SICKLE CELL SOLICITORS ATTACKED BY POLICE

(Oakland, Calif.) — The continuing campaign of legal injustice, together with police brutality, harassment, provocation and intimidation is heating up in the Bay Area against members of the Black Panther Party and solicitors for the Sickle Cell Anemia Research Foundation of the People’s Free Medical Research Health Clinic, founded by the Black Panther Party.

The maximum sentence of one to five years in a state penitentiary inflicted upon Black Panther Party member Robert Heard last week by “liberal” Judge Stanley Goldstein on a beefed-up assault charge, led off a wave of increased attacks against the Black Panther Party.

Bob’s lawyer, respected Oakland attorney John George, in a passionate and moving courtroom statement following the sentencing, branded it as typical of a system of justice that allows rich criminals to go free but sends poor persons to prison. Attorney John George has indicated that the sentence will be appealed.

As if the sentence was a signal for increased repression against the Black Panther Party-initiated programs in the Bay Area, on July 10 two burly San Francisco policemen brutally assaulted Vanetta Molson, a solicitor for Sickle Cell Anemia research, at 3rd and Market Streets as she was soliciting funds.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4
Editorial

THE PEOPLE

ARE ETERNAL

An insidious campaign is underway in the Bay Area to undermine the efforts of the People's Free Medical Research Clinic to carry out its research and free testing for Sickle Cell Anemia.

More than three years ago the Black Panther Party launched its program of free testing for Sickle Cell Anemia. Since that time the Party program has expanded into a community effort in which the Party participates, and many efforts by other organizations and groups have taken up the cause of Sickle Cell research and testing.

To date the People's Free Medical Research Clinics have tested nearly one-half million people throughout the country for Sickle Cell. Throughout the northern California area, over one million people must be tested and screened while hundreds of thousands must be counseled on the effects of Sickle Cell Anemia and/or receive treatment.

But racist, reactionary forces in California and in the country are determined to undermine this very important work of the People's Free Medical Research Clinics solely because those Clinics were initiated by or inspired by the Black Panther Party. These forces care less for the lives of poor Black people suffering from Sickle Cell Anemia than they do for discrediting and attacking everything the Black Panther Party touches or influences.

We understand that our vanguard role as initiator of survival services for people in dire need across this country exposes the failures of this "great and wealthy nation" to provide those needs. Such exposure is damaging to the image conveyed and false explanations about the system that cannot stand careful examination, leading more and more Americans to the conclusion that the system needs drastic changing.

It is that conclusion that endangers the power structure in this state and in this country and explains its determination to discredit and destroy the Black Panther Party and its inspiring example and leadership. But, we shall not be destroyed. Our strength lies within and among the people we serve. They, and therefore we, are eternal.

An Appeal To Our Readers

Dear Reader,

Our cover story and our editorial in this issue of THE BLACK PANTHER should convince you that powerful forces in this country are intensifying their attacks against the Black Panther Party and its survival programs, among which is THE BLACK PANTHER Intercommunal News Service.

As you who read THE BLACK PANTHER know better than others, these attacks are a direct result of the failure of these forces to destroy the community-based organizing efforts of the Black Panther Party to serve those in our communities most in need. A vital arm of those organizing efforts is THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper by which we are able to keep you informed of our day-to-day work; keep you abreast of those events ignored by the establishment media affecting you and your lives; interpret for you major national events from the point of view of poor and oppressed peoples; demonstrate our close ties of struggle and commitment with our African and Third World brothers and sisters and thereby constantly raise our levels of consciousness about what is to be done.

You who are our constant readers also know better than others how important it is that THE BLACK PANTHER be read by more and more people within our communities throughout this country. This is happening, too slowly. We need your financial help in order to better promote THE BLACK PANTHER; to make it known to growing numbers of people through billboards, posters, radio spots and T.V. spots and a variety of other means to reach those who should be reading our paper.

Send that contribution you've been meaning to send but have been putting off, TODAY. Remember, $100 or more gets you a lifetime subscription, $25.00 a free one year's subscription. No contribution is too small.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

David G. Du Bois
Editor-in-Chief

COMMENT

Ex-CIA Agent Talks

Reprinted from the International Bulletin, published by Internews, the following article—based on an in-depth conversation with ex-CIA agent/Marxist convert Philip Agee—provides a first-hand view of the evil workings of the mysterious "spy and dagger" organization, with analyses and predictions on how that cutting knife will next be used throughout the world and ways to to about blunting its deadly effect here at home.

Former CIA agent Philip Agee thinks that the Ford administration will continue to carry out covert political warfare operations abroad despite current revelations and calls for restraint on the CIA's activities. In an interview with Internews, Agee said he thinks that in the post-Vietnam era, Washington will likely increase clandestine activity unless public and Congressional pressure forces a cutback in CIA operations.

Philip Agee joined the CIA in 1957, after graduating from Notre Dame. He worked for the CIA for 12 years — primarily in Ecuador, Uruguay, and Mexico — and quit the agency in 1969. Agee's disillusionment with CIA policies in Latin America led to his writing Inside the Company: CIA Diary, which was published earlier this year in England, where he now lives. The CIA has said it will try to block the publication of Agee's book in the United States.

The methodology doesn't change very much from country to country," Agee told Internews. "By showing how it works in two or three countries in Latin America," he said, "people in Asia, Africa and other areas perhaps will be able to spot the same type of things occurring in their countries, which, of course, only work if kept secret."

Agee thinks his book, other exposures of CIA activity such as The Cult of Intelligence by Marks and Marchetti and the revelations of CIA intervener in Chile, have reduced the CIA's ability to carry out covert political warfare. But unless the public and Congress continued on page 10.

THE BLACK PANTHER

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Elaine Brown: "JoAnne Little Acted For Us All"

Setting the tone for last Friday's "Free JoAnne Little" rally at the Community Learning Center in East Oakland, Elaine Brown, leading member of the Black Panther Party, gave a forceful speech expressing her pride in JoAnne Little's defense of the humanity and dignity of all Black, poor and oppressed humankind. Repeatedly interrupted with roars of cheering and wild applause, Elaine told the assembled crowd of more than 500, that, in its essence, the case of JoAnne Little "is political — not moral or judicial — and that the unity of the victims of racism and sexism was a fundamental requirement. To the sustained and enthusiastic cheers of the crowd, Elaine said: "I am certainly one of JoAnne Little's peers, and I've already found her not guilty." The text of Elaine's speech follows.

"I'm very happy to have an opportunity to come here this evening and say some words for JoAnne Little, because Sister JoAnne Little said a lot of words for me. She said something so succinct in her actions and in her behavior. I'm so grateful I just want to say 'Thank You' to her. We can say 'Thank You' in many, many different ways, and we can start by doing what we're doing here today, and continue our struggle to support her case.

"POLITICAL CASE."

"In fact, the case of JoAnne Little is not a judicial or a moral case; it is a political case. It has nothing to do with the reality of what happened on the night that she was raped, but has to do with the political consciousness and the political motivations of men of power in the United States of America.

"We can envision what happened that night, as a slovenly, low-grade and ill-bred pig — a native son of America — crept upon the cell of JoAnne Little — so delicate, so innocent, so naive about what could possibly go on in that jail cell — crept upon her cell as he had so many other cells so many other nights before. In hot pursuit of his fantasies of what Black women were all

CONTINUED ON PAGE 8
Sickle Cell
Solicitors
Attacked

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE
When the 115-pound Vanetta inquired why she was being asked to "come along" with the police, she was roughly handled by one of the two and her face was brutality smashed into the top of the trunk of the police car so that she could not breathe. Her efforts to free her face were answered by one of the cops snatching her by her hair and forcing her face onto the cab trunk, while the other tightly handcuffed her.

Screaming for help, Vanetta was thrown into the police car and again was assaulted brutally while handcuffed. The cop in the front seat beside the driver reached over the seat and struck her several times around the head forcing her to the floor of the car. In that position, he struck her in the side with his fist and forced her elbow into her side. Vanetta told THE BLACK PANTHER that she must have been struck between 10 to 15 times before reaching the police station.

BRUTALITY
At the station Vanetta was charged with "battery against a police officer," but allowed to leave on O.R., (her own recognizance), because she had never before been arrested. However, leaving the station, however Vanetta filed a complaint of brutality against the two officers with the Bureau of Internal Affairs and the process of filing charges against the two has begun.

On the same day, in the 200 block of Powell Street in San Francisco, Mack Wilson and Lamarr Donald, authorized solicitors for Sickle Cell Anemia research, were stopped by two San Francisco policemen (Badge Nos. 972 and 1876). After showing their identification cards, Mack and Lamarr were told they were forbidden to solicit funds on the street and were placed under arrest.

At the police station when checks revealed that both are members of the Black Panther Party, police officers (immediately) began making foul, racist slurs, insults and provocative statements about Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party. They said things such as: "Huey looks like a Dixie..." "Huey sucks pussy." "Panthers aren't as tough as they think they are."

CONTINUED IN LAST COLUMN

PETITION
We, the undersigned, urge the committee of Congress investigating the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to do a thorough and complete investigation—not only of the activities of these agencies against prominent and "respectable" organizations—but also of the abuses suffered by minority and civil rights organizations, including the following:

Black Panther Party
Institute of the Black World
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Southern Conference Education Fund
Urban League
Welfare Rights Organization

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Please clip and return to: The Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party, P.O. Box 297, Oakland, California 94604, or your local Committee for Justice.

CONTINUED FROM FIRST COLUMN
They called Huey "a killer" and claimed the FBI was "ripping off Black people."

These provocations continued for about 30 minutes with neither comrade replying or responding verbally. Without any apparent reason, the police decided to book Mack Wilson on a jaywalking traffic violation and held him because he did not have the money to pay the fine. At the same time they permitted Lamarr Donald to leave without charging him. The reason, however, became clear shortly. Lamarr is 6'3" and weighs about 170 lbs. Mack is 5'10", slight in build and weighs considerably less.

After Lamarr was permitted to leave, two officers handcuffed Mack so tightly "I could hardly stand it," he told THE BLACK PANTHER, and declared, "Let's take this tough Panther upstairs," grabbed him by the arms, twisting his wrist as if they were trying to break his hands, dragged him up the steps to the processing room, ordered him to empty his pockets, searched him, ordered him into the "strip cell," told him to take off all his clothes and, as he was taking off his shirt, Officer J. Backer (S.F.P.D., Badge No. 57) said: "You're a Panther. You think you're tough, don't you, you Black motherfucker. We'll see how tough you are," and hit him in the stomach twice.

REFUSED TO BE PROVOKED
As Mack fell to one knee, Backer grabbed him in the face, began choking him and shouted, "Are you tough now, you Black motherfucker," and hit him in the face several times, demanding if "Mister tough Panther can talk," indicating that Mack's refusal to be provoked either verbally or otherwise had infuriated the two.

As Mack was taken out of the strip cell he was ordered to walk straight as if nothing had happened and "don't drag your feet." He was told that he'd better do what they said or "We'll fuck you up."

Mack Wilson was kept overnight without being given permission to make a phone call. He was released the following day on payment of a $30 warrant. At no time did he receive any medical treatment for his injuries.
B.P.P. PROTESTS L.A. TIMES RACIST ATTACK ON MERVYN DYMALLY

(Oakland, Calif.) — The Black Panther Party has blasted The Los Angeles Times for its alleged "expose" of mismanagement of funds by California Lt. Governor Mervyn Dymally and Assemblyman William Greene during their tenure with the Urban Affairs Institute, contained in the July 3, 1975, edition of the newspaper.

In a letter to the editor, the Black Panther Party stresses the "outrage at the blatantly racist character" of the alleged expose and charges that the attack was motivated "by racist forces within the hierarchy of The Los Angeles Times incensed, as Lt. Governor Dymally says, because he has become 'an effective Black Democratic leader...who does not dance to The Times' tune.'"

