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THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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25¢



No Justice In Brooklyn

UNIV. OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA

N.Y. KILLER COP ACQUITTED FOR MURDER OF BLACK TEEN

(New York, N.Y.) - Black people throughout New York are furious over last week's acquittal of White killer cop Michael Torsney, who maliciously shot a 15-year-old Black youth, Randolph Evans, in the head last Thanksgiving at point-blank range with absolutely no provocation.

Torsney was found not guilty by reason of insanity by an all-White jury which deliberated for less than five hours before reaching the stunning verdict.

At the conclusion of a 13-day trial in the state Supreme Court in Brooklyn, Justice Hyman Bashay ordered that Torsney be placed in an institution under the jurisdiction of the Mental Hygiene Department, where the murderer will undergo psychological testing.

After 60 days, Torsney can make an appeal for discharge if it is determined that he "is not a danger to himself or to the community," reports the *New York Times*. Legal experts feel that Torsney will be released shortly after the



Mrs. ANNIE BRANNON (shown with her husband) was stunned by last week's acquittal of a White N.Y. cop responsible for killing her son, Randolph Evans.

minimum 60-day period since he claimed that his disease had an organic cause — described by the defense as an epileptic seizure.

The 32-year-old White cop had no record of previous epileptic attacks but was known as a man who tended to panic.

During the trial, Dr. Herbert Spiegel, clinical professor of psychiatry at Columbia University, testified that Torsney suffered from hysterical dissociation — an emotional rather than an organic disorder — which does not fall under the category of legal insanity.

The verdict was bitterly received by friends and relatives of the slain Black youth, and by the Black community as a whole.

Just after the verdict was read, a spectator warned Torsney, "You'd better commit suicide."

A cousin of the victim, May Jones, commented, "I wasn't surprised by the justice that was done. He was justified in killing a Black youth. It's a racist system and society, and this trial was a subterfuge from beginning
CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

"Conspiracy Of Silence"

BIKO INQUEST VERDICT CLEARS POLICE

(Pretoria, South Africa) - Ignoring blatant evidence of perjured police testimony and gross medical incompetence, a South African

magistrate last week cleared the security police who murdered jailed Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) founder Steve Biko of any

wrongdoing.

As the predominantly Black crowd of spectators listened in silence, presiding magistrate Martinus J. Prins read a terse 120-word statement that blamed the fatal brain injuries sustained by the 30-year-old Biko as the result of a scuffle that police alleged he initiated on the morning of September 7 in a Port Elizabeth prison.

Biko died five days later in this city's central prison after having been driven while naked, shackled and in a comatose state in the back of a police van, 750 miles from Port Elizabeth.

Taking less than three minutes to read his ruling whitewashing the South African government's murder of the much-respected Biko, Prins said:

"The available evidence does not prove that the death was brought about any act or omission involving or amounting to an offense on the part of any person."

Still dressed in black mourning clothes, Biko's widow Ntsiki, the only close member of the family present to hear the decision, said as she left the converted synagogue where the three-week inquest was held, "I'm just too depressed to say anything."
CONTINUED ON CENTERFOLD

Twenty-five days in the death of Steve Biko



Drawings depicting the 25 days of savage treatment received by Black activist STEVE BIKO from South African police from the time of his detention to his death on September 12. Biko was beaten into a coma and kept chained and naked before he succumbed to head injuries.

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EDITORIAL

A GRAVESIDE PLEDGE

One was a 15-year-old youth. The other was a 30-year-old adult.

One lived in Brooklyn, New York, a junior high school student, living a typical family life with his mother and stepfather in the teeming projects.

The other was acclaimed as his people's foremost political activist against the apartheid regime in South Africa, a leader in the rising Consciousness Movement bent on breaking down centuries-old barriers of thoughts and deeds, a veteran of the squalid "townships."

One was slain with a bullet to the head as he approached his front door.

The other was arrested/kidnapped, and systematically beaten and tortured over the course of 25 days until he died of complications caused by brutal head injuries and severe body contusions.

Both were Black.

Both were murdered in cold blood by White agents of the State.

In both cases, the White cops were acquitted last week.

White Justice.

BLACK RAGE.

The Black Panther Party extends our most heartfelt condolences to the families and loved ones of these two young Black men, Randolph Evans and Steve Biko, and upon the fresh mounds of this bitter earth that marks their graves we pledge to root out and destroy the dehumanizing oppression, the racist violence which caused their deaths at so tender an age; to lift the veil of tears and to wipe out forevermore the sick structured scheme of a barbaric society that allows our people to be slaughtered without mercy, that permits the perpetrators of these crimes to go unpunished.

White Justice.

BLACK RAGE.

There's nothing more to say. □



"Hey Man, There's Nothing There"

Letters to the Editor

Z.A.N.U. MOUNTS PUBLICITY CAMPAIGN
ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (PATRIOTIC FRONT)
Information and Publicity,
ZANU Headquarters,
C.P. 743
Maputo, Mozambique.

Dear Comrades,

Our Department of Information and Publicity has resolved to initiate a major Information and Publicity campaign throughout the world to acquaint all our comrades in arms, friends, progressive forces, allies and supporters of the problems and progress of ZANU's revolutionary armed struggle for the total liberation of Zimbabwe. We have reached a crucial stage in this war when our enemies and adversaries, in reactionary solidarity, are each day hatching new plans to stall or sabotage our people's revolutionary march to victory and genuine independence. We have now reached a stage when our forces have gained so much ground in the field, when the masses of Zimbabwean people daily build solid walls of solidarity with our forces and when it has become evident to all that victory is certain and unstoppable. This is the time for us to tell the world like it is and to mobilize international support in order to speed-up final victory over imperialism, colonialism and capitalism in Zimbabwe.

Consequently, the Publicity Department has been specially mandated to promote the sale and dissemination of ZANU's official organ, **The Zimbabwe News**, in Africa, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Asia, North and South America (including the Caribbean). We are shortly to begin opening sales and Information Committees in many of these areas. It is an ambitious programme but it is one which with your support we can carry out to a successful conclusion. Not only will the **Zimbabwe News** appear in several editions and several languages but we propose to print several booklets dealing with various aspects of ZANU, the armed struggle and Zimbabwean society.

PAMBERINE CHIMURENGA!!!
R. Gumbo,
Publicity Secretary

E.J.M. Zvobgo,
Deputy Publicity Secretary.

Brothers,

Send us weekly copies of THE BLACK PANTHER. We need it.

E.J.M. Zvobgo

COMMENT

"I Gave Them The Names Of My Own Children"

As the crisis in Rhodesia worsens and spreads, allegations concerning torture by Rhodesian police and security forces against the African population have greatly increased underscoring the fact that the Rhodesian authorities employ torture on a systematic basis in order to obtain information about the movements of insurgent African nationalist guerrillas and generally to intimidate and repress Rhodesia's African majority.

Many former detainees and persons charged with political offenses have testified to their torture by Rhodesian security police during the 11 years since Ian Smith unilaterally declared Rhodesia independent of Great Britain on November 11, 1965. With power in the hands of the white minority who comprise only 3.6 per cent of the population, the guerrilla war in what the Africans call Zimbabwe has intensified and the response of the security forces is conveyed here in the following report from Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, distributed by 1977 Nobel Peace Prize winner Amnesty International.

(After my arrest), I was taken to the police camp where I was locked up in a cell on my arrival. I spent a night there but was not interrogated.

At 2 pm, a detective officer-in-charge came together with his African detective sergeant. Then, they pointed to a picture of Joshua Nkomo which was hanging on the wall. Above the picture there were three letters written "ANC," and they said "Do you know this man?" I answered that I knew him.

Then they said these words "We have arrested you because you sent three boys to Zambia to train as freedom fighters." I told them that their statement was not true.

Then they looked at each other and one of them said, "You will tell us the truth today."

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THE BLACK PANTHER

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FUNDRAISING FOR HUEY P. NEWTON CASE, BLACK PANTHER PARTY

COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE LAUNCHES PLEDGE CAMPAIGN

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party has launched a highly-promising pledge program campaign as part of its overall work to overturn the false charges and bogus allegations lodged against the BPP leader and the organization he founded 11 years ago.

Establishing a goal of \$1,000 per month, the pledge campaign

seeks to insure a regular, guaranteed income to cover the Committee's expensive literature costs.

"This is very important in light of the bad media coverage of Huey and the Party," the Committee for Justice said in a statement released last week.

"We see the purpose of the Committee as raising people's consciousness, as well as winning this important case."

In addition to literature costs, funds will be utilized directly for Huey's defense, that is, to pay court costs, lawyers and investigators. The pledges will allow necessary money to be allocated as needed.

Declaring, "My bow is bent. I'm going home to fight false charges," Huey ended close to three years of forced political exile on July 3 of this year. Over 1,500 friends and supporters greeted Huey's return in a tumultuous reception at San Francisco Airport.

Originally jailed on an outrageous \$100,000 bail, the 35-year-old BPP President was released from Alameda County Jail on a "compromise ransom" of \$80,000 on July 23.

In a statement made upon his release, Huey commented:

"Though I voluntarily returned



BPP President HUEY P. NEWTON



BPP Fallen Comrade ALEX RACKLEY.

B.P.P. Target Of Numerous Police Conspiracies

(St. Louis, Mo.) - Recent revelations of vicious local and federal police conspiracies directed against the Black Panther Party have disclosed that:

•New Haven police could have prevented the May, 1969, murder of Black Panther Party member Alex Rackley by a crazed FBI agent-provocateur but failed to do so;

•The FBI made plans to intercept and distort tape recorded messages mailed among members of the Black Panther Party over three years after it told a Senate investigating committee it had stopped the mail tampering operations because they were "clearly illegal";

•The FBI initiated an unsuccessful ploy to try to get truck drivers to refuse to handle shipments of THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper in an

CONTINUED ON PAGE 2

to clear myself of these false charges and defamation of my and my Party's character, the system of justice in this country has again proven the difficulty in getting a fair trial. A bail of \$80,000 was still imposed, imposed despite our demonstration of broad-based community ties and roots...

"However, all this supports the Church Committee's report on illegal FBI activities, which revealed that two key FBI goals were to 'discredit' the Black Panther Party and financially destroy us. This \$80,000 could have aided our school programs.

our sickle cell anemia and hypertension programs, or been spread among some 48 other service programs.

"Although I originally refused to accept this money for bail, my Party and attorneys insisted I come out to be able to continue my work during these trials. I am fortunate, however, to be able to walk out of jail today, for most people do not earn or could not save \$80,000 in an entire lifetime and would have to languish in jail though presumed innocent. I know what this is, for I have spent three years of my life in prison on

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

COINTELPRO FILES REVEAL BOGUS LETTERS, INFILTRATION

F.B.I. Disrupted Bay Area Activists

(Washington, D.C.) - Details of an extensive FBI campaign in the Bay Area to harass the New Left and disrupt antiwar activities during the late 1960's and early 1970's have begun to come to light.

Close to 53,000 pages of official files on the program, code-named COINTELPRO, (an acronym for "Counterintelligence Program"), were released last week under the federal Freedom of Information Act.

Included in the mass of data the FBI was forced to release are 500 pages of material that provide the outlines of the COINTELPRO effort in the Bay Area. John Fogarty reports for the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Under the program, the San Francisco office of the FBI:

•Sent bogus anti-White letters to THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper in an effort to cause a split between the BPP - and the

predominantly White militant left.

•Formed a network of informants among students and faculty members to infiltrate radical groups on at least six Northern California university campuses.

•Established anti-left allies at the *San Francisco Examiner* and the now-defunct *Express Times*, an underground newspaper.

•Encouraged conservative student groups to do battle with social change-oriented organizations on Bay Area campuses.

•Developed a plan, later vetoed on grounds it was too risky, to print and distribute leaflets to split two antiwar groups that sponsored the massive anti-Vietnam War march to Golden Gate Park in November of 1969 that drew more than 200,000 protesters.

Eight agents devoted full time to COINTELPRO in Northern California, the documents indicate.

They maintained 22 informants at the University of California at Berkeley, seven at San Francisco State, three at Merritt College, three at Stanford University, two at San Jose State and one at California State at Hayward - figures which many feel are far too low.

In addition to the use of the informants, the agents often visited the campuses to follow and observe radicals the FBI was interested in.

Campus organizations listed as having been successfully infiltrated by the FBI at the six schools were: the Campus Draft Organizations; Friends of Movement Against Political Suspensions; Campus Mobilization Committee; Progressive Labor Party; Spartacist Club; Students for a Democratic Society; Young Socialist Alliance; and the W.E.B. DuBois Club of America.

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"THEY'RE MAKING A GAME OUT OF HIS EDUCATION," SAYS BLACK MOTHER
BITTER OUTBURST AT I.Q.
BIAS TRIAL

(San Francisco, Calif.) - An angry, bitter outburst by the mother of a Black child wrongfully placed in a class for the mentally-retarded, who charged school officials with "making a game out of his education," and the sad, bittersweet testimony of her teenage son highlighted the ongoing I.Q. test bias trial in federal court here last week.

Mrs. Selena Coleman, a nurse's aide at Mount Zion Hospital, said that she was "shocked and very angry" when she learned, two years after signing written permission, that her son was placed in classes for the educable mentally retarded (EMR).

"I didn't know it was an EMR class and I wouldn't have signed the papers if I had known because he's not mentally-retarded," Mrs. Coleman told presiding U.S. District Court Judge Robert Peckham.

"The school told me it was a special class where the kids get individual help at a slow pace to help them catch up with their grade level.

"When I found out what the class was, I was shocked and very angry. I didn't feel the school was dealing properly with his needs and was only making a game out of his education."

Mrs. Coleman's testimony reminded many courtroom observers of similar statements by Mrs.



Due to oppressive conditions, Black and poor children are often at a serious disadvantage in public schools. Through the use of culturally biased I.Q. tests many of these children are relegated to inferior educations.

Lucille Lester, a Black mother whose son was also victimized by placement in a San Francisco EMR class because of low I.Q. test scores. Like Mrs. Coleman, Mrs. Lester contended she was misled concerning the nature of the class.

Both Mrs. Coleman and Mrs. Lester, along with four other Black parents and their children, are named plaintiffs in the class

action lawsuit, *Larry P. vs. Riles*, which seeks a permanent injunction against such practices. Plaintiffs in the case charge that standardized intelligence tests are racially and culturally-biased against Black youngsters, and systematically underestimate their learning ability.

Questioned by attorney William Harris of Public Advocates, Inc., the public interest law firm representing the plaintiffs, Mrs. Coleman said she thought her son James Lanagan had been "very much harmed" by placement in the EMR class from 1969 to 1971 and in a sharp outburst proceeded to explain why:

"James never got a basic education in the elementary grades. It's been shot. When he gets out he's not going to be able to make a proper living for himself.

"He's not going to be able to make it, because if you don't have a proper education and are Black, you can hang it up. The only thing left is welfare.

"...James is already marked with 'mentally retarded.' How's he going to get a job with that kind of brand on him? There's no way he can compete with others."

Testifying in his own behalf, James, now 16 and a 10th grader at Balboa High School, said being called a "retard" by classmates made him feel "a little bad, but not too much because I knew it

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This Week In
Black
History



December, 1927

Black nationalist Marcus Garvey, who became the object of an intense government campaign to discredit him after he founded the powerful Universal Negro Improvement Association, was deported in December of 1927.



ROSA PARKS

December 5, 1955

The famous Montgomery bus boycott began on December 5, 1955, in Montgomery, Alabama. A brave Black woman, Mrs. Rosa Parks, triggered the protest on December 1 when she ignored a "Jim Crow" law and refused to sit at the back of the bus, also refusing to give her seat up front to a White man. The Birmingham bus boycott, which lasted for a year, gained international attention and is generally regarded as the spark which ignited the civil rights movement, which was to blossom in the next decade. The bus boycott had the total participation of the Black community. Regular meetings led by a young, charismatic Black minister, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., kept the protest going and served to unify the Black people of Birmingham to fight against ingrained White bigotry.

December 8, 1969

On December 8, 1969, over 500 heavily armed Los Angeles policemen, led by the Los Angeles Police Department's SWAT team, attacked the Southern California Black Panther Party headquarters. BPP members defended themselves for over eight hours before being forced to surrender due to overwhelming odds. Three Party members and three cops were wounded in the incident.



Cleveland Students Locked Out

(Cleveland, Ohio) - Many of the students in Cleveland's public school system encountered locked doors when they attempted to attend class last week when over half of the district's teachers walked off the job in a pay dispute.

The teachers have not been paid since November 11 because district officials claim that the system has run out of money. While the courts and the state government are trying to resolve the matter, 113,000 students are being deprived of their educations.

Mississippi Blacks Oppose Nomination Of White Racist To Broadcasting Board

(Midnight, Miss.) - Black citizens here are mobilizing opposition to the recent Presidential nomination of a White racist, Irby Turner, Jr., to the 15-member board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB), which distributes over \$100 million a year in government funds for public and educational television and radio.

The CPB is also supposed to develop programs to increase participation of minority people and women in public broadcasting but the Humphreys County NAACP and others feel that Turner is incapable of doing this.

The Humphreys County NAACP, with the support of the Jackson, Mississippi, Community Coalition for Better Broadcasting, the Delta Ministry and the Jackson Urban League, have led a struggle to force Carter to



Southern Black woman arrested in civil rights protest.

withdraw his nomination of Turner.

These local Black organizations, along with a dozen national groups, have requested an extra day of hearings for the Senate Communications Subcommittee so that numerous charges against Turner can be investigated.

Among the groups seeking a probe into Turner's background are: the Congressional Black Caucus; National Council of Negro Women; Leadership



Four young Black girls who lost their lives in infamous 1963 Birmingham church bombing (left to right). ADDIE MAE COLLINS, CAROL ROBERTSON, CAROL McNAIR and CYNTHIA WESLEY.

J.B. STONER OF STATES' RIGHTS PARTY TO STAND TRIAL

WHITE BIGOT EXTRADITED FOR ALABAMA CHURCH BOMBING

(Atlanta, Ga.) - Georgia Governor George Busbee signed an extradition warrant last week ordering arch-racist J.B. Stoner to stand trial on charges of bombing an unoccupied Black church in Birmingham in 1958, five years before the infamous bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church where four young Black girls lost their lives.

Stoner, head of a neo-Nazi group called the National States Rights Party, presently lives in Marietta, Georgia, but previously lived in and had his party headquarters in Birmingham.

At an extradition hearing Stoner offered no oral argument against his standing trial in Alabama but, in a written statement, claimed that he was not the J.B. Stoner named in the indictment, that he was not in Alabama

at the time of the bombing and that the extradition papers were improperly drawn up.

