ATTICA REPORT DENIES COVER-UP OF POLICE CRIMES

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

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

In the events surrounding the prison rebellion and assault between September 9 and 13, 43 persons were killed at the upstate "correctional" facility. Thirty-nine were killed and 60 wounded by police officers and guards' gunfire in the 16 minutes it took "to retake" the institution. Four others had been killed earlier.

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

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1976 IS CRUCIAL

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

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

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

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

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

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

Our task is set out for us in 1976: Unity and Struggle. If Black Americans of all ages and the universes desire to come together in common cause for our survival, in this hour of decision, those who come after us will cause us for all eternity.

COMMENT

Pearl Bailey: Qualified For U.N.?

By David G. DuBois

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

One of the slickest and yet most repeated excuses given for not hiring Blacks in jobs requiring particular skills is that qualified Blacks can't be found. Although we believe this to be a sign of the times, we know that the United Nations, her appointment would seem to suggest that that was the excuse. In fact, of course, the likes of Patrick Mauhin have no desire to have a Black on that delegation that is qualified to challenge his blatantly racist behavior and the delegation's racist policies.

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

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10
F.B.I. WITNESS IN FRED HAMPTON CASE “DIES IN AUTO ACCIDENT”

INFORMANT WAS SCHEDULED TO TESTIFY AT FRED HAMPTON MURDER TRIAL

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

Roten died from injuries he sustained when, according to the official FBI version, his car skidded on an icy road near suburban Schaumburg, slid off the pavement and struck a telephone pole. The FBI spokesman said Roten was alone in his car at the time and no other vehicle was involved.

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

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

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

Roten would have been a very interesting and possibly key witness,” he told the Chicago Defender. “He obviously had intimate knowledge of the links between the FBI, Panthers and police.”

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

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

Continued on Page 8

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

Murder Attempt
On Jailed
Houston B.P.P.

Member Fails

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Fallen Comrade

FRANK “FRANKO” DIGGS

Assassinated
December 30, 1968

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

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Continued on Page 8
NO-HOLDS-BARRED ACCOUNT OF SAN QUENTIN PRISON VIOLENCE

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

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

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

Security risk to the institution and prohibited him from having family visits like other prisoners. During one of the frequent shakedowns he gets, a guard on the goon squad (Papke) found the ring in his cell while the brother was in the gym - and took it - without leaving notice in his cell who took it and why. Also, Papke didn't turn the ring in to authorities but kept it in his possession.

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

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

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

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

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

"Dear Mr. Brown:

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

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

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

December 30, 1952

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

December 30, 1960

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

January 3, 1969

The late Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., was seated in the House of Representatives on January 3, 1969, after a five-hour debate and following a racist proposal to seat him but to deprive him of his 22 years of Congressional seniority and to fine him $25,000 for alleged misuse of payroll and travel funds while chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee. The popular Harlem congressman had been excluded from the 90th Congress in 1957 on trumped-up charges of misuse of $40,000 in Congressional funds while he was Education Committee chairman. On November 18, 1968, the U.S. Supreme Court announced its acceptance for review of a suit contending that Powell's exclusion was unconstitutional. After his exclusion, Powell won re-election to the House both in a special election and in Congressional elections of November 5, 1968.
Seattle Police To Recruit More Blacks Following Racism Charges

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

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

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

COMMISSION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The suit - filed against North Carolina Governor James L. Holshouser and NCCCW officials - stems from the June 15-19 protest at NCCCW in which nearly 250 women staged an overnight sit-in on June 16 in the prison yard to demand abolition of the hot, filthy and dangerous jail laundry in which they are forced to work. They also demanded better medical care, improved grievance procedures and the promotion of a Black assistant superintendent to the post of superintendent. (See THE BLACK PANTHER, June 30, 1975.)

What started out as a peaceful protest turned into a battle royal when 150 helmeted police, state troopers and guards beat the women with clubs and maced them with tear gas in a brutal attempt to force them back into their cells. The women bravely defended themselves, forcing prison authorities to negotiate with them. The officials "promised" to abolish the hated laundry within 90 days and to meet the demands for better medical facilities and grievance procedures.