"POVERTY PROGRAMS"

Asserting that the "poverty programs" hysterically thrown together "to stave off the uncontrollable outburst of Black frustration and desperation of the late sixties" were never meant to permanently solve the fundamental problems of widespread racism and disparity of opportunity for Black and minority youth, the Black Panther Party's letter praises the "gargantuan efforts" of individuals like Lt. Governor Dymally and Assemblyman Greene who "performed something close to miracles and contributed meaningfully to Black survival despite the obstacles."

The Party reminds The Times' readers that Black Americans are not fooled by such attacks against "our emerging independent Black leaders," but are rather confirmed in our belief that these leaders are, indeed, "refusing to dance to the establishment tune and are therefore deserving of our continuing and increased support."

The full text of the letter to The Los Angeles Times from the Black Panther Party follows:

"Editor:

We are outraged at the blatantly racist character of your alleged expose of what you call the 'illegal,' 'unauthorized,' 'immoral,' 'misuse of money,' by Lt. Governor Mervyn Dymally during his tenure as director of the Urban Affairs Institute and State Assemblyman Bill Green, in the

frameworks against almost insurmountable obstacles. Under those circumstances many people associate ourselves with Lt. Governor Dymally's assertion that new approaches, nontraditional ways, innovations and creative efforts were demanded and utilized by conscientious individuals, including Mervyn Dymally, working within those formed something close to miracles and contributed meaningfully to Black survival despite the obstacles.

The gargantuan efforts of these individuals, well known to the community and to their immediate associates, account for their greatly increased standing in the community and for a self-confidence and conviction that meaningful gains, however small, can be achieved without bowing to the dictates of the established power structure—in this case represented in The Los Angeles Times.

'Black Americans are not fooled by this or similar attacks against our emerging independent Black leaders. Such attacks only confirm to us that these leaders are, indeed, refusing to dance to the establishment tune and are therefore deserving of our continuing and increased support."

"ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE"

Signed,

David G. Du Bois
Official Spokesperson
Black Panther Party

Ralph Moore Wins Release From Jail

(Chattanooga, Tenn.) — In a decisive victory for the Black and poor community here, Brother Ralph Moore, coordinator of the Chattanooga, Tennessee, Chapter of the Black Panther Party, was released on his own recognizance from Hamilton County Jail on June 23.

Brother Moore had been in jail since last February when the Tennessee Supreme Court rejected his appeal on a conviction sentencing him to two years on a trumped-up extortion charge growing out of a 1972 Black Panther Party-led boycott of a local Red Food Store.

RALPH MOORE with some of the children of the Free Child Care/Development Program.

Criminal court Judge Joe Di Riso, who ordered Ralph's release, unsuccessfully made Ralph a secret "deal" in early June in which Di Riso offered Ralph a suspended sentence in exchange for Ralph's agreement to end his community organizing activities with the Black Panther Party. The secret deal was exposed by the Chattanooga Chapter of the Black Panther Party and was flatly rejected by Ralph, who declared:

"I cannot accept Judge Di Riso's deal because I refuse to sell out the people." (See THE BLACK PANTHER, June 23, 1975.)

Widespread community support for Ralph and the Survival Programs run by the Chattanooga Chapter of the Black Panther Party are credited for his release from jail. During his five months of confinement, Ralph received over 1,600 votes in support of his candidacy for Hamilton County commissioner of public works (Ralph's appeal on the 1972 conviction was rejected just four pages ago).

Survival Through Unity

ALREADY SEEN NATIONALLY

DAVID G. DU BOIS
Official Spokesperson of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Will Appear ON PUBLIC BROADCASTING TV'S

BLACK PERSPECTIVE ON THE

BAY AREA TELECAST

Wednesday, July 30, 1975 - 8:00 p.m.

KQED - Channel 9
B.P.P. DEMANDS APOLOGY OF JET COLUMNIST FOR VICIOUS SLUR OF HUEY P. NEWTON

(Oakland, Calif.) — The Black Panther Party has demanded a retraction and apology from Simeon Booker, columnist of Jet magazine, for his slanderous reference to Huey P. Newton, leader of the Black Panther Party, which appeared in the July 10 issue of Jet.

In a letter to Simeon Booker the Black Panther Party characterized the item contained in “Ticker Tape U.S.A.” suggesting that Huey P. Newton connived with agencies of the U.S. government, including the CIA, in order to get to China in 1971, as “a vicious, CIA-type (and probably CIA-initiated) attack on Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party...

Booker wrote in the item: “How could Black Panther Huey P. Newton be allowed to go to Red China months before the highly publicized visit of former President Richard Nixon, when, at the time, Newton was under indictment for the murder of a policeman? No politician dares to discuss this unusual arrangement.” Booker alleged...

The Black Panther Party letter to Booker points out that a telephone call to Black Panther Party attorney Charles Garry could have informed Booker of the facts that Huey P. Newton was free on bail without any travel restrictions when he travelled to People’s China in 1971, and that if Booker were interested in the truth he could have informed himself of that fact.

Copies of the Black Panther Party letter to Booker have been sent to Mr. Vernon Jordan of the Urban League, Mr. Margaret Bush Wilson of the NAACP, Congressman Charles Rangel, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus; the Rev. Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH, Congressman Ronald V. Dellums of California and Jet Editor/Publisher John H. Johnson.

The full text of the letter to Simeon Booker follows: “Mr. Booker,


HEWY P. NEWTON with the children of the Intercommunal Youth Institute in Oakland, California.

“It is as well a slander against the 28 Fallen Comrades of the Black Panther Party, outstanding among whom were the chairman of our Illinois Chapter, Fred Hampton, and our Field Marshal George Jackson, and on every Black American who has placed his/her life on the line in committed and dedicated struggle for freedom and control over the directions of our lives.

“Comrade Huey P. Newton was free on bail without any travel restrictions, awaiting a third trial after two juries had failed to find him guilty on an obviously trumped-up charge of shooting an Oakland policeman, when he travelled to the People’s Republic of China in 1971. A simple telephone call to Black Panther Party attorney Charles Garry

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

Ethos Center spotlighted at Community forum

(Oakland, Calif.) — The Son of Man Temple Community Forum last Sunday was very well attended as the local singing group, the Harmonistics, opened the program. Their two selections, “Don’t You Love It” and “Payback Is A Dog” soothed the receptive crowd.

The guest speakers for the forum were ETA ISH and JOSE LORENO, who is from Brazil, of the Ethos Center. They stressed the importance of one understanding his own history and culture in order to cope with the world. The Ethos Center is a center for youth from six to 14 years old and offers a broad program of cultural studies (African and Latin music, dance and art) as well as science and math. Plans are being made to include fencing, martial arts, and acrobatics into the program.

After this stimulating talk, the Harmonistics closed the program in their own mellower way with “Beauty Is Only Skin Deep” and the classic “Buffalo Soldier.”

THIS WEEK IN BLACK HISTORY

JULY 16, 1822

On July 16, 1822, a brilliant slave insurrection plotted by the immortal Denmark Vesey was aborted by a turncoat slave in Charleston, South Carolina.

Vesey, who had purchased his freedom some years earlier, systematically organized and agitated among the slaves in Charleston four or five years prior to the ill-fated slave revolt.

Enlisting slaves in Charleston and from surrounding areas, Vesey perfected a cell-like organization. Each cell leader had a list of recruits and an assignment of the leaders knew the details of the plot; the recruits knew nothing except the name of their leader and vague outlines of the insurrection. If a single recruit was arrested, he would be in no position to endanger the entire plot.

Slaves on entire plantations were signed up for the revolt. Weapons were constructed, and a leader was hired to create White disguises. An estimated 9,000 slaves were recruited.

Plans were discussed at secret meetings in Vesey’s house. On Sunday, July 16, the slave army was to strike at six points, taking possession of arsenals, guardhouses, powder magazines and naval stores. Disaster materialized when a Black slave, William Paul, attempted to recruit a house servant. Within five days, the authorities were in possession of the bare outlines of the plot.

Word came through the grapevine that Charleston officials were getting close to the source of the plot. Two of the top leaders, Peter Porquis and Mingo Dar, were under suspicion. A weak organization would have crumbled at this point. However, the Vesey organization did not work that way. Peter and Mingo cleverly went to the mayor’s office to “turn themselves in” because their honor and their fidelity had been questioned. The baffled authorities took the leads, convinced that guilty slaves would never turn themselves in.

Two days before the rebellion was to occur, however, another slave, part of the plot, told city officials. Vesey and most of the leaders were arrested, tried and hanged. According to eyewitness reports, the captured leader was behaved nobly. Only one leader is reported to have confessed.
NORTH CAROLINA PRISON

Eyewitness
Details
Brutalization
Of Women
Inmates

(Durham, N.C.) Information received last week by THE BLACK PANTHER from an eyewitness to the brutality recently inflicted on inmates at the North Carolina Women's Prison in Raleigh adds further weight to North Carolina's reputation as one of the most repressive states in the country in the area of legal justice.

On June 15, inmates at North Carolina Women's Prison began a peaceful protest in which they made several demands for improvements in the prison's conditions, including the demand that Morris Kea, the current acting superintendent of the prison, be named permanently to that position.

On June 20, after four days of beatings and macing by the prison administration in retaliation to the protest, 33 women inmates were charged with being "rioters" or "rioters" of the protest, were moved to a more heavily guarded men's prison at Morgantown. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, June 30, 1975.)

REFUSED LOCK-IN

According to the eyewitness, Ms. Janice Stroman (not an inmate), 150 of the 450 inmates at North Carolina Women's Prison refused to be locked in their cells on the night of June 15 and were prepared to stay out, having previously secured blankets, food, water and radios.

Earlier, the Black, Native American and White women had contacted one of their long-time supporters, Celine Chenier, to come with other supporters outside the prison to show their solidarity and be witnesses against any possible violence by prison officials. The supporters were on hand when state Department of Corrections spokesperson Rip Kautsky arrived to talk with the women inmates, who soon discovered that Kautsky had no power to negotiate.

"During the whole time Kautsky was speaking to them," wrote Ms. Stroman, "goon squads called from the Men's Prison in Raleigh-Central Prison were preparing themselves to attack the sisters with their three and CONTINUED ON PAGE 20"

MILWAUKEE RALLIES TO SUPPORT WAUPUN PRISON INMATES' PROTEST OVER "DEATH CHAMBERS"

(Milwaukee, Wise.) - The Milwaukee Chapter of the Black Panther Party will sponsor a major rally on Sunday, July 20, at Malcolm X People's Park at 7:00 p.m. to demonstrate the last growing community support for Waupun State inmates' demands to abolish the new underground soundproof cells, and to investigate increasing complaints of inhumane treatment at the prison.

The Milwaukee Chapter reports that as of July 10, over 6,000 signatures had been collected on petitions calling for the abolition of the eight new electronically-monitored cells - vividly described by prison officials as "screamers" and by inmates as "torture or death chambers" - an increase of 1,000 in less than one week's time.

While the Milwaukee Chapter has spearheaded the exposure of conditions and inmate complaints at Waupun, other organizations and countless individuals have lent their support to the inmates.

The Milwaukee Courier reported last week on a press conference, called by the Civil Rights Information Project (CRIP), in which a number of inmate affidavits were presented protesting the construction of the "death chambers" beneath the prison's Segregation Unit. In addition, the affidavits charged Waupun authorities with the systematic torture of non-White inmates and inmates who complained about conditions.

TORTURE AND KILL

According to the Courier report, "Some inmates have charged that the soundproof cells are meant to secretly torture and perhaps kill inmates who are unpopular with the prison administration because of their race, their politics, or their history, of filing complaints about the prison... inmates have complained that the cells will be overly confining and physically and psychologically destructive."

