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THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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Groceries Given Away At B.P.P. Rally

FREE FOOD TO "FREE HUEY"

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BPINS photos

Over 500 people came out to show their support for exiled Black Panther Party leader Huey P. Newton at a rally held last Saturday at Lowell Junior High School. Featured speakers at the lively rally, at which 500 free bags of wholesome groceries were distributed, were Alameda County Supervisor JOHN GEORGE and Black Panther Party chairperson ELAINE BROWN.

(Oakland, Calif.) - Huey P. Newton as the Kunta Kinte of Oakland?
That's how John George, the first and only Black member of the Alameda County Board of Supervisors, described the exiled Black Panther Party leader at a free food rally in West Oakland last Saturday afternoon, and rest assured, no one in the large, balloon-waving, spirited audience cared to dispute George's colorful expression of respect.
In fact, when George made his pronouncement about Huey, the crowd, young and old, exploded in sustained applause and cheers, "right ons" rang in the air, smiling faces bobbed up and down, heads nodded in approval.
All in all, it was a fun time for the more than 500 people who came to Lowell Junior High School to participate in the free grocery giveaway—kind of like a gathering of friends.
Sponsored by the Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party, and the Party's Free Food Program, the 1:00 to 4:00 p.m. rally included: hundreds of bright yellow balloons, each inscribed with the red lettering "Justice for Huey"; the giveaway of 50 "Free Huey" T-shirts; cakes, cookies, brownies and other pastries sold to benefit the S.A.-F.E. (Seniors Against A Fearful Environment) Program; a presentation by the dynamic Edmund Singers, a popular local gospel group; driving songs and music by Fudge/Emport-Export, a West Oakland rock group that, in the words of one teenager, "got the Dramatics
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EDITORIAL

Mammy At The White House

"I's jus gonna spoil her so. . ."

Roots may have surpassed *Gone With The Wind* as the most watched television program in history, and most would agree that Kunta and Kizzy could whip Brett and Scarlet toe-to-toe any day, but, sorry to say, in the battle for the hearts and minds of the American people, in the global fight for dignity, integrity and human rights, that "down-home," Confederate flag-waving, "Gone-with-the-wind-in-the willows" mentality is still far too prevalent.

The reason this observation came to the forefront recently was the reprieve last week granted to Ms. Mary Fitzpatrick, 33, from the Atlanta Women's Work Release Center so she could go to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue to "look after" — as one newspaper discreetly put it — Amy Carter. If this were a scene from *Roots*, the language would have been more blunt: "Massa' Carter got hisself a young nigger wench as a mammy for little Missy Amy at the White House plantation."

Get the picture? A mammy. . . a MAMMY!!!

In this, the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and seventy-seven, 358 years after the first Black slave set foot in this country, the President of the United States has chosen to obtain what the newspapers call a \$6,004-a-year member of the resident domestic staff, supervising Amy, 9, and a baby due in March to the wife of Chip Carter, and helping with household cleaning and laundry."

Mistress Rosaline, (who, incidentally, always looks as if she just smelled a batch of honey-suckle), wrote the reprieve request for Ms. Fitzpatrick herself. She is described as being "very fond" of Ms. Fitzpatrick, and is quoted as often saying, during the recent campaign, "Oh, if I only had her with me on the weekends."

And yes, it's good that Ms. Fitzpatrick is released from prison, since poor people deserve better treatment than confinement in America's hellholes or their equivalent, but to come out drawling the line which leads off this column is a bit much. And don't be surprised the next time a major TV network tours the White House, and a shot pans onto a lonely Black woman stroking Amy's hair, softly humming, "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" — that's what mammies do, you know.



Letters to the Editor

"NO ONE'S FREE UNTIL THE REDMAN'S FREE"

Dear Sir,

The story "Roots," most watched television drama and most sold book in this country, has awakened many. One would hope as one viewer put it "that once and for all it should be clear that the Black people in this country have paid their dues," but how come that for all the books and all the movies written about the Redman's experience with White America there is no similar feeling expressed. One distinctively gets the feeling that the Redman's dues will not be paid until he is dead and gone — a romantic, noble memory.

It would be appropriate to remember, especially now, that none of us, man, woman or child, is religiously or politically free until the Redman's Sovereign (treaty rights) and Religious (Free Crow Dog and other political and religious ones) Rights are honored not only here in this his own country built

It is not right nor fitting for any of us to think we are free in any way as long as terror, lack of religious and political choice and continued attempts of removal from ancestral land and desecration of burial sites and exploitation of anthropologists continue to beset the Redman.

None of us man, woman, child, Black, Brown, Yellow, or White is free until the Redman, is free in this his own country, for he has more than paid his dues. While Kunta Kinte was struggling through his own horror, thousands of Red men, women and children were being murdered or forcibly marched and driven from their ancestral lands and forced to sign treaties never honored to provide land for those plantations, scenes of moral indignation and mortal anguish and vicious moral outrage against the spirit and persons of African heritage. Yet was the Redman's anguish, horror, terror, deliberate death, to small pox, measles, forced marches, inadequate clothing, housing and starvation and deliberate neglect in Indian Territory any less than that of the Black men and women and children?

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Reader's Poll

In honor of Black History Month, throughout the month of February THE BLACK PANTHER will present the following poll to our readers to determine the popular choices for the most significant Black man, Black woman and event in our troubled history in racist America.

• My choices for the most significant man in Black History are

(name no more than 3 choices).

• My choices for the most significant woman in Black History are

(name no more than 3 choices).

• My choices for the most significant event in Black History are

(name no more than 3 choices).

Clip and mail your answers to: THE BLACK PANTHER, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, Calif. 94621.

COMMENT

Horrors Of The Slave Trade

The following firsthand account of the savage and barbaric African slave trade, from the evil sales of Black "merchandise" on the continent's west coast to the cruel Middle Passage to the Americas — "the crossing," that alone took the lives of some 50 million Blacks — was written by a Dr. Falconbridge, a surgeon on a London-based frigate. This is the second of a four-part series of historic documents and speeches appearing in THE BLACK PANTHER this February in honor of Black History month.

After permission has been obtained for breaking trade, as it is termed, the captains go ashore, from time to time, to examine the Negroes that are exposed to sale, and to make their purchases. The unhappy wretches thus disposed of, are bought by the Black traders at fairs, which are held for that purpose, at the distance of upwards of two hundred miles from the sea coast; and these fairs are said to be supplied from an interior part of the country.

While I was upon the coast, during one of the voyages I made, the Black traders brought down, in different canoes, from twelve to fifteen hundred Negroes, which had been purchased at one fair. They consisted chiefly of men and boys, the women seldom exceeding a third of the whole number.

There is great reason to believe that most of the Negroes shipped off from the coast of Africa are kidnapped. But the extreme care taken by the Black traders to prevent the Europeans from gaining any intelligence of their modes of proceeding; the great distance inland from whence the Negroes are brought; and our ignorance of their language (with which, very frequently, the Black traders themselves are equally unacquainted), prevent our obtaining such information on this head as we could wish.

When the Negroes, whom the Black traders have to dispose of, are shown to the European purchasers, they first examine

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THE BLACK PANTHER

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, 8501 EAST 14th STREET, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94621, TELEPHONE: (415) 638-0195.
YEARLY DOMESTIC SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$10.00
SECOND CLASS POSTAGE PAID AT OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA



Roots character KUNTA KINTE (played by LeVar BURTON).

130 MILLION TUNED IN

"Roots" Captures Largest TV Audience Ever

(New York, N.Y.) — The final two-hour segment of *Roots*, the dramatization of author Alex Haley's best-selling human odyssey of a Black family's struggle for freedom, from the African slave trade to the plantations and small farms of the American South, had the largest TV audience in history, the National Neilson Ratings reported last week.

The two-hour Sunday evening ABC broadcast of *Roots* went into 36,380,000 homes, 51.1 per cent of all the home television sets in the country, reaching a total of 80 million people for an average minute of viewing time. It exceeded the audience of the first portion of *Gone With The Wind*, the previous record holder, by 2.4 million.

The story of *Roots*, based on Haley's meticulous 12 years of research into seven generations of his family's heritage, shocked TV audiences with its vivid depiction of slave conditions.

It begins with the birth of Kunta Kinte, Haley's great-great-great-grandfather, in a remote village in The Gambia, West Africa, and traces his struggle for freedom from his capture by the *toubobs* — Mandinka language for White man — through the cruelties of the Atlantic crossing, and his sale into slavery in the Virginias. The TV version then follows the lives of Kunta Kinte's daughter, Kizzy, her son, Chicken George, and his son, Tom Murray, as each generation passes on the story of

ENDORSEMENTS OF HISTORIC \$100 MILLION LEGAL ACTION GROW

DELLUMS, HALPERIN SIGN APPEAL IN SUPPORT OF B.P.P. LAWSUIT

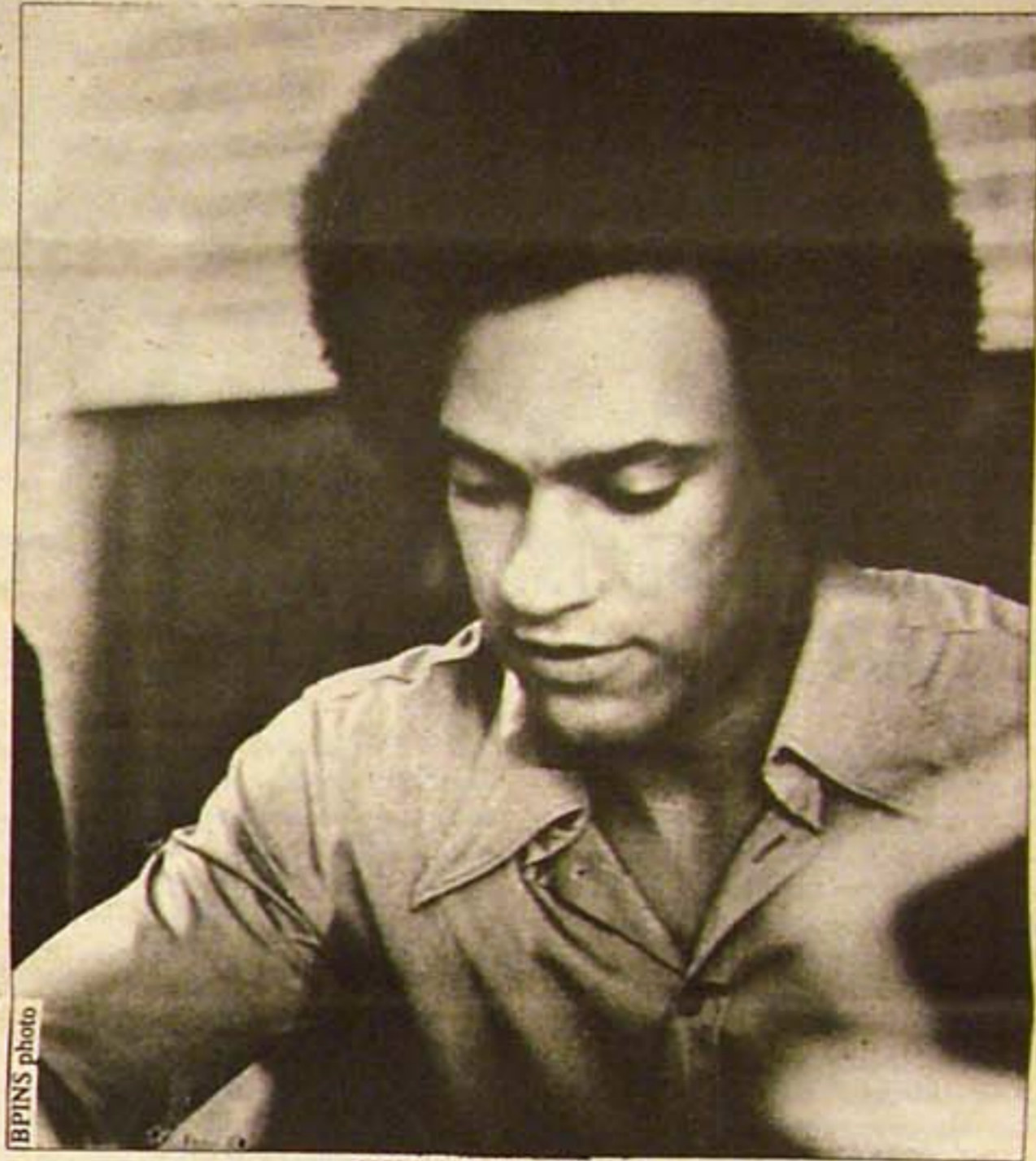
(Oakland, Calif.) — A personal appeal in support of the Black Panther Party's \$100 million legal action against the FBI, CIA, IRS and other government agencies, signed by noted civil libertarian Morton Halperin and respected Bay Area Congressman Ronald V. Dellums, is the latest evidence of the mounting campaign backing the Party's historic lawsuit.

Circulated in *I Am We*, the newsletter for the Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party, the Halperin/Dellums letter reads:

"Dear Friend,

"On December 1, 1976, the Black Panther Party filed a \$100 million lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, IRS and other government agencies responsible for the repression of the Party.

"This repression has included the murders of Fred Hampton, Mark Clark, Alprentice Carter, John Huggins, George Jackson, John Savage, Sylvester Bell, Alex Rackley and other Party members. It has included constant arrests, excessive bail, surveillance, bombings of offices, harassment of Party-initiated programs, attempts to stop the distribution of the Party's newspaper, and the use of provocateurs and false charges to discredit the Party and



HUEY P. NEWTON

its leaders. The repression also targeted White and Black supporters of the Party: their homes were burglarized, their mail

opened, their bank accounts subpoenaed, and their tax returns audited.

"The Party's Free Breakfast for Children Program came under attack after J. Edgar Hoover stated that it:

"represents the best and most influential activity going for the BPP and as such is potentially the greatest threat to efforts by authorities to neutralize the BPP and destroy what it stands for." (from a 1969 FBI memo calling for 'Counterintelligence action' against the Free Breakfast Program).

"The campaign to destroy the Black Panther Party still goes on. During the year 1976, there were over 250 arrests of Party members in the Oakland area alone.

"If the government is allowed to get away with this kind of activity, none of us will be safe from government harassment in the future.

"The Black Panther Party and its supporters, as victims of the most extreme harassment visited upon a political organization in recent times, are suing the perpetrators of this harassment. The recent Congressional investi-

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Fallen Comrade

CINDY SMALLWOOD

Died: February 7, 1973

Comrade Cindy Smallwood joined the Black Panther Party at the age of 17 after she completed high school. First she worked with the Intercommunal Youth Institute (now the Oakland Community School), and later with the hard-working, dedicated cadre which is responsible for the distribution of THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper. On February 4, 1973, while driving a passenger van from Richmond, California, to Oakland, Cindy ran into an embankment and was thrown out of the vehicle, critically injured. On February 7, she was pronounced dead in a Berkeley, California, hospital. Cindy was a warm, beautiful and selfless comrade, "with a smile like sunshine." Her spirit lives on in every copy of THE BLACK PANTHER, and in the hearts of all those who knew her, worked with her, loved her as a friend and as a comrade; loved her for the beautiful person that she was. Long Live the Spirit of Cindy Smallwood! Long Live the People's Struggle!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

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Black schools may benefit from recent Serrano court decision which ruled that the California state school financing system discriminates against poor school districts.

CALIFORNIA PROPERTY TAX SYSTEM BIASED AGAINST POOR

SERRANO DECISION TRIGGERS CHANGES IN PUBLIC SCHOOL FINANCING

(San Francisco, Calif.) - If you pay property taxes or have children in school, some big changes may be in store for you.

The California Supreme Court has just declared the state's school financing system, which relies primarily on local property taxes, un-Constitutional because it discriminates against those in poor districts. And that, according to many lawyers involved, may trigger a chain reaction mandating new forms of education funding in state after state, *Pacific News Service* reports.

The Serrano decision in California "will give support to a lot of litigation activities in a lot of states," says Allen Odden, who monitors school tax court cases for the Education Commission of the States in Denver.

"We're elated by Serrano," says Richard Kohn, an attorney with the Washington-based Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, whose School-Finance Reform Project (SFRP) helps attorneys throughout the nation with suits to force school financing reform.

