

# THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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# FREE COMMISSARY PROGRAM GIVES 500 PACKAGES TO PRISON INMATES

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Free Legal Aid Program coordinator LULLA HUDSON (left) helps OCLC Teen Club members fill some of the 500 Free Commissary packages that will be sent to inmates in prisons throughout the state of California.

(Oakland, Calif.) — The Free Prison Commissary Program, part of the Free Legal Aid and Educational Program of the Oakland Community Learning Center (OCLC), will send 500 packages containing clothing, food and other needed items to men and women incarcerated in California prisons this holiday season, it was announced at a press conference here last week.

Joan Kelley, OCLC programs director, and Lulla Hudson, coordinator of the Legal Aid Program, said that inmates at San Quentin Prison, California Medical Facility (Vacaville), Folsom Prison, Soledad Prison, California Men's Colony (San Luis Obispo), California Institution for Men (Chino), California Rehabilitation Center (Corona), Deuel Vocational Institute (Tracy) and the California Institution for Women (Frontera) would receive the free packages. Among the items they contain are shirts, jeans, windbreakers, socks, house slippers, underwear, dried fruits and meats, candies and cookies, cigarettes and toiletries such as deodorant, toothbrushes and lotion.

One of several components of the community-based Free Legal Aid Program, the Free Prison Commissary Program seeks to provide clothing, hygiene products, food and other human necessities to prison inmates, whose everyday needs are badly neglected by state prisons. At most California prisons, those commissary items that are provided cost so much that the majority of inmates cannot afford them.

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## Editorial

### P.S. FREE HUEY

As they have done throughout the year since the glorious Soweto uprising of June 16, Azanian schoolchildren have culminated 1976 with another remarkable achievement of unity: an effectively enforced Christmas boycott which cut to the heart of the White minority regime's economy.

Of all the tumultuous events of this, America's flagwaving year gone by—a year when Whites could vicariously thrill themselves upon the heroic injustices of their ancestors, and how that "great heritage" has been so well preserved; ("funny" how the Supreme Court death penalty ruling [July 2], the ultimate arrogance of a dying Empire, coincided so nicely with the Bicentennial [July 4])—perhaps none were more awe-inspiring than the news that eight, nine and 10-year-olds, Black South African youth, en masse, had picked up rocks and bricks to confront the deadly beast of apartheid.

"No wins," the nonbelievers said. "Senseless slaughter," others said, and slaughter it was, with over 3,000 Azanians, many less than 15, dying for the dream of liberation. But senseless, no. "If the penalty for the quest for freedom is death, then by death we escape to freedom," as Huey P. Newton once said, and as undoubtedly our young freedom fighters of tomorrow/today would agree.

In all it was a memorable year in southern Africa: the victory in Angola resulted in the criminal trial and execution of several foreign mercenaries—"the scum of human society"—as another myth of White invincibility ended just like that, boom; the upsurge of the struggles in Namibia and Zimbabwe; the consolidation of the Mozambican revolution under a FRELIMO government led by the esteemed Samora Moises Machel.

And in the underside of America, so too, the struggle continues, perhaps not on the same level as our African brothers and sisters, but a battle against the same monster, the same beast—a battle to the death, for the freedom and liberation of all.

(P.S. A message for '77: FREE HUEY! All Power To The People.)



Happy New Year  
From The  
Black Panther Party

## Letters to the Editor

### AZANIAN MILITANT REQUESTS LITERATURE

Dearest Comrades,

I am a member of the Black Awareness movement of Azania, who, like a whole lot of other comrades, was forced to flee Azania for fear of detention without trial by the racist regime.

Since it is largely your party's activities back in the sixties which inspired our political thinking, I am very keen to know how you people are progressing and would greatly appreciate the party's literature, books and pamphlets, western published Marxist books, and posters of great comrades like George Jackson, Huey Newton and others. Please comrades, it is very important that I get some support from you, since we intend to embark on political education of our forces.

Yours in arms,  
Sello Semela  
Botswana

### SAN BRUNO INMATES DEMAND REMOVAL OF RACIST GUARD

We are sending you this grievance to see what is really going on here. We are dealing with lots of problems. But there is one in particular named Officer Deely. This is an avowed racist. And this is not the first time he has tried to run over a brother here in San Bruno County Jail. But this time he ran into, not over, the wrong brother. When this happened there was almost a small scale confrontation here, with the brothers standing their ground.

This Officer Deely has jumped on brothers and gotten away with it before. There was an incident between a brother and a White inmate on 3-South. The Officers were coming to break it up and the brother was getting up (he was winning the fight). Officer Deely grabbed the brother and threw him into a partition. The brother's back was injured severely.

A lot of us have sent grievances to Internal Affairs before. But, we need outside pressure to make (them) sure that we are not alone in this struggle. We expect to get some help from you.

Keep Strong,  
Louis Joseph Walker  
South, San Bruno County Jail

### San Bruno Jail Grievance

This grievance concerns an incident which transpired on Thursday, December 16, 1976.

At approximately 12 noon Thursday, before yard, some of the inmates were going to school, when a large number of inmates were on the school tier, the following incident took place.

Inmate Marion Carr asked Officer Deely if he could unlock the gate and go to his afternoon class. Marion Carr produced his pass and showed Officer Deely his papers. Officer Deely responded by screaming for Inmate Carr to go upstairs. Officer Deely not only screamed at Inmate Carr, but called him a homosexual. Officer Deely in his own words screamed, "Move it, you punk."

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## COMMENT

### Whatever Happened To The Black Panther Party?

By Elaine Brown,  
Chairperson,  
Black Panther Party

This week, in Part 7 of an ongoing series, Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown continues her discussion of the Party's Survival Programs before moving on to describe the continuous harassment of the Party's leader and founder, Huey P. Newton. Concerning the Survival Programs, Elaine explains that although "they are neither revolutionary nor reformist," the programs, in the example they set, present a demand on the lips of the people. "The idea," Elaine writes, "is that a continuing demand for more will lead to the final, ultimate demand the powerful will refuse to grant...It's then that serious business will happen."

### PART 7

Further on this idea, following the line of George Jackson (assassinated Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party), the Party recognizes that while on one hand the existing structure must be destroyed (through destruction of the powerful points of economic production and distribution), an alternative machinery, one that serves the love-interests of the People must be operating.

"...it's to my interest to let the people know that what I stand for and always will stand for is their survival. I think that the best way to get that across is to, in one or two places, where the Party has the community pretty well organized, to let them know that funds raised from our particular efforts went into the construction of this particular survival program or this particular clinic. When it comes to the final explosion, when it comes to the point of whether or not I'm going to survive, whether or not I'm going to, you know...I'm depending on the foco-motor. I don't need to say anything else." (George Jackson, THE BLACK PANTHER Intercommunal News Service.)

And, Jonathan Jackson (leader of the August 7th Movement)

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## THE BLACK PANTHER

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ELAINE BROWN and FRED HIESTAND

### FRED HIESTAND INTERVIEW

## Chief Counsel In B.P.P. Lawsuit: "Now Or Never" To Stop Federal Police Attacks

The following is the conclusion of an exclusive BLACK PANTHER interview with progressive attorney Fred Hiestand, chief counsel in the Black Panther Party's historic \$100 million lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, IRS and other federal agencies.

In the past two segments of the interview, attorney Hiestand has discussed the legal strategy to be employed in the lawsuit, how the 21 defendants were selected and illegal governmental activities disclosed so far against the Black Panther Party. This week, Hiestand continues to discuss evidence of a high-level federal conspiracy against the BPP and ways in which the community can support the lawsuit.

### CONCLUSION

Q: As a lawyer, how do you view the evidence that you have uncovered?

HIESTAND: Well, one of the ironies of this type of litigation, dealing with the types of political problems in a conspiracy, is that there's not a great deal of evidence. If there was a great deal of evidence, it wouldn't be much of a successful conspiracy.

What I have uncovered independently has really been small. In fact, it's not what I have uncovered, it's what other people have brought to me — shreds and pieces of evidence that the best we can do is piece together. Then we can make some inferences that tie together other inconsistent pieces of evidence so as to try to explain them. We've had to rely to a large extent upon things that the government and the press and other litigation have uncovered. I think we have only got the tip of the iceberg.

The COINTELPRO documents that were uncovered initially by a

# FRED HAMPTON MURDER TRIAL RECESSES

## O'Neal Continues To Stonewall, Threatens Other Witnesses

(Chicago, Ill.) — The \$47.7 million Fred Hampton murder trial has recessed until January 4, 1977, with FBI infiltrator/spy William O'Neal continuing to stonewall testimony concerning his involvement in the December 4, 1969, Black Panther Party assassinations.

O'Neal is known, through COINTELPRO (the notorious "counterintelligence program") documents, to have supplied his "contact," FBI special agent Roy Mitchell, with a detailed layout of Hampton's apartment prior to the predawn police assault and is believed to have been the one who drugged the young Black Panther Party leader the evening of December 3.

Peoria, Illinois, Black Panther Party leader Mark Clark was also killed in the attack, shot through the front door as he answered a knock at 4:30 a.m.

Plaintiffs in the case, who are still in the process of appealing an arbitrary January 15, 1977, cutoff imposed by trial judge Sam Joseph Perry, are the Hampton-Clark families and seven former Black Panther Party members who survived the murderous assault.

Defendants are 28 present and former federal, state, county and city law enforcement officials, including former Cook County



Fallen Comrade FRED HAMPTON, victim of FBI-coordinated assassination plot.

State's Attorney Edward Hanrahan, the official who unleashed his personal, elite squad of raiders; several FBI agents in charge of implementing the infamous COINTELPRO plot in Chicago; and O'Neal.

Throughout the month of December, O'Neal played a cat-and-mouse game with attorneys for the plaintiffs, seldom remembering anything relevant to his critical role in the assassinations.

It was in late 1968 that O'Neal, under Mitchell's direction, joined the Chicago BPP Chapter, and

over the next three years the Judas agent was paid \$30,000 to spy and disrupt the Party's activities. He admittedly wanted to take no part in the Party's "Serve the People" community Survival Programs, and instead, somehow moved into the position of captain of security where, without authorization, he organized groups to commit burglaries and robberies allegedly to ferret out "informers."

O'Neal vanished from the stand during key testimony on the map of Hampton's Westside apartment he supplied Mitchell — over 75 police bullets were poured into the wall of Hampton's bedroom the morning of the attack, all in a direct line with the bed in which Fred lay in a drugged sleep, never again to rise—returning a few days later with no concrete explanation for his disappearance.

### WARNED

Meanwhile, two former Black Panther Party members have charged that O'Neal warned them it would not be in their "best interests" to testify at the trial.

The *Chicago Defender* reports that the two, Robert Bruce and Nathaniel Junior, were contacted separately by O'Neal and told to "forget about" unrequested visits O'Neal paid them last April. The Judas agent also "discouraged" their scheduled appearances at the trial, where they were prepared to testify about O'Neal's criminal history.

As a result of these contacts by O'Neal, Junior and his family are said to be in fear of their lives and are seeking to keep their present whereabouts unknown.

## Fallen Comrade

### FRANK "FRANKO" DIGGS

## Assassinated December 30, 1968



Comrade Frank "Franko" Diggs was the eighth Black Panther Party comrade to be killed in 1968 when he was mysteriously assassinated on December 30. "Franko" Diggs' life was taken by an unknown reactionary agent who shot him to death in an alley on the outskirts of Los Angeles. A strong, dedicated, courageous and well-respected revolutionary, "Franko" had been missing for some time before his body was discovered. Long Live the Spirit of Comrade Frank "Franko" Diggs! Long Live the People's Struggle!!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

# PRISON COMMISSARY PROGRAM

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

Through its Free Busing to Prisons Program, the OCLC's Legal Aid and Educational Program maintains regular contact with inmates in state prisons. Families and friends of the prisoners utilize the free transportation services of the Busing Program to visit their incarcerated loved ones. As a result, the all volunteer staff of the Legal Aid Program — largely comprised of law students at the University of California - Berkeley as well as community people—is kept up-to-date on the needs of the prisoners.

Several months ago, letters were sent to inmates and prison administrations throughout the state informing them of the services of the Free Prison Commissary Program. Inmates were asked to send required prison authorization slips, that would allow them to receive the items they requested.

Under California law, prisoners are only allowed to receive packages on their birthdays and at Christmas. The kinds of items they can receive, their quantity and weight are also strictly regulated and vary from prison to prison. For example, inmates at Soledad Prison cannot receive products wrapped in paper. None of the state prisons allow inmates to receive aerosol cans.

At last week's press conference which was co-sponsored by the Teen Club of the OCLC, a number of volunteers of the Legal Aid



Everyone pitched in at the OCLC to prepare Free Commissary packages for prison inmates.

Program were on hand for a package wrapping session. December 31 was the deadline for packages to be sent to men's prisons.

The Legal Aid Program staff secured the commissary items and money used to purchase them. Many of the items were donated by several local businesses. Lulla Hudson, coordinator of the Program, had special praise for the Body Shop of Berkeley for its contribution of numerous cases of bath products.

The Legal Aid Program is now in the process of securing items for packages to be sent to inmates at California Institution for Women in Frontera, where the deadline for receiving packages is January 15. The women are allowed to have such items as robes, nightgowns, house slippers, eye make-up, lipstick, costume jewelry and coffee cups and

mugs. Ms. Hudson explained that one woman who is five months pregnant has asked for some maternity clothing.

The Free Legal Aid and Educational Program is asking all community-minded groups and individuals, particularly women's organizations, for items and funds to send commissary packages to the women in the state prison at Frontera. Anyone wishing to contribute money or items or who would like to help wrap packages or provide transportation may call (415) 562-5368 or drop by the offices of the Free Legal Aid and Educational Program in the Oakland Community Learning Center, 6118 E. 14th Street.

The Free Busing to Prisons Program will provide free transportation to Soledad Prison on January 8. Reservations may be made by calling 562-5368.

## B.P.P. Distributes Hundreds Of Free Christmas Trees

(Oakland, Calif.) — The Black Panther Party, in conjunction with the Oakland Community Learning Center (OCLC), brought some holiday cheer to hundreds of families here last week when they distributed free Christmas trees, to the East Oakland community.

The trees were given to the Black Panther Party to distribute in the aftermath of the very successful OCLC Winter Festival which took place on December 18 and 19. Over 500 free trees were given away on the 19th alone. Between December 20 and December 24, the Black Panther Party distributed over 300 more of them at its Central Headquarters 8501 E. 14th Street in East Oakland. In addition, another 300 trees were distributed during the week at the OCLC. BPINS photos



## THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY



### December 28, 1816

On December 28, 1816, the American Colonization Society was organized in a hall of the House of Representatives. The Society was formed to transport free Black people to Africa.

### December 26, 1848

William and Ellen Craft escaped from slavery in Macon, Georgia, on December 26, 1848. The light-skinned Ellen impersonated a slaveholder and William acted as her servant as they stopped in first-class hotels in one of the most dramatic slave escapes on record.

### January 1, 1854

Lincoln University, the first Black college, was founded as Ashman Institute in Chester County, Pennsylvania, on January 1, 1854.

### January 1, 1863

President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, which freed slaves in rebel states with the exception of 13 parishes (including New Orleans) in Louisiana, 48 counties in West Virginia, 7 counties (including Norfolk) in eastern Virginia.



JACK JOHNSON

### December 26, 1908

On December 26, 1908, Jack Johnson, a celebrated Black boxer defeated Tommy Burns in Sydney, Australia, for the world heavyweight championship. Johnson is widely regarded as one of the greatest boxers of all time.

