

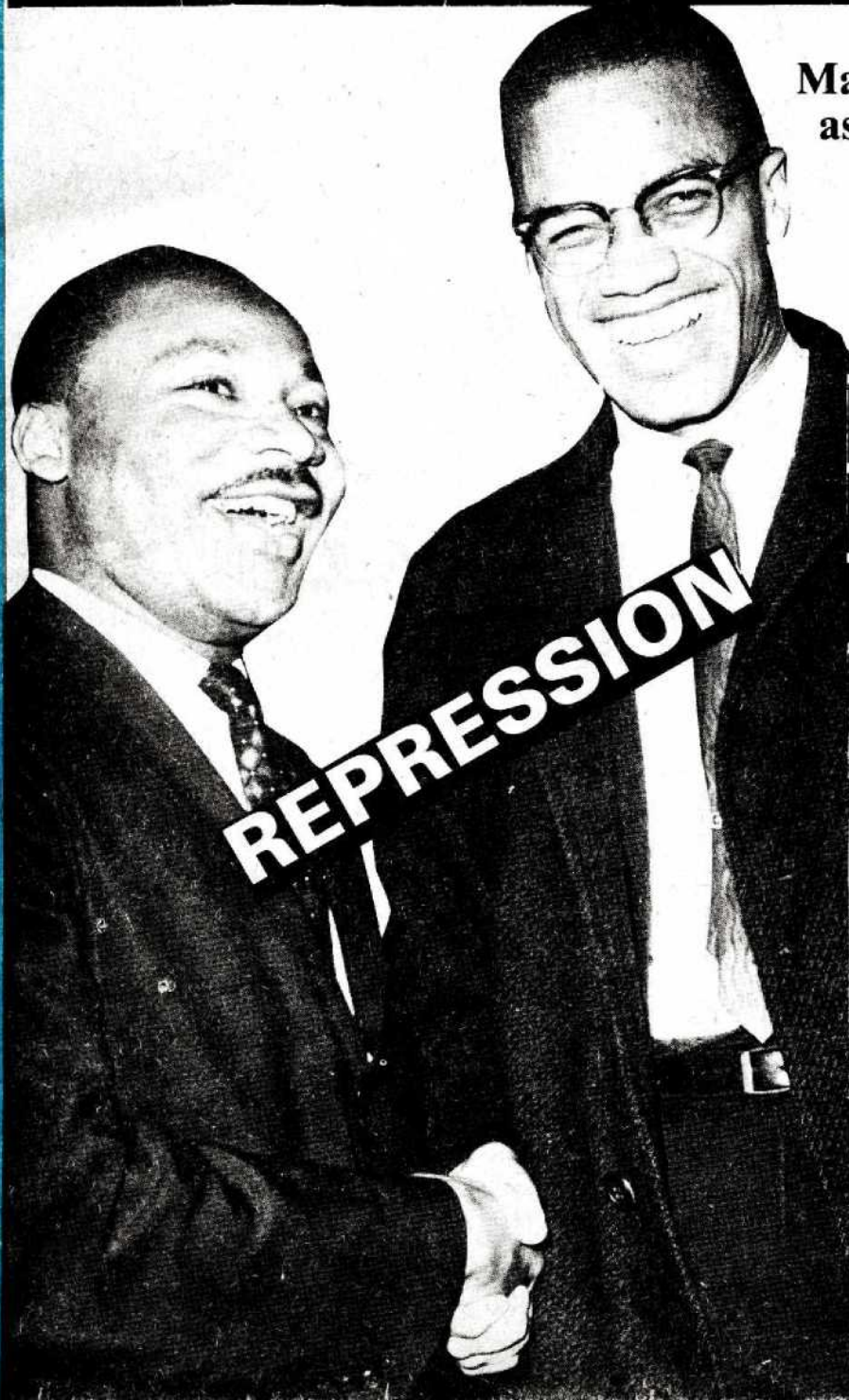
BLACKPNEWS

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AGITATE EDUCATE ORGANIZE

Vol. 4 No. 5

Malcolm X's accused
assassin speaks out



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Dhoruba Moore
Assata Shakur

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PLUS MUCH MORE

Black News

Vol. 4 No. 5, February, 1979

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Black News is the official communications instrument of the *EAST 10 Claver Place, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11238*. All articles in Black News, however, do not necessarily reflect the position of the *EAST* organization.

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During the ten years of its life, *Black News* has received hundreds of letters and calls commending us for our efforts in bringing pertinent news about Black people to our readers. We certainly intend to continue and expand this coverage, reflecting the thoughts and aspirations of our people.

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Editorial: *Repression of the Black Liberation Movement*

From the second the first slave trader attempted to capture our Afrikan foreparents there was violent resistance. In most cases the raids the traders carried out against our ancestors resulted in their capture only because of the ruthless, beastly, inhuman violence he used to suppress and repress their every reaction. Those battles resulted in our present but temporary defeat and enslavement. Our kindness and division, combined with the gun, led to our captivity.

For centuries the war has continued. Sometimes in outright (armed) warfare and at other times more refined tones. But the tactics used by the government the last few decades against the just struggle for liberation and self-determination of the Afrikan-American nation reveals the important fact that there was a secret war to attempt to crush the conscious resistance of our people.

The hidden, unannounced war against the Black liberation movement was the main aspect of the U.S. ruling class' Cointelpro program, an anti-progressive and anti-leftist and especially anti-Black clandestine war.

Cointelpro was/is the code-name for counterintelligence program. The name (like Federal Bureau of Investigation and Central Intelligence Agency) is misleading because it had very little to do with intelligence and in fact was the reactionary right-wing U.S. government's secret war against Afrikan Americans and other progressive forces. The casualties we've suffered from it has set the struggle back farther than we'll probably ever realize.

Black leaders, whether moderate or militant, were targets in some form or fashion. It didn't matter whether they advocated integration or separation, the ballot or the bullet, evolution or revolution. If they organized, begged or demanded some power and equality for Blacks they became victims of character and/or physical assassinations.

Why were Black Nationalists given the name "Black Nationalist-Hate Groups" and singled out for extra special treatment? Because the Black Nationalists have historically been the most uncompromising and revolutionary segment of the Black community and America. The Nationalists' placing of the Afrikan-American problem in an international context (Pan-Afrikanism), exposing the evils of capitalism and their grassroots involvement pose the most internal danger to the American/European capitalists. As Mao explained, the evil system of colonialism and capitalism developed and thrived out of trade, enslavement, and colonization of the Black race - our emancipation will bring about the destruction of capitalism and colonialism.

Because the powers that be understood the implications of the programs and "noise being sold" by Nationalists, they bought it. Agents were sent to play on our naivete and exploit our weak points. Other important so-called public institutions (telephone, IRS, Post Office) assisted in these gross violations of U.S. citizens' civil and human rights.

Law-abiding Black citizens who exposed the duality in the system's promise and performance were set up to be murdered, railroaded to penal and mental institutions, and their families' commitment to struggle destroyed.

And who comes along to follow up the governments overkill but the so-called leftists (who haven't been able organize one iota of the working class) with the denouncing of our people's legitimate struggle for self-determination as narrow and backward Nationalism.

Of course the facist programs have in some cases been removed from the public/government sector, and now operate, more dangerously, privately (The National Caucus of Labor Committees/U.S. Labor Party, and the Trilateral Commission seem best fit to house them).

Only through operational unity can we overcome these obstacles. We must put aside the (ideological, religious, cultural, and personality) facades that divide us and consolidate our forces around the issues of survival, progress, and self-determination.

All of America's technology and facism cannot impede Afrikan (or any other) people's determined struggle to free their life, labor, and land for our own survival, growth, and benefit.

Targets of FBI Crimes Charge Collusion in Trial

Plaintiffs in a \$100 million lawsuit against Richard Nixon, L. Patrick Gray, J. Wallace LaPrade, the FBI, the Justice Department, and other government officials and agencies, are challenging the conduct of the criminal proceedings in the trial of former top FBI officials, L. Patrick Gray, Edward Miller and Mark Felt. The defendants are charged with illegal break-ins against said plaintiffs and others during their investigation of the Weather Underground Organization. Commenting on the recent revelations of the destruction of over 1,500 FBI files containing possible evidence of government misconduct, the plaintiffs stated:

“Destruction of documents and other evidence relevant to criminal and civil proceedings have become common practice of government agencies and officials. In the face of the admission of the destruction of the 1,500 files, both the defense and the prosecution in the criminal case against Gray, Miller, and Felt have *refused* to fully investigate the circumstances behind this massive destruction and ascertain all those responsible, or to pursue the obvious possibility of the defendants’ implication in such destruction of evidence. Moreover, the government still has taken no special precautions against further destruction of evidence in this case, which remains in FBI hands. This collusion between the defense and prosecution leads to the further cover-up of the real extent of the FBI’s criminal activities against ourselves and others.”

The plaintiffs are the people named as the targets of the illegal FBI break-ins, wiretaps, and mail openings in the indictments of Gray, Felt, and Miller, and of John Kearney. They originally filed suit in Federal District Court in New York in May 1978, in part because of the failure of the government to reveal the true extent and continuing nature of the illegal actions or to hold liable, all those responsible. Most recently, the plaintiffs have filed a motion asking for accelerated discovery in their suit, as the only means to protect the evidence from being destroyed. While everyone on all sides in the criminal proceedings have had full access to the plaintiffs’ files, the plaintiffs have been denied

even minimal access to their own files, in violation of the Freedom of Information Act.

This lawsuit exposes the government in a conflict of interest. On the one hand, the Justice Department is prosecuting Gray, Felt, and Miller for criminal activities. At the same time, the Justice Department is defending Nixon, Mitchell, and all the government agencies named as defendants in the civil suit brought by the victims of these same illegal actions. Frances Martin, one of the prosecuting attorneys in the criminal case, actually filed an affidavit in the civil case, arguing against the plaintiffs being able to receive basic discovery materials. Furthermore, U.S. Attorney Hibscher, in charge of the government’s defense in the civil suit, stated that the plaintiffs are currently under investigation in 56 field offices around the country. He has *not* admitted that this “investigation” has included a break-in and ransacking of plaintiff Dana Biberman’s apartment on the day the suit was filed, or a fire that destroyed plaintiff Judith Clark’s apartment while she was making a public speech about the suit.

Most recently, two of the plaintiffs, Judith Clark and Jennifer Dohrn, have become targets of subpoenas issued by the Justice Department ordering them to testify at the Washington trial. For years, no government official was willing to talk to the plaintiffs about their investigation of government crimes. They have shown no interest in investigating the fire, break-ins, and continuing attacks. Now that the plaintiffs have taken their own action and filed suit, they find themselves subpoenaed. All the plaintiffs have always been prepared to reveal all that they know of the government’s criminal actions. The victims of FBI counter-intelligence terror have fought for years to expose the scope of the attacks in actions such as the suits filed by families and survivors of the Fred Hampton/Mark Clark assassinations, the Kent State murders, the KKK/FBI murder of Viola Liuzzo, and the murder of Malcolm X, as well as suits filed by Geronimo Pratt, Dhoruba Moore, Assata Shakur, the Republic of New Africa 11, and many others. But the question remains: Is the government prepared to pursue any of it to a just conclusion?

FBI Director William Webster’s recent press conference, announcing that only four out of 68 agents involved in illegal actions will receive any disciplinary action, not only points to the government’s refusal to bring any officials to justice, but amounts to an outright justification for current illegal counter-intelligence operations in the name of national security.

Who Killed Malcolm X?

One of the Men Convicted

Speaks Out!



The following interview is the transcription of a taped discussion with Bro. Muhammad Abd Al-Aziz (formerly Norman 3X Butler), one of the three men convicted of the assassination of El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz on March 11, 1966. After serving 14 years of a life sentence in prison, Bro. Aziz is attempting to appeal his case and is maintaining his innocence, a position that he took during the 1966 trial. The interview was conducted on Thursday, February 8, 1979, at the Ossining Correctional Facility (Sing-Sing) in Ossining, New York where he is the Imam of the World Community of Al-Islam in the West.

In the coming months we hope to have follow-up interviews with the other two men convicted of the killing (one of them who like Aziz claims innocence, and the other, who has admitted the guilt of himself and others).

Black News: Brother, we'd like to ask you some questions about your case. You were convicted of playing a part in the execution of El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz, Malcolm X, and presently you are waging a struggle against that conviction and trying to prove your innocence and non-involvement in that crime. The first and most obvious question is, were you in the Audobon Ballroom on February 21, 1965?

Aziz: No I was not.

What were your feelings about Malik at that time? You were a member of the Nation of Islam (NOI); he had left and was considered a hypocrite. What were your emotional feelings about him?

Well, I don't think I had any kind of negative emotional feelings about him. I think my attitude was more one of an investigatory nature.

I wanted to know what was going on, and to that extent I spoke with people who left the organization with him, and I spoke to some that had remained. I didn't actually have a negative or positive position or anything like that. It was just a matter of wanting to know what was going on.

Why do you think Malcolm was killed?

I think there are a lot of things that could be said about why he actually was killed. We may never know, because who's going to tell us? I think that various people had reason to want him killed. The government probably had reasons to want him killed, maybe people in the NOI had reasons to want him killed, and maybe people in the underworld had reasons to want him killed.

There was some mention that he had received threats not only from the NOI and the obvious threat from the government, but that the whole drug element within the Harlem community was against him because near the end of his life he began an active campaign against drugs.

Well that's the aspect I had referred to when I said that more than one party or more than one body of people may have wanted something to happen to him.

Do you know if any members of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) or the Muslim Mosque Incorporated (MMI), which were the organizations that Malcolm was the head of, were involved in any way in the assassination?

I can't say definitively because obviously I wasn't there and I didn't know all of the people involved, but it is an accurate statement to say that some of the members of his organization were undercover - either city, state, or federal police.

Thomas Hayer during the trial stated that there were no members of the Nation of Islam involved in the execution. Is that the case? Was Hayer a member of the NOI?

