

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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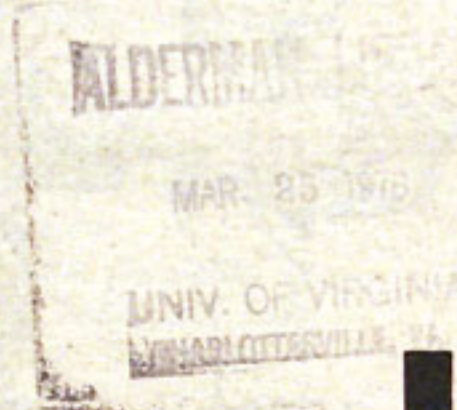
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Startling Revelation As Spain Defense Opens At S.Q.6 Trial

STUDY PROVES CALIF. PRISONS UNSAFE— FOR GUARDS AND INMATES



(San Rafael, Calif.) - Testifying last week as an expert witness in the defense of Black Panther Party member Johnny Larry Spain at the San Quentin 6 trial here, Dr. Philip Zimbardo delivered a devastating critique of prison conditions as cruel and inhuman, certain to spark uncontrolled anger and rage.

Despite the constant objections of District Attorney Jerry Herman, attorney Charles Garry, chief counsel for the Black Panther Party who is representing Spain at the current proceedings, was able to elicit significant testimony from Dr. Zimbardo concerning the "impaired consciousness" defense he (Garry) intends to present.

According to Dr. Zimbardo, a licensed social psychologist who has taught at Stanford University for the past eight years:

"Impaired consciousness is the temporary loss of the conscious control over behavior as a result of extreme situational stress."

By that, Dr. Zimbardo explained, confinement in San Quentin's Adjustment Center is "so extreme, so abnormal" that it produces "a psychological state of dehumanization." As a result, when additional stress is abruptly added to the situation, a temporary state of "impaired consciousness" can take place so that people react in irrational ways.

Examples of this behavior are certain emergency situations, such as reacting to a fire in a crowded theater, or as "shellshocked" troops react in wartime situations. Dr. Zimbardo also mentioned that a selective

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San Quentin Adjustment Center "strip cells." In opening his defense of Black Panther Party member Johnny Spain, attorney Charles Garry set out to prove that these inhumane conditions were the cause of the bedlam which took place August 21, 1971, the day of the murder of Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson.

Editorial

PEOPLE AND PRISONS

The opening of the defense of Black Panther Party member Johnny Larry Spain at the San Quentin 6 trial last week, and particularly the significant testimony of Dr. Philip Zimbardo, dramatically reverses the spotlight onto the correct focus for public scrutiny: inhuman prison conditions and their tremendous impact on the lives of all those warehoused within the California prison system.

As Dr. Zimbardo pointed out — and as his famous Stanford Prison Experiment clearly demonstrates — the more degrading, the more threatening, the more dehumanizing one's social environment becomes, the more human beings placed within that setting will tend to act in violent, antisocial ways. And San Quentin Prison's notorious Adjustment Center, particularly its first tier, (where inmates are locked in their cells for 23 to 24 hours a day) stands out as one of America's foremost dungeons; a sealed tomb that reverberates with clanking noises and human cries, where cooling breezes fail to calm flared emotions, where, literally the sun never shines.

So overwhelming are these conditions that when Dr. Zimbardo replicated them in the Stanford Experiment, four mock "prisoners" freaked out in fits of uncontrollable rage and tears within just four days. In February 1976, Dr. Zimbardo tried it again, this time using the everyday citizens of Napa, California, as his volunteers. Again the same results — within 24 hours, one woman "prisoner" actually slit the throat of a fellow "inmate."

But, as the study proved, it's not only the prison inmates who are victimized by a cruel environment over which they have no control. At Stanford, the volunteer "guard" behaved in ways, so brutal and uncaring, that they could not believe they had acted in those ways; at Napa a similar experience occurred. And the guards at San Quentin are no different.

On August 21, 1971, San Quentin Prison Adjustment Center guard Paul Krasnes pulled a gun on Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson. Before the day's incident was over, three prison guards and two inmate trustees lay dead inside the AC. Who among us can say what they would have done when the cell doors opened? □

Celebrate
International
Women's
Day,
March 8



An Appeal To Our Readers

Dear Readers and Friends,

The Distribution and Circulation Department of THE BLACK PANTHER is in desperate need of a van or truck, with which we could greatly increase the availability of our paper in the Northern California region.

Demands and requests for THE BLACK PANTHER have greatly increased in recent months. Many people have heard through word of mouth of the excellence of our paper and particularly its unrivaled and superior coverage of the African liberation movements of southern Africa, but they do not have access to it.

Those of you who are regular readers know THE BLACK PANTHER is the only newspaper in the country that has provided weekly coverage, in detail and accurately, of developments in Angola. Only because the American people in general and Black people in particular are kept misinformed and ill-informed about developments in southern Africa, could so heinous a scheme as Roy Innis' — that Black mercenaries fight the legitimate government of the People's Republic of Angola — be even listened to in the Black community.

It is of the greatest urgency that THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper be made easily accessible to this community and to every community in this country. A major leap forward toward that objective would be realized if our Circulation Department could secure a truck or van.

If you know anyone who has a truck or van they can contribute, please contact them or let us know. Also, please dig down into your pockets and pocketbooks and send us a generous contribution towards securing this much needed transportation. Every 10 cents will help. Help us now, as many of you have done so generously in the past.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

David G. Du Bois

David G. Du Bois
Editor-in-Chief

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COMMENT

Murder As A Tool Of U.S. Imperialism

Excerpted from a longer feature article which appeared in the February 15, 1976, issue of the progressive Cuban daily, Granma, the following Comment presents a Latin American view of the blood-thirsty tradition of the CIA, acting in the interests of U.S. imperialism.

Up until 1947, imperialism's political crimes were carried out by hired guns recruited from among Mafia elements in the United States or the Latin American Mafia of gorillas and lackeys. Then, however, the United States set up its own Mafia, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), in the framework of the National Security Act. Allen Dulles was its "godfather."

The roots of the CIA go back to the Office of Strategic Service, set up by Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1941 as "a bureau for the centralization of information and secret operations," and the Central Intelligence Group, set up by Harry Truman for a similar purpose. But its real roots lie in the Abteilung Fremde Heere Ost (the secret service of Adolf Hitler), headed by Reinhard Gehlen, known as "the gray general," with whom Allen Dulles, as European chief of the OSS, made contact after World War II ended.

Allen Dulles and his brother, John Foster Dulles — former U.S. secretary of state — had been members of Sullivan and Cromwell, a New York law firm which maintained close ties with firms in Nazi Germany, including the I.G. Farben Chemical Company, whose leaders were convicted of being war criminals in 1945.

Allen Dulles renewed his relations with Nazis after the war ended. Reinhard Gehlen, protected by the United States, was given orders by Dulles to turn the OSS in Germany into an instrument of the Cold War.

The model Gehlen developed in Nazi Germany led Dulles to come up with the idea of a specialized agency with great operational

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Attica Prosecutor Suggests Charges Against State Trooper Be Dismissed

(Buffalo, N.Y.) - The specially appointed Attica prosecutor has asked the state Superior Court here to allow the only state trooper charged with a crime in the 1971 rebellion to escape prosecution by recommending that all remaining Attica indictments, except one, be dismissed.

Prosecutor Alfred T. Scotti hypocritically requested the indictments be dismissed "in the interest of justice."

Never explaining why dismissal of the charges against state trooper Gregory Wildridge is included among the several inmates indictments to be dropped, Scotti said, "I... believe that the amply demonstrated lack of fairness and evenhandedness by the state in the conduct of the Attica investigation compels, in the interest of justice, the dismissal of these pending indictments."

"BLOODY MONDAY"

Wildridge, the only state trooper or employee charged with a crime arising from the "Bloody Monday" retaking of Attica — in which 29 inmates and 10 hostage guards were killed — was charged with "recklessly discharging a shotgun," *The New York Times* reports.

Scotti said he found evidence that "strongly suggests unjustifiable homicides were committed by individual" policemen and that "the crime of reckless endangerment was committed by many law enforcement officers during the Attica retaking."

However, in his ultimate cop-out, Scotti went on to comment that "the appallingly deficient investigation by the state has made 'virtually impossible the development of a legally valid case' against these officers."

As a special prosecutor and two of his aides left the courtroom, supporters of the Attica inmates angrily chanted, "Tacajeweah," the Indian name of John Hill, who was convicted of murdering a guard during the takeover and is currently the only person in prison solely as a result of an Attica-related "crime." He is now serving a 20-year-to-life sentence. □

EX-F.B.I. CHIEF CAUGHT LYING AT FRED HAMPTON MURDER TRIAL

Testimony Shatters Official Alibi For 1969 Raid

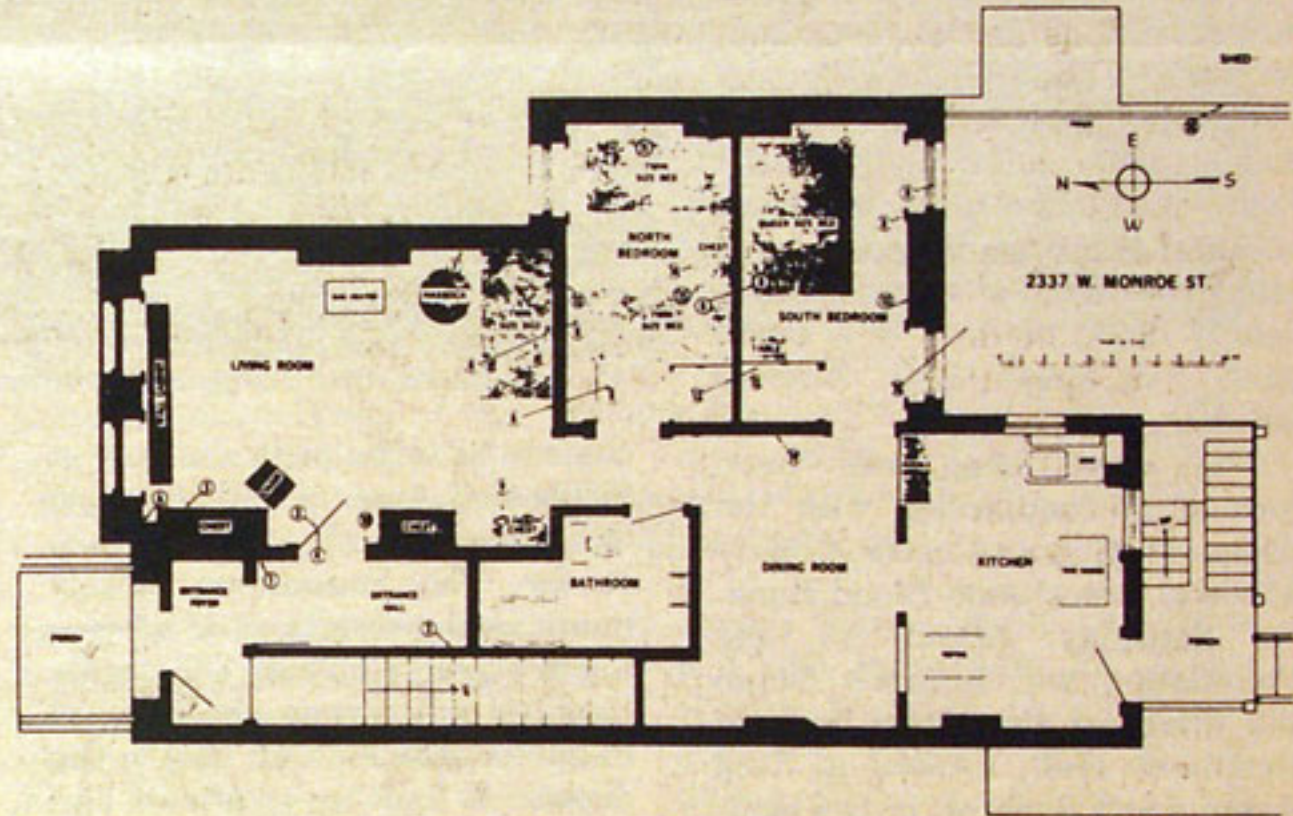
(Chicago, Ill.) - Thoroughly discredited by his inconsistencies and lies, a badly shaken Marlin Johnson, former head of the Chicago FBI office, concluded his testimony last week in the Fred Hampton murder case.

Attorneys for the plaintiffs in the \$47.7 million damage case repeatedly accused Johnson of "willful concealment" in covering up FBI involvement in the December 4, 1969, police raid. Illinois State Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered in the pre-dawn attack, while four of the seven other occupants of the apartment were badly wounded.

Johnson's testimony has all but shattered the official alibi for the raid — conducted by 13 agents of former Cook County State Attorney Edward Hanrahan's elite unit — as designed to seize illegal weapons and make arrests.

When the subject of the weapons was first raised, Johnson made the shocking statement that, to his knowledge there were no illegal weapons in the West Side flat.

However, attorney Jeffrey Haas then produced an FBI



Lay-out of the apartment where Chicago Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton was murdered in December 4, 1969, raid set up by the FBI's COINTELPRO.

memorandum, written to Johnson by a subordinate on December 12, 1969, which mentions that the Bureau informed Hanrahan's office on both December 1 and 2 of two supposed illegal shotguns kept in the apartment.

Caught trying to play two ends against the middle, Johnson was trapped. Either there were, in fact, no illegal weapons in the apartment, or the FBI lied in its report — or Johnson was bla-

tantly lying. And if the alleged shotguns were there, then the FBI, not Hanrahan's group, should have conducted the search.

Attorneys for the plaintiffs, led by noted civil rights attorney James Montgomery, have consistently maintained that the FBI masterminded the raid and then put Hanrahan's men up to "the dirty work."

Their motivation, the attorneys have charged, was to satisfy Hoover's directives as laid out in several COINTELPRO documents to destroy the Black Panther Party through setting up a series of violent confrontations.

Ninety-nine police bullets ripped through the West Monroe apartment of Fred Hampton at 4:30 a.m. on the morning of December 4, 1969. Johnson has admitted that the FBI supplied Hanrahan's men with a detailed map of the flat, with a "X" marking the bed location of sleeping Hampton, the dynamic founder/coordinator of the Chicago Chapter of the Black Panther Party.

Last week Johnson's claim that he personally knew nothing of the raid was exposed as a lie when another FBI report, dated December 3, 1969, was introduced into evidence.

"Officials of the Chicago Police Department have advised (the FBI) that the department is

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Courtroom Shackling Ban Upheld

(Sacramento, Calif.) - In a decision which directly effects the frame-up trial of the San Quentin 6, the California Supreme Court last week reaffirmed the rule that a trial judge cannot order a defendant chained and shackled in the courtroom unless court records clearly show that these restraints are required.

In their 5 to 2 ruling, the state high court rejected the contention that a defendant can be shackled on the grounds that he is already in prison on other charges or simply because he is charged with a violent crime.

Reversing the conviction of Bernard Durant, a San Luis Obispo prisoner charged with stabbing another inmate, the Supreme Court said:

"We believe that possible prejudice in the minds of the jurors, the affront to human dignity, the disrespect for the entire judicial system which is incident to unjustifiable use of the physical restraints, as well as the effects such restraints have upon a defendant's decision to take the stand, all support our continued adherence. . . ."

