Militant Protest Mounts

"STOP THE EXTRADITION OF DENNIS BANKS"

(Oakland, Calif.) - It was more than a good feeling, rather, a rare, militant spirit of struggle and unity that pervaded Fremont High School's auditorium last Friday evening as a large, multiracial crowd of over 750 turned out to "Stop the Extradition of Dennis Banks" and demand that all charges in the federal government harassment campaign against the American Indian Movement (AIM) co-founder and leader be dismissed.

Sponsored by the Dennis Banks Bicentennial Legal Defense Coalition and the Student Coalition Against Racism, the gathering was a highly successful prelude to a massive march and rally scheduled to be held in San Francisco on April 3. Last Friday's rally clearly displayed the growing, broad-based interest and support surrounding Banks' fight to avoid extradition to South Dakota, where racist state officials have publicly issued death threats upon his life.

Featured speakers at the rally were: Lehman Brightman, a leader of United Native Americans, Inc., against whom charges were recently dropped of "harboring" Banks; Clyde Bellecourt, an AIM co-founder; Miguel Angel, a Laney College professor representing La Raza Educators; and Elaine Brown, leading member and chairperson of the Black Panther Party. Rashaad Ali of the Student Coalition Against Racism served as the fiery and fervent moderator.

In the early morning hours of January 24, Dennis Banks was arrested on a federal

CONTINUED ON CENTERFOLD
Editorial

REVELATIONS?

If — repeat, if — the headline making Senate Select Committee on Intelligence ever intended to do a thorough and serious job in its mission to halt federal government abuses of the Constitutional rights and civil liberties of the American people, then why was the Black Panther Party never contacted or asked to give the history of harassment and murders perpetrated against its leaders and membership over the past 10 years?

Certainly, as document after document has revealed, the Black Panther Party was a primary target for the federal guns. Thirty-one Fallen Comrades attest to the raw, naked violence perpetuated against us. Are we, and the rest of the American people, supposed to think that the Party does not possess clear cut documented evidence of its own concerning the widespread attacks against us? Or is it the old, “Who speaks for the niggers? ‘De White man do it!’”

Suffice it to say that in regards to the Black Panther Party, “‘De White man do it!’”

And what have the Senate investigations accomplished but some kind of wierd, vicarious “return to the thrilling days of yesteryear” where Southern Black men are forced by the KKK to jump off a bridge or Black Panther Party members are murdered as FBI agents laugh and their killers are never prosecuted?

Reliving the tragedies and injustices of American society does not lessen the pain; it does not ensure that similar activities will never happen again; it does not even mean that they aren’t happening now.

Take, for example, last week’s “revelation” that wiretaps were installed in six Black Panther Party offices and that Party leader Huey P. Newton’s phone was tapped and his home burgled with the only “microphone surveillance” on the 1971 list OK’ed by J. Edgar Hoover.

On the one hand, those facts are correct, yet on the other hand they are misleading. Every Black Panther Party office had its telephone tapped, not just six. Not only was Huey P. Newton’s home under surveillance, Huey P. Newton himself was targeted for constant spying and harassment.

Who’s to say it doesn’t go on today? Certainly not the Senate Select Committee, And they won’t ask us.

COMMENT

“The Puerto Rican Struggle Continues”

By Lolita Lebron

On March 1, 1954, four Puerto Rican patriots, led by a 54-year-old woman named Lolita Lebron, launched an armed assault on the U.S. Congress, entering the U.S. House of Representatives and disrupting the proceedings with guns blazing and shots of “Puerto Rico Libre!” The assault was in response to the enactment of Law No. 600 which declared the island of Puerto Rico a “commonwealth” under U.S. jurisdiction.

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER presents Part 1 of an eloquent and moving statement by Lolita Lebron excerpted from a recent interview conducted at the federal correctional facility in Alderson West Virginia and reprinted from the Guardian newspaper. Ms. Lebron and four other Puerto Rican nationalists are the longest held political prisoners in the U.S.

PART 1

I am Lolita Lebron, Puerto Rican patriot and political prisoner; 56 years old, born November 19, 1919, at Lares, P.R., historical city of the first proclamation of the free and sovereign republic of the Puerto Rican nation.

Since July 25, 1988, Puerto Rico has been under the U.S. domination. The U.S. established itself by the force of arms in the Puerto Rican nation as conqueror of the hearts and minds. The U.S. government controls all life existence of Puerto Rico, exploiting our nation in order to increase its treasures and work power through colonialism and denial of our innate birthright of nationhood. It controls militarily, politically, economically, socially, culturally.

As a little girl, I went to school where the thing I learned was, after the bell rang and the line was formed, to place my little hand upon my heart to salute and pledge allegiance to the flag. I learned afterward that the flag was the highest symbol of the nation and that the nation was not Puerto Rico, but a faraway country named the United States.

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The BLACK PANTHER

Quick Action By
Seattle B.P.P.
Prevents Police
Murder

(Seattle, Wash.) - The swift action of members of the Seattle Chapter of the Black Panther Party last week saved the life of a former Black mental patient who was confronted with trigger happy Seattle policemen ready to kill.

The incident began when comrades of the Seattle Chapter learned that Ms. Dorothy Walker, 50, had been seen waving a gun in her apartment building. The comrades immediately telephoned the local press to inform them of the situation and also summoned the Seattle Mental Health Institute to the scene.

SURROUNDED
When the police arrived, they quickly surrounded Ms. Walker’s apartment building, armed with tear gas, shotguns, revolvers and sharpshooters — ready, as usual, to inflict violence and death.

When the Party members realized that none of the “established institutions in the community” had the care or concern to come to the aid of Ms. Walker, Comrade Ron Johnson pleaded with the police to be given five minutes to talk with Ms. Walker before the police began their cruel and senseless onslaught.

When Comrade Ron approached Ms. Walker and talked to her, he learned that the primary reason why she would not put her gun down was that she felt the police were going to kill her. No sooner had Ron gained Ms. Walker’s trust and confidence than the police stormed in unexpectedly, overpowering Ms. Walker and taking her gun.

The callousness of the policemen was exposed when it was revealed that they had not even bothered to summon an ambulance or aid car to the scene. A car from the Seattle Chapter’s Sydney Miller People’s Free Medical Clinic was called to take Ms. Walker to a nearby hospital where she was immediately treated and the situation resolved.

Eyewitnesses at the scene commended the Party members present for their bravery and humanity in resolving what could have been a bloody confrontation between Ms. Walker and the attacking police.

FRED HAMPTON MURDER CASE

F.B.I. CONSPIRACY REVEALED TO SABOTAGE B.P.P. NEWSPAPER

(Chicago, Ill.) "THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper is one of the most effective propaganda operations of the Black Panther Party.

"Distribution of this newspaper is increasing at a regular rate thereby influencing a greater number of individuals in the United States along the Black extremist lines.

"Each recipient submits by 6/5/70 proposed counterintelligence measures which will hinder the vicious propaganda being spread by the BPP."

Written to the Chicago Racial Matters squad by late FBI Director/cezar J. Edgar Hoover, the above COINTELPROM plan proposed a nationwide conspiracy to sabotage the local distribution of THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper in the wake of the December 4, 1969 assassination of Illinois state Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

This COINTELPROM plan was one of 40 internal FBI documents introduced into evidence last week by plaintiffs in the case during the extensive questioning of FBI agents Joseph Stanley and Joseph Macabe.

Both Stanley and Macabe were members of the FBI’s Racial Matters squad in Chicago and as such were, from 1967 to 1971, primary coordinators of the local implementation of the COINTELPROM (counterintelligence program) operation, directed towards “disrupting, destroying or otherwise neutralizing” the Black Panther Party.

Plaintiffs in the $47.7 million damage case — the slain men’s families plus seven former Party members who survived the predawn raid — assert that the 28 law enforcement defendants conspired to murder Hampton and Clark and thus fulfill the COINTELPROM objectives.

Skilledly questioned by noted civil rights attorney James Montgomery, chief counsel for the plaintiffs, first Stanley and then McCabe fought to deny any violent intent to their activities. They clearly lost.

FBI VETERAN

Stanley, a veteran of 23 years of FBI service, headed the Chicago COINTELPROM operation from August, 1967, to July, 1968. In this capacity, he authored the notorious “hit” letter to P-Stone Rangers leader Jeff Fort; a letter to the Party claiming that Vice-lords leader Edward Perry was a police informer; and a letter to a man named Kenyatta claiming that two members were sex perverts.

Like ex-station chief Marlin Johnson who testified before him, Stanley unapologetically maintained that he “could not recall” significant portions of the COINTELPROM operation, remembering only

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Johnny Spain: “... a penetrating probe for truth

When Huey P. Newton, co-founder and ideologue of the Black Panther Party, disappeared in 1970, his body was left behind in the State's custody, a victim of his own violent death. The truth is still being uncovered, and this book is the beginning of the story. Written by a close friend of Huey, this book is a vivid account of the man, his ideas, and the conflict of his time. The book includes an interview with Huey P. Newton, as well as the story of his life and work. This is a powerful and revealing account of the life and work of another great black intellectual, who is unforgettable.

HUEY NEWTON
ERICKA HUGGINS

INSIGHTS & POMS

By Black Panther Party leader
HUEY P. NEWTON
and
Oakland Community School Director
ERICKA HUGGINS

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THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1976
SUPREME COURT BLOCKS ADJUSTMENT CENTER IMPROVEMENTS

STUDY PROVES CALIF. PRISONS UNSAFE—FOR GUARDS AND INMATES

(Washington, D.C.) — Acting at the request of the California Department of Corrections (CDC), the U.S. Supreme Court last week temporarily blocked implementation of much of the landmark federal court decision won by the San Quentin 6 which condemned Adjustment Center confinement as 'cruel and unusual' punishment.

Over the three days of arguments, the high court majority stayed those portions of the December 16, 1975, ruling by U.S. District Court Judge Alphonso Zirpoli prohibiting the unnecessary use of chaining and shackling, tear gas use and isolation cell confinement without hearings.

Zirpoli's ban against the use of neck chains and his order regarding daily exercise requirements were left standing.

CDC Director Enomoto had sought the Supreme Court ruling on the grounds that Zirpoli's order supposedly 'jeopardized' safety in state prisons. The stay is temporary, however, since it only bars implementation until a federal appeals court can rule on an initial decision.

The original lawsuit was filed by the San Quentin 6 — David Johnson, Hugo Pinell, Fleeta Drumgo, Luis Tamamantez, Willie Tate and Black Panther Party member Johnny Larry Spain — in December, 1973, as a result of their long-term confinement in San Quentin's notorious Adjustment Center. Hearings on the lawsuit were heard in the spring and summer of 1974 with prominent Oakland attorney Fred Hiestand skillfully defending the Constitutional rights of the Six in federal court in San Francisco.

Meanwhile, there were no court sessions in the San Rafael frame-up trial of the San Quentin 6 last week due to the illness of one of the jurors and defendant Tate. When court resumes on Monday, prosecutor Jerry Herman is expected to begin his cross-examination of Dr. Philip Zimbardo, a social psychologist called as an expert witness in Johnny Spain's defense.

Last week, THE BLACK PANTHER printed Part 1 of Dr. Zimbardo's testimony concerning his famous Stanford Prison Experiment. In this study — using 24 normal Stanford male students divided into two groups of mock 'prisoners' and 'guards' and placed in a specially constructed 'prison' in the basement of a dormitory — Dr. Zimbardo clearly proved that inhumane prison conditions greatly affect the behavior of both inmates and guards, causing nervous breakdowns as well as uncontrollable anger and rage.

Part 2 of Dr. Zimbardo's court testimony follows:

PART 2

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

"What happened is the first inmate that had a breakdown, when he came to see us to say he wanted to be released, I asked him why and he said he couldn't handle it, he can't handle the harassment and the intimidation."

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Sabotage Conspiracy Revealed

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

alleged incidents of Party violence.

With the precision of a skilled surgeon, however, Montgomery brilliantly tore apart Stanley's testimony, exposing several contradictions.

On redirect, Montgomery had Stanley admitting that all his information of supposed Party violence was pure hearsay and rumor; and that the Judas agent provocateur whom he employed to infiltrate the Party, William O'Neal, was among those indicted in a media sensationalized 1969 kidnap; and that he rehearsed his court testimony with federal attorneys during every lunch hour break.

