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“THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK”

DAVID DUBOIS RETURNS TO AMERICA



SEE ARTICLE INSIDE PAGE 2 ALSO, SEE SUPPLEMENT
OAKLAND - A BASE OF OPERATION PART XXIII PAGES A, B, & C

VOTE
APRIL 17th

BOBBY SEALE FOR MAYOR OF OAKLAND
ELAINE BROWN FOR COUNCILWOMAN



"THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK"

DAVID DUBOIS RETURNS TO AMERICA



The late W.E.B. DuBois, founder of the N.A.A.C.P., was a key organizer for the Silent Protest Parade in 1917. 10,000 Black people marched down New York streets protesting white violence.

W.E.B. DuBois is a man who spoke of the dreams, desires and hopes of all Black people. In the early 1900's when Black people were not attuned to the ideas of change, William Edward Burghardt DuBois was in the process of creating the Niagara Movement, an organization created to achieve voting rights, decent and fair employment and equal treatment in public places for Black people. He struggled to bring about changes that could not be brought about through silence. He was a quiet man, but he was never silent. His voice was heard throughout the world.

In the following paragraphs we will take a look at the way in which this great man affected his stepson, David Graham DuBois. After learning from and listening to W.E.B. DuBois he became committed, as his father had, to the eradication of oppression and the complete freedom of humankind.

David DuBois has recently returned from Africa where he has lived for thirteen years. His insight into the beauty and sorrow of our people's existence; his complete involvement in our total liberation here in America will be remembered for many years to come. This is so because he carries with him the ideas of his father, ideas that are based on a thorough understanding of our people's condition and the desire to change it. These ideas

are immortal. We believe that David DuBois will become one of the sincerest spokesmen of our time.

The single most important lesson I learned from the life and writings of my step-father, Dr. DuBois, is the vitally important accomplishment one can know through total devotion and service in the interest of the oppressed and exploited masses of humankind. In his day and in ours, African people and people of African descent wherever they are found on this earth represent the most oppressed and exploited single mass of humans. Recognizing the centralness of this fact to the course of human history at a time when no one else did, Dr. DuBois' early work was devoted to documenting this, both in the U.S.A. and in Africa.

Throughout his more than 75 years of consistent devotion to Black people, Dr. DuBois suffered physical deprivation, insult and injury, slander, persecution and professional and personal ostracism. Despite this, he did not weaken or retreat. He did not abandon the struggle. He did not give up his commitment. He never once allowed himself to be bought off or coopted by the enemies of Black people. Because of this, those enemies of Black people in this country and outside it repeatedly singled out Dr. DuBois for their special venom. They also used their power to limit his earning ca-

capacity and undermine his professional status. Through all this Dr. DuBois maintained an abiding faith in Black people and in himself. Through all this he found fulfillment happiness and peace. Not from material rewards, they were few and far between, but, from the pure joy of his own absolute conviction that his work would ultimately contribute to the freedom of Black men and women everywhere.

I have belonged to a great variety of organizations. The first was a rather loosely defined group of U.S. soldiers in Manila. We demanded with demonstrations in the streets, to return home following the end of World War II.

When I returned to the States I entered Hunter College in New York City on the G.I. Bill. I immediately joined and became active in a national, progressive veterans organization and in local campus radical organizations. During my four years at Hunter college



Dr. W.E. BURGHARDT DuBOIS devoted his entire life to Black and oppressed people.

I was a radical activist more than a student. I managed to keep a little better than "C" average by doing almost no work. I joined and worked in every radical student or youth organization that emerged on the East Coast during these years. I then became the National Co-Chairman of the Young Progressives of America (YPA), the youth organization that grew out of the Henry A. Wallace Third Party move-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 9

ON THE CAMPAIGN TRAIL

THE PEOPLE MEET BOBBY SEALE AND ELAINE BROWN



**BOBBY SEALE
AND
ELAINE BROWN
ARE NOT
STRANGERS
TO THE
COMMUNITY**



Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown have always been one with the people, unlike politicians who completely divorce themselves from the community, who think they can understand the problems of the people from their offices in downtown or their homes in the hills. Bobby Seale is a candidate for Mayor of Oakland and Elaine Brown is a candidate for City Councilwoman.

As part of the campaign to elect them to office, a machine has been put into operation, a machine that will organize the majority of people in Oakland to elect sincere representatives. Bobby and Elaine are known throughout the city of Oakland. They go into the various communities of the city and talk with the people. The people they meet are glad to see them, glad to see that they are concerned about the welfare of the poor community. Throughout the campaign Bobby and Elaine will be among those that everyone else has ignored; the people to whom they have made a life-time commitment. They are truly candidates of the people, endorsed by them, to serve them.
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

IN MEMORIAM

FRANKO DIGGS

Frank Diggs, a member of the Black Panther Party, was murdered on December 30, 1968, in Los Angeles, California. No one knows why he was shot in the back of the head; no one knows who left him in an alley in Long Beach. His life was priceless to us. We will never forget him. We commemorate his life, our fallen brother, a servant of the people, Franko.

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS

ZIMBABWE: THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM



One early mistake committed by ZAPU leaders was to use their troops as a "threat", rather than actually engaging in armed struggle.