Well he was, but not actively. He was inactive at the time. Something had happened, I don't know what that was, but he wasn't in good standing.

Had he been in for a long time?

That I really don't know.

It's been stated that when the program opened up that afternoon, that a Brother Benjamin came

out and delivered an opening address. Part of the purpose of his opening up was to scan the audience to determine who was there and kind of get a feel about the audience. Why was it that he was not able to identify a former member of the NOI like Hayer?

Because Hayer and those with him weren't from New York, and Benjamin was the Assistant Minister in Mosque 7 (New York). In that capacity he wouldn't know people who were in other mosques, unless he had personal knowledge of them or they had had personal communication in some way.

Going back to Hayer's denial of Muslim involvement; as far as you know is that so, were there Muslims involved in the actual execution?

Yes.

Who could give such an order within the structure of the NOI to carry out an execution of someone?

Well, I don't want to say carry out an execution in that kind of sense, but in terms of giving orders, captains in the various mosques at that time were able to give orders and have them obeyed, and obviously you had people above them and that. I might add something else too. There were and maybe still are brothers who may

have the attitude "I'm going to do what I want to do, and I'll take the weight for it, regardless of what anybody says," so they might do something and get time out (suspension) just because they wanted to do it.

In your letter that was sent to *Black News*, you indicated that there weren't many people within the Nation who operated based upon their belief in the Qu'ran, but that people follow orders and they operate based on the instructions given to them. In light of that, which do you feel is closer to the street - the fact that someone acted out of a desire to do good, or were they under orders?

In this particular case I think they were under orders.

So you'd say it would have to be a captain or higher that would be in a position to give the orders to carry out something like that?

That's accurate. I think the thing that has to be understood is that mostly any order that came down would have to have been transmitted directly from a captain to whichever lieutenant he would have to do it, or to a crew that actually carried it out. Plus, obviously the captain didn't make it up himself - he got orders from somebody too.

Let's look at the tri-state area at that time and at the mosques that were in the area. Can you identify some of the captains who were around in the major mosques?

To tell you the truth I don't really know the names of the various captains. I know the name of the captain who was in New York, but I don't know the names of the captains that were in the other places.

Who was the New York captain?

Captain Joseph.

Hayer in his court testimony, when asked the reason why he killed Malcolm, said it was for money. Would you agree with that?

No.

Why not?

That was just something made up at that point in time so that he wouldn't have to tell what the motivation was for his action. In other words when the trial was going on and he saw that it was going to be necessary for him to say something to try to exonerate us (the two other men on trial) knowing that we weren't with him at the time. He said that he'd say that we weren't there, but when it came down to why he did it, he would just say he did it for money because that would be easily acceptable in the society and to the mentality in the country.

Well, the logical question, if someone said that they did something for money, would be who gave them the money? Who was it that hired him? Who was his boss?

They asked him who it was that gave him the money, and he refused to answer. That's why I suppose the jury didn't accept it, because he didn't finish up and say what else could have possibly been said. On the other hand, he couldn't have, because it was a lie.

You say it was a lie. Then what do you believe to be the actual truth. What was his motivation for the act?

He was a Muslim. He was doing what he was told to do. What he believed was right.

We understand that you had only just met Hayer in the bullpen prior to the trial. What were his remarks? Did he say to you that he was going to try and clear you both, or did he not even deal with it?

He didn't even deal with it. That didn't even come up until it became apparent that it was necessary for him to say something (about why he did it). In other words, back in the institution we weren't locking in the same area, consequently we couldn't talk to one another. And when we came down for the trial each day there wasn't a lot of time to do any talking. This particular thing came about late in the trial.

Hayer and Johnson are both still incarcerated.

Where are they located now?

One is in Napanoch and one is in Clinton.

Have you had any contact with them over the past 14 years?

continued on next page

With Hayer, I haven't had any contact at all. With Islam, that's what Johnson's name is actually, Khalil Islam, he's an Imam also, we've corresponded a few times, but in a business manner.

Now in the trial, were the names of the other people who were involved in the killing ever brought out?

No they weren't.

Not even indirectly?

The names, no. The fact that other people were involved, yes. But their names, and their relationship with the Community and so forth, no.

Presently, are those names known, and if so by whom?

They're known by Muslims in the street. They're known by the courts, and I guess they're known by the government too.

Why would you say by the courts?

Because we have legal papers in the courts with their names on them.

What kinds of papers are these? Is there an affidavit from someone, or...

Yes, well Hayer put in an affidavit to get us out of this situation that we've been in. In the affidavit he put the names of the people who've been associated with him in this situation.

When did he file this affidavit?

Last year. Well actually Kunstler filed it. Our lawyer is Bill Kunstler.

You've mentioned several times the whole government implication in the murder. Can you substantiate that in any way? What gives you the feeling that the government was involved in the murder of Malcolm X?

Let me first speak from the position of being a member of Mosque 7 at the time. BOSS, which is the Bureau of Special Services, is the intelligence branch of the N.Y.C. Police Department. They knew him and me, and they had operatives in the Audobon Ballroom that day, and they knew that we weren't there. Since they didn't come forth and say something, then that's indicative of city police involvement as far as I'm concerned. On the other hand, in Malcolm's organization you had an officer who was undercover, and in fact that was the same officer that took the Luger that I was supposed to have fired, and that Luger never appeared in court. The officer never testified at the trial, and when we asked the prosecuting attorney who this "Brother Gene" was, he said the state had no knowledge of him when actually the state already knew that Gene Roberts was a cop. An undercover cop. In fact, he gave mouth-to-mouth resuscitation to Malik. So if there was any

kind of opportunity for him to live through the fusillade of shots, then *certainly* it was taken away with the *undercover man* giving him mouth-to-mouth resuscitation! That's another avenue of government complicity. We also know from the Cointelpro papers that there were members of the Nation of Islam in the high echelon of the organization, who were in the employ or were feeding information to the government. On the other hand, we also know from the Cointelpro papers that the house and headquarters of the Nation of Islam had been bugged for years. So they knew everything that was going on.

Do you have any idea if there were any other government agents or informers who were members of the OAAU or the MMI?

I think there were others. At this period in time I don't think it would be advisable to mention names, but yes, I think there were others.

There has been some allusion to the fact that a film was made at the actual time that the execution took place. Do you know anything about that?

Not myself. I read it like you have. But I feel that if there was a film, then it comes about as the same kind of thing as not making Gene Roberts available to the defense. Because if Gene Roberts, the cop, could have been made available, then that certainly would have substantiated our lawyers claims of a governmental conspiracy.

Was there ever any mention made of a film during the trial?

I'm not exactly sure. I mean, there were thousands of pages of testimony, and I really can't remember. But yes, I *think* it was mentioned at the trial.

You alluded to Gene Roberts earlier as a BOSS agent who was involved.

I don't know where he was working out of. I don't know if he was a BOSS agent, but I know there *were* BOSS agents in the Audobon Ballroom.

Was Gene Roberts ever in the Nation of Islam before going into Malcolm's organization?

That I have no knowledge of. I didn't really become aware of him as a person until the case. I had no knowledge of him.

Can we for a minute just probe some key people who were in Malcolm's organization and get your opinion as to whether you think they may have been involved or played any role in the assassination?

If I even indicated that I thought that someone might have been involved, at this point in time I can't substantiate it, so I don't really think it would be wise for me to say "Yes I think so,"

and then couldn't give something to substantiate it.

Okay, then we'll hold off. But I think that one of the main people that folks are always concerned about is Minister Louis Farrakhan. Malcolm was in the earlier period his mentor, so to speak. In many of the films that you see, he's right behind Malcolm, and he later became minister in Boston. What was Farrakhan's basic attitude toward Malcolm after he left the Nation?

I don't know. I really can't say what his attitude was because he wasn't made the minister of 7 until after I was incarcerated. So I'm really not in a definitive position to say what he thought. It might be better to ask him.

And you wouldn't have any idea what his attitude was as a result of the execution?

I really can't say.

Well, what were your feelings after the execution when you heard about it?

In a way I was surprised and in another way I wasn't surprised. I don't know how I felt. I felt like, what's the real deal? In other words I was really trying to determine in the weeks before I got arrested, some of the real underpinnings of what was going on. What was my attitude? I think it was mixed. I really don't even know. This is 14 years later, and I can't put my finger on it and say what my attitude really was.

What were the circumstances of your arrest?

What happened? You mentioned that you were picked up - you weren't picked up on the same day were you?

No I wasn't. I was picked up a week or so later. But are you asking me why was I singled out, or why did they come to me, or something like that?

Yes, plus the circumstances of your arrest. Did they arrest you in your house, or were you out in the street...?

Yes they arrested me in my house. This was a Sunday. The reason why I was home (I would ordinarily have been in the mosque), was because that Sunday morning I had gone to the hospital in a lot of pain and I couldn't walk very well, so I was nursing a bad leg. That's why I was home.

Is there anyone who can substantiate that? Was your family there, or were you alone?

Well, my wife was there, and I had three small children, and one 7-month old baby. The other ones were too small to do any testifying. Other than that, people that called us or people that we called (knew that I was home). In fact, I even called the mosque to ascertain whether they knew or had heard (about the killing). Those were the only substantiations for the fact that I was home.

And you said your wife testified?

Yes.

Why do you think you were picked out of the entire community at that time? Why Norman 3X Butler?

Two weeks prior to this particular situation taking place, I had been arrested for the shooting of Benjamin, I think 13X. I can't remember his X for sure. He attempted to set up a mosque in the Bronx or something in the Bronx where they could do whatever they wanted to do. Okay, I didn't do that, but I was arrested for it. And because I was arrested for that, that's why they came (to get me for Malcolm's assassination). As a matter of fact, the way I read it someplace, some officer recognized a coat I was wearing on the day I was arrested for that (the shooting of Bro. Benjamin). Somebody had said that one of the people who had shot Malcolm had on a gray coat. So he supposedly connected the idea of the coat with the former arrest of the previous week. Therefore they came and got me. That's the way I got it.

Who else was arrested with you for the shooting of Benjamin?

Thomas Johnson.

So you and he had both been arrested prior. Did you have any relationship with Johnson at all? I mean, were you both members of the Nation of Islam - did you know each other well?

We were both members of the Nation. Not that we hung out together outside of the things that we had to do. In other words it wasn't what you would call a buddy-buddy kind of relationship. I knew him, yes.

Did the police try to make any kinds of deals with you? Did they kind of want you to be the fall guy in the situation and take the rap - and promise you something?

No, nothing like that happened. I just got beat up that's all. And see, that's why I couldn't do the other one (shoot Malcolm), because I got beat up the day that I got arrested (for the previous shooting).

Yes, but I'm talking about the Malcolm case.

After your arrest did they in any way want you to...

Oh no, it wasn't anything like that. But in terms of me doing it, what I'm saying is that I couldn't do it because I got beat up, and I wasn't in any condition to do it.

Were there any medical records produced from the hospital?

Yes, but when the doctor came to the trial, the prosecuting attorney asked him a question like, "Could that be caused by something else, such as a fall down a flight of stairs?" He said "Sure it could have." And I guess it *could* have. So what he effectively did was knock out the fact that I got beat up, and got the jury to believe that I got

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Cointelpro Disruption Continues

By Murr Glass

Proof has continued to accumulate that the notorious Cointelpro operations, has still functioned beyond April of 1971, when it was supposedly officially discontinued.

Whether or not Cointelpro continues to exist under its original code name, there is always the strong possibility that a similar program with a different name, or no name at all, has surfaced in its place. At any rate, recent incidents and revelations throughout the country bear closer scrutiny, as the ominous spectre of Cointelpro lingers on.

Two cases in North Carolina, the Wilmington 10 and the Charlotte Three, involving persons convicted of crimes in the early '70's during periods of "racial disturbances," have been receiving plenty of attention by the media. In the Wilmington 10 case, Rev. Ben Chavis and nine others were sentenced to prison on charges of arson during racial unrest in Wilmington, North Carolina in 1971. Nine of the members have since been freed from prison, with the leader of the group of young civil rights workers still incarcerated.

Charging President Carter with joining the conspiracy against Chavis and the Wilmington 10, Dr. Charles Cobb, Executive Director of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ, recently announced plans to bring the case before the United Nations for a hearing. Amnesty International (A.I.) recognized the 10 as "prisoners of conscience." Cobb decided to take the case to the U.N. after repeated attempts to get the U.S. Department of Justice to look into charges that the 10 were framed and railroaded into jail were unsuccessful.

In a quick reversal of form, the Justice Department, which had paid the witnesses that convicted them, has asked a federal judge in North Carolina to overturn the 1972 state court firebombing convictions of the Wilmington 10. Drew Days III, chief of the Department's Civil Rights Division, stated in an 89-page brief that a review of the case has uncovered evidence that the defendants were denied their constitutional right to a fair trial. The brief asserts that the state prosecutor and judge suppressed a statement that raised doubts about the testimony of the key prosecution witness, and that this act violated the defendants' rights.

Meanwhile, the three Black activists who comprise the Charlotte Three, remain imprisoned after their 1972 convictions for allegedly having firebombed a Charlotte riding stable that refused to rent horses to Black people. A recent appeal to have their case heard by the U.S. Supreme Court was rejected. The three, Jim Grant, T.J. Reddy and Charles Parker, were given 25, 20, and 10-year prison terms respectively, the longest prison terms in state history for arson in which no one was injured. The Charlotte Three have also been adopted by A.I. as prisoners of conscience.

These two cases are very closely linked for some interesting reasons. First, the prosecution used the same witnesses against both sets of defendants to obtain convictions. The witnesses, Al Hood and David Washington, had a long string of charges against them immediately prior to their testimony in the two cases. Washington, for example, was the prime suspect in five murder cases in the Charlotte area. But charges were dropped in exchange for his testimony against Chavis and the Charlotte Three trials.

While it is widely acknowledged that bargains are made nearly all the time between the prosecution and what are felt to be key witnesses, who are given immunity in return for their testimony, immunity usually only extends to the particular case being tried, and not to a host of other unrelated crimes, as was done with Hood and Washington.