Smiles and open laughter broke out throughout the courtroom at one point as Montgomery trapped Stanley in his statement that he knew the Party was "violent" prone because he was told the

"Red Book" was required reading.

When Stanley said, "Yes," he knew the "Red Book" was written by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Montgomery cracked, to the crowd's amusement: "Is this person the same fellow that Nixon and President Ford have been over in China eating lunch with lately?"

During McCabe's reign over CONTELPRO, the Chicago FBI office sent out several derogatory and divisive cartoons suggesting that the Party was controlled by the primarily White college student organization SDS (Students for a Democratic Society).

Following the routine set by Stanley and Johnson, McCabe's testimony was filled with memory lapses and a denial of the conscious, violent orientation of the FBI's conspiracy to murder Fred Hampton.

March 14, 1979

Many historians believe that the cotton gin was developed by some of Eli Whitney's former slaves. However Eli Whitney gained credit for developing the cotton gin when he patented it on March 14, 1794. The development of the cotton gin made cotton king and increased the demand for slaves.

March 18, 1877

Well known as a great abolitionist and Black leader, Frederick Douglass, following the Civil War, became involved in government. On March 18, 1877, President Hayes appointed Frederick Douglass as marshall of the District of Columbia.

March 15, 1933

The NAACP fired the first gun in its attack on segregation and discrimination in education. It filed suit against the University of North Carolina on behalf of Thomas Hocutt on March 15, 1933. The case was lost on a technicality when the president of a Black college Hocutt had previously attended refused to verify the scholastic record of the plaintiff.

March 16, 1964

Some 464,000 Black and Puerto Rican students boycotted New York City public schools on February 3, 1964, but discontent and dissatisfaction continued as a second boycott was launched on March 16, 1964, when 267,000 students were absent.

March 17, 1971

A Commission of Inquiry, headed by former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark and NAACP head Roy Wilkins, revealed on March 17, 1971, that neither the federal or the state government sought to establish the truth about the December 4, 1969, raid by Chicago police on the city's Illinois state Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Ramsey Clark and Wilkins later co-authored a book on the Commission's findings, Titled Search and Destroy.
RON DELLUMS ENDORSES TOM HAYDEN
FOR U.S. SENATE

(Oakland, Calif.) — Declaring that “If I can’t endorse this man, then I can’t endorse myself,” popular Bay Area Congressman Ron Dellums last Saturday formally announced his support of veteran political activist Tom Hayden for the Democratic nomination for the U.S. Senate from California.

The endorsement came at a press conference held at Congressman Dellums’ Oakland community office, located at 4233 Telegraph Avenue. Paying tribute to Hayden as “a humanitarian alternative to traditional politics,” Dellums said that he was “enthusiastically” endorsing Hayden for three reasons:

• His identification with “polices and programs that the U.S. needs to address.”

• His ability to move as an activist both inside and outside the area of establishment politics.

• His goals and objectives that “seek to deal with the eradication of human problems.”

Dellums had special praise for Hayden’s “foresight and perceptions” on Southeast Asia. Dellums recalled the congressional seminars he co-sponsored with Hayden and his wife, actress Jane Fonda, on the issues revolving around U.S. involvement in Indochina — seminars the Bay Area congressman said were instrumental in moving Congress to cut off U.S. aid to the reactionary South Vietnam government, as well as similar regimes in Indochina.

Noting that “Washington, D.C., is a city dedicated to politics, but very few people have any politics,” Dellums said that Hayden has “humanistic values” that the nation’s capital — where there is “no continuity of values,” Dellums charged — badly needs.

Congressman Dellums described 1976 as a “critical” year in America, “the turning point in the future of the country.” With “millions of people living miserable lives,” the Bay Area Black Democrat said, a person like Tom Hayden who “speaks to human conditions” in the U.S. is needed in public office.

Following Dellums’ statement, Hayden expressed his respect for the congressman’s “principled approach to politics” and thanked Dellums “for setting the stage for me. I wouldn’t be where I am today if it wasn’t for people like you.”

Turning to the political scene in Alameda County, Hayden said that less than two per cent of the two billion dollars in federal contracts for the county are spent on community service programs, small business loans and revenue sharing. He declared that “we must end the addiction to Pentagon spending” and develop viable economic alternatives for the poor and oppressed people of America.

Hayden, who last week received the endorsement of the prestigious California Democratic Caucus, said that polls indicate he can defeat any Republican candidate. “We’ve achieved enough adaptability to make the voters ask, Which Democrat with which program do we send to Congress?” Hayden said. He estimates that 50 per cent of the registered Democrats of California are undecided about whom they want for senator, and will not decide until late in the campaign.

In May, Hayden said that he wants to debate his opponent for the Democratic nomination, “liberal” Senator John Tunney, whom Hayden said he will easily defeat.

People’s Free Clinic Participates In Health Week

(Oakland, Calif.) — As part of its participation in Eastmont Mall’s Health Week, March 8-13, the People’s Free Medical Clinic tested over 50 people for Sickle Cell Anemia, general anemia and high blood pressure last Saturday. Throughout the week, the Clinic tested over 150 people, free of charge, for the three diseases. Above, Clinic volunteer GINA SCOTT (right) conducts a test for Sickle Cell Anemia.

Other local health organizations which participated in the Health Week were the East Oakland Family Health Center, Adventist Community Services and the Alameda County Health Services Agency. The People’s Free Medical Clinic was the only agency which provided free health screening and testing for the public.

Master Plan
For New Calif. Prisons
Opposed

(San Rafael, Calif.) - A California Department of Corrections (CDC) created master plan for the construction of either eight new 600-inmate mini-prisons or two new 2,400-inmate “super” prisons is being sharply criticized as “empire building” by the Committee for Prisoner Humanity and Justice (CPHJ) which has demanded that the plan be scrapped immediately.

Ron Silliman, CPHJ’s director of research and education, said the plan is being developed “with no public discussion and no input from outside the agency.”

He suggested the California state legislature should form a task force “to look into the deeper, long-range questions which are too important to be left up to the self-perpetuating interest of prison administrators.”

NEW WAYS

Silliman proposed that instead of building new prisons, California should look for new ways to “de-institutionalize” persons convicted of crimes and returning the responsibility for these offenders back to local agencies based in the community.

He called the Department’s argument that it needs new prisons to put convicts closer to their hometowns “little more than an attempt to combine a felt need on the part of the CDC with a socially acceptable excuse.”

Each mini-prison would cost $96.5 million to construct and would cost the state at least $38 per cent more to run.

Attacking the CDC’s current budget of almost $330 million a year, Silliman said the Department “is unable to demonstrate its success by any standards whatsoever. It does not deter, it does not rehabilitate, it does not provide for equitable punishment, it does not protect the public.”
BLACK ASBESTOS WORKER SUFFERS LUNG DAMAGE DUE TO INDUSTRY NEGLIGE

Pittsburg, Calif. — A former Black asbestos worker here is unable to move at "anything more than a deliberately slow pace" as a result of lung damage caused by asbestos, which is responsible for half of the employee deaths in the asbestos insulation industry.

Harold Browner, 58, learned of his condition only as a result of a routine tuberculosis screening although a company doctor for the sprawling Johns-Manville asbestos complex, Dr. David Wise, had just months before, in 1967, pronounced Browner fit.

"I asked that doctor, 'Why, why, why did you let this thing go so far without telling me?" Browner said. He was forced to have part of his lungs removed by surgery. "That company got away with murder," he declared angrily. "Someone ought to find a way to make them pay the guys who survived this terrible thing."

Despite serious impairments due to his lung condition, Browner has received only $8,000 in workers’ compensation benefits while the Johns-Manville company pays only part of the tab for his continuing medical expenses.

MALPRACTICE SUIT

Another Johns-Manville worker afflicted by asbestos, Marceo Vela, won a $350,000 malpractice suit against the present company doctor, Kenneth Wise, the son of the former company doctor who claimed Browner was fit. After 33 years of work at the plant, Vela was diagnosed as having asbestosis only after a visit to an orthopedic specialist.

The disease asbestos causes... scarring of the lungs as small indiscernible deposits lodge in the finest air passages of the organ. According to a San Francisco Chronicle report, several types of industrial dust can cause similar lung diseases, but asbestos fibers alone are responsible for mesothelioma, a lethal form of lung cancer.

A recent study of the Johns-Manville plant and others in the Pittsburg area revealed that over 50 per cent of their workers suffer from lung diseases, while another study blamed asbestos and mesothelioma for 40 per cent of the deaths of New York-New Jersey asbestos workers.

Presently there are eight lawsuits, each totaling $10 million apiece, on file in Contra Costa County Superior Court in an unusual three-way legal battle. Five of the suits have been filed against company doctors. Kenneth Wise, charging him with deliberately withholding information from the workers that they had asbestosis.

Wise has in turn filed five $10 million cross complaints against his company, alleging the company had told him that it had a specialist who would be responsible for reading X-rays of asbestosis or silicosis. Wise claims he is unqualified to read chest X-rays for diagnosis of lung diseases.

Workers at the plant also point out that the Pittsburg plant also went to extremes in its attempts to persuade afflicted employees to retire on a straight pension rather than file for workmen’s compensation although they could legally collect both.

Although conditions at the Johns-Manville plant are supposedly greatly improved over 10 years ago, in the words of one employee, "The asbestos is still flying. Every time a fork lift goes by, it stirs it up on the floor."

In a related development, researchers at New York’s Mt. Sinai Hospital have discovered asbestos fibers present in various body and baby powders. Nineteen powders were tested and nine were found to contain the cancer-causing particles.

The powders with the greatest concentration (eight to 20 per cent) were: ZBT Baby Powder with baby oil, Cashmere Bouquet Baby Talc, Coty Airspun Face Powder and Rosemary Talc.

HAROLD BROWNER

Others containing smaller amounts (under five per cent) were: Fabergé Burt Talc, Yardley Invisible Talc, Yardley Black Label Body Powder, Mennen Shave Talc and English Leather After-Shave.

Manufacturers of the powders, who include Colgate Palmolive, Sterling Drugs, Inc. and Coty, claimed that in their testing they found no asbestos in their products.

In 1972, the Food and Drug Administration considered regulations to cover the use of asbestos-contaminated talc in cosmetics, but did not issue any regulations, allegedly because methods which would be used to enforce them were "too costly and time-consuming." Presently tests are being conducted on the dangers of the nickel compounds which are also highly concentrated in these powders, and some of which are known to be carcinogenic (cancer-causing).
Six Houston Cops Convicted
Of Illegal Wiretapping

(Houston, Tex.) — A federal jury has found six Houston police officers guilty on federal charges of conspiracy against the rights of citizens by illegal wiretapping and brutality.

In addition, four Houston cops were found guilty on charges of theft from suspects and three others were convicted of filing false income tax returns.

According to an article in The Houston Post, the March 2 verdict came after an eight-man, four-woman jury deliberated four full days behind locked doors.

The officers, all in the narcotics division at the time of the charges, are veterans in the police department, with seven to 18 years of experience.

The former narcotics officers, testifying under court immunity, said they and the defendants monitored drug suspects for three weeks with illegal wiretapping equipment checked out from the police department.

Two defendants testified that when they were arrested, police officers stole some $9,000 and met later in a grocery store parking lot to split the money.

The defendants, Charles S. Jacobs and John R. Huston, both testified that they were repeatedly kicked and beaten by arresting officers.

During the trial both former police chief Herman Short and present police chief B.C. "Puppy" Bond gave testimony that was criticized by the prosecution.

Short denied knowledge of wiretapping or payoffs within the department while Bond told the court that he would reinstate the defendants if they were acquitted.

Government attorneys charged that "Puppy" Bond by his lack of concrete testimony was participating in a "conspiracy of silence.

Bond's comments concerning possible reprisals against current employees in a memo to city attorney Jonathan Day in which he (Bond) asked if classified employees are subject to disciplinary action after testifying under court-ordered immunity later resulted in his being subpoenaed before a federal grand jury.

