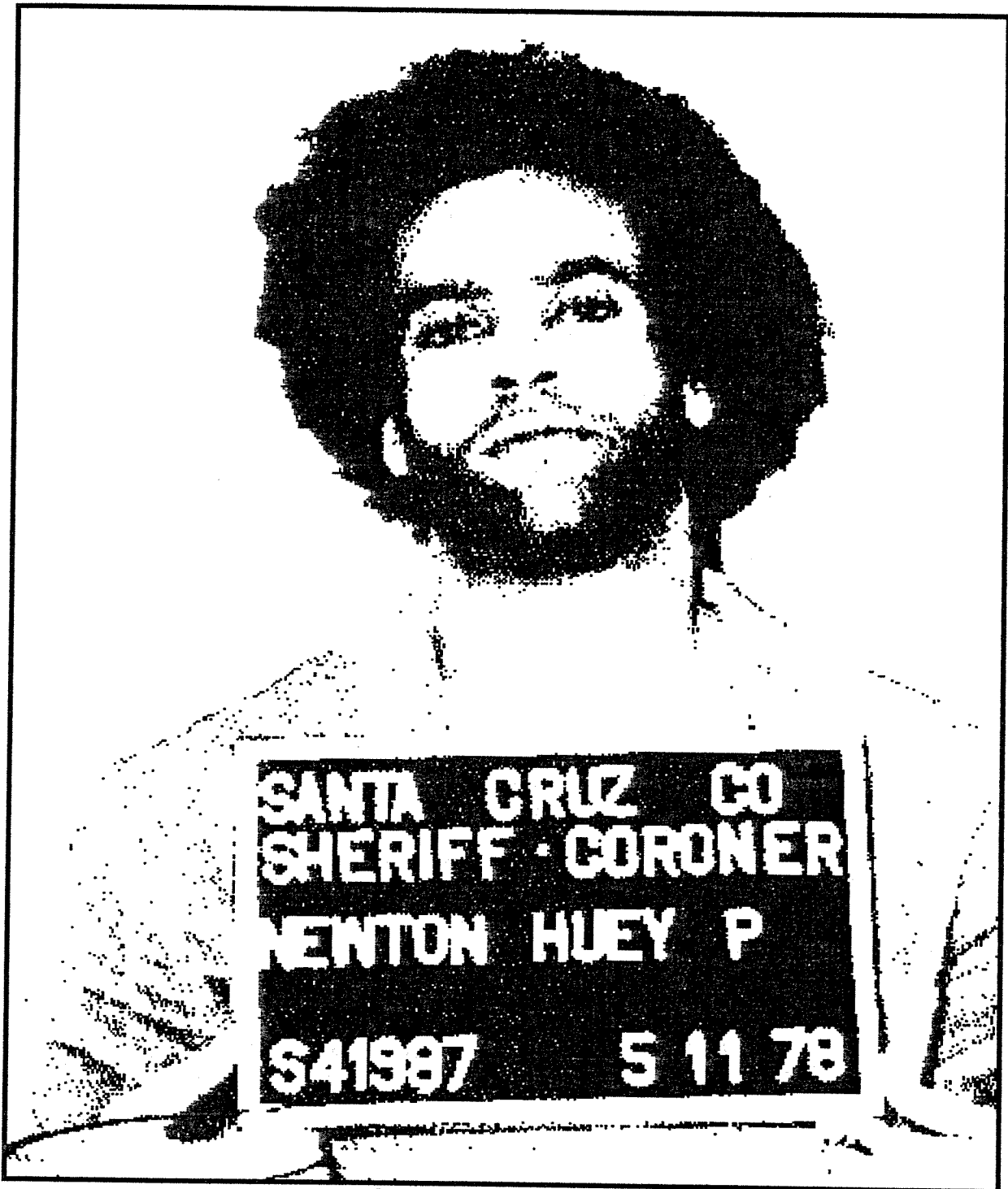


Right On! #21



Comrade Huey P. Newton

*Newsletter of the New Afrikan Black
Panther Party - Prison Chapter*



Editorial

"The concept of revolutionary suicide is not defeatist or fatalistic. On the contrary, it conveys an awareness of reality in combination with the possibility of hope—reality because the revolutionary must always be prepared to face death, and hope because it symbolizes a resolute determination to bring about change. Above all, it demands that the revolutionary see his death and his life as one piece. Chairman Mao says that death comes to all of us, but it varies in its significance; to die for the reactionary is lighter than a feather; to die for the revolution is heavier than Mount Tai."

— Huey P. Newton, *Revolutionary Suicide: The Way of Liberation*

As Mao said, "Death comes to us all, but it varies in its significance." To live for the people one must be prepared to die for the people, because the people are not free and the oppressors will kill to see they don't get free.

So long as people have been divided into "haves" and "have nots" — into exploiters and exploited — that's how long the struggle for liberation has been going on. But we are nearing the end of that long struggle.

Capitalist-imperialism is the highest stage and neo-colonialism the final phase of the Epoch of Exploitation. The Long March of the oppressed is nearing its "home-stretch," and what is needed now is one great, sustained effort.

Some people get confused when we talk about continuing the Revolution of 1776 to its inevitable conclusion. They don't see what this has to do with Black liberation or socialism, but once people embraced the concept of "government of the people, by the people and for the people" it was the beginning of the end for exploitation. Democracy leads inevitably to socialism, and socialism is the transition to classless society and ending all oppression.

The U.S. Civil War (1861-1865) was a continuation of the Revolution of 1776. The "Great Compromise" that had put off dealing with the issue of slavery couldn't be put off any longer, nor could the contradiction be resolved bloodlessly, nor even — as John Brown discovered — with just a little bloodshed.

But even this great struggle didn't end the oppression of Black people or class exploitation. That remains to be accomplished, because it cannot be led by a class of exploiters — that can only lead to one system of exploitation replacing another. The Civil War only cleared the way for making wage slavery the dominant form of exploitation in Amerika, and didn't even free the Black people from semi-feudal caste oppression known as "Jim Crow."

Only the wage slaves — the proletariat — can lead all-the-way revolution to end all exploitation and the oppression that goes with it — and extend human rights to include all human needs — including "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Nor can we — at this point — talk of an Amerikan Revolution that is not global in effect and part of the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution.

Amerika is no longer a country but an empire — a global empire of neo-colonial capitalist domination. The real power now rests with the international banks and trans-national corporations. To seize control of these the international proletariat must knock down every government on the planet.