Stoner appeared at one hearing wearing a bright red blazer with a Confederate battle flag tucked in a breast pocket. He also wore a bow tie bearing the Stars and Stripes of the Confederacy and twin lightning bolts (the symbol of his racist organization) pinned to his lapels.

Stoner, who feels that the Ku Klux Klan and Adolf Hitler were "too moderate," said that in spite of the extradition order he planned to continue to "go about my business of promoting racism."

(Earlier this year one of Stoner's followers, Fred Cowen of New Rochelle, New York, went berserk and killed four Black men in an attack on a Black supervisor

who he felt was responsible for his being laid off his job. After the rampage Cowen took his own life.)

The signing of the extradition order is not the last legal obstacle that must be overcome before the ultra-racist goes on trial for the 1958 church bombing, a capital crime in Alabama since the blast went off near two occupied houses.

Stoner has already filed a habeas corpus petition in Cobb County, Georgia, where he lives, and an argument as to why he should be extradited is to be heard later this month before county Superior Court Judge Howell Davan. After a ruling there Stoner would still be able to appeal to the Georgia Supreme Court.

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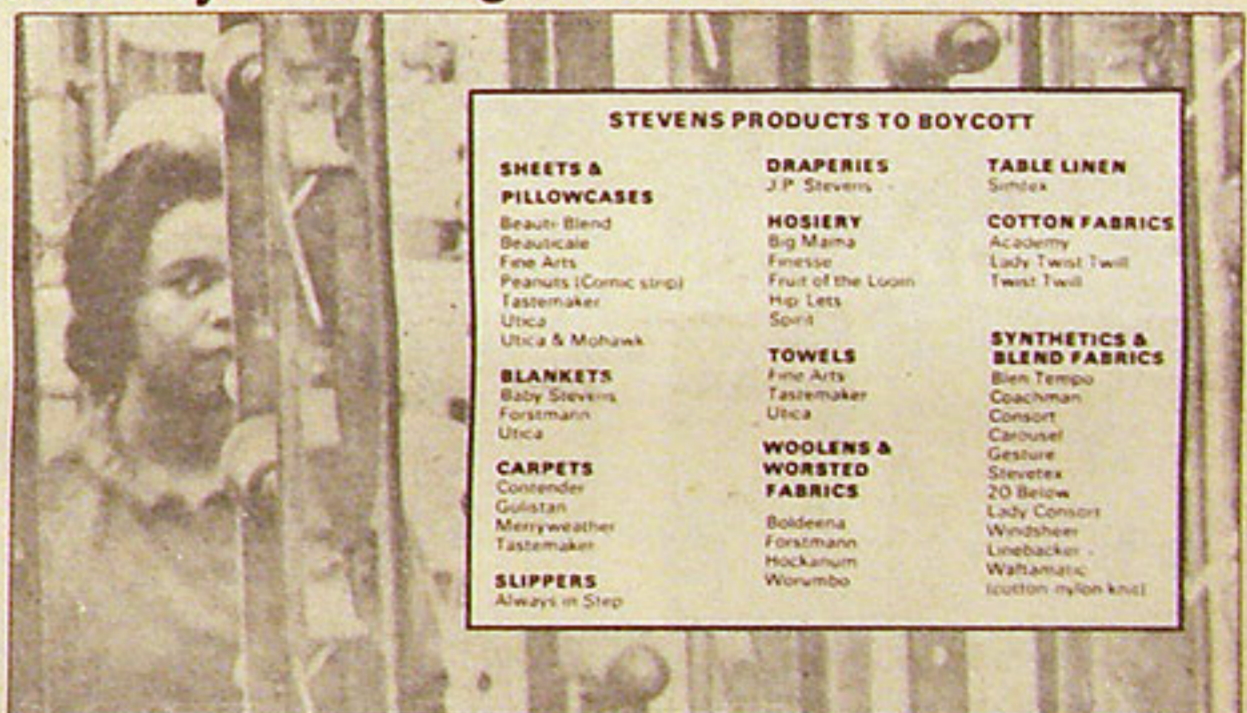
CHARGED WITH "UNLAWFUL CONDUCT" IN BARRING UNIONS

N.L.R.B. Seeks Nationwide Injunction Against J.P. Stevens

(Atlanta, Ga.) - In an unprecedented action, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) will be seeking a nationwide injunction against the J.P. Stevens textile company, the nation's second largest, in an effort to stop the corporation's unlawful conduct against the unionization of its workers.

According to the *New York Times*, an injunction against an employer has never been asked for by the NLRB. The Board has informed the textile company and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) that it has authorized a court petition against Stevens, its officers, its board of directors and agents barring them from interfering with the rights of workers to form a union.

The Stevens company, considered a bulwark in the anti-union South, is currently the object of an international boycott,



STEVENS PRODUCTS TO BOYCOTT

SHEETS & PILLOWCASES Beauty Blend Beautical Fine Arts Peanuts (Comic strip) Fastemaker Utica Utica & Mohawk	DRAPERIES J.P. Stevens HOSIERY Big Mama Finesse Fruit of the Loom Hip Lets Sport	TABLE LINEN Sintex COTTON FABRICS Academy Lady Twist Twill Twist Twill
BLANKETS Baby Stevens Forstmann Utica	TOWELS Fine Arts Fastemaker Utica	SYNTHETICS & BLEND FABRICS Blen Tempo Coachman Consort Carousel Gesture Stevetex 20 Below Lady Consort Windsheer Linebacker Waltmatic Icotton nylon knit
CARPETS Contender Gulistan Merryweather Fastemaker	WOOLENS & WORSTED FABRICS Bolsena Forstmann Hockanum Worambo	
SLIPPERS Always in Step		

J.P. Stevens textile company is the target of an international labor boycott.

the most heavily-financed in history, organized by the AFL-CIO and other labor organizations. Stevens is regarded by the ACTWU as the key to organizing the entire textile industry.

The injunction prohibits inter-

ference with workers in their efforts to organize and will prohibit the company from using threats or coercion to discourage union activity.

Stevens, notorious for its

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N.Y. KILLER COP

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to end."

The murder of young Evans took place shortly before midnight on Thanksgiving in 1976. Torsney and another officer answered a call in an East New York housing development in Brooklyn where the Black youth lived with his family.

The slight 15-year-old approached Torsney to ask a question as the White cop was leaving the building where the Evans family resided.

Torsney then pulled his gun from his holster and shot Evans at point-blank range in the head.

After the tragic killing, Torsney calmly walked to his car and drove back to the 75th Precinct station where he was assigned.

Shortly after the killing, the Guardians Association, a group of Black policemen, was so incensed by the fact that the New York Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, a largely White police union, posted bail for Torsney, that over 2,000 Black cops withdrew from the union.

The shooting sparked widespread protest in New York's huge Black community. One of the organizers of the protest against Evans' murder called the appointment of an all-White jury in Torsney's trial "an abomina-



tion, an insult to the Black people of New York City."

Raymond Evans, Randolph's father, could not even sit in the courtroom out of fear that he would lose his temper.

"I've lost a son," he said. "If there were Blacks on the jury," the elder Evans commented during the trial, "I would feel more comfortable. I'm only asking for justice."

Torsney was the fifth New York City cop to be charged with murder while on duty in recent years. Three of the other cases involved White officers and a Black or Hispanic victim.



N. Y. police attack Black people attending the funeral of Randolph Evans, a 15-year-old youth murdered in cold blood by killer cop MICHAEL TORSNEY (left).

Just last month, Officer Thomas Ryan was convicted in the fatal beating of a prisoner, Israel Rodriguez, in the Bronx.

In June of 1974, another White cop, Walter Shea, was acquitted for the senseless murder of Clifford Glover, a 10-year-old Black youth, in South Jamaica.

In February of this year yet another White policeman, William Walker, was acquitted of the 1974 murder of a 23-year-old Black college student, John Brabham, in Brooklyn.

In 1976, 374 New York City cops fired their guns while on duty, according to records.

Shea and Walker were later found guilty in hearings, which were conducted by the New York Police Department. It should be noted that both were convicted by the NYPD only after sentiments in the Black community had reached the boiling point.

But in Torsney's case there remains a chance that he may regain his job on the police force after his almost certain release at the end of 60 days. According to Torsney's attorney, Edward Rappaport, the White cop may file for a disability pension if he is not retained by the police department.

Alabama Church Bombing

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Just recently, a 73-year-old former Ku Klux Klansman, Richard Chambliss, was convicted for the 1963 bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church which served as a community meeting place during the civil rights movement. Chambliss was sentenced to life imprisonment after he was found guilty of the murder of one of the four young Black

girls killed in the blast.

Stoner has openly charged Alabama Attorney General William Baxley with being supported by organized crime and for using the indictments against him and other White bigots accused of violence during the civil rights era as a ploy to gain support from Black voters in his upcoming campaign for governor.

According to Stoner, "He (Baxley) doesn't care how many innocent White men he convicts to get to the governorship."

Close observers of the case have indicated that if the FBI had released documents it has suppressed for over a decade concerning the violent activities of White segregationists during the 1960's, Stoner may have been indicted much earlier. These documents figured very prominently in the conviction of Chambliss. Until recently repeated attempts by Baxley and others to obtain these files were unsuccessful.

Although the FBI had gathered over 200 volumes of evidence after the 1963 bombing no indictments were ever handed down by the U.S. Justice Department. □



Black woman collapses in grief at funeral for four young Black girls killed in 1963 Birmingham church bombing.

Mississippi Blacks Oppose Nomination Of White Racist

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Conference on Civil Rights; National Black Media Coalition; and others.

Kermit T. James, president of the Humphreys County NAACP, explains in a letter to THE BLACK PANTHER:

NOTHING GOOD

"The best we can say about Irby Turner, Jr., is that he has never done anything good for Black people. He joined the local Citizens' Council in the late fifties, soon after a minister was murdered and an NAACP official critically wounded; he says the Council had helped deal with 'turmoil'...within the law so the KKK never organized in our county.

"His children have attended the local all-White private school; he's a member of the all-White Humphreys County country club; and he's been a leader for years in the powerful Delta Council, which got its first Black members after a 1972 protest and still has no Blacks on its committees. Tenants on his land still have only outhouses.

"While Turner was chairman of the Mississippi Authority for Educational Television, blatant discrimination was practiced against Black rights and progress.

"We need the help of individuals and groups all over the country, because CPB decisions affect all Americans. As a person active in Carter's campaign in Mississippi, I feel that, in nominating a man like Turner, the President has broken the promises he made to Blacks to secure their welfare. Even though Humphreys County went 3 to 2 for Carter, he has failed to consult with Blacks here in nominating Turner to CPB. We know how Turner has acted toward us all these years and we know he has not changed from his Citizens' Council days."

Presently a letter campaign is in progress. Concerned individuals can assist by writing President Carter and urging him to withdraw Turner's nomination, or by gathering signatures on petitions and sending them to the White House. □

MATHEMATICS PROGRAM

OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL-A MODEL IN ACTION

In Part 2 of our series on the innovative educational curriculum of the model elementary Oakland Community School (OCS), the mathematics program is featured.

PART 2

(Oakland, Calif.) - "Kali, go to the board and show me the number 8." As directed by her instructor, Patricia Brown, young Kali McCutchen confidently and correctly points to the number 8.

Kali is only three and one-half years old, but like most of the children in Level 1 at the Oakland Community School, she already can identify the whole numbers from one to 10.

The OCS, mindful of the inadequate preparation in mathematics that Black and poor children generally receive in the inferior public schools of this country, requires that all of its 160 children, ages 2½ to 11, receive math instruction five days a week.

In a highly technological society like America, knowledge of basic mathematical operations is essential. One cannot buy food, or clothes or pay the rent without knowing how to count.

"PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL"

Uptown Community Learning Center :

"We Can Move Mountains"

The following is the conclusion of a special two-part series on the Uptown Community Learning Center in Chicago presented as an interview with Slim Coleman, national coordinator of the Intercommunal Survival Committee and director of the Uptown campus of the Dale Hale Williams University housed in the Center.

CONCLUSION

Q: The program sounds very good, but what has been the response of the students?

COLEMAN: The response of the students would move mountains. You have to understand who our students are. We have examples of both a mother and daughter and a father and son attending classes together. We have students who have been leaders in the community, who have had many, many different

Students at the Oakland Community School in mathematics class. OCS children begin learning math at two and one-half years of age.



Math instructors at the OCS, therefore, remove the mystique typically attached to the discipline of mathematics. Children are taught that, like language, math is a tool that will help them survive from day to day.

Since OCS children begin learning math at age 2½, they avoid the fear often held by older

children and far too many adults that math is "hard."

All children receive instruction in addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. Children who demonstrate a sound knowledge of these four basic mathematical computations may then advance to problems in algebra, geometry and trigonometry.

Math problems are presented as real life situations to the children, frequently involving field trips to nearby community stores.

For example, 10 children in Level 6A, ages eight and nine, are given \$2.00 to spend on treats for the whole class. Their math instructor asks them to determine how much money may be spent on each child, a problem involving division.

In another case, the math instructor for Level 4D, age six, might place 10 apples on the table and ask the children to figure out how many more apples they would need in order to have 100, a problem in subtraction.

This teaching method not only makes math more understandable to the children but also makes it more enjoyable —
CONTINUED ON PAGE 20



Students take their work very seriously in Chicago's Uptown Community Learning Center.

plugs fit into the engine of a car. All our other survival programs depend on education in several

different ways, but education is always the spark that ignites the
CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

N.A.A.C.P. EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR AT OAKLAND BENEFIT

BENJAMIN HOOKS: "HOW SOON WE FORGET WHERE WE CAME FROM"

The following is the conclusion of a stirring speech given by NAACP Executive Director Benjamin Hooks on November 19 at a National Achievement Week Awards luncheon co-sponsored by the Oakland NAACP and Omega Psi Phi Fraternity.

CONCLUSION

"That's what affirmative action is all about, not quotas, not artificial ceilings. You've got to understand that this nation has closed the door and now we're trying to open the door. Now, 100 million people can apply for every job.

"I can understand the pain and anguish of a White male who used to have one chance out of 40 million and now he has one chance out of 100 million. Reverse discrimination is something you muddle-headed people go around and shake and bow your head before because you're scared you're going to lose your job. You're going to lose it anyway if you don't watch out.

"I have no hate and no bitterness. I've long since learned that it doesn't pay to hurt anybody. Some people who are talking about hating Whites in the daytime are sleeping White in the night.

HATRED DOESN'T PAY

"If that's what you want to do, I'm not against it, but I'm saying it doesn't pay to hate anybody. Hatred doesn't destroy the folk you hate but it will kill you.

"I pastored a church where I thought everybody loved me, but I came to find out that some of the folk hated the shadow I made when I walked along the street. While they were hating me, I was going to the hospital to see them when they were having strokes, and high blood pressure and hypertension. All the while I was eating chitlins and pigfeet at midnight.

"This nation has some promises to keep. This nation has locked us out. We've fought in the wars, we've planted the corn and picked the cotton.

"We've been a part of this nation and now we're saying to America, from 1619 on, we've been fair with you. We fought with you in the Revolutionary War. Our blood stained Bunker Hill also. We were with you in 1812; we joined Andrew Jackson in the second battle of New Orleans in 1835.

"More than 300,000 strong we joined the federal army in the Civil War so that gallant woman



NAACP Executive Director BENJAMIN HOOKS speaking at recent National Achievement Awards luncheon in Oakland.

could write, 'Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.'

"We plunged up the slopes of San Juan Hill with Theodore Roosevelt. We died by the thousands in the forests of France in World War I. We were with you in World War II, Korea and Vietnam.

"Now we've come to the bank of justice with an uncashed check. And we're saying, 'America, we're not going to back up, we're not going to be turned around and we don't want a bounced check. We want it cashed and we want it cashed now.'

TABLE OF DEMOCRACY

"We want to be able to sit down at the table of democracy. We got our degrees from Morehouse, or by mail, and we're coming around to claim the power that belongs to all of America. They've told us that we were created equal and now we believe it. We aren't going to turn around any more. America has some promises to keep.

"My brothers and my sisters, I hope that before you leave here today, if you are not a member of the NAACP, you will join. If you are a member, then you ought to add something to it. What is freedom worth to you? Frederick Douglass said it many years ago, and I still believe it. We may not get all we paid for, but we shall certainly pay for all that we get.

"As I move around this nation, I see conservatism raise its ugly head everywhere. There is 'reverse discrimination,' yet Black folks have been deliberately kept out. Nobody has said anything about keeping us in. This nation

does something for everybody but us.

"I was in Kansas City the other day. They had a flood there recently and they were still helping the victims. Do you get my point? There has to be a flood first. After the flood is over, they'll help you if you're a victim.

HELP

"What we're saying to America is that we need this help in order that the nation might be strong. We've been looking at the Statue of Liberty all these years, arms outstretched, saying, 'Give us your tired and huddled masses.'

"Now all we're saying is let the statue turn around in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Harlem, the slums of California and all over this nation and say to those of you who've been here, give us your tired and huddled masses and we'll help them to make this nation what it ought to be and never has been.

"When I look at the increasing conservatism in state legislatures and Congress, and even the President whom we elected to office, it disturbs me. But let me say something to you. More than conservatism, more than White racism, more than the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, what really disturbs me is Black apathy, Black unconcern and Black neglect.

"There is no reason why, if you really want to be free, that we have less than 30,000 NAACP members in all the Western region. There is no reason for it.

"There is no reason for people to stand and say they want to be free and not be willing to pay for
CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

Minority Banks
Rocked

(Chicago, Ill.) - Federal deposits in minority banks have declined under the Carter administration. Stringent rules recently adopted by the Treasury Department to reduce the amount of Medicare funds in its bank accounts is largely responsible for the downfall. Deposits in minority banks at the end of this year's first quarter dropped to \$96.9 million from \$102.1 million at the end of last year. Minority-controlled banks currently have assets of about \$1.5 billion - less than one per cent of the bank assets of the U.S.

Newark Jobless
Rate Soars

(Newark, N.J.) - More than three and one-half times as many adult Black males as adult White men were out of work in the greater Newark area last year, the Labor Department reported last week. With a Black unemployment rate of 17.4 per cent last year, that area was the sixth highest among 30 major metropolitan areas surveyed. Milwaukee was the highest with a rate of 19.8 per cent; Philadelphia was next, with 18.1 per cent; Pittsburgh third, with 18 per cent; and Buffalo was fourth, with 17.9 per cent.

Johnson For
High Court?

(Washington, D.C.) - Federal Judge Frank Johnson's decision to withdraw for health reasons as President Carter's nominee for FBI director has made it likely he will be Carter's first pick to fill a vacancy on the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Warren Burger, 70, and Associate Justices Harry Blackman, 69, and Thurgood Marshall, 69, have been plagued by ill health. Burger is expected to retire within two years.