The history of Zimbabwe is not unlike that of many other African countries. It was first settled, in the north, by the Shonas, a group of tribes from the Bantu-speaking people of Central and Western Africa. From the South, a part of the Zulu nation, the Ndebele, migrated and settled. Despite the conflicting nature of both groups, there arose vast and beautiful kingdoms which flourished between the 11th and 15th centuries. The advanced nature of

these early civilizations startled the minds of the first Portuguese explorers who ventured into Zimbabwe from neighboring Mozambique. The land, however, was "claimed" by England, and the 1800's saw a small but growing influx of missionaries, traders and settlers. (The formula for England's colonization throughout Africa followed a set pattern; "The missionary and the trader always preceded the soldier.") With the discovery of Zimbabwe's great mineral wealth, particularly gold, the numbers of settlers and traders rapidly grew. Operating from his base in South Africa, Cecil Rhodes' British South African Company, in 1888, enticed Lobengula, then King of the Ndebele, into granting the Company rights to mine materials in the Southern area. In 1889, the British South Africa Company received a Royal Charter, "to promote, under supervision of the High Commissioner for South Africa, trade, commerce, civilization and government." By 1890, hordes of money-hungry white British settlers moved in. (Not only was Cecil Rhodes concerned about Zimbabwe's mineral wealth, the country also fit into his super-nationalist ambition to construct a Capetown-to Cairo railroad which was to run the length of the African continent. His reasoning for wanting to construct this railroad was "that the sun never sets on the British Empire.")

The African people mounted stiff resistance to what amounted to British invasion of their land. British troops were called in to put down the "rebellion". The years 1890-1900 were blood-filled years for the Afri-

can people; it was only belatedly that the Shonas and the Ndebele, fought together against the common enemy. The "Matabele Rebellion" of 1893 ended the following year with the death of King Lobengula. The "Mashona Rebellion" of 1897 was finally crushed in 1900 by the overwhelming firepower of British soldiers. Thousands of innocent Africans were ruthlessly slaughtered.

Until the year 1923, Zimbabwe, (then called Southern Rhodesia) was administered by the British South Africa Company. The previous year, the white settlers voted (Africans were excluded) to become attached to the Union of South Africa or become a Dominion, a self-governing state within the British Empire; they chose Dominion status. The whites were then granted self-government with the exception of legislation affecting African "rights", railways and international affairs. (The absurdity of these guidelines is clearly shown in the fact that from 1923 to 1965 when the Ian Smith regime declared its Unilateral Declaration of Independence, the British government never once vetoed legislation directed against the African majority.)

Organizing within the African communities was slow to develop following the defeat in 1900. In 1919 the African Voters League was formed in a futile attempt to give Black people a voice within the country. Also, in 1919 the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) was formed to organize among the Black miners. Although the ICU lasted until World War II, personality clashes among the leadership and the historical problems with tribalism among the workers kept its mass support at a minimum. Some strong protest and strikes, led by the ICU, did occur, and the ICU can be credited with establishing a tradition of working-class protest within Zimbabwe mines. A marked upsurge in African protest followed the Land Apportionment Act of 1931. Under this legislation, (and contrary to their dominion status) the white settlers, though outnumbered by over 20 to 1, were granted 49% of all fertile land. In 1969, with an African population of over 4,900,000 and a white settler population of less than 250,000, the Ian Smith's Land Tenure Act increased the land available to whites only to close to 60%.

In 1934, the African National Congress of Southern Rhodesia (ANC) was begun. Like its parent organization in South Africa, the ANC



IAN SMITH "...as far as civilization is concerned, he (the Black man) is a long way behind us."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12

"...IN THE INTERESTS OF SCIENCE"

In the Jackson County Jail in Missouri, prisoners can take part in a six-week program that provides "additional food, ice cream, fruit juice, improved quarters, and \$50." On completing the program, participants are awarded a "Certificate of Merit", commending them for their "display of social responsibility and unselfishness." To receive these "rewards", all a prisoner must do is allow himself to be infected with a live Malaria virus, endure a week of uncontrollable fever, chills, nausea, vomiting and other unknown side effects, and allow new drugs to be tested on him. He becomes a human guinea pig, a tool of exploitative drug companies and the American government.

The Jackson County prisoners, predominately Black, are only a few among the tens of thousands of people, mostly Black and poor, who are used as victims in drug experiments. Most of the subjects of these dangerous tests are the captive population, those who are institutionalized in prisons, hospitals and homes for the mentally retarded. They are either duped by lying doctors or forced by racist prison guards to succumb to these experiments. Results of the tests are usually discomfiting, extremely painful and often fatal.

Few cases become known to the people, but tests such as the genocidal experiment in which over 100 Black men in Tuskegee, Alabama, allowed to die from the ravages of syphilis, are not isolated occurrences. To the contrary, they are frequent. Unpublicized experiments on similar test populations occur daily throughout this country. More than 3,000 drugs are currently being tested.

Prison testing programs are also used to control "militant" inmate populations. Lying officials claim they are trying to "calm incorrigible and violent men down" by injecting them with drugs, when they are actually trying to turn men into mindless robots.



