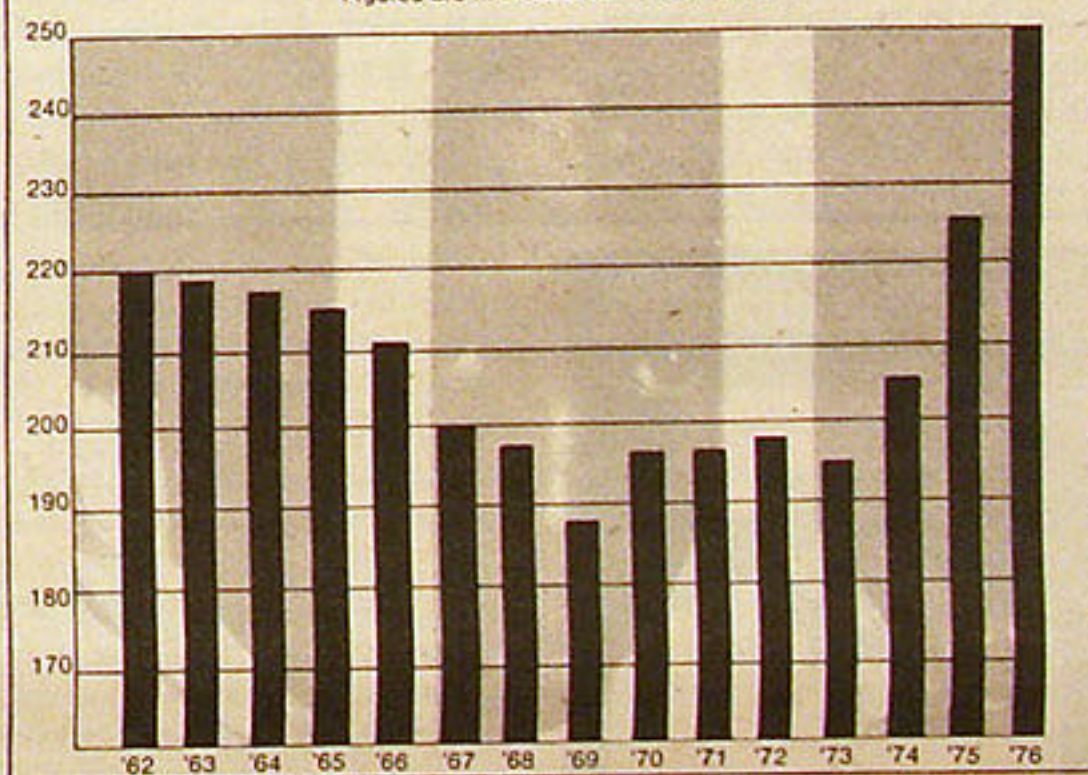
Mrs. Lena Ware, Glover's aunt, commented, "He never bothered anyone. The only thing he would do is sit down and talk the Bible. All this stuff happened to him in the White man's army. When he returned (from Vietnam) he didn't know anything. And then he had to be shot down by another White man or woman, whatever it was."

A Black north Houston resident stated, "It's frightening to think that a policeman can shoot you at your slightest move and is vindicated. . . Policemen are supposed to be trained to handle situations better than the average citizen, but it seems that they crack up under the slightest pressure," he continued.

Glover's father, Milton Glover, Sr., said, "We're not sure where to go now. We're going to get legal advice. What they did was wrong. They didn't have to kill him like that."

A young neighbor of the slain Glover mused, "If they shot him down like that and he has never done a thing to nobody, what do you think they will do to me?" □

TOTAL POPULATION OF U.S. STATE AND FEDERAL PRISONS—1962-1976  
Figures are in thousands—as of January 1.



### Record Number In U.S. Prisons

(Washington, D.C.) - The United States began its Bicentennial year of 1976 with more people in prison than ever before in its history.

According to a recent feature story in *Corrections* magazine, as of January 1, 1976, more than a quarter of a million adults were incarcerated in prison, a jump of 24,000 from the previous year (see graph above). An inmate in an Alabama prison, commenting on the present state of overcrowded conditions inside U.S. penal institutions, is quoted as saying: "It's a jungle here. If you want to know the truth, this is slavery, man."

The inmate lives in a 200-man dormitory into which the guards themselves are said to be afraid to enter at night.



# ...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting Novel Examines Lives Of  
Black Americans In Egypt

*The scene is one of excitement at Cairo's Beaux Arts Club as the Black American poet Suliman Ibn Rashid prepares to give his debut poetry reading before an international audience. Suliman is one of several self-exiled Black Americans in . . . And Bid Him Sing living in Cairo, Egypt, at the time of the 1967 Middle East War. Author David G. Du Bois, THE BLACK PANTHER editor-in-chief, is well qualified to tell his story, having lived in Cairo for 12 years.*

## PART 28

Suliman was standing in the midst of a small group going over a paper with a short, balding Egyptian. Abdel Moneim was at his side. Kamal, briefcase in hand, stood a little apart talking to Ibrahim. The manager of the club, a friend of Abdel Moneim's, was standing on his other side. He looked anxious, but was smiling at something Abdel Moneim had just said.

Suliman looked up as I approached the group. "Man, where you been? Damn!" His small eyes were larger than I had ever seen them.

"I'm sorry. Couldn't get away from the office till now. But it's just about eight o'clock." Suliman stepped forward from the group and we shook hands. I greeted the others and shook hands all around. When I took the hand of the balding Egyptian, Suliman said: "This is Mr. Salah Jaheen, the famous Egyptian poet and cartoonist. He's going to recite a group of my poems in Arabic. Abdel Moneim translated them. We're just going over a couple of lines now." To his collaborator he said, "This is Mr. Bob Jones. He discovered me."

The poet's small bright eyes searched my face as he smiled and said, "Hello. Eustez Suliman has told me about you."

"It's an honor to meet you, sir. Thank you for coming and participating. I didn't know."

"It's an honor to participate," he rejoined. "I like Suliman's work."

Laughing nervously for no apparent reason, Abdel Moneim offered, "Mr. Jaheen can't stay for the entire evening, so they're doing his group first."

"Let's get the show on the road, man!" Kamal threw in rudely. "Folks is waitin'."

Suliman shot an embarrassed look at me and said to Kamal, "Okay, man. You go ahead in and do your thing. We'll wait outside till you introduce us."

Kamal led the small procession out of the kitchen and through the now almost empty lounge to the doors of the packed and buzzing auditorium. Leaving us there he entered and moved along the right wall to the front, passed through the narrow space between the front row of seats and the combo, nodding to Mohammed as he passed.

As he took up his position in front of the microphone the combo fell into a four-bar jazz break, at the end of which there was a spate of applause. Speaking too close to the mike, Kamal began:

"Good evening, ladies and gentlemen, and welcome to the first of a series of cultural presentations by Afro-American Promotions, Incorporated." His pause for effect elicited some scattered applause. "Afro-American Promotions, Incorporated, was formed by a group of Afro-Americans living in Cairo with the aim of providing a source of authentic Afro-American culture for the people of Egypt."

"In addition to such presentations as tonight's, Afro-American Promotions will in the future be holding art exhibitions, jazz concerts and discussions on Afro-



Al-Atabah-al-Khadra in downtown Cairo.

American culture and life. Our events will be announced by posters, ads in the papers and by word of mouth. So keep your eyes and ears open. Anyone who is interested in helping us in our efforts is welcome to join us.

"At the end of the program I'll be at a table outside in the lounge to take your name and address and any contribution you might like to make. We are all students at Al Azhar University, trying to make it on UAR government grants, for which we are deeply grateful to your beloved leader and ours, President Gamal Abdel Nasser!" He had almost shouted these last words. Enthusiastic applause rose and died quickly.

"And now," he continued, trying to assume a light and friendly manner, "for the treat of the evening. For the first time ever in Cairo, Afro-American Promotions presents poetry and jazz, featuring Afro-American poet Suliman Ibn Rashid, reading his own poems to the accompaniment of that great Afro-American jazz artist, composer and arranger, Mohammed X-3 and his Cairo Jazz Combo!"

The combo fell into a swinging, upbeat rendition of "Things Ain't

What They Used to Be" as the audience broke into applause and Suliman made his way down the side aisle. As he came the applause rose and someone in the audience called out, "Right on, brother!" Suliman called back, "Yeah," smiled and waved. Several in the audience laughed heartily and the applause rose still higher.

He crossed in front of the combo and shook hands with Kamal. The combo broke off. Suliman stepped over to Mohammed, shook his hand as Mohammed stood to receive him, and then shook hands in turn with each of the three musicians of the combo. The dying applause rose again. Few had noticed the retiring middle-aged man who had somewhat timidly followed Suliman down the aisle and who now stood off to the side against the wall at the front of the auditorium.


Kamal was unsuccessfully attempting to lower the microphone for Suliman when an Egyptian jumped up from the front row and with ease accomplished the feat, smiled and sat down to light good-humored applause. Suliman smiled and said into the mike to the young man, "Thank you, brother." Kamal, now superfluous, made an awkward half-bow and left the front of the auditorium.

Suliman grasped the mike with both hands and looked out over the audience. He was obviously moved, but trying hard not to show it. A hush fell over the auditorium.

"In the name of the brothers participating in and who arranged this evening of poetry and jazz I dedicate this program to the martyrs of the Black people of the United States of America who have been shot down by police, national guard and army bullets in Harlem, in Philadelphia, in Rochester, in Jersey City, Montclair and Orange, New Jersey, while expressing their righteous indignation in rebellion against the white man's hate and racism in America."

TO BE CONTINUED

### ...And Bid Him Sing



...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... (this) 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.

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# REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

## "Denzil Dowell"

This excerpt taken from the chapter "Denzil Dowell" in *Revolutionary Suicide* continues with a description of the North Richmond community and how Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton began his investigation of the police murder of Denzil Dowell, which took place there on April 1, 1967.

### PART 48

When they stayed, the Establishment found ways to punish them. Most of North Richmond is gerrymandered out of the city proper and cut off from any assistance from public agencies except the Contra Costa County agencies. Many of these are run by racists who do not want Blacks there. As a consequence, many

people live in poverty and hardship.