At the press conference, CRIP spokespeople announced that the inmates' affidavits called for a grassroots "inmates' monitoring committee" which would bypass normal internal prison routes of redress and pressure for full exposure of conditions in the prison. Such a committee is necessary, the affidavits charge, because of a conspiracy by prison administrators, the courts and certain elected officials to cover up mistreatment of prisoners.

Substantiating the inmates' charges is information contained in the July issue of Survival News, the monthly newsletter of the IPP Milwaukee Chapter: "Prison authorities at Waupun and responsible elected officials cannot feign ignorance about the problems that exist. There were 2,000 inmate complaints and 150 lawsuits filed last year, a rate which CONTINUED ON PAGE 22"
**Elaine Brown: JoAnne Little Acted For Us All**

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

about, be raped the person of JoAnne Little and violated every human dignity that she ever had. "That case ended when she defended the human dignity of not only JoAnne Little, but Elaine Brown and whole bunch of sisters and whole bunch of brothers. JoAnne Little was so beautiful that night because those were blows for whole bunch of mothers, whole bunch of peoples and whole bunch of in-mates. We can do nothing but honor you (JoAnne Little).

"But America wishes to destroy the very things that we defend and turn it into a criminal act, as though they would have the audacity — in the aftermath of Watergate and the presence of all of the CIA investigations, which we all know about along anyway — in the aftermath of all these things and in the presence of such barbarity, the audacity of America to say that JoAnne Little committed a crime, when the real thing she did was to prevent crime.

**SEXUAL SITUATION**

"The case of JoAnne Little is not a moral issue or a legal issue but, as I say, it is a political issue. It is a political issue that has not only with an economic situation but also with a racial situation and a sexual situation. It combines the major elements of what is wrong, unequal and unjust in our society in one case.

"So, it is very important that we come together here - Black and White, young and old, in all of our various ways — to say that we are going to support and are going to continue to support JoAnne Little because she supported us so beautifully and so sincerely and so wonderfully on the night that she decided that there would be no more rapes of this kind; that she was not going to allow this slob to slobber over the dignity and the beauty of her person and of all of us.

"It is for JoAnne Little that I am here to talk tonight and say these few words. But what could my words possibly mean if our actions were not to continue after tonight. I know that most of the people who are responsible for the search for JoAnne Little, and walk for JoAnne Little, walk all over this country and walk all over this state, to walk all over this area, to show that JoAnne Little must be set free without any question.

There's really no question of a trial; there's really no question of any justice. I am certainly one of her peers, and I have already found her not guilty. As a matter of fact, I'm in agreement with the verdict she laid out.

"I think the main issue is how can we move together. I'm not one of the people who can sit and decide what we should do. We have to do that together. There will be other speakers here who will have some ideas and some suggestions. The main thing is that we do not lose faith in each other. I have no faith in the forgers of Richard Nixon and whatever his name is in the White House now, nor in all of the CIA agents in Washington and in this room tonight. I have no faith in those kinds of people.

"I have a lot of faith in the people; I have a lot of faith in poor people: a lot of faith that we will understand the political situation of this case: that JoAnne Little is a Black and a poor woman. What would have happened had that been a Black man and had the same kind of circumstances existed? Would we have the case of JoAnne Little today? No. It would be taken to the courts and he might be given a suspended sentence of two years, for example. What would have happened if JoAnne Little had been White and this man had been the same person that he was? Well, that would have been a different set of circumstances. What would have happened if she had been rich? That would have been a different set of circumstances.

**ONE MORALITY**

"So, we know that, in fact, this is not a moral case. It has nothing to do with whether or not she killed a person. It has to do with whom she killed, and who she is and what the circumstances were. "This country would like us to believe, which is the way of many Western countries, that there is only one universal morality and that universal morality is always applied to the poor and to those people who suffer injustice and oppression throughout this world. We live with some notion that, 'Yes, it's all right for some overgrown slob to come upon my life and to do some things that I'm not happy about.' Well, you see, JoAnne Little said 'No!' and I'm saying 'No!' right along with her."

---

**OUR HEALTH**

**Immunization And Your Child**

The following is Part 2 of an article reprinted from the May, 1976, issue of Essence magazine.

**PART 2**

Traditional vaccines against diphtheria, pertussis, tetanus (combined in one vaccine called DPT) and polio have recently been joined by vaccines for rubella, rubella and mumps (also combined in one vaccine called MMR). The rationale for the use of each vaccine is as varied as the effectiveness of each component.

Diphtheria, pertussis and tetanus, perinatal encephalomyelitis (PME) to the United States, are rarely seen today except for sporadic outbreaks among unprotected populations. The DPT vaccine is administered initially in three doses, one month apart, during the first six months of a child's life. If your child has the DPT series interrupted, by illness for instance, regular immunization can be resumed regardless of the time interval between the last shot given. DPT boosters are given at 15 months and six years of age. After the sixth-year booster, DPT boosters are given every two years.

The pertussis component of the DPT vaccine is eliminated after the sixth-year booster because of the frequency of allergic reactions and the fact that pertussis is primarily an early-childhood disease. In addition the pertussis component is less effective than the other two (there is an 80 per cent chance a child will contract pertussis despite inoculation).

The diphtheria-tetanus components, however, are considered excellent combatants against both diseases because of the length of their effectiveness. DPT immunization is offered to all children in the United States either by private physicians, hospital clinics or public health centers.

Although the DPT vaccine has a tetanus component, and is usually administered according to the previously mentioned schedule, abuse of the tetanus vaccine has become general practice. Many parents insist on taking a child to the emergency room to receive such an injection for a minor laceration. There is some evidence that the vaccine is only required in special situations.
POLITICS FORCES RESIGNATION OF HOUSTON POLICE CHIEF

Federal Probe Of Illegal Wiretapping Continues

(Houston, Tex.) Under fire from local politicians and his fellow policemen for his attempts to uncover massive corrupt activities within the Houston Police Department (HPD), Carrol M. Lynn, the embattled HPD chief, resigned on post on June 27. R.J. "Joe" Clark, a 36-year-veteran of the department, was named acting chief of police.

Lynn took over the HPD on January 3, 1974, from former police chief Herman Short, under whom the Houston Chapter of the Black Panther Party suffered continual harassment, intimidation, illegal surveillance, arrests and murder in conjunction with state and federal police and intelligence agencies.

In resigning, Lynn, HPD chief for 18 stormy months, said he wanted to "isolate this department from political assault" in next year's mayoral race. Lynn's handling of the probe of illegal department activities had increasingly become a major issue in the 1976 mayoral campaign. Two announced candidates publicly stated that they would remove Lynn if they were elected.

PUBLICLY PRaised

Houston Mayor Fred Hofheinz, who appointed Lynn chief of police, had publicly praised Lynn for his efforts to clean up the HPD, but local newspapers reported that the mayor told Lynn that the police chief could hurt him (Hofheinz) in the upcoming election.

While Lynn was on a three-week vacation, members of the Houston Police Officers Association (HPOA) took out a full-page ad in the Houston Chronicle claiming that morale among Houston police was "at an all-time low," implying that Chief Lynn was to blame. Lynn charged "political forces aimed at me" for placing the ad.

Within weeks after Lynn took charge of the department, nine officers were indicted for numerous federal violations, including wiretapping. Prior to his resignation, Lynn had testified before Texas and federal legislative committees that before he took over as chief, Houston policemen routinely engaged in illegal wiretapping, housebreaking, falsifying of evidence, and the keeping of illegal files on unsuspected private citizens. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, June 16, 1973.)

Lynn testified that his own internal investigation had turned up the following:

1. That from 40 to 50 Houston policemen conducted over 1,000 illegal telephone wiretaps since 1968, mostly involving drug investigations.
2. That some 200 employees of the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company conspired with the police in the illegal wiretapping-a charge that Bell security officials deny.
3. That local agents of both the FBI and the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) were aware of the taps and had access to information gained from the taps.

"I simply wanted the Houston Police Department to get out of the business of violating the law," Lynn told a House Judiciary subcommittee in June.

A federal grand jury investigating the bugging of widespread illegal wiretapping by Houston police reconvened in Houston on July 10. According to The New York Times the grand jury has issued about two dozen subpoenas.

Black Trade
Unionist Assails
Ford On
Jobs Policies

(Washington, D.C.) - If President Ford's economic policies are carried out, half a generation of Black youth will reach their mid-20s without ever having held a meaningful job, Black labor leader William Lucy charged last week.

In testimony before a congressional joint economic subcommittee, Brother Lucy is reported as having said Mr. Ford's policies are "fundamentally racist" because they exclude so many Blacks from the work force.

Lucy is president of the coalition of Black Trade Unions, which represents Black workers in 45 unions.

The current job situation is so bleak that hundreds of thousands of Black youths have stopped looking for work and therefore are not counted in the official tally of the unemployed," Lucy said.

Actual unemployment among Black youths exceeds 60 per cent, he said.

Lucy cited projections by Mr. Ford's economic advisers which show that unemployment is unlikely to fall below six per cent for the rest of the 1970s.

"If the nation accepts the President's plan for a depression decade, half a generation of Black youth will reach their mid-20s without ever having held a secure and productive job," he said.

"I assure you that the Black community and the labor movement will not accept this injustice. The President's plan mocks the purported good will of his speech last week at the NAACP convention. His plan will slam the doors of opportunity shut on Black workers."

Lucy and other witnesses before the subcommittee disputed the administration's assertion that greater governmental efforts to stimulate employment would enlarge the federal deficit to the point that inflationary forces would reawaken.

Brother Lucy also called for spending more on public service jobs, housing, education, social services, environmental control and transportation even if it means an $80 billion deficit.
ON THE BLOCK

What Does Freedom Mean To You?

PART 2

ASKED AT LUCKY’S IN FOOTHILL SQUARE.

Freedom means freedom for jobs, freedom to speak.

Lillie Jones
0514 Birch
Nurse’s Aide

Freedom means to me that you can speak whatever you can and no discrimination on jobs like they’re doing now. Most hide it. They got some Black people out front, but they got the White man on top still. So it’s still not freedom.

Clarence Jackson
10700 Cameron
Social Worker

Being me, being able to do what I want to do and not having to do what other people want me to do. Being free is not having to report into a White man every Monday morning and tell him “Yes, Sir,” “No, Sir.”

Sheila Johnson
3101 MacArthur
Mother & Housewife

To be free, to do what you please, to have everything everyone else has, for all kids to be able to play and act alike.

Barbara Wellington
100th Ave.
Mechanic

Freedom is being my own woman.

Caroline Scott
10337 Dante
Sales Clerk

I’d do anything to deal with it, that means anything to deal with the oppressive situation. I figure freedom is a comfort for people to live in this society without being harassed. Most of us think that things have changed, but in essence things haven’t really changed; they’re the same. You’re a slave no matter how you deal with it, with the White man. When I say I’d do anything, you can look up at this gray hair, and that means I’ve been dealing with it a little longer than some others.

Herl Carwell
7916 Ney Ave.
Field Supervisor for Ex-Prisoners

To be able to speak what you feel to anyone on any issue.

Caroline Dalney
461 Apricot
Secretary

In Angola, Agee thinks it is likely the CIA has worked to prevent the establishment of a leftwing government that would advocate an “extreme form of economic nationalism.” Of the three liberation movements in Angola, which are currently fighting among themselves, Agee says he thinks FNLA is supported by the CIA through President Mobutu of Zaire.

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Arrest, Beating Of Latinos Sparks Rebellion In Elizabeth

(Elizabeth, New Jersey) — Hispanic protesters and police battled last week in what Mayor Thomas Dunn described as an "out-and-out-riot," resulting in the arrest of more than 200 demonstrators and charging the city of 105,000 with potentially explosive tensions, as reported by Muhammad Speaks.

