

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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ATTICA REPORT DENIES COVER-UP OF POLICE CRIMES



New York state troopers brutalize inmates while retaking Attica Prison on "Bloody Monday," September 13, 1971. New York state officials are now attempting to whitewash the numerous acts of sadism committed by guards and state troopers in the aftermath of the powerful Attica Prison rebellion.

(New York, N.Y.) - In a blatant whitewash of massive cover-up efforts by special Attica prosecutor Anthony G. Simonetti to obstruct prosecution of law enforcement officers responsible for the September 13, 1971, Attica massacre, a special New York state probe into the Attica case has found that "there was no intentional cover-up in the conduct of the Attica investigation."

The probe resulted from a complaint made by former special assistant attorney general in the Attica investigation, Malcolm Bell. Bell voiced the conclusions of many Attica inmates that there was a deliberate destruction of evidence of wholesale crimes committed by guards and state troopers during and after the assault on Attica prison.

In the events surrounding the prison rebellion and assault between September 9 and 13, 43 persons were killed at the upstate "correctional" facility. Thirty-nine were killed and 89 wounded by police officers and guards' gunfire in the 15 minutes it took "to retake" the institution. Four others had been killed earlier.

Since the rebellion, 62 inmates have been charged in 42 indictments with 1,289 counts, including stealing keys and possessing an electric cart. Only one indictment was handed up for an alleged crime by a state trooper, for "reckless endangerment." The trooper's case is pending in court.

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Editorial

1976 IS

CRUCIAL

1976 is going to be a tough year for most Americans. For Black Americans it is going to be crucial.

Even Ford administration economists admit to continuing high unemployment for the country, suggesting things are going to get worse before they get better. This means steadily increasing unemployment for Black Americans, already suffering depression level joblessness. It means the creation of an entire generation of Black youth hopelessly excluded from the job market and forced into desperation and crime for survival.

Every single major Presidential candidate, announced or unannounced, has relegated the manifold problems of Black Americans and other minority Americans to the back burner, with only occasional references to the more blatant evils we face daily while the frontrunners are clearly identified with anti-Black, anti-minority positions and practices.

Power structure propagandists have succeeded in openly and subtly associating the steady rise in crime with Black Americans, particularly in the major urban areas, and the growing welfare rolls with laziness, cheats and soft-headed, inefficient bureaucrats.

Armies of White citizens, encouraged by White "law enforcement" officers, are arising in communities across this land to challenge the right of the courts to enforce the law of the land on desegregated schooling; their storm troopers swearing death to the "nigger kids" if they resist.

All this and much more while CIA and Pentagon-financed and supplied mercenaries join ranks with the last remains of White colonial and racist exploitation and brutalization, to stem the tide of African liberation, independence and freedom in southern Africa.

Our tasks are set out for us in 1976: Unity and Struggle. If Black Americans don't find the ways to come together in common cause for our survival, in this hour of decision, those who come after us will curse us for all eternity. □

Happy New Year



from the
Black Panther Party

Thank You

The Black Panther Party wishes to thank all our friends throughout the U.S. and the world who sent the Party so many beautiful holiday and New Year's greetings. In particular, we wish to express our gratitude to Brother Richard B. Brown of New York City for the striking miniature stuffed black panther he sent us. Brother Brown's gift proudly adorns the offices of the Central Headquarters of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California, and is admired by all the comrades of the Party. Along with the black panther, Brother Brown composed a lovely original holiday card for "all the members" of the Party, especially the Fallen Comrades, and included a color photo of himself.

The comrades of the Black Panther Party deeply appreciate being in the thoughts of our friends and supporters during this holiday season and extend our best wishes for a new year of peace and freedom in the world.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



In Memory Of Lydia Martha Gilliam



Lydia Martha Gilliam, a member of the Intercommunal Survival Committee at Palo Alto, California, and a strong supporter of the Black Panther Party, died of a lingering illness on December 12. Sacrificing her time, health, and even her small income, she served the East Palo Alto community in assisting in Sickle Cell testing, distributing Free Food, selling THE BLACK PANTHER, and working in the Marie Hill Child Development Program, Sunnyvale, California. She was also an active member of a Catholic senior citizens' organization of St. Francis of Assisi Church, East Palo Alto.

At the funeral mass, held in St. Francis of Assisi Church, participants prayed that the spirit of her example would be continued by her friends and loved ones.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

COMMENT

Pearl Bailey: Qualified For U.N.?

By

David G. DuBois

We have for years enjoyed the extraordinary talents of the woman who, in her own words, went "from the Apollo Theatre as a \$25 a week tap dancer to the world's greatest concert halls." But we question the wisdom or the truth of that same woman's assertion that "entertainers have done more than anybody in the world to help humanity." Bob Hope's jokes to U.S. troops in Vietnam may have been funny as all hell, but they did little to help those troops understand why they were there, why they were dying and why they finally were forced to leave. And, for the Vietnamese, whose land was ravaged by those same U.S. troops, we suspect Bob Hope's jokes weren't very funny at all.

One of the flimsiest and yet most repeated excuses given for not hiring Blacks in jobs requiring particular skills is that qualified Blacks can't be found. Although we have not seen this given as a reason for placing Pearl Bailey on the U.S. delegation to the United Nations, her appointment would seem to suggest that that was the excuse. In fact, of course, the likes of Patrick Moynihan have no desire to have a Black on that delegation that is qualified to challenge his blatantly racist behavior and the delegation's racist policies.

Certainly, if we are to believe a quote attributed to Ms. Bailey in New York *Amsterdam News* of December 20, Moynihan need not fear any such challenge from this grand lady of entertainment. She is quoted as saying: "I'm surprised that the African nations are becoming victims of many European, Asian and Middle East nations who would deceive them. Coming out of the Dark Ages they don't realize that their diamonds, minerals and other natural resources are being eyed by others who smooth talk them for only one thing — and that is to exploit them. Can't they see the light?"

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THE BLACK PANTHER

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T.C. BENTON

Murder Attempt On Jailed Houston B.P.P. Member Fails

(Humble, Tex.) - A brutal attack was recently made on the life of Vernon "T.C." Benton, a Black Panther Party member currently confined at the Harris County Rehabilitation Center here, after being convicted of trumped-up robbery charges in 1974.

The attack came while Brother T.C. was waiting to enter the mess hall for chow. After the majority of his fellow inmates had already entered and were cut off from him, he was assaulted by several building tenders.

Two of his attackers have a wide reputation within the overcrowded prison for their "enforcer" activities on behalf of the prison administration. The inmates call them "Killer" and "Smooth Mouth."

Following the murder attempt, in which T.C. successfully defended himself, he was placed in solitary confinement. T.C. has been extremely instrumental in organizing the inmates in his cell tank. As a result, he is highly respected by his fellow inmates who view this latest attack as prison administration-instigated.

Following the incident, several attempts were made on the part of local news media to see and interview T.C., but all were told that they could not see him because he was in isolation and couldn't be seen by anyone.

Brother T.C.'s present incarceration is the result of a police frame-up in July, 1974. Arrested

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F.B.I. WITNESS IN FRED HAMPTON CASE "DIES IN AUTO ACCIDENT"

INFORMANT WAS SCHEDULED TO TESTIFY AT FRED HAMPTON MURDER TRIAL

(Chicago, Ill.) - Ira L. Roten, a long-time Chicago FBI agent who was scheduled to testify as a witness in the upcoming trial of Chicago "law enforcement" officials responsible for the 1969 police raid on a Black Panther Party facility during which Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered, was killed two weeks ago in what FBI officials said was an automobile accident.

Roten died from injuries he sustained when, according to the official FBI version, his car skidded on an icy road near suburban Schaumburg, slid off the pavement and struck a

telephone pole. The FBI spokesman said Roten was alone in his car at the time and no other vehicle was involved.

Roten was a longtime associate of FBI informant William O'Neal, the individual who infiltrated the Black Panther Party's Chicago Chapter, provided the police with a detailed sketch of the apartment in which Fred Hampton lived, and, it is widely believed, administered the drug that prevented Fred from waking when the police assaulted the apartment in the early hours of December 4, 1969.

Robert McClory, writing in the *Chicago Defender*, reports that

Roten may even have been the agent who originally recruited O'Neal for spy work. Roten and another FBI agent, Roy M. Mitchell, worked closely with O'Neal in prosecuting the federal case against former police sergeant Stanley Robinson, who was convicted of the 1972 murders of two men in the sensationalized "cop hit squad" case involving narcotics rings.

Flint Taylor, an attorney representing the plaintiffs in the suit being brought against the law enforcement officials, called the death "unfortunate."

"Roten would have been a very interesting and possibly key



FRED HAMPTON, slain Chicago Black Panther leader, sells THE BLACK PANTHER on busy Chicago street.

Fallen Comrade

FRANK "FRANKO" DIGGS

Assassinated December 30, 1968



Comrade "Franko" Diggs was assassinated on December 30, 1968, making him the eighth and last comrade of the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party to be killed that year. Frank "Franko" Diggs was 40 years old when he was shot to death. His body was found in an alley on the outskirts of Los Angeles. Comrade "Franko" Diggs died as a direct result of the FBI-provoked violence committed on the Black Panther Party by the reactionary US organization. Long live the spirit of Comrade "Franko" Diggs! Long Live the People's Struggle!



ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



witness," he told the *Chicago Defender*. "He obviously had intimate knowledge of the links between the FBI, Panthers and police."

All the evidence points to the fact that the police raid on December 4, 1969, was planned and executed with the objective of assassinating Fred Hampton. This conclusion was reached by a Commission of Inquiry into the raid headed by Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark. Results of the Commission's inquiry have been published by the Metropolitan Applied Research Center in New York, under the title *Search and Destroy*.

Meanwhile, U.S. District Judge Joseph Sam Perry stomped angrily out of his own courtroom here last week as attorneys in the \$47 million damage suit, brought by parents of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark against those responsible for the raid, challenged his refusal to release in pre-trial hearings secret police and

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"EMPLOYEE-INITIATED"**NO-HOLDS-BARRED ACCOUNT OF SAN QUENTIN PRISON VIOLENCE**

(Tamal, Calif.) - "... We want these incidents known on the streets so that in the event of an escalation of hostilities, the officials' roles in participating or allowing it to happen can, for the first time, accurately be questioned.

"Officials' response to our grievances have been, by their actions, such as can only be determined as saying Blacks somehow have an obligation to accept whatever unfortunate activity we receive. This is not true.

"We have the obligation to protect ourselves from all harm, and will; if in the course of doing so certain employees whose intervention in behalf of assailants of Blacks happen to get themselves in the way, that is too fucking bad."

set up by guards. Cell doors in AC are electrically controlled. Guard E.C. Madden stated that Preston was in his cell preparing to come out for a shower when apparently a prisoner living in another cell (3-AC-1) sneaked out of his and into Preston's (3-AC-14) and assaulted him with a 6" knife inflicting 15 to 20 wounds. As any knowledgeable person knows, this was IMPOSSIBLE for the assailant to carry out UNLESS he had help from the guards. . .

"The second major incident does not directly involve violence but contributes heavily toward making San Quentin more dangerous. A prisoner was married recently and given a wedding ring with diamonds in it by his wife. The warden had placed him on the list as a

"security risk to the institution" and prohibited him from having family visits like other prisoners.

"During one of the frequent shakedowns he gets, a guard on the goon squad (Papke) found the ring in his cell while the brother was in the gym — and took it — without leaving notice in his cell who took it and why. Also, Papke didn't turn the ring in to authorities but kept it in his possession.

"When the brother returned and heard his cell had been shook down, he discovered the ring was missing and went to get it. He went to the goon squad office and was told it had been turned in to Receiving and Release to determine if it was on his property. When he went there he was told they had no knowledge of it.

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San Quentin Prison, where California correctional officials daily engineer the dehumanization of Black and poor prison inmates.

In an anonymous letter received at THE BLACK PANTHER editorial offices last week, the tense, explosive atmosphere at San Quentin Prison here is examined in no-holds-barred fashion, presenting an inside view of the guard and prison official-instigated repression and treachery directed towards dividing the prison inmate population and suppressing the most active and vocal prisoners.

In the letter, the anonymous inmate writes:

"In the latest wave of violence at San Quentin (which isn't over), there was employee involvement, whether intended or just a 'natural' reaction when Blacks are attacked by others or attacking someone else being irrelevant since the results are always the same.

"On October 12, a Black (Ronald Preston) was stabbed nearly to death in his cell in the Adjustment Center under circumstances that cannot help but be

House Intelligence Committee Stalls On B.P.P. Charges

(Washington, D.C.) - Responding to a flood of petitions and letters demanding an immediate, in-depth inquiry into FBI, CIA harassment and abuses against Black civil and human rights groups, including the Black Panther Party, the U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Intelligence has indicated that it will ignore and bypass evidence of criminal federal government activity.

In a letter to Robert McAfee Brown, who had written to the House investigating body for the Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party, A. Searle Field, staff director for the Select Committee on Intelligence wrote:

"Dear Mr. Brown:

"The Committee wants to thank you for the materials which you have sent regarding federal harassment of the Black Panther Party.

"As you are well aware, the Select Committee on Intelligence is operating under severe time restrictions. Because of this we will be unable to examine in depth all the charges which you have concerning this harassment. We have reviewed the FBI COINTELPRO activities against the Black Panther Party and our assessment of that program will almost certainly appear in our final report.

"We thank you for your interest and assistance in this matter."

THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY**December 30, 1952**

The consistent, racist lynchings of Black people in America became as much American tradition as apple pie. However, on December 30, 1952, Tuskegee Institute reported that 1952 was the first year in 71 years of tabulation that there were no recorded lynchings.

December 30, 1960

On December 30, 1960, two U.S. courts issued temporary injunctions to prevent about 700 Black sharecroppers from being evicted from farms in Haywood and Fayette counties, Tennessee. Their "crime" was registering to vote.

December 28, 1969

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), in a report of a documented survey of nine metropolitan centers, concluded on December 28, 1969, that law enforcement agencies across the country were "having a drive against the Black Panther Party resulting in serious civil liberties violations."