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

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

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

THE "HOLE"

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

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

An evidentiary hearing in the case was scheduled for December 29.
ROY INNIS CALLS AFRICANS "GULLIBLE" AND "PARANOID"

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

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

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

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

“BROTHERLY GOALS”

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

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

Innis would appear to be totally ignorant of the fact that the “prime minister” of the racist-ridden Republic of South Africa has also claimed that the thousands of South African troops fighting in Angola are not supporting any particular faction, only fighting to prevent “communism from coming to Africa.”

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

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

Recruitment poster to encourage Blacks to enlist in racist U.S. military. Roy Innis of CORE is now trying to whitewash his plans of recruiting Blacks to fight for U.S. imperialism in Angola.
NATIONAL COMMISSION RECOMMENDS
JUVENILES FACE ADULT TRIAL PROCEDURES

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

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

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

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

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

In cases of conflict of interest between the parents and the youth, the commission recommended that the parents be represented at the juvenile's proceedings by independent counsel. The crucial decisions in court would only be made by the youth and his counsel.

Overall, the recommendations by the commission, officially known as the Institute of Judicial Administration - American Bar Association Commission on Juvenile Justice Standards, presents a trap for Black and poor oppressed youth.

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

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

Huge King Birthday Celebration Slated
January 14-15
In Atlanta

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

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

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

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

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ATTICA REPORT DENIES COVER-UP

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

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

In language shot through with apologies, reservations and excuses, Meyer's report concludes that "serious errors of judgment" had "flawed" the official investigation of the Attica massacre, and that the prosecution of those responsible for crimes "had not been balanced." The report admits there had been too little concentration on "crimes possibly committed by state policemen, officers of the New York State Police, correction officers and prison guards" and in "the various police reports concerning the incident," while the Attica investigation was "limited" because of a "misunderstood sense of value and its effect on the courts of the investigation needed quick and massive scrutiny."

The report criticized Nelson A. Rockefeller, then New York state governor, for "sowing the seeds of distrust" among law enforcement officials, calling his remarks "inappropriate" because of the degree of pressure used by the troopers against the law enforcement officers and others, "justly" conclude all aspects of the Attica investigation.

DEALD UNFAIRLY

"Clearly, the state has dealt unfairly with the inmates, and affirmative action is necessary to correct the situation," concludes the report. At the same time as the findings were made public, Governor Carey appointed a special deputy attorney general to "review evidence to determine whether indictments should be brought against the state prison officials and others." The report pointed out that the governor's words would have on the course of investigations.

Jailed Houston B.P.P.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

Without cause, T.C. went through more than 25 police lineup before he was charged with three "unsolved" robbery cases. Local police have not charged the Houston Police Department with covering up a Mafia robbery ring.

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

Many of Houston's senior citizens recall his tireless efforts in the Senior Citizens Against A Fearful Environment (S.A.F.E.) program. One senior in particular, Mrs. Hallie B. Hobbs, worked with the Senior Citizens Task Force, was shocked to learn about T.C.'s frame-up. "He certainly was a nice boy who did so much for the senior citizens when we were trying our best to get the bus fares lowered," Mrs. Hobbs remarked.

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

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

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

FAKE FONDA LETTER

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

ARTS 'CHARADE'

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

Continued from preceding page

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

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

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

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

Common problems which dis-
courage minority voters at the
point of registration were cited:

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

processes.

In the election process, minority
voters who become registered may
find additional barriers which
serve to dilute the power of the
ballot or disfranchise them com-
pletely.

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

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

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

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**On The Block**

**WHAT WILL YOU DO FOR BLACK PEOPLE IN 1976?**

**ASKED AT FOOD KING SUPERMARKET**

*Yolanda Green 1633 87th Ave.  School-Castlemont*

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

*Eddie Land 3668 Delmont Ave. Interior decorator*

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

*Carlene Hall Secretary*

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

*Ruby Blufort 9850 Empire Rd. Housewife*

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

*John Cook 1087 106th Ave. Student-Laney*

Anything, if it's right. I'm for that. You don't know what I'm already doing. One thing, I'm going to keep on donating to Sickle Cell Anemia.

*Lizzie Stennis 1214 91st Ave.*

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

*Mike Thomas 350 Ashton Ave. Electronics worker*

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

*Barbara Anderson 656 Tyler St. Housewife*

By donating food to Black people in our country.