PRISONERS ARE MOST OFTEN USED FOR THE FIRST AND MOST DANGEROUS STAGE OF DRUG TESTING

Institutions for the mentally retarded are favorite testing places for new vaccines and drugs. Children who are forced to exist in these deplorable homes have absolutely no control over their lives, and are forced to submit to whatever tests corrupted officials allow to occur. Nearly 1500 mentally retarded children over the past 18 years have been injected with hepatitis virus by physicians at Willowbrook State School in Staten Island, New York. Though conducting hepatitis experiments (hepatitis is a disease that is mainly caused by unsanitary conditions), conditions at the school are still deplorable, quite conducive to the spread of uncontrolled disease. During the past two years, the Florida Mental Retardation Division has become very hospitable to drug investigators. Drugs tested have

ranged from influenza vaccines to pinworm medications.

Public hospitals, particularly those that have a large percentage of Black and poor patients, are also used as testing places. Lying doctors try to persuade patients to allow themselves to be tested. In some cases, people aren't even told that they are being used as guinea pigs. In Newark, New Jersey, an entire floor of Martland Medical Center was leased to a drug company, which conducted tests on people who had not been told that they were part of a drug experiment. Studies using chloramphenicol, a drug which was found to be extremely toxic to premature infants, was conducted in the Premature Center of Los Angeles County Hospital, where virtually all of the infant participants were from poor families, most of them Black or Mexican. In a test of 126 premature babies, six developed symptoms associated with Chloramphenicol toxicity. Three of the infants survived; three died. The drug investigators might have been "embarrassed" by the deaths, but they care little about the lives of Black and Mexican children, claiming "it's all in the interests of science." Dr. Margaret Smith of New Orleans Charity Hospital, clearly showed her overt racism when she described the parents from whom she had received "informal consent" for their children to be used in a meningitis study: "Most of the parents are uneducated Blacks. Some of them can't read - they're not very sophisticated people." In an attempt to defend public hospital tests, Dr. Smith claimed, "public patients get much better care when they're part of a drug study." Because treatment at public hospitals and prisons is usually substandard, physicians may try to justify testing by saying that the medical benefits outweigh the risks. However, the poor should not have to submit to dangerous medical experimentation in order to obtain quality health care.

Our people have always been expendable to those who rule this country. Those who conduct these experiments have a cold, cruel disregard for life and the rights of human beings. We can put an end to this by taking the power to control our lives out of the hands of those who disregard life.

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JUSTICE THROUGH THE HAZE

JURY SELECTION BEGINS IN THE TRIAL OF LARRY JUSTICE AND EARL GIBSON

The trial of Larry Justice and Earl Gibson has begun at the Marin County Courthouse in San Rafael, California. These two Black men have been charged with killing Leo Davis, a San Quentin guard. The state's case against Larry and Earl consists of no real evidence that suggests that they (Larry and Earl) were responsible for the guard's death. The California hierarchy is not concerned with these brothers' innocence. They are intent only on seeing that someone is punished. There are even deeper reasons however, for the state's persecution of these two men. Both Larry Justice and Earl Gibson were in the Adjustment Center at San Quentin on



EARL GIBSON

August 21, 1971. They watched the guards carry out the state's plan to murder brother George Jackson, a member of the Black Panther Party. What is alarming to note is that all the prisoners who were in the Adjustment Center on that terrible day in August are facing criminal charges or are currently on trial for their lives.

The Marin County Civic Center, in which the courthouse is located, has an environment of fear and intimidation. The architectural design of the building resembles something one might view in a science-fiction movie; added to the atmosphere of potential violence is the presence of armed police and San Quentin guards throughout the area. Upon entering the floor of the building where the courtrooms are located one must pass through an electronic metal detector. To gain entrance to the Gibson-Justice trial it is necessary to present identification which is carefully examined by the police. (There have been

two instances when the police arrested people after doing computer-checks on the names and addresses of individuals attending the trial.)

After showing identification, you must empty the contents of your pockets into a plastic container which is closely scrutinized by the police. The next step is the most degrading in the entire process, the body search. It is performed with obvious pleasure by the courtroom guards. The women are searched by a female guard; the men are searched by a male one. Following the searches you must pass through another electronic metal detector and wait until the guard knocks on the door which signals the guard inside to open the door and admit you into the courtroom.

The proceedings against Larry and Earl have reached the stage of jury selection. The prospective jurors being questioned in this case provide an in-depth look at the incompetence of the American judicial system. Most of them are older, or middle aged, middle-class white people who bear no remote resemblance to the peers of Larry and Earl. The few younger white people who have been questioned were quickly challenged and removed by the prosecution. In listening to the jurors answers to questions asked by the attorney, it would seem that nearly everyone called for jury duty in Marin County has some connection (either directly or indirectly) with the police or the district attorney's office. These people are obviously not qualified to sit in judgement of two young Black men whose background and lifestyles they (the jurors) cannot comprehend.