In the wake of the California Supreme Court's first decision on Serrano in 1971 — which ruled on principle but threw the factual issues back to the trial court — similar suits were filed in more than 20 states, and 18 states passed laws at least partially equalizing education funds for rich and poor districts.

The original suit was brought by the father of John Serrano, an Italian-American student in a poor Los Angeles school district.

He objected to a system in which the California legislature distributes equal amounts of state aid to each district on the basis of average daily attendance, but then permits prosperous districts to raise additional education funds through local property taxes. This, the California court ruled, shortchanges the child who lives in a poor district.

Now, reformers hope the late 1976 decision of the California court — whose legal opinions are taken very seriously by other states — will spur another bandwagon and convince the 12 state courts considering cases like Serrano to reach similar conclusions.

If you live in a poor district, that would mean an influx of
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Willie Mays Visits Oakland Community School

(Oakland, Calif.) - Former San Francisco Giants and New York Mets baseball great WILLIE MAYS paid a visit to the model elementary level Oakland Community School (OCS) here last week. Mays, who retired from professional baseball in 1973 after a dazzling 22-year career, was visibly impressed with the progressive educational programs of the East Oakland school. Mays toured the facilities of the OCS, talked with School Director ERICKA HUGGINS (bottom photo) and posed with some of the children of the OCS and members of the Oakland Community Learning Center Teen Program. LENNY WILLIAMS (far left, top photo), former lead singer of Tower of Power, accompanied Mays on his visit.



BPINS photos

This Week In Black History



FREDERICK DOUGLASS

February 12, 1817

Frederick Douglass, who escaped from slavery and went on to become one of the greatest Blacks in America history, was born on February 12, 1817. After becoming a major figure in the abolitionist movement, Douglass discarded the tenets of nonviolence and openly advocated armed slave revolt. Known for his fiery orations and militant demeanor, Douglass founded the antislavery tabloid, the *North Star*, and dedicated his entire life to the cause of Black equality and freedom.

February 12, 1909

A call for the founding conference of the NAACP was issued on February 12, 1909, by prominent White and Black leaders, among them the great Black scholar, Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois. The organization, which at the time was a merger of Black militancy and White liberalism, was founded after a 1908 Springfield, Illinois, Black protest. Although it was a minor incident, the Springfield uprising deeply disturbed the conscience of White America. After the founding convention of the NAACP, which was held later on in the year, Dr. Du Bois was named the organization's director of research and publicity. In this capacity, he edited *The Crisis*, a publication which was to arouse Blacks nationwide.

February 9, 1968

On February 9, 1968, in Orangeburg, South Carolina, police killed four Black students and wounded 50 others after a protest rally at the predominantly Black South Carolina State University.

AN INSIDE LOOK AT NAPA STATE MENTAL HOSPITAL

WAREHOUSING SOCIETY'S CASUALTIES

(Imola, Calif.) — What do you do with approximately 2,000 people who, at any given time, are suffering from the most severe behavioral problems in Northern California?

Well, the state of California has answered that question in its own particular and definitive way — warehouse them!

In that regard, some 101 years ago the state of California created an institution to lodge the mentally ill, and over the years it has grown into a veritable mini-city, replete with its own police and fire department, post office, electricity, etc.; all designed to keep these most noticeable victims of American society away from the rest of the general population. The city/warehouse is called Napa State Mental Hospital.

Although the forms the institution takes to "deal with" the patients in its care have changed over the last century —

White, many heavily drugged, grouped into their own separate societies called wards, locked away from a larger society that seemingly wants no part of them.

According to Dwayne DeLong, the hospital administrator who toured the reporters around the vast facility — 61 wards located in 17 separate buildings — Napa's patient population as of February 2 was 1,915.

This figure breaks down to: 1,532 "M.I.'s" (hospital's term for "mentally ill"), 1,036 men and 496 women; and 383 "D.D.'s" ("developmentally disturbed" or mentally retarded), 255 men and 128 women. Of the total 1,915, approximately 150 are between six and 12 years old, with another 150 between 13 and 18 years old. The overall age range runs between six and 96.

(De Long said the hospital did not keep figures on the racial breakdown of the patients, but estimated that Blacks were be-



Ward in state mental hospital at Napa.

BPINS photo

tween 10 to 15 per cent of the population, a figure which seemed accurate by observation. Oddly enough, reporters saw no Chicano, Asian, Native American or other minority people during their tour).

Staff for NAPA Mental Hospital is around 2,020 — only 1,300 of whom are involved in active "care treatment," and only 80 are licensed psychiatrists. Asked why the number of psychiatrists was so low (one doctor for every 24 patients), DeLong explained that treatment for the mentally is not high on the list of the state's "priorities."

In fact, the only person disliked by Napa's staff more than California Governor Jerry Brown is former Governor Ronald Reagan, who closed two or three state hospital facilities, reducing the statewide total to its present 11.

The large majority of the patients at Napa were "referred"

there from county facilities which, for a variety of reasons, could not adequately handle them. Once there, the patients are screened through a receiving area, a process which takes two to four hours. From there, they are assigned to one of the wards, in many cases being assigned to a ward in which only patients from their home county are lodged.

For example, the large majority of patients from Alameda County are assigned to three wards in one area of the hospital, two coed and one all-male, each ward holding around 75 patients.

Within these wards are a large sectioned-off dayroom, with a pool table, color TV, Coke machine and large barracks-like dormitory rooms, each with between 20-25 single beds. (Most of the corridor hallways and walls at Napa, like the wards, are painted a tin-like light green.)

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Black Red Cross volunteers press the hair of mentally retarded patients at Napa State Mental Hospital.

"enlightened" theories of therapy have achieved higher degrees of scientific "acceptability" — the overall approach is much the same: lock 'em up, one way or another, and throw away the key.

Last week, a special investigative team from THE BLACK PANTHER toured Napa State Mental Hospital. Contrary to popular stereotypes and misconceptions, however, the reporters did not uncover massive scenes of "cruel and unusual" punishment; no lobotomized zombies stalking the premises; no padded cells packed with screaming lunatics strapped into straight-jackets.

Instead, what reporters on THE BLACK PANTHER team saw was a conglomeration of unhappy mentally ill men, women and children, Black and



Lionel Wilson On The Campaign Trail

(Oakland, Calif.) — Frontrunning Black Oakland mayoral candidate LIONEL WILSON spoke before the officers of the Alameda County Labor Temple here last week, pledging to rejuvenate Oakland's lagging economy.

Wilson told the audience of labor leaders that if he is elected as Oakland's first Black mayor, he will attack the city's serious unemployment problem, the root cause of spiraling crime rates.

BPINS photos

FREE FOOD TO "FREE HUEY"

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

down cold"; and, of course, the distribution of 500 free bags of groceries.

There were speeches, too, featuring Supervisor George and respected community leader Elaine Brown, chairperson of the Black Panther Party. Sensing the happy mood of the audience, both speeches were brief and extremely well received.

George spoke first, commenting:

"You know, a (Black Panther Party) lawsuit has been filed, and we in West Oakland, all over Oakland, have to keep spotlighting what's going on. . . We're trying to get better housing. We need programs for senior citizens.

"Because Huey Newton, six, seven, 10 years ago, started these

programs in Oakland, the police in this town wanted to run him out, didn't want him around. He is the Kunta Kinte of Oakland — you know that?

"They got the bullwhips out on him. They beat him on his back. They harassed him because he tried to feed the people. He tried to develop health programs for the people — that's why they don't want him around.

"Then the Black Panther Party had to file a lawsuit because the FBI, the CIA, the IRS, wanted to bring all their power to bear on Huey; so none of us would have the courage to stand up to the system.

"WE'VE GOT TO BRING HUEY NEWTON BACK HOME. He's from West Oakland. We've got to do it! . . ."

Elaine spoke just prior to the

food distribution, and audience anticipation reached its peak as she approached the podium. Elaine commented:

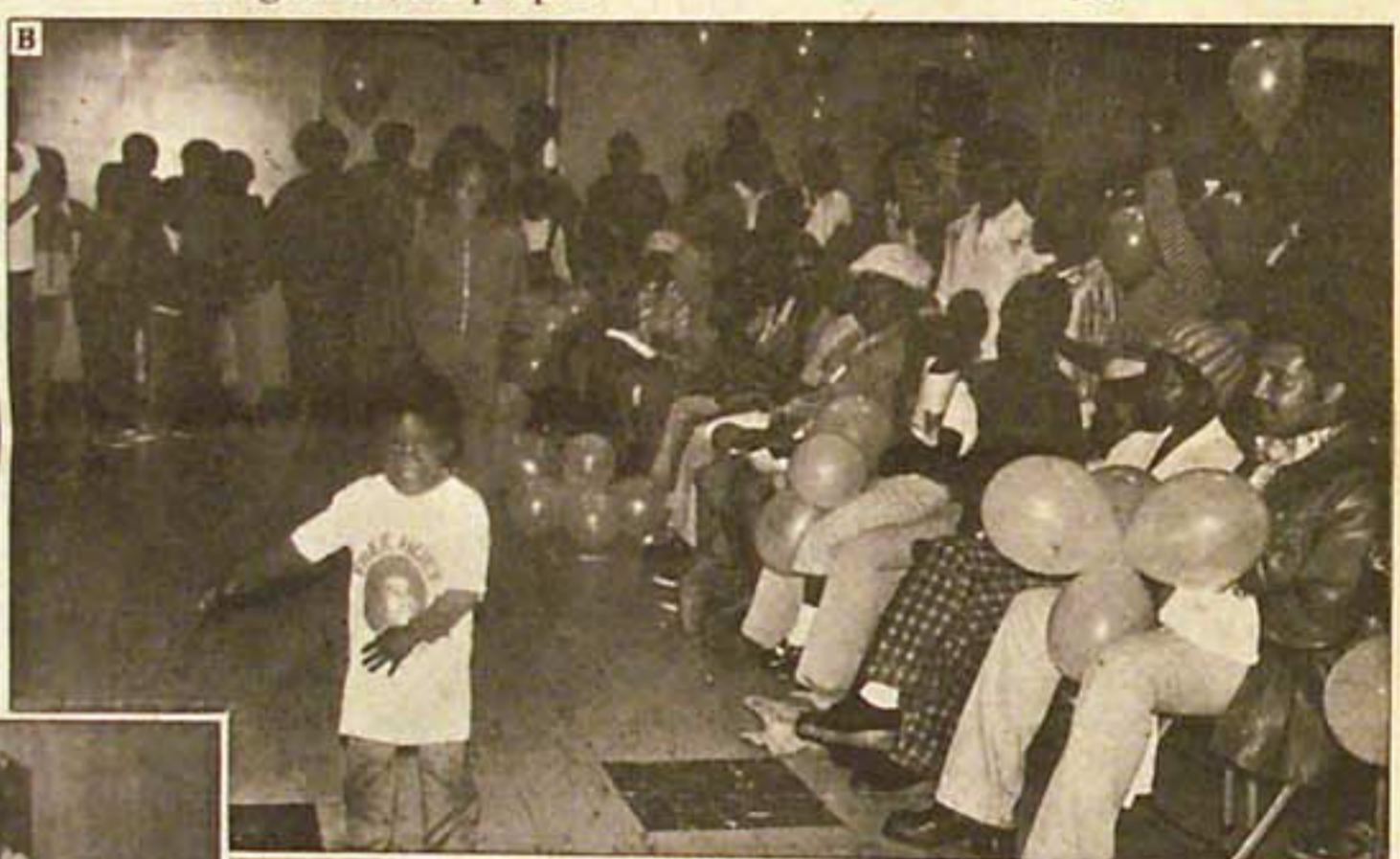
"I think you ought to know something about why we're bringing back the slogan 'Free Huey.' Most of you probably already know that Huey Newton is in Havana, Cuba, at this time — he is in exile. But we intend to prove by June of this year that every charge brought against Huey is a false charge. We'll prove that and he'll be back before this time next year.

"A lot of people are going to be mad about that. It upsets the police of this city, but it's important that we, the people of this city, know that this is *our* city; that it does not belong to the power structure, but it belongs to us, the people.

"So we're going to give some groceries away in the name of Huey P. Newton, just so we'll remember who Huey Newton is. We're going to give some groceries to the people of West Oakland, and Huey's going to come back to West Oakland. It's not a whole lot of food, but what's important about the food is this: everyone of us has the right to eat.

"The point is, we don't have to go through any changes, any day of the week, to get food. And it's up to you, and me, together, to see to it that at no time do we have to go through waiting in long lines, paying high prices, for food that we ought to have because it's our right to eat. . .

"Power to the People — FREE HUEY!"



(A) ELAINE BROWN addresses crowd at "Free Huey" rally; (B) Young child "struts his stuff" in his brand new "Free Huey" tee shirt. (C) Alameda County Supervisor JOHN GEORGE; (D) SAFE volunteer sells delicious baked goods; (E) 500 bags of free groceries, ready to be distributed; and (F) Everyone heads home after enjoyable afternoon.



MARTIN LUTHER KING talks with his followers.

OAKLAND CITIZENS LOBBY EXPOSES CITY GOVERNMENT

O.C.C.U.R. SEEKS RESIDENCY REQUIREMENT FOR OAKLAND CITY EMPLOYEES

(Oakland, Calif.) - At a press conference held here last week, representatives of the Oakland Citizens' Committee for Urban Renewal (OCCUR), the city's official citizen participation lobby, demanded that the Oakland City Council enact legislation that would require future city employees to live within the city.

Present at the press conference in OCCUR's downtown Oakland offices were the agency's activist Executive Director, Paul Cobb, its newly elected President, Thomas Ma, and program coordinator Stephen Bloom.

In a statement OCCUR emphasized that:

"The issue of where city of Oakland employees live is critically important for several reasons. The city is by far the single largest employer in Oakland, supplying jobs to almost 3,900 persons. The city's total payroll — excluding federally funded positions — amounts to \$83 million or 70 per cent of Oakland's total budget.

"But according to OCCUR's research, a majority — 52 per cent — of all city employees are non-Oakland residents. When the city of Oakland's 3,367 jobs are divided into categories with matching salaries, the results are, we think, startling.

"Our research shows that generally as a city of Oakland employee makes more money the



OCCUR officials (left to right, right photo) THOMAS MA, PAUL COBB and STEPHEN BLOOM at last week's press conference which urged residency requirements for Oakland city workers.

chances are likely that the worker will live outside of Oakland. The two lowest paid job categories — office clerks and laborers/custodians — show by far, a sweeping majority of employees living in Oakland.

"But when we examined other categories we found an alarmingly few employees who live in Oakland. Out of 678 police officers, only 143 live in Oakland, with a whopping 535 living outside. This means that 79 per cent of all Oakland police officers live outside of Oakland. Or stated



differently, four out of every five Oakland police officers live outside of Oakland.

"The figures from the fire department are not much different. Out of a total of 590 fire fighters, 188 live in Oakland, with 402 — or 68 per cent — living outside. This means that just about seven out of every 10 fire fighters are non-Oakland residents.

OAKLAND EMPLOYEE

"OCCUR also researched every city of Oakland employee making in excess of \$30,000 a year. We found that half of these persons — the city of Oakland managers, department heads, and supervisors — live outside of Oakland."

OCCUR conducted a study for several months which brought out such glaring facts as:

- Oakland's own director of personnel, James Newman (annual salary \$35,280), lives in Emeryville, California;

- Out of 10 Port of Oakland employees making in excess of \$33,000, seven live outside of Oakland, one as far away as San Mateo, California (over 30 miles away);

- The city of Oakland has three deputy chiefs of police (at salaries of \$34,440), and two live outside of the city.

Other imbalances revealed at the press conference showed that

HOUSE PROBE

New Evidence Points To Conspiracy In King, Kennedy Assassinations

(Washington, D.C.) - The chairman of the House Assassinations Committee, Congressman Henry Gonzalez, stated last week that he had acquired new evidence pointing to a conspiracy in the murders of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and John F. Kennedy.

Gonzalez made this revelation shortly after the House voted 237-164 to continue the work of the Assassinations Committee for a two month probation period. "We have threshold evidence..." said Gonzales, "that indicates the strong possibility that James Earl Ray did not act alone" in the murder of Martin Luther King and that Lee Harvey Oswald did not act by himself in the Kennedy killing.