Krugerrand Ban

(New York, N.Y.) - The major TV stations in Boston and New York City were forced to halt advertising of South Africa's gold coin, the krugerrand, last month following pressure from local activists to do so. Meanwhile, in Portland students at the University of Oregon have forced the school to divest itself of stock in 27 companies with investments in South Africa.

ONLY 6 HIRED

"Employer Resistance" Threatens "Hire Oakland" Plan

(Oakland, Calif.) - Oakland Mayor Lionel Wilson's "Hire Oakland" campaign to employ jobless local residents is experiencing initial difficulties due to the refusal of employers to commit themselves to hire minorities and youth.

The Black mayor has pledged \$500,000 in CETA funds in an effort to create 400 new jobs for Oakland residents next year. However, since the plan was announced recently, only six people have found jobs.

Under the "Hire Oakland" program the city will reimburse local employers up to half the cost of training new employees who meet basic education skills. The first of 100 billboards - soon to be posted all over the city - went up last week to promote the



Oakland Mayor LIONEL WILSON (right) and Manpower director JUAN LOPEZ (center) in front of "Hire Oakland" billboard.

"Hire Oakland" plan.

Paul Tellez, a field coordinator for CETA, commented that it is too early to assess the effectiveness of the Oakland employment plan.

"Right now," he said, "we're involved in trying to raise the consciousness of employers." The plan is being affected, says Tellez, by "traditional employer resistance" to hiring unemployed minority residents.

"Right now," Tellez explains, "we're simply going out to hundreds of potential employers and telling them that there are qualified, skilled and talented people in the community who need jobs."

Wilson and Governor Jerry Brown have already announced the formation of controversial California National Guard bri-

INSPECTORS FIND DEFICIENCIES

OAKLAND TENANTS FURIOUS OVER INDECENT HOUSING

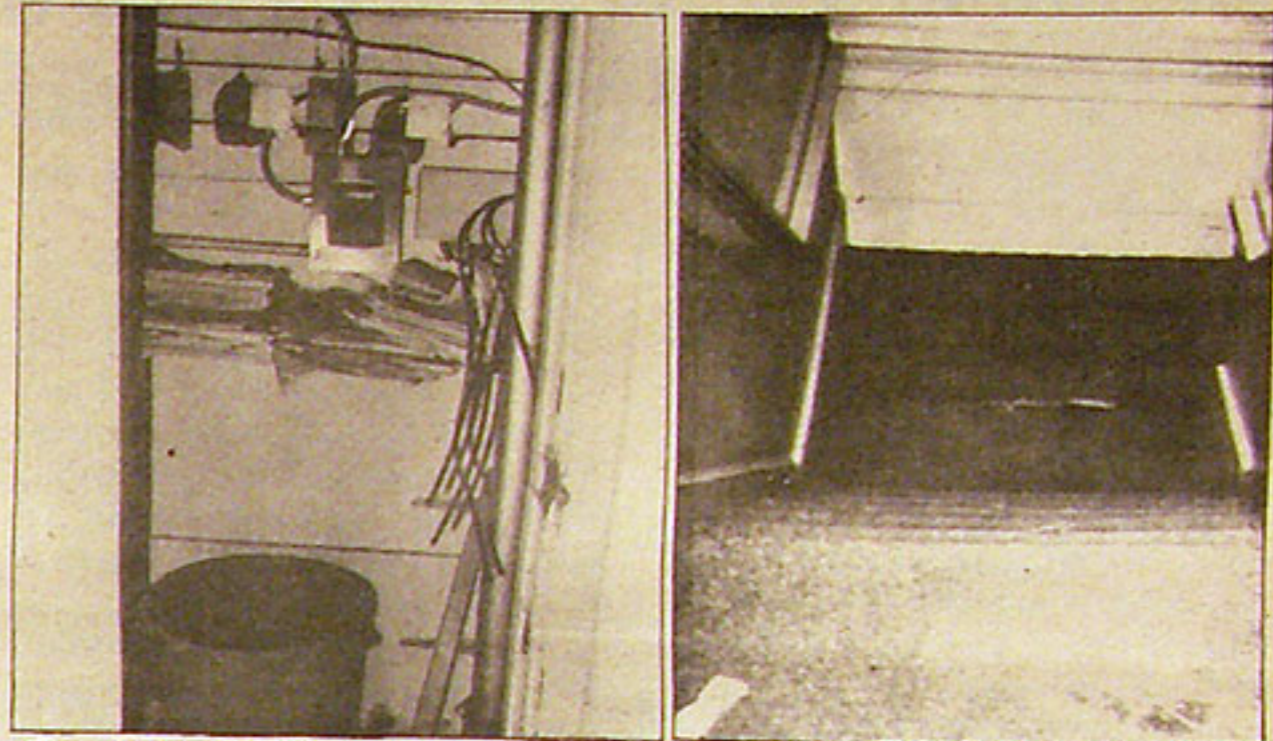
(Oakland, Calif.) - The predominantly Black residents of an apartment building located downtown here were scheduled to meet last week with a group of attorneys in preparation for filing a three million dollar lawsuit against the White millionaire owner of the substandard dwelling.

After receiving a call from Kirmet Rooney and Levi Dixon, two of the 95 tenants in the six-story building located at 184 - 13th Street, a reporter and photographer from THE BLACK PANTHER visited the building where the tenants pay as much as \$245 a month for indecent living conditions.

Rooney was assistant manager of the building from April until October of this year. He was fired because of his protests to the manager and owner about the unsafe, ghetto-like conditions of the high-rent dwelling.

"La Peralta," as the building is known, is owned by William E. Nickerson, author of the book *How I Turned \$1,000 Into A Million In Real Estate In My Spare Time*.

As a result of Rooney's persistence, the city of Oakland's Building Inspection department



The hole at the bottom of the stairway (right) in "La Peralta" apartments caused pregnant woman to trip and injure herself.

recently looked at the 13th Street residence. In a letter written to Nickerson - who lives in the plush suburb of Aptos, California - dated December 3, the Building Inspection department listed numerous deficiencies that it said "must be corrected."

Among them were loose and exposed wiring in the east and west side garbage rooms of the building; and six deficiencies in one apartment, #206, alone - a defective kitchen sink, a defective wall, improperly installed wiring and an improperly installed water closet, to name a few.

In addition, the Housing Conservation Division inspected the building and found "roach infestation throughout the structure."

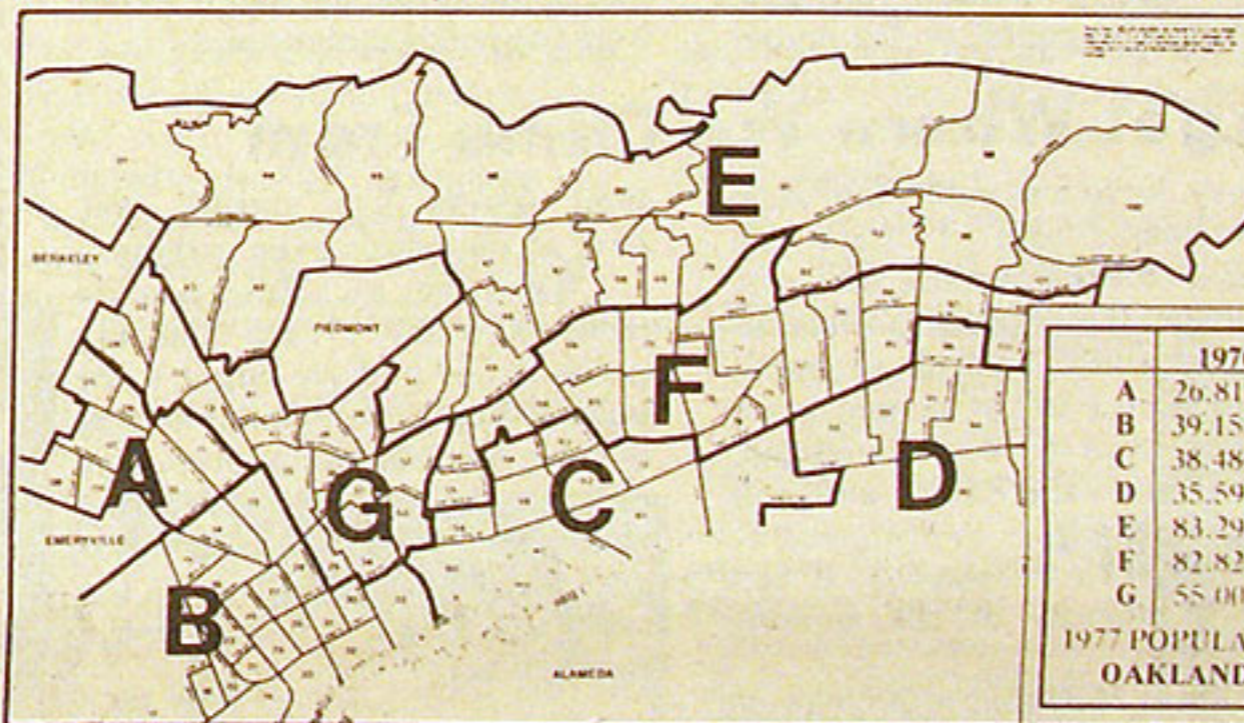
Rooney told THE BLACK PANTHER that he has initiated a suit against Nickerson due to serious

injuries he received when he fell through the roof of the building several months ago when he was making repairs in his capacity as assistant manager.

One of the Black tenants, Mrs. Helen Robinson, told THE BLACK PANTHER that upon moving into her two-bedroom \$240-a-month apartment on November 3, she found a dead rat. Later, when she complained that the apartment badly needed painting, the manager told her, "Paint it yourself."

Linda Frank, who shares a two-bedroom apartment with her sister, Sherlen Brown, several weeks ago tripped in a hole in the carpet at the top of a flight of stairs and fell down the stairs. Ms. Frank, 26, is pregnant, and sustained serious back and side

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12



Map of Oakland's census tracts.

Census Shows Decline In Oakland Population

(Oakland, Calif.) - According to the preliminary results of a special U.S. census taken in April of this year, the population of the city of Oakland has declined by nine per cent since 1970, with past statistics leading to the belief that a large portion of this decline can be attributed to a continuing White exodus to the suburbs.

The population of Oakland has

declined from 361,561 in 1970 to 328,188 in April 1977, a drop of some 33,873 people. An examination of the racial breakdown of the city's population from the 1970 census reveals that the number of Whites in the city had declined from 270,523 in 1960 to 213,512 in 1970 - a drop of 21.1 per cent.

On the other hand the percentage of all the other ethnic groups in the city had increased

with the biggest increase in the city's Native American population - a jump of 147.9 per cent. Since 1960 the number of Black people in Oakland had increased 49.1 per cent - from 83,618 in 1960 to 124,710 in 1970.

Although the racial characteristics of the 1977 census have not been released, more than likely the nine per cent decrease in

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MISTRIAL IN FRAME-UP MARIJUANA CASE

BIRMINGHAM ACTIVIST FILES SUIT OVER ILLEGAL SOLITARY CONFINEMENT

(Birmingham, Ala.) - Black activist Mafundi (Richard Lake) recently filed suit against the city of Birmingham and its mayor, David Vann, for the unjust treatment he has received while being confined in the Birmingham City Jail.

Mafundi, a founder and leader of Atmore-Holman Prison's Inmates for Action (IFA) organization, charges that he has been held in isolation for over 62 straight days (as of November 1) for no other reason than for his legal and political beliefs, a fact which has been openly admitted by the warden of the jail, L.A. Holcomb.

In a sworn deposition, Warden Holcomb stated:

"QUESTION: You have an inmate in that section now known as Richard Lake. Do you know him?"

"ANSWER: Yes.

"Q: Now tell us, if you can, the reasons that he is held over in the New Section.

"A: Well, I've known Richard Lake for a long time. Richard is more, in my own feelings, more of a preventive measure, because you know Richard is a highly controversial person. I've attended seminars where he was on the agenda, a couple of them, and I've read some of the things he's written. And I know his attitude towards the police.

"Q: When you say he's contro-

versial - in what way is he controversial?"

"A: Well, he's controversial in that he feels that the jails are not operating as they should operate. He's prone to incite people to his way of thinking. I'm not saying he's wrong, but I'm saying he could create some serious problems in the jail if he was left to the general population.

"Q: In other words, he would attempt to organize these other inmates to protest their conditions there or something. Is that correct?"

"A: I have that feeling.

"Q: Could you tell us other factors that have led to placing him in the New Section?"

"A: No, that's about it."

Since his release from prison in 1973, Mafundi has suffered continual harassment from the Birmingham police, resulting from numerous arrests on false charges.

A recent trial for alleged possession of 1.2 grams of marijuana was declared a mistrial after Deputy District Attorney Ken Gomany deliberately attempted to prejudice the jury.

Evidence presented by the prosecution was full of discrepancies and exposed the weak case that the state was using in an attempt to frame Mafundi.

After arresting him on phony gun and marijuana charges, Birmingham police, on December



Birmingham Black activist
MAFUNDI.

16, 1976, broke into Mafundi's home, when the only person there was a small boy. Although their warrant only authorized them to search for marijuana, the police stole a color TV set, stereo system, a .22 caliber rifle and personal papers from the house.

The owner of the home, Carolyn Hagler Lake, Mafundi's sister, has filed a \$500,000 suit against the Birmingham Police Department charging that the two cops who illegally searched the house, V.G. Johnson and Harry Walker, ransacked the home, terrorized her eight-year-old son with drawn guns and stole her property.

In her lawsuit, Ms. Lake charged that "racism lies at the root of the abuse she has suffered from the police department." □

"How Soon We Forget Where We Came From"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8

it. We ought not to have to beg other folk to do for us what we can do for ourselves. We ought to be willing to reach into our pockets.

"There are a lot of things I could do better than leading the NAACP. I could make more

J.P. Stevens Injunction Sought

CONTINUED FROM PAGES

union-busting tactics, has been found guilty 15 times of violating labor laws and has paid \$1.3 million in fines and back wages since the early 1960's.

Meanwhile, in Spartanburg, South Carolina, over 1,500 textile workers recently gathered at a rally organized by the ACTWU to unify opposition against J.P. Stevens. Spartanburg is in the center of the state's textile belt, reports the *Guardian*, and is J.P. Stevens' southern headquarters.

One of the high points of the rally was the presentation of local charters to workers at 11 Stevens plants where the ACTWU now

money, have less agony and shed less tears. But I have an obligation even to those who may be selling their bodies in prostitution, to those hooked on dope, caught in the toil of alcohol, even to those who drive pimpmobiles, break down their hats and sell

has a majority of the workers signed up.

Alonzo McGaha, a 50-year-old worker at Stevens' Duncan plant in Greenville, South Carolina, said the rally "makes me feel a whole lot better, like we're getting something done."

Maurine Hedgepeth, a weaver from Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina - where the ACTWU won a 1974 election in seven Stevens' plants - summed up the spirit of the rally when she declared, "J.P. Stevens is not interested in justice for its workers. So let's keep the ball rolling and organize every J.P. Stevens plant there is." □

their sisters into slavery. We have an obligation even to them.

"We have an obligation to those who don't care and are unconcerned and we ought to be pulling them along with us so that one day all of us can be free. One of these days, a few years from now, your children and your grandchildren will pull up to the table and they'll look you in the face and say:

1977

"Daddy, or mother, grandfather or grandmother, you were there back in 1977 when it looked like the tables were going to be turned and everything we were fighting for was going to be lost. You were there. You were the principal of a school, you were a teacher, you were a doctor. You were there. What did you do to help make things better?"

"I hope you can stand and look them in the face and say, 'I didn't do everything but by the grace of God I did my best.'"

"Peace."

BEHIND THE WALLS



Repression Mounts In Indian Prison

(Michigan City, Ind.) - Prison administrators here at Indiana State Prison are increasing their illegal harassment of prisoners under the guise of "tightening security." Indiana is currently under fire due to a Justice Department lawsuit against the state's prison system. The suit was filed due to the repeated protests of inmates seeking an end to inhumane living conditions. Presently, prison officials are:

- Severely restricting the movements of prisoners locked in the cellhouse;
- Further restricting the use of showers in the cellhouse; and
- Reducing and limiting the number of visitors in an attempt to further isolate prisoners from their communities.

A letter recently written to Indiana Governor Otis Bowen by one inmate lists several grievances, many of which are contained in the federal suit.

The record of the Indiana prison is already tarnished with the infamous "Pendleton 1969" incident when guards fired shotguns into a gathering of prisoners who were peacefully assembled. Two prisoners were killed and 40 others were wounded.

Inmates believe that the current campaign of repression against them is an attempt to stifle any further protests which could damage the state's case when the federal suit comes to court.

County Jail Prisoners Charge Brutality

(Milwaukee, Wisc.) - Inmates awaiting trial in the county jail here recently sent an open letter to Milwaukee County Sheriff Michael Wolke concerning the brutal treatment they are receiving from corrections officers. The letter charges that there is a "vigorous attempt to remove every vestige of decency from our existence and our very beings."

Inmates are denied medical care, subjected to unjust and unnecessary cell searches and constant verbal abuse. Several other letters have been written to Wolke, with no results.

LOWER EAST SIDE

Community Housing Advocates Oppose Real Estate Profiteers

(New York, N.Y.) - Community housing advocates here in Manhattan's Lower East Side are engaged in an ongoing struggle to prevent real estate speculators from forcing poor people out of their neighborhoods.

Two community organizers with the Adopt-A-Building program, Ruth and Roberto Nazario, are assisting tenants in acquiring vacant or substandard housing structures and renovating the buildings to create decent housing.

After a building is remodeled, through the efforts of the community, the tenants are then organized to manage themselves. The popularity of the concept is evidenced by the fact that this program is being adopted in many poor, urban communities across the U.S.



Decaying urban housing.

"The big time developers," says Roberto, "are waiting to come in. Neighborhood people fight for years to salvage a few buildings, stripping gutted walk-ups to the shell and putting their labor into the project as equity in a cooperatively-owned building.

"Now," Roberto went on, "the housing professionals are ready to be sponsors. Big construction corporations can come in and do 150 units of housing. But who is going to live there? Who's going to manage the buildings? Who's going to do the maintenance, and who's going to get the jobs?"

The Nazarios want to see the community itself become the

CAMPAIGN TO STOP GOVERNMENT SPYING

DOCUMENTS EXPOSE C.I.A. SPYING ON CAMPUSES

(Washington, D.C.) - The Campaign to Stop Government Spying recently made public 67 CIA documents which exposed the federal intelligence agency's widespread surveillance of political activity on U.S. college campuses.