On one side of the community is a large garbage dump filled with rats. On another, Standard Oil refineries pour out their wastes and fumes on the community. Some days it is hard to draw a breath without choking and coughing. The industrial needs of the area are obviously more important than the human needs of the people.

No more than two or three streets lead into North Richmond, and each of these has a number of railroad tracks crossing it. This makes it difficult for the people to get out when emergency situations arise. They have to sit in their car waiting for the freight trains to pass by. This limited access to the community makes it possible for the police to seal off the area any time they want, and they have used that power often.

#### HALF THE POPULATION

About half the population is under nineteen years of age, a fact that presents special problems in terms of education and youth programs, since there is a great need for these functions. Many youths graduate from high school just as illiterate as I was, headed for the social trash heap.

Recently, in 1971, one of the new playgrounds built by the people could not be used by the children because the rats came from the dump and the creek terrorized them. Reports in the *San Francisco Chronicle* indicated clearly that city officials believed the people wanted the rats, and that is why they were there. North Richmond is no different from countless Black communities in California and the rest of the United States. Cut off, ignored, and forgotten, the people are kept in a state of subjugation, especially by the police, who treat the communities like colonies.

The family of Denzil Dowell lives in North Richmond, and it was there, on April 1, 1967, that their son and brother was killed by officers of the Sheriff's Department of Contra Costa County. He was twenty-two years old. They said he was running away from a stolen car that had been flagged down by the police. Because he was allegedly in the act of committing a felony, his death was ruled "justifiable homicide."

**DENZIL DOWELL**, murdered on April 1, 1967, by racist Richmond, Calif., police.



We were introduced to the Dowell family after Denzil's death by Mark Comfort, a bright, strong man with a long history of organizing Blacks in the Oakland area. The Dowells had asked us to come to their home because of dissatisfaction with the official treatment of Denzil's death. Like most Black families, they recognized the treachery of the police, but they knew how little could be done about Denzil's death through established institutions. The whole Dowell family considered themselves Black Panthers. Visiting them on Sunday afternoon, we were touched to see the deep sorrow and sense of helplessness so common among Blacks under these circumstances. I had seen it many times in my work, and we were to see it again and again as we became more deeply involved in the life of the people.

Mrs. Dowell, a beautiful and noble Black woman, told us about her son's life. She had spent much of her time and energy trying to survive in North Richmond, supporting her family and raising the children right. She had done her best with what she had, and she had done a good job. Yet nothing could be done about the schools and other institutions that blocked her children from reaching the goals they had been taught to aim for. She was terribly upset about Denzil's death and over the indifferent and contemptuous way the authorities treated it. She knew that her son had been murdered in cold blood.

We began our investigation at the same time the police were carrying out theirs. While they tried to establish a cover for their treachery, we searched for the truth. Policemen were constantly coming to Mrs. Dowell's house and treating her like dirt. They

would knock on the door, walk in, and search the premises any time they wanted. I happened to be at the house one day when they came. When Mrs. Dowell answered the knock, a policeman pushed his way in, asking her questions. I grabbed my shotgun and stepped in front of her, telling him either to produce a search warrant or leave. He stood a minute, shocked, then ran out to his car and drove off.

#### POLICE REPORT

When we read the police report of the incident, we rejected it and continued our own investigation, always carrying our weapons in full view. Together with the Dowells we visited the spot where the murder allegedly took place and checked every possible detail. From my study of police methods in college, I came up with a number of inconsistencies in the official report. For example, the police claimed that Denzil had jumped one fence and was about to jump another when he was shot; but Denzil had a hip injury from an automobile accident and could hardly have run, let alone jump fences. The lot he supposedly ran across was an automobile junkyard full of garbage and oil, yet no oil was found on his shoes. The police said that he bled to death after being shot, but no pool of blood was noted at the site, or anywhere else. We also learned that Denzil's brother and friends had found him lying all alone. After shooting him, the police had made no effort to summon medical aid or to save his life. All this was particularly significant and disturbing in light of the fact that Denzil was known to the police, and they had threatened to get him on a number of occasions. In the dark, far from witnesses, they carried out their murderous treachery.

**TO BE CONTINUED**

## REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE



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

**Huey P. Newton**

With power and passion, the co-founder of the Black Panther Party tells his life story. Here 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 exoneration. 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

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# EX-BLACK AGENT'S MISSION IMPOSSIBLE — TO DESTROY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Following, *THE BLACK PANTHER* presents Part 2 of an exclusive interview with Louis Tackwood, the Black former agent provocateur who recently stunned the San Quentin 6 trial with concrete testimony that he actively participated in a statewide law enforcement conspiracy to assassinate leading members of the Black Panther Party, including founder and leader Huey P. Newton and Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson.

In Part 1, presented last week, Tackwood described the Los Angeles Police Department's activities against the Black Panther Party dating back to 1968. At that time, the 33-year-old fast-talking ex-agent said he was involved in gunrunning to the US organization, the Los Angeles-based Black nationalist group whose leader, Ron Karenga, was himself a police agent.

In Part 2, Tackwood goes into detail concerning the devious plots to set up the murders of George and Jonathan Jackson in prison escape attempts, as well as describing an incredible plot to bomb Huey P. Newton, a plot involving people Huey once thought of as his "friends."

## PART 2

Q: What was your first assignment working with CCS (the Criminal Conspiracy Section of the Los Angeles Police Department)?



R.G. FARWELL of the LAPD, and MELVIN "Cotton" SMITH, police agent.

TACKWOOD: That was weird. My first assignment was the weirdest assignment I think I ever had, because my assignment then was to keep an eye on R.G. Farwell (a Black cop assigned to the LAPD Intelligence Unit). Watch the police officer. Go along with his game. See where he's coming from; see how much information he's got, and give it to us.

Q: What was your first assignment at CCS directed against the Black Panther Party?

TACKWOOD: After we got to a point where we generally knew where they were coming from, then we decided — we didn't decide, someone else decided for us — the final solution is we can put them all in jail, which doesn't seem to work, or kill them all off, which seems to work easy. So, there was a long discussion, saying, "Hey, we kill the little people off and it doesn't do any good, so let's start killing some of the big ones off." Somewhere along the line there was like a

national directive: "We're going to kill every Panther leader we can find. The ones we don't kill, run underground."

Q: This is mid to late 1969?

TACKWOOD: Yes.

Q: What was your assignment in all this?

TACKWOOD: At first it was general. See who you can kill here. If it was possible to kill anyone in Los Angeles, let's see how we can set them up and kill them. Then, it came down this kind of way. I wasn't even aware of it, matter of fact, but one day I was sitting at home; there was a knock at the door and three police officers came in. "Guess what?" they said, "We've got an outtasight assignment for you. You're in big with the Panthers and don't know it." They told me that the girl I was with had a brother named "Jackal dog." It was an alias; his name was James Edward Carr, who, I'm going to tell you, was Huey Newton's bodyguard and considered a high-ranking Panther member.

"Huey is supposed to get out soon," they told me, "and we want you right on his ass."

This is how I got involved in The Conspiracy of Conspiracies. It was during this time that it was decided: "You (Tackwood) get in tight with the big ones (the leadership of the Black Panther Party) and then we'll have a better way to see how to kill them. And don't talk to nobody up north in the police department because we don't trust them."

So after that, four or five hour shootouts didn't work, (referring to the December 8, 1969, predawn police attack on 4115 Central Avenue, Los Angeles, the headquarters of the Southern California Black Panther Party Chapter), and the people were under indictment in such a way where they (CCS) felt, "Well, we have them contained at the present time so we'll change our objective." What

we'll do, we'll go and kill some Northern California Panthers, since the Party's up north." This is why I came up north.

Q: Were you assigned to watch anybody in particular when you came north?

TACKWOOD: No, it wasn't a watch thing. If I can explain it to you: it was to figure out the best possible way to catch as many as you can at one time and kill 'em. My assignment was, well, a running conspiracy of the LAPD.

Q: So it wasn't to kill one person following one plan?

TACKWOOD: No. If one plan failed, or if one plan was junked because it was impractical, or because the Panthers themselves changed their movements, then a contingency plan was started up.

Actually, it was easy. Santa Cruz was the one that gave us the ball of wax at first. The Santa Cruz Police Department was tapping Herman Blake's phone. He didn't know it, but Blake inadvertently had said some things that led to the exact date that they would try the first breakout of the Soledad Brothers.

(Tackwood is referring to Jonathan Jackson's heroic bid for freedom on August 7, 1970, at the Marin County Courthouse in San Rafael, California. Jonathan, George Jackson's 17-year-old younger brother, was killed when waiting police shot up the van used in the escape try before it pulled out of the parking area. Prison inmates William Christmas and James McClain were also killed in the van, as was Marin County Superior Court Judge Arthur Haley.)

I was told to bird dog Angela Davis and figure out exactly what they're doing and when they're going to do it. Okay, so that was very easy.

Three days before the August 7 shootout, the Santa Cruz police told CII it was going to



HERMAN BLAKE and Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician HUEY P. NEWTON. According to ex-police agent LOUIS TACKWOOD (inset) Blake was one of the principals in a plot to have Huey assassinated.





Marin County Courthouse on August 7, 1970 (left to right): RUCHELL MAGEE, Judge ARTHUR HALEY, JAMES McCLAIN, WILLIAM CHRISTMAS and JONATHAN JACKSON.

happen. CII said, "OK, we're on top of it." That was it. There was never anything done about it — the judge wasn't even warned.

Q: The Santa Cruz police knew about it and the LAPD knew?

TACKWOOD: And CII. They had taps on the phone. You wouldn't believe the bugs they had or where. They had other agents, too.

But after that particular plot failed, then I'm going to tell you, a second contingency plan from that group came up. This included Melvin "Cotton" Smith (a police agent who infiltrated the Black Panther Party). Smith was right in on the hot action in the training camp, but he didn't know who was supplying the money and the overall planning of it. He was a soldier; he wasn't involved in the intellectual group in the conspiracy.

