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## OPINION

### REBUTTAL TO RACISM

After reading the interview with Professor Anthony Flew which appeared in UCSD's *The Guardian* of October 20th, one is inclined to conclude that it is Prof. Flew and not affirmative action programs who is 'clearly racist.' The views he has expressed are so ignorant of the realities of the history of Blacks in this country and wholly stupid as to be unbelievable.

The purpose of affirmative action programs is not to as Flew claims, 'rectify the injustice done to some poor devil who's been a slave all his life by giving some chap now extra credit to go to medical school.' Nor are the Blacks affected dead. Nothing at all can be done for the dead, however affirmative action can somewhat ease the burden of three hundred years of exclusion from American society faced by those alive today. To posit that the effects of slavery end with the death of the individual slave in the face of the facts that Blacks were relegated to inferior schools by law until 1954 and are still so relegated by practice today, that Blacks were excluded from the elective process in a systematic manner until 1965, that pseudo-scientists and media producers continue to portray the Black as inferior as well others too numerous to mention is not only ludicrous but also blind. Furthermore, the idea that Blacks who have fought the system and won resent that others may now have things a little easier is more representative of the isolationist, go-it-alone attitude prevalent among Western European cultures than it is Black America. Most Blacks are glad to see any of their fellows 'make it' by means of the affirmative action sop thrown to a few or the being twice as good to get half as far struggle that gains 'making it' for others. The duty of an institution of higher learning is not to select superior students but rather produce them, something Flew's alma mater apparently failed to do. The production of superior students can well be shown to proceed from students who are not labeled 'superior' in their initial

phases of schooling. Thus, the use of the sole criterion of 'superiority' to bring students into the institutions is not a viable method to insure the desired results.

Flew also asks 'Why are the blacks a problem. . .', one might just as well ask in just what way are Blacks a problem. After questioning why Blacks are a problem, Flew goes on to the Moinihanian tactic of maligning Black family structure and culture and blaming these for Blacks '... thinking that they've got a chip on their shoulders.' I challenge Professor Flew to show that the systematic obstacles which have been thrown up before Blacks compare with those faced by other groups that have been assimilated into American society. Flew cites the difference among Blacks and Lower East Side Jews and their respective passions for education. An objective research into the histories of the two groups will show that the difference arises from more than the cultural failings among Black to which Flew alludes. While certainly not denying the pogroms, harassment, mass expulsions and other horrors faced by the Jews, throughout the Diaspora they were able to maintain their cultural traditions including that of scholasticism. Blacks, on the other hand faced upon introduction to these shores a systematic deculturation and were strictly forbidden by law from acquiring even the most basic skills as reading and writing, much less higher scholastic endeavor.

Flew's charge that one does not hear 'tales' as part of Black American folklore is hopefully one of ignorance and not gross stupidity or simply a knowing lie. Mainstream American culture abounds with folklore from Black America and even half-assed research will yield a font of Black folklore which abounds in 'tales'. Indeed, the oral tradition is much stronger in the Black culture which has had to rely on this means of culture continuance than it is in a book dependent mainstream.

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# THE PEOPLE'S VOICE

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## 250 March In Coronado Protesting Smith Visit



Demonstrators outside Hotel Del Coronado. Photo by Estela Kutrullis-

Saturday, October 14th saw two members of the 'transitional government' of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Ian Smith and Ndabandingi Sithole come to the Hotel Del Coronado as part of their tour trying to build American support for their proposed transfer of power from the small white minority to Black majority rule. Smith and Sithole as well as the other two members of the executive council, Rev. Abel Muzorewa and Chief Jeremiah Chirau were recently granted visas to visit this country in what is termed by the State Department as an 'unofficial' visit. The government of the United States does not recognize the Smith regime which unilaterally declared its independence from Britain in 1965. The visit came at the request of Senator Sam Hayakawa R-California and 27 other Senators.

*The People's Voice* reporter Estela Kutrullis filed this report on the demonstration:

There were about 250 anti Smith demonstrators at the time of their greatest numbers and less than a dozen pro Smith demonstrators. Among the pro Smith demonstrators were a couple

of men dressed in camouflage military fatigue uniforms.

They carried signs calling for Zimbabwe to be kept in the hands of 'civilized white men' and one of them commented to the other, "I'd like to kill a few monkeys around here." (Monkeys is one of the racist terms for Blacks currently in vogue in Britain and areas allied with that dying island nation.) In a similar vein, at around 12:30 at the height of the demonstration, a small plane appeared trailing a banner reading, 'Wake up white man, call: 563-4KKK.

The police were out in force complete with equipment capable of containing and army. As well as glare menacingly at the demonstrators, the police spent a good amount of energy to roughly push any anti Smith demonstrator who strayed beyond the circumscribed parameters of the demonstration area back into the permissible zone. Not only the police but the hotel administration as well acted in a manner biased against the anti Smith demonstrators. No anti Smith demonstrators were permitted to use the hotel lavatory facilities, although the press and pro Smith demonstrators were.

J.O. Brown of the City College BSU and NIA made a speech outlining the purpose of the demonstration which

he said were fourfold; to protest the Smith visit, to protest against the Smith regime and plan for a 'transitional government', to protest the actions of Sen. Hayakawa and to support the Patriotic Front. He also stated that the demonstration was 'not only a moment of indignation but a moment of action.'

The multi-racial, age spanning group of demonstrators included groups such as the Chicano Federation, the NAACP, the BSU's of LACC, UCSD and SDCC; CALPIRG, CCRT, DESOP, the SWP and area MECHAs. The goals of the demonstration were underscored by the chants of the demonstrators which included, "Hitler rose, Hitler fell. Ian Smith go to Hell!", "We support the Patriotic Front!" and "Impeach Hayakawa!" among others.

After his speech, Brown made a statement to our reporter, Estela about the demonstration saying: 'We need this kind of support, not all Black, not all White, Chicano, Oriental or Filipino, just people.'

The demonstration was a heartening display of solidarity among the various peoples of San Diego. A display which needs to be more often and more pervasive.



## Letters to the Editor

Letters to the editor are printed as a service to the community. The opinions expressed are not necessarily those of the staff. Letters must be accompanied by the name of the author which may be omitted from publication upon request. The People's Voice reserves the right to edit any letter received. All letters remain on file for public inspection.

### Let's Socialize!

Over the past four years the social aspect of Black Students' lives at UCSD has undergone a peak and valley transformation. It is my intention to trace some of the events I have observed and may offer some suggestions that I deem vital to the improvement of relationships on campus.

Social interaction was at its peak during the period 1974-75. Then the Third College was located on Matthews Campus and the Black students were together, helping each other as much as they could. The older students did not hesitate to put the new ones in line whenever they went astray. There was a sense of community, relaxation and comfort. Social events were not restricted to parties alone but to others including picnics, card parties and so on. But with the movement of Third College to its new site, many students scattered all around and there was a spontaneous decline. Maybe contact was not as easy as it was before. One could sense the tension building up.