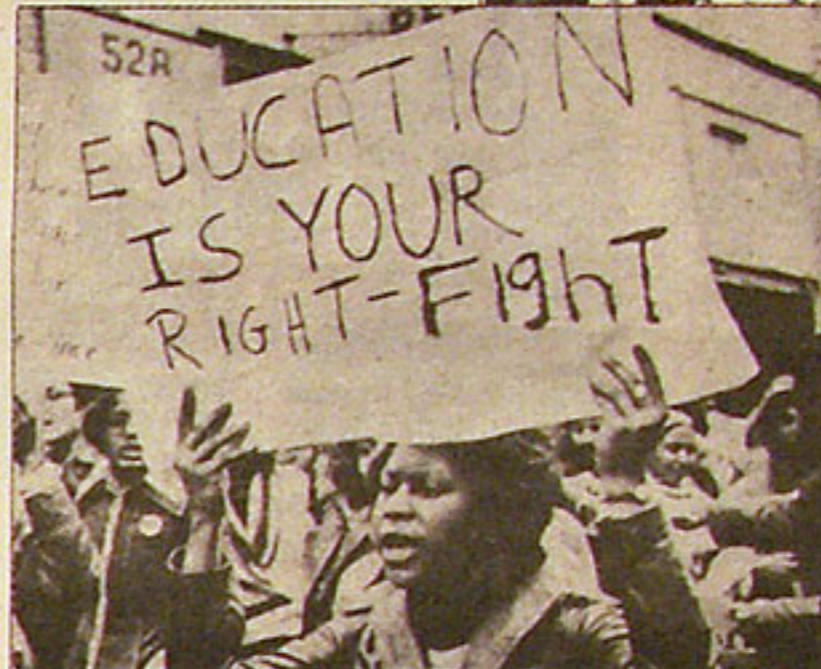
The documents were obtained from the CIA as a result of a Freedom of Information (FOI) suit brought by Campaign chairperson Morton Halperin and John Marks from the Center for National Security Studies.

The information directly contradicts the CIA's claim that its involvement in dissident activities on campuses was limited to the investigation of alleged foreign ties and protecting the physical safety of campus recruiters.

An article in the November issue of the Campaign's newsletter, *Organizing Notes*, describes the letters, memos, reports and lists as showing the CIA's "deep interest in the political activities occurring on U.S. college campuses in the late 1960's and early 1970's."

A memo by F.W.N. Janney, CIA director of personnel, sheds new light on the Agency's recruitment practices. It reveals that unnamed placement officers at some of the 250 campuses listed had contractual relationships with the CIA. Although an "appropriate senior official" at each university was notified of

Despite claims to the contrary, the CIA spied extensively on the student movement.



this relationship, students and faculty were not.

"Operational Support for Recruitment," dated January 15, 1970, (Document 1) is an internal CIA document describing the development of its investigation into campus activities.

According to the report, the CIA's Office of Security (O.S.) was directed to assist the Office of Personnel Recruitment following several protests against the Agency's on-campus recruiting. The O.S. was ordered to provide information which would anticipate alleged threats to overt CIA campus recruitment efforts.

According to the document, the O.S. "used existing contacts at the various colleges, developed new informants and came up with information that could indicate that they attended some of the dissident meetings."

The document continues, "They developed files on the

universities and colleges, came to know all of the campus security people, special units in the local and state police as well as other knowledgeable people..."

As part of this program an agent scouted the University of Minnesota prior to a series of publicly scheduled interviews by a CIA recruiter. In Document 52, dated October 23, 1967, the agent wrote that he would "query his sources on campus" and later reported that an informant had "excellent penetration into the student body."

Other documents are typical reports on campus political activities. Additional documents reveal the CIA's continuing interest in these activities.

Just after the CIA was forced to end its infiltration of the National Student Association (NSA), then CIA Director Richard Helms sent Walt Rostow a report dated September 1, 1967, on the NSA's annual congress.

In two letters from Helms to late President Lyndon Johnson, past claims that the CIA sought foreign ties to dissident student activities are discredited. In a letter which came with a report titled, "Student Dissent and Its Techniques in the U.S.," dated January 5, 1968, Helms stated that CIA activities on campus are "an effort to identify the focus of student dissent and how widespread it is."

In another letter accompanying a report, *The Restless Youth*, dated September 4, 1968, Helms suggested that the FBI "be authorized to use more advanced investigative techniques in dealing with this problem."

In both letters the former CIA director acknowledged that the reports violated the Agency's mandate against domestic spying. □

OAKLAND / ALAMEDA COUNTY

Consumer Success For Community Progress

annual resources conference 1977

EMORY'S COMMUNITY PRINTING & PRESS

IS COMMENDED FOR OUTSTANDING SUPPORT TO THE OAKLAND/ALAMEDA CONSUMER COUNCIL IN EFFECTING THE FIRST ANNUAL RESOURCE CONFERENCE AND FOR DEDICATION TO FINDING SOLUTIONS TO THE PLIGHT OF THE LOW AND MIDDLE INCOME CONSUMER.

CONSUMER COUNCIL

Emory's Printshop Awarded

(Oakland, Calif.) - Emory's Community Printing and Graphics Service recently received a commendation from the Oakland/Alameda County Consumer Council for its "dedication to finding solutions to the plight of the low and middle income consumer." The popular community printshop is known for its quality work at low prices.

"Hire Oakland"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

gade here which is supposedly designed to create up to 500 "guaranteed" jobs for unemployed poor and minority youth who sign up for a six-month active, six-month reserve commitment.

What could be a serious drawback to Wilson's "Hire Oakland" plan, according to a recent study by the San Francisco consulting firm of Economics Research Associates, is that in the future there will be a decrease in the amount of blue-collar jobs available in Oakland. At the same time the firm predicts an increase of jobs in the city's service, transportation and communications industries.

The "Hire Oakland" plan would provide training for semi-skilled jobs, and to a limited extent, for clerical employment. Most of the white-collar jobs that will be available in the future will be filled with college graduates.

The majority of the city's Black youth, whose unemployment rate is over 60 per cent, are seeking blue collar jobs due to the fact that they have received an inadequate education in public schools.

The only good signs brought out in the report, in terms of increasing employment for Black and poor people, are that a third of



Jobless Black Oakland residents "Hire Oakland" plan devised by mayor Lionel Wilson has thus far created only six jobs.

the 440 firms that were surveyed are considering expanding and that more than two-thirds of these businesses are headquartered in Oakland.

A very vital cog in the plan for giving Oakland economic stability is the completion of the City Center redevelopment project. Through the efforts of the Black Panther Party and other groups, state and city officials now claim that unemployed Oakland residents would be hired to fill the jobs created by this venture, which takes up several blocks in the heart of the city's downtown area.

Presently, a major department

store is needed by City Center developers to entice lesser tenants to lease space in the proposed project. Already, again through the efforts of the BPP and Oakland Black leaders, the completion of the Grove Shafter Freeway — which would provide quick access to the project — has been moved up, following a meeting with governor Jerry Brown and other state officials.

However, if Oakland is to be stable, economically or socially, Black and poor residents must be provided with jobs — the big question mark in this port city's future. □

Oakland Tenants Furious

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

injuries as the result of her fall.

Raymond Viridier, 73, has lived in his apartment for four years and has consistently asked that it be painted and that the open wiring in his bathroom be properly installed. The apartment wasn't even inspected until December 5, the day THE BLACK PANTHER visited the building.

Another tenant pays \$245 a month for a two-bedroom apartment in which she has to keep a rat trap set and can't close her window.

Rooney explained that the

Black tenants are given used furniture and carpets while the White tenants receive new furniture and accessories. A look at an apartment typically rented by a White tenant revealed brand new carpet and new living room, kitchen and bedroom sets.

The Black residents at 184 - rent strike in addition to the three million dollar lawsuit against Nickerson. Their unity is already having effects on the owner. On December 7, all the lights in the building were turned off for several hours in an obvious attempt to threaten the tenants.



Kitchen for White tenants in "La Peralta" apartments and (inset) facilities for Black residents.

Special Census

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

Oakland population is a result of the so-called "White flight" trend revealed in the 1970 census.

According to the 1970 census, Oakland was 59.1 per cent White and 34.5 per cent Black but experts predict that both figures are likely to change drastically once the April, 1977, results are analyzed.

However, the figures in the 1970 census analysis can be somewhat misleading since Spanish-surnamed people are classified as White. Also, pending release of the racial characteristics of the April, 1977, census, the drop in Oakland population may also be caused by Black and poor leaving the city due to the lack of jobs.

The only area which did not show a decrease was Area G (Downtown/Lake Merritt/North Oakland) where the population remained stable (from 55,006 to 55,514).

The census count is a very important statistic for economically troubled Oakland since it is used to determine the city's share of federal funds. As the minority population of the city continues to rise, it remains to be seen whether federal, state and local officials can stem Oakland's staggering problems of housing, education and unemployment. □

Housing Advocates Oppose Profiteers

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

developer, whether for housing rehabilitation, commercial revitalization or new construction. "People have to be given the opportunity to show they can undertake projects themselves," says Roberto.

He further explains, "There are almost 10,000 abandoned buildings in the city right now. Thousands more are under code, falling apart.

"People should be taking their building from the landlords through whatever vehicle, reconstructing it if it is vacant, and manage it themselves. We feel it's more important to develop the people in the community than to simply renovate the building."

The Adopt-A-Building program was originally a city-wide program devised by a Protestant minister in East Harlem. Residents of the poor community, however, were very hostile to the paternalistic attitudes of middle- and upper-class congregation members.

In December, 1974, the Adopt-A-Building program was reor-

ganized as a community-based group in the Lower East Side, focusing its resources on several "sweat" equity rehabilitation projects and tenant organizing.

One project that the Nazarios take great pride in is the renovation of a tenement building at 519 East 11th Street in the Lower Side. The restoration of the building, called 519 House, began in 1974. Two years earlier, the building had been gutted by 13 fires within three weeks and had been taken over by heroin addicts and plumbing strippers.

By relying on their own unskilled labor and several small bank loans, a group of determined young Latinos won both the building and a 30-year reconstruction loan from the New York City government.

Even before the renovation was completed, the building was fully occupied. Now, the 11 families occupying the building are organized as a housing cooperative. The tenants rotate one-year assignments in the Management Committee, the Tenant Selection and the Procedures Committee. □

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

Huey P. Newton

"Fallen Comrade"

Black Panther Party founder and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton describes the funeral of Fallen Comrade and courageous warrior George Jackson in this excerpt from the chapter "Fallen Comrade" in Revolutionary Suicide.

George's funeral was held in Oakland on August 28, 1971 — exactly one week after his murder — at St. Augustine's Episcopal Church, pastored by Father Earl Neil. A crowd of about 7,000 friends gathered to pay their last respects to our fallen comrade, and the Black Panther Party had a large contingent of comrades on hand to handle the crowd and protect the Jackson family.

I arrived at the church shortly before the funeral cortege. The second-floor sanctuary was empty, but from the window I could see the crowd stretching for more than a block in each direction, filling every available space and closing off the streets to motor traffic.

A number of Black Panthers sat talking quietly down stairs. Occasionally they relieved the comrades who were controlling the crowd and directing traffic outside. The children from the Intercommunal Youth Institute were there, and although they had been in the building since early morning, they did not complain of weariness.

FELT THE LOSS

The children felt the loss of George deeply; when they had learned of his death the previous week, all of them had written messages of condolence to his mother. They loved George, and in their faces I could see their determination to grow up and fulfill his dreams of liberation.

Tensions were high. We had received many threats the previous week, from prison guards, from police, and from many others, stating that the funeral would not be held, and if it was, there would be cause for more funerals of Black Panthers. We were ready for anything. The comrades were angry about the threats, and they were righteously angry about the continued oppression of the poor and Black people who live in this land.

You could see it in their faces, in their measured, firm strides, in their clenched fists, and in their voices as they greeted the hearse with shouts of "Power to the People" and "Long Live the Spirit of George Jackson."

When the funeral cortege arrived, Bobby and I prepared to meet the people in it as they entered the door of the church. It was the first time Bobby and I had shared a public platform in over four years, but there was no cause for rejoicing. We said nothing to each other; we knew only too well what the other was thinking.

As the casket bearing the body of Comrade George was brought into the sanctuary, a song was playing — Nina Simone singing "I Wish I Knew How It Would Feel to Be Free." Inside the church the walls were ringed with Black Panthers carrying shotguns. George had said that he wanted no flowers at his funeral, only shotguns. In honoring his request we were also protecting his family and all those who were dedicated to carrying on in his spirit.

Any person who entered that sanctuary with the purpose of starting some madness would know that he did not stand a chance of going very far. In death, even as in life, George thought about the best interests of his companions.

Father Neil made a short but powerful statement about the lesson of George Jackson's death, that Black people would have to get off their knees and take their destiny in their own hands. Bobby read some of the many messages from around the world, Elaine Brown sang "One time's too much to tell any man that he's not free," and I delivered the eulogy, which went in part:

"George Jackson was my hero. He set a standard for prisoners, political prisoners, for people. He showed the love, the strength, the revolutionary fervor characteristic of any soldier for the people. He inspired prisoners, whom I later encountered, to put

Fallen Comrade George Jackson and (below) BPP Founder HUEY P. NEWTON, speaking at the funeral for the slain prison revolutionary.



his ideas into practice and so his spirit became a living thing. Today I say that although George's body has fallen, his spirit goes on, because his ideas live.

"And we will see that these ideas stay alive, because they'll be manifested in our bodies and in these young Panthers' bodies, who are our children. So it's a true saying that there will be

revolution from one generation to the next. This was George's legacy, and he will go on, he will go on into immortality, because we believe that the people will win, we know the people will win, as they advance, generation upon generation.

"What kind of standard did George Jackson set? First, he was a strong man, without fear, determined, full of love, strength, and dedication to the people's cause. He lived a life that we must praise. No matter how he was oppressed, no matter how wrongly he was done, he still kept the love for the people. And this is why he felt no pain in giving up his life for the people's cause....

"Even after his death, George Jackson is a legendary figure and a hero. Even the oppressor realizes this. To cover their murder they say that George Jackson killed five people, five oppressors, and wounded three in the space of thirty seconds. You know, sometimes I like to overlook the fact that this would be physically impossible.

"But after all George Jackson is my hero. And I would like to think that it was possible; I would be very happy thinking that George Jackson had the strength because that would have made him superman. (Of course, my hero would have to be a superman.) And we will raise our children to be like George Jackson, to live like George Jackson and to fight for freedom as George Jackson fought for freedom."

TO BE CONTINUED

THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

I want to help get Justice for Huey! Enclosed is my contribution toward Huey's legal defense:

\$500 \$250 \$100 \$50 other \$ _____ (state amount)

(Friends who contribute \$500 or more will receive a 14K gold "JUSTICE" pin.)

I can also volunteer to help.

Make all tax-deductible donations and checks payable to: The Capp Street Foundation, Suite 217, Claremont Hotel, Berkeley, California 94705.

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'Conspiracy Of Silence'

BIKO INQUEST VERDICT CLEARS POLICE

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

As the car in which she was riding drove off, she raised a clenched fist to the crowd outside the building.

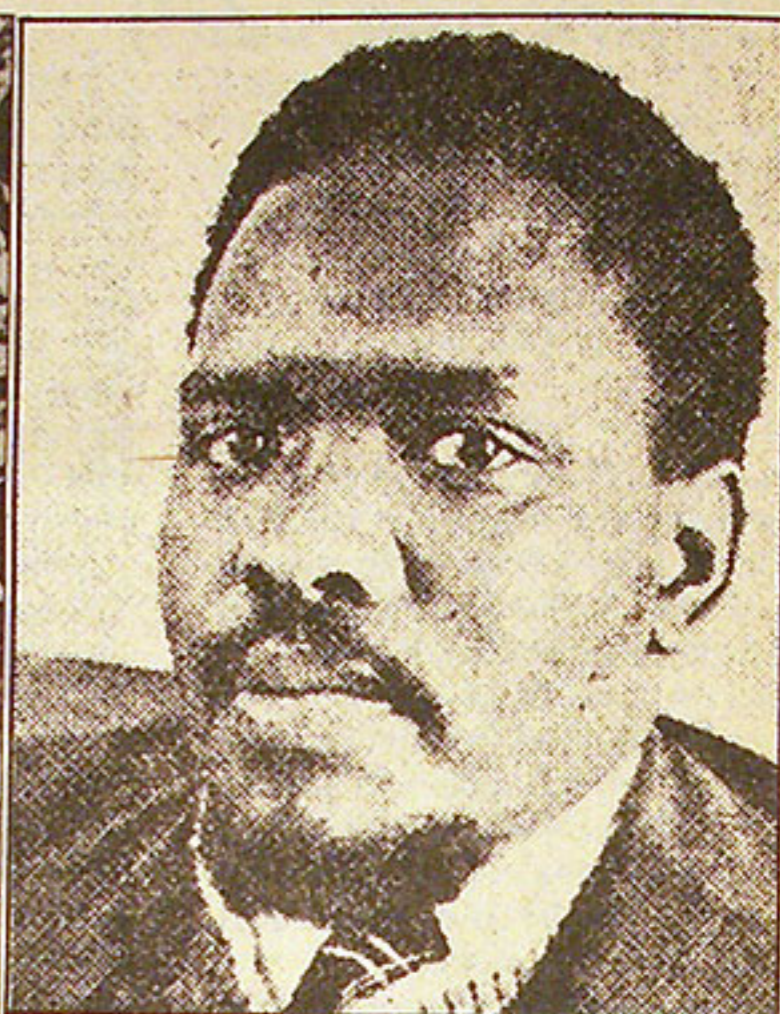
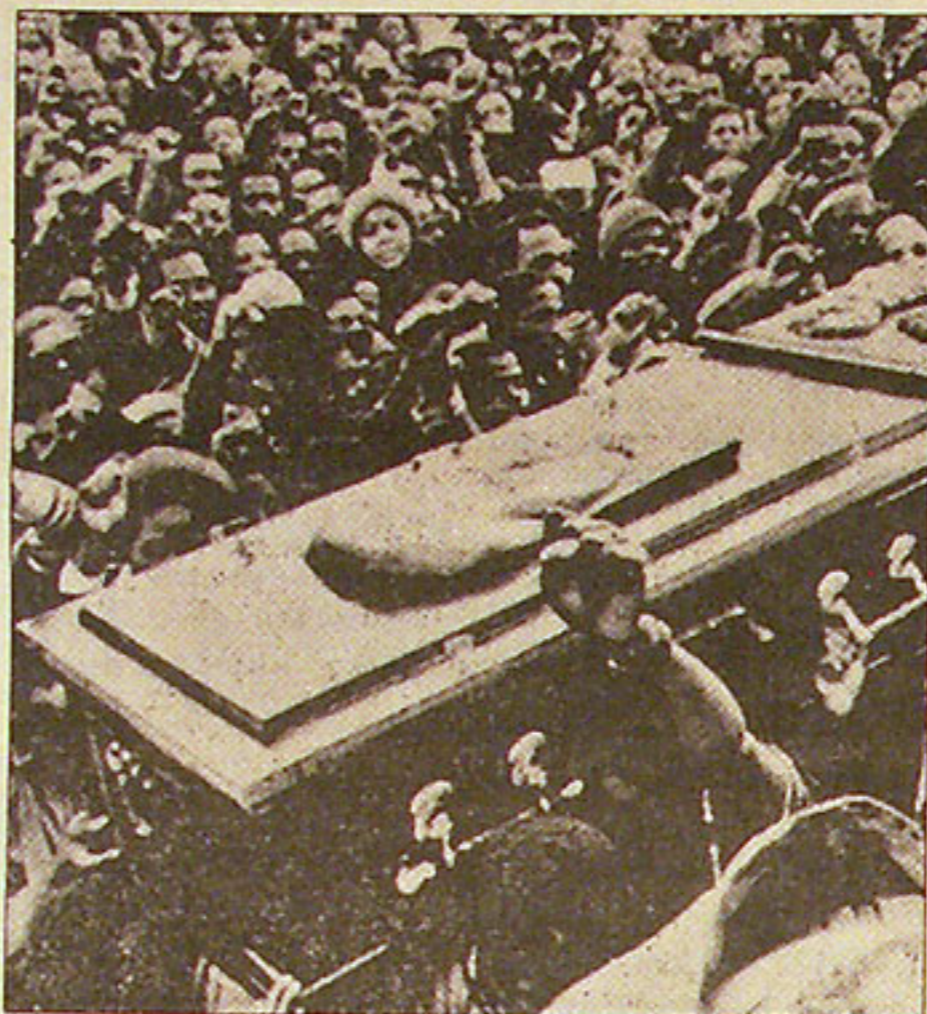
One of the protesters outside the courtroom, when asked her opinion of the verdict, replied, "Unjust! The injustice was committed by the state, so how can they find the state guilty?"