The trouble began when a patron, shopping in the predominantly Hispanic business district of the city, was given a traffic summons which was vigorously protested by shop-owner Francisco Díaz and his assistant Omar Fernandez. An argument ensued and both protesters were arrested with what was described by witnesses to be undue force.

The following day, as an act of disapproval, most of the businesses in the area were closed in protest and traffic on one of the most heavily traveled thoroughfares of the city was halted by vehicles parked in the middle of the street.

Despite pleas from the mayor and city officials, the demonstrators refused to remove the vehicles which resulted in an assault by police officers on the participants, the towing away of several autos, and the arrest of 150 people.

The demonstrators then moved to City Hall and demanded the release of all those arrested and an end to police harassment which they maintained was an ongoing complaint.

DEAF EARS

Meanwhile, the crowd began to grow and become angry as their requests appeared to be falling on deaf ears. They were joined by sympathetic high school students who were attending the school across the street from the scene of the confrontation. The police charged the angry crowd and fighting once again erupted resulting in another 50 arrests.

Among those arrested were well-known community leaders of the Latin Chamber of Commerce. They demanded that the mayor; grant amnesty to all those arrested; hold an independent investigation by another than the police department and the prosecutor's office; and apologize for the intolerable actions of the police in using undue force when they arrested the protesters.

In response, the mayor refused to grant amnesty, claiming that he lacked the power to intervene in the legal process of the courts.

U.S. SCHOOL FOR ASSASSINS REVEALED

(London, England) - The London Sunday Times quoted a U.S. Navy psychologist recently as saying that the Navy has taken convicted murderers from military prisons, trained them as political assassins, and placed them in American embassies around the world.

Sunday Times reporter Peter Watson said he obtained details of this from U.S. N. D. Cmdr. Thomas Narut, a psychologist at the U.S. Navy Hospital in Naples. Narut was quoted as saying: "It's happened more than once," with his busiest training period being during the 1973 Middle East War.

STRESS OF KILLING

In a talk before a recent psychological conference sponsored by NATO, Narut said he taught "combat readiness units" to cope with the stress of killing," the Times said.

When pressed afterwards, Narut explained that these units included men for commando-type operations and for insertion into U.S. embassies undercover "ready to kill should the need arise." In his description of these

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

THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY is an independent citizens' group concerned about the systematic and widespread violation of the civil liberties of minority and political groups (such as the Black Panther Party) by federal law enforcement and intelligence agencies. We insist that the Congressional Committees investigating the IRS, FBI, and CIA expose these violations fully.

WE NEED YOUR PARTICIPATION!

Fill out and return the volunteer form below.

THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR HUEY P. NEWTON AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
P.O. Box 297, Oakland, California 94601

I will do the following in support of the Committee for Justice:

$100 $50 $25 $10 $5

Help organize a chapter or information center for the Committee in my area.

Collect names of people interested in receiving the Committee's newsletter.

Pass out leaflets.

Please send more information on the Committee.

NAME

ADDRESS

PHONE

CITY

STATE

ZIP CODE

(Please make checks payable to: The Committee for Justice for Huey P. Newton.

man, Narut used the words "hitmen" and "assassins."

The Times also quoted Narut as describing the use of bizarre training methods such as bolting a trainee's head into a clamp, forcing him to watch films of gruesome and bloody incidents.

Later, following denials by U.S. officials, Narut described the article as blatantly "false and absurd," stating that he "briefly discussed theoretical application, not practical applications."

Rice Conviction

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

would be a drastic blow to the Constitutional rights of citizens to a right to privacy within their own homes, especially for those citizens who are critical of existing social institutions. Rice was an outspoken critic of the police.

The spokesperson said: "We believe that this decision is simply a further delay in the granting of justice and in the freeing of Rice from illegal imprisonment. To date, petitions for bail for Rice have been denied, though the courts have given no legal justification for the denials. Previous decisions by federal courts have held that a person whose conviction has been overturned by federal courts in a habeas corpus action such as Rice's is entitled to bail. The state of Nebraska has not made any legal or factual arguments to oppose granting Rice bail. It seems obvious that the 'due process of law' is nonexistent for Rice.

One of Rice's attorneys, Fr. William Cunningham, S.J., will again seek bail. Cunningham observed that two state legislators in Nebraska have agreed to utilize Rice as a legislative intern if he is released on bail. The fact that two highly respected elected public officials are willing to have Rice work for them refutes the state's vague statements that Rice is dangerous to the community. Cunningham stated: "Far from the petitioner's presence in or return to his community creating a danger to any person or to society, the real harm to society has come from an unfair trial of the petitioner, his subsequent illegal custody for almost five years and a subsequent delay in granting bail following the granting of the writ or habeus corpus."

Police using disabling mace in clash with Latino protesters in Elizabeth, New Jersey.
“Free JoAnne Little”  
CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Sandra Swanson delivered a brief message from the ever-popular Bay Area Congressman Ron Dellums: “We have to bring this sister home and cut this shit out,” Swanson concluded. Needless to say, the message drew an enthusiastic reaction from the crowd.

Sister Angela Davis spoke of the need to support JoAnne because, “The state of North Carolina wants her life for the sole reason that she had the courage and the strength to resist a racist, sexist, and sadistic system.” Drawing time and time again on this theme—the taking of JoAnne Little’s life because she asserted her right to defend herself—Ms. Davis entailed the audience to support the cases of several other Black political activists under attack in North Carolina, which leads the nation in sentencing prisoners to death.

The highlight of the evening was the speech/teach-in given by Jerry Paul, Ms. Little’s defense attorney.

Attorney Paul explained that the defense has been subdivided into eight interconnected projects, one of which, the Jury Project, surveyed 23 North Carolina counties to determine the levels of racism and sexism that existed there.

“...and, for the first time in the history of the U.S., we have succeeded in having a trial moved for the sole reason of racism,” Paul said, “As a result, we have finally made the courts recognize racism as a fact rather than as theory.”

CONSTANT STRUGGLE

Discussing the constant struggle by the defense team to defend JoAnne, attorney Paul spoke about the state’s malicious destruction of the physical evidence in the case—such as intentionally washing semen off the leg of the dead juliet, 62-year-old Clarence Alligood, before it could be examined by a medical examiner, moving the body and cleaning the cell, or finding Alligood’s pants in the sheriff’s locker three weeks after they had been “lost”: the state’s manufacturing of false evidence against Ms. Little, and the state’s refusal to abide by court orders.

Dramatically breaking the court-imposed gag rule on the case, attorney Paul told the stunned audience that “Alligood was playing to an audience when he attacked JoAnne, that certain physical evidence indicated that a trustee inmate had observed the whole brutal incident but that following a discredited “confession” by this man, the defense has not been allowed to interview him.

In addition, attorney Paul revealed that the degenerate Alligood had previously molested between six to eight other women victims held captive in the jail.

“Do not discount the strength for the state of racism and sexism,” attorney Paul said. “This is the most important piece of evidence they have. They can do more with that than with an eyewitness.” He then read off some astonishing statistics revealing the depth of White racism in eastern North Carolina compared with the Raleigh area where the trial was moved. Although the difference was not that great for particular issues, the data revealed that Beaufort County, North Carolina, is one of the most backward areas of the country.

In conclusion, attorney Paul repeated an earlier request for financial support for JoAnne’s case. While he and a few others are working for no fee, the defense team has spent $238,000 of a needed $300,000. In comparison, the state has spent $500,000 to take the life of JoAnne Little, he said.

A Monday, July 14 picket line, coinciding with the start of Ms. Little’s trial in Raleigh on that day was announced.”

JULIAN BOND BOWS OUT OF PRESIDENTIAL RACE

(Atlanta, Ga.)—Georgia state Senator Julian Bond announced last week he would not be a candidate for President in 1976.

“It’s simply a matter of not having the money,” Bond said. “In spite of the hundreds of people who have written expressing their support and those who worked long, hard hours trying to build a base of financial support, we just couldn’t raise enough cash,” Bond said.

Unfortunately,” he added, “none of the remaining candidates seems likely to promote the radical political and economic changes so badly needed to insure redistribution of wealth in America and common control of our resources and our future.”

“I am more than grateful to the local corps of volunteers,” he added, “who worked without pay to keep us going until now.” Bond said he would not support any other candidate.
REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

"Losing"

By Huey P. Newton

In this excerpt from "Losing," a chapter from Revolutionary Suicide by Huey P. Newton, leader and chief theoretician of the Black Panther Party, Huey continues his description of the frustration and the degradation he suffered in the Oakland schools. Because he dared to defy unjust authority, he was constantly harassed and provoked, almost destroying his thirst for knowledge. In this sense, his learning experience in the racist American school system was not unique.

PART 2

By the third or fourth grade, when we began to do simple mathematics, I had learned to maneuver my way around the teachers. It was a simple matter to put pressure on the White kids to do my arithmetic and spelling assignments. The feeling that we could not learn this material was a general attitude among Black children in every public school I ever attended. Predictably, this sense of despair and futility led us into rebellious attitudes. Rebellion was the only we knew to cope with the suffocating, repressive atmosphere that undermined our confidence.

Of all the unpleasant things that happened to me in elementary school, I remember two in particular. I had disciplinary problems from the beginning, plenty of them, but often they were not my fault.

5TH GRADE

For instance, in the fifth grade at Lafayette Elementary School (I was eleven) I had an old White lady for a teacher, I have forgotten her name, but not her stern, disappointing face. Thinking once that I was not paying attention, she called me to the front of the room and pointed to the class that I was misbehaving because I was stupid. She would show them just how stupid I was. Holding me a piece of chalk, she told me to write the word "business" on the blackboard. Now, I knew how to spell the word; I had written it many times before, and I knew I was not stupid. However, when I walked to the board and tried to write, I was unable to form even the first letter. Inside I knew she was wrong, but how could I prove it to her? I resolved the situation by walking out of the room without a word.

This happened to me time and again, growing worse with repetition. When I was asked to read aloud in class or spell a word, my mind went blank and cold. Everybody thought I was dumb, but I suppose, but I knew it was the lock inside my head. I had lost the key. Even now, when I read to a group of people, I am likely to stumble.

The other incident also happened at Lafayette. The school had a rule that you dump the sand out of your shoes after a recess, just before you sat down. One day I was sitting on the floor, dump the sand from each shoe. I had quite a bit of sand, and dumping it took time, too much for the teacher. He had to come behind me and slapped me across the ear with a book, accusing me of deliberately de-

laying the class. Without thinking, I threw the shoe at her. She headed for the door at a good clip and made it through just in front of my one.

Of course I was sent to the principal, but I received a great deal of respect from the other children for that act; they backed me for resisting unjust authority.

In our working- and lower-class community we valued the person who successfully bucked authority. Group prestige and acceptance were won through defiance and physical strength, and both of them led to racial and class conflict between the authorities and the students.

6TH GRADE

The only teacher with whom I never had trouble was Mrs. McLaren who taught sixth grade at Sante Fe Elementary School. She had also taught my brother Melvin several years earlier, and since he was a model student, Mrs. McLaren expected a lot of me. I felt, in turn, a responsibility to live up to Melvin's reputation. Mrs. McLaren never raised her voice. She was a tranquil person, at ease and peaceful, no matter what was happening. Nobody wanted to start a fight with her. She was the exception to the rule.

By then, however— even in the sixth grade— I had such a tough reputation in school there was no need to start fights with the instructors. They were waiting for me and often provoked trouble, thinking I would pull something anyway, even when I was going along with the program.

I went through a series of conversions and lapses. Each suspension brought a strong lecture from my parents, followed by a week or so of heavy soul searching and a decision to cooperate with the teachers and give my best effort. Mother and Father argued that the instructors had something I needed and that I could not expect to go into the class as an equal. I would return to school full of firm and good intentions; then, invariably, the instructors would provoke me, thinking I was there to continue the struggle. Sharp words, a fight, expulsion, and another semester down the drain. It often seemed that they simply wanted me out of the classroom.