Between 1975 and 1977, relations among Black students took a nose dive, and reached its lowest point. Everybody was paranoid about everything, distrust crept in, hence students started hanging out in small groups as a way of security, meanwhile the gap widened. Comments like "Blacks don't have themselves together" and "I am tired of seeing the same old faces at parties" prevailed. People started going out of town frequently to "find something to do."

The attendance at the BSU meetings was very low; a few people were blamed and almost nobody really cared. The whole situation was like that of a good boxer without the killer punch. Everybody had the right ideas but the force and catalyst needed were absent, and we all ignored the fact that the problem was ours and still is.

But sometime last year, the long awaited stimulus came when Dr. Phil Rafeal and Phyllis Elame organized what they call "Rap Session", which emphasizes Black male/female relationships. At the preliminary sessions, one could sense the tension and discomfort among the students as they could not take criticisms and this led to

people withholding a lot of good points. But as it progressed, people began to open up and speak freely. My personal assessment is that the Rap Session was a success last year and has started off on a good footing this year. Whereas the attendance was not spectacular initially, it is gradually rising and I strongly urge everyone to take two hours from 4:00 to 6:00 every Friday afternoon to attend these sessions, for they will do us all some good.

Other commendable efforts include the formation of the Black Students Science Organization (BSSO) where science majors get together and try to design ways of helping each other succeed. I think the non-science majors should emulate this. The attendance at the BSU meetings is rising, thanks to the new officials who are putting in relentless efforts.

Attending the rap sessions and talking to students around campus, the general opinion of the male students is that sisters give them a hard time unnecessarily. Personally I think that in as much as the ladies want to keep or maintain their pride, they also need to encourage the brothers because a little encouragement can make all the difference. Amongst the sisters, the major complaint is that the brothers try to deceive and take advantage of them in a relationship and as a result the guys benefit while in most cases the lady ends up getting hurt. To guys I say 'Let your conscience be your guide.' The sisters need your respect. I believe that an amiable and amicable relationship can be achieved if the parties involved can truly communicate with each other.

This year started off good and I think it should stay that way or even get better. Believe it or not there are always many things to do for fun. We are not going to have fun unless we are willing. There are intramural teams which many black students play in and they need our support. Some students like to organize picnics, get together, parties etc. and these events we can know about by talking to each other and work together instead of leaving town on weekends all the time. It is up to us to make this place enjoyable. Let us stop being shy, timid, withdrawn and pessimistic and become more open, trustworthy, out-going and friendly. Maybe then this place will become livelier.

Finally in view of the above messages, I hope everybody will agree with me that it is about time we hit the nail on the head and said to each other "LET'S SOCIALIZE!"

-Chiemela O. Nwosu-

### WHERE TO BSU?

The Black Student Union should house the goals, aspirations and concerns of Black people. As Black students we have not only a duty but a responsibility to the Black community which cannot be ignored. We are of a definite social-historical past which demands that we acquire an identity, purpose and direction.

Presently the objectives of BSU are not clear and many students have raised the following questions: "What are our priorities as a Black student organization? What activities outside of social ones should we be involved in? Which issues both domestic and foreign directly or indirectly affect the lives of Black people? What is the role of education in the liberation of Black people?"

In order for the BSU to be an effective organization, these concerns need to be addressed. The answers are not simple and it is clear that a collective and not individual solution is needed. Redefinition of our purpose and objectives should be a starting point. Once this is established we can work toward progressive development and become the functional organization so desperately needed in the Black community today.

-Haiba-

### S.D. City Council Condemns U.S. REBUTTAL...

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Professor Flew's insinuation that studying and Black participation in Black Power organizations is mutually exclusive is another motivated by rampant ignorance. Again, scholarship would show Professor Flew that the impetus for the Black Power movement came from Blacks in institutions of higher learning (prior to the benefit of affirmative action programs) and the writings of such profound scholars as Dr. W.E.B. DuBois and Franz Fanon.

The high correlation Flew sees in this country between color and crime is more a correlation between color and prosecution, between color and sentencing, between socio-economic status and crime, regardless of color. The charge that Blacks seek to obtain success only against the system rather than through it is foundless, especially when considering the starting point for his diatribe is Black entry into institutions of higher learning through affirmative action programs. Seeking through education to gain a rightful place in society is hardly a counter culture means of attaining power and success.

Professor Flew's remarks are a serious affront not only to Black people, but to all minorities who fall beyond the pale of being considered members of 'the Caucasian race' as well as anyone of any color or ethnicity who examines facts before drawing erroneous, racist conclusions. Flew's remarks are nothing more than good old Jim Crow racism masquerading as social activism behind a new Supreme Court decision and the vogue of reactionaryism.

-Leonard K. Edwards, Jr.-

The staff of *The People's Voice* wishes to reannounce their Logo contest. We are looking for an original drawing to serve as the permanent visual symbol of *The People's Voice*. The person submitting the winning entry will receive two free dinners compliments of Clay's Texas Pit Barbecue. All entries should include the name, student number (if applicable), address and telephone number of the artist. The winning entry will be chosen by the staff. Entries should be submitted to the office of *The People's Voice* in the Media Center of the Student Center, Building A. The contest was initially announced last quarter, however since so few entries were received, the staff decided to continue the contest into this quarter. All entries received last quarter are still on file and will be considered in the selection process.

So let's get on it all you artistically or even not-so-artistically inclined people, comb the caverns of your creativity and devise a visual symbol to represent your newspaper.

The Sullivan principles are guidelines for American businesses in South Africa developed by Rev. Leon Sullivan the only Black on the board of directors of General Motors. These principles outline equal pay for equal work regardless of race, the desegregation of lavatory, leisure and dining facilities, programs for the training of non-white personnel in capacities such as managerial, supervisory and secretarial which have been reserved for whites only in South Africa, as well as similar cosmetic measures.

The proposal to empower a task force to study the possibility of divestment was certainly the most controversial issue on the Council's agenda. It drew a number of people wishing to address the Council in favor of adoption of the proposal and one against its adoption. Even before the testimony began, Councilman Stirling of the seventh district threatened to absent himself from the Council chambers due to his perception that opening the floor to those about to give testimony would be making the chambers "... a forum for those advocating that South Africa be drummed off the face of the earth." He did, however, remain in the chamber for the length of the issue's discussion, slouching in his chair with a steely-eyed, glaring grimace which brightened only briefly during the testimony of the sole speaker in opposition of the proposed measure.

Mayor Wilson allocated fifteen minutes for each side, the proponents and the opponents of the issue. As there were five proponents and a single opponent, each of those urging the adoption of the measure were allotted three minutes while the speaker against the measure got fifteen minutes.

The first speaker urging adoption of the measure was Vernon Sukumu, who pointed out to the Council

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### WEBER CASE: LABOR'S BAKKE

Reprinted from the October 18th issue of *The Guardian* (the independent, radical weekly from N.Y., not to be confused with the UCSD campus paper) by Ben Bedell

Brian Weber is not yet a household word, but it may be soon if the Supreme Court accepts his 'reverse discrimination' case.

The white, 31-year-old lab worker at a Kaiser Aluminum plant in Gramercy, La., is suing to remove the plant's affirmative action program.