RIOT POLICE

In full view of riot police with attack dogs and armed with rifles, the Biko supporters staged a demonstration once they were outside the court. "They have killed Steve Biko," they sang, "punctuating their lilting chants with 'Black Power' salutes," the *New York Times* reports.

Then, switching to the traditional chants of the Black liberation struggle, they continued, "What have we done? Our only sin is that we are Black."

Hours before the inquest ruling was delivered, police swooped down on a house in Soweto "township" and arrested, without



Over 20,000 mourners attended the funeral of Azanian activist STEVE BIKO, who was murdered in a South African detention center. Left, his wife, NTSIKIE BIKO leaves courthouse with lawyer SHUN CETTY after a White magistrate cleared police of any wrongdoing in the savage murder of the revered Black leader.



charge, a brother of Biko, Kaya, and a cousin, Soloman. A police spokesperson said that the two men, along with four others who are Biko family friends, were arrested for questioning on matters unrelated to the inquest.

Sources close to the Biko family said that 13 people were arrested in the early morning raid.

Sydney W. Kentridge, the White chief counsel for the Biko family, was absent from the December 2 proceedings. Feeling that Prins would exonerate the police, Kentridge chose to stay away from the court.

In his four and one-half hour closing statement delivered on December 1, Kentridge eloquently argued that the police who interrogated Biko between September 6 and 7 and the two doctors who examined him should be found criminally responsible for the Black

activist's death in order to put a "brake upon the abuse of power."

"Any verdict which can be seen as an exoneration of the Port Elizabeth security police will unfortunately be interpreted as a license to abuse helpless people with impunity," Kentridge said.

The White attorney, severely criticizing police and medical negligence in the case, charged that there was a "conspiracy of silence," initiated by the police and supported by the doctors to hide what had happened to Biko.

He said that the "only reasonable verdict" was that the BCM founder's fatal brain injuries were caused by one or more of the eight security police who held him captive in their headquarters.

"On the morning of the sixth of September,

Steven Biko went into the interrogation room alive and well," Kentridge said. "At 7:30 a.m. on the seventh of September, he was a physical and mental wreck. If that is not being smashed up, I don't know what is."

Accusing the police of lying in court, in numerous contradictory statements in an effort to cover up their crime, Kentridge insisted, "There could be no reason for the mass of false evidence unless there was some circumstance connected with Mr. Biko's injuries which the police wanted to hide. The only interference which can properly be drawn is one of guilt."

As soon as Kentridge completed his 77-page statement, the Black spectators marched out of the courtroom, leaving the attorney for the police, P. Retief van Rooyen, with almost an empty courtroom. He was forced to pause in his opening remarks by a chorus outside the building of "Amandla!" — a Black nationalist slogan meaning "Power."

Earlier in the week, evidence was introduced at the inquest that the police officer in charge of Biko's interrogation at Port Elizabeth had sent a telex message to his superiors after Biko's death informing them that an injury had been "inflicted" on the Black leader.

The police officer, Colonel Pieter J. Goosen, denied under oath that the message suggested any wrongdoing by the White jailers.

The existence of the telex message was yet another inconsistency in the police account of Biko's death. Earlier in the hearing, Goosen testified that he had not sent any written reports about Biko to headquarters in Pretoria or otherwise.

Attorneys for the Biko family have yet to announce what, if any, further action they will take in the case. There is the possibility that a civil suit will be filed against the police for criminal negligence or a negligence suit against the two doctors who examined Biko while he was in custody. □

"We Must Stand United Against The Enemy"

Below, THE BLACK PANTHER reprints the leaflet which Steve Biko was arrested for circulating. The fiery statement calls on Blacks in South Africa to commemorate August 18, 1977, as a day of mourning for the school-children killed and injured protesting oppression under the brutal White apartheid regime.

AUGUST 18TH - COMMEMORATION DAY.

"All Black people must show unity in their rejection of this racist regime. Only when we stand united against the enemy can we hope to achieve victory. Students must show solidarity with their fellow students, the workers must show solidarity with the students and Black parents with their children.

"It is high time that everybody should take a stand, especially our parents. They must not be neutralists. They must either identify themselves with the struggle or with the enemy. OUR Black parents have seen their children being brutally murdered and others maimed for life — all this happened in front of their own eyes!

"The oppressed masses of Mozambique and Angola have shown us the way of overthrowing an oppressive regime despite its overwhelming supply of arms.

"Here at home we have seen freedom flicker and then beaten down but NOT EXTINGUISHED — by masses of hippo trucks and troops. We have seen young students who have seen nothing but life under oppressive rule die for a freedom about which they had heard nothing but life under oppressive rule die for a freedom about which they had heard from others or from their own hearts. We have seen unarmed children, old people, our brothers and sisters being blown to pieces by the racist regime's sophisticated weapons. NO, SOUTH AFRICA WILL NEVER FORGET THOSE DAYS.

"This is an appeal to all Black people to show solidarity with the exiled and the jailed, to show sympathy with those who lost their brothers, sisters, children and parents, during this period last year, by mourning. All workers, shopkeepers, students, teachers, clerks, nurses — the entire Black community — must show solidarity with the cause by STAYING AT HOME on the 18th of AUGUST.

"On this day everybody must wear BLACK CLOTHES OR MUST HAVE AT LEAST A BLACK CLOTH, DOEK, or HANDKERCHIEF. On the 19th Aug. at 14h00 (2:00 pm) a commemoration service will be held at the field near the GREAT CENTENARY HALL.

"Wherever you are, organize yourselves into groups to deal with those who do not heed this appeal. BEAT THEM, burn their books, burn their cars and shops. Show no mercy to informers and other collaborators — they must all be KILLED!

"THERE MUST BE CRIES, BURNING HOUSES, PEOPLE WITH CLENCHED FISTS, BODIES LYING ON STREETS, BRUISED AND BLEEDING PEOPLE — THEN THERE WILL BE FREEDOM — YES FREEDOM. THE BLACK PEOPLE ARE GOING TO GET THEIR FREEDOM, THERE IS NOT ENOUGH POWER ON EARTH TO STOP THEM!

"LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION! POWER TO THE PEOPLE!"

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

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

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

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

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

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

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

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

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then 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 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 bonds 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, when ever 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.

BOGUS RHODESIAN PLAN

Black Puppet Leaders Meet With Ian Smith

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - Two Black puppet leaders met here last week with Rhodesian "Prime Minister" Ian Smith to discuss his sell out plan for Black majority rule in the breakaway British colony.

While Bishop Abel Muzorewa boycotted the meeting to protest the mass murder of Zimbabwean (Black Rhodesian) civilians killed in a Mozambican refugee camp last week by Rhodesian troops (see article, this page), Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and tribal chief Jeremiah Chirau met for 80 minutes with Smith in what a government spokesperson described as a "frank and cordial" session.

The absence of Muzorewa, leader of the United African National Council (UANC), turned



Zimbabwean refugees massacred by Rhodesian security forces.

100 KILLED, 600 WOUNDED IN MOZAMBIQUE RAID

MUGABE: WESTERN MERCENARIES AIDED RHODESIAN ATTACK

(London, England) - Blasting them as "international criminals," Patriotic Front co-leader Robert Mugabe last week charged that U.S. and other Western mercenaries took part in the November 24-25 raid by Rhodesian forces into Mozambique, in which some 100 Zimbabweans, most of them women and children, were murdered and over 600 injured.

Disputing the Ian Smith regime's claim that the fierce two-day air raid was carried out

against the guerrilla forces of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA), the military wing of the Patriotic Front, Mugabe said in a broadcast on Radio Mozambique's English-language "Voice of Zimbabwe" program:

"We have repeatedly stated that we run no military camps whatsoever in Mozambique. Our military bases are well established in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) where thousands of our fighters have penetrated the whole length and breadth of the country and

are pursuing the enemy every day and every hour."

Almost simultaneously as "Prime Minister" Smith was proclaiming his "concession" to Black majority rule in Rhodesia, his military forces, flying in French-built Mirage jets obtained from South Africa, roared over the Mozambican provincial capital of Chimoio, some 40 miles from the Rhodesian border, and dropped bombs on two Zimbabwean refugee camps 18 miles away.

The jets were followed by groups of helicopter gunships which raked the refugee camps with machinegun fire.

Survivors of the massacre said that Rhodesian troops streamed out of the helicopters and began systematically killing the mostly women, children and hospital patients in the refugee settlement located in Mozambique's Manica Province.

Smoke was still pouring from the burning ruins of the camp when a group of reporters from Maputo, Mozambique's capital, finally reached the area two days later, the *New York Times* reports.

One building was riddled with machine-gun fire, apparently from one of the helicopter gunships that had carried Rhodesian troops to the camp. No building



Zimbabweans protest against White minority rule.

out to be a token gesture as the United Methodist bishop made it clear that he would join in future sessions of the talks, scheduled to reconvene on December 9.

The Patriotic Front, which is waging the armed struggle against the dying Smith regime, has denounced the "prime minister's" so-called "one man, one vote" plan as "sugar-coated poison."

In announcing November 24 his "concession" of universal adult suffrage in Rhodesian elections, Smith made it clear that the interests of the White settlers would have to be protected in Black-ruled Zimbabwe (Rhodesia).

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THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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Rhodesian soldier interrogates captured Zimbabweans, "suspected" guerrillas, with cocked pistol and (right) White soldier wielding "interrogation bat."



U.S. CAMERAMAN REVEALS NEW RHODESIAN ATROCITIES

(Salisbury, Rhodesia) - A U.S. photographer revealed last week that he saw a 25-man Rhodesian Army unit loot and burn down the homes of Zimbabwean (Black Rhodesian) civilians and beat and torture a Black activist, his wife and daughter in September.

J. Ross Baughman, a contract photographer for *Associated Press*, said he witnessed the incidents as he accompanied the cavalry unit near the Botswana border.

He said he saw the soldiers:

- Beat the Black activist, Moffat Noubé, on the head with a small wooden bat.
- Kick and threaten two Black youth who were among a group rounded up at an abandoned school.
- Burn down huts and threaten to destroy others.
- Fasten rope nooses around the necks of two prisoners and force them to run or be dragged several miles behind horses.
- Repeatedly punch a Black prisoner before pinning him to the ground, wrapping his shirt about his head and pouring water from a bucket over his nose and mouth until he passed out.
- Pull down the underwear of Noubé's daughter, whom Baughman described as being a teenager, and whip her several dozen times; repeating the procedure with the wife of the Black activist before tying her onto a bed where the metal springs had been heated over a fire.
- Tie a wire around Noubé's genitals and forced his daughter to pull it in an effort to make him suck in water being poured over his head.

Control of reporters is strict and Baughman's look at Rhodesian troops in action was rare.

His presence was arranged with the help of a Rhodesian army major, who is an American, with official government approval.

Baughman said the field commander of the cavalry unit was Major Mike Williams, the highest ranking American in the Rhodesian army.

Baughman said he had met Williams at a party and persuaded him to arrange for Baughman to accompany the unit, 3 Troop, on a mission.

On September 20, a five-man squad from 3 Troop, commanded by Sergeant (Titch) Middleton, rounded up 10 Black youth at an abandoned school, ten miles from Sipepa, a remote spot 50 miles southwest of Lupani.

Middleton radioed his superior in Sipepa, 19-year old Lieutenant Graham Baillie, that the prisoners were members of a youth movement linked to the ANC. Middleton said he suspected they were harboring guerrillas.

SLUMPED UNCONSCIOUS

Baillie drove to the school and found one Black, later identified by Middleton as Noubé, slumped unconscious against the front of the building. His hands were tied behind his back; his face was swollen and showed signs of a beating.

Baillie approached Noubé, asked his name and, when he received no answer, hit him on both sides of the head with a bat. Noubé fell over. Baillie, saying Noubé was feigning unconsciousness, hit him twice more on the back of the head.

The next morning, Baillie joined a second squad at a general store at Kikidoo village, three miles from the school.

The soldiers discovered the store owner had hidden several

ragged guerrilla uniforms and found a list of names and addresses of 20 local Blacks. At the head of the list was Noubé's name. Baillie noticed it and told squad commander Sergeant Bruce Moore-King.

Later Middleton radioed for the three prisoners at the Kikidoo store to be brought to the village.

When they arrived, the soldiers agreed that the prisoners should be made to say where the search for weapons should begin.

They started on one prisoner with the "water treatment." He passed out and the soldiers turned to Noubé and ordered him stripped.

KNOCKED TO THE GROUND

He was knocked to the ground then forced to watch the beating of his daughter and his wife.

The soldiers then decided to use the "water treatment" on Noubé, who resisted by drinking the water, spitting it out and holding his breath. The soldiers kicked him in the ribs, but Baillie told them to stop, saying he suspected bones already were broken.

The soldiers next tied the wire to Noubé's genitals and forced his daughter to pull on it, partially mutilating him.

Noubé appeared to stop breathing. He was rolled over on his stomach and water came out of his mouth. Baillie yelled at Noubé, drew his pistol, pointed it at Noubé's forehead, then fired a shot two or three inches away from his ear. Noubé did not move.

Noubé later was revived. The squad remained in the village a while longer but no weapons were found. Several days later, an officer in Lupani told Baillie that Noubé had died of his injuries. □

Africa In Focus



Benin

(United Nations, N.Y.) - The U.N. Security Council recently adopted a resolution reaffirming its strong condemnation of the act of armed aggression carried out against the People's Republic of Benin on January 16 of this year. Addressing the Council in late November during the resumed consideration of the attack on Benin, the country's U.N. representative, Thomas S. Boya, said that imperialist powers organized the aggression against Benin and all of Africa in order to end the West African nation's revolution and recolonize the entire continent.

Mozambique/Tanzania

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) - The Mozambique-Tanzania Permanent Commission for Cooperation concluded its third session here recently, with the two countries signing a joint communique calling for increased industrial relations. Mozambique's delegation was headed by Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano and the Tanzanian delegation by Minister for Finance and Planning Edwin Mtei. Emphasizing the importance of strengthening communications, transport, trade, cultural and all areas of cooperation, the communique announced that the two frontline states would build a bridge across the Ruvuma River on the Tanzania-Mozambique border.

South Africa

(Mmabatho, South Africa) - Bophuthatswana last week became the second of South Africa's "homelands" to become independent. On Monday, December 6, one-third of the members of the 2.1 million people of the Tswana tribe of South Africa became citizens of Bophuthatswana, which is composed of seven separate landlocked islands surrounded by three South African provinces and bordering Botswana to the north. While Bophuthatswana is now allegedly politically "independent" of South Africa, the "homeland" will remain economically dependent on the White apartheid regime. Of the estimated \$83 million 1977-1978 budget for the state, 72 per cent or \$59 million is in the form of a grant from South Africa. South Africa is the only country that has recognized Bophuthatswana.

Sadat Breaks Ties With Pro-Palestinian Arabs

(Cairo, Egypt) - Egyptian President Anwar Sadat broke off diplomatic relations with Syria, Libya, Algeria, Iraq and South Yemen last Monday following the five Arab nations' participation, along with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), in a four-day "rejectionist summit."

The conference held in Tripoli, Libya, imposed severe political sanctions against Egypt and condemned Sadat's unprecedented trip to Israel two weeks ago.

The Libyan-sponsored gathering denounced Sadat "for his services to Zionism" and "high treason against the Arab nation."

The rejectionist summit's participants reached an accord which included a new military pact, which it termed the "Front of Steadfastness."

The declaration of unity said "an attack against one is an attack on all." The final agreement was not signed by Iraq, which urged stronger measures.

One of the major developments of the conference came when the leading Palestinian groups — represented by the PLO — reached an historic reconciliation.

The PLO leadership — represented at the summit by PLO head Yasir Arafat, who leads the Al Fatah group, and Dr. George Habash, of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — rejected peace negotiations with Israel, including the proposed Geneva peace conference. This position has long been held by Dr. Habash's group.

\$10 MILLION IN DAMAGES FOLLOWING RACIST EXECUTIONS

BRITISH TROOPS QUELL BLACK PROTEST IN BERMUDA

(Hamilton, Bermuda) - Bermudan authorities appealed for British troops to help suppress a three-day uprising that broke out last week over the executions of two Black activists.

At least 20 Black demonstrators have been arrested in the disturbance and widespread damage to this tourist island has been estimated at over \$10 million.

British Prime Minister James Callaghan immediately ordered a company of 260 riot-trained soldiers, veterans from the bitter strife in Northern Ireland, to the island, Britain's oldest colony, located 670 miles southeast of New York.

Larry Tacklyn, 25, and Erskine Burrows, 33, both members of the now-defunct radical group Black Beret Cadres, were hanged in a courtyard of the fortress-like Casemates Prison at dawn December 2 after a night of violent protests by Black youth. The executions were Bermuda's first in 31 years.

Burrows was convicted for allegedly killing Bermuda's British governor, Sir Richard Sharples, and his aide Captain Hugh Sayers, in 1973; killing Police Commissioner George Duckett in 1972, and the death of two supermarket executives in 1973. Tacklyn was convicted in the death of the supermarket executives.