Marvin Stender and Franklin Glen are the defense attorneys for Larry and Earl. While challenging overt racism and attempting to find hidden racism they asked the prospective jurors questions concerning: (1) their backgrounds; (2) whether they are acquainted or friendly with anyone connected with law enforcement agencies; (3) if they have ever served on a jury before; (4) if they formed an opinion about this particular case; (5) if they are acquainted or friendly with anyone who is employed at San Quentin; (6) if they have read any newspaper articles about problems at San Quentin; (7) Their feelings about prison guards; (8) Their feelings about prisoners; (9) If they formed any opinions of Larry Justice and Earl Gibson, because they are Black. Thus far

CONTINUED ON PAGE 10

PEOPLE'S PERSPECTIVE

BLACK QUARTERBACK SUSPENDED

Protestors picketed the Liberty Bowl football game in Memphis, Tennessee to protest the suspension of Black quarterback Eddie McAshan from the Georgia Tech team. Black players from both Iowa State and Georgia Tech wore black arm bands to protest his suspension. Eddie McAshan said in a statement earlier that he had experienced four years of racial injustices at Georgia Tech.

LAND, NOT DOLLARS

Twelve native American Indians, who protested the illegal payments received for 3.5 million acres of their land submitted to arrest after a two-hour occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs office in Sacramento, California. They were demanding that the Federal Government end its attempts to pay Pit River Indians \$600 each for the ancestral lands in Northern California. The Pit River tribe issued a statement which said, "money cannot replace our land."

PEACE IS NOT AT HAND

The North Vietnamese recently shot down three U.S. B-52 airplanes and three fighter bombers in one day. The U.S. has used the lull in the Paris Peace talks to increase the bombing slaughter of the Vietnamese people. A North Vietnamese statement said "Nixon's attempt to bomb us into submission will not force us to accept his peace terms."

KREMLIN GRAIN DRAIN

The Soviet Union is restructuring its economy following severe crop losses this year. The new Soviet economic program would reduce the amount of goods that the people there can use. However, money used for Russian defense is expected to remain at the same level. The serious crop failure caused Soviet leaders to purchase large amounts of grain from foreign countries, including the U.S.

READING WILL RUN

John H. Reading, the incumbent Mayor of Oakland recently announced that he will seek re-election in the April 17, 1973, city elections. Reading's announcement reversed his earlier position that he would not seek re-election.

PETITION: TO GOVERNOR NELSON ROCKEFELLER AND ATTORNEY GENERAL LOUIS LEFKOWITZ

On September 9, 1971, over 2,000 prisoners at Attica State Prison in New York, rose up against those who oppress them. Invisible men, discarded and forgotten, spoke out in a timeless, universal language. Memories of that day will linger within the hearts, minds and souls of the poor and oppressed communities of the world.

Four days later, on September 13th, the terribly swift and cruel sword of an angered Empire answered. 43 human beings, prisoners and guards alike, were slaughtered on that day. However it was futile, even in death, the haunting words of Life survived: "We are men. We are not beasts nor do we intend to be beaten or driven as such." It was not the spirit of Attica that was murdered on that day, rather, the prestige of American power lies forever buried.

Sixteen months afterward, in December 1972, 37 secret indictments were filed. What guns and bullets could not achieve, now becomes the task of the judiciary. The barbarian conduct of vengeful minds, the slick words of cunning politicians, and endless investigations into the "true" causes have all set the stage.

It is time for the people to be heard. We cannot permit the State to achieve, by "legal" means, further punishment and increased bitterness and hostility. Attention must be turned to the prison system, and away from those subjected to it.

We, the undersigned, demand that all further criminal proceedings involving the survivors of the Attica rebellion be immediately ceased:

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PLEASE RETURN PETITION TO BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS,
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SUBSCRIBE TO SURVIVE

In order to enable members of the Black community to read our newspaper regularly and support the people's survival programs, the Black Panther Party has begun a door-to-door subscription drive for the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service in the Oakland area. Our newspaper will keep you informed of events that happened throughout the Black community and the world.

By subscribing to the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service, you will be helping the Free Food Program, Free Health Clinic, Free Shoe Program, Free Breakfast Program and other survival programs implemented by the Black Panther Party to serve the Black community.

To subscribe for three (3) months is \$2.50; \$5.00 for six (6) months; \$8.75 for 1 year and \$100.00 for a lifetime subscription.

When a Black Panther Party member comes to your door, he or she will present an identification card and ask you to fill out a subscription blank. If you are not able to pay immediately, payment can be made later.

Every subscriber will receive a free bumper sticker and a campaign poster of Bobby Seale (who is running for Mayor of Oakland) and Elaine Brown (who is running for Oakland City Councilwoman).

To be informed and to participate in the survival of our people, buy the Black Panther Intercommunal News Service. Read about your community and the world.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



BLACK PANTHER INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

TO SUBSCRIBE MEANS THAT EVERY WEEK YOU CAN READ THE NEWS ABOUT THE SURVIVAL PROGRAMS FOR THE PEOPLE AND BECOME A PARTICIPANT IN WORKING OUT THE BEST MEANS AND WAYS OF SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF OUR PEOPLE, OF BLACK PEOPLE AND POOR PEOPLE.