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**Robert Williams**

**Returns**

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

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

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

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

We Chinese have always supported all the oppressed peoples throughout the world in their struggle for freedom and liberties: as well as the Blacks of the United States in their just struggles.

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

**POLITICAL**

In fact, political harassment is the central element of Brother Williams' defense. Activist attorney William Kunstler, who along with Karen Galloway, will act as co-counsel, said the defense will show that Brother Williams was the target of an FBI campaign to harass Black leaders in the early civil rights movement.

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

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

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

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

"So this is a fight to clean up North Carolina. The Black man has no justice in this state, but before I leave, he will have it."
Artists To Protest N.Y. Whitney Museum's Racist Practices

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

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

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

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

"We object to the increasingly widespread museum policy of presenting and celebrating the private collections of art of the upper-class. Such curatorial facts accomplish (arbitrarily and only serve to derogate and negate) the social responsibilities of these cultural institutions."

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

The Whitney Museum is the only museum in New York that has never used Black professional staff in curatorial or even sub-curatorial ranks, despite promises of increased Black participation made by the museum's administration.

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

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

Drawing by Emory Douglas.

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

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

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

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

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

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

From UFW headquarters in Keene, California, Chavez said, "It gave us an awful bad time six months thereafter. It stalled the boycott and the strike. It took us six months to recover."

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

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

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

DELANO

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

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

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

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

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

People's Free Clinic Gives Free Tests At Food King

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

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

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting New Novel Examines Lives Of
Black Americans in Egypt

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

PART 12

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

Fanny and the cigarette man
were trying to console the taxi
driver, patting his shoulder and
repeting over and over, "Mala-
lesh, malkesh." Another person
reminded him that his taxi was
standing in a no-stopping zone
with both doors open and urged
him to forget the whole thing.
As I approached them all expectantly
turned toward me and the taxi
driver, digging into his pockets,
said:

"Here's his change! He
wouldn't take it! He slapped me!
I wasn't going to cheat him! By the
Prophet! I'm no thief!"

The taxi driver was
slightly taller, with average
height and very fair with
dirty blond hair.

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

The elevator had arrived
from above. Suliman was inside, wait-
ing. The door stood open. As I
entered Suliman reached for the
starter buttons and asked: "What
floor?"

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

Suliman shifted his cane to his
left hand, stuck out his right
aggressively and said, unsmiling:
"As salamu alaikum, brother."
"Allahumkum as salamat,"
I answered, and in English: "Good
timing."

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

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

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

"Of course not," I replied
and returned to the task of opening
the apartment to the early
evening breeze that was beginning
to rise. Although it was in
the center of downtown Cairo, my
apartment was high enough to be
completely open and free from
obstruction. My view in any
direction, however, consisted
only of the perpendicular and
horizontal lines and gray-white
masses of the largely unimagin-
inative, reinforced concrete
structures
that filled central Cairo.
Their harshness, even ugliness
were, however, relieved by the
balconies everywhere that skirted
and enveloped those buildings
exposing to my view aspects of
the lives of their inhabitants
played out on those balconies.

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

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

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

TO BE CONTINUED
REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"Scoring"

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

PART 3
I didn't have a car then, because most of my money was spent on the apartment, food, and clothes. When friends asked me why I did not get a car, I told them it was because I did not want bills and that a car was not my main goal or desire. My purpose was to have as much leisure time as possible. I could have pulled bigger jobs and gotten more, but I did not want any status symbols. I wanted most of all to be free from the life of a servant forced to take those low-paying jobs and looked at with scorn by White bosses.

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

CONTempt

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

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

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

I especially liked traffic violations. For a while, I paid a lot of traffic tickets. When I became my own defender, I lost another one. Of the three major cases in which I defended myself, the only one I lost was the one in which I was innocent.

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

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

"Bunko" Case

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

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

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

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

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

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

TO BE CONTINUED
"WE ARE GOING TO MAKE AN EXAMPLE IN ZIMBABWE"

Test Of Speech By Sister Sardzai Chuchuwezmwa Of The Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

On Sunday, December 21, Sister Sardzai Chuchuwezmwa, a member of the Women's Detachment of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) — the military arm of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) — addressed a crowd of more than 200 at the Oakland Community Learning Center. In an inspiring and highly informative speech, Sister Sardzai kept her audience spellbound as she explained the ZANU's "almost 15 years of struggle against the racist White minority regime in Zimbabwe and the current situation in ZANU's year of liberation.