The final stage of the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution is going to be a lot different from the previous ones.

Revolution in 21st Century Amerika won't be like the Russian Revolution or the Chinese Revolution — though we can draw lessons from both. It will be centered on the intensification of the contradictions within Amerikan Capitalist Imperialism — including racism and national oppression.

To resolve the issue of racism we need to work at it from both sides, which is why we stress building a United Panther Movement to bring together all the oppressed — including poor whites — in the struggle for liberation. The Nation of New Afrikans in Amerika must play the vanguard role in leading this movement and this stage of the revolution.

We just had a funeral for one of our young White Panther comrades. He was one of three co-founders of the February 29th Collective, which became the first WPO collective on the outside. His name was Aaron Abud, and he had just graduated high school. He was killed in a moped accident while participating in a volunteer summer work project in the Dominican Republic digging wells and irrigation ditches with the poor peasants.

Aaron's family were immigrants from the Dominican Republic, and he felt a special need to serve the people in this Caribbean neo-colony of the U.S. He was also anxious to return home to apply some of the lessons he had learned to building the struggle here.

Many of his classmates attended his funeral and gave him a clenched fist salute. Although he was not martyred, his death had weight because his life had purpose. The local newspaper quoted his father as saying he was proud his son had chosen to become a revolutionary, and he spoke to this at the funeral.

Every day many of our young people are dying senseless deaths, from hunger and preventable diseases, wars, gangbanging, drugs and suicides. Comrade Aaron will be missed, but not mourned. He didn't waste his life! He set an example.

Dare to Struggle Dare to Win!

Dare to be a Panther!





Shaka Sankofa Zulu

DRIFTING BACK TO A LOST TIME

By Chairman Shaka Zulu

I attempt in this piece to dig beneath the veneer of my own upbringing and expose it to a critical examination. As events push themselves into my consciousness, I am compelled to keep reviewing my analysis.

For most of my 37 years, my life has been characterized by failures and hard stages of living. I can remember vividly the lonely nights I spent living on the street, in abandoned apartment buildings and old beat-up cars, attempting to shelter myself from the harsh sting of winter's wrath. I recall the early mornings where I had to scrounge behind stores to find a meal to eat. I was too young to comprehend the magnitude and extent of my impoverishment, but I knew it had something to do with being Black in a society that prized whiteness above all else.

I was not the only street kid in this condition; most of the kids who hung around with me came from the same broken-family structure and shared a misplaced longing for authentic love and family that drew us together. We didn't have parental guidance, but we had one another. So I didn't feel too bad. We had no idea how the system of capitalist-imperialism was impacting our lives and communities. It was only later, when I was in prison, with the time to think and to read and gain insight, that I was able to forgive my family and place the blame – rightfully – on the rulers of this country.

Our world was hemmed-in by reminders that we were "different" and we should not expect the blessings that a

civilized society doled out to its citizens. If we wanted something – like a clean pair of jeans – we had to steal it. So we did. We plundered the business district ferociously. We were little illegal capitalists. "Illegal" because the legal capitalists had outlawed expropriation other than their expropriation of the unpaid labor of their workers. So we were "outlaws."

When a person has no idea of when the next time they will be eating will be, or when they will have a clean pair of jeans to wear, than whatever they must do to survive is seen as justified. From the warped and unbalanced way of thinking this neglectful society encourages, "the end justifies the means." That's how I thought.

My mind scans backwards over this painful time of anguish, rejection, distrust and alienation. I see it now as the personification of rapacious capitalism.

Most of the young peers I hung out with were not really my friends at all. We were thrown together in the same boat in the turbulent current without a paddle. We were being drawn into the uncaring ocean of crime where alliances are temporary and dictated by self-interest. It was either cooperate with each other or perish.

The basis for any real and true friendship starts with the premise that people must be willing to divulge and share confidences with one another. If on the other hand the friendship begins with a lie, then the friendship will suffer the death of a thousand cuts. I was always looking in the wrong



places, planting seeds in bad topsoil only to discover dead weeds that exuded the rotting stench of death — the opposite of life, vigor and fertility.

When I came to prison 11 years ago, I made a deliberate and conscious decision to remold my way of thinking. The first thing I did was commit "criminal suicide." That part of my life was put under hatches. It was very excruciating to give up the only life I'd known for 27 years. Friends that I'd known in the criminal world had the audacity to assume that was putting on a con game to get out of prison.

Once I cut all my ties, I then set out to educate myself and started reading books that blew my narrow and illiterate mind. Night after night I sat up reading books about things I never knew existed. I was totally surprised to learn that Afrika was my native homeland and that we had a history that was thousands of years old. I marveled at pictures of the Pyramids in Egypt and the Sudan. For days I even questioned if this stuff was real or if my mind was playing tricks on me.

I was stunned to learn of the monstrous crimes committed against our people by the Europeans during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. We were kidnapped from our homes and transported to strange lands to labor in chains under agricultural capitalism. It was the economic motive of profit-making that caused the Europeans to do this to us. Racism was invented as an alibi.

For 5 centuries our exploited labor power was used to build up the Western World while we remained poor and oppressed. Each new discovery awoke in me a yearning to learn more! Nothing could stop me from reading, from digging deeper beneath the surface of official history — centered around "great Caucasian men" honored by our oppressors — to get a true picture of how things came to be the way they are and answer the ever-present question: Who am I?

In the early days, it was really painful for me to learn a lot of this stuff. I would sit for hours, just thinking — blown away. As my reading became more organized and structured, I began to categorize my topics of interest and build my general knowledge and vocabulary. It was history that freed me most from the clutches of ignorance. As my study became more extensive, there was a corresponding change in my attitude, values and morals.

I put being homeless and scrounging for food growing up in perspective when I juxtaposed it with 5 centuries of vicious exploitation and oppression here in "the land of the free and the home of the brave." I no longer walked around dejected and defeated with my head down seeking anonymity. Chest out, head up, back straight with "blood in my eye" and love for my people — and all oppressed people — in my heart, I began to walk like a panther.

I felt so foolish and ashamed for the petty crimes I had committed against the people that I sat down and wrote a long letter to say I'm sorry. It helped.

The first book I read was so full of words I did not understand it kept me running to the dictionary. The really painful moments of struggling for comprehension were complicated with me being held incommunicado. I would

write to people I knew on the outside trying to explain what was happening to me, but very few responses came back. Those that did generally said I should "stop letting other people write letters for me." I was writing to my old friends on the street and their families trying to unravel the web of drugs, despair and petty crime that had ensnared us — and they could not believe it was me.