When I came north what I found out was that the people who were involved in the second plot using the Southern California part of the Panther Party weren't Panthers at all, but pretended to be Panther sympathizers. Actually they (Committee of 7) were looking for a coalition and didn't include any of the high-ranking Panther members but people who were brand new in the group, brand new to anybody other than Blake. So in the period of infiltration, I found out that there was a definite plot to kill Huey Newton.

Q: Going on at the same time?

TACKWOOD: Well, this was a plot by the same people who were going to break Jackson out. They were just going to replace Huey with Jackson. Simple as that.

Q: Their plot was to break George Jackson out of jail, and kill Huey Newton?

TACKWOOD: And people would follow Jackson then, I'm pretty sure that Jackson wasn't aware that they were trying to kill Huey. This was among a small group of people, and I happened to be at that meeting because they kind of halfway trusted me. As they were thinking of all the ways of killing Huey — "let's poison him, shoot him, what not" — I came up with, "Hey, let's bomb him."

At first, everybody was for it. I'll tell you the exact place where they were going to kill him. You see, Santa Cruz has a retreat for the BSA (Black Student Alliance) in Metchin. So they were going to invite Huey there to speak. He was writing a book at that time, in fact, with Blake. They were going to invite him to speak, and while he was speaking, "Boom!" Everyone would say, "Oh, the police killed him." The problem came up that some of the leaders of their conspiracy there would be on the podium. So, "No, we can't blow him up." This was about September, 1970. He never knew. Huey never knew. He never knew that

his friends, some of whom he trusted in at times, had righteously considered bombing him.

Q: You want to name names?

TACKWOOD: Yeah, Blake. Herman Blake was one of the main sticks in it. But Carr got wind of it, and Carr blamed DeMonica and Don Nance. He went after them, not knowing that it was Blake all the time. You see, Blake's men were Slaughter, DeMonica and Nance. Carr found out about it through some broads that were involved in it. He thought it was Nance and DeMonica, never thinking it was Slaughter and Blake because you knew they were tight partners. So there was a big row, and DeMonica took to the hills one way and Nance took for the hills the other way.

And (Fred) Bennett, I'm telling you, who was supposedly killed by Carr, was tight with Nance and them. That might have been part of his death. He died right after this, see. (According to a sealed affidavit filed during the course of the San Quentin 6 trial by attorney Frank Cox, James Carr allegedly became a police agent/informant at the latest around April 6, 1971.)

#### PLOT FAILED

After that plot failed, the one to kill Newton, we went back to the original plans then, that we would kill them all off by having them commit a raid that ain't cool.

So Smith convinced Carr the best way to do it and the best time to do it was when they brought Tommy Walker out of jail. Walker subpoenaed George Jackson to the trial. The judge said, "To hell with that," but nobody ever warned him. This is according to the reports. The judge just never brought Jackson in. But they intended to do it then and the police intended to kill them all then.

Q: How was that supposed to go down?

TACKWOOD: They were going to bring Jackson to trial by himself, and these fellows who would be trained as guerrillas would come in and take him on out of there.

Q: This was the people who were from Los Angeles?

TACKWOOD: Yeah, plus Mojo. Mojo was part of this plot, and he was reporting right back. I was reporting back, Smith was reporting back. So everything was known.

Q: So Smith was telling Elmer Pratt (Geronimo) and his crew from Los Angeles to get George?

TACKWOOD: Right, and Smith convinced Carr how it should be done. Not to "hit" George, but to get him out, get him out of jail, and that way they can all be washed away at one time. In other words, the police would get them all coming out of the courtroom at the same time, then "rat-a-tat-tat."

There's no way anybody can say to the



Fallen Comrade GEORGE JACKSON, Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party.

police, "You killed him. You murdered him" simply because they were all there with guns in the first place, if you understand where I'm coming from. George didn't go for it, and the judge didn't go for it.

Another plot was to have Smith go to Huey and tell him that some Panthers want to kill him, and there's a contract on him. When that failed. . .

Q: Why did it fail?

TACKWOOD: I have no idea, but it failed for some reason, it just didn't come off. Then, when that failed, it was decided, "Well, shit, fuck it, we've been doing our job. We've tried everything we can, for a year, to get them to kill each other off or get them in a position so we can kill them. Let's just take it a step further. Let's just do our own thing in our own way and we can become the conspirators. We do the whole job, backwards and forwards. We'll kill them all off anyway. If we can convince Jackson he's being broke out, he'll convince the rest of them." If Jackson thought he had an ally inside the penitentiary, then he could convince the ones who were going to break him out in the first place, who'd tried and tried again, to try it one more time. And that's how he got killed.

#### TO BE CONTINUED



Fallen Comrade FRED BENNETT



# 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



25,000 Zionists near end of two-day march to demand Israeli annexation of the West Bank region of occupied Palestine.

## Jewish March Sparks Deaths Of Three West Bank Palestinians

(Ramallah, Occupied West Bank) - Three Palestinians — one a six-year-old boy — were killed last week in renewed hostilities here between Palestinians and Jews. Meanwhile, Israeli security forces maintained a shaky peace in the aftermath of four days of violent clashes touched off by a march of some 25,000 Jews who demanded that their government annex the West Bank territory that it has illegally occupied since that 1967 Middle East War.

Prior to the Jewish march on Sunday, April 18 — which was greeted by nearly 3,000 angry, rock-throwing Palestinian demonstrators — Khalil Mahmoud Issa, 44, a Palestinian, was murdered on April 16 by a prominent Arab with strong connections to the reactionary Israeli government. Abdur Nur Janho, 52, was arrested in connection with Issa's death. Janho, who was defeated in the recent municipal elections in which pro-Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) forces swept to victory, is a contractor who has made his fortune by obtaining various permits and licenses from Israeli authorities.

Ramallans accused Janho of being an Israeli agent and a traitor and damaged one of his shops in protest on April 17, the day after Issa's murder. It was during this protest that six-year-old Jabal Arafat Hamis el-Jun was fatally wounded. According to an Israeli communique, "One of the rioters attempted to snatch the weapon of one of the troops and as they were struggling, a bullet went off that wounded" young Jabal. He died later.

On Monday, March 19, Israeli soldiers shot and killed a Palestinian man in Nablus, the largest city on the West Bank. The man, 55, who was not



Zimbabwean people's guerrillas have opened a major offensive against the racist Ian Smith regime.

## NEW BLACK OFFENSIVE CRIPPLES RHODESIAN TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

### Freedom Fighters Bomb Rutenga Railroad

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - Rhodesia's main highway to South Africa remained closed and trains to South Africa stopped running last week in the aftermath of a stunning major new offensive launched by Black Zimbabwean (Rhodesian) liberation forces operating in the southwestern part of the country.

Rhodesian police sealed off a 178-mile section of the main Fort Victoria-Beitbridge road to South Africa after 20 Black freedom fighters killed three White South Africans near Nuanetsi on Sunday, April 18. The Black guerrillas also struck a severe blow at the economy of the White mi-

nority government of Rhodesia when they blew up a part of the Rutenga-Beitbridge Railroad, Rhodesia's only direct rail link to South Africa. Since Mozambique closed its 800-mile long border with Rhodesia on March 5, the latter's only outlet to the sea has been through South Africa via the Rutenga Railroad.

As reported by *Internews*, on April 18 about 20 Black freedom fighters dressed in camouflaged uniforms and armed with AK-47 rifles and machine guns set up a roadblock on the Fort Victoria-Beitbridge Highway. At the time, the highway was packed with White South African tourists

returning home from the long Easter weekend.

A South African tourist said the freedom fighters stopped his car and demanded that he hand over his money and his wristwatch. The (freedom fighters) are said to have told the tourist, "We don't want to kill you, but we want to overthrow the Smith government." Suddenly, the tourist explained, two motorcycles drove up carrying four White South Africans. The guerrillas immediately opened fire on them, killing three men and injuring one woman.

APRIL 21

On Wednesday, April 21, Zimbabwean liberation forces shot and wounded a White farmer near the area where the three White South Africans had been killed three days earlier. Informed sources in Salisbury, Rhodesia's capital city, said that the farmer, Helgard Muller, had been driving between his two ranches to check cattle when the guerrillas ambushed him.

Last week's upsurge in guerrilla activity aimed at overthrowing the White racist regime of "Prime Minister" Ian Smith put fear in the hearts of Rhodesia's 270,000 Whites who rule the 5.7 million Black population of the country. One White bank clerk told the *Associated Press*, "It's just not possible. We're (Whites) supposed to have everything buttoned up." Nervous Whites in Salisbury have begun buying guns, and rich White farmers who own land near the Mozam-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

## THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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CONTINUED ON PAGE 24



## Intercommunal Talks

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

people of Angola. And here is President Luis Cabral, representing the victorious people of Guinea-Bissau. The revolutionary movement in Africa is now on the offensive and a considerable number of progressive governments in Africa are victoriously waging battle against imperialism and neocolonialism.

Today we are celebrating a great victory, a victory of historical magnitude, a victory that will change the course of history in Africa the victory of the heroic people of Angola. This victory is primarily the result of the admirable effort on the part of the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and the exceptional leadership of Comrade Agostinho Neto. They struggled against Portuguese colonialism for over 10 years and when victory was close at hand the imperialists tried to take it away from them.

The imperialists organized a tremendous plan to liquidate the revolution in Angola. They made use of every available resource to crush the independence of Angola and, thus, it became necessary to wage a heroic struggle. The CIA was busy for years, Yankee imperialism was busy for years and finally made use of puppet governments of Africa and the South African racists.

### CUBAN SOLIDARITY

There was mention here of the Cuban people's solidarity with the people of Angola. Our people gave their support to the struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies many years ago, while the imperialists supported Portugal. When Angola's independence was close at hand those same imperialists intervened in Angola: they sent regular forces from a number of African countries allied with imperialism and sent White mercenaries and South African forces.