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"THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK"

DAVID DUBOIS RETURNS TO AMERICA

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of the late 1940's and early '50's. It was with this group that I travelled to Prague, Czechoslovakia in 1950 to attend a World Student Congress. From there I had the great good fortune to travel to the People's Republic of China on a three month tour. It was that tour that convinced me of the need to seek new ways to serve Black people in the USA, my own people. Because of this I was brought into direct conflict with the leadership of the progressives of that day. In the years following the 2nd World War there were no radical mass organizations for Black people in the U.S. that identified with the world wide, progressive anti-war movement. On my return from the tour of the People's Republic of China and the World Student Congress in Prague, I decided such an organization should be created. That was the beginning of my end with the U.S. left. My decision and effort to seek ways to form militant, Black-led, student organizations on Black campuses throughout the South in 1952 resulted finally in my being expelled from all the groups with which I had been associated. I was branded a "dangerous Black Nationalist." My former colleagues were forbidden to associate or speak with me. Finally, when I persisted in my efforts, I was warned of physical attack if I continued. After this, I continued with my studies in Black History at New York University. I became a member of the NAACP (which a group of us attempted, unsuccessfully, to radicalize). After I left N.Y.U. I did not involve myself in any organizations until I left the U.S. in August, 1959.

When Dr. DuBois died I was in Cairo, Egypt. My mother was in Accra with him. When I was informed of his death I flew to Ghana on the first available flight out of Cairo. I did not arrive in time to participate in the State Funeral given Dr. DuBois by the Government of Ghana.

I lived in Africa because I found an atmosphere of humanity, brotherhood and love there. The skills I had been fortunate enough to acquire in the USA were needed by the African countries in which I lived.

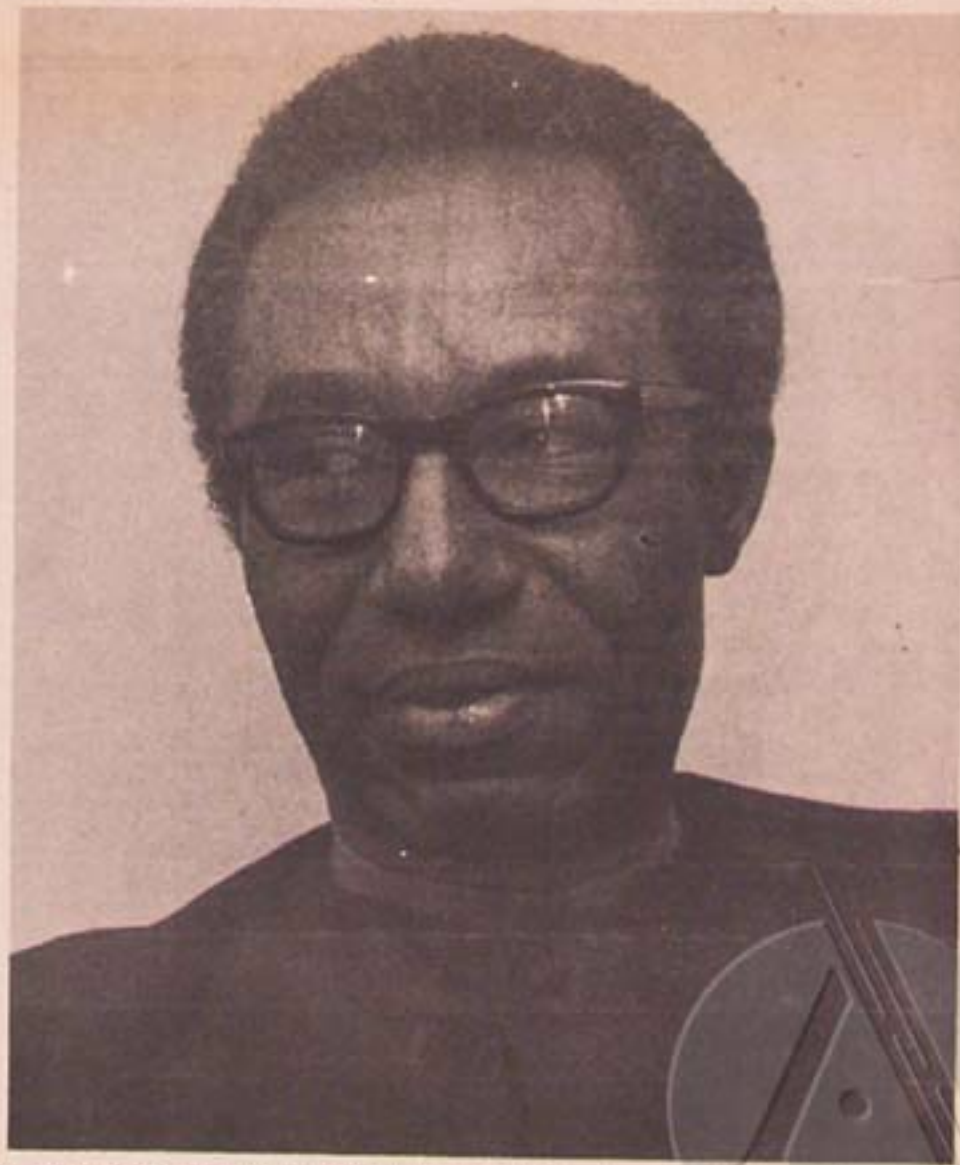
I lived in Egypt particularly because I discovered much to my surprise and delight, a nation of people the vast majority of whom look like and, in a very fundamental way, act like African-Americans. Our education, or rather our mis-education,