Gonzalez, who was the chief sponsor of the resolution last year that originally called for the House Assassinations probe, has previously said that he suspected that both King and Kennedy were victims of a conspiracy. He and other members of the Assassinations Committee fought hard to get Congressional approval of a proposal to re-establish the Committee, which expired at the end of the last Congress.

The full House approved a temporary revival of the Committee, reports the *New York Times*, but stipulated that the Committee must come back to the full body after March 31 for approval of a full-fledged investigation.

Opposition to the revival of the Committee within the House has chosen to focus on the panel's

DELLUMS' CORNER

Supports Tenants' Tax Justice Bill



(Washington, D.C.) - Recently, Bay Area Congressman Ronald V. Dellums joined in sponsoring the Tenant Tax Justice Bill, which allows tenants to claim their share of local and state property tax payments for federal income tax purposes.

"Public policy has discriminated against tenants for too long," said Dellums. "By allowing tenants to claim their property tax payments, the code will be more just."

Also, Dellums has been named to two important subcommittees — the Intelligence and Military Application of Nuclear Energy Subcommittee and the Investigations Subcommittee. The intelligence panel will have legislative jurisdiction over the military application of nuclear energy while the Investigations Subcommittee will have power over armed services procurement regulations and organization of the Defense Department.

Finally, Dellums expressed his strong support for the continuation of the House Select Committee on Assassinations, which recently was given a two month extension.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE AGAINST POLICE SPYING HELD IN CHICAGO

POLITICAL RIGHTS PROTECTION ACT PROPOSED

(Chicago, Ill.) - A model bill, entitled "Political Rights Protection Act of 1977," highlighted last month's National Conference Against Police Spying which was held in Chicago and attended by more than 300 people. The model ordinance, put together by staff from the Center for National Security Studies (a working research group committed to reform of U.S. intelligence agencies) is to be circulated in cities throughout the country in a determined attempt to build a national movement against police spying. *Keep Strong* reports.

The ordinance is intended to prohibit political spying by local red squads and to regulate, generally, police conduct that violates First Amendment rights to free speech, freedom of the press, assembly and association.

A significant part of the draft legislation is intended to put limitations on criminal investigations. The authors of the ordinance maintain that often political spying is carried out on the basis that the police need to investigate "criminal conspiracies." However, under the proposed ordinance, if the police suspect someone has committed a criminal act and their investigation may lead to collecting information about a person's First Amendment activities, they must get written authorization from the local corporation counsel to do so. Such investigations can be conducted for not more than 90 days.

PROPOSED BILL

The proposed bill prohibits local police from engaging in political spying, the maintenance of intelligence units (red squads), harassment, entrapment and joint intelligence operations with other local, state and federal agencies (FBI, IRS, CIA) to collect personal information on individuals. All statutes which call for punishment for speech (such as incitement to overthrow the government) are repealed under the model law since these laws are often used as a pretext for conducting political surveillance.

While the proposed ordinance allows local police departments to conduct inquiries into planned demonstrations for the purposes of "ensuring public health and safety," authority for such an inquiry must be obtained in writing from the mayor. Information about the demonstration may be obtained only from public sources and is limited to details



Police agents conducting surveillance.

about time, date, place, number of persons, etc. Photographs by the police of any demonstration are explicitly prohibited.

Use of electronic surveillance is outlawed and the use of undercover informants in criminal investigations must be authorized by a court order and will only be issued where there is reasonable evidence that the target may be involved in criminal activity. Authorization for use of informants is limited to 30 days and may be extended only on re-application to the court.

Finally, the model legislation prohibits destruction of any files

unless by court order and orders the police to disclose the contents of any personal file to an individual upon written request. The police, however, may withhold portions of the file if they believe it will jeopardize the privacy of others. Use of information collected through informants and undercover surveillance is restricted and may only be introduced at a hearing or trial after each party has been given a copy of the court order and application under which the surveillance was conducted. This must be done at least 20 days before the trial. □

New Evidence Points To Conspiracy

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

request for an initial \$6.5 million budget and the Committee's proposed investigative techniques, which opponents charge, would allegedly violate the civil rights of potential witnesses.

Committee members, however, have stressed repeatedly that there are forces operating within the House against the assassination probes who seemingly are against police disclosure of the truth behind the murders of King and Kennedy.

Opponents of the probe, led by Congressman James Quillin of Tennessee, referred to a Justice Department study completed last week which "concluded" that James Earl Ray acted alone in killing Martin Luther King, Jr., despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Many Committee members, however, consider it odd that Ray, a man of limited financial means, was able to elude the FBI for months, even going to and settling in London, England, traveling on an alias with two Canadian passports.

Meanwhile, a federal judge here has ordered the FBI to turn over all tapes and transcripts

gathered in the wiretapping of Dr. Martin Luther King to the National Archives and directed that they be kept sealed there for 50 years.

DAMAGE SUIT

A damage suit was brought against the FBI by Bernard Lee, a former assistant to Dr. King, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), which King founded. The suit charged that the FBI tape-recorded King's conversations in a room at Washington's Willard Hotel between 1963 and 1968.

U.S. District Judge John Lewis Smith stated that the damage claims were barred by a three-year statute of limitations and dismissed that part of the complaint. But Smith gave the FBI 90 days to gather "all known copies" of the recorded tapes and transcripts and to deliver an inventory under seal.

The tapes and documents themselves, which were an integral part of a FBI campaign to discredit the Nobel Peace Prize-winning Black leader, are to be turned over to the National Archives and Record Services. □

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

Puerto Rican Bill Filed

(Washington, D.C.) — A resolution on Puerto Rican independence was recently filed by Congressman Ronald Delums for the second consecutive year, reports *Claridad*. House Joint Resolution No. 54 demands "all of the powers and authority presently exercised" by the United States government over Puerto Rican territory to be "relinquished and unconditionally transferred" to the people of Puerto Rico so as to permit them "to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence."

Death Penalty In N.J.

(Trenton, N.J.) — New Jersey Governor Byrne last week indicated he will sign a measure by the state's Assembly approving the restoration of the death penalty for first-degree murder. New Jersey would become the 36th state to reinstitute capital punishment since the United States Supreme Court outlawed it as "cruel and unusual" four years ago.

Nader Slurred

(Washington, D.C.) — Federal Trade Commissioner Paul Rand Dixon, under fire with increasing demands for his resignation, reversed himself last week and sent a personal apology to consumer advocate Ralph Nader for calling him "a son of bitch and a dirty Arab."

Black Marine Acquitted

(Camp Pendleton, Calif.) — A Black Marine was acquitted last week of conspiracy and assault charges in the case of Black Marines here attacking what they thought was a Ku Klux Klan gathering. The defense motion of a directed verdict of acquittal for Corporal Glenn R. White, 20, was granted after a three-day court-martial. Of the 14 Black Marines originally charged in the case, one was granted immunity from prosecution, another had charges dropped against him, two pleaded guilty, and the military is still considering whether to bring the remaining 10 to court-martial.

Church Files \$750 Million Suit Against F.B.I., C.I.A.

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The Founding Church of Scientology in Washington, D.C., filed a \$750 million class action damage suit recently in U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, against directors and officials of the FBI, CIA, National Security Agency (NSA), Department of Justice, Department of the Treasury, Department of the Army, U.S. Postal Service, and the International Criminal Police Organization (INTERPOL).

The suit, filed on behalf of all Scientology churches, and missions and their members, stated that these agencies individually and by agreement have conspired to abridge the civil and Constitutional rights of Scientologists since 1956.

The Church of Scientology is a pan-denominational religion with a membership of 3.1 million in the United States. Founded in 1950, CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

70 DEATHS, 70,000 INJURIES YEARLY

WORKERS FACE DEADLY CONDITIONS IN AMERICA'S IRON AND STEEL MILLS

(Oakland, Calif.) - America's iron and steel workers are subjected to the most dangerous working conditions found in any industry, with 270 accidents occurring each day and 70 deaths and 70,000 injuries occurring yearly.

Willard Lewis has been a foundry worker for the last 26 years. He rarely misses a day from his work of stacking and arranging the patterns for the foundry's molds in the storage department.

A man of regular habits, Lewis always wears the same pair of grey coveralls and sets his hard hat at the same rakish angle. Although he is a big man, it's difficult for him to work and he doesn't move too fast. Years ago, his arm and shoulder were ripped off in one of the foundry's conveyor belts.

Lewis, who works for Delaval Turbine in Oakland, California, says the accident happened when the plant, reputed to be the largest foundry west of the Mississippi, was new. In the rush



Oakland, California, steelworkers (above) and (right) WILLARD LEWIS, who lost his arm and shoulder in a foundry accident.

to begin production, not all the safety guards and switches had been installed.

"I got caught at the end of a conveyor belt that didn't have no cover over it," he says. "I had a glove on, and as I was walking by



it got caught in the main wheel and it rolled right up to the neck and pulled my shoulder and arm all right off."

The conveyor belt runs slowly along the wall of the foundry, high above the din of the main floor. Nobody saw or heard Lewis's accident. "Blood began to drop down on the individual that was working under me. When they noticed that, they had the belts cut off," Lewis says. "I imagine it was about ten to fifteen minutes I was in there before they found that out."

When he was cut out of the belt, Lewis was near death. His doctors didn't give him a chance, but somehow he survived. Five and a half months later he had to go back to work, and he has been there ever since.

Last year the accident repeated itself. Another worker who was doing routine maintenance work got caught in the nearby belt. Despite his struggles, he was pulled into the tail pulley and crushed. He died almost two months later.

Charged with willfully violating minimum occupational health and safety standards, Delaval entered a plea of no contest. The company was fined the maximum: \$500.

Lewis's accident is only one of the 270 accidents that befall America's iron and steel workers every day. The federal Occupational Safety and Health Adminis- CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

Nationwide F.B.I. Probe Of Activist Women's Groups Exposed

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - It was revealed here last week that the FBI, over a four-year period, compiled information on various women's liberation groups through the use of female agents and informers.

The investigation was ordered by the late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, reports the *Los Angeles Times*, over the objections of some local field offices. The probe continued after his death in May of 1972 and supposedly ended in the spring of 1973.

No criminal charges were ever filed as a result of this investigation. FBI offices in San Francisco, Washington and Chicago were

said to be opposed to the surveillance operation, contending that the women's groups which were investigated were not threats to national security. However, Hoover insisted that the operation be continued.

According to a 1,377 page report made public by the *Times* through a request under the Freedom of Information Act, the probe was conducted in New York City, Chicago, Washington, San Francisco, Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Seattle and numerous other cities.

The documents make it clear that the FBI made extensive use of female informants, some of

them members of the groups which were being studied. These informers provided FBI agents with information on the political beliefs and sexual preferences of activist women throughout the nation.

For example, the New York FBI office filed an inch-thick report on women's activities in August, 1970, which contained the names of 3,200 women. "not all of them radicals." The *Times* report did not indicate what use, if any, the FBI made of these and other files, nor did it mention if the files were destroyed or transferred to other departments and other federal police agencies. □



The FBI led a nationwide, illegal surveillance campaign against activist women's groups despite objections from its own local field offices.

Warehousing Society's Casualties

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

DeLong explained that the average stay in these county units is slightly more than 14 days; the average stay for patients throughout the facility is 18 days, although some patients are known to celebrate their 30, 40, or 50th "anniversary" at the institution.

It was in the Alameda County ward where the investigative team saw patients most obviously under the influence of drugs used for "therapy," the powerful thiorazine in most instances. Several patients on thiorazine, men and women, Black and White, paced back and forth, restless but without agitated motions, their eyes wide open, almost as if forced open, staring blankly ahead.

In contrast to this were several patients playing pool, seemingly oblivious and unconcerned about the madness around them. One or two patients were hopping up touching the lights on the ceiling, others sat catatonic in multicolored chairs commonly found in cheap cafeterias; some patients sat or stood against the walls quietly talking; others walked around, aimlessly, by themselves.

The overcrowding was obvious as was the lack of adequate recreational facilities.

The doctor in charge of the unit explained that drug treatment is the only method available to



Autistic Black child at Napa State Mental Hospital.



handle the patients; those incarcerated involuntarily — by court order — are made to take the drugs; those whose stay is voluntary are told to take the drugs or leave.

(Contacted after the tour, respected San Francisco psychiatrist Phillip Shapiro, also a noted civil liberties activist, said thiorazine "treatment" was a major factor in reducing patient loads in state mental hospitals. Dr. Shapiro explained that the drugs are sometimes useful in preparing a patient for therapy, although if taken in excessive

amounts or for too long a time, could cause irreversible brain damage. He speculated that patients at Napa are probably given both large doses and over long periods of time as part of the warehouse process).

The doctor also said, when questioned by one of the reporters, that sexual activity in the coed wards, although banned by Napa rules, is commonplace, shrugging his shoulders as he looked at DeLong. DeLong smiled briefly, and turned his head to the side.

TO BE CONTINUED

Dellums, Halperin Sign Appeal Supporting B.P.P. Lawsuit

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

gations only scratch the surface of these activities. Previous lawsuits focus on wiretaps and break-ins. The Black Panther Party's suit is talking about more serious abuses, such as government-sponsored murder.

"We are personally asking you to support this crucial case with whatever resources you have. The government has almost unlimited legal resources and funds, which makes a case against it difficult and expensive. These activities must be exposed and this case won so that we may protect the rights of all of us.

"Sincerely, Mortor Halperin and Ronald V. Dellums, member of Congress.

"P.S. The American Civil Liberties Union Foundation is supporting this lawsuit. Contributions of \$25 or more may be tax-deductible by making checks payable to the ACLU Foundation."

Halperin, who also participated in the December 1 Washington, D.C., press conference when Black Panther Party chairperson

Elaine Brown announced the filing of the suit, is director of the Project on National Security and Civil Liberties, an American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU)-supported group.

In late November of last year, Halperin, at a much-publicized press conference, called on the House of Representatives' Select Committee on Assassinations to investigate the December 4, 1969, murder of Chicago Party leader Fred Hampton in a pre-dawn police raid. Halperin commented that the evidence "strongly suggests" FBI complicity in the attack.

The popular and politically progressive Dellums, called by his Black colleagues the "conscience of Congress," was elected in November to his third consecutive term as representative of the Bay Area's Eighth Congressional District. (See box, page 9).

Other well-known supporters of the Black Panther Party lawsuit are:

Rev. Ralph Abernathy; Joan Baez; Lloyd Barbee; Julie Bela-

fonte; Fr. Daniel Berrigan; Fr. Philip Berrigan; Robert McAfee Brown; Earl Caldwell; Noam Chomsky; Ramsey Clark.

Congressman William Clay; Ossie Davis; David Dellinger; Congressman Charles Diggs; Daniel Ellsberg; Thomas I. Emerson; Sissy Farenthold; Lawrence Ferlinghetti; Jane Fonda; Donald Freed.

Charles Garry; Jean Genet; Allen Ginsberg; Dr. Carlton Goodlett; Judge Jose Angel Gutierrez; Fannie Lou Hamer; Mayor Richard Hatcher; Tom Hayden; Arthur Kinoy; Jonathan Kozol.

William Kuntzler; Denise Levertov; Rollo May; Russell Means; Michael Meeropol; Robert Meeropol; Kate Millet; Congressman Charles Rangel; Bert Schneider; Franz Schurmann.

Pete Seeger; Stanley Sheinbaum; Helen Sobell; Morton Sobell; Dr. Benjamin Spock; Congressman Fortney Stark; I.F. Stone; Paul Sweezy; George Wald; and Cora Weiss.

BEHIND THE WALLS



Introduction

As a result of the overwhelming number of letters and articles we receive from prison inmates and prisoner support groups, THE BLACK PANTHER initiates in this week's issue a new column, "Behind the Walls."

This column is dedicated to our incarcerated brothers and sisters, and is written in the belief that piercing the stone, concrete and brick with the light of truth will in some way thwart devious oppressors who prefer to perform their treachery in the dark: building toward the day when a conscious and aware public tears down, with bare hands if necessary, the bars and barriers that confine those only attempting to survive in racist, capitalist America.

We take as the foundation for this column the Black Panther Party's 10 Point Program and Platform, in particular Point #9, which reads:

"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."

'BRAVE NEW WORLD' OF DNA GENETICS

DRUG INDUSTRY SECRETLY EXPERIMENTS WITH CREATION OF NEW FORMS OF LIFE

(Washington, D.C.) - The People's Business Commission, a Washington, D.C.-based organization that researches new developments among American corporations, has recently made public a list of seven major drug companies secretly experimenting with the creation of "new forms of life."