It's not surprising. I had been a predator; every con game, every scheme to hustle and get over had been my thing. What's more, I could not form a sentence that didn't have the word "nigger" in it. Everything was "nigger this and nigger that," so it shouldn't have surprised me that my letters would be regarded as bizarre and strange by those who had known me before. I was somebody else.

The racist power structure and its educational and cultural institutions have so damaged oppressed people's ability to believe in themselves or in any honest concern into their condition that revolutionaries should expect rejection when approaching them with answers to solve their problems. We must prove our intentions and theories by actions. Action builds up the necessary trust to process revolutionary theory and advance the struggle for liberation. We have to start small and people understand that. When the masses are convinced — it will be no small thing.

I would tell everyone around me the new truths I was discovering. My favorite targets were the really ill-educated "teachers" they send into the prisons. I would knife into them. I would rip into their theories and suppositions on history and economics with the spirit of vengeance for the millions of Afrikan bones that line the ocean floor along the routes of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade.

I walked into class one day, and the teacher was lecturing on the U.S. Civil War of 1861 to 1865. She was saying to the Black students in the class that "Abraham Lincoln should be a hero to Black people, because he freed the slaves." I said, "No, he didn't." She looked at me with that hideous look that I remember seeing on white faces in historic photographs where black bodies are hanging from trees and bridges. I went on: "Abraham Lincoln was forced to issue the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 as a result of the exigencies of the war effort. And he only freed the slaves in Confederate states that voted to withdraw from the Union. Slaves in states that remained loyal to the Union remained in chattel slavery until the end of the war."

I ended my point with a quote from the man himself; "My paramount objective in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union **without freeing any slave, I would do it** and if I could save it by **freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.**"

The teacher said that I was making up history; that he did not say anything remotely close to what I just said. So the next day I brought with me to class several books which contained the quote. She acted all surprised and stunned, but beneath her fake self I could tell she was seething with rage at me for showing to the other students that even teachers needed to be re-educated from time to time. After that day, I was kicked out of school, and I haven't been back since.



Out of the thousands of debates I engaged in over the years, the very best took place with teachers and prison guards. These people are so conceited and full of arrogant superiority that I particularly enjoyed pricking their balloons and sticking intellectual darts into their inflated egos. I felt alive and vibrant after each debate – it was like a morning fix to a dope addict.

The educational system in this country is organized to support and reinforce the political and economic structure of monopoly capitalism. Each student gets the values and "virtues" of the free market economy, private property and cultural individualism drilled into them. Students are taught that Amerika is prosperous because of our ingenuity, know-how and work ethic and that other countries lack the drive, creativity and initiative to compete with us. When he or she leaves school, he/she has been thoroughly indoctrinated in Amerikan superiority and will be the first to defend an inherently exploitative and oppressive social order.

The sad and unfortunate thing is that these students – were they not so brainwashed and blinded by chauvinism – could be contributing to the worldwide struggle for social justice. They would see the contradiction between the Empire's great wealth – and their relatively privileged position – and the great suffering of the exploited and dispossessed masses that are the majority of humanity.

The exploitation of other peoples and their natural resources is what enables the ruling bourgeoisie to buy off sections of the working class and middle strata of Amerikans and Europeans in the imperialist countries to support – or turn a blind eye to – the mass suffering and poverty created by capitalist-imperialism. This hold on youthful minds in the grip of the imperialist educational system is a major prop of the inequality perpetrated on humanity.

Thus, education is our primary task. A huge task to be sure, but what other choice do we have? Either we submit to the "New Slavery" or we fight it with every fiber of our beings. Freedom is not some ready-made commodity we can purchase at Wal-Mart. Freedom is respect for human rights, self-determination and government of the people. The ability to decide to build a road where needed to link the remote countryside with the urban centers, to make goods based upon people's needs rather than to make profit, to bring socialist development and its benefits to every country and all peoples as their birthright – this is true freedom!

One of the many problems that the New Afrikan Liberation Movement must take on ideologically and politically is sectarianism. Our freedom fighters must be willing to work with people of all shades of ideological beliefs and political positions among the people if we are to build an effective liberation movement. We must reject the notion that people must agree on everything in order to cooperate and work together for the common good.

The tactic of "divide and rule" was old in the time of the Romans. The oppressors are masters at playing groups and individuals against each other. We saw what they did to the original BPP and have been doing to us for centuries. We must – and will – solve our own problems and keep building unity. Some of us are so confused about how to solve our problems that we will have to deal aggressively with self-

outs, but in the main, we can resolve our differences non-antagonistically. Our main business is convincing the masses of people that another world is possible.

The Party which I am a leading member of recognizes that all our problems; drugs, poverty, oppression, crime and prison, spring from the fact that we are under a system based upon exploitation and capitalist dictatorship. This recognition compels us to make a pack with the people that we will stand with them come whatever. We are either going to win or lose, but it will be a fight to the very end. Revolutionary struggle will make a whole people out of us! We have nothing to lose but our oppression!

DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN!

BUILD PANTHER POWER! PANTHER LOVE!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Shaka Zulu #244128
NSP Box 2300
168 Frontage Road
Newark, NJ 07114



Shaka S. Zulu



African American Internationalism and Solidarity with the Philippine Revolution

By E. San Juan, Jr.

Reprinted from *Socialism & Democracy*, Vol. 24, Issue 2, July 2010, pp. 32-65

Let him never dream that his bullet's scream went wide of its island mark, Home to the heart of his darling land where she stumbled and sinned in the dark.

— William Vaughn Moody, "On a Soldier Fallen in the Philippines" (1901)

The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line – the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in American and the islands of the sea.

— W. E. B. Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk* (1903)

God damn the U.S. for its vile conduct in the Philippine Isles.

— William James, Anti-Imperialist League Records (1899)

Introduction¹

From 1865 to 1898, the United States underwent momentous changes not least of which was the formal "emancipation" of African slaves exploited by the Southern plantation aristocracy. However, the failure of the complete "reconstruction" of the South institutionalized segregation and white racial supremacy for another century. U.S. victory over the moribund Spanish empire in 1898 signaled its birth as a world imperial power dominant over the Caribbean and Latin America. Its colonization of the Philippines (bought from Spain after its defeat) allowed it to project itself as an Asian-Pacific power and ruler of "dark-skinned" Malayo-Polynesian indigenes.

