

# THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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*Equal Time Demanded Of CBS-TV*

# MIKE WALLACE DISTORTIONS OF B. P. P. DELIBERATE



(Oakland, Calif.) — The Black Panther Party has demanded equal time and the right to reply in a letter to Robert Salant, President of Columbia Broadcasting Service (CBS) News, in response to distortions and misrepresentations of the Party contained in a segment of the Mike Wallace show "60 Minutes" televised nationally on May 18, 1975.

The segment, containing a televised interview with former Black Panther Party member Eldridge Cleaver in Paris, appears to present the past and present positions of the Black Panther Party in general and the current attitude of the Party regarding Brother Cleaver's stated desire to return to the United States.

In a press release issued on Monday, May 19, the Black Panther Party declared: "Mr. Wallace cannot speak for the Black Panther Party...We are capable of speaking for ourselves. Mr. Wallace's conclusion that should Eldridge Cleaver return to this country he would find little difference between his view and those of the Black Panther Party, seriously misrepresents our Party to his many viewers and thereby contributes to a long history of media distortions and lies about the Black Panther Party."

In a letter to Salant, David G. Du Bois, BPP official spokesperson, points out that produ-

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## EDITORIAL

### B.P.P. AND THE MEDIA

The refusal of the major media to carry the May 19 press release of the Black Panther Party protesting against the distortions and misrepresentations of the Party contained in a segment of the Mike Wallace "60 Minutes" telecast of May 18, reflects its guilt in participating in precisely the same thing throughout the Black Panther Party's nearly nine years of existence. (See Cover story.)

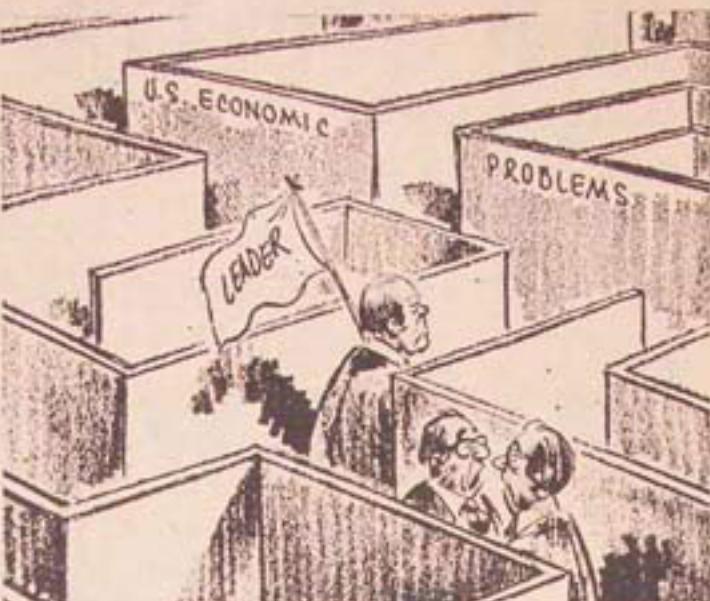
To have informed the American people by carrying our release of CBS's dirty maneuver to secure the cooperation of the Party on a story about the Party on the pretext that we would be given the opportunity to express our views would expose the methods traditionally used against the Black Panther Party and against Black people in general by the entire media.

Black people in this country are very familiar with this kind of racist disrespect and distortion. We long ago learned that for us "freedom of the press" does not exist. It explains why Black Americans have for decades fought to create and maintain our own media outlets.

It also explains why mountainous obstacles are placed on the road to the development of a truly independent and viable Black media in this country. THE BLACK PANTHER Intercommunal News Service and the Nation of Islam's Muhammad Speaks are the only all Black-owned and operated, nationally distributed newspapers in this country not beholden to White advertisers for their operating income.

In this decade Black Americans have come to realize anew that we can no longer stand by and simply look on as we are ignored, misrepresented and lied about in the establishment media. In Black communities everywhere Black publications of every variety and competence, independent of White sources for funds, are emerging, struggling to maintain that independence and telling it like it really is for us and America.

This is an inevitable and necessary development and should be supported and encouraged by every honest American, Black or White, so long as the White-owned, establishment media acts as CBS and the "60 Minute" producers did with the Black Panther Party.



## COMMENT

### Real-Politik In Africa

The following editorial reprinted from Africa magazine (May, 1975) reflects the historic importance for Black people everywhere of the Council of Ministers meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) held in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in April. (See also, pages 17 and 18.)

## Thank You Brother Curtis L. Armstrong

Dear Revolutionary Comrades,

*Long live the BLACK PANTHER PARTY! Greetings to all revolutionary intercommunalists. I am adding my voice of indignation that has been aroused throughout the world of poor and oppressed people on this earth against the inhumane crimes of the ruling class here in the United States of Amerikka.*

*My heart and strength goes out to the revolutionary vanguard Party and its hard working cadre — the BLACK PANTHER PARTY — and especially to our fallen Comrades who have made the supreme sacrifice: George, Jon, Lil' Bobby, Martin, Malcolm X, etc., etc. I am sending for a life-time subscription to the voice of the poor and oppressed masses — the Black Panther newspaper. (\$100.00)*

*Comrade Huey Newton said that the sleeping masses must be bombarded with a correct approach to the revolutionary struggle inside and outside of this empire. To some it may seem the struggle is dead. But to a great many of us the struggle is very much alive. One has only to observe the international situation: Vietnam, Cambodia, Africa, Angola, Mozambique, etc., etc., then witness the equally savage repression on the inside of the racist, fascist Amerikan empire: Kent State, Orangeburg, Massie, Attica, Watergate, etc., etc.*

*But humankind's search for peace and freedom and happiness cannot be stopped by the fascist technology. The writing is on the wall — freedom or death for humankind. We are in a very dangerous time period — reactionary intercommunalism. Comrade DuBois says we must help each other. This money that I am sending came from a state bonus for Michigan veterans of the Vietnam war. So I hope that it will help to help ourselves.*

*I fed the babies!*  
*Long Live George, Jon, Malcolm and*  
*Huey Newton, in revolutionary*  
*intercommunal love,*  
*Curtis Armstrong*  
*Detroit, Michigan*

The signal achievement of the Ninth Extraordinary Session of the OAU Council of Ministers in Dar es Salaam is that it managed with one brilliant stroke to clear the air of a storm that threatened African solidarity as seriously as it has ever been within the last decade.

All along, whether it was the question of dialogue or *detente*, South Africa's strategy has had one unwavering purpose — to divide Africa and to set the so-called "hawks" against the "doves." Vorster had attempted persistently to create a dilemma for African leaders by offering negotiation and *detente* in a package deal which put Zimbabwe, Namibia and apartheid together in one lethal bait; to win some form of muffled African endorsement for apartheid as a *quid pro quo* (substitution) for South Africa's assistance in securing majority rule and independence in Zimbabwe and Namibia. His overtures to independent Africa states, including his visit to a number of countries, were part of this strategy. The significance of the Dar es Salaam Conference rests directly on its ability to unscramble the deal; to separate the poison from the food.

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THE BLACK PANTHER

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**San Quentin  
Coalition  
Conference  
At Glide**

(San Francisco, Calif.) — A serious and business-like atmosphere dominated the day-long San Quentin Coalition Prison Conference held last Saturday, May 24, at Glide Memorial Church. The 200 or so persons were brought together by a broad coalition of 25 Bay Area groups concerned with prisons and the criminal justice system of California.

Emphasizing the theme of "involvement toward radical change," the conference included a guerrilla theater performance by the United Prisoners' Union; a panel of six speakers, each of whom dealt with a specific area of concern and workshops whose objective was to develop a program for action and change in several areas.

Conference moderator David G. Du Bois, official spokesperson of the Black Panther Party, explained that the Coalition has selected San Quentin Prison and the case of the San Quentin Six as focal points illustrative of the worst that is to be found in the California criminal justice system. He emphasized that choosing San Quentin did not mean the coalition was unconcerned about other prisons and the thousands of other victims of injustice that fill the California system.

**UP-TO-DATE**

Brother Robert Covington, representing the San Quentin 6 Defense Committee, brought the conferees up to date on developments in the current trial preparations of the Six. He emphasized the injustice they suffer through their confinement in the prison Adjustment Center, and urged persons to attend the hearings being held at Marin County Courthouse.

Brother Gary Lawton, community activist who was recently acquitted of 1971 trumped up charges of murder of two policemen, made his first public appearance since the acquittal and was received warmly.

He urged the participants to take seriously their attendance at the Conference and to turn their talk into action around the aims and purposes of the Conference and the Coalition.

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# JOHNNY SPAIN FORCIBLY REMOVED FROM HOSPITAL

(San Francisco, Calif.) - At 3:20 p.m. last Monday, several San Quentin prison guards forcibly removed Johnny Spain, Black Panther Party member of the San Quentin 6, from San Francisco General Hospital prison ward and returned him to San Quentin Prison.

Appearing without notice, in force and armed, the guards claimed that the court order providing for Johnny Spain to be transferred from San Quentin to the hospital for a series of tests to determine the nature and extent of serious intestinal disorders, had expired.

In response to protests by the deputy sheriff on duty, insisting that no patient could be removed from the hospital without the medical approval of the patient's doctor, the guards ignored the deputy sheriff and roughly told him to step aside.

The nurse on duty, also seriously protesting, pleaded with the San Quentin Guards to permit her to at least telephone Johnny's doctor, Dr. Richard Fine, or another doctor. She was told by the guards that she could call no one until after they had left with Johnny. The nurse confided to others later that she did not dare oppose the guards "because they had guns."

In fact, Johnny's lawyer, Charles Garry, had on Saturday,



**JOHNNY LARRY SPAIN**

May 23, in anticipation of the approaching expiration of the court order, telephoned Judge Henry Broderick, trial judge of the San Quentin 6 case and the judge that issued the original order, requesting an extension of the expiration date of the order.

Attorney Garry was told by Judge Broderick that he should just do as he had done before; have Johnny Spain sign a waiver of his court appearances. Garry immediately prepared the legal document, took it to Johnny who signed it.

Garry spoke with the sergeant of the guards following this, told

him what he had been instructed to do by Judge Broderick, showed him the document and the sergeant of the guards said that he understood and that everything was in order and would be okay.

As reported in THE BLACK PANTHER last week, ridiculously complex and intimidating "security" measures in the prison ward where Johnny Spain was kept, seriously hampered and delayed the administering of the extensive battery of diagnostic tests ordered by Johnny's doctor.

Because of the delays caused by the San Quentin imposed "security" procedures, Dr. Marsha Sollek, the internist who heads Johnny's medical team, sought and won a week's extension of the original transfer order. It was this extension that had been obtained in exactly the manner described by Judge Broderick and followed by Attorney Garry for the second extension.

Dr. Sollek pointed out that in the case of one, very important test, involving injections into the intestines for purposes of X-ray examination, the examinations normally were required every two hours. But, because of the "security" procedures insisted upon by San Quentin officials, the testing could not be done normally since each time Johnny travelled from his room to the X-ray room, a contingent of armed guards were required to line the hallways, crowd into the elevator and even enter the X-ray room, and a 24-hour notice was necessary to obtain the guards.

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## Warriors Sweep Bullets - Win N.B.A. Crown



(Landover, Md.) — Golden State Warrior center CLIFFORD RAY helps CHARLIE JOHNSON give RICK BARRY a sweet champagne shower following the team's fantastic four game sweep of the Washington Bullets to capture the championship of the National Basketball Association. The genius of popular Warrior coach AL ATTLES (inset) must certainly be credited with transforming his squad of talented, unsung heroes — through unselfish 12 man team play — into a powerhouse that reached the heights of the basketball world. Congratulations Warriors! Congratulations Coach Attles!

# THE SAN QUENTIN 6 MUST BE SET FREE

## Psychological Horrors Of Adjustment Center Confinement

The San Quentin 6 — Hugo Pinell, David Johnson, Willie Tate, Fleeta Drumgo, Luis Talamantez and Black Panther Party member Johnny Larry Spain — are six Black and Brown prison activists currently, with one exception, confined on the first tier of San Quentin's notorious Adjustment Center. They are the victims of this society's vengeful attitude towards prisoner rights and penal reform. The Six are on trial, each facing five counts of murder along with other charges, as the prison administrators attempt to cover-up the political execution of author/revolutionary George Jackson, Field Marshal of the Black Panther Party, on August 21, 1971. The following excerpt is Part 9 of a post-trial memorandum, filed in San Francisco federal court earlier this year by Fred Hiestand and Mark Morin, attorneys for the Six, asserting that their continued stay in the Adjustment Center is "cruel and unusual punishment."

### PART 9

Physical deterioration constitutes only the grossest observable effect of the Adjustment Center brand of isolation. Psychiatric and psychological effects, behavioral changes and personality warps, some transitory, some possibly permanent, constitute the Adjustment Center's most insidious effects.

Stresses in the Adjustment Center are interminable: noise; monotony; boredom; fear; uncertainty; 23-24 hour a day cell confinement; no physical contact with other prisoners or with friends and family; no privacy; helplessness; hopelessness; being treated with hatred; indefiniteness of confinement; legal pressures; seeing friends beaten; hearing of friends killed, dying, committing suicide; fear of going crazy; fear of being beaten or being put in a strip cell; and always, the fear that the guards will carry out their threats to see that the plaintiffs never leave the Adjustment Center alive.