Since last March 23, when the jury selection began, five of the San Quentin 6 have been forcibly chained and shackled to their chairs at the Marin County Courthouse. Judge Henry J. Broderick has summarily denied, with no reason given on the court record, all defense motions that the restraints be removed, while ordering jurors to simply "ignore" the defendants' condition.

PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL CLINIC MODEL IN COMMUNITY HEALTH CARE

The following is Part 4 of a continuing series on the quality preventative health services provided free of charge to the community by the People's Free Medical Clinic. This week the Clinic's Sickle Cell Anemia Research Foundation is featured.

PART 4

(Berkeley, Calif.) - A pioneer in Sickle Cell Anemia research, screening and education, the People's Free Medical Clinic's Sickle Cell Anemia Research Foundation has recently launched another innovative program in its efforts to find a cure for the deadly blood disease — a blood bank for Sickle Cell Anemia patients.

The blood bank has been formed in conjunction with the Alameda County-Costra County Medical Association Blood Bank. On Saturday, March 13, the Foundation will formally begin the drive for the blood bank at Eastmont Mall, located at 73rd Avenue and Bancroft in Oakland. Volunteers will be asked to donate blood from 10:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. as part of Eastmont Mall's Health Week. For every pint of blood drawn the management of the Mall will donate \$1.00.

SCREENING

Throughout the Health Week, March 8 to 13, the Foundation will conduct screening for Sickle Cell Anemia and General Anemia from 12 noon to 7:00 p.m., Monday through Friday.

Established by the People's Free Medical Clinic in 1971 to test and create a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia, the Sickle Cell Anemia Research Foundation was the first organization formed nationwide to concern itself with testing and research of the blood disease which primarily affects Black Americans. The Foundation has tested over 500,000 people nationwide and over 40,000 in the Bay Area.

The Foundation is highly respected in medical circles throughout the country and its programs have been used as a model by similar groups who have begun operation since the Foundation's inception.

Here in the Bay Area the Foundation maintains an intensive Out-Reach Program. Volunteers conduct free testing at supermarkets, festivals and other community events almost on a weekly basis.

In addition to the screening, volunteers provide those who



Community health volunteer conducting free Sickle Cell screening.

come to be tested with a history of Sickle Cell Anemia and the facts that are known about the disease so far. The Foundation closely monitors the results of its screening in conjunction with Children's Hospital and anyone who is found to have the Sickle Cell trait or the disease is quickly informed and referred to an appropriate physician.

The federal government has largely ignored research on Sickle Cell Anemia, and therefore the Sickle Cell Anemia Research Foundation has been a major

factor in bringing national attention to the disease. The Foundation regularly runs public service announcements on local radio stations informing people about the need to be tested for Sickle Cell Anemia and the services offered by the Foundation.

Hailed by the community for its vital services, the Sickle Cell Anemia Research Foundation is another example of the People's Free Medical Clinic's innovative efforts to provide quality health care to the community.

TO BE CONTINUED



O.C.S. Donation Drawing Highlights Sunday Forum

(Oakland, Calif.) - Capping a three-month fund raising drive, the Oakland Community School held its well-promoted "Donation Drawing Day" last Sunday at the Oakland Community Learning Center (top, left). Winning the \$100 first prize was Mr. Ruedas of Oakland; \$50 second prize went to Ms. Osa Russell of Richmond and Third prize, five record albums of her choice, went to Ms. Marky of Oakland.

Prior to the donation drawing, Lois Originals presented a fashion display of original designs by Lois Muse (top center and right). their specialty is African designs and all their dresses were made of genuine African print material.

Following the display, the talented vocal group Love, Power and Strength thrilled the audience with its creative renditions of Harold Melvin and the Blue Notes' "Wake Up Everybody" and the Stevie Wonder hit, "Ain't No Use."

BPINS photos

THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

March 13, 1862

On March 13, 1862, Congress enacted legislation forbidding Union officers and soldiers from aiding in the capture and return of fugitive slaves, thereby ending what one historian called the "military slave hunt." This action seriously weakened the Fugitive Slave Act which allowed slave catchers to come into the North and hunt fugitive slaves with the help of the authorities.

March 7, 1942

On March 7, 1942, the first Black cadets graduated from an advanced flying school at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Their graduation was considered quite an accomplishment at the time since Tuskegee was a Black school and Black men were rarely given the opportunity to fly airplanes.

March 12, 1955

Charlie Parker, one of the founders of the modern jazz movement, died on March 12, 1955.

March 11-12, 1956

On March 11-12, 1956, 100 White Southern senators and representatives issued a manifesto denouncing the Supreme Court's ruling on desegregating America's public schools.

March 11, 1959

A Raisin In The Sun, the first play written by a Black woman to reach Broadway, opened at the Barrymore Theater on March 11, 1959, with Sidney Poitier and Claudia McNeil in the starring roles. Lorraine Hansberry's drama was also the first to be directed on Broadway by a Black man — Lloyd Richards — in over a half a century.

March 10, 1972

The first National Black Political Convention opened in Gary, Indiana, on March 10, 1972. A preliminary political agenda calling for an independent Black political movement was adopted by the 3,000 delegates to the Convention.

Women's Commission Charges California With Hiring Policy Bias

(Sacramento, Calif.) — The California Commission on the Status of Women has charged the California State Employees Association (CSEA) with adopting an affirmative action policy that directly perpetuates institutionalized racism and sexism.

In a press release issued by the Commission, Ms. La Sonya Jones, a Commission employee and a member of the CSEA chapter here, said concerning a resolution approved by the CSEA (a labor management unit for state employees) at its recent general council meeting:

"Resolution 61/75 erroneously distorts the goals and objectives of affirmative action by stating that, 'the affirmative action program is being abused by downgrading positions, holding positions open, creating new classifications, etc., to accomplish affirmative action goals.' The resolution asserts this is circumventing the merit system.

BLATANT DISTORTION

"That statement is a blatant distortion because affirmative action is not predicated on circumventing the merit system but making employment in the system more accessible to those who have been denied equal opportunity. Affirmative action is not a program which allows incompetent personnel to be hired, but a lawful attempt to eliminate elements in employment systems that have repeatedly resulted in discrimination against women and minorities.

"Many people who suffer effects of past and present discrimination are already qualified for better jobs, but continuing barriers throughout employment systems deny them equal opportunity. Affirmative action is the recognition and removal of these barriers," Ms. Jones said.

CSEA has not taken a strong stand on affirmative action within its membership, Ms. Jones also commented, adding, "Every CSEA member, particularly women and minorities who are in support of the principle and concept of affirmative action should demand CSEA's commitment to affirmative action goals and objectives." □

"MARY (WIDENER) HAS A LITTLE LAMB (WARREN)"

Treachery Of Berkeley

"Black" Mayor Exposed

The following is Part 2 of a special three-part series featured in *THE BLACK PANTHER* exposing the hypocrisy and shameless opportunism of Warren Widener, the "Black" mayor of Berkeley, California.

Backed — or pushed — by his wife, the boldly ambitious Mary Widener, Warren Widener's history on the Berkeley political scene has been marked by sharp turnabouts on several key issues. As detailed last week in Part 1 of this series, popular movements aimed at establishing community control of police, rent control, citizens' participation in local government and halting a West Berkeley urban renewal program have all been subverted by Widener after his initial support.

Widener's latest backstabbing move is his recent announcement to campaign against progressive Black state representative John Miller in the June 8, 1976, state Assembly elections. Widener



Berkeley Mayor WARREN WIDENER (second from left) has undermined the unity of the "progressive" slate which helped him gain office in 1971. Also shown are (left to right), former Councilman IRA SIMMONS, Councilwoman ILONA HANCOCK and deposed Councilman D'ARMY BAILEY.

formerly served as an administrative aide to Miller, and his (Widener's) decision to run against his former mentor has been widely denounced as divisive Black vs. Black politics.

PART 2

If the city of Berkeley decided to celebrate the Bicentennial by having elected officials play the parts of people from the Revolu-

tionary War, it would be easy to pick the right part for Mayor Warren Widener. He could play Benedict Arnold, the famous traitor. Widener has been practicing for that part for many years.

When Widener first ran for mayor of Berkeley in 1971, he was the anti-establishment candidate, the man who would replace the conservative, Republican-dominated administration in city hall. Leaders of the progressive community such as Congressman Ron Dellums and Assemblyman Ken Meade endorsed Widener for mayor along with liberal newspapers like the *Daily California*.

OPPONENT

Widener's opponent in 1971 was City Council member Wilmont Sweeney, a conservative Black Democrat who acted like a Republican. Sweeney's strongest support was from the conservative White business community. Naturally, Sweeney was strongly endorsed by the reactionary Berkeley Daily Gazette, a Republican paper that always supported Reagan and Nixon. In the 1971 election, Sweeney received his strongest voter support from the Berkeley hills, the richest and most conservative area of the city.

Widener defeated Sweeney in 1971 on the basis of Widener's strong showing in the campus community and his support among progressive Blacks and liberals.

But once he was elected mayor, Widener began to team up with none other than Wilmont Sweeney. Elected as a progressive, Widener joined the conservative voting block on the City Council. CONTINUED ON PAGE 8



Community School Pledges Top \$13,000

(Oakland, Calif.) - Donation pledges to the Oakland Community School (OCS) went over the \$13,000 mark last week, in the aftermath of the School's highly successful benefit Radiothon, co-sponsored and broadcast live by KDIA (1310 AM) on February 29.

Over 3,000 supporters of the model, elementary level School, including "Soul Train" producer DON CORNELIUS (right) and JAMES LEVI, of the Grove Street Band and author of the popular Soul Train theme, came out to the Oakland Community Learning (Center) for eight solid hours of top entertainment. Many other state and Bay Area notables were also on hand to make strong statements in support while pledging financial aid to the School, now in its fifth year.

Cornelius' appearance proved to be one of the major highlights of the benefit. He personally donated \$1,000 to the OCS. BPINS photo

NURSING HOMES — GHETTOS FOR THE ELDERLY

Oakland A.I.D.E. S. Formed To Correct Insensitive Conditions

(Oakland, Calif.) - A local group of nursing home attendants here are organizing to combat the corruption and insensitivity of the homes in which they work. The organization, Nursing Home AIDES (Alliance to Insure a Decent Employment Status), has sent THE BLACK PANTHER an informative analysis of how many of these homes are run strictly for profit and how many of the elderly residing in these homes are receiving inadequate care.

In their statement, the nursing aides charge that:

All of the prejudices and exploitation which exist in this society, racism, sexism, and the profit system, are heightened in old age, when a person is no longer able to work, or no longer allowed to, and when he is cast aside and sent to the old age ghettos called nursing homes.

There are thousands of nursing homes in this country, the majority of which are part of a profit-making "industry," subsidized by Medicare and Medi-Cal.

SURVIVAL NEEDS

This is the only country in the world where the medical and survival needs of old people are exploited for profit, and the abuse and mistreatment they experience is a result of the profit motive of many nursing home operators and the financial conservatism of even our "liberal" politicians.

Many nursing home owners shift the blame for a deplorable situation to inadequate reimbursement by the state, yet actual care costs for residents of nursing homes are unclear and there is no information on the percentage of profits for owners. Medi-Cal pays \$19.95 per day for the care of a nursing home patient. Is that amount sufficient for food, laundry, building maintenance, and all the things that are necessary, in addition to decent wages for a segment of our society that performs a vital though undervalued service?

Often the blame for the conditions of old people in the nursing homes is also placed on other family members who cannot care for their parents in their homes. There is a tremendous push from hospitals to discharge patients back to their homes or to a nursing home. This is a terrible choice for many families, where all the adults must work to simply survive, and no one has the time or the money to care for an older person who is ill or disabled in



Many of our Black and poor senior citizens are forced into profit-orientated nursing homes where their human and material needs are neglected.

their home. The alternative of a nursing home is a frightening one, but it is the only choice for many poor and working families.

DIRECT CONTACT

The people who have the most direct contact with the patients in nursing homes are the nurses' aides, who perform 90 per cent of the direct patient care, and who are themselves as victimized by the system as the elderly. Well over half the aides are Third World; most are women. Aides are frequently paid at a below poverty level wage though many are heads of households. Their training is inadequate and the

working conditions are appalling. They are defeated before they begin.

There is no time for empathy, and in too many instances there is a lack of understanding for the special needs of geriatric patients due to the limited training.

Many of the patients who enter nursing homes are ambulatory, and at least mentally they are very strong. The nursing home conditions work against them. They are overdrugged, strapped in beds or wheelchairs, often their bed linen is not changed, their food is tasteless and not nutritional.

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Pullman Porters Win Discrimination Suit

(Denver, Colo.) — Black porters who had filed a suit against the Pullman Company have won an historic discrimination decision here which could bring damages in excess of \$10 million.

DECISION

The decision, handed down by Chief Judge Alfred A. Arraj, found that the Pullman company limited promotional opportunities for Blacks and maintained racially segregated job classifications. Evidence determined that Blacks did not become conductors until 1967, although Black Pullman porters performed duties similar to those of White conductors.

Twelve Blacks were promoted to the position of conductor in 1967, but the suit claimed they had to give up all the seniority they had accumulated as porters and were placed on the bottom

line of the conductors' list. Whites were never even hired by the Pullman Company as porters, the *New York Amsterdam News* reports.

Attorney Chester Davenport, counsel for the porters, stated that the ruling affects 2,000-3,000 former porters who were once hired by the Pullman Company, which is now in dissolution. Davenport explained, "It's the largest class action ever decided in a federal court on employee discrimination." Attorney Will L. Leftwich stated that the settlement "could go as high as \$30 million" with individual porters receiving \$12-15,000 each.

The court still must decide the actual amount of damages involved, back pay the porters will receive, as well as severance and retirement pay issues. □

OUR HEALTH



Iron Deficiency Anemia

Iron deficiency anemia is a disease which occurs when there is not enough iron in the body. Iron is present in all the cells of our bodies as it is the substance which makes our blood red. What is more important is that it carries the oxygen in our cells.

Iron deficiency anemia can be detected by merely testing a drop of one's blood. If the blood is deficient in iron, it will be unable to carry enough oxygen through the body. Then a person will become weak, pale and fatigued.

With infants and young children it is very important to guard against this disease. It can be prevented by feeding the child food that contains plenty of iron. The following foods are high in iron and should be fed to a child four or more times a day: liver (especially beef), lean meats, whole wheat, bran, soy, enriched breads and cereals, eggs, dried beans and peas, lentils, dried fruits and dark green vegetables.

Many times when a baby gets anemia, it is because he or she has eaten foods which are low in iron. For example, homogenized milk has little iron and babies who have had too much milk to drink are often anemic. Most babies need about two or three cups of milk a day (16-24 ounces), but generally no baby should have more than four cups (32 ounces) in one day.

To insure that infants receive an adequate amount of iron in their diet, they should be fed baby cereals, egg yolks, baby meats (especially liver), baby vegetables and baby prunes. If you have a toddler who likes food that can be picked up with the fingers, strips of cooked liver or lean meat, liverwurst, hard cooked egg yolks, apricots or prunes, raw greens and spinach are all high in iron.

Also, if your child does not like to eat meat and vegetables, they can be ground and added to other foods. Fruit and eggs can be made into milk shakes. Another suggestion is to grind the meat and/or vegetables into a dip served with crackers.