January 3, 1969

The late Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., was seated in the House of Representatives on January 3, 1969, after a five-hour debate and following a racist proposal to seat him but to deprive him of his 22 years of Congressional seniority and to fine him \$25,000 for alleged misuse of payroll and travel funds while chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee. The popular Harlem congressman had been excluded from the 90th Congress in 1967 on trumped-up charges of misuse of \$40,000 in Congressional funds while he was Education Committee chairman. On November 18, 1968, the U.S. Supreme Court announced its acceptance for review of a suit contending that Powell's exclusion was un-Constitutional. After his exclusion, Powell won re-election to the House both in a special election and in Congressional elections of November 5, 1968.

Seattle Police To Recruit More Blacks Following Racism Charges

(Seattle, Wash.) - In the aftermath of a move by 20 of the 22 Black officers on the Seattle police force in filing racial discrimination charges with the Equal Opportunity Employment Commission earlier this month, Seattle police chief Robert Hanson has begun to outline plans to recruit more Black officers.

Russell F. Praetor, a Black officer and spokesman for the group that signed the complaint, said that all 22 Blacks in the Seattle police department are in the patrol division. The highest rank held by a Black officer is that of a sergeant, Praetor said, who was promoted earlier this year.

According to Hanson, efforts will be made to increase the number of Blacks in the department to reflect the number of Blacks in the community.

COMMISSION

In other developments, Hanson announced plans to schedule the first meeting for early January of a commission to review the Seattle Police Department's intelligence-gathering policies. The commission will proceed despite the fact that half of those invited have declined to participate.

The function of the intelligence unit has been under fire since it was recently disclosed that many private citizens and organizations were on file. In the November 29, 1975, issue of THE BLACK PANTHER, it was reported that files were kept on over 1,200 private citizens.

Hanson claimed the bulk of these files were destroyed in 1974, but according to reliable sources, files are still maintained on the Black Panther Party and "other dissident groups."

Meanwhile, King County (Seattle) prosecutor Chris Bayley has urged that a federal investigation take place to check into allegations that members of the Seattle police snoop into the background of U.S. Attorney Stan Pitkin.

This is an unusual move by Bayley since he is known in the Seattle Black community for his participation in police murder cover-ups.

Bayley stated that a federal investigation in this matter "is very important." □



North Carolina state and local police surround N.C. Women's Prison in Raleigh, during the June, 1975, rebellion.

N.C. WOMEN INMATES SUE GOVERNOR AND PRISON OFFICIALS FOR \$25 MILLION

(Raleigh, N.C.) — A \$25 million damage suit was filed here on December 4 by 37 Black and White inmates at the North Carolina Correctional Center for Women (NCCCW) for injuries and mistreatment they received following their peaceful demonstration last June to protest inhumane conditions at NCCCW.

The suit was filed in U.S. District Court by the National Conference of Black Lawyers (NCBL). NCBL National Director Lennox Hinds is representing the inmates, along with Raleigh attorney Cressie Thigpen, Professor Harold Washington of Howard University Law School and Professor Haywood Burns of the New York University Law School.

The suit — filed against North Carolina Governor James L. Holshouser and NCCCW officials — stems from the June 15-19

protest at NCCCW in which nearly 250 women staged an overnight sit-in on June 15 in the prison yard to demand abolition of the hot, filthy and dangerous jail laundry in which they are forced to work. They also demanded better medical care, improved grievance procedures and the promotion of a Black assistant superintendent to the post of superintendent. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, June 30, 1975.)

What started out as a peaceful protest turned into a battleground when 150 helmeted police, state troopers and guards beat the women with clubs and maced them with tear gas in a brutal attempt to force them back into their cells. The women bravely defended themselves, forcing prison authorities to negotiate with them. The officials "promised" to abolish the hated

laundry within 90 days and to meet the demands for better medical facilities and grievance procedures.

However, as soon as the news media left NCCCW, prison authorities illegally transferred 33 women, whom they accused of being the "ringleaders" of the protest, to the Western Correction Center in Morganton, North Carolina, a maximum security jail for men.

In a recent interview with the New York *Amsterdam News*, attorney Hinds said in describing the treatment of the women at the Western Correction Center:



"(They) were severely beaten and arbitrarily transferred. . . they were placed on the 19th floor, told to strip, searched by female guards in the presence of male guards and locked in their cells for 23 and one-half hours a day. Many of the women became severely ill."

THE "HOLE"

Several of the women were placed in the "hole" — solitary confinement — for 10 to 15 days while others were denied personal care items such as toothbrushes, face cloths, and combs.

Upon the return of the 33 inmates to the NCCCW on September 26, they were denied all rights and privileges and placed in isolation cells along with other women who had participated in the June protest. The suit calls for the return of the women to the general population of the prison, the restoration of all their rights and privileges and the ending of all forced labor in the laundry until unsafe and unsanitary conditions are corrected. An evidentiary hearing in the case was scheduled for December 29. □

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

HUEY P. NEWTON - ERICKA HUGGINS

INSIGHTS & POEMS

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

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

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ROY INNIS CALLS AFRICANS "GULLIBLE" AND "PARANOID"

(New York, N.Y.) — In confused and contradictory statements made at a press conference here recently and reported in the New York *Amsterdam News*, Roy Innis, national director of CORE, has further exposed his betrayal of Black and African interests, intelligence and commitment to liberation. He publicly accused his "African brothers" of "paranoia" and "gullibility" for their rejection of his plan to recruit Black U.S. veterans to fight in Angola against the legitimate government of the People's Republic of Angola, led by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

The December 20 issue of the *Amsterdam News* quotes Innis as saying:

"I want to chastise my brothers in Africa for the incredible extent of their gullibility. They allow the CIA to toy with them like puppets on a string and make them swallow whatever convenient lies the CIA tells them."

Innis charges that the CIA has "very insidiously tried to link their dirty role in Angola to CORE's noble and brotherly goals." He then accuses: "African brothers immediately become paranoid and the legitimate aims of a particular organization immediately become suspect."

"BROTHERLY GOALS"

The so-called "noble and brotherly goals" Innis refers to are apparently his plans to send Black vets to Angola as "a peace keeping force" to "serve as a buffer between the three liberation movements." Earlier, in response to widescale opposition from the Black community to his plan, CORE officials claimed they were recruiting personnel for voluntary medical assistance only. Once again the tune changes.

Innis' remarks strongly assert that opposition to his plan stems from CIA distortions of that plan. And yet, Innis himself has publicly declared his "abhorrence" of the MPLA, and the role played by the Soviet Union and Cuba in support of the efforts of the armed forces of the MPLA to preserve the sovereignty and inviolability of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola.

Innis would appear to be totally ignorant of the fact that the "prime minister" of the racist-ridden Republic of South Africa has also claimed that the thousands of South African troops



Recruitment poster to encourage Blacks to enlist in racist U.S. military. Roy Innis of CORE is now trying to whitewash his plans of recruiting Blacks to fight for U.S. imperialism in Angola.

fighting in Angola are not supporting any particular faction, only fighting to prevent "communism from coming to Africa."

Our African brothers did not need the CIA to link its "dirty role in Angola" to CORE's scheme. All the evidence indicates that that link exists, since the so-called "noble and brotherly" goals of CORE are precisely the same as those of the CIA, the Republic of South Africa and the remnants of every White racist mercenary element on the continent of Africa today, including many White Americans.

Innis' attempt to disassociate his scheme from the CIA by calling that organization: "an

anachronism composed of legitimized blood thirsty goons, psychopaths, jacklegs and hare-brained wonder boys," falls flat on its face since neither the government of the People's Republic of Angola, the Organization of African Unity or the United Nations has called for or sanctioned the presence in Angola of "a peace keeping force" to act as "a buffer between the three liberation movements." Only Innis and the CIA-supported White South Africans are using this subterfuge to justify military action against the MPLA. No amount of hard-line rhetoric can change this fact. □

OUR HEALTH



New Cure For Gallstones?

A new drug treatment that can dissolve most painful gallstones without surgery will soon undergo an \$8 million nationwide test, the *Chicago Tribune* reports. If no major side effects are found, the drug, chenich acid, could be approved for general use in three to five years.

Gallstones are small, hard masses of cholesterol crystals formed in the gallbladder or in a bile duct. An estimated 15 to 20 million Americans have cholesterol gallstones — 80 per cent of the total — and approximately 750,000 new cases develop each year. The other 20 per cent contain calcium.

Chenich acid is one of three bile acids (bile is a greenish, yellowish substance secreted by the liver) which function in the human body to rid it of excess cholesterol — a glistening, white soapy crystalline substance found in bile, the brain, blood cells, plasma, egg yolk and seeds. The three bile acids, along with another compound called lecithin, act like detergents to cut grease. The gallbladder, where these acids are stored, is the main route for excreting cholesterol from the body.

The task of the bile acids is to dissolve the fatty cholesterol so that it can be eliminated. Gallstone patients tend to produce too much cholesterol, and when the cholesterol becomes saturated in the bile, it begins to fall out of solution to form stones.

Chenich acid apparently works by slowing down the body's production of cholesterol and helps the amount of cholesterol fall to an unsaturated level, thereby dissolving the stones.

Investigators at Mayo Clinic in Rochester, Minnesota, where the chenich acid treatment was pioneered, found that the chemical dissolved 75 to 80 per cent of the cholesterol gallstones over a six to 30-month period.

Subjects in the study will be divided into three groups. One group will receive a low dosage of chenich acid, one will receive a high dosage and the third will receive a placebo (fake) to compare the natural course of gallstones with the two treated groups.



Woman inmate sleeps in Harris County Jail facility as sewage drips down wall.

Sweeping Changes Ordered For Harris County Jails

(Houston, Tex.) - U.S. District Court Judge Carl O. Bue last week ordered detailed, sweeping changes for the Harris County Jail system here. If the county does not improve jail conditions, Bue said, he will "not hesitate" to follow the precedent of other federal courts and close the jails, reported the *Houston Chronicle*.

In his ruling, Judge Bue set these sweeping guidelines:

- Harris County district judges have 15 days to replace the pretrial release system set up by Commissioners Court with one of their own and to re-evaluate prisoners now in jail.

- The pretrial release program must establish a branch office in the city's municipal court building and space in the city jail for pretrial release staff members to interview prisoners.

- The county must serve meals to inmates in the downtown county jail in a common dining area for each cell block. Except for prisoners in maximum security cells, no prisoner shall be served meals in his cell.

- The county must provide screening of incoming prisoners by doctors or senior medical students to insure that prisoners with communicable diseases are not placed in the jails.

- Attorneys must be provided for indigent prisoners within 24 hours after they are charged.

- Two annex courts must be set

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NATIONAL COMMISSION RECOMMENDS JUVENILES FACE ADULT TRIAL PROCEDURES

(New York, N.Y.) - A national commission studying juvenile justice has recommended that the procedure in dispensing justice to juveniles be switched from the present informal family approach to the adversary procedure used in adult courts, subjecting juveniles to the dehumanizing pressures of the adult criminal justice system.

Under the commission's proposals for juvenile delinquency proceedings, a prosecutor and defense attorney would each seek to win his case.

However, the juvenile would face lower penalties than adults, with a maximum of two years for the most serious offenses, *The New York Times* reports.

Since an adversary proceeding works toward a finding in which the defendant is either freed or found guilty, the commission recommended that juveniles be granted the same "safeguards and rights" as adults.

The guidelines would give a juvenile the right to trial by jury within one or two months and entitle the youth to direct his own defense, even against the objection of his parents.

In cases of conflict of interest between the parents and the youth, the commission recommended that the parents be represented at the juvenile's proceedings by independent



A national commission is now reviewing a plan which will place young people under the dehumanizing pressure of the adult criminal justice system.

counsel. The crucial decisions in court would only be made by the youth and his counsel.

Overall, the recommendations by the commission, officially known as the Institute of Judicial Administration - American Bar Association Commission on Juvenile Justice Standards,

presents a trap for Black and poor oppressed youth.

It exposes them to the dehumanizing pressures of the adult criminal "justice" system, for lawyers to deceive juveniles into "plea bargaining" (pleading guilty to a charge with lesser penalties) and turning "state's evidence" on others to protect themselves.

In addition, juveniles will have to absurdly face a jury of their "peers" - who will turn out to be mostly White and middle-aged individuals who can be validly questioned as to their ability to judge Black and poor oppressed juveniles.

COMMISSION

The 30-member Commission is seeking to make juveniles responsible for their actions under the law. One guideline described their reports as "a criminal code uniquely for juveniles, a formulation never before undertaken."

The proposals provide a reactionary response to indignation over violent crimes committed by youths and offers sure-fire methods of convicting more youths of crimes and getting them off the streets and into "rehabilitation" programs.

At present the Commission has not revealed methods of arrest, bail or whether a "convicted" juvenile will carry his conviction on his record when he becomes an adult. □

Huge King Birthday Celebration Slated January 14-15 In Atlanta



(Atlanta, Ga.) - The Eighth Annual celebration of the birthday of slain civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., will be held here on January 14 and 15 with the broad participation of many civic, labor and community leaders.

Sponsored by the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Social Change, the theme of this year's celebration will be "The Bicentennial: America's Challenge To Fulfill Dr. King's Dream."

The highlight of the two days of activities will be a mammoth march from Dr. King's former Ebenezer Baptist Church to downtown Atlanta where a rally will be held.

The rally will be presided over by Congressman Andrew Young. Among the speakers will be Mayors Maynard Jackson of Atlanta and Coleman Young of Detroit; John Lewis, executive director of the Voter Education Project (VEP) and many other local and national leaders.

ATTICA REPORT DENIES COVER-UP

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

Meanwhile, charges against 39 Attica inmates have been dismissed on motions by state prosecutors, following expressed fears that further prosecution would force into open court evidence of officer and/or state trooper wrongdoing. Eight of the inmates have pleaded guilty to a variety of charges, two were convicted after trial and three were acquitted. Charges against others are unresolved.

The special New York State probe was conducted by Special Deputy Attorney General Bernard S. Meyer, a former state Supreme Court justice appointed by New York Governor Hugh L. Carey on April 17, 1975. Meyer's task was to investigate Bell's charge of an Attica cover-up of crimes and misconduct by prison guards and state troopers.