All agree that the compounded stresses of the Adjustment Center take their human toll. The conditions themselves produce in the prisoners feelings of rage, of anger, of bitterness. Their inability to deal constructively with their frustrations finally lead to a profound helplessness and hopelessness, which are the founda-

*San Quentin 6 Brother WILLIE TATE talks with students from McClymonds H.S. in Oakland during break in proceedings outside Marin County courtroom.*



tions of human destruction." It would be very pathological if the plaintiffs didn't react with frustration and hostility.

Being chained for years naturally causes bitterness, but watching prisoners "flip out," go crazy, slash themselves, mutilate themselves, kill themselves, converts a bitterness into a seething hatred.

The new chief psychiatrist at San Quentin admits that the

Adjustment Center conditions are not conducive to mental health, that they may be detrimental although each case would have to be evaluated on an individual basis. The director of the department, however, through his years at the helm, knows that the longer a man is in the Adjustment Center, the worse he'll behave, and that some prisoners get worse in administrative segregation.

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## "Evolution Of Black Dance" Wows Sunday Forum

(Oakland, Calif.) — HALIFU, internationally acclaimed dancer, choreographer and teacher, captivated a large audience at last Sunday's Son of Man Temple Community Forum with excerpts from her popular "Evolution of Black Dance." The Forum audience sat spellbound as the beautifully slim sister eloquently performed a history of Black dance.

The ever-popular Intercommunal Youth Institute Band, under the direction of Charles McJett, frequent performers at the Sunday Forums, won plaudits from the enthusiastic audience as they danced on to the stage to the accompaniment of their fabulous young drummer.

Refreshments were served in the cafeteria and in the courtyard following the performance, and a joyous spirit prevailed.

## THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

### MAY 30, 1854

On May 30, 1854, the U.S. Congress passed the infamous Kansas-Nebraska Act, thereby repealing the Missouri Compromise and opening the northern territories to slavery. The Act was proposed by Stephen Douglas, then considered "The Great Orator" for his speech-making abilities, and was intended to encourage the rapid settlement of the Midwest by migrating Whites at the expense of Native Americans and Blacks.

### MAY 31, 1870

Reacting to a upsurge of White vigilante terror and violence against Black people, the first of a series of Enforcement Acts, also called "Ku Klux Klan Acts" was legislated into law on May 31, 1870. Their purpose was to put the supervision of federal elections into the hands of federal officials, supposed to guarantee the civil and political rights of the newly freed slaves. Needless to say the Enforcement Acts were, despite their promise, never enforced.

### MAY 31, 1955

Following up on their historic 1954 Brown vs. Topeka decision banning segregation in public schools, on May 31, 1955, the U.S. Supreme Court ordered school integration to proceed "with all deliberate speed."

### JUNE 1, 1957

Outraged about a redistricting bill which had deprived many Blacks of the right to vote in municipal elections by placing their homes outside city limits, a strong and effective boycott was begun in June, 1957, of all city stores in Tuskegee, Alabama.

### JUNE 1, 1963

Despite the opposition of Gov. George Wallace — who had publicly declared "...segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever" — two Black students, escorted by federalized National Guard troops and federal officials, enrolled at the University of Alabama on June 1, 1963.



MIRIAM CHERRY (arrow) participating in a ritual dance at weekend pow-wow sponsored by Stanford University American Indian Organization.

## Miriam Cherry Appeal Launched

(Palo Alto, Calif.) — In the continuing effort to save the ministry of Miriam Cherry, the Committee to Support the Ministry of Miriam Cherry has sent appeal letters to a long list of community and Stanford University concerned citizens for regular monthly contributions totalling \$600 per month for one year.

Miriam Cherry was fired as associate Catholic chaplain at Stanford after five years of selfless service to the university and the surrounding community, because of her outspoken ties to and support for the Black Panther Party.

The appeal letter sent out by the Committee notes that "the Marie Hill Day Care Center in Sunnyvale, California, and the Norma Gist Child Care Center in San Mateo, California, were begun by the Intercommunal Survival Committee," — of which Miriam is coordinator — "a Palo Alto group devoted to practicing the principles of the Black Panther Party."

The letter warns that "without Miriam and her link to churches and Stanford students to help, these centers may not survive." The letter also reminds the recipient that the Peninsula Free Busing to Prisons program and the Saturday Free Plumbing Program serving the poor communities of the area were begun and supported by Miriam Cherry.

A Stanford student, Ms. Barbara Mooney, learned plumbing herself and has now trained many other Stanford students in plumbing, to aid the program, thus serving while learning, under the guidance of Miriam Cherry.

The letter points out: "More is at stake than a job for Miriam. She is a lifeline. Miriam is essential to projects we can't desert."

The recipients are asked to make a monthly or quarterly pledge to support Miriam's work, beginning July 1.

Despite her removal from her position of five years standing as associate Catholic chaplain and removal from her residence, Miriam continues to administer her ministry. In addition to her continuing work with the free programs of child care, busing to prisons, legal defense and home repair, Miriam is active with the Native American community and is a Native American staff member.

She has a strong and consistent working relationship with organizational efforts for Stanford workers, focused most recently on union elections at the Stanford Medical Center. She is active in the Chicano community and is now actively engaged with Black and Third World student efforts protesting the appearance of Daniel P. Moynihan, the "benign neglect" advocate, as commencement speaker at Stanford. □

## Suspended Sentences For Tarboro 3

(Tarboro, N.C.) — Brothers Bobby Ray Hines, Vernon L. Brown and Jesse Lee Walston, originally sentenced to death following conviction for rape, were given probationary sentences last week that will end their confinement.

## STANFORD BLACK SENIORS PLAN ANTI-MOYNIHAN ACTION



DANIEL MOYNIHAN

would also support any action which they decided to take.

The other Third World communities, all of which have been behind the Black community's actions since Moynihan was named speaker in February, said that their parents would also participate.

The Black seniors original plan of an alternate ceremony was disrupted when the university established a new graduation policy.

Until this year ceremonies were held in the individual academic departments and degrees were given out by the department heads.

When complaints of Moynihan first arose and talk of an alternate ceremony began the university made a unilateral decision, without consulting any students, that all students receiving Humanities and Science degrees (which includes about 90 per cent of the Black graduating seniors) will be receiving their degrees at the same time. They will have to stay at the ceremony to get their diplomas, thus, making an alternate ceremony impossible.

### ADDED SUPPORT

The Black community recently gained added support from a group of White graduating seniors. On May 22, in a letter to *The Stanford Daily* signed by the group, they urged other students to support the protest. They said, "...we feel obliged to boycott the ceremonies and support the Black community if Moynihan does speak.

"We urge other students to join us in our protest of Moynihan as commencement speaker."

As of yet no further action has been taken by the Stanford administration and Moynihan is still scheduled to speak on "The Future of Higher Education" at the graduation ceremonies on June 15. (THE BLACK PANTHER thanks Brother Kenneth L. Shropshire, a student at Stanford, for this article.) □

ment August 18. Their conviction was set aside earlier this year by the state Supreme Court on the basis of a prosecution "error." They entered negotiated pleas to a lesser charge last week resulting in suspended six-year prison sentences. □

# MARTIN LUTHER KING ASSASSINATION: A CONSPIRACY

Since the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968, serious doubts have existed concerning whether the great Black civil rights leader was gunned down by a lone assassin, namely James Earl Ray, acting under the dictates of his own twisted mind, or whether the killing was part of a broader fascist conspiracy. Indeed, many have questioned the proof that Ray was the gunman at all. In the following article, Part 2 of a series featured in THE BLACK PANTHER, investigative reporter Jeff Cohen reveals striking evidence of the existence of a second assassin, possibly the one who fired the fatal bullet. Cohen's article was written last winter, when attorneys for Ray argued in federal court in Memphis their clients' contention that he was framed.

## PART 2

Hugh Stanton, Jr., the Shelby County Public Defender appointed by the court as local counsel to assist Foreman in the Ray case,

Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, standing with Rev. JESSIE JACKSON (left) and Rev. RALPH ABERNATHY (right), on balcony of Memphis hotel one day prior to his assassination.



occupied the witness stand for half-a-day. Later, Stanton left the defenders office to become the county's prosecutor. County officials risked contempt citations when they refused Judge McRae's order to release defense documents to Ray's new attorneys. Some documents reportedly dealt with Ray's involvement in a conspiracy.

Stanton testified that his defenders office was just beginning to interview prospective witnesses on a list of 300, when he heard through the courthouse grapevine that a guilty plea would be entered.

Stanton's list of witnesses contained the names and notations of these rooming-house dwellers:

### WITNESSES

\*Mrs. Bessie Brewer, who said she could never identify Ray as the "Mr. Willard" who rented Room 5 from her. The man was 25 to 30 and slightly built. James Earl Ray was 40 and bulky.

(The FBI composite drawn of the suspect from Mrs. Brewer's description did not match Ray, but did match one of three men marched to a Dallas jail from the scene of the JFK assassination. The original sketch later mysteriously changed into a likeness of Ray.)

\*Bertie Reeves, who said Ray was not the man who rented the room. He said the "shot came from the bushes, not the rooming house or cafe."

\*Willie Auschultz, who said he thought the "shot came from the bushes."

\*Harry "Ace" Locke, who said three men were in Room 5 about two hours before the shooting. He did not identify Ray.

Public Defender Stanton admitted that Charlie Stephens, the only man to identify Ray at the rooming house "would have been an easy witness to discredit. He had somewhat of a drinking problem... I thought police were

helping to pay Stephen's bills" at Jim's Cafe, located on the first floor of the rooming house. While the prosecutors put Charlie Stephens in protective custody, Grace Stephens, who emphatically contradicted her husband's identification, ended up in a mental hospital.

Stanton's file contained a statement from Pvt. Stone of the fire department, that Stephens visited the nearby fire station "every night at 6 p.m. intoxicated." King was shot at 6:01 p.m. According to a photographer named Withers, the next day, Stephens didn't recall that someone had been shot.

Stanton testified that the aborted investigation was hampered because some witnesses were told not to discuss the case. He was not sure who told them.

Stanton, whose Public Defenders Office enters guilty pleas in 80 per cent of its cases explained his acceptance of the guilty plea: "We didn't have much defense...I found it a bit little hard to explain how that fingerprint (of Ray's) got on the rifle."

### HIS GUN

Fensterwald found it easy to explain. "It was his gun. He bought it." The only point of contention is did someone fire it, and if so, who?

Lloyd Jowers, the manager of Jim's Cafe, also testified that Stephens was drunk that afternoon. But Jowers' most important testimony was not solicited at this hearing. It was gathered by Wayne Chastain for his book.

Ninety minutes before King was slain, a dark, athletically built man entered Jim's Cafe and ordered eggs and sausage. Jowers and the waitress say they will never forget this well-dressed, sober man, who fit about as well in this skid row cafe as Bob Lainer in Cinderella's

## OUR HEALTH



### Working With Industrial Solvents

In most occupations, exposure to organic industrial solvents presents a constant threat to the health, productivity and efficiency of workers.

Solvents have found widespread industrial application and are incorporated in a variety of products including paint, varnishes, lacquers, paint removers, adhesives, plastics, textiles, polishes and waxes. They are used as cleaning agents, thinners, degreasers, chemical reagents and drying agents.

Since organic solvents can be toxic at some level of exposure, they can do damage to the health of workers who use them without proper precautions and adequate controls.

Good personal hygiene is essential whenever solvents are used. The skin should always be protected from contact with solvents. Gloves, face shields, or goggles, and other prescribed protective clothing may be used.

Similarly, barrier creams may offer some degree of protection. The skin should never be washed with any raw organic solvent. Whenever possible, cleaning operations should use mechanical or manual devices to carry the parts being cleaned into and from the solvent container.

Although some solvents are less toxic than others, good safety practices dictate that care be exercised in the use of any organic industrial solvents.

Industrial management should realize that use of all organic solvents can be a threat to the health and safety of workers. Management should provide necessary controls and measures to prevent injuries.

Management operating guidelines should be established for the selection, use and handling of solvents and provide the mechanism for worker training and education. Each supervisor should provide and enforce the use of protective safety devices and protective clothing when indicated. Any erratic behavior on the part of the employee which may be the result of exposure to solvents should be quickly investigated.

Good housekeeping practices should be maintained throughout all storage and handling areas.



### "Until We're Free"

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

To purchase this album, send \$4.00 cash or money order to:

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8501 E. 14th Street  
Oakland, California 94621.

Also available at major record stores  
NEAR YOU.

BY ELAINE BROWN  
Album produced and recorded by WAYNE CHASTAIN

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# 3,000 RALLY FOR CHICANO DEMANDS AT WASHINGTON U.

**2 Chicanos Fired,  
28 Resign**

(Seattle, Wash.) — Over 3,000 University of Washington (UW) students participated in two days of rallies and demonstrations on May 13 and 14 in the wake of the firing of two top Chicano administrators and the resignation of 28 Chicano faculty, administrators and staff.

The issue that has rocked UW since early May is the university's woefully inadequate commitment to affirmative action hiring policies, particularly toward Chicanos, and the Chicano campus community's united demands for self-determination of the Chicano Studies program.

According to the *Daily*, the UW campus newspaper, a day-by-day reconstruction of the swiftly escalating sequence of events goes like this:

**DAY-BY-DAY**

MAY 1: Arts and Sciences Dean George Beckmann sent a letter to UW president John Hogness in which Beckmann reportedly claims that a group of eight Chicano administrators, students and staff had threatened his life in a meeting in the dean's office. The angry group had confronted Beckmann upon learning that all four Chicano candidates for the position of Associate Dean in the Arts and Sciences Department had been eliminated. Juan Sanchez, the director of the Chicano Division of UW's Office of Minority Affairs and who was present at the meeting, denied the charges. Beckmann also reportedly threatened to resign if steps were not taken to protect his life.