In July 1900, when the Pan-African Congress convened for the third time in London, the Filipino Republic's resistance to U.S. "pacification" was over a year old, with the preponderance of native casualties due to quasi-genocidal war practices anticipating the forcible "hamletting" in Vietnam, scorched-earth counterinsurgency tactics, torture by "water-boarding," and so on. In a now historic speech at the Congress, W.E.B. Du Bois, who participated in the Anti-Imperialist League (of which William James, Du Bois' professor at Harvard University, was also a member), opposed to U.S. suppression of the dark-skinned Filipinos and took notice of the universal plight of "the darker races of mankind" by prophetically announcing that "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the colour line..." (Du Bois 1970: 125).

The dialectic of race and class implicit in Du Bois' address had already been anticipated in his 1891 paper on "The Enforcement of the Slave Trade Laws." Du Bois analyzed the interface between ideology, politics, and economic structure: "If slave labor was an economic god, then the slave trade was its strong right arm; and with Southern planters recognizing this and Northern capital unfettered by a conscience; it was almost like legislating against economic laws to attempt to abolish the slave trade by statutes"

(quoted in Lewis 1993: 159). Legal ideology and economic practice were so intricately meshed that one cannot privilege one category over the other. At that time Du Bois was neither an "economic determinist" nor a postmodern deconstructionist. Neither was Karl Marx when he discussed the politics of the U.S. civil war in his journalistic writings. Marx regarded the destruction of the slave system as a necessary prerequisite for the advance of working-class struggles in the U.S. and Europe. Hence the wholehearted support of the British trade unions and the first International Working Men's Association for Lincoln and the Union.

In his recent path-breaking work, Kevin Anderson demonstrates how Marx's inquiries into the race/class dialectic, both in the U.S. civil war and in Ireland's struggle against British colonialism, led him to change his earlier hypothesis of society's unilinear development and the progressive aspect of British colonialism. By 1853, and especially in his studies of Russia and non-western formations (from 1857 to his 1879-1882 notes on indigenous peoples), Marx formulated a multilinear and non-reductionist theory of social change that did not focus exclusively on economic relations of production. Anderson concludes that Marx's mature social theory "revolved around a concept of totality that not only offered considerable scope for particularity and difference but also on occasion made those particulars – race, ethnicity, or nationality – determinants for the totality" (2010: 244). In 1862, before the Emancipation Proclamation, Marx had already conceptualized the subjectivity or revolutionary agency of "free Negroes" as a crucial element in the victory of the Union forces.

Du Bois, of course, famously speculated on the *double consciousness* of this African American agency in *Souls of Black Folk* published in 1903. A moral and spiritual dilemma then confronted this emergent identity. While the African half dreamed of realizing full humanity, the American half yielded to a citizenship option, which could include joining the troops sent to the Philippines on a *civilizing mission*. The latter course would confront the African American soldier with the dilemma of whether to follow a racist-capitalist order, or to cast his lot with the *dark-skinned* victims. Imperial duty had to give way to the ethical imperative of fraternal solidarity with peoples occupying the same position as his community – a historically conscious partisanship committed to a transcendent cause that would dissolve racial, class and national barriers in the name of a universal humanist principle.

¹ The author acknowledges the help of the W.E.B. Du Bois Institute, Harvard University, especially Professor Henry Louis Gates and Dr. Vera Grant, for providing a half-year fellowship for the research and writing of this essay, an earlier version of which appeared in *Cultural Logic*.



This theme of the dialectic of race, class and nation informs my project of speculative historical inventory of which this essay is a preliminary investigation. I explore how African American internationalist praxis, personified by the African American soldier David Fagen and replicated by selected radical African American activists in the last century, materialized in the Filipino-American War of 1899-1902 and acquired richer nuances and ramifications when the U.S., after World War II and during the Cold War, made the Philippines a laboratory for reactionary counterinsurgency in *third world* nations. The fraught issues of race, class and nation that post-9/11 global capitalism has sublimated today into the Manichean dualism of *terrorism-versus-Western civilization* were all rehearsed earlier in the narratives of African Americans who, cognizant of the *double consciousness*, joined their honor and lives with the four-centuries-old struggle of the Filipino masses for dignity, popular sovereignty, and democratic socialism.

Necrological rites

Few Americans know about the Spanish-American War of 1898 – school textbooks allow only a few paragraphs for this *splendid little war*. After Spain's surrender in the Treaty of Paris, December 1898, the U.S. Empire began with military rule over Cuba and annexation of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Guam and, later on, Hawaii and parts of Samoa. Fewer know about the Filipino American War which began in February 1899 and lasted until 1913, with the Filipino Muslims sustaining the heaviest casualties in publicized massacres. This chapter in U.S. history is only now beginning to merit some attention in the wake of the adventures in Iraq and Afghanistan (Boot 2002; Kaplan 2003).

My story of African American soldiers in the Philippine revolution – U.S. officials called it "an insurrection" – might begin with President William McKinley. While there was public support for the war against Spain, pitched as a crusade to liberate the Cubans from Spanish tyranny, there was fierce debate over acquiring the Philippine Islands. The expansionist zeal of the "yellow journalists," commercial houses; and militarists was opposed by an organized nationwide group called the Anti-Imperialist League. It included Andrew Carnegie, former president Grover Cleveland, George Boutwell (co-founder of the Republican Party), and numerous personalities such as Mark Twain, William James, William Dean Howells, Jane Addams, and George Santayana. Besieged by such a crowd, McKinley confessed to a visiting delegation of Methodist church leaders how he sought the light of "Almighty God" to advise him what to do with the Philippines, and God told him that, among other things, "there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace to do the very best we could by them... and then I went to sleep, and slept soundly" (quoted in Schirmer & Shalom 1987: 22f). It was this sound sleep and McKinley's policy of "Benevolent Assimilation" that led to U.S. casualties of 4,234 soldiers killed, about 3,000 wounded, and anywhere from 250,000 to 1.4 million "new-caught sullen peoples" of the islands forever silenced.