In language shot through with apologies, reservations and excuses, Meyer's report concludes that "serious errors of judgment" had "flawed" the official investigation of the Attica massacre, and that the prosecution of those responsible for crimes "had not been balanced." The report admits there had been too little concentration on "crimes possibly committed by state policemen and prison guards" and it accused state prosecutors of a "misguided sense of values amounting substantially to indifference" in some cases.

While finding there had been no deliberate cover-up, Meyer's report portrayed an investigation with a possible conflict of interest because of Deputy Attorney General Robert Fischer's being

head of the prosecution force, and his close relations with the state police; shortcomings in strategy and in gathering vital evidence; a grand jury that had been saturated with information concerning inmates' possible guilt before any law enforcement case was presented; delay in looking into crimes of brutality against inmates although such an in-



At Attica, inmates constructed numerous weapons (top photo) for self-defense while displaying unprecedented prison unity.

vestigation needed quick and massive scrutiny.

The report criticized Nelson A. Rockefeller, then New York state governor, for praising the state police immediately after the prison massacre, calling his remarks "inappropriate" because the degree of force used by the troopers "might have been excessive" and because of the possible effect the governor's words would have on the course of investigations.

DEALT UNFAIRLY

"Clearly, the state has dealt unfairly with the inmates, and affirmative action is necessary to



correct the situation," concludes the report.

At the same time as the findings were made public, Governor Carey appointed a special deputy attorney general to "review evidence to determine whether indictments should be brought against the law enforcement officers and others" to "justly" conclude all aspects of the Attica prosecution. Alfred J. Scotti, former chief assistant Manhattan district attorney, who served 36 years in the district attorney's office until his retirement in February, 1974, was appointed for this task. □

Jailed Houston B.P.P. Member

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

without cause, T.C. went through more than 25 police lineups before he was charged with three "unsolved" robbery cases. Local media sensationalized his arrest, claiming that the Houston Police Department had uncovered a Mafia robbery ring.

Despite the media's effort to discredit the work of the Black Panther Party, Brother T.C. is known by many people in the community to be an active worker in the Party's efforts to organize concrete survival programs for the people of Houston.

Many of Houston's senior citizens recall his tireless efforts in the Seniors Against A Fearful Environment (S.A.F.E.) Program. One senior in particular, Mrs. Hallie B. Hobbs, who works with the Senior Citizens Task Force, was shocked to learn about T.C.'s frame-up. "He certainly

was a nice boy who did so much for the senior citizens when we were trying our best to get the bus fares lowered," Mrs. Hobbs remarked.

In a related development, information received by THE BLACK PANTHER reveals that a large mailing of letters which were sent to inmates at the Rehabilitation Center here explaining the People's Free Commissary For Prisoners Program was received on December 5 by the prison administrators and returned after they were stamped "unclaimed." The murder attempt on Comrade T.C. occurred the following day.

Concerned people of the community are asked to contact the Vernon Benton Defense Committee, 602 Sage Street, Galena Park, Texas 77547, or call (713) 674-7972 for further information. □



Portion of the arsenal used to suppress September, 1971, Attica rebellion.

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

F.B.I. Cover-Up Continues

(Washington, D.C.) — The Department of Justice's investigation of FBI harassment against Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., has uncovered no evidence so far linking the FBI to Dr. King's death, either directly or indirectly, the Justice Department claims. Another Department official, who refused to be identified, said, "There are so many zombies stalking this town and the Justice Department. It's really an issue of credibility."

"Garden Plot"

(Washington, D.C.) — Army documents recently released expose a secret Pentagon plan known by the code name "Garden Plot" to test Army contingency plans for handling "civil disturbances," that was implemented during the Wounded Knee rebellion of 1973. Approximately 250 residents of the Pine Ridge Oglala Sioux reservation defended themselves from federal government aggression between February 27 and May 8. Army "observers," under orders to dress in civilian clothes and avoid calling attention to the Army's activity, took charge of the efforts to dislodge the Native Americans much as U.S. "advisers" took command in Vietnam.

Fake Fonda Letter

(Washington, D.C.) — In the latest of many revelations of unethical and illegal FBI practices, it has been learned that in 1970 J. Edgar Hoover authorized that a fake letter be written accusing actress Jane Fonda of leading a refrain, during a Los Angeles Black Panther Party rally, proposing the murder of then-President Nixon and that this letter be sent to a Hollywood newspaper columnist as an effort to discredit her. Ms. Fonda is suing the FBI.

Arts "Charade"

(Chicago, Ill.) — Describing the U.S. Bicentennial as an exclusive "charade," Dennis Brutus, a coordinator of the Black Arts Celebration Committee, recently announced plans for an alternative celebration here, to run from February 1 to July 6, 1976, to heighten respect for the contributions of Black Americans. He said the event will feature dance, films, drama, music and exhibitions of paintings and sculpture.



ROBERT F. WILLIAMS (right) with Premier CHOU EN-LAI of the People's Republic of China.

Robert Williams Returns To Monroe, North Carolina Ends 14-Year Exile From K.K.K. "Justice"

(Monroe, N.C.) - Robert F. Williams, for over 14 years a fugitive from the KKK-style "justice" and overt racism that pervades this small North Carolina town, returned here last week to the scene of his heroic armed self-defense of the Black community to face the frame-up "kidnapping" charges which forced him to flee the U.S.

Brother Williams' return was occasioned by the refusal of the Michigan Supreme Court — in a 3 to 3 vote — to overturn a lower court decision ordering the extradition of the Black political activist back to North Carolina. He had returned to the U.S. in 1969, settling in suburban Baldwin, outside Detroit.

"I am ready to go into battle," said Brother Williams upon learning of the decision, adding, "I think I've waited long enough in this trumped-up thing."

SUPPORTERS

An expectant crowd of over 100 supporters greeted Brother Williams at the Charlotte, North Carolina, airport. A motorcade, organized to provide security, accompanied him to the Union County courthouse where over 450 people rallied in his defense.

Williams, former president of the Monroe NAACP and organizer of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, an armed-defense group, left the city in the aftermath of an August 27, 1961, incident in which a White couple is alleged to have been kidnapped.

Suspicions had been aroused in the Black community that evening due to an upsurge in KKK

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

V.E.P. EXPOSES NUMEROUS OBSTACLES TO BLACK VOTING RIGHTS IN SOUTH

(Atlanta, Ga.) — Obstacles to Black political participation, which run the gamut from registration through methods of election, continue to disfranchise several million Blacks in the South and deprive minorities of adequate representation in government, according to a research report released last week by the Voter Education Project (VEP).

The VEP report, "Barriers to Minority Political Progress in the South," prepared by Archie E. Allen, estimates that an alarming Southwide gap of approximately 12 to 15 percentage points exists between Black and White voter registration rates. In some counties, however, VEP points out that the gap may be as high as 20 to 40 percentage points.

The study indicates that the gap persists in both rural and urban counties of the South. The statistics were primarily based on official registration figures provided by the states of Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina and estimates of voting age population from U.S. Census data.

In seeking to document the major factors responsible for the



Alabama police attack demonstrators during 1965 Selma voter registration marches.

continued exclusion of over two and one-half million Blacks from the political process in the South, the VEP survey found voter registration difficulties foremost among a host of other problem areas.

Common problems which discourage minority voters at the point of registration were cited:

a lack of affirmative efforts on the part of government to register citizens; inconvenient hours and locations of registration facilities; a requirement of dual registration in many counties and cities; an almost-universal lack of minority registrars and election boards to appoint deputy registrars or other additional personnel to accommodate minority registration drives.

ELECTION PROCESS

In the election process, minorities who become registered may find additional barriers which serve to dilute the power of the ballot or disfranchise them completely.

Among these barriers documented by VEP are: denial of the ballot for voting; discriminatory location of polling places; lack of or inappropriate assistance for illiterate minority voters; intimidation and exclusion of minority poll workers; and abuse of absentee votes.

Minority candidates were reported to have encountered in recent years — the withholding of voters lists, unknown write-in candidates, threats, denial of equal access to contact voters at the polls, and restrictions in observing the voting and ballot counting processes.

The Black vote in the South has been diluted by election laws, regulations, tactics which according to the report has "severely retarded the growth of minority representation in public office and have, in effect, disfranchised hundreds of thousands of minority voters in recent years."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

DELLUMS' CORNER

Blasts U.S. Involvement In Angola



(Washington, D.C.) - California Congressman Ronald V. Dellums last week issued a blistering statement here on U.S. involvement in Angola.

"Anytime this country attempts to indulge in paramilitary activities which blatantly smack of protracted war," Dellums stated, "as they apparently do in the case of Angola, these activities must not remain secret. CIA alleged covert involvement in Angola is a deplorable adventurism that proves this administration has learned nothing from our unfortunate Vietnam tragedy; civil war is the business of people directly concerned. Intervention in any foreign war requires the direct approval of the American people, the popular Bay Area congressman said.

Commenting on the U.S. State Department and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's rational that a victory by the Popular Movement for the liberation of Angola (MPLA) would mean a Soviet stronghold in Angola, Dellums pointed out that "our pursuit of war in Angola can only serve to push the MPLA closer to the USSR," forcing them to accept more Soviet military aid.

In conclusion, Dellums stated, "It seems highly unlikely to me that after 500 years of Portuguese colonial rule, Angola would accept the imperialism of another great power."

Pearl Bailey

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

Where has Ms. Bailey been all her 57 years? Doesn't she realize that it is precisely because they do see the light, and have seen it over the past two centuries of European exploitation of their diamonds, minerals and other natural resources, that the African people are determined to stop being victims of such exploitation in our time? Doesn't she know that the Dark Ages was a European phenomenon? Great African civilizations were thriving all over Africa during the European Dark Ages. Doesn't she know that it was the rape of Africa by European slavers and exploiters during which an estimated 50 million Black souls were forced or sold into slavery that interrupted and set back the development of the African continent?

Doesn't Pearl Bailey realize that she is being used as this country's most prominent "spook who sat by the door"; only in this case the door looks out upon the world, and the world's peoples of all nations pass through that door? So long as she gives support and backing to the monstrous ravings of Moynihan, and sits by silent as the U.S. delegation to the United Nations pursues its policy of wholesale opposition to the liberation of Third World peoples and exploitation in any form, Pearl Bailey does not represent or speak for us on that delegation, notwithstanding her great achievements on the cabaret circuit. □

Robert Williams Returns

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

violence. The White couple, driving with out-of-state license plates, were removed from their car and for their safety taken to Williams' home.

Beginning a forced exile, Brother Williams first fled to the friendly confines of the Republic of Cuba. Later, he was warmly received in the People's Republic of China and toured extensively in North Vietnam and Tanzania.

China's unequivocal support for Brother Williams and the Black liberation struggle was expressed in a personal communication sent by an aide to the venerable Chairman Mao Tse-tung to the Michigan Supreme Court:

We Chinese have always supported all the oppressed peoples

throughout the world in their struggle for freedom and liberties; as well as the Blacks of the United States in their just struggles."

The Chinese solidarity letter countered another letter, forged by either the FBI or CIA in 1973, which falsely renounced Chinese support for Black people's struggle.

POLITICAL

In fact, political harassment is the central element of Brother Williams' defense. Activist attorney William Kunstler, who along with Karen Galloway, will act as co-counsel, said the defense will

show that Brother Williams was the target of an FBI campaign to harass Black leaders in the early civil rights movement.

At a December 10 press conference in Detroit, Williams remarked that he had "no faith in the American injustice system." He alluded to documentation which would embarrass the CIA and the FBI, and prove that he had been systematically hounded, slandered and spied upon by the federal government, when he added: "I expect to win by a TKO."

In a press conference here the morning of the arraignment —

prior to his release on \$10,000 bond — Brother Williams displayed the determination that first caused him to pick up the gun in self-defense of his family and his community:

"I resent being forced out of Monroe. I was driven out by the KKK and these racist state officials. I have not committed any criminal act.

"Of course, I'm not the only one they've gone after. But I'm a symbol to these people.

"So this is a fight to clean up North Carolina. The Black man has no justice in this state, but before I leave, he will have it." □

On The Block

WHAT WILL YOU DO FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN 1976?
ASKED AT FOOD KING SUPERMARKET

Yolanda Green
1633 87th Ave.
School-Castlemont



I'd like to get the holes in the ceiling at school changed.

In whatever way there is to provide more jobs, I think that's the way.

Carlene Hall
Secretary



I work at the church now and teach young people to type, file and cook. Plus I have a group of kids on the drill team; I have a group of boys in the drum corps; I have a group of young ladies and young men in the choir. That's about all I can do right now.

I'd like to see us get ahead in politics. There are a lot of things they can get over on.

Lizzie Stennis
1214 91st Ave.



The best thing I could do for Black people in 1976 is to help get something together for the younger people who are getting involved in this drug thing and its starting to get just like New York. We got to start chipping in for some things, like a teenage night club.

Mike Thomas
359 Ashton Ave.
Electronics worker



I can try to pass the Message to all my younger brothers and sisters not to hurt one another, to be strong and lift us up as a whole.

By donating food to Black people in our country.

Eddie Land
3668 Delmont Ave.
Interior decorator



Ruby Blufort
9850 Empire Rd.
Housewife



John Cook
1087 106th Ave.
Student-Laney



Barbara Anderson
656 Tyler St.
Housewife



BPINS photos

Artists To Protest N.Y. Whitney Museum's Racist Practices

(New York, N.Y.) - The Artists Meeting for Cultural Change (AMCC) announced last week that it will be picketing the Whitney Museum of American Art here on January 3, 1976, at 2:00 p.m., in protest against blatant racist and discriminatory practices by the museum.

In particular, the group is protesting the scheduled exhibition show entitled "Three Centuries of American Art," which comes entirely from the private collection of John D. Rockefeller III and includes no works by Black artists and only one by a woman artist.

In a recent press statement, signed by 47 groups and individuals, the AMCC declares:



Drawing by Emory Douglas.

"We, the undersigned, strongly object to the collusion of the De Young and Whitney museums and John D. Rockefeller III in using a private collection of art, with its discriminatory omissions, to promote upper-class values and a socially reactionary view of American art history.

"We object to the increasingly widespread museum policy of presenting and celebrating the private collections of art of the upper-class.

"Such curatorial fails accomplis (arbitrary acts) can only serve to abrogate (negate) the social responsibilities of these cultural institutions."