The seven corporations currently involved in DNA research, and therefore moving with a decided edge, unrestricted by government or moral guidelines in determining the "profit" margin of this Brave New World-kind of experimentation in artificial and new life forms are: Miles Laboratories; Eli Lilly and Company; Hoffman-LaRoche; the Upjohn Company; Merck, Sharpe and Dohme Research Laboratories; Pfizer, Inc.; and Abbott Laboratories.

Using a dangerous and highly volatile new technology called "recombinant DNA," these private laboratories have embarked on the first stage of a course that scientists say will eventually lead to the creation of new plants, new animals, and ultimately, the genetic alteration of the human species.

Recombinant DNA is a recently developed technique that recombines DNA segments — DNA is the basic organic genetic material determining the hereditary characteristics of all life — from two different organisms. Thus, scientists have discovered the genetic basis for creating new life forms that do not exist in the natural evolutionary order.

SCIENTIFIC BREAKTHROUGH

Although hailed as one of the most important scientific breakthroughs of modern history, recombinant DNA experimentation presents grave dangers to human life and the environment.

On the positive side, scientists believe that experimentation could result in the creation of major new food crops that can obtain nitrogen from the air rather than from fertilizer; a new form of medicine, gene therapy, to treat crippling genetic diseases; and cheap, efficient production of vitamins, antibiotics and hormones, among countless other beneficial possibilities.

However, many scientists want a complete moratorium on recombinant DNA research, arguing that it involves "too many unknown factors beyond the control of the scientist."



Human fetus in early stage of development. Scientists are presently trying to create new life forms through use of "recombinant" DNA.

According to a top scientist from the Sloan-Kettering Institute for Cancer Research, "The probability of creating a dangerous genetic agent is real, and there is no way to test for it."

For example, a new type virus, like the type shown in the movie *Andromeda Strain*, for which there is no known immunization, might accidentally be developed and spread a deadly epidemic across the planet; or a new, highly resistant plant might be developed that could wipe out all other vegetation and animal life

in its path.

DNA experimentation is now being conducted almost entirely free of government supervision. According to Dr. Bernard Talbot of the National Institute of Health (NIH), the agency charged with overseeing the federal government's new Interagency Committee on Recombinant DNA, "As of now there is no federal agency that is looking into research being done by private industry in recombinant DNA."

According to other high-level government, scientific and indus-

trial sources, seven major U.S. pharmaceutical companies are currently conducting such research and are expected to apply for patents on the new forms of life they develop. For example, General Electric has recently applied for a patent on a tiny microorganism its scientists have developed that can literally "eat up" oil spills.

Under existing NIH guidelines for university DNA research, scientists must disclose all their plans in advance (Stanford and the University of California have applied for patents on their DNA recombination processes). There are no such guidelines for private industry and corporate lobbyists are ready to fight such legislation because it would endanger their "rights to patent."

OVERALL AUTHORITY

Currently, no government agency has overall authority over DNA experimentation. The Center for Disease Control, the Food and Drug Administration, the Patent Office and the Environmental Protection Agency have piecemeal regulatory powers, but they have no direct access to the commercial laboratories' research programs as they do to government-funded university research.

Meanwhile, California state health officials have drafted a tough bill to regulate DNA research. Under the proposal as now drafted, the Health Department would be given statutory authority to regulate all conditions under which genetic experiments are conducted, including private industry. The proposed bill represents the first effort by a state government to regulate such biology research. □

U.S. Congress Receives Low Ratings In Ethics Poll

(Washington, D.C.) — In a Harris Poll survey conducted recently on the subject of ethics, the U.S. Congress came in eighth among the 10 groups in the survey, with only corporate executives and organized labor receiving lower ratings.

The \$55,000 poll was commissioned by the House Commission on Administrative Review in the wake of last year's payroll sex scandal. The House panel commissioned the poll with the intent of assessing public sentiment on ethical standards.

According to Harris, who testified before the House Commission, 1,510 people 16 years of age and over were asked a long list of questions, including whether they rated the ethics of 10 key institutions high or low. Consumer action groups and television

were tied for the highest ethical marks, with newspapers third.

Harris testified that consumer action groups and television were rated high by 66 per cent. Newspapers were rated high by 63 per cent; the White House by

60 per cent; state governors by 59 per cent; state legislators by 58 per cent; farm organizations by 56 per cent; local government by 55 per cent; Congress by 53 per cent; corporations by 45 per cent; **CONTINUED ON PAGE 25**



Sex scandals have rocked Washington, D.C.

The Horrors Of The Slave Trade

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

them relative to their age. They then minutely inspect their persons, and inquire into the state of their health; if they are afflicted with any infirmity, or are deformed, or have bad eyes or teeth; if they are lame, or weak in their joints, or distorted in the back, or of a slender make, or are narrow in the chest; in short, if they have been, or are afflicted in any manner, so as to render them incapable of much labor; if any of the foregoing defects are discovered in them, they are rejected. But if approved of, they are generally taken on board the ship the same evening. The purchaser has liberty to return on the following morning, but not afterwards, such as upon re-examination are found exceptionable.

The traders frequently beat those Negroes which are objected to by the captains, and use them with great severity. It matters not whether they are refused on account of age, illness, deformity, or for any other reason. At New Calabar, in particular, the traders have frequently been known to put them to death. Instances have happened at that place that the traders, when any of their Negroes have been objected to, have dropped their canoes under the stern of the vessel, and instantly beheaded them, in sight of the captain.

WRETCHED AFRICANS

As soon as the wretched Africans, purchased at the fairs, fall into the hands of the Black traders, they experience an earnest of those dreadful sufferings which they are doomed in future to undergo. And there is not the least room to doubt, but that even before they can reach the fairs, great numbers perish from cruel usage, want of food, traveling through inhospitable deserts, etc.

Nor do these unhappy beings, after they become the property of the Europeans (from whom, as a more civilized people, more humanity might naturally be expected), find their situation in the least amended. Their treatment is no less rigorous. The men Negroes, on being brought aboard the ship, are immediately fastened together, two and two, by handcuffs on their wrists, and by irons riveted on their legs. They are then sent down between the decks, and placed in an apartment partitioned off for that purpose. The women likewise are placed in a separate apartment between decks, but without being ironed. And an adjoining room, on the same deck, is besides appointed for the boys. Thus they

are all placed in different apartments.

But at the same time they are frequently stowed so close, as to admit of no other posture than lying on their sides. Neither will the height between decks, unless directly under the grating, permit them the indulgence of an erect posture; especially where there are platforms, which is generally the case. These platforms are a kind of shelf, about eight or nine feet in breadth, extending from the side of the ship towards the center. They are placed nearly midway between the decks, at the distance of two or three feet from each deck. Upon these the Negroes are stowed in the same manner as they are on the deck underneath.

APARTMENTS

In each of the apartments are placed three or four large buckets, of a conical form, being near two feet in diameter at the bottom, and only one foot at the top, and in depth about twenty-eight inches; to which, when necessary, the Negroes have recourse. It often happens that those who are placed at a distance from the buckets, in endeavoring to get to them, stumble over their companions, in consequence of their being shackled. These accidents, although unavoidable, are productive of continual quarrels, in which some of them are always bruised. In this distressed situation, unable to proceed, and prevented from getting to the tubs, they desist from the attempt; and, as the necessities of nature are not to be repelled, ease themselves as they lie.

They are commonly fed twice a day, about eight o'clock in the morning, and four in the afternoon. In most ships they are only fed with their *own food* once a day. Their food is served up to them in tubs, about the size of a small water bucket. They are placed round these tubs in companies of ten to each tub, out of which they feed themselves with wooden spoons. These they soon lose, and when they are not allowed others, they feed themselves with their hands.

Upon the Negroes refusing to take sustenance, I have seen coals of fire, glowing hot, put on a shovel, and placed so near their lips, as to scorch and burn them. And this has been accompanied with threats, of forcing them to swallow the coals, if they any longer persisted in refusing to eat. These means have generally had the desired effect. I have also been credibly informed that a certain captain in the slave trade

poured melted lead on such of the Negroes as obstinately refused their food.

Exercise being deemed necessary for the preservation of their health, they are sometimes obliged to dance, when the weather will permit their coming on deck. If they go about it reluctantly, or do not move with agility, they are flogged; a person standing by them all the time with a cat-o'-nine tails in his hands for that purpose.

On board some ships, the common sailors are allowed to have intercourse with such of the Black women whose consent they can procure. And some of them have been known to take the inconstancy of their paramours to much to heart, as to leap overboard and drown themselves. The officers are permitted to indulge their passions among them at pleasure, and sometimes are guilty of such brutal excesses as disgrace human nature.

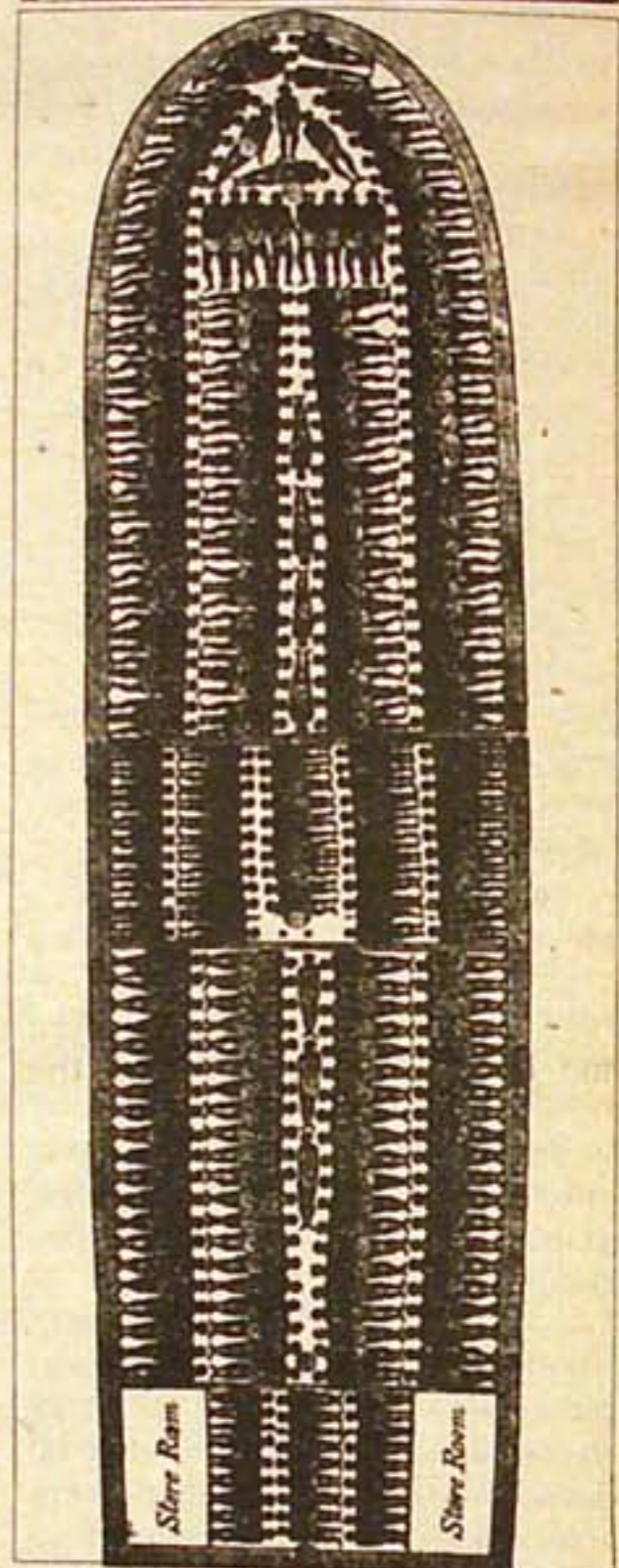
The hardships and inconveniences suffered by the Negroes during the passage are scarcely to be enumerated or conceived. They are far more violently affected by the seasickness than the Europeans. It frequently terminates in death, especially among the women. But the exclusion of the fresh air is among the most intolerable. The confined air, rendered noxious by the effluvia (odor) exhaled from their bodies, and by being repeatedly breathed, soon produces fevers and fluxes (discharges) which generally carries off great numbers of them.

THE SURGEON

The surgeon, upon going between decks, in the morning, to examine the situation of the slaves, frequently finds several dead; and among the men, sometimes a dead and living Negro fastened by their irons together. When this is the case, they are brought upon the deck, and being laid on the grating, the living Negro is disengaged, and the dead is thrown overboard.

The loss of slaves, through mortality, arising from the causes just mentioned, are frequently very considerable. In the voyage lately referred to (not the Liverpool ship before-mentioned) one hundred and five, out of three hundred and eighty, died in the passage — a proportion seemingly very great, but by no means uncommon. One half, sometimes two-thirds, and even beyond that, have been known to perish. Before we left Bonny River, no less than fifteen died of fevers and dysenteries occasioned by their confinement.

As very few of the Negroes can so far brook the loss of their



liberty, and the hardships they endure, as to bear them with any degree of patience, they are ever upon the watch to take advantage of the least negligence in their oppressors. Insurrections are frequently the consequence; which are seldom suppressed without much bloodshed. Sometimes these are successful, and the whole ship's company is cut off. They are likewise always ready to seize every opportunity for committing some act of desperation to free themselves from their miserable state:

While a ship, to which I belonged, lay in Bonny River, one evening, a short time before our departure, a lot of Negroes, consisting of about ten, was brought on board; when one of them, in a favourable moment, forced his way through the network on the larboard side of the vessel, jumped overboard and was supposed to have been devoured by the sharks. □

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"Trial"

During the celebrated 1968 murder trial of Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton, a battle of nerves was waged when Alameda County prosecutor (now district attorney) Lowell Jensen cross-examined Huey while he was on the witness stand. In this portion of the chapter "Trial" from Revolutionary Suicide, we see how Jensen was beaten at his own game.

PART 86

I had spent nearly the entire day on the stand when Garry turned me over to the enemy. For the first time in eight weeks Jensen and I were face to face.

My sister Leola had told me of an incident that occurred at the beginning of the trial when she was standing on the courthouse steps watching one of the many demonstrations. Jensen, not knowing who she was, was standing near her, watching with an associate. She heard Jensen tell his friend that he meant to make me lose my temper before the jury.

Then, he said, all the demonstrations on my behalf would be meaningless. So, when he approached me that afternoon, I knew what to expect: he wanted me to explode rather than engage in a good debating session. I felt that the whole exchange would be nothing more than another debate, only this time the stakes were high. I had spent too much time on corners, in bars, and in the classroom debating very complex subjects to get upset with Jensen's probing.