But the most startling revelation which leads right to the core of the federal government, is that the two key witnesses were paid at least \$4,000 apiece for their testimony by none other than the U.S. Department of Justice! The payments were authorized by then-Assistant Attorney General for Internal Security, Robert Mardian, later a Watergate felon. These facts were uncovered and reported two years after the Charlotte Three trial by the *Charlotte Observer*.

The obvious question is why is the federal government paying money to witnesses for testimony in State proceedings? Were these men employees or agents-provocateur for the federal government? From what funds were these witnesses paid? One thing is certain and that is that Mardian, John Mitchell, and other high government officials were obviously interested in the outcome of these trials.

In one of the bloodiest and most overt acts of murder carried out by local police with federal assistance, in the early morning hours of December 4, 1969, Illinois chapter Black Panther Party members Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were killed in their sleep. The repercussions

from this ghastly act have been many, and continue to reverberate with subsequent revelations that paint a very clear picture of past and present disruption tactics.



Fred Hampton, who was 21 and Deputy Chairman of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, was murdered by Cointelpro on Dec. 4, 1969.

One of the most recent acts to come out of the Hampton/Clarke murders is that Dr. Lucius Walker, Jr. was fired by the 49-member National Council on Churches (NCC) Executive Committee from his post as head of the social action agency of the NCC, the Division of Church and Society.

Dr. Walker had recently sent out several nationwide appeal letters for financial contributions to help the families of Hampton and Clarke conduct a lawsuit against the FBI and the Chicago Police Department, charging them with conspiring to murder the two young Black men. The amount of the suit is for \$47.7 million.

Walker feels that his firing from the NCC could be related to his fundraising letters in the Hampton/Clarke lawsuit, and not for mismanaging the Division of Church and Society funds, as he was charged with.

Walker's letter cites evidence obtained through the court proceedings, such as after the government had supposedly supplied the plaintiff's family with all relevant FBI files, an FBI agent's reference to something that had not previously been divulged caused another 55,000 pages of files to be unearthed.

On a less covert level, the FBI is presently training personnel to combat "terrorists." The program involves extensive police training, and was recently criticized at a November hearing of the Berkeley Police Review Commission as providing officers with political indoctrination

against organizations such as the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement (AIM).

The Berkeley hearing was held to hear complaints over two policemen attending a California Specialized Training Institute in San Luis Obispo, California. The CSTI course, entitled "Terrorism: United States Domestic Analysis," listed the Black Panther Party, the American Indian Movement, the Nation of Islam (now the World Community of Al-Islam in the West), and the National Lawyers Guild as "terrorists."

Terrorism training is a process worth noting very carefully, as terrorism appears to have replaced subversion as a charge which silences all questions, and as such, the potential for abuse is ever-present. One of the chief terrorism trainers has been James L. Stinson, author of "Terrorism: United States Domestic Analysis." He is an ex-Green Beret counterintelligence expert and communications specialist with a top-secret security clearance from the U.S. Defense Department's *super-secret* National Security Agency.

At present, the Black Panther Party is one of the few groups to publicly call for an immediate halt to all police training designed to combat "terrorism," calling it part of an "ever-growing threat of a police state."

And last but certainly not least is the case of Huey P. Newton, co-founder and President of the Black Panther Party. Newton, now 36, has been constantly involved since the '60's with defending himself against a number of highly questionable charges brought against him by the State. For starters, his 1964 conviction for felony assault was ruled unconstitutional in 1971 by Superior Court Judge Lyle Cook because of irregularities in the trial.

Newton will not be able to see his way clear of legal matters for some time. For, in addition to his appeal in the Callins case, Newton is charged with murdering prostitute Kathleen Smith. That trial was set to begin on January 10 in Oakland. Newton has contended that the murder charge is also false.

Given the government's obvious tenacity in prosecuting and attempting to convict Newton (not to mention other tactics), it remains a remarkable feat that Newton has been able to fend off conviction verdicts from charges that appear highly dubious at best. However, it will be interesting to see whether his legal battles will continue to be rivaled and subverted by the extra-legal tactics that have continuously been employed against him and his organization.

THE CASE OF ASSATA SHAKUR (JOANNE CHESIMARD)

by Evelyn Williams

Assata Shakur (JoAnne Chesimard) now faces another life-defeating crisis in what appears to be a never-ending Federal/State vendetta against her. This time the perpetrator is the State of New Jersey's Department of Corrections.

On April 6, 1978, Assata was transferred from solitary confinement in the all-male Yardville Correctional Institution in the State of New Jersey (where she was to serve a life sentence plus 33 years, imposed after conviction of the murder of a New Jersey State Trooper), to the Maximum Security Unit at the Federal Correctional Institution at Alderson, West Virginia.

The State of New Jersey transferred her 600 miles from her attorneys appealing her murder conviction and from her family because they felt she was such a security risk, and constituted such a high potential for escape with the aid of "outside" friends, that she could not be contained in any of their institutions. This assertion prevails even though after almost six years of incarceration, she has never been a disciplinary problem, has made no effort to escape from prison, and has never been the object of any escape attempt.

From April 6th, 1978 to October 3rd, 1978, Assata participated in no activities permitted prisoners in the general population at Alderson. She was housed in Davis Hall - a concentration-type, barbed wire fence-enclosed, separate component of the Federal Correctional Institution for Women - with Nazis, Charles Manson followers, and psychotics.

On October 3rd, she was permitted to leave the Maximum Security Unit for 2 hours a day to take part in a medical training program. From October until January 9, 1979, she worked with the mechanic crew, attended art classes once a week, and engaged in other open campus activities without escort.

On January 5, 1979, her Unit Team recommended that she be removed from Maximum Security and placed in general population.

When Assata appeared before the Regional Meeting on January 9, she fully expected to be told that she would enter general population. Instead, she was told that, in spite of the recommendation, the New Jersey State Department of Corrections would not allow her

to go into general population and that since the Maximum Security Unit at Alderson was being closed, she would be placed in "Administrative Segregation" until the State of New Jersey effected her transfer to a Maximum Security Unit in a state institution, as yet unidentified. She was further advised that the State of New Jersey would complete transfer arrangements no later than February 1, 1979 by which time she would be definitely moved from Alderson.

Lennox S. Hinds, National Conference of Black Lawyers, Leora Mosston, and Evelyn A. Williams immediately sought relief from the Appellate Division of the Superior Court of the State of New Jersey, asking that the New Jersey Department of Corrections be enjoined from further transferring Assata pending their decision on the first appeal filed for her transfer from the State of New Jersey to Alderson. The motion was denied on January 16, 1979.

During oral argument before the Appellate Division, the Deputy Attorney General of the State of New Jersey stated that although the State of New Jersey housed many prisoners who had been convicted of the murder of police officers, "...there has never been a JoAnne Chesimard," and that her explosive potential was best-illustrated by the actions of her co-defendant, Sundiata Acoli (Clark Squire), who Maloney (the Deputy Attorney General) said, had been involved in a savage prison escape attempt at Trenton State Prison in New Jersey during which an inmate was murdered and that Sundiata had been indicted for Murder of the First Degree.



Maloney neglected to mention the fact that the murder indictment against Sundiata had been dismissed, on the Attorney General's own motion, in November, 1978.

Maloney flatly stated to the Appellate Division that the New Jersey Department of Corrections would never permit Assata to enter general prison population in any institution in any state or-jurisdiction.

History dictates that, as usual, Assata Shakur will be shipped to a state institution without notice to her attorney or family, and will be first advised of her destination when she arrives.

Assata Shakur has been classified as one of the Political Prisoners in the United States in the Petition to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and Sub-Committee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, entitled *Human Rights Violations in the United States*, filed by the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the National

Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression and the United Church of Christ, Commission for Racial Justice in December, 1978.

The political considerations which define and control the conditions of Assata's confinement have even stripped the classification of "prisoner" from her. She has no prison in which to be contained: a prisoner without a prison: Flotsam, mercilessly tossed by the ebb and flow of the State of New Jersey's murky waters; an institutionalized nomad.

If the vindictiveness toward Assata remains unchecked, there will be unparalleled, arbitrary moving of prisoners across the United States at any time, to any place, absent of any reason, entirely dependent on the willful and irresponsible aberrations of state correctional officials.

The question that must alarm is, after nowhere - where? Or what?

Political Prisoner Joanne Chesimard: The Struggle Continues

Sekou Kinshasa

My experiences, my observations, and knowledge of the United States' judicial and penal systems have left me with a bitterness and commitment which I shall always bear. My heart cries out to our valiant brothers indefinitely entrapped in the bowels, the penitentiaries, of this rancid society in which we live: Sundiata Acoli, Pedro Monges, Sha Sha Brown, Ben Chavis, Anthony Bottom - a full list would be seemingly endless.

My tolerance becomes stretched to the point of breaking, however, when I witness the acts of blatant cruelty inflicted upon one of our sisters or children - Randy Evans, Richard Glover, Assata Shakur. Assata (JoAnne Chesimard) still lives, however. For how much longer is questionable though, as she deals with the sadistic, diabolical forms of harassment and coercion inflicted upon her by prison officials - all designed to slowly waste her away. She is now incarcerated in Administrative Segregation at the Federal Women's Prison in Alderson, West Virginia.

My eyes first fell upon Assata Shakur in the Fall of 1976 in the Supreme Court of Brooklyn, where she was on trial. She seemed to be perpetually on trial. I was awed by the image of strength and beauty that she displayed in spite of the preponderant cross she had to bear.

Assata's last trial was in New Brunswick, New Jersey. It proved to be her ultimate downfall. The charges against her stemmed from a fatal

shootout with the notorious New Jersey state troopers. Accompanying her on that fateful day in May of 1973 was Sundiata Acoli and Zayd Shakur. One of the state police was killed with his own gun. Zayd was shot and allowed to bleed to death by the troopers. Assata was shot in the first volley of gunfire, with her arms raised in the air, before she even realized what was happening. To this day she carries an irremovable bullet in her chest cavity, and upon her body the permanent physical scars of that vicious police ambush.

In spite of her obvious and proved innocence, she was found guilty by an all white jury of the state trooper's death and given a life sentence (plus 33 years). In a prior and separate trial Sundiata Acoli was also found guilty and given a similar sentence.

Except for Assata's confinement at Rikers Island in New York, most of her time from May of 1973 to April of 1977 had been spent in solitary confinement in the basement dungeon of the Middlesex County Jail in New Jersey. After her conviction in April she was sent to the women's prison in Clinton, New Jersey, where she was kept in solitary confinement. She was then shipped to an all-male facility in Yardville,

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New Jersey. There they had prepared a special maximum security unit in the prison just to house her with two guards to watch her constantly 24 hours of the day. I tried to visit her at Yardville twice and was turned away each time - the second time on prison grounds by two police cars of pigs who had apparently been forewarned of my coming.

Assata has been imprisoned almost six years now for an act that she did not commit. If she were to be released tomorrow these six wasted and torturous years of her life could never be replaced, forgotten or forgiven. The fact is, she will not be released tomorrow - nor any other day if her captors are to have their way. She will spend the rest of her life in prison if we allow her to. Very few years are left of her life if we permit them to continue to keep her and torture her (such vile acts as poking in her wounds, a temporary blinding chemical poured in her eyes while strapped to a recovery room hospital bed). I will not list here the various encounters of vicious, sadistic, inhumane acts of terror inflicted upon her; what I zealously stress in this article is that we must not, we cannot, allow them to isolate her from us.

With cold, calculated precision they slowly crush our sister. How she has persevered thus far is a heroic example of human fortitude and will to live. With circumstances continuing and accelerating as at present, she will not be able to survive another six years.

There has never been in the history of mankind a more hypocritical "glass house" undertaking than Jimmy Carter's vendetta against human rights violations around the globe. While Black folks in general and thousands of Political Prisoners in particular suffer like dogs here in these United States.

We must not allow them to murder Assata Shakur; we must not allow her to be alone, for them to isolate her. While we boogie, sleep, watch TV, get high, as we leisurely read this article, the struggle continues in some prison, some hole, on some battlefield in countless corners of the world. Someone - some child or some soldier, dies somewhere at this very moment.

Letters of support may be forwarded to:

Assata Shakur
s/n JoAnne Chesimard
Alderson Women's
Correctional Facility
Alderson, West Virginia

Letters of complaint should be forwarded to:

William Fauver
N.J. Commission of Correction
Whittlesy Road
Trenton, N.J. 08628

Norman Carson
Dir., U.S. Bureau of Prisons
101 Indiana Ave
Washington, D.C.

Andrew Young
U.S. Ambassador to the U.N.
United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y.

Gov. Brendan Byrne
State House
Trenton, N.J. 08625

Pres. James Carter
White House
Washington, D.C.

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The Case of Political Prisoners in the U.S.

When the current President of the United States was running for office, one of his chief espousals was the issue of Human Rights, nationally and internationally.

One of the principle things about this Human Rights Campaign was the case of Political Prisoners. Since Carter has become the 39th President of the United States, a lot of focus has been placed on Political Prisoners *outside* of the United States by the Administration. While the U.S. may point out the existence of Human Rights violations and Political Prisoners in other countries, and in some cases may also apply pressure to a government to release those prisoners, we cannot forget that, at the same time, the U.S. also extends economic, political, and military support to these same repressive governments. Chile, Argentina, and Iran are mentioned as examples. In so doing, the U.S. government is supporting the ability of these repressive governments to continue their reign of terror over the people. Also, the Administration blatantly and acutely ignores the issue of Human Rights and Political Prisoners at home. But the issues refuse to be obliterated or dismissed as non-existent or irrelevant.

Defining these comrades as Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War, coupled with the work of mobilizing people around these issues, is providing us with better strategies and tactics that will enable those of us in the Prison Movement to be victorious in our task - the liberation of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War in the United States.