(On May 13, 1974, one year prior to the current controversy, Beckmann's office had been the scene of a student sit-in and was later trashed when he upheld a decision not to hire Chicano professor Carlos Munoz for a tenured position in the Political Science Department. Following the action, Beckmann gave his "absolute assurances" that as soon as possible a Chicano would be named to an Associate Dean position.)

MAY 6: UW's two leading Chicano administrators, Juan Sanchez and Gary Padilla, director of the Chicano Studies program, were fired for participating in activities protesting the university's affirmative action policies. Ms. Rosa Morales, a Chicana secretary, was suspended for 15 days.



Chanting Chicano students marched (left) to Washington U.'s Red Square (right) where a huge crowd heard several fiery protest speeches.

In a strategic move designed to undermine Black and Brown unity, the White UW administrators used a Black, Samuel Kelly, vice-president for Minority Affairs, to actually fire Sanchez. Kelly asserted that Sanchez refused to pledge his support to a Hogness proclamation which stipulated that sit-ins and other activities "will not be permitted."

The school's Chicano student organization, Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MECHA) released a statement reminding the campus of the administration's bad faith in eliminating the four Chicano

candidates to the Associate Dean post. MECHA was particularly critical of a White professor on the selection committee, calling his comments on the qualification of one candidate "an insult to MECHA and the Chicano community..."

MAY 7: Twenty Chicano administrators, faculty and staff, including the school's only tenured Chicano professor and a Chicana Vice Provost for Special Programs, resigned. In a statement submitted to UW president Hogness, 11 administrators and staff wrote, "We are appalled at this insensitive behavior (the

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

See      Hear      See      Hear      See      Hear

**DAVID G. DU BOIS**  
*Official Spokesperson*

*of the*

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY**  
ON PUBLIC BROADCASTING TV'S

**BLACK PERSPECTIVE**

**ON THE**

TO BE TELECAST NATIONALLY

*On The*

**Weekend Of June 6, 1975**

*(Check Local Listings For Date And Time)*

## Coast Guard Court-Martial Brother Who Wants Out

(Okinawa, Japan)—The People's House reports in a recent press release that Lester Martin, a Black Coast Guardsman stationed at Loran Station, Gesashi, Okinawa, has been court-martialed and is presently serving two months in the brig with a \$400 fine and a bust in one pay grade, for his effort to get out on an unsuitability discharge.

Brother Lester joined the Coast Guard because he thought it provided humanitarian services. After being in awhile, he realized that the Coast Guard was the same as any other branch of the military; it was riddled with racism and its purpose was to defend imperialist interests throughout the world. He found that it was not just another job, but that lower ranking enlisted people were really overworked and oppressed.

In the summer of 1974, Brother Lester decided that he could no longer tolerate the situation. He started an effort to get out on an unsuitability discharge. After eight months of waiting, his discharge was turned down. The reason for the disapproval was that he had too good a record. Lester then refused an order to clean the air conditioner room and stopped working in protest. He was arrested, put in confinement, the first Coastie to be put in Camp Kuwae brig, and charged.

In the court-martial, the prosecutor was determined to hang Brother Lester. While the staff judge advocate was in favor of reducing the case to a summary court, the prosecutor was determined that he should be given a Bad Conduct Discharge, in order to be taught that he could not get away with bucking the system.

Lester's special court-martial received large publicity and support from his fellow workers and from people on the island and elsewhere, but not sufficient to prevent conviction.

The People's House, a G.I. and servicepersons support group in Okinawa, writes that among other things it has learned from this conviction that "the only way that the system changes is when we stand up for our rights. Only when enough people stand together will anything change. If we stick together we can win." □

# ATMORE - HOLMAN BROTHER "FOUND" DEAD

(Brewton, Ala.) — Atmore-Holman Brother Frank X. Moore was found dead in his cell April 25. Prison authorities say that he committed suicide.

Brother Moore and another prisoner, Brother Charles Beasley, were scheduled to begin trial in June — the last of the nine Black Alabama prisoners known as the Atmore-Holman brothers to be tried for murder of a prison guard. The charges stem from two separate incidents last year at the Atmore and Holman prison farms involving Inmates For Action (IFA), a state-wide prisoners' right group.

In January, 1974, IFA members and their supporters at Atmore took two guards hostage and demanded to speak to the media about prison conditions. Officials ordered an attack, however, and a prisoner and a guard were killed.

Two months later, Tommy Dotson, an IFA member at Holman prison, was taken from his cell by five guards and beaten to death. During the beating one of the guards died of a heart attack, but two other prisoners were charged with the death of the guard.

#### "AIDED AND ABETTED"

The charge against Moore was not based on any contention that he had actually killed the guard, but instead that his participation in the Atmore rebellion had "aided and abetted" in the killing. Those who have already been tried for the same offense on the same evidence were all convicted and sentenced to penalties ranging from 31 years to life.

Moore was found hanging in his dingy, bug-infested cell in the Escambia County Jail in Brewton, Alabama. Unlike the other Atmore-Holman brothers charged, Moore had nearly completed his sentence and was released from Atmore in November, 1974 — released, that is to the Escambia County Jail. His bail was set at \$40,000 which he and his supporters were unable to raise.



Inmates for Action (left to right) EDWARD (Ato) ELLIS, JESSE (Juba) CLANZY, JAMES (Sekou Lupen) JONES and OSCAR (Gamba Mani) JOHNSON.

*The Great Speckled Bird* newspaper reports that based on sketchy information so far available, there are indications that Frank Moore's death was not a suicide. His most recent letters spoke of hope rather than despondency, but he referred to beatings and harassment he had received, and said that a dangerous situation was developing.

People who talked to him the day he died observed that he was

still strong. His cell was so isolated that anything could have happened without others knowing about it. Moore's family was not notified until 14 hours after the official time of death. His was the second case of alleged suicide in the past year in the Escambia County Jail. Members of the Atmore-Holman defense committee are currently investigating Moore's death at his mother's request. □

## King Assassination

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

shoe. He grunted a lot, walked to the phone, looked at the wall, appeared angry, but did not make a call. An hour after he paid his bill and left, Jowers heard an exploding sound in the back of his cafe.

Jowers and the waitress believe the "eggs and sausage man," not Ray, killed Dr. King. Jowers reported the "eggs and sausage man" to the police and was told to call if he ever showed up again.

Jowers was startled the next morning (Friday), when the mysterious man walked in carrying a large suitcase, and wearing dark glasses. A different waitress took his order "eggs and sausage." Jowers called the cops; they picked him up after breakfast.

Recall the many-tongued Benavides, the man who approached the attorney Thompson six days after the King slaying, contested the police version, and suggested that his roommate killed King from the bushes. Benavides had said "They picked me up last Friday." Was it his roommate, or Benavides himself, who fired the shot?

Through photographs provided by Chastain, attorney Thompson, Lloyd, Lowers, and the waitress

## : A Conspiracy

who wishes to remain nameless, "eggs and sausage" Benavides has been identified as Jack Armstrong. Armstrong is the code name of a soldier-of-fortune, guerrilla fighter, marksman, pilot and con-man, who speaks Spanish. He has performed his services for the CIA throughout Latin America, especially against Cuba. Since his Army discharge after Korea, Armstrong has consistently associated with wealthy, right-wing militarists.

#### WARREN COMMISSION

Armstrong's real name can be found in the appendix of the Warren Commission volumes because of his association with Jack Ruby in a gun running operation against Castro. This testimony was taken from Nancy Perrin Rich, whose husband mysteriously died soon after. The Warren Commission discarded the testimony, as it did all other links of Ruby and Oswald to the CIA, Cuban mercenaries, and the right-wing.

Although Chastain tracked down the Armstrong identification, he still hasn't discovered exactly what became of his custody. Apparently, he was released by the police to the FBI for clearance.

TO BE CONTINUED

## PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

### SCHOOL BOMBER CONVICTED

(Charleston, W. Va.) — Baptist minister, Rev. Marvin Horan, 36, was sentenced to three years in prison for conspiring to blow up schools in the Knawah Valley. The minister led a widespread protest against textbooks he and his followers said were corrupting children. Sentenced with him were three accomplices, L.E. Stevens, D.L. Rose, and M.W. Blankenship. Mr. Rose admitted throwing a dynamite bomb into a Campbell's Creek elementary school during the early morning hours of October 1974. Rev. Horan said he would appeal his conviction as he left the federal building free on \$50,000 bond.

### PLOT ON CASTRO CONFIRMED

(Washington, D.C.) — The Rockefeller Commission has learned of documents supporting the charge that the Central Intelligence Agency contracted with the Mafia in a plot in 1961 to kill Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. According to these sources, a former top official of the Department of Justice during the Nixon administration has told the Commission in secret testimony that department files contain Federal Bureau of Investigation memorandums that confirm that the CIA was in touch with Sam Giancana, a Chicago racket chief, and John Roselli, a soldier of fortune with organized crime connections, in a plot to assassinate Premier Castro.

### POLICE AND DRUGS

(Brooklyn, N.Y.) — Policeman Robert Holt, Jr., has been suspended after being indicted on charges of possessing, selling and distributing drugs from 1969 to 1972. He is accused of helping a major drug ring distribute large quantities of heroin and cocaine by offering protection. Officer Holt, a 12-year-veteran of the force, was said to have gone along as a passenger in automobiles used by leaders of the drug ring, associated with the Elvin Bynum organization, when they were making operations that covered much of the East Coast.



The prosecution of the heroic Attica Brothers has been a terrible sequence of lies, infiltration, concealed evidence and intimidation of witnesses.

## Attica Prosecutor Concealed Evidence, Says Defense

(Buffalo, New York) - Lawyers for a former Attica inmate Bernard Stroble, a.k.a. Shango Bahati Kakawana on May 20 that the prosecution concealed evidence from the grand jury that would have exonerated Stroble, who is charged in the killing of two fellow inmates, and that the prosecutors of Attica defendants "deliberately sought to get the men they considered the ringleaders" of the 1971 uprising. On these grounds Attorney Ernest Goodman made motions to dismiss the case.

### MISCONDUCT

Justice Joseph Mattina of the state Supreme Court, as he had done once before, denied the motion to dismiss the indictments against Stroble on prosecutorial misconduct. But Mattina said that during the trial he would allow Mr. Goodman and his colleagues to try to show what the prosecution's strategy was.

In a press conference, William Gaiter, head of Buffalo Black community organization BUILD, said that the strategy of the prosecution was based on the same mentality which led to the Attica rebellion in the first place.

The issue of racism was clearly brought out in the final round of the jury selection when, on Thursday, May 15, after the prosecution removed by peremptory challenge (without cause) the seventh prospective Black juror, an angry debate broke out in court.

The defense charged that the prosecution was following a policy, dictated at the highest levels,

to exclude all Blacks from the jury. (The last seat on the jury was eventually given to a Black man which implied that under pressure the prosecution could no longer maintain their policy of exclusion.)

Francis M. Cryan, the special assistant Attica prosecutor, gave an opening statement to a jury of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

## DELLUMS' CORNER

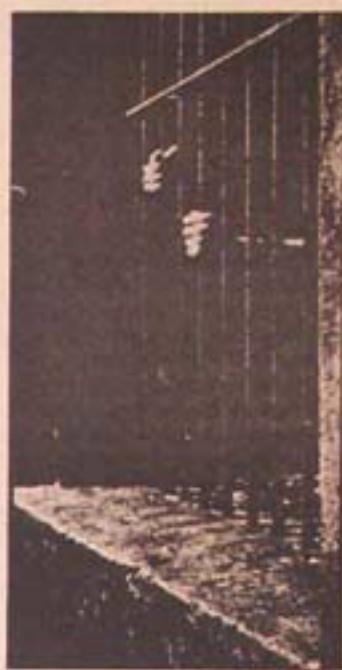
### Co-Sponsors Bill For Return Of Vietnam "Refugees"

### MARION PRISON

## BEHAVIOR MODIFICATION SCORES ANOTHER KILL

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The following report was sent to THE BLACK PANTHER last week by Brothers Akinshijo Chinua Ola (Ed Johnson) and Leon Bates, prison inmates at Marion Federal Penitentiary in Illinois. Their story, a tale of horror, brutality and death behind the cold, stone walls of this country's prisons, deserves our attention and our most concerted action on behalf of those who remain trapped inside.)

(Marion, Ill.) — On Sunday May 4, 1975, Prisoner Paul X Duhart was reportedly found hanging in his cell — dead. He had been confined to the segregation cellblock for nearly three months, after having spent perhaps three months in the general population. Before those first three months, Paul had been constantly held in "segregated" cellblocks (the hole) in different



Freedom.

federal penitentiaries since late 1972. From all the surface appearances it seems that his is a death by suicide.

Many prisoners are skeptical about the report. One prominent and immediate issue is the same that surrounded the death of Jackson "Curley" Fee, in 1973: namely, that the cell has at its highest point a slot-bar which is approximately 5 ft. 5 in. from the floor. Paul was at least 5 ft. 7-8 in. tall. The question is: why should these superficial indications even appear plausible? And the answer, coming out front, from behind the surface appearances would then enable us to determine if it could be classified as suicide — under any circumstances.

Paul Duhart was committed to the federal system about 1966. He was doing a 25 year sentence for bank robbery. He was from Toledo, Ohio.

The journey of death began for Paul at Leavenworth, Kansas. Many prisoners remember him at the Leavenworth prison as a "staunch Muslim." He was also studying Mao. He was finally transferred from Leavenworth to McNeil Island in Washington state, after having been in segregation for almost 20 months. That was 1971.