If upheld, Weber's suit will do for Black workers what Alan Bakke's did for Black students: set back the struggle against racial discrimination for decades.

At issue is an affirmative action plan in the aluminum industry. The plan, already copied elsewhere, sets quotas and preferential hiring systems designed to move minorities and women into higher paying craft jobs.

#### JOB SEGREGATION

The Kaiser plan, and Weber's suit against it, strike at the heart of one of the most pervasive forms of job discrimination: the segregation of jobs into a high-paying, white-only category and a low-paying Black-only category.

Ever since Kaiser's Gramercy plant first opened in 1958, Blacks were hired only as janitors and laborers, the two lowest paying job categories. Eight types of craft jobs, making up about a third of the plant's 800-person workforce, were filled only by whites for years.

And statistics that came to light during the trial phase of Weber's suit indicate that at Gramercy it was hard for Blacks to get even the low-paying jobs. Situated in a county that was 40% Black, the plant remained all white until 1962 when three Blacks were hired. The number of Blacks rose gradually to 10% during the 1960s. When Weber filed his suit in 1974, Black workers still accounted for only 14.8% of the plant's employees.

In the plant's skilled trades, there were only five Blacks among 273 craft workers by 1974. Yet testimony from plant industrial relations official Dennis English states that the workforce for the plant was drawn 'almost entirely' from two 40% Black counties.

But in the early 1970s a series of lawsuits by Black steel workers-affected by similar discriminatory systems-shook both the companies and the United Steel Workers union (USW). Successful individual suits charging discrimination won large monetary damages against several companies.

#### QUOTA SYSTEM

Fearing a massive wave of class action suits that might have bankrupted the industry and the union, both entered into a 'consent decree' with the government in 1973. The decree paid all minority workers a small sum in 'damages' and changed some of the most blatant aspects of discrimination. In return, Black workers no longer had the right to sue for more money or other relief.

One of the reforms the consent decree did promulgate was a quota system for minority promotions into craft jobs. Half of all such jobs were set aside to be filled by third world workers in order of seniority-until the percentage of minority craft workers equaled the percentage of minorities in the communities from which a plant's workforce is drawn.

Government records made public during the trial on Weber's suit indicate that the aluminum industry and the USW-like the steel industry-feared lawsuits and disbarment from government contracts as a result of discrimination. Thus, a year after the consent decree was signed, the big three aluminum companies joined the USW in writing a quota system into their contract.

It is this quota remedy that Brian Weber is now challenging. When the system of minority quotas in craft jobs was implemented at the Gramercy plant, Weber was one of the white workers with more seniority displaced by Blacks who moved into craft training jobs under the quota system. Weber sued, charging he had been discriminated against on the basis of race in violation of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

#### TRAINING PROGRAMS COST MONEY

Weber's case is similar to the Bakke case in that he is tacitly supported by his supposed opponents-the industry and the unions. Alan Bakke sued the regents of the University of California (UC). The regents in fact supported him and promoted his suit as a way to attack affirmative action programs forced on them by mass student pressure.

Likewise, Weber has filed suit against Kaiser Aluminum and the top leaders of the USW, who, like the UC regents, have long records of discriminatory policies. Although both the company and the union have filed briefs

### STEEL PRODUCED IN AFRICA OVER 1,500 YEARS AGO



Photo by Dr. Schmidt showing ancient steelmaking process.

Dr. Peter Schmidt, Assistant Professor of Anthropology and Dr. Donald Avery, Professor of Engineering at Brown University writing in the September 22 edition of *Science Magazine* have disclosed findings which prove that steel was made in Africa centuries prior to the European "discovery" of steel production. Their findings came about as the result of the investigations by Dr. Schmidt into the oral traditions of the Haya, a Bantu speaking people who live in densely populated villages along the western shore of Lake Victoria in Tanzania. The Haya are primarily an agricultural people who engage in subsistence farming of bananas and beans, cattle herding and the growing of coffee and tea as cash crops.

The practice of producing steel stopped some fifty years ago among the Haya due to the influx of cheap, readily available European steel implements, thus the process first came to light in the stories told Dr. Schmidt by a number of elders among the tribe. Two years ago the Haya elders, some of whom had engaged in steel production in their youths, began to construct a furnace for the production of the steel according to their memories and the tradition which had been passed down orally through the centuries.

The furnace is constructed of a 1.6 meter (5 feet) high cone shaped shaft built with slag and mud made from termite mounds built over a bowl lined with termite mound mud dug in the ground. This bowl is filled with swamp reeds which are burned to provide the carbon essential to the steel making process. The secret of the

furnace is the system of eight ceramic pipes or tuyeres inserted into the furnace near the base through which preheated air is pumped by means of goatskin drum bellows. This method produces temperatures in excess of 1800 C (3275 F).

The great age of this process was confirmed by subsequent archeological findings at the Rugomera Mahe site which produced furnaces virtually identical to those constructed by the Haya elders. Carbon 14 dating of these furnaces places their age between 1500 and 2000 years.

Drs. Schmidt and Avery noted that a great diversity of skills as well as a significant amount of manpower was needed for the preparation of materials and operation of the furnaces and processing of the steel. They hypothesize that this may be linked to the large settlements of the Haya as the industry required localized high population densities. They also posit that these high population densities with their technologically advanced and economically complex cultures contributed to the evolution of politically centralized states in the area and neighboring areas like Rwanda.

As Drs. Schmidt and Avery conclude, "One of the more profound implications of the West Lake discoveries is that we are now able to say that a technologically superior iron-smelting process developed in Africa more than 1500 years ago. This knowledge will help to change scholarly and popular ideas that technological sophistication developed in Europe but not in Africa. In that respect the ramifications are significant for the history of Africa and her people."

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## A RAP WITH DR. CHARLES THOMAS

"It's time, it's long overdue that black people stop accepting anything by word, deed or by definition anything that is less than first rate."

Dr. Charles W. Thomas, Professor of Urban Studies, UCSD

This was one of the many thoughts expressed by Dr. Thomas to myself in a recent interview. This thought may well go down in history as a valuable tool to motivate the Black man in his effort to overcome the subtly damaging brainwashing techniques of the Western European. As a professor and the coordinator of the Urban and Rural Studies department for Third College at UCSD, Dr. Thomas stresses upward mobility for Blacks on the campus. He did his undergraduate studying at Morgan State in Baltimore; graduate courses at Howard University in Washington, D.C.; received his masters degree at John Carroll University in Cleveland and completed his doctoral degree at Case Western Reserve in New Jersey.

Coming from a family that stressed scholastic orientation and achievement, Dr. Thomas came to UCSD after careful deliberation. He was approached by various students that wanted help in developing a college that stressed change of admission processes for students of color on the UCSD campus. They felt the physical and social needs of this University community were not being dealt with adequately. He felt he had a responsibility to people of color, a special deep concern for the needs of black people. Feeling that he's placed in the position of devil's advocate because of the different positions he holds or has held in the past, he strongly feels that most students see him in only one dimension, that of being the University's reflection of a scholar.