Bond spent less than half an hour behind the grand jury door and then met with Day and Assistant U.S. Attorney Fred Bennett, who will prosecute another case of 10 present and former officers charged with illegal wiretapping, scheduled for last week.

Two separate indictments against police officers remain to be prosecuted by the government.

Three former narcotics officers have been indicted on charges of possession and distribution of heroin.

MEDIA-SENSATIONALIZED
"ZEBRA" TRIAL ENDS WITH GUILTY VERDICTS

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The long, overdrawn and overpublicized "Zebra" murder trial ended here last Saturday with the conviction of four young members of the Nation of Islam.

Larry Craig Green, 24, Manuel Moore, 31, J.C. Simon, 29, and Jessie Lee Cooks, 31, showed no shock or emotion according to a San Francisco Examiner report, as the jury, after 18 hours of deliberations over the course of four days found them guilty of all 12 of the state's indictments.

The course of the year-long trial of the four Black men and their resulting convictions seemed to many here almost predestined in view of the media-sensationalized racist inspired panic created in the Bay Area.

During the 1973-74 series of murders, former San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto hysterically ordered unprecedented nightly sweeps throughout the city's Black communities by special tactical police teams.

Over 600 Black men were arbitrarily stopped, frisked and harrassed by San Francisco cops carrying a supposed composite picture of the unknown 'suspects.' A federal court judge halted the indiscriminate practice — code-named "Zebra" by the police teams — as un-Constitutional.

It was within this highly charged atmosphere that seven Black men, all members of the Nation of Islam, were originally arrested in April, 1974. Charges against three of the alleged suspects were soon dropped for lack of evidence.

The state's case against the four hinged on the amazing story of 28-year-old Anthony Cornelius Harris, a self-proclaimed co-conspirator turned informant for immunity from prosecution.

Harris, also a member of the Nation of Islam, was paroled from San Quentin Prison in July, 1973, on burglary and assault charges.

He said he worked at the Black Self-Help Moving and Storage Company, a business enterprise run by the Nation, which he claimed was the staging ground for the killings.

Harris' fantastic tale revolved around the never-proven existence of a splinter White-hating cult called the "Death Angels," random murdering of White "devils." Harris said, was advocating by the group. He added that he "reluctantly" accompanied the defendants on numerous Death Angel slayings.

Using Harris' testimony as the basis for their case, the state district attorneys proceeded to parade 115 prosecution witnesses through the trial, presenting grisly evidence of 14 murders, seven deadly assaults, a rape and an attempted kidnapping.

Although several eyewitnesses and survivors pointed out the defendants as their assailants, defense cross-examination did manage to bring out certain contradictory accounts of the incidents.

Clinton White, chief of the four defense lawyers, immediately announced that the verdicts would be appealed.

Persecution Of Flint Black Policewoman Continues

(Flint, Mich.) — A young Black policewoman was arraigned here last week as a result of her self-defense shooting last December 27 of her White male partner.

In the incident, 20-year-old Madeleine C. Fletcher shot her White partner, Walter Kalberer, after he struck her with a nightstick during an argument over who would drive their patrol car. Other White cops came to the aid of Kalberer and fired 14 shots at Ms. Fletcher, hospitalizing her for five weeks with a gunshot wound in the chest.

Ms. Fletcher has now been charged with "assault with intent to do great bodily harm" and faces a 10-year sentence if convicted.

There have been continual complaints from the 51 Black policemen in the Flint Police Department of racist abuse from all levels in the 375-man squadron.
FAMILIES OF SLAIN PRISON ACTIVISTS SUE WALLACE AND ALA. PRISON OFFICIALS

(Birmingham, Ala.) - In an emotional news conference held here last week by the Dobbins-Dotson Legal Action Fund, Ms. Little Bracey, the mother of murdered Alabama inmate leader Tommy (Yukeena) Dotson, announced that she is suing Alabama Governor George Wallace, L.B. Sullivan, the ex-commissioner of Corrections, and several other prison officials, for $500,000 in the beating death of her son.

The news conference was especially timely as it came just one day before the Florida Presidential primary in which Wallace has been running as a "law and order" candidate.

Also speaking at the news conference were Mafundi, founding chairperson of the Inmates for Action (IFA), Alabama's radical prisoner organization, a leader of the Committee For Prisoner Support (CPPS), and Ms. Carrie Bush, the mother of George (Chagina) Dobins. In May of 1975, Ms. Bush also filed a "wrongful death suit" against Wallace and others for the brutal murder of her son at Atmore Prison on January 18, 1974.

Yukeena, a strong Black man, had always been an outspoken critic of the Alabama prison system and was the chairperson of the IFA at Alabama's Holman Prison. As such he was under constant harassment and subjected to frequent beatings and threats by guards and other prison officials.

STRIPPED NAKED

On March 12, 1974, Yukeena was stripped naked and handcuffed, allegedly to be taken for a shower. On the way, seven guards attacked the handcuffed Yukeena, beat him for twenty minutes until he was dead, threw him down a flight of stairs, and then returned to beat him again. The autopsy report shows that Yukeena's skull had been cracked like an eggshell.

The Atmore-Holman Brothers Defense Committee went before the Escambia County Grand Jury last year to ask for criminal indictments against the murderers of Yukeena and Chagina. Needless to say, no indictments have ever been handed down.

People's Perspective

S.F. School Firings

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Twenty of the 33 San Francisco school principals who were sent notice last week that they are to be laid off are members of minority ethnic groups, the Affirmative Action Review Committee revealed. School Superintendent Robert P. Alito said he concurred with the Committee's concern about the number of minorities laid off. Revealing the underlying racism, he said, "However, we must be guided by the law in this regard," indicating that the last hired must be the first fired.

"Terror" Appointment Protested

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A group interested in jail reform is strongly dissuading Sheriff Richard Hongisto from appointing Raymond Procunier, ex-director of the state Department of Corrections, and currently head of the California Adult Authority, as under sheriff of San Francisco County. The group charges that while Procunier was director of Corrections he "presided over a virtual reign of terror in which Third World and politically conscious prisoners were subjected to brutality" at Soledad and San Quentin prisons.

"Negroes" Multiply Rapidly

(Birmingham, Ala.) - Black students at the University of Alabama are sharply protesting racist exams by a biology professor here that have been shrugged off by college administrators as "a biological question." One question, for example, was, "Which of the following communities multiplies most rapidly? (A) Rodents (B) Rabbits (C) Negroes (D) Benthos (E) Plankton.

Jail Food Rotten

(Milpitas, Calif.) - Women inmates report that county jail administrators have not yet taken any concrete steps to improve the food conditions here. From January 2 to January 8, the women inmates staged a militant hunger strike to protest the poor quality food, charging it regularly contained hair plus live and dead bugs. The administrators continue to play claim down the strike as "an isolated incident."

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(Right to left) Mrs. LILLIE BRACEY, mother of slain IFA brother Yukeena. IFA leader MAFUNDI, and Ms. CARRIE BUSH, mother of slain IFA brother Chagina, at press conference.
For $600,000

(New York, N.Y.) - A White civil rights worker who was beaten unconscious by a savage Ku Klux Klan mob -- 53 stitches were required to close the wounds in his head -- during the "Freedom Ride" movement of the 1960s, filed a $600,000 suit here recently against FBI Director Clarence Kelley and six unnamed FBI agents for their open collaboration with the attacking Klan members.

On May 14, 1961, Charles Peck, who is now 69, was severely beaten outside a Birmingham, Alabama, bus station after stepping off a "Freedom Ride" bus. Just two hours earlier a fellow White civil rights worker, Walter Burgman, was mauled so badly by White bigots that he is partially paralyzed to this day.

The suit contends that the FBI collaborated with the KKK through undercover agent Gary T. Rowe, Jr., and had prior knowledge of the assault. FBI complicity was revealed during Rowe's recent testimony about his activities as an undercover agent before a Senate subcommittee.

Along with Kelley, the six unknown agents described in the suit are "the handling agent, special agent in charge and other supervisors of Gary T. Rowe, Jr."

Describing the incident, Peck explains in his suit that he and BLACK STUDENTS TELL TALES OF TERROR AT SOUTH BOSTON H.S.

2,000 WHITE BIGOTS MARCH AND RALLY IN BOSTON

(Boston, Mass.) - In a recent march to South Boston High School, 2,000 White racists here continued their rabid outcries against school desegregation.

State representative Ray Flynn, along with Boston City Council members "Dapper" O'Neil and long-time outspoken Boston bigot Louise Day Hicks, were all on hand to stir up White racist ignorance and sentiments.

Leo Kahan, a John Birch gubernatorial candidate, likened Black students to potential sex offenders who would be running rampant in lily-white Irish South Boston.

ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) leader James Kelley concluded the rally with the statement, "We don't want their (Black's) culture forced on us. Theirs is a culture of drug users. Theirs is a culture of high crime rate. Theirs is a culture of flag-burners..."

Meanwhile, in midst of all of the hysteria surrounding the White racist mobilization, the daily dehumanization and brutalization of Black students forced to attend South Boston High goes unnoticed by public view.

EXCERPTS

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER features excerpts of statements given by several Black students to the Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union, graphically depicting the terror of raw White hate and official negligence.

"Some days I see gangs of White boys, headed by a student they call Sean, just roaming around the halls in the school. Some days they all wear green army jackets, and it seems like there's trouble on days when that happens."

"One day in early October I saw a White student named Sean come into the school on crutches with his foot wrapped in a bandage. During homeroom, before the first period started, I saw Sean unwrapping the bandage from his foot. I heard him say, 'This is my new nigger beating. I am going to use this crutch on the first nigger that says anything to me.'"

"Three Black students were walking with me, all in single file. When we got to the lobby, I saw a longer row of White students the whole length of the corridor. One of the White students pushed Jack and said something about 'nigger mothers' and 'all niggers suck.' Jack said, 'Whose mother are you talking about?' The White said, 'Yours niggar.' The Whites all started dropping their books and started to make a big circle around us. The one started swinging at Jack, and I tried to pull him away. Other Whites started fighting us all. The police ran in and started pulling people apart it was over in about twenty seconds. I was suspended for three days for this incident."

HEALTH CLASS

"All year long I have not been in any fights, and I have not been suspended. One morning, Friday, October 31, 1976, I was walking to my first period health class, going right in front of the office. Three White boys were walking behind me, and one of them named John started to push me.

A teacher named Mr. Marc Scarsella was standing right there by the office and saw this happen. Mr. Scarsella grabbed that White boy John real quick. But John grabbed me anyway and ripped my coat and the other two White boys grabbed me, too, and I was knocked to the ground."

"I did not try to fight back. I did not raise my hands. I kept holding onto my books until I dropped them when I was knocked to the ground. A lot of state troopers came running over and grabbed me, and the White boys continued to hit me and kick me as the troopers held me.

"Three or four of those troopers picked me up and carried me downstairs to the holding room."

"When we got downstairs one of the troopers, badge number 665, who I have seen lots of times in front of the office, said, 'Drop the nigger.' They just dropped me on the floor like I was a dog or something."

SAVAGE BEASTS

"One of the White student demands was that music be played over the school P.A. system during the change of classes. They said they wanted this because music soothes the savage beasts."

"White kids were standing outside chanting, 'Two, four, six, eight, assassinate the nigger apes.' Later in the period some 150 of the White kids came back into the school. When they came into my homeroom some of the White kids continued to chant: 'Two, four, six, eight, assassinate the nigger apes.' Mr. Hamann told the students to be quiet but most of them continued anyway. He did not tell them they were suspended or anything then, and I do not think that any disciplinary action was ever taken against them."

(We thank the Militant for the information contained in this article.)
**Pros and Cons of Gun Control Debated at Merritt College**

(Oakland, Calif.) - A panel discussion on gun control was held last week at Merritt College before a predominantly White audience of about 200 persons.

The all-White panel consisted of four speakers who spoke in favor of gun control and four who opposed gun control. A question and answer period followed the individual presentations.

Speaking in favor of gun control, Alameda County Supervisor Tom Bates declared that this is a "violent society." With a handgun being purchased every 13 seconds, Bates said the U.S. has the highest per capita ratio of handguns in the world. He commented that some people see a gun as a "phallic symbol."