We see that the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young, has addressed himself to the issue of both Human Rights and Political Prisoners, but with no merit. When he spoke initially about it, he was rebuked by the Administration for such a stance although historically and politically, his stance had been lukewarm. The reproach served as a clear indication that the government is resisting, and will continually resist, any endeavor to expose and oppose its repressive and genocidal plans.

There are varying definitions for the terms Political Prisoner and Prisoner of War (POW); the definitions given here are some functional ones, not presented as absolutes, or representative of every sector of the Prison Movement.

One definition of Political Prisoners is that of activists who have been involved in political work in our communities and who get framed by the various law enforcement agencies. They are framed because the government deems them as being serious threats to its existence.

A second definition reflects the case of comrades who, before they were confined, had not been politicized, but since their imprisonment have developed a progressive understanding of the capitalist system and act concordant to that understanding. Having developed such, they espouse their political convictions and are framed, beaten, maimed, killed, denied parole, etc.

Thirdly, there are the innumerable brothers and sisters who are behind the prison walls who clearly are victims of "Class, Racial, and National Oppression."

Fourth, the definition of Prisoners of War are comrades captured while fighting a War of National Liberation against U.S. Imperialism.

Some examples of brothers and sisters who serve as paragons of the aforementioned domestic Prisoners of War are Attica Brother Dacajeweah (John Hill); the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists (Lolita Lebron, Oscar Collazo, Andres Figueroa Cordero, Rafael Cancel Miranda, and Irving Flores); the RNA Eleven; the Native American comrades such as Russell Means, Leonard Peltier, Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk; Black Liberation Army soldiers such as Richard Dhoruba Moore, Anthony Bottom, Sundiata Acoli, Gabriel Torres, Francisco Torres, Herman Bell, and Albert Washington; Kamboa (Lorenzo Ervin); the Bedford Hills Sisters; Atmore-Holman Brother Imani (Johnny Harris); Ruchell Magee; the Marion Prison Brothers; the August 8th Brigade Brothers; Assata Shakur; Attica Brother Jomo Omowale; Geronimo Pratt; the Statesville Brothers; the Pontiac Brothers; the Fountain Valley Five; Gary Tyler; Salvador Agron; Malik (Robert Rice) of the Harlem Six.

Support and work around Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War aids in the overall struggle against Racism, Repression, Exploitation, Colonialism, and U.S. Imperialism. On the outside, we struggle to overcome these evils, while prisoners inside fight similarly against them. There are certain distinctions, but the struggles are the same.

When prisoners fight for minimum wages, establishment of a prisoner's union, and hazardous working conditions, we can see that these are part of our same struggle against exploitation.

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A National Museum of Afro-American History and Culture: Gov't Run?

There is yet another conspiracy unfolding against Black people in this nation. The need to establish a museum, archives, and cultural center for Blacks, that was articulated by Black people in the past, has fallen prey to three reactionary forces: racism, opportunism, and ignorance.

Efforts have been made to establish national museums of Afro-American culture in other parts of the nation. In 1972, the Ohio General Assembly passed legislation to create a National Museum of Afro-American History and Culture Planning Council. This Planning Council was appointed by the Governor of Ohio and was to "advise" the Ohio Historical Society (located in Columbus) on the creation of the museum. In 1975, the Ohio General Assembly appropriated the first part of an eventually three million dollar fund, placed in Central State University's budget (located in Wilberforce), for the planning of a National Museum of Afro-American History and Culture. In that same year (1975), an executive secretary was hired to oversee the day-to-day planning of the council. In 1976, because of efforts of several congressmen and senators, including seven members of the Congressional Black Caucus, the 94th U.S. Congress approved HR 13221 and S 3419, which with the President's signature, became Public Law 94-518.

The object of this law was to have the federal government investigate and later establish and a *national* Afro-American museum in the Wilberforce, Greene County area of Ohio. The Ohio Historical Society then began to conspire to gain control of the museum project and complete jurisdiction over the museum itself. The Planning Council recently approved \$450,000 to be appropriated to a task force organized by the Ohio Historical Society.

The Issues and Contradictions:

- 1) It is implausible that a national museum and cultural center for Black people be run by a state institution - The Ohio Historical Society.
- 2) That the Ohio Historical Society be given jurisdiction over an institution representing

Blacks is an insult and injury. The Ohio Historical Society is a racist institution. To wit: Out of an 18-member Board of Directors, only one is Black. In its 105-year history, it has only had two Black Board members. It has only six professional Black employees out of over 400 total. It has no on-going museum exhibits depicting the history of Blacks or any minorities. Its director has publicly insulted Black people, i.e. at the annual statewide meeting of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, he walked off the stage and out of the meeting while being addressed by members of a Black audience. It shows unwillingness to accept contributions from minority staff members which directly benefits a minority community (i.e., Preservation Redevelopment and the Black Experience conference held August 30, 1978). Its under-utilization of Blacks and females, and salary level disparity between Black and white professionals. This is also exhibited in non-professional employment.

3) The Planning Council appointed by the Governor has: Used their positions on the Council for political clout or financial gain (The executive secretary of the Council in three years has received salary increases in excess of \$9,000). Partisan attitudes and directives since it is politically appointed.

4) The Ohio Chapter of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History: Has endorsed the efforts of the Ohio Historical Society and supported the Planning Council. While yet insulted by the racist attitudes of the Ohio Historical Society director, and complained about the racism inherent in the Ohio Historical Society's policy, has endorsed the National Black Museum which will be under the control of the Ohio Historical Society. Has adopted a resolution to present to the National Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History for the support of the Afro-American Museum and Culture Center as conceived by the Ohio Historical Society and the Planning Council.

Let it be resolved that Black people throughout the United States should rise in opposition to the efforts of the Planning Council, the Ohio Historical Society, and the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History of Ohio to establish their so-called National Museum of Afro-American History and Culture.

It there is to be a National Museum of African-American History and Culture, and there should be, it must be independent of state control, diverse in its political and ideological perspectives, and operated by African-Americans. We must control our own institutions. We must determine and develop their objectives and philosophies.

Knoetze Visa Exposes U.S. Double Talk

The racist white boxer from South Africa, Kallie Knoetze, came to the United States of America through a visa issued to him by the State Department and was allowed to fight, last Saturday, under the same permit. Whatever else the U.S. State Department tried to do to rescind its initial decision to grant Knoetze the visa was done under pressure of public protests and not in observance of the United Nations resolution calling for the cultural and business isolation of apartheid South Africa. Therefore, the granting of a visa to the South African racist boxer was in violation of repeated resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, an act which has exposed the U.S. double talk on the question of apartheid colonialism and the violation of Human Rights in South Africa.

As a consequence of U.S. double standards, the apartheid regime and other racists in South Africa have been afforded scarce publicity to "boost" their morale in a world that is tightening its isolation of the regime and its supporters.

The Pan Africanist Congress outrightly condemns U.S. policy on granting visas to South African racists and demands that the Carter Administration immediately take measures to seal the legal loopholes through which supporters of apartheid are allowed to visit the United States. As the whole world knows, in the case of Knoetze the violation of U.N. resolutions is compounded by the crimes that this racist boxer committed against the Azanian people during his career as a policeman. The crimes include the gunning down of a 15-year-old African school child during the students' demonstrations against the apartheid regime. The U.S. cannot absolve itself of the violation of U.N. sanctions against

apartheid South Africa until it takes necessary measures to join the majority of U.N. member states that prohibit cultural, economic, and any other relations with apartheid South Africa.

*David Maphumzana Sibeko
Director of Foreign Affairs & U.N. Rep.
of the Pan-Africanist Congress
of Azania*

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Interview with Jitu Weusi on Cointelpro Tactics



Black News: *Jitu, what exactly is Cointelpro?*

Jitu: Cointelpro is a code word for counterintelligence program. Cointelpro is part of the FBI, CIA, and State Department's unlawful and unjustifiable intrusion in spying and disruption of legal political activities. In other words someone in one of these agencies decides that there is illegal political activity going on and they make the decision that it's illegal. They don't take it before a court, they don't take it before any agencies - it's just they who decide that there's something wrong with Dr. Martin Luther King, or there's something wrong with Malcolm X, or there's something wrong with Fred Hampton, or there's something wrong with the Black Panther or any of the known Black or progressive organizations or individuals here in the U.S.

Black News: *How does Cointelpro function on a national level?*

Jitu: The most important vehicle for the use or application of Cointelpro on the national level has been the FBI. Many people should know that its infamous founder and first director J.E. Hoover, laid the foundation for most of the harassment and disruptions of people's lives that took place in this country during the 40's, 50's, and 60's. There is the identification of those organizations and individuals that the FBI or certain agents within the FBI deem as being "dangerous" to the peace and tranquility of the U.S., and once those people are identified there are then a series of different transgressions made against them. Their phones are bugged, mail is opened, meetings are infiltrated, informers are placed within their organizations. People are targeted on them to provide all kinds of information to keep track of all their movements, everything they say, read, do, everywhere they travel and so on. Depending upon the level and effectiveness of their involvement, an action is targeted against them. There is a book that deals in-depth with a lot of the things that I'm saying. It's called *Cointelpro:*

The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom. It is written by Nelson Blackstock and published by Vintage Press. It takes most of its information from the cases of the Socialist Worker's Party which was one of the major groups that forced the Cointelpro information out into the public. It also discusses in-depth information on the FBI's war against the Black liberation movement - it talks about operations against Black political candidates, a special hatred for Blacks in general, the harassment of Malcolm X, the harassment of the Black Panther Party and other militant organizations in the late 60's.

Black News: *How would you say it functions on an international level?*

Jitu: Cointelpro on an international level is probably operated more effectively by the CIA and by the State Department. There are a number of good readings that deal with this - certainly the book by the ex-CIA agent in Angola. There are other readings about infiltration in Vietnam, penetrations in the Middle East and penetrations in Africa. The objectives there are of course to discredit and destroy any oppositions to the U.S., hegemony, U.S. influence, Western imperialism. Of course it works much in the same way as the national program except it is a lot broader in terms of input of men and materials and probably a bit more effective.

Black News: *What prompted you to send for your files?*

Jitu: In 1971 there were suits brought against the FBI and government agencies that were conducting the counterintelligence programs and these suits led to a law known as F.I.P.A. (the Freedom of Information and Privacy Act). Under the F.I.P.A. it stated that individuals and organizations had a right to gain some kind of knowledge of the kind of information that the government was keeping on them. In 1973 I met with Rev. Charles Koen of Cairo Illinois and he informed me that his lawyers were looking into securing the information that was kept on him

around the Black United Front of Cairo. This got me moving on sending away for my documents in 1974. I made the first attempt to send for my documents and the EAST organization. It took approximately one and one half years. I received documents from three sources: the State, the CIA, and the FBI. Basically, you write a letter to the director requesting documents on yourself or the organization and you have this letter notarized by a notary public, and then you send it to the heads of the various agencies and they process it and send it to the departments. After a few inquiries are made they usually send you a file. Many times you have to pay approximately ten cents a page for xeroxing. This is how I came about securing my file from the government agencies.

Black News: *Would you elaborate on the patterns used by Cointelpro?*

Jitu: Different patterns for different people. They picked me up in 1956. I was a teenager and was picked up for two main reasons. One, my father was a member of a left-wing organization. Two, I was a member of a youth organization. At that point they began to report information as to the school I was attending, the kinds of activities I was involved in, my academics, the fact that I was a member of a sports team, the kinds of meetings I attended, the things I've said, etc. This recording continues from 1956 to '58 or '59. At that time it stops probably for two reasons. My father died in 1960, and I showed no overt involvement in political activities in 1959. It picks up again in 1966 or '67. At that point I was involved in the Afro-American Students Association, school systems, and general Brooklyn community activities from '67 on. In 1970 there are reports filed by the CIA and the State Department of my trip to the Caribbean - meetings I attended, individuals I conferred with, and statements that I made. There was thorough reporting by the foreign agencies that feed into the domestic agencies.

The documents are laundered: all of the names and identities that can help you identify the person who is giving the information are deleted.

By using common sense you can tell how close the people are. In my case, the closeness was someone who talked to people who were involved in the same organization and activities in which I was involved, and took the information they received and reported back to a government source. I was covered by a secondary source rather than a primary source. This is what I assume.

Black News: *To what degree has Cointelpro affected the Black liberation movement in the U.S.?*

Jitu: Cointelpro has been very effective in causing major destruction and confusion within the Black movement. Some examples are the use of tapes, letters and other documents to destroy the character of Martin Luther King and Rev. Kenyatta of Mississippi and the murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, Black Panthers of Chicago - complete discrediting of leading figures. In the case of Malcolm X I would say that Cointelpro actually aided his assassination. Cointelpro was instrumental in setting up conditions such that the Black Panthers and the US organization in California would wage warfare against each other. It has been an effective instrument in destroying, disfiguring, discrediting, and disrupting the Black liberation movement in the United States. Not enough of our people know about these activities and how they were/are used. So even today many of our people believe the seeds that were planted by Cointelpro are actually true. The effects of Cointelpro are still pervasive in our movement today.

Black News: *How can we begin to defend ourselves against these types of activities?*

Jitu: It is ludicrous to believe that counterintelligence operations are going to be dismantled or given up. We have to be realistic and understand that these forces are fighting for their survival and consequently for them to abandon instruments that have been effective in maintaining their position in the world and especially in this country is not real. Organizations such as the Panthers, US, and others that are fighting for the freedom and liberation of Black people here in the U.S. have to be more cognizant of the apparatus of counterintelligence. They have to work within a framework where there are closer ties to individuals, creditable ties. I personally believe in community networks. These networks are built around relatives and close friends. Most of the people who have acted as agents are people that have drifted from city to city, location to location, rather than people who have lived in a specific community, and have family ties within that community. We have to become more orientated and more attached to a different style to create a vacuum around the institution of counterintelligence. The use of telephones and letters for exchanging important information has to be stopped. People have to rely more on person-to-person contact.