### NAMING OF THIRD COLLEGE

There has been a lot of controversy about this matter. Not to exclude Dr. Thomas's position on the issue, which has drawn more opposition, he feels that the number '3' or 'Third' is inadequate because it is not representative of Third World ideals; that people of color shouldn't accept anything that is less than first rate. I am not a Third College student but I have to agree with his ideology. I feel that in a political context for Third

World people, the present title is insignificant of the purpose that people of color wish to maintain this college to be a representation.

If you reached a position of greater esteem, would you want to be referred to as something that was less than that achievement?

Dr. Thomas's suggestion of "Frederick Douglass College", was based on what he stated was research into 'these' United States that would reflect what the college is. In terms of scholarship, humanistic insight into the needs of the oppressed people, and his diplomatic advocacy towards these needs, "Frederick Douglass" was the closest. He stated that many people didn't know who Frederick Douglass was and didn't even bother to vote. He feels that non-blacks would except the name, and that it would sustain the inspiration of further students. One thing that you have to relate to the problem of the naming of Third College is the fact of short term affect versus long term affect. Today the people that have to make the decisions have to deal with the issues of today. But what will be the issues ten years from today or fifteen years from today be?

### Upward mobility and the New Objectives

The priorities of the 60's and the 70's are not the priorities of the 80's. Upward mobility has typically been associated with Blacks as something that is only subscribed to by the black 'bourgeois'. He knows of no other group, or people that don't want their children in an upward mobile orientation. Be they minorities or not The new objectives of Third College and the Third World are to relate the educational experience in terms of a multi-cultural experience. The cultures of the different groups must form the foundation for all that is transmitted for educational purposes. He feels that this goal comes from the recognition and fulfillment of being a student in Third College. This, he feels is the mission statement.

### Thomas very concerned with development

Dr. Thomas feels that the time is long overdue for people of color to put their money and effort where their words are, and he hopes to help demonstrate the need for this change. He says that the

people who are currently making the critical decisions in the University are the same people who made them before.

Points of interest that he mentioned were in the area of affirmative action programs. He stated that there isn't one Black woman within the central decision making structure of the university. Also the current program doesn't reflect Black needs, and Black education needs this kind of attention. The departments will not produce a Black Ph.D., which leaves a lot to be desired.

I asked Dr. Thomas about his resignation from the board of the Urban League and his reply was that he felt he was wasting his time. He also stated that he resigned his position as president of the NAACP. His reason was that he was dealing with people who were mis-using and mis-representing what they professed to be the needs and interests of people of color. He feels that he doesn't have time to invest where the goals in social gains are questionable. He feels that a lot of organizations who claim to be in the interest of Blacks just aren't. The reason for this is the leadership lacks skills, or that the organization meets the social status needs of the leaders.

Dr. Thomas feels that Blacks have to view research and education as political tools. We must use the tools of science such as those available to us at UCSD to bring about meaningful change. As Black people we have lost momentum because Black people have acted in conjunction with the false definitions of themselves that were imposed by others.

-Eric Howard-

### YOUNG TO WRITE BOOK

Andrew Young, United States Ambassador to the United Nations has signed with Random House publishers to write a book expected to come out in 1980. The topic of Young's book will be the civil rights movement of the past two decades. A key topic in the book will be how national policy has been affected in other areas as a result of the movement. Young, a former Congressman from Georgia, obtained his credentials in the civil rights movement as an associate to the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr during the height of the movement.

**S.D. Council** -cont. from page 2- that the basic issue before them was one of freedom, that the people of San Diego by investing in South Africa were helping to maintain a system that denies freedom to the vast majority of it's people. He pointed out that the removal of the funds San Diego has invested in South Africa will not stop apartheid, but rather be a symbol to the government of South Africa as to the position the people of San Diego take on the issue of the apartheid system.

Another speaker, Earnest Charles McCray, stated that to him, debating two sides of a moral issue was incomprehensible. He dismissed the Sullivan principles and the obvious faith various members of the council had in them to effect great change in South Africa by saying that 'A few piddling jobs won't make any difference' Further, he stated that as an educator he was primarily interested in children and that the onus was on adults to 'help create and realize a loving and caring society.'

The next speaker was Lowell Waxman, representing the LOG (Librarians Organized for Growth) who read a statement from his organization in support of divestment of funds in companies doing business in South Africa.

Anthony Ngubo then spoke. His brief testimony outlined his birth and rearing in South Africa. He, as did Sukumu, pointed out that San Diegan investments alone did not support the South African government. He then questioned if the Council was willing to support a system denying basic human rights to over eighty per cent of it's population. He also pointed out that the American corporations doing the greatest amount of business South Africa are capital, not labor intensive, thus the Sullivan principles will do little towards ameliorating the injustices arising from U.S. investment.

The opponent of the proposal, who identified himself as Dr. Franklin Oslin, began by telling the Council that it appalled him tremendously that the Communists always seek to cloak issues which are really the West versus Communism as human rights issues. He went on to tell how South Africa and Rhodesia are picked on. "They are the only democracies in Africa," he said. He also told the Council that Blacks in South Africa had the highest standard of living on the continent and were even

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## Diggs Lays Low

Rep. Charles Diggs D-Mich. the senior Black in Congress who was recently convicted of defrauding the government of \$66,000 in payroll kickbacks relinquished his committee chairmanships and his voting status for the remainder of his present term. This information was disclosed in a letter from Diggs to Speaker of the House Thomas O'Neill which was released on October 10 through Rep. Diggs' office. Diggs' action came in accordance with a House rule recommending members convicted of offences with punishments of two years or more to refrain from business in the House.

Diggs, who has represented Detroit's 13th district since 1954 is chairman of the House Commission on the District of Columbia and the subcommittee on Africa of the House Foreign Relations Committee. Rep. Diggs has announced that if he is re-elected this November for a thirteenth term, he will resume his normal activities and responsibilities.

## WEBER

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In other words, the union is not committed one way or another on the issue of 'reverse discrimination' and will support whatever the courts decide.

Some USW officials have come out publicly for Weber. USW District 37 director Edgar Ball told reporters at the recent convention that he 'personally' was 'against quotas.'

But when Weber himself took the floor at the convention to oppose the union leadership's civil rights resolution, because it did not oppose quotas, he got little support.

Rank and filers at the convention discussed the formation of a committee to oppose the Weber decision. Several locals and individuals in the USW and the trade union movement as a whole have also spoken out against the decision, but no movement against it has yet coalesced.

If the Supreme Court does accept the case, it will be months before it is argued and as long as a year before it is decided. 'This will be an important fight for all trade unionists,' said USW Black rank-and-file leader Mack Lyons at the convention. 'It's bigger than Bakke and badder than Bakke. And the fightback has got to be bigger and badder too.'

## UC, and S.D. Pension Fund Lose Money Investing In South Africa

The University of California and the San Diego City Council claim that their respective investments in corporations doing business in South Africa make for a portfolio that could not be replaced with investments of comparable quality. These claims, however, prove to be completely erroneous when observing the hard financial facts of the matter. The following figures and tables are from the April 1978 California Public Policy Center analysis; **SOUTH**

**AFRICAN ROULETTE: Investment Policies of the Regents of the University of California**, and a report on the City and County Pension Fund investments. Not only do the figures show that divestment of the common stocks of companies doing business in South Africa and investments into other areas of the economy diminish the support of the South African government by innocent people whose money is so used, but also increase the yield obtained from these

monies and accrue greater benefits to the local population. Thus, the issue of divestment is not simply of moral, but of fiscal responsibility as well. A tactic that hard-boiled economists should find difficult to deny as proper is that of putting money to more efficient use.