Oakland-Eastmont Municipal Court Judge Jacqueline Tabor also spoke in favor of gun control. Judge Tabor cited figures that claimed the U.S. has suffered 600,000 dead in all wars fought since 1776 but 800,000 U.S. citizens have been murdered by handguns since 1900.

**Surprising Point**

A surprising point made by Judge Tabor was that all Supreme Court rulings in cases involving individuals with handguns have laid legal basis to the position that there is no Constitutional right for individuals to own guns.

Wayne Johnson, an ex-member of both the Stockton Police Department and the California Highway Patrol (spending a total of 14 years on both), spoke against gun control, saying that control of handguns was the first and "most critical" step in depriving people of their Constitutional right to own guns.

He went on to say that powerful sponsors are necessary for an individual to make his views on the issue known.

Wayne also, in the course of his presentation, pointed out that many European countries banned guns and subsequently their governments changed.

Phyllis Jones, a research chemist and competitive shooter, also spoke against banning handguns. Deploiring the high "crime rate which has us thoroughly frightened these days," Ms. Jones asked the timely question, "is banning handguns going to accomplish a decrease?"

Other panelists who opposed gun control were trial and business lawyer K. Lambert Kirk and James Welsh, one of the original founders of a sportsman's organization called SCOPE.

The other two panelists, San Francisco police chief Charles Gain and Daniel Hoffman, who is a Santa Clara attorney and a vigorous worker on behalf of the proposed gun control initiative, were staunchly in favor of gun control.

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**On the Block**

What Effect Does Chaining And Shackling Of Prisoners Have On Juries?

ASKED AT EASTMONT MALL

Clifford Wilkins
1800 74th Ave.

Susan Gray
6483 Telegraph Ave.
Student
Merritt College

It's going to make the jury think that man is wild and they can't calm him down so they have to chain him up. They're going to look at him anyway. If they can't calm him down, they're going to believe he's wild and that he's guilty regardless.

Cynthia Evans
1426 77th Ave.
Unemployed

It might make the jury think they're really criminals and that they wouldn't have any kind of rights if they were chained and shackled down like they were wild.

Faye Chambers
949 73rd Ave.
Unemployed

I think it would make a person look more criminal, more dangerous, you know, which might cause him not to have the kind of trial he should have.

Jerry Pandry
5920 Geary St.
San Francisco

They probably think they're wild or would try to get away and that's why they're chained. The jury would probably think that they are incapable of handling themselves in court.

Former "Freedom Rider" Sues F.B.I.

Continued from previous page

other Freedom Riders were approached upon entering the bus station and were taken to an alleyway where Peck was beaten until he was unconscious. Rowe testified that prior information of this attack was passed on to the FBI and that he met with police officers in a restaurant who were seated six tables away as the attack was being planned.

Peck's suit seeks, $100,000 in compensatory damages and $500,000 in punitive damages.

When asked why he filed the suit after 15 years, Peck stated, "Because I had no hard evidence until December 1, 1975, when I read newspaper accounts of the testimony of Gary T. Rowe, Jr... Since I am still alive, I feel an obligation to file this suit. My suit relates not just to what the FBI did 15 years ago, but to a policy which the FBI pursues today — the staging and abetting of crime in the interest of maintaining an illegal and unjust status quo."
Kaulo Prescott
Charges KGO-
Radio Firing
Racist

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Former KGO Radio Black commentator Kaulo Prescott has filed suit here with the state Fair Employment Practice Commission (FEPC) charging that his firing late last year was racially motivated.

In a recent interview with THE BLACK PANTHER, Prescott said he was terminated from KGO on December 13, 1976, after being accused by the station’s director of operations, Jerry Johnson, of refusing to follow the stated policies and guidelines of the KGO Radio programming department.

Originally hired in 1971, Prescott was the host of the highly popular NewsTalk program aired over KGO Radio on Saturdays. He came to the station following 19 years of confinement in California prisons, having spent the longest stretch in San Quentin Prison.

First Hired
When Prescott was first hired, KGO touted him as a “communicator who ‘tells it like it is.’” Yet it was his thought-provoking programs on a variety of social and economic issues that brought him the wrath of KGO’s management.

The 42-year-old Prescott, who was hired part-time by KGO Radio, maintains that he never received any assistance from the station’s production staff in booking his guest throughout his tenure. He added:

“Johnson had different guidelines for me to follow, which were not given to the others. . . .” These guidelines, Prescott said, were put in writing by Johnson on November 8 of last year, a little over a month before Prescott was fired.

Prescott also charges in his FEPC suit that he never received any payment for overtime nor was he ever given a raise.

An East Oakland resident, Prescott is a frequent lecturer before groups ranging from elementary school children, college students to businesses.

He served as an advisor to Dr. Philip Zimbardo, the noted Stanford University social psychologist who conducted the famous “Stanford Experiment” on the psychology of imprisonment. (See article, page 4.)

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

Berkeley Era Of Cronyism Exposed

Following, THE BLACK PANTHER concludes a special three-part series on the hypocrisy and bold-faced opportunism of “Black” Berkeley Mayor Warren Widener.

In Parts 1 and 2 of this series, Widener’s turncoat positions on key community issues and his “unholy” alliances with moderate/conservative forces were exposed. Prodded from behind by his wife, Mary — allegedly the “brains” of the operation — Widener’s history on the Berkeley political scene has recently culminated in his shameless announcement to run against his former mentor, respected state representative John Miller for the 5th Assembly District area.

CONCLUSION
As mayor of the city of Berkeley, Warren Widener has displayed his own style of dirty, cheap politics. The mayor enjoys being able to reward his friends and punish his enemies, and he won’t let the basic rules of democracy get in the way of what he likes.

Take the matter of secret city council meetings. Since he became mayor in 1971, Widener has used his power as the presiding officer of the city council to conduct a great deal of public business behind closed doors. Since 1971, Berkeley has had a “backroom budget,” written by the mayor and his council majority in secret sessions. Some of these secret meetings have actually been held behind locked doors in the city manager’s office. Many of them have violated the law, such as when a majority of the council is present and the public is not.

Or take the matter of free speech and the right of the public to speak before the city council. As mayor, Widener has repeatedly prevented members of the public he disagrees with from having an opportunity to speak at council meetings. Widener claims the right as presiding officer to set the rules himself. The rules are that anyone can speak to the council if the mayor says it’s all right. It’s usually all right for people the mayor likes to speak to the council. But when a citizen or a member of a neighborhood group the mayor doesn’t like tries to speak, the mayor hampers his gavel and has the microphone turned off.

The mayor especially works hard to prevent people from speaking whose comments are requested by the council’s progres-
sive minority, Councilmembers Hancock, Kelley and Dent- on. People whom they ask to speak are prevented from talking unless a majority of the council (controlled by the mayor) gives its consent, which isn’t very often.

Widener and his conservative council majority also passed a gag rule to keep the minority council members from speaking. Under the gag rule, debate is abruptly cut off at a certain point and the council minority kept from making motions or expressing their point of view, unless the council majority votes to allow more time.

Widener is also known to have turned the microphone off councilmembers he wants to keep from speaking.

“ROUND TABLE”
The mayor and his conservative “Round Table” have attempted to monopolize everything in Berkeley, including appointments to the city’s boards and commissions. Widener has staunchly refused to let progressive council members appoint anyone to the all important boards and commissions, preferring to pack the commissions entirely with the majority’s cronies. Thus, although the progressive council minority often receives 40 per cent or more of the Berkeley vote, they received none of the appointment.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

Support Yvonne Wanrow

(Oakland, Calif.) - YVONNE WANROW, a Native American woman of the Washington state Colville Tribe convicted of second degree murder for slaying a known child molester who attacked her son, held a press conference here at the Intertribal Friendship House last Saturday seeking support for her appeals case.

For further information on her case or for pledges of support, contact: Yvonne Wanrow, Indian Legal Defense Committee, P.O. Box 49, Incheon, Washington 98138.
...And Bid Him Sing

By David G. Du Bois

Exciting Novel Examines Lives Of Black Americans In Egypt

The following is Part 22 of ...And Bid Him Sing, the superb novel by BLACK PANTHER's Editor-in-Chief David G. Du Bois concerning a group of self-exiled Black Americans living in Cairo, Egypt, at the time of the 1967 Middle East war.

PART 22

I rolled out of bed refreshed. I was expecting Sullivan in the evening and had decided not to return to work. It was Saturday. I'd been in the office from early morning. Caught in a news lull, we'd been pressing to get out several features that had been requested. Despite the boss's attempts to generate an emergency about these features, none existed.

My sleeping galabiya was damp around the shoulders and back from my perspiration. The parquet floor felt cool under my bare feet. I headed straight into the bathroom and stepped under a cold shower.

Despite the heat, I had slept nearly two hours. The shutters and windows throughout the apartment had been closed tight since early morning. This had kept in some of the coolness of the night before, and kept out the worst heat of the day. I'd climbed into bed immediately upon my arrival after lunch at around four-thirty. It was now going on seven.

LONING

Over my naked and scrubbed body I pulled a floor-length cotton galabiya, made myself a glass of Turkish coffee, and stretched out on a wicker lounge chair on my balcony. I was enjoying the rich, sweet, steaming hot brew, engulped in that reddish glow that follows a Cairo sunset in early fall, when the harsh, insistent screeching of the telephone jarred me out of my reveries. It would be the office calling to find out why I wasn't there and when I'd be coming.

In a rare instance of defiance I decided not to answer it. I'd find a suitable explanation on Monday morning. That would be easier than trying to explain to one of the staff on the phone now. It wouldn't be the boss. He would recognize his absence without explanation as defiance and he was helplessly irrational when faced with defiance head-on. I had rarely failed to show up without his knowing why beforehand. And in those few instances when he hadn't known, I'd always called to explain. By now he'd be raving at the others at my unexplained absence, almost terrifying them into producing the result he desired – my presence in the office.

It had been several months since Sullivan's first visit. In that time I had been to his place twice; he had been to mine many times. At first he seemed to have one purpose in coming: to convince me that 'Egypt ain't shit.' Then we'd get into it, hot and heavy. His knowledge of Egypt was limited to what he had seen and experienced in less than a year in Cairo. He'd not traveled outside Cairo. He knew nothing of Egypt's modern history and only faintly of its Pharaonic past. I'd given him some books about Egypt and the coming of Islam to Egypt.

He treated books with affection. He would return them to me in much the same condition they'd been in when he took them: Sometimes he'd mended torn covers or made covers for those that had none. Often he arrived with a list of questions or scraps of paper stuck between pages containing information he wanted to check. When I couldn't answer his questions I suggested where I thought he might find the answers. In those three months nothing more had been said by either of us about his poetry. But he had not returned the books of poetry I'd lent him.

RUNNING MATES

At the same time he and Fawzy had become running mates in the pursuit of sex. Their appetites were insatiable, and Fawzy's ability at procuring legendary. He taught Sullivan economies Sullivan couldn't believe, and Sullivan taught Fawzy things about the art of arousing a woman that Fawzy found difficult to practice until he saw their results for Sullivan.

It had been an older woman, a friend and neighbor of his mother's, who had introduced Fawzy to serious sex when he had just passed fifteen. Being aroused was not her problem. But now, following Sullivan's example and instructions, Fawzy found himself enjoying women much more and he found the number of repeated performances at the request of the vanished greatly increased. Sullivan never told me about his excursions with Fawzy. But Fawzy told me about them, in great detail.

Mohammed and Ibrahim had been at Sullivan's place the two times I visited, and Sullivan had brought them by the place twice. Mohammed had come once after that on his own, wondering if there was some kind of publicity I could arrange for him through my contacts with Egyptian journalists. When he told me what he was into and what he hoped to be into soon, I suggested doing a feature about him for one of the state-press publications our office serviced. The idea gassed him and he promised to keep me informed on developments.

HARD TO FIGURE

Ibrahim was hard to figure out. He was the youngest of the four, just past twenty-one. In the three times we'd been together, he'd said little, but I'd observed, missed little behind his dark glasses. Sullivan had told me Ibrahim was the only one who regularly attended Al Asfar classes. He was tall and thin, with sharp features; dark brown in color. His home had been Philadelphia. There was little else that anyone knew about him and he didn't invite questions about himself.