During those long years in the Oakland public schools, I did not have one teacher who taught me anything relevant to my own life or experience. Not one instructor ever awoke in me a desire to learn more or question or explore the worlds of literature, science and history. All they did was to rob me of the sense of my own uniqueness and worth, and in the process nearly killed my urge to inquire.

TO BE CONTINUED
"BACK TO TRIPOLI"

New U.S. Military Strategy Focuses On Africa And Middle East

The following article, written for Pacific News Service by Howard Dratch, details the shift in U.S. military policy from Southeast Asia to the Persian Gulf, Africa and the Mediterranean — a policy which is directed at disrupting the progressive struggles for self-determination being waged by the peoples of these areas. Dratch is a history and political science teacher at the University of California, Berkeley, and the Bay Area community colleges.

Steve Canyon’s Sunday comic strip may seem an unlikely place to spot new trends in U.S. military policy, but the recent disappearance of the Dragon Lady — signalling the end of two decades of Oriental intrigue — and the shift in locale to mysterious Mid East ports has a curious parallel in the activities of the U.S. Marine Corps.

The Corps’ activities are no comic book. After decades of gearing for action in the Pacific, the Marines are shifting their combat sights to the Persian Gulf, Africa and the Mediterranean.

The Corps’ Atlantic and Mediterranean units — the Second Marine Amphibious (II MAF) — played second fiddle to their Pacific partners during the Vietnam war. Today they are receiving top priority.

The 90,000-man air, sea and ground force, earlier trained for jungle warfare, is being re-armed and retrained for tank and desert operations — with the quick-striking actions of the Israeli army, short on manpower but long on integrated battle concepts based on high technology, as its model. MAF troops are practicing amphibious landing exercises on the arid regions of Sardinia, and Vieques Island off Puerto Rico. The new Marine battle concept calls for quick strikes by integrated air, infantry and tank forces relying on an inventory of entirely new automated weapons.

The Corps is stockpiling two of the heaviest armor and electronic weaponry that will be used in the 1980s. MAF tanks developed in the mid-50s are being replaced by bigger, more powerful, better armed M60A1 tanks. The $4,000 TOW (tube-launched, optically sighted, wire guided) anti-tank missiles, which one soldier can fire to knock out a $250,000 tank — is now in production. A new generation of artillery ammunition is being tested — particularly a laser-guided missile which is immune to the electronic counter measures (ECMs) used to confuse the circuits of electronically guided missiles.

AMPHIBIOUS ASSAULT

By far the most important weapon in the Marines’ new integrated battle concept is the giant LHA (landing helicopter assault) — a multipurpose amphibious assault ship the length of three football fields. The LHA for the first time gives the Marine Corps air lift and sea transport capabilities.

The first LHA, the USS Tarawa — is specially designed for helicopter-supported amphibious landings, ready to conquer the most hostile shore defenses by aerial or over-the-beach assault. With its four small landing craft, it will be able to unload all its troops and cargo in just three hours — half the time it takes a normal carrier.

Litton Industries is building the LHA at a fully automated multi-million-dollar shipyard in Pascagoula, Mississippi — home state of John Stennis, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and a long time booster of the LHA, despite its big cost overruns. Originally pegged to cost $153 million in 1969, the first LHA — scheduled for delivery this October — will actually cost $258 million. Congress, in reaction to the cost overruns, has now trimmed the number of LHAs from nine to five.

Behind the LHA — and the Marine Corps’ new preoccupation with desert warfare — is an important change in military priorities.

At the height of the Vietnam war, most of the U.S. Marine Corps was engaged in Southeast Asia. But the long, agonizing war has made it impossible for a future President to easily commit the Marines to a land war in Asia. One of Vietnam’s hard lessons for Marine strategists was that the commitment of ground forces for limited objectives could easily lead to the quagmire of “protracted warfare.” Military planners are now leaning toward a strategy of “quick deployment” for the achievement of limited objectives — like seizing vital oil fields. In this “in-and-out” scenario, Marine Corps forces must complete their mission, turn over the secured target to friendly forces, and exit quickly.

President Ford emphasized this approach April 23 while addressing 1,500 members of the Navy League in New Orleans, Louisiana.

EYEWITNESS TO PHNOM PENH EXODUS CHALLENGES WHITE HOUSE MASSACRE CLAIMS

In direct opposition to repeated attempts by the Ford administration to dupe the American people into accepting as true various tales of “atrocities” committed by Khmer Rouge troops since their victorious liberation of Cambodia in April, in the following article Pacific News Service reporter Richard Boyle, the last American newscaster to leave that country on May 8, challenges the government’s assertions with an eyewitness account of the mass exodus from Phnom Penh. Part 1 follows.

(San Francisco, Calif.) A White House intelligence memo discussed publicly by Henry Kissinger and quoted extensively in a recent Jack Anderson column claims one million Cambodians are expected to die from lack of care in the exodus from Phnom Penh. This story is not only unsupported by facts, but contradicted by eyewitness observation.

As the last American to leave Cambodia on May 8, I witnessed hundreds of refugees passing along the road from Phnom Penh, emptied of nearly all people by the Khmer Rouge after its fall on April 17. As our convoy headed for Thailand, I saw:

- A still functioning hospital in Phnom Penh, the Calmette, once run by the French, now administered by the Khmer Rouge.
- Relay stations and rest stops along the road out of Phnom Penh, where Khmer Rouge troops — mostly women — and Buddhist monks supplied refugees with food and water.
- An orderly exodus, in which refugees moved at a leisurely pace on bicycles, ox-carts and on foot. (A few drove cars, although most automobiles were abandoned in Phnom Penh because little gas was available.)

Khmer Rouge troops told me that they had their own hospital at Takhmeun, a town about 15 kilometers south of the capital, staffed with their own doctors and equipped with Chinese medical supplies.

Yet, the intelligence memo prepared for the White House claimed people were dying from hunger, "since the Communists provided no food, water or medicine throughout the long march."

None of the refugees our convoy passed appeared to be dying of starvation as the White House claimed. One column, including a waiter I knew who once worked at the Hotel Le Phnom smiled and waved to us. None were being forced to march at bayonet point — as early press reports asserted.

On April 16, the day the first Khmer Rouge troops entered the northern suburbs of Phnom Penh, a refugee carrying all his belongings flees the fighting. On April 17, Phnom Penh was declared liberated.

In his column, Anderson called the evacuation a "death march" and said the White House memo described it as "the greatest atrocity since the Nazis herded Jews into the gas chambers." According to the memo, bodies were floating in the river and abandoned on the roadside.
"Since 1958," Ford said, "our Navy and Marines have served in quick-response to emergency situations 49 different times. The nature of the response, of course, varied from 32 cases in which it was a matter of showing the flag, to emergency interventions to protect American lives, property, and our national interest." Ford then drew the line on "concrete" examples: the 1958 landings in Lebanon "to protect American interests"; the 1962 "quarantine on Soviet ships" in the Cuban missile crisis; the 1965 intervention in the Dominican Republic; and the 1970 "disturbances" in Jordan.

Oil

Ford's reference to quick-response actions in the Middle East is not accidental: oil is at the heart of the new Marine Corps trans-Atlantic strategy. Henry Kissinger's "Business Week" interview, where he declined to rule out the use of force in the Middle East if the U.S. were threatened with oil "strangulation," has been widely publicized. But actual U.S. preparations for intervention have been taking place.

Since the October, 1973, Yom Kippur war, U.S. military planners have relied less on NATO allies for help in a crunch. During the October war some NATO countries, fearing an Arab oil boycott or wishing to remain neutral, refused to permit U.S. overflights to Israel or the transfer of Europe-based U.S. equipment. Pentagon planners hope to avoid this bottleneck in the next Middle East crisis by placing more reliance on Navy and Marine Corps forces based at sea. Such troops and material would be unhindered by treaty and geographical restraints.


Ignotus' scenario may be far from reality, but the Marine Corps' realignment is quite real.

Yet not one of the 1,100 foreign nationals, including about 20 journalists, who left on the two convoys provided by the Khmer Rouge ever witnessed any bodies abandoned on the roadside. We did see burned out villages but didn't know if they had been destroyed by the Khmer Rouge, the Lon Nol (the deposed premier of Cambodian) air force, or the heavy fighting during the final days of the war.

Anderson claimed the communists sealed Cambodia from the outside world from learning what they were doing. But Khmer Rouge commanders—and troops—openly discussed their strategy of evacuating the cities with me as well as Khmer-speaking foreign journalists.

Evacuation

General Su—the man in charge of negotiating the transfer of foreign nationals at the Thai-Cambodian border—told me the Khmer Rouge had to evacuate Phnom Penh or face devastating epidemics and starvation.

Su said that the Khmer Rouge commanders had held a secret meeting in the Cambodian jungles in February, to discuss the difficult task of taking a city of two million with a small, inexperienced military force that outnumbered the three or four to one.

Phnom Penh, which had a population of about 500,000 in 1965, had swollen to over two million by April, 1975. Most of the newcomers were refugees who fled during the early 70s when U.S.-B52 bombers created "free fire zones" in liberated villages, either killing off the inhabitants or forcing them to flee to Phnom Penh or other large cities.

Many of these people in the days before the fall were jammed into squad cars, troops and Buddhist monks and various private relief agencies. Although there were few deaths from starvation, I saw children suffering from diseases—like rickets—caused by extreme protein deficiencies.

I also witnessed hundreds of ill patients, many of them untreated, at "Slaughterhouse 400"—a converted basketball court, and at several military hospitals, all run by the former Lon Nol government.

Many of the patients were dying of gangrene because their bandages had not been changed, and amputations were routinely performed without anesthesia. Those wealthy enough to pay, such as Lon Nol army officers, were treated at the better-equipped Calmette hospital, the only really adequate medical facility in Phnom Penh.

When the Khmer Rouge commandos finally took Phnom Penh on April 17, these problems were exacerbated by the last desperate acts of Lon Nol agents. Besides shooting at civilians welcoming Khmer Rouge troops, secret police agents sabotaged water filtration plants and blew up power lines in the last hours of the war.

By the evening of April 17, there was no power in many parts of the city, and the water supply was running out. Many Lon Nol government doctors and medics fled Slaughterhouse 400, leaving their patients unattended, and some food stores were looted by citizens of Phnom Penh before the Khmer Rouge could restore order.

Leaving two million people to survive a city without power, with a dwindling food supply, and with totally inadequate medical facilities could have resulted in hundreds of thousands of deaths.

Medical Problems

French medical doctors staffing Calmette told me at the French embassy compound they were worried about reports of an increase in the number of dead rats on the streets, and feared an epidemic of bubonic plague, or even worse, cholera or typhoid. They had already received reports of several cases of cholera among foreign nationals trying to enter the sanctuary of the embassy.

Anticipating these problems, the Khmer Rouge had worked out an elaborate plan to remove the residents of Phnom Penh into the countryside where they could be fed and housed in jungle base areas and later put to work harvesting rice.