The people of Cuba sent their first instructors to Angola in October. South African officers, CIA agents, White mercenaries and troops from puppet governments had been in action in Angola for many months already, but Cuba had not sent a single military unit. It is very important that this be made clear, to counter the imperialists' slander campaigns.

On October 23 of last year, South African troops, supported by artillery and tanks, invaded the Republic of Angola from the Namibian border. Between 100 and 150 tanks were used and they advanced at a rate of 60 to 70 kilometers a day. The mercen-



FIDEL CASTRO

aries, meanwhile, were attacking from the north, and were only 25 kilometers from Luanda. In view of this treacherous attack, on November 5 the Revolutionary Government of Cuba decided to send the first military units to Angola, to support the MPLA.

The Yankee imperialists are irritated and hysterical and are trying to hide the truth because they're angry and indignant at the Cuban people. They never thought that our people could provide military aid to a people under attack — the people of Angola — from a distance of 12,000 kilometers.

The soldiers of the MPLA, fighting like heroes and backed by international solidarity, have won a great victory. Cuba was not the only one to help the people of Angola. The people of the Republic of Guinea sent combatants to fight with the MPLA; the people of Guinea-Bissau also sent fighters and the Soviet Union, a significant amount of arms to aid the people of Angola.

The Yankee imperialists tried everything, from threats to blackmail, against the revolutionary countries because of their solidarity with Angola. But, it was a useless try, because the socialist countries and the progressive countries remained on the side of the people of Angola.

It is necessary to point out the extraordinary merit, the political

clear-sightedness and the firm revolutionary stand of Comrade Agostinho Neto. Comrade Neto never allowed himself to be intimidated, and, when the South Africans' guns, supporting the mercenaries' attack on Luanda, were shelling the outskirts of the city, he remained cool and collected, convinced of the justness of the cause and sure of victory.

### ANGOLAN REVOLUTION

Had Comrade Neto hesitated, the Angolan revolution would have been crushed, tens of thousands of revolutionaries would have been assassinated and Comrade Neto wouldn't be here with us today, because he would have been killed in combat. But Comrade Neto, faced by the combined attack of the imperialists, White mercenaries and the South African racists, did not hesitate to ask for the help of the revolutionary peoples. For imperialism is powerful, and no small country such as Cuba or Angola can face imperialist aggression alone, without the help of others.

There is such a thing as a revolutionary camp, there is a revolutionary movement and there is proletarian internationalism. And if the imperialists want to know what proletarian internationalism is about, Angola is a magnificent case in point.

TO BE CONTINUED

The BLACK PANTHER PARTY Sends Revolutionary Greetings of Solidarity to the People of the DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CAMBODIA on the Occasion of the Anniversary of the Liberation of Their Homeland on April 17, 1975, and to the People of VIETNAM on the Occasion of the 1st Anniversary of the Liberation of their Southern Homeland on April 30, 1975.

## AFRICA IN FOCUS



### South Africa

The chairperson of the U.N. Committee Against Apartheid, Madame Jeanne Martin Cisse, has asked the World Health Organization (WHO) to investigate reports of mistreatment of Black mental patients in the racist apartheid regime of South Africa. In a letter to WHO Director General Halfoam Mahler, Madame Cisse said the evidence presented by the Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* "calls for urgent international investigation."

### Mozambique

The governments of Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica and Guyana have pledged their firm support for the Mozambican government and people in their political and economic struggle against the White racist regime of Rhodesia. *Hsinhua* news agency reports. The Trinidad and Tobago governments announced that they would provide Mozambique with \$100,000 (Trinidad and Tobago currency), made up of sugar, medical supplies, garments, canned food and fertilizer. Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley called on the people of his country to donate \$60,000 annually to Mozambique. Guyana Prime Minister Forbes Burnham declared that his country would give moral support to Mozambique.

### Congo & Egypt

The governments of the Congo and Egypt recently issued a joint communique expressing support for the African and Arab people's liberation struggles. *Hsinhua* reports that the communique — which condemned the White racist government of South Africa for its oppression of the majority (Black) population and demanded that Israel withdraw from the Arab lands it illegally occupies — was published the day after Congolese Prime Minister Louis Sylvain Goma completed a one-day visit to Egypt.





Under the repressive Duvalier regime, Haitian children have very bleak futures.

## 80 PER CENT HUNGRY

# Starvation Rates In Duvalier's Haiti At Critical Level

(Havana, Cuba) - Haiti's population, under the rule of its repressive president, Jean-Claude Duvalier, is presently suffering from acute malnutrition due to U.S. exploitation.

The Caribbean island has an area of 107,000 square miles and over five million inhabitants, most of whom are living very desperate lives, according to a *Presa Latina* report carried in the *Guardian*.

The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that food consumption in tropical countries like Haiti should be up to 2,800 calories per day, but 80 per cent of the Haitian population barely consumes 1,700 calories per day. The country has the highest infant mortality rate in Latin America and one of the highest in the world, with 148 out of every 1,000 children dying before their first birthday.

Exact information on this critical situation is impossible to obtain since there has never been an official census in the country. According to a 1930 law, a three-dollar fee must be paid for every recording of a birth or death — a "legal luxury" for Haitians whose average wage is

# BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS DIVIDE ON ISSUE OF TRANSKEI "INDEPENDENCE"

(Umtata, South Africa) - "South Africa is one country. It has one destiny. Those who are attempting to divide the land of our birth are attempting to stem the tide of history."

These words, spoken by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the elected leader of the Zulu homeland of South Africa, reflect the strong opposition of a growing number of Black South Africans against the upcoming "independence" of the Transkei homeland, scheduled for October 26.

Chief Buthelezi and his followers maintain that the "independence" of the Transkei will be nothing more than a token gesture on the part of the White apartheid regime of South Africa which is attempting to clean up its image as a vicious oppressor of its majority Black population.

Those who favor the independence of the Transkei — and therefore the division of South Africa into small, separate states — appear to be satisfied at having a dubious independence handed to them on a silver platter.

The designated homeland of the Xhosa tribe — the second largest tribe in the country after



The main square of Umtata, principal city of the Transkei (see map). There is strong opposition to the so-called "independence" of the Transkei among Black leaders who look upon it as a token gesture.



the Zulus — the Transkei "alone has the potential to feed all of southern Africa. . ." according to one White South African agricultural expert quoted in *The New York Times*. This is one main reason why the South African government is not likely to totally relinquish control of the area. In fact, the White minority has poured millions of dollars into the Transkei. New roads and schools are being built, and the government is providing training for those Blacks who will take over the administration of the state.

The "independence" of the Transkei is the climax of South Africa's separate development policy. The racist premise of separate development is that South Africa is composed of many ethnic and tribal groups, with the Whites allegedly being dominant because they have developed the country's technology. If the various ethnic groups would politically assimilate, separate development ideologists claim, then the White "dominant" culture will be destroyed.

Therefore, the insane argument goes on, the non-White people of South Africa must first become the equals of the Whites before any kind of assimilation can take place. This equalization is to be accomplished through separate development.



Chief GATHAL BUTHELEZI (left) and Chief KAISER MANTANZIMA.

Unlike Chief Buthelezi, Chief Kaiser Mantanzima of the Transkei welcomes "independence." Reflecting a reactionary position on armed liberation struggles, he said that other Africans "have fought long and hard struggles for independence. Why should we not take it just because it has been offered?"

Chief Mantanzima argues that his people have been gradually prepared for self-rule with a parliament, educational opportuni-

## C.I.A. Behind Cuban Fishing Vessel Attacks

(Havana, Cuba) - Just two days after Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro threatened to end the U.S.-Cuba hijacking agreement if attacks on Cuban fishing vessels continued, a Cuban exile and former CIA operative surfaced in Cuba and made revelations of Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) involvement in these attacks.

Last Monday, Fidel announced during a rally in Havana, "if aggressions against Cuban fishing vessels do not cease, it will be the end of the Cuban-American agreement on maritime and aerial hijackings." (Fidel refers to the 1973 agreement made by the U.S. and Cuba to cooperate in opposing hijackings.)

The most recent attack on Cuban fishing vessels took place April 8 when the *Ferro Cemento 119* vessel was fired upon and sunk. Surviving Cuban fishermen escaped in a small raft. One Cuban was killed during this attack.

After Fidel threatened to end the hijacking agreement, U.S. press secretary Ron Nessen announced that the U.S. would investigate the raids. However, even before these investigations could get underway, Manuel de Armas revealed last Wednesday during a television press conference that he had infiltrated groups in the U.S. for the CIA and that all anti-Castro groups are financed, directed and controlled by this U.S.-based intelligence agency. Asked whether the CIA had prior knowledge of attacks by these groups against Cuban fishing boats, he answered: "Yes, definitely." One Such Miami-based group, the "Cuban National Liberation Front," took credit for the April 8 attack.

De Armas further revealed that he had worked for the CIA from 1969 until 1974, but that his last assignment for the agency was early this year, just before he returned to his native Cuba.

De Armas' revelations only confirm CIA involvement in attacks Cuban authorities have long believed were carried out by U.S.-based groups of anti-Castro exiles led by the CIA.





Starving Haitian child (left) and villagers (right) waiting in line for food rations. The infant mortality rate in Haiti is the highest in Latin America.

## Starvation Rates In Haiti At Critical Level

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

20 cents for 12 hours of work or more per day.

Alastair Matheson, deputy director of the information office of UNICEF, stated that the nutritional problems of Haiti have been badly managed for many years. The great deficiencies in these areas are not being solved by scientific methods, Matheson said. There are alarming symptoms of malnutrition in the Haitian child population, and a high number of deaths from gastroenteritis and in the incidence of Kwashiorkor, diseases caused by lack of food.

The health services of the country are very deficient, in areas where they do exist. Haiti

has one doctor for every 50,000 inhabitants, one dentist for every 100,000 inhabitants and only 4,000 hospital beds in the entire country, most of them in the capital, Port-au-Prince.

Also, only 17 per cent of the school age population attends school with only three per cent ever finishing elementary school. The illiteracy rate in Haiti is over 80 per cent.