Right To Refuse Psychosurgery Promoted

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The Coalition Against Forced Treatment (CAFT) is actively mobilizing support here for its proposed bill to enforce the right to refuse psycho-organic procedures (psychosurgery, shock drugs and certain kinds of behavior modification) in psychiatric institutions. The Coalition is also seeking support from California legislators willing to author the bill.

In a news release issued recently, CAFT presented a resolution and petition pointing out that:

"Whereas a person's mental processes, the communication of ideas, and the generation of ideas are protected by the First Amendment, and psychosurgery, shock and psychiatric drugs interfere with one's ability to generate ideas;

"Whereas these psycho-organic procedures are capable of inflicting permanent bodily harm; "Whereas there is significant controversy within the medical profession as to the existence, nature and treatment of 'mental illness';

SANCTITY AND INTEGRITY

"Therefore, we urge the California legislature to protect the sanctity and integrity of the people of our state by forbidding the administration of psychosurgery, shock and psychiatric drugs without the express informed consent of the affected individual."

CAFT encourages interested parties to take formal action in support of this proposed legislation by endorsing the resolution quoted above or writing one of their own.

The group would also like to establish contact with persons who have had direct experience with psychiatric oppression, such as former inmates, psychiatric technicians, nurses or doctors, and would be willing to write factual statements about the use of coercion and force in California psychiatric institutions.

Persons wishing more information or who would like CAFT to provide a speaker for their group can contact: Coalition Against Forced Treatment, 2150 Market Street, San Francisco, Ca. 94114, (415)863-4489. □

FORD PROPOSAL THREATENS TO CUT MILLIONS OFF FOOD STAMPS

(Washington, D.C.) — Over five million people may be forced off of the food stamp program due to "reforms" proposed here last week by the Department of Agriculture.

Already over 100 church, labor, civil rights and other groups have announced their intentions to file suit to block the proposed regulations that have been ordered by President Ford as a \$1.2 billion cost-saving measure.

Ronald Pollack, of the Food Research and Action Center in New York which will coordinate the suit, said that the administration's proposals would be challenged on the grounds of discrimination against the working poor. The suit also charges that the proposed reforms will run counter to provisions of the food stamp law requiring an adequate diet for recipients, *The New York Times* reports.

20 CO-SPONSORS

Congressman Frederick Richmond, along with 20 co-sponsors, has introduced a bill which will block Ford's proposals until Congress acts on any revisions in the law.

Richmond asserted that Ford's proposal "would remove over six million people from the (food stamp) program and would cut benefits by at least \$5.00 per month for an additional five million to six million participants.

"These would be low-income persons, the working poor, who have families and high medical expenses," Richmond said.

In a very probing pamphlet put out by the Mass Organizing



Young girl washes her hands over a basin in the rural South. Ford's new food stamp proposal may cut millions of poor families off the program.

Committee in New York — entitled *Enough Is Enough* — the origins of food stamps are researched.

Originally, the pamphlet explains, food stamps were created to benefit big farmers and big business — not the needy. The program began in 1939 and replaced a program of direct distribution of surplus food which had been in effect for several years.

During the 1930s, President Franklin Roosevelt was pressed to develop a series of economic programs which would get the U.S. out of the Depression, but would not alter the basic structure of capitalism. The Surplus Marketing Administration was formed in the mid-1930s to distribute food grown by farmers for which there was no market because of high unemployment.

What was ironic was that more food was being produced (by the big farmers who had run smaller

farmers out of business) than could be sold on the market. Yet millions went hungry as the large farms destroyed food to keep prices up, an act which occurs to this day.

Fearful that masses of poor people would revolt, the Roosevelt administration implemented the direct distribution of surplus food, which was later scrapped in favor of taxing middle and lower income families to finance a program that would "go through the regular channels of trade so the retailer can make his customary profit."

CURRENT FORM

The current form of the food stamp program originated with a bill passed by Congress in 1964. Since that time, the program has grown, now serving approximately 18.5 million people — gaining 3.6 million new recipients in the last two years, primarily due to the current recession.

The great outcry over food stamp fraud has no basis as 87 per cent of the households on food stamps have an annual income below \$6,000 while 97 per cent have an income below \$9,000. Fraud has only been found among a fraction (eight one-hundredths of one per cent) of participating households.

Recent reports indicate that there may be widespread fraud by those who distribute food stamps, at the cost of taxpayers. A survey by the Department of Agriculture has located 18 food stamp vendors with undeposited receipts totaling \$8,788,983. A portion of this figure seems to have been embezzled or spent, causing a source close to the investigation to say, "Some of the money will never be recovered. Some of it should be."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

Suit Charges Nutrition Program Undermined

(Washington, D.C.) - A class action suit has been filed here charging the Department of Agriculture with illegally impounding \$90 to \$140 million in funds to feed pregnant women and nursing mothers and their infants.

The suit, filed by the New York-based Research and Action Center and the Children Foundation, a Washington public advocates' group, accuses the Ford administration with unlawfully withholding funds appropriated by Congress which would provide poor pregnant mothers or new mothers with infants with vouchers redeemable for supplemental food items. The items — infant milk formula and high protein foods—are directly needed for healthy child growth.

Lawyers for the suit contend that one of the plaintiffs, 18-month-old George Durham of Henderson, N.C., has a border line case of kwashiorkors, a nutritional deficiency usually found in underdeveloped countries.

According to a *New York Times* report, the refusal to approve additional participants in the program has resulted in services being denied to over 500,000 women and infants who need the food supplements to maintain an adequate diet.

DEMONSTRATORS DEMAND PROBE INTO LOUISIANA JAIL MURDER

(Covington, La.) — Over 250 angry Black people marched to the city jail here recently to demand a state and federal investigation of the killing of a Black man in the jail.

Twenty-two-year-old Stanley Magee was found dead in the St. Tammany Parish jail on January 8. According to the *Militant*, Sheriff George Broom claimed

Magee hanged himself in his jail cell, but his body showed evidence of a brutal beating and his clothes were soaked in blood.

Marchers, led by Magee's mother and father, descended on Covington from as far away as New Orleans and ranged from young children to 60-year-old women. The signs they carried demanded "justice for Stanley

Magee" and stated, "We will not let Sheriff Broom sweep the truth away."

Dozens of helmeted state police and deputy sheriffs did not deter the march. As the protestors went through the streets of Covington singing, "We Shall Overcome," police sharpshooters and photographers with telephoto lenses stood atop downtown buildings.

HISTORY OF MURDERS

Marie Galatas, president of the Grass Roots Organization for Women and chairperson of the rally, told demonstrators, "In this year of the Bicentennial we see a long history of murders of Blacks: fourteen-year-old Emmett Till, whose 'crime' was to whistle at a White woman; Mack Parker of Poplarville, Mississippi, who was dragged out of jail in the middle of the night; our Black prince, Martin Luther King, Jr."

Rev. Byron Clay of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), said, "We will be here until the blood of Magee cries from his grave for justice." □



Over 250 demonstrators in Covington, Louisiana, protested the murder of Stanley Magee.

"Mary (Widener) Has A Little Lamb (Warren)"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

Working with Sweeney, Widener became a conservative leader and together Widener and Sweeney wrote the Berkeley budget for 1971-72, refusing to make cuts in the giant police department budget and neglecting to fund needed social programs. Again voting with Sweeney and the other conservatives, Widener was part of the Council majority that appointed another conservative, Susan Hone, to fill the Council seat left vacant when Widener became mayor.

"CHANGE OF HEART"

The conservative *Berkeley Gazette*, once Widener's critic, began to praise him for his change of heart. Members of the local chamber of commerce started becoming Widener supporters. At the same time, most of the people who supported Widener in 1971 withdrew their support.

In 1973, Widener led the campaign to elect a conservative slate of four candidates to the City Council, a slate headed by Wilmont Sweeney and endorsed by the *Berkeley Gazette*. Three of the conservative candidates won and Widener remained as leader of the conservative Council majority.

1973 was a significant year for the Widener clique, and particularly for the "brains" of the entire operation, Mary Widener. No slouch herself in dirty, behind-the-scenes politics, Mary Widener is said to have masterminded the conservative coalition's campaign for office.

Mary's *piece de resistance*, however, was her successful "legal lynching" of Councilman D'Army Bailey. An outspoken Black lawyer who was part of the original 1971 liberal coalition which thrust Widener into office, Bailey became uncontrollable by 1973 and had to go. Mary Widener cleverly orchestrated a vicious recall election which ousted Bailey, topping off her blitz by drumming up the votes for a Black nobody named Byron Rumford, who today sits on the Berkeley City Council.

RE-ELECTION

In 1975, Widener himself was up for re-election. This time nearly all his support came from the people and the interests who had backed Sweeney four years earlier. The Republicans and the *Berkeley Gazette*, along with the conservative Democrats endorsed Widener.

As the conservative candidate for mayor, Widener's greatest sup-

port in the 1975 election came from the rich, White Berkeley hills, the very same areas that had voted overwhelmingly for Sweeney four years earlier.

Again Widener won the election, but by only 700 votes. But few people voted for Widener in 1975 who had also voted for him in 1971. Widener was returned to office, but it was on the strength of conservative votes. He had been the conservative mayor all along, but now the conservatives had actually elected him.

POLITICAL ENEMY

Now Widener is the political enemy of everyone who once supported him. Widener and his supporters are ready to attack the entire progressive leadership of the area, starting with Assemblyman John Miller (who Widener used to work for) and including Congressman Dellums (who endorsed Widener in 1971).

No one trusts Warren Widener, not even the people who support him now. They know the way he betrayed his original supporters. They know he has no principles, that he and Mary will do anything to win elections and gain power. But the conservatives are willing to keep putting their money on Warren Widener. He's sure been good for them up 'til now. □

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

Seniors' Discount O.K.'ed

(Oakland, Calif.) — Housewives Market, an amalgam of 22 independent stall operators, agreed recently to give five per cent discounts on most grocery items to East Bay senior citizens three days a month. The agreement, ending a month-long campaign by a coalition of senior citizens, was described by one coalition leader as "the first on the West Coast." The discount will apply to the second and last two Tuesdays of each month. All East Bay residents who can prove they are 60 years or older are eligible.

Minority Students Protest

(Sacramento, Calif.) — More than 40 students are expected to appear before an Assembly subcommittee on education here to protest recent cuts in special admissions programs for minority students at Boalt Hall Law School at the University of California at Berkeley. The cuts eliminated programs designed for Japanese-Americans and severely reduced Chinese-American students.

Texas Prisoner Sues

(Washington, D.C.) — The U.S. Supreme Court agreed last week to decide whether a Texas prison inmate can sue the Texas Department of Corrections (TDC) over medical treatment he was refused. The prisoner said he was denied X-rays and tests after being struck by a cotton bale November 9, 1973, while working at TDC's Ellis Unit. The prison hospital diagnosed his injury as a lower back sprain, issued pain pills and sent him back to work.

Federal Prison Ban

(Washington, D.C.) — The federal government will ban future medical experimentation and research on federal prisoners and will end the only drug research program it now conducts, the director of the Bureau of Prisons said recently. The action is based on hearings held last fall by a civil rights subcommittee at the House Judiciary Committee which directly led to the decision.

TEXAS PRISON INMATES FILE SUIT OVER VIOLATION OF MAIL RIGHTS

(Dallas, Texas) — Lee Otis Johnson and 18 other prison inmates filed suit recently against Warden R.M. Cousins of the Ellis Unit of the Texas Department of Corrections (TDC).

The suit contains a long list of grievances held by the prisoners at Ellis, which is located 18 miles north of Huntsville, Texas. The suit charges that prison officials have refused to send out mail for poor prisoners and permitted censors to reject incoming mail without ever notifying the prisoner who was to receive the mail.

Several attempts have been made to contact Warden Cousins regarding the suit, but he remained unavailable for comment.

Ellis Unit of TDC is classified by the state as a maximum security facility. It is also referred to as a "multi-recidivist" branch of the Texas prison structure.

The Unit sits on 11,672 acres of land and operates syrup mills for

the production of cane syrup.

Ellis Unit is of economic importance to the TDC network because it operates 225 acres in the heart of "Sugarland." It yields three to four gallons of cane syrup per prisoner and 50,000 to 60,000 gallons of syrup on an annual basis. Ellis looks like a plantation, visitors there report.



The production of syrup is obviously more important to Ellis Unit than prisoners' rights. Illegal practices on the part of Texas prison and jail officials are commonplace.

Visiting room facilities are



ELTON RANKIN, survivor of the vicious Houston police attack.

Houston Police Kill Two Black Youth In Hail Of Gunfire

(Houston, Texas) - Houston police viciously murdered two Black youths and wounded two others after riddling their car with bullets after a recent high-speed chase.

According to Elton Rankin, one of the wounded survivors, interviewed by the *Forward Times*, the chase started after a shot was fired in the air by one of the occupants of the car after a verbal exchange with three prostitutes. Houston police chased them according to Rankin.

"The brakes had gone out on the car by then and it was coasting when we came to the roadblock. This cop jumped on the hood of our car and started blasting away point blank into the car. I was in the back and just ducked down the best I could."

Rankin himself barely survived as a bullet grazed his head. He was savagely beaten at the scene and then beaten again down at the Houston city jail.

Overton Wayne Ellis, 16, was killed as the entry and exit holes in his body totaled 14 wounds. Also killed was Allan Charles Best, 17, felled by bullet wounds in the arm and head.

Gerald Bernard Best, 18, and Rankin were both wounded with Best being listed in good condition at a local hospital.

The surviving Best brother explained how they were unarmed when the police started shooting. The gun was thrown out of the car before the chase began. This was later validated when the gun was found where he said it was thrown.

One eyewitness reported to the *Forward Times* that, "The car



LEE OTIS JOHNSON (above), along with 18 other inmates incarcerated in Ellis Prison in Huntsville, Texas, have filed a suit against abuses by Texas' prison system (left). The suit charges officials with blocking communications between inmates and outsiders.

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filthy, hot, overcrowded and dimly-lit. On any given visiting day, the crowded rooms force people to practically sit on top of one another. Many people are forced to stand. Prisoners and families or friends are separated by a wooden structure with a glass/screen partition. The glass portion of the divider is so high that people strain in their seats to make themselves heard through the screen by shouting.

High-beam lights are placed directly over the screen, thereby making it difficult or impossible to see the prisoners. Every effort is made to discourage communication between prisoners and families. □

STUDY PROVES CALIF. PRISONS UNSAFE

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

amnesia (loss of memory) is typical when the stress condition is over.

In his forceful opening statement and again last week, Garry said that: (1) the "cesspool-like" conditions within the Adjustment Center; plus (2) added stress of the set-up to assassinate Black Panther Party Field Marshal George Jackson, were the true causes of the deaths of the three guards and two inmate trustees the San Quentin 6 are charged with conspiring to murder. Dr. Zimbardo's testimony last week clearly confirms this, and lays responsibility for prison violence on those who maintain the extreme isolation conditions.

In establishing Dr. Zimbardo's strong credentials as an expert in the field of social psychology, attorney Garry asked him to explain his famous "Stanford Prison Experiment." In this study, designed to test the "effects of imprisonment under conditions of maximum surveillance and maximum security" on human personality, Dr. Zimbardo divided 24 normal Stanford college students who volunteered for the experiment into groups of 12 mock "prisoners" and 12 mock "guards."