# ELAINE BROWN INTERVIEWED ON "PEOPLE'S POWER" IN OAKLAND

The following is the conclusion of an exclusive interview with Elaine Brown, chairperson of the Black Panther Party, on the serious people's movement for a quality life which is building strong roots and firm support in the city of Oakland, California.

In last week's selection, Part 1, Elaine discussed the growing public pressure which forced Oakland's White businessmen to place her on the Executive Committee of the newly formed Oakland Council for Economic Development (OCED); and the outcome of a recent trip to Sacramento, where Elaine's demand for jobs and replacement housing in return for Black community efforts to save the much-ballyhooed City Center Project were reiterated by Governor Jerry Brown.

In the conclusion, which follows, Elaine discusses her reference to the OCED as "an elitist club" and the strategy necessary to achieve a complete program of people's power.

## CONCLUSION

**QUESTION:** If jobs and housing are somewhat of a minimal demand in this situation, then, what's the next step toward majority control in Oakland?

**ELAINE:** Toward people's power in one city. Imagine if we could establish that in one city.

One of the next steps, obviously, is to force the machinery to reckon with us in a variety of other ways, and when I talk about "us," I'm talking about a relatively broad-based "us." One thing is the mayoral election coming up in April, 1977. Hopefully, we'll be able to have the kind of candidate who will not only be able to defeat the existing mayor or his delegate, but also one who will hear the voice of the people, who will be a representative of the people. That would be one thing.

There are many other steps of course. Neither the electoral machinery nor this particular move are necessarily going to be the answer to the problems that poor people in this city or in any other city face. But they can produce a viable strategy by which we can carry out a complete program of people's power. That's what we're talking about. We think that in the midst of this society, this government run by private enterprise, this capitalist arrangement, we can secure at least some free area, and we expect that Oakland will be well on its



ELAINE BROWN

way to being that free kind of territory within the next year.

**Q:** At that same press conference you referred to the OCED as "an elitist club" designed to maintain the status quo. Could you comment on that?

**ELAINE:** Naturally when you get 15 people, at least 11 of whom are major players in the corporate capitalist game, then you can't expect anything but that.

As far as being an elite club, they had no intention of involving, for example, the small business people in this city or the middle-sized business people — much less the working people and poor people — in what is the so-called "economic growth" of Oakland. To them it's bizarre to imagine that the poor are concerned with economic growth, but I would say that that is the primary concern of the poor: not of the growth that will enhance

the coffers of this corporation or that corporation but the growth that will, made off our backs, enhance us. We wish to be paid fairly for our participation.

We were excluded in terms of equal representation from a group that says it represents that element who is going to develop Oakland's economy. There's no way of developing Oakland's economy without the participation of all its citizenry, especially the poor who are obviously interested in the development of Oakland's economy. Now, I stand as one representative, one voice, on that Council that, in fact, represents that element — which is the majority element in this city anyway.

So while it is still an elitist club, to the degree where we only have minor representation, it has been made to yield to reality, and that

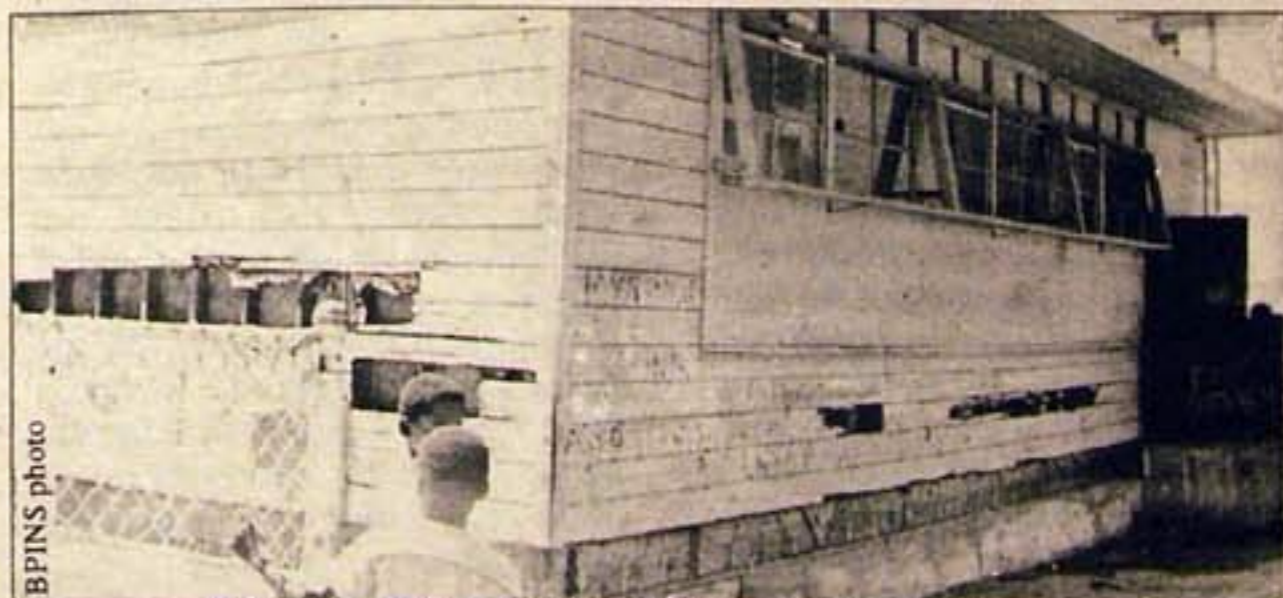
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## Construction Set To Start On San Antonio Recreation Center

(Oakland, Calif.) — The tenants of San Antonio Villa scored an important victory recently when the Oakland City Council allocated \$13,500 for the rehabilitation of the East Oakland housing project's shabby, run-down recreation center.

Work is scheduled to begin in January on the recreation center, which was termed "dilapidated" by a Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) inspection team last summer. The victory marks the culmination of a five-year struggle for adequate recreational facilities for the Villa's 600 children.

The recreational center is presently without heating, plumbing, lighting and equipment. Its renovation was a major demand put before the Oakland City



Dilapidated San Antonio Villa recreation center.

Council, the Oakland Housing Authority (OHA) and HUD by San Antonio residents concerned with their deteriorating living conditions.

San Antonio Tenants' Union members Autry Smith and Bessie Thomas met recently with repre-

## 21 Past, Present U.S. Officials Named In \$100 Million B.P.P. Lawsuit

Below, THE BLACK PANTHER presents Part 5 in a series of articles on the historical \$100 million class action lawsuit filed on December 1 of last year by the Black Panther Party against the FBI, CIA, IRS (Internal Revenue Service) and other federal agencies for their systematic efforts to destroy the Black Panther Party.

In previous weeks, the specific charges detailed in the lawsuit regarding harassment and assassination of BPP members, federal agencies' incitement and creation of violence by individuals and groups against the Party, and use of agents and informants to discredit the Party have been discussed.

This week's article continues a discussion begun last week on the part of the lawsuit concerning "Sabotaging and Discrediting of Constructive Party Programs."

### PART 5

In May, 1969, late FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover — whose estate is named as a defendant in the lawsuit — sent a memorandum to over two dozen FBI offices. The memo said that the Black Panther Party's Free Breakfast for Schoolchildren Program represented "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."

The lawsuit states: "Finding little to objectively criticize about this program other than vague

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representatives of the city of Oakland's Architecture and Park and Recreation Departments to discuss the renovation of the center. During this meeting the tenant representatives examined the plans and blueprints for the rehabilitation.

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## "Now Or Never" To Stop Federal Police Attacks

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

lawsuit that a fellow named Stern from NBC brought against the government gave us some inkling. Then the Church committee and House committee investigations into COINTELPRO and other intelligence agencies and programs gave us some others. The Rockefeller committee's investigation into the CIA gave us some.

I think that all of those investigations produced just small portions of the overall record of what went on, and to some extent I think they also covered up some of the evidence, perhaps knowingly, but also just as likely unknowingly, because they didn't know exactly what they were supposed to find either.

We found it somewhat disturbing that the Church committee, despite numerous requests from the Party to speak with people from its group, only questioned Kathleen Cleaver, a former Party member, and heard her testimony in executive session. So we don't even know what she said. It is said that she gave support to a view (shared by the FBI, interestingly) that the split between Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton was one that was really fostered by the FBI and not a natural kind of split.

### IS OR IS NOT TRUE

I don't know if that is or is not true. I have some evidence that it is not true. I think it very strange that a government agency investigating what went on against the Party would go about it in a way that the Church committee did.

But even marred with those certain techniques and that approach, they nevertheless came up with some useful information in the form of documents from the FBI that speak for themselves. We've pieced those together and have done the best we can to date. I expect we will be offering rewards ultimately if damages are awarded in this case. We will give rewards to informants and past informants or agents of any of the defendants for information that they can give us that will ultimately lead to judgement against the defendants in this case.

Q: Have any of the recent investigations of federal government abuses been helpful to you in preparing or filing the lawsuit?

HIESTAND: Well, they could be helpful if the Justice Department would cooperate in sharing the evidence that it uncovered. The Justice Department is a

"POLICE HEROES" VIOLATE CIVIL RIGHTS, FOSTER UNLAWFULNESS

## T.V. COP SHOWS BLASTED

(Chicago, Illinois) - An American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) legal director said last week that television police shows are undermining the basic respect U.S. citizens have for the Constitution and announced that his group is planning a probe of such shows as *Kojak*, *Baretta* and *Starsky and Hutch*.

"The study should determine if 'police heroes' violate civil rights of suspects, witnesses and other witnesses," said David Goldberger.

"Over a period of time," he said, "a TV viewer sees scores of illegal searches, seizures and interrogations. These methods are depicted as laudable and legitimate techniques. The networks are saying, 'This is good; this is how the laws ought to be enforced.'"

"Our preliminary research," the lawyer said, "indicates that

defendant in this case, however. We find a very unusual situation where the Justice Department which, under John Mitchell, was cooperating with the conspiracy to destroy the Party, now is going through at least the motions of prosecuting former agents of the FBI for activities they engaged in.

This is a good reason why it should be an independent prosecutor, separate from the Justice Department.

I do not expect that it is going to be cooperative in sharing this evidence. I noted with suspicion that the *New York Times* reported that the agents questioned and investigated by the Justice Department regarding actions against the Party (in New York City) were not given Miranda warnings of their rights. This is a rather basic, elementary thing that you do when you're questioning someone who may be suspected of criminal activity. For federal prosecutors to not do it seems either that they are incompetent almost beyond belief or that they really intended to set the stage so that no one could be criminally prosecuted. If that's their intent, I doubt if they are going to share information for filing civil liability against these same agents.

Q: What kinds of support can people give to you and the Party in relation to the lawsuit?

HIESTAND: The main support, when you get right down to it, has got to be financial. The government indicated in an earlier, related suit that the Party had against the Internal Revenue



TELLY SAVALAS, of *Kojak*, is carried on the shoulders of law-breaking New York cops during their recent strike.

the public is being educated to believe that the violation of somebody's civil rights is the only way to fly. It's massive, destructive education and people must be told that it's wrong."

Service that it would fight any efforts the Party made for discovery of documents all the way to the Supreme Court. That means it isn't likely it will be coming forward with the truth, but instead, will make a heavy effort to suppress the truth and keep it from the public. That will mean a lot of legal hours spent by attorneys, legal researchers and others.

### VOLUNTEERS

Volunteer work is not in and of itself enough to sufficiently sustain this kind of protracted litigation. We will use volunteers to the maximum extent that we can, but we're also going to have to pay for the cost of discovery, for the depositions, for the reproduction of documents, for the expensive travel that is involved and for the many legal hours that this will take. I think that's going to take plenty of money and for people who really want to help, that's the main way to help.

Q: Are you optimistic concerning the outcome of the suit?

HIESTAND: If I didn't have some optimism about the outcome of this I wouldn't have gotten involved in the first place. It's not the fantasy type optimism and I don't think that the revolution can be made through lawsuits, this one or any other one. But I think within the first year we'll know whether this will continue as a viable lawsuit. In other words, the suit will either be dismissed or all the government's motions for dismissal will be overruled. We'll be into fighting it out. □

Meanwhile, the National Citizen's Committee for Broadcasting said recently that NBC-TV led all the networks in prime time television violence in the fall season and that General Motors' Chevrolet division sponsored the greatest number of violent programs.

At the top of the list of TV's 10 most violent shows were *Quest*, an NBC western recently cancelled. Next was *Starsky and Hutch*, which will also be a prominent subject of the ACLU probe.

The Citizen's Committee said the remaining shows on the 10 most violent list were, in order: *Baretta*, ABC; *Baa Baa Black Sheep*, NBC; *Hawaii Five-O*, CBS; *The \$6 Million Man*, ABC; *Kojack*, CBS; *Police Story*, NBC; *Delvecchio*, CBS; and *Serpico*, NBC (cancelled).

### VIOLENT SPONSORS

After Chevrolet, the report said the sponsors of the 10 most violent shows were Whitehall Labs-Anacin, American Motors, Sears, Kodak, Schlitz Beer, Proctor & Gamble, General Foods, Burger King, Frito Lay Products, Mr. Coffee and the Campbell Soup Company.

The Committee said American Motors, Schlitz and Burger King were in the top 10 in the study the group did last summer.

The Citizen's Committee went on to say that such television violence is a "powerful, pervasive force" in a child's environment.

Coinciding with the release of the report, two professors at Bowling Green State University in Ohio, Drs. Leslie J. Chamberlin and Norman Chambers, said they concluded that an average child, from the age of five until 15, will see 13,400 killings on television programs. □

# CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS ISSUES STERN WARNING TO CARTER

(Washington, D.C.) — The 17-member Congressional Black Caucus warned Jimmy Carter last week of "growing uneasiness and frustrations" concerning his pre-inauguration Cabinet appointments, and asked for "some serious manifestations" of his commitment to Black people.

The warning, contained in a telegram, came after several weeks of growing apprehension among Black politicians that the President-elect intends to retreat from his positions of employment and Black appointments to his administration that helped him obtain more than 90 per cent of the Black vote in the November elections.

In particular, the telegram — with its message of "a gnawing, nagging doubt developing among Blacks about President-elect Carter's intention" — was one of several reactions of anger and disappointment to the naming of Griffin Bell as Attorney General.

The telegram also indicated that the appointment of Andy Young as U.S. representative to the United Nations was not enough to appease the Black community.

As Vernon Jordan, executive director of the National Urban League told a mass rally in Chicago:

"It is not enough for Carter to eat with Black folks, sing and pray with Black folks, send Andy to the U.N. and Amy to a Black



Congressional Black Caucus members RON DELLUMS (far left), PARREN MITCHELL (center, chairman of the CBC), WALTER FAUNTROY (right), and other Black Caucus members met recently with President-elect Jimmy Carter.

school — what we want, what we need, are jobs!"

Yet it was the selection of Griffin Bell that provoked the greatest furor last week, and even before the Americas, Georgia, native could resign from three all-White clubs, sparks were flying.

Bell, according to *United Press International* wire service, was known for his "caution" and "wariness" in handling cases involving school desegregation, reapportionment and freedom of speech cases while sitting on the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta, "sometimes prompting the U.S. Supreme Court to suggest more far-reaching action from Carter's choice of attorney general."

Among Bell's more flagrant actions were:

- A ruling in 1966 that the Georgia house could refuse to seat Black legislator Julian Bond because he opposed the Vietnam war;

- Allowing the continued imbalance of Georgia's county unit system for electing statewide officials rather than order a strict "one man, one vote" plan; and

- His full-fledged support of Nixon's nomination of avowed segregationist Harold Carswell to the Supreme Court in 1970. The Senate later vetoed the appointment.

Reaction to the Bell nomination was quick and furious.