TO BE CONTINUED...
REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"Patrolling"

In the chapter "Patrolling" Black Panther Party leader and chief theoretician Huey P. Newton explains how the Party began with a heavy emphasis put on educating and organizing the "street brothers." Also in this portion of the chapter he explains how he laid out the Black Panther Party's original 10 point platform and program which put forth the goals of the Party to the Black community.

PART 42
We asked them if they would be interested in forming the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, which would be based upon defending the community against the aggression of the power structure, including the military and the armed might of the police. We performed the brothers of their right to possess weapons; most of them were interested.

Then we talked about how the people are constantly intimidated by arrogant, belligerent police officers and exactly what we could do about it. We went to pool halls and bars, all the places where brothers congregate and talk.

I was prepared to give them legal advice. From my law courses at Oakland City College and San Francisco Law School I was familiar with the California penal code and well versed in the laws relating to weapons.

I also had something very important at my disposal — the law library of the North Oakland Service Center, a community center poverty program where Bobby was working. The Center gave legal advice, and there were many lawbooks on the shelves. Unfortunately, most of them dealt with civil law, since the anti-poverty program was not supposed to advise poor people about criminal law.

LEGAL SITUATION

However, I made good use of the books they had to run down the full legal situation to the brothers on the street. We were doing what the poverty program claimed to be doing but never had — giving help and counsel to poor people about the things that crucially affected their lives.

All that summer we circulated in the Black communities of Richmond, Berkeley, Oakland, and San Francisco. Wherever brothers gathered, we talked with them about their rights to arm. In general, they were interested but skeptical about the weapons idea. They could not see anyone walking around with a gun in full view. To recruit any sizable number of street brothers, we would obviously have to do more than talk.

We needed to give practical applications of our theory, show them that we were not afraid of weapons and not afraid of death. The way we finally won the brothers over was by patrolling the police with arms.

Before we began the patrols, however, Bobby and I set down in writing a practical course of action. We could go no further without a program, and we resolved to drop everything else, even though it might take a while to come up with something viable. One day, we went to the North Oakland Service Center to work it out. The center was an ideal place because of the books and the fact that we could work undisturbed. First, we pulled together all the books we had been reading and dozens we had only heard about. We discussed Mao's program, Cuba's program, and all the others, but concluded that we could not follow any of them. Our unique situation required a unique program.

Although the relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed is universal, forms of oppression vary. The idea that mobilized the people of Cuba and China sprang from their own history and political structures. The practical parts of those programs could be carried out only under a certain kind of oppression. Our program had to deal with America.

I started rapping off the essential points for the survival of Black and oppressed people in the United States. Bobby wrote them down, and then we separated those ideas into two sections, "What We Want" and "What We Believe." We split them up because the ideas fell naturally into two distinct categories. It was necessary to explain why we wanted certain things. At the same time, our goals were based on beliefs, and we set those out, too.

In the section on beliefs, we made it clear that all the objective conditions necessary for attaining our goals were already in existence, but that a number of societal factors stood in our way. This was to help the people understand what was working against them.

All in all our ten-point program book took about twenty minutes to write. Thinking it would take days, we were prepared for a long session, but we never got to the small mountain of books piled up around us. We had come to an important realization: books could only point in a general direction; the rest was up to us.

TO BE CONTINUED
"STOP THE EXTRADITION OF DENNIS BANKS"

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

fugitive warrant when 40 FBI agents, armed with shotguns and M-16 rifles, surrounded Lehman Brightman's El Cerrito residence. Banks had been sought by the authorities since August 5, 1976, for failure to appear for sentencing following a frame-up conviction on riot and assault charges in Custer, South Dakota.

Leading off the program last Friday, Brightman forcefully detailed the "double standard of justice" the Banks' conviction represents.

Briefly, Brightman explained an "incredible" sequence of events which began with the barroom murder of John Wesley Bad Heart Bull, a young Sioux man, by an arrogant White racist named Darald Schmidt.

Three days later, Schmidt was arrested for second degree manslaughter, although there were six eyewitnesses to the slaying who all heard Schmidt say he was "going to kill an Indian" a few minutes before he plunged a knife through the young Sioux's heart. Schmidt was later found guilty but only received a probation sentence.

In protest of the sentence, a meeting was arranged in Custer, South Dakota, attended by several AIM leaders, including Dennis Banks, and Sarah Bad Heart Bull, the dead youth's mother.

While Banks and the other AIM members were allowed into the courthouse meeting, Mrs. Bad Heart Bull was denied entrance. When she persisted to demand her rights, a White state trooper grabbed her and began to strangle her in front of several hundred shocked Indian supporters.

When the Native Americans moved to protect Mrs. Bad Heart Bull, the state troopers attacked both the demonstrators and the group meeting inside. Before the incident was over, scores of Indian people were beaten and arrested. The Custer courthouse and chamber of commerce were also burned to the ground.

As a result of the incident, Mrs. Bad Heart Bull was sentenced to one to three years in jail. She served six months. Dennis Banks, who admits to using a police billy club to break out a window and escape the tear gas filled meeting room, was sentenced to 15 years on the trumped-up charges.

Labeling South Dakota "the Alabama of the North," Brightman brought out several outrageous features concerning Dennis Banks' trial in Custer, including:

(1) That state Attorney General William Janklow, a known rapist of a 15-year-old Indian woman on the Rosebud Reservation, person-

Oppressive, substandard housing on the Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota, (below) affects the lives of all the Native American residents, both young and old.

ually tried the case against Banks, intimidating his lawyer to the point that he resigned in the middle of the trial;

(2) That murderer Darald Schmidt, his wife and two cousins were seated on the jury to try Banks. Although Schmidt and his wife were eventually removed, the cousins remained to return the guilty verdict.

"Many young Indians in this country look upon Dennis Banks with great respect," Brightman said in concluding his speech. "They look upon him as a man who stood up to the full might of the U.S. government and defied them. . . . Dennis Banks is a symbol of strength, . . . an honorable man."

Following Brightman, Black Panther Party chairperson Elaine Brown delivered a stirring solidarity message in support of the fight against extradition.

Pledging to do "all that we can to see that Dennis Banks remains in some sort of asylum," Elaine added that she fully understands the heart of the issue since, "We also had a member of our party, Huey P. Newton, who had to do the same thing Dennis Banks did, who had to avoid the so-called court system and avoid certain death in the California prison system."

Saying that "The Black community of Oakland, I am certain, will become more involved in the issue of Dennis Banks," Elaine explained the "natural coalition" between Black people and Indian people:

"Not only did they come here and rip off this country from the Indian people, they also ripped off our territory and brought us here to work for them. The Indian people taught them what to do because they were too stupid to know how to work the land and then they broke our backs to do the work."

Continuing to stress the theme of a "natural coalition" that can survive the racism and divisiveness of the FBI and other government forces, Elaine added, "We must continue to build this coalition so that at least one state in this union can say, 'Listen, we are going to provide an asylum for Dennis Banks. We will all be Lehman Brightman. We will all open our homes. We will open up this state so that Dennis Banks does not have to return to South Dakota to be killed.'"

"We have the power," Elaine said. "We the people are the majority. . . . This is not just an 'Indian issue.' This is not a 'White issue' or a . . ."

Sarah Bad Heart Bull (extreme right) is choked and beaten by police in Custer, South Dakota, during protest against slaying of her son by White racist Darald Schmidt.
'Black Panther issue.' This is an issue of human beings who are beginning to struggle together, who believe in Power to the People.

Clyde Bellecourt, who spoke next on the program, eloquently presented the history of the American Indian Movement, while attacking the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Christian Church and the educational system as "three institutions that work day in and day out to strip Indian people of their language, their identity and their culture."

At the time of AIM's founding on July 28, 1968, Bellecourt charged that the average life span for Indian people was 43.5 years (compared with the national average of over 70 years); that 82 per cent of all Indian people in America lived in substandard housing, with 76 per cent lacking running water; that the average Indian annual income was $1,500; and that the suicide rate for Indian people was seven times higher than the national average.

DIFFERENT ORGANIZATION

Bellecourt said that AIM was intended to be a "different" kind of organization, one in which "Indian people would make decisions for themselves" and that its founders would be "willing to give their lives" in the "militant struggle for self-determination and sovereignty."

During Bellecourt's moving dialogue, he asked the audience to rise, and led by a group of young students from the AIM-sponsored Heart of the Earth Survival School, the AIM national anthem, a sacred Indian fire song, was presented.

Receiving a standing ovation as he took the podium, Dennis Banks gave a brief address on the complexities of his case and the need "for the first time in this country's history for non-Indians to stand in support of Indian people's rights." He added that AIM estimated that California Governor Brown had already received over 100,000 letters, telegrams and signed petitions opposing his extradition.

Stressing the April 3 march and rally, Banks explained that he was not the only one seeking "sanctuary" since, "Poor people everywhere are seeking sanctuary from poverty."
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

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

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.
   We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and money to create full employment shall be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community, so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.
   We believe that the racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as reparation for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modus operandi for our people.

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

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

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.
   We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop 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 circle and government to further its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

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

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.
    When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for our people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.
    We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.
The Black Panther intended to help Black Rhodesian freedom fighters overthrow the racist White minority regime of Ian Smith but without Cuban assistance.

Joaquim Chissano, interviewed during a brief stopover here on his way to a special U.N. Security Council session in New York, said, "We have never thought of the possibility of allowing Cuban troops into Mozambique to fight against Rhodesia."

Chissano said that the possibility of Mozambique becoming involved in Rhodesia’s war of liberation depends on whether Smith “behaves.”

The U.N. Security Council session is being held at Mozambique’s request to discuss the impact of the world body’s sanctions against Rhodesia. On March 3, Mozambican President Samora Machel declared “a state of war” with Rhodesia following the latter’s alleged “hot pursuit” of Black Rhodesian guerrillas into Mozambique. President Machel closed his country’s border with Rhodesia and imposed strict economic sanctions against the White racist regime.

In Lusaka, Zambia, the government’s official organ, The Times of Zambia, said Rhodesian Black nationalists should quit negotiating and “organize to smash” Smith’s government on the battlefield.

In a fiery editorial the newspaper said that if Zambia had the power, it would command Joshua Nkomo — the leader of the reactionary wing of the African National Council (ANC), an umbrella organization of Black nationalist groups in Rhodesia — “to pack up and find his guns.” Nkomo has been holding “constitutional” talks with the Smith government for the past three months.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda declared that the issue of majority (Black) rule in Rhodesia must be settled by force. We say to them (White Rhodesians), when majority rule has to come through the barrel of a gun, there will be no future for them in Rhodesia," the Zambian leader said.

Meanwhile, Ugandan President Idi Amin, the current chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), has called on the body’s 47 member states to provide material, moral and military support to Mozambique in its resistance to aggression from White-rulled Rhodesia.

Rescheme the “state of war” declaration made by President Machel, President Amin said, “Africa must seek to liberate Zambia (Rhodesia).” He added that the OAU must not give “our enemies the chance to label ours an organization that doesn’t implement its decisions.”

Amin’s call for OAU assistance to Mozambique was preceded by a day with a statement from the OAU Secretariat which praised President Machel’s decision to close Mozambique’s borders with Rhodesia. The Secretariat described the Mozambique president’s move as “a courageous and historic decision” and an “honor to Mozambique and Africa.”

The Secretariat also appealed to all OAU member states to provide all possible assistance to Mozambique in its “hour of great sacrifice.”

United Nations Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim has called on the world body to give financial support to Mozambique to compensate for the eight-
INTERVIEW WITH S.W.A.P.O. LEADERS

M.P.L.A. VICTORIES IN ANGOLA BENEFIT ARMED STRUGGLE IN NAMIBIA

The recent political and military victories of the MPLA-led government of the People's Republic of Angola have positively benefited the nine-year-old liberation struggle in neighboring Namibia (South West Africa) where the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) joined forces with the MPLA in regular pursuit of the liberation of Angola by the racist regime of South Africa.

The following article is excerpted from a recent interview conducted by Guardian staff correspondent Willfred Burchett with SWAPO President Sam Nujoma, and the organization's official representative in Angola and a member of the SWAPO Central Committee, Hon. Kaulua.