The deal for exhibition originated in April at the De Young Museum in San Francisco.

The Whitney Museum is the only museum in New York that has never used Black professional staff in curatorial or even sub-curatorial ranks, despite prom-



Drawing by Emory Douglas.

ises of increased Black participation made by the museum's administration.

The museum's major Bicentennial extravaganza, "Two Hundred Years of American Sculpture," will run through 1978 and only includes two shows in which Black artists are expected to exhibit. Not even one full-scale, one-woman exhibition is planned in that period.

Additional actions planned by AMCC include: picketing to coincide with key American history holidays; alternative street exhibitions and an alternative catalogue; a slide show for educational purposes and letters to members of Congress. □

BURGLAR REVEALS CALIF. GROWERS' INVOLVEMENT IN FARM WORKER BREAK-INS

(San Jose, Calif.) - A former Santa Clara County deputy sheriff and John Birch member has issued a 96-page statement here charging that major California grape growers backed break-ins and thefts of documents at United Farm Workers (UFW) headquarters in the 1960s.

The burglar, Jerome Ducote, made his admission in San Jose Municipal Court. He stated that various grape growers or grower representatives hired him to gather evidence indicating the Cesar Chavez-led UFW had communist connections.

Ducote is being held on \$100,000 bail in Santa Clara County Jail after being arraigned on 21 felony counts.

One of his burglaries, according to UFW leader Chavez, set back the 1967 national grape boycott by six months. During this particular break-in, grape boycott plans, financial records and lists of financial contributors and UFW members were stolen.

Later in 1974, an effort was made to sell the documents back to the union for \$25,000.

From UFW headquarters in Keene, California, Chavez said,

"It gave us an awful bad time six months thereafter. It stalled the boycott and the strike. It took us six months to recover."

In his 96-page statement to a California special agent, Ducote revealed that in March, 1967, he and two others, Kenneth Wilhelm and Stephen D'Arrigo, held a meeting at the Del Webb Towne House in Fresno, California, with grape grower Kenneth Pandol. Pandol is also a member of the state board of agriculture.

According to Ducote, the meeting was held after he had burglarized other places, the San Jose Peace Center and *Ramparts* magazine among them.

In Fresno, Ducote said he gave Pandol information bearing on Chavez that he (Ducote) had stolen in the previous raids. Also, he said D'Arrigo made a pitch for financial assistance because he had been "carrying the burden" of paying for the burglars and their expenses.

DELANO

Back in San Jose a few days later, Ducote said D'Arrigo called him and said Pandol had called and requested a break-in of the Chavez headquarters in Delano.

Four nights later, Ducote was a participant in the break-in of the Delano headquarters. A subsequent investigation of the burglary was dropped after Ducote explained to the Delano police the purpose of the robbery was to obtain pro-communist evidence against Chavez.

Questioned by Pandol, D'Arrigo and Wilhelm all denied any knowledge of any "political burglaries." Pandol claimed he gave Ducote money because he (Ducote) was posing as an FBI agent.

After Ducote burglarized the Carmel, California, home of social reform activist Saul Alinsky, he approached Harold Angiers, head of the California Grape and Tree Fruit League. According to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Ducote stated, "He (Angiers) agreed to raise the money from the farmers in the state to finance a break-in of Alinsky's office in Chicago."

"Unbelievable!" stated Chavez, since he always thought the burglaries were the work of the House Un-American Activities Committee. □



BPINS photo

People's Free Clinic Gives Free Tests At Food King

(Oakland, Calif.) - Representatives from the People's Free Health Clinic, the valuable Berkeley/Oakland-based nonprofit preventative medicine health facility, sponsored by the EOC Service Corporation, set up their Out-Reach Program at Food King Supermarket last Tuesday, conducting on-the-spot free tests for Sickle Cell Anemia, general anemia and hypertension.

Free health kits were also distributed to the community to service home health needs. On hand to view the Clinic's operation were reporters from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, which carried a highly favorable feature story on the People's Free Health Clinic, particularly focusing on the free Sickle Cell Anemia testing, counseling and research offered, in its Friday, December 26, issue.

...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting New Novel Examines Lives Of
Black Americans In Egypt

Bob Jones, a journalist, and Suliman Ibn Rashid, a poet, are two of several Black Americans living in self-exile in Cairo, Egypt, during the 1960s. The following is Part 12 of ... And Bid Him Sing, the critically acclaimed novel written by BLACK PANTHER Editor-in-Chief David G. Du Bois, who himself lived in Cairo for 12 years.

PART 12

I moved over to the small group that had collected around the man who had been following Suliman. As I did so I heard the man saying: "... and he said I'd cheated him because he was Black! I wasn't going to cheat him! He didn't give me time to make change! I was giving him his money! I still got it here! But he wouldn't take it... and then he hit me! Why?! I wasn't going to cheat him! I'm no thief! By the Prophet! I'm no thief!"

Fahmy and the cigarette man were trying to console the taxi driver, patting his cheek and repeating over and over, "Ma-lesh, ma-lesh." Another person reminded him that his taxi was standing in a no-standing zone with both doors open and urged him to forget the whole thing. As I approached they all expectantly turned toward me and the taxi driver, digging into his pockets, said:

"Here's his change! He wouldn't take it! He slapped me! I wasn't going to cheat him! By the Prophet, I wasn't going to cheat him! I'm no thief!" He was slight, average height and very fair with dirty blond hair.

I told him I was sorry about what had happened and urged him to keep whatever change was due Suliman. He kept protesting that he was not a thief. I insisted as firmly that he keep the money for the embarrassment caused him and for the time he'd lost from his taxi. Continuing to protest, but less vigorously, the taxi driver began retelling the story to the assembly of on-lookers. I made a general apology to the group, excused myself and returned to the vestibule of my building.

The elevator had arrived from above. Suliman was inside, waiting. The door stood open. As I entered Suliman reached for the

starter buttons and asked: "What floor?"

"The top," I replied, and the elevator began its slow, silent climb upward. It was a glassed-in cage set in an open shaft, around which marble stairs circled. Elaborately worked wrought-iron rails and iron mesh guarded the shaft. On each floor a heavy, wrought-iron door stood closed tight awaiting the arrival of the elevator to activate it.

Suliman shifted his cane to his left hand, stuck out his right aggressively and said, unsmiling: "As salaam alaihu, brother."

"Alaikum as salaam," I answered, and in English, "Good timing."

"I got to Cristos' just after you left. Filfil told me you'd been there. So after I ate I hopped in a cab and made it over here. Been here three times before but you weren't ever here." This last was said with an accusing tone.

My apartment was not large but it had a spacious, open air about it. "Welcome to my home," I said, smiling and making a sweeping gesture with my arm as we entered. Suliman's reply was a simple, "Yeah," and he headed directly for a small sofa set against one wall of the sitting room, placed himself uncertainly in its middle and began to go through his pockets apparently in search of some-



Roxy, the central business district of Heliopolis, a Cairo suburb. The suburb is one of the newer sections of this historic city.

thing. As I was opening the doors onto the balcony he asked: "Mind if I smoke?"

Turning in surprise at this unnecessary and unexpected question, I was about to reply when I saw and understood the reason for it. Suliman was nervously preparing a hashish cigarette.

"Of course not," I replied and returned to the task of opening the apartment to the early evening breezes that were beginning to rise. Although it was in the center of downtown Cairo, my apartment was high enough to be completely open and free from obstruction. My view in any direction, however, consisted only of the perpendicular and horizontal lines and grey-brown masses of the largely unimaginative, reinforced concrete structures that filled central Cairo. Their harshness, even ugliness were, however, relieved by the balconies everywhere that skirted

and enveloped these buildings exposing to my view aspects of the lives of their inhabitants played out on these balconies.

"I don't have much of what some people would call a view," I apologized without looking at Suliman, "—but I like my place."

"It's a bad pad, man," he said, taking a sweeping glance around and then returning his attention to the deft activity of his small, finely shaped hands.

I left him to his tasks and went into the bedroom. There I kicked off my loafers, slipped off my socks and pushed my damp feet into the homemade, rope-soled cloth shoes that served me as slippers. Their dry coolness was a great relief and reminded me that I had wanted to take a leak long before I'd reached the passageway.

As I stood over the commode I wondered if I should treat this thing — about the taxi driver — the same way I had treated Suliman's outburst at Cristos'. I was curious to know what his version would be like. But I was sure the taxi driver's version was pretty much like it was. In Cairo taxi drivers like cigarette vendors, shop cashiers, newspaper boys and almost everyone else often return one's change bit by bit, as if they're hoping that either ignorance or impatience will prompt the customer to turn and go, leaving some portion of the change behind. Foreigners, particularly harassed and frightened Americans, are prize bait for this practice.

When I returned to the sitting room I found Suliman standing before my crammed bookcase. It acted as a floor-to-ceiling divider between the sitting room and a small dining area. He held a cigarette and was scrutinizing my books. The faint but unmistakable odor of hashish filled the room.

TO BE CONTINUED

...AND BID HIM SING

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

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

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

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

Francille Rusan Wilson
The Black Scholar

\$8.95 Ramparts Press

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REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"Scoring"

By taking some law courses and studying law on his own, Huey P. Newton gained a deep grasp of criminal law. Many times it came in handy, as we shall see in this excerpt from the chapter "Scoring" in his autobiographical *Revolutionary Suicide*. Instead of hiring expensive legal counsel or relying on unreliable public defenders, Huey defended himself whenever he got a case. As he says, "If you speak for yourself, you can say exactly what you want, or at least not say what you do not want to."

PART 31

I didn't have a car then, because most of my money was spent on the apartment, food, and clothes. When friends asked me why I did not get a car, I told

them it was because I did not want bills and that a car was not my main goal or desire. My purpose was to have as much leisure time as possible. I could have pulled bigger jobs and gotten more, but I did not want any status symbols. I wanted most of all to be free from the life of a servant forced to take those low-paying jobs and looked at with scorn by White bosses.

Eventually, I got caught, and more than once, but by then I had developed a fairly good working knowledge of the law, and I decided to defend myself. Although no skilled legal technician, I could make a good defense. If you are an existentialist, defending yourself is another manifestation of freedom.

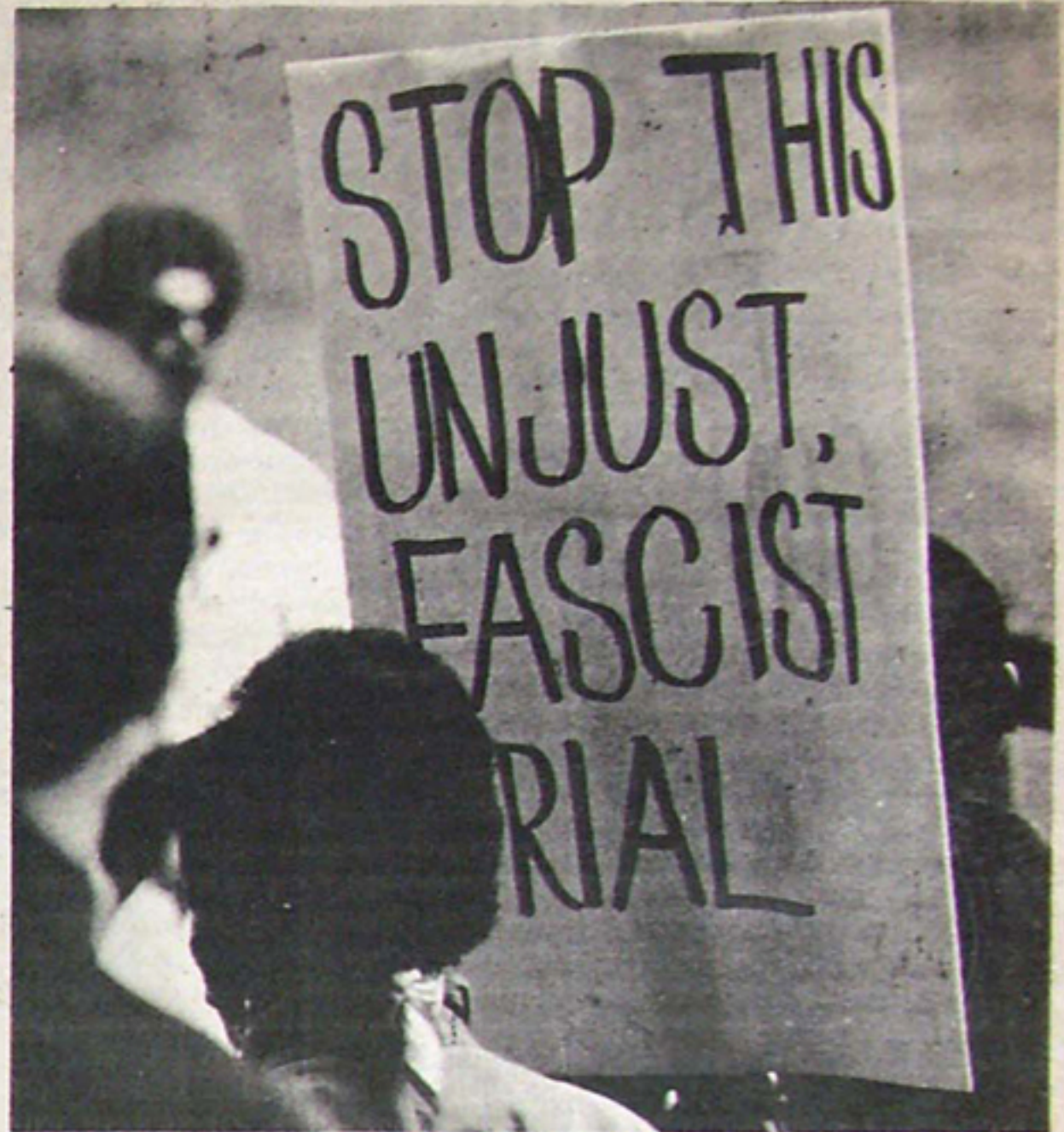
CONTEMPT

When you are brought into the courts of the Establishment, you can show your contempt for them. Most defendants want to get high-priced counsel or use the state to speak for them through the public defender. If you speak for yourself, you can say exactly what you want, or at least not say what you do not want to. Or you can laugh at them.