In a telegram to Carter, Margaret Bush, chairman of the NAACP's National Board, said Bell's confirmation "would be keenly resented by those of us

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## Deal Worked Out To Block A Black Mayor For Chicago

(Chicago, Ill.) — As angry Blacks watched from the galleries, the Chicago City Council last Tuesday elected, by a vote of 45-2, Alderman Michael A. Bilandic as temporary mayor of the city — the man widely believed to have been the late Richard "Boss" Daley's choice for his successor. Bilandic, 53 — who represents Daley's own 11th ward and who gave up his thriving law practice in 1969 to run for City Council at Daley's request — will serve as temporary mayor until a special election is held to select a permanent mayor.

Sources in Chicago told THE BLACK PANTHER that Bilandic was chosen as the result of a carefully orchestrated deal worked out by top officials in the powerful Cook County Regular Democratic Organization, of which Daley was chairman during his 21-year reign over Chicago.

Immediately following Daley's heart attack death on December 20, his top aides began bitter infighting for control of the "boss's" throne. Alderman Wilson Frost, the Black president pro tempore of the City Council, declared that under state law he was acting mayor of the city until the special election. Frost, 50, was backed by the 13 Black aldermen on the City Council as well as a coalition of 200 Black leaders. He was also endorsed by the *Chicago Sun-Times* and the *Chicago Daily News*.

Renault Robinson, head of the Afro-American Patrolmen's League (AAPL), was a member of a group of Blacks who backed Frost for temporary mayor. Robinson told the *Associated Press* that the group met with Alderman Edward R. Vrdolyak — a Daley challenger — who, along with Frost, Bilandic and Alderman Edward M. Burke,

were the four top contenders for the position of temporary mayor. The group, Robinson said, told Vrdolyak that "if he cut any deal (with other aldermen), Black voters in his ward will take their wrath out on him later."

Frost's insistence that he was the legitimate acting mayor of Chicago was quickly disputed by Daley's press aide, Frank Sullivan, and William R. Quinlan, counsel for the city corporation. Quinlan maintained that there would be no acting or temporary mayor until the City Council elected one.

It was then decided that until the City Council election Frost, as president pro tem of the City Council, would preside over the legislative aspect of city government and that Kenneth Sain, an administrative aide of Daley who held the appointive title of deputy mayor, would exercise adminis-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25



Militant women lead wildcat strike.

## Supreme Court Rulings Attack Women's Rights

(Washington, D.C.) — In a major setback for the women's rights movement, the Supreme Court recently ruled that employers may refuse to pay disability benefits to women for pregnancy.

The decision, in a case involving women workers at General Electric was a big victory for employers who contend that coverage of childbirth and pregnancy complications add significantly to their costs.

The Supreme Court's ruling overruled six previous rulings by U.S. courts of appeals. Every court of appeals that has considered the issue has held that exclusion of pregnancy from disability coverage violates Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, *Liberation News Service (LNS)* reports. Title VII prohibits employers from discriminating against any person "with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment" on the basis of race or sex.

The Supreme Court's ruling also rejects the findings of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) that discrimination on the basis of pregnancy constitutes discrimination on the basis of sex.

"It's a devastating decision," American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) spokesperson Patricia Beyea told *LNS*. "And we should not minimize its effect. It calls into question six lower court decisions and numerous EEOC guidelines; and it undermines the whole idea of Title VII and efforts to stop sex discrimination (in employment).

"Its impact is difficult to determine now," she continued, "but potentially it's disastrous.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

**"IT WASN'T A RETRIAL, IT WAS A RERUN"**

# CARTER AND ARTIS SEEK APPEAL, CONDEMN CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

(Paterson, N.J.) - Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis, convicted last week for the second time in nine years on false charges of triple murder, are being held here without bail while their lawyers plan an appeal.

After a guilty verdict was handed down by a jury of 10 Whites and two Blacks, Carter stated, "We didn't have a retrial, we had a rerun. . . I have no faith in the criminal justice system because it has no faith in me. . .

We are human beings. We are not criminals. We are saddened that this could happen again. Did the country move in 10 years? Has America grown? I think not."

Artis commented, "The jurors' minds were taken away from the facts as we know them to be. When the racial element was introduced, they started looking at us as two nameless Blacks."

Myron Beldock, counsel for Carter, and Lewis Steel, counsel for Artis, sought to have their clients released on bail pending appeal, pointing out the positive aspects of Carter's and Artis' characters. However, Judge Bruno L. Leopizzi denied bail and set January 26 as the date for sentencing. At that time the two attorneys can file appeals and ask for bail again.

## "ERRONEOUS"

Speaking before Leopizzi, Steel described as "erroneous," the *New York Times* reports, the judge's decision to allow Alfred Bello, the key prosecution witness and an admitted perjurer, to testify in court. Bello was the only prosecution witness who placed Carter and Artis at the scene of the crime on June 17, 1966—Paterson's Lafayette Bar and Grill.

In the original trial, Bello placed the two Black men at the bar on the night of the murders of the three White men, yet in September, 1974, he recanted his testimony and stated that he had been bribed and coerced by police into giving false testimony. However, by the time of the retrial last year, he reverted back to his original testimony.

Beldock pointed out that "no arm of the state has moved against Bello," who has admitted committing perjury before a grand jury investigating the Carter-Artis case. Bello also admitted to taking part in an attempted burglary on the morning of the murders and stealing money from the Lafayette Bar

*RUBIN "Hurricane" CARTER (right) and JOHN ARTIS at press conference after their second conviction on false murder charges resulting from a 1966 triple slaying in a Paterson, New Jersey, bar.*



and Grill's cash register after the killings. He has not been charged with either crime.

"It is quite disgusting," Artis said, "that Bello could come back and testify in a court of law."

In his closing arguments in the trial, Beldock termed the state's case against the two defendants, "a little shack, ramshackle and poorly built with a huge superstructure but with no planks of evidence that will hold up."

Beldock also questioned the honesty of Passaic County Detective Vincent DeSimone, the man who originally coerced and bribed Bello and was responsible for constructing a racial-revenge motive for the three barroom slayings. The prosecution attempted to establish a murder at a Black

## San Antonio Recreation Center

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

the satisfaction of tenants, further action will be taken.

tion of the recreational center. Heating, lighting, plumbing and cabinets will be installed in the facility while both the exterior and interior would be repaired and painted.

Also, in the parking lots surrounding the center, space will be set aside for building a volleyball court and various other game areas.

Actual construction work is scheduled to be completed by the end of January. During the meeting it was revealed that these plans were ready as far back as last July, yet bureaucracy and red tape constantly stalled the project.

Mrs. Smith warned that if the recreation center does not meet

bar a few hours before the Lafayette Bar and Grill slayings as Carter's and Artis' alleged motives for the crime they did not commit.

## AFTERMATH

In the aftermath of the trial, Carter revealed that he had asked such celebrities as Muhammad Ali, Bob Dylan and other supporters to stay away from the trial so as not turn "the courthouse into a circus." Ali and Dylan spearheaded the drive to raise funds for the legal defense of Carter and Artis.

Carter termed his defense attorneys "exemplary" but noted that they were "overpowered by the prosecutor's office, which spent millions and millions of dollars to convict us."

the satisfaction of tenants, further action will be taken.

In a related development, attorneys for the Pacific Gas and Electric (PG AND E) Company sent a letter to a San Antonio tenant claiming that the OHA was fully responsible for the two-and-a-half days there was no electricity in the Villa.

Due to the power outage, San Antonio residents suffered severe losses as their food supplies spoiled. Although the electricity was out for over two days, it took only 10 minutes for the power to be restored.

At the present time the San Antonio Tenants Union is investigating the possibility of filing a damage suit to assure the reimbursement of Villa residents.

## PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

### Inez Garcia Trial Site

(Salinas, Calif.) — Defense attorneys here say they will go to a higher court to win a new trial site for Inez Garcia who is being retried on murder charges for the 1974 self-defense shooting death of a man who held her down while another man raped her. In the court battle, which has become a cause celebre for the women's movement, Monterey Court Judge Nat Agliano last week rejected a request for a change of venue (location). Ms. Garcia says she does not believe she can get a fair trial in Monterey County because the prospective jurors do not represent her Latino background.

### Tombs Rejected

(New York, N.Y.) - A plan to reopen the Manhattan jail known as the Tombs was rejected here last week by a federal judge who said the city's plan failed to eliminate some of the conditions that resulted in the jail's closing two years ago. In the \$2.6 million plan to reopen the Tombs, Judge Morris E. Lasker said, the "critical and fatal defect" is a failure to end maximum-security restrictions throughout the jail.

### Conspiracy Upheld

(Princeton, N.J.) — As the House Select Committee on Assassinations begins its investigations, the overwhelming majority of Americans believe that other persons besides Lee Harvey Oswald and James Earl Ray were involved in the assassinations of President John Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr., respectively. According to a Gallup survey released last week, 69 per cent of Americans do not believe Ray acted alone and 80 per cent do not believe Oswald acted alone.

### Swine Flu Cover-Up

(Washington, D.C.) — A continuing General Accounting Office investigation of the swine flu program has uncovered serious administrative and medical miscalculations that have been shielded from public view. According to congressional sources, the Center for Disease Control expected a number of paralysis-type reactions similar to the "French polio" syndrome that forced a temporary halt to the inoculations. The Department of Justice will have to defend the government against any claims arising from the immunization program.

## Richmond Coalition Walks Out On City Council, Set To Start Petition Drive

(Richmond, Calif.) - The United People (U.P.) Coalition walked out of a Richmond City Council meeting last week when it became evident that the Council would not realistically consider the U.P.'s reasonable proposals for ending rampant police abuse.

Over 100 U.P. members attended the meeting. Spokespersons for the group emphasized that they would not be coming back before the Council anymore and that the organization would immediately begin working on:

- A ballot initiative to implement an elected citizens' police review board;

- An initiative to implement neighborhood, instead of at-large, elections of City Council members;

- The organization of an economic boycott in Richmond; and

- Finding suitable, community-minded candidates to support in the upcoming municipal elections.

### THIRD TIME

This marked the third time the U.P. Coalition has been before the council demanding a change in police practices. On two previous occasions, the Coalition brought out 300 and 400 people to support their demands. Also, public hearings and meetings with City Council committees have proved fruitless in affecting any meaningful change.

Speaking for the Coalition before the City Council, Roger McCollins stated, "We know that we will have to get some of our own people on the City Council, people who are responsive to our needs and not to special interests... We put together what we thought would be a fair program for all citizens of Richmond."

The City Council had previously agreed to have open public hearings and to end the random, arbitrary police harassment of Richmond's Spanish-speaking citizens. However, it did not meet two major demands of U.P.

The Coalition has consistently maintained that there is a concrete need for an elected citizen's review board and that police records should not be destroyed after two years. The demand for preservation of police records is bolstered by the fact that the Contra Costa Bar Association has filed suit against the practice of destroying the records.

A police officer who has an "unfounded" charge of police

DEADLY BACTERIA KILLED ONE, CAUSED EPIDEMICS IN EIGHT CITIES

## U.S. CITIES TARGETS OF ARMY GERM WARFARE TESTS

(San Francisco, Calif.) — The San Francisco Bay Area, including Oakland and Berkeley, was among several U.S. cities and military installations subjected to secret, simulated biological warfare attacks by Army scientists between 1950 and 1966, it was revealed last week.

Even after the so-called "non-disease causing" bacterium used in the germ warfare experiments caused the outbreak of an infection from which a 75-year-old man is known to have died, the Army continued to use the germ.

Under pressure from *Newsday* newspaper of Long Island, New York, the Army confirmed that the tests were conducted in Key West and Panama City, Florida, Point Mugu and adjoining Fort Hueneme, California, Fort McClellan, Alabama, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, New York City, and the Pentagon.

The Army said that the purpose of the biological warfare tests was "for training and field evaluation to determine vulnerability to enemy biological attack and the adequacy of defense measures."

Details of one of the germ warfare tests, the release of the bacterium known as *Serratia marcescens* into the air surrounding a Manhattan subway in 1966, was revealed last year during the Senate Intelligence Committee's hearings.

The Army said that *Serratia marcescens* was used in the experiments because at the time,



Polluted U.S. city. The Bay Area public was recently shocked over the revelation of Army germ warfare tests which were conducted in the region in the 1950s.

the early 1950s, the germ was widely believed to be incapable of causing disease. Since then, however, the bacterium has been known to cause infections in sensitive people, particularly those whose resistance has been lowered by drugs designed to suppress immune reactions after organ transplants.

The first Bay Area test occurred on September, 26, 1950. The Army released *Serratia marcescens* bacteria into the air to see whether winds in the Bay Area would carry the germs into San Francisco. Army monitoring stations took air samples around the city to see where the bacteria appeared. The experiment was repeated the next day.

The bacteria were grown in a building leased by the Army that was next door to the Naval Biological Laboratory in Oakland.

Two days after the last admitted test by the Army, *Serratia marcescens* was first identified as the cause of an infection at the old Stanford Hospital in San Francisco. Three days later, the deadly bacterium was isolated in the urine of 75-year-old Edward Nevins' blood.

The retired pipe fitter was recovering from a prostate operation at the time he was stricken with the *Serratia* infection. He was given antibiotics but died three weeks later after what his family described as "intense pain and suffering." Eleven Bay Area residents contracted the infection before it ran its course five months later. The common symptoms were chills and a high fever.

### 1954 EXPERIMENTS

In 1954, another set of germ warfare experiments was conducted in the Bay Area. Code-named Operation Seaspray, the tests originated from Fort Cronkrite in Marin County. *Serratia marcescens* bacteria were placed in the water to see if the waves would toss them into the air where the wind would pick them up and carry them into San Francisco. A source said that on the particular day of the test, the winds were blowing from the west and the bacteria were carried into Berkeley and Oakland.

Edward Nevins III, grandson of Edward Nevins, said of the biological warfare experiments, "It is just incredible — the scientific method gone mad — Dr. Strangelove, but it is not fiction." □



U.P. spokesman ROGER McCOLLINS delivers ultimatum to Richmond City Council.

brutality on his record will have his name cleared, under the present system and in the event that he is charged with future abuse, this information will no longer be available.

The City Council proposed several "alternatives" to these clear-cut demands, but the U.P. Coalition refused to accept them.

U.P. is presently planning an open community meeting on

January 6 to enlist volunteers for a voter registration drive and petition campaign. The Coalition will need from 1,500 to 2,000 signatures to get their initiatives on the April ballot. By the time of the meeting, lawyers working for the Coalition hope that both petitions for the citizens' police review board and district election of City Council members, will be ready for signatures. □

# Whatever Happened To The Black Panther Party?

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

writes this to his brother:

"...I recall you remarking that in an urban guerrilla situation the military proper must be hidden, separate from the political front since unlike a classical Mao-Giap countryside struggle where the enemy's principal forces are 30 miles down the road, with us the enemy is all around, within a few moments of strike. There should, I feel, be one branch that is purely political, operating the rent strikes, the breakfast programs, the People's Bazaars where all sorts of food and clothing, utensils and tools are sold, hospitals or clinics (free, of course), and what I will term cottage shops to employ those who will work for the new medium of exchange — love and loyalty — at such things as the making of the clothing and canning of the food for the People's Bazaar. Then, there should be the super secret branch — to enforce." (Jonathan Jackson, *Blood In My Eye*)

### HUEY'S FREE!

"...A vanguard party is never underground in the beginning of



GEORGE JACKSON

its existence; that would limit its effectiveness and educational goals...The party must exist aboveground as long as the dog power structure will allow, and, hopefully, when the party is forced to go underground, the party's message will already have been put across to the people..." (Huey P. Newton, *To Die For The People*.)