Black News: *You and the EAST were recently attacked in an article published by a newspaper called the Black American. It was submitted by the New Solidarity International Press Service. What have you concluded to be the aim of this attack?*

continued on next page

Jitu: Agencies like the U.S. Labor Party and the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC and the NSIPS are a part of the U.S. Labor Party) indicate a new style of dealing with movements: use of the autonomous vehicle that is free from any constraints of government in its attempt to harass people within the liberation movement. The FBI, CIA, and the State Department are government agencies. They're supposedly restricted by the Bill of Rights and the Constitution in the kinds of campaigns they can launch against U.S. citizens. However, if you take an independent vehicle like the U.S. Labor Party, they can engage in slander and defamation of character. They can even engage in physical dissemination of a person or organization without the constraints of a government agency. What appears to be happening here is the government has decided to set up organizations outside of its auspices, and then use these agencies to carry out the type of destructive activities that were formerly carried out by the FBI, the CIA, and the State Department. I see this attack as an experimental plan implemented by the independent agencies to see how much they can defame an individual, how much they can destroy an organization, how much impact they can have on a movement without any kind of outcry, or outrage from the public. If they can get away with attacking the EAST and individuals, then they can go on to attacking others. Who knows, they may next turn up with a defamation of character against Rev. Daughtry (of Brooklyn's Black United Front), Maulana Karenga, or any individual who has given time trying to free his people. This is an experiment - a proving ground. We will see more of these types of attacks taking place.

Black News: *What kinds of documents does your file contain?*

Jitu: There are a variety of documents these files contain. All kinds of newspaper clippings, for one. Very often things appear in the newspaper that we don't know about because we don't read as extensively as we should. We don't know to the extent that these papers are of various political persuasions. The files also had local documents of police agencies. Here in the N.Y. region we had B.O.S.S.: Bureau of Special Services. It's a police intelligence agency that was dedicated to counterintelligence against political organizations. Then there were documents by paid informers. The FBI maintains a network of paid informers across the country whose job is to provide information on selected individuals and groups. These informers are paid for information, so many times the information doesn't necessarily have to be true;

as long as the governmental agency feels it's relevant they pay for it. Counterintelligence agents were placed in organizations such as the Nation of Islam, Black Panthers, US organization. General information flows into the field office from interviews with regular field agents of the FBI. There are at least five types of sources that are working constantly to provide a central flow of information about the kinds of activities, statements, meetings, friends, and relatives - all variety of material on the subject of investigation. In my case I received 300-pages of documents, which I don't believe represent my full file, but just the amount of the file that the government has agreed to release at this time. I could receive my full file, but this would require taking the agencies to court, and since I don't have the money for attorney fees and court records at this particular time I have to forego that process. Certain deletions appear in these documents that may not be legal. You can sue these agencies to find out who provided them with certain information. Many times these agencies have inside contacts in funding sources, and they use these contacts to make sure that the individual or organization is not able to secure funding, etc. In the book on Cointelpro, they reveal how teachers were fired, college professors were not given tenure. In the case of funding sources the EAST has submitted proposals to certain agencies for grants. These were to obtain funding for programs in our school and newspaper from non-governmental, private agencies. One grant was promised to us, but at the last moment we received a telegram saying that this grant was not a priority at that particular time. I'm certain that the FBI contacted this funding source and told them that we were under investigation and that if we received a grant at this time it would look peculiar for them to be giving a grant to an organization that was undergoing federal investigation. These agencies operate in a very ruthless manner in making sure any activities that you have scheduled will not get off the ground.

Black News: *Is there anything else that you'd like to leave our readers with?*

Jitu: I feel that those of us who are involved in the liberation struggles of Black people should become aware of the types of activities that this government uses to destroy their leadership and their movements. Many of our people are not knowledgeable about these things. They think that this government is clean and operates on a legal basis. They should read books like *Cointelpro* by Blackstock, *In Search of Enemies*, by the CIA agent in Angola, and other types of

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The EAST Evening School

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Nutrition 7 p.m. Rashid	Yoga 7 p.m. Soyini	Patrol 7 p.m. Weusi & Kobie	Martial Arts 7 p.m. Weusi & Kobie	Speech 7 p.m. Soyini	Children's Theatre 1-3 Lubaba
Photography 7 p.m. Justice		Political Ed. 7 p.m. Mustafa		Movement 8 p.m. Soyini	Kiswahili 1 p.m. Aponte
Patrol 7 p.m. Weusi & Kobie				Poetry & Writers 7 p.m. Yusef	
				Drama 8 p.m. Yusef Iman	Mind & Thought Power
				Gun Safety 7 p.m. Kobie	1 p.m. Yusef Iman & Soyini
				Radio Communications 7 p.m. Aminifu	
First Aid 8 p.m. Geraldine				Arts & Crafts 7 p.m. Akilah	

- ★Drama:
Acting techniques and skills geared to bring out the ability that is innate in all of us.
- ★Gun Safety:
Safe and proper handling, cleaning, storing of guns.
- ★Radio Communications:
Introduction to the technology of radio communications.
- ★Arts & Crafts:
Learn the creative use of common ordinary items to create beautiful and useful articles.
- ★Kiswahili:
Learn elementary conversational Kiswahili, non-tribal language of Black people.
- ★Mind & Thought Power for Daily Living:
Discover the power of the mind and learn how to develop your own mind power and put it to practical use to improve your life.
- ★Movement:
Body movement and exercises to develop grace and mobility and better control of our physical bodies.
- ★Poetry & Writers Workshop:
Basic writing techniques to encourage the expression of your creativity through writing.

- ★Children's Theatre:
Develop the creative, imaginative spontaneity of children for use in meaningful daily life activities or on stage.
- ★Nutrition:
Study of foods and their value to the body.
- ★Photography:
Elementary photography. Basic camera usage and care.
- ★First Aid:
Basic preventive techniques and life saving techniques.
- ★Yoga:
Yoga for beginners and intermediates. Postures, breathing techniques, and elementary meditation techniques.
- ★Martial Arts:
Self-defense techniques for beginners and intermediates.
- ★Speech:
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- ★Political education:
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PRISON'S FORUM

Ever since the Black man was kidnapped and brought to this country, the u.s.a. government has been at war with him to perpetuate his servitude. The bloods who have rebelled against that situation (mostly the youth) have been incarcerated in prisons all over this land. Black News will henceforth provide this segment of our/your paper as forum for these prisoners of war.

Commissioner Speaks at Program on Sing Sing's Possible End

Community people from throughout Westchester County and New York City together with prisoners at Ossining Correctional Facility (Sing-Sing) attacked the failings of the criminal justice system with Stephen Chinlund, Chairman of the State Commission on Corrections in late December.

Commissioner Chinlund met with the group, that included members of the Black United Front of Brooklyn, the Afro-American Cultural Foundation, the Westchester People's Action Coalition of White Plains, the Ossining branch NAACP, and the host, Sing-Sing branch NAACP.

The prison's 150-year presence in the sleepy town, which is located 30 miles north of Manhattan, has become a controversy of late since a group of local realtors hit upon the idea of getting the state to sell the property for private development. The problem for local Blacks is that many of the old families have lived in the Sing-Sing area since the last century. Naturally, redevelopment would mean not only tearing down the prison buildings, but the homes in that vicinity as well.

The people at the meeting saw the plans as another attempt at "Negro Removal" that is occurring across the country. Sing-Sing is surrounded by Blacks on the outside, and is filled with Black and Latin people, both inmates and guards, on the inside. If the place were closed, inmates would be moved further upstate, and the guards could either hope for transfers to city-based prisons or go upstate too. Chinlund tried to assure all that Sing-Sing can't close because of the fact that prison populations are so big and growing. He said this despite the fact that Gov. Hugh Carey, swinging through town on a campaign tour was quoted as having said, "We're going to get that prison out of Ossining." Contradictorily, Carey later appropriated \$3 million for the upkeep of Sing-

Sing, which enraged local politicians. The future of Sing-Sing as yet remains undecided, however.

While still at Sing-Sing inmates find a serious lack of programs. The General Equivalency Diploma program doesn't work, and college-level offerings don't exist. The merits of rehabilitation programs, work release programs, and school release programs are well-known and badly needed in a facility like Sing-Sing.

The Ku Klux Klan is alive and functioning inside state prisons and Bro. Frank Khali Abney (a member of the August 8th Brigade, indicted in a riot at Eastern Correctional Facility in Napanoch, N.Y. that stemmed from Klan activity) has charged the State with protecting Klansmen rather than working to wipe them out. In the meeting at the prison, Chinlund admitted that racism is rampant on the inside, and that the Commission is not stopping it.

The strip search, attacked as a degrading procedure, was defended by the Commissioner as necessary to control contraband. Every time an inmate has contact with an outside person, he has to strip, lift his genitals, bend over and spread his buttocks. Despite the practice, drugs, and other forbidden items still show up inside the prison, meaning that contraband gets in by other means, the most obvious being through the guards. The procedure, a time for degenerate jokes from inspecting officers, is being contested in the courts, but the state is dragging its feet in changing its policy.

Visitors wait, sometimes for hours before they see their loved ones in the visiting area where guards saunter around, interrupting with rude commands. The aggravation of having to suffer these and other indignities appears to be a part of a continued effort to discourage visiting or make it miserable.

The answers to the questions asked of Chinlund probably only reinforced what the askers already knew: Nobody is going to take care of us for us. The whole session should have served as reality therapy for those outside who can forget those inside and those inside who thought that nobody outside cared. The next step is to pool energy, thought, experiences, and information to make sure that our interests, which really are one, are protected.

The Case of R. Dhoruba Moore:

A Black U.S. Political Prisoner of Domestic War

Dhoruba Moore, a long-time activist in the Black liberation movement and class struggle in the U.S. is one of the few live Black revolutionaries in the U.S. that has been both a Political Prisoner (during the 60's) and a Domestic Prisoner of War (from 1971 to the present). His level of political and social struggle has consistently corresponded to the developmental stages of the Black Liberation movement from 1968 to the present.

As a result of Dhoruba's Black Panther Party activism in the late sixties, he along with 20 other New York Panthers were arrested by the secret police branch of the New York City Police Department and charged with criminal conspiracy. Thus he became along with his comrades a Political Prisoner of the government's repressive political campaign to destroy the BPP and the militant Black movement.

At the time of his arrest in 1969, Dhoruba was New York's acting Field Secretary for the Black Panther Party. His political activism in behalf of Black liberation carried him to many parts of the country and all over the Eastern Seaboard of the U.S. He was instrumental in the organization of various BPP chapters in many cities on the East coast.

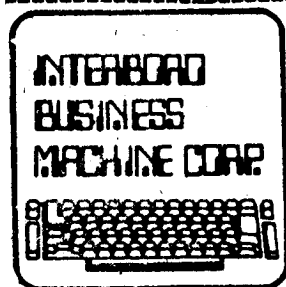
Dhoruba's arrest in April of 1969 launched in earnest, attempts by the police to "get him." It was only because of the massive campaigns of the sixties to free what then became known as the "N.Y. Panther 21" that Dhoruba was allowed out of jail on \$100,000 bond (ransom). Like most Political Prisoners during that era of the Black struggle (the LBJ-Nixon regimes), Dhoruba was ransomed back to his people's

movement. Upon his release (after almost a year in prison), Dhoruba increased his political activism in behalf of his people's cause and the cause of his imprisoned comrades. His articulate political advocacy, rising popularity, and strong leadership qualities, placed him on a collision course with both the "official" repressive police agencies and the secret agents at work within the Panthers, who, at the height of government efforts to destroy the Panthers exerted a great deal of influence on the Panthers' national leadership. As the Panther leaders gradually succumbed to the governments' program of repression, they increasingly throttled Dhoruba's ability to speak and educate people. Plots on his life were part and parcel of the secret police activities aimed at dividing and the program of government subversion of the Black movement surfaced with the release of government documents. This program was known under the short name Cointelpro (for counterintelligence Program), and was aimed directly at the national Black movement.

Agents within the Panthers did more than create a climate of distrust, they actively created conditions in which the valuable leadership of Panthers like Dhoruba and Geronimo Pratt (another former Panther leader imprisoned in California) was neutralized, and their lives opened to assassination.

The plots and intrigues initiated by the U.S. government to divide and destroy the Panthers came to culmination while Dhoruba and 12 others were on trial for the conspiracy charges. The trial was into its final stages after a year of almost daily courtroom drama, confrontations between supporters of the "21" and police, and widespread publicity, when suddenly Dhoruba disappeared before the jury could return a verdict! Because of the increased jeopardy to his life, Dhoruba was forced to jump bail and continue his political activity underground. As if in vindication, Dhoruba was nonetheless acquitted of all of the conspiracy charges in absentia. This was a resounding defeat for the repressive police who had hoped to put the New York Panther leadership away for life, and the most embarrassing political case Manhattan District Attorney Frank Hogan had lost in decades.

Dhoruba Moore became a "fugitive" just as the struggle for Black Liberation in the U.S. and the racist repression of police had reached the point where organized armed resistance had become offensively necessary. The systematic murder of Blacks in the colonial ghettos of this country had begun to resemble a domestic colonial war.



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It has been said that Dhoruba worked openly in the BPP. He continued to supply political direction and organizational strategy to the fledgling Black resistance movement. Some of his closest comrades were murdered or captured by the police during this most difficult of times. Despite this, Dhoruba continued to help organize the forces of Black resistance against the brutality of the police in the Black communities and against the thriving drug distribution rings that drained the capacity of the Black community to resist its oppression. Ironically, it was during a minor anti-drug raid by Dhoruba and two others that Dhoruba was arrested once more by the N.Y. police.

Although the police had stumbled upon the capture of Dhoruba Moore, they did not stumble in framing him on an unsolved police shooting, and the assassination of a West Coast Panther official. Dhoruba's political past made him extremely vulnerable to a well organized state frame-up, the kind of frame-up the state would repeat again and again in yet to be tried B.L.A. cases. Dhoruba Moore was the first of many B.L.A. cases to be tried in the U.S.