Hundreds of angry Black demonstrators waving placards denouncing the racist nature of the



A three day uprising erupted on the Caribbean tourist island of Bermuda (see arrow, map) following the executions of Black activists LARRY TACKLYN and ERSKINE BURROWS.



executions burst through police barricades and smashed windows at the Justice Building after an appeals court inside rejected an 11th-hour clemency plea. Other demonstrators surged through the main streets of Hamilton, the island's only city.

Following the executions, the British governor, Sir Peter Ramsbotham, imposed an indefinite dusk-to-dawn curfew.

However, that night over 500 Black youth gutted 14 factories and stores in the working-class districts of Hamilton. Riot police

fired tear gas to keep the angry demonstrators out of the main business district.

Police, backed by the island's entire standing army of 300, fired scores of riot gas grenades the following day to disperse over 300 young Black demonstrators massed in an area about a mile from two of Hamilton's luxury hotels. The hotels provide accommodations for most of the city's estimated 5,000 tourists.

Unable to quell the angry Black uprising, British troops arrived last Sunday evening to provide backup for local police and the home guard.

The death sentences against Burrows and Tacklyn went to the Bermuda Court of Appeals after Queen Elizabeth II accepted British Foreign Secretary David Owen's recommendation that she deny clemency.

A hard-fought campaign to save the two activists was organized by the left-wing and predominantly Black Progressive Labor Party, which has 15 of the 40 seats in the House of Assembly.

Burrows refused to enter a plea at his trial. He commented after being apprehended by authorities that he wanted to make the 54,000 people of Bermuda, and especially its Black majority, who number 33,000, aware of the "evilness and wickedness" of colonial rule.

Bermuda was granted internal self-government in 1968, but a British-appointed governor maintains responsibility for external affairs, defense and security.

NATIONALIST PARTY WINS 134 PARLIAMENT SEATS

Vorster "Victory" Signals Tougher Crackdown

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - Capturing 134 of the 165 seats in the South African Parliament in last week's bogus "election," "Prime Minister" John Vorster's Nationalist Party (N.P.) insured that the apartheid regime will not only remain intact but will step up its repression of the country's over 18 million Blacks.

With 70 per cent of South Africa's 4.3 million Whites voting overwhelmingly for N.P. candidates — Blacks are not allowed to vote — Vorster received the "mandate" he had desired for pressing ahead with his new constitution which will make him "executive president" and will deny Blacks any political rights except in the tribal "homelands."

The Progressive Federal Party (PFP), espousing the most racially liberal policies of the five

political parties who participated in the November 30 "election," won 30 seats, making it the new main opposition party in Parliament.

Thousands of White voters



South African "Prime Minister" JOHN VORSTER voting in recent elections.

deserted the PFP and the middle-of-the-road New Republic Party (NRP). The NRP dropped from 23 seats to 10 while the South Africa Party lost three of its six seats.

Completely crushed was the ultra-reactionary Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP), all of whose 56 candidates were defeated.

Two incidents marred the generally quiet November 30 polling. In Johannesburg, 28 Black journalists and a White photographer were arrested when they held a demonstration demanding the release of newsmen already jailed.

In the second incident, a bomb went off in a mailbag on a train between Johannesburg and Pretoria, causing minor damage.

The 61-year-old Vorster, re-elected to his fourth consecutive term, preached a hard-line policy

CONTINUED ON PAGE 26

Bitter Outburst At I.Q. Bias Trial

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4
wasn't true."

Young Lanagan said he likes school and tried to "do my best," but doesn't learn as much as other students "because some of them have more education than I have."

"I can't do the work properly

like the other kids can," James said, adding that he sometimes "cuts" classes i.e. finds difficult. He said he wanted to be a carpenter or an architect when he graduates.

The day before, a prominent local psychologist testified that James and another Black young-

ster, Michael Sears, were labeled mentally retarded even though they were not.

Dr. William Pierce, a San Francisco clinical psychologist and a member of both the Bay Area Association of Black Psychologists and the California Psychological Licensing Committee, said that when tested in school in 1968, James scored 68 on the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale, and a year later was placed in an EMR class.

In 1971, James was retested by the school, this time with the Weschler Intelligence Scale, and scored 74. In late 1971 he was returned to a regular class.

Pierce, also using the Weschler scale in early 1971, obtained a 99 to 104 score for Lanagan.

Michael Sears, the Black psychologist said, received a score of 70 in 1969 on the Stanford-Binet and 86 in 1971 on the Weschler. Both were administered by the school.

Pierce gave Michael a 91 to 94 score when he tested him in 1971.

Pierce said the school's psychologist noted on Sears' 1971 test report that the youth was "not mentally retarded" but that he was never returned to the mainstream while in San Francisco schools. Michael and his parents moved to San Jose in 1973.

The San Francisco Unified School District used a score of 75 as the ceiling for placement in EMR classes. □

Oakland Community School

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

unique achievement for a subject often regarded as "dull" and "boring."

As in all their other subjects, children at the OCS are encouraged to learn math at their own rate of speed. Frequently, children in a class are placed on a team with other children whose math skills are the same or nearly the same as their own.

While spelling bees are traditional contests in elementary and secondary schools in America, the OCS sponsors an annual math bee. Math instructors give problems to two teams of students, composed of those with the highest math skills in Levels 4-7. The team who answers the questions first and correctly wins the math bee.

By encouraging its students to excel in mathematics, the Oakland Community School is ensuring that its children will be adequately trained in a skill that

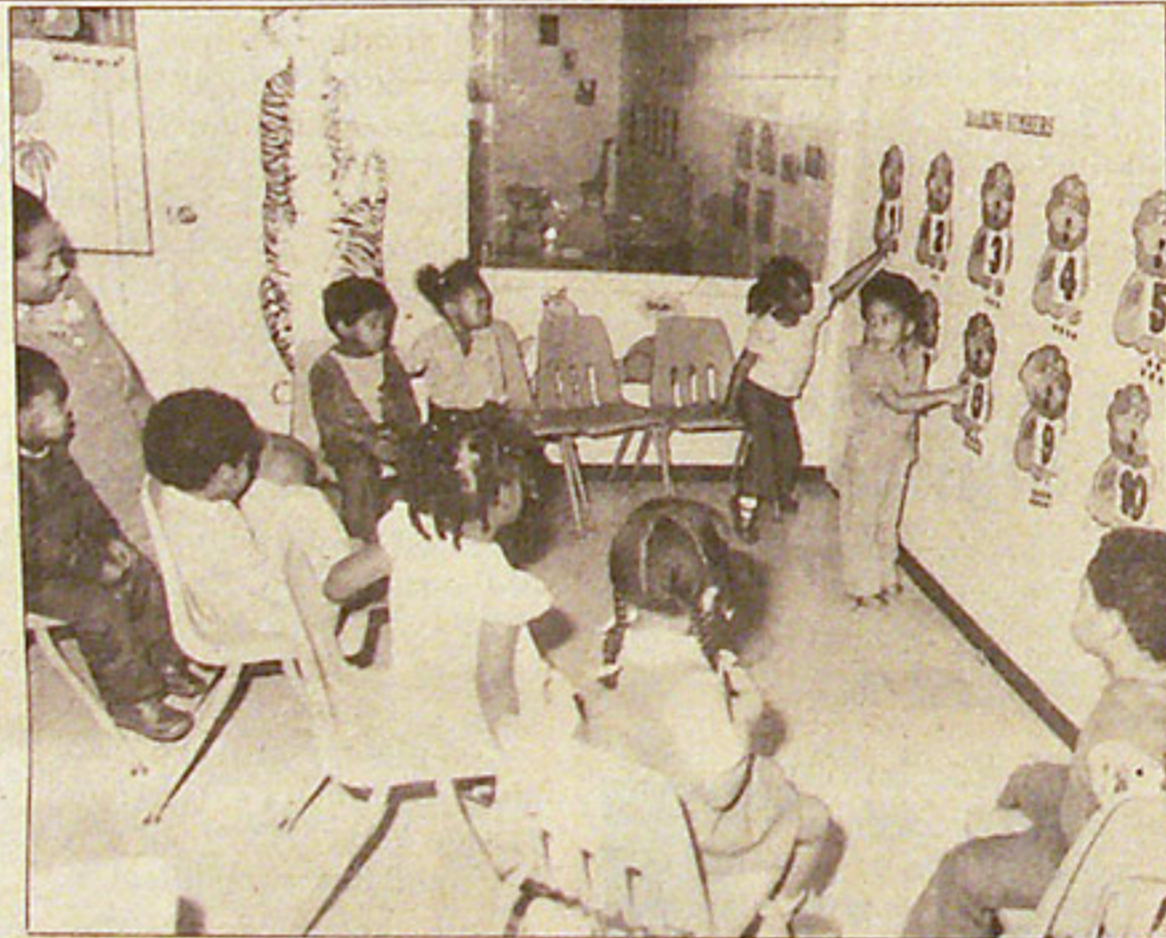


OCS instructor GWEN JOHNSON gives young student instruction in mathematics.

has historically been denied to Black and poor people in America. **TO BE CONTINUED**

Oakland Community School

Now in its seventh year, the Oakland Community School is a model elementary school for children ages 2½ to 11. The School provides free medical care and screening, three full, free meals daily and a wide-ranging curriculum.



Support Our School

A model in action

6118 East 14th St., Oakland, Ca.
or call (415) 562-5261.

(Contributions are tax-deductible)



A Program of Educational Opportunities Corporation, A Nonprofit Corporation

World Scope

Spain

(Madrid, Spain) - Tens of thousands of workers struck in the Basque province of Vizcaya last week, paralyzing most of its industries in a one-day protest against inflation and unemployment. In Madrid, the government averted a strike by the city's 5,000 municipal police by drafting them into the army. Police had announced a strike in demanding a 65 per cent pay raise and the abolition of a work rule forcing them to carry firearms at all times.

Netherlands

(The Hague, Netherlands) - Former CIA agent turned Marxist Philip Agee was expelled from the Netherlands last week. Agee, author of a controversial book detailing covert CIA activities, settled in Amsterdam in June after being deported by Britain. The Dutch Justice Ministry said Agee failed to refrain from political activity — a condition of his residency here — and was an alleged threat to national security.

Occupied Palestine

(United Nations, N.Y.) - The General Assembly voted last week to create a special U.N. unit to prepare "studies and publications relating to the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people." Another resolution endorsed a call from the U.N. Palestinian Rights Committee for "intensification of efforts" for the return to their homes of Palestinian refugees and establishment of a Palestinian political "entity" in the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip and West Bank of the Jordan River.

Italy

(Rome, Italy) - Italian police battled left-wing demonstrators in nine major cities who were protesting the recent fatal knifing of a teenaged activist at Bari on the southern Adriatic coast. Demonstrations and parades took place in Rome, Milan, Bologna, Genoa, Florence, Naples, Palermo, Bari and Como after the stabbing of Benedetto Petrone in an attack by members of a neo-fascist group.

ELAYNE JONES

BLACK S.F. TYMPANIST LOSES COURT BATTLE FOR TENURE

(San Francisco) - Black tympanist Elayne Jones lost again in her three-year struggle to become a tenured member of the San Francisco Symphony when federal judge Robert Peckham dismissed her \$1.5 million bias suit against the orchestra and Musicians Union Local 6 last week.

Ms. Jones, a world-acclaimed tympanist, had been hired by the symphony in 1972. To become a tenured member she had to get a total of 351 votes, based on a complex rating system from a committee of seven all-White, all-male orchestra members. The committee gave her only 177 votes and she was fired.

The Black tympanist, who is 46 and the mother of three children, sued on the grounds that she was a victim of race and sex bias. A settlement reached in 1975 provided for a second vote under the supervision of a court-appointed monitor this time. Seiji Ozawa, conductor of the orchestra at the time, voted (which he had not done on the first ballot).

The second vote gave her only 169 — again far short of the required 351 — with Ozawa casting his vote against her.

FILED SUIT

Ms. Jones filed suit against the symphony again charging that the committee had violated the settlement agreement in that its vote was not based solely on her musical ability and performance. She contended, through her attorney Michael Kennedy, that Ozawa voted against her "to avoid exacerbating political difficulties with orchestra members at the time" and that the conductor knew the committee was again going to vote against her.

Ozawa claimed that Ms. Jones' performance during the 1974-75



Black tympanist ELAYNE JONES.

For Johnny Spain

Brothers and Sisters,

I picked up a Black Panther paper and read about Johnny Spain. More importantly, I saw his photograph and felt his hurt. This picture of him, shackled and sitting with his eyes cast down, did a whole lot of things to me. I cut the photograph out. I carry it with me.



JOHNNY SPAIN

It reminds me how bound and chained all Black people are, as long as one of us is suffering. I wrote this poem for Johnny Spain, yet my concern is for all Black men. Please see that the message reaches him, somehow and someday. For now, this is all I have to give.

*A Black Prince
is a prisoner
of a racist,
white system.*

*The last time
I saw him,
He was shackled
from head
to foot.*

*But they can
never
put chains
on his mind.
His spirit is free.*

Phyllis A. Carter
Memphis, Tenn.

season was "below par." However, the Black orchestra member, who was hired in 1972 for a two-year probationary period, told the court that she had received only favorable reviews and comments about her performances during the 1974-75 season, when she was allegedly "below par" when compared with the rest of the orchestra.

Ms. Jones originally won her seat with the symphony following eliminations leaving 42 finalists to audition before a selection committee. The 42 finalists then auditioned behind a screen, hiding them from the committee to avoid prejudice. The Black tympanist was selected from among the finalists.

Following the 1975 season, Ms. Jones was shocked by the fact that she had been denied tenure. One music critic, Robert Commanday, had called her "one of the best in the country." In his decision, U.S. District Judge Robert Peckham claimed that his ruling was not a "judgement or conclusion by the court as to the professional competence" of Ms. Jones.

RACIST NATURE

Seemingly the court failed to take into account the racist nature of the San Francisco Symphony. Ozawa himself, who is of Japanese descent, was forced to resign as conductor later in 1975 due to racist pressures (See the September 8, 1975, issue of THE BLACK PANTHER).

Everybody's Creative Arts Center To Hold Benefit

(Oakland, Calif.) - A benefit weekend for Everybody's Creative Art Center, a nonprofit music and dance studio for people of all ages, is scheduled for December 16, 17 and 18.

The three-day event will feature renowned jazz musician Bobby Hutcherson and will raise funds for the relocation of the community based cultural center.

Friday, December 16, will feature a People's Holiday at Everybody's (located at 4939 Broadway) with students and teachers at the center giving performances. The program starts at 8 p.m. and admission is \$2.50.

The highlight of the benefit weekend will take place on Saturday, December 17, at the Berkeley Committee Little Theater and will be co-sponsored by the Berkeley High Afro-American



BOBBY HUTCHERSON

Studies Department. The program will feature Bobby Hutcherson as well as modern jazz, Afro-American, Afro-Brazilian and other forms of dance. Admis-

sion is \$5.00 at the door and \$4.00 in advance.

The last night of the benefit weekend Sunday, December 18, will be "Everybody Re-Creation Nite" at Everybody's Creative Arts Center. The highlight of the evening will be a performance entitled, "The Evolution of Music and Dance" featuring the center's director, Halifu Osumare, a former artist-in-residence at the Oakland Community Learning Center. For information on admission prices, please call 547-9498.

The creative arts center provides instruction in a wide range of music and dance for people of all ages. The present location of the nonprofit center is due for demolition so this benefit weekend will go a long way toward the relocation of this community-based project.

"I Gave Them The Names Of My Own Children"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

The detective officer-in-charge then said to the sergeant, "Take him to the slaughter house."

I was taken to a small office with a large table and one bench and a number of chairs. The detective officer-in-charge told me again that I had recruited three boys and sent them to Zambia and I had carried a large number of about 10 boys and sent them to [name omitted] so that he could send them to Botswana. I rejected all these fabricated allegations.

Then, the detective officer-in-charge said the following words: "We have tried to arrest you for the last three years and we failed, and today we have found you. If you want to save your life, you must agree to all we shall ask you, but if you want to die you may refuse all we ask you. Turn to the wall and think for three minutes. Decide if you want to save your life or not."

I was given three minutes to ponder.

Then I was ordered to turn to the CID officers and tell them that I had sent the boys to Zambia. I turned and told them that I had not sent any boy to Zambia. They shouted, "Don't waste our time, we shall show you today."

I was ordered to take off all my clothes. I was blindfolded with a black cloth and handcuffed, hands and legs.

Then, beatings, electrification and all kinds of torture were inflicted on me. It is rather difficult for me to express the pains I suffered under that torture. Some beat me, others electrified me on my bare feet, and some trod on me with their boots.

All the time they said, "Tell us the names of people you sent to Zambia." One of the African CID officers said, "Unless you say something, we shall kill you today."

It then dawned in my mind quite clearly that they would kill me. Now, my resistance to stand firm on the truth that I had not done anything of what they were accusing me began to fail.

I began to say any name which came to my mind. I then said, "Don't kill me, I agree that all the people whom you say I recruited, I have done it."

They said, "Tell us their names, and we shall not stop beating you until you tell us not less than 10 names."

I then said any name which came across my mind.

As I was saying all the names, one of the CID (officers) was

Zimbabwean guerrilla after he was shot in the head by troops of the White minority Ian Smith regime.



writing the names. Then, another one said, "Stop, he might die."

They removed the handcuffs from both my legs and hands. They uncovered my head and they told me to wake up and sit.

I tried to sit up but failed. Then, two of them held me on both arms and raised me up and placed me on a bench, but I could not sit. I fell flat on the bench.

On the following day, I was taken to be beaten again. I was placed in the hands of three African CIDs. A list of names was brought to me which had about 15 names. They told me that those were the names of the people I had agreed that I had recruited when they beat me.

Then, they wanted me to tell them the parents of the people whose names appeared on the paper. I told them that I only said those names so that they should not beat me.

As I read the names, I realized that two names of my children appeared on the list. The third name was that of a girl who was working for us, one was the name of an evangelist, the other was the name of a teacher.

Two were Sunday school children and some of the names were those of local children. As the CIDs kept on asking many useless questions, I decided not to talk to them.

They showed me another list of three names and asked me if I knew them. They asked where the people were, and I told them that I knew that when I was arrested these people were at their homes. But they told me that I had already sent those boys to Zambia.

I told the CID that this allegation was not true. They told me that if I refused to agree with them they would beat me again. I told them that I would not agree to their lies.

They started to beat me again. My face was hit against a steel table until I began to bleed at the mouth and nostrils. For every question I answered negatively, I received a beating on my back or on my head.

At last, I said to them, "You have beaten me enough, forcing me to agree to false accusations. Now I challenge you that if it is true that I sent away these three people, we must go together and find out if these people are not at their homes."