Following is the text of Sister Sardzai's passionate, unforgettable speech, words from a brave young sister who is fighting for the liberation of our people and the overthrow of the armed struggle against the neocolonialism in southern Africa.

"I am with you, my friends, to fight with the revolution! Forward with ZANU! Down with imperialism and capitalism! Down with Vorster and Smith! Down with all the imperialists of this world!

I want you to think very much for giving me this chance to tell you what you know is happening in Africa, and the situation in particular in southern Africa. We have people who sabotage all the liberation movements in southern Africa. Many here in the United States sabotage the armed struggle. That's why I would like to thank you very much for giving me this chance to speak to you about the things we are fighting and the things we are fighting for.

There are many events in the films (Heart and Mind) — the same thing is happening in Angola and Zimbabwe — that are happening in South Africa. All the Western countries enjoy it when we are suffering, either when we are dying or when we are suffering. I think it is very disturbing when I see all this, and I thought for a long time who is doing this. Now maybe we are seeing the process of a person dying. Some of the comrades are already dead because of this people, because of imperialism. I would be ashamed to sit down with Kustinger and Rockfeller because they are sending their troops to kill our people in Africa. If I die here, if I am killed here, I die for a cause and my cause is the liberation of the African people from the imperialists. I'm fighting for my country.

"ZANU is not fighting against White skin. We are fighting against the system, against the economic system, against the imperialists. We are fighting for people who cannot be free unless Zimbabwe is free, unless the system is changed.

"In 1964, Smith (prime minister of Rhodesia) arrested our leaders, but that did not stop us. We had support from the people. We were supported by the people. The situation got worse. We had strikes, we had marches, we had demonstrations. We were looking for an opportunity to start the armed struggle. We were arrested. We were thrown into jail. We were beaten. We were tortured. We were forced to make false confessions. We were forced to live in the mud.

"In 1966, we had a big increase in the number of people who joined us. We had a big increase in the number of people who joined us. We had a big increase in the number of people who joined us.

"In 1975, the South African government, the Rhodesian government and all the imperialist countries that support our party, ZANU, decided to fight against us. We were going in battle, and we were going in battle in the only way that they could fight against us — the only way that they could fight against us. They decided to destroy us.

"So we decided to destroy ZANU. How would they do this? They had to do this through the Central African Republic, the president of Central African Republic, the president of Central African Republic, the president of Central African Republic, the president of Central African Republic.

"Then, our leaders were released from prison after 10 years. They didn't know how we had grown and that the armed struggle had become very strong. They didn't know how many people we had taken from prison and how many people we had taken from prison. They didn't know how many people we had taken from prison. They didn't know how many people we had taken from prison.

"They were forced to leave under the umbrella of an African National Movement. We were surprised that it was called the African National Movement, the African National Movement, the African National Movement. When we saw the number of people who joined us, we were surprised. We were very happy. We were very happy.

"Right now in the forefront are comrades who are going to be in front of the thousands to join the armed struggle — young people who are going to be in front of the thousands to join the armed struggle. There are still some people who are saying, 'What do we do? Why are we fighting? Why are we fighting? Why are we fighting? Why are we fighting?'

"Now I am with you, my friends. I am with you, my friends. I am with you, my friends.

"I am with you, my friends. I am with you, my friends. I am with you, my friends. I am with you, my friends. I am with you, my friends.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.
   We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.
   We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businesses 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 communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.
   We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPLORES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.
   We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

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

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.
   We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.
   We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling class and governments to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that the U.S. government and its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars until it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.
   We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trial.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE, AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.
    When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.
Angola Viewed Through Cold War Lenses

By David Olsen

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

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

CUBA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SPOTTING PLANES

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

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

Gerassim further reports that South Africa has recently committed a second full regiment of mechanized cavalry. The first regiment of South African troops consists of two teams according to Gerassim - one that entered Angola in the end of October, the other in the middle of November - with orders to support the mercenary column in combat.