### REPRESSIVE REGIME

Under the repressive regime of Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") Duvalier and his father, the ruthless "Papa Doc," the internal development of the country has been estimated to be 50 years behind that of other Caribbean islands.

The southern portion of the island has the most fertile farmland — 70 per cent of which is owned by U.S. multinational corporations. In 1975, when a severe drought brought almost 100,000 inhabitants to the brink of starvation, government propaganda emphasized the creation of more than 100 factories which produced baseballs, electronic instruments, and IBM computer cards — which were later to be marketed under the "Made in USA" label.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), a known CIA front, is offering donations of food to Haitian women who will undergo sterilization operations. □

## WORLD SCOPE



### North Vietnam

In response to charges by Presidential challenger Ronald Reagan that his administration was stepping up relations with North Vietnam, President Ford told a news conference in Indianapolis, last week, that the U.S. has no such intention. Ford's declaration reverses a statement made by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger on March 26 that the U.S. had sent a message to North Vietnam saying the Ford administration was prepared in principle "to normalize relations with Hanoi."

### Vietnam

North and South Vietnamese were scheduled to go to the polls on Sunday, April 25, to participate in their first combined national elections which will give special emphasis to women candidates and a reunification program. Candidates in the elections comprise workers, farmers, hill tribesmen and ethnic minorities. Saigon's Liberation Radio announced, "Voters will have the honor of electing... a National Assembly which will have the historic mission of building a peaceful, independent, unified and socialist Vietnam."

### Palestine

In a recent statement marking Palestine's "Day of the Land," the Organization of African Unity (OAU) expressed its full support for the Palestinian people in their struggle to regain their national rights under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The statement calls upon "all peace-loving people to support the Palestinian cause" and urges Israel "to withdraw from all occupied Arab territories."

### China & Egypt

The People's Republic of China and Egypt signed a military agreement last week signifying a new phase in relations between the two countries. The signing of the agreement came at the end of a recent visit by Egyptian Vice-President Huani Mubarak during which time he had talks with Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Hua Kuo-feng. The agreement may likely cover Chinese provision of spare parts for Egypt's MIG-17 and MIG-21 squadrons, planes commonly used by the two countries.



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## ENTERTAINMENT

## PRISON DIARY

*Thy body is in jail.  
But thy spirit, never.  
For the great cause to prevail,  
Let thy spirit soar, higher!*

## AFTERNOON

*Two o'clock: the doors open to  
make the cells airy.  
Everyone lifts his eyes for a look  
at the heavens.  
O free spirits roaming the sky of  
liberty!  
Know you, one of your peers is  
languishing in irons?*

## THE MILESTONE

*Neither high up nor far away,  
On neither emperor's nor king's  
throne,  
You're only a little slab of stone  
Standing on the edge of the  
highway.  
People ask you for guidance;  
You stop them from going astray,  
And tell them the distance  
O'er which they must journey.  
The service you render is no small  
one;  
People will remember what  
you've done.*

## ON NATURE

*Of nature the ancients loved to  
sing the beauty:  
Moon and flowers, snow and  
wind, mist, hills and streams.  
But in our days poems should  
contain verses steely,  
And poets should form assault  
teams.*

(Poems excerpted from Ho Chi Minh's Prison Diary, in honor of the liberation of South Vietnam on April 30, 1975.)

## MOVIE REVIEW

# "ONE FLEW OVER THE CUCKOO'S NEST": REVEALING THE INSANITY OF AMERICA

... *Cuckoo's Nest* is a bird's eye view of the insanity of America. The photography, the technicalities are handled so excellently that one is no longer seated in a theater but experiences life. In a brilliant performance, Jack Nicholson is R.M. McMurphy, who injects, forces life and meaning upon the dying, irrelevant existences of several people caught up in one of this country's mental institutions. McMurphy, like many people in this country, is being forced to undergo an alleged mental evaluation, having been classified as possibly insane by a prison work camp. We immediately learn that the reasons for McMurphy's trip to the mental hospital have a familiar ring: he is belligerent, lazy, etc.

More than a hospital, McMurphy realizes that the place he's been sent to is a prison camp, whose main purpose seems to be to maintain order, maintain routine. Drugged and defeated, the men on the ward file one by one by the nurses'



In the brilliant movie, *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, "therapeutic" shock treatment is portrayed in all its inhumanity.

station daily to take their medication; then, the meeting, group therapy for those functional enough; then the bath; on and on. McMurphy rejects the notion of the necessity of this, rejects the notion of the men's insanity and therefore the reason for their suffering in the hospital: "You're no more crazy than the other assholes walking the streets."

And we can see ourselves there; in Billy, the man-child whose mother has created fear of hell fire with the Judeo-Christian, All American ethic of not indulging sexual fantasies, desires; there's the homosexual who refuses to accept his dislike, jealousy of his wife as his desire for men; the men who are insecure, self-destructive, alienated, lonely.

They are the crystalization of all of us, of a human attempt at survival in a world, a society run

by the Nurse Ratched (played so effectively by Louise Fletcher, that one begins to think it reasonable to attack her on sight, knowing she is only an actress).

Ratched, in her pseudo-security, finds salvation daily in maintaining the insanity of the men in her charge, fighting every inch of the way against any sign of health they might display. It is her joy and her job. One begins to see how tied in too, are all the hospital employees, to their jobs, even at the expense of keeping the men oppressed: the three Black orderlies who only maintain order in order to receive a check, while maintaining their "Blackness" by docilely taking orders with a modern shuffle from a liberated mistress. Ratched orders the world around. She denies ordinary things — watching ball games on TV, voting, getting cigarettes unless there is "proper behavior," etc.

## THE REAL WORLD

Thrusting the real world upon everyone, Nicholson/McMurphy becomes both liberator and target, as is true in the real world. He takes some of the men out on an unauthorized fishing expedition, passing themselves off as "doctors" from the local mental institution. He organizes a basketball team of sorts. Even when the men are denied TV rights, he calls the plays for a fantasy baseball game and the men join around him at the TV and experience the thrill of his bittersweet fantasy. He defines and points up their rights and ends up in isolation; he suffers 10,000 volts a day in electro shock treatment because of his unorthodox boldness against the routine, the oppression.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

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Tribal village in the Transkei.

## S.A. Divides On Transkei "Independence"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

ties and a civil service trained by the South African government. Agreeing with the chief, Senator Rodney Vika, a Presbyterian minister and a member of Chief Mantanzima's majority pro-independence party, claimed:

"In many of those countries (that fought for independence), independence came before they were ready for it and the result has been an economic shambles. We have a chance here to make the country work. . ."

Senator Vika, however, was forced to admit that the Transkei would remain economically dependent on South Africa. "That is a fact of life. . ." he said.

Despite the tremendous fertility of the 15,600 square miles of land in the Transkei, the Xhosa people's historic view of land is not likely to bring on major economic exploitation of the territory. Black Africans by and large consider land a possession held by tribal right, not as an economic asset. Land in the Transkei is distributed by tribal chiefs according to an individual's prestige. The chief also determines how many cattle a person can own.

There is mounting opposition to independence within the Transkei itself. Senator Knowledge Guzana insists, "The Balkanization (separation) of South Africa is in no one's interest. We are one nation."

Even among some White South Africans there is opposition to separate development. Donald Woods, the editor of an East London newspaper long opposed to separate development, wrote recently:

"... What makes South Africa hated abroad, disunited at home? The answer is apartheid, alias separate development. The only solution is to scrap apartheid." □



Zimbabwean People's Army in action.

## Black Offensive Cripples Rhodesia

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

bique border have placed cyclone fences, barbed wire and searchlights on their property in an effort to ward off attacks from liberation forces.

Although Rhodesian police insist that they will apprehend the Black guerrillas responsible for last week's activities, the freedom fighters have thus far escaped capture. Over 700 of them have infiltrated into Rhodesia from Mozambique since January.

In Mozambique, where he was on a five-day state visit, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda called on "Africa and all the progressive forces of the world" to support the armed struggle against the Smith regime. Speaking at a state banquet given in his honor by Mozambican President Samora Machel, President Kaunda said that Zimbabwe provided "the key to final victory in Namibia (South West Africa). . ."

Observers reported that President Machel put pressure on President Kaunda to allow Zimbabwean liberation forces to once again operate out of Zambia and open a third front against the Smith regime in northwestern Rhodesia. The Zambian president has followed an inconsistent policy regarding the armed struggle in Rhodesia. Over 200 leaders of the United People's Army of

Zimbabwe — the military arm of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) which has been leading the armed struggle against Rhodesian colonialism since 1966 — remain detained by the Kaunda government in Zambia. Yet, President Kaunda recently has made repeated statements to the effect that armed struggle is the only way that Rhodesia will be liberated.

Salim Salim of Tanzania, the chairperson of the United Nations Decolonization Committee, told a press conference in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, last week that the Committee has concluded that intensified armed struggle is the only possible solution to obtaining majority rule in Rhodesia.

Reuters news agency quoted Salim as saying that any further talks with Smith would be "not only an exercise in futility but a talk with death — which is impossible."

Meanwhile, the Smith government is expected to announce shortly plans to bring Black Rhodesians into the government. Observers believe that the new plan calls for placing Blacks — primarily tribal chiefs who have long been controlled by the government — in ministerial positions. The observers noted that the plan has caused a serious split in the Rhodesian cabinet. □

## INSIDE LATIN AMERICA



### Chile

Andrew McClellan, the inter-American representative of the Department of International Affairs of the AFL-CIO has severely criticized European and other labor organizations for giving aid to and employing exiled leaders of the outlawed Chilean Central Union de Trabajadores (CUT). CUT was outlawed after the infamous 1973 military coup in Chile. McClellan further complained that union officers of the AFL-CIO affiliated American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) who are operating with the permission and support of the military dictatorship of General Pinochet are being "attacked systematically from abroad by exiled totalitarian leaders of the dissolved CUT who falsely accuse them of being collaborators with the junta." Among several other researchers and journalists, the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) and the Pacific Studies Center have concluded during the past two years since the junta that the AIFLD did, in fact, assist in preparing for the 1973 military coup in Chile.