The B.L.A. or Black Liberation Army, was a direct political and strategic response of Blacks to the brutal repression of their liberation movement in this country. In city after city B.L.A. cells engaged the brutal occupation forces in the ghetto enclaves. But it wasn't until Dhoruba's arrest that the police had captured a known Black militant with a proven political history around which to scare whites and justify the murderous search-and-destroy police campaigns into the Black communities of many major cities. Thus, Dhoruba became a Prisoner of Domestic War waged against the conscious elements in the Black community.

Dhoruba was "prosecuted" for the attempted murder of two N.Y. cops. All of the evidence against him was circumstantial. The police stopped at nothing in order to frame him. Hundreds of police worked on securing evidence that would "get him," but no concrete evidence could be found. This, however, did not stop the eager police, who began to manufacture their

own evidence. Dhoruba's wife at that time was pounced upon as she attended one of Dhoruba's many court appearances and arrested by police. She was five months pregnant and placed in lock-up pending a Grand Jury testimony. Her testimony produced no new evidence against Dhoruba. Other than the weapon seized in the after hours drug "drop" Dhoruba was arrested for, the police had very little that could link Dhoruba to the actual shooting of the two cops. Their only other evidence consisted of a fingerprint of Dhoruba's on a newspaper that was wrapped around a communique sealed in an envelope and delivered to a newspaper office. This communique claimed that the B.L.A. was responsible for the shooting of the two cops.

The police knew that the chances were good that the weapon used in the shooting and recovered at the dope drop was probably used by another B.L.A. unit in the shooting of the two cops (Dhoruba was arrested three weeks after the police were shot), and that Dhoruba's fingerprint on a newspaper was no proof that he actually did the shooting. The police had to somehow transform seemingly circumstantial evidence into an interpretation that would convict Dhoruba and only him. They decided to do this with fabricated testimony, and to do this they had in their custody one Pauline Josephs. The police could not have gotten a better mouthpiece for their script if they had made her to order.

Pauline Josephs was a sad, lonely young Black woman who had earlier been befriended by associates of Dhoruba. This woman had a history of mental imbalance. In addition, she was a chronic liar with a penchant for embellishing small facts. The police stashed Pauline away with their special police agents, and for months on end modified and inflated her original story in order to convict Dhoruba (she had initially called police and said that he was innocent of the police shootings, and when taken into custody she signed a statement to this effect). By the time Pauline appeared before a grand jury and took the stand at Dhoruba's trial she was conveniently in on every "plot" to shoot police, in a position to see everything that was going on, and even knew people that it was questionable if she had ever seen before in her life. Pauline learned to embellish her story to her captors' satisfaction.

It made little difference that on the evening of the shooting Dhoruba was elsewhere with others, and that eye-witnesses at the scene described men that looked nothing like Dhoruba. Pauline supplied the testimony which created the circumstantial links of his involvement, creating completely a story that the biased jury would

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swallow, and that would tie together the insufficient material evidence in the case.

All of the evidence and interviews of witnesses and informants that tended to support Dhoruba's innocence was withheld by the prosecutor and police. Dhoruba was not only blocked from presenting evidence in his favor, but he was hampered principally from presenting the whole truth due to his underground political activity, and the many people such a full disclosure would expose to police terror.

Rather than betray the trust of the many that risked their lives in the struggle, Dhoruba remained steadfast in not revealing the names of these people. But the Black movement and the white left, lacking a clear understanding of the government's repressive campaign, abandoned Dhoruba. He was convicted of attempted murder and given 25 years to life in prison. When the 10 whites and two Blacks announced their guilty verdict, it was broadcast to every police unit in the 30,000-man New York Police Department, for they had finally "got him" as they had promised.

With Dhoruba Moore's conviction, the Black movement and white left unwittingly helped lay the foundation for all the B.L.A. convictions that were to follow, especially in the New York area. B.L.A. members from Albert Washington and Tony Bottoms, to Assata Shakur and Sundiata Acoli were all placed in the same political vulnerable condition that the Black movement and white left allowed in the case of Dhoruba Moore. The Black movement, reeling from the effects of Cointelpro repressive operations, and the white left deflated by the Vietnam War, were not yet ready to see that a state of domestic war was being waged within the borders of the U.S., and that this war was called Cointelpro by the government.

The Current Situation

Between 1973 and 1977, Dhoruba Moore appealed his conviction to the appellate courts in New York State. Both times the appeals were denied and both decisions ignored several glaring examples of the state's frame-up during Dhoruba's trial.

In one instance, a juror was found to possess a copy of the book *Target Blue*, written by ex-N.Y.C. Police Commissioner Robert Daley. This book used speculation, innuendo, and fabrication to chronicle Dhoruba's alleged participation in the shootings. The book was, in fact, serialized in *New York* magazine while Dhoruba's case was still pending! When Dhoruba's attorneys sought to subpoena Daley to question him as to the source of his

information, this request was denied by the trial judge. Still, in both appellate courts it was ruled that this issue and the fact that one juror was a police "volunteer" did not deprive Dhoruba of a fair trial.

It has become clear that the only way to secure Dhoruba's release and the release of other Prisoners of Domestic War through the American courts is to expose Cointelpro. At the heart of the Cointelpro program was a plan to assassinate or otherwise neutralize the leadership of the Black struggle. Through exposure of this program it will be shown that the state committed a host of illegal acts to deprive the leadership of the Black Liberation struggle of their human rights.

In late 1975, Dhoruba Moore filed a federal suit alleging a conspiracy on the part of the federal, state, and local governments to deprive Dhoruba of his civil rights. The state, however, is not going to give up its information easily. They know that in their files is information which would expose Cointelpro for what it is. Therefore it was only in the fall of 1978 that Dhoruba received his first set of documents from the FBI. These documents show that the state manipulated and coerced witnesses at Dhoruba's trial and withheld material of an exculpatory nature. Several other imprisoned leaders of the movement such as Assata Shakur, Geronimo Pratt, and the RNA 11 have filed similar suits in the past few years. Through the "discovery" process in all of these suits the consistent pattern and practice of Cointelpro begins to emerge. It will be shown that all of the leaders of the Black Liberation movement were the victims of an elaborate plan on the part of the U.S. government - a plan which included assassination, torture, and imprisonment.

Much more information is needed to actually prove this conspiracy in the courts. The government, through lies, "legal" delaying tactics, and destruction of files is trying to block access to information. In order to secure the release of Dhoruba and other Prisoners of Domestic War much help is needed - politically, financially, and legally. If you would like to help, please send for more information at:

**National Taskforce for Cointelpro
Litigation and Research
P.O. Box 65
Bronx, N.Y. 10473**

**Michael Ratner, Atty. at Law
351 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10013**

Black United Front Marches On King's Birthday



On January 15 Brooklyn's Black United Front held an anti-Koch march and rally protesting the racist policies upheld by the Mayor and his Administration. After marching across the Brooklyn Bridge in freezing weather the 200 protestors held a high-spirited rally. The following is a statement from Rev. Herbert Daughtry, Chairman of the BUF.

This memorial march calls to remembrance the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. by imitating his action. Sadly, the racism which killed Dr. King is very much evident in New York City today. The conditions which prevail in this city would disgrace a nation of savages. Over 60% of Black teenagers and 40% of Black men are unemployed. Hospitals are being closed. Seven out of ten Black children will not finish high school, and 50% of those who finish will not be able to read above an eighth grade level. Policemen are killing Black children and law-abiding citizens. Nowhere is this disgrace more clearly seen than in the infant mortality rate in Fort Greene, where 30.4 of every 1000 babies die before they have reached their first birthday. And seated atop these shameful conditions, dedicated to further deterioration, is a Mayor who has demonstrated insensitivity and arrogance at best, and naked racism at worst.

Trapped in these suffocating state of affairs, we have to ask, "What would Martin do were he with us today?" It is inconceivable to us given the anti-Black and anti-poor policies of the Koch administration that Dr. King, were he alive, would spend the day quietly withdrawing to comfortable pews or television-watching. On the contrary, we are sure that he would be marching, demonstrating against Koch as he did against Bull Connor.

Let us remember that Martin Luther King jr. brought tension, not peace; disruption, not tranquility; confrontation, not comfort. He

assaulted segregation and discrimination. He challenged the imbalance of wealth - the ever-widening gulf between the haves and the have-nots. He assaulted the unequal application of the law. He castigated political exclusion. He questioned the distorted priorities of the Nation. He condemned the awful war in Vietnam. He castigated the exploitation of African countries by the U.S.A. He quickened the feeling of the Nation, aroused the conscience of the Nation and proclaimed and denounced the Nation's crimes against God and man.

His last days were spent in the streets of Memphis - betrayed and weary. Yet he was planning a Poor People's Campaign which would bring the Nation's poor and dispossessed to Washington to disrupt "business as usual."

When we ponder, then, the life of a man who spent so much of his time marching in the streets, who once said, "I've had few quiet days in the last several years" - combined with the deplorable conditions, we are driven to endure the rigors of freezing cold, that we might feel something of his suffering, privation and commitment; that we might dedicate ourselves to the struggle for justice.

We are *again* placing on the door of City Hall the ten demands which we put on the door on September 28, 1978.

We call upon the Mayor to cease his anti-Black and anti-poor policies and attitudes, and commit himself to alleviating the suffering of the poor.

EAST Forum Exposes National Caucus of Labor Committees

On Saturday, January 27th, the EAST of Brooklyn sponsored a forum on the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC). The session included Mutulu Shakur of the Lincoln Detoxification Center (Lincoln Detox) based in Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx, New York, and Segun Shabak, Editor of *Black News*. Mutulu began by giving background on the activities of the NCLC. The picture that he painted left no doubt that the group is one with decidedly sinister motives.

Mutulu pointed out for instance, that the NCLC had been involved in the smear campaign employed against against Malcolm X. A little later on, during the struggle for community control in the Oceanhill-Brownsville section of Brooklyn, they again became involved. The parents and students of the area were interested in upgrading the curriculum in their substandard schools in an attempt to bring them in line with current guidelines. NCLC on the other hand felt it necessary to undermine their position by lending support to the Zionist-controlled U.F.T. This was also the group that endorsed Columbia University when they moved to build a new facility in the Harlem community.

So-called leftist groups similar to the U.S. Labor Party are in no way new on the scene. Even going as far back as the 1920's when the Garvey-led U.N.I.A. was most active, they were known to have conspired with the NAACP in discrediting Marcus Garvey himself. Their testimony in court helped to send Garvey to prison and later to deport him. Using similar tactics as the CIA, KKK and other right-wing organizations, they carefully monitor your activities, always on the alert for wrong-doing. Then, with typical canine viciousness, they deliberately spread false rumors in a continuing effort to isolate groups and individuals from friends and supporters.

A good example of this was the attack of the brothers and sisters of Lincoln Detox, their courageous stand in exposing the methadone maintenance program, and other related activities. Not having the resources to deal with them effectively, Lincoln Detox was eventually forced to close down.

Segun Shabaka, in making his presentation, gave some information on Lyn Marcus, the founder and leader of the National Caucus of Labor Committees. Marcus is also known as Lyndon LaRouche, Jr., and was the U.S. Labor

Party's candidate for President in 1976 against Jimmy Carter. Going back to the early 60's, Marcus has been the brains behind NCLC strategies of harassment and destruction of progressive movements throughout Europe and the Americas. As we follow his personal history an interesting picture emerges.

LaRouche joined the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1948, not out of some humanistic concern, but for the express purpose of familiarizing himself with leftist politics and personalities. Sometime later in the early 60's, he infiltrated the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and soon became the leader of a small faction called the Labor Committee. During the battles between Oceanhill-Brownsville Blacks and Albert Shanker's United Federation of Teachers union, his faction was forced to break away from the SDS over his support for the UFT. He continued however, to claim membership in SDS in an effort to maintain some left-wing credibility. In actual fact, Lyn Marcus is a right-wing fanatic in league with the neo-nazis - the John Birch Society, and other white extremists.

After breaking away from the SDS he began to recruit in places like Scarsdale, New York, for upper class youth. Expressing an interest in "recruiting where there is money," Marcus stated a preference for people with "no working class background." It wasn't until 1968, however, that he began to come into his own, developing a considerable following. This was also the time that he began carrying out violent attacks against the SWP and the Communist Party, U.S.A. In 1973, LaRouche organized "Operation Mop-Up" in which over 60 cases of assault were reported. Sometime later he mounted an attack against the Congress of African People, accusing leader Amiri Baraka of being a paid agent of the CIA and the Prudential Life Insurance Company. Prudential, incidentally, is said to be holding mortgages on large portions of Newark New Jersey's poorest Black neighborhoods. Their latest attack has been against Jitu Weusi and the EAST organization. Using the pages of the New York weekly, the *Black American*, the NCLC accused the EAST of being stooges of the Ford Foundation et. al. The list of accusations was long and erroneous, but in the usual NCLC smear fashion, contained a web of intricately related fabrications. It was stated that LaRouche is currently, or once was, on the editorial body of the *Black American* and that the paper is a disguised front for the U.S. Labor Party and NCLC. This is being investigated further.

continued on page 35

Letters to the Editor

Brothers and Sisters,

Greetings in the name of all Africa and oppressed peoples of the world. My joy knew no bounds to come in contact with *Black News*. To know that a conscious effort toward strengthening the National Liberation Movement of the African colony in Amerikkka is a source

of pride and fulfilment. Our struggle demands great sacrifice from every one of us, man, woman, brother, sister, young and old. The centuries of oppression and exploitation which the African people has gone through is a pointer for us to struggle more and more, overcome all the obstacles that come in our way either through the oppressive machinery of Amerikkkan fascism or indirectly through our uncle toms and house niggers. For us, the path is clear and straight.

Our dear Kwame Nkrumah, Amilcar Cabral and Eduardo Mondlane shed their blood so that we could be free. Their blood shall not, and will not flow in vain. the millions of our brothers and sisters who died within the period of 4 centuries, the millions that suffer daily from the fangs of Amerikkkan fascims; their effort, their struggle, their blood **SHALL NOT FLOW IN VAIN.**

I would like to seize this opportunity to open up communciation with brothers and sister so that we can fulfil the reason for our existence. Communication is vital as the enemy strives to isolate us, both from the struggle and from each other.