The White House memo, according to Anderson, considers the Phnom Penh evacuation the world's greatest atrocity since Hitler's murder of six million Jews. While there were certainly risks for the Khmer Rouge in attempting the feat of moving two million persons in a matter of days, it is my opinion that history will not share this assessment. In fact, if the Khmer Rouge had not attempted the exodus, a million people may have died from plague, cholera, typhoid and starvation. That would have been a true atrocity.
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. 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 businesses 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 miles. Forty acres and two miles 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, the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DEcadent AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.
   We believe that the 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 in the United States. We believe that the 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 governments to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.
   We believe that 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 be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trial.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE, AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.
    We believe that in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights: that among these arelife, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and, to institute 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. We, therefore, declare that these United States, are constituted and form a government for themselves and their posterity, according to the principles and stipulations of this Declaration, and all other just laws and ordinances of their legislature.
U.N. Celebrates 30th Anniversary And Mozambique Independence

MOZAMBICAN JUBILANTLY CELEBRATE INDEPENDENCE FROM PORTUGAL

(New York, N.Y.) — Celebrations recently were held here for the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations (U.N.) On June 26 a ceremony was held marking the signing of the U.N. Charter on June 26, 1945, in San Francisco, California. At the beginning, the U.N. was controlled by the big powers, i.e., the U.S., Britain, France and the Soviet Union. But now, the U.N. is in the process of a shift in power from the super powers to the much greater power of a unified bloc of Third World and underdeveloped countries.

HISTORIC EVENT

Little or no notice has appeared in the "establishment" media to about this historic event. THE BLACK PANTHER has received a report on this important event from the Office of Public Information of the United Nations, and we are passing on this information to our readers.

During the ceremony, Kurt Waldheim, secretary-general of the U.N., made the observation that "this unique human experiment" had survived and expanded beyond initial expectations in membership and scope and was making strides in closing the gap between "annual aspirations and the actual practices of the States." But he warned that "the world cannot be safe, secure or economically sound when global military expenditures are nearing $300 billion a year, and when some $20 billion of weapons are sold annually in the international arms trade."

Waldheim addressed "a most urgent appeal" to all nations to exercise unilateral restraint to slow down the arms race. He called for intensified efforts to negotiate effective arms control and disarmament agreements. "Human survival and welfare are at stake," he declared.

At the special anniversary ceremony held in the United Nations General Assembly Hall, Waldheim stated that no way to effectively halt the arms race has been found. The dangers of nuclear proliferation (multiplying, stockpiling) had actually continued.

(Auretho Marques, People's Republic of Mozambique) — For Mozambique it was the day of "the brilliant moment," writes Robert Van Lierop for the Guardian from this capital.

The day was June 25, 1975, and the moment — a few minutes after midnight — was independence.

As the Portuguese flag was lowered and the new Mozambican flag run up in its place, 75,000 people jammed into Machava Stadium just outside this capital city roared their approval. The ceremony came 477 years after Portugal had first occupied this East African country — and 13 years after the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) had taken up the armed struggle for national independence.

The formal changing of the flags was a moment rich in symbolism and emotion. While hundreds of foreign guests observed and the huge crowd cheered, Portuguese soldiers hoisted Mozambique's futuristic emblem (brightly colored in green, red, black, yellow and white), and the assemblage roared to its feet as one in a mammoth outpouring of cheers, laughter, tears and song that sent the new flag soaring into the midnight sky.

NATIONAL PRIDE

This spontaneous eruption of joy and national pride was then focused by the appearance at the microphones of the man who led, organized and symbolized the Mozambique struggle for the past decade, Samora Moises Machel, who officially proclaimed the People's Republic of Mozambique.

President SAMORA MACHEL and Vice-President MARCELINO DOS SANTOS give the victory sign signaling the independence of the People's Republic of Mozambique as thousands of Mozambican people watch.

Minutes earlier the stadium had resounded to cheers when Comrade Machel had taken his place in the stands and warmly embraced Somalia's President Mohammed Siad Barre, current chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and Vasco Goncalves, Portugal's prime minister.

Mozambique, declared Comrade Machel, is "a people's democratic state in which all patriotic strata under the leaders of the alliance of peasants and workers are engaging themselves in the struggle to destroy the vestiges of colonialism and imperialist dependence, to eliminate the system of exploitation of man by man, and build the new material, ideological, political, cultural, social and administrative base of the new society."

NEW STATE

Economic structures of the new state, he said, will be based on the principle of "to each one according to his work and from each according to his ability." Throughout his remarks, Comrade Machel stressed Mozambique's continuing commitment to national liberation, class struggle and a policy of militant internationalism.

As Comrade Machel concluded, shouting in Portuguese, "A Luta Continua!" (The Struggle Continues), fireworks lit the sky as did tracer bullets fired from the rifles of the jubilant guerrilla fighters of FRELIMO who had won Mozambique's war of national liberation.

Several hours later, Comrade Machel was formally invested by continued on page 22.
APARTHEID AND THE AFRICAN WORKER: PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE

Finishing up a section on "A Living Wage," Dr. Susan Rodgers, the author of this informative official United Nations document, moves into the area of "Equal Pay For Equal Work," describing, in detail, the cruel inequities of the apartheid system upon the Black African workers in the White-rulled Republic of South Africa. Dr. Rodgers, an expert in the field of the South African political system of apartheid, is currently an associate professor of African history, having received her Ph.D. from the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, in 1973.

CONCLUSION

White employers who wish to justify paying less than PDL (Poverty Datum Line—a "scientific" measurement of the rock-bottom income an ordinary African family needs to keep body and soul together) wages commonly argue in a number of ways. They say first of all that the families of Africans working in urban areas provide themselves, in the Bantustans—an assumption that conveniently ignores the reality of poverty, overpopulation, malnutrition and unemployment in the Bantustan areas.

Secondly, they claim that African families tend to have more than one wage earner—which, as a result of dire necessity, is indeed often the case. They also say that rural living costs are lower—which is often not true due to higher transport costs and higher food prices or that the PDL figure is based on a family of five or six, when it might be smaller—or, one might add, larger; or that Africans have lower "nutritional needs" than Whites—an assumption with racist content that hardly needs comment; and finally that many African workers are "single"—a reflection of the White acceptance of the migrant labor system which treats Africans as "single" even when they have families, and ignores the fact that some workers might be single precisely because they can’t afford to support a wife and family.

The all-white Wage Board which recommends minimum wages for Africans under orders from the minister of labor invariably echoes such assumptions to justify setting minimums below the PDL.

While Africans working in the major industrial centers typically earn less than the established PDL figure for the area, those who must work in the so-called "border industries" and in towns designated as "growth points" under the government’s decentralization program earn "wages far below the breadline..."

Decentralization, apartheid’s answer to the "problem" of large concentrations of African workers in the established urban industrial areas, requires that expansion and the building of new plants and factories take place elsewhere. For the White industrialist who participates, the major incentive is even cheaper Black labor unlikely to complain of poverty wages, forced overtime, and lack of workers' rights for fear of dismissal.

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

Since for the most part, a rigid job and wage structure keeps the vast majority of Africans at the bottom of all employment ladders in unskilled and semiskilled positions, the issue of equal pay for equal work does not often arise. In instances where an African is in fact doing a job that requires more skill than a particular job in which a White is employed, the White job is simply evaluated as "higher" to account for the higher rate of pay earned. This leads to numerous job evaluation anomalies, such as in the brewing industry, where a White gate keeper earns about $33 per week while an African...

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

Cape Verde Islands

The people of the Cape Verde Islands became independent of Portuguese rule on July 5 and began the process of becoming an integral part of Guinea-Bissau. The Cape Verde Islands lie off the coast of Guinea-Bissau and have traditionally been a part of mainland Guinea-Bissau. On June 30 the people of the islands went to the polls in large numbers to vote for a People's Constituent Assembly. Most of the candidates are members of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), the liberation organization that led the armed struggle for the independence of Guinea-Bissau.

Comoro Islands

The Chamber of Deputies of the Comoro Islands, off the coast of the People's Republic of Mozambique, voted unanimously last week to proclaim unilateral and immediate independence from France. The French government's chief representative on the islands announced a state of emergency following the vote, but then lifted it as the Indian Ocean islands, which have been held by the French since 1896, remained calm. The islands are inhabited by 220,000 people. In a referendum last December, 95 per cent of the population, mostly of African/Arab origin, voted in favor of independence.

Nigeria

Nigerian troops took over a 10-story U.S. embassy annex in Lagos last week in order to turn it into offices for the Nigerian government. A source in the Nigerian Ministry of Works, from which the Americans rent the building, said that the government decided to recover the building in 1973 because of a shortage of office space for ministries in central Lagos. The U.S. embassy has been offered smaller accommodation on nearby Ikeja Island in Lagos, but so far the Americans have not accepted and consider the matter still subject to negotiation.
ZIMBABWE BLACK LEADERS ADOPT UNITED STAND

Z.A.P.U. HEAD BROUGHT "INTO LINE"

(Dar es Salaam, Tanzania) — Black leaders of the Zimbabwe liberation struggle, meeting here at the invitation of President Julius K. Nyerere of Tanzania, have agreed on an uncomprising stand in dealing with the White minority regime of Rhodesia, New York Times reports indicate that the militants, under the leadership of Rev. Ndadini Sithole, leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), had brought Mr. Joshua Nkomo, leader of the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU), into line.

The talks were held in conjunction with President Nyerere, Zambian President Kenneth D. Kaunda, president of the new People’s Republic of Mozambique, Samora M. Machel, and president Seretse Khama of Botswana. Present at the talks were Bishop Abel Muzorewa, president of the African National Council who should hold a congress.

Mr. Chikerma and Rev. Sithole are both in forced exile from Zimbabwe under threat of immediate arrest by the illegal Smith regime if they set foot in Salisbury, the Rhodesian capital.

It had been believed prior to the talks that Mr. Nkomo and his supporters were prepared to settle with the Rhodesian government of Smith on terms which ignored the demand of the African people for prior agreement with Smith for immediate majority African rule in Zimbabwe as a condition for the holding of a constitutional convention.

Sources close to the ANC reports The New York Times, insisted that the organization’s unity had been consolidated as a result of the talks. They admitted that the divisive issue of when the Council should hold a congress had not been discussed, but made it clear that the Council’s present leadership structure would be continued.

Earlier ZANU had charged that Mr. Nkomo and ZAPU supporters were pushing for the holding of the ANC congress in Zimbabwe under conditions that would make it impossible for Rev. Sithole to be present, with the expectation that the congress would vote Mr. Nkomo into leadership. ZANU had resolutely opposed the holding of the congress under such conditions.

The New York Times reports that the four presidents participating in the talks, all of whom are eager for the Rhodesian issue to be resolved peacefully if possible, have made it clear to the Council leaders that outside support for a concerted guerrilla war in Zimbabwe depends on a unified Council seeking every possible road to a peaceful solution.

Meanwhile, in Kenya, the presidents of the three Angolan liberation movements signed a “Nakuru Agreement” and an accord on various decisions at the end of a June 16-21 meeting in Nakuru, capital of Kenya’s Rift Valley province, according to Uhuru news agency.

Attending the meeting were Agostino Neto, president of the People’s Liberation Movement of Angola (MPLA), Holden Roberto, president of the Angolan National Liberation Front (FNLA), and Jonas Savimbi, president of the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

AGREEMENT

It was pointed out in the agreement by the three movements that they were “aware of the grave situation in which the country finds itself and of the national interests which must necessarily be put above any political and ideological divergencies, solemnly affirm to renounce the use of force as a way to solve problems and to honor all obligations resulting from the conclusion of the accord.”

The accord includes decisions on improving the work of the transitional government, on establishing national armed forces and on solving the economic problems facing Angola. It stresses that preparations be made for the realization of Angola’s independence on November 11, 1975.

A motion on the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda adopted at the meeting reaffirms that Angola is geographically and politically defined according to the presently existing borders and as such, Cabinda is an integral and inalienable part of its territory.

WHO OWNS SOUTH KOREA?

The following is Part 4 of a series reprinted from the May/June issue of Korea Link, a newsletter published in Palo Alto, California, but a group calling “For the Support of Human Rights in South Korea.” The article details the systematic exploitation of the Korean economy by the United States.

PART 4

South Korea has also done well among the international finance banks. The Asian Development Bank has loaned more funds to South Korea than to any other member country. In 1974, $80 million in loans was approved. The World Bank, in which the U.S. has 26 per cent of the subscription capital and voting power, plans to give a total of $300 million in new loans in 1975.