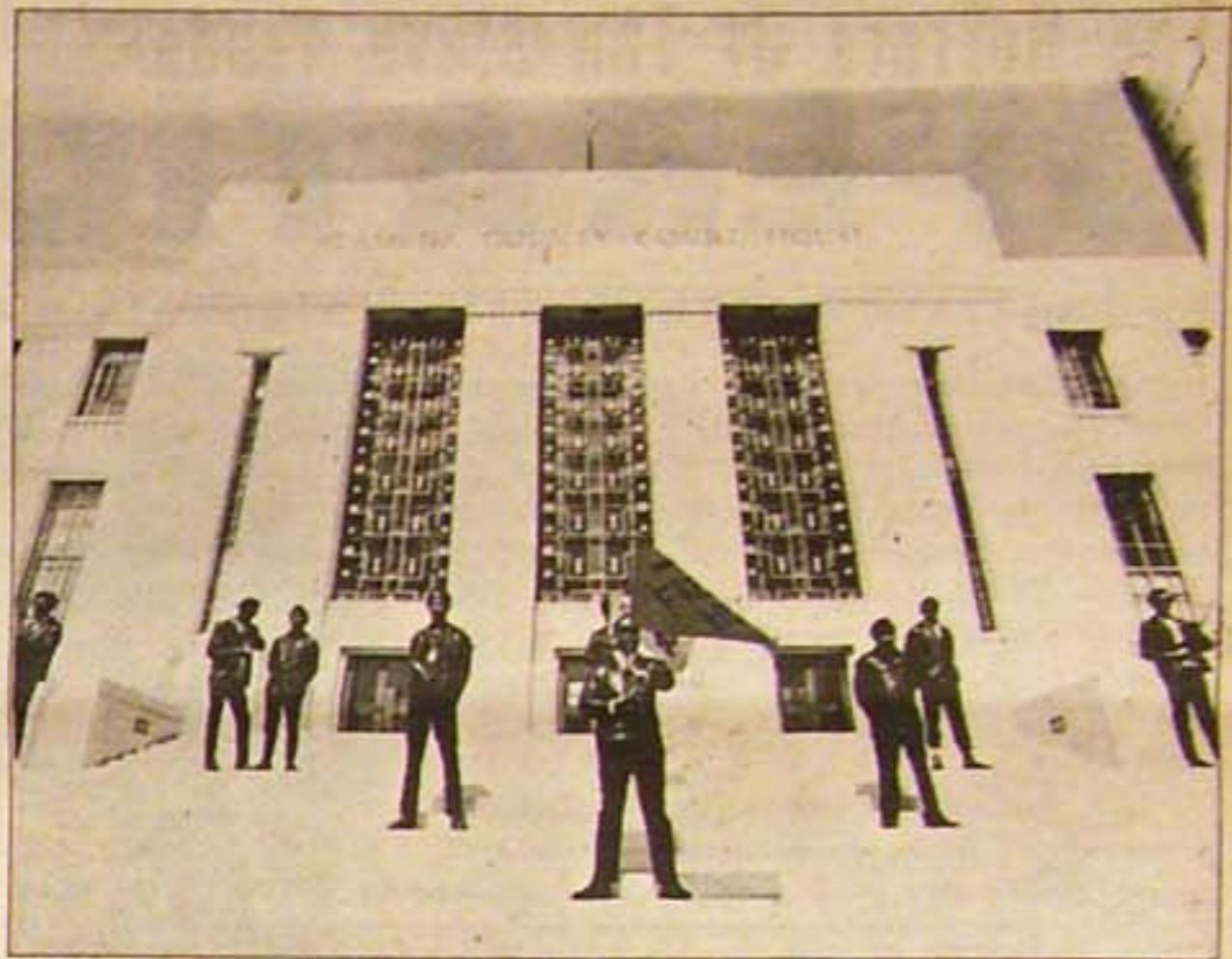
WORTHY OPPONENT

He was a worthy opponent, but I knew that once he began to push me, he was going to be surprised at my responses. He had a false impression of me and expected me to respond in a way I was incapable of doing. Throughout almost two days of cross-examination, we struggled to see whose approach would prevail, mine or his, and I felt that during almost all of this time I controlled the situation. In responding to Jensen, just as I had responded to Garry, I did not pull any punches about criticizing the system or its agents.

Though my life was at stake, I wanted to show my contempt. I sought to use their own apparatus to defy them, which was consistent with the revolutionary practices I have attempted to live by.

Jensen's entire cross-examination, nearly every incident he brought up, was intended to demonstrate that I loved violence and guns and that I was a personal threat and a menace to police officers merely trying to do their duty. He began by asking about our early patrols in the Oakland community, emphasizing for the benefit of the jury, in insidious ways, the fact that we had carried shotguns.

He tried to imply that I would have preferred to carry a concealed pistol on these patrols but that the terms of my probation did not allow this. He reinforced this suggestion by having me read a poem, "Guns, Baby, Guns," I had once written for THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper, which was filled with symbols and metaphors that have a particular meaning for Black people but are utterly lost on most Whites. In the poem I had mentioned a P-38 revolver, and Jensen tried to suggest that this was the type of gun I had shot Frey with and that my poem



A 1968 "Free Huey" rally at the Alameda County Courthouse in Oakland, California. A nationwide campaign for the imprisoned Black Panther Party leader began after he was falsely charged with killing an Oakland police officer.

suggested I liked this gun and would use it if the occasion demanded.

"What is a P-38?" he asked "It's an automatic pistol," I answered.

"Does it fire nine-millimeter Luger cartridges?" was his next question.

I explained to Jensen that I don't know much about hand guns. I always preferred a

shotgun and would never touch hand guns while I was on probation. I explained to him that in this matter, as in all others, Black Panthers obey the law.

At that, he asked me if I remembered an incident in Richmond in 1967 when I had not obeyed the law, when, as he put it, I "got into a combat with Richmond police"? He was referring to the time the police had lain in wait for us until 5:00 a.m. outside a house where we were partying. I had taken an arrest that time in order to avoid combat after one young police officer had stepped on all the brothers' feet and another got me in a choke hold against a police car.

DESCRIBING INCIDENT

I carefully explained the details to Jensen and the jury and told how an all-White conservative jury at my trial in Richmond had believed the police version of what had taken place, as they always do, and sentenced me to sixty days on the county farm. I made sure the jury learned about the policeman's remark after viciously beating the brother: "I have to go now because I promised to take my wife and kids to church at nine."

Then Jensen brought up the time the Black Panthers had responded to the little boy who ran into headquarters asking for help. The police had burst into his house when his father was away and were tearing up the place on the phony pretext of looking for a shotgun. We asked the police to leave because they had no search warrant, and in their rage they had arrested me for wearing a dagger in a holster, accusing me of "displaying a weapon in a rude and threatening fashion."

TO BE CONTINUED

THE COMMITTEE FOR

JUSTICE

FOR

HUEY P. NEWTON

AND THE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE IS CALLING FOR NATIONWIDE SUPPORT FOR THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY'S LAWSUIT AGAINST THE FBI AND OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES RESPONSIBLE FOR REPRESSION AGAINST THE PARTY. THIS CRUCIAL LAWSUIT SEEKS TO REDRESS PAST WRONGS, AND TO EXPOSE AND STOP THE CONTINUING GOVERNMENT HARASSMENT.

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The Persecution And Assassination Of Martin Luther King Jr.

OPERATION ZORRO!

By Don Freed And The People's Information Project

Operation Zorro — The Persecution and Assassination of Martin Luther King is a soon-to-be released, in-depth report on the slaying of the late civil rights leader written by noted author-researcher Donald Freed and the People's Information Project. Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents Part 1 of the chapter, "Who Slew the Dreamer? A Speculation."

PART 1
 "This land which man has despoiled and despoiled and delivered in two generations... where White men rest farms and live like niggers and niggers crop on shares and live like animals... no wonder the ruined woods don't cry for retribution. The people who have destroyed it will accomplish its revenge."

William Faulkner

At the Plaza Hotel, Jack Youngblood, the CIA mercenary, said that there were two dimensions in the King conspiracy, "rednecks on the ground" and, high behind the local types, the executive planners calling the shots. The only real question before the nation now is whether Martin Luther King was executed by a major or a minor conspiracy.

Youngblood had said, "Start with the rednecks on the ground."

Poor White Southerners have red necks because the sun beats down and burns them. And they wear wool hats because the cold wind would otherwise freeze them. The Rays — James Earl, Jerry, all of them — are and were poor Southern border state Whites. But they were more than just poor. They were casualties of America's secret class war; a part of the body count, victims of the psychological warfare and propaganda of power interests.



Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING



The mule-drawn casket leads the funeral procession of Dr. Martin Luther King after his assassination in Memphis on April 4, 1968.

The Ray brothers and millions like them have been misled and set against themselves. The self-interest, the best interests of the Rays dictated that they should have marched on Washington, D.C., with Martin Luther King and his poor Black, Indian, Chicano and some White legions in the Poor People's March! Instead, the history of the American poor is one long convulsion of poor White violence against Black people. This violence is not spontaneous; the poor White shock troops are directed, controlled, and managed, as in any other way, by men of wealth and power.

The lynching mania that tore apart the America of Reconstruction flowed directly from the entrance of millions of former slaves into the shrinking labor market of first the rural South and then the Northern urban centers. Documentation reveals that the Ku Klux Klan and other armed vigilante groups were financed and protected by large financial interests, North and South.

When Andrew Carnegie's miners went out on strike, the famous philanthropist, who endowed Black colleges, rushed in Black "scab" workers to man the mines, pitting them against Whites. As the union movement solidified, industrialists literally drove hundreds of thousands of rural Blacks into border and Northern city enclaves, ghettos, to provide pools of cheap labor. Henry Ford the First flooded the South with ads offering assembly line jobs at \$5 a day to poor Blacks. To this day in Detroit separate suburbs of Black and White workers are segregated and side by side in a state of constant, often violent tension.

There was a Populist movement in this country. It was split along race lines and

turned in on itself by economic interests that before the Civil War, for instance, caused to be printed and circulated millions of pseudo scientific books about Afro-American inferiority. These notorious propaganda works are current today in South Africa.

Only months after the death of Dr. King, important elements of the national media began to discuss, seriously, "new research" purporting to prove, once again, that Black people were genetically inferior, intellectually. (In 1976, the same media was constrained to report that the British studies on which this racial argument was based had been exposed as a fraud.)

Racism is fueled and perpetuated by an economic class that never needs to worry about where on a bus they will sit, to ride to some dreary, back-breaking temporary job.

Over the decades, national leaders like Martin Luther King have arisen to confront this terrible human scandal. Their fate has always been the same — jail, character assassination, exile, death.

The forerunner to the FBI, the old Bureau of Investigation, played the major role in the destruction of the peerless Black heavyweight champion, Jack Johnson, in the early years of this century. The Bureau and its allies were convinced that Johnson's physical and combative prowess would "set a bad example to the Negroes of the South, if they were to perceive that a Black man was more than the equal of a White man," to use the newspaper language of that day.

The towering artist and athlete Paul Robeson was placed under virtual house arrest by the FBI after World War II, and his mighty

voice was stilled. His crime? Embracing socialism as opposed to American racism and the capitalism that he saw lying behind it.

The supreme Black scholar of this century, Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois, was driven into African exile in his declining years. As with Dr. King and Dr. Robeson, the charge was always communism. Communism and integration, communism and civil rights, communism and voter registration, communism and union organizing. Black and White unity equaled communism to American corporate interests and their federal police, the Federal Bureau of Investigation. To Hoover and his minions, Martin Luther King was another in a long line of insurrectionary Black reds.

Until his death, Malcolm X was domestic political enemy number one to the intelligence establishment because he could, in the Director's words, "Electrify the Black masses." More importantly, Malcolm X had moved to a multiracial class perspective, poor Whites and Blacks together, as had every other martyred rights leader since old John Brown.

The evidence indicates that all major Western European intelligence services had been warned, by the CIA, to refuse entry to Malcolm because an assassination attempt was imminent. On the day of his assassination in Harlem, his security was stripped away. Inside the mosque Malcolm was gunned down. The body guard who bent over the dying leader to "assist" his labored breathing was Eugene Roberts, a Black undercover agent provocateur for the New York "Red Squad."

The FBI covered up the murder of the three civil rights workers in Mississippi — carried out by police officers — until President Kennedy and his brother personally took charge of the investigation.

According to an FBI informant, the Bureau had advance knowledge of the horrible bombing murder of the four little girls in the Birmingham church during an organizing drive inspired by the King movement in that city.

When a White union activist, Viola Liuzzo,



MALCOLM X lies on the floor of Harlem's Audubon Hotel Ballroom after fatal shooting on February 21, 1965. Kneeling over him is his distraught wife BETTY SHABAZZ.

came South to work with Martin Luther King, she was murdered by a carload of White night riders. One of the men is a confessed FBI agent provocateur.

The conspiracy that cut down the Southern civil rights organizer, Medgar Evers, involved extremist groups so heavily infiltrated by the FBI that the Bureau boasted over the years at



PAUL ROBESON, one of the greatest artists in U.S. history, was blacklisted due to his opposition to racism and capitalism.

every Congressional budget hearing that they were in control of these so-called "White Hate Groups."

In Chicago, when a Black youth gang refused to be provoked into fratricide against the Black Panther Party leadership, the FBI, working through the Chicago police and a paid agent provocateur, simply shot Panther deputy chairman Fred Hampton in cold blood.

The point of this bloody history of official complicity in violence against civil rights leaders is as terrible as it is simple. The question before a frightened nation is — did the Federal Bureau of Investigation conspire in the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.?

The evidence is damning. The FBI surveillance — photo and electronic — was all over Martin Luther King as late as April 3, yet we still do not know who or where the agents were at the time of his death. Why would they cover up for men the likes of James Earl Ray, who have no power at all?

Why was a major share of the homicide investigation put into the hands of the FBI's Atlanta "get King" squad? Agents who "jumped for joy" when the news of the murder was flashed? Agents who had highly placed informants and provocateurs in every extremist group in their region, this by their own repeated admission?

What entity had the power to cause Memphis Police Director and ex-FBI agent Frank Holloman to virtually strip King of his last remaining security?

Why the revealed collusion of the FBI with friendly journalists and authors in the propagation of the "lone nut" theory of Dr. King's death? And why the withholding of and

destruction of evidence just as in the murder of President Kennedy? What of the attempts at sexual blackmail — that continue to this hour — in order to disrupt the Congressional investigation into King's homicide?

Political assassination is as old as the state. The methods, too, are time-honored: people in high places use very ordinary men, indeed, as their instrument of execution; men who, often as not, are themselves victims of the existing system.

Who, really, did Martin Luther King threaten? Surely not the likes of James Earl Ray, enjoying love and life, perhaps for the first time, in Canada and Mexico. Ray, a man whose life by every objective criterion completely contradicts the profile of the lone and fanatical political assassin. What could be more hollow than this stale and stereotyped fanatic killer boiler plate — nurtured by the FBI and its allies as a motive for Lee Harvey Oswald after Dallas, and applied mechanically to James Earl Ray and Sirhan B. Sirhan to explain their "magnifices," to use another word coined by the media.

The question is elementary: There are and have been fanatics who have killed — and then proclaimed their responsibility and vindication by history. Lee Harvey Oswald, James Earl Ray and Sirhan Sirhan were charged and painted as, respectively, a lone Communist fanatic; a lone racist fanatic; a lone Arabic fanatic. But none of these men bragged or trumpeted any megalomaniacal rhetoric as to why they had to slay famous men — for the "masses," or the "White race," or the "anti-Zionist" crusade. Instead, each proclaimed his innocence or manipulation by others. Thus, at one stroke every official book, report and study which explains the crimes as the result of fanatical and lonely zeal, is overturned by the refusal of the alleged assassins to speak the lines assigned to them in the FBI's scenario.

The FBI admits to conspiring without letup to destroy Dr. Martin Luther King's marriage, his movement, his character. Did they destroy his life, too, or simply let the killing unfold, help it along? **TO BE CONTINUED**



The great Black scholar W.E.B. DuBOIS, who was forced into an African exile by U.S. reactionaries.

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.