In November, 1972, Paul held four hostages for several hours while demanding to speak to the news media. His objective: to expose the vicious dehumanizing practices of the Bureau of Prisons Behavior Modification programs. When media representatives arrived, the hostages were released unharmed. Paul was charged and convicted for the McNeil incident.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

(Washington, D.C.) — Congressman Ronald V. Dellums has joined Rep. Michael Harrington in co-sponsoring legislation to assist Vietnamese refugees who want to return to their native country. The Vietnam Refugee Act provides for the return of refugees to their country as the new South Vietnamese government gives assurances they will be welcomed.

"The distinct possibility exists that a great many of the refugees would be happier if allowed a safe return to their homeland on a voluntary basis," Congressman Dellums said in a statement. "It would be tragic if destitute people were kept away from their native country simply to score propaganda points against the new South Vietnamese leadership." He also pointed out that the bill would be strictly voluntary with transportation provided by the U.S. government by commercial or military carriers.

Dellums pointed out that now that the "bloodbath" scare has proved to be without any basis and that many of the Vietnamese refugees who were rushed over here and are now living in makeshift conditions would be much happier in their homeland.

# Mike Wallace Distortions Of B.P.P. Deliberate

**CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE**  
ers of "60 Minutes" contacted him weeks ago and requested the Party's cooperation in preparing the segment.

"The Party cooperated with the producers...following assurances that Mike Wallace would be coming to the West Coast with the expressed purpose of interviewing a representative of the Party," the letter states.

"We were asked if we would be available for such an interview and we assured the producers that we would," Du Bois wrote. "The impression left with the viewer by the segment as it was presented on May 18, is that the Black Panther Party either was not available for participation or refused to cooperate, neither of which are true."

The cooperation provided by the Black Panther Party resulted from three phone requests from CBS in New York to Oakland, California. The Party provided information concerning the site of the 1968 police attack in Oakland during which Black Panther Party member Lil' Bobby Hutton was killed and Eldridge Cleaver was arrested.

#### INFORMATION

The Party also provided information concerning the location of the Black Panther Party headquarters at the time of the attack. "We were assured in turn," the BPP press statement declares, "that Mr. Wallace would be coming to the coast and would get in touch with us for our contribution. But, instead, Mr. Wallace used our assistance, provided in good faith, to prepare his program, but denied us the promised participation to state our position.

"Once more," the statement asserts, "the deliberate distortion of the truth and total disrespect for Black people is demonstrated by the establishment media with the failure of the producers of '60 Minutes' to allow the Black Panther Party to speak for itself..."

In his letter to Salant, Du Bois concludes: "The Black Panther Party has repeatedly been the victim of distortions and lies circulated throughout this country by the media. Our image and our efforts at serving the community have both suffered as a result."

## ON THE BLOCK

### WHAT'S YOUR OPINION ABOUT THE RECENT EXPOSE OF C.I.A. SPYING ON AMERICAN CITIZENS?

ASKED AT SAFEWAY, 40TH AND TELEGRAPH.

Bob Gray  
661 42nd St.  
Truckdriver



*It's nothing new. They do it every day. They've just been getting away with it.*

Diane Duckett  
385 Jones St.  
Wells Fargo



*I think its a rip-off.*

*I think it reflects paranoia, you know, when you're guilty you're paranoid.*

Ollie Austin  
1102 Chestnut  
Custodian,  
U.S. Postal Service



*I do not think it's fair, or right.*

*It seems that, like the Watergate incident, the government's got this conspiracy going, you know, especially against Black people.*



David Shephard  
451 40th St.  
Mechanic



Edith Allen  
Pullman Hall  
Student -  
U.C. Berkeley



Vevinia Henson  
829 52nd St.  
Student - Merritt

## Attica Prosecutor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

Five men and seven women telling them that Mr. Stroble was one of five Attica inmates who allegedly held kangaroo court during the 1971 uprising and ordered the "execution" of two other inmates, Barry Schwartz and Kenneth Hess. The two men, Cryan said, were found "guilty of treason to the inmate cause" after they spoke to a television reporter. Both men were subsequently found with their throats slashed.

Five inmates, several of them leaders of the uprising, have been indicted in connection with these killings, but Brother Stroble is the first to reach trial. Stroble has been indicted on four counts of kidnapping and two counts of murder. The state has charged that Hess and Schwartz were killed while Mr. Stroble "engaged in the act of kidnapping."

The first Attica defendant convicted of murder, John Hill, was sentenced to a prison term of 20 years to life, despite massive evidence that the prosecution case has been based on fabricated evidence manufactured as part of an entire scheme of governmental misconduct. □

"Mike Wallace is not qualified to represent the views of the Black Panther Party. To attempt to do so is a racist insult to the Party in particular and to Black Americans in general."

The BPP press release of May 19, reporting these events and expressing the Party's righteous concern and demand for the right of reply has been ignored by the establishment media, including, of course, CBS News. Only the best elements within the Black media have carried the release or contacted the Party on the circumstances of the release. (See Editorial, page 2.)

# GUINIER: "HARVARD ADMINISTRATION UNDERMINES BLACK STUDIES"

*On March 5, 1975, Professor Ewart Guinier, chairman of the Department of Afro-American Studies at Harvard University, delivered a blistering defense of his department to the school's visiting Board of Overseers. Professor Guinier's statement is a devastating attack on Harvard administrators who are attempting to sabotage the department's contributions to academic scholarship. Part 4 of Professor Guinier's statement follows.*

#### PART 4

Dean Rosovsky has also referred to the "rather offhand fashion" which characterizes the Negro's treatment at the hands of "the social sciences and the humanities..." But the treatment was more often vicious, purporting to certify the subhuman nature of African peoples. While Mr. Rosovsky concedes that "the traditional disciplines have not provided an atmosphere in which subject matter directly related to Black Americans has flourished," he argues that "there is a need, especially in a new field...to maintain standards..." One must ask: maintain what standards? The standards of traditional disciplines? But even the dean acknowledges that Blacks have not fared well at the hands of those disciplines, so how reconcile this with maintaining standards? Perhaps he can explain.

#### TRAINED INTELLECTS

Further, the dean sees "the need for trained intellects to grapple with a new and challenging subject matter." We do not take issue with the need for trained intellects in Afro-American studies — but do raise the question: Trained by whom and toward what end? In other words, will that training include in the future as it has been in the past the primacy of things white? We must guard against that sort of training, whether it is offered by colored people or Whites for, in either case, it would spell death for our studies, to say nothing of our sense of humanity. Unless the "standards" of Harvard are as wide and as high as humanity, they are not worth maintaining.

As for the contention that the subject matter of Black Studies is "new," we would say new only in the sense that until the World War II period, no outstanding



*Like their Black counterparts at Harvard, Chicano students at Washington U. demand self-determination in Chicano Studies programs. See story, page 7.*

efforts, save for one, were made to utilize the disciplines in concert in exploring the Black experience. That lone effort, carried out by Du Bois over sixty years ago in his Atlanta University Studies, was a vital precursor to Afro-American Studies today.

#### AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES

Moreover, not much is new about individual disciplines which, at the time, comprise Afro-American Studies. To argue, for example, that efforts to study the history of Afro-Americans are new is to argue from ignorance — to slight works ranging from those of Wells Brown, J.W. Pennington and George Washington Williams in the last century to those of Carter Woodson, Rayford Logan and W.E.B. DuBois in our own. In the area of history, there is a rather large body of accumulated literature with which we insist an Afro-American historian at Harvard must be familiar.

In addition, there is much valuable accumulated scholarship on Afro-American music, religion, sociology, and literature. It is therefore a minimum responsibility of Dean Rosovsky, who arrogantly seeks to impose his own mechanism for selecting faculty in Afro-American studies, to inform himself before playing authority on Black people here, in Africa and elsewhere. But that is not enough. It is his pressing responsibility to respond in writing to our charge that he is seriously deficient in knowledge of matters relating to Afro-American Studies, including Harvard's role, during and since slavery, in scholarship on Africa.

This same dean, it should be noted, was recently Chairman of the Economics Department, which, in the Spring of 1974, was severely scored by a visiting

committee of the Board of Overseers as well as by the Nobel laureates within the department. Under Rosovsky's chairmanship that department was no less noted for the anachronistic theories and bad practices identified and condemned by the team of visiting evaluators. It should not surprise that we in Afro-American Studies are not all sanguine about the prospect of Rosovsky inflicting his brand of "help" on our department.

#### DISTURBING

What has made the situation at Harvard especially disturbing is that, while antagonists of Afro-American Studies have until recently remained almost completely silent, one or two Negro professors, with a stridency which has long since peaked, have engaged in an orgy of rage against us and our people. Indeed, it is likely that one would have to go back to John W. Burgess at the turn of the century and to certain Harvard apologists for slavery and the overthrow of Reconstruction to find similar attacks on people of color — attacks offered up with such apparent impunity.

We were confronted in our fifth year — last year — with a harsh reality: should the department allow itself to be deflected by even the most undignified exertions against Black people or should we focus exclusively on the job of trying to establish a reputation for the integrity, and therefore the excellence of our offerings? The latter course proved in this as in previous years to be impossible of achievement: the attacks were so frequent and bellicose, so innocent of the process and ends of rational discourse, that they were impairing our efforts to bring on new and talented people. For

*CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE*

#### SAN JOSE ROBBERY

## No Evidence Against Blacks Charged

(San Jose, Calif.) — A defense committee has been formed here to prevent the judicial railroading of four Black people accused of a crime they did not commit.

On January 28, 1975, Morton's Jewelry Store reported being robbed by four Blacks. A sum of \$75,000 in gems and cash was estimated stolen. At 10:10 a.m. an APB broadcast to the California Highway Patrol described the alleged getaway car as a mid-1960s brown Chevrolet.

At 11:10, a patrolman in the area near Alpine Road saw a 1969 green Cadillac with a black vinyl top and with Black passengers. He followed it for a mile or two and called for other officers to aid in arresting the individuals in the car.

Clayton Moore, Dennise Broadnax, Donald Taylor and Virgil Ricky Jones were stopped, told to get out with hands up, handcuffed, thrown to the ground in the mud, detained on the freeway near Redwood City for two hours.

#### NO EVIDENCE

After searching the individuals, the car and their residence, no evidence relating to the jewelry store robbery was found, but these four Black people must now stand trial for robbery.

In preliminary hearings, the state's witness — who works for Morton's Jewelry Store and who had been brought to the scene of the arrest to identify the accused — made seven mistakes in identifying the suspects as pointed out by defense attorney Braun. She admits having trouble identifying Blacks, and to having a sight problem.

The highway patrolman testified that although the defendants were not in the car described to him in the APB, he would have stopped them if they were riding in an orange Volkswagen.

The defense committee for the unjustly accused Black people can be contacted by calling Barbara Lamb Vickers at (415) 325-6230 or Sherly Rucker at (415) 965-8076. Attorney's fees for the four defendants are in excess of \$300 per day per person and the defense committee would greatly appreciate any donations. □

## San Quentin Conference

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Sister Joann Johnson, a former inmate at the California Institution for Women appealed to the Conference not to forget the special problems of women in prison. She detailed the hypocrisy of the prison authorities in such things as using inmates money to build a fancy swimming pool and make the prison look like a tourist attraction, while maintaining a filthy hospital and practicing the vilest injustices against the women inmates.

Sleepy Bailey, a former inmate at San Quentin and member of the Prisoner's Union, spoke about conditions at San Quentin and emphasized the need of prisoners to know they are not forgotten by us on the outside. Baily had earlier participated in the guerrilla theater skit depicting the hassles of the prison visit.



DAVID DU BOIS, official spokesperson of the Black Panther Party and moderator of the San Quentin Coalition Prison Conference, addressing audience. Panelists are (left to right): GARRY LAWTON; SLEEPY BAILEY; JOANN JOHNSON; BETTY DAVIS; AND ROBERT COVINGTON.

Betty Davis of the Vacaville Prison Project discussed prison visiting and the particular conditions at Vacaville Prison affecting both the prisoner and the visitor.

Following the panel workshops were held on the following

subjects: Juvenile Prisons; the Indeterminate Sentence; San Quentin; Women in Prison; Asians in Prison; Behavior Modification/Psychiatric Abuse; Gays in Prison; and the Role of the Courts. □

## Johnny Spain

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Johnny was chained to his bed at all times during his stay at San Francisco General. There were two armed guards at all times in his room and two guards outside the ward. When he was moved from his room to a testing area, he was chained to a wheel chair. When he was moved into the X-ray room, armed guards entered the room with him and were required to put on protective clothing against the X-rays.

Dr. Sollek has said that clearly intestinal abnormalities have been determined, but the absurd "security" measures have made it next to impossible to carry out the necessary diagnostic tests. □

**Justice  
For  
Huey P.  
Newton**

## WE NEED EACH OTHER!

THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY is a nonprofit voluntary organization representing a cross-section of citizens concerned about abuses by federal law enforcement and intelligence agencies of the civil liberties of domestic political groups, specifically those seeking to further the civil and human rights of racial minorities.

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To continue the fight to make the current Congressional investigation of government intelligence agencies a meaningful and thorough one. We have continuing legal fees, printing costs, postage, etc. The Committee for Justice is totally supported by contributions from people like yourself.

THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON AND  
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## Guinier: "Black Studies"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

example, one young scholar with a special interest in the African diaspora rejected an offer, stating: "A few days ago, however, my wife and I began to have second thoughts about such a decision, in view of the intensity of the resistance to Afro-American Studies from the university at large." The resistance was hurting us in other ways as well: a certain demoralization finally set in, touching even our most dedicated and accomplished scholars. For example, a year and a half ago the chairman received a letter from one such scholar which succinctly telescopes our problems. Here is a paragraph from that letter:

"Nonetheless, as the years go by, and the time-consuming and energy-draining rumors and politics around our department continue, I have become more pessimistic about Harvard's commitment to African and Afro-American scholarship. There is no doubt that Harvard is a great place for scholarship, particularly when you take into account its great library facilities and some of its great teachers. However, the general atmosphere that is often generated by the activities of certain individuals whose primary concern is politics rather than scholarship — though these same individuals may often boast 'scholarship' more loudly than anyone else — has made it impossible for our department to concentrate its total efforts on teaching, learning, and research, and to have a meaningful academic dialogue and rational discourse with our serious colleagues."

And so as month succeeded month and the attacks continued, as months gave way to years with no abatement of the criticisms — which received massive attention in Harvard publications — the strategy of not engaging in public debate lost favor, at least in the mind of the chairman.

TO BE CONTINUED

**Survival  
Through  
Unity**

# TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

By Huey P. Newton

*This is the conclusion of "To the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention," a dynamic speech made by Huey P. Newton, chief theoretician and leader of the Black Panther Party. The address was delivered at a Plenary Session in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on September 5, 1970.*

## CONCLUSION

We find evidence for majority freedom and minority oppression in the fact that even while the early settlers were proclaiming their freedom, they were deliberately and systematically depriving Africans of their freedom. These basic contradictions were further exacerbated (made worse) by acts which implicitly admitted that the majority was wrong but unwilling to do right.

Thus, when the Declaration of Independence was drafted, the Founding Fathers considered the slave as equivalent to three-fifths of a man. Thus when the slaves

were emancipated the descendants of the Founding Fathers compromised that freedom to gain further territory. These compromises were so basic to the thinking of our forebears that legal attempts to correct the contradictions through Constitutional amendments and civil rights laws have produced no change in our condition.

We are still a people without equal protection and due process of law. We recognize then that the oppressive acts of the United States Government when contrasted with the testaments of freedom, carry forward a basic contradiction found in all the legal documents upon which this government is based.

## GENERATION

Generation after generation of the majority group have been born, they have worked, and they have seen the fruits of their labors in the life, liberty and happiness of their children and grandchildren. Generation after generation of Black people in America have been born, they have worked, and they have seen the fruits of their labors in the life, liberty, and happiness of the children and grandchildren of their oppressors, while their own descendants wallow in the mire of poverty and deprivation, holding only to the hope of change in the future. This hope has sustained us for many years and has led us to suffer the administrations of a corrupt government.

At the dawn of the twentieth century this hope led us to formulate a civil rights movement in the belief that this government would eventually fulfill its promise to Black people. We did not recognize, however, that any attempt to complete the promise of an eighteenth-century revolution in the framework of an twentieth-century government was doomed to failure. The descendants of that small company of original settlers of this land are not among the common people of today, they have become a small ruling class in control of a world-wide economic system.

The Constitution set up by their ancestors to serve the people no longer does so, for the people have changed. The people of the eighteenth century have become



Thousands of people at Temple U. Gym awaiting address of Huey P. Newton at Plenary Session in Philadelphia, Pa.

the ruling class of the twentieth century, and the people of the twentieth century are the descendants of the slaves and dispossessed of the eighteenth century. The Constitution set up to serve the people of eighteenth century now serves the ruling class of the twentieth century, and the people of today stand waiting for a foundation of their own life, liberty and pursuit of happiness.

The Civil-Rights Movement has not produced this foundation, and it cannot produce this foundation because of the nature of the United States society and economy. The vision of the Civil-Rights Movement is to achieve goals which have been altered by 200 years of change. Thus the Civil-Rights Movement and similar movements have produced no foundation for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They have produced humiliating programs of welfare and unemployment compensation, programs with sufficient form to deceive the people but with insufficient substance to change the fundamental distribution of power and resources in this country.

Moreover, while these movements attempt to get minorities into the system, we note that the government continues its pattern of practices which contradict its democratic rhetoric. We recognize now that we see history repeating itself, but on an international as well as national scale. The relentless drive for profit led this nation to colonize, oppress, and exploit its minorities. This profit drive took this nation from democratic capitalism and underdevelopment to bureaucratic capitalism and overdevelopment.

Now we see that this small ruling class continues its profit

drive by oppressing and exploiting the peoples of the world. Throughout the world the lumpenproletariat is crushed so that the profits of American industry can continue to flow. Throughout the world the freedom struggles of oppressed people are opposed by this government because they are a threat to bureaucratic capitalism in the United States of America.

We gather here to let it be known at home and abroad that a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness has in its maturity become an imperialist power dedicated to death, oppression and the pursuit of profits. We will not be deceived by so many of our fellow men, we will not be blinded by small changes in form which lack any change in the substance of imperialist expansion. Our suffering has been too long, our sacrifices have been too great, and our human dignity is too strong for us to be prudent any longer.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FREEDOM AND THE POWER TO DETERMINE OUR DESTINY.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR AN END TO THE CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION OF OUR COMMUNITY.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR DECENT HOUSING FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR A TRUE EDUCATION OF OUR PEOPLE.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR EXEMPTIONS CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

## TO DIE FOR THE PEOPLE

WRITINGS OF

Huey P. Newton



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A VINTAGE BOOK

# A VISIT WITH THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

## BY WILBUR HADDOCK

### UNITED BLACK WORKERS

*During a visit last February to the West Coast, Brother Wilbur Haddock, president of the United Black Workers at Mahwah, New Jersey, Ford Motor plantation, spent a day visiting community services and facilities that owe their existence to the Black Panther Party and to Party headquarters at the invitation of David G. DuBois, official spokesperson for the Black Panther Party.*

*Last week we received in the mail the March issue of The Black Voice, publication of the United Black Workers, and discovered in its centerfold the following report on Brother Haddock's visit with the Black Panther Party. The report is printed here as an expression of the Black Panther Party's deeply felt appreciation to Brother Haddock and the members of the United Black Workers, our close comrades in struggle.*

One of the highlights of my trip to the West Coast was a visit with the beautiful brothers and sisters of the Oakland-based Black Panther Party, including visits to their many community projects. The Oakland Panthers sponsor a Free Health Clinic, Restaurant and Bar, Office and Print Shop, Intercommunal Youth Institute and campaign headquarters of Elaine Brown who is running for City Council in Oakland, California.

Due to the lack of communication, distorted media coverage, misinformation from East Coast Panthers, concerning many areas including recent happenings within the Party, I was most anxious to meet with and hopefully share experiences and learn from each other, as well as learn the truth. These are some of the things that are lacking among many movement groups these days.

#### Just Like Coming Back Home

To my surprise and gratification, meeting with these comrades was just like, as we used to say, "coming back home." There were no visible signs of pain or anguish from the years of police and government harassment, brutality and defection, organizational and tactical mistakes which all revolutionaries make in their growth process.



*Left: Groups 6 & 7 (ages 8 - 11) of the Intercommunal Youth Institute actively participate in class discussion. Right: 110 children of the Institute are served three full nutritious meals daily, free of charge.*

Instead, I found warmth, love, pride and dedication to the Party and its many ongoing programs. It was like coming back home because I felt like a member of the family, coming back to my roots. Many of us have gotten away from this in recent years. I could relate to and sense the closeness of our joint struggles. The history of worker's struggles, like the Black Panther Party in this country, has been filled with death, blood, brutality, sell-outs, etc. The United Black Workers too, have had their share of experiences with the CIA, FBI, Internal Revenue Service, Ford Motor Company, UAW, local and state police over the years. For that alone, we would have grounds for solidarity.

#### A Lesson To Be Learned

Throughout my visit, one thought kept running through my mind. Here was a lesson to be learned by many of us within the movement. Especially the Black Liberation Movement across this country, and in the East particularly.

We have tasted few victories, seen little consistency, produced few concrete alternatives for the masses — not counting the cultural centers, dance groups, Kwanzaa celebrations, and the "Bertha Butt" boogie. What have we really offered the young, old, tenants, welfare recipients, prisoners, or workers? What leadership have we really given them? What have we built and shared with them that they could touch, feel, and be a collective part of? What have we established in our communities that the masses can be proud of, relate to, or speak with pride about to their friends and loved ones? Not much, I'm afraid.

In Oakland, I saw very much what the BPP had done and contributed. I talked with students, teachers, doctors, community residents, Party members, campaign volunteers, bartenders, waitresses, and businessmen. All talked with pride and support of the BPP and its Survival Programs. All were committed to the success, continued growth, and success of the BPP. Isn't that what it's all about?

#### A Rewarding Trip

My eyes were opened to the truth and commitment of these comrades as they wage the protracted struggle against a common enemy.



*Karate demonstration at May 4 Carnival to raise funds for Intercommunal Youth Institute.*

It was rewarding talking to comrades Ericka Huggins and the staff at the Intercommunal Youth Institute. Providing not only quality education for our young, but programs for our seniors; a place for the teenagers to meet and display their talents, something badly needed in East Oakland. The doctors and staff at the free medical clinic were testing for sickle cell and hypertension. Many talk about programs such as these but few achieve.

Talking to the broods and beautiful sisters at the Lamp Post Bar and Restaurant; believe me, the food there is "Dyno-Mite!" Meeting the many volunteers at Elaine Brown's headquarters. It reminds me of the days (1970), when UBW (United Black Workers) was involved in the campaign to elect Kenneth Gibson, the first Black mayor of Newark and all the excitement that surrounded the election.

Because of our early flight back, my meeting with Sister Elaine Brown had to be cancelled. However, I wished her, on behalf of the UBW, success and victory in her upcoming election to the city council. With continued support like she was getting daily while I was there, victory is certain without doubt.

Finally, to my friend, guide, and comrade Brother David G. DuBois, Editor of the BPP newspaper, and Official Spokesman for the Party, I can only say thanks for making me feel at home.





Senior citizens participate in S.A.F.E. Program's free transportation/escort services.

Brother Du Bois has a huge weight to carry on his shoulders. From what I could see, he is dealing with it and growing everyday. With the collective support of the other members of the Party, combined with those of us from the outside offering our support and solidarity, his task will be a little lightened.

*People's Free Clinic administers free Sickle Cell Tests throughout the Bay Area and Northern California.*



contributions the BPP have made to the Black Liberation Struggle in particular and the overall struggles of oppressed peoples is an historic fact. As one community brother told me as he praised Huey P. Newton, "Before Huey and the Black Panther Party, no one ever heard of Oakland, California. They put us on the map." I bet some of you thought Charles Finley and the Oakland A's did that. Huey Newton is more popular in Oakland than Reggie Jackson could ever be.



WILBUR HADDOCK (center) tours the Intercommunal Youth Institute with DAVID DU BOIS (left), official spokesperson of the BPP, and instructors, AMAR CASEY (right), STEVE MCCUTCHEON (back).

In the short time Du Bois has been involved with the Party, he has gained the respect of many in California. Struggling to live up to the responsibilities of a famous name and family has only heightened his determination and commitment. Although he has not asked for it, I think we owe him and others like him a vote of confidence and our hand in support and solidarity. We often take each other for granted and as a result, we lose many comrades along the way. It is time to let them know what we think of their sacrifice, work, commitment, and contribution. This gives them the confidence and strength to keep on trucking. Isn't that what we comrades are supposed to be about?

#### How We Can Help

I do not mean to imply that the Panthers are without their problems. We all have them. They admit they have made some mistakes, again haven't we all. More importantly, the

just fade away and die. We have the responsibilities to support, strengthen and continue their work.

Disagree with the BPP if you must, but still support their programs. The destruction of the BPP's programs and its newspaper would be a victory for the enemy and a heavy setback for the movement. All over the world, people still look to the Party for leadership, information, and strength.

The persecution of the Party and its members still goes on and will continue to go on as long as we remain silent. If we don't give a damn, the enemies of not just the Party but all oppressed peoples, will feel free to continue committing genocide on the BPP and its programs for survival.

In California, one openly sees fascism everywhere, dressed as Minutemen, John Birch Society, American Nazi Party, Ronald Reagan, Richard Nixon, and fascist police and prison guards, all which must be dealt with. While here in the East, we tend to be lulled to sleep because these same forces hide themselves as liberals, Jewish Defense League, or are undercover.

These are some of the reasons why we must support the BPP and learn from their experiences and faults so we can all get together down the road. They need our support on all levels, especially money.

Yes, my trip was informational, successful, and rewarding. Because of it, our two organizations have moved closer together. We can learn much about community work and we can teach them of the struggles of workers.

To paraphrase the song, "He ain't heavy, he's my Brother." From my visit with BPP, I came away feeling, "They ain't Heavy, They are my Brothers and Sisters." I will return, what about you? □

*Free Busing Program loads up to take community to see relatives and friends in prison.*



# 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 rubbed 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

# DAR ES SALAAM DECLARATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICA O.A.U. Backs Armed Struggle

In April, the Organization of African Unity [OAU] Council of Ministers met in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, to discuss southern Africa. At that meeting an historic document, "The Dar es Salaam Declaration on Southern Africa," was drawn up and adopted by ministers representing the 43 member states of the OAU. Because of its importance we reprint that Declaration here in full.

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) meeting in Dar es Salaam has made an in-depth study of the developments in southern Africa in general and the situation in South Africa in particular. This evaluation was made with the specific objective of devising ways and means of realizing Africa's long cherished objective in the region, namely, the total liquidation of the twin evils of colonialism and racism.