A consortium of commercial banks recently made a $200 million balance of payments loan to South Korea. First National City Bank, Bank of America, Chase Manhattan Bank and First National Bank of Chicago are reported to have loaned $25 million each; Marine Midland, Toronto Dominion, Crocker National, and Chemical Banks reportedly supplied $25 million each; and Bank of Montreal and Morgan Guaranty Bank chipped in $5 million apiece. Other banks loaned smaller amounts.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

JO-NEL’S LIQUOR STORES SUPPORT THE COMMUNITY

Jo-Nel’s #1
AT 7400 E. 168th ST., OAKLAND
EVERYTHING ALCOHOL LUNCH MEATS AND DAIRY PRODUCTS.
HOT AND COLD SANDWICHES.

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EVERYTHING ALCOHOL LUNCH MEATS AND DAIRY PRODUCTS.
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NO DELIVERIES!

BUY FROM JO-NEL’S OPEN
6AM - 2AM MONDAYS THRU FRIDAYS
8AM - 2AM SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS
Eyewitness
Details
CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7
one-half foot billy clubs, helmets, tear gas and smoke."

Between the time Kautzky left and his return at 5:00 a.m. on
June 16 to tell the women they had no alternative but to give up,
Ms. Stroman said that the inmates prepared themselves for
almost certain attack by the guards. Securing wet sheets and
towels to use against the tear gas, the women huddled together on
the grass and "very peacefully" went to sleep.

When Kautzky ordered the inmates to move into the prison
gymnasium, they refused, knowing they would be beaten
while in a closed area—away from
supporters and the press.

"At this time, the guards were
lining up along the back buildings
—clearly in view—in combat
positions," Ms. Stroman wrote.

When the women refused a
second order by Kautzky to move
into the gym, (many of them were
still sleeping), the guards started
moving in on four sides, removing
the benches the women had
placed for protection. Ms. Stroman
continued to explain:

"They (inmates) were advised to
go limp, be carried in, and
above all, not to struggle or fight
back as that would be their
(guards) excuse to beat them...

One pregnant woman was bru-
tally struck in her stomach. The
guards also used very profane
language.

INMATES BEATEN

Once all the 150 women had
been forcibly carried inside the
gym, Ms. Stroman wrote, "...screams and breaking glass were
heard. A few of them (inmates)
managed to escape,... to tell the
supporters outside they were
being beaten.

They decided to end their
peacefulness and fight back.

They broke out of the gym, well
prepared to defend themselves.
They fought back with chunks of
concrete, bats, sticks and billy
clubs taken from the guards. The
guards were finally pulled out of
the gates, having clearly lost this
battle..." Eight women were
badly injured during this skirmish,
Ms. Stroman said.

Ms. Stroman concluded: "The
women... have vowed to keep
fighting until their demands are
accepted, even if they have to die
doing it."

Inmates at the North Carolina Women's Prison in Raleigh carrying a fellow prisoner after fighting erupted with guards.

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EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES CORPORATION

Intercommunal Youth Institute

EACH ONE TEACH ONE TUTION ASSOCIATION

WE ARE LAUNCHING A CAMPAIGN TO GAIN FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE STUDENTS AT THE INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH INSTITUTE THROUGH THE "EACH ONE TEACH ONE" TUTION ASSOCIATION.

WE ARE ASKING YOU TO DONATE A NOMINAL AMOUNT PER YEAR.

ALL MONIES ARE GOING FOR DIRECT SUPPORT OF THE CHILDREN. ALL MONIES ARE TAX DEDUCTIBLE.

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WORLD SCOPE

Colombia

Several U.S. corporations are using prisoners in Colombia as
cheap labor, according to a special investigative report in the
June 20 Wall Street Journal. The prisoners are paid as little
as 45 cents a day for eight hours' work. In all cases mentioned
by the paper, the U.S. multinationals paid the prisoners less than
the Colombian minimum wage of $1.33 a day, and some U.S.
official told the Journal the prisoner work program "could be
labeled as exploitation of slave labor for a profit."

World Food Council

The first meeting of the World Food Council ended in bitter
dispute on June 28 in Rome, with African and Latin American
delegates calling for the resigna-
tion of the Council's director,
John Hannah, the former head of
the U.S. Agency for Interna-
tional Development (AID). A
caucus of 22 Third World
countries protested U.S. domi-
nation of the Council Secretar-
iat, whose three top posts are
held by Americans. Led by
Senegal, Cuba, Algeria, and
Mexico, the developing coun-
tries demanded to know why
industrialized, food-surplus na-
tions had not met the target of
10 million tons of grain aid set
last November by the World
Food Conference.

South Vietnam

The Provisional Revolutionary
Government (PRG) said last
week that people should not
believe "false rumors aimed at
soving suspicion among the
families of persons undergoing
re-education." The statement
followed persistent rumors that
dozens of former South Viet-
namese officers had been killed
while attending re-education
courses organized by the revolu-
tionary government. PRG offi-
cials attributed the rumors to
"reactionary elements."

Cuba

Cuban Premier Fidel Castro
said recently that he knew of
plans of perhaps from 40 to 60
attempts to assassinate him by
counterrevolutionary groups
tested by the U.S.-CIA.
Assassination

The king must die
For his humanitarian policy
Angers lords wielding heavy swords,
Merchants with fat wallets,
And archbishops with holy scepters.

Riding on a white steed,
The king waves a kindly arm,
The assembled paupers scream affiction.
An arrow shot from a window
Strikes him hard.
He gasps blood and death on the ground.

In a sober courtroom,
A learned judge
Decides death for a lone archer,
Who exhales with tears.
“But air, I wasn’t even there.”
But next day, they hang him for murder.

Ocelot
Newfoundland, Canada

The Reggae Beat of Bob Marley and the Wailers

(Oakland, Calif.) — The sensational Jamaican reggae group, Bob Marley and the Wailers, had the entire audience pulsating to the natural rhythms of their unique sound on Tuesday night, July 8, at Oakland's Paramount Theatre.

Reggae is Black music originating from the continent of Africa. When Black people were first kidnapped from Africa and taken to Jamaica, an entire tribe immediately defined colonial slavery. The tribe, now known as the Rastafarians, escaped to the mountains and there were able to preserve a distinct African culture whose influence is strong today in Jamaica. One aspect of the Rastafarian culture which has been developed is reggae music, which is widely listened to and enjoyed by Black people of the Caribbean and Africa.

What is unique about reggae is its African rhythmic pattern. This natural rhythm captivated the audience at the Wailers' concert. After a selection of reggae songs, Brother Bob Marley, with his flowing “dread locks,” sang a beautiful Jamaican ballad, “No Woman No Cry.” This song told lyrically of how love between men and women is strained by oppression. Next was “Lively Up Yourself,” a reggae that really “livelyed” up the near packed audience and set the stage for Bob Marley’s famous “I Shot the Sheriff.”

The Paramount Theatre was literally rocking as Marley sang:

“I shot the Sheriff
But I said it was in self-defense
I shot the Sheriff
But I did not shoot the deputy.”

Marley sang of the right to self-defense against the brutality we experience. This was the climax and it was supposed to be the finale. However, a 10-minute standing ovation brought the group back to the stage to continue their performance.

They performed three encores, including another favorite, “Stand Up For Your Rights,” a call for everyone to strive together for our human dignity.

Reggae has recently been growing fast in popularity. But in other Black music forms, there is the struggle against exploitation. Bob Marley wrote, “I Shot the Sheriff” over two years ago, but it didn’t become a hit until it was recorded by White rock and roll star Eric Clapton. In the movie, The Harder They Come, starring reggae singer Jimmy Cliff, the exploitation of these artists was graphically exposed.

Congratulations to Bob Marley and the Wailers for an outstanding performance and hopes that they will continue to “Stand Up For Your Rights.”

Ralph Moore Wins

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

days after he qualified as a candidate for this post.

In addition, the community contributed nearly $1,000 for Brother Ralph's legal defense fund, and WNOQ, a Black-oriented radio station in Chattanooga presented Ralph with its coveted VIP Award for his "promotion of Black pride."

Prior to his release, Ralph filed a motion that he be released from jail on the grounds that the staple of Tennessee's extortion statute is un-Constitutionally vague and broad. The motion was rejected.

Writing in response to Judge Di Riso's earlier offer of a secret "deal," Ralph said:

"Judge Di Riso and the people who are holding his strings are denying me the right to serve the people, which is all we've done since our beginning here in 1971. And at the same time they're saying that the people have no right to survive, because that's what the Black Panther Party has done — provide programs to help the people survive the economic depression we're in."
Mozambicans Celebrate Independence

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FRELIMO’s Central Committee with the office of president of the new republic in a ceremony attended by more than 20,000 people in front of the city hall. After the formal ceremony, Comrade Machel spoke again, recalling the history of Mozambique’s struggle against colonialism. He paid particular tribute to Eduardo Mondlane, FRELIMO’s first president, who was murdered by Portuguese agents in 1969.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

One of the most dramatic announcements came toward the end of this speech when Machel stated that “under the leadership of FRELIMO, the scattered population in rural areas will be structured in revolutionary society,” specifically in communal villages. “Organizing communal villages,” he said, “must take priority in our activity for both the party and the state.”

He also pledged a massive land redistribution. Currently half of the arable farm land is owned by 4,000 Whites. The other half is owned by more than 1.5 million Blacks.

Later that same day, a parade commemorating national independence lent visual evidence of Mozambique’s new political line. Marchers and floats depicted Mozambique’s past and future, dramatically demonstrating resistance to the invaders, slavery, prostitution, forced labor, oppression and massacres. Other floats showed the revolution and worker-peasant control of the new society. These were followed by masses of workers and peasants as well as diverse military delegations.

Noting the importance of the occasion were delegations from Cambodia, China, Cuba, Vietnam, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea, the USSR and many other countries. Significant in their absence were official delegations from the governments of the U.S., France and West Germany, which were not invited.

HOUSECLEANING

Perhaps the most dramatic evidence of the cultural housecleaning now taking place, writes Van Lierop, is a panorama of empty pedestals lining Lourenco Marques’ wide, flag-draped boulevards. Once these pedestals held statues of Portuguese explorers and colonial governors, monuments to Portugal’s conquest of this ancient Bantu land.

Today these statues and scores of others lie in a giant heap of dismantled stone and bronze in the courtyard of the city council’s storehouse. Among the rubble are the remains of two statues which once stood in front of a colonial parliament building; one of a European girl holding a sailboat, and the other of a European woman fondling a Black child.

U.N. Celebrates 30th Anniversary

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17
increased, he stated, and the startling increases in international arms trading were particularly disturbing.

GLOBAL APPROACH

In conclusion, Waldheim stressed the importance of a global approach to the massive problems of economic and social development and called for renewed effort to eliminate the “wide gulf between principle and practice” in human rights. Also, he called for peaceful solutions to the problems of the Middle East, Cyprus, and southern Africa.

Speaking for the African Group of United Nations members, Frederick Boateng of Ghana emphasized changes brought by decolonization and the need to solve the remaining problems of southern Africa.

“A world which is half free and half enslaved is not the world envisaged by the Charter,” Boateng said, and added that the African Group would not keep faith in the Charter “while the world remains polarized between rich and poor.”

In another recent ceremony at the U.N., the independence of Mozambique after 470 years of Portuguese rule was hailed. In a message of congratulations to Samora Machel, president of Mozambique and leader of FRELIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front), the U.N. pledged its support to the people of Mozambique in their task of building an independent and prosperous nation.