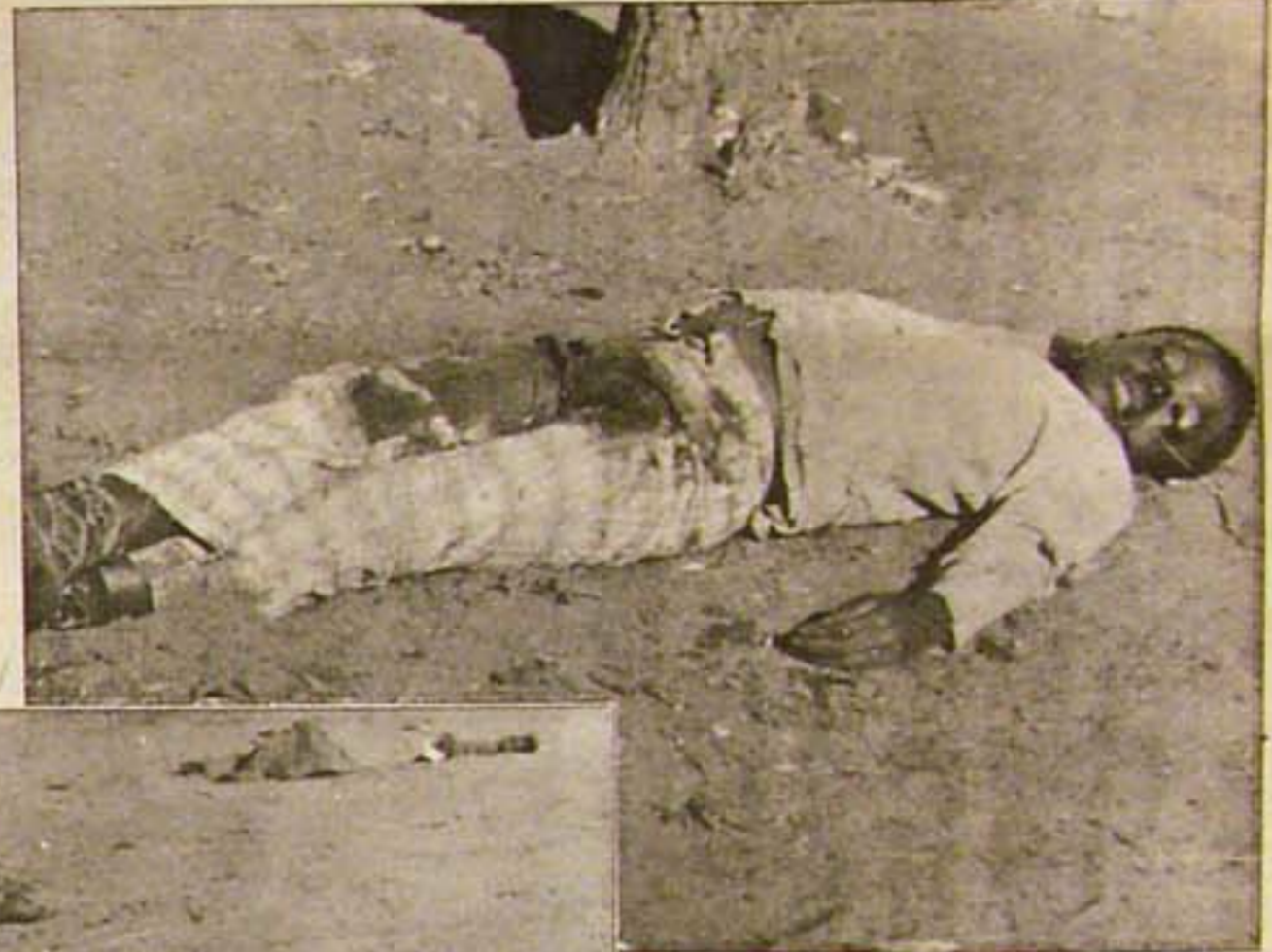
Intercommunal News

Z.I.P.A. FORCES INTENSIFY ARMED STRUGGLE DURING RAINY SEASON

BAY AREA COALITION ORGANIZES CLOTHING DRIVE FOR ZIMBABWEAN REFUGEES

(San Francisco, Calif.) - In solidarity with the armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), the Zimbabwe Relief Coalition, a broad-based, progressive Bay Area organization, is actively engaged in a drive to collect warm clothing for the over 50,000 Zimbabwean women and children housed in refugee camps in neighboring Tanzania, Zambia and Mozambique.

The Zimbabwe Relief Coalition was formed following the over-



Zimbabwean children who were murdered in massacre carried out by Rhodesian troops in refugee camp located in Mozambique. Over 50,000 people are housed in camps located in Tanzania, Zambia and Mozambique.



whelmingly successful African Liberation Day celebration at the Oakland Community Learning Center May 31 of last year. Participants in the celebration, who included the United Nations ambassador from Angola and

representatives of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania (South Africa) and the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia (South West Africa),

each stressed the need for American supporters of the liberation struggles in southern Africa to contribute such concrete things as medical supplies and clothing.

Since August, 1966, the Black people of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of ZANU, has been fighting the Rhodesian White minority regime in order to achieve Black majority rule. Within the past year, the armed struggle, conducted by the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA), has intensified, resulting in heavy losses for the Rhodesian forces.

While ZIPA has been victorious on the battlefield, the Rhodesian government has countered by stepping up its persecution of the Zimbabwean people who live in the rural areas where fighting is taking place. Some 200,000 Zimbabwean people have been forced by the government to leave their homes and live in so-called "protected villages." Meanwhile, the thousands of people who have fled their homes seeking safety from the Rhodesian forces have, for the most part, settled in refugee camps in nearby Mozambique, one of the five frontline states supporting the armed struggle in Zimbabwe.

ZIPA liberation forces are utilizing the current rainy season in the country (November to



ANDREW YOUNG and SALIM A. SALIM, chairman of U.N. Decolonization Committee.

Young Begins Southern Africa "Fact-Finding" Mission

(Zanzibar, Tanzania) - Among the many conflicting sights and experiences in store for Andrew Young during his 10-day "fact-finding" tour in Africa, there is one certainly: the first Black U.S. ambassador to the United Nations has already learned that the Black people and governments of southern Africa are totally determined to establish majority rule in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Azania (South Africa).

Within 24 hours after presenting credentials to U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, Young took off on the first leg of his journey, stopping in London to meet with British ambassador Ivor Richard, chairman of the now collapsed Geneva conference on Rhodesia.

"OPTIMISTIC"

Young stated afterwards that he remained "optimistic" that an agreement could be reached without increased bloodshed - in spite of Rhodesian "Prime Minister" Ian Smith's adamant refusal to accept the latest British proposal, a plan the ZANU-ZAPU Patriotic Front has accepted as the basis for renewed attacks.

London was just a stopover point, however, and Young was soon en route to Zanzibar, an island 20 miles off the coast of mainland Tanzania, to attend an international celebration and meet with several Black African leaders.

(The celebration marks the creation of a new national political party, the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, a merger of the Tanganyika African National

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

THE BLACK PANTHER INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY



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

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ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN TRADE UNION UNITY

AFRICAN WORKING WOMEN DEMAND ECONOMIC EQUALITY

(Accra, Ghana) - A wide-ranging document demanding the full integration of African women into the economic, social and political development of their respective countries has been adopted here by the Conference of the Working Women of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU).

Entitled *On The Economic, Social, Political and Trade Union Rights of African Working Women*, the OATUU Charter discusses numerous areas in which the rights of African women must be achieved "if the economic and social problems in most countries of the world today" are to be solved.

HALF LABOR FORCE

Noting that nearly half of the labor force on the African continent is composed of women, the Charter declares that, "Regrettably, the majority of these African women are still victims of backward customs and traditions, colonialism, neocolonialism, apartheid, imperialism, gross exploitation and other multiple factors which limit and sometimes ignore their active contribution to their societies. . . .

"Development in any country requires the full participation of



Azanian women perform hard labor. African women are increasingly demanding full equality and total liberation.

the society as a whole — men and women alike and this develop-

ment should not only imply
CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

DRIVE FOR BLACK MAJORITY RULE BRINGS FINANCIAL RUIN

White Regimes In South Africa, Rhodesia Hit By Economic Crises

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - Desperately fighting off inevitable Black majority rule, the White supremacist regimes of South Africa (Azania) and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) have been hit with severe economic problems as European colonialism in southern Africa rapidly nears its end.

Sir De Villiers Graaff, leader of the opposition in the South African Parliament, is quoted in the *New York Times* concerning the economic situation in his country, "Apartheid, combined with monumental stupidity and incompetence on the part of those in charge of the country's economic and financial affairs, has brought South Africa to the brink of economic and financial ruin. We must make no mistake about this: It really is ruin, not merely a crisis."

The effect of the widespread Black political protests in South Africa last year was devastating for the already faltering economy. Foreign banks and investors have been reluctant to

invest in the country in light of the growing opposition to apartheid at home as well as abroad.

In 1975 and the first quarter of 1976, the average amount of foreign capital coming into the country was \$184 million per month. By the third quarter after the Soweto uprising, however, foreign investors were withdrawing their money at the rate of \$4.6 million per month.

Traditional sources of South African financing also started drying up last year. Simultaneously, the price of gold, the bulwark of the country's economy, fell from \$165 an ounce in 1975 to \$130 an ounce by the end of 1976. Every \$5 decline in the price of gold costs South Africa \$100 million.

Imposing an austerity program, the government took sweeping steps to cut a trade deficit. Six-month, interest-free deposits of 20 per cent were required for goods entering the country. Gasoline sales were prohibited for 60 hours each

weekend to hold down fuel usage.

The South African economy shrank one per cent during 1976, according to J.J. Cloete, chief economist for Barclays National Bank Ltd.

Already at the bottom of the economic ladder, the Black population was hardest hit by the economic depression in 1976. While Whites were unaffected by unemployment, among Blacks in South Africa there were an estimated 600,000 unemployed in a registered work force of 2.7 million. Inflation was 11 per cent.

UPSURGE

Meanwhile, in Rhodesia, the upsurge in the armed liberation struggle for Black majority rule in 1976 caused major economic problems in the breakaway British colony. Since the Rhodesian government began fighting Black nationalist forces in 1972, the cost of the war has grown four times, to \$186 million in 1976, or 23 per cent of the national budget.

Certainly the one action that crippled the Rhodesian economy more than anything else was Mozambican President Samora Machel's decision to close his country's border with Rhodesia last March.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

Africa In Focus



Tanzania & Kenya

Deteriorating relations between these two east African nations reached crisis proportions last week when Tanzania closed its border with Kenya. The Tanzanian government seized hundreds of Kenyan vehicles and light planes in the aftermath of Kenya's decision to form its own airline — thereby bringing on the collapse of East African Airways, which had been operated by the two feuding countries and Uganda. Earlier last week, the conservative government of Kenyan President Jomo Kenyatta broke off all sports ties with Tanzania.

Sierra Leone

A state of emergency and a curfew were imposed in this west African country on February 1 following battles between pro-government demonstrators and students demanding the resignation of President Siaka P. Stevens. The disturbances began at a ceremony at the University of Sierra Leone in Freetown where protesting students confronted Stevens with placards demanding his resignation and calling for economic reforms in the former British colony.

Ethiopia

Ethiopia's new head of state, Lt. Colonel Mengistu Haile-Meriam, told a cheering crowd of 200,000 people in Addis Ababa last week that democratic rights should be extended to the masses of the Ethiopian people and urged the formation of a workers' party. Mengistu came to power on February 3 following an attempted overthrow of the military government that involved a shootout between factions on the ruling council of government, the Dergue, in Dergue headquarters. As a result, former head of state Brig. General Tefferi Benti and six other Dergue leaders, accused of being "anti-government and anti-revolutionary elements," were executed. Radio Addis Ababa charged that the seven executed were members of one of three organizations — the progressive Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), the right-wing Democratic Union and the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF).

APARTHEID DEFIANCE MOUNTS

Catholic Church To Expand Integration In South Africa

(Cape Town, South Africa) - Having thus far been successful in defying the apartheid laws of South Africa by integrating its 140 previously all-White schools, the Roman Catholic Church is bent on expanding its desegregation movement to other church institutions, including hospitals, orphanages, hostels and infirmaries, the *New York Times* reports.

While the official position of the South African government remains adamantly opposed to racial integration in any form, the unofficial outlook, *Time* magazine reports, is one of hesitancy to challenge the South African Catholic Church — 1.4 of whose 1.8 million members are Black — in the aftermath of last year's Black uprisings in Soweto. One government official begrudgingly conceded, "We're a pariah (an outcast) as it is. We don't want a quarrel with the Pope as well."

(The gross inequities in South African state-supported schools touched off the Soweto protest movement last summer. The country's 900,000 White students attend free, compulsory schools while the 3.7 million Black students attend optional schools whose tuition is \$50 a year. Black schools in South Africa are generally inadequate since the government spends 10 times as

BLACK AZANIAN JOURNALIST FLEES HOUSE ARREST RESTRICTIONS

ESCAPE FROM SOUTH AFRICA

In early January, 1977, Black Azanian (South African) journalist Eric Abraham escaped from the banning and house arrest orders that confined him to his "one room bedsitter from 6:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. on weekdays and 24 hours on weekends and holidays," fleeing to neighboring Botswana. The following is Abraham's telling account of life for a Black reporter under the apartheid minority White regime.

No Easy Walk to Freedom (the title of a book by the imprisoned president of the South African National Congress, Nelson Mandela) kept running through my mind as I scrambled over the barbed-wire fence separating South Africa from Botswana shortly before sunrise last Wednesday.

"I looked back over South African territory. I was still too confused to be able to accept the reality that I was at last free, and still trembling a little from a fearful 10-mile walk through the border zone. South African defense force patrols have the reputation of shooting first and talking afterwards.

"Behind me I had left an intolerable life. Since November 29 of last year, when I was served with stringent banning and house-arrest orders on the instruction of Justice and Police Minister J.T. Kruger, I experienced at first hand civil and social death. Some 160 Black and White South Africans now suffer these extra-judicial orders.



Azanian woman and her child flee South African violence and racism. Police have increased their treachery and terror tactics in light of the country's Black revolt.



"Under the orders, I was immediately deprived of my livelihood as a journalist because, as a banned person, I was not allowed to be quoted, or to prepare material for publication or for transmission in any form. I faced the prospect of financial destruction. I was not allowed to

enter any building which had on its premises printing equipment of any kind.

"A banned person may not speak to or be in the company of more than one person at a time. I was confined to my one-room bedsitter from 6 p.m. until 6 a.m. on weekdays and for 24 hours during weekends and holidays. I was allowed no visitors at any time apart from a doctor, my father or my mother. During the day, I was restricted to the magisterial districts of Cape Town and Wynberg.

"I was not allowed to enter or be on the premises of a university or educational institution. I was not allowed to teach or give instruction of any kind. I was not allowed to enter the Black or Colored (mixed-race) residential areas or townships, nor enter any factory, harbor or airport. Communication with another banned person was forbidden.

"The restriction orders ran into nine pages and contravention of any one section, if I were caught, would lead to imprisonment of not less than six months.

"The banning and house-arrest orders meant constant surveillance by the security police. They also led to severe harassment by right-wing terrorists. I believe that I also faced the threat of an impending 'show trial' under any one of South Africa's numerous security laws.

"As a banned and house-arrested person, I was my own jailer and prisoner combined. It

"OFFICIAL" GOVERNMENT ACCOUNT SLANDERS CUBA

South Africa Lies About Aggression In People's Angola

(Pretoria, South Africa) - Forced into publicly admitting its unsuccessful efforts to overthrow the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in late 1975 and early 1976, the South African government last week released a blatantly distorted "official" version of its war of aggression in Angola.

The White apartheid regime's first detailed account of its intervention in the Western-backed war against the MPLA — the legitimate government of the west African nation which took control on November 11, 1975 — was prompted by a recent article on the war in the *Sunday Telegraph* of London. The *Associated Press*, however, reports that South Africa may have chosen to break its silence on the Angolan conflict due to its unfounded fear that the Carter

administration will take a tougher stand in favor of Black majority rule in southern Africa than the Ford administration did.



South African soldier captured by revolutionary MPLA forces.

Foremost among the lies in the South African government's

statement are those pertaining to the 13,000 Cuban troops who, upon the request of the MPLA, entered the Angolan conflict to ensure that the Black reactionary forces of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) — militarily and financially aided by the U.S., Britain and other Western powers — did not destroy the MPLA-led Angolan revolution.

The South African government also falsely charged that its forces did not enter the war until after the Cuban forces were in Angola. Both the MPLA and Cuban Premier Fidel Castro have stated numerous times that it was South African aggression in southern Angola that prompted the Angolan government to ask for Cuban

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Catholic Church To Expand Integration

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

much per pupil on Whites as on Blacks. The student-teacher ratio is 20 to 1 for Whites and 60 to 1 for Blacks.)

The Dominican priests and nuns within the Catholic Church who are spearheading the defiance of apartheid policies are determined not to back down, even if it means the closing of church institutions and prosecution of the leaders of the integration movement.

"We are in a fighting mood," declared Rev. Donald De Beer, editor of *Southern Cross*, the church's weekly newspaper. "But we think we're going to get away with it. I think they'll (government) regard the question of integration in private Catholic institutions as an adaptation of their policy, saving the principle that segregation in public institutions must be strictly maintained. I don't believe they have the will to force the issue," Father De Beer added.

The desegregation of the country's state schools, now possible under a government regulation exempting Black diplomats stationed in South Africa from apartheid laws, is expected to have an even greater impact than the integration of Catholic schools. This provision has already caused one White woman



Azanian youth exhibit defiance of South African apartheid in last summer's Soweto uprising.

to withdraw her daughter from Pearson High School in Port Elizabeth where Hamilton Mpunzi, the new "consul" to South Africa from the "independent" Transkei homeland, has chosen to enroll his children.