The two SWAPO leaders discuss the implications of the MPLA victories for Namibia's armed struggle to win independence from 36 years of illegal rule by South Africa.

(Luanda, People's Republic of Angola) - The struggle for the liberation of Namibia has been greatly enhanced by the victory of people's forces in neighboring Angola.

With the victory of the MPLA in Angola, SWAPO has just opened a major office here. During our discussions, I first asked President Njouma about the significance of the MPLA triumph for the SWAPO movement across the southern border.

WHAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE 🗣️

"The South Africans are very much shaken by their defeat," Njouma said. "They had been glorified as a 'very powerful military force' in the West, and had sent their elite units into Angola only to suffer a costly and humiliating defeat. 

This is only part of the shape of things to come — and our SWAPO forces did their bit. Among other things, we shot down a plane with a South African brigadier general and two colonels in it. And our armed forces are now operating within 45 miles of Windhoek; the South Africans are very frightened.

Homatani Kaulua continued: "I'd like to mention two points for the start. The MPLA victory opens up perspectives for us to drive the South Africans — despite their considerable strength — out of our country by our own force of arms.

"We feel that for the first time, we have a strong rear base for our revolution," Kaulua went on.

"At least we have a long common border with a friendly, independent and progressive people. New perspectives are opening up. Hundreds of young people are demanding to join our armed forces. The situation has completely changed and we now see the possibility of liberating our country by our own strength."

Kaulua gave the African population of Namibia as about one million, dominated by some 60,000 Whites. This is the result of a stagnation of the African population and the terrible losses suffered in various wars of national liberation. Kaulua estimated that the Africans lost about one million people in resisting the initial German invasion at the turn of the century, the warrior Herero tribe alone having been reduced from 500,000 to 15,000 between 1903 and 1907.

RAPID DEVELOPMENT

There had been a rapid development of SWAPO's People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) from the April 25, 1974, coup in Portugal — up to which time they numbered only a few hundred guerrillas — with further big spurts in recruitment after the promise of Angolan independence.

"The young people are flocking to join the struggle," said Kaulua. "Some, like this lad (introducing me to a bright looking youth sitting on his hotel room bed) have crossed the frontier asking for arms. But he's only 16 and we are arranging for youngsters like that to get some schooling in new Angola."

He explained that SWAPO's main military activity was in the four northern administrative regions of Caprivi, a narrow wedge-shaped strip of territory in the northeast, bordered by Botswana in the south and Angola and Zambia in the north — Okavango, also in the northeast, Ovamboland in the north and Grootfontein in the north-central region. It was from Grootfontein that South Africa launched its Angolan invasion, the large military complex there is also used in the control of Namibia.

"Thus far," he continued, "we have not concentrated on liberating territory to set up a liberated zone, but more on hitting the enemy's base installations and camps. We try to keep him on the move, which facilitates ambushing his convoys."

Between April and December, 1975, Kalua and 500 South African forces had been killed in such actions and a dozen planes and helicopters were shot down. Harassing actions were stepped up during the South African invasion of Angola, but he did not yet have figures of losses inflicted.

LIBERATED AREAS

"When we do not uplift, liberated areas in the next phase of our operations," he said, "we will start driving the South Africans south, and we will never let up, until they have their backs to the sea in South Africa itself."

Although military and political policy at the moment is to his exclusively military installations, Kalua added, it is inevitable that attacks would be extended to economic targets, transport and communications and that mine workers and others would step up their demands for better conditions so that the "Whites may start to wake up" and put pressure on the South African government. "At a later stage we may consider hitting civilian installations," Kalua said.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 25

AFRICA IN FOCUS

ETHIOPIA

A recent article in Ethiopia's government-owned newspaper Addis Zemen challenged the country's 17-month-old military regime to set a date for transfer to civilian rule. The article, signed by Bezeabeh Belatches — believed by observers in Addis Ababa to be a pen name — also called for democratic and peaceful solutions in Eritrea. Eritrea is fighting for its independence from illegal rule by Ethiopia.

UNITED NATIONS

An official of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid recently told the Committee that "a serious crisis in southern Africa" is rapidly developing. According to a U.N. press release, Nicasio Valderrama, of the Philippines, observed in a statement that the liberation of Mozambique and Angola had created an entirely new situation in southern Africa. He said that a bill has been introduced in the South African Parliament authorizing the dispatch of armed forces anywhere in Africa.

UGANDA

Uganda's President Idi Amin last week congratulated Cuban Premier Fidel Castro for "his undaunted courage to erase the forces of imperialism from the world scene." In a telegram to Premier Castro, President Amin said Cuba's aid to the MPLA-led government of Angola was clear proof of its determination to translate into action its declared stand on international issues and not limit its revolution to Cuba's own borders.

DJIBOUTI

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has appointed a commission representing eight member countries to make a fact-finding visit to Djibouti in the French territory of Afars and Issas. The tiny territory is slated for independence in early 1977 and is the center of a dispute between neighboring Ethiopia and Somalia, both of whose lay claim to the colony. Liberation organizations in Djibouti and Somalia charge that once independence is declared, the territory will still be controlled by France. The eight countries included in the commission are Egypt, Tanzania, Senegal, Guinea, Uganda, Zaire, Mozambique and Liberia.
WEST BANK MAYORS RESIGN OVER ISRAELI TERROR — PALESTINIAN DEMONSTRATIONS ESCALATE

(Ramallah, Occupied Palestine) — Angered by “a new phase of repression and terror,” the Palestinian mayors and city council people of three towns in the Israeli-occupied West Bank territory resigned their positions last week in the wake of increased Zionist military brutality.

In a joint statement, the officials accused the Israeli military authorities of “brutal attacks” on a number of schools and Moslem holy places in the area, and violations of the Geneva convention on occupied territories.

The incident which sparked the mass resignations was the rough tactics used by a contingent of Israeli soldiers in breaking up a political demonstration by students of nearby Bir Zeit College.

According to eyewitness accounts reported in The New York Times, the soldiers charged the college dormitories, smashing windows and doors with their riot batons, overturning furniture, beating the students and dragging them out to a pair of waiting jeeps. Fourteen students were injured in the assault, while five students were arrested and fined the equivalent of one year’s tuition.

Protesting this attack, the public officials of Ramallah, El Bireh and Bir Zeit submitted their resignations to the Israeli military governor. Earlier last week, following brutal police repression against other demonstrations, the city council of Nablus, the largest Palestinian town on the West Bank, also resigned.

The resignations have provoked a political vacuum for the occupying Israeli authorities, coming as they do less than one month before the April 12 municipal elections, to be held in 24 towns and villages, as key in controlling the 600,000 Palestinians living in the West Bank.

Meanwhile, demonstrations and strikes continued throughout the West Bank. Nablus and El Bireh have experienced four consecutive days of widespread protests, centering on opposition to new Israeli fortified settlements in the area and the crackdown on students. More than two dozen Palestinians have been arrested.

Students and teachers in Nablus, Ramallah, and El Bireh have boycotted classes over the last week, while many shopkeepers have declared themselves on strike.

Palestinian resistance against the Israeli occupation army has been growing in recent months throughout the West Bank. Haifa news agency and Wafa, the official Palestinian broadcast, report.

On February 28, Palestinians in Jerusalem staged a large demonstration against Zionist violations of Moslem religious mosques.

Wafa reports that Israeli military forces encircled the famous Al Aqsa Mosque during the Friday prayer and searched all Palestinians entering and exiting. Palestinians were forbidden to leave the mosque in groups of more than four.

In Nablus, two Palestinians were killed on February 18, when Israeli military authorities used clubs, tear gas and water hoses to disperse a large demonstration. Hundreds of protesters were arrested.

Praising the continuing demonstrations, Yasir Arafat, chairperson of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), sent a special message via Wafa, saluting the brave stand the people of the West Bank have adopted. Arafat said:

“You confront the arrogance of the Zionist occupation and the Zionist instrument of war and destruction with unshakable faith that increases day after day.

“We are with you, fighting from this position as you are fighting from your position. This struggle means that our people create their own future: their own history and engage in a heroic and fierce battle that will constitute a great victory in the history of our Arab nation.”

New U.N. Committee To Press For Palestinians’ Rights

(United Nations, N.Y.) — A new United Nations committee, created to press Palestinian claims against Israel, recently began operating here with a call for redress of 30 years of “injustice” in the Middle East.

The 20-nation body, known as the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, was created by the General Assembly to make recommendations designed to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their “inalienable rights of self-determination, national independence and sovereignty,” and “to return to their homes and property, from which they have been displaced and uprooted.” By June 1, the Committee is to present its report, which will first be considered by the Security Council and then the General Assembly.
NEW SKELETON FINDINGS CONFIRM HUMANKIND'S AFRICAN ORIGINS

(Washington, D.C.)—Recently revealed discoveries of human skeletons in Kenya have all but conclusively proved that humankind originated in Africa, anthropologists Richard Leakey and Donald C. Johanson announced at a National Geographic Society news conference here last week.

Leakey called the skeletal remains "dramatic new evidence about human origins," since the skull is "almost identical" with that of the renowned "Peking Man" found in China in 1927, according to the Washington Post report.

Both the "Peking Man" and a similar "Java Man" have been found, but this find for nearly 50 years led scientists to believe the origin of Homo erectus — erect or straight-standing man — was a relatively late development in the evolutionary scale.

The latest find, made by Leakey last September east of Lake Turkana in Kenya, adds to a growing body of evidence that humankind developed in Africa and migrated across the world at different stages.

Taken with other new finds in Africa — of human-like creatures going back at least 3.5 million years — "we now know that the 'homo' lineage that led to us has got a lengthy history going back millions of years farther than we thought," added Johanson.

Johanson, who with French and African workers discovered a series of sensational remains in Ethiopia in 1973, told of recovering more than 150 bones of two four to five-year-old children and three to five adults from a site in November 2.

He said these bones were "at least 3 million and probably 3.5 million years old" and classified them as "homo" or man, though not yet as advanced as Homo erectus.

Other scattered, ancient bones have been found, but this find "for the first time," Johanson said, was of a group of genetically "closely related" individuals that should tell us much about this species' growth and development.

Very possibly, Johanson said, they were "a group, troop or family" living in a dry wash, caught by a flash flood and buried together.

Dr. Leakey's parents, Mary Leakey and the late Louis Leakey, created an uproar throughout the anthropological world with their 1959 discoveries in Tanzania of the human-related but more ape-like Australopithecus.

Hand formed from three million year-old bones found in Kenya.

Leakey's discovery was instrumental in advancing the belief that humankind originated in Africa, outraging White racists and their now discredited theories of the superiority of White culture because of its longevity.

In 1973, Johanson began finding his series of early Ethiopian creatures, again some homo, some Australopithecus, dated at around three million years.

Even earlier, in 1969, Richard Leakey began his own series of Kenya discoveries, including a potentially brainy homo skull 2.8 million years old.

But Leakey's new hominid species, Leakey, they agreed, challenges the dating of "Peking Man" and, in the words of science, extends CONTINUED ON PAGE 24.

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WORLD SCOPE

Peru

Delegates of Third World countries on the Committee on Transnational Corporations of the U.N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) have condemned multinational corporations for impeding the development of their countries. Uganda delegate Harold Acemah said that transnationals' "bribery activities, political manipulations and problems resulting from them occurred on a large scale," seriously affecting the economic progress of developing countries.

Belgium

Testimony at the International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women has described the cruel and inhuman treatment of female prisoners in Chile and Iran. Women jailed in Chile face such tortures as electric shocks administered to breasts and vaginas, attacks by trained dogs and repeated rape by guards. In Iran where 4,000 women are political prisoners, they are forced to watch their children being assaulted and raped in front of their husbands to get confessions from the men.

East Timor

The guiding liberation organization, the Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor (FRETILIN), has engaged the Timor Liberation Army and some one million patriotic people in a "production for fighting" campaign in their determined efforts to carry on a protracted struggle against the Indonesian invaders. The East Timor defense minister and commander-in-chief of the national liberation army stressed that the Timorese people are determined to fight to the last man to win final victory.