I will impatiently await the beginning of the new and glorious moment when we open up direct communication. Brothers and sisters, the time for the talking is over, the time for acting has begun.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE! VICTORY IS CERTAIN. WE WILL WIN!!!

Femi Odedeyi
Nigeria, Africa

As a steady reader of *Black News* I have noticed little has been written about relations between Afrikan people and Asian people living in this country.

What strikes me as funny and sad at the same time is the number of Black men trying to be "oriental" in this country, especially those into the martial arts. There are Black men running around with names like Bruce Kato Lee and Yukio Shimamoto and so forth. And in the Kung-fu movie houses you see scores of young Black males squirming in delightful anticipation of the rugged action on the screen - many of these young "bloods" know more about these comic book-level Kung-fu movie stars...sweaty young Chinese dudes running around half-naked and kicking everybody's butt...than about real-life ethnic heroes like Malcolm X or Marcus Garvey. People hunger for positive role models, but these escapist Kung-fu movies serve only to divert Third World people from dealing with authentic life issues like racial discrimination, poverty and crime.

In addition, many Black men have told me they loved America's "Free Asia"...especially the easy drugs, cheap liquor and yellow women. I'm a Vietnam combat veteran. And I am Chinese.

Once Don L. Lee (Haki Madhubuti) said that Black men discover their Blackness every twenty years... and forget.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Huie Jung

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The EAST, The Brooklyn Coalition for Afrikan Liberation and The Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania are Hosting the First Commemoration Rally Marking the Passing Away of

Mangaliso Sobokwe,

Founding President of the P.A.C. and
National leader of the Azanian People.



Sobukwe Personally Launched and led the Historic Sharpsville-Langa Positive Action which rocked the world and change the course of S. African history.

Sobukwe was the First Political prisoner to be detained on Robben Island, a former lepper colony turned into a maximum security prison in the 20th century following armed insurrection by POQO, the armed wing of P.A.C. before APLA—Azanian Armed People's Liberation Army. According to John Vorster then minister of justice he was to be kept "till this side of eternity."

Sobukwe was described by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as "one of the foremost Pan Africanist Philosophers and political leaders of our times."

After the 1976 Soweto Rebellion, Sobukwe said "In Sharpsville we overcame the Consequences of disobeying the law. Soweto has been a lesson in overcoming the gun."

Speakers

Dr. Betty Shabazz— Bro. Malcolm X's widow
David Sibeko— P.A.C. Permanent Observer to the U.N.
Tirivafi Kangai— ZANU Permanent Observer to the U.N.
Ampin Blanson— Nigerian Ambassador to the U.N.
Rev. Herbert Daughtry— Black United Front
Judge William Booth— American Committee on Africa
Elombe Brath — Patrice Lumumba Coalition
John Henrik Clarke— Black Historian
Arman Omid— People's Herald
CPML speaker

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FREE AZANIA FREE THE BETHAL 18 FREE THE WILMINGTON 10

Ethiopian Foreign Minister Speaks on Revolutionary Struggle

by Segun Shabaka & Susan Giles

On January 25 the Ethiopian Mission to the United Nations held a press conference, led by its Foreign Minister Major Dawit Wolde Giorgis. Major Giorgis had arrived in the West primarily to observe the 29th anniversary of the Cuban revolution, and made a stopover in the United States.

He began by pointing out the crises that Ethiopia faced last year. Somalia had invaded Ethiopia at two key points claiming northern Ethiopia as a part of "Greater Somalia." The Eritrean movement is attempting a secession from Ethiopia and last year launched major offensives against the Ethiopian forces. At this point however, Ethiopia has forced the Somalis out of the country, while not retaliating to seize Somali territories and respecting established borders. Major Giorgis stated that Ethiopia as well "has been struck very hard...85% of the territory is under complete control of the revolutionary (Ethiopian) forces."



Regarding the Eritrean situation, the Foreign Minister put forth that the secessionist movement was illegitimate because the territory is actually a province and not a country.

Ethiopia is made up of seven different tribal groupings, each with their own language and culture, and Eritreans are one of those groups. Prior to independence the revolutionaries had supported the Eritreans as a tactic utilized to facilitate the destruction of the oppressive feudal system which was then in power. He further explained that the Eritrean problem must be resolved from a class perspective as opposed to a colonial or a national one. After the National Democratic Revolution was declared, the Eritreans continued with their plans for secession and the Ethiopian forces undertook a strong politicization campaign to counter those forces. Socialism was declared as a "national program" and the people were called upon to come together and support the new structure. In response to a question, Major Giorgis emphasized that there could be no reconciliation with Eritrea if they didn't go along with the socialist program of the National Democratic Revolution.

It was further explained that one of the aims of the revolution was "to improve the standard of living of the Ethiopian people." Because of the internal and external struggles of that Ethiopia has waged over the last four years it has been unable to concentrate on domestic production and development. Now that the reactionary forces have been for the most part defeated, they will be moving into the next phase, that of economic development. The second phase economic campaign will increase production in the agricultural and industrial areas. But Giorgis stressed, they will "work within the context of our capabilities."

The foreign minister said that the National Democratic Revolution was using all available resources to eliminate illiteracy, poverty, prostitution, and unemployment. And through the consolidation of the mass organizations of the women, workers, and youth associations Ethiopia would achieve this goal. Fundamental contradictions have been resolved and the revolutionary groups are in the process of forming a party.

The Foreign Minister said that nine countries, including Nigeria, Tanzania, and seven non-African socialist countries, had been visited for

aid in conducting their national development campaign. Assistance is currently being given in the military, technical, medical, financial, and agricultural areas. In reference to Cuban involvement, Major Giorgis explained that they were "fulfilling...obligations" and that "they are there and *will be there.*"

International Situation

Speaking on the world political scene, Giorgis said that the mistakes that imperialism is making combined with the intensification of the progressive struggles around the globe are causing a great "embarrassment" to imperialism. He gave as examples the situations in Turkey, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Southern Africa, and Iran.

He further commented on Iran and noted that the struggle inside the country appears to be a prolonged one, and said "The first objective is to remove the monarchy."

"If the Ayatollah takes power the situation between Ethiopia and Iran will improve. But the struggles in Iran will continue for some time," he said, commenting on relations between the two countries.

Attacking Islamic fanaticism and Arab chauvinism, the Foreign Minister said that "Contradictions in the Arab world are very complicated..." Reactionary Arab governments (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt), and some supposedly progressive ones (Syria, Iraq) have been backing the Sudanese government's direct and indirect attacks on Ethiopia. Western imperialists appear to be behind them all, he stated.

"Imperialism and colonialism went out the front door and came in the back door..." Giorgis stated, discussing developments in neo-colonial African countries. "There is a need to overturn the system in most African countries." He pointed out that the nations that have achieved what he referred to as "nominal independence" during the 1960's have yet to undergo another type of revolution - that of economic and political restructuring along socialist principles. The 1960's independence gains simply changed some faces but not true structure in many countries.

As far as the liberation of Southern Africa, Ethiopia was only giving moral and political support for the past four years due to its own struggles. They are now giving more active support, in the form of materials and the training of troops.

In coming weeks Major Giorgis will be visiting Mozambique and the Non-Alignment Conference.

PAC Celebrates Famous Battle

The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, Comrade Potlako K. Leballo, who is also the Commander-in-Chief of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), called on the Azanian people and all of the country's Freedom Fighters to celebrate the Centenary of the Battle of Isandlwana on January 22.

Comrade Leballo has pledged that PAC is determined to intensify even further guerilla warfare in the year of the Centenary of the Battle of Isandlwana. Last November the South African racist Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, acknowledged publicly in radio and television interviews that PAC - through insurgency campaigns (code-named "Operation Homecoming" and "Operation Curtain-Raiser") had increased its military activities inside the country.

Under the heroic leadership of the great King Cetshwayo, and Azanian army inflicted the greatest defeat ever suffered by the British in all of Africa south of the Sahara, at the Battle of Isandlwana, in Zululand, on the 22nd of January in 1879. In *The Oxford History of South Africa* it is recorded that at Isandlwana "the British Army lost sixteen hundred men in its greatest disaster since the Crimean War."

Isandlwana stands out as the highest military landmark in the protracted wars against colonial aggression in Azania and serves as an inspiration to APLA forces who are resolved to emulate the heroism of their forefathers in the national liberation struggle's people's war. Comrade Leballo has pointed out that the tactics of the present armed struggle differ from the conventional confrontation of the wars against colonial aggression, but the fight is identical. It is a fight to defeat apartheid/colonialism and restore the land and its resources to the ownership of the oppressed masses.

Long live the victory of Isandlwana!
Long live the African revolution!!
Forward to the victory of PAC and APLA
over apartheid colonialism!!

THE INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE'S ILLEGAL SPYING ON BLACKS

by Murv GLASS

Documents recently obtained under the Freedom of Information Act (FIA) expose the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) being involved in surveillance of college campus Black Student Unions (BSU's), as well as local community groups. Although files were requested only on the BSU at the University of California at Santa Barbara (UCSB), documents were also forwarded on many BSU's in the Los Angeles area.

What the files reveal is that the IRS, through its Intelligence division and its then-secret Special Services Staff (SSS), spied on several BSU and community group meetings that addressed themselves to the issue of Civil and Human Rights for Black and other poor people. A 1969 statewide meeting of BSU's from over twelve campuses (including UCSB's BSU) also caught the attention of the IRS. It is apparent from the file that the IRS, just like the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies, was concerned about a developing coalition between the BSU's and the Black Panther Party (BPP), as well as with the Students for a Democratic Society.

The IRS sought to undermine the funding for Joint Venture, a Pacoima-based community group, by suggesting that a discrediting letter be sent to then-Governor Ronald Reagan's office. A January 8, 1969 memo on this reads: "A source advised that Joint Venture project is EYOA funded and is a source of dope and prostitution in Pacoima and is utilized as a power base for Black Panthers. Source advised further that this group is coming up for refunding soon, and a copy of this memo be directed to Ed Moco in Governor Reagan's office."

In this same memo, several individuals were listed as having spoken at a meeting at San Fernando Valley State College (now called Cal State Northridge). Of the persons who spoke, the files indicate that several were already the subject of IRS intelligence investigations, while others may have become targets for this after the meeting.

The use of the IRS to spy on and harass political and community groups was first revealed in early 1975 by a Washington D.C.-based citizens tax group, the Tax Reform Research Group. At the time, they had exposed an IRS central intelligence file on 11,000 potential White House enemies. They had further revealed that there were 3,000 groups and

8,000 organizations targeted for top secret investigations by the IRS under a plan instigated in 1969 by the Nixon White House. The "enemies list" included 33 Black organizations, as well as Black Student Unions, the Black Panther Party, and the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs.

In a recent telephone interview with Mr. Penski of the IRS, he stated that the Special Services Staff was abolished in 1973 when then-IRS Commissioner Donald Alexander "found out what its functions were." As for why this surveillance was conducted, Penski stated that from what he understood, the surveillance was conducted against "extreme groups" who might have "a high probability of tax resistance." He also mentioned that these groups, as tax exempt organizations, may have been "lobbying politically."

As for the contents of IRS/SSS files, Penski stated that the files he saw were not much more than newspaper clippings. It should be noted, however, that the IRS/SSS files obtained do not contain any pages of any newspaper articles.

Another noteworthy point concerning the files obtained is the use of the right-wing *Information Digest* newsletter by the IRS. *Information Digest* is known to have been distributed to the IRS, Drug Enforcement Administration, National Security Agency, and many state and local police departments throughout the nation. Names listed in *Information Digest* automatically found their way into special police files on subversive activities, in many cases.

ID, with a yearly subscription rate of \$300, has been more recently linked with providing local, state, and federal police with surveillance information on anti-nuclear protesters. Its founder, John Rees, is presently being sued by the Institute for Policy Studies and the National Lawyers Guild, two groups infiltrated by Rees and then reported on in his newsletter. (For more information on this, see "The *Information Digest* Ploy" by Hillel Levin, in the October 7, 1978 issue of *The Nation*).

A partial listing of the names of people and organizations whose names were drawn from *ID* articles include BSU's, BPP, Young Socialist Alliance, U.S. Organization, Seattle Liberation Front, Michael Tiges (attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union), Metropolitan Council on Housing, Young Women's Christian Association and a host of others.

cont. on pg. 35 right column

Jitu Weusi continued from page 22

material that reveal these government activities so they can get a clear, in-depth understanding of the way that this government acts to make sure that there will be no opposition to it's objectives.

If you would like to obtain any Cointelpro files (they must be on yourself or your organization), write to these addresses for further information:

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20535

Director
Information and Privacy Coordinator
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

Director, Foreign Affairs Document and
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continued from page 9- convicted

that injury by being knocked down a flight of stairs, which was erroneous.

Yes, but when did you go to the doctor?

The same morning that Malcolm was killed.

So the doctor knew that you were injured prior to the time of the execution?

Yes that's true, but the district attorney asked if it could have been done by being knocked down a flight of stairs. So what could the doctor say but yes?

END OF PART ONE

To be concluded next issue!

continued from page 34 IRS

In all, over 65 names of organizations appear in this file. This writer recently filed an FIA request for IRS files on all of these groups. The IRS denied the request, citing that as a "third party", I was not entitled to the information. This denial is presently under appeal.

However, as to whether or not this type of political surveillance and harassment presently continues is the more important issue. While the IRS has stated that the SSS has been abolished, what assurances do we have that a new and more secret task force did not take its place? In responding to a query regarding the original formation of the SSS, Penski of the IRS stated that the SSS was not initially set up to do what it wound up doing. He also related that the regular intelligence division deals "mainly with criminal investigations, and is now called the Criminal Investigation Division."