With assaults against him mounting from every agency of government and even assaults from so-called Blacks (a \$10,000 price was offered by some Black operators of drug and gambling,

houses in Oakland to "hit" Huey Newton), Huey P. Newton refused to appear in court in August of 1974, for more trumped-up charges. The Party's leadership had been forced underground.

The police saw that Bobby Seale had gone off to Los Angeles; David Hilliard had some time before been expelled; David's brother "June" (Roosevelt Hilliard) had run off with two women back home to Alabama and the police were renting apartments next door (FBI files indicate that an ex-con was hired by them to occupy the apartment next to Huey's to promote a "set-up"). There was a need to go underground, into exile. There is freedom in exile, but there will be a return.

The Black Panther Party raised the slogan back in 1968: "FREE HUEY." On that slogan, millions were turned to recognize the plight of Black and poor people who are daily falsely arrested, tried by racist juries and locked away forever in penitentiaries. A trial by a jury of peers was demanded, and on came the Stokely Carmichaels, the Rap Browns, everyone came to free



HUEY P. NEWTON (above) with Black youth, before he was forced into exile by federal police agencies. (Right) Fallen Comrade JONATHAN JACKSON.

Huey, because it came to mean Free the People!

It was the first major political trial in a long time. More importantly, it was not for the usual reasons that Huey was being tried, but for his dynamic ability to organize people around their human rights, around what amounted to a communistic



philosophy. He was dangerous. He had to go to the gas chamber and get the record straight, destroy hope. When Huey emerged three years later, they issued the death warrant. At first, small attempts. Then, when he lived on, there was desperation. "Buy a nigger to do it; discredit him and buy a nigger." A measley \$10,000 was not enough. More desperation set in. Huey escaped. He will return.

(Next week, in the conclusion of "Whatever Happened To The Black Panther Party," Party chairperson Elaine Brown discusses "What's left of the Left.")

**TO BE CONTINUED**

THE COMMITTEE FOR

## JUSTICE

FOR

## HUEY P. NEWTON

AND THE

## BLACK PANTHER PARTY

**FREE HUEY!**

Support the Black Panther Party lawsuit against the FBI. Contact the Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton P.O. Box 297, Oakland, California 94604 or call (415) 638-0195

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.

PLEASE SEND ME:

Committee for Justice Newsletter

\_\_\_\_\_ Poster(s) at \$1.00 each (plus \$.50 handling)

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P.O. Box 297, Oakland, Calif. 94604

**TRAFFICANTE SOLE SURVIVOR****Florida Mob Boss Quizzed On C.I.A.'s Castro Assassination Plots**

(Miami, Fla.) — *Knight News Service* reported last week that Santos Trafficante of Tampa and Miami, the reputed organized crime boss of Florida, made a secret four hour appearance before the Senate Select Intelligence Committee in October to answer questions about his role in the CIA-directed plot to assassinate Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

Trafficante's attorney, Henry Gonzalez of Tampa, refused to comment on the Senate committee appearance, saying only, "You realize you're treading on dangerous ground."

Of the three leading Mafia figures known to have been involved in the early 1960s plots to assassinate the revolutionary Cuban Premier, only Trafficante, 62, is still alive. Both Sam "Momo" Giancana, a longtime Mafia boss from Chicago, and John Roselli, a one-time powerful organized crime notable from Las Vegas and Los Angeles, were murdered within the last 16 months.

The murders, believed to be in connection with their expected or actual testimony in the Senate probe — Giancana was shot to death just prior to his scheduled appearance. Roselli was found stuffed in a drum bobbing in Florida's Biscayne Bay — remain unsolved.

Trafficante had not previously been questioned by the Senate committee or its staff in the two-year-old investigation of CIA activities because his role in the plot had been considered "secondary."

Interest in Trafficante, however, was renewed following Roselli's death. Investigators have learned, for example, that Trafficante had dinner with Roselli at a Fort Lauderdale restaurant in mid-July, less than two weeks before Roselli's disappearance.

Trafficante reportedly has told police that the July dinner with Roselli — as well as several other meetings held previously — were "friendly, social events with no business."

The gun used to kill Giancana, a .22 found discarded on a

Over 200 people marched in Mobile, Alabama, recently to protest the wave of police repression which has plagued the Black community.

**MARCH AND RALLY AGAINST POLICE TERROR IN MOBILE, ALABAMA**

(Mobile, Ala.) — Over 200 people marched and rallied here recently to protest the acquittal of a White racist cop cleared for his part in an admitted lynching attempt of two Black activists.

The acquitted cop, Vernon Straum, was one of five White Mobile policemen charged with assault after they and 10 other officers tried to lynch Casmara and Sekou Lumpen of the People's Community Hall last March.

The ringleader of the cops, Michael Patrick, confessed to the attempted lynching in an earlier trial yet he was still acquitted. During his testimony, Patrick revealed the existence of a special police squad whose main purpose

was to arrest, harass and brutalize young Blacks.

**ROPE AROUND NECK**

Patrick put the rope around Casmara's neck while Straum took the rope, threw it over a strong branch (the first one they tried to use broke) and pulled, straining the Black man's neck. Only the arrival of other police saved Casmara's life.

Casmara was one of the speakers at the Brenville Square rally here, and he stressed, "That 'not guilty' verdict by that White jury takes us all the way back to the Dred Scott decision when the courts said in the 1800s that, 'The Black man has no rights that the White man is bound to respect.'"

He warned, "If the Black people of Mobile cannot get justice in the courtroom, we will struggle to win justice in the streets."

Sekou Lumpen explained the formation of the People's Movement for Justice and expressed to the crowd the demands of the organization. Among them are:

- The removal from their jobs of all cops involved in the lynching attempt, along with their superiors, including the mayor and police commissioner, and the full prosecution of those responsible for this and other racist attacks;

- The reopening of the cases of all prisoners who have been

CONTINUED ON PAGE 20

**Southern Leaders Pledge Support To Massive J.P. Stevens Boycott**

(Atlanta, Ga.) — Textile workers at the huge J.P. Stevens Company gained the support of an impressive array of Southern leaders last week in their nationwide boycott against Stevens, the South's largest employer.

The committee of Southern leaders, called Southerners for Economic Justice, has pledged their support for unionization efforts in the Southern textile industry, the largest unorganized industry in the nation.

The newly formed committee is composed of Atlanta mayor Maynard Jackson, Georgia state senator Julian Bond, Voter Education Project head John Lewis, Robert Hall, managing editor of *Southern Exposure*, and Ruley Hurley, southern regional director of the NAACP.

J.P. Stevens, with a billion dollars in annual sales, and 700,000 employees, is the nation's second largest textile com-

pany after Burlington Industries. Only 10 per cent of its workers are unionized. Stevens, called the



The J.P. Stevens textile company is called the number one enemy of organized labor.

number one enemy of organized labor, is regarded as the most relentlessly anti-union company

in an anti-union industry, reports the *New York Times*.

The Stevens Company is currently the target of a massive boycott organized by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Textile Workers Union of America. Backed by all of organized labor, including the AFL-CIO, the boycott is planned to be the biggest in history with 27 boycott headquarters being established across the South. The huge effort is estimated to cost \$10 million, an unprecedented amount.

**VIOLENT REBUFFS**

Numerous attempts to organize J.P. Stevens and the textile industry have been systematically rebuffed, sometimes with the use of violence.

The union has pledged \$50,000 to the Southerners for Economic Justice as they move to escalate the fight against Stevens. Atlanta

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# ...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting Novel Examines Lives Of Black Americans In Egypt

*This week's excerpt from ...And Bid Him Sing continues to describe the outbreak of the 1967 Middle East war and the evacuation of U.S. citizens from Cairo, Egypt.*

**PART 59**

"But... I hesitated, 'there's a war on... an' the Egyptians've been hit bad. Nobody knows where Nasser is! I'll send the telegram, if I can. But don't count on it working.

"Jus' send it, and tell Mr. Mursy you sent it," he said. "He'll get the hint. He can stop 'em from kicking me out. I know it, an' he'll do it. You jus' gotta get to him first thing in the morning. I got his telephone number at the apartment. If I had it here I'd call him myself, right now."

"What are you supposed to do about your things and the apartment?"

**TOMORROW, A GUARD**

"They said tomorrow they'd send somebody with me, like a guard, to the apartment while I packed clothes and things and brought them back over here. I'm jus' supposed to leave the apartment. Ain't that some shit?! I called Mika and told her. She was still waiting for me. She said she'd be here in the morning. She was packing when I talked to her. I couldn't talk long. Wasn't supposed to make no calls, that cat told me. But I raised so much hell he let me."

Our attention was caught by a commotion at the entrance to the hotel. A smartly dressed police officer had led in a group of young people that we immediately recognized as students from the American University. Hank was in their midst, dressed in a mod-cut dark suit, in sharp contrast to the others, and affecting that lost and helpless attitude he'd had when I first saw him in midtown 'Cairo. Blue-gowned porters loaded down with luggage followed. Suliman jumped up and went off in the direction of the group. I rose and followed.

"Hey, brother," Suliman called out as we approached Hank. "They got you too?" The question was serious.

"Yeah," Hank smiled. "I wouldn't miss no free trip to Greece. Ain't this some shit!" We shook hands, Hank keeping languid but at the same time

watchful eyes on the porters and his luggage.

"Well, you can bet your sweet ass I ain't goin'," Suliman said without smiling.

"Inshallah," I interjected placing his destiny in the hands of God.

As if caught off guard by an inferior opponent, Suliman repeated aggressively, but unconvincingly: "Inshallah."

Suliman cat-napped in the lounge. The other bed in the room assigned him was occupied by a White American he did not know. At about six a.m. he crept into the room while the other still slept, showered, and crept out. He was in the dining room well before seven and was the first to be served. The shower and breakfast — orange juice, fried eggs, toast, jam and hot tea — refreshed him. He was feeling confident that he would be out of the hotel within a short time and back in his own apartment. He refused to believe that this could happen to him. He could understand the Americans wanting him out, just to fuck with him. But he was sure once word got around among the right Egyptians, they'd prevent his going. He knew he didn't have much time and that things generally moved slowly in Egypt. But this was an emergency. And when they wanted to, Egyptians could get up off their ass and move. He was sure they would want to in his case.



City devastated by Middle East conflict (above) and Palestinian woman guerrilla (right).



He settled himself in a comfortable armchair in the lobby. A low table sat beside the chair. He faced the front entrance. He occupied himself with arranging his assorted papers. They included carbon copies of his telegram to Nasser and the reply and his letter requesting permission to join the Egyptian army. He had two copies of his book of poems. A folder of clippings included translations of his poems that had appeared in different Arabic publications, an interview that had appeared in the *Egyptian Gazette* and several articles about him that had appeared in Arabic periodicals. He was preparing them for the high-ranking security officer who was due to arrive this morning.

He didn't see Mika step into the lobby from the street. But she saw him. It was a little after eight a.m. A porter had entered before her with two cream-colored matching pieces of luggage and

placed them to the right of the door. She carried the square cosmetics case to the set. She also had a handbag over her shoulder and a winter coat over one arm. She was in slacks. She put the cosmetics case on top of the larger piece of luggage, opened her bag and took out some money and handed it to the porter. She threw her coat over her luggage, hesitated a moment and then headed in Suliman's direction.


He looked up from the papers on his lap as she approached him. Without surprise he rose, placing the papers and his briefcase on the table beside him and offered her his hand.

"My, you're up early," she smiled. "Thought I'd have to get you out of bed."

"Salem we alaikum," he said, ignoring her comment and intoning her greeting from the very core of his being. The sight of her—calm, resigned, submissive—fired in him an awareness, not until this moment made conscious, of his advantage in this crisis; an advantage occasioned by his blackness. She was leaving. He was staying. Of this he was still certain. Here, at last, on the soil of Mother Africa he had come into his own. Even her commitment to Islam could not save her. But he was sure he would be saved, that his Egyptian brothers would not let this awful thing happen to him.

**TO BE CONTINUED**

**...And Bid Him Sing**



**...AND BID HIM SING**

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

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

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

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

Francille Rusan Wilson  
The Black Scholar

# REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton  
"TRIAL"

In the excerpt from the chapter "Trial" from Revolutionary Suicide, Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton continues to describe the judicial railroad he was subjected to in his famous 1968 murder trial.

## PART 81

But all their chicanery to get Dell Ross's testimony came to nothing in the end, because Charles Garry had called the last trump. Two weeks before the trial, he had interviewed Ross in his office and taped the conversation, during the course of which Ross admitted that he had lied to the grand jury. He had gone along with the authorities, he said, because they had warrants out on him for parking violations, and he was afraid of them. Ross told Garry in this interview that I did not have a gun that night, that I was barely conscious and had said nothing at all to him. Of course, when Garry got up to cross-examine him during the trial, Ross could not remember this interview, either, so Garry played the whole tape in court, over Jensen's vehement objections.

As a result, the kidnaping charge against me was dropped for lack of evidence — and I was now being tried on three counts instead of four. Ross's appearance as a witness for the prosecution had been a complete failure. Yet he was brought back for my second and third trials, and both times he repudiated his position during the first trials. Despite this I felt no anger toward him. Like Grier, he was a crushed and broken man, pathetically terrified of the power of the state. I felt more angry at the prosecution for using him as a dupe of the

state than against Ross, who could not defend himself.

Ross was the last important witness that Jensen produced, and after he appeared the prosecution rested its case. In any trial the burden of proof lies with the prosecution to establish beyond reasonable doubt the evidence of guilt. Jensen had not achieved this. Many of his accusations were made through implication and innuendo, not facts. Despite his single-minded determination to place me at the scene with a gun in my hand, a lot of his evidence had backfired in ways he had not anticipated. In addition to weaknesses in the testimony of both Grier and Heanes — and the fact that their two stories did not jibe at crucial points — there were a number of serious flaws and omissions in the prosecutor's case.

### LOCATION OF CASINGS

Jensen never dealt satisfactorily with the shooting — for instance, the location of the two nine-millimeter casings that were found at the scene by police officers. Jensen had suggested throughout the trial that these casings, which did not match police guns, belonged to the .38 revolver I allegedly carried that night. The casings were found lying twenty to twenty-five feet apart, one between the two police vehicles and one near the rear left fender of Heanes's car, right where Frey was shot. Since both Heanes's and Grier's testimony

Black youth demand the freedom of Huey P. Newton at 1968 "Free Huey" rally in San Francisco.



coincided in stating that Frey and I had walked to the back of Heanes's car and that no shooting had occurred until we reached this point, how could the second casing have gotten twenty-five feet away? I could not have been in two places at once. This was an insurmountable puzzle in the prosecution argument. The only possible solution seems to be that a third person was firing at the

scene, and the prosecution had totally excluded this possibility since it wanted only one assailant — me.

### POLICE TAPES

Then, too, my lawyers found the police tapes from that morning very mystifying. They carefully went over the transcript of all the police conversations that were recorded between the police cars at the scene and Radio Dispatch in the police administration building. The tapes began with a request from Officer Frey just after he had stopped me shortly before 5:00 a.m. The request was for information about me and the car I was driving. They continued through all the communications that took place after other police cars arrived at the scene following the shooting. In analyzing the messages that passed between Radio Dispatch and the patrol car radios, my lawyers found indications that the police dispatcher in the administration building was sending out information to other police in the Oakland area that was not being radioed in by the police at the scene. This suggested that either the tapes were tampered with or that witnesses were phoning in accounts of the shooting and giving descriptions that the police at the scene did not have.

TO BE CONTINUED



Black Panther Party members demand the freedom of Huey P. Newton.

## REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

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

### Huey P. Newton

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

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**Harcourt Brace Jovanovich**

# 1976 - THE YEAR OF THE YOUTH - IN REVIEW

In reviewing the major events of 1976, one of the most significant and memorable features that comes to mind is the struggle of the youth, our children, who throughout the world — be it in the shanty towns of Occupied Palestine or Soweto, South Africa, in Detroit, New York or London, in People's China or Cuba — imparted upon this past year an overwhelming, indomitable, and, indeed, infectious WILL TO BE FREE that transcended any native origins in an all-too-human outpouring of anger and love. Children undaunted by the paper-tiger strength of their oppressors, unstimulated by the false might of U.S. imperialism (which they was as their number one enemy), fought tanks and planes, reactionaries of all types and persuasions, for the simple chance to stand up, rock firm, under the warmth of the sun; children

who proclaimed with courage and dignity: "My people seek liberation and I shall carry forward the blood struggle in their interests, in their names, to my last dying breath." As Pan Africanist Congress leader David Sibeko said upon his visit to the Oakland Community School, "We live in a very challenging era when our children have decided to seize the struggle, to seize the initiative, at so tender an age."

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents three examples of youth in struggle from around the world in 1976. There could have been others, many others, as our children grow and develop, transforming the course of world history, moving inexorably, relentlessly, towards the victory they see shining in our eyes.



Palestinian youth battle Israeli troops with stones as they demonstrate against the Zionist occupation of the West Bank territory (see map).



## Occupied Palestine

Beginning almost as soon as 1976 began, but particularly during the months from February through May, Palestinian people in the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River, sparked by their rock-throwing, defiant youth, demonstrated an unprecedented resistance to the Israeli military authorities.

Throughout the West Bank, in towns and villages like Jerusalem, Ramallah, Nablus, Jericho, Hebron, Bar Zeit, militant protests against the Zionist occupation occurred daily, as the tiny dirt streets of these ancient village-cities were barricaded with anything available, while the smell and smoke of burning rubber tires filled the air for miles.

Mass repression and terror by the Israeli military police increased unchecked — including the murder of scores of Palestinian children barely into their teens, the bullwhipping of school girls, the arrest of hundreds without trial, the 10-day machine-gun imposed curfew of the 20,000 residents of the twin cities of Ramallah and al Birah — yet the militant demonstrations continued to grow, the rocks continued to fly, the barricades remained firm.

Then, on March 30, the Palestinians within the state of Israel rose up to follow the example of their West Bank brothers and sisters, as "The Day of the Land," a planned protest against illegal Israeli land seizures, exploded into open rebellion.

Less than two weeks later, on April 12, the 650,000 West Bank Palestinians showed their determination at the ballot box, as a new, determined, overwhelmingly pro-PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) leadership swept into office in 24 key municipal elections.

So strong was the protest, so vehement was the human outcry for liberation, that just prior to the elections Israel participated for the first time, along with the PLO, in a U.N. Security Council debate on the situation in the West Bank. (The U.S. vetoed a resulting resolution "deploring" Israeli repression.)

By the year's end, the protest, which had diminished for awhile, had again begun to escalate, this time in angry reaction to a new Israeli tax on Palestinian merchants. And, again, it was the Palestinian youth who were leading the fight.



Young men from the Oakland Community School perform an Azanian "Boot Dance."

## Oakland Community School

1976 was a year of beautiful memories and significant growth and development for the children of the model elementary level Oakland Community School (OCS). The six-year-old School continued to gain acclaim throughout the country for its unique approach to the education of children — with emphasis on teaching them, how, not what, to think. The curriculum of the School was expanded to better meet the needs of the 130 predominantly Black and poor youth whom it serves. The OCS also became more deeply involved in community affairs, thereby enabling the children, our hope of the future, to gain a greater understanding of the world which they will one day change into a better place for all humankind to live.

February — Along with KDIA Radio, the Oakland Community School sponsored a tremendously successful benefit Radiothon which raised over \$13,000 for the School. Nearly 2,000 people, including notable Bay Area community, civic and religious leaders, educators and TV personalities, overflowed the Oakland Community Learning Center (OCLC), home of the OSC, for the February 29 event.

June — The Alameda County Board of Supervisors awarded the OCS with a plaque of commendation for its outstanding service to the education of poor and minority youth.

Also in June, on the 10th, eight children graduated from the OCS, the largest graduation class, yet, in the School's history.



July — OCS Director Ericka Huggins took office on July 1 as the first Black member of the Alameda County Board of Education. In that position, Ericka has been instrumental in making the Board more responsive to the needs of the community it is elected to serve. In October, she organized the first Board meeting ever held in the predominantly Black community of East Oakland. The following month, Ericka led local press on an unprecedented tour of the county's racist juvenile detention center, which she has demanded that the Alameda County Grand Jury investigate.

September — School opened with an expanded curriculum designed to enhance the children's ability to learn at their own rate of speed. The eight groups that the OCS was previously organized into were replaced by 14 levels. A child may be placed in Level 6A, for example, on the basis of his language skills, and in Level 7 for his mathematics skills.

October — Three 10-year-old OCS students presented a simulated sewage treatment plant exhibition at the Western Regional Conference of Black Engineers and Scientists. The OCS science exhibit was the only one at the conference presented by a school.

November — The OCS sponsored a special program dedicated to "the sons and daughters of the struggles for freedom in southern Africa and throughout the world" on November 23. United Nations Observer and Director of Foreign Affairs for the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of Azania (South Africa), David Sibeko, was the special guest of honor at the program which featured entertainment by the children and the distribution of 500 free bags of groceries to the community.

December — The highly successful December 18 and 19 First Annual Winter Festival, sponsored by the Oakland Community Learning Center, was highlighted by a delightful presentation by the OCS children. Indeed, the second day of the Festival honored all the children of the community, who received 600 free toys. □

## Azania

June 16, 1976, will go down in history as one of the most glorious days of the Azanian (Black South African) people's liberation movement.

On that day, in the sprawling Black "township" of Soweto outside Johannesburg, South African police and special "anti-terrorist" squads attacked a peaceful demonstration of 10,000 students protesting the compulsory use of the hated Afrikaans language in their schools. With that unwarranted action, the nodal point was reached, the "last straw" had gone down. Years of smoldering frustration and resentment over the strict policy of racial segregation known as apartheid exploded into sustained rage as Blacks throughout South Africa rise up in rebellion.



The Azanian student movement is leading the widespread revolt against South Africa's brutal apartheid system.

And throughout the country it was the youth, primarily schoolchildren, who led the way — burning buses, beer halls, police stations, dilapidated Bantu school buildings and other White administrative structures to display their total disgust over their abysmal living conditions and the lack of control over any meaningful aspect of their lives.

For the youth, objections to the mandatory Afrikaans language requirement were easy to explain: derived from the Dutch, Afrikaans is used by the descendants of the Boersettlers who dominate the White-minority government. It is the language of the oppressor. Also, younger Azanians have not hidden their deep admiration for the FRELIMO government next door in the People's Republic of Mozambique nor the MPLA government in People's Angola. (Indeed, Azanian students are known to greet each other simply by saying "Angola," just as their counterparts in the U.S. often remark "Right On," or "Power to

the People.") The assurance of militant Black rule in Zimbabwe and Namibia has added to the students' confidence as well.

From June 16 to the year's end, South Africa has been a swirling vortex of rebellion and resistance, as Azanian protest, long dormant, has taken on unprecedented proportions.

In Soweto, with its 1.5 million population crammed into underdeveloped ghettos of barren dormitories and stark shanty huts, the Students Representative Council has organized several work strikes and during the usually festive December holiday season, strictly enforced a Christmas boycott dedicated to the many Azanian youth who have laid down their young lives in a supreme sacrifice to liberate their people.

And as the national uprising transforms itself into a veritable people's war, rest assured that the Azanian schoolchildren will remain in the vanguard — at so tender an age. □

# 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

## TSIETSI MASHININI IN N.Y. South African Student Leader: "We Had Enough"

(New York, N.Y.) — "We had enough of it all," Tsietsi Mashinini, a 19-year-old leader of the mass Black uprisings in Soweto, South Africa, told a group of New Yorkers gathered to hear his story in early December. "It could have come over any number of things, but it would have come."

Until he fled into exile, Tsietsi Mashinini was president of the Student Representative Council which exercises a strong influence over the Black township of over one million outside Johannesburg. The Council led the original June 16 protest against a government order that classes in Black schools be taught in Afrikaans, a Dutch-derived language most Blacks do not know nor want to know.



TSIETSI MASHININI

Police responded by killing, wounding and arresting hundreds of students — many of them young school children. This touched off further student demonstrations and work stoppages throughout the summer.

The South African police said they would pay 500 rand (\$575) for information leading to Mashinini's arrest — an amount equal to an average Black worker's annual income. But the young militant escaped to Botswana in August with the help of an underground network of friends. While in Botswana, the South African security police tried unsuccessfully to kidnap Mashinini. He now lives London, but came to the United States in late November for a three-week visit.

Mashinini is a young man who seems much older than his 19 years might suggest. His father is a chauffeur and his mother works in a clothing factory.

Describing the reaction of

*Azanian youth lead militant anti-apartheid march. The recent Soweto to Christmas boycott was successfully led by the Soweto Students Council.*



"NO HOLIDAY CAKES, NO CHICKENS, NO TOYS, AND NO JOY"

## SOWETO "TOWNSHIP" UNITES IN CHRISTMAS BOYCOTT

(Soweto, South Africa) — The "Christmas spirit" was noticeably absent last week in this sprawling Black "township" of over one million people.

Heeding a call issued by the Soweto Students Representative Council, Sowetans boycotted the traditional holiday customs of shopping, exchanging cards and presents and parties. Instead, they mourned the deaths, injuries and imprisonment of thousands of Azanians (Black South Africans) that have occurred since Black political protests erupted here last June 16.

In the words of Margaret Bokali, wife of Willie Bokali, a prominent Azanian released from jail last week, June 16 will be our Christmas. Then we will cele-

brate like the Whites celebrate their Day of the Covenant." (The Day of the Covenant commemorates the White defeat of the Zulu tribes on December 16, 1838.)

"There will be no holiday cakes, no chickens, no toys and no joy," Mrs. Bokali added.

At the Regina Mundi Roman Catholic Church in the heart of Soweto, a commemorative midnight mass honored the children killed by King Herod in Jerusalem at the time of Jesus Christ's people are really showing what killed in last year's rebellion.

Soweto's Christmas boycott, which included abstention from drinking liquor and having a large holiday meal, was overwhelmingly successful. The *Associated Press* reported that "not one sign

of Christmas was visible" in the world's largest all-Black city, which lies eight miles outside Johannesburg.

For White shopowners in the city, the boycott brought business nearly to a standstill, causing a 50 per cent drop in sales. One storekeeper said 1976 was "the blackest Christmas season in more than 20 years." Another White storeowner said, "Soweto people are really showing what they can do. One can't ignore the buying power of a million people and it's really hitting us hard."

Since the initial Soweto uprising on June 16 — which sparked Black political protests throughout South Africa for the next six months — nearly 2,000 Azanians have been killed, most by police bullets, at least 3,000 injured and over 1,000 detained in jails without charges. Because of the South African government's refusal to divulge figures, the exact number of deaths, injuries and jailings is not known.

### STUDENTS ORGANIZE

Organized by students, many of them 15, 16 and 17 years old, the June 16 protest focused on the compulsory use of the Dutch Afrikaans language in schools. However, the rebellion quickly escalated into a full scale protest against South Africa's system of strict racial separation known as apartheid and the denial of political power to the country's 18 million Black people who are ruled by five million Whites.

Despite the present relative peace in Soweto (a 120-man police riot squad is stationed in the "township") the youth remain determined in their struggle against racism and repression. Wesley, a 19-year-old high

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

## THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

## UNPRECEDENTED, UNANIMOUS VOTE

## U.N. ENDORSES ARMED STRUGGLE IN NAMIBIA

(United Nations, N.Y.) — In the first such action in United Nations history, the General Assembly last week approved a resolution endorsing the armed liberation struggle in Namibia (South West Africa).

In other U.N. actions on southern Africa last week, the world body condemned South Africa for trying to force Lesotho into recognizing the Transkei as an "independent" country; called for an arms embargo against South Africa because of its continued illegal presence in Namibia; and expanded existing economic sanctions against Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). The U.S. was also condemned for continuing to import Rhodesian products in violation of U.N. economic sanctions.

The General Assembly resolution on armed struggle in Namibia was passed by a vote of 107-6, with the U.S., Belgium, Britain, France, West Germany and Luxembourg opposing the African-backed resolution. There were 12 abstentions.

As reported in the *New York Times*, the resolution appealed to all governments to give "all necessary support and assistance" in the armed liberation struggle being waged by the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia. The Security Council has recognized SWAPO as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people for several years. In giving its support to the armed liberation struggle in Namibia, the General Assembly reaffirmed the inalienable right of

## C.I.A., South Africa Conspire To Subvert Namibian Independence

Following, we present Part 3 of a revealing expose on a conspiracy by the U.S. and South Africa — implemented by the CIA and BOSS, the South African secret police — to sabotage the Namibian (South West African) armed liberation struggle and thereby maintain Western control of the illegally ruled South African colony.

The previous two articles, based on a confidential United Nations memorandum obtained by CounterSpy magazine, detailed plans to create a secret army of Black Americans who would fight the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) — the vanguard Black revolutionary organization lead-

In an unprecedented move, the U.N. General Assembly has unanimously endorsed Namibia's (shaded area on map) right to armed struggle against South Africa.

the Namibian people to self-determination, freedom and national independence and the legitimacy of their struggle by all means at their disposal against South Africa.

The General Assembly resolution also condemned South Africa for its continued "illegal occupation" of Namibia, a former German colony. Specifically, the text of the resolution denounces South Africa for maintaining a large military force in the territory, repressing the rights of the 900,000 Black people who live there and attempting to maintain control of the colony by dividing it along tribal lines.

The General Assembly asked the Security Council to renew its efforts to impose an arms embargo on the White apartheid regime in South Africa for refusing to grant independence to Namibia.