As Elaine Brown, a member of the Black Panther Party, says in her song, "The End of Silence," "You laugh at laws passed by a silly lot that tell you to give thanks for what you've already got." The laws exist to defend those who possess property. They protect the possessors who should share but who do not. By defending myself, I showed my contempt for that structure.

It gave me real pleasure to defend myself. I never thought in terms of conviction or acquittal, although it was an added treat to escape their net. But even a conviction would not have dismayed me, because at least I had the opportunity to laugh at them and show my contempt. They would see that I was not intimidated enough to raise the money to get counsel — money that I did not have in the first place — or to accept a public defender.

I especially liked traffic violations. For a while, I paid a lot of traffic tickets. When I became my own defender, I never paid another one. Of the three major cases in which I defended myself, the only one I lost was the one in which I was innocent.



Black and oppressed people in the U.S. cannot expect to receive a fair trial without public pressure.

Once, I was indicted on sixteen counts of burglary through trickery as a result of the short-change game, and I beat the cases during the pretrial period because the police could not establish the *corpus delicti* or the elements of the case. Each law had body of elements, and each element has to be violated in order for a crime to have been committed. That's what they call the *corpus delicti*.

People think that term means the physical body, but it really means the body of elements. For example, according to California law, in order to commit armed robbery you have to be armed, and you must expropriate through fear or force related to weapons; you can have armed robbery without any bullets in the gun. The elements of the case relate to fear and force in connection with weapons.

"BUNKO" CASE

In the short-change or "bunko" case I was accused of running my game in sixteen stores. However, they could get only a few people to say they were short in their registers. I was really saved from being convicted because the police tried to get a young woman teller from a bank to say that I had short-changed her.

A lot of people will not admit they have been short-changed. In the pretrial, in which they were trying to get a federal case, they asked me whether I had gone into the bank. I refused to admit it. I knew that the young woman

whom they wanted to testify against me had not shown up at court.

When I bailed out, I went to her bank and asked her if the police had been there. She said they had and that they were trying to persuade her that I short-changed her. She said she would not testify because she knew it had not happened. I invited her to court to testify on my behalf. She came and explained to the judge that the police had tried to persuade her to testify, but she would not comply.

My argument was that the police had invented the short-change rap against me. I pointed out that clerks who were short-changed would have missed the money either when I was in the store or at the end of the day. None of these people had notified the police.

The police had sought them out and by suggesting that they had been short-changed were really offering the clerks a chance to make five or ten extra dollars — a sort of pay-off for testifying. Most people, I said, are not as honest as the young girl bank teller.

Another argument I put forth in my defense was that if someone else had gotten change after I had been in the store before inventory of the register, it was quite possible, even probable, that the money had been lost at some other time. I got a dismissal on the grounds of insufficient evidence.

TO BE CONTINUED

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

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

Huey P. Newton

With power and passion, the co-founder of the Black Panther Party tells his life story. Here is the dynamic account of the making of a revolutionary. Boyhood amid a deeply religious and loving family. Adolescence as thief, hustler, ghetto-survivor. Murder trial for the death of a policeman—a cause célèbre 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

"WE ARE GOING TO MAKE AN EXAMPLE IN ZIMBABWE"

Text Of Speech By Sister Sarudzai Churucheminzwa Of The Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

On Sunday, December 21, Sister Sarudzai Churucheminzwa, a member of the Women's Detachment of the Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) — the military arm of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) — addressed a crowd of over 300 at the Oakland Community Learning Center. In an inspiring and highly informative speech, Sister Sarudzai kept her audience spellbound as she explained the history of ZANU's almost 13 years of armed struggle against the racist White minority regime in Zimbabwe and the current situation in ZANU's war of liberation.

The following is the text of Sister Sarudzai's passionate, unforgettable speech, words from a brave young sister who is fighting on the forefront of the armed struggle against neocolonialism in southern Africa.

"Forward with the revolution! Forward with the revolution! Forward with ZANU! Down with imperialism and capitalism! Down with Vorster and Smith! Down with all the imperialists of this world!

"I want to thank you very much for giving me this chance to let you know what is happening in Africa, particularly down in southern Africa. We have people who sabotage all liberation movements in southern Africa. Many here in the USA sabotage the armed struggle. That's why I would like to thank you very much for all that you do for us — publicizing what we are doing and for sending the funds, medicines and other things that we use in the forefront.

"What you have just seen in the film (*Hearts and Minds*) — the same thing is happening in Angola. The same thing is happening in Zimbabwe, in South Africa and here in the U.S. All the Western countries enjoy it when we are dying, when we are suffering. I was just crying when I was seeing all this, and I thought of the comrades wounded. Now maybe a person is dying. Some of the comrades are already dead because of these people, because of imperialism. I would be ashamed to sit down with Kissinger and Rockefeller because they are sending their troops to kill our people in Africa. If I die here, if I am killed here, I'll die for the truth because this country is no different than South Africa.

"When I was coming this way (to the U.S.), I was detained at the airport in Britain. I don't know whether they knew why I was coming here. I told them, 'I know you. You are the same enemies whom I am fighting against in Zimbabwe. This (detention) doesn't pain me at all.' They said: 'Do you want to come and study in the USA? Do you want to come and study here in Britain?' I said: 'I'll never, never study in imperialist countries. When Zimbabwe is free, that's when I will think of education, and I will think of this education in my own motherland.'

"After suffering and being oppressed by the minorities in southern Africa, ZANU was founded in Zimbabwe in 1963 to fight against imperialism. The Chinese fought and they won. The Vietnamese fought and they won. The Russians fought and they won. The same with us! The same with us! Now that Mozambique is free, just next door, why not us? Zambia is not free. You may hear that Zambia is free, but Zambia is not free. Zambia is being controlled by the British. It is a neocolonialist country. It



"ZANU is not fighting against White skin. We are fighting against the system, against imperialism and capitalism."

is not free. We need to liberate it. Most of the West African countries and most of the Central African countries are not free. Who is going to do that? We are going to do that. We are not going to sit back until Zimbabwe is free. We cannot be free unless Zimbabwe is free, unless the whole of Africa is free.

"In 1964, Smith ('prime minister' of Rhodesia) arrested our leaders, but that did not stop us at all. When they (imperialists) felt the downfall of the Portuguese government in Angola, in Guinea-Bissau and in Mozambique, they felt a change. We were fighting and by that time our struggle was more intensified in the northeast. We have liberated one-third of the total area in Zimbabwe, which is almost the area of the state of Mississippi. That area is free.

"There are 200,000 Whites in Zimbabwe and six million Africans. They took our lands by force. They hold 54 per cent of the country, and they give us 46 per cent. We cannot live on that small part of land. We are forced to go and work in the mines, in the industries and on



Sister SARUDZAI CHURUCHEMINZWA

their (Whites) farms. They make us work from the time we can see the light until the time we cannot see the light — 12 hours nonstop. We get five cents a day. What do you do with five cents a day?

"This forced me to leave my parents and my friends and join the armed struggle. I don't think my parents and my brothers know where I am, but I'm doing something for the future of Zimbabwe — for the young brothers, the young sisters of tomorrow so that they can stay in a free, socialist, democratic country. Zimbabwe will be different from all the other African states I have seen. We are going to make an example because we have suffered enough. We have seen how imperialism and capitalism are bad.

"In 1974, the South African government, the Rhodesian government and all imperialist countries saw that our party, ZANU, was going to win because it is the only liberation movement which has been fighting for the past 10 years. So they decided to destroy ZANU. How would they do this? They had to do this through another African. Kaunda, the president of Zambia — a reactionary, another Tshombe (a leader in the Congo who conspired with the CIA to assassinate Patrice Lumumba in 1961), another Uncle Tom. They gave him billions of dollars and they said, 'The interest will be free on this money. You may pay as you wish if only you can destroy ZANU.'

"Then, our leaders were released from prisons after 10 years. They didn't know how we had grown and that the armed struggle had been intensified inside Zimbabwe. They were taken from prison by helicopter to Lusaka, Zambia, and were forced to unite under the umbrella of ANC (African National Council). We were surprised that it was called the umbrella. It was not raining at all. It was not wet at all but they said we were going to unite under the umbrella. Was this really unity? It was unity to destroy ZANU. They said: 'If you ZANU people don't agree to this unity, we are going to send you away from this country.' We had all our material in Zambia, all our machinery. Our leaders were in Zambia. What could we do? Our leaders were forced to sign an agreement, a declaration of unity.

"So what happened the day after? They found out that we were still fighting, that there was no way of stopping us. They arrested all our leaders and assassinated Comrade Herbert Chitepo, the chairman of ZANU. He was assassinated on March 18, 1975, by the Zambian government, South Africa and all the imperialist countries. Today our leaders are still in detention. They haven't even been taken to court.

"They arrested our leaders, but we didn't stop the war. It was difficult for us to get the supplies from the Zambian government because the OAU (Organization of African Unity) was supplying the arms to the Zambian government and then the Zambian government would give everything to us. But for the past two years we haven't been getting the supplies. Zambia has been trying all along to destroy our party in order to bring neocolonialism in Zimbabwe, but we won't accept that.

MINISTERS OF RELIGION

"The ANC is or was composed of ministers of religion who couldn't do anything to us. They came, asked for help and took the money. They put the money in their own personal accounts and stayed in big hotels in Tanzania. Today if you go there you'll find some of them. They did not even come to the camps to see the comrades. They did not even send the money to the comrades.

"But when Smith said that he was not going to grant majority rule in his lifetime, some of them (ANC leaders) started to say the armed struggle is the only way. But what did they do for the armed struggle? They stayed at the hotels and enjoyed the money they were given by the other organizations. They wouldn't bring the money to us. What could we do with such people? We had to go to the OAU to tell them the problems we were facing.

"Right now in the forefront comrades are coming naked, they are coming in the thousands to join the armed struggle — young people who are dedicated to the revolution. There are still some people who are saying 'negotiations', who are still staying in big hotels forgetting that the ones who are fighting for independence are suffering. Sometimes I condemn the educated people because ed-

ucated people are the most corrupt in Zimbabwe. They forget the revolution. Most of the ANC leaders are people who were educated in America, and they were brainwashed by the Americans. They know imperialism and nothing else.

"After all this we went to the OAU, Comrade Samora Machel of Mozambique, and President Nyerere of Tanzania. They said there was nothing they could do unless we, the people of ZANU, did away with all the ANC leadership. So we told the ANC leadership that we had lost confidence in them and that the only people who could lead us are the people who are detained by the Zambian government. We told them that we can lead ourselves, as young as we are, as ready as we are, as courageous as we are — we are going to lead ourselves.

Following the dramatic and inspiring speech by Sister Sarudzai, the overflow crowd of 300 mingled and talked during a reception in the OCLC's spacious cafeteria.



Sister SARUDZAI exchanges warm greetings with Mr. BEN GRIFFIN, an active member of the OCLC's S.A.P.E. (Seniors Against A Fearful Environment) Club.

"We chose our own leaders and presented them to the OAU, and the OAU gave us the key to unlock the house full of supplies from Comrade Mao Tse-tung in China and all the other socialist countries in Eastern Europe and Asia. We took everything and we went to join the other comrades at the forefront.

"The only liberation movement is ZANU. No other party has been fighting in the past and will ever fight in the future. Before we started fighting, we had oriented the masses in Zimbabwe, we had politicized the masses. That was in the '60s and now everybody in Zimbabwe is fighting in the war we are waging. That's why you find young children of

five years, six years, young women coming to join the people and ZANU. They are coming in thousands. During the '60s we used to recruit the people, but today they are coming on their own without any recruitment because they know that this is the only way to better our country.

"We don't have clothing, medicine, funds, radios for communications. We don't have all those things, but our numbers are growing so much. At the time I left we had more than 20,000 dedicated comrades. I bet that now there are more than that because in a week in October and November we were getting about 300 people a week. Most of the comrades in Mozambique and Zimbabwe are coming with nothing. I cry now to think that the comrades have nothing to eat. We survive on fruits and leaves. We survive on all the things that you

can think of to eat in the jungle. We know that that is the revolution. If you ask a child, 'Why are you suffering?' he will tell you, 'Because of the imperialists. I'm fighting for my mother country.'

"The U.S. government has sent 500 mercenaries to fight against us. They are also trying to recruit Black people, Black people to go and fight against other Black people. Why? Because most of those brothers and sisters of ours are misinformed. They don't know what is happening. Right now in Angola this country (U.S.) is sending mercenaries to fight against the Angolan people. Today we hear Kissinger say he is sending people to keep peace in Angola. This is not true. Kissinger is sending people to fight against our own brothers in Angola. But I know that the brothers and sisters will make it.

"ZANU is not fighting against White skin. We are fighting against the system, against imperialism and capitalism. We won't say Africa is free until the whole world is free from capitalism and imperialism. White people here and in other places support our liberation movement. They are against the system, too, capitalism, which has ruined so much in this world. Its root is here in the United States. The U.S. sends its branches in the world in order to create more colonialism and more imperialism. We are fighting against such things. We don't want to see people suffering in this world. We are going to fight for our motherland and make it better.

"So comrades, I would like to thank you very much for what you do for us and for giving me this chance to let you know some of the things that are happening and that are being planned by this government to happen in southern Africa." □



Black Panther Party spokesperson DAVID G. DU BOIS (left, foreground) has comradely chat with ZANU representatives.

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.

Angola Viewed Through Cold War Lenses

By David Olsen

The following analysis of the war in Angola, written for Pacific News Service by David Olsen, soundly refutes the "cold war" propaganda put out by the U.S. news media that falsely assesses the Angolan war as a struggle between the forces of "communism" and those opposed to communism. Olsen is a former director of the Cambridge-based Africa Research Group and is co-author of Race to Power: The Struggle for Southern Africa, published by Anchor Press.

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Unknown to much of the world only last year, Angola today is the focus of saturation news coverage. As in the early days of the Vietnam war, much of this combines an ignorance of African affairs with an all-too-ready recourse to standard cold-war analysis.

CUBA

Take Cuba's involvement in the crisis. It is commonly assumed that by sending troops to fight with the Soviet-backed MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) in Angola, Cuba is following the dictates of Moscow. That Cuba is prepared to sacrifice normalized relations with the U.S. over Angola is seen as further evidence of Cuban subservience to Russia.