ON RECORD

The Roman Catholic Church in South Africa has been on record in opposition to apartheid policies since 1952. It was not until last March, however, that the church began to act on its position by quietly beginning the desegregation of three Catholic schools. Not only did the government make no moves to stop the integration but

White parents did not object.

About 50 more non-White students were quietly enrolled in Catholic schools in November, 1976. All might have remained peaceful had not reporters discovered, following Christmas vacation, that at least six Catholic schools had integrated. The White apartheid regime reacted in typical fashion, with officials in Transvaal and Cape provinces threatening to close the desegregated schools and prosecuting parents who did not transfer their children to segregated state schools, the *New York Times* reports. □

World Scope



Egypt

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat signed a decree here last week banning Egyptian residents from a wide range of activities including strikes and demonstrations, making participation subject to life sentences at hard labor. Sadat denied that there was any social justification to Egypt's recent bloody, destructive riots, touched off by a price rise on food and other basic consumer goods.

Canada

The 2.3 million member Canadian Labor Congress announced here recently that the principal focus of Canadian labor's participation in the international labor movement's week of protest against apartheid in South Africa would be the collection of a special fund to support Black and Colored unions in their daily struggle against racism. The protest, initiated by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, is also supported by the two other world central labor bodies — the World Confederation of Labor and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

India

An enthusiastic, cheering crowd of 200,000 people gathered in New Delhi last week to hear two politicians who are heading a campaign against Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in the upcoming national elections. "Do you want to remain in slavery, or do you want independence?" Jayaprakash Narayan asked the huge crowd. "That is the issue," he said. "You can decide it now." Sharing the speaker's platform with the elderly Narayan was Jagjwan Ram, whose defection from Gandhi's cabinet last week has changed the whole nature of the current parliamentary election campaign. Ram, who poses a real threat for the first time to Gandhi's ruling Congress Party, resigned from the government after the prime minister refused to end the country's state of emergency which she declared 18 months ago. Charges of corruption were leveled at the prime minister and she responded with the jailing of thousands of her political opponents.

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Never before did I think of
myself,
as bein' lethal to my heart
and servin' bad health
I never thought of myself
as a lonely man before
until I got slammed behind this
iron door. . . .

White World

It's always the little man
who switch like the rooster's hen.
Who huddle together in big
offices,
behind thick wooden doors,
payin' cabbies
to sneak 'em up
whores.

They believe themselves
important,
and have a conspiracy among
themselves
to keep up the illusion. . . .
So that into their world, the poor
can make no intrusion
They huddle together in their
office caves,
makin' poor people
into
whores,
pimps,
drug-addicts,
prisoners,
and
slaves

Problem Or Solution

Sometimes, free I feel
'cause I got the heart to wheel
and
deal.
Where from, came this idea
anyway,
that I should be chained,
my woman
brutalized,
brained,
shamed,
and
our bodies racked with pain,
our children in a white bag
maintained,
until welfare drives them and us
prison insane?
Enlightenment is revolution, is
revolution, is revolution,
and revolution is the solution.
Revolution says I'm part of the
core —
Revolution wants to know whose
keepin' the score,
and warns you Monster
to knock,
when you get to my door
—Howard Ay Gibbs
Trenton State Prison
New Jersey

TWO MEMBERS OF CAST OF "SURVIVAL" REFUSE TO RETURN TO APARTHEID

BLACK ACTORS DEFECT FROM
SO. AFRICA

(Berkeley, Calif.) - The sensational Azanian play *Survival* will appear at the University of California Student Union here under the sponsorship of the Pan-African Student Board, on Thursday, February 10, at 7:30 p.m. Recently arrived in this country, two members of the talented cast have already defected from apartheid South Africa, an act which has created quite a stir in the repressive White minority-ruled country.

Themba Ntinga, 24, and Dan Maredi, 34, two members of the widely acclaimed, five-man Azanian theatrical troupe from Soweto "township" who perform in *Survival*, told a Los Angeles press conference recently that they were definitely not returning to South Africa. The two Black actors announced they had not yet decided what country they would settle in.

The group announced at the press conference that it was already running into troubles in this country, reports *Internews*, as the powerful Actors' Equity Union has opposed its appearance in commercial theaters, claiming that American actors would be put out of work.

Maredi stated, "I am not going back to South Africa and apartheid. If they kidnapped me back there, I would commit suicide."

Ntinga commented, "I haven't made up my mind where I will go."



Four members of cast of *Survival*, (left to right) SETH SIBANDA, DAN MAREDI, THEMBA NTINGA and (rear) DAVID KEKANA.

One thing is sure, I can't go back to South Africa."

Of the other three members of the troupe — Peter Sephuma, 18, David Kekana, 21, and Seth Sibanda, 24 — one of them, Sephuma, announced his intention to return to his homeland to struggle against apartheid. Kekana and Sibanda indicated that they were undecided over returning to racist, oppressive South Africa, where 600,000 Whites control the political, cultural and social destinies of over 18 million Blacks.

The five Soweto actors were

discreetly flown out of South Africa by the drama department of Orange Coast College (in Hollywood, California) to do a six-month tour of American university theaters. Orange Coast representative James Berthole, who arranged their visit, explained that the Actor's Equity Union is firmly opposed to the tour.

ACTOR'S UNION

The actor's union has already forced two cancellations of the troupe's scheduled performance at the American Conservatory Theater (ACT) in San Francisco and fought against the issuance of visas to the five.

"We had to put pressure through Black congressmen," said Berthole, "to get them special H-1 visas which are the sort they (routinely) give to stars like Richard Burton and Sir Laurence Olivier."

Berthole explained that he organized the nationwide tour, the first ever by an Azanian theater troupe, to focus the attention of American students on the conditions endured by people in other parts of the world.

"The ignorance of what is happening in other parts of the world here is astounding," he commented.

The play *Survival* has been described by critics as "explosive" and "aggressive," states a news release.

Survival is based on the experiences of the actors involved in the production while they were imprisoned in South African prisons for minor, petty offenses. □

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Escape From South Africa

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

was a cheap form of imprisonment for the South African authorities — an arbitrary and vindictive form of punishment for my attempts to report accurately the facts about life under the apartheid system.

"There is no need for a journalist or politician to exaggerate the conditions for Black people in South Africa and occupied Namibia. The reality is horrifying enough and the facts speak for themselves. For example:

- "The extreme brutality of the South African riot police in suppressing the Black uprisings during 1976. The widespread shootings of unarmed, and in many instances, peaceful groups of demonstrating school children.

- "The standard use of torture as an interrogation procedure by the security police which has resulted in the deaths in political detention of at least 15 Blacks during 1976 alone. Many of these victims were highly educated.

"I regard myself as a professional journalist and not a political activist, although to some what I have written above might seem to indicate otherwise. After witnessing at first hand the blatant inhumanity during the 1976 uprisings, I felt that all I could do to remain human within the situation was to report on South African as it is — and not as the South African government's information ministry would prefer it to be reflected — despite the possible consequences.

"In 1975, I had started the

Azanian people are constantly subjected to unjust confinement, without trial, at the hands of South African security police.



Southern South African News Agency (SANA). It grew out of what I perceived as the need for an in-depth and factual information service to reflect the views and opinions of the 18 million Blacks and their leaders. The local press and the Western agencies seemed to have neglected the fact that three-quarters of the South African population is Black.

"SANA lasted exactly 16 months.

"During the first half of 1976 every SANA bulletin was banned as prejudicial to state security.

"Last August, the SANA Eastern Cape representative and part-time reporter for the Daily Dispatch, Thenjiwe Mthintso,

was detained incommunicado under the Terrorism Act and was later interned under the Internal Security Act. On December 28, after 129 days in detention, she was released only to be served with banning and house-arrest orders similar to my own.

"Other correspondents for SANA, such as internationally recognized photographer Peter Magubane (who was beaten up by riot police on at least two occasions during the course of his duties as a Rand Daily Mail photographer covering the Soweto uprisings) and Nat Searche, who also was a correspondent in Soweto for the BBC and the Rand Daily Mail, were both interned under the Internal Security Act." □

White Regimes Hit By Economic Crises

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

Following the closing of the border, the South African government initially came to Rhodesia's

rescue by increasing the amount of the latter's exports on South African train lines. However, by mid-1976, "Prime Minister"

John Vorster, in line with his public support of America's dubious push for Black majority rule in southern Africa, privately ordered a slow decrease of Rhodesia's export traffic. One company stood by helplessly as 15,000 tons of citrus fruits rotted at its depot.

Worst hit by the economic recession in Rhodesia have been the construction and engineering industries, whose outputs fell in value terms by 23 and 33 per cent, respectively, by the end of the third quarter of 1976. Manufacturing, which comprises one-fourth of the \$3.2 billion Rhodesian economy, fell six per cent.

In the words of one prominent White Rhodesian banker, "Things are going to get worse, probably quite a lot worse, before they get better. The fact is, we're in one hell of a bind." □



Black workers toiling in South African coal mine. The apartheid country's economy is built on cheap, Black labor.

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA



Puerto Rico

A promising formation of petroleum off the northern coast of Puerto Rico indicates that huge petroleum deposits will soon be discovered. Juan Mari Bras, leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, revealed recently. The latest petroleum discoveries could produce four billion barrels of petroleum. Bras made this revelation during a recent activity celebrating the anniversary of the patriot Eugenio Maria de Hostos and the 18th year of the founding of the Pro-Independence Movement, reports *Claridad*. The socialist leader pointed out that the United States is interested in retaining control over the petroleum on the island, indicating that the only way that it could have direct control of those minerals is by converting Puerto Rico into a state of the United States.

Chile / U.S.

As a result of massive international condemnation of the Chilean military junta's three-and-a-half years of widespread human rights violations in suppressing political dissent since the assassination of Marxist President Salvador Allende, the country's two major political parties have recently resurfaced, openly disregarding the regime's official ban on party activity. After a secret December meeting in Santiago, the underground leaders of the left-wing Popular Unity (U.P.) coalition are circulating their first joint communique inside Chile since the military overthrew the democratically elected U.P. government. The moderate Christian Democratic Party (PDC) is conducting a plebiscite of all members to ratify new leaders and approve proposed political goals.

Chile

A member of the right-wing Chilean military leadership touring the United States as a guest of the State Department had his trip cut short following accusations that he had tortured political prisoners. Director general of the Chilean Foreign Ministry, Lieutenant Colonel Jaime Lavín Farina, returned to Chile last week following protests against his visit from Amnesty International, the National Council of Churches and other organizations concerned with human rights and refugees.

Martial Arts



Attacks

Combat in close order hand-to-hand arts may be broken down into two distinct methods of attack, primary attacks and secondary attacks. The first of these methods, the primary means of attacking, is initiated with the intention of scoring by pace, fraud (feints) or force. Here we will concentrate on secondary attacks.

These are attacks intended to outmaneuver or retaliate attacks initiated by an opponent in one of three different stages: attack on the preparation, attack on the development, or attack on the completion.

The first of these, attack on the preparation, is used to arrest an opponent's movement before he or she matures their plan. Attacks on the development are principally timed movements, intended to anticipate a movement and then intercept it with a counterattack. Attacks on the completion are made after an opponent has extended himself and has come inside of his own fighting distance.

Feints and false attacks may be used in any of these three stages as preparation for the secondary attacks. Thus used, they are not made with the intention of hitting the opponent, but only to lure him into attacking you in some line so that you may distract him with a parrying (deflecting) movement and lead up to an effective counter.

A hit with either hand or foot is made by using the stroke which corresponds to that of the opponent, taking advantage of the opportunity to deliver it with effective timing. Against an opponent who opens up his target or makes wild actions, for instance, it is particularly effective to counter-time into his action or stop-kick (a defensive use of the feet to momentarily halt an opponent's advance) into his advanced target areas (chest, head, knee, shin, etc.) or exposed areas as he moves forward.

A fighter who is observant will not carry on stubbornly with strokes that are no longer the right ones, that is, techniques that score on an opponent. Many fighters blame the failure of an offensive attack/technique on a lack of speed, rather than on the incorrect choice of movements.

BLACK OAKLAND BOXER SEEKS MIDDLEWEIGHT CHAMPIONSHIP

ERWIN WILLIAMS: "I DON'T HAVE TIME TO PLAY ANYMORE"

(Oakland, Calif.) — A young, 23-year-old Black Oakland boxer, Erwin Williams, struggles daily at the decaying New Oakland Boxing Club, heading on a collision course towards a title fight with the current middleweight champ, the feared Carlos Monzon of Argentina.

A three-time Golden Gloves middleweight champion, the muscular, statuesque Williams has had a string of knockouts since turning pro last year. Presently, the young boxer, 5-foot ten, 160 pounds, is directly in line for an eventual shot at the California middleweight title.

The New Oakland Club, located in the seedy section of downtown Oakland on 12th Street, is a glaring example of the steady decline that has plagued prize-fighting since the 1940s. Found amid greasy spoon restaurants, pawn shops, "adult" bookstores and crumbling bars and restaurants, it shares a dilapidated building with a "Dime-A-Dance" studio which is openly known as a pick-up spot for prostitutes.

The walls of the sweaty gym are adorned with posters of fighters who long since retired and have been long forgotten. At the entrance is a life-sized, glass-enclosed, felt tip pen-autograph poster of the club's — and boxing's — living god, Muhammad Ali.

A local trainer and worldly smalltime entrepreneur, Joe the Bookie, explains. "The fight game around here is real slow. Ain't no action anymore. A few years ago, like five years ago, it was a lot more lively. But



New Oakland Boxing Club (above) and ERWIN WILLIAMS (right).

nowadays almost nobody can make a living at it.

"Hell, I just break even at this," he continued. "I ain't in the fight game for the bread," says Joe, the owner of several "adult" bookstores. "If I was I'd've starved to death a long time ago."

Erwin Williams started boxing at the age of seventeen when a neighbor brought him down to the New Oakland Boxing Club. He immediately fell in love with boxing, he says, and has set his sight on being "Number One."

"A lot of guys I grew up with," he explains, "are still full of play and when I come on real serious and fighting like I mean it—real intense, they think, 'What's wrong with this dude?'"

"But I dream of being the champ," he went on. "I want it. I don't have time to play anymore. I could work for the rest of my life, probably, but what would I get? I may have a car. I may have



a home. But what if I want something more than a house and a car?

"This country was built on violence," mused Williams, "and, anyway, what else can a Black man do? Monzon got \$250,000 for his last fight and (with television rights) he made half a million."

"That's money," says Williams. "I got time...and I expect to last a lot longer than most fighters."

Joe the Bookie sees it a little bit differently, however. Regularly, Joe takes his fighters up to San Quentin for sparring matches. "It don't cost you a dime," he says, "and you get the best workout you can get. There's some bad boys up at Quentin. They're good fighters, too. Some of them would bust your head for nothing. They just like to."

"That's why I worry about Erwin," Joe goes on. "He's a nice kid, he's got a good job and family now, and I'd hate to see him get hurt. If he loses he might just say 'fuck it' and quit."

Erwin Williams has continued to demolish every fighter he faces but Joe warns. "Erwin's a good fighter and I love him, but there's some bad boys around who could hurt him." But even Joe concedes that "If they bring him along right, he'll have a shot at it (the title)." □

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Serrano Decision Triggers Changes

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

money for your children's schools. And if you live in a rich district — even if the schools are wracked with problems, as are many in highly industrial, inner city areas judged "wealthy" by property tax standards — education funds would probably level off or drop.

The redistribution could come in any number of ways: direct transfers from rich to poor districts; at least partial substitution of state income, sales or other taxes for local property taxes; or simply higher state taxes used to bring poor districts up to an acceptable level.

The battles are now in state courts because the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1973 that property tax school financing does not violate the federal Constitution since education is not one of the fundamental rights guaranteed all citizens.

The recent Serrano decision, however, held that education is guaranteed under the California Constitution's equal protection provisions.

BURGER COURT

Now that the Burger Supreme Court has clearly indicated it does not consider education a fundamental right — a decision in keeping with its trend of contracting the scope of equal protection under the U.S. Constitution — tax reform advocates are hoping the states will follow California's lead in filling the breach. Cases based on state equal protection clauses are already pending in New York, Connecticut and Georgia.