### COLONIALISM

In recent years Africa has adopted and carried out several strategies against colonialism. When, in 1969, the racist and colonial regimes ignored the Lusaka Manifesto, the African States adopted the Mogadishu Declaration in 1971, calling for the intensification of the armed struggle. This was followed by the Accra Strategy of 1973 concentrating on the liberation of the Portuguese colonies.

The victory over Portuguese colonialism, which vindicated the Accra Strategy led Africa, this year, to adopt the Dar es Salaam Declaration by which the OAU has resolved to make use of the victories achieved by the freedom fighters of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe for the advance of the freedom march further south with particular emphasis on the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia. The Extraordinary Session of the Council of Ministers, while unequivocally reaffirming this Declaration, wishes to highlight the following:

Africa's objective in Zimbabwe is independence on the basis of majority rule. This can be achieved either peacefully or by

violent means. Either way, Africa will give its unqualified support to freedom fighters led by their nationalist movement — the African National Council (ANC).

As long as the objective of Majority Rule before Independence is not compromised, Africa would support all efforts made by the Zimbabwe nationalists to win independence by peaceful means. This may mean a holding of a Constitutional Conference where the nationalist forces will negotiate with the Smith regime. If that takes place, free Africa has the duty to do everything possible to assist the success of such negotiations, until and unless the Rhodesian nationalists themselves are convinced that talks with Smith have irretrievably failed.

In the consideration of Africa's objectives in Rhodesia, it is important to properly evaluate the role of South Africa in that territory. South Africa has troops in Rhodesia which help to maintain the White minority rule. South Africa has frustrated the efforts of the international community by being the major sanctions buster. Both in its military and economic support of the Smith regime, South Africa continues to defy Africa's and the United Nations' opposition. The apartheid regime must put an end to the military and economic support.

While Africa accepts helping in genuine negotiations in order to facilitate the transfer of power to the African majority, it must remain absolutely vigilant and undertake the necessary preparations for the intensification of the armed struggle should peaceful



*The Dar es Salaam Declaration, passed by the OAU's Council of Ministers, re-affirms African peoples right to armed struggle.*

solution to the Rhodesian conflict be blocked.

### NAMIBIA

Africa's and the United Nations' position on the question of Namibia is unequivocal. South Africa's continued occupation of that land is illegal and all member

states of the United Nations are under obligation to refrain from doing anything which implies the legality of its administration. Africa must fulfill strictly this obligation to abstain from any action which may be construed as recognition or acceptance of South Africa's right to be in Namibia.

Africa and the United Nations hold the unity and territorial integrity of Namibia sacrosanct. They are working for the independence of the territory as a whole and are totally opposed to its fragmentation. Africa and the United Nations recognize SWAPO as the legitimate and authentic representative of the whole of Namibia. Despite the specific and unanimous demand of the Security Council, South Africa has not yet agreed to undertake withdrawing from Namibia. In fact, the apartheid

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# Dar Es Salaam Declaration On Southern Africa

## O.A.U. Backs Armed Struggle

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

regime has consolidated its repressive rule in the territory and proceeded with its bantustanization.

The Council of Ministers reiterate their conviction that the only possible solution to the problem of Namibia lies in the implementation by South Africa of Security Council Resolution of December 17, 1974. The African States considering that the Security Council by its own decision is scheduled to convene on or about May 30, 1975, to consider the question of Namibia, call upon the Council to take the necessary measures including those envisaged under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter with a view to effectively overcome South Africa's defiance and contempt of the United Nations decisions.

In the absence of South Africa's willingness to terminate its illegal occupation of Namibia, Africa must assist the national liberation movement of Namibia, SWAPO, to intensify the armed struggle in Namibia. SWAPO should also be supported in every way possible.

### APARTHEID

As regards South Africa, both the OAU and the United Nations are dedicated to the principle of full equality for all the people of the country, irrespective of race or color. It is impossible for free Africa to acquiesce in the denial of human equality and human dignity which is represented by the philosophy and system of apartheid. Thus, the OAU, like the United Nations, opposes the regime in South Africa, not because it rejects and fights against the principles of human equality and national self-determination.

Africa has repeatedly warned that the apartheid regime constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security. This threat assumes graver proportions as the apartheid regime feels insecure. Despite Vorster's claims at the end of last year that given six months or so the world would be surprised by the changes that would be initiated from within the apartheid republic, the situation has taken a turn for the worst as evidenced by the mass trial of "Bantustans" and the vast increase of South Africa's military budget. Clearly,

Vorster's government is not about to depart from the doctrine of apartheid. Indeed, if anything, Vorster's measures have been designed to strengthen the security of the system of apartheid within South Africa.

Confronted with this unabashed determination of the apartheid regime to maintain its White supremacist system, Africa's responsibility is clear. We must ostracize, and urge the rest of the world to ostracize the South African regime as at present organized.

Africa must maintain the economic, political and cultural boycott of South Africa. The OAU and the United Nations must work in concert for the extension of the boycott. We must, in brief, work for the total isolation of the apartheid regime.

### NO JUSTIFICATION

There is no justification at all for changing this policy. Nor is there anything for free Africa to talk to the leaders of the apartheid regime in connection with their policies in South Africa. If current or future leaders of the apartheid regime should desire to begin to move away from the policy of racism in South Africa and to seek the cooperation of the African to that end, they could initiate the necessary contacts and negotiations from within.

They would find the oppressed people of South Africa and other opponents of racism led by their national liberation movement, ready for such negotiations which should enable the people of South Africa as a whole to determine the destiny of their country. The apartheid regime could initiate such a dialogue by the release of Nelson Mandela and derestric-tion of Robert Sobukwe, as well as hundreds of other nationalist leaders who are now languishing in South Africa's jails or under Restriction orders.

The Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity resolutely reaffirms free Africa's total rejection of apartheid and all its ramifications, including any so called independent homelands within South Africa.

### SOLIDARITY

The Council underscores the importance of all independent African States to remain firmly united in the policy of isolating South Africa and ostracizing its



Angolan revolutionary, a member of the MPLA, with her daughter.

apartheid regime. The Council reiterates its support to the national liberation movements of South Africa in their struggle in all its forms. It also calls for the intensification of international efforts — with the cooperation of Governments, Inter-Governmental and non-Governmental organizations for the eradication of apartheid.

### OPPORTUNITIES

Unprecedented opportunities and challenges prevail in southern Africa subsequent to the collapse of the 500-year-old-Portuguese colonialism. Free Africa is determined to capitalize on the opportunities in order to bring closer the day when every inch of African soil will be free from colonial and racist domination. While being cognizant of the fact that South Africa stands as a final major obstacle to Africa's march to liberation, the Council of Ministers reaffirm their unflinching determination to realize the freedom and independence of Rhodesia and Namibia and the total destruction of apartheid and racial discrimination in South Africa.

The Council of Ministers, conscious of the important contribution made by African friends and supporters all over the world in its quest for the liberation of the continent, launches a fervent appeal to them by urging them to continue and intensify their support for solidarity with the liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia as well as for the ending of the inhuman system of apartheid in South Africa.

## AFRICA IN FOCUS



### LIBERIA

*The Times of London* has revealed that South African Prime Minister John Vorster appealed to Liberian President William Tolbert to arrange a meeting between leaders of apartheid-ruled South Africa and the heads of independent Black African states. The appeal was contained in a series of exchanges between South Africa's chief delegate to the U.N., Roelof Botha, and President Tolbert's brother, the late Stephen Tolbert, who served as his country's Finance Minister until he was killed in an air crash last month. Vorster also made a secret visit to Liberia earlier this year in connection with proposed talks. The exchanges disclosed that South Africa had given large amounts of food to the new FRELIMO government in Mozambique and had attempted to barter gold for oil with Saudi Arabia and Nigeria.

### SOUTH AFRICA

Two White opposition parties in South Africa decided to merge last week, with their joint opposition to apartheid as their major point of agreement. The merger between the Progressive Party, which holds five seats in the South African Parliament, and the Reform Party, is said to be likely to attract White left-wing elements active within South African political circles.

### ZIMBABWE

Speaking with newsmen at U.S. headquarters in New York recently, Bishop Abel Muzorewa president of the African National Council (ANC) of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), said that the readiness of the FRELIMO government Mozambique to enforce economic and political sanctions against the White settler regime in Rhodesia was one of the major factors causing Ian Smith to see reason. Other factors, Bishop Muzorewa said were: the Rhodesian government's inability to defeat the armed guerrilla forces; the ANC as a unified body, encompassing the three separate liberation movements; and the decision by South Africa to withdraw its police force from the southern section of the country.

**Mohamed Said:  
"We Are Struggling  
For National  
Liberation In Eritrea"**

The following is the conclusion of an interview with Mr. Mohamed Said, Director of Information for the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF) reprinted from Africa magazine.

**CONCLUSION**

AFRICA: It is said that one of the reasons why Ethiopians are reluctant to consider full independence for Eritrea is that they feel Ethiopia would be economically vulnerable. Is there any justification for these fears?

SAID: We do not want to destroy Ethiopia at all. If you are talking about the rumors that have been spread that we will deprive Ethiopia access to the Red Sea, then this is not so. For many centuries, Ethiopia, as our neighbor, has always used Eritrean ports as outlets to the Red Sea. The ELF is not going to change this; but it must not be taken for granted. Ethiopia's use of our ports must come as a result of an agreement between two sovereign nations, not by force.

We hope that Ethiopians will be wise enough to solve the Eritrean problem and concentrate on developing their own country instead of waging a costly war which they will never win. Otherwise they will fail in the same way as Haile Selassie. War is a double-edged dagger.

AFRICA: The ELF has reportedly been getting most of its support and arms from the Arab countries and, indeed, your foreign mission has its headquarters here in Beirut, Lebanon. This has led to the belief in some circles that your organization intends to substitute the heterogeneous complexion of Eritrea with a strong pro-Arab orientation?

SAID: The Ethiopian Military Council is very cunning. First they say that the war has escalated because of foreign intervention, and now they say we are fighting to create an Arab state. As a liberation movement we have the right to ask for arms from anywhere: Africa, Europe, and the Arab world. This is a right that has been exercised by all liberation movements in other parts of Africa. For example, our brothers in Guinea-

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

## PORTUGUESE DOCTORS REVEAL F.N.L.A. MASSACRE OF ANGOLAN CIVILIANS

(Luanda, Angola) — A group of 25 Portuguese military doctors have sent a statement to their country's press informing them of a mass execution of civilians and MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) militants by troops of the F.N.L.A. (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) led by Holden Roberto in late March.

The statement by the military doctors, who were working at the Luanda Military Hospital at the time, confirms previous reports of an outright massacre of MPLA troops by the F.N.L.A. on April 29 and 30. *Lotta Continua*, an Italian daily, reports that the death toll of the April 29-30 massacre has risen to 250 plus 700 wounded, while France's *Le Monde* newspaper reports that the number of MPLA dead is over 700, with another 1,000 wounded.

In their joint statement the doctors wrote:

"We, military doctors of the Portuguese army in service of the Military Hospital of Luanda, on March 26, 1975:

"(1) Gave first aid to approximately 20 people wounded by gun shots, the majority of whom were civilians.

"(2) Gathered the same testimonies from all the victims:

"(a) They were people of various origins and ethnic groups, numbering initially more than 100. All were forcibly taken from various points of the city by the F.N.L.A. on March 22 and 23.

"(b) They were all accused of belonging to the MPLA or of having participated in clashes between civilians and the F.N.L.A.



Demonstration in Lisbon, Portugal, in support of the MPLA.

As a result they were imprisoned in the information center of the F.N.L.A. and later transferred to the fort of São Pedro da Barra.

"(c) From there they were taken to the area of Caixito where a summary execution was carried out.

"(d) Since some of the victims refused to follow the kidnappers, knowing that they would be killed, they were shot while lying on the floor. Some were able to survive and later to escape and search for first aid."

Johnny Eduardo, the F.N.L.A.'s acting Prime Minister in the coalition government, practically confirmed the criminal action carried out by his men in a conference not long after the March 25 massacre, and accused the MPLA of having armed nine and ten year old children. Eduard

do also asserted that the F.N.L.A. is the strongest organization in the country and that in Luanda alone it has enough strength to suppress anyone's "ill will," adding that if up until now the F.N.L.A. has not used all its war machinery it is because Roberto Holden has not authorized it.

The majority of the militants of the F.N.L.A. are of Zairese origin and do not speak any Angolan dialect or Portuguese. According to a report appearing in the Portuguese daily *Diário de Lisboa*, the great majority of the soldiers of the F.N.L.A. army normally speak French, Lingala or Sihali dialects which are not spoken in Angola.

In an interview published in the same newspaper, three deserters from the F.N.L.A. declared that they had decided to abandon that army because they were not Angolans.

One of them said: "I deserted in February. I am not a native Angolan and I was recruited in Zaire, where I was trained."

According to reports, in the beginning of April, 2,500 Zairese in the F.N.L.A. army entered Angola from Zaire. The recruiting of the Zairese population is carried out by Roberto Holden's men with the approval of General Mobutu, the president of Zaire. The majority of these "recruits" come from the Cassai tribe in the province of Cananga.

The Zairese army is composed of 65,000 men and it is difficult to ascertain the number of those men who have been transferred to the F.N.L.A.

We thank the People's Translation Service of Berkeley, California, for making this information available to us.) □

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## "We Are Struggling For Liberation In Eritrea"

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

Bissau received military aid from the Soviet Union, but that did not mean that they wanted to create a Soviet state in their country.