Not only are the portfolios of the two organizations not superior due to their investments in South Africa, but because of these

investments in which they have engaged, they have ignored the opportunities with a greater rate of return. In the face of this it is difficult to conceive of the actions of the City Pension Fund investors and the University Board of Regents as motivated by anything other than overt desire to support the continuance of suppression in South Africa.

University of California had at least \$555 million invested in stocks and bonds in corporations doing business in South Africa during the fiscal year 1976-77. This figure is only .03% of the total University of California investment, yet UC claims that divestment would destroy the strength of the portfolio. The common stock investments by the University of California comprised 61% of the total UC investments (all figures cited for the University relate to fiscal year 76-77) When it is seen that the rate of return on common stocks was -5.11%, that is to say a loss of 5.11%, this claim becomes ludicrous. The chart below reproduced from the CPPC study shows the potential difference lost by these investments in comparison with other, more financially sound options in both percentages and hard dollar figures. These figures fail to take into account the 6% inflation rate of that

period which would losses even greater considering real dollars.

The San Diego City Pension Fund seems to have had better luck with its common stock investments than UC. In the San Diego investment strategy, common stocks also play a large role, being nearly 40% of the total investment in firms doing business in South Africa comes to just over 11%. The common stock yield for the San Diego Pension Fund is 4.41%, substantially better than that of UC, however, well below that to be obtained from other areas of investment. One of the highest yielding investment categories for the San Diego Fund is in the area of mortgages and real estate which yields 8.11% and has almost all the investment in San Diego county and none in South Africa. San Diego's percentage of total investment in South Africa is 18.22% or \$30,569,27, a sum that certainly underwrites a lot of oppression and could do a lot greater amount of good for San Diegians if applied closer to home. Thus, it will benefit the local population not only financially but materially in the form of improved housing.

Something which is not reflected in the reports but nonetheless important, is the fact that with the passage of Proposition 13, much revenue will be lost from the state due to tax breaks gained by out of state corporations. Investment of Californians' money into the state and locality can help to offset this loss of revenue. A report done by the California Employment Development Department, estimates that a billion dollars which is invested into housing generates a \$30 million a year in property taxes as well as additional millions in income and sales taxes. It is also estimated that a billion dollars invested in new home construction of single family units would have resulted in \$45 million from sales and income tax, with figures of \$74 million for housing rehabilitation.

Such benefits seem to far outweigh any to be gained through common stock holdings in corporations doing business in South Africa. These institutions making investment decisions need to be confronted with this evidence and made to act accordingly. Lies parading as fiscal responsibility should no longer be tolerated.

-Lennie Edwards-

### UC Regents Common Stock Investments and Lost Opportunities

Investment Options	1976-77 Rate of Return	Potential Difference lost by Regents	Dollars lost by Regents in foregoing this option
Regents' Common Stock (weighted ave. performance)	-5.11%*		
Bank Account	+5.00%	+10.11%	\$ 89 million
Savings & Loan Account	+5.25%	+10.36%	\$ 91 million
S&L 1-yr. CD	+6.72%	+11.83%	\$104 million
FNMA Mortgage-Backed Securities (100% insured)	+7.65%	+12.76%	\$112 million
S&L 6-yr. CD	+8.06%	+13.17%	\$116 million
GNMA Mortgage-Backed Securities (100% insured)	+8.15%	+13.26%	\$117 million
FHA Mortgages (100% insured)	+8.40%	+13.51%	\$119 million

\* Actually -11.11%, based on 6% inflation rate.

### SAN DIEGO CITY PENSION FUND SUMMARY

Investment Category	Current Yield	Market Value		
		Total Invested	Firms In So. Africa	Firms In San Diego
<u>Cash &amp; Short Term Bonds</u>	6.12			
Total Dollars		\$ 16,013,690	-0-	\$ 750,000
Percent of Total		9.55	-0-	.45
<u>Medium Term Bonds</u>	7.74			
Total Dollars		24,517,368	-0-	513,818
Percent of Total		14.62	-0-	.31
<u>Long Term Bonds</u>	8.15			
Total Dollars		50,483,947	10,895,644	8,197,039
Percent of Total		30.09	6.50	4.89
<u>Mortgages &amp; Real Estate</u>	8.11			
Total Dollars		21,284,379	-0-	20,220,942
Percent of Total		12.69	-0-	12.05
<u>Stock Equiv. Convertibles</u>	5.29			
Total Dollars		3,503,500	1,120,000	1,808,000
Percent of Total		2.09	.68	1.08
<u>Common Stocks</u>	4.41			
Total Dollars		51,947,701	18,554,063	13,509,501
Percent of Total		30.97	11.06	8.05
<u>Total Investments</u>	6.67			
Total Dollars		167,750,586	30,569,727	44,999,300
Percent of Total		100.00	18.22	26.8



## MINI FESTAC TO BE IN L.A.

The First State-Wide Conference of Black artists (Mini-FESTAC) will be held at the Science and Industry Museum, Exposition Park in Los Angeles from Thursday November 2nd to Sunday November 5th. This event is being coordinated by the Festac Regional Committee, funded by the California Arts Council and co-sponsored by the California Museum of Science and Industry.

The purpose of the conference is to develop a Black Arts Council representative of the Black community throughout the state of California. Its aim is to provide technical assistance programs (in terms of access to media and art education and funding) and support resources for the Black artist of the state.

Why the need for a Black Arts Council? California has 135 community art agencies. At least 124 of these agencies have budgets over \$100,000; however, most of these agencies are based in standard metropolitan areas, and none, to the best of our knowledge, have a high proportion of Black members or service the needs of Black artists. The Festac Regional Committee does not believe that a multi-ethnic council can adequately represent the needs of Black people. Whether we like it or not, the competition for the cultural dollar has become politically aggressive in recent times with major Arts organizations competing for their own interests. It is for this reason that the Festac committee is bringing together artists, educators, scholars and a host of professionals - lawyers and politicians among them - to present to the Black community a larger picture of our cultural concerns.

The conference will consist of a diversity of technical assistance and media workshops with panels of professionals in every area of the arts. There will also be presentations of film, dance, and exhibitions of art, during the evenings. The conference attempts to fully integrate the arts into other areas of Black struggle - politics, education and employment - and to reach out internationally, through the arts, to Africa and the Third World. A few people in the Festac committee, were associated with the organization of U.S. representatives to the Festac in Nigeria in 1977, and will share insights and experiences both in structuring the conference and participating in it.

Mini Festac will open on Thursday morning at 9:30 a.m., with an opening address

and a general assembly, which will close on Sunday with a noon conference, a summary and critique of the previous days' sessions, and a huge barbecue in the park grounds.