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

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

The December 18 Angola Weekly News Summary, published by the MPLA Solidarity Committee, continued on page 22.
INTERVIEW WITH LUIS CABRAL, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA-BISSAU

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

CONCLUSION

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

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

PROBLEMS

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

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

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

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

All these projects require funds, so the basic type of aid must be financial. After the negotiations for the transfer of power were complete, we lost our greatest freedom, the freedom not to have any money. The teacher in a school got his uniform and food and medical treatment, if he was sick, free. It was a very simple life. Now we must make a budget to pay teachers at the end of the month.

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

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

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

CABRAL: For us, the program of unity can be said to have been forged during the struggle. Then after the independence of Guinea-Bissau, it was possible to do political work on Cape Verde; some of our cadres left the mainland to begin work over there. These were led by Pedro Pires, Silvino da Luz and others who were able to develop the Party's activities in the islands. Unity was established on the basis of the single party, the PAIGC, but also on the freely expressed will of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Here in Guinea there is the National Assembly, which has already adopted the Constitution. In Cape Verde there is also a Popular National Assembly with the same structure as we have here. We are now in the process of constructing a commission for the Council of Unity in each of the assemblies. The Council will be charged with the task of formulating the Constitution of Unity, which will, in turn, be submitted to the two assemblies.

Q: Do you have a date for this?

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

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

AFRICA IN FOCUS

Somalia

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

Mozambique

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

Comoros Islands

The Comoros Island group off East Africa that obtained independence last July is faced with a "desperate need" of food, medicines and technical assistance, reports a United Nations mission after visiting the area recently. France, the former colonial power, abruptly cut off financial help to the Comoros following the decision of the people of the Island group to choose independence from France. Experts estimate that $2.5 million is needed immediately for food, fuel and drugs. The World Food Program of the U.N. is providing some emergency stocks, and other efforts are being made.
10,000 RALLY AT CLOSING OF PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST PARTY'S 2nd CONGRESS

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

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

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

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

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

REMARKABLE GROWTH

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

The attention given the PSP was not the work of the party alone. For weeks, the establishment media have been railing against the Congress with scurrilous stories and editorials on the combined "Cuban-Soviet invasion" of Puerto Rico.

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

And, in a special report released November 28, the U.S. Senate Internal Security Subcommittee dramatized the opening of the Congress with a 496-page document called: "Terroristic Activity, the Cuban Connection in Puerto Rico; Castro's Hand in Puerto Rican and U.S. Terrorism." The burden of the report is that the PSP is nothing but a Cuban front.

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

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

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

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Mozambique Forges Steadily Ahead Toward Socialism

(Lorenco Marques, Mozambique) - Africa magazine (December, 1975) reports that since independence the Mozambican people and government have progressed steadily toward the socialist goals outlined in FRE-LIMO (Mozambique Liberation Front) policy, both internally and in foreign relations.

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

The president told the crowd that the land belonged to the people to be controlled by the state. All private and church schools have been nationalized. Schools and universities are continuing to be reorganized to replace the colonial education system with a Mozambican one. During their summer vacation 1,600 students and teachers from the University of Lorenco Marques worked in the countryside or in factories in an attempt to "wash off" the old elitist ideas of the colonial systems.

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

The National Defense Force (a regular army as well as a "reconstruction service") and the police force will work without salaries until the country has constructed a solid economy which will create salaries. President Machel spent most of his first week in office visiting police and military barracks, impressing upon the forces that national continued on page 22

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

World Scope

Vietnam

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

Venezuela

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

East Timor

Officials of the Foreign Ministry of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) and the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of South Vietnam recently issued statements denouncing the Indonesian government for sending armed forces to occupy Dili, the capital of the newly independent Democratic Republic of East Timor. The North Vietnamese spokesman blasted the Indonesian government for committing flagrant armed intervention and aggression in East Timor. The South Vietnamese spokesman said in his statement that South Vietnam firmly supports the just struggle of the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor (FRETILIN) and demanded an immediate end to Indonesian aggression in East Timor.
OVER 300 TURN OUT AT O.C.L.C. TO "BOOGIE WITH THE HOOK"
John Lee Hooker Gets Standing Ovation At Blues Benefit

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

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

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

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

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

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

They didn't get much exposure because they were limited to playing locally at house parties and other gatherings of Black folks, since the Blues then weren't felt to be "acceptable" enough to be booked into the top flight theaters and dance halls.