We contacted African, Arab and socialist countries for help; and, it is true, most of our arms have come from the Arab world but that help is very little in relation to our requirements. If our Ethiopian brothers think this is wrong, it is also legitimate for us to ask whether they want Ethiopia to be the 52nd state of the United States, because they get most of their arms from that country.

The Ethiopians are exploiting the tune which was played by imperialists to create a schism between Africans and Arabs. They are trying to spoil the face of the Eritrean revolution. We are not being pushed by Arabs; when we started our struggle 14 years ago, we were not even allowed to move freely in the Arab countries. Our struggle began a long time ago inside Eritrea, and we only received arms from the Arabs four years ago. The Ethiopians are falsifying the situation and attempting to create contradictions between Arabs and Afri-

cans. We are Eritreans, and the ELF is a nationalist movement fighting for the liberation of our country. It is not necessary to be pushed by any other country.

AFRICA: What efforts have you made to explain the Eritrean issue to other Africans?

SAID: We have made many contacts with our brothers in Africa, especially governments and voluntary organizations. Gen. Idi Amin of Uganda invited our representative in Libya recently so that he could hear our side. After our briefing to him, he stated that Uganda was willing to intervene in the Eritrean question and he sent a cable to the government of Ethiopia asking them to accept the principle of self-determination for Eritrea. The Ethiopians, of course, rebuked him and said he did not have a right to interfere in the internal affairs of their country. President Tolbert of Liberia and the Tanzanian government have just recently been in contact with us urging us to stop the bloodshed in Eritrea and work out a peaceful solution.

We are sending a delegation in the near future to African governments to explain our case, to explain that we are not



MOHAMED SAID, ELF Director of Information.

secessionists and that we are not trying to separate an African country. Because Ethiopia has insisted all along that Eritrea is an internal problem, most Africans have been deprived of the full facts and have been hostile to us. However, we are sure that once they are aware of our position, they will support us.

We would like to ask them to remember the days of their bitter suffering and struggle against colonialism. We ask them now to realize that here is an African country suffering from oppression by another African country. This is awkward. And we would like to reassure them that we are for African unity, with African interests, and are not anyone's agents. They must not hesitate to help us; we are a liberation movement struggling for national liberation in Eritrea. □

## WORLD SCOPE



### BOLIVIA

An Association of Tungsten Producing Countries was set up at a conference recently held in La Paz, Bolivia. The developing producers, represented by Bolivia, proposed the introduction of a price range system with floor and ceiling prices and the establishment of a buffer stock pile. The member countries, Bolivia, Peru, Thailand, Portugal and France, felt that these steps have to be taken to protect their legitimate interests as producers of raw materials and to help stabilize tungsten ore prices.

### ALGERIA

Twenty delegations from the Arab world attended the tenth annual Arab Writers' Congress held in Algiers recently. The delegation leader stressed the Arab writers' obligations to the Arab cause, particularly the Palestinian people's cause. "The struggle on the cultural front is indivisible from that for national independence, development, and a more just international order," Algerian Minister of Information and Culture Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi told the writers.

### EGYPT

An agreement on the establishment of an Arab military industrial organization was signed recently by the leaders of the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Egypt. The plan is aimed at building up an Arab industrial base which would ensure the development of the member countries on sound technical and economic bases. Capital of the organization has been fixed at 1,040 million which will be contributed by the four members in equal shares.

### ENGLAND

Asserting that inflation has driven some of them to the welfare rolls, teachers struck 12 British universities in support of demands for higher wages recently. The one-day stoppage was the first ever to affect university teaching in Britain. The teachers, known as "dons," range from lecturers to professors. They want a 29 per cent increase in their salaries. Lecturers earn \$5,083 a year and professors get an average of \$17,416.

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## Wake Up

Wake up, look around you. It's some cold shit going down now and in the past towards us Black Folks and our forefathers by the racist white dogs and Uncle Tom sellouts.

You walk around talking that bullshit all day about how slick you are, how many bitches you had on the streets, and you don't have a dime on the books. Talk'n that shit about "yea jack it's going to be all right." Face the truth Brother. It ain't going to be all right until you get off that fantastic merry-go-round.

Chump, how do you consider yourself slick, when the racist dog has you running in and out his funky jails. He is the mother fucker you should get hip to for he is the father of games, lies trixcaration you never will be slicker than him. Dig chumps, it ain't going to be all right till we as Black Warriors make it all right.

Bro. Leonard  
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## PROTESTS HALT SWEDISH TV FILM ON HARLEM

(New York, N.Y.) — Pressure from prominent Black community leaders was successful in preventing a scheduled presentation on New York's WNET-TV Channel 13, by the Public Broadcasting Service of a Swedish TV "documentary," *Harlem: Voices, Faces*.

The WNET program, specially edited with funding of about \$23,000 from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, is a 90-minute version of the original three-hour film shown in several European countries. This year a 13-minute segment was shown on the CBS show "60 Minutes."

Strong objections to the film arise from the fact that it depicts in vivid detail the slum conditions of Harlem and dwells at length on its alcoholics, drug addicts, prostitutes, rip-off artists and street hustlers. In the words of one who had seen it, the film "doesn't show anything but the busted-up people who have been defeated by Harlem."

Obviously conscious of the film's derogatory character WNET attempted to draw together a panel of Black leaders to participate in a discussion of the film following its showing, in order to lessen its negative impact.

One of the first protests was registered in a memorandum



*Life in Harlem is not easy.*

dated April 25 by Tony Brown, executive producer of "Black Journal." Brother Brown argued that "the bigoted sector of White America will have its prejudices frozen in place and reinforced, and so many Black people who need positive images so desperately to overcome the despair the film so ominously reveals, will be even more psychologically destitute."

The nature of the film was revealed in a WNET publicity release on the film given wide circulation, and printed in the New York Black newspaper, *The Amsterdam News*. The following is an excerpt from the release: "There is a sort of happy irresponsibility (about life in Harlem), a warm sensuality, with

soul-pop and laughter—the pretty boys with the fast money, the tough threads, the Cadillacs and the fly women."

John J. O'Connor, writing in *The New York Times* admits: "...the film does focus on the more pathological aspects of the community: drugs, prostitution, rip-offs, street hustling. The major character is poverty, surrounded by shabbiness and garbage-filled backyards." O'Connor continues, "In a sense, it is an indictment from socialist Sweden on capitalist America, a simple-minded treatise on how this country keeps its Blacks in the ghettos..."

### DECIDED AGAINST

Roger Wilkins, a member of the editorial board of *The New York Times* who had been asked to moderate the discussion panel, decided not to after viewing the film. "No amount of discussion could make up for the poison about Black people that would be put into the air by the program," Wilkins told the newspaper, and called the film "a distortion of reality — a cliche of Black pathology from beginning to end."

Other proposed panelists who withdrew were Dr. Joyce Ladner, a sociology professor at Hunter College, James Turner, head of African Studies at Cornell University and Hilton Clark, a community activist in Harlem.

The Public Broadcasting Corporation now plans to produce a companion film which it alleges will counter the evil effects of the Swedish film, and show them both together in the Fall. They never give up! □

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## Free The San Quentin 6

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

tion to the point where they can only be confined in administrative segregation.

Spain was relegated to the Adjustment Center with just that realization, with foreknowledge of the danger of making him a long-term segregation case. Warden Britt acknowledges that "we don't pretend...that it's good for a man to lock him up in these circumstances and control him in this manner. I don't think anybody makes any claim for that."

Johnson never took any medication before he reached the Adjustment Center; within days of his arrival he was pleading for tranquilizers to relieve his anxiety. Neither he nor Talamantez smoked before they reached the Adjustment Center, now they smoke heavily, incessantly.

Plaintiffs' behavior, interpreted by psychiatrists, supports the conclusion that the long-term segregation of the Adjustment Center has produced artificially induced psychoses in the plaintiffs. Pinell, especially, in segregation longer than any of the other plaintiffs, is considered psychotic or close to it by prison doctors. While "no one can say for sure, exactly, in what way any individual has been damaged," the longer they remain in isolation, the more damaged they will become.

### CRIPPLING EFFECTS

Plaintiffs themselves feel the crippling effects of their isolation: they do not know what abilities have atrophied or if they will be able to function in society, if they can still be creative, feel and express love. Their uncertainties and apprehensions fester and as long as they are prevented from developing and maintaining relationships, their reintegration into society will be obstructed. Their cognitive intellectual functioning and their social relations have been impaired by the most destructive aspect of the Adjustment Center confinement — "prolonged, indefinite involuntary social isolation."

The most tragic outgrowth of the Adjustment Center confinement is that it produces in the individual the traits the prison anticipates. Diamond traces the source of the self-fulfilling prophecy to delusions and paranoia which themselves arise from the Adjustment Center conditions:

"There are other sorts of paranoid ideas which are difficult to evaluate, because one doesn't know what the real truth of the

Brother WILLIE TATE speaking with McClymonds H.S. students.



matter is. The general belief though, is that they are being singled out for systematic persecution; that the prison has no intention whatsoever of ever helping them to be restored to the mainline or to the outside world; the belief that they are going to have to be there until the day they die, that there's no hope, there's no future. And these ideas, I think, provoke a characteristic kind of recklessness, a proclivity toward risk, danger, rebellion, and I think sometimes a kind of fanatical radicalism which in turn enhances the prison's response, which makes them be perceived as dangerous prisoners — which then invokes further restraints, and you get a very vicious circle set up which in some respects sort of makes their paranoid delusions come true. It becomes so circular that in reality they are probably correct, that there is no hope for them in that situation."

Though their opinions have been erratic and rarely based on an extensive evaluation of the plaintiffs, prison psychiatrists have, at one time or another, recognized all the plaintiffs to be

in urgent need of psychiatric assistance.

Drumgo required a "total push program" according to Dr. Schmidt; Johnson he diagnosed as "schizophrenic reaction, chronic, undifferentiated, pre-psychotic" and in July, 1971, ordered 150 mg. of Thorazine twice daily — powerful doses equivalent to what is prescribed for psychotics; Tate, in 1965, was considered borderline psychotic; Spain, two years in a row was seen as needing an intensive treatment program. Pinell came to San Quentin because he would there be closer to U.C. Medical Center where he was to undergo a exhaustive battery of tests to discover some neurological impairment, and he's still undiagnosed, through Dr. Kasch regards him as psychotic.

The psychiatric assistance for plaintiffs which the prison psychiatrists perceived as required was always to be provided "when he's not in the Adjustment Center." At no time has the therapy been available in the Adjustment Center.

### TO BE CONTINUED

#### JUST RELEASED

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



When HUEY P. NEWTON, co-founder and chairman of the Black Panther Party, disappeared in August, 1971, he left behind his *PRINCIPLE*, which contained in 120 pages his credo: "A community and a hemisphere that make the mass, in fact, absolute, a friend to all people." ERICKA HUGGINS' *POLARIS* are the writing accomplishments of her own life during the years since her husband, Fred Hampton, was assassinated in Los Angeles in 1969. Since then she has also founded the Black Panther newspaper and a division of the Intercommunal Youth Institute, a model alternative school in Oakland.

INTRODUCTION BY JEREMY RAKER-RIDGE  
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## Real-Politik In Africa

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

It was made clear that in Zimbabwe and Namibia, where South Africa has been and still is *de facto* colonial power, Africa is prepared, as a parallel alternative to fighting, and under the right conditions, to negotiate the mechanics of decolonization with South Africa, as indeed she has done with other colonial powers — Britain, France and, only recently, Portugal. But it has been made equally clear that on the question of apartheid and its negation of human dignity there is simply no basis for negotiation.

Thus, after Dar es Salaam, African objectives in southern Africa remain unchanged. They are: independence on the basis of majority rule in both Zimbabwe and Namibia and the preservation of the territorial indivisibility of these countries; and an end to apartheid and racial discrimination in the Republic of South Africa.

The only change is in style. A skillful formula has succeeded in separating the two issues as is practicable and has given priority to ending colonialism in Zimbabwe and Namibia. The emergence of this subtle ambiguity in Africa's collective approach to Vorster's challenge is an encouraging development in the strategy of real-politik.

Zimbabwe and Namibia have thus been clearly identified as colonial problems capable of traditional colonial solutions either through fighting or negotiation. But apartheid is different. It rests by and large on a clash of deep-rooted economic and political interests, the interests of the disappropriated majority versus those of a selfish minority. For anyone thinking about a painless operation, the dilemma presented by apartheid is that, by its very internal logic it excludes solution by compromise.

How seriously can we take declarations from Vorster and his aides that they are working to change that doctrine; window-dressing apart, what real concessions can Vorster make, short of abandoning the very ground upon which apartheid is founded. Can there be half-apartheid, where a Black South African is worth only a given percentage of his White compatriot?

The obvious conclusion from all this is that, as far as apartheid is concerned, only some form of force can compel change in the direction and time acceptable to Africans. Dar es Salaam has succeeded in making this abundantly clear. □

# MARTIAL ARTS



## Transfer Of Experience

How can those series of movements and hours of training and experience of the martial arts studio be applied outside of that one environment? In what other areas can such things as forms, free sparring, striking, etc. be utilized, other than self-defense on the one-to-one combative level?

Before we become involved in these two questions, let's point out the scientific fact that, "for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction." Also the fact that, "for every determination there is a limitation, and for every limitation there is a determination." These two facts apply to every individual and to each and every physical occurrence in the universe; some can now be explained, others can not, but all things are inevitably explainable.