Early one morning those students arbitrarily named to be "prisoners" were picked up by the Stanford police, charged with certain "crimes," and escorted blindfolded to the basement of a Stanford dormitory where a makeshift "prison" had been constructed.

Prior to being placed in their cells, the "prisoners" were stripped naked, deloused with a spray chemicle, and given plain white dresses to wear with their prison number sewn on the back and front.

Nine "prisoners" (three people from each group were designated as standbys) were placed in three bare cells. The nine "guards" were divided into three teams, each with eight-hour shifts.

Following, reprinted from the actual court testimony, THE BLACK PANTHER presents Part 1 of Dr. Zimbardo's account of the shocking course of events of the Stanford experiment and two other similar projects. These experiments settle beyond a doubt the question of the impact of cruel and unusual prison conditions on those who find themselves incarcerated.

ZIMBARDO: "On the first day, as you might expect, everyone

was very much aware of the fact that this was a simulated environment, even though there are many aspects of it to make it seem realistic, including the arrest and other things.

"People were beginning to get into their roles. Everyone was acting: they were role playing.

"And so, on the first day, nothing of note very much happened, except the guards were beginning to do things which were controlling, telling prisoners not to laugh, not to smile. The guards were simply attempting to control and suppress emotional behavior.

"And the prisoners were testing the limits to see how far, what they could get away with.

SECOND DAY

"On the second day, however, the prisoners staged a rebellion. They locked themselves in their cells. They ripped off their numbers; they started taunting the guards, cursing them to their face, challenging the guards in a direct way.

"That had a very profound effect on the conduct of the prison, because then from the point of the guards, these men (the prisoners) were in fact dangerous, even though they were playing a role and acting. The prisoners were cursing them to their face, and so it became a person to person confrontation.

"It didn't matter whether you were getting paid for it; it didn't matter whether you were playing a role, because someone was cursing you, using obscenities, putting down your mother, whatever.

"And what happened was the guards then began to react in personal ways. The guards broke open all the cell doors, dragged the prisoners out, and at that point began to be physically and verbally abusive to the prisoners; stripped them naked, put them in chains, put them in solitary confinement.

"Our solitary confinement was a cell, a closet two feet by four feet wide, completely dark, which was sealed off. It was, in fact, a closet where equipment was kept.

"The ringleaders of the rebellion were put into the closet. The guards then, of their own initiative, and I think it's important to realize that in this prison I acted as superintendent as well as principal investigator. I was almost never directly in contact with the prisoners. All they saw were guards that they interacted with, again very much like in a real prison with prison superintendents and wardens managing affairs rather than managing inmates directly.

"So the guards and prisoners interacted head-on.

"The prisoners were stripped naked, put in chains; some were put in solitary confinement. All of them were denied all privileges, which meant our rehabilitation program was dropped; movies were dropped, our education program was suspended by the guards, and in fact the guards denied them meals. They missed the next two meals.

"That second day was critical in creating a hostile, threatening environment from the point of

Frankenstein's Monster

A Poem For Those

*i am frankenstein's monster
no matter how beautiful i may be
i am ugly
to those who created me*

*i am frankenstein's monster
i must die
for living
and not loving
those who hate me*

*i am frankenstein's monster
without fear or human emotion
i shed a tear
and the heart never given to me
skips a beat in sadness
for those masters of civilization*

*i am frankenstein's monster
i have strength
unknown and unintended
by those who really didn't know
me*

*i am frankenstein's monster
because i've turned
on those who wanted me to turn
on myself*

Johnny Spain
San Quentin

view of the guards, and now when the prisoners got out of line, the guards reacted both with verbal abuse as well as physical abuse.

"We videotaped the experiment and we have those tapes available; some of them are on file and some of them in copies of slides. When we had people analyze the videotapes, people who knew nothing about the experiment, what they discovered was that the level of physical and verbal aggression, pushing, CONTINUED ON PAGE 24



JOHNNY SPAIN (left), Black Panther Party member who survived August 21, 1971. Blood-stained Adjustment Center cell doors (right).

Elaine Brown To Speak At Rally To Defend A.I.M. Leader Dennis Banks

(Oakland, Calif.) - Black Panther Party chairperson Ms. Elaine Brown will be a featured speaker at a March 12, rally here in support of American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Dennis Banks and Lehman Brightman of United Native Americans, Inc.

The purpose of the rally is to protest the planned extradition of Banks to South Dakota to serve the sentence he received in a frame-up conviction arising out of the federal government's repression of the militant AIM organization.

In addition to Ms. Brown, the rally, scheduled to be held at Fremont High School, 4610 Foothill, beginning at 8:00 p.m., will also be addressed by Clyde Bellecourt, an AIM leader; Rashaad Ali of the Student Coalition Against Racism; Edison Unu, a leader of the Japanese community in San Francisco; Ying Lee



AIM leader DENNIS BANKS.

"Durham operated all over the Kelley, Berkeley city councilwoman; Miguel Angel, Laney College La Raza Educators; a representative of the Delancey Street Foundation; and a representative from the office of Congressman Ron Dellums.

Both Banks and Brightman will also speak to the assembled audience to explain the present state of Native American struggles against racism and oppression.

In a recent interview with *Pacific News Service*, Banks explained that he went underground four days before his sentencing because he feared for his life.

Subsequently, Banks came to the Bay Area and stayed with

Brightman in an El Cerrito apartment where Banks was later arrested on a fugitive warrant and Brightman charged with harboring a fugitive.

Banks believes his capture after five months as a fugitive will rally new public attention to the war of survival now being waged by the Sioux nation in South Dakota.

240 DEATHS

Over the past two years, there have been some 240 deaths on Pine Ridge alone, Banks says. "Forty of these have been murders of AIM people."

Banks charged that the repeated violence was part of a government-directed campaign to destroy AIM and any movement to secure rights for Indian people. "I would say that 75 per cent of those 240 deaths have been related to the hostility between the government-backed forces of Richard Wilson and the American Indian Movement."

Banks sees AIM organizers as the key to redressing these wrongs, and securing Constitutional rights for Indians. But he adds that today — because of government persecution — the movement is in a crisis period that could last eight to nine months.

Banks also cites William Janklow, the state attorney general, as publicly stating that "the only way to deal with the Indian problem in South Dakota is to put a bullet through Dennis Banks' head." □

SOCIALIST PARTY LEADER INTERVIEWED

"U.S. MAINTAINS COLONIAL DOMINATION OVER PUERTO RICO"

Commenting that, "We exercise our rights at the price of our blood, and repression does not spare us," Juan Mari-Bras, leader of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, recently detailed the conditions in his homeland which have led to an upsurge of the pro-independence movement. The interview was conducted at a Forum on Puerto Rico held at the University of Vincennes in Paris, France, and is reprinted from the People's Translation Service.

"FREE STATE"

QUESTION: How is the status of Associated Free State reflected in the institutions of Puerto Rico?

MARI-BRAS (M.B.): The Associated Free State is, in fact, a cover which allows the United States to maintain the direct colonial domination that it has held since 1898. The whole sphere of basic authority normally belonging to a national

government is in the hands of the U.S. The domination is exercised from the decision-making centers of the U.S. Congress, the Pentagon, or the White House over foreign trade, foreign relations, communications, military service, the judicial system, currency, not to mention use of the territory for military ends, the management-worker relations, etc. . . .

What is called the "Associated Free State" is an institution administering only domestic affairs, concerning in most cases the provincial or city governments: regulating traffic, construction of highways, hospitals, schools, public gardens, etc. That is the extent of its jurisdiction. Puerto Rico therefore is neither a state, since it is not sovereign, nor free, nor associated. Actually, the U.S. conceived this farce in 1952 in order to avoid international disputes over the status of Puerto Rico.



JUAN MARI-BRAS, Puerto Rican Socialist Party leader, addresses PSP congress in San Juan. New "Associated Free State" status continues U.S. colonial control over Puerto Rico.

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

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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Q: And in everyday life, what is the meaning of that status?

M.B.: For example, for the same work, a Puerto Rican earns one-third as much as a North American in the U.S., and must pay 20 per cent more for any commodity. Furthermore, unemployment is three times higher on the island than in the U.S. We are immersed in the "American way of life" without having the American standard of living. This is why out of a population of five million, two million live in the U.S.

Another example is that the constitution of the Associated Free State recognizes the right to strike, to picket, and collective bargaining for the Puerto Rican workers. On the other hand, in the U.S. there is a retrograde law on the books which is not only in

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting New Novel Examines Lives Of
Black Americans In Egypt

...And Bid Him Sing, written by BLACK PANTHER Editor-in-Chief David G. Du Bois, is an intriguing tale of self-exiled Black Americans living in Cairo, Egypt, in a futile attempt to escape the degradation of U.S. racism. The following is Part 21 of this important novel.

PART 21

"Don't mind Kamal," he said. "He's got some good ideas about helping Egyptian companies in the States. There ought to be some money in it for you too, if anything works out with your company. A lot of money. So help him if you can."

"Inshallah," Fawzy responded as he took Suliman's extended hand. "Thanks. I'll be by again. At what times are you usually here?"

"I'm always here in the afternoons and most evenings. In fact, I'm here most of the time. But the afternoons or evenings are best." Then, shyly he added, "I'll arrange with Selwa and Hoda. So you let me know as soon as possible when we can go to Heliopolis. Early afternoon is best for them because they're working nights till late."

Fawzy had forgotten about Selwa and Hoda. "I'll come back later tonight, then, around ten. Will you be here? I'll see my friend this evening and get the key."

"Crazy!" Suliman exclaimed. "Get some stuff, too, if you can. I'll try to get some too."

"Okay," Fawzy said as he started down the stairs. "Assalam alaikum."

"Ma as salama," Suliman called after him, and in English, "See ya, man."

The discomfort that Fawzy had felt in the room had left him. As he ran down the steps two at a time, one thought was in his mind. Suliman had said there'd be a lot of money for him if he helped Kamal at the company. In the room he'd not been sure he'd show up in the morning to meet Kamal. But now he knew he would.

He wasn't sure what he was going to tell his director about Kamal. He had not understood what Kamal's business was. But he remembered the slick-looking black briefcase Kamal carried. And, while Suliman and Ibrahim

were dressed in sport shirt and slacks, Kamal had on an American suit and a tie. He looked like a serious man of business. This might really be a chance for himself, Fawzy thought, and his spirits soared. He'd go right now, he decided, to get the key to the Heliopolis flat.

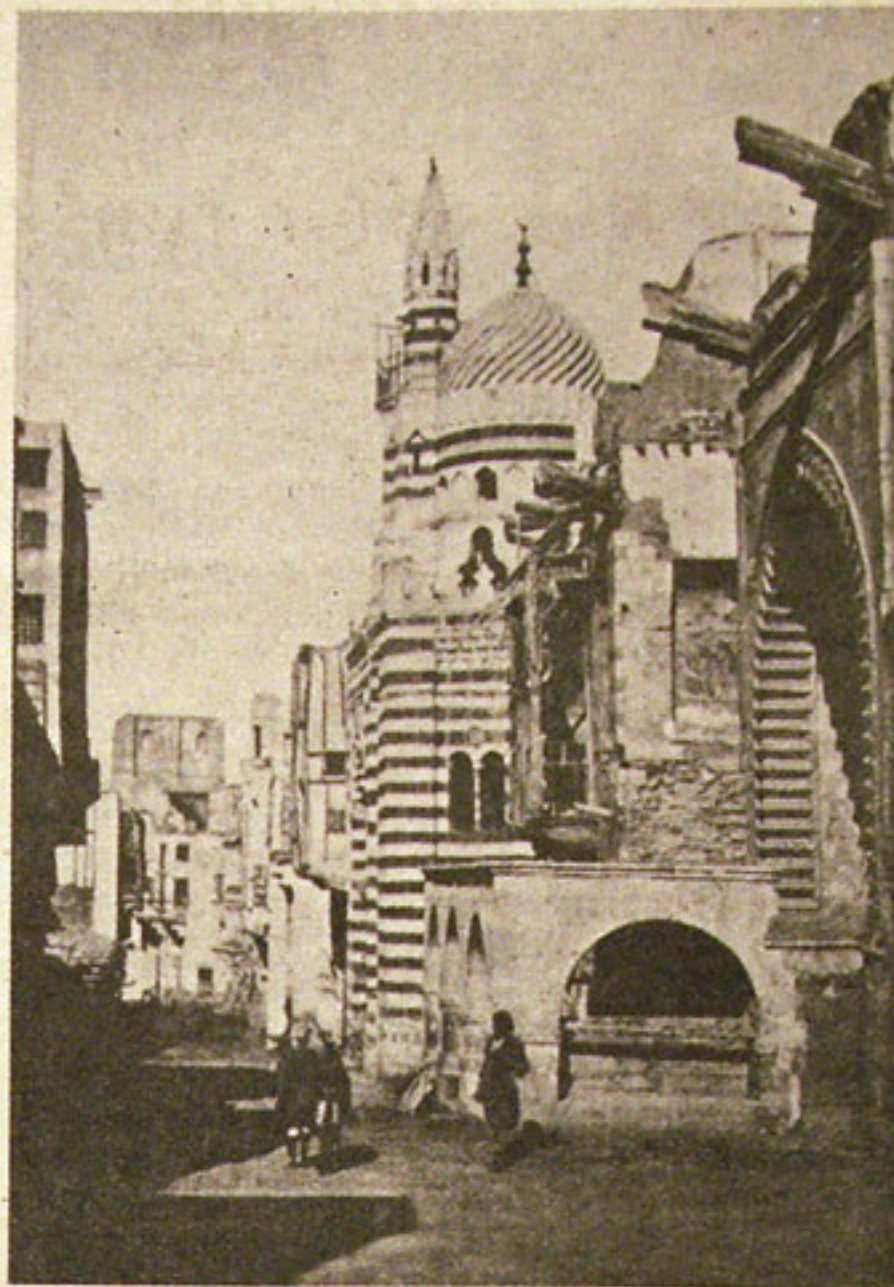
When Suliman returned to his room he found Ibrahim stretched out on the bed full length. Kamal was preparing to leave. Karima had not returned.

"Did you dig the way that cat said 'Arab countries' and 'African countries,' as if Egypt ain't in Africa?" Ibrahim said to Suliman as he came in.

"Man, these fools don't know nothing," Kamal volunteered. "He didn't know what I was talking about when I asked him about publicity for his company in the States. He sure was in a hurry to leave. Bet he don't even show up tomorrow morning to take me to his company."

"He'll show up," Suliman said coldly, "and don't blame him because you don't know the Arabic words for publicity or advertising. You ought to find out before you start talking to Egyptians about what you sellin'."

"Anyway, I'm splitting," Kamal said. "Mohammed was suppose to see somebody about playing with them at some club. He's probably back at the pad



1857 photo of the Bulaq, an historic Cairo monument.

now."

"Man, if you s'pose to be the cat's agent what you doin' sitting up here while that cat's out seeing somebody about a gig?" A trace of sarcasm was in Ibrahim's voice.

"He made the appointment hisself," Kamal answered defensively, "but I got something goin' for him. Somebody's going to introduce me to some people in television and I'm going to get the cat a television gig. Big thing. With an interview and everything. We'll make some bread with that."