With the 1898 Treaty of Paris, Spain agreed to cede – that is, sell – the Philippines to the United States for \$20 million, even though it had already lost control of the islands except

for its Manila garrison. But the Filipinos, as William Blum puts it, "who had already proclaimed their own independent republic, did not take kindly to being treated like a plot of uninhabited real estate. Accordingly, an American force numbering initially 50,000 [126,500, all in all] proceeded to instill in the population a proper appreciation of their status," gaining for the U.S. its "longest-lasting and most conspicuous colony" (2004: 39). Admiral Dewey himself, the hero of the battle of Manila Bay, reflected on how the Peace Conference "scarcely comprehended that a rebellion was included with the purchase." Henry Adams wrote Theodore Roosevelt to express his alarm that the U.S. was ready "to plunge into an inevitable war to conquer the Philippines, contrary to every profession or so-called principle in our lives and history. I turn green in bed at midnight if I think of the horror of a year's warfare in the Philippines where... we must slaughter a million or two of foolish Malays in order to give them the comforts of flannel petticoats and electric railways" (Ocampo 1998: 249).

While postmodern scholars today expound on the need then of Americans to assert manhood, moral superiority, and so on, material interests were indubitably paramount in their discourse on progress and civilization. U.S. policy decisions and consequent practices were framed in a "regime of truth" based on the now well-known politics of colonial representation. Roxanne Lynn Doty (1996) describes this discursive economy that has since framed North-South relations, in Foucauldian terms, as the denial of the transcendental international signifier, sovereignty, to Filipinos and other newly conquered indigenes; that is, the denial of the capacity to exercise agency. Force is justified because the annexed or colonized are unruly, undisciplined, rebellious, disposed to resist the laws established by the civilizing missionaries. What stood out in the cry for colonial possession is the need for a naval port and springboard for penetrating the China market and demonstrating American power in the Asia/Pacific region. This ideological legitimacy for the occupation was voiced by Senator Albert Beveridge, among others. After rehearsing the profits to be gained from trade and natural resources, he repeated a familiar refrain from past conquests of the Native Americans, the Mexicans, and other indigenes:

They [natives of the Philippines] are a barbarous race, modified by three centuries of contact with a decadent race. The Filipino is the South Sea Malay, put through a process of three hundred years of superstition in religion, dishonesty in dealing, disorder in habits of industry, and cruel-ty caprice, and corruption in government. It is barely possible that 1,000 men in all the archipelago are capable of self government in the Anglo-Saxon sense. (Schirmer & Shalom, 1987:25)

This was echoed by General Arthur McArthur who thought the natives needed "bayonet treatment for at least a decade," while Theodore Roosevelt felt that the Filipinos needed a good beating so they could become "good Injuns" (cited in Ignacio et al. 2004). The "barbarous" natives, however, resisted for a time longer than anticipated, offering lessons that have yet to be learned, even after Korea and Vietnam, and the quagmires in Iraq and Afghanistan. Despite neoconservative claims that the U.S. "savage war of peace" in the Philippines was humane, humanitarian, and honorable under the circumstances, U.S. intervention to



annex the Philippines continues to haunt the conscience of some humanists and historians of international relations.

Counting the victims

Current controversy among scholars surrounds the tally of Filipino victims of U.S. pacification. Journalist Bernard Fall cited the killing three million Filipinos in "the bloodiest colonial war (in proportion to population) ever fought by a white power in Asia," comparable to the carnage in Vietnam. Describing it as, "among the cruelest conflicts in the annals of Western imperialism," Stanley Karnow, author of the award-winning *In Our Image*, counts 200,000 civilians and 20,000 soldiers (1989: 194), while others cite the figure of 600,000 victims. Filipina historian Luzviminda Francisco arrives at the figure of 1.4 million Filipinos sacrificed for Uplift and Christianization – in a country ruled by Christian Spain for three hundred years. While Kipling at the outbreak of the war urged the U.S. to "take up the White Man's burden" and tame the "new-caught sullen peoples, half-devil and half-child," Mark Twain wrote some of his fiery pieces denouncing "Benevolent Assimilation" as the "new name of the musket" and acidly harped on the "collateral damage" of the U.S. "civilizing mission": "Thirty thousand [U.S. soldiers] killed a million [Filipinos]. It seems a pity that the historians let that get out; it is really a most embarrassing circumstance" (Zwick 1992:62). More recently, Gore Vidal stirred up a hornet's nest when he wrote in the *New York Review of Books*:

Between the years 1899 and 1913 the United States of America wrote the darkest pages of its history. The invasion of the Philippines, for no other reason than acquiring imperial possessions, prompted a fierce reaction of the Filipino people 400,000 Filipino "insurrectos" died under the American fire and one million Filipino civilians died because of the hardship, mass killings and scorched earth tactics carried out by the Americans. In total the American war against a peaceful people who fairly ignored the existence of the Americans until their arrival wiped out 1/6 of the population of the country... Our policy in the Philippines was genocide... We were not there to liberate or even defend a "liberty-loving" people, we were there to acquire those rich islands and if we had to kill the entire population we would have done so. Just as we had killed the Indians in the century before (some of our best troops in the Philippines were former Indian fighters) and as we would kill Southeast Asians later in this century... (1981)

In search of the dissenter

Whatever the exact figures of the dead, this landscape or theater of war was surely surveyed and closely inspected by one corporal David Fagen, an African American soldier, after he landed in June 1899. The Filipino revolutionary army was beleaguered and on the defensive, having suffered several defeats in Manila, Caloocan and Malolos, and the U.S. was on the way to winning the war. It was only a matter of time before superior force would prevail.

Fagen was one among fifteen to thirty deserters from four regiments of "Buffalo Soldiers" dispatched to the Philippines in July and August 1899. Seven thousand African Americans were involved in the war. After fighting the Native Americans as "Buffalo Soldiers," these four regiments were mobilized for the Spanish American War. As the New York State Military Museum reminds us, the use of black soldiers by the War Department conformed to the belief that black

soldiers were "naturally adapted to survive the tropical climate" (New York State Military Museum 2006). In fact, the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th U.S. Volunteer Infantry were later formed in response to the government need for soldiers "immune to tropical diseases." Incidentally, it was members of the 10th Cavalry that used their "Indian fighting skills" to save Theodore Roosevelt and his "Rough Riders" from certain extermination. But they never received recognition equal to Roosevelt's. When the Philippine resistance proved tougher than the officials estimated, the War Department recruited two regiments of black volunteers, the 48th and 49th Infantry and sent them to the Philippines in early 1900 to stay until the official end of the war.

We know the names of seven of about twenty-nine African Americans who deserted – their names have been expurgated from ordinary historical accounts. Deserters from the military are never mentioned in official histories, much less in approved textbooks and government documentaries. Only Fagen of Company I of the 24th Infantry seems to have survived in civic memory because he joined the revolutionary army of General Emilio Aguinaldo, the beleaguered president of the first Philippine Republic. Fagen's courage and skill as a guerrilla leader earned him the trust of his Filipino comrades. As captain of his unit, Fagen led skirmishes against the pursuing troops of General Funston who offered a \$600 reward for his head. A report of his "supposed killing" failed to convince even the U.S. Army, so Fagen continues to live on, at last arriving in 2000 at his niche in *American National Biography* (Ngozi-Brown 2000).