When we take a look at ourselves, individually, we will find a number of attitudes (feelings) that accompany each physical act that we are involved in. If a statement, performance, memory, etc. is favorable to us then the emotional reaction is favorable; it will normally bring about a smile, a clap or some indication of approval or satisfaction.

In other words, the original performance and the emotional reaction or attitude that comes about may change according to the understanding at one time and/or the ideal goals that we wished to achieve. Learning a strike in the martial arts class will bring about an individual attitude regarding the performance of that movement. What we wanted to do and what we actually did through that given movement will aid us in growing beyond our present level of achievement and understanding.

If we learn from one movement, one experience in class, the same methods of learning and performing are applicable outside the school. What one says to a person, for example, the reactions of the person involved, and what was achieved, involve the same attitudes, determinations and principles as a simple punch or a strike.

## "FRIENDSHIP FIRST, COMPETITION SECOND" MARKS CHINA-U.S. TRACK MEETS

(Shanghai, China) — Here, as in Canton the previous weekend, the spirit of friendship and comradery showered upon the touring American track and field athletes by their counterparts of the People's Republic of China, has been overwhelming.

"Friendship first, competition second," has been People's China consistent theme in regards to international athletics, and if anyone of the 96-member American group thought twice about the sincerity of that slogan, their doubts have surely faded under a sea of warm smiles and unabashed cheers of greeting.

Arriving in Canton for the first of three dual meets with the Chinese athletes on May 16, the Americans, members of the Amateur Athletic Association (AAU), received a tumultuous welcome. As the first American descended the train steps, the Chinese people, including the entire Chinese team, burst into wild applause, and then shook the hand of each U.S. athlete. Many of the Americans were visibly moved.

"I think it was one of the greatest, most gracious receptions I've ever experienced in my entire track career," said Fred Newhouse, a 26-year-old former 600-yard champion from Honey Grove, Texas.

"I was really choked up at the reception we got at the station, almost to the degree where I had tears in my eyes... I felt this was a historic occasion and I'm proud to be proud of it."



Chinese and American athletes join hands in friendship for one final run around the track at the conclusion of the Canton track meet.

"It was sort of like being greeted by your brothers after you've been away from home for years and years and years," Newhouse continued. "The Chinese athletes seemed to be very pleased to have us here. I think our stay will be one none of us will ever forget."

"The people are real nice," said Don Merrick, a sprinter from Deland, Florida, who at 19 is the youngest man on the U.S. team.

"When we walk by, they kind of bow their heads a little and smile as if they're saying 'hi.'"

On the day of the opening of the Canton meet, May 19, many Americans came out of their hotel wearing blue Mao Tse-tung caps with a red star in front.

In what has become a typical display of friendship, before the Canton meet began, a young Chinese hurdler named Lu Meilang quietly presented a silk fan

to American Pat Van Wolvekere of San Diego, apologizing through an interpreter, "I looked for it a long time."

As expected, the more experienced American athletes swept 31 of 32 events in Canton. Yet, the Chinese athletes and fans, seemed delighted, as the entire stadium cheered and applauded every U.S. victory. In Canton, as in the Shanghai and Peking meets which followed, no team scores will be taken, no flags will be flown and no national anthems will be sung — friendship is the key.

Here in Shanghai, a capacity crowd of over 31,000 jammed their way into Honghua Stadium to witness, with two notable exceptions, another U.S. runaway.

The surprises came when Li Shin, a 20-year-old student, broke the Chinese women's national record with a javelin throw of 189 feet 4 inches, besting the top American toss by more than 15 feet. In the women's discus event, Ms. Wang Tang took first place with a toss of 159 feet 3 inches, leading a 1,2,3 Chinese sweep.

Immediately following the final event here, one young Chinese fan made his way up to the press box and handed a U.S. newsmen a note written in Chinese to be conveyed to the American athletes. The note read:

"We heartily thank you, the members of the United States track and field team. You are contributing to promote the friendship between the people of China and the United States. We the workers, peasants and people of China, will always remember you." □

## Ali Comes To Aid Of Hurricane Carter

(Las Vegas, Nevada) — People's heavyweight champion Muhammad Ali has once again demonstrated his commitment to Black people and to justice by becoming co-chairman of the (Rubin) Hurricane Carter Trust Fund.

Rubin Carter, a former middleweight contender, is now serving a triple life sentence for murder despite recantations of the prosecution's two principle witnesses absolving Carter of involvement in the crime. His appeal for a new trial was rejected by Superior Court judge Samuel A. Larner.

"The man deserves a new trial," Ali told newsmen. "It looks like a railroad job to me. It looks to me like the judge was too proud to say he's wrong. This is a New Jersey Watergate, that's what it is." Right on, Champ!

## Constitutional Convention

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13  
TION FROM MILITARY SERVICE.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR AN END TO POLICE BRUTALITY.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FREEDOM FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FAIR TRIALS FOR ALL MEN BY A JURY OF THEIR PEERS.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR A UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE TO DETERMINE THE WILL OF BLACK PEOPLE AS TO THEIR NATIONAL DESTINY.

Black people and oppressed people in general have lost faith in the leaders of America, in the government of America, and in the very structure of American Government (that is, the Constitution, its legal foundation.) This loss of faith is based upon the overwhelming evidence that this government will not live according to that Constitution because the Constitution is not designed for its people.

### RATIONAL ALTERNATIVES

For this reason we assemble a Constitutional Convention to consider rational and positive alternatives. Alternatives which will place their emphasis on the common man. Alternatives which will bring about a new economic system in which the rewards as well as the work will be equally shared by all people—a Socialist framework in which all groups will be adequately represented in the decision making and administration which affects their lives. Alternatives which will guarantee that all men will attain their full manhood rights, that they will be able to live, be free, and seek out those goals which give them respect and dignity while permitting the same privileges for every other man regardless of his condition or status.

The sacredness of man and of the human spirit requires that human dignity and integrity ought to be always respected by every other man. We will settle for nothing less, for at this point in history anything less is but a living death. WE WILL BE FREE and we are here to ordain a new Constitution which will ensure our freedom by enshrining (cherishing) the dignity of the human spirit. □



## TANZANIAN SETS WORLD RECORD IN MILE RUN

(Kingston, Jamaica) — Holding his winning trophy triumphantly above his head, FILBERT BAYI of Tanzania listens to the cheering roar of over 36,000 spectators at the International Freedom Games held here last weekend, who had just seen him set a world record in the one mile run with a remarkable time of 3:51.0. Leading a field of the world's top distance runners from the opening lap, Bayi finished ahead of his nearest competitor, former Villanova College ace Marty Liquori, who was timed at 3:52.2, the fifth fastest mile ever run. Bayi also holds the world record in the 1,500 meter event (the metric mile), which he set in 1974.

JUST RELEASED



### ...AND BID HIM SING

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

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

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## 3,000 Rally

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

previous day's firings and suspension) apparently condoned by your office. Nowhere have we found a willingness on your part to involve yourselves in meaningful dialogue with us that would lead to much needed changes in the course the academic community seems to be following..."

In a letter to Kelly, the entire staff of the Chicano Division of the Office of Minority Affairs wrote: "...We have no recourse as Chicanos but to refuse to be further humiliated by tyrants, whether they are Black or White, and therefore choose the path of resignation to demonstrate that while you may control our pockets, you do not control our minds..." MECHA also released a fiery letter of protest.

MAY 8: The UW student government unanimously voted to support the Chicano faculty, administrators and staff who resigned the day before and called for a boycott of all classes on May 13 and 14 to protest the administration's affirmative action policies. President Hogness countered by announcing that he had received a call from the White House offering the Ford administration's assistance to UW.

MAY 13: Some 2,000 people converged on the UW administration building in support of the Chicano campus community. Many students wore black armbands symbolizing the death of the UW Chicano Studies program. The large crowd sat in Red Square listening to music and speeches protesting the school's lack of commitment to affirmative action. At times the crowd chanted in unison, "Raza si, Hogness no!"

MAY 14: Close to 1,000 people gathered in Red Square for a second and final day of activities supporting the Chicano demands for self-determination and affirmative action in hiring. The large crowd heard Professor Garfias re-emphasize that no threats were made against Dean Beckmann at the controversial meeting held earlier in the month. If Beckmann considered the Chicano demands as threats, Garfias said, "I am ready to threaten his life."

Juan Sanchez, whose firing had, in effect, sparked the crisis, told the cheering audience, "We've been peaceful. We've been nonviolent for a long time," adding that if nonviolence does not work, Chicanos will have to look to alternative actions. □



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FALL 1974 ISSUE

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 Guest Edited by the  
 Black Panther Party

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- People's art work by Emory Douglas
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# A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

## PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL RESEARCH HEALTH CLINICS

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

### THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

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

### PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

Provides free dental check-ups, treatment and an educational program for dental hygiene.

### PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRIC PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)

Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eyeglasses for the people.

### PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM

Provides free, rapid transportation for sick or injured people without time-consuming checks into the patients' financial status or means.

## FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

### FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Provides children with a free, nourishing, hot breakfast every school morning.

### FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

Provides food for the people through community participation and community cooperative buying.

## PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

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

## PEOPLE'S FREE SHOE PROGRAM

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

### PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.

## INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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



## FREE DAY CARE CENTER

PALO ALTO, CALIF.

## LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

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

### FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of prisoners.

### FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

Provides imprisoned men and women with funds to purchase necessary commissary items.

## SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT [S.A.F.E.] PROGRAM

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

## PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

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

### PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's homes.

## FREE PEST CONTROL PROGRAM

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

## INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH INSTITUTE

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

### LIBERATION SCHOOLS: FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS

Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Intercommunal Youth Institute.

## CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

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

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

—Huey P. Newton

## THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

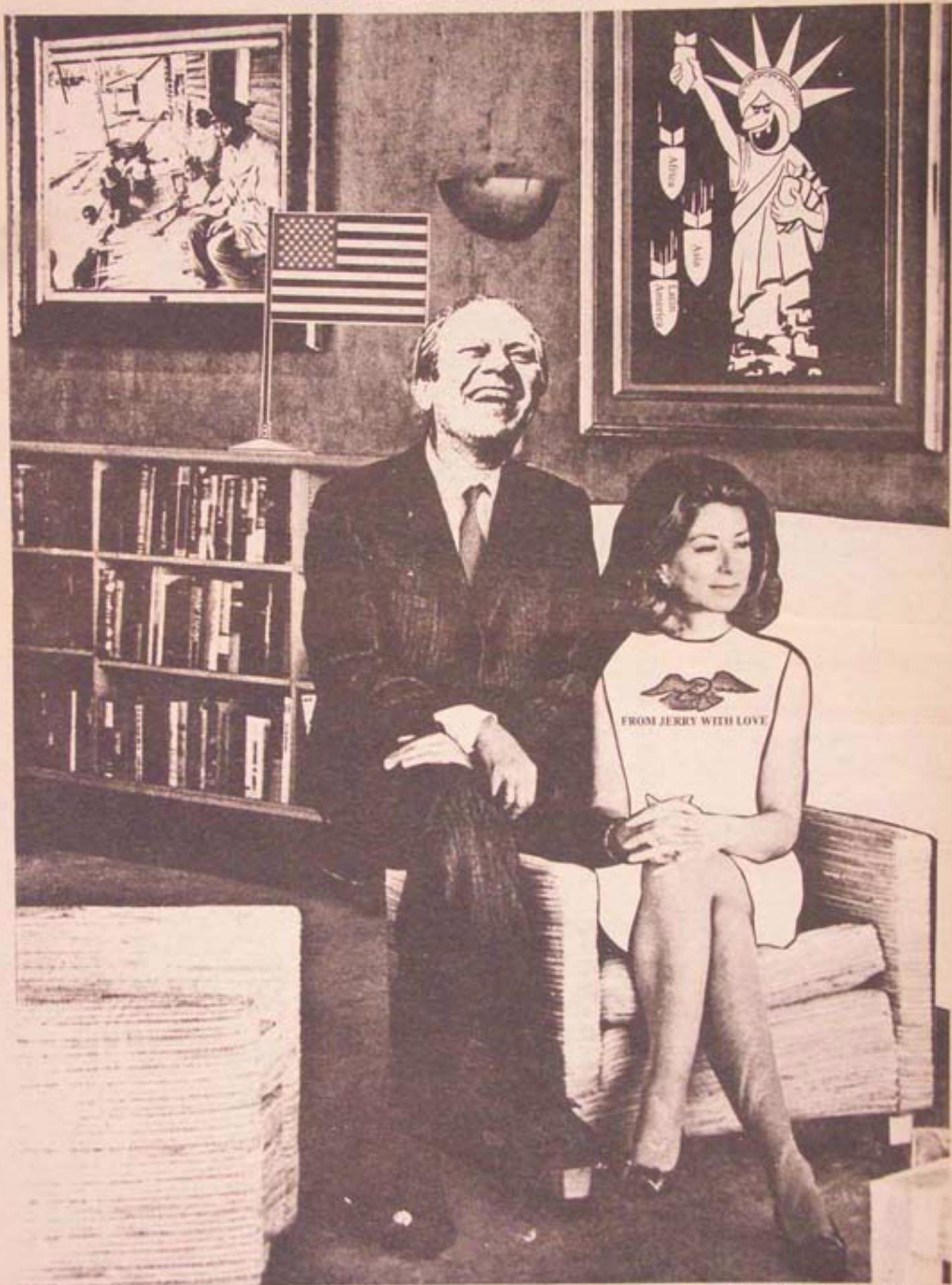


PHOTO COLLAGE: BY EMORY