### Chile

The U.S. government is once again considering extending insurance against nationalization to private U.S. firms investing in Chile through the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC). The reopening of this insurance plan, halted during the late Salvador Allende's presidency, is expected to encourage a greater flow of private U.S. capital to Chile, a demonstration of "low-key" U.S. government support for the ruling junta.

### Guyana

Guyana has recently joined a leftward trend with other English-speaking Black Caribbean nations — Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, and Tobago — by strengthening technical, trade and cultural ties with Cuba. Prime Minister Forbes Burnham now says that stronger ties between Guyana and Cuba will strengthen the socialist cause throughout the Caribbean.

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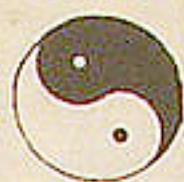
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## SPORTS

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## "Warming Up"

Many studies have been conducted to determine the effects of preliminary heating or "warming up" of an individual's muscles prior to an athletic performance. Laboratory findings have shown that cooling intact muscles decreased their contraction time, reduced the excitability of the muscles, and decreased the speed at which nerve impulses will reach muscle fibers.

Though the theoretical case for "warming-up" is strong, its practical application is not as easy as it seems. Although small changes in environmental temperatures may affect superficial muscles, it is not easy to change the temperature of more deeply set muscles — those usually sprained or "pulled" during athletic activity — because of the highly-effective temperature control system of the human body. Heat treatments and hot showers have been found to increase deep muscle temperatures, where massage treatment did not do so because it affects only the outer muscles.

Athletes and students of human performance are practically all agreed that some warm up must precede performance where high levels of precision are needed, this establishes psychological patterns which cannot be ignored. However the term, "warm-ups," is misleading. To one athlete, warm up means a few bending and stretching exercises; to another, it denotes an hour or more of intense specific practice of the task to subsequently be performed; to a third athlete, it may consist of passively warming the body by hot showers or some other heat source. Warm-up procedures in one activity/sport may differ considerably from those in another. Furthermore, in spite of claims of the absolute necessity of warming up, in emergencies (having to run or fight for your continued well-being, etc.) or playing a sport without being able to warm up, people have frequently gone in "cold," and unprepared, and demonstrated spectacular ability to rise to the occasion.

LUCY HARRIS NAMED "WOMAN  
PLAYER OF THE YEAR" IN COLLEGE  
BASKETBALL

(Fullerton, Calif.) - Lucy Harris, Delta State University sophomore, generally acknowledged as the best woman basketball player to ever play the game, recently received another honor: recognition as college basketball's "Woman Player of the Year."

Lucy is the essence of a great basketball player in that she makes both the individual and collective contributions needed at crucial points in the game. The Championship Delta State U. Women's Team 28-0 record in A.I.A. (Association of Intercollegiate Athletics) play last year and Lucy's 33-point per game average demonstrate this. (For more details of Ms. Harris' illustrious career, see THE BLACK PANTHER, March 13, 1976.)

Currently, Ms. Harris is one of the star hoopsters on the 1976 U.S. Women's National Basketball Team. This isn't Lucy's first exposure to international competition, however. She's played on the team in previous years, traveling to such places as the People's Republic of China, Mexico, Colombia and Japan.

One of the most refreshing aspects of this Black superstar's personality is her friendly and healthy attitude toward the sport, her fellow players and the opposing teams. Some of her American coaches think she's "too nice." But Lucy is one of the growing number of U.S. athletes who's refusing to be part of the

Black woman  
basketball star  
LUCY HARRIS  
(45) in action.



highly competitive and sometimes vicious syndrome which characterizes Western sports.

"Basketball shouldn't be such a hostile game. I don't like to get too aggressive because people tend to get hurt. Sometimes I have to play tough, but I don't want to hurt anybody," Lucy said.

## IN PREPARATION

This month, in preparation for international competition at the 1976 Olympics, Lucy and her teammates will test their skills in a two-game series against the U.S.S.R. women's team in southern California. According to L.A. Times reporter Ted Green,

most of the hope of the team rests with the 6'3" Black sophomore.

Whatever the outcome, you can be sure that Lucy will remain on top, a levelheaded sister and an exceptional athlete with a people's perspective towards sports. □

Carter-Artis  
Retrial Postponed

(Paterson, N.J.) - The retrial of former middleweight boxing star Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and co-defendant John Artis has been postponed until October 5 at the request of defense attorneys who said that they could not be ready by the original June 7 trial date.

Myron Bedlock and Lewis Steel, lawyers for the two Black men, also told the court that they would argue for the dismissal of all charges against their clients and probably move for a change of venue (location) in case the trial is held in the fall.

Attorney Bedlock explained that his office is faced with a "monumental" task of tracking down "new" witnesses to the 1966 tavern shooting here. In the original trial, prosecution witnesses Arthur Bello and Albert Bradley lied in court, which they admitted in September, 1974. Their testimony was the primary factor in the conviction of Carter and Artis in 1967.

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## L.A. Hospital Slowdown

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

or eliminate the decision making role of these young doctors, who spend more time "on the front-lines" of patient care in these facilities than they do. The most blatant has been their attempt to reduce the fund to a mere \$100,000, 10 per cent of the original \$1.1 million Fund that was established last year.

Also, the County is lobbying to place control (of the Fund) in the hands of the hospital administration.

When the Joint Council recognized the deceitful County plan for what it was, the general strike at the three medical facilities was called. During the strike, most outpatient facilities were providing only emergency services. USC County Med. Center's daily patient load dropped from the normal 1,800 to about 6 patients, last Thursday, with Harbor General registering 400, as opposed to the usual 1,000 patients. Striking doctors were on hand, however, to administer emergency services as needed.

On Thursday, a major confrontation with the County Board of Supervisors occurred when the striking doctors attended the regular session of the Board to present their case.

Supervisors Schabarum and Ward attempted to block the physicians from making any sort of presentation, stating that the strike was "illegal" and that their meeting would not provide a forum for the doctors to be heard. The doctors refused to leave the auditorium, forcing another vote among the supervisors, which this time gave them the floor.

Several doctors presented the issues involved. Strike leader Dr. Dan Asimus, a Harvard Medical School graduate and a resident in psychiatry pleaded passionately for the continuation of the Patient Care Fund, the first of its kind in the country.

"This is a strike on behalf of patients who have to wait for four hours to see one of us, and then wait a few more hours for the result of x-rays," Dr. Asimus said. "This is a strike for the Spanish-speaking patient who is admitted late at night and has to wait several hours as we try to find interpreters."

Asimus further stated that the County's expenditure of \$20 million for improvements at the Coliseum (a local sports and convention center) while refusing to spend \$7 million on sorely needed improvements at County medical facilities indicates a



At recent Board of Supervisors meeting in Los Angeles, hospital residents Dr. DAN ASIMUS (left) and Dr. LOUIS SIMPSON list reasons to expand the model Patient Care Fund.

"misplaced sense of priorities."

His presentation was greeted by the cheers of his fellow physicians and stunned silence from the Board members. It was undoubtedly a shock for the stuffy Supervisors to see the young doctors taking their responsibilities so seriously toward all their patients regardless of background or "ability to pay."

The doctors then adjourned to a negotiating session with County Medical administrators and an arbitrator. It was at the end of this meeting, which lasted until 4 a.m. the following morning, that

a halt to the strike was called with negotiations continuing on May 3. Doctors returned to work Monday, April 26, with the understanding that the strike will resume if the May 3 negotiations fail to produce a satisfactory agreement. Other medical workers, particularly nurses, are ready to join the strike if it resumes. Everyone will be watching, and awaiting the outcome of the negotiations. If the young doctors are successful, hospitals and doctors all over the country will be attempting to implement similar plans. □

## Jewish March Sparks Palestinian Deaths

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

identified in news reports, died as the result of sporadic gun fire that erupted when Israeli soldiers attempted to break up an angry crowd of Palestinian demonstrators protesting the Jewish march. Three other people were wounded in the same incident.

The Israeli pro-settlement march, was organized by the rightwing Gush Emunim (faith bloc) movement and was reported to be the largest it has ever staged. The Jews, many of whom were armed, had a permit from Israeli Defense Minister Shimon Peres to hold the march and were also protected by the Israeli army.

The Arab counter demonstration was banned under West Bank occupation law. Five armored cars carrying 40 helmeted border Israeli policemen followed the Arab protesters, ready to attack upon the slightest provocation.

Chanting, "Palestine is Arab," and carrying placards reading, "No settlements in our land," the Arab demonstrators defiantly gathered in view of Jewish settlers.

West Bank Palestinians are



Zionist marchers who were met by angry crowds of Palestinian demonstrators. Three Palestinians were killed by Israeli military police

adopting an increasingly hard-line attitude toward the explosive settlement question. Zionists have established over 50 illegal squatter camps on the West Bank since 1967. Reactionary Gush Emunim followers believe that all of biblical Israel, including the areas of Judea and Samaria, which make up the West Bank, are as much a part of Israel as Tel Aviv.

On Wednesday, April 21, soldiers in East Jerusalem

attacked small crowds of Palestinian high school girls who set up barricades of rocks and burning tires outside three schools in the Arab section of the city.

In Tulkarm, the fifth largest city in the West Bank, businessmen closed their shops and occupation authorities imposed a curfew on the center of town after crowds of Arabs marched through the streets and set up barricades across main roads. No clashes were reported. □

## "Stop S.B.#1"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Speakers for the afternoon, in addition to Elaine Brown, are state Assemblyman Allen Sieroty, Father Eugene Boyle, and several others.

Buses going to Sacramento will leave from Oakland at 9:00 a.m. from the MacArthur BART station and in San Francisco from the foot of Market Street, also at 9:00 a.m. The cost of the bus trip is \$2.00 round trip. Reservations are not necessary.

Among the organizations sponsoring the "Stop Senate Bill No. 1" rally are the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the United Prisoners Union (UPU), San Francisco Women For Peace, the Student Congress, NAACP, White Panther Party, Bay Area Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, KDP (a Filipino organization), the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Unitarian Churches and the Black Panther Party.