South Korea

Strong protests have been lodged against the U.S.-backed South Korean regime by the senior member of the North Korean-Chinese delegation to the 371st meeting of the Military Armistice Commission over last month's introduction into South Korea of several highly sophisticated U.S. F-111 fighter bombers capable of carrying nuclear bombs.
"THE WORLD OF BLACK ART" SPARKLES AT O.C.L.C. COMMUNITY FORUM

Top Bay Area Black Artists Discuss Their Works

(Oakland, Calif.) - The Oakland Community Learning Center hosted an informative and seldom seen slide show and panel discussion last Sunday on "The World of Black Art.

Moderator for this noteworthy event was the highly talented "People's Artist" of the Black Panther Party, Emory Douglas.

Panelists included Claude Clark, a student/teacher of Black art; Arthur Carraway, a Black painter and print maker who is an authority on the origins of African art forms; Dewey Crumppler, a Black artist and muralist who has studied under two of the greatest muralists of Mexico, David Siguirinos and Pablo Higgins; Claude Clark, Jr., a sculptor, artist and lecturer from the Black Studies Department of San Jose State University; and Edward Brooks, a well-known Bay Area Black photographer from San Francisco.

Brother Claude Clark, Sr., opened the presentations with a discussion of the rise of Black consciousness from "Negro" to "Negro's" to "Black" and commented, "I think that the ultimate is when we think of ourselves as Africans 'cause that's what we are."

In tracing the documentation of Black American art, Clark cited the first book compiled by a Black man which detailed Black art in America, The Negro In Art by Allen Lock, which showed not only Black subjects but painters as well and depicted Black ancestral art.

CRITICISM

A valid criticism of the general state of Black art was given by Clark when he pointed out that no Black-created institute exists to house and display visual art works by Black artists.

Clark then showed slides of his work, the earliest of which dated back to the 1930s. One of his paintings, titled "Resting," is presently hanging in the Smithsonian Institute art gallery.

The next speaker was Brother Arthur Carraway who displayed transparencies of rock paintings, known as the "Tassili Rock Paintings," some of which dated back to 5,000 B.C.

The earliest symbols, according to Carraway, were the circle, square, spiral and triangle and were found in northwest Africa in the present-day countries of Egypt, Morocco and Ethiopia.

In discussing African art, Carraway said, "In Africa there's no such term as art. It's merely a science." He went on to explain, "They (Africans) take various forms and these forms become a meaning in expressing ideas relating to a particular culture."

Symbolism can be found in the way human figures are drawn.

At the end of his presentation, Carraway showed a short film of the works of the late Black muralist, Aaron Miller.

After the film, Brother Edward Brooks spoke briefly about the tragedy of Miller's life. "In one of the last conversations I had with Aaron Miller," Brooks told the spellbound audience, "he said that if the church was to be destroyed, then he wanted to be the one driving the bulldozer."

The church Miller referred to was in San Francisco and was the building upon which he painted what most knowledgeable art lovers say were his greatest murals showing the crucifixion of Jesus. The church was later razed with no provision made to save the murals by racist San Francisco land developers.

However, Brother Brooks had visited the church before its destruction and took photographs of the murals and before he started his own presentation, he donated a mural of the pictures to the Oakland Community School.

In speaking of photography, he said it was a brand-new medium compared to other established media such as painting or sculpture.

Brother Brooks went on to distinguish that, "Yes, it's an art form, but more importantly, it's an historical form." He pointed out that a lot of what are now just news photos of people will become art later — "after the person dies and all that we have to remind us of them is a picture."

Brother Dewey Crumppler also commented on Aaron Miller's murals and the racist attitude towards it that was exhibited by the San Francisco Art Commission and White "experts" who arbitrarily determine the value of art works.
"The Puerto Rican Struggle Continues"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

The meals at school were bad, the sanitation horrible, the latrines flooded. The children of the so-called good families did have special privileges, such as receiving their lunches in the school through the mails of their houses.

Diseases were rampant among the people. The peasants’ wooden homes belonged to the landowners and were very old and broken. The rain would fall inside. There was always mud around them. It was impossible to keep these little houses clean, because for one thing they were built immediately close to the soil. Pigs and ducks and cats came freely into these little houses.

The poons and their families worked long hours for the landowners. For this they got a few cents. They never owned their homes. My father worked all his life, but he got deathly sick at 42. He did not have a home in which to pass his last days, nor for his widow and his children. I was 17 years old when my father died.

A DREAMER

In my childhood and adolescence, I had no interest but to contemplate the beauty of nature. I was a dreamer of faraway thoughts. I loved the moon, the sunset, the morning; I talked to the flowers; I journeyed in petals. What delightful journeys, the journeys of the children.

When I was in sixth grade, I knew that life’s lessons in the classroom and in my environment taught two principles: to do the will of God, and to do the will of the United States of America.

But one day I heard myself saying to myself: if I could make another world, I would make it, a world where the hard working people would be able to live more abundantly, just like other people.

It seems to me that I still hear the sounds of the hammers as the poons constructed the caskets for the dead, whenever they died — that was quite often. They would do this at the warehouse of La Casa, which means the big house, and is designated as the supreme headquarters of the landowner.

Yes, I saw caskets close to sacks of coffee and of vegetables and fruits — the produce that the same dead peasants had produced. Yet they died young because of lack of proper food, proper human care and attention. The sight of naked children playing in the mud is heavy with me.

I saw a peasant wife taking a piece of meat out of the garbage cans of the landowners. This beautiful woman took that piece of meat from inside that garbage can and refried it at the wood stove of a little kitchen and divided it among her five little hungry children.

Later I saw the same mother making herself an operation inside one of her breasts, where she had developed a tumor, from a fall coming from fetching water.

This mother, one day in the early morning, awoke her children from bed and told them to kneel with her, which they did. Then a candle lit in front of us all kneeling there and with a stick of orange, went inside her breast to operate. This mother died of cancer and for the country. Tuberculosis and cancer were among the common diseases of the peasants of my childhood time.

FIESTAS

I remember those fiestas, how my mother would make me ribbon bows in my head, and the little children around me were so happy. Our fiestas were Lincoln’s Day, Washington’s Day, Columbus Day, Christmas Day, New Year’s Day — our holidays.

My father’s dogs were named after American patriots because these dogs were supposed to be his best friends and guardians.

My childhood school was named Marianna Brasseti. We the children were never taught anything about who this woman was. I found out later that Marianna Brasseti was the woman who is known as the heroine of El Grito de Laredo.

El Grito de Laredo is the most distinguished historical event of my country. It was in this Grito de Laredo that the first revolution for my country’s liberation took place against the Spanish conquerors. And the first free and sovereign republic of the people of Puerto Rico was declared on September 23, 1868.

At 21, and amid a very difficult life and suffering, I was advised to do as the other poor women of my country were doing — to sail to New York City where there were opportunities.

My life experience in New York City grew to greater knowledge of human oppression, exploitation, negation. There came a day in which, after having tried for three days looking for jobs, getting left in the trains, walking under snowfalls, without money for lunch or shelter, I had to deny that I was a Puerto Rican woman in order to have a job.

I had heard the name of Don Pedro Albizu Campos and about the Ponce massacre, but as with most Puerto Ricans these events were not clear or present beyond the abstract of consciousness. Yet I can say that it was the Ponce massacre, where the university students were attacked and murdered by the U.S. bullets that cultivated instantly my personal duty to the fatherland.

Colonialism, like male chauvinism, were things not heard in my life’s younger years, although myself and thousands of women workers were victims of the two unjust and oppressive concepts of traditional society.

TO BE CONTINUED
MARTIAL ARTS

The Art Of Aikido

One of the martial arts disciplines which has received little attention and whose building principles are not understood is the art of aikido.

All aikido techniques begin and end in the principle of non-dissension. The premises of aikido are drawn from the fact that there is a duality in all things. Activity and calm, fusing and disintegrating, tension and relaxation, and joining and separating are the "two sides of the same coin."

The principle of non-dissension is the building block of aikido and in all forms of movement, including fighting disciplines, it is often difficult to show how the idea works.

Though, at first, even with practice, the bigger and stronger opponent has an advantage, this does not mean that the principle of non-dissension is incorrect. As an example, strength and size are important if, when an opponent attacks, you receive the strength of the blow in a collision-like situation. If, however, you brush the blow aside, the opponent must himself manage the force he has generated. If you strain to try to throw some disagreeable person, a fight is sure to start, but since the mind (nervous pathways and their muscular responses) controls the body, if you use the weight of a person or their motion which is directed against you, they will follow in whatever direction they had intended, with the opposing weight being used as a defense.

The general belief is that the principle of non-dissension means that we must agree with whatever anyone might say, that we are not to resist if someone should strike at us. On the contrary, the principle, the duality of things means that attack is met with defense, and that the nature of the attack will determine the nature of the defense.

SPORTS

OWNERS STAGE OLD-FASHIONED LOCKOUT TO PRESERVE BASEBALL'S RESERVE CLAUSE

(St. Petersburg, Fla.) - Major league baseball players last week announced their refusal to prepare for the upcoming season in retaliation to the owners who are continuing to lock the players out of spring pre-season training.

The current dispute centers around baseball's "reserve clause" which was declared illegal in the recent Andy Messersmith — Dave McNally arbitration decision. Before that decision, players were bound to one team for life, which they rightfully contended was an illegal infringement on their individual bargaining rights.

Baseball owners are refusing to incorporate the Messersmith-McNally decision into standard baseball contracts for 1976, and the players, therefore, are refusing to sign the contracts. The players set up their own spring training camps in preparation for the upcoming season, since the owners wouldn't let them into the established camps.

However, New York Mets star pitcher Tom Seaver said that the players' camps will soon close. "The players have decided to cut off their informal training camps everywhere," Seaver explained. He expressed the players' feeling that "working out at this point in time was only helping the owners to continue their lockout."

During the current dispute the players have taken the initiative in setting up talks to resolve the conflict but the owners have refused to move on the players' demands concerning "free agent" rights. Players are demanding that six-year veterans of major league baseball have the right to become "free agents" on one year's notice while the owners are insisting that a player must play at least eight years for the right to a "free agent" status.

STATED ANGRILY

Marvin Miller, executive director of the major league Players' Association, stated angrily after a recent negotiating session, "They (owners) want us to slit our own throats. . . and they say, 'We'll help you wipe up the blood.' " Miller likened the current dispute to a strike by the owners, not the players. He explained that the owners are interested in "litigation, not negotiation," since they are still "sinking in terms of returning to conditions before the Messersmith-McNally decision."

Miller pointed out that the players are willing, able and want to play. If that remains impossible solely because the owners won't permit it, each player has the right to demand his pay on April 15," Miller declared. He added, "Either they will be paid or the franchise will have no players."

O.C.L.C. Martial Arts Student Wins Honors

(Salinas, Calif.) - The highly successful Oakland Community Learning Center All-Open Martial Arts Program has earned one more honor as student BILLY OWENS recently placed second in his division at the KSDI Pro-Am Tournament here.

Competing in the lightweight blue-green division, Billy will also be one of four students representing the O.C.L.C. Martial Arts Program in the Northern California Full-Contact Karate League.

Fourteen-year-old Billy has been studying martial arts for two years, the last year with the O.C.L.C. program. He has attained the rank of green belt and earlier this year won first place in the men's (17 and older) lightweight division in Stockton tournament.

On March 21, O.C.L.C. martial arts students will be participating in a tournament at San Jose City College which will be sponsored by the Karate Ways Club and again in an Open Taï Kwon Do tournament April 3 at San Francisco City College.

THE BLACK PANTHER, SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1976
"The World Of Black Art"

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One "expert's" comment after viewing the murals that Miller's art was "about as important as a dime comic book," Brother Crumpal said, "made it clear to me what would happen to my own murals in this country."

In commenting on his personal introduction to art he told of how in elementary and even into high school, he never knew of any Black artists. He therefore had to develop his skills in a vacuum, his only chance to practice being in drawing pictures of his friends to give to their girlfriends or decorating the classroom on special occasions.

It wasn't until he finished high school that he finally saw a copy of "The Negro In Art" and realized he wasn't the only Black artist in the world.

Claude Clark, Jr. gave an entertaining slide show of his paintings, sculpture and photography, explaining the great amount of symbolism he uses.