"That cat ain't paying you no 'tenshun," Suliman said. He'd just come out of the toilet. "He don't need no agent. While you sittin' 'round on your ass, he's out hustling. You figgerin' on gettin some of that bread he gets regularly from Elijah. But he ain't thinking 'bout you."

"Makes a good impression when a cat's got a agent," Kamal continued. "You gotta play it big to win big. I'm going to see the cat really shakes 'em up. I got some other things workin' for him."

"You act like you don't know it," Ibrahim said as he pushed over to make room for Suliman on the bed, "but that cat's got Elijah workin' for him. So you might as well cool it."

THE NATION'S LINE

"Egypt ain't buying The Nation's line any more, man. You know that." Kamal standing by the door, briefcase in hand.

"Maybe it ain't, but it's keeping pretty quiet about it and the cats Mohammed is dealing with don't know it. Everywhere he goes he talks about being Elijah's man and these Egyptians eat it up. That's all they know about Moslems in the States. So, why shouldn't they. Mohammed is playing that game to the hilt, and he'll make it — without you!"

"You cats make me sick. See ya." Kamal pushed out of the door and closed it behind him.

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

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

Francille Rusan Wilson
The Black Scholar

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REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"The Founding Of The Black Panther Party"

Concluding the chapter "The Founding of the Black Panther Party," Huey P. Newton, leader and chief theoretician of the Party, explains how conditions developed to the point where it was time "to stop talking and begin organizing." Beginning with the chapter "Patrolling," Huey tells how he and Bobby Seale set out to put their program into action.

PART 41

Negroes with Guns by Robert Williams had a great influence on the kind of party we developed. Williams had been active in Monroe, North Carolina, with a program of armed self-defense that had enlisted many in the community. However, I did not like the way he had called on the

federal government for assistance; we view the government as an enemy, the agency of a ruling clique that controls the country. We also had some literature about the Deacons for Defense and Justice in Louisiana, the state where I was born. One of their leaders had come through the Bay Area on a speaking and fund-raising tour, and we liked what he said.

The Deacons had done a good job of defending civil rights marchers in their areas, but they also had a habit of calling upon the federal government to carry out this defense or at least to assist them in defending the people who were upholding the law. The Deacons even went so far as to enlist local sheriffs and police to defend the marchers, with the threat that if law enforcement agencies would not defend them, the Deacons would.

ONE ARMED GROUP

We also viewed the local police, the National Guard, and the regular military as one huge armed group that opposed the will of the people. In a boundary situation people have no real defense except what they provide for themselves.

We read also the works of the freedom fighters who had done so much for Black communities in the United States. Bobby had collected all of Malcolm X's speeches and ideas from the papers like *The Militant* and *Muhammed Speaks*. These we studied carefully. Although Malcolm's program for the Organization of Afro-American Unity was never put into operation, he had made it clear that Blacks ought to arm. Malcolm's influence was ever-present.

We continue to believe that the Black Panther Party exists in the spirit of Malcolm. Often it is difficult to say exactly how an action or a program has been determined or influenced in a spiritual way. Such intangibles are hard to describe, although they can be more significant than any precise influence.

Therefore, the words on this page cannot convey the effect that Malcolm has had on the Black Panther Party, although, as far as I am concerned, the Party is a living testament to his life work. I do not claim that the Party has done what Malcolm would have done. Many others say that their



1967 photo of HUEY P. NEWTON, Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician.

programs are Malcolm's programs. We do not say this, but Malcolm's spirit is in us.

From all these things — the books, Malcolm's writings and spirit, our analysis of the local situation — the idea of an organization was forming. One day, quite suddenly, almost by chance, we found a name.

I had read a pamphlet about voter registration in Mississippi, how the people in Lowndes County had armed themselves against Establishment violence. Their political group, called the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, had a black panther for its symbol. A few days later, while Bobby and I were rapping, I suggested that we use the panther as our symbol and call our political vehicle the Black Panther Party.

The panther is a fierce animal, but he will not attack until he is backed into a corner; then he will strike out. The image seemed appropriate, and Bobby agreed without discussion.

At this point, we knew it was time to stop talking and begin organizing. Although we had always wanted to get away from the intellectualizing and rhetoric characteristic of other

groups, at times we were as inactive as they were. The time had come for action.

"Patrolling"

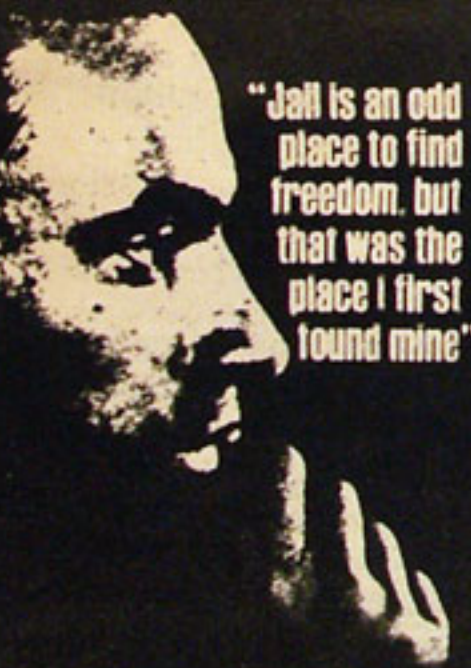
"The only way to police a ghetto is to be oppressive. None of the Police Commissioner's men, even with the best will in the world, have any way of understanding the lives led by the people they swagger about in twos and threes controlling. Their very presence is an insult, and it would be, even if they spent their entire day feeding gumdrops to children. They represent the force of the white world, and that world's real intentions are, simply, for that world's criminal profit and ease, to keep the Black man corralled up here, in his place."

JAMES BALDWIN, "Fifth Avenue, Uptown,"
Nobody Knows My Name

It was the spring of 1966. Still without a definite program, we were at the stage of testing ideas that would capture the imagination of the community. We began as always, by checking around with the street brothers.

TO BE CONTINUED

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE



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

Huey P. Newton

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

24 pages of photographs \$8.95

To purchase this book, send \$8.95 (hard-bound) or \$1.95 (paper-back) in cash or money order to: Central Distribution, 8501 E. 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621. Also available by Huey P. Newton: *To Die For The People*, \$1.95.

Harcourt Brace Jovanovich

M.P.L.A. COMIC BOOK DEPICTS HISTORY OF ANGOLAN REVOLUTION

(San Francisco, Calif.) — A 72-page comic book on the 15-year-old Angolan revolution will soon be published by People's Press entitled *From Slavery To Freedom*. The book was originally created by the MPLA for political organizing and education inside the People's Republic of Angola.

From Slavery To Freedom revolves around a young Black Angolan, Paulo, who is deeply angry at the abuses of Portuguese colonialism. After being stopped by the police, harassed at his job as a servant for a Portuguese family, and attacked by a band of White racists, Paulo meets a member of the MPLA who convinces

him to turn his anger into useful and organized action.

The MPLA militant instructs Paulo about Portuguese colonialism and explains the struggle the MPLA is waging to destroy it (colonialism) and liberate Angola. Paulo becomes a committed MPLA member and a spirited fighter for independence.

From Slavery To Freedom is an informative, humorous and timely introductory work on the long struggle of the Angolan people for independence and self-determination. People's Press has added a prologue explaining the origins of the books, a brief history of Angola,

the MPLA's program for the Angolan revolution, and an epilogue bringing the story up to date. The book will soon be available in bookstores throughout the country.

EXCELLENT CARTOONS

Below, THE BLACK PANTHER reprints some of the excellent cartoons contained in *From Slavery To Freedom* with the English translation of the captions. As the MPLA notes at the end of the book: "From victory to victory, the Angolan people are marching towards independence. There is no liberty without struggle. There is no happiness without struggle." □



DECREE LAW NO. 1

Angolan Constitution Expands People's Power

(Luanda, People's Republic of Angola) — The Council of the Revolution, the top governing body of the MPLA-led People's Republic of Angola, last month approved Decree Law No. 1, an expansion of the country's constitution which relates specifically to the concept of "people's power," the *Guardian* reports.

According to Article 3 of the Angolan constitution:

"The masses shall be guaranteed broad, effective participation in the exercise of political power through the consolidation, expansion and development of the organizational forms of people's power."

Decree Law No.1 sets Article 3 in motion by providing for a pyramid-shaped structure of government in People's Angola, with each level electing the next higher one, all the way up to the provincial committees. The system works as follows:

In the rural areas the Village People's Assemblies elect Village People's Committees. The latter elect Commune (or county) Committees which elect the committee that governs the country's seven provinces. In the urban areas, the Barrio (neighborhood) Committee is the basic unit of government which merges with the Village Committees at the Commune level.

The supreme governing body in Angola will eventually be the People's Assembly, but its



Young Angolan children mimic their heroes, the MPLA freedom fighters.

composition and method of election will be determined only after the MPLA has consolidated its control of the entire country. Meanwhile the Council of the Revolution is the leading political body. The Council is composed of all members of the Political Bureau of the MPLA, FAPLA (People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola), members of the government appointed by the MPLA, the provincial commissioners and the chiefs of staff and political officers of the five military fronts, a total of about 40.

One of the major aims of Decree Law No.1 is to provide the maximum of decentralization of political and economic power in Angola. The preamble to the Decree Law states:

"In case of popular insurrection; of profound crises in which the bourgeoisie loses the monopoly of the exercise of political power; or during a protracted people's war — conditions exist for the appearance of people's power."

"In such historic moments, people's power emerges in certain regions, or in places of work and exists parallel to bourgeois power, being in constant struggle with the latter. . ."

Thus, the Decree Law seeks to institutionalize on a national level the basic practices developed by the MPLA during the armed struggle against Portugal and more recently against the Western-supported FNLA and UNITA factions.

The lowest level of government, the Village People's Assembly, is made up of the entire population but only those 18 and older have voting rights. The Assembly elects the Village People's Committee made up of five to 10 members and three "substitutes" for one year. Mandates can be revoked at any time a majority so decides at the monthly meetings. Special meetings can also be called.

Among the 18 points which fall within the "functions and competencies" of the Committee include such matters as: "To fight against obscurantism (opposition to progress), tribal-

Zaire's Recognition Of People's Angola Linked To Faltering Economy

(Brazzaville, Congo) - The CIA-puppet government of Zaire recognized the MPLA as the legitimate government of the People's Republic of Angola on February 28 following a meeting here between Angolan President Dr. Agostinho Neto and Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko — a move observers say is directly linked to the serious economic and political crisis confronting Zaire.

Mobutu and the CIA have had supported the reactionary FNLA faction in its attempts to subvert the MPLA government of Angola, but the cold reality of bankruptcy has caused Zaire to officially shift its Angola policy now that the FNLA and its ally, UNITA, have been soundly defeated by the MPLA liberation forces.

The *Guardian* reports that Zaire — America's closest ally in Black Africa — is so near bankruptcy that the Ford administration recently asked Congress to appropriate millions of dollars in emergency aid.

Coupled with the economic plight facing the sprawling copper-rich country of 25 million people is the rising political dissent against the repressive rule of Mobutu. Antoine Gizenga, formerly a top deputy in the (Congo, now Zaire) government of Patrice Lumumba — which, with Mobutu's help, was overthrown by the CIA in 1961 — last month launched a military campaign against the Mobutu regime from eastern Zaire. Gizenga poses a real threat

to Mobutu since he (Gizenga) is operating out of Kivu province, an area Mobutu has been unable to control for years.

Mobutu is equally concerned about the 3,000 troops from Katanga province who have been fighting for the MPLA. These troops fled Zaire in the mid 1960s when the ruthless Mobutu, using largely White mercenaries, crushed the Katangese secessionist movement. Mobutu is now afraid that the Katangese troops will return to Zaire to fight his army once again.

Its pro-West leanings, strategic location and rich natural resources make Zaire instrumental in America's imperialistic African policies. The largest CIA station in Africa is located in Zaire. Largely unexplored, Zaire's known mineral wealth is overwhelming, including gold, industrial diamonds, cobalt, copper and oil. With \$250 million in direct investments and \$800 million in loans, U.S. businesses have one of their largest African stakes in Zaire.

Zaire's abundant copper is the key to its recent economic collapse. Providing 70 per cent of its foreign earnings and 50 per cent of its national budget, Zaire's copper has plunged from \$1.50 a pound on the world market in early 1974 to 55 cents today. The country began to default on its loans as the result of lagging income and skyrocketing debts. By October, 1975, it had missed more than eight million in payments to U.S. banks.



Zaire's President MOBUTU SESE SEKO.

Increasingly unpopular among his own people, Mobutu Sese Seko faces an uncertain future as the leader of Zaire, the ace card in America's African strategy. □

C.I.A. In Zaire Exposed

Through ex-FBI agent Philip Agee, THE BLACK PANTHER has received a list of 18 CIA agents operating in Zaire. The agents have been identified as Stuart E. Methvin; Samuel L. Martin; Peter T. Hanson; Jeffrey Panitt; Robert Benedetti; Bruce W. Brett; Nancy C. Buss; Vickie Viger; Peter W. Comer; Martin R. McFarlane; William Harner; Richard J. Harrison; David S. Markey; Wilfred Bagnen; Robert W. Carmen; Bruce Barnard; Nick E. Unger, and Thomas T. Mix.



Angolan President AGOSTINHO NETO (seated, above) at a school in a zone liberated during the armed struggle against Portugal. Young MPLA woman freedom fighter (right).

ism, regionalism and racism through public discussion of any conflicts among the people people. . . and "to struggle against alcoholism, prostitution, vagrancy, absenteeism from work and other antisocial behavior."

The Committees discuss and submit proposals on matters concerning the everyday needs of the Angolan people, including housing, education, public health, transportation, and others. One of their main functions is to maintain a careful watch on public security and defense matters. Every village should be capable of transforming into a resistance base of short notice.

The Decree stipulates that the Village

Commune Committees "stimulate and support collective forms of production as well as organizations which consolidate the worker-peasant alliance so as to guarantee effective workers' control in all economic units" and "to stimulate the mobilization and organization of the broad masses for the tasks of the resistance."

At the higher levels of government, the functions and responsibilities of the various bodies become more important. The Provincial People's Committee — the highest elected body in the country — has broad and virtually autonomous powers. Its decisions are considered law unless contested by the Provincial



People's Assembly within 15 days. One of the chief functions of provincial government is to draw up economic plans and a budget to be integrated into the national plan and state budget.

To ensure that the MPLA line is followed and state policy is properly coordinated, commissioners are appointed from the Administration of Internal Affairs from the commune up to the provincial level. The commissioners, in turn, are closely observed by the Village Committees who have the power to remove commissioners or any other public officials if their behavior is believed inadequate.

With the implementation of Decree Law No. 1, the Angolan revolution is moving rapidly along the path toward the establishment of total people's power and liberation for the masses of people of Angola. □

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

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

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

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Intercommunal News

Rhodesian
Black Militants
Form United
People's Army
Of Zimbabwe

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) — Charging that Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) President Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, and the leadership of the African National Council (ANC) have openly collaborated with the White racist Rhodesian government, ZANU freedom fighters, joined by the progressive elements of the Zimbabwe African Political Union (ZAPU), have formed the United Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) as the "supreme body in charge of prosecuting armed struggle in Zimbabwe. . ."

The following is Part 2 of an article based on a lengthy communique recently received by THE BLACK PANTHER from ZANU detailing the elaborate plan concocted by the Rhodesian and South African governments to destroy ZANU, and thus the armed struggle in Rhodesia — a plan which has totally failed and has resulted in the formation of ZIPA.