At present, the schedules are being revised, but they will be available by the 27th or 28th of October in the Black Students' Union at the Student Centre.

A few examples of the themes of the workshops will suffice to show how broad and interdisciplinary, and how important such a conference will be for Black people.

Some of the themes will be: "Politics and the Arts", "Religion and the Arts", "Prison Art Programs", "Media and the Arts", "Literature and Poetry", "Contemporary Black Theater", "Recent Research on the Black Family", "Film and Education", "Community Art Centres/Museums", "International Festivals-Africa and the New World", "Contemporary Black Filmmakers", "Technical Assistance Clinics", "Corporations and the Arts/Support", "Music Industry/Alternatives to the present structures", "Black Achievements Exhibition", and "National Resources NEA-NEH."

We should never forget that communications in art, education, mass media and music is integral and necessary to the struggle of Black people and oppressed peoples everywhere for economic justice and self determination.

The Mini FESTAC is free and open to anyone interested in attending. We urge all students to attend.

Below is a list of participants/panelists which will be expanded. The conference presents an opportunity for students, especially those in Visual Arts, Communications and Education/Sociology to get acquainted with professionals who can suggest routes and alternatives to dealing with the present corporate and racist structure of the mass media.

Bernard Jackson - Theater  
Suzanne Jackson - Painter  
M. Ron Karanga - Social Scientist

Senella Lewis - Artist/  
Publisher

Rochelle Mester - Theatre  
Yvonne Mae - Art Historian  
Elag H. Minor - C.E.T.A.  
E.J. Montgomery - Commissioner/Crafts

Gloria Murphy - Theater  
John Outterbridge - Sculptor/Administration

Noah Purifoy - Painter/Commissioner  
Careth Reed - Youth Organizer  
Eugene Redmond - Literature  
Henry T. Sampson - Film Historian  
Caiphus Seyema - Music  
Kehinde Solwezi - Painter  
Mary Walker - Painter/Educator  
Carl Anthony - Architecture  
Olujimi Bamgbose - Art Historian  
Fred Brown - Educator  
Aisley Claton - Social Resources  
Alonzo Davis - Painter  
Belva Davis - Media Communications  
Russ Ellis - Architecture  
Charles Forster - Media  
Ed Guerrero - Filmmaker  
Alan Gordon - Art Historian  
Floyd Gaffney - Theater Drama  
Ben Hazzard - Curator  
Asa Hillard - Educator  
Tom Hillard - Psychologist  
-Anne Marie Ixachsen-

## BSSO On the Go

The Black Student Science Organization, the BSSO, was reactivated last year under the inspiration of Mary Bush, the Minority Medical School Recruiter and Sac Caruthers, a UCSD graduate student. The motivation for the organization was unity among Black students with a common interest in science. The goals of the BSSO are to encourage and support Black students in the pursuit of post graduate careers in various fields of health, engineering, computer technology and other related fields. We would like to cultivate a sense of responsibility to Third World communities as well as provide a support group for Black science students at UCSD.

We are trying to achieve these goals by providing information about various opportunities, starting a peer tutorial program and sponsoring a number of other events. Last year the BSSO had meetings at which guests included Black medical school students, graduate students, professors and other faculty members. BSSO members have attended minority professional school conferences, gone to health careers programs, participated in research programs as well as engaged in a number of other career related activities.

We gave a potluck dinner at which doctors, psychologists, pharmacists, chemists, engineers and other science oriented professionals from the community and university came to rap with the students as well as grab.

The BSSO is working as a consortium with SATCH, a predominantly Chicano organization concerned with community health. We started this year off by giving a luncheon for science oriented minority faculty, staff and students. The luncheon was highly successful with over sixty people attending. The casual atmosphere led to an excellent exchange of ideas.

Plans this year include a conference concerned with science from a Third World perspective, which we hope will feature Black astronaut, Ronald McNair.

We would like to invite all interested students to join us. We have a lot of potential here at UCSD and together we can utilize it to our best advantage. There are vast amounts of opportunities available to us which we can become more aware of by sharing information.

Meetings are held the first and third Tuesdays of every month from 5:00 to 6:00 p.m. in the Center for the People. The next meeting will be Tuesday, November 7. Drop in, if only for a hot minute. We understand how tight a student's schedule can be. Activities are also posted at the BSSO/SATCH office, upstairs in the Student Center, Building A. For further information call Harry or Jay at 455-5429.

-Nanette Mitchell-

## LEAP (Legal Education Advisory Program) Presents:

Tues. Oct. 24 Applying To Law School: Some Tricks of The Trade. North Conf. Rm. Student Center. 4:00 p.m.

Mon. Oct. 30, The Big Three: Civil, Criminal and Corporate Law. P&L1110 4:00 p.m.

Mon, Nov. 6, Defending The Silent Client: Environmental Law. P&L1110 4:00p.m.

Tues. Nov. 7, Babies or Bullies: The Problem of Juvenile Crime. North Conf. Rm. Student Center 7:p.m.

The Legal Education Advisory Program (LEAP) is sponsoring informational programs on the legal profession for UC San Diego students during the fall quarter. The LEAP program also encourages students to visit law school classes and teaches students how to use a law library.

Law School Classes.

LEAP has made arrangements for UC San Diego students to attend University of San Diego law classes. Contact Warren College Academic Internship Program (452-4355) to schedule a class visit.

Law Library Sessions.

In one hour students can be taught the basics of using a law library-looking up statutes, court decisions, legal forms. Sessions are at the San Diego County Law Library, 1105 Front Street (236-2231). Training dates are: Monday, November 13, 9:30-10:30a.m. Monday, November 20, 1:30-2:30p.m.

Students need attend only one session but must make a reservation. Contact the Warren College Academic Internship Program (452-4355. Do Not contact the law library.

## S.D. Council -cont. from page 4-

provided with free room and board at their jobs. After several minutes of testimony on this order which was not only away from the issue but factually incorrect, he took the opportunity to tell Councilman Williams of the fourth district how he did not much care for a statement made by Williams which had appeared in the Los Angeles concerning the propriety of Ian Smith's visit to the United States. After that statement by Oslin, Williams told him "Your white sheet and long hair don't go together." Oslin then continued his diatribe by pontificating on Joshua Nkomo and the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). At this time Councilman Williams raised a point of order saying that Oslin's remarks were not addressing the issue at hand. Mayor Wilson sustained Williams'

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## SLIDE SHOW ON CUBA

The National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression will sponsor a slide show and discussion on the 11th World Festival of Youth and Students which was held in Havana, Cuba this summer. Delegates to the festival will discuss the significance of the festival and their impressions of modern Cuba. The slide show and discussion will take place Thursday October 26 at 7:30 p.m. at Third College in TLH 104. Free child care is provided.

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT

The development of Black Student Unions can be traced to at least two different sources. Each of these movements, although separated by nearly fifty years, is unified in the sense of purpose and direction. Each had different means and different manifestations, however both movements led to the Black student movement of today.

The first of these developments began on December 4, 1906, when several Black male students at Cornell University established what was to become the first Greek letter Black fraternity in the United States, Alpha Phi Alpha. This organization came into being, as one of the founders, Henry Arthur Callis remembered, "Society offered us narrowly circumscribed opportunity and no security. Out of our need, our fraternity brought social purpose and social action."