## COUNCIL ACTED

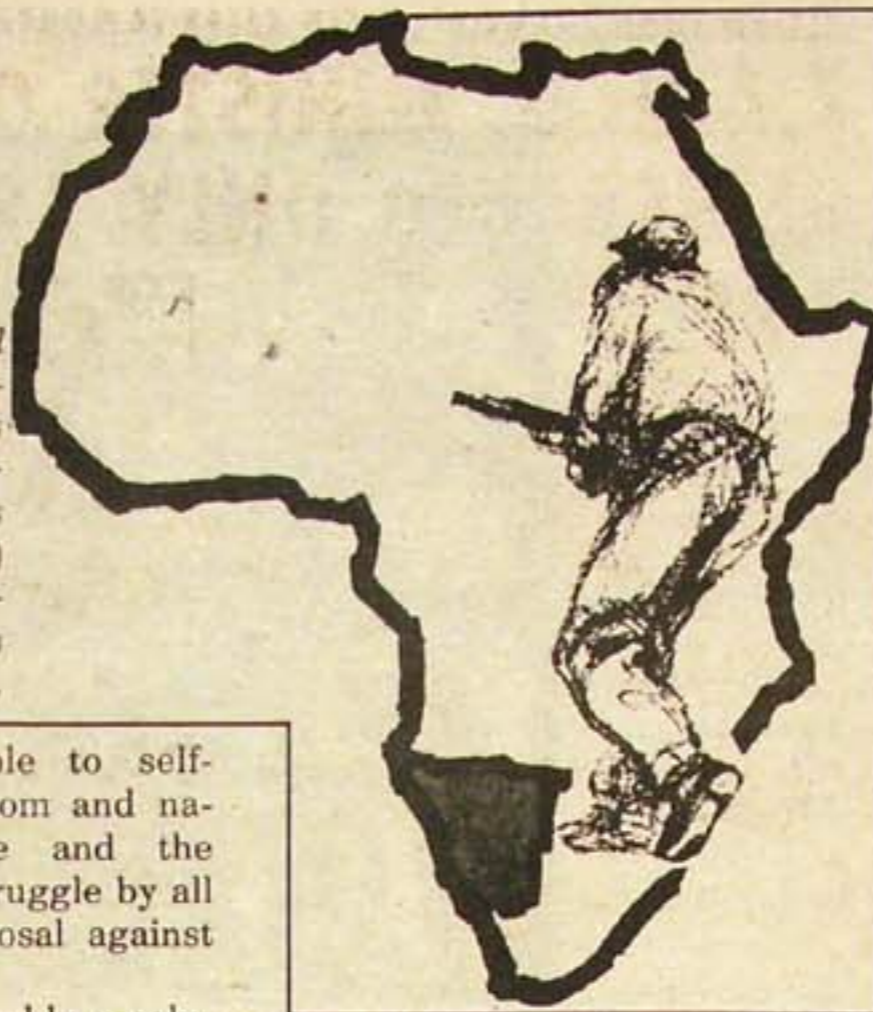
The Security Council acted without a formal vote in its condemnation of South Africa for its policies toward Lesotho. The country's foreign minister, Charles Dube Molapo, told the Security Council that South Africa had closed three vital border posts to Lesotho — which is entirely surrounded by South African territory — and insisted

ing the Namibian armed liberation struggle — and revealed the use of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) as a front for American counter-insurgency forces in the South African colony.

This week, we will examine CIA-BOSS efforts to discredit SWAPO by placing a reactionary Black puppet in control of "independent" Namibia.

## PART 3

The U.N. document explains that there is evidence that the CIA and BOSS are behind the campaign to make Namibian Chief Kapuuo "a credible political leader" in the eyes of international public opinion. The New York law firm of Schwartz,



that all future arrangements for the moving of Lesotho's goods and people must be made with the new government of Transkei.

On October 26, South Africa declared the "independence" of the Transkei, one of nine Black "homelands" created by the South African government. The General Assembly has called on countries throughout the world not to recognize the Transkei, a country created to extend South Africa's apartheid policies.

Foreign Minister Molapo appealed to the U.N. for outside assistance so that Lesotho would not have to continue to exist as an economic "hostage." The Security Council overwhelmingly supported Lesotho's charges.

By a vote of 124-0, the General Assembly voted to expand and enforce the existing economic sanctions against Rhodesia and specifically condemned the U.S. for continuing to import nickel and chrome from Rhodesia. The U.S. abstained from voting on this resolution.

## Subvert

Burns, Lesser and Jacoby and a New York marketing consulting agency, Psychographic Communication, have been instrumental in molding favorable world opinion of the chief.

## ADVISING CHIEF

Schwartz and Burns have been advising the chief of the Herero tribe for over a year. S. Schwartz traveled with Chief Kapuuo to Windhoek, Namibia, for the so-called "constitutional proposal" that the chief presented to the conference on March 9 of last year.

The New York law firm has refused to divulge its financier. The chief is believed to be paying the firm \$1,000 per day — a sum

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

## AFRICA IN FOCUS



## Zimbabwe

The Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) made tremendous successes during 1976 in the armed liberation struggle against the White Rhodesian government. According to a ZIPA communique reported by Hsinhua news agency during the first nine months of last year, ZIPA liberation forces killed 1,256 enemy soldiers and wounded several hundred. A total of 145 enemy war vehicles, three freight trains, 45 aircraft and six bridges were blown up by ZIPA forces. The communique also said that half of Zimbabwean territory, including the capital city of Salisbury, are now immediate targets of ZIPA military activity.

## Botswana

The government of Botswana announced last week that it will ask the United Nations for a peacekeeping force to end acts of military aggression by Rhodesian troops along Botswana's eastern border. In November, Rhodesian forces began attacking ZIPA freedom fighters operating in southwestern Zimbabwe along Botswana's border. The Botswanian government, which has no army of its own, has refused a Rhodesian proposal for talks between the two countries.

## Tanzania

Over 20,000 "gaily attired" Tanzanians celebrated the fifteenth anniversary of their independence from Great Britain on December 9 at a massive, colorful military parade in the National Stadium of Dar es Salaam, Hsinhua reported. Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, Second Vice President and Prime Minister Rashidi Kawana, and other government officials, as well as the diplomatic envoys of other countries, were on hand to review the parade.

## Sahel

The 6th Ministerial Conference of the Drought-Combat Committee of the Sahel States met recently in Ndjamena, Chad. The conference — attended by delegates from Cape Verde, The Gambia, Upper Volta, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Chad — discussed the agricultural situation of the member states during fiscal year 1976-77 and decided to establish an agricultural meteorological center.

## GRAND JURY PROBE

## C.I.A., I.T.T. Lied Before Senate Foreign Relations Inquiry On Chile

(New York, N.Y.) — A federal grand jury has heard evidence that high-ranking officials of the CIA and the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation (ITT) conspired to present false statements to a 1973 Senate inquiry into ITT's role in Chilean politics, the *New York Times* reported last week.

In a related development, the *Times* reported that the Anaconda Company and other U.S. multinational corporations active in Latin America secretly offered to funnel at least \$500,000 through the State Department to support the reactionary opponent of Marxist President Salvador Allende Gossens in Chile's 1970 elections.

Justice Department sources close to the grand jury investigation told the *Times* that former CIA Director Richard Helms, ITT President Harold S. Geneen and John McOne, a member of ITT's Board of Directors as well as a former CIA director, are the main targets of the grand jury's probe. The grand jury is meeting in Washington, D.C. and is not expected to complete its inquiry before President-elect Jimmy Carter takes office later this month.

Officials said that the renewed Justice Department investigation into CIA-ITT illegal activities in Chile has obtained concrete statements and charges about meetings at which CIA and ITT officials discussed and agreed upon testimony to be presented to the Multinational Corporations Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1973.

Last March and April, the subcommittee, chaired by Idaho Senator Frank Church, held public hearings at which both CIA and ITT officials repeatedly testified that there had been no conspiracy or exchanges of intelligence information between the two organizations about Chile. Church told reporters that "it was evident that someone had lied" during the 1973 hearings. He explained that transcripts of the testimony were at the time turned over to the Justice Department "because there was a prima facie

### JOSIAH TONGOGARA RELEASED AFTER 18 MONTHS IN ZAMBIAN CONCENTRATION CAMP

## Z.A.N. U. MINISTER OF DEFENSE: "UNITY CAN BE REACHED ONLY AROUND THE PEOPLE'S ARMY"

Following, *THE BLACK PANTHER* presents Part 1 of an interview with Josiah Tongogara, minister of defense for the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and nominal leader of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA).

Well-respected among his Zimbabwean comrades, Tongogara is a highly influential ZANU leader recently released from 18 months of false incarceration in a Zambian concentration camp.

A participant in the founding of ZANU in 1963, the following year Tongogara was among the ZANU volunteers who went to China to study guerrilla warfare. In 1973, Tongogara became chief of operations of the "Eastern Front" and shortly afterwards he became a member of Dare Chimurenga, the highest body of ZANU. Toward the end of 1974, "Tongogara" helped found ZIPA.

Tongogara is also an old friend of FRELIMO and was among the few combatants to whom the leaders of the Mozambican Revolution, granted, after 1972, "the right of free passage" in pursuit of Rhodesian military enemies.

The following interview, concerning the Geneva conference and related Zimbabwe liberation efforts, was recently granted by Tongogara to the Mozambican magazine *Tempo* and is distributed by People's Translation Service.

QUESTION: The "Patriotic Front" is authorized to speak in



Zimbabwe freedom fighter takes aim against racist Ian Smith regime of Rhodesia.

the name of ZIPA. Therefore, we want to hear the voice of the combatants, and their opinions on the negotiations. Are they optimistic or pessimistic?

TONGOGARA: There exists a very strong bond between those of us here in Geneva and our comrades fighting in the fields. No one should forget that it is because of them that we are able to be here. We are not deceived as far as the "good will" of Smith's regime is concerned. From the nationalists' point of view either we will negotiate to reach the objectives that encourage the popular army of Zimbabwe, or this conference will have no effect.

Q: After his return to Salisbury and the aggression against Mozambique, Ian Smith seemed to

have found his arrogance once again. However, here in Geneva the impression remains that he appeared disenchanted, one could say resigned.

TONGOGARA: He can't change his ideas, but certainly he has lost a good part of his confidence. Why? Because he is beginning to hear the gunfire. But he is clever. He appears "understanding"; he hides himself behind Kissinger and speaks of concessions. For us only one thing remains for him to do — the only thing he must do — announce the capitulation of his regime. If he is not yet willing to do this, he will be shortly.

Q: The intensification of the war is said to coincide with the conference. Is this true?

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

### Reactionaries Charged With Murder Of Black Plantation Workers

(Maputo, People's Republic of Mozambique) — The Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) last week charged that the Selous Scouts, a special detachment of Black troops in the Rhodesian Army created to discredit the armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, were responsible for the December 19 massacre of 27 Black tea plantation workers near Melsetter, Zimbabwe. At least seven people were injured in the incident which took place in the southeastern part of the country about 10 miles from the Mozambican border.

A survivor of the raid told reporters that "guerrillas" came to the plantation and demanded that the workers quit their jobs. When the men refused, they, their wives and children were forced to go to a nearby plantation, from their families and told to lie down on the ground. The workers. (Photo shows the workers' families standing over the bodies of the murdered men.)



wives and children were forced to go to a nearby plantation, from their families and told to lie down on the ground. The workers. (Photo shows the workers' families standing over the bodies of the murdered men.)

# Police Terror In Mobile, Ala.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

arrested as part of a police terror campaign directed against the Black community:

- Placement of the police department under the direct control of a citizens' board representing all of the people of Mobile;

- The requirement that policemen live in the areas they are assigned to patrol; and

- The hiring and promotion of more Blacks within the Mobile Police Department.

Harry Austin, one of the march's organizers and president of the Mobile County Concerned Workers, told the marchers, "The real criminals... are in City Hall." Austin brought out the fact that the Mobile establishment is working to undermine a recent federal court decision which declared Mobile's form of city government un-Constitutional. Although the city is 34 per cent Black, there are no Blacks in public office. At the present time White racists are mobilizing to impeach the federal judge who handed down the decision.

Austin cautioned, "... Even if we get some Blacks elected, we've been sold out by some of them too, so we have to keep building the movement like we're doing today. It's the people who will make the changes."

Meanwhile, in Birmingham, Alabama, Black activist Mafundi (Richard Lake) was recently ar-



The rope and tree used by Mobile, Alabama, police officers in their attempt to lynch People's Community Hall activist Casmara (Glenn Diamond).



rested after being set up by a Black woman police agent. The woman, Burella Jones, told police that Mafundi, director of Birmingham's Committee for Prisoner Support, smoked marijuana with her and that the Black activist had

a large quantity in his home.

Anyone wishing to assist in Mafundi's defense may contact: The Committee for Prisoner Support, 505 17th Street, North, Room 304, Birmingham, Alabama 35203.

## Support J.P. Stevens Boycott

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

mayor Jackson stated that he would urge his city council to publicly join the boycott of Stevens products.

The current boycott is regarded to have greater chances of success to organize Stevens than previous efforts for the following reasons:

- For the first time, all of organized labor, including the

AFL-CIO, has given its total support to the textile workers;

- The organizing effort is being conducted by a more powerful union created by merger of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Textile Workers Union of America; and

- Black employees, who are the bulk of the textile labor force, are militantly leading their White co-workers in union activity. □

WORLD SCOPE



### O.P.E.C.

The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) signed an agreement last week to provide interest-free 25-year loans, totaling \$42.7 million, to the Central African Republic, Guinea, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, the Sudan and Western Samoa.

### United Nations

Third World governments last week announced their strategy for pressuring the Carter administration for immediate consideration of long-sought changes in the world economic order. A communique, issued after a meeting of the developing countries' chief delegates to the United Nations, called for an early resumption of the 31st General Assembly next year to assess the impact of the Carter administration on economic negotiations involving programs to reschedule the vast and rapidly mounting indebtedness of developing countries, now close to \$170 billion. The communique also called for new mechanisms for stabilizing the purchasing power of exporters of raw materials against the effects of inflation.

### Vietnam

Vietnam's governing Workers' Party last week renamed itself the Communist Party and chose an expanded politburo and central committee. These actions came shortly before the party adjourned its first congress held since 1960. The party chairmanship was left vacant in tribute to the late Ho Chi Minh, who held the position until his death in 1969. Le Duan, 68, renamed party leader, is officially the secretary general.

### Lebanon

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), led by Dr. George Habash, issued a statement last week vowing to find and strike down the assassins of their fallen comrade, Khaldiya, and her husband, Abdel Wahab Sayed, a radical Palestinian guerilla leader. Leila Khaled found the bullet-riddled bodies of her sister and comrade-in-arms and her brother-in-law after they were murdered by unidentified gunmen in her Beirut apartment, according to neighbors. Sayed's assassination is the most serious since the Israeli raid into Beirut in April, 1973, in which three guerilla leaders were killed in their homes.

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# "ROOTS": "...FOR ALL OF US TO KNOW WHO WE ARE"

His ancestors will forever revere him as "the African." Black Americans fortunate enough to read the story of Kunta Kinte will share with author Alex Haley the exhilarating experience of discovering his African past, a proud past, like all of ours, that European civilization, in all its arrogance, has sought to keep us ignorant of. Finally, White people who read the 586 pages of *Roots* will be reminded that despite the horrors and brutalities their ancestors have inflicted upon the descendants of Africans brought in chains to this country as slaves, beginning over 350 years ago, we have survived. We have survived because of Kunta Kinte and the thousands like him who refused to forget their roots.

Haley, the great-great-great-great grandson of "the African," spent 12 years and traveled millions of miles to research *Roots*. As a child in his hometown of Henning, Tennessee, Haley was fascinated by the stories he heard of his ancestor from his maternal grandmother and her relatives. On September 29, 1967, Haley stood on a pier at Annapolis, Maryland, where, exactly 200 years before, the British ship *Lord Ligionier* arrived from The Gambia with 3,700 pounds of beeswax, 800 pounds of raw cotton, 32 ounces of Gambian gold and 98 "Negroes," among them 17-year-old Kunta Kinte.

Haley tells us, "The griots (old storytellers) symbolize how all human history goes back to some place, and some time, where there was no writing. Then, the memories and the mouths of ancient elders was the only way that early histories of mankind got passed along for all of us today to know who we are."

Black Americans, in part, have



survived these centuries of oppression by developing a rich tradition of oral history, a history of our lives that has made us "know who we are."

As a result of his painstaking research and his family's "carefully preserved oral history," Haley has produced *Roots*, a book that will surely become a classic not only in Black American history but as an important work on slavery in the U.S. The documents Haley uncovered on Gambian culture and life among slaves in the Southern U.S. have, the author says, resulted in "a novelized amalgam of what I *know* took place together with what my researching led me to plausibly *feel* took place."

Kunta Kinte was born in the Mandinkan (Mandikas are Moslems) village of Juffure, in Western Africa's The Gambia in 1750. His parents were Omoro and Binta Kinte, and he had three

Portrait of African tribe in the age of slavery (above) at right, *Roots* author ALEX HALEY (center of photo) with his African relatives in Gambia.



younger brothers, Lamin, Suwadu, and Madi. One day in the summer of 1767, British slave traders kidnapped the young Kunta while he was in the forest chopping wood. He never saw his beloved family or set foot on African soil again.