has led us to believe that Egypt is not Africa. But, it is. Despite centuries of attempts by the European rulers of Egypt to convince the Egyptians that they are not African, the peasant and laboring masses of Egypt have not forgotten that their people have lived in the Nile River Valley for 7,000 years; their roots are firmly planted in the soil of east-central Africa from which the Nile River flows. They identify with the ancient remains of the era of the Pharaohs, along the southern banks of the Nile River, in the ancient land of Nubia (a land of Black people, whose ancestors built the magnificent monuments to the glory of their great civilizations).

I lived in Egypt and Ghana for as long as I did because (preceding the advent of political independence of East and West African nations, during the late '50's and '60's) Cairo and Accra were centers for the diploma-

tic activity of the Liberation organizations then engaged in the struggle for their independence and self-determination. At that time, Cairo and Accra, under the leadership of President Gamal Abdul Nasser and President Kwame Nkrumah, provided sanctuary for the Freedom Fighters from East, West, Central and North Africa. Many people believe that Dr. DuBois renounced his U.S. citizenship. When it was reported in the Ghana press that he (and I) had been granted Ghanaian citizenship by order of the Presidential Council of Ghana under President Nkrumah, Dr. DuBois was contacted by representatives of the U.S. Embassy in Accra and asked to hand in his passport and renounce his citizenship. He refused to reply to this request and the Embassy did not compel him to do so. In the same way, when I returned to Cairo as a Ghanaian citizen, proudly bearing a Ghanaian passport, I made no effort to renounce

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DAVID DuBOIS: "I lived in Africa because I found an atmosphere of humanity, brotherhood and love..."

"THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK"

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my U.S. citizenship. Therefore I now hold dual citizenship.

Dr. DuBois did not leave the USA as a result of any contradictions. He had lived and fought through some of the most intense moments of contradiction in this nation's history without flinching, without giving up and without turning his back. He left this

country, finally and reluctantly, at the insistent invitation of President Nkrumah. He was asked to head the project for the creation of an Encyclopedia Africana. Dr. DuBois was reluctant to accept the responsibility of so great an undertaking because of his advanced age. (He was over 90 years of age at the time.) President Nkrumah finally convinced him that his spiritual blessing and his initial guidance was absolutely essential to the

success of the project. He (President Nkrumah) received some help in this effort from my mother (Shirley Graham DuBois), who knew that the people of Ghana would provide for him in his last years the respect, material comfort and peace of mind due him, the things that he had never received in the USA. My stepfather's last days were beautiful days, filled with comfort, love and joy.

TO BE CONTINUED

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no permanent jurors have been chosen. While all of this goes on, five armed policemen sit directly behind Larry and Earl at all times. There is another policeman beside the jury box and another beside the judge's bench. When the proceedings began, Larry and Earl were brought to court in chains. After lengthy arguments, which lasted several days, (between the prosecution and defense attorneys) Judge Joseph G. Wilson granted a defense motion to remove the chains. When court convened the next day a mahogany wall with glass panels in it had been erected in the courtroom. There are wire screens at the top of the wall and there is a door on the right side which is always locked. The glass in the panels is usually hazy which makes it difficult to see the proceedings in the other half of the courtroom.

Judge Wilson made it clear that he was responsible for the construction of the wall (which cost \$40,000). He felt that it was necessary to explain that he had not been influenced by the district attorney. In his words the wall was built to create a "balance of justice."

During the pre-trial hearings three of the state's corps of informers testified against Larry and Earl. Evan Kranjilick, Herman Johnson and

Charles Johnson took the stand to give their accounts which were diced with half truths and lies. Herman Johnson, evidently, was poorly coached. His testimony contradicted the testimony of a guard who had been on the stand earlier that day.

The case of Larry Justice and Earl Gibson has not been widely publicized. This creates a convenient situation for the state. The courts would like to quietly convict the brothers and put them into the gas chamber. The armed guards, the searches, the metal detectors, the monstrous wall in the courtroom are all part of a carefully devised plan to intimidate and discourage people so that they will not attend the trial. The attendance at the trial has in fact been light. This is a situation that can and must be reversed. Larry Justice and Earl Gibson are our brothers and we must unite in their defense. It is important that Black people, especially, fill every seat in the courtroom in a show of support, and to show Larry and Earl that we have not forgotten them. We cannot let the obstacles placed in our paths by the state deter us from coming to the aid of our brothers. Larry Justice and Earl Gibson are victims before the bar of injustice. Their only protection lies in the support of the people. The state has no right to sit in judgement of these two brothers or anyone.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

JUSTICE THROUGH THE HAZE



LARRY JUSTICE

TO DIE FOR THE PEOPLE

The Writings of

HUEY P. NEWTON

With an honesty as rare as it is persuasive, Huey P. Newton, founder of the Black Panther Party, records its internal struggles, rivalries, and contradictions—convinced that only by recognizing these contradictions and building from them can the Party clarify and advance the struggle.