Indeed, Alpha did provide many leaders over the years, who helped to further the struggle for social purpose and social action. The likes of Thurgood Marshall, Dick Gregory, Dr. Martin Luther King and Andrew Young were members of this prestigious organization.

The Niagara Movement which led to the founding of the NAACP was greatly influential in the development of Alpha Phi Alpha. Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Afro-America's most prolific writer and a prominent sociologist, gave his sanction to the fraternity as well as inspiring the movement for educated Blacks at the turn of the century.

Another milestone in the development of the Black student movement was the first student sit-in which took place on February 1, 1960 when four freshmen at an all Black college in Greensboro, North Carolina, decided to demand service at a segregated lunch counter. This newly spawned Black student movement went through two phases. The first was a struggle for social acceptance and the egalitarian distribution of social wealth. This phase of the movement had non-violent overtones and was embodied in groups such as the NAACP, the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which was headed by the saint-like Martin Luther King.

The second phase was militant, radical and acted as

a catalyst to the Black progressive movement in general. SNCC, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, led by Stokely Carmichael and John Lewis did tremendous work in the South. Voter registration, the Freedom Rides, sit-ins and the advocating of Black Power was the main focus of this group. The conduct and commitment of those heroic Black men and women inspired consciousness, and kept us aware that racism in all of its hideous forms still existed. James Forman, executive secretary of SNCC, reflected the nationalist and revolutionary side of the organization. He advocated armed revolution 'to help bring this government down' during the early sixties.

What was happening in the South influenced what happened in the rest of the country and more specifically in the West. Beginning in 1969, a group of Black students at San Francisco State College formed the first modern day Black Student Union. The BSU at San Francisco State was primarily interested in four things; 1) the establishment of an Afro-American studies department to be operated autonomously by Black students, 2) the aggressive recruitment of Black faculty, 3) the development of Afro-American cultural and recreational centers and 4) special efforts to enroll minority group students unable to meet the usual entrance requirements.

It can be seen from looking at the history of the Black student movement that what we have organized to do can be accomplished. Now in the late seventies we find the gains that were made during the past few decades are under attack. The Bakke Decision, Proposition 13 and an apathy resulting from a false sense of security face us. We do, however, have a legacy and a blueprint for social change which is to be found in the history of the Black student movement.

-Tambuzi-

## MUHAMMED . . .

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According to Sharif, Wallace D. Muhammed "has a universal message. He has to rid the movement of race hatred and lay a firm foundation. Now it's only natural that he reach outside the movement with his message to dignify human beings and unify the American spirit.

S.D. Council . . .  
-cont. from page 6-  
point and cautioned Oslin to remain within the bounds of the issue. After Wilson's warning, Oslin quickly terminated his testimony.

After the testimony Councilman Schnaubelt from the fifth district recalled Dr. Ngubo to question him further. He prefaced his questioning with a statement that he believed that no one on the City Council supported the oppressive state of South Africa. One of Schnaubelt's questions was that if American investments were withdrawn from South Africa, wouldn't the very blacks who we are trying to help be the ones to suffer most. Dr. Ngubo answered that indeed the Blacks would suffer as a result of divestment by American corporations, however it would be suffering with light at the end of the tunnel, not hopeless suffering as now. He also pointed out that it was Black organizations in South Africa that first demanded divestment.

As it became more apparent through the tone of the questioning that the testimony was having little effect on the Council, Dr. Ngubo launched into an emotion charged speech which reiterated the main themes already brought forward by himself and others, that the Sullivan principles will have very little effect on the lives of the vast majority of Africans. That the highly sophisticated technologies which American business are bringing to South Africa are in areas where blacks are excluded by law from holding jobs. That American supplied technology is now being used against Whites as well as Blacks. That any cooperation by Black with the South African government is simply a matter of biological survival.

Councilman Lowery of the third district then moved that the proposal be filed, citing that foreign policy is not the province of the City Council. The proposal was then filed with Mayor Wilson and Councilpersons Williams and Killea voting against the filing. made to condemn South Africa for its discriminatory policies. Councilman Gade of the sixth district, then registered a complaint against the naming of South Africa in particular as there were other nations which engaged in human rights violations. The proposal was then changed to condemn all states that practice racial oppression. A second proposal to urge South Africa to adopt the Sullivan principles was also

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## BSU Chair Outlines Goals Ralph Metcalfe Dies in Chicago

The focus of the Black Students' Union in this academic year has its primary interest centered around political, educational and social issues that concern Black people in particular and Third World people in general. The traditional problems of recruitment and retention at the university are being addressed as well as issues concerning Black professionals in America's non-Black business world.

We will be facilitating these and other goals through interaction with community agencies such as the Black Federation, NIA, the NAACP, the Urban League and others. By maintaining these links we will be better equipped to serve and assist our organization by keeping ourselves aware of what is happening in the community around us and how it affects us, both directly and in more subtle ways. It will be equally important for us to re-establish communications with Black Student groups locally as well as state and perhaps even on the nation wide level.

In addition to this the BSU is developing its internal organization in order to take advantage of the talents of our people here at UCSD. Thus maintaining contact among ourselves on all levels and thereby learning to work together for a common cause; to pool our energies, to use our collective knowledge to achieve a common goal, that of success. Through these efforts our philosophies can be relayed to all sectors of the UCSD community in order that an awareness can be reached among Black people as well as other people of the world at this campus.

-James Curtis-  
BSU Chairperson

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THE PEOPLE'S VOICE is recognized as an official print medium by the UCSD Media Board and serves the university and local community. We are an independent organization working in cooperation with the UCSD Black Student Union. We encourage the submission of material; articles, letters, artwork, poetry, suggestions and criticisms, they can be dropped by our office in the Media Center in Building A of the Student Center or mailed to:

THE PEOPLE'S VOICE  
B-023

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## Black Panther Party Target of FBI Sabotage

The following story is taken from a longer account of the FBI's actions against Black leaders, which appears in the October 1978 issue of *Essence* magazine. by Iris L. Washington

By the height of the civil rights movement in the mid-sixties many of the younger Black leaders had become disillusioned with the tactics and goals of the nonviolent movement. The impact of Malcolm X, murdered in 1965, was still reverberating through Black America. The Black Power concept, enunciated in the summer of 1966, and the volatile conditions in the urban ghettos were calling into question the strategy of nonviolence. One of the major manifestations of this thrust was the emergence of the Black Panther Party, based in Oakland, California.

In October 1966 junior college students Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, enraged over white racism, police brutality, and the assassination of Malcolm X, decided to organize a "Black community group of some kind and teach brothers...to righteously defend themselves from racists." "(We're oppressed)", said Newton then, "not as individuals but as a whole group of people...We believe that the Black community of America must rise up as one man to halt the progression of a trend that leads inevitably to their total destruction." And so the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (later shortened to the Black Panther Party) was founded.



Huey P. Newton, a founder of the Black Panther Party.