INSPIRATION

Edwin Ogebe Ogwu of Nigeria, chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, stated that the struggle of Mozambique — led by FRELIMO — was a source of inspiration to all freedom loving peoples, and that the Committee admired their (Mozambicans) determination to rebuild their country and build “a nonracial society.”

The Committee also paid a tribute to all of the freedom fighters of Mozambique who lost their lives.

Waupun “Death Chambers”

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7
has increased even more in the first six months of 1975.

Both the Courier and Survival News have carried stories detailing individual cases of the extreme mistreatment of imates at Waupun. (Another firsthand account of the torture at Black and oppressed inmates in Waupun’s Segregation Building, sent to the Milwaukee Chapter and forwarded to the BLACK PANTHER, appears in the “Letters to the Editor” column on page 25.)

BLACK INNATE

On July 5, in a front-page headlined article, the Courier details the case of a young Black inmate who was ordered released from Waupun after his family’s attorney on Racine County appealed his sentence.

There are other guys up there who are going through what he’s gone through,” Ms. Stewart angrily charged, “and the public just don’t know. We want an investigation. We want a stop to it.

Survival News reports the case of Clinton Green, a 385-pound Waupun inmate who has been refused prescribed medication for his overweight problem. Instead of a hospital, Waupun officials prefer to confine Brother Green in the Segregation Building, giving him forced injections of thioridazine which aggravates his problem. Prison officials have refused to acknowledge receipt of his medical records from Milwaukee County General Hospital.
ASHE TRIUMPHS AT WIMBLEDON TENNIS CLASSIC

First Black Man to Win Men's Singles Title

(London, England) - Smiling broadly even before he "put away" his opponent's last feeble return, Arthur Ashe stanned the tennis world and the odds makers last week with a convincing 6-1, 6-1, 5-7, 6-4 upset of top-seeded Jimmy Connors to become the first Black man to win the prestigious Wimbledon men's singles crown.

Ashe, 31, who acknowledged the crowd's sustained applause with a quick clinched fist salute, thus joined the great Althea Gibson, who won the women's singles back-to-back in 1957 and 1958, as the only Black Americans to reach the celebrated center court at Wimbledon and emerge victorious. Playing and winning the first all-American final round since 1947 also netted Ashe a cool $220,000 and upped his 1975 tennis earnings to an even cooler $200,161.

Having reached the finals without having lost a single set to some of the world's top men's tennis players, Connors, 22, predicted smugly that it would be "just another day at the office." Instead, for Connors, it must have seemed like his office was on the 168th floor and a "Towering Inferno" was going on all around him.

Sizzling his serving4 and scorching the grass with precise ground strokes, Ashe was simply on fire in the finals, playing out a magnificent, carefully-prepared game plan with the utmost success.

Breaking Connors' serve five times, Ashe swept the first two sets, ran into trouble in the third when Connors regained his form and then, with Connors up 3-0 in the fourth set and the crowd sensing a miracle comeback, Ashe rose to the occasion, broke his opponent's service twice for set, match, crown.

For Ashe, the victory tasted that much sweeter since just before the tournament began Connors slapped him with a $3 million libel suit, charging Ashe had said very unkind things about him in a letter to other tennis players.

In fact, there has been no love lost between Ashe and Connors for some time. The main point of contention in recent years being Connors refusal to play for the U.S. Davis Cup team in international competition. To many spectators, Ashe was subtly needling Connors by wearing his Davis Cup warm-up jacket when they walked onto the center court together to make the customary bow to the royal box just before the men's finals began.

Undoubtedly Ashe hopes his Wimbledon victory, coupled with his triumph over Sweden's Bjorn Borg in the World Championship Tennis (WCT) tournament in May, will defuse some of the stingering criticism he has received for touring the racist Republic of South Africa last year. Despite a chorus of objections from several African nations and from progressive Black Americans that he was serving, perhaps unwittingly, to support the reactionary apartheid system by making the tour, Ashe stubbornly went ahead with it and has since suffered constant barbs for his moderate stance against the South African regime.

And, while Arthur Ashe's political line is in obvious need of improvement and rightfully deserves our criticism, his tennis game, and particularly his Wimbledon victory, just as rightfully deserves our congratulations.
Who Owns South Korea?

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In 1970, the Foreign Capital Inducement law was passed. It allowed foreign corporations with a five-year tax holiday of 70 percent reduction in taxes for the following three years; no tariffs on imported goods used for exports; and a ban on strikes. This law applies to all industries, as well as in the manufacturing sector. That same year, the first export processing zone, Masan, was designated. Since then, many special industrial zones have been created for export production. In essence, the government transfers many of its powers to the administrative agency for the zone, which grants foreign corporations extra-territorial rights.

South Korea is well on its way to becoming industrially linked with Japan in a manner forecast by Yatsugi Kasuo, director of the Japan-Korea Cooperation Committee. He advocated in 1970:

1. Transferring polluting and labor-intensive industry from Japan to South Korea;
2. Banning strikes in foreign-run enterprises;
3. Increasing free trade and industrial zones;
4. Integrating the South Korean coastal industrial zone into western Japan's economic zone;
5. Establishing a Japan-ROK economic cooperative zone.

Yatsugi's views are similar to the recommendation of Herman Kahn, director of the Hudson Institute think tank. In a 1973 conference jointly sponsored by the Hudson Institute and the Asiatic Research Center of Korea University, Kahn outlined three "growth opportunities" for South Korea:

1. Increasing Japanese investment and tourism;
2. Using surplus labor overseas for foreign exchange and training;
3. Creating more free export zones.

Although U.S. direct investment represents only 27 percent of the total foreign equity stake, it is especially welcomed by Park. He said, "If the great American corporations invest a large amount of money, it has the same effect as if the American government stationed a U.S. infantry division here."

The special law for foreign investment prohibiting strikes, picketing, or organizing was a result of labor disputes at Oak Electronics Corporation and Signeties Korea (a subsidiary of Corning Glass Works).

Apartheid

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

mechanical fork lift truck driver whose job clearly requires more skill earns $800 per week. In cases where Whites and Africans are in fact occupying identical positions, there is simply no standard rate for the job, and blatant racism takes over. In clerical jobs, Whites earn approximately twice as much as Africans. An African nurse's salary is 45 percent of that of a White nurse's. A White social worker earns two and one-half times as much as a Black social worker with equivalent qualifications. When the City Council of Johannesburg tried for a time to pay six African doctors in Soweto the same as White doctors, they were accused of disrupting the economy and doing an injustice to other "non-Whites" in South Africa. Job evasions and percentages may change; the basic assumptions are part and parcel of the apartheid system and cannot change so long as African workers are deprived of any effective voice in the "White" economy they serve.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

Throughout the world, workers have learned that effective organization is the key to their bargaining position vis-a-vis employers. Surprisingly, the South African government is determined to prevent African workers from utilizing this key. African trade unions are not recognized and are deprived of the right to negotiate and bargain on behalf of their members.

Instead, African workers are permitted, through the Bantu Labor Relations Regulation Act of 1974, to participate in either liaison committees in which as many as half the members, including the chairman, are to be appointed by the employer or works committees, which can be set up in any factory where a liaison committee does not exist, and where more than 20 African workers are employed. A works committee can only represent workers within a specific factory. The central purpose of this is to divide and rule—here as in all other aspects of South African legislation concerning Blacks.

To further emasculate African workers, the government deprives them of the right to strike except under certain extremely limited conditions. But as has CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE
Apology

Continued from Page 6

had you been interested in the truth.

To suggest that Huey P. Newton co-convinced with the government or the CIA in order to travel to the People's Republic of China prior to Nixon's visit is a deliberate attempt on your part to associate the Black Panther Party with federal agencies directly responsible for the murderous attacks against our Party, with the objective of discrediting the Black Panther Party to the readers of Jet magazine. In addition, it is an insult to the people and the government of the People's Republic of China, as Huey P. Newton was invited by the people as an honored guest.

"Such an effort, Mr. Booker, only serves the interests of the enemies of Black people, the enemies of Black freedom and the enemies of democracy in this country, among whom this deliberate slander places you."

"ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE"

Elaine Brown
Chairperson

David G. Du Bois
Official Spokesperson

Letters to the Editor

Dear Comrades:

A Luta Continua!!

I extend revolutionary greetings & love from myself—Comrade X & the rest of the Brothers here at Stateville's infamous B-house West. I am compelled to write & express my sentiments over the lack of attention concerning the — Stateville 11—. Recently these brothers were convicted on various trumped-up charges, stemming from the September 6, 1973, uprising.

Only five brothers were convicted & one acquitted. Five other acquitted. Now again in 1975 the Juliet branch was taken-over by brothers & one killed—we've heard they've deducted 17 & are planning more indictments... though the conditions haven't changed for the better, they have given us (those who can afford them) the opportunity to buy TV's & outside radio, phonograph equipment. But the harassment continues daily.

They've locked many of us up, for our ability to "organize" & even took a brother's visit for six months because he refused to allow a blow to the revolutionary spirit to inhibit his will in visiting us, with foul language. But we continue to file grievances & can't win. It's a very hard battle with Uncle-Tomming Negroes to try to get up on the role of Black who's murdered, or a young sister who is raped. These Uncle Toms are still showing their definite ignorance as displayed on the plantation. I congratulate all of them, Mr. and Mrs. Negro, because they still enjoy that homo-lust but aren't the next to go.

Where there is courage, there is self-respect and dignity, there is a possibility we can change the conditions and win. This is called revolutionary romanticism, and is the kind of struggle that is needed in order to guarantee victory. We must die of a revolutionary suicide, that says, "If I am put down, if I'm driven out, I refuse to be swept out with a broom. I would rather be driven out with a stick because if I'm swept out with a broom, it will humiliate me and I will lose my self-respect. But if I am driven out with a stick, then at least I can clean a little dirt off of myself, and die the death of a man rather than the death of a dog." But our desire is to live and not be intimidated.

Like I read about the San Quentin 18 dated in the papers. This is talking about the stress and harassment they're going through. I understand this because here you undergo the same bullshit. They label you as a rebel and torture and harass and leave you locked up like an animal for indefinite periods unless you've an out-liner. Sick-minded Negroes will do anything to get out and to keep you in.

I would like to give my regards to Sisters Elaine Brown and Ericka Huggins—Brother, these two sisters are also-nuff beautiful. I love, love, love them. To me, both are strong warriors. My heart goes to all, especially to my brothers comrades, like Jon, Fred, Monte, George, etc. We have fought to be free and so it shall be, regardless. Many have died. Freedom is why: I hope this is printed when space permits. Take care. brothers and sisters.

Yours in revolutionary love,

Alphonse Maliki Huqurf P.O. Box 27264 Richmond, Virginia 23224

Greetings Comrades:

I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation for the two postcards of George Jackson and Malcolm X. The postcards are beautifully done! These two brothers will never be forgotten. George Jackson and Malcolm X still live!!

All love,

James E. Washington P.O. Box 2361
Richmond, Va.

Apartheid

Continued from previous page

been demonstrated since early 1973, prohibiting strikes has not prevented African workers from striking. In an 18-month period from June, 1974, there were no less than 300 strikes, and in 281 cases, there was no works committee to act as a liaison between workers and employers.

Since that time, strikes by African workers in the factories and mines (in the latter case leading to scores of tragic deaths) have continued. Both the government and major industrialists are now aware that the absence of "proper channels of communication" can be as debilitating for employers and for the economy as it is for the African workers themselves. The problem for White South Africa is to find the means to "institutionalize" confrontation by providing "channels of communication" acceptable to African workers while continuing to deny them any legal rights and powers within the South African economic system.

Conclusion

Change within the limits suggested can be expected, and the position of African workers in South Africa may therefore improve to some extent within the context of the present economic and political structure; but change in the real sense—change that provides the African with meaningful control over his own labor—will require no less than the dismantling of the apartheid system.

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—Huey P. Newton
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I'm black