But Cuba has its own foreign policy reasons for committing troops to Angola. Cuba has maintained close ties with all three anti-Portuguese independence movements in Africa (the PAIGC [Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verdes] in Guinea-Bissau, FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front] in Mozambique and the MPLA) ever since their beginnings in the early 1960s.

Cuba, in fact, has been far more supportive of these three movements than the USSR. Although it had no military hardware to offer, Cuba sent medical supplies, doctors, educational materials and political advisors to all three movements, and led a worldwide propaganda campaign

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

U.S. READIES CARRIER OF 90 JETS FOR AIR STRIKES OVER ANGOLA

(New York, N.Y.) — The U.S. Navy carrier Independence, the cruiser Boston and three DDLs (destroyer escorts) are now in the Azores in the Atlantic Ocean, on full alert for action in Angola, according to Sean Gervasi, a well-known commentator on African affairs, citing highly placed Defense Department sources.

Gervasi's sources indicate that these ships have been given contingency orders that include flying tactical air support strikes over Angola. The Independence carries 90 F-4 Phantom jet fighters and has been armed with antipersonnel weaponry including napalm, Sidewinder missiles and antipersonnel fragmentation bombs.

According to Gervasi's Defense Department sources, the ships have taken on all necessary supplies to sail, including food and fuel, and all shore leave has been cancelled.

SPOTTER PLANES

In what is seen as a related development, U.S. spotter planes are now known to be flying missions over Angola from Zaire, from the same airfields as South African bombers. The U.S. spotter planes are normally used to spot targets for artillery and air strikes. U.S. cargo planes are air-dropping supplies directly to the South African columns operating on the central front, according to Gervasi's Defense Department sources. These planes are based in Zaire.

Also, according to Gervasi, mercenaries from the U.S. are arriving in Angola. Gervasi says some of the U.S. mercenaries are coming from regular units of the U.S. armed forces. Officers have been approaching enlisted men asking if they are interested in volunteering. Those who become "mercenaries" write letters of resignation from the regular forces in order to formally disassociate themselves from the army.

Gervasi further reports that South Africa has recently committed a second full regiment of mechanized cavalry. The first regiment of South African troops consists of two teams, according to Gervasi — one that entered Angola in the end of October, the

MPLA liberation forces (left) are engaged in a concerted struggle to establish people's power in Angola. Despite covert attempts by the U.S. to destroy their movement, the MPLA is pushing hard toward an inevitable victory.



THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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other in the middle of November — with orders to support the mercenary column in combat.

This second column of the first regiment was equipped with 100 French AMX 13 and U.S. M-41 Walker Bulldog tanks. From the beginning of their invasion, South African troops have been accompanied by Allouette III helicopters, which have been mostly used for supply.

Gervasi's Defense Department sources say that South Africa is now using two wings of fighter bombers to fly tactical support for the mercenaries and South African forces. South African fighter bombers are operating from a base in Zaire. It is estimated that between 12 and 20 South African aircraft are now operating in Angola.

The December 18 Angola Weekly News Summary, published by the MPLA Solidarity

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

INTERVIEW WITH LUIS CABRAL, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU

The following is the conclusion of an interview with Luis Cabral, president of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, conducted by Africa magazine, in which President Cabral discusses recent developments of the ongoing revolution in the former Portuguese colony.

CONCLUSION

CABRAL: For us in Bissau we have had to guarantee food to those people who lived in the urban zones occupied by the Portuguese forces, whereas the former liberated zones had quite good production and enough food. But the food problem will only last until the first harvest. After that we hope things will be much better.

There is also the problem of "mental decolonization" of the urban areas. Eleven years of war have left their mark on a whole generation living in the urban milieu. Honor was transformed into opportunism and lying, vengeance and reprisals. Now the people have confidence in the Party and the state and they have regained dignity.

PROBLEMS

But there are other problems; for example, in the liberated zones we made a very great effort in health and education. We sent our militants to train as teachers and nurses. But now we must have a budget to pay all of these people. In a sense the welfare and social activities created during the war are above the real economic capacity of the country.

Nevertheless we must maintain and develop these activities. We are counting on international solidarity for some support and the present international context is quite favorable.

Q: What type of international assistance does Guinea-Bissau need most?

CABRAL: Almost any type of aid. We still have the food deficiency which cannot be solved before the end of the year. Consequently there must be some aid to guarantee food during the period of cultivation. We need aid to improve the roads, for reconstructing bridges, and for building houses. We must build schools, rural dispensaries, generally we must reconstruct what was destroyed during the war.

All these projects require funds, so the basic type of aid must be financial. After the negotiations for the transfer of power were complete, we lost our



greatest freedom: the freedom not to have any money. The teacher in a school got his uniform and food and medical treatment, if he was sick, free. It was a very simple life. Now we must make a budget to pay teachers at the end of the month.

Q: In what ways have the roles of women been changed during the national liberation struggle?

CABRAL: Women participated in the war on the basis of equality with men and they produced many heroines, and women are in high positions of leadership in the Party. The Party has defined complete equality between men and women and the state gives each the same opportunities. But women must struggle to benefit from these possibilities. In a sense this could be construed as men's concession to women, but this must also be considered a conquest for women in the general framework of our national liberation struggle which is not yet finished and is continuing. As you know, by participating in the struggle, women have already played a great role and have won the respect and admiration of all of our people. And the position of the state is strengthened by granting these opportunities to the women.

Q: Now that Cape Verde is independent is there a timetable for total unity with Guinea-Bissau and will it take, say, the Tanzanian form?

CABRAL: For us, the program of unity can be said to have been forged during the struggle. Then after the independence of Guinea-Bissau, it was possible to do political work on Cape Verde; some of our cadres left the mainland to begin work over there. These were led by Pedro Pires, Silvino da Luz and others who were able to develop the Party's activities in the Islands.

Unity was established on the basis of the single party, the PAIGC, but also on the freely



LUIS CABRAL (above), leader the people of Guinea-Bissau (left).

expressed will of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Here in Guinea there is the National Assembly, which has already adopted the Constitution. In Cape Verde there is also a Popular National Assembly with the same structure as we have here. We are now in the process of constructing a commission for the Council of Unity in each of the assemblies. The Council will be charged with the task of formulating the Constitution of Unity, which will, in turn, be submitted to the two assemblies.

Q: Do you have a date for this?

CABRAL: We must deal with the Cape Verdean Constitution first; we only want to do things which are concrete and realistic. The date depends upon the evolution of the situation and the resolution of certain problems both on the mainland and Cape Verde. Once each state has improved its situation, we shall then join the two assemblies.

The Party will supervise the activities of the two states. Secretary-General Aristides Pereira is the head of the Party and President of Cape Verde. I am his deputy and the president of the State Council in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Chico Mendes is prime minister on the mainland and Pedro Pires is prime minister here. Thus the cadres here and there are unified because they are of the same Party. However, the organic unity of the two states will come later once the Council of Unity has prepared the constitution. Nevertheless, there is already ideological unity realized through the Party with its base in both states. □

AFRICA IN FOCUS



Somalia

The Somali ambassador to France announced in Paris last week that the Somali government had handed to the French ambassador in Mogadishu, Somalia, "a very vigorous protest" against an attack by French troops on a Somali border police station and repeated military flights over Somali territory. Ambassador Mohammed Said Samantar said that French military aircraft from Djibouti, capital of the French territory of the Afars and Issas on the Red Sea, flew over Somali territory repeatedly from "Thursday to Sunday." He termed the action "aggression against our sovereignty" and said the situation on the border remained tense.

Mozambique

The Mozambique Radio in Lourenco Marques has announced that the "criminal reactionaries" who had tried to hamper an official campaign to eradicate corruption and undiscipline in the police and armed forces through an armed action in the capital of the People's Republic of Mozambique would be tried before People's Tribunals. The Radio said the trials had been demanded by the authorities of Mozambique's northern Cabo Delgado Province. The action was the first open attack against the progressive government of Mozambique since independence on June 25.

Comoros Islands

The Comoros Island group off East Africa that obtained independence last July is faced with a "desperate need" of food, medicines and technical assistance, reports a United Nations mission after visiting the area recently. France, the former colonial power, abruptly cut off financial help to the Comoros following the decision of the people of the Island group to choose independence from France. Experts estimate that \$2.5 million is needed immediately for food, fuel and drugs. The World Food Program of the U.N. is providing some emergency stocks, and other efforts are being made.

10,000 RALLY AT CLOSING OF PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST PARTY'S 2nd CONGRESS

The following first-hand analysis of the highly successful Second Congress of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party is written by Irwin Silber, reporting for the Guardian newspaper.

(San Juan, Puerto Rico) - For more than a month a giant red number "2" has been the political touchstone of Puerto Rico.

The crimson "2" was the insignia for the 2nd Congress of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) which was held here in San Juan, November 28-December 7.

Thousands of pavements, walls and highway overpasses from one end of the island to the other were decorated with the flaming numeral — usually hand-painted on in the middle of the night by special propaganda brigades of the PSP.

From San Juan to Ponce, from Mayaguez to Guayama, banners, posters, stickers and leaflets decorated telephone poles, street light stanchions and fence posts. It could be seen on the sides of trucks and pennants hanging from the windows of the slums and cheap apartment houses that have been thrown together to house the uprooted peasantry of this now capital-intensive U.S. colony.

REMARKABLE GROWTH

It is a measure of the remarkable growth in influence of the PSP since its founding four years ago that by the time 10,000 people rallied to celebrate the Congress's closing event at the Roberto Clemente Coliseum in this city, hardly a person in Puerto Rico did not know about it.

The attention given the PSP was not the work of the party alone. For weeks, the establish-

ment media have been railing against the Congress with scare stories and editorials on the combined "Cuban-Soviet invasion" of Puerto Rico.

The puppet governor, Rafael Hernandez Colon, went on national television to denounce the party and its Congress, calling on people not to attend the mass public rally. On the day before the rally, helicopters and small planes dropped tens of thousands of leaflets all over the island in a massive assault of anticommunist propaganda.

And, in a special report released November 28, the U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee dramatized the opening of the Congress with a 496-page document called: "Terroristic Activity, the Cuban Connection in Puerto Rico; Castro's Hand in Puerto Rican and U.S. Terrorism." The burden of the report is



Drawing depicts the fierce spirit of the Palestinian people in the face of Israeli aggression.

NABLUS PROTEST

Palestinians March And Rally Against Escalating Israeli Repression

(Nablus, Occupied Palestine) — Continuing the wave of popular demonstrations begun in early December in response to escalating Israeli repression, Palestinian people here staged massive marches and rallies on December 15, 16 and 17, attacking the occupying Zionist army with rock-throwing and incendiary bottles.

In the largest of the recent demonstrations, held on December 17, Palestinians of all ages filled the streets of this ancient city on the West Bank of the Jordan River.

Palestinian flags fluttered high in the dusty, hot air as the ralliers shouted slogans in support of the Revolution and the heroic Palestinian commandos, while vigorously condemning the Israeli occupation authorities.

As reported from Beirut, Lebanon, by WAFA, the Palestinian radio, and monitored throughout the world by Hsinhua news agency, the ralliers in the December 17 march attacked Israeli armoured cars stationed at various crossroads with stones and Molotov cocktails. The Israeli troops fled in disorder, leaving their weapons.

On December 15 and 16, demonstrators also attacked Israeli troops and police. Palestinian activists distributed leaflets denouncing Zionist occupation and suppression and calling on the masses to continue their struggle.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25



JUAN MARI BRAS, secretary-general of the PSP, addresses San Juan conference. Bras stated at the conference, "We will never renounce our right to the armed struggle, not until the day imperialism gives up its last gun."

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that the PSP is nothing but a Cuban front.

Despite all this and a batch of inspired rumors concerning the possibility of violence at the rally, a huge crowd, coming in buses and cars from every part of the island, mobilized to hear the PSP announce the results of its Congress and to demonstrate for independence and socialism.

A special contingent of some 350, representing the party's North American zone in the U.S., flew in for the event. It was the largest public rally the PSP has ever organized and would be considered a massive turnout by any political group here.

The high point of the assembly was the PSP's announcement that it would participate and run candidates in the island's 1976 elections. Previously, the party

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

MOZAMBIQUE FORGES STEADILY AHEAD TOWARD SOCIALISM

(Lourenco Marques, Mozambique) — *Africa* magazine (December, 1975) reports that since independence the Mozambican people and government have progressed steadily towards the socialist goals outlined in FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) policy, both internally and in foreign relations.

Announcing sweeping socialist measures to take effect immediately, President Samora Machel told the largest public meeting ever held in Mozambique: "Our comrades sacrificed themselves, the people were bombed and burned by napalm to be able to free the land — which now continues to be controlled by a handful of people here in our country. . . Where is Freedom? . . . We did not fight a war to feed the exploiters here in Mozambique."

The president told the crowd that the land belonged to the people to be controlled by the state. All private and church schools have been nationalized. Schools and universities are continuing to be reorganized to replace the colonial education system with a Mozambican one. During their summer vacation 1,600 students and teachers from the University of Lourenco



Over 80,000 Mozambicans gather at rally to hear speech from their president, SAMORA MACHEL (inset).

Marques worked in the countryside or in factories in an attempt to "wash off" the old elitist ideas of the colonial system.

Private medical practice has been prohibited and private clinics and mission hospitals nationalized. There are less than a 100 doctors in Mozambique for a population of nine million, and a priority is the establishment of medical facilities in the rural areas. Starting with the closing down of private law firms, the

judicial system is being reorganized.

The National Defense Force (a regular army as well as a "reconstruction service") and the police force will work without salaries until the country has constructed a solid economy which will create salaries. President Machel spent most of his first week in office visiting police and military barracks, impressing upon the forces that national

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

WORLD SCOPE



Vietnam

North and South Vietnam have agreed to accept recommendations by delegations from both countries for reuniting the country, the *North Vietnamese News Agency (VNA)* announced last week. North Vietnam's National Assembly and a special congress of 276 South Vietnamese agreed that a general election be held in 1976 to form a joint National Assembly, the VNA said in a broadcast monitored in Tokyo, Japan. The delegations suggested that the National Assembly, to be elected by all Vietnamese over 18 years of age, oversee official reunification.