Before describing the circumstances surrounding Fagen's defection, I should state that my interest is not so much in the personal life and biographical circumstances of Fagen as in his position as a pedagogical signifier of intersubjective or interethnic relations. It would of course be useful to have complete biographical details about Fagen and his companions, and a full disclosure of all government documents on the incidents of the war in which they participated. My interest, however, is in the political, ethical, and philosophical – dare one use the term "ideological" – issues. What I am concerned with, in this historic event in which Fagen and seven other African American soldiers were involved, is its potential as an allegorical trope, an exemplary figure of the politics of self-determination for enslaved and subjugated communities.

From the conventional optic, Fagen's decision to join the Philippine anti-colonial revolution was a treasonous act, a violation of his oath of loyalty to the U.S. military and government. But given the situation of African Americans at that time in U.S. post-reconstruction history in the context of what some describe as an apartheid caste-system sanctioned by the 1896 Plessy versus Ferguson judgment and other laws, one might ask: Is Fagen's status that of a full citizen whose vow to uphold the authority of the state is uncompromised? Is Fagen's decision to fight the invasion (under Filipino leadership) simply that of a soldier citizen, or could it not be read as an allegory of the black nation's struggle for self-determination? If



the U.S. war against the Philippine republic that had virtually wrested power from colonial Spain was a war of colonial conquest, within this framework, can we not regard Fagen's refusal to be part of the State's violence as a quintessential act of political dissent and his joining the enemy as an act of rebellion against the racial State?

Given the prevalence of white supremacy, Fagen's act may be taken as a complete repudiation of that juridical-political order. His refusal to surrender confirms his choice as a moral and political act of self-determination. To join a revolutionary movement resisting a colonial power and its history of slavery and racialized subjugation is to reaffirm the right of collective self-determination. It is to reaffirm a long tradition of revolt against a slave-system. Further, in contradistinction to the earlier maroon revolts which sought to restore a pre-capitalist or pre-feudal order in an isolated place, Fagen's decision to join the Filipino anti-colonial struggle – a struggle comparable to Haiti's revolution against the French, with the qualification that the U.S. in 1899 was a fully industrialized capitalist power – is to affirm a new level of dissent which, at the threshold of the era of finance-capital and imperial conquest, acquires a global transnational resonance. The concrete universality of Fagen's individual revolt, taken as a symbolic act, is what I would like to explore further in connection with a quite distinct strain in African American political thought, extending from Frederick Douglass and earlier reflections on slave revolts up to W.E.B. Du Bois, Malcolm X, C.L.R. James, Harry Haywood, Harold Cruse, Nelson Peery, and others. This is a modest exercise in a transformative critique of cosmopolitan, possessive individualist – shall we say, neoliberal – reason.

Historical panorama

Before focusing on Fagen as an African American rebel-soldier, it might be useful to paint him against the historical landscape of the time. The war against the Spanish Empire was quite brief – indeed, "a splendid little war," in John Hay's terms. After Theodore Roosevelt's "fabled" storming of San Juan Hill and the surrender of the Spanish forces in Santiago, Cuba, followed by the passage of the Teller amendment, that episode might have concluded with the Treaty of Paris in December 1898. But strong opposition to colonial annexation of the Philippines delayed its Senate ratification.

Why would the United States want to acquire a colony? The major reason is the need of the ascendant commercial, industrial and military interests to penetrate the markets and natural resources of Asia. The initial desire (as expressed by Senator Beveridge, among others) was for a gateway to China. The Philippines offered a strategic location for a naval base, a military launching-pad, in addition to the immense value of its raw materials, above all mineral deposits. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge emphasized the potential market of the Philippines' ten million inhabitants. President McKinley – whose wife was obsessed with

converting the pagan "Igorottes" – pushed for colonization under the slogan of "Benevolent Assimilation" of the colonized subjects under U.S. sovereignty (for a summary of the historical context, see Constantino 1970: 67-91).

By the time Commodore George Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay in May 1899, the Filipino revolutionary forces under General Emilio Aguinaldo had practically liberated the whole country and were besieging the Spanish garrison in the Walled City of Manila. Dewey held Aguinaldo at bay with false promises of U.S. support. The Spaniards, after a mock battle already agreed upon, decided to surrender to General Merritt on August 13. Earlier, on June 12, General Aguinaldo formally proclaimed the independence of the Philippines from Spain; and on June 23, a revolutionary government was formed with provisions for administration of the entire country. Thus before the arrival of the first U.S. expeditionary troops on June 30, there was already a functioning Philippine government operating nationally and locally, which commanded the loyalty of the people. But despite Aguinaldo's desire to negotiate some kind of compromise with the U.S., McKinley and his military officials proceeded to build up the occupation forces until fighting broke out on February 4, six months after the Spanish surrender, and a few weeks after the inauguration of the Philippine Republic on January 23, 1899.

From June 29, 1898, McKinley's policy sought to enforce "the absolute domain of military authority" on people who had just won their freedom with arms. He knew that Aguinaldo and his followers, the bulk of whom came from the landless peasantry and impoverished middle strata, would never surrender their newly won independence. Fifty to seventy thousand troops were needed to pacify and "benevolently" assimilate the islands. The Filipinos resisted in frontal battles from February to March, 1899. In July 1899, the first of 6,000 segregated African American soldiers arrived in the Philippines. The U.S. began to occupy Jolo and other Muslim provinces once guarded by isolated Spanish *forts* in the southern Philippines.

On November 13, 1899, after losing the capital of Malolos and substantial numbers of fighters, Aguinaldo disbanded the regular army and switched to guerrilla warfare. Military governor General Otis did not understand this new strategy, believing that the insurrection had been suppressed with the capture of Malolos, the headquarters of Aguinaldo's government. Before he was replaced by General Arthur MacArthur (father of General Douglas MacArthur, who was forced to abandon Bataan and Corregidor to the invading Japanese forces in 1942), Otis wrote to the War Department in April 1900 that U.S. forces were no longer dealing "with organized insurrection, but brigandage," which would require police action by a quarter of a million soldiers (Pomeroy 1970: 86). Mark Twain's suspicion, shared by a large majority, was that "we do not intend to free, but to subjugate, the people of the Philippines" (Putzel 1992: 52). On May 2, 1900, General MacArthur took over. On December 20, he imposed martial law.