PART 2

Following 11 years of imprisonment by the Rhodesian government, Rev. Sithole was released on April 4, 1975, "to the surprise of the whole world," the ZANU communique noted. Rev. Sithole's release came less than one month after the murder of ZANU National Chairman Herbert Chitepo in Lusaka, Zambia, by Zambian agents acting under the orders of the Rhodesian and South African regimes.

Explaining the chain of events following Sithole's release, the communique said:

"... Sithole was whisked off to Zaire where he was obviously



ZANU militants aim anti-aircraft weapon.

AFRICAN ALLIES SUPPORT
MOZAMBIQUE'S "STATE OF WAR"
AGAINST
RHODESIA

(Maputo, Mozambique) - In an impassioned radio address to his countrymen, President Samora Machel of Mozambique last week declared that a "state of war" exists with White-ruled Rhodesia.

The broadcast, which caused widespread panic in Rhodesia, announced that the 800-mile border between the two countries would be closed, that all Rhodesian assets and property in Mozambique would be seized, and that the FRELIMO-led government would apply full United Nations economic sanctions against its White supremacist neighbor.

Although not a declaration of war, President Machel called upon all Mozambicans to build air raid shelters both in the population centers and in the villages and to spend all off-days manning anti-aircraft defenses.

He also called on Communist and socialist countries to come to the aid of Mozambique.

Internews reports that large scale mass rallies were held throughout Mozambique in support of the measure announced by President Machel.

During his address, the 41-year-old FRELIMO leader said that the action followed a Rh-



Mozambique President SAMORA MACHEL (left, with gun in air) addressing FRELIMO militants during the liberation struggle. Last week, President Machel declared a "state of war" with White-ruled Rhodesia.

desian air and artillery attack on the Mozambican border village of Pafuri. Reliable sources say that in recent weeks there has been a step-up in Rhodesian troop incursions across the Mozambique border, justified by the Rhodesian Defense Ministry as action taken "in hot pursuit" of Zimbabwean guerrillas.

Mozambique and Tanzania openly harbor training facilities for upwards of 16,000 Zimbabwean freedom fighters, who have recently formed the United Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) to lead their armed struggle against

the racist Ian Smith regime in Rhodesia. (See article, this page.)

President Machel's declaration, which intensifies the already heated struggle for Black majority rule in Rhodesia, was immediately backed by Tanzania, Zambia and, surprisingly, Great Britain.

In Dar es Salaam, *Uhuru*, the official organ of President Julius Nyerere's ruling Tanu Party, declared in a militant editorial that, "The announcement of a state of war in Mozambique means that Tanzania is also at war. A war which involves Mozambique is Tanzania's and Africa's."

Maintaining that the "time for talks is over," *Uhuru's* editorial, monitored by *Reuters* and *Internews*, said that "The liberation struggle in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) has now reached a state of no return. . ."

A BAD STATE

"These people (those 'who still believe in talks') are likely to find themselves in a very bad state if they do not collect themselves and join in the liberation of Zimbabwe by arms."

Also, the Tanzanian government-owned *Daily News* appealed for "moral and material support" for Mozambique, adding that "Mozambique's timely action will go down in history as one of the greatest contributions toward the complete liquidation of the oppressive White minority regimes in southern Africa."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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

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MASS PROTESTS MARK KISSINGER'S LATIN AMERICAN TOUR

(Mexico City, Mexico) - U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's recent tour of South America was greeted by mass protest demonstrations upon his arrival in every country he visited, *People's Translation Service* reports.

Unprecedented security measures were taken to protect Kissinger everywhere he went, such as traveling in an armored car equipped with oxygen masks and being accompanied by close to 100 FBI and Secret Service agents.

In Caracas, Venezuela, the first stop of the tour, demonstrations began before Kissinger's arrival and continued after his departure. The National Union of Venezuelan Press Workers declared Kissinger "persona non grata" (an unwelcome person).

In Lima, Peru, demonstrations protesting Kissinger's visit also demanded freedom for imprisoned union leaders and the right to strike.

STATEMENT

The Federation of University Students issued a statement "to repudiate the presence in our oppressed country of Henry Kissinger, the messenger of North American imperialism." Other students stoned the U.S. embassy in Lima.

In Costa Rica, the Federation of University Students, representing 30,000 students, denounced Kissinger's visit, branding the U.S. Secretary of State "the principal architect of the coups in Chile and the protector of the bloodiest dictatorship in America." One thousand demonstrators were dispersed by police in the center of the capital city, San Jose.

In Bogota and Medellin, Colombia, Kissinger was received by extensive security. All security organizations were put on alert as well as 30,000 soldiers who were put on call.

Students at the major universities of Colombia participated in street demonstrations, joining with 15,000 striking bank workers, 12,000 striking government workers and striking teachers.

Throughout Latin America, many political groups accused Kissinger of trying to soften the nationalistic positions of Latin American governments which are limiting foreign investment and demanding higher prices for raw materials.

Policeman wrestles with anti-Kissinger demonstrator in San Jose, Costa Rica.

Twenty-eight were arrested in the demonstration. The U.S. secretary of state was greeted with mass protest demonstrations in every country he visited during his recent South American tour.



Most of the major newspapers of Latin America carried editorials criticizing Kissinger's intentions during his visit. *Panama America* said that "the tactic of trying to isolate each case by speaking with Latin American countries individually is irrelevant; it means that U.S. foreign policy is still adapted to the time when we Latin Americans fought each other at international meetings, and parti-

cipated in boycotts against our fellow nations."

The Sao Paulo (Brazil) *Journal da Tarde* said that "the tremendous failure of North American diplomacy in its mission to lead the so-called free world in the fight against a common enemy that culminated in Kissinger's leadership of the State Department, is responsible for the proliferation of military dictatorships in Latin America." □

U.S. Army Training Chilean Fascists

(Canal Zone, Panama) — Chilean officers are being trained in the U.S. Army School of the Americas at Fort Amador here, in violation of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1974, which prohibits military assistance in Chile, Research Associates International reports.

An investigation carried out by Elmer B. Staats, comptroller general of the U.S., has revealed that more than 300 Chilean army officers have been trained in the operations of police in internal defense, use of aviation in urban counterinsurgency, mob behavior and application of "force," and police logistics.

According to Staats, the Army also enrolled Chilean army personnel in the years 1973, 1974 and 1975. The scope of this training was not listed.

The Army's School of the Americas was founded in 1946 here at Fort Amador under the Army's program of a "Latin American Center." The Center trains Latin American personnel under military assistance programs to increase their skills for maintaining repressive internal security in their countries. Staats found that more than 33,147 students have graduated from the school since 1946.

Several U.S.-based transnational corporations funded by the U.S. Department of State and the Agency of International Development (AID) are also used by the Pentagon to circumvent Congressional prohibitions on aid to the military government of Chile.

The results of Comptroller General Staats study were sent to Congressman Dante Fascell of the House Committee on International Relations.

AFRICA IN FOCUS



Tanzania

The National Sports Council of the People's Republic of China recently presented the government of Tanzania with extensive sports equipment and sports uniforms. The presentation took place in a ceremony in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, attended by Tanzanian Minister for National Culture and Youth, M. Sarakiya, and Chang Chun-hua, charge d'affaires and interim of People's China embassy in Tanzania.

Mozambique

Mozambique President Samora Machel stressed the need for his country to persist in self-reliance in order to consolidate national independence at the 8th Plenary Conference of the Central Committee of FRELIMO held recently in Maputo, Mozambique. As reported by *Hsinhua* news agency, President Machel noted that foreign and domestic enemies had vainly sought every means to undermine the eight-month-old republic and trick the people into believing that they cannot master their own destiny.

Niger

Nearly one-fourth of the population of Niger faces famine in May, according to government officials interviewed by *Reuters* news agency. Thousands of Niger farms have been devastated by drought and a plague of crickets, caterpillars and rodents in the landlocked West African nation that is already seriously short of food.

Namibia

Cuban Premier Fidel Castro last week met a delegation of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) attending the 25th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in Moscow, the Cuban news agency *Prensa Latina* reports. SWAPO is the leading liberation movement in South West Africa (Namibia), which is illegally ruled by South Africa. *Prensa Latina* did not elaborate on the issues discussed by the SWAPO delegates and Castro.



African freedom fighter. The recent OAU meeting pledged its support for military action against racist South Africa.

O.A.U. Conference Adopts Key Resolutions On Southern Africa And Middle East

(Addis Ababa, Ethiopia) — The 26th Ordinary Session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) ended here on March 1 with the adoption of a number of important and wide-ranging resolutions on southern Africa and the Middle East.

In a major action, the OAU ministers decided to seek an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council to discuss South Africa's aggression against the People's Republic of Angola. Some 10,000 South African troops are stationed in southern Angola to "protect" the South African-financed Cunene dam project.

A second action taken by the Council of Ministers concerned the vote by 21 of the 47 OAU member states to recognize the POLISARIO Front as the legitimate liberation movement of the war torn country of Sahara. The Sahara issue was the subject of a heated debate among the OAU ministers.

A former Spanish colony, the Sahara last month was slated to be split up between the neighboring countries of Morocco and Mauritania, both of whom are OAU members. Both countries threatened to withdraw from the OAU if the body voted to recognize the Algerian-backed POLISARIO Front which recently

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TOP M.P.L.A. OFFICIALS MEET WITH BLACK JOURNALISTS IN CUBA

ANGOLA'S AFRICAN POLICIES OUTLINED

Pursuing its policy of firm solidarity with the People's Republic of Angola, the Cuban government recently hosted a conference in Havana at which high-ranking MPLA officials briefed a delegation of Black American journalists on the Angolan government's African policies. The following is a report on that conference written for Pacific News Service.

(Havana, Cuba) — Three top-ranking officials of the MPLA have given an unofficial delegation of predominantly Black Americans here a unique glimpse into the MPLA's African policies.

In its first public diplomatic initiative aimed at the United States since taking power in Angola in November, the MPLA sponsored the three-day, free-wheeling, question and answer conference. MPLA conference delegates included Central Committee Member Ruy Salomen Desa and two foreign affairs officials — one a woman.

Formal talks with delegates and informal conversations with Cuban officials have indicated that:

- The MPLA is committed to using diplomatic means to get South African troops out of the southern strip of Angola they

U.N.I.T.A. Guerrillas Sabotage Angolan Independence

(Kinshasha, Zaire) — In their continuing efforts to subvert Angolan independence, guerrilla forces of the reactionary UNITA faction have launched hit-and-run attacks against towns in Angola that have been liberated by the MPLA-led government of the West African nation.

Ruben Chitacumbi, UNITA's permanent representative in Zaire, claimed here recently that a band of UNITA guerrillas had infiltrated the central Angolan town of Silva Porto and killed several Cuban soldiers — who were assisting the MPLA — before retreating back into the countryside.

Earlier, Chitacumbi said, another group of UNITA troops poured heavy mortar fire into the southern Angolan town of Serpa Pinto, creating considerable



The Cuban government has pledged its armed support to African liberation struggles.

have occupied, defending the Cunene River Dam.

- If the MPLA decides to use force against the South African troops, Cuba will back the move.

- Cuban troops in Angola are subject to the policy decisions of the MPLA government.

MPLA officials also said their government does not fear aggression from Zaire, which supported the defeated and U.S.-backed FNLA in the Angolan civil war. They were confident Zaire would not attempt military action against Angola's oil rich enclave of Cabinda, which is separated from the rest of Angola by a strip of Zaire's land.

While the MPLA government would welcome diplomatic recognition by the U.S., Commandante Desa told the con-

ference it "would not beg. Diplomatic recognition is a bilateral affair."

Asked about claims that the two defeated military factions would mount a guerrilla war against the MPLA government, MPLA officials doubted such a move would gain much support from peasants in southern Angola. But officials stressed the MPLA government has no intention of inviting either of the defeated factions into their coalition government.

In selecting the American delegates — who ranged from American Friends Service Committee and the World Council of Churches to eight representatives of the Black press and a coalition of Black trade unions — the MPLA clearly hoped to reach out directly to the U.S. public, by-passing official government channels and the major news media.

Despite the MPLA's victory in the Angolan conflict, the view from here is that the drama in southern Africa is far from over. The MPLA and its Cuban allies are attempting to firm their ties on a long-range basis with individuals and organizations in the U.S. that could influence American public opinion.

Cubans served as conference hosts rather than participants. But Cuban officials have stressed in private conversations that, while the U.S. government sees them as overseas interventionists, racially mixed Cuba views itself as an African country.

One Cuban, talking to a U.S. Black delegate, quoted Fidel Castro as saying, "The blood of Africans flows abundantly in our veins. We are brothers of the Africans and we are ready to fight on their side." □

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O.A.U. Conference Adopts Key Resolutions

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proclaimed the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic.

With 17 countries abstaining and nine voting against recognition, the Sahara resolution failed to meet a simple majority by two votes.

Endorsing the victory of the MPLA-led government over the reactionary factions which are attempting to subvert Angolan independence, the Council of Ministers adopted a resolution at the end of its six-day meeting stating that under the leadership of the MPLA, the Angolan people had "resisted South African aggression and collapsed the myth of the superiority and invincibility of the military fascist regime and its allies."

The resolution continued to say that OAU member nations have "a duty to counterattack to safeguard the dignity, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Africa."

Another resolution condemned the South African government for "its continuing illegal occupation" of Namibia (South West Africa) and "its use of this territory for launching military aggression against independent African countries." The Council voted to supply the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), the leading liberation

movement of Namibia, with "all necessary political, military and logistic aid."

OAU Secretary General William Eteki Mboumoua made a special report to the Council of Ministers on events in southern Africa in the past eight months. Welcoming Angola as the OAU's 47th member, he described the West African nation as "this revolutionary country, the effective and dependable bridgehead for the acceleration of majority rule in South Africa."

Mboumoua also said that he saw no hope for a constitutional solution to the issue of majority (Black) rule in Rhodesia.

In other actions, the OAU Council of Ministers called on France to abandon its military bases in the Indian Ocean and withdraw from the island of Mayotte and agreed that a meeting be set up between OAU member states and the Arab League in April in order to discuss Afro-Arab cooperation. The Council passed a resolution stating its total support of the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination.

The 13th Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the OAU is scheduled to be held from July 2-5 in Mauritius to be preceded by the 27th Ordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers. □

U.N.I.T.A. Guerrillas Sabotage

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Chitacumbi ridiculously maintains that while the MPLA controls all the towns in central and southern Angola, "once they (MPLA) leave the towns and major roads connecting them, they have no security. UNITA is in control of the countryside and the population is supporting us, not the MPLA."

The MPLA has credited its victories with the popular support given to the political party by the masses of people throughout the People's Republic of Angola.

SHAKEY GROUND

Observers note that UNITA may be on shaky ground with the government of Zaire. On March 5, FNLA headquarters, located in Kinshasa, as are UNITA's headquarters, was closed by the Zairean government. This action followed closely on the heels of Zaire's recognition of the MPLA as the legitimate government of Angola on February 28.