The Panthers were a community-based political party with some praiseworthy aspirations. Their ten-point program set out to achieve, among other objectives, an end to police brutality, full employment, education geared to the Black community, decent housing and political and economic control of the community. But the Panther's audacious armed clashes with the police, whom they termed "pigs", and their revolutionary philosophy stunned the nation. They also brought an immediate reaction from the FBI, which quickly mobilized Cointelpro operations to destroy the Party.

FBI agents swarmed like locusts upon the Panthers. But the Party's numbers

eventually swelled to 3,000 to 4,000 active members and no less than 38 chapters. "They did everything to destroy us," said former leader Bobby Seale in a recent interview. Seale left the Party in 1974. "Everything" ranged from creating rivalries between the Black Panthers and Ron Karenga's Los Angeles based US and between the Party and Chicago's Black P. Stone Rangers, to attempted frame-ups, to arresting and harassing over 2,000 Panther members, to repeated raids on their chapters, to infiltrating the group with agents, to publicly discrediting the Party through the media and involvement in murder.

That the FBI was connected with the murders of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark is now public knowledge. A detailed account of the December 1969 predawn police raid on the Party's Chicago headquarters is contained in Roy Wilkins and Ramsey Clark's book *Search and Destroy: A Report by the Commission of Inquiry Into the Black Panthers and the Police* (Metropolitan Applied Research Center Inc., 1973). In that bloody 4:45 a.m. massacre, a detail of plainclothes police, under the guise of a weapons search, stormed the headquarters and for ten minutes pumped over 80 rounds of gunfire into the bodies of Hampton and Clark, killing them and seriously injuring four other people in the apartment. Though the police version claimed they fired in self-defense, only one bullet was found to have come from a Panther gun. An autopsy of Hampton's body revealed he had been drugged with massive doses of secobarbital, a finding that suggests his death was the objective of the raid and police went to the apartment knowing that Hampton would be incapable of defending himself. Party members had made repeated attempts during the opening minutes to wake Hampton before police could reach his room. Hampton's personal body guard, Tom O'Neal, turned out to be an FBI infiltrator who made more than \$10,000 on the deal, having fed information to the FBI on the Panther's from January 1969 to July 1970.

In a November 1968 memo instructing 14 field officers to submit biweekly letters containing counterintelligence measures against the Party, FBI director Hoover wrote:



Murdered Panther Party leader Fred Hampton.

In order to fully capitalize upon BPP and US differences as well as to exploit all avenues of creating furthering dissent in the ranks of the BPP, recipient offices are instructed to submit imaginative and hard-hitting counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP. "John Huggins and (Alprentice) 'Bunchy' Carter were murdered based on this," Bobby Seale recalls painfully. Huggins and Carter were shot in the back by members of US in 1969. (The murderers were convicted, but later mysteriously escaped from prison and haven't been seen since.) The Panthers received letters and cartoon caricatures, supposedly from US but probably from the FBI, depicting the manner in which Panthers would be killed by US members. Bobby Seale remembers receiving those and he says, "I used to tell Party members, this has got to be nothing else but an FBI-CIA plot of some kind. A lot of them didn't believe it." He continues, "I remember the times following John Huggins' and Bunchy Carter's deaths. They would post a couple of cars at this corner, a couple of cars at that one, the Black Panther office in the middle of the block. US, in a carload, would come by, throw a Molotov cocktail right at the door, hoping to get the Black Panthers to run out of the office blasting at them while the police were there waiting, ambulances around the corner, everything."

The nature of Bobby Seale's accounts of these incidents is verified by the Senate Intelligence Report. Investigators found that the FBI's tactic was to aggravate conflicts between the Black Panthers and rival groups, that the FBI tried to encourage those groups to shoot some or all of the leadership of the Panthers and that the FBI letter generated the kind of friction that would induce killing.

Another kind of tactic employed by the bureau is illustrated by a memo from FBI files subsequently made public. It reveals a scheme originating from the Newark FBI office proposing that food to be donated to a Panther gathering be treated with a laxative.

The story of surveillance, subversion and destruction is much the same with other Black nationalist groups of the sixties. Only the names are different - the Revolutionary Action Movement, Republic of New Africa, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and others. The FBI infiltrated, disrupted, raided and arrested the ranks of these groups so that most of the leaders ended up in prison (many are still in prison or on trial), exiled or brought off by the FBI. Coupled with the strife that often occurs inside movements for social change, these FBI tactics helped to cripple groups such as the Panthers.

### S.D. Council . . . -cont. from page 7-

objected to by Gade on the same grounds that the council shouldn't name only South Africa. Mayor Wilson then pointed out to Gade that the Sullivan principles only applied to South Africa. This proposal was also approved.

The entire issue was finally put to rest by Councilman Stirling remarking that there was no need to waste three hours on such a matter when issues much more vital to San Diego were at hand, a remark to which Mayor Wilson expressed his whole hearted agreement.

One of the most outstanding aspects of the session was the apparent confusion on the part of both the Council members and the speakers as to just what the proposal on the docket was. The attitude in the chambers seemed to be that the issue at hand was not empowering a task force to look into the possibility of divestment but rather divestment itself. This mistaken perception is best shown on the part of the City Council by the remark that Councilman Schnaubelt made saying none of the members of the Council were experts on the matter, so it should be filed. Councilman Lowery steadfastly maintained that the Council should have nothing to do with foreign policy, yet what came from the council was indeed a pronouncement on foreign policy, rather than the perfectly local matter which had been proposed initially; studying the possibility of divestment.

-Lennie Edwards-

## Wallace D. Muhammed Steps Down

On Saturday September 9 the World Community of Al-Islam in the West, formerly known as the Nation of Islam was rocked by the announcement by Wallace D. Muhammed that he was stepping down as the leader of the religious organization of one and a half million followers. The announcement was made from Atlanta via telephone hookup to nearly two hundred mosques nationwide.

In an interview which appeared in the Afro-American newspaper chain a week after the announcement, the public relations secretary to Mr. Muhammed, Hasan Sharif said, "The Imam (Mr. Muhammed) refuses to be deified, there will no longer be one specific leader. The Community cannot survive on personalities. They must govern themselves." According to Sharif government of the Community will be by a council of regional representatives which will consist of six Imams (religious leaders) representing the geographical regions; the North, South, East, West, Midwest, Northeast. There will also be five Muslim consultants, two foreign born Imams, an educator, an accountant, and an attorney.

The World Community of Al-Islam has undergone drastic change since Wallace D. Muhammed assumed the role of Chief Imam in 1975 following the death of this father Elijah Muhammed who had co-founded the organization in Detroit in 1930 with a self-proclaimed prophet named W.D. Fard. Upon Fard's leaving the organization in 1934, Elijah Muhammed took complete control which he relinquished only upon death. Among the changes Wallace D. Muhammed has instituted are the change of the name, abolition of the strict dress code which made members, especially women recognizable on sight, the breaking up of the Fruit of Islam which served as an armed police force for the Nation of Islam and the most radical of the changes, the allowing of non-Blacks into the religion. Further, Wallace has urged dropping the use of the term 'Black' in favor of 'Bilalians', a term which comes from the name of the first Black follower of the prophet Mohammed.

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