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NCLC CONT. FROM PAGE 29

NCLC it appears, is anxious to incite right-wing workers into a witch hunt against leftists and militant Blacks. Having put aside their phony communist propagands, they are no longer fearful of being characterized as "Brown Shirts." Having come through a period of intense counter-revolutionary struggle, it is felt in some quarters that they may now be ready to assume the ideological vanguard of an American fascist movement.

WHO WILL RESCUE SOUTHERN AFRICA'S REFUGEES ?

Are we being exterminated in South Africa? Will African-Americans sit idly by in our comfortable homes and gas-guzzling cars waiting and worrying about what number is coming out next, while the numbers bankers invest millions of dollars in the rape of our motherland, and the extermination of African people?

Yes is the answer for many African-Americans who don't understand the consequences of losing the battle that is going on in South Africa. Yes is also the answer to the question about the extermination of our people in the Union of South Africa (U.S.A.) as well as the United States of America (U.S.A.) What are we doing about it?

Among the small percentage of African-Americans who are conscious of and doing something about the situation in South Africa is the D.C.-based Southern Africa Support Project, and the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ.

On Tuesday, January 23, at 11:30 a.m., a special presentation was made to Mr. John Kelly, Regional Representative of the United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees. The presentation, which was made at United Nations Headquarters in New York, was a gift of \$10,500 representing proceeds from a benefit program "An Evening in Solidarity with Zimbabwe and the Wilmington 10."

The donation will be used to buy medical supplies for Zimbabwean refugees (over 100,000 in population and increasing at the rate of 2,000 per week - most of whom are women and children) who have been forced to leave their country as a result of the policies of the illegal Ian Smith regime. In addition, \$7,500 worth of essential medications and surgical supplies have been raised in a related campaign by the Southern Africa Support Project. These items will also be shipped to the Zimbabwean refugees, who are in desperate need of medicine, food, and shelter.

The Solidarity Evening was held on November 11, 1978, both the 3rd anniversary of the People's Republic of Angola and the 13th year of the illegal unilateral declaration of independence of Smith's "Rhodesian" settlers. Over 1,500 people were in attendance.

The program included entertainment by James Baldwin, Ntozake Shange (of "...Colored Girls..." fame), Singer Novella Nelson, and jazz trumpeter Hannibal (Marvin Peterson). Comments on the struggle were made by Edgar Tekere, Secretary General of ZANU/Patriotic Front, and Callistus Ndlovu, ZAPU representative to the United Nations.

Bashiri B. Imhotep

ENEMIES: The Clash of Races

HAKI MADHUBUTI

by Aminisha Weusi

On Saturday, January 27th, the EAST hosted a Book Party in honor of Haki Madhubuti (Don L. Lee). Brother Haki is a writer, poet, lecturer, and is presently the director of The Institute of Positive Education in Chicago. Having authored *From Plan to Planet* a few years back, Haki was introducing his latest book of essays *Enemies: The Clash of Races*.

He delivered a powerful lecture, quietly, void of emotions and stage antics. We (the audience) were placed in the unique position of having nothing else to do but listen and absorb the unemotional truth - accepting the facts of our (Black folks') concrete reality in the world. That reality is not a pleasant one. Haki explained that the decision-making elements in the western world are the politicians, businessmen, military, and scientists - men who question the known as well as the unknown. Black leadership has traditionally been concentrated in the ministry. Religious doctrines usually justify and give credibility to man's lack of knowledge by saying that a supernatural/supreme being knows all, therefore man only needs to relate to the supreme being, and not concern himself with an aggressive search for knowledge (at least religious doctrines interpreted for Black people has these connotations). So Black people come into the arena of struggle lacking the tools necessary to deal with the enemy on equal grounds. As a result of this inequality, we usually find ourselves being tossed around in a violent sea of frustration. This frustration reduces our movements to disorganized, undirected activities which keep us very busy. We must seriously ask if we are moving any closer to liberation.

Although Black people have been continuously oppressed, exploited, denied

human rights, and murdered since the Euro-Asian trade in Afrikan slaves, we are not doomed to remain oppressed. Although the majority of our people are lethargic in their oppression, or living neo-white existences, we must still struggle for and win liberation.

In *Enemies*, Haki writes, "We have moved as a people. And we will continue to move. Positive movement in this world for Black people by definition involves struggle (internal and external), and to struggle is to understand the forces that control and manipulate our lives." Brother Haki challenges us to develop a theory of struggle based on a value system that speaks to our own needs and priorities as defined by Black people. That theory of struggle should clearly define what we are *for* because using the "pro" rather than the "anti," we give definitions, direction, and values to our people.

There is much to be done. We can either become overwhelmed by it all and drop out, or resort to merely reacting and thereby become an eliminated race of people - or we can rise to the challenge. Because there *is* so much to be done, we can decide where we want to make our contribution. Institutions that project life-sustaining values for our people are needed. Educational institutions dedicated to producing educated Black men and women who will bring relevant skills needed for Black self-reliance; institutions that will heal the psychological scars of oppression; institutions that will dedicate themselves to stabilizing the Black family; health institutions that will liberate us from the AMA and the hatchet of government officials; economic institutions geared to our *needs* which will release us from this profit-mad, insane economy. We must build Black institutions - not replicas of the existing capitalist ones, but institutions which speak to the needs of Black liberation. Black people need relevant, Black institutions run by and for ourselves. In essence, it is time for self-reliance to be moved from the arena of "rhetoric" into the arena of concrete movement.

The Institute of Positive Education is such an institution. IPE operates on the extended family concept. They are a community bound together by a Black value system and they seek to confront and answer the problems facing their families. It is a highly structured organization and through its structure is currently operating a school and three businesses. Additionally they are handling the problems of male-female relations and the Black family. They have committed themselves to changing themselves in order to bring about change in the world.

Enemies reflects the theoretical basis upon

which IPE is built and other Black institutions must be built. The book is dedicated ... "to the memory of the 250,000,000 and more Black men, women, and children murdered by white people during the Euro-Asian trade in Afrikan Slaves." This dedication serves as a startling reminder - for those of us who can quote the number of Jews murdered in the Holocaust but are very foggy about our own victimization. It also sets the tone for serious study into our history, our present situation throughout the world, the internal struggle that only *we* can wage - our family relationships, definition of our struggle, and finally a mandate for decisions and movement.

Enemies is a book to be read and re-read. The perception of Haki Madhubuti is piercing. His observations are powerful. His life is inspirational. He has committed himself to a struggle that encompasses the totality of our existence and he shares that commitment totally with an observable love and respect for Black people.

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The Mingus Legacy

by Basir Mchawi



"While in High School, I never missed a band, whether a known or unknown unit. I loved music beyond the stage of liking it. Some of the bands I heard never got popular and never made hit records, but they were truly natural Black beauty. I want to thank them and I want to give honour to all the sincere musicians who ever were or ever will be. It's wonderful to even think about such people. The music they played was a natural happiness of love, so rare I cannot explain it. It was fresh and courageous; daring, sincere, unfettered. It was unmanufactured avant-garde, and still is, because there was no place for it in the world; so the world neglected something of value and did not understand. And all along I could not understand why the world could not understand. It was all there. Was it because the world considers music as only a commercial commodity? I am glad that that is not my code."

Sun Ra

Our music is our heartbeat; the pulse within us that underlies all we do. Our musicians are the muscle that keep life flowing deep inside. It is our music that has worked incessantly to keep us alive for the last 400-plus years. Field hollers, gospel shouts, the blues, a Coltrane solo, sounds of the drum are all measures of our survivals and struggles. Mere human bodies become the vessels that contain this vibrant aural/oral energy. The flesh is fragile and sometimes weak but Black musicians continue to use this sound force despite their imperfections. Few Black musicians die of old age. Many factors contribute to terminating creativity in a society that relegates Black music to the back door. Mysterious diseases, O.D.'s, alcohol, violence, are some of

the occupational hazards the Black musician must face. So it was with Charles Mingus, a giant who cast a shadow over the entire music world.

Charles Mingus was born on an Army base in Nogales, Arizona in 1922. He is one of the many Black musicians born in the Southwest. No matter what the census bureau would tell us, Black people are scattered all over America. Mingus soon moved to the Watts district of Los Angeles with his family, where he was exposed to the many facets of Black music. Mingus' first loves were the blues and gospel music, both aspects of the same force, one secular, one sacred. Mingus would later become one of the exponents of combining the secular and the sacred to create a very funky yet folksy feeling. As a youngster Mingus was given a trombone which he played for quite a while, but by the time he had reached high school he had been converted to playing the string bass.

Charles Mingus first learned the intricacies of his instrument by playing along with records and the radio. Later his training became more formal as he studied with Red Callender, a top L.A. bassist. Soon Mingus was playing with folks like Buddy Collette, Chico Hamilton, and other local musicians. Aside from playing, Mingus liked composing. He wrote almost as much as he played, chasing the sounds he heard in his head. A big jump in his development came when piano master Art Tatum came to Watts and invited Mingus to play with him as a duo. They rehearsed for days on end, but could find no work. Soon Tatum went on the road as a solo performer leaving Mingus to dream of the time when they would meet again. Mingus began making a rep as a bassist who didn't just play rhythm and harmony, but got involved in the melody. The Mingus concept was not like most other bassists of the day. Listeners and other musicians both began to take notice when Mingus played.

After more study including an internship with a classical bassist, Mingus headed for the Black music capital, New York. By 1952, Mingus had played with Bud Powell, Dizzy Gillespie, Max Roach, Art Tatum, and Charlie Parker. In May of 1953 Mingus took part along with Bird, Diz, Bud, and Max in what has been called "the greatest jazz concert ever." This concert was held at Toronot's Massey Hall and incidentally, we can hear it on record today, because Charlie Mingus had brought along a tape recorder. Soon after this concert Mingus formed a number of experimental groups all called The JAZZ WORKSHOP. These groups perfected music

that was far removed from be-bop. Mingus experimented with groups both large and small using a great deal of ensemble work and some solo space. One of the earliest examples of this new music was an album entitled "Pithecanthropus Erectus," recorded in January of 1956. This album featured a ten minute cut in which Mingus gave his impressions of the evolution of man. The sidemen on the album included Jackie McLean and Mal Waldron.

In 1957 Brandeis University commissioned Mingus to compose a "jazz" piece. The resulting "Revelations" made most of the white critics sit up and take notice. Mingus' next major coup in this country took place at the Monterey Jazz Festival in 1964. After playing a number of Duke Ellington standards, Mingus brought a 12-piece group on stage to play "Meditation on Integration." The composition which lasted for almost 30 minutes mesmerized the crowd. The ensemble work, the bowed bass of Charles Mingus, the flute of long-time friend Buddy Collette all proved too much for the 7,000 fans. After it was over, Mingus got a standing ovation and began to get some of the attention that he deserved.

Now Mingus is gone, the victim of a rare form of muscular dystrophy that attacks the central nervous system until it kills. How do you sum up a life like his or the musical contribution that we must all be made to remember?

Mingus changed before the times. He was a musician of prophetic vision similar to folks like Miles and Coltrane. He began as a bebopper but left bebop to create his own singular brand of Black music. Many great names had their musical lives shaped by the Mingus touch and some not so great musicians more than rose to the challenge of Mingus' music. His groups from the days of the early WORKSHOPS included such luminaries as Eric Dolphy, Booker Ervin, Ted Curson, Jaki Byard, John Handy, to name a few. While his popularity moved like a rollercoaster, his creativity never diminished. Always outspoken, his political nature got him into many conflicts with white "jazz" critics, and as they criticized his politics or his personal life, the Mingus following would decrease proportionately.

Mingus, like so many other conscious musicians, was acutely aware of the exploitative role of the record companies. To combat this, Mingus started independent record companies on two occasions. The first, Debut Records, was formed with the help of Max Roach and released the "Jazz at Massey Hall Concert" mentioned earlier. In 1964, Mingus took his tape recorder to Monterey to record the historic session which

featured the extended work "Meditations on Integration." A two record set "Mingus at Monterey" was released on the Charles Mingus label capturing the spirit of the entire concert.

The outstanding thing about Mingus was his heart. It is this heart, this all consuming life force which sings out so clearly in his music. This same force made Mingus extremely sensitive to racism. Many of his compositions were based on his strong opposition to racists and racism. Tunes like "Freedom," Faubus Fales, and "Meditations on Integration," made his feelings known. Mingus was not limited to music to express his political views; he could rap and write. His conversations and interviews were full of opposition to oppression and his legendary partial autobiography, "Beneath the Underdog," made quite a few of his political views clear.

Musically, the Mingus contribution has to be analyzed by giving a close listen. Mingus was a romantic, a kind of Ellingtonian, using a number of instruments to express a singular vision. His most dynamic compositions utilize large groups and many techniques that point to blues and gospel roots. Mingus loved the oral quality of Black music and therefore used voices or instrumental interpretations of what voices sound like in many works. His music was deeply rooted in the Afrikan continuum but modified certain elements to maximize his ability to express contemporary themes.

As with so many others we will be playing catch up ball with the Mingus legacy. He is gone and many of us cannot realize what we have missed. To have never seen the man in person, to attempt to recreate the experience that brought his music into being is a crime, but nevertheless a crime we must commit. To be more worried about Marvin Gaye's latest, Evelyn "Champagne" King's 45, or the new disco step as opposed to remembering Mingus, illustrates the depth of our oppression. His records are still available, his autobiography will probably be released at some point, and reviews of live performances are in back issues of racist "jazz" publications like *Downbeat*. The choice is ours we may submit to television and FM radio or we can reclaim aspects of our culture that are essential to our survival.

Words I used to describe our loss when Malcolm X was assassinated are again relevant:

honor yr prophets Black man
walk n live n talk with them
do not scope them when they pass from view
honor yr prophets
n sho nuff be them
n be them Black Man
n be them

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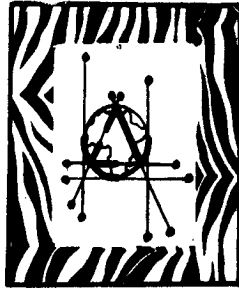
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