The New York suit has a unique twist. After several low tax-base suburban towns challenged the state's education aid as unfair to poor communities, three big cities — New York, Rochester and Buffalo — intervened. They charged that the formula also failed to take into account the "municipal overburden" faced by urban areas, which have large welfare expenses and other unusually high costs.

The decision, expected this year, will be especially difficult because the issue in New York state's severe budget crisis is not how to redistribute adequate school funding, but how to equalize in the midst of sharp cutbacks.

Despite the fact that some suits are bound to lose, reformers like Kohn agree that the threat of a decision is sometimes enough to force legislative reform of education financing. □

130 Million People Watch "Roots"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

the freedom-seeking African, ending in the period of time just following the Civil War, as the family leaves Virginia and settles in Henning, Tennessee.

Network statistics show that a total of 130 million viewers (representing 85 per cent of all TV-using homes) saw all or a part of *Roots*. The eight episodes, totaling 12 hours of viewing time, averaged a 44.9 per cent rating for the week and seven segments rank with the top 10 most watched shows of all time.

In addition, 30 U.S. cities, including San Francisco and New York, proclaimed *Roots* week while the show was airing.

Ironically, critics tend to agree that the last episode was the weakest of the often times powerful drama. By changing Haley's brilliant text at several points and by stopping the story, when the family flees the KKK nightriders, in the green



Roots characters (above left) IRENE and TOM, (above right) CHICKEN GEORGE and (right) KIZZY with house slave.



valleys of Tennessee, the televised segment implied that the movement for freedom stopped there.

Overall, however, *Roots* has been hailed as an unprecedented TV experience for most viewers, advocating Black awareness and Black pride, as well as uplifting the dignity of the human spirit. □

Deadly Conditions In America's Iron And Steel Mills

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

OSHA estimates that one out of every three foundry workers is injured every year, three times the injury rate for other manufacturing jobs.

One in a thousand of those workers will die from injuries. In round figures the foundry industry averages 70 deaths and 70,000 injuries from accidents every year.

MINOR TO MACABRE

The severity of those injuries ranges from minor to macabre. Third-degree burns, crushed limbs and amputations are common. Lost time and compensation costs are among the highest for any industry.

Uncounted other workers are deafened, crippled or killed by hazards for which there are fewer

statistics and little compensation.

Even without heavy opposition in government and industry, OSHA's regulation of the foundry industry is problematic. It is underfunded and woefully understaffed. It can assign only 150 of its staff to inspect, analyze and police the nation's entire foundry industry.

"I was off the job for about three months, but the doctor did a beautiful job. See? I don't have any trouble at all," says E.L. Laperi as he flexes his broken hand and holds it out for inspection.

Laperi is a 30-year veteran of the foundry. Soft-spoken and pleasant, he describes himself as "kind of low." He stands just an inch or two over five feet, and he needs to stand on a platform

where he works as a molder.

He explains his injury: "We were rushing, to get a job ready to pour, and when I turned I forgot my platform was there. Working normally you can prevent a lot of things that would happen. But, when you get in a hurry, trying to rush, well you forget about caution."

For 32 years John Fuentes was a burner in the knockout shop. Last year he was forced to retire because of lung damage and heart disease. He and his wife now live in a small bungalow in Hayward, California, on a monthly stipend of \$335 from workmen's compensation and Social Security plus a \$145 union pension. They have little left over from the \$8,000 they won in a four-year legal battle for the wages Fuentes lost while he was on sick leave. Fuentes is lucky that his doctor recognized the disease in time to save his life, but not before he lost over half of his lungs.

As a Spanish immigrant, foundry work was one of the few jobs available to Fuentes. He is proud of the work he did, but deeply resents the damage done to his body. "I was always strong," says Fuentes, whose words come in a rush when he gets angry. "All my life I was strong, strong as an ox. Do anything, lift up things, run, go fishing, climb up hills. I used to be better than my kids. Then, all of a sudden, I couldn't." □



Mangled hands of Oakland steelworker.

Residency Requirement For Oakland Employees

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

of Oakland's managers, department heads, and supervisors (at salaries of over \$30,000 a year):

- 88 per cent (45 out of 51) are White, eight per cent (4 of 51) are Black, two per cent are Asian, and two per cent are Spanish-surnamed;

- None are women; and
- 49 per cent are non-Oakland residents.

OCCUR Executive Director Paul Cobb pointed out that opponents of a residency requirement for Oakland claim that "the measure will force the quality of city employees to go down." However, he dismissed this racist notion (Oakland's population is over 60 per cent minority and stated that OCCUR was "vociferously opposed" to such groundless charges.

Also, Cobb pointed out that the chances for the approval of the residency requirement are heightened, due to the fact that this is an election year. Reiterating a point he has made many times in the past, Cobb stated that Oakland "must not become another ghost town, another Newark (New Jersey) on the West Coast," referring to the city's rising unemployment and creeping decay.

RESIDENCY REQUIREMENT

"If Oakland were to adopt a residency requirement," OCCUR contends, "it would accomplish three goals: 1) it would help erase unemployment within Oakland — which is as high as 30 per cent in the Black community — by increasing the number of jobs available to residents; 2) it would recover some of the city dollars lost to the many city workers who live — and spend the bulk of their salaries — outside of Oakland; and 3) it would heighten the awareness city workers should have of the problems facing Oakland."

Apparently spurred on by OCCUR's demands, the city of Oakland hastily announced its approval of the residency requirement and claimed the city is already working towards such a goal which is presently in effect for the city of San Francisco.

How effective the city's proposed residency requirement will be remains to be seen. At its press conference, OCCUR officials indicated that a five-mile limit for residency would be "reasonable." □

Letters to the Editor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

"NO ONE'S FREE UNTIL THE REDMAN'S FREE"

Before any person and/or group on this continent, North or South, can truly feel he or she has paid their dues they'd better look at who has paid and continues to pay so that all of us people have a place to live, food to eat, water to drink and a religion to worship. However humble these things may be, without the tremendous and continual sacrifice of the Redman none of us would be here today if the Red man hadn't paid his dues.

So before we celebrate freedom let's look around us at what freedom really is before it's too late and the myth overtakes us all.

Until the Red man is free, none of the rest of us are free in any sense of the word, in any sense of the reality.

Sincerely,
Sandra Sellers
San Francisco, California

COMMUNIQUE FROM "THE WHITEVILLE 17"

Beloved Bruthas, Sisters and Comrades,

I, Brutha Ikehukwu, minister of communications for the "Whiteville 17," would like to extend our deepest revolutionary love, strength, solidarity and salamatuhum. . . (greetings) to our brutha & sista "comrades", as well as to the peoplehood; may they be in maximum custody, deep within the bowels of amerikkka's concentration camps, or in medium custody, within the bowels of fascist amerikkka, the so-called "beautiful."

As you are aware, the Whiteville 17, consists of 17 bruthas of various creeds, colors and ethnical backgrounds who were labeled as so-called leaders behind the November 15, peaceful and non-violent demonstration that was waged against the fascist landlords at the Sampson County Prison Laundry in North Carolina. Since the illegal transfer/kidnap of these 17 bruthas, they were found guilty by the members of the Klu Klux Klan disciplinary board & given one to 15 days on administrative lock-up and the loss of 30 days good conduct time.

However, instead of the bruthas serving one to 15 days on administrative lock-up, they served a total of 45 days. Even while this communique is being sent out, there are eight bruthas still on administrative lock-up, while the other nine bruthas have been transferred/kidnapped and sent to other camps around the state, mainly to camps so far in the mountains that it's impossible for their families and loved ones to visit them, which is supposed to be a psychological tactic to disunify the bruthas as well as their channels of communications.

One brutha in particular who has been confined for three years, and who has been aiding, educating/re-orientating Third World bruthas and sistas from within is fully aware of the conspiracy that's being formulated by his fascist landlords to hook him up on a false attempted escape charge, as well as a few other false charges, whereas he would be transferred back to Raleigh's Central Prison, thus placed back into maximum custody and on administrative lock-up for a year or two.

These bruthas need your outside support towards exposing their fascist treatment, their landlords and the tactics that are being used against them. These same bruthas would also like to establish contacts with a few outside lawyers and law students towards aiding them in hooking up a class action suit against the north karolina department of corrections, charging them with genocide.

For further information on the "Whiteville 17," contact the following:

Brutha Karim Wadud
c/o Lester T. Summerlin
P.O. Box 428
Newland, N.C. 28657

FREEDOM WILL TRIUMPH IN THE END

Dear People,

I am glad to read that at last, you are beginning a legal-moral battle for your own freedom — and I hope that suing the FBI is not the last such battle in the name of real freedom for the human mind and spirit that you will engage in.

Although you may not agree with what they brought forth, still the methods used by England's Fabian Society (read "This Little Band of Prophets") have been most effective in changing England's economic and political structure — and through England's influence, changing many of the newly rising countries as well.

If you haven't looked at it lately, read the last chapter of Frantz Fanon's book, "Wretched Of The Earth." I disagree with him that violence is an effective means to anything except more violence, but his views on Western Civilization have really opened my eyes to a lot of things.

Change requires energy and creative change requires energy plus courage. New discoveries and innovations in whatever realm will always be met by a panic-stricken "battle" by the noncourageous. But the earth goes on and energies and pressures from the very womb of humanity will not be denied — and so freedom will triumph in the end. It will be interesting to see who it is that brings real freedom to mankind.

Sincerely yours,
Dorothy Miller

Church Sues F.B.I.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

the church is a worldwide movement active in the struggle for social change and encompassing people from all religious persuasions.

Violations of civil and Constitutional rights described in the suit include:

- Use of informers, infiltrators, interrogations, illegal wire-tapping and mail surveillance to collect information and compile dossiers on church organizations and members who were involved in legal and Constitutionally protected activities;

- Use of dossiers and purported intelligence reports as the basis for extensive surveillance and harassment of church members, denying them government benefits, employment or advancement and other blacklisting purposes.

Ethics Poll

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

and organized labor by 34 per cent.

Other key findings of the survey were that:

- An overwhelming majority, 87 per cent, of those polled agreed with the statement that "because they hold high offices of public trust, congressmen should be expected to maintain higher ethical standards than other people."

- A majority of 65 per cent agree that both congressmen and their opponents in an election should be required to make public disclosures of their income and financial holdings.

- A majority also felt that ethical standards should go beyond disclosure. Fifty-four per cent agreed that "congressmen should give up their careers and devote full time to Congress."

- Seventy-one per cent said they are "bothered" when a congressman "makes a number of speeches to business, trade, environment or labor groups affected by his vote in Congress and receives a large fee for such speeches."

- Sixty-seven per cent are bothered by a congressman "who owns a large amount of stock in a major company which works on government contracts." Fifty-nine per cent objected to a congressman's receiving profits from a law firm doing business with the federal government.

The full findings of the poll have not been released as yet, due to mechanical problems, said the Commission's chairman, David Obey.

African Working Women Demand Economic Equality

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

growth, but bring forth change in skills, technology and income, and effect a complete transformation of the attitudes, outlook and values of the people. . . " the Charter explains.

In the area of "Nondiscrimination and the Right to Work," the OATUU document calls on all African countries to enforce the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. The U.N. declaration calls for the implementation of right to work measures to guarantee employment to women workers who marry or become pregnant and may have to leave their jobs temporarily. The U.N. measure also urges that paid maternity leaves and child and welfare facilities be provided to women workers.

MACHINERIES

Concerning "Participation of Women in National Development Machineries," the OATUU Charter urges Organization of African Unity (OAU) member countries to widen opportunities for women to participate in national economic development. In particular, OAU governments are encouraged to help organize women and aid them in acquiring the means to establish their own commercial



Poster illustrating the rising militancy of African women.

and industrial projects.

The undereducation of African women has long been a hindrance in their economic, political and social development. The Charter emphasizes the need for equal educational opportunities for women and men, with particular focus on eliminating the high rate of illiteracy among women. In this

latter area, the Charter explains, trade unions can be helpful by assisting in setting up national projects in literacy and vocational training programs.

Regarding health and social service facilities, the Charter of the Conference of African Working Women points to the need for a system of child care institutions for pre-school and school age children as well as more public health facilities in rural areas and urban neighborhoods.

UPGRADING OF HEALTH

Along with the upgrading of health and social service facilities, the OATUU Charter notes "the importance of the multiple roles of the woman worker as wife, mother and wage earner. . . that exposes women to extra health hazards, additional social, physical and emotional strains. Motherhood is therefore a positive and social contribution to the community which must be recognized and compensated for by the state and employers. . ."

The Charter also calls for equal pay for equal work and supplying women with necessary labor saving devices that would cut down on such burdensome chores as carrying water and firewood and farming with outdated equipment. □

South Africa

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19
aid.

South Africa further lied about and slandered the Cuban revolutionary forces by accusing them of "cowardice" on the battlefield and heavy use of marijuana. Accounts of the bravery of the Cuban troops, under the direction of the MPLA, are well documented.

Strongly implied in the South African government's statement is the contention that it intervened in Angola solely upon the request of the U.S. South Africa's claims to the contrary, a major factor in its entry into the Angolan conflict was its fear that the victory of the MPLA over Portuguese colonialism, following close on the heels of FRELIMO's (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) assumption of power in June, 1975, would hasten the onset of similar Black revolutionary governments in neighboring Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia.

Downplaying the decisive defeats suffered by the 2,000 South African forces at the hands of the MPLA liberation forces and their Cuban allies, the statement justifies South Africa's withdrawal from Angola by the U.S.'s decision to end its aid to the FNL and UNITA. □

Young's "Fact-Finding" Trip

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

Union and its sister organization, the Zanzibar Afro-Shrazi Party. It is also the 20th anniversary of the Afro-Shrazi Party and the 10th anniversary of the Arusha Declaration, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere's philosophical outline for the country's socialist development. (The two former British colonies Tanganyika and Zanzibar joined in 1964 to form Tanzania).

During the course of his four day stay in Zanzibar, Young met with host President Nyerere, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, as well as the leaders of Burundi, Rwanda, Somalia, the Comoro Islands, and representative of the SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) guerrilla movement in Namibia.

During his talk with Young, President Nyerere called upon the U.S. to stiffen its trade sanctions against the White minority Smith regime in Rhodesia as a major step toward implementing Black rule.

The stumbling block is Smith," he said, "and we, along with the United States, should be helping to get this stumbling block out of the way."

Young told reporters that he

assured President Nyerere that the U.S. Congress would abolish the Byrd Amendment — by which an estimated \$8 million in Rhodesian chrome is imported into America yearly — within 60 to 90 days.

When a reporter asked if he felt the prospect of Marxist governments in southern Africa

posed a direct threat to the security of the U.S., Young replied:

"If Angola is a Marxist state and its major trading partner is the U.S., that does not worry me. For all its ideology, Angola has never broken relations with Gulf Oil."

He added that future governments in southern Africa, regardless of their ideology, would depend on the West for technical

assistance, capital and exports.

Meanwhile, the Rhodesian and South African press have blasted Young's trip, particularly because he did not include talks with Smith or South African "Premier" John Vorster on his agenda.

The Rhodesian *Herald* said Young was like "a strolling player from the theater of the absurd." □

Clothing Drive For Zimbabwean Refugees

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

April) to further intensify its attacks against the White minority regime, whose final defeat is close at hand. The women and children in the refugee camps are in need of warm clothing to get them through this rainy season, and it for this reason that the Zimbabwe Relief Coalition has been formed.

Presently, the Coalition is seeking to fill two 8 x 20 cubic foot vans with clothes to be sent to Mozambique. The vans were acquired by Local 10 of the International Longshoremen Workers Union (ILWU), thereby eliminating all shipping costs.

The Coalition will sponsor two upcoming work parties to pack and organize the clothes, and all interested persons are invited to

attend. The first one will be held on Saturday, February 12, at 425 Hayes Street in San Francisco, from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. The second one will take place on the following Saturday, February 19,

at 400 North Point in San Francisco, also from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m.

For further information on the Zimbabwe Relief Coalition, call (415) 543-0890. □



Zimbabwean victim of massacre by Rhodesian Army.

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Free Food To "Free Huey"



(A) FUDGE, Oakland band who entertained at last week's "Free Huey" rally; (B) The dynamic EDMUND SINGERS; (C) Overflow crowd in Lowell Jr., High School auditorium; (D,G) Black men and women sporting their "Free Huey" tee shirts, which delighted young and old; (E,F,H) Black families carrying their groceries home.