They then stopped beating me, sent me to the tap for washing the blood stains, and sent their landrover to find the three men. They brought one of them. Another, I was told, had gone to his home at [name omitted], but they were satisfied that he was there. The third one, I was not told whether they found him or not...

I had stayed in a small storeroom, in solitary confinement for 30 days. No one was allowed to speak to me. My wife and my daughter came, but were not allowed to see me.

The worst and most humiliating conditions I ever experienced in my life were at the police station at the hands of the CID. It was at [name omitted] where I learned for the first time in my life that the CID Special Branch is the most cruel, evil department which does not want honest people who can tell the truth.

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

Argentina/Chile

(Buenos Aires, Argentina) - Over 100 women — all relatives of "disappeared" political prisoners — staged a demonstration during Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's recent visit here on his four-day tour of Argentina, Chile and Venezuela. Patricia Derian, U.S. assistant secretary of state for human rights, turned over to the Argentine government a list of 7,500 "disappeared" persons compiled by a coalition of human rights organizations. These unacknowledged prisoners represent about half those detained by the junta. Vance and Derian also spent several hours meeting with families of persons who have "disappeared" or are imprisoned.

In Santiago, the new U.S. ambassador to Chile, George W. Landau, was met by some 100 protesters from a group called Relatives of Disappeared Prisoners upon his arrival. Forty demonstrators were arrested together with an international news agency photographer. The demonstrators, whose demands include an investigation into the whereabouts and condition of the "disappeared" and the release of all political prisoners, said that their action was directed mainly to the U.N. General Assembly, currently in session in New York.

Organization of American States

(Washington, D.C.) Latin American countries last week bitterly assailed President Carter for raising tariffs 50 per cent on sugar imports along with imposing an additional import fee. Sharp criticism focused on two issues: the \$60 million a year loss to the area's sugar producers, and Carter's failure to consult the Organization of American States (OAS) which he pledged to do in such cases. Alejandro Orfila, the OAS secretary general, charged that the measures would mean "a gain of between \$350 million and \$500 million to the U.S. Treasury from lesser developed countries."

MARTIAL ARTS



Optimum Performance

There seems to be for every individual sports participant an optimum (maximum) level of effort at which he or she will gain the most from their skill training. Especially when progress is very slow, increased effort may only further hinder the situation, even causing a decrease in the level of performance. Such dry spots should be expected in all development and could be due to a host of causes, particularly emotional or mental. Unfortunately, as the martial artist or any other sports person progresses towards optimum performance, it becomes more difficult to improve still further. Greater gains are generally obtained at an increasingly high price, until a martial artist may be utilizing all his efforts merely to maintain his or her level of ability. This is called a Plateau of Ability, and the way to climb from the plateau is to change the method or even the whole concept of training. It may involve the use of gimmicks, or maybe a lay-off or even a new sport.

Some skills are simple, some complex in their appearance (the most complex of movements is a spiraling and accumulation of simpler movements). Those that the beginner is able to perform and understand from the start are better practiced as whole units, any single part of a technique being practiced only when the learner fails continually at that part.

LEADS NATION IN TOTAL OFFENSE

GRAMBLING QB WINS NEW HONORS

(New York, N.Y.) - Grambling's star quarterback Doug Williams shattered a football barrier last week by being named to the prestigious *Associated Press*' All-American team — the first player ever selected from a predominantly Black college.

"I'm just setting the stage for more to come," Williams said. "A whole lot of other guys set the stage for me."

"Ernie Ladd, Tank Younger, Buck Buchanan, Sammie White, Dwight Scales [all former Grambling stars], they all deserved it, and so did a lot of others, but they were known as small-college boys. They didn't get the recognition that I got."

"I didn't do it myself. Everybody on this team deserves the honor. Those linemen don't get their names in the write-ups, but we all know who really does the work."

To add to his laurels, Williams was also picked to the West squad for the annual Shrine East-West game. The December 31 contest at Stanford Stadium in California pits the top collegiate stars from across the country in one of the top post-season games for All-American selections.

Williams, a 6' 4", 218-pound senior from Baton Rouge, Louisiana, is college football's all-time leader in passing yardage (8,008) and touchdown passes (91).

The Grambling quarterback completed 160 of 315 passes in the Tigers' first 10 games for 2,974 yards and 34 touchdowns. The last two figures lead the



Grambling's All-American quarterback DOUG WILLIAMS.

nation and, with one game remaining, Williams has a shot at the single-season National Collegiate Athletic Association mark of 3,464 passes thrown by San Diego State's Dennis Shaw in 1969.

The Tiger quarterback's total offensive yardage (2,916), average per play (8.7) and yards per game (291.6) also are leading figures.

Williams' spectacular passing

has led tiny Grambling, which moved into the NCAA's Division I major college level only this season, to a 9-1 record.

Grambling currently ranks second in the nation in passing offense with 3,048 total yards, an average of 304.8 per game.

The Tigers also have the second most potent offense in the nation. Grambling has bombarded opponents with an average of 484.7 yards in total offense per game, 1.4 yards less a game than the leader Colgate. Grambling's total offensive yardage ranks them ahead of such perennial powers as the University of Southern California Trojans, ranked fourth, with 450.8 yards per game; the Fighting Irish of Notre Dame, fifth, with 443.6 per game; and the No. 1 ranked Texas Longhorns, sixth, with 436.8 per game.

Grambling ends its season against Temple University in Tokyo, Japan, on December 11.

Grambling's Black quarterback, it would seem, should loom as the overwhelming choice for this year's Heisman Trophy award.

This award, however, given to the outstanding college football player each year, has never gone to a player from a Black college. And again this year, players from major White schools have been mentioned most prominently as candidates of the award.

Having completed one of the most remarkable seasons in college football history, Williams comments, "They have to give me and all the other small-school athletes some consideration." □

Major Network Sports Broadcasters Called Racially Biased

(Oneonta, N.Y.) - A blind Black psychologist, Raymond Rainville, has discovered that he could tell the race of a player during the broadcast of a sports event due to the overt racial biases of sports announcers.

Rainville, of the State University of New York at Oneonta, knew very little about professional football, yet he discovered that he could tell the race of the player an announcer was talking about while the game was being televised. Even when the names of the players were not given, he discovered, he could still determine the color of a player's skin, according to a feature in *Human Behavior* magazine.

Along with Edward McCormick, a psychology graduate

student at the State University of New York at Cortland, Rainville decided to try to document what he had picked up in the voices of the sports announcers. They made audio tapes of 12 NFL games televised by the three major networks and set up protocols for each player listing everything the announcers (all White) said about each player in a particular game.

SAME POSITIONS

They paired Black and White players who played the same positions and had similar performances in terms of yards gained, passes received, etc. The names, teams and cities of the players were disguised, and the protocols were handed to raters who characterized the announc-

ers' comments.

Black players who had performed similarly to Whites in the same position had not won similar praise from announcers, they discovered. In fact, the announcers seemed to begin with the assumption that Black players are inferior to Whites and then broadcast the game in such a way as to support this belief.

They more often praised Whites on how they played the game. They more often put down Blacks for past achievements or failures that had nothing to do with the game. Blacks more often compared unfavorably with Whites. Whites won more comment for physical and mental attributes and received more special focus and sympathy. □

"The least inferential conclusion which can be derived from these results is that the announcers are building a positive reputation for White players and a comparatively negative reputation for Black players," say the researchers.

Blacks were the targets of more speculation, both negative and positive. This finding is in line with other research on prejudice.

When Blacks broke through the line or made a long end run, this was seen as the result of luck, good blocking by other players or other forces outside the player himself. When Whites made the same accomplishments, this was interpreted as being due to their own skill, strength, initiative or other internal qualities. □

COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

charges ultimately dismissed; three years in exile, because of conspiracies against me; two weeks, because of an outrageous bail..."

A substantial amount of the funds used to secure Huey's release at that time were raised in a Committee for Justice-sponsored effort.

Concerning the new pledge campaign, the Committee notes that those well-meaning people who participate "are not only included on the Committee for Justice mailing list, but will also receive monthly the latest news on Huey's case — which resumes on January 2 in Alameda County Superior Court — and on revelations of illegal federal police activities generated from the Party's lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, IRS, et. al.

"Becoming 'part' of the pledge program makes people a real

working part of the Committee for Justice."

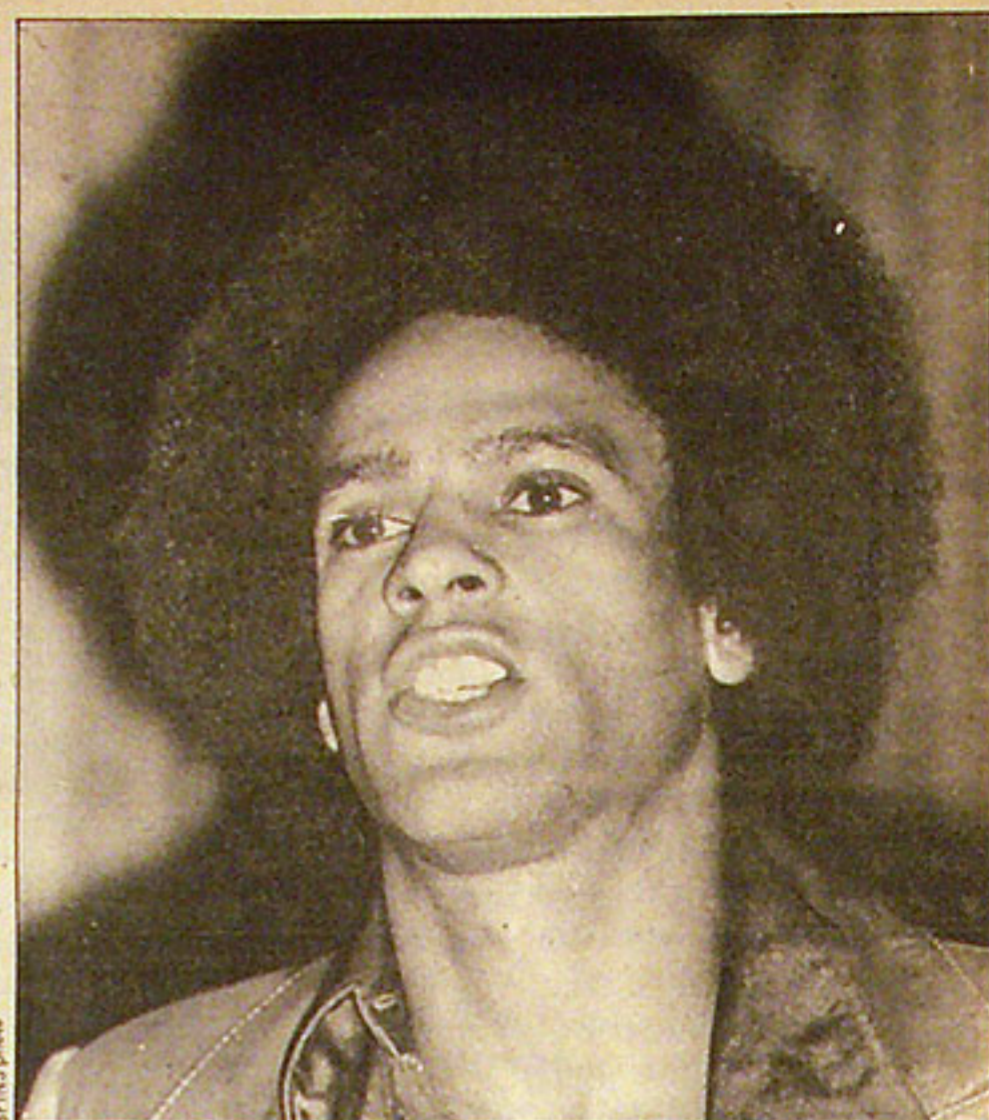
In initiating the pledge campaign, the Committee said this in their appeal to the community:

"There are many ways that you can participate in the work of the Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party. We need to publicize the facts about Huey's case and the general campaign to discredit the Black Panther Party. You can help by doing research, distributing leaflets, canvassing a neighborhood, or participating on a 'human billboard' line.

GREAT COSTS

"The costs of this case are great. For Huey and the members of the Black Panther Party, it is constant work to overturn false charges and the pressure of false allegations. Financially, it means thousands of dollars in legal, court and research costs. You can help by making a monthly pledge,

HUEY P.
NEWTON



which will insure a regular, guaranteed income to the case.

"Please fill in the pledge form (see page 13) if you can give time or money. Make checks payable to: Committee for Justice for

Huey P. Newton (tax-deductible contributions of \$25 or more can be made payable to: Capp Street Foundation). Send all donations to: Post Office Box 297, Oakland, California 94604." □

How F.B.I. Disrupted Bay Area Activists

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

The informants were paid up to \$400 for their information, the files show. The amount and frequency of the payments were controlled by Charles Bates, then special agent-in-charge.

Bates, who resigned from the FBI last June and who now works for Burns International Security Services, Inc., could not be reached for comment.

The letter drafted by FBI agents and sent to the Black Panther Party newspaper read: in part:

"What's this bullshit SDS outfit? I'll tell you what they has finally showed there true color WHITE (sic). They are just like the commies and all the other White radical groups that suck up to the Blacks and use us."

A covering note from Bates to Washington said:

"This letter contains numerous errors, both grammatical as well as typographical. It is felt the editors of this newspaper will accept this letter as being legitimate and from one of their own kind."

The COINTELPRO documents on the Bay Area, which cover the period 1968 to 1971, say the FBI fed anti-Left material to a source at the *Examiner* on a regular basis. The name of that person was deleted from the files by the FBI.

"It is recommended that a copy of the enclosed be furnished to (name deleted) for the *San Francisco Examiner* who is an established source of the San Francisco office and has been

used on prior occasions under COINTELPRO," Bates wrote in a memo to then FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover on June 15, 1970.

Bates indicated he had better luck a year earlier, reporting that he provided the information that led to an *Examiner* story linking former Stanford professor H. Bruce Franklin with a Maoist group at Stanford.

Ed Montgomery, a retired investigative reporter for the *Examiner*, filed a \$750,000 libel suit against the weekly *Bay Guardian* in May in connection with an article it published entitled "How the FBI 'Nailed H. Bruce Franklin.'"

The suit claimed that the article characterized Montgomery as a "conduit for the FBI to plant stories in the *Examiner*." Montgomery denied last week that the FBI supplied him with any inside dope about Franklin.

According to FBI records in Washington, the San Francisco FBI office paid \$380 to an employee of the *Express Times*, who was also a member of SDS, to attend and report on a meeting of the underground press, held in Madison, Wisconsin, from November 28 to December 1, 1968.

The San Francisco office heralded the success Young Republicans and the Young Americans for Freedom were having in countering left-wing activity at Stanford and recommended that Washington try to encourage similar activities around the nation. Hoover did so.

Hoover's high regard for COINTELPRO was demonstrated

by an incident involving then "Yippie" leader Jerry Rubin.

Rubin was flying from Chicago to San Francisco on a student airline ticket even though he was not a student at the time. Use of such a ticket by a non-student is a misdemeanor.

Hoover ordered his agents to arrange with United Airlines to arrest Rubin when he stepped off the airplane in San Francisco. But United refused to cooperate, and Rubin walked past the waiting FBI men and San Mateo sheriff's deputies without knowing Hoover's trap had malfunctioned.

The late director was furious, writing to the San Francisco office:

"Notwithstanding past bureau entreaties regarding the neutralization of these individuals and in the face of a situation pregnant with possibilities for neutralizing one of the most reprehensible of the New Left leaders, it appears your office did nothing more than make a perfunctory effort to net Rubin."

Hoover said the incident showed San Francisco agents "have not yet grasped the significance of the counterintelligence program, are not alert to the opportunities that may arise to counteract the New Left and its adherents, and are not sufficiently motivated to aggressive action."

Hoover added:

"Further slipshod handling of this program will not be tolerated and future delinquencies will be dealt with severely."



FBI director CLARENCE KELLEY stands by billboard supporting police and the FBI.

B.P.P. Target Of Police Conspiracies

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

effort to disrupt growing BPP political and financial support.

Concerning the Rackley murder, a front page *New Haven* (Connecticut) *Journal-Courier* article on November 2, 1977, reported that "informed sources" have disclosed that the New Haven police tapped the telephones of the Orchard Street apartment where FBI agent-provocateur George Sams terrorized the young New York State BPP Chapter member to falsely confess that he (Rackley) was a police agent.

The *Journal-Courier* article speculated that it is likely that at least one of several telephone calls made from the apartment the night before Rackley's body was found in a wooded, swampy area on May 21, 1969, would have alerted listening police to Sams' bizarre plot.

Leading Black Panther Party member Ericka Huggins and former BPP chairman Bobby Seale were among 13 BPP members unjustly charged with the Rackley murder. Ms. Huggins and Seale were incarcerated for over two years without bail before the false charges were dropped.

Meanwhile, COINTELPRO documents obtained by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* provide proof for the first time that the FBI conducted mail-tampering operations against domestic Black activists in the late 1960's.

"We Can Move Mountains"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

gasoline of human energy and human resources that makes the engine of community survival programs turn. We have never had much money to start or continued to implement the community services we have established in the community. Their success depends on unleashing the human energy of the people who need the services to develop mechanisms that will provide them.

It is the spirit of "We can do anything" that makes our survival programs successful. And there, of course, lies a difficult problem.

We say often that the most powerful weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the minds of the oppressed. By this we mean that we accept the image of ourselves that the rich and well-educated and the conditions of our oppression lead us to accept. This is a negative image. We are proud, but we lack self-respect. We are taught to believe that there are many things we cannot do and it will always be that way.

A November 13, 1969, memo said the FBI had obtained information indicating that various Black Panther chapters were forwarding taped reports to BPP headquarters in San Francisco.

The use of tapes, the memo said, "suggests the counterintelligence possibility of preparing and mailing tapes containing disruptive, erroneous information."

"Also under certain circumstances, it may be feasible to erase or distort these tapes, making them valueless to the recipient."

MEMO

To see whether these things could be done, the memo said, "The Bureau has requested that we determine the following:

"1. If BPP (Black Panther Party) branches in your territory are sending reports on tape to national headquarters or to other branches.

"2. If tapes are generally dictated by the same person; if so, who?

"3. The extent of use, that is, are tapes sent on a regular basis or sporadically. If regularly, are they sent out on a particular day of the week?

"4. Full description of tape utilized, including brand, size, etc.

"5. Method of packaging, addressing and mailing. In this connection, it would be helpful to know if protective packaging is used.

Education frees us of this negative self-image because it allows us to understand the way the system works and to get an explanation of why we are forced to live in certain conditions. Education makes things that are held up as mysteries like medical knowledge, and knowledge of computers, and knowledge of the courts and structure of governmental decision-making into things that just require a little discipline and study for anyone to understand.