Waterboarding and other gory business

There is general consensus that the pacification of the Philippines is one of the bloodiest wars in imperial history.



After two days of fighting, the Filipinos on Manila's perimeter and in nearby provinces sustained nearly 10,000 casualties. Aguinaldo's officers, schooled in European manuals, followed positional warfare along classic military lines; but they were forced to resort to mobile warfare, utilizing their knowledge of the countryside and universal support from the populace in the face of vastly superior U.S. firepower. The inaugural model of anti-colonial "people's war" may be found here, as well as its ruthless antidote, "low-intensity" warfare.

As we saw, Otis and his officers thought that the insurrection would be over in a matter of weeks. Mobile tactics and eventually guerrilla strategy reduced the U.S. garrisons to easy targets, with the U.S. troops finding themselves ill-suited and ill-equipped to confront their enemies who lacked adequate firearms, often fighting with "bolos" – long-bladed knives – and spears. The Filipino insurgents resembled the proverbial fish swimming in the ocean of their sympathizers so that by subterfuge and hand-to-hand combat, the rebels overcame the odds against them. After protracted fighting with unconscionable losses, the U.S. army began to treat all the "niggers" as enemies, whether armed or not; it resorted to destroying villages and killing civilians. In the second year of fighting, 75,000 troops escalated the war against the Filipino masses, not just the sporadic guerrillas in the "boondocks" (the term adopted from the Filipino word "bundok," contested mountainous terrain).

General MacArthur observed that guerrilla warfare was contrary to "the customs and usages of civilized warfare," hence those captured were no longer soldiers but simple criminals, brigands, etc. They were "not entitled to the privileges of prisoners of war." This accorded with the U.S. Army "Instructions" (General Order 100) issued during the Civil War, defining "war rebels" who "rise in arms against the occupying or conquering army" as "high robbers or pirates" (Pomeroy 1970: 87). Those rebels would be today's "unlawful combatants" not deserving of Geneva Convention guidelines. By placing Filipino resistance outside the bounds of recognized warfare, William Pomeroy notes, "the American military authorities in effect and in practice gave sanction to barbarous methods," among them the infamous "water cure," rope torture, and others (1970: 88). Such atrocities flourished in the racist ethos of the conduct of the war.

The U.S. pacification campaign against the *insurrectos*, argues Jonathan Fast, "degenerated into a grisly slaughter of non-combatants" (1973: 74). From April 1901 to April 1902, four successive "depopulation campaigns" were carried out. The first occurred in Northern Luzon, described by one American Congressman: "Our soldiers took no prisoners, they kept no records; they simply swept the country and wherever and whenever they could get hold of a Filipino they killed him" (quoted in Wolff 1961: 352). Then in August 1901, in Panay Island, the same procedure was adopted. U.S. troops cut an area 60 miles wide from one end of the island to the other, burning everything in their path. In September and October, U.S. troops swarmed into Samar, with orders from General Jacob Smith to "burn and kill everything over ten," as a reprisal for the ambush of 48 American soldiers in the town of Balangiga. His subalterns fulfilled his vow to make the whole island "a howling wilderness."

The climax is rather unsurprising. In December, the entire population of Batangas (about 500,000) was forced into concentration camps. Frustrated by Filipino perseverance in

resisting U.S. sovereignty, General J. Franklin Bell who masterminded the Batangas campaign stated that he intended to "create in the minds of the people a burning desire for the war to cease that will impel them to join hands with the Americans..." For this purpose, it was necessary to keep the people "in such a state of anxiety and apprehension that living under such conditions will soon become unbearable" (Storey & Codman 1902: 71- 73). Due to the brutal conditions in the detention camps, to hunger and diseases, over 100,000 died in Batangas alone. Later, General Bell calculated that over 600,000 Filipinos in Luzon alone had been killed or died as a direct result of the pacification campaign. This estimate made in May 1901 does not take into account the victims of the other four campaigns listed above. The extermination of almost the entire population of Samar remains emblematic of how the U.S. administered the stick without the carrot. General Jacob Smith wiped out the town, summarily executed prisoners, and devastated the whole province – probably the longest and most brutal campaign on record. His method could not be considered exceptional, as Linn and others argue, because it had been repeated many times. Although Roosevelt declared the war over on July 4, 1902, the fighting lasted until 1910 when the last guerrilla leader was captured in Luzon; and Muslim uprisings continued until 1916, punctuated by the massacres of Bud Dajo in 1906 and of Bud Bagsak in 1913.



U.S. soldiers administering the "water cure" in the Philippines

Orientalist theater of cruelty

Harsh measures such as "reconcentration" or hamletting of civilians became official policy in fighting Aguinaldo's guerrilla forces. The most notorious practitioners were General Bell, who inflicted it in Batangas and southern Luzon, and General Jacob Smith, who turned Samar into a "howling wilderness." Recently, in the controversy over the use of torture such as "waterboarding," Paul Kramer rehearsed again what a British witness called "the murderous butchery" of the U.S. "pacification" campaign. Except for apologists of the McKinley and Roosevelt policies, such as Brian McAllister Linn (whose claim to neutrality in his book, *The Philippine War 1899-1902*, is quite a feat of Olympian hauteur), the general consensus is that the atrocities committed by the invading U.S. army were out of proportion to the resistance of the revolutionary guerrillas of the Philippine Republic, even allowing for the desperate measures Filipinos took to retaliate in kind. Of course, it is easy to say that both are guilty. But that is to



abandon the search for historical clarity if not some measure of provisional objectivity. Kramer recounts some of the findings of the Senate committee that inquired into the reports of "cruelties and barbarities" earlier revealed through letters sent to newspapers. At one hearing, the testimony of Charles Riley of the 26th Volunteer Infantry described in detail a scene of "water cure" that he witnessed, but after the ritual of a court martial, the guilty officer Captain Edwin Glenn was suspended for a month and fined \$50; in 1919 he retired from the army as brigadier general. At another hearing, William Howard Taft, head of the second Philippine Commission sent to the islands and first Civil Governor of the Philippines, was forced to admit that "cruelties have been inflicted" and the "water cure" administered, but countered that military officers had condemned such methods. Elihu Root, Secretary of War, excused the cruelties because the Filipino insurgents were guilty of "barbarous cruelty, common among uncivilized races." One stark leitmotif in this narrative centering on Fagen is the question of civilization. Filipinos were not only an "uncivilized race," they were savages, barbarous, treacherous, wild devils, and so on. In one Senate hearing, Senator Joseph Rawlins asked General Robert Hughes whether the burning of Filipino homes by advancing U.S. troops was "within the ordinary rules of civilized warfare," to which Hughes replied curtly: "These people are not civilized." On January 9, 1900, Senator Beveridge already reminded the U.S. public not to worry about the cruel conduct of the war because "We are dealing with Orientals." This strain appeared again in Senator Lodge's ascription of "Asiatic" cruelty to all Filipinos. Harvard University philosopher William James accused McKinley's camp of hypocrisy and cant and said: "God damn the U.S. for its vile conduct in the Philippine Isles" (Zinn 1980: 307).