The highlight of his paintings was one of Harriet Tubman. Clark, Jr. went over the painting section by section, revealing subtle and poignant bits that blended to give greater depth to the whole work.

He also spoke about the development of his interest in African sculpture.

Brother Emory Douglas concluded the program and pointed out that Black artists must keep in mind for whom their art is designed. He said Black art cannot be defined by a dictionary but by the reality of our existence — the dark side and bright side of our oppression and resistance to oppression.

"Black art has great political significance," Emory stated, in that it reflects the society the artist lives in which is controlled and influenced by certain political machines and apparatus.

Brother Emory stated that Black artists must make their work accessible to the Black community and be open to community criticism so that they can constructively improve their work, to make it more accurately reflect the lives of Blacks in this society and help Black people develop a positive, true image of themselves.

At the same time, the Black community must judge Black art, must give value and significance to the work of Black artists based on the reality of Black life in this society, Emory went on to point out.

Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith (left, center) and reactionary African National Council leader Joshua Nkomo (right, center) during recent phony "constitutional talks." Meanwhile, Zimbabwean guerrillas are preparing to attack the White racist minority regime of Rhodesia.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17
United People's Army Of Zimbabwe

A month-old Republic's decision to impose total sanctions against Rhodesia.

The leader of the militant wing of the ANC said that Russia is supplying military and technical advisors to the over 10,000 troops of the United People's Army of Zimbabwe (ZIPA) now training in Mozambique and Tanzania.

In his 300-mile border trade in Nkosi that Blacks fighting to liberate Zimbabwe, under the leadership of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), intended to establish a socialist state in their homeland that would not necessarily be allied with Russia or the People's Republic of China.

Moyo also said that the intensity of the armed struggle against the White minority government of Prime Minister Ian Smith was increasing and that Mozambique's decision to close its border with Rhodesia "signifies our determination to liberate Africa."

MOYO'S SENTIMENTS

Moyo's sentiments were firmly backed up by Zambian Foreign Minister Rupiah Banda. In a recent interview in London with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Banda said that fighting in Zimbabwe could spread into the White-rulled Republic of South Africa and engulf the whole southern part of the continent.

"If they (Whites) fight, we will whip them out. . . ." Banda declared.

In Rhodesia, the Smith government reported increased infiltration of ZIPA freedom fighters along the entire length of the country's 300-mile border with Mozambique and said that it would beef up its counter-surgery forces.

Since January, the Smith regime has increased its anti-guerrilla units by 60 per cent settled 200,000 Black Zimbabweans along the frontier as a "buffer" to resist infiltration by ZIPA forces, the Associated Press quoted Ted Sutton-Pryce, a deputy minister in Smith's office, as saying.

Constitutional talks between the Smith government and Nkomo were scheduled to resume in Salisbury, Rhodesia, on March 11.
Letters to the Editor

TEXAS PRISONER SEeks SUPPORT

Dear Brothers:

My name is Robert Lee White and I'm here in the Lubbock County Jail in Lubbock, Texas. I have a capital murder charge, and the D.A. has stated that he will seek the death penalty.

I have been here 14 and one-half months awaiting trial, and during my stay I have been writing all blacks whom I feel might be of help to me. I feel that if there's anyone that knows about this White man's justice it should be you due to the fact that you have fought so hard against this White man's justice. It's not two Blacks in this city that I know of who would offer a hand to one that is in trouble. They all seem like they don't care. This is a redneck city with a bunch of cowboys, but I'm writing to ask for your help.

I wish that there were some way we could talk about this matter; but due to the fact that I'm confined and not able to visit you, then I can only write and try to explain myself. All they have against me is a statement which I was forced into giving, but I have no way of proving this because everybody believes the police before they do me.

I would appreciate it very much if you would answer and let me know that you did get my letter. I thank you, brothers, for your time and trouble.

Robert Lee White
Lubbock, Texas

NEED SLIDES ON BLACK MUSIC

Dear Brothers:

I am doing a project in my "Black Culture Music" course and I'm wondering if you could help me. I need photos or slides of my brothers and sisters in ghetto surroundings. I'm doing a report on the conditions they live in accompanied by some selected music, that I'm in the process of picking from my collection, if you don't have and extras you can give me, do you know where I might get some?

Thanks for your time.

Dan Machaud
36 Sykes S. L. U.
Canton, N. Y. 13617

WOMAN PRISONER WANTS "INSIGHTS AND POEMS"

Greetings:

Enclosed please find a money order for $2.00 for the book "Insights and Poems" by Huey P. Newton and Ericka Huggins. I was unsure if this address was for the Panther Paper or the City Lights office, so I would like book lists from either both. Please let me know if I need to write at another address. I'm pretty sure City Lights publishes Ferlinghetti and have been trying to find their address, as well as Grove Press.

Being in prison, on lock up still after the protest here at Women's Prison last spring, the voices of others who have endured and survived and the news of the movement papers are vital to our continued struggle. So I'm very glad to have the chance to order the book.

(Thanks for the other information in advance)

Susan Stuart
North Carolina Correctional Center For Women
1034 Bragg St.
Raleigh, N.C.

CONTEmPT FOR MERCENARIES

Dear Sir:

In a previous letter I expressed my moral contempt for mercenary soldiers who go to war merely for money or—even worse—for the perverted and sadistic joy of killing people.

So now I am sending the enclosed article which well illustrates the very evil I was pointing out.

Also, I would like this article and—if you could obtain them—some of those "soldier of fortune" magazines sent to some of the African freedom fighters (with my best wishes) who might well be the victims of such dirty mercenary soldiers. I believe that they could use this material to better defend themselves and thus put it to a good moral purpose instead of the evil purposes for which they were intended.

A good soldier, in a righteous cause, can take the evil plans of the enemy and turn them to good advantage in his own defense.

Sincerely,

Paul H. Dahner
Seattle, Wash.

Namibia

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

Dealing with South African plans for political solutions by "trying to carve up Namibia into neocolonialist tribal states," he said such plans were doomed to failure ANY BASIS

At that point, I asked Nujoma whether there was any basis for negotiations with the South African government. "We have six conditions that must be met before there can be any discussions. For us, South Africa must:

"Respect the right of Namibia to self-determination and sovereignty;

"Respect Namibia's territorial integrity and renounce any further plans to set up bantustans," promoting separatist movements or trying to divide Namibia on an ethnic basis;

"Withdraw all troops and security forces from Namibian territory, because we will not negotiate at the point of a gun;

"Recognize SWAPO as the sole representative of the Namibian people;

"Release all political prisoners currently held on the Robin Islands (some 70 miles off Cape Town, South Africa). Under the so-called 'Antiterrorist Act,' some 40 SWAPO leaders are serving life imprisonment. Many hundreds of others are in jail. They must all be released, including those detained elsewhere in South Africa and in Namibia itself;

"Forbid all Namibians in exile to return home without threats of arrest or victimization. Only when these conditions are accepted will we be willing to enter into negotiations with the South African government.

'South Africa has two options,'" said Homatani Khekueja in conclusion. "'To withdraw or be pushed out. There is no third way.'"
Study Proves Calif. Prisons Unsafe

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

I said, 'Do you need the money,' and he said, 'Yes.'

"I said, 'You can make the money and I'll tell the guards they need not hassle you if you become an informer,' and he did not say no, even though he was the ringleader of the rebellion.

"I said, 'Think about it, and we'll decide tonight. If you still want to leave, we'll let you leave.' When he went back to the yard and the other prisoners (who) had seen him screaming and yelling, they said, ' Didn't they release you?' He said, 'You can't get out, they won't let you out.'

"Obviously he was feeling guilt about whether he should become an informer or not. But once he told the others we wouldn't let him out and they saw him acting in that bizarre way, we learned later each of them said, 'I realized there was nothing I could do to get out.' So that psychologically that oppression made it feel to them like a real prison.

"The simple point of the study is: we ended at six days because the level of dehumanization of the guards towards the prisoners, the level of physical and verbal abuse had reached such a point that we thought it was threatening to the life and security of the people in the prison.

WORD PATH

"The level of pathology that we saw in the prisoners, and by that I mean distorted time sense, they had become passive. Some of them were acting like objects, simply allowing the guards to do whatever they would do to them. Some of them in interviews, however, told us of their fantasies of escape. They said, in fact, try to plan an escape. Some of them were telling us about their fantasies, when it was all over, of beating up the guards.

"Some of them even thought in fantasy terms of killing the guards. At that point we thought it was no longer an experiment."

GARRY: "What do you mean when you say 'in a fantasy sense'?"

ZIMBARDO: "Well, some of them said they woke up having a dream, having killed the guards or becoming guards themselves or torturing or killing a guard, but in the fantasy sense they just thought about it or expressed it only when we probed it from them.

"They said that's one of the ways they survived. That is, they got through it. While they were taking this abuse, they were imagining in their own mind all the things they would like to do to this powerful person, but they never expressed it. They never showed this behavior directly to the guards.

SIX DAYS

"In short then, we ended the experiment at the end of six days. We conducted the briefing sessions and countersessions and this obviously was a very emotional experience.

"We followed up these inmates and the guards for two weeks, for a month, six months and a year. And the last follow-up was two years."

GARRY: "What was the purpose in the follow-up?"

ZIMBARDO: "Well, the purpose on the follow-up was the ethical issue in doing an experiment like this. People had suffered much more so than any other experiment that we knew of. People suffered not for so minutes, but day after day. The prisoner suffered humiliation and dehumanization; the guards suffered. When the experiment was over, once they were distant from it and faced the real situation, (they could see) what the prison made them become. So we felt it was encumbent upon us to have settings and counter-settings, if you will. Let's even call it moral re-education, having them face the fact how the guards abused the power they had, how the prisoners allowed the situation to control them in this way."

GARRY: "These men all knew that the experiment was only for two weeks, didn't they?"

ZIMBARDO: "Every man knew that they had signed a contract which said the experiment would run two weeks. And in the experiment they would be deprived of certain civil and Constitutional rights in return for $15 a day. We guaranteed minimum health and dietary conditions, and we stuck by the contract. It was a legal contract drawn up by the Stanford legal counsel. They knew that they could get out in two weeks, but that's the point I'm making. Once your time sense is distorted, two weeks seems forever. That is, it's the equivalent of being in a dentist's office for an hour waiting to go in a chair. That hour seems forever."

EQUIVALENT

"It's the equivalent of waiting for something unpleasant to happen. In your normal sense, two weeks can be compressed and not affect you very much. (But) when you are in a condition of survival, of threat, an hour can seem like an eternity and two weeks seems like forever."

"This is what they said, that they could not have imagined lasting another week, certainly not more than that."

GARRY: "Doctor, before we go on to another area on the experiment, I've got one or two questions I want to ask you regarding the experiment.

"These men volunteered for the job for two weeks and were being paid for it, how did you know that they weren't faking it? Do you understand my question?"

ZIMBARDO: "Yes. There are a variety of sources of evidence that I believe attest to the fact that the reactions of the inmates to the situation were real psychologically, behaviorally.

"In addition to the four inmates who reacted with extreme emotional distress — crying, in a rage, punching a hole in the wall — one of the inmates developed a psychosomatic rash over his entire body, which we had to have treated at the local clinic with cortisone.

"This was on the fourth day. There is a record of it in the Stanford University Clinic, and he had to be released.

"I would take that to be evidence of the reality of the stress of that situation to produce such a strong reaction. In addition, the inmates were all interviewed by a Catholic priest who had been a chaplain in a prison in Washington. He interviewed each of the inmates and interviewed one who was having a breakdown, and his analysis was that their behavior was typical."

HERMAN (the prosecuting district attorney): "Your Honor, I'm going to object to this. This is a psychiatric evaluation by the Catholic priest."

JUDGE BRODERICK: "If the doctor relies on information given to him by a Catholic priest who interviewed his subjects, then you can't take what the Catholic priest told him as evidence in the case, but you can take it as evidence of what the doctor relied on to reach the result that he reached."

ZIMBARDO: "All I was trying to say is: Why is it that I believe that the reactions that we saw were genuine, real ones, and not simply people faking or pretending or acting?"

This prison chaplain said the reactions were similar to those of first offenders that he had seen in the prison that he had worked in Washington.

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