Anyone wishing further information about the May 1 rally may call (415) 777-4883. □



## "They Will Brainwash You"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

noted, "You have to be White to get a job in administration (CIW administration building where some inmates work as typists and secretaries). I had a (Black) friend whom they finally had to put there because she was qualified. But they made it so hard for her that after a while she didn't want to be there," Danetta said.

When she talked about the lack of political consciousness of the Black inmates at CIW, Danetta was both angry and sad. "They (sisters) don't have any unity. One girl's baby died at birth. The doctor said the baby was still born, but the girl had felt the baby move inside her. They buried the baby's body and wouldn't let an autopsy be performed on it. When the girl's parents came to get the body, they were refused.

'You would think that Black women would get together and say, 'Hey, we demand an investigation of this.' But they didn't.

"If you show any type of resistance, they (Black inmates) say, 'Why do you want to come in here and do that?'"

For Danetta, resistance was the key to her survival at CIW. "You can't let them take your mind. If they do, then you have nothing left." □



## "Until We're Free"

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## Letters to the Editor

### APPEAL FROM CHESTER MENTAL HEALTH CENTER

Dear Comrade:

The following letter is an appeal to the Black Panther Party to print this article in "Letters to the Editor." The patients here at the Chester Mental Health Center are being treated with cruel and unusual punishment and neglect and you name it. We are unable to hire a lawyer because we come from poor families so we would appreciate anyone's concern regarding this matter and any legal services available to us to bring a direct immediate end to brutality and discrimination and restoration of our basic civil rights.

Here are signatures of patients who's rights are being violated under Mental Health Code article 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8, of Illinois law.

Otis McNeil #627141

Walter Nelson

Thomas Stephens

Michael Dix

Elder Bauht

• • •

I am writing you in an effort to explain the situation here at the Chester Mental Health Center. Many of the patients' civil rights have been violated by the administration and the medical staff. We have been put on medication such as thiorazine, trilophon, polyxyn, etc., for no valid reasons other than the fact that the psychiatrists at this mental health center have interviewed us and determined that we were in need of medication. Medication is the only therapy we receive here as treatment.

Many of the patients are nonviolent and do not act out, but yet we are subjected to chemotherapy. Most of us patients have criminal charges pending against us and were found incompetent to stand trial by the psychiatrist and the court, and in need of mental treatment. The charge aides treat the Black patients with contempt. We have no way to enforce our civil rights other than to result to physical violence which results in an increase in medication and confinement for a long period of time. It is my understanding that there is supposed to be a Title Six patient civil rights complaint forms available to the patients so that they may exhaust their grievances to the court, but there are none available at this mental health center. The patients here would appreciate it if you would print this information about this institution. We are disappointed with the way Dr. Leavitt, director of the Department of Mental Health, is letting this institution be operated. We are depending on the Black Panther Party to give some exposure to this situation to the public. We would like whatever legal assistance you can provide.

Power to the People!

Thank you,  
Calvin Crockett  
Chester Mental Health Center  
Chester, Ill.

### "RESIST THE POWER OF OPPRESSION"

Dear Editor:

Every day ends the same way in prison. Cold walls of hostility, with a key turning in a door, locking us in for the night/day. Then we're counted like objects. And a little later on in the night the lights are cut down low and we're sent to bed like children.

As the nights creep slowly by, the tension grows greater. Tension increased by the edging keepers of us (the kept). Apprehension heavily hangs in the air. We dread the minutes or hours of solitude before the peace of sleep. This is the hardest time of the day. Especially when seem to be closing in on us. During the day, there is work, intrigues, millions of little things to keep us moving, busy, stirring and our minds always occupied. But at night there's nothing but the silence and our thoughts.

Our cries are still left unheard. They are only heard by deaf ears with no response. We are the captives of society's dungeons. Our problems are your problems; no matter how much independence our fellow continents get, for Amerikka is the tomb of oppression. Psychological humiliation and physical mutilation is an every day occurrence in our lives. Your problems will never be fully solved until and unless we are also recognized and treated as human beings.

Our problems are your problems. It is not a Negro problem, White problem, nor an American problem. This is a world problem.

Raise your banners high and fight or have you forgotten how to? The struggle is a continuous one with no stopping. Only Freedom/Liberation is certain.

We all exist to resist the power of oppression.

Power to the Oppressed!  
Comrade Aminah Aliyah  
1040 Bragg St.  
s/n Bessie Bowler  
Raleigh, N.C. 27610

## Jobs Alliance

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

ing closing of the Eastmont Branch; funding for the Museum will be cut to such an extent that admission may be charged for what was once a free city service; the list goes on and on.

The Jobs Alliance has drawn up a tentative program for raising revenue and avoiding cutbacks. The key point in the program is "make the Port pay." The Port of Oakland represents a substantial source of potential revenue for the city which is presently untapped. The Port now owes the city \$7 million. Rapid repayment of this debt could provide the city with an immediate infusion of funds.

Another activity of the Jobs Alliance is the circulation of petitions addressed to the Mayor and City Council, demanding no cutbacks or layoffs. The Alliance intends to present the signatures of thousands of citizens to the Council when it meets in May to make its final determinations on the budget.

Listed under the bold heading "We Are Outraged," the petitions list those city problems already mentioned along with a third:

"The police budget grows faster than any other city department as if the social problems caused by unemployment will be solved by jailing its victims."

Under "We Demand" the petitions list:

"1) No layoffs or cutbacks in services. No speedups for city workers.

"2) Maintenance and expansion of the affirmative action hiring program.

"3) More money for the communities, less for the police.

"4) Use of any extensions of federal revenue sharing money and any additional revenues above the projected deficits to rehire laid-off CETA workers.

5) Investigate the following sources for revenue to meet growing costs:

"a. Repayment of the \$7.5 million owed the city by the Port; b. 1 percent increase on real estate transfer (sales) tax; c. Substitute a payroll tax like San Francisco's (to be paid by employers, not employees) for Oakland's business license tax. This could yield more than \$11 million yearly; d. Increase tax on PG&E profits; e. Change the method of funding police and fire pensions without cutting payments; f. Require the Port of Oakland to divert some of its earnings to the City of Oakland (\$2-4 million a year)." □



## "Majority Control In Oakland"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

is our effort that produces this economy, and that, of course, is the bottom line that I will always

"I think that ultimately we can see that some things can be done and we can use 'knitpicky' things to get some things accomplished. But there is the big picture, the question of control to resolve whatever crisis we see.

### CRISIS

"I don't think this is a crisis that I have created; I don't think this is a crisis that we have created; and I don't know if I think this is a crisis in any serious way. I think there is going to be a crisis for us but I don't think it's a crisis in terms of the financial picture in the city of Oakland.

"I want to give you an example of what kinds of things I think we can do if we are organized. I think that's the key to anything, to

move in an organized, unified way. If that's wrong, then I'll move in some other way when I've discovered what kind of way that is.

"A year and a half or two years ago two or three people got together and observed that part of the problem that was going to be created by the creation of the City Center Project was that poor people were going to be displaced. Those people that were being displaced were victims of what we used to call 'Negro removal' years ago, translated as Urban Renewal or 'Black Removal' in later years. Typically cities rebuild themselves and put up big businesses to try to get the Whites back who moved to the suburbs. Also, so that they don't touch any 'pure feet' on any filth of the ghetto like in West Oakland, so they don't have to

travel through the dirt of West Oakland, they build up the Grove-Shafter Freeway, whip into the downtown center, drop your money, and go back out to the comforts of the suburbs again.

"This was the basic plan of the Center City Project. This is always the plan because unfortunately urban cities like Oakland have the problem of being overloaded with poor working people but yet all this industry and all this money sits in the city center. So it's sort of like they don't want to be here but they have their money here, so they have to have some interest in the city. It's like: how are you not there, but still get your money's worth and keep all these horrible people from messing up this scenery without putting any money into their community or their neighborhoods?"

TO BE CONTINUED

## "...Cuckoo's Nest"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 21

His only other standing friend, the Chief (played by William Redfield), who eventually, through McMurphy, understands he can be "strong as a tree," survives what McMurphy cannot, so symbolically perfect.

McMurphy, ultimately pays the penalty for his revolutionary folly. He must be destroyed. He remains, however, the meaning of a glimpse of freedom, from alienation, from pain, from suffering for all the men. The question rings out at the end, "Where's McMurphy? . . . Did he escape? . . . No, he's a vegetable. . . . They finally got him. . . . We ultimately see the spirit of freedom, of McMurphy, soar through the hospital, touching every painful heart and fly over the cuckoo's nest to be free as the wind. □

## Widespread I.R.S.

### Abuse

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

their businesses ruined due to unfair and sometimes illegal IRS practices.

Palo Alto attorney John B. Daugherty, an ex-IRS collection agent, called the agency "extortionist from the top down" and declared that many of the actions of the IRS are unnecessary because "99.9 per cent of the American taxpayers are honest."

In the case of John Weiss, a former Mountain View contractor, IRS agents acted so hastily that he was not even given a chance to clear up his tax problems. He was approached by a collection agent at the site of his business and was told that he owed \$12,800 in back taxes. When asked how long he had to pay off the debt, Weiss was told "30 minutes," even though he could easily have paid the debt in installments. The agent came back within an hour and seized his property and sold \$105,000 of his construction equipment before the debt could be paid, totally destroying his business.

Attorney Robert Kovacevich of Spokane, Washington, told of certain car dealers who were able to buy late model cars seized by the IRS as little as \$400 to \$600 and then sold the vehicles for around \$4,000 to \$5,000.

Although Senator Montoya seemed to represent the IRS more than taxpayers, even he admitted that taxpayers are "fearful of and intimidated by the IRS" and warned that such unfair practices are similar to those which "got Hitler started." □

## Guard Backs Tackwood's Story Of Smuggled In .38

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Hampton testified last week that he, along with San Quentin's "goon squad" led by a Sgt. Klein, searched the AC and outside grounds for the .38 for several days beginning on August 22 but to no avail.