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

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

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

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

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

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

All of the members of the group couldn't make it to the benefit, but in addition to Brother Hooker, Robert Hooker, his son, drew raves with his moves on the keyboard, and Ken Swank played drums.

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

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

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

At one point Brother Hooker joked, "I didn't have my whole band here. If they were here, we'd have the ceiling falling down."
Angola Viewed Through Cold War Lenses

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in support of their struggles for independence.

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

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

MPLA

But like Cuba, all these countries have their own reasons for supporting the MPLA. Unlike Cuba, none of them have alliances with the USSR, and none can be considered in the Soviet socialist camp. Nigeria, for example, has long been friendly toward the U.S. and indifferent toward the USSR. But Angola's foreign policy in Africa is built on opposition to South Africa's influence on the continent. Nigeria maintains the largest standing army in Africa expressly to counter South African power on the lower third of the continent, and announced support for the MPLA only because South Africa entered the civil war on the other side. Had South Africa stayed out of the conflict, Nigeria would more than likely have remained neutral.

In the case of Mozambique, its ruling national party, FRELIMO, has been in power since the MPLA for over 11 years. At the beginning of their simultaneous wars of national liberation against Portugal, the PAIGC, FRELIMO and the MPLA formed a joint organization to coordinate the propaganda and diplomatic activities of the three movements. The founders of all three (including Dr. Neto of MPLA) studied together at the University of Lisbon, and the leadership of each retains close personal ties with the others. These historical factors explain Mozambique's support for MPLA much better than do suppositions of Soviet influence on FRELIMO.

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

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

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

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

Mozambique Forges Ahead

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

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

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

AGRICULTURE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Last year, both in the championship playoffs and throughout the amazing turnabout season, Attles constantly rotated and substituted his players, tiring and confusing the Warriors’ rivals with wave after wave of fresh talent. In an upset that rocked the foundation of the basketball world, the Warriors, under Attles selfless team effort, swept the Washington Bullets in four-straight games.

SUCCESS

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

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

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

“We know we’re a good team, and that if we do the things we know how to do, we can be champions again,” Wilkes said.

Congratulations Raiders!

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

The Silver and Black” Raiders advanced into the playoffs after winning the NFL’s American Conference West Division title for the eighth time in the last nine years with an 11-3 record.
Changes For Harris County Jail System

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7
up within 90 days to handle nothing but cases of defendants confined in county jail.
• Present jail cells must be cleaned daily and inspected monthly.
• Prisoners must get clean clothes daily instead of weekly.
• The county must hire a full-time ditch cleaner.
• The jail must allow prisoners to exercise three times a week and the county must provide money for vocational and educational rehabilitation programs.
• Prisoners serving their sentences only on weekends must not be kept in jail overnight. They will spend Saturday in jail, sleep at home that night, return to jail Sunday morning and be released Sunday night.
• An ombudsman's office, composed of American Civil Liberties

U.S. Readies Angolan Air Strikes

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

"It is not a civil war. The MPLA-led forces of the People's Republic of Angola are engaged in battle against groups composed partly of Angolans outside in the interest: South Africans, Zaireans, right-wing Portuguese and former military officials. In contrast to the impression one would gain from reading U.S. press reports," the Summary states, "actualAngolans not in the enemy forces, MPLA has emphasized, very limited." The Summary also points out that The New York Times (December 16) reports that the Ford administration made the decision last July to supply arms to Angolan forces who oppose the MPLA. They claim that only U.S. assistance stopped the MPLA from taking control of the entire country. U.S. intervention in Angola has temporarily denied the Angolan people the national defense for which they fought in armed struggle for 14 years. The furor in the media over Angola obscures this important fact.

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

V.E.P. Exposes Black Voting Obstacles

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

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

San Quentin Prison Violence

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

"On November 26, a Black prisoner (Carr) was given a cell change without having requested it. Another Black prisoner (Shipyard Shorty) was moved from his cell (2-E6) into Carr's (2-E56). Carr was known to have had a running conflict with a certain group of Mexican prisoners and was moved from 2-E56 where there was relative security because a larger number of Blacks were housed in that area, into 2-E6, a den of hostile Mexicans. 'Early Thanksgiving morning at East Block was releasing for breakfast. Carr was stabbed, nearly causing the place to go off. The cut was deep enough that he had Carr moved so he could keep an eye on him — which was a direct cause of his being stabbed. The assailant was not caught. Carr, after being treated at the hospital was taken to AC. Lt. Jimmerson was overheard to say, 'They didn't get theigger good enough...'