By spending 10 days and nights in the cargo hold of an African freighter bound for the U.S., Haley was able to experience a small part of what Kunta Kinte felt during the frightening two-month voyage across the Atlantic Ocean to Annapolis, Maryland. The horror of the "Long Passage" is a part of the history of Black Americans that is still too painful for us to think of. It hurts too much to remember that 50 million human beings died of disease, were murdered or committed suicide during the nightmarish journey to North America.

Haley does a remarkable job in reconstructing the terror surely felt by 17-year-old Kunta, torn away from his loved ones and his home, and packed like an animal into the dark depths of a ship with 141 other Gambians—most of whom did not share his language

— where, still ignorant of his future life as a slave, he lay in chains in his own human waste for approximately 60 days.

Time after time, Kunta prayed to Allah to let him die, to end his degradation and suffering. But he lived and he decided that Allah must have a purpose for him in "heathen" America.

(See next week's issue for the conclusion of the review of *Roots*.) **TO BE CONTINUED**



## C.I.A., I.T.T. Lied Before Senate Inquiry On Chile

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

(at first appearance) case of perjury.

"It was only a question of determining who was telling the truth and who was not," Senator Church added.

Late last year, the Senate Intelligence Committee, also chaired by Senator Church, revealed that ITT, upon direct advice from the CIA on procedure, forwarded \$350,000 in cash to a leading reactionary candidate in Chile's 1970 presidential elections.

### SECRET CAMPAIGN

At the time of the 1973 hearings, it was not publicly known that the CIA had conducted a secret campaign against the Allende government, spending over eight million dollars to destroy the Allende government. The CIA is widely believed to have played a major role in the September, 1973, assassination of Allende, whose government was bitterly opposed by the U.S. government and American corporations.

Revelations of Anaconda's secret offer to finance Allende's opponent came from State Department documents provided to the *New York Times* by Edward M. Kerry, former U.S.

Principal figures in Senate investigation into Chile are ITT President HAROLD S. GENEEN, and former CIA directors JOHN McCONE (top left) and RICHARD HELMS (bottom).



ambassador to Chile. The documents show that C. Jay Parkinson, former chairman of Anaconda's Board and current president of Council of the Americas, met on April 10, 1970, with high level State Department officials to urge that the then Nixon administration actively intervene to prevent the election of Allende.

The Council of the Americas, formerly the Council for Latin America, is composed of several U.S. corporations who control 85

per cent of U.S. private investments in Latin America.

The State Department documents also raise additional questions about ITT's involvement in Chile. A key area of dispute during the 1973 Senate subcommittee hearings centered around ITT's offer to provide one million dollars to the Nixon administration to be used in the 1970 Chilean presidential campaign of Jorge Alessandri Rodriguez, Allende's opponent.

## Mob Boss Quizzed On Castro Assassination Plots

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

roadside several miles from the slain mobster's home, was traced to a Miami gunshop, but the trail stopped there.

Trafficante was a major gambling figure in Havana, where he ran a casino, before the revolutionary forces seized power. In a CIA memo quoted in an interim report of the Senate committee, it was said that Trafficante's role was to "serve as a courier to Cuba and make arrangements there."

### ROSELLI

Roselli reportedly told his CIA liaison that "Trafficante believed a certain leading figure in the Cuban exile movement might be able to accomplish the (Castro) assassination."

An internal CIA investigation in 1967 "suggests that this Cuban may have been receiving funds from Trafficante and other racketeers interested in securing 'gambling, prostitution and dope monopolies' in Cuba after the overthrow of Castro."

Trafficante was present at the so-called "underworld summit" conference in Appalachia, New York, in 1957, and was a prime

Cuban leader  
**FIDEL CASTRO**  
addressing crowd.



suspect in the killing of New York Mafia boss Albert Anastasia, who

was gunned down in a New York barber shop.

## Soweto Unites In Christmas Boycott

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

school student who would have graduated this year had not he and hundreds of other Soweto students boycotted their final exams, told the *Los Angeles Times* that he was "not really an activist" but that he refused to complete an education designed to keep him inferior.

Students who didn't take their tests in November will be given a chance to take them in March. "I know my parents will be hurt if I don't take my tests," Wesley explained. "They have sacrificed to pay for my schooling...But I think I must stay away. Unless we protest, Blacks will always be kept inferior."

Government officials are urg-

ing Soweto schoolchildren to return to school after the new year. However, many of the schools in the "township" are burned-out shells, particularly those owned by the government. One Black youth said of last summer's uprising, "We attacked whatever was a symbol of government domination of Blacks."

Meanwhile, last week, Percy Qoboza, the Black editor of *The World*, South Africa's leading Azanian daily newspaper, was arrested during a predawn raid on his Soweto home. Protests from Sowetans and Johannesburg's "liberal" White press resulted in his release eight hours later. □

## INSIDE LATIN AMERICA



### Argentina

With all political activity strictly prohibited since the military coup against President Isabel Peron nine months ago, highly politicized Argentine workers have taken to demonstrating at sporting events. The most recent incident occurred when Argentina's top soccer team played the champion USSR team. The junta dispatched 5,000 police—including military units equipped with heavy weapons, water tanks and dogs—to surround the stadium and check every spectator for arms. Yet despite the massive police presence, political chants frequently interrupted the game.

### Chile

Fifty Bolivian mine workers exiled to Chile last June are seeking permission to return to Bolivia or seek asylum in another country. They contend that conditions imposed on them by the Chilean junta are no better than "prisons of our own country." According to Amnesty International, which has taken up their cause, the exiles have not been allowed to visit Santiago, where they could contact foreign embassies to arrange asylum elsewhere.

### Guyana

Guyana should rely on its own efforts in building the country, stressed Prime Minister Forbes Burnham last week in a speech at a rally in Georgetown in celebration of the 12th anniversary of the rule of the people's national congress. In his speech Burnham declared, "The development of Guyana is the duty of the people of Guyana...."

### Mexico

In a recent article, the Mexican paper, *El Excelsior*, severely denounced the transnationals for their infiltration and exploitation of Third World countries. Citing the activities of the International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) corporation, the United Fruit and Gulf Oil companies, the article said that all these "represent the customary and normal forms of activities of the transnationals in their uncontrollable desire and insatiable appetite to obtain the maximum of profits at the expense, primarily, of the peoples of the world, among whom are the peoples of the Third World."

# MARTIAL ARTS



## Mobility

Essentially, the martial/combatative arts and all athletic events are centered around movement, and the requirement for rapid, efficient movement is footwork. A person can only develop an instinctive sense of distance if he or she is able to move about smoothly and speedily.

The quality of each individual's technique depends on footwork, for one cannot use his hands or kicks efficiently until his feet have put him/her in the desired position. If a person is slow on his feet, he will be slow with attacks, counters and evasiveness.

Mobility and speed of footwork precede speed and application of kicks, punches and general application of bodily force and skills. Mobility is an important and fundamental quality because combative skills are a matter of motion, an operation of finding a target and at the same time avoiding being a target. In the combative arts, where application of bodily forces are called for, the main point is to develop a sense of balance and an economy of movement while in motion.

During sparring, a partner is constantly on the move (mentally and physically) to make the opponent misjudge distances, while being quite certain of his own. In fact, the length of the step, skip or stride forward or backward is regulated to that of the opponent.

An analytical combatant, the true technician of combat movement, maintains such a position as to enable him/her, while keeping out of range, to be near enough or able to move near enough to immediately take advantage of an opening; this distance is the fighting measure. At a normal distance (about a step and a half between combatants), the combatant is able to prevent an opponent from attacking by having a fine sense of distance and timing. As a result, the opponent is then forced to keep shortening the distance, to come nearer and nearer, until he has imperceptibly intruded on ground that he cannot defend.

Mobility is vitally necessary in defense/evasion as well, since a moving target is definitely harder to hit and kick. Footwork can and will beat any kick or punch.

# SPORTS

## YOUNG BROOKLYN BASKETBALL STAR SEEMS DESTINED TO BEAT THE ODDS

(Brooklyn, N.Y.) - Albert King, a very mature 17-year-old basketball whiz in the heart of the Brooklyn ghetto, seems destined to beat the overwhelming odds that have crushed other "playground legends" to become one of the premier superstars of all time.

Averaging 30 points and 20 rebounds a game at Brooklyn's Fort Hamilton High, the 6-foot-6 King passed up an enticing offer to play at an exclusive, private Pennsylvania high school to remain in his cruel, testing environment.

King explained to *Sepia* magazine, "...Brooklyn, no matter how ugly it is, is still my home, where my friends are and where the best basketball players are." King, with a B-average in school, is constantly protecting himself from being used by college or professional recruiters and he says, "a lot of bad dudes on the street who'd like to use me for themselves."

"I've been listening to just about every school (that's trying to recruit him) and there's nothing new they can tell me at this point. . . They're always pushing. . . It makes me feel like a piece of merchandise."

"They want me, not to see that I get through school," he explains, "but to get them more publicity and money. I might be interested in their library and their campus but they ain't."

*Young Brooklyn basketball whiz ALBERT KING displays his powerful dunk shot in recent high school tournament. Already he is hounded by college and professional recruiters.*



With his insight and understanding, King is able to use his extraordinary talents to his fullest advantage. College and pro scouts are certain that he will grow over 7 feet and become the best big player to enter the pros since Kareem Abdul Jabbar. Already with his 6 foot-six frame, he is known for his vast array of shots, excellent ball-handling and ferocious shot-blocking.

### RODNEY PARKER

Rodney Parker, a 38-year-old ticket agent who acts as a keeper and business agent for Brooklyn's best schoolyard players, says, "Sociologists and 'urban experts'

like to say ghetto kids are fatally depressed but depressed kids are eager underneath. . . This area (the Fort Greene section of Brooklyn) is murder. It can swallow a kid up and spit him out."

"...With Albert, it's different," he says. "Upstairs, he's probably the most mature kid I've ever seen," Parker exclaims.

Continuing his high praise of King, Parker says, "He can think things out for himself. I can only try and help him along. And you can mark my words, with the attitude this kid has, he can be the best basketball player that ever lived." □



## Raiders On Their Way To Super Bowl

(Oakland, Calif.) - The powerful Oakland Raiders stormed over the two-time world-champion Pittsburgh Steelers last Sunday, 24-7, to gain a berth in the pro football classic, the Super Bowl.

Oakland Raiders (left to right, top photo) TED HENDRICKS, GENE UPSHAW, MONTE JOHNSON and DAVE ROWE congratulate each other near the end of a hard fought battle while (right) Raider defensive back GEORGE ATKINSON (43) lauds his sticky defense over Pittsburgh star LYNN SWANN (88).



## "People's Power" In Oakland

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

reality is that the masses of poor people in this city can no longer tolerate business being done, government being run, without our sanction, without our okay and without our input.

This is the first step toward us being responsible for our own lives and own livelihood—being responsible, of course, means being able to determine what will happen in our own lives. When our lives are determined by such organizations as the Oakland Council for Economic Development (which will decide how Oakland will look for the next 10 years, for example, whether or not there'll be a department store here or whether we'll be allowed to participate in that). When we get a group of people who say that this is their aim and their goal—to build up the economy of Oakland, and that means building up the production and building up how that economy gets distributed—and you say that the poor cannot be a part of that, then you're saying that this is an elite club, that it's only for certain people, that the economy of Oakland must only be for certain people.

Q: Do you have any plans to push OCED more in the people's interest?

ELAINE: Absolutely not. I see this as a working relationship, one that has come about as the result of negotiation. This is not a friendship or a love affair; this is not an organization through which I expect that we will win any long-range goals. Those long-range goals and the organization that I think will deliver them or that will be a vehicle through which the people can rise is the Black Panther Party. That's what I'm a member of in terms of any long-range working relationships.

### MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL

In terms of the Oakland Council for Economic Development, I see this as mutually beneficial. They get their business, we get our jobs. Unfortunately, at this moment, we can't create the same situation without them and (fortunately or unfortunately, whichever side you happen to be on) they can't create the same kind of situation without us. At this point, we're locked into a sort of mutual agreement on a specific issue.

It isn't a coalition, it isn't a friendship, it isn't a long-range affair. It is simply a business arrangement where I'm representing the working poor and they represent business. I don't see a long-range friendship developing out of this except where

it would be viable for us, to serve our interest, to participate. When it no longer serves our interest to participate, then there's no reason to participate anymore.

Q: There seems to be a good deal of community pressure and participation building up around this issue.

ELAINE: Obviously. Through the energies of organizations like my own, the Black Panther Party, and through other organizational efforts like the Oakland Black Caucus, the Black Veterans Association, and various neighborhood clubs, people are coming together to realize, probably for the first time, that unless we stand together on one issue, we won't make it at all.

### HARSH REALITY

On the other hand, there is the harsh reality we have to face, and that is that while the businessmen cannot deliver the freeway, neither can we. So we must rely, fortunately or unfortunately, depending on how you see it, upon the offices of the state to deliver this strategic kind of effort so that we can get the benefits from it. We cannot build the freeway ourselves. So we have to recognize that harsh reality and deal with it.

## 21 Past, Present U.S. Officials Named In B.P.P. Lawsuit

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

*charges about propagandizing the participating children (which simply meant teaching them ideas defendants disliked), defendants and their agents decided to destroy the program.*

The FBI subsequently capitalized on a "comic book" drawn by an alleged BPP member in Sacramento, California, that depicted police as "caricature 'pigs' for purposes of political propaganda," the lawsuit notes. However, the leadership of the Party in Oakland, California, rejected the publication, the lawsuit states, "because it was thought to be nonreflective of Party philosophy, too crude and in bad taste."

The lawsuit continues to explain, "An operative or informant, however, stole one of the few drafts of this proposed publication and delivered it to FBI defendants and their agents who added captions that advocated violence, printed thousands of copies bearing plaintiff Party's name, and circulated them throughout the country, particularly to merchants and businesses contributing to the Breakfast Program."

"Those who received these so-called comics and the media were falsely told and led to



ELAINE BROWN (second row, far right) stated in recent interview, "People are coming together to realize... that unless we stand together on one issue, we won't make it at all."

I think that what one does, if one is a true fighter for people's causes, is to always analyze the real situation and deal with that situation. Where you cannot win by force in a particular situation, then you can always withdraw, you can do whatever—and you can always use the machinery, expropriate from the machinery to serve the people's interest.

This time we have had to use both the state machinery and the business machinery, but we have been able to use it. In the past, there's never been a time when we've been anything but used by

the machinery.

Richard Pryor tells a joke. He says that, "Black folks ought to stop making pictures about pimps, because White people know what pimping is all about—we're the biggest whores they have."

That's just about an accurate reflection of our situation. We've been pimped for a long time, and all we're saying is that we have learned how to manipulate the situation to serve our interest until such time that we're no longer the whores and they're no longer the pimps.

*believe by defendants and their agents that the booklets were given out to children participating in the breakfast program. These misrepresentations and deceptive acts were done by defendants and their agents in order to damage the Party and the breakfast program,"* the lawsuit explains.

Churches who assisted the Party with the Free Breakfast Program were harrassed by federal agencies and led to discontinue their support of the program. For example, in 1969, the San Diego office of the FBI made phone calls and wrote anonymous letters to the auxiliary bishop of the San Diego Diocese of the Roman Catholic Church claiming to be members of a Catholic church upset because their priest allowed the San Diego Branch of the BPP to use church facilities for the Breakfast Program. The priest, Father Frank Curran, was subsequently removed from his post.