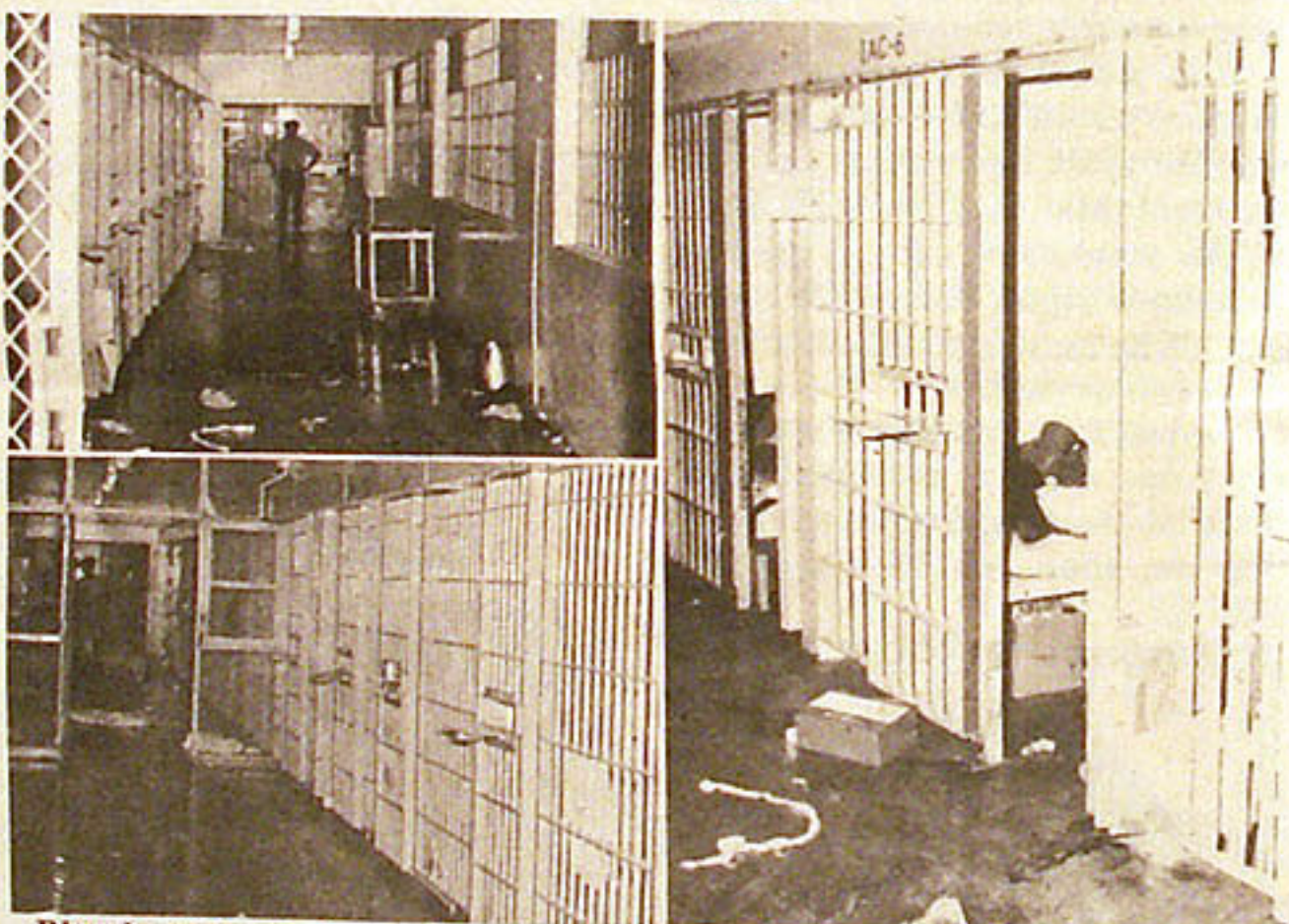
He was also shown a picture of the .9mm semiautomatic pistol found under the body of the slain Black Panther Party Field Marshal on August 21, stating definitely and emphatically that it was not the gun he saw in Johnny Spain's hand.

Further testimony backing Tackwood's statements that he participated in a statewide police conspiracy to assassinate leading members of the Black Panther Party (see Centerfold) was presented last week by Ms. Norma Armour.

During her brief appearance on the stand, Ms. Armour, a Black Panther Party member since 1969, testified that in late February or early March, 1971, she saw Melvin "Cotton" Smith driving on Central Avenue in Los Angeles. Ms. Armour said that seeing Smith took her completely by surprise since he had been "missing" since a police arrest in December, 1970.

Ms. Armour's testimony is key since Tackwood testified that he was working with Smith, a police agent/informer who infiltrated the Black Panther Party, on the George Jackson set-up around this same period.

Under a heated cross-examination, D.A. Jerry Herman had attempted to discredit Tackwood by saying that Smith was in "protective custody" of the LAPD in early 1971 and therefore



Bloody scenes from the Adjustment Center on August 21, 1971, including George Jackson's cell, 1-AC-6, right photo.

Tackwood was lying.

Judge Broderick's refusals to allow Elaine Brown and Ericka Huggins to take the stand — saying their testimony would be "irrelevant and immaterial" — continues to display his ongoing paranoia of the Black Panther Party and his bias towards the prosecution.

Ms. Huggins, a leading member of the BPP for the past eight years, had intended to testify last Tuesday on the overwhelming mental tensions prison isolation conditions develop in those incarcerated. Ericka spent over two years in administrative segregation, because of her political and human beliefs, in Niantic Prison for Women in Connecticut on false charges for which she was ultimately released.

Ms. Brown, the BPP chairperson, was called by Garry the

following Monday to testify that on the clearly "relevant" grounds that, according to the Black Panther Party ideology and philosophy, and acting under the strict discipline for which he is known, Johnny Spain in no way would have involved himself in the alleged conspiracy the state claims took place on August 21, 1971.

In addition, both Elaine and Ericka are longtime friends of Johnny Spain and would have been excellent character witnesses in his behalf had they been allowed to testify.

(The rundown of the significant testimony of Dr. Marcia Solek, a medical specialist from San Francisco General Hospital, and Dr. Jane Olden, a noted local psychiatrist, will appear in next week's issue of THE BLACK PANTHER). □



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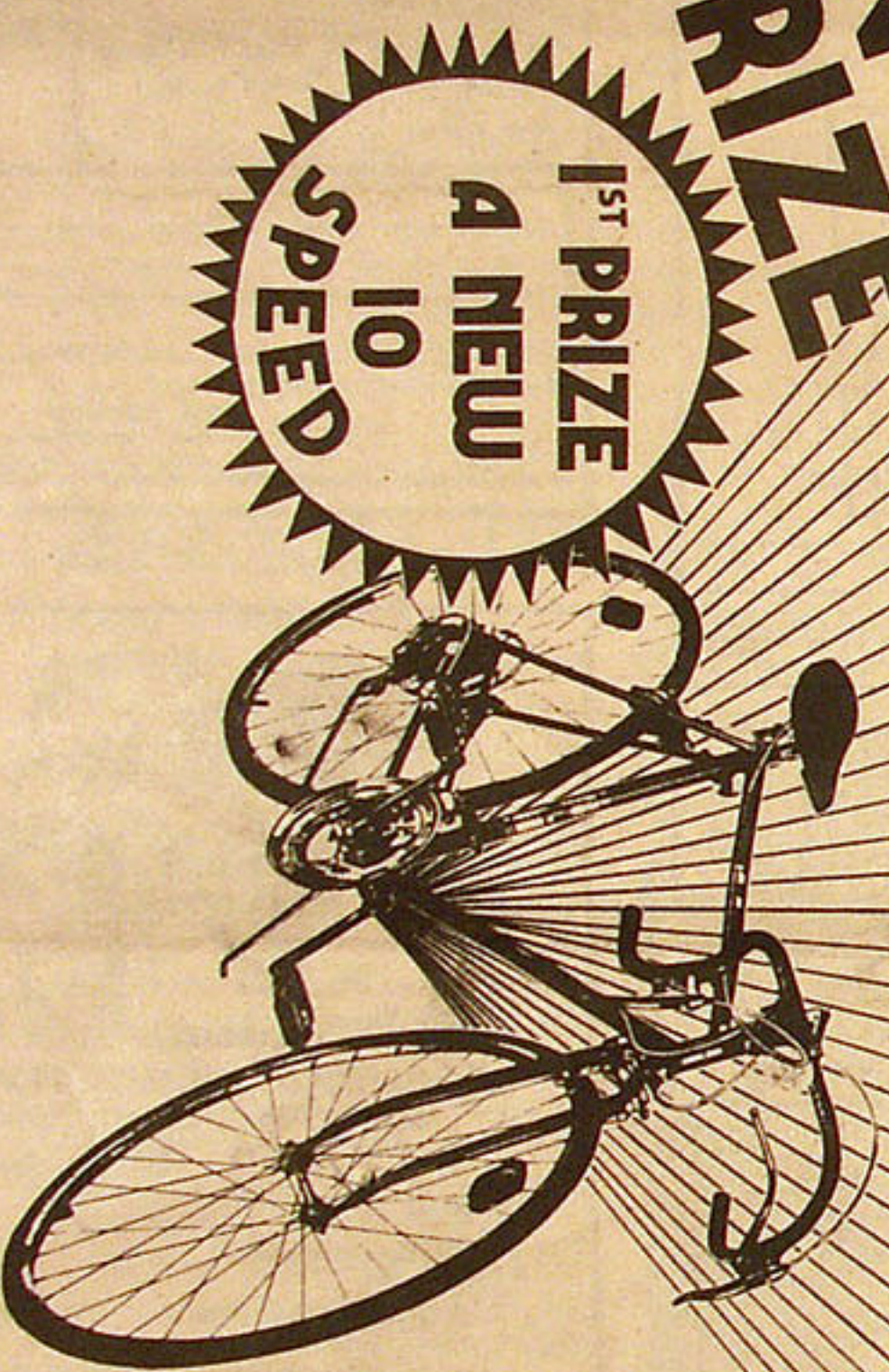
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