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PEOPLE'S PETITION

FOR IMMEDIATE PAROLE OF BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD FROM THE CALIFORNIA PRISON SYSTEM OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND WITH A RETRIAL JURY OF HIS PEER-GROUP.

We the people, residents of the world community, in the spirit of revolutionary intercommunalism, do hereby redress our grievances and petition the courts of America and the California State Government, and Parole Board: That David Hilliard be released from his prison incarceration in the California Penal System to the people of our communities on parole or an appeal bail bond.

Brother David Hilliard, political prisoner and a member of the Black Panther Party, was in fact wrongfully convicted on false charges by a predominately white racist jury, as all members of the Oakland Black community were systematically eliminated from the jury selection process in his trial.

In light of these facts, we the undersigned, therefore petition that David Hilliard be granted his human and constitutional rights, that is, parole from prison or an appeal bail bond by the American courts pending appeal of his case before higher courts, and that his retrial jury be of his peers, a true representation of a cross section of the community.

AN INTERVIEW WITH DAVID'S CHILDREN

The Black Panther Intercommunal News Service this week interviewed the children of David Hilliard. Our intentions are to give you an understanding of their feelings about their father and his imprisonment. Three of the four children were available at the time of the interview. They are Patrice, 11; Darryl, 10; Dorian, 9. Dennis, 14, was not present.

QUESTION: How often do you see your father?

DARRYL: I go to see him every Thursday for reading lessons.

QUESTION: Did you say reading lessons?

DARRYL: Yeah, they're not teaching me how to read very well in public school. So every Thursday I go to see my father and he helps me with my reading. He gives me reading lessons from the Black Panther Party newspaper and from my school books.

QUESTION: How do you feel when you see your father?

PATRICE: I'm glad to see him because I don't get to see him as much as I did when he was making speeches and having press conferences and different things for the people.

DORIAN: When I go I'm glad to see him, because I don't see him too often.

QUESTION: Why do you think your father is in prison?

DARRYL: Because he was serving the people.

PATRICE: The police say he is in prison because of the April 6th shootout. I think the only reason that he is in jail is because he is a member of the Black Panther Party. He is a servant of the people and they

think because they have him in jail they can stop him from serving the people.

QUESTION: Are they right about that?

PATRICE: No.

QUESTION: Why do you think David is so important to his people?

PATRICE: Because even though he is in jail he is still trying to serve the people, body and soul. I feel the reason he's so valuable to the people is that he loved all the survival programs that were set up, like the free clothing program and the free food program. I think the people feel he's very important because he's going to serve the people however it goes, whether he's locked up or not.

TO BE CONTINUED



David Hilliard's children: DORIAN, age 9; DARRYL, age 10; PATRICE, age 11.

	NAME	ADDRESS	CITY/STATE/ZIP	COUNTRY	IF IN THE U.S.A., REG. VOTER?
1					
2					
3					

ZIMBABWE: THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

centered on non-violent protest demonstrations and other similar mass organizing policies. An All-African Convention was formed in 1953 to fight the proposed merger of Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia into the Central African Federation. It fell apart in 1954 when the federation scheme went into effect. In 1959, following two years of increasingly closer ties with the ANC extensions in other countries, particularly in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the ANC was banned. Three hundred and seven ANC members were detained by the white settler government.

The banning of the ANC foretold, the last African people's organization which remained, for any significant time, "recognized" by the succeeding racist Rhodesian governments. In January, 1960 the National Democratic Party (NDP) was founded only to be banned in December, 1961 for alleged "acts of violence". On December 17, 1961, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), was formed; it lasted until September 1962.

The guiding personality of both the NDP and ZAPU was Joshua Nkomo. Elected President General of the NDP and the leader of ZAPU when it was founded, Nkomo has become a central figure in the Zimbabwe fight toward freedom. A man who has dedicated his whole life to the Zimbabwean people's cause, Nkomo, nevertheless, has consistently misplaced priorities in appealing to external bodies and organizations (particularly the United Nations and the British government) in the hopes of pressuring the white settler governments to grant concessions to the African people. In 1964, Nkomo, after several attempts to structure a government-in-exile, was captured by Rhodesian police while on a secret trip to his homeland. He was placed in a detention center where he remains today.

During this same time, the white settler government has also been attempting to gain independence from its Dominion status. 1962 brought the overtly racist Rhodesian Front into power; its leader is Ian Smith. Independence negotiations lasted until 1965 when Smith felt Rhodesia was strong enough to call England's bluff; he then proclaimed the Unilateral Declaration of Independence. Unwilling to take up arms against their "kith and kin", the astonished British government

proposed economic sanctions against the new state. That same year, the U.N. Security Council, "deploring" the Rhodesian treatment of Black people, called for a worldwide boycott of Rhodesia. While already established railway systems between Mozambique and South Africa supplied Smith with what little supplies he needed, a true indication of the affect of these sanctions is clear in Rhodesia's record \$36,789,285 dollar budget. (Currently, the United States, along with Portugal and South Africa, is one of the three open violators of the worldwide boycott. A congressional amendment has been passed which permits chrome imports from Rhodesia. Another bill, which would have repealed this first one, was defeated in the Senate on May 31, 1972.)