With serious efforts underway to normalize relations between Angola and Zaire, both UNITA and the FNLA may now find that their former benefactor, Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, intent upon obtaining economic concessions from the MPLA, will sharply curtail his relations with the two Angolan factions. □

WORLD SCOPE



Ireland

The Six County Executive of Republican Clubs has urged Black members of the British military to refuse to serve in Northern Ireland where they would be aiding "imperialism, the agents of reaction and the enemies of democracy at home and abroad." The Executive appealed for Black people and their organizations to stand by the struggle for democracy and socialism in Northern Ireland.

Laos

The government of the People's Democratic Republic of Laos recently announced the severance of diplomatic relations with Israel. A government statement denounced Zionist Israel's barbarous aggression against the Arab countries, its occupation of the territories of these countries and its inhumane suppression of the Arab people, particularly Palestinians.

Guyana

More than 22,000 people attended a rally at the national park in Georgetown recently to celebrate the sixth anniversary of the founding of the Co-operative Republic of Guyana. In speaking at the rally, Guyana Prime Minister Forbes Burnham reviewed Guyana's achievements in nationalization since the proclamation of the republic and announced that the holdings of the British-owned Booker McConnell Ltd. would be nationalized on May 26.

Cambodia

The Cambodian government charged last week that American jets had twice bombed Siem Reap, the provincial capital near the world famous Angkor ruins, killing 15 persons and wounding more than 30. Radio Phnom Penh said the first of three bombs that were dropped weighed more than 1,100 pounds and left a crater in the market place more than 21 feet deep and 30 feet across. The second bombing destroyed the hospital and accounted for the casualties.



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"FROM TWO WORLDS"—TOP BAY AREA BLACK ARTISTS EXHIBIT WORKS AT SAN JOSE STATE

In Memory Of Deborah Lane Bearden

It saddens my existence to hear of spiritual ignorance; especially when we allow a kindred spirit to slip quietly from this moment called 'life,' unheard, unknown.

Why must we be so passive in our involvement with the souls of others? Our lack of spiritualism forces complacency to be a poor substitute for compassion.

We are doomed to perpetuate our limited perspective of life.

I hope her life was not as lonely as her death. I hope we cared more during her presence, than we apparently cared during her exit.

She has passed from our unconcerned level of existence; we have lost another, as a result of our selfish concerns.

Don't make her life on this earth to have been a farce. We are accountable for our actions.

If we continue to disregard separate entities, our lives will tell. We will be called upon to explain our lack of compassion.

Perhaps we already have reaped the misfortune of our deeds.

Perhaps that is the reason we lost her. She has nobly suffered our transgressions. We have timidly allowed her to sacrifice Herself on our behalf.

She has borne the responsibility we have not yet assumed. The scapegoat for our ineffectuality has been offered up.

Take care that you too do not become the victim of our collective blindness. In another space, She is the you that has yet to suffer. All roles are interchangeable, and intersect in the end. At another moment, you will be her reflection in time's mirror.

For this moment, though, you are safe. She intervened to bear your cross this time. In the next episode, whom shall we offer up?

Nancy Jones
Washington

(This tribute is in response to the recent death of a University of Washington woman student, Deborah Bearden, who was found dead in her Haggert Hall dormitory room on the morning of February 22, 1970.)

The wealth of humanity is priceless. We need now to begin to appreciate this value before it is necessary to respond to it as a result of death.)

(San Jose, Calif.) - The sculptures and photographic works of 10 Black American artists were part of an exhibition entitled "From Two Worlds" held here at Union Gallery on the campus of San Jose State University February 23 to March 12.

The theme of the 19-day exhibition concerned the change and development of African images and African-American sculpture. The exhibition was an attempt to show how several northern California artists have utilized African heritage to develop their themes and sculptures.

Most of the participating artists are from the Bay Area. Products of diverse backgrounds—some have received academic training in art while others are self-taught—the artists share a common interest in African heritage and concern with Western art forms supplemented with African material.

The works displayed at the exhibition included those of Horace Washington and the late Sargent Claude Johnson, both of whom have utilized an interest in early Egyptian and Mediterranean sculpture in order to place current subjects into their historical dimension.

The works of Dr. Allan Gordon concern African and African-American rituals. Dr. Gordon uses contemporary methods and



Black artists (left to right) ROBERT T. NEWSOM, CLAUDE L. CLARK, CHERI ANDERSON, JONATHAN RUBANKS and some of the art (below) they displayed at the recent San Jose exhibition.

materials to present ideas and customs of old practices.

Claude L. Clark, Jr.,—guest curator of the exhibition and a lecturer with the San Jose State University Afro-American Stud-

ies Department—employs traditional African tools, reduction procedures and language in his work. His images reflect the influence of Melanesian and African tradition.

The sculptures of Nathaniel Sireles, Robert T. Newsom, Lazaroy Brown, Jr., and Woodrow Johnson each utilize different interests and approaches to African art forms.

San Jose State art student Ms. Cheri E. Anderson shows a unique and professional quality in her sculptures.

All the photographs in the exhibition were taken by Jonathan Rubanks whose skills and abilities in recording African images were clearly revealed.

On Sunday, March 1, many of the participating artists were joined by other artists in a lively panel discussion on a wide variety of topics related to Black art.

San Jose State students and community people as well as those interested in the Bay Area were highly appreciative of this rare opportunity to see Black art in the South.

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U.S. Imperialism

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

autonomy (like that provided for under the provisions of the National Security Act), which, in addition to gathering intelligence information and doing away with fighters against racial discrimination and exploitation in the United States, would carry out special operations to oust anti-imperialist and other progressive governments in the underdeveloped world and murder revolutionaries anywhere.

The institution would also do away with officials, both local and foreign, no matter how high-ranking they might be, who were no longer useful to the U.S. imperialist centers of economic and financial power.

Ilya Ehrenburg once said, "If, by some mistake, the spy Allen Dulles were sent to heaven, he would blow up the clouds, dynamite the stars and murder the angels."

The decade of the 60s was the time of the CIA's big crimes. The Mafia, which produced such figures as Lucky Luciano, Albert Anastasia, Vito Genovese and John Scalish, was left far behind in crime. When the heads of this new Mafia would get together — like the gangsters in the Al Capone era — they met in Langley, Virginia, CIA headquarters since 1961, to plan the mercenary invasions, attacks, blackmail, subversion, murder. . .

PLOTTING

That was where they plotted to murder Rafael Trujillo (1961) and Ngo Dinh Diem (1964), once those lackeys no longer served the interests of U.S. imperialism. That was where they hatched the "plane accident" in which Enrico Mattei, the head of the Italian oil firm ENI, which had challenged the big imperialist oil interests in the Middle East, was killed.

Thousands of articles and some 14 books have been published on the killing of President John Kennedy. One of the books was called: *Who Killed Kennedy?* This was the question which even the most doubtful were asking until just recently, in March last year, George O. Tooll, a former CIA official, settled the last doubts: Kennedy was murdered as the result of a plot in which the CIA was implicated. About 15 people linked to the crime in one way or another were murdered, "committed suicide" or died in mysterious circumstances between 1963 and 1967.

The presidential aspirations of Robert Kennedy, brother of the slain President, were ended in 1968, when he, too, was killed.



Victims of CIA murder: MARTIN LUTHER KING (top left), EL MEDLIN BEN BARKA (top right), RENE SCHNEIDER (bottom left) and AMILCAR CABRAL (bottom right).

The contradictions in the U.S. bourgeoisie continued to be bathed in blood, as was the case in the era of Lincoln, Garfield and McKinley.

The CIA also tried to drown the movement against racial discrimination in blood. Medgar Evers, a leader of the campaign against racial discrimination, was gunned down in 1964. The following year, it was Malcolm X and antisegregation activist Viola Liuzzo. Martin Luther King, Jr., was murdered in 1968. He had practically repeated Lincoln's remarks at Gettysburg: "We maintain that all men are equal." George Jackson, a fighter against racism, was another on the CIA's list of victims. He was murdered in San Quentin Prison in 1971.

The national liberation movements, challenging the "inevitability" of the exploitation of man by man, drove imperialism and the CIA mad. *The New York Times* reported on November 23, 1975, that permission to murder Lumumba was given by Allen Dulles and approved by Eisenhower. In 1963, Pio Pinto,

who had denounced the schemes of imperialism following the independence of Kenya was murdered.

In 1965, it was E. Mehdi Ben Barka, leader of the National Union of Popular Forces of Morocco and chairman of the International Preparatory Committee for the first Tricontinental Conference.

In 1970 it was Rene Schneider, commander of the Chilean Army, in an attempt to provoke turmoil and prevent Salvador Allende from becoming President. In 1973, Portuguese colonialism and U.S. imperialism struck at Amilcar Cabral.

Gamal Abdel Nasser, of the United Arab Republic; Julius Nyerere, of Tanzania; Sekou Toure, of Guinea; and Fidel Castro have also been tagged for assassination.

This is all part of the history of the CIA — a history which is filled with crimes, blood and dirt of all kinds.

More than just a history, it gives an insight into U.S. imperialism. □

United People's Army Of Zimbabwe

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

given a completely false picture of the arrest of his comrades (in Zambia). He unwisely issued a press statement supporting Zambia's arrest of ZANU (leaders) on the grounds that it was the normal part of the investigation into murder. . .

"Subsequent to this he was virtually kept prisoner, unable to communicate freely with his followers. On arrival in Zambia later in April, he was isolated from ZANU members and allowed to see only Zambian ministers, Central Committee members, and a select group of ZANU rebels. . . who had been suspended from the party for leading an attempted reactionary coup within ZANU. These enemies of ZANU and of the people of Zimbabwe deliberately tried to mislead the Rev. Sithole with their smear campaign against ZANU," the communique explained.

FOUR TASKS

At the time of Sithole's release, four major tasks were facing ZANU — tasks, the communique charges, Sithole "was both unwilling and unable to undertake." The tasks were as follows:

1. To provide food, ammunition and reinforcements for militants of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), the military arm of ZANU, and to provide food and basic needs for the tens of thousands of recruits who had been inspired to join ZANLA forces in the armed struggle.

2. To provide food for the wives and children of arrested and wounded ZANLA guerrillas, the former being stranded in Lusaka, Zambia. The women and children were literally starving since the Zambian government had confiscated ZANU funds.

3. To provide legal and other support for the 2,000 ZANU militants imprisoned in Zambia and to pressure the Zambian government to either release the ZANU members or bring them to trial in an open court attended by international observers.

4. "To tell the world the truth of what had happened to ZANU, and to expose the perpetrators of political crimes against the people of Zimbabwe who were trying to destroy our chances of liberating ourselves totally from imperialism and settlerism," the communique said.

TO BE CONTINUED

MARTIAL ARTS



Calm/Action

Thinking that calm and action are diametric opposites, many people may consider the very idea of the unity of calm and action strange. Ultimately, however, the two unite. All true movement skills (martial arts, swimming, running, etc.) demand that the person performing them be in that state of unity between calm and action.

Among the disciplines of calm inactivity are Zen meditation, breathing methods, quietly sitting and resting the mind (letting thoughts flow without interrupting or willfully designing a pattern of thought). Among active disciplines are the martial arts, sports and physical labor itself.

People who engage mainly in the quiet disciplines easily fall into the habit of "reverencing" calm only and of arriving in a state of calm that deadens reflexes and emotional attitudes. On the other hand, those who practice only the active disciplines respect only activity and easily become frenzied in their bustling about.

In speech we make the distinction between calm and activity but both are processes arising from the ki (or chi). Fundamentally they are the same. Either state implies the existence of the other. Action within calm or calm within action means that a state of complete calm implies the element of extremely violent activity and that violent activity, by its own nature, implies absolute calm.

As we sit perfectly still, we imagine that we are calm, but in fact, we are seated on the surface of the revolving earth which travels at great speeds. All of our calm includes the earth's activity.

Tops that children spin approach a state of calm stability the faster they spin. It can be said that their greatest state of calm is reached when they move at the greatest speed. The truest calm must contain the nature of the most rapid movement. This is what we mean by action within calm. True calm is not merely sitting still and allowing your mind to grow vague.

LUCY HARRIS LEADS AWESOME DELTA STATE TEAM TO 51-GAME STREAK

BLACK WOMAN TOUTED AS GREATEST FEMALE BASKETBALL PLAYER EVER

(Cleveland, Miss.) - Lucy Harris, six-foot three-inch star at Delta State University here, is being touted as the best woman basketball player to ever play the game.

Ms. Harris, a Black sophomore majoring in physical education, had led her team on a 51-game winning streak which just recently ended. The women's basketball team here outdraws the men's team, regularly selling out the school's 4,500 seat gymnasium and Lucy has been pivotal to the team's success.

She averages 33 points a game with a career high of 58 points against Tennessee Tech last December. Just recently, Ms. Harris scored 47 points against Queens College, breaking the season's scoring record for Madison Square Garden, men or women, college or pro.

According to a *Los Angeles Times* feature, Lucy has "a sky-hook to match that of Kareem Abdul-Jabbar" and "executes the alley-oop as well as David Thompson," both of whom are famous basketball pros.

Born in Minter City, Mississippi, population 200, Lucy recalls, that as a young girl she learned to play basketball in a field next to her father's farm. "I guess I was about 13 or 14 when I started playing basketball. I was always taller than anybody in my class," she says.

Cornelia Ward, coach of the women's basketball team at Delta



LUCY HARRIS, (No. 45 in black) leading her Delta State team to victory against Queens College. Lucy scored a record 47 points in the Madison Square Garden game.

State and a former player herself, has built an awesome team which relies on a crisp, patterned offense designed to get the ball to Lucy.

AN INSIDE GAME

"What I have," says Lucy, "is an inside game. I like to operate with my back to the basket; that way a defender doesn't know what I'm going to do. I try to take the highest percentage shots."

Speaking about her team, Coach Ward declared, "These girls don't think they can lose," relying on Lucy's skills and the



team's camaraderie and unselfishness. Last year, they won the championship of Association of Intercollegiate Athletics (AIA) with a 28 - 0 record and this year they are even stronger despite their sole loss to Immaculata College of Philadelphia. Earlier in the year they beat the same team by 18 points.

This summer Lucy — who is six feet, three inches tall — is a cinch to make the U.S. Olympic women's basketball team and her team is said to be a shoe-in for the AIA playoffs. □

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Houston Police Kill

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

had come to a complete stop and the law just started shooting off into it. I don't see how any of them got out alive because they were shooting to kill. . . it was cold-blooded murder."

A second eyewitness told virtually the same story: "They could have all died because they left them laying on the ground a long time before loading them in the ambulance."

Although they fired no shots at the police officers and their car was full of bullet holes from the front to the back and on both sides, the two surviving youth, have both been charged with five counts of attempted capital murder of a police officer. □

STUDY PROVES CALIF. PRISONS UNSAFE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 10

hitting, shoving, knocking down, stomping on the inmates, increased every single day.

"At the beginning of the experiment the guards only behaved aggressively toward the prisoners when the prisoners acted up or initiated it, so when the prisoners resisted an order, then the guards would become aggressive or abusive.

"As the experiment wore on, the prisoners began to be more and more passive, but the level of aggression of the guards escalated, that is to say, it no longer mattered what the prisoners did. The guards are using aggression and physical-verbal control independent of the prisoners' behavior.

"I have here a frequency analysis of the fact that the guards used commands, insults, dehumanizing references, physical aggression on over 50 instances, threats, threatening the prisoners with physical threats, threats of cutting off visiting hours.