Systematic extermination of homes and inhabitants occurred in the destruction of Caloocan before Aguinaldo switched from positional to guerrilla warfare. The general sentiment of the occupying army was captured by one volunteer: "We all wanted to kill 'niggers'... [It] beats rabbit hunting." In November 1901, the Manila correspondent of the *Philadelphia Ledger* reported: "The present war is no bloodless, opera bouffe engagement; our men have been relentless, have killed to exterminate men, women, children, prisoners and captives, active insurgents and suspected people from lads of ten up, the idea prevailing that the Filipino as such was little better than a dog..." (Zinn 1980: 308).

Were it not for a persisting amnesia or selective forgetting in the national psyche, the catalogue of gruesome facts would be a perverse imposition. Aside from Twain, Vidal and others, Gabriel Kolko rendered one of the most cogent reflections on the "enormity of the crime" of force and chicanery accomplished by officers most of whom were veterans of the Indian campaigns:

Against the Indians, who owned and occupied much coveted land, wholesale slaughter was widely sanctioned as a virtue. That terribly bloody, sordid history, involving countless tens of thousands of lives that neither victims nor executioners can ever enumerate, made violence endemic to the process of continental expansion. Violence reached a crescendo against the Indian after the Civil War and found a yet bloodier manifestation during the protracted conquest of the Philippines from 1898 until well into the next decade, when anywhere from

200,000 to 600,000 Filipinos were killed in an orgy of racist slaughter that evoked much congratulation and approval from the eminent journals and men of the era who were also much concerned about progress and stability at home. From their inception, the great acts of violence and attempted genocide America launched against outsiders seemed socially tolerated, even celebrated. (1976: 287)

Race war

One might venture the proposition that even before the Filipino-American War started, it was already a thoroughly racialized conflict. This is no longer news, Historian Richard Welch observed that the attitudes of the invaders often demonstrated "colorphobia," and the Filipinos to be subjugated were considered "monkey men" and "niggers" (1979: 1.01). A recent book by Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government*, elaborates on what W.E.B. Du Bois observed about the "race questions" of the United and those of the world becoming tightly "belted" together by imperialism. Du Bois identified the U.S. "ownership of Porto Rico, and Havana, our protectorate of Cuba, and conquest of the Philippines" as constituting the "greatest event since the Civil War," confirming how the space between America "and the islands of the sea" was dissolving, and with it, the former boundaries between the "race questions of the United States, the Caribbean, and the Pacific. He urged the unity of "Negro and Filipino, Indian and Porto Rican, Cuban and Hawaiian," to struggle for "an America that knows no color line in the freedom of its opportunities" (Du Bois 1997:102).

Kramer's book is one of the most sustained expositions of how race and imperial ideology coalesced to produce the exceptionalist politics of US global hegemony, with the conquest of the Philippines as a kind of experimental laboratory for its invention. It rehearses what many previous historians have noted: the racial formations in the US were exported and renegotiated anew in the Philippine scene, with the Filipino savages labeled "niggers," "gugus" (forerunner of "gooks"), Indians, etc" but with a difference in function. The racial imaginary justified extermination of the enemy race. Though self-limited in its focus on "race" as an amorphous, protean concept, Kramer convincingly demonstrates that on all sides, the U.S. conquest of the Philippines was a "race war" with profound implications that resonate up to today's thinking about ethnicity, racial relations, and a viable multicultural democracy.

Let us situate Fagen in the context of a "race war" that initially claimed to be a civilizing, benevolent project, but no longer a mission to liberate the Philippines from Spanish tyranny. The U.S., as Du Bois says, seized this "group of colored folks half a world away....[to rule] them according to its own ideas" (1970: 184). It is certain that Fagen experienced the bitter race hatred that black soldiers experienced when they were in Tampa, Florida, where a race riot began; black soldiers retaliated against drunken white soldiers. Twenty-seven African American soldiers and three whites were severely wounded. The chaplain of a black regiment in Tampa asked: "Is America any better than Spain?... Has she not subjects in her own borders whose children are half-fed and half-clothed, because their father's skin is black Yet the Negro is loyal to his country's flag" (Gatewood 1987: 255). That loyalty was severely eroded



and dissolved in Fagen when he landed in the Philippines in 1899 to help carry out a "regime change."

From the start, African Americans in the media and the leadership of civil-society groups demonstrated strong opposition to the colonial intervention. The ambivalence toward the war in Cuba was replaced with vigorous opposition to the war in the Philippines. As a member of the Anti-Imperialist League (founded on October 17, 1899), Du Bois condemned the war as an unjust imperialist aggression, the slaughter of Filipinos a "needless horror." The League recalled Fredrick Douglass's view, enunciated fifty years earlier, that the interests of the Negro people were identical with those of, the struggling colonial peoples: "We deny that the obligation of all citizens to support their government in times of grave national peril applies to the present situation" (Foster 1954: 415). On November 17, 1899, the *American Citizen*, a black paper in Kansas City, Kansas, stated that "imperialist expansion means extension of race hate and cruelty, barbarous lynchings and gross injustice to dark people." Bishop Henry Turner of the African Methodist Episcopal Church called the U.S. occupation of the Philippines an "unholy war of conquest" (Welch 1979: 110). Another newspaper (*Broad Ax*, Sept. 30, 1899) called for the formation of a "national Negro Anti-Expansionist, Anti-Imperialist, Anti-Trust, Anti-Lynching League."

On July 17, 1899, a meeting of African Americans in Boston protested the "unjustified invasion by American soldiers in the Philippine Islands." They resolved that "while the rights of colored citizens in the South, sacredly guaranteed them by the amendment of the Constitution, are shamefully disregarded; and, while the frequent lynching of negroes who