Venezuela

Venezuela took control of its multimillion dollar oil industry on January 1, in one of the world's largest negotiated nationalizations of foreign industry. Exxon, Shell, Gulf, Mobil and Texaco oil companies received nearly one billion dollars for their assets. The five companies, paid in tax-free, six per cent government bonds, received one-fifth of the five billion dollar book value of their assets. Venezuelan oil experts said it would cost nearly \$10 billion to replace the assets.

East Timor

Officials of the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) and the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of South Vietnam recently issued statements denouncing the Indonesian government for sending armed forces to occupy Dili, the capital of the newly independent Democratic Republic of East Timor. The North Vietnamese spokesperson blasted the Indonesian government for committing flagrant armed intervention and aggression in East Timor. The South Vietnamese spokesperson said in his statement that South Vietnam firmly supports the just struggle of the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor (FRETILIN) and demanded an immediate end to Indonesian aggression in East Timor.



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A TIME TO DIE

(Somehow Dedicated to the Attica Brothers and Others)

A time to die, is the growth of a flower, blowing in the wind, bending forward, backward, springing upward.

The development of a young mind and its time to die is the light of a match and a foreign object blowing it out.

Close your eyes to the darkness that envelops you and you are momentarily blind. Look but don't see because it's your time to die.

Close your ears and you won't hear the thunder of the wretched. The enlightening of the deaf will bring a storm of justice upon us.

A time to die is a time to live. You must not fear either for they are indistinguishable. It's time to die so that you can live. Walk tall, talk slowly and act quickly.

A grubby, sticky hand grabs greedily at life but its time to die. Snatch away the birthright of one child/man/woman and you have snatched away the breath of a nation.

REACT TO YOUR TIME TO DIE.

—Sharon Denise Rivers



OVER 300 TURN OUT AT O.C.L.C. TO "BOOGIE WITH THE HOOK"

John Lee Hooker Gets Standing Ovation At Blues Benefit

(Oakland, Calif.) - John Lee Hooker, a Blues great whose unique "down home" style has helped shape Blues history, turned out a show-stopping and stomping — performance before a cheering crowd of 300 last Sunday at a Blues Benefit for the Legal Aid and Educational Program of the Oakland Community Learning Center held here.

Brother Sonny Rhodes, the "Disciple of the Blues," and the Brotherly Love Band, who thrilled the Sunday Forum audience two weeks ago, also gave outstanding performances. They were joined by Blues artist J.J. Malone.

In a conversation with this reporter shortly before his crowd pleasing appearance, Brother Hooker explained how his lifelong association with the Blues began.

"My stepfather, Will Moore, was the one who got me started playing the Blues. He was my idol, and Sonny Boy Williamson, he was my idol too.

"But my stepfather was the one who got me started. The style I play is exactly like his. I was 14 then. Let's see, that was around 1921," he began.

Brother Hooker, who was born in Clarksville, Mississippi, on August 20, 1917, said that there were other Blues players back in the '20s who were good, such as Petey Wheatstraw and Charlie Patton.

They didn't get much exposure because they were limited to playing locally at house parties and other gatherings of Black folks, since the Blues then wasn't felt to be "acceptable" enough to

be booked into the top flight theaters and dance halls.

"All that's changed now," Brother Hooker remarked. "The Blues is popular now. All kinds of people listen to the Blues. That's good."

When asked about what type of message the Blues gives to people, the "Hook" said that the Blues "lifts people up when they're feeling down."



BPINS photos

JOHN LEE HOOKER (above) turned in a fine performance before a packed audience at the Oakland Community Learning Center.

"Anyone can get the Blues," he said, "regardless of how wealthy they are or successful or whatever."

"It's Black people's music, and they're the only ones who can do it with the most feeling. There are others who can do it, but no one can do it like the Black man."

"Blues is the root of all music: spirituals, jazz, any kind of music you name. Blues is the root of all of that. It comes in many forms, in many different ways... with many different feelings."

"There's happy Blues, there's sad Blues. When you're disgusted and don't know which way to turn, that's the Blues. When you're real hungry and have problems, that's the Blues."

All of the members of the group couldn't make it to the benefit, but in addition to Brother Hooker, Robert Hooker, his son, drew raves with his moves on

the keyboard, and Ken Swank played drums.

The theme of the benefit was "Come Boogie with the Hook," and before it was over, the "Hook" had the majority of the audience on their feet doing just that.

After his driving, foot-stomping lesson on the Blues, Brother Hooker was given a standing ovation and called back on stage for more.

In his encore, the "Hook" and his group were joined by Sonny Rhodes and Brotherly Love and had the audience on their feet for the duration of the show — both bands loosened up and rocked the building.

At one point Brother Hooker joked, "I don't have my whole band here. If they were here, we'd have the ceiling falling down."

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Angola Viewed Through Cold War Lenses

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

in support of their struggles for independence.

From Cuba's point of view, participation in Angola may be worth much more than the fading possibilities of detente with the U.S. Cuba has a long-standing commitment to build up its own armed forces. The military has an important place in Cuban life because of the ever-present possibility of invasion. Fighting in Angola not only gives Cuban soldiers combat experience but puts some backbone in Cuba's political presence in Latin America.

Soviet intervention in Angola and growing Soviet influence elsewhere in Africa remains the predominant concern of most Angola news coverage. Reports point to the flocking of African nations of all political persuasions to the Soviet camp, including Nigeria — long a neutral, non-aligned nation and the U.S.'s largest foreign oil supplier; and Mozambique and Tanzania, both recipients of Chinese aid and heretofore considered in the American press as sympathetic with China. All three have recently announced their support for the Soviet-backed MPLA.

M.P.L.A.

But like Cuba, all these countries have their own reasons for supporting the MPLA. Unlike Cuba, none of them have alliances with the USSR, and none can be considered in the Soviet socialist camp.

Nigeria, for example, has long been friendly toward the U.S. and indifferent toward the USSR. But Nigeria's foreign policy in Africa is built on opposition to South Africa's influence on the continent. Nigeria maintains the largest standing army in Africa expressly to counter South African power on the lower third of the continent, and announced support of the MPLA only because South Africa entered the civil war on the other side. Had South Africa stayed out of the conflict, Nigeria would more than likely have remained neutral.

In the case of Mozambique, its ruling national party, FRELIMO, has been an ally of the MPLA for over 11 years. At the beginning of their simultaneous wars of national liberation against Portugal, the PAIGC, FRELIMO and the MPLA formed a joint organization to coordinate the propaganda



Victorious MPLA troops in the Angolan capital city of Luanda.

and diplomatic activities of the three movements. The founders of all three (including Dr. Neto of MPLA) studied together at the University of Lisbon, and the leadership of each retains close personal ties with the others. These historical factors explain Mozambique's support for MPLA much better than do suppositions of Soviet influence on FRELIMO.

The fact is that many African nations have remained remarkably independent of the influence of both capitalist and socialist bloc countries. This is true not only of Mozambique, which received small amounts of military aid from both Russia and China, but also of Tanzania.

Tanzania's president, Julius Nyerere, is a proponent of "African socialism," but this "socialism" has almost nothing in common with its Soviet or Chinese namesakes beyond some degree of economic planning and an emphasis on cooperative styles of production.

It is precisely Tanzania's independence that explains how it could supposedly desert the Chinese camp even while China just completed a major railroad linking Tanzania and Zambia. It never was in the Chinese camp, as it is not in the Soviet camp now. Tanzania has been an active supporter of FRELIMO in neighboring Mozambique and of the MPLA and the PAIGC for over 10 years. That it continues to support the MPLA should present no mystery.

Because much of the reporting on Angola advances cold-war preconceptions rather than historical and political information about Africa, the civil war is largely regarded only as a communist vs. anti-communist conflict. Certainly big-power intervention into Angola has introduced this element, but the key issue remains how Angola will achieve self-determination. □

Mozambique Forges Ahead

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 20

security was the first priority; that they would have to work without wages at first; that there would be no ranks in the army; and that "if necessary we return to arms for the start of the revolution against reactionary nationals."

FRELIMO's nonracial policy was emphasized at the massive public meeting by the president's warning that "any force which tried to sow division among the people... will make us pick up arms again and fight them... It doesn't matter if they are Black or White... We don't fight color. We fight ideas."

New laws in industry are aimed at combatting speculation and economic sabotage. An increasing number of firms which have been abandoned or neglected by their owners are being run by collectives. Numerous "people's shops" have been established to curb hoarding and ensure that the people get their supplies at prices stipulated by the government.

AGRICULTURE

At the first national conference on agriculture in September, the staff of the Ministry of Agriculture met with representatives from all the provinces and personnel from various sectors to work out the best ways of putting into practice FRELIMO's policy and government directives. The main theme of the conference was that the peasants were the cornerstone of Mozambican society and the way forward lay with them, through the establishment of communal villages.

The government's idea on the villages is that they are a means of collective production that are free of any form of exploitation. To be economically viable, each village should have at least two districts, preferably five, with at least 250 families (1,200 to 1,500 people) in each district.

Each village should contain schools and nurseries; health clinics or a hospital; cultural, political and sports centers; workshops, small factories and maintenance depots; an administrative center including a distribution center, police, a radio, newspapers, etc.; an adequate plot of land for each family to build a home and yard; open spaces and gardens. The village should produce enough to feed the population of the village and obtain other necessities, and roads should be built in the village and linking it to other villages. □

AFRICA

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MARTIAL ARTS



Kinesiology

PART 2

One of the aims of kinesiology is the solution of problems of practical importance. Thus, two of the objectives of kinesiology are to develop an understanding of human movement and the variables operating in efficient motor performance and to present information that will enable the individual to analyze and evaluate a motor performance in terms of basic essentials.

We refer to this aspect of study as structural kinesiology, which primarily involves the anatomical foundations for the prescription of conditioning methods for therapy, general hygiene, and specific skill growth. Knowledge of structural kinesiology is also necessary for the proper treatment of athletic injuries.

In teaching motor skills, a knowledge of structural kinesiology is especially important in describing and analyzing the movements of all human actions. This added insight into the nature of a skill should complement all exercise and athletic events. In making a movement description, the primary objective is to gather an understanding of timing and coordination. Movement descriptions involve not only the sequence of joint actions, but also their speed and accelerations. Therefore, the fundamental concepts of body mechanics are the foundations of all human performances.

The description of joint actions in terms of their direction, range, leverage, sources of movement and power, and integration into patterns, as well as the axes and planes in which they occur, are also the foundations of movement descriptions. A performance analysis is made from both external and internal standpoints. An external analysis considers the gross segments of the body and their applied leverage, force and acceleration. An internal analysis considers the bone-muscle leverages and the internal factors that affect joint actions.

Thus, the ability to analyze movements and their difficulties and the ability to prescribe an individualized program are central points of structural kinesiology.

WARRIORS INJECT NEW LIFE INTO PRO BASKETBALL WITH SELFLESS TEAM PLAY

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Golden State Warriors, reigning champions of the National Basketball Association, have injected new life into professional basketball with their winning, crowd-pleasing style of relying more on teamwork and hustle than on individual talents and skills.

Currently the winningest team in the NBA with a 22-7 record, the Warriors 12 game home court winning streak was only broken last weekend by the Houston Rockets 113-110, one game short of their club record.

Led by Rick Barry and Jamaal (Keith) Wilkes, the teams only "big names," other players like Phil Smith, Clifford Ray, George Johnson, Charles Johnson, Derrick Dickey, and sensational rookie Gus Williams have been very important cogs in the unrelenting Warriors' machine.

According to coach Al Attles, 11-year NBA veteran, "We don't have a first or second string on this team, don't use the words 'subs.' I hate the word. We just have players. . . I'm not afraid to go with anyone on my team."

Just last year, Brother Al Attles was awarded the Son of Man Temple's "Father of the Year" award for the unselfish concern he displayed for local Black youth.



Coach AL ATTLES (right) continues to lead the NBA champion Golden State Warriors to victory with his "human wave" approach to basketball.

Last year, both in the championship playoffs and throughout the amazing turnaround season, Attles constantly rotated and

substituted his players, tiring and confusing the Warriors' rivals with wave after wave of fresh talent. In an upset that racked the foundation of the basketball world, the Warriors, under Attles selfless team effort, swept the Washington Bullets in four-straight games.

SUCCESS

Because of the Warriors' success last year and at the start of the 1975-'76 season, more and more NBA teams are copying their style of play.

Jamaal (Keith) Wilkes, is an prime example of the Warriors "unsung heroes". Although a star at UCLA and NBA "Rookie of the Year" in 1974, Brother Jamaal does not get his due recognition. But in game after game Jamaal plays solid, determined and scientific basketball, a Warriors' trademark.

The relatively short (6'6") Wilkes is regarded by many as maybe the best all-purpose forward in the NBA because he does so many things so well. Invariably he drew the opponents top scorer as his defensive assignment.

"We know we're a good team, and that if we do the things we know how to do, we can be champions again," Wilkes said. □



Congratulations Raiders!

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Oakland Raiders have advanced to another showdown with "Mean" Joe Green and the Pittsburgh Steelers by edging out the Cincinnati Bengals, 31-28 in their exciting first game in National Football League championship playoffs.

The "Silver and Black" Raiders advanced into the playoffs after winning the NFL's American Conference West Division title for the eighth time in the last nine years with an 11-3 record.

Changes For Harris County Jail System

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

up within 90 days to handle nothing but cases of defendants confined in county jail.

- Present jail cells must be cleaned daily and inspected monthly.

- Prisoners must get clean clothes daily instead of weekly.

- The county must hire a full-time dietician.

- The jail must allow prisoners to exercise three times a week and the county must provide money for vocational and educational rehabilitation programs.

- Prisoners serving their sentences only on weekends must not be kept in jail overnight. They will spend Saturday in jail, sleep at home that night, return to jail Sunday morning and be released Sunday night.

- An ombudsman's office, composed of American Civil Liberties

Union (ACLU) attorneys, must be set up to monitor the county's compliance with Bue's order.