Finally, we have since the beginning of our organization taken our direction in the development of a program for survival from the Black Panther Party. Recently the Party Founder and President, Huey P. Newton, defined the most important issue in the country as that of finding jobs that pay a decent wage and carry with them dignity and a future for the hundreds of thousands of people who are unemployed. It is easy to see that a country such as this, with all its wealth and technology, should be able to provide full employment.

"6. Any other available information regarding the handling of these tapes."

The Senate Intelligence Committee reported last year that the FBI conducted several mail-opening operations between 1940 and 1966. The late J. Edgar Hoover, who was director, purportedly stopped the operations in 1966 and later called them "clearly illegal."

But those operations, the Senate report said, were directed primarily at suspected foreign agents.

Charles Garry, the noted San Francisco lawyer who has represented the BPP in several court cases, told the *Post-Dispatch* some tapes did wind up missing.

PARANOID

"During that time, if you made accusations, you were considered paranoid," Garry said.

"But we knew there were things going on, although we couldn't put our finger on it. I knew we were being hit from all sides."

Garry said the newly disclosed memo raises the possibility that tapes involved in criminal investigations of the Panthers might have been altered. He said Bobby Seale — while listening to government held tapes during pre-trial discovery proceedings in the Alex Rackley case in 1970 — had asserted that some of the tapes were doctored.

"He (Seale) was listening, and he said to me: 'I never said that. They've done something to that tape,'" Garry recalled. "Those

are the kinds of things you wonder about."

As it turned out, those particular tapes were not used as evidence at the trial.

Dated December 23, 1970, the COINTELPRO memo concerning FBI disruption of THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper says, in part:

"Enclosed for each of the below listed resident agencies are reproductions of a column written by Victor Riesel regarding the Black Panther Party (BPP). Also enclosed are reproductions of an anonymous letter concerning Riesel's article.

"A portion of the column deals with the proposal that union members refuse to handle shipments of BPP newspapers. If such a boycott gains national support it will obviously result in effectively cutting off BPP propaganda and finances; therefore, it is most desirable this proposal be brought to the attention of members and officials of such unions as the Teamsters and others involved in the handling of BPP shipments... Each (word obscured) is requested to anonymously disseminate the enclosures taking precautions to insure that they cannot be traced to the Bureau."

The words "anonymously" and "to insure that they cannot be traced to the Bureau" are underlined. Other COINTELPRO documents received by the *Post-Dispatch* detail how the plot was being carried out at various truck stops throughout the state. □



Full Employment Reception, Dec. 17th.

The Northern California Coalition for Full Employment invites the community to a reception in honor of Coretta Scott King, widow of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Murray Finlay, President of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union on December 17, 1977 from 5:00 to 7:00 p.m. Mrs. King and Mr. Finlay are co-chairpersons of the National Committee for Full Employment. They will be speaking on working for full employment at the local level. Tickets are available at the door. A five dollar donation is requested. For more information, please call Louise Billotte at 397-0484.

The college is in a way our most important survival program aimed at full employment.

Now, we are fighting in coalition with groups all over Chicago to change the city's policy on economic development and employment programs and we are having some success in our suit against the city's powerful Economic Development Commission. We don't think that our small college can solve the massive problem of job training that is necessary to be solved. But we can serve quite a few people in our community and we can provide a model which proves that poor and oppressed people, formerly unskilled, can learn the advanced technical skills necessary for most jobs today.

We are simply trying to show that developing a real community college is possible. Once that is done there will be a college in every apartment building in the cities and every corner in the mountains. Because the force of a people who know once and for all that they can do anything is irresistible and can move mountains.

Rhodesian Attack

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

was left intact in the camp, which included a school, stores for food, clothing and medicines, a repair yard and transport depot.

On the grounds of the camp hospital, the bodies of eight men who had been shot in the back of the head still lay beneath a cashew tree.

At the camp the reporters visited, a mass grave had been bulldozed for the bodies of 20 girls apparently between the ages of 10 and 14. They were reported to have been sitting in their classroom when the Rhodesians attacked. At the edge of the grave the pages of a blood-spattered schoolbook fluttered in a breeze.

MOBILE CLINIC

Near the mobile clinic of the camp, the reporters saw a woman sitting on the ground with an arm curled protectively around a child. Both were dead.

In the camp's administrative center, down the road, the legs of a man and a woman protruded from a large oil drum, which had been riddled with bullets. They had apparently crawled inside to hide.

Reporters counted 70 bodies on the grounds of the camp. A doctor at the hospital at Chimoio said that 10 people had died there, and survivors said that at least 20 were unaccounted for.

Six hundred people who had been wounded were being treated at the Chimoio hospital. More than 200 were said to be in serious condition.

In his strong attack on the U.S.

Vorster "Victory" Signals Crackdown

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

throughout the campaign. In a speech delivered on election eve to a crowd of 5,000, the demagogic N.P. leader bellowed:

"Let the world know, let it know tomorrow, let it know for all future time to come, small as we are, situated as we are, we will fight to the end with what we have got!"

Afterwards, boasting of his "victory," the "prime minister" said that the election results showed that the White minority has rejected international demands for Black majority rule in South Africa.

"I think people will take note...of the determination with which South Africa will resist if attacked under any circumstances," Vorster emphasized.

In a television interview held as the election returns were coming in, Vorster, indirectly referring to the U.S., criticized countries abroad who had been "interfering in South Africa's internal affairs."



Zimbabwean refugees slaughtered by Rhodesian troops.

and other Western countries' involvement in the attack, Mugabe said:

"We wish to emphasize that the attacks in question were effected by combined Rhodesian-South African-Israeli forces and mercenaries gladly provided by France, the U.S., Britain, West Germany and other Western countries.

"The use of French and American planes and the involvement of mercenaries from Western countries make these countries full accomplices in the crimes of genocide and human torture against both the people of Zimbabwe and Mozambique," the ZANU official declared.

In an interview published in the Afrikaans magazine *Huisgenoot* after the election, Vorster left no doubt that the N.P. will continue to relentlessly enforce White supremacy in South Africa.

"The government will not give in to the insistence that urban Blacks be included in the new deal (constitution)," he said.

"NEW DEAL"

Under the "new deal," the Colored (mixed race) and Asian population will be given a minority role in the government. Three separate parliaments would be created, one for the Whites, the 2.7 million Coloreds and 750,000 Asians, with the Whites maintaining control.

Vorster made a token promise that the seven million urban Blacks in the South Africa will be allowed to control their educational and law enforcement systems so that "it cannot be said the White man has ordered them to do this and that," he told *Huisgenoot* magazine.

Condemning Vorster's call for

"The involvement of Britain and the United States in the perpetration of those crimes makes a mockery of the principle of peaceful negotiations which they have led the world to believe they are pursuing.

"They stand condemned not only as hypocrites but also as international criminals who know no bounds in their grand strategy to further the imperialist and capitalist objectives which they have started," Mugabe said.

Mugabe added: "If the attacks of the last few days were intended to break down the backbone of the Patriotic Front, they have failed and the enemy knows this."

South African Whites to go forward together, Helen Suzman, the PFP's most outspoken Parliamentary representative, sarcastically noted, "It will be forward together over the cliff and into the sea, like a lot of lemmings."

The generally anti-government Johannesburg newspaper, the *Star*, said that "the election, has, if anything, widened the gap between Whites and Blacks.

"The National Party captured considerable new support among the one-sixth of South Africans whose skin color allowed them to take part in it...The final reckoning gives nobody except the shortsighted any cause for celebration."

Predicting little or no change in Vorster, the *Star* continued to say that the N.P. leader "will continue with his morsels of minor concessions, of token change.

"As before, they are likely to be too late as well as too little, too heavily constricted by archaic ideology while the country continues to boil and burn." □

Puppet Leaders

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

Muzorewa's UANC, Sithole's African National Council (ANC) and Chirau's Zimbabwe United People's Organization (ZUPO) — a group of Black tribal leaders — are known collaborators with the White minority government and prominent nationalists who had been living in exile, but who were now prepared to renounce terrorism.

First to arrive, last July, was the 57-year-old Ndabaningi Sithole, a minister of the Congregationalist church. Within the nationalist movement, Sithole is credited with having started the guerrilla struggle. But he has lost the support of the guerrillas, and Smith believed that his intellectual vigor would not only strengthen the nationalist position in any negotiations but would also stiffen Muzorewa into going ahead with talks.

Smith's third choice was Chief Jeremiah Chirau, the 54-year-old tribal leader — a conservative, a tough law-and order man, and a member of Smith's own government. For years, Chirau has been an opponent of the nationalists and of sanctions, and a staunch supporter of the government's war effort.

Politically, Smith hopes that with his new commitment to one-man, one-vote, popular support for the war will begin to wane.

Militarily, the only way that government forces can effectively combat guerrilla activity inside Rhodesia is to strike first at their bases in Mozambique and Zambia.

Accordingly, while Smith was putting the finishing touches to his internal settlement plan last week, his military launched a major assault on guerrilla camps in Mozambique.

Thus, Smith's internal option — however well negotiations now go, offers no prospect for immediate relief from the military crisis. But the deal he hopes to make with the Black puppet leaders will, in his opinion, give advantages to the Whites unobtainable from a British government.

Last year, Smith's hopes centered on Muzorewa. This was sensible enough. In 1974, when the nationalist leaders were released from detention, Muzorewa became head of the African National Congress — a grouping of 11 nationalist leaders until internal rivalries split them asunder.

His other appeal to Smith is that he is an incompetent negotiator. □

A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

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



INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

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

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.

SHOE PROGRAM

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

FREE PEST CONTROL

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

PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

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

GEORGE JACKSON MEDICAL CLINIC

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



MINI-MARKET FOR SENIORS

THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

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

PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM

(Being implemented)
Provides free dental check-ups, treatment and an educational program for dental hygiene.

PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRY PROGRAM

(Being implemented)
Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eyeglasses for the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM

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

FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

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

FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

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

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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

PEOPLE'S FREE 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.

OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

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

LIBERATION SCHOOLS: FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS

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

CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

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



FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

U.S. COMPANIES PROMOTE BABY BOTTLE DISEASES — CAUSE HIGH INFANT DEATH RATE

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Throughout the Third World new mothers are leaving maternity wards with tins of powdered milk — free samples — supplied mostly by American and Swiss companies.

They try to reconstitute a powdered formula where they have no clean water, no suitable pot for sterilizing, insufficient fuel to boil their one bottle and nipple several times a day, and no refrigerator for the milk.

Above all, they do not have money to keep on buying enough formula. And so what happens is that poor mothers start to "stretch" the formula. Some mothers who have run out of formula have been found mixing cornstarch with water to give the baby something that looked like milk. Others use cocoa, tea, or simply sugar water.

The British charity organization War on Want found a Nigerian mother feeding her baby water alone. She had seen the bottle and nipple pictured on a billboard and thought the manufactured items themselves provided the nourishment.

Unsterilized and diluted bottle formula exacerbates the two most common causes of infant sickness and death around the world: malnutrition and diarrhea.

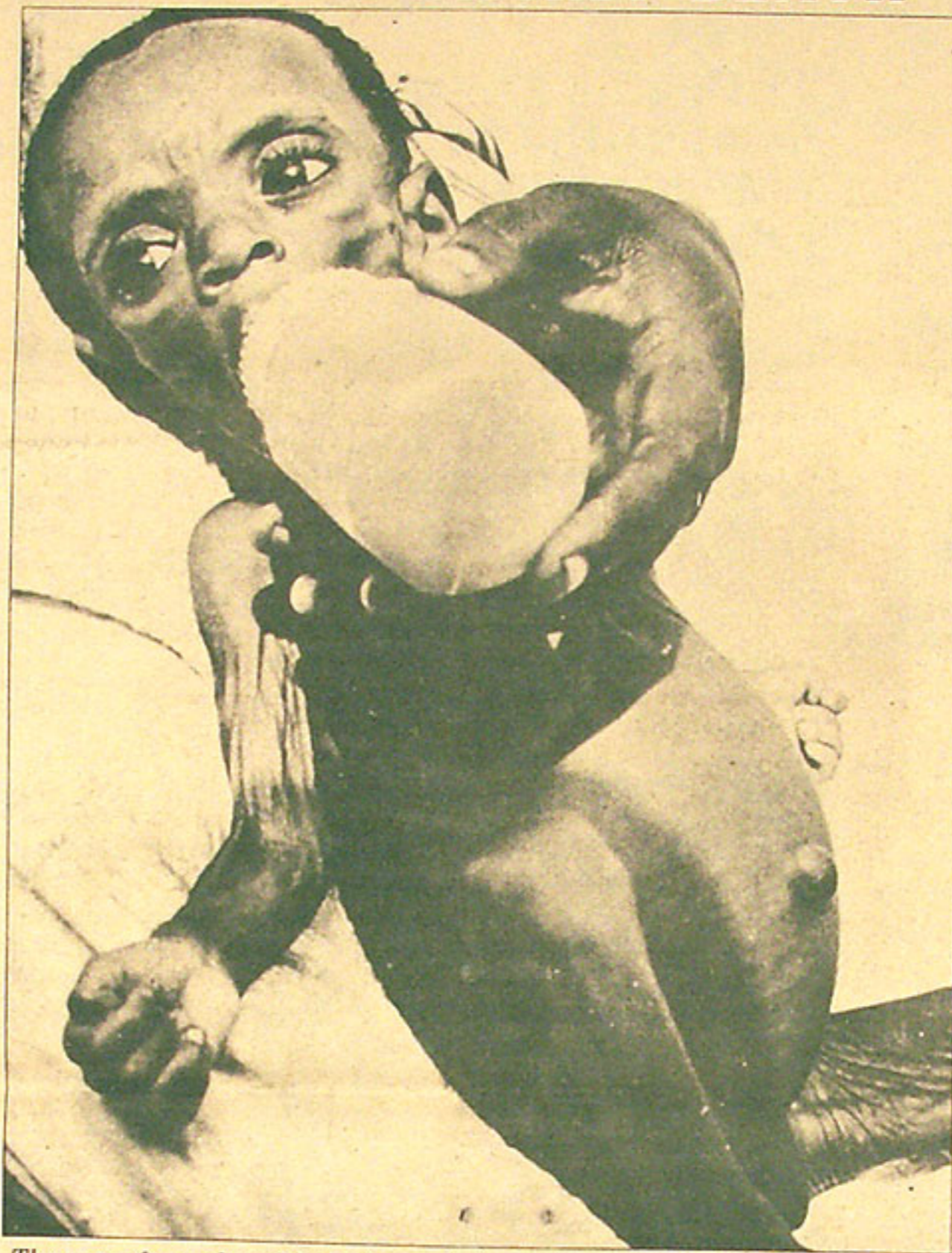
BOTTLE ILLNESS

Since the late '60's, health officials in poor countries have been seeing these symptoms combined in a syndrome sometimes called "Bottle Illness." In some hospitals in Africa these severely dehydrated babies are kept aside in beds labeled "Lactogen Syndrome" (Lactogen is the Nestle Company's powdered formula).

The syndrome involves no new diseases. The diarrhea results from drinking unboiled water. The malnutrition takes the form of marasmus (shown by the sunken eyes, prominent ribs, thin little arms and legs we've seen in the Bangladesh posters) and Kwashiorkor (puffy face and feet, anemia and apathy).

What is new about "Bottle Illness" is the early onset of these poverty diseases in children. Ordinarily mother's milk, even of an underfed woman, will provide adequate nourishment for at least the early months. For a year to 18 months more it can sometimes provide a good protein supplement, *Mother Jones* reports.

Furthermore, mother's milk



The use of powdered baby formula by mothers in the Third World is a major cause of infant sickness and death.

provides immunities against various diseases — something all the more important in countries with few public health measures. No matter what water the mother drinks, the baby receives breast milk relatively free of the local infections. When poor people breast feed, malnutrition doesn't usually appear until well into the second year of life.

In Latin America, researchers found that because of the decline of breast feeding, childhood deaths from malnutrition now peak in the third and fourth months of life.

One of the horrible aspects of this new form of malnutrition is that protein deficiency in the early months seems more likely to lead to permanent brain damage.

The bottle baby problem really began in the late 1960's. By then it had become clear the U.S. birthrate was heading for an all-time low. Figures from Europe told the same story. Baby-oriented businesses throughout the developed world knew that they had to think of a strategy to cope with the baby bust.

The big push went into finding

new markets in the Third World. Ross Laboratories, for example, is the subsidiary of Abbott Labs, which manufactures Similac and Isomil. In 1969 the overseas portion of Ross' pediatric sales was 14.3 per cent; by 1973 it had risen to 22.2 per cent, amounting to \$31.3 million.

Following the same strategy, Bristol-Myers (Enfamil and Olac), American Home Products' Wyeth division (SMA, S-26, Nursoy) and, biggest of all, the Swiss corporation Nestle (Lactogen) expanded like mad. Throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America, the airwaves and the billboards began filling with slogans like "Right from the Start — the Foods You Can Trust." The milk companies concentrate now on the most effective and direct approach to the new mother. The majority of the companies give out free samples, pamphlets, posters and contributions of equipment directly to hospitals; they give services to and sponsor conferences for the doctors and nurses.

In some countries "milk banks" connected to the hospitals



sell a supply of formula to new mothers at cut rates, so it takes them a couple of weeks before they have to buy it on the open market and realize how expensive it really is.

But Nestle, Bristol-Myers and some of the others don't stop with the hospitals. Milk companies now hire their own special "milk nurses." Dressed in nurse-like uniforms, they travel around in countries such as Jamaica or Malaysia visiting new mothers, providing gifts and advice, weighing the babies — and leaving infant formula samples. These "mothercraft personnel" or "milk nurses" may or may not be medically trained.

In the scantiest slum store Third World mothers will find powdered milk prominently displayed. (The February, 1977, issue of the Brazilian trade journal *Modern Supermarket* shows that baby formulas have a profit margin of 72 per cent. This is three or four times higher than the profit margin for most other items.) On the labels of these products are pictures of plump, smiling children. And so, healthy mothers are feeding their babies watered-down imported milk in contaminated bottles.

"BOTTLE BABIES"

The film *Bottle Babies*, used widely by the church groups campaigning against the promotion of baby formula in developing countries, ends with a shot of a child's grave near Lusaka, Zambia.

The small grave is decorated with a crushed milk can and a little baby bottle. The narrator says, "Mothers put empty Nestle's Lactogen cans and feeding bottles on their dead babies' graves, for they believe to the end that powdered milk and feeding bottles were the most valuable possessions their babies once had."

The film *Last Grave at Dimbaza* is about apartheid, not about bottle feeding. But it shows the poverty and the horrible infant mortality. The film ends with a shot of those infant graves. There, also, was that little can of powdered milk. □