KNOWN MAFIA MEMBER

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

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

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

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19
and its predecessor organization, the Pro-Independence Movement (MPLA) has made refusal to participate in the elections a matter of principle for 15 years.

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

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

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

“The most important thing in this next year,” he said, “is not the elections—no one who will win or lose the right to become the puppet of imperialism. The most important political development of 1976 will be the growth and consolidation of the first Marxist-Leninist party of the Puerto Rican working class.”

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Letters to the Editor

RECOGNIZE MPLA-LED ANGOLA

Dear Editor:

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

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

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

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

GEORGIA INMATES SEEK THE BLACK PANTHER

To Whom It May Concern:

We are the brothers incarcerated within the neo-colonial concentration Camps there in the state of Georgia. I’m writing to set forth a most humble request that you place upon your agenda your “charity list” for a subscription to the Intercommunal News. We trust you will favorably and assist us in an attenuating the “evil forces in control” who strive to hold us incommunicado (and therefore “hidden”). Our efforts to survive are solely for the People. So, let us (there) join hands with the hands of the Comrade Brothers and Sisters of the Black Panther Party, to give the total price of the gift for the People — for the priceless value of life is death. And “for the People, should death engulf us — it will be heavier than any mountain and deeper than any sea.”

We shall in the days ahead seize all Power for the People!
Bro. Carter Arnold, Jr.
Georgia Diagnostic Classification Center
H-1 Adjustment Center Cell No. 14
Jackson, Georgia

"AFTER I READ THE FIRST PAPER I KNEW DIFFERENT"

Dear Sir,

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

I have a subscription to the paper. Before I began receiving the papers, I felt as though I was just sitting down to read about my life. After I read the first paper I knew different. I found the purpose for furthering my education. I am an advanced sophomore majoring in psychology specializing in pediatrics. I am quite sure that I can offer some kind of help at the Oakland Community School or maybe even at the paper during the summer and I graduate;

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

Love and All Power To The People,
Jo Helen Roberts
Texas Women’s University
Denton, Texas

FLA. PRISON SUPPRESSES THE PEOPLE’S PAPER

Greetings! Bros. & Sisters at the Panther Headquarters,

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

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

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

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

Palestinians March
And Rally Against
Israeli Repression

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

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

SEVERE CONDEMNATION

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

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

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

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

• On December 8, an Israeli commando detachment of 80 men was attacked by Palestinian commando forces in a highly successful operation.

• On December 11, an Israeli “Civil Guards” building in Bir Saba was extensively damaged by explosives placed by Palestinian guerrillas. A number of enemy guards were killed or wounded.
A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

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

PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM
Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people.

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

PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM
Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.

PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM
Provides, with federal government aid, decent, low-cost and high-quality housing for Black and poor communities.

PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM
Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's homes.

FREE PEST CONTROL PROGRAM
Free household extermination of rats, roaches and other disease-carrying pests and rodents.

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

LIBERATION SCHOOLS: FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS
Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Oakland Community School.

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

LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM
Provides legal aid classes and full legal assistance to people who are in need.

FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM
Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of prisoners.

FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM
Provides imprisoned men and women with funds to purchase necessary commissary items.

SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT (S.A.F.E.) PROGRAM
Provides free transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks on the first of each month.

FREE FOOD PROGRAM
Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

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

FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM
Provides food for the people through community participation and community-cooperative buying.

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE
Provides news and information about the world and Black and oppressed communities.
we are just
and yet they say they have created 'justice';
we suffer with the pain of hunger
and they give us handcuffs
instead of bread.
we believed in their constitution
and they violated it in their courts.
we defend ourselves from attack;
they murder us and claim self defense.

we ran from their rifles, guns, sirens—
they shoot us and call it justifiable homicide...
they have all the rights, we have none.
they try to co-opt the land in all of its beauty.
while we fill the jails, the prisons,
but—
we have strength;
we have hope;
we have faith in the people,
who have suffered
who have died.
who have tasted
their own blood—
and died a million deaths.

Poem by ERICKA HUGGINS
From Insights & Poems