It was only after the election of the current conservative government of Edward Heath in England that a tentative agreement was reached between Smith and the embarrassed British. Due to their floundering economy, England decided to take a more "realistic approach" to Africa; they initiated the sale of arms to South Africa and trade and diplomatic agreements with Rhodesia. Since Smith's regime has strongly refused any concessions to the Africans, their new agreement assures indefinite white minority dictatorship.

However, the Zimbabwe revolutionary movement's internal problems and military failures during the middle and late 1960's stalled what seemed to be a growing drive. In 1963, the leaders of ZAPU became divided. Out of these contradictions

the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) was formed. Unfortunately, however, ZANU, like ZAPU, was forced to retreat immediately and set up their headquarters outside the country. In 1967, ZAPU and the South African ANC formed a military alliance, and on August 19, 1967, joint armed forces entered the country. Their guides however, turned out to be paid agents for the Smith regime, and the joint force was quickly defeated. Continued bickering between ZAPU and ZANU defeated even more a united struggle.

In 1972, after a series of conferences ZAPU and ZANU joined forces. The two major Zimbabwean organizations are now known as the United Military Command; they have begun to direct their attention toward the common enemy--Ian Smith and his apartheid government. Their initial joint effort with an organization called the African National Council, met with unprecedented success. This was in response to the Pearce Commission sent by the British government to investigate public opinion among Africans on the proposed settlement between the Smith government and England. Not only did the Pearce Commission return with an overwhelming "No", from the Africans, in a series of demonstrations and marches throughout Zimbabwe, the people showed plainly what they thought of the inquiry itself. The government's response, shootings and detention, only served to strengthen the bonds of unity.

1973 shows progress for the Zimbabwean people. A combined military and political plan is being drafted by the United Command to be implemented as soon as possible. Even if this particular arrangement fails, the struggle will not end. From among the Zimbabwean people, new leaders will emerge, strong in conviction and dedicated to the ideas of freedom.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



In 1972, ZAPU AND ZANU joined forces to become the United Military Command. They have begun to direct their attention toward the common enemy, the racist Rhodesian government.

BLACK DOLLS TURNED D O W N

"... I became convinced the Black man needed jobs which not only provided money to feed, clothe and house his family in decency, but something to serve as a source of pride and an expression of his heritage. Thus we conceived Unified Enterprises, founded in 1969, which has fulfilled both of these needs."

These words, spoken by Brother Louis Evans, a struggling Black businessman and founder of Unified Enterprises, give some indication of his love for his people, Black children particularly, as can be seen by the products he is attempting to market. One such product is called the Hello Dolly, or Raggedy Natural, which Louis Evans says, "helps Black children form a positive ethnic image."

Louis has tried, unsuccessfully, to get white businesses in San Francisco to market his dolls. It seems that they have something against dolls that are not made in their own image. However, such profit hungry businessmen would not hesitate to sell a white painted doll to a Black child. Brother Evans is selling his dolls on the streets of San Francisco; he has a display at the corner of Powell and Market Streets. He has also opened up a small factory where he plans to mass-produce his dolls. With perseverance, and our support, Brother Louis Evans' products can be distributed on a mass scale.



LOUIS EVANS

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EDUCATE TO LIBERATE

The Samuel Napier Intercommunal Youth Institute is a school designed to help our children think. It is located in the Oakland Bay Area and it points out through example that other schools have provided only the most basic courses; courses that have little relevance to the survival of poor people. We are trying to expand the concept that the whole world is the children's classroom.

The youth at Samuel Napier receive instruction in language arts, mathematics, science, health, physical education, political education and people's art. All of these courses are geared to the development of a well-rounded human being.

We need the help of all interested people in making our school run smoothly. Since its inception in 1970, its enrollment has rapidly increased. We need more instructors; instructors with everchanging ideas to cope with the everchanging ideas of the children.

If you have teaching skills and can donate some of your time, please contact the Black Panther Party at 8501 East 14th Street, Oakland, California; or phone 638-0195. The children, our youth, are our future. Without their growth, we, as a people, cannot survive.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

RADICAL STUDENTS UNION

of the University of California, Berkeley Presents:

BOBBY SEALE

(CANDIDATE FOR
MAYOR OF OAKLAND)

ELAINE BROWN

(CANDIDATE FOR
COUNCILWOMAN OF OAKLAND)

Speaking In Support of Rent Control Candidates
of the Berkeley Tenant's Organizing Committee

JANUARY 12, 1973 7PM
PAULEY BALLROOM
STUDENT UNION BUILDING

(Bancroft Way and Telegraph Ave.)

\$2.00

There will also be two films:

"EASY RIDER"

"LIMELIGHTER"

(Starring Charlie Chaplin)

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:
Adam Greene, Radical Students Union
843-1273

BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT

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

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

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

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

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

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

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

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

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

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people

WHAT WE BELIEVE

inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces, and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND POOR OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.



"GOT NO JOB. MY POCKETS DON'T SEEM TO HAVE A JINGLE.
IN '73 THERE'S GOT TO BE A BETTER WAY."