"FBI officials," the lawsuit notes, "and their agents reported in their internal memoranda that Father Curran had been 'neutralized' and that the Breakfast Program in San Diego had been destroyed."

The lawsuit then describes the Black Panther Party's Sickle Cell Anemia Program, "another con-

structive program that the... Party has undertaken to the displeasure of federal agencies.

"To destroy this program, which is centered in Oakland, California, defendants have urged local police in Oakland and surrounding communities to arrest for unlawful solicitation plaintiff Party members who seek street donations to the Sickle Cell program. The pressure from defendants and local police to make these arrests has been so great, and the police attitude toward plaintiffs, created largely by defendants and their agents so hostile, that even after the San Francisco solicitation ordinance under which plaintiffs had been arrested was declared unconstitutional by a California court, San Francisco police continued to arrest plaintiff Party members."

"In addition, defendants and their agents, on information and belief, contacted local media people and persuaded them to publish articles and broadcasts falsely attacking the legitimacy of plaintiff Party's Sickle Cell Anemia program so as to reduce contributions to the program."

(In next week's issue, "Suppressing Free Expression and Misrepresenting the Party" will be discussed.)

TO BE CONTINUED

## Black Caucus Warns Carter

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

deeply involved in the civil rights movement.

Clarence Mitchell, the NAACP's Washington lobbyist who is known to be ordinarily cautious in his public statements, said he had "many misgivings of Carter's choice of Bell, whom Mitchell described as a very unfortunate negative development."

David Cohn, president of the public affairs lobby group Common Cause, said, "The Bell nomination does not appear to be the product of an effort to find the most capable person to fill this highly sensitive position."

Former Black Caucus president Charles Rangel of Manhattan bluntly called the Bell nomination "a political payoff," and many others said the appointment reeked of "cronyism."

Meanwhile, President-elect Carter told reporters that, "The criticism of Judge Bell has been an enjoyable experience. Charles Kirbo (a top aide and the man who introduced Carter to Bell years ago) and I have had a lot of fun."

He added that he had "no intention" of discussing the nomination with members of the Congressional Black Caucus. □

## Black Mayor In Chicago

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

trative authority over day-to-day city business.

Intent upon not having a Black mayor in Chicago, top figures in the Democratic Party machine worked out a racially based plan for control of the city.

Frost, who also serves as secretary of the central committee of the Democratic Party of Illinois, was given Bilandic's post as chairman of the City Council's Finance Committee. Vrdolyak, who, like Bilandic, is a Croatian-American, was made president pro tempore. Frost's former position. To satisfy the Polish members of the machine, the position of vice mayor will be created and given to a Polish-American.

It was reported, however, that some City Council members oppose such a move, maintaining that the office of vice mayor can only be established through a referendum.

A major stipulation of the deal was that Bilandic will not run for mayor during the special election. Meanwhile, the fight rages over who will become Daley's permanent successor. □

## Letters to the Editor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2  
SAN BRUNO INMATES (CONT'D)

Officer Deely then proceeded to try to incite a riot by going in the Officers' mess and bringing other officers out to the stairway, as if to show the inmates that he could call all of us "punks" or anything else he liked. Not only did this act go as far as treating people as dogs, but this Officer Deely was trying to provoke a riot.

Inmate Carr was then told to come out by himself and to get on the elevator. When some of the inmates asked where the officers were taking Carr, one of the officers said that they were going to take Inmate Carr to 6 South to let him cool off. Later we found out that Inmate Carr was put in the hole. It should have been Officer Deely who was taken somewhere to cool off. However, this Officer Deely is allowed to roam around the jail and call inmates names and harass them. If nothing is done about this there will be other incidents with this Officer Deely. If he does not want to be in contact with inmates he should be relieved of his duty.

|                    |                     |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| Tyrone Long        | Jean Rousseau       |
| Frank Fitzgerald   | Charlie Hayter      |
| Michael Suggs      | Jerry R. Spencer    |
| Ralph Emerson      | J. R. Sellers       |
| James E. Williams  | Albert Williams     |
| Jonny James        | M.T. Hawkins        |
| Howard Logan       | Louis Joseph Walker |
| Billy Hayes        | Isalah Mobley       |
| Derek A. Lambricht | Tuary Hubbard       |
| Earl Harris        | W.D. Cowery         |
| W. Crawford        | Charles Hinton      |
| William V. Hampton | C. McCullough       |
|                    | Ernie Aguila        |

### ORGANIZING THIRD WORLD RESOURCE CATALOG

Revolutionary Greetings, Comrades,

I'm writing to you for a number of reasons, most important being to show my solidarity and support with your cause for justice for our people.

As you can see by the letterheading, I'm in the penitentiary serving time. But I'm not serving this time as the capitalist would like to see us serve time. Rather I'm serving time in a way where time is serving me by always taking in all the knowledge and education there is to be found. Education is liberation and I want to step out in the world to join the mainstream of the struggle well prepared in every which way. I want to be so educated that I will be able to share my education with my oppressed brothers and sisters out there in the world once the beast decides to spit me out of this monster's belly they got me in.

In order for me to be able to help the people in their struggles, I am in the process of getting together a communications network for us. This is another important reason why I write.

Some comrades and I are in the process of working on a project we have named "Third World Resource Catalog." One of the comrades involved has written you in support of your action against the government, and she in turn suggested I write you concerning the project. So what it is we have in the cooker is a directory whereby Third World people will be able to have, at hand, a list of nationwide resources that are available to us in this struggle to survive.

Third World Resource Catalog will list what is available to us plus include added features which affect the Third World. It will include the alternatives we have in order to survive the ordeals of this capitalistic jungle.

In the same publication, we will bring together the cultures of Black, Hispanic, Indian (Native American), and Asiatic peoples, etc. And since more than 70 per cent of prisoners in Amerika are of Third World origins, a friendship exchange for those of us imprisoned will be established. In other words, we are doing more than just exchanging ideas via this Catalog. We are learning the living situations affecting us in our various communities—ghettos, barrios, reservations, slums and so forth. From this knowledge we hope to raise our consciousness level to change the conditions which exist, thus bettering our lives, communities, workshops, etc. You can see the enormity of this project which is why I'm writing in hopes people reading this will be enlightened to write down what it is that is available to us around the communities and send the info to us at: Third World Resource Catalog, %Tom Holzinger or Marcia Bell, P.O. Box 683, Lancaster, Pa. 17604

Manuscripts on living situations and survival tactics are appreciated so we can share this knowledge with all. The work is done on a collective basis, so there is no credit for us in this. The credit is being reserved for those who share their knowledge with the people!

All Power to you!!! All Power to the People!!!

Revolutionary love,  
Carlos Cianfuegas Soto  
Drawer R, State Correctional Institution  
Huntingdon, Pa. 16652

## Supreme Court On Women's Rights

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

In the worst possible sense, employers can now treat pregnant women as badly as they like — can fire them, refuse to hire them, or force long leaves of absence."

The suit against G.E. charged that failure to include pregnancy in the company's disability coverage programs constituted discrimination on the basis of sex. But, in ruling against the G.E. workers, the Supreme Court found in essence that pregnancy is a unique and "voluntary" condition, and that refusal to cover it is not evidence of discrimination on the basis of sex per se.

"This is a national issue," said Ruth Weyand, associate general counsel of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE), who argued the suit on behalf of the women workers before the Supreme Court. "We have been involved in suits against over 80 companies. And a total of 25 U.S. district judges have ruled in our favor...But the Supreme Court saw fit to rule in the behalf of G.E."

### SITTING DOWN

"Women in the electrical industry mostly work sitting down at benches assembling electrical components," she explained "They are quite incensed that G.E. sends them home without any disability benefits the instant their pregnancy shows."

"We have been trying for 25 years to get G.E. and Westinghouse to provide pregnancy benefits," Weyand added. "They will pay disability benefits for hair transplants, for alcohol cures, and for sports injuries, but not for child bearing."

The Supreme Court decision in no way bars a union from including pregnancy benefits under a health and welfare plan. Nor does it prevent states from adopting laws of their own, or Congress from amending the Civil Rights Act to make such payments mandatory and specific.

"States are not bound by the Supreme Court ruling to deny pregnancy claims. It's just not mandatory," Beyea of the ACLU emphasized. "We're trying to make sure they understand this, so that they don't collapse their own interpretations of what constitutes sex discrimination."

Already unions and feminist organizations have said they will seek Congressional action to overcome the effect of the Supreme Court ruling. □

## "We Had Enough"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

Soweto parents to the student demonstrations, Mashinini said that at first they were frightened: "When we mobilized the students, we mobilized all of them. Very young kids were involved and when parents came home from work they found their kids shot.

"This touched everybody. Then the parents were with us all the way. In August, they stayed out of work for three days after we called for work stoppage. On the fourth day they had to face their bosses. They would be fired, they told us, if they said they had stayed out because they wanted to. So we told them to tell their bosses that they would have been beaten up by us if they hadn't stayed out.

### CHILDREN DIE

"It is their children who die," Mashinini said, "and they want what the students want. If it comes to fighting the White man, they are ready to join. In the past when someone was detained, people became afraid. Now when someone is detained, people get angry."

Since escaping from South Africa, Mashinini says he has learned a lot. "I have just learned recently about things like capitalism and Marxism and communism and I still don't know much about them. I was quite a reader back home, but I had never seen anything about Marxism — all those books are banned."

Newspapers too, he explained, are tightly controlled. "There are two editions of the *Rand Daily Mail* — a White edition and a Black extra. Most of the White edition covers news for Whites and the Black extra reports on events in Black townships. Occasionally the two cover the same thing but the words are different.

"In writing press releases which we sent to the papers, I used the words 'racist regime' many times. In the White edition they said 'racist regime.' In the Black extra they said 'South African government.'

"People in Soweto are completely blank on what's happening outside of the country. Vorster said that the June 16 demonstration was organized to embarrass him before his meeting with Kissinger. I didn't even know he was going to meet with Kissinger until several days after June 16."

Mashinini was also president of the Johannesburg region of the South African Student Movement, a Black high school organization. □

## "Unity Can Be Reached Only Around The People's Army"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

TONGOGARA: As you know, I spent 18 months in prison. According to my experience, the war of liberation has never stopped intensifying since 1972. It continues to grow every day. According to the latest information, today ZIPA's prospects are more favorable than before. The war is widening every day.

Q: Before Kissinger's trip and the Geneva conference, the Zimbabwean nationalist movement seemed to have chosen the strategy of "protracted war," that led to the displacement of certain more or less historical leaders. The combatants have now formed an alliance with the politicians to go to Geneva; the Patriotic Front is proof of this. Is this a change in strategy?

TONGOGARA: In the first place, our combatants consider themselves "politicians" as much as the politicians do, if not more. Guerrilla warfare doesn't take place without politics. It is necessary to explain that the

people protect us — they support us, feed us, and transport our arms. We have to be very politically aware. I had the opportunity to see Comrade Samora Machel at the front during the war and at no time did I think that there was a distinction between him and the "politicians" within FRELIMO. It is the same with us.

As to our presence in Geneva, it is obvious that the Kissinger operation, with the pressures of the West on the Smith regime, has caused the Nationalists to close ranks. But Geneva also represents a challenge to the two ways of viewing decolonization. We have not changed our plan. We are trying to attain the liberation of our country without continuing to subject our people to the enormous sacrifices that are being asked of them.

Q: Let's suppose that independence is achieved as a result of this conference: what would be the minimum powers ZIPA would claim in the new government, in

order to participate in it?

TONGOGARA: We have already declared that during the transitional period the police and the army must be controlled by the combatants. But this is not all. We also demand a certain number of key posts which would enable us to keep a "watch" on the future government, in order that the people's interests are not betrayed.

Q: How are you facing the problem of unity?

TONGOGARA: In a fairly simple way. In the present phase of our struggle, the difference lies between those who see the armed struggle as a strategic choice to liberate the country and transform the society — like FRELIMO, for instance — and those who see the war as a "pressure tactic" — a means to "return to politics."

### PEOPLE'S ARMY

The war sheds light on many things — above all on an instrument such as ZIPA, a people's army. The war does not produce extremists: to the contrary. The war, for example, leads us to understand that the real enemy is the one who aims his gun at us, even though he may be our own father. With the others it is possible to reach an understanding. I think that in all the nationalist currents in Zimbabwe there are men who agree with this point of view. ZIPA has already demonstrated this. Unity can be reached only around ZIPA. All other hypotheses are false.

Q: With regard to unity, we are surprised by Bishop Muzorewa's language. He speaks here in Geneva of "political parties" and of the general elections that must take place before independence, referring to the selection of the future prime minister of Zimbabwe. What is there to his opinion? Did not Smith, upon his arrival in Salisbury, define Muzorewa as the most comprehensible and representative of all the nationalist leaders?

TONGOGARA: Smith does his work as divider. This must be said: the idea of elections hadn't occurred to me much.

According to a pseudo-African diplomat, a collaborator with Smith's parliament, the guerrillas already have the support of 98 per cent of Zimbabwe's population. Therefore, the elections have already been won. What is the purpose of elections without a constitutional base? In whose interest would they be? No, may the date of independence be fixed, and may a transitional government directed by nationalists be installed. Afterwards we will see how the interests of the people should be protected!



Dedicated SWAPO guerrillas of Namibia.

## C.I.A., South Africa Conspire

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

he clearly cannot afford. Schwartz and Burns deny that they are being paid by the South African government.

The law firm has close ties with Psychographic Communication (PsyComm), whose head, Jack Summers, has been coordinating public relations for Kapuuo in the U.S. The chief is believed to have been in this country three or four times in the past 12 to 15 months.

PsyComm put together a slick press kit for Kapuuo, the memo says, which depicts him as the popular leader of the Namibian people. On a recent trip to America, the reactionary chief talked with U.S. Secretary of State-designate Cyrus Vance, Henry Ford, the editorial boards of *Newsweek* and *Time* magazines, and the *New York Times*,

as well as the publisher of the *New York Post*. He is also believed to have talked with State Department officials several times.

Like Schwartz and Burns, Summers has refused to say who is paying him. He claims he believes in Chief Kapuuo. However, as the chief's publicity campaign is estimated to have cost over \$500,000 over the last two years, the U.N. memo notes, "There is obviously some wealthy individual or organization behind Kapuuo."

(Next week, we will conclude this series with an examination of an intensive propaganda campaign against Sean MacBride, the highly respected U.N. commissioner for Namibia.)

TO BE CONTINUED

# A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

"All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution." —Huey P. Newton



PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL CLINIC

## PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL CLINICS

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**PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM**  
(Being Implemented)  
Provides free dental check-ups, treatment and an educational program for dental hygiene.

**PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRY PROGRAM**  
(Being Implemented)  
Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eyeglasses for the people.

**PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM**  
Provides free, rapid transportation for sick or injured people without time-consuming checks into the patients' financial status or means.

**FREE FOOD PROGRAM**  
Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

**FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM**  
Provides children with a free, nourishing, hot breakfast every school morning.

**FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM**  
Provides food for the people through community participation and community cooperative buying.

## INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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

## PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people.

## PEOPLE'S FREE SHOE PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

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

**PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM**  
Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.



FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

## LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

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**FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM**  
Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of prisoners.

**FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM**  
Provides imprisoned men and women with funds to purchase necessary commissary items.

## SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT (S.A.F.E.) PROGRAM

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

## PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

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

**PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM**  
Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's homes.

## FREE PEST CONTROL PROGRAM

Free household extermination of rats, roaches and other disease-carrying pests and rodents.

## OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking about and analyzing things. This method develops basic skills for living in this society.

**LIBERATION SCHOOLS: FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS**  
Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Oakland Community School.

## CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

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OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

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