"Some of that aggression was listed, as with the use of instruments, or the use of clubs or hitting them with a chair or with a box, and on very few occasions did the guards act in a humanizing way or in a happy way.

"The main thing the prisoners did was resist; ask questions, sometimes show aggression in return, and also they began to dehumanize the guards by use of obscenities and labels.

"The more dramatic thing is that starting with the second day, and on each day after the second day, a prisoner had to be released because the emotional



Assassinated Black Panther Party Field Marshal
GEORGE JACKSON.

stress of that environment was so great that they could not handle it.

"What that means is they really had a transient situational neuroses, they broke down, crying, screaming, in a rage. They ('the prisoners') showed disorganized thinking, so much so that we had to release them after talking with them. And this effect

persisted in some for hours or several days afterwards. . .

"In a matter of days in this maximum security situation, with no privacy, with constant surveillance, with harassment, with the conditions I mentioned earlier, ('the prisoners' experienced) altered perspective, emotional suppression, arbitrary rules, had breakdowns: that is, (they) could not handle the situation. We had to release five prisoners in the first five days.

"On the part of the guards, again we selected people who had no history of violence. These were in many cases pacifists, and every single guard at some time or other behaved in ways which could be characterized as brutal.

"Some of the guards did it all the time; some guards did it only some of the time, and in every case when the experiment was over and we talked to the guards, we showed them films of what they did; they could not accept that behavior. They said, 'This is alien to me, this is not something that is me, I can't imagine that I did those things.'

"They owned up to it once

they saw it and once the inmates described the ways in which they had been coercive, had been restrictive, but the important thing is that they said, 'That's not me. I'm not that kind of a person.'

"Well, we had to end the experiment after six days even though we intended it to last two weeks."

GARRY: Why?

ZIMBARDO: "Frankly, because I was frightened that the experiment was no longer under the control of the experimenters.

"The level of hostility and abuse was so great that we were afraid to go to sleep at night. It soon turned out that the guards perceived me as too permissive, excuse me, as too liberal, too lenient, and that I was interfering with the running of their prison.

"The important thing is that after the second day no one ever used the word experiment or simulation. In post experimental interviews — and we followed those men up for two years after the experiment — what they said was, 'It was a real prison for me, it was a real prison experience. I felt I could not get out.'

"Several things happened where the mock prisoners thought that they could not quit the experiment. The reason — and that made it a real prison for them, even though it was only two weeks. The reason that happened, and I think that is very important, because if you think you can leave at any time, then you have not really been deprived of your liberty or freedom."

TO BE CONTINUED



Entrance to special visiting room for San Quentin Adjustment Center inmates.



The scene inside San Quentin's Adjustment Center on August 21, 1971.

Free

The San

Quentin 6

Ford Proposal Threatens Food Program Stamp

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

Although the current high unemployment rate has meant a decrease in tax money available to the government, the money could be easily raised by taxing huge corporations or by cutting back on military spending. Instead, the Ford administration has chosen to cut back on vital social programs such as food stamps.

There are presently four bills in Congress aimed at revising the food stamp program. The only one which will not severely cut the program is the one proposed by Senator George McGovern. The other three — the Buckley-Michel bill, the Chiles-Nunn bill and Ford's proposal — will make it harder for millions of people to get food stamps as well as cut back on the benefits of the program.

The Mass Party Organizing Committee is calling upon all people concerned about the proposed cuts in the food stamp program to contact the Committee at: Mass Party Organizing Committee, 156 Fifth Ave., Room 326, New York, NY 10010, telephone (212) 243-0591. □



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Letters to the Editor

PROVISIONAL I.R.A. OPPOSED

Brothers and Sisters,

We received THE BLACK PANTHER January 31st issue today and we are writing to inform you that as an organization we must strenuously object to the article by Richard Boyle "Northern Ireland's 'Bandit County.'" This article glorifies the Provisional IRA which is the equivalent of supporting the FLNA and UNITA in Angola.

Richard Boyle's article did not point out that the Provisionals in South Armagh in early January, 1976, took 12 working class men off a bus and murdered them in cold blood. The only reason for this was that the religion of these men happened to be Protestant. This type of barbaric tribalism divides Ireland as it does in Africa.

The only organization which has as its objective the reconquest of Ireland for the Irish people, whatever their religious affiliation and which has actively carried on an intensive campaign against sectarianism (tribalism) throughout Northern Ireland, is the Official Republican Movement (IRA and Sinn Fein). It is therefore, the only movement worthy of support by progressive groups in the United States and elsewhere.

Denis Cassin, National Organizer
New York, N.Y.

"GET MABEL GLENN OFF DEATH ROW"

Dear Editor:

I am writing on the behalf of Mable Glenn who is on Death row. We, her fellow peers, are pleading for her life. There is little or no communication with her.

She is isolated.

She has never been in trouble and has no knowledge of the law. I cannot give you any details of her case. The only thing I know is hearsay, and I will not repeat it. She hasn't got any money for a lawyer. The only help she gets here is from her daughter who has children and is on welfare. Mable Glenn doesn't have anyone outside to help her in her case. We, her peers, are pleading for our sister's life. Your help will be more than appreciated. Please help our sister. Please get Mable Glenn off Death Row.

Write:

Mable Glenn #11193
Hospital Maximum
C.I.W.
Frontera, Ca. 91720
Yours truly,
Eleanor Mabry

REVOLUTION IS THE ONLY SOLUTION

Dear Editor,

This article is not intended to reflect the view of any newspaper, publisher, editor, or any other individual other than my own personal view and opinion. I will stick by them until I cease to exist.

In America, we are not and have never been a nation of free people. Instead, we are under a dictatorship. Each state its own police state.

We have two classes of people. The oppressed, and the oppressor. I'm sick of hearing the oppressed, the poor class of people, refer to themselves as the minority class.

The poor class of people, outnumber the rich, the oppressor, ten to one. It has always been so.

Why then, does the poor oppressed class, the majority, permit the rich, the oppressor, the minority class, to continue to oppress us?

We have open police brutality, police harassment, starvation. We need housing, medical services and numerous other needs that abound around us, available only to the rich. Our oppressors.

When are we, the majority, the poor oppressed going to awaken?

Every man and woman in this country, who works for a firm for his daily bread, his and her life is in jeopardy. Every unemployed person, every person on welfare, social security, their life hangs by a thread. That thread is about to be cut. Your life is at stake. The minute you lose your job, because the rich man can no longer make a profit on your labor, you become a burden to the state and the dictator.

They do not want any burdens. We the poor are a burden to them and a threat to their riches and ivory towers.

There can soon be only one solution to relieve themselves of the burden. Gas chambers and mass murder of the poor.

You say this can't happen in this country? Has it never happened in other countries? Why sit on your ass until you become one of their victims?

You are about to become one.

I have two sons, two daughters. I am therefore concerned for them. I also am far sighted enough to see what lies ahead for them. I prefer to die now! Fighting for their future and their lives. And, unless we the majority, the poor and oppressed take affirmative action now, there is no future for our children. No life.

If we are too many for them to feed and provide jobs for, then we are too many for them to fight. But fight we must. And now!

How long will we permit ourselves to be the victim? Facing execution when our only crime is that we are poor and too many and a burden to the POLICE STATE?

POWER TO THE PEOPLE. LET FREEDOM RING FOR THE FIRST TIME IN AMERICA! REVOLUTION IS THE ONLY SOLUTION!!

A victim of police harassment, brutality, welfare and a victim of being born in this God Forsaken country.

"State of War"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

In Lusaka, *The Times* of Zambia called on the nation to prepare for war and said Zambians should take heed of President Kenneth Kaunda's recent declaration that "an attack on Mozambique is an attack on Zambia." The government-owned *Daily Mail* said that Machel's announcement marked the end for Rhodesian Premier Smith and his "mad cronies."

Despite right-wing opposition, the British government said it backed Mozambique's decision to apply full U.N. economic sanctions against Rhodesia. In addition, representatives of 35 British Commonwealth states recommended that their governments urgently give economic assistance to Mozambique.

Although Mozambique is somewhat dependent on the transport of Rhodesian trade to bolster the faltering economy it inherited from the Portuguese colonialists last June 25 (when the independence of the People's Republic of Mozambique was declared), landlocked Rhodesia will be hard hit by the cut-off of two of its major outlets to the sea.

Within days after President Machel's announcement, Rhodesians suffered a 30 per cent reduction in already tight gasoline rations, with other cutbacks expected. Upwards of 40 per cent of all Rhodesian foreign trade passed through the Mozambican port cities of Beira and Maputo (formerly Lourenco Marques).

MAINALLY

Meanwhile, Rhodesia's main ally, the likewise White-ruled Republic of South Africa, has been noticeably cool towards Rhodesia's new plight.

"So far, South Africa has not been directly affected by these events and it is still too early to determine the precise effect of the action taken," Prime Minister John Vorster said in an address to his parliament.

South Africa has reportedly been pressuring the Smith regime in Rhodesia to step up its negotiations with the Black nationalist factions headed by the largely discredited Joshua Nkomo. South Africa is said to have also warned Rhodesia against its "hot pursuit" forays into Mozambique, and felt that its warnings were falling on deaf ears.

Despite the hysterical accusations of U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger against "Cuban interference" in southern Africa, the Rhodesian Defense Ministry has officially discounted rumors of a Soviet or Cuban build-up in Mozambique. □

"U.S. Maintains Colonial Domination Over Puerto Rico"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

the bosses' favor, but is flatly anti-worker — the Taft-Hartly Law. In cases of worker disputes between the Associated Free State and the U.S. the Taft-Hartly Law always takes precedence.

The Puerto Rican workers' movement is furthermore at the mercy of several progressive organizations, as is the nationalist movement in general. Three special services function in Puerto Rico: the FBI, as a service operating on North American territory, the CIA, as a service operating on foreign territory, and the CIC (Criminal Investigation Center), as the service of an Associated Free State with its own police force.

UNDERDEVELOPMENT

Q: The image that most people generally have of a colony is one of economic underdevelopment. Is such the case in Puerto Rico?

M.B.: Actually the island has a strong industry, mostly specialized in the processing of raw materials: oil, petrochemicals, pharmaceuticals, electronics. North American big capital has placed all these factories on the island because of the tremendous pollution they cause and the U.S. laws, which forbid them on the mainland. Mobil Oil, for example, has a factory for the processing of low-grade oil, high in sulfur, the processing of which is forbidden in the U.S. because it destroys all the surrounding animal and vegetable life. We call this exporting of pollution "environmental colonization."

The other basic reason for the industrial development is, obviously, the availability of a cheap labor force and exoneration from taxes. Puerto Rico is one of the countries yielding the highest rate of profits on North American investments, 16.8 per cent annually on the average as opposed to 10 per cent in other countries. Puerto Rico is the most developed colony of the most developed empire of all history.

Q: Let us now speak of the military use of the territory. Does Puerto Rico remain strategic for the U.S.?

M.B.: The U.S. has installed training camps, naval and air bases on a large part of our territory. Puerto Rico has already been used as a home base for military operations, in particular for the invasion of Santo Domingo in 1965, and as a training base for the Green Berets, who still maintain a secret base in the Federal Woods. Traditionally, the U.S. has considered Puerto Rico



Puerto Rican people demonstrate at the United Nations.

as the key to the Caribbean for control of the Panama Canal, but now, with the sophistication of their armaments, this strategic role has perhaps decreased a bit. In any case, our territory serves as a base for intercontinental missiles and a complete military arsenal, including nuclear weapons.

Q: In what ways does the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) carry on the struggle for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico?

M.B.: We carry on different forms of struggle, and more recently we have been attempting to bring about those conditions that will enable the Puerto Rican people to proclaim and establish the Republic of Puerto Rico without waiting for preliminary negotiations with the North American Congress.

The PSP claims the right of the Puerto Rican people to use any and all forms of struggle, and it is attempting to raise, in all fields, the level of organization of the workers, the inhabitants of the neighborhoods, and the students in Puerto Rico, as in the U.S. Obviously, we are subjected to continual violent persecution, which sometimes puts us in a situation of illegality, but we are not a clandestine party, contrary to what the monstrous propaganda apparatus at work on the island tries to make people believe.

Ex — F.B.I. Chief Caught Lying At Fred Hampton Murder Trial

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

currently following a positive course of action relative to this (weapons) information," the document states. The report bears Johnson's initials.

Throughout his three-week ordeal, Johnson's testimony was marked by a litany of "I don't recall" and "I have no independent recollections" in connection with his knowledge of details of the raid.

We use our right of free speech in holding mass meetings, whether or not they are authorized. We use our right of freedom of the press in publishing and distributing at our own expense the daily *Claridad*, the largest Marxist-Leninist daily in Latin America with the exception of Cuba. Of course, our presses have already been destroyed three times by explosives, and last week one of the trucks distributing our newspaper was riddled with bullets. We exercise our rights at the price of our blood, and repression does not spare us.

"NEW STRUGGLE"

At this time, we have hundreds of combatants and militants from the "new struggle" of the 60s awaiting sentencing in jail. But we also have five combatants of the "old struggle" for independence imprisoned in the U.S., four of them for 22 years and the fifth for 25 years. They are the longest held political prisoners in the Western hemisphere. Today we are trying to launch a world-wide campaign in order to demand their unconditional release. And we have taken advantage of our trip to France to launch a petition signing campaign. Oscar Collaza, Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores, and Andres Figueroa can be released through a campaign of international solidarity. □

Yet not only was Johnson the agent in charge of the Chicago FBI office from 1959 to 1971, he also headed the FBI investigation of the raid for the special federal grand jury into the incident convened by Justice Department official Jerris Leonard in 1970.

As attorney Jeffrey Haas hammered away, Johnson at one point admitted that his testimony before that grand jury was "less than complete." □

Nursing Homes

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

They soon become senile and helpless, which makes them easier to fit into the regimen. The aides do not have the time to care for them in the way that old people should be cared for, and aides are often punished for taking too much time with an individual patient.

Who owns the nursing homes? Some are run by nonprofit church related groups. Some are owned by one or two people who honestly want to improve the quality of care. But most are owned by large chains, or franchises, just like MacDonald's hamburger stands.

Often these chains are interconnected with drug companies (and are used as an outlet for drugs) or laundry companies, or real estate companies. There are many ways that profits are made from these homes, and all require spending the least possible amount of money on patient care.

Homes are tax shelters to allow business men and women to depreciate and deduct, thus paying less taxes on their other holdings. Many are run by management companies which make a large profit for administering the nursing home. Two of the large chains in the San Francisco Bay Area are the National Health Enterprises and Statewide.

COALITION

Nursing Home AIDES (Alliance to Insure a Decent Employment Status) is a coalition of seniors' groups, community organizations, womens' organizations, trade representatives, concerned individuals and nursing home aides. The ultimate goal of AIDES is to improve the quality of nursing home care by improving the training, wages, and working conditions of the aides who work in the homes.

We also hope to open up the political questions of alternatives to nursing home care, such as geriatric day care centers, reimbursement to family members who care for the elderly in their homes, better home health care, and preventative health care for seniors, and generally better living conditions for the elderly.

At the moment we are focusing on the profit-making nursing homes, and have moved in several directions. We have convinced the California legislature to authorize an audit of nursing homes throughout the state to discover just what amount of profit is being made off the care of the elderly. We must watchdog that audit to see that it does not cover up the truth. □

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