In 1972, the ACLU filed a suit on behalf of six county jail inmates on the grounds that jail conditions violated prisoners' Constitutional rights. Last February 4, the county Commissioners Court signed a consent agreement settling the suit and promising to improve jail conditions. Later, in September, ACLU lawyers requested hearings in U.S. District Court because they said the Commissioners Court had not adhered to the settlement.

Judge Bue's guidelines are the result of those September hearings and include a nine-page list of weekly and monthly reports the county must submit to him so he can check on compliance with his order. □

U.S. Readies Angolan Air Strikes

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

Committee here, takes note of the two most important areas of misinformation concerning the nature of the war now taking place in Angola. The *Summary* states:

"It is not a civil war. The MPLA-led forces of the People's Republic of Angola are engaged in battle against groups composed primarily of outside interests: South Africans, Zaireans, right-wing Portuguese and former military officials. In contrast to the impression one would gain from reading U.S. press reports," the *Summary* states, "actual Angolan participation in the enemy forces, MPLA has emphasized, is very limited."

The *Summary* also points out that *The New York Times* (December 16) reports that the Ford administration made the decision last June to aid forces who would oppose the MPLA. They claim that only U.S. assistance stopped the MPLA from taking control of the entire country. U.S. intervention in Angola has temporarily denied the Angolan people the national independence for which they fought in armed struggle for 14 years. The furor in the media over Angola obscures this important fact.

Meanwhile, 14 African nations have so far recognized the People's Republic of Angola, under the MPLA. Two recent, significant additions to the list are Nigeria and Tanzania. Oil rich Nigeria is the largest country in Africa and is militarily the strongest of the Black African countries. Nigeria's recognition comes as something of a surprise given its generally pro-Western

stance. However, the exposure of South Africa's overt involvement in the Angolan war is felt to be the determining fact in its recognition.

Tanzanian recognition, as one of the most progressive countries of Africa, did not come immediately. It is also felt that the critical turning point for Tanzania was South African intervention. Concurrent with its announcement of recognition of the People's Republic of Angola, the Tanzanian government closed the FNLA and UNITA offices in Dar es Salaam. □

F.B.I. Witness "Dies In Auto Accident"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

FBI documents he is withholding.

Among the documents referred to in the motion by attorneys for the families was a letter written by the FBI and sent to Jeff Fort, then leader of the Blackstone Rangers street gang, stating that the Black Panther Party had a contract out on his life. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, December 13, 1975.) The document came to light through the recent hearings of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence in Washington.

Perry denied the motion and accused the attorneys of attempting to delay the opening of the trial by introducing the motion. The attorneys angrily accused the judge of insulting them in open court and demanded to know if the judge had the documents and was going to make them available.

Perry walked out of the courtroom as the attorneys were speaking. Later, in the hall, attorney Taylor told reporters,

V.E.P. Exposes Black Voting Obstacles

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

Cited among these factors which dilute the Black vote are at-large elections which assure the election of representatives of the racial majority, improperly drawn political boundaries, annexation, and methods of election such as races involving multi-member districts, full slate requirements, staggered terms, numbered posts, and majority vote requirements.

"The phenomena of minority political progress of recent years in the face of continuous barriers is dramatic testimony to the hard work and perseverance of local community groups who recognize

the power of the ballot in the South," stated John Lewis, VEP executive director. "We must be prepared to wage an all-out assault on the remaining barriers to the ballot while we have the protection of the extended Voting Rights Act for the next seven years."

The Voter Education Project is a nonpartisan, tax-exempt organization based in Atlanta, Georgia which promotes minority political participation in the 11 southern states.

(THE BLACK PANTHER wishes to thank the VEP for the information in this article.) □

San Quentin Prison Violence

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

"He went back and was 'invited' inside (where the ass kickings are administered after they've forced the prisoner to strip naked), but he declined, and went instead to his counselor, Mike Jensen, who called the squad office to straighten the matter out. He was told the brother could come get the ring. When he did, he was told by Papke, 'I get you for this.'"

"On November 26, a Black prisoner (Carr) was given a cell change without having requested it. Another Black prisoner (Shipyard Shorty) was moved from his cell (2-E-68) into Carr's (2-E-56). Carr was known to have had a running conflict with a certain group of Mexican prisoners and was moved from 2-E-56 where

there was relative security because a larger number of Blacks were housed in that area, into 2-E-68, a den of hostile Mexicans.

"Early Thanksgiving morning as East Block was releasing for breakfast, Carr was stabbed, nearly causing the place to go off. The Sgt. (Hahn) claimed he had Carr moved so he could keep an eye on him — which was a direct cause of his being stabbed. The assailant was not caught. Carr, after being treated at the hospital was taken to AC. Lt. Jimmerson was overheard to say 'They didn't get that nigger good enough. ...

KNOWN MAFIA MEMBER

"Also, on Thanksgiving morning, a known Mafia member was released from the hole, along with a walking dead man ('Pin-cushion' Smith). That night as East Block was returning from the evening meal, a Black prisoner (Fuzzy Hamilton) was assaulted by a group of Mexicans — no Mexicans busted, Fuzzy gone to the hole, and Billy Williams protesting, taken to the hole with Fuzzy for 'conduct that could lead to violence.'

"Friday morning a large number of Blacks, individually and in small groups, went to express their feelings to Associate Warden Smith about the entire problem, including the beating of a White prisoner Wednesday, by the goon squad and a guard known to be connected with the Mafia (Espinoza).

"Those going in to Smith were of various political persuasions, but all stating in effect that the efforts of Black prisoners to remain within a constructive course should not be interpreted to mean that we will suffer further attacks or experience another December 19, 1974, because if officials cannot or will not deal with the aggressors, we would, and in a most aggressive manner. ... □



FRED HAMPTON

"The judge is part of the conspiracy." Another attorney, Dennis Cunningham added, "He's clearly working for the government."

The trial is scheduled to begin January 5. □

Puerto Rican Socialist Party

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

and its predecessor organization, the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) has made refusal to participate in the elections a matter of principle for 15 years.

Juan Mari Bras, secretary general of the PSP, in the rally's major address, directly confronted the question of electoral strategy. "Does the electoral strategy mean that we set aside the armed struggle?" he asked. "We answer definitely — NO!"

Quoting from Cuban Premier Fidel Castro, Mari Bras brought the crowd to its feet with a thundering ovation as he declared: "There can be no victorious revolution if you have the arms and you do not have masses. But there cannot be a victorious revolution without arms."

"We will never renounce our right to the armed struggle," the PSP leader went on, "not until the day that imperialism gives up its last gun."

"The most important thing in this next year," he said, "is not the elections — not who will win or lose the right to become the puppet of imperialism. The most important political development of 1976 will be the growth and consolidation of the first Marxist-Leninist party of the Puerto Rican working class." □



"Until We're Free"

A powerful, yet tender and important new album by Elaine Brown. The songs on the album weave a beautiful tapestry of protest against the quality of life for Black Americans. Listeners will find themselves engulfed in a flow of emotion as Elaine's melodic voice works its magic. Once you have heard "Until We're Free", you will understand why Huey P. Newton says: "A consuming talent, a total dedication and a proven commitment are combined in Elaine Brown, making her the first, genuine People's Artist America has produced."

To purchase this album, send \$4.00 cash or money order to: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621. Also available at major record stores near you.

SONGS WRITTEN AND PERFORMED BY ELAINE BROWN
ALBUM PRODUCED AND DISTRIBUTED BY MOTOWN RECORD CORP.

Letters to the Editor

RECOGNIZE M.P.L.A.-LED ANGOLA

Dear Editor,

As concerned citizens of Rhode Island we have been watching the recent developments in Angola with happiness and anger. We rejoice that the yoke of colonialism has been broken and that a move toward true independence has begun. We are angered that the forces of South African racism and American hegemony are slowing this process. We call for the end of all American arms, money, and men being sent to the fronts of reaction, racism, and neo-colonialism, the FNLA and UNITA.

The charges of Cuban "mercenaries" fighting in Angola is a slander to the independent nation of Angola, declared on November 11, 1975 and already recognized by some three dozen nations, while the other fronts have not even been recognized by their chief supporters. In this struggle as elsewhere in Africa the Soviet Union has consistently supported the forces of national independence and democracy. Meanwhile the United States has been allied with Portuguese colonialism and its supporters for decades. The moment of Truth is at hand.

We want no Vietnams in Africa. We call on all powers to recognize the new independent People's Republic of Angola under the leadership of the MPLA.

Rhode Island Friends of Angola
92 Ocean Ave.
Cranston, R.I.

GEORGIA INMATES SEEK THE BLACK PANTHER

To Whom It May Concern:

We are the brothers incarcerated within the neo-kolonial concentration Camps (here) in the state of Georgia. I'm writing to set forth a most humble request to be placed upon (if there is one) your "charity list" for a subscription to/of the Intercommunal News. We trust you infer favorably and assist us to/in attenuating the "evil forces in control" who strive to hold us incommunicado (here) in "their" vise. Our "efforts" to survive are solely for the People. So, let us (here) join hands with the hands of the Comrade Brothers and Sisters of the Black Panther Party, to give the final priceless gift for the People — for the priceless value of life is death. And "for the People, should death engulf us — it will be 'heavier than any mountain and deeper than any sea.'"

We shall in the days ahead seize (!)

All Power for the People!!

Bro. Carter Arnold, Jr.
Georgia Diagnostic Classification Center
H-1 Adjustment Center Cell No. 14
Jackson, Georgia

"AFTER I READ THE FIRST PAPER I KNEW DIFFERENT"

Dear Sir,

I have been a close observer of Black Panther Party activities for about five months...

...I have a subscription to the paper. Before I began receiving the papers, I felt as though I was in school just to be here with only graduating on my mind. After I read the first paper I knew different. I had found the purpose for furthering my education. I am an advanced sophomore majoring in psychology specializing in pediatrics. I am quite sure that I can offer some kind of help at the Oakland Community School or maybe even at the paper during the summer and when I graduate.

Reading the paper is very informative and inspiring to me as was reading, "Blood In My Eye" and "Revolutionary Suicide." I wrote this poem as a result of that inspiration. I hope you like it and can find some room for it in a further issue of THE BLACK PANTHER.

Love and All Power To The People!

Jo Helen Roberts
Texas Women's University
Denton, Tex.

FLA. PRISON SUPPRESSES THE PEOPLE'S PAPER

Greetings! Bros. & Sisters at the Panther Headquarters,

As a regular receiver of your paper this year, I'd like to inform you all that a partner of mine whom I turned on to The Panther recently, a couple of months ago, got out of solitary confinement and while going back to receive outdated mail from his incarceration he went to get his copy of the Panther and was told by the major, who is Black, he rejected it.

Can you all figure this out? After glancing through it I just don't know why he rejected it. We brothers still get underground papers such as The Militant, Southern Patriot, Scared Times, Guardian, Women's Free Press and many others, yet THE BLACK PANTHER is excluded. Also, we got a Black assistant superintendent this week.

So now you brothers and sisters see why Florida and North Carolina are the most racist states and they try to hide the truth from us brothers — our own kind, a Black Uncle Tom. But I'll be jumping next year and will continue the works of the Panther Party.

In Solidarity,
Your Brother,
Robert Bell, Jr.
Bushnell, Fla.

Palestinians March And Rally Against

Israeli Repression

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

Meanwhile, in his strongest and most outright appeal to date, Pope Paul VI has called on Israel to "recognize the rights and legitimate aspirations" of the Palestinian people.

In his 6,000 word Christmas message to the Catholic world, the 78-year-old Pontiff said: "Even if we are well aware of the tragedies not so long ago (referring to World War II) which have compelled the Jewish people to seek a secure and protected garrison in a sovereign and independent state of their own — and because we are properly aware of this — we would like to invite the children of this people to recognize the rights and legitimate aspirations of another people who also suffered for a long time — the people of Palestine."

SEVERE CONDEMNATION

Pope Paul's statement came three weeks following his severe condemnation of major Israeli air raids on Palestinian refugee camps in northern and southern Lebanon which left 100 dead and 150 wounded, the majority of the victims being women and children.

In response to the murderous Israeli air assaults of late November, on December 2, Palestinian commandos attacked enemy positions in Safad, Miskafam and Al-Matallah with rocket fire, inflicting heavy losses in men and material. This was just one of several Palestinian commando actions in early December. In others, reported by Palestinian military spokespersons in Beirut:

•On December 3, a Palestinian guerrilla unit ambushed an Israeli enemy patrol north of Gaza, killing or wounding a number of Zionist troops and destroying a half-armoured vehicle and a military jeep.

•On December 4, Palestinian freedom fighters launched a surprise attack on an Israeli troop carrier headed for Ain Karem from Jerusalem, killing or wounding many enemy soldiers.

•On December 8, an Israeli checkpoint in the town of Rafah was attacked by Palestinian commando forces in a highly successful operation.

•On December 11, an Israeli "Civil Guards" building in Bir Sabe was extensively damaged by explosives placed by Palestinian guerrillas. A number of enemy guards were killed or wounded. □

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If your neighborhood store doesn't carry THE BLACK PANTHER ask them to write: Central Distribution 8501 E. 14th St. Oakland, California 94621 or call (415) 638-0195.

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



FREE FOOD PROGRAM

PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL CLINICS

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Established to test and create a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia. The foundation informs people about Sickle Cell Anemia and maintains an advisory committee of doctors researching this crippling disease.

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.



S.A.F.E. PROGRAM

LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Provides legal aid classes and full legal assistance to people who are in need.

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

Provides 24-hour child care facilities for infants and children between the ages of 2 months and three years. Youth are engaged in a scientific program to develop their physical and mental faculties at the earliest ages.



OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

BPINS photos



Drawing by EMORY DOUGLAS

we are just
and yet they say they have created 'justice';
we suffer with the pain of hunger
and they give us handcuffs
instead of bread.
we believed in their constitution
and they violate it in their courts.
we defend ourselves from attack,
they murder us and claim self defense.

we run from their rifles, guns, sirens—
they shoot us and call it justifiable homicide. . .
they have all the rights, we have none.
they try to co-opt the land in all of its beauty,
while we fill the jails, the prisons.

but—
we have strength;
we have hope;
the internment camps

we have faith in the people,
who have suffered
who have died,
who have tasted
their own blood—
and died a million deaths.

Poem by ERICKA HUGGINS
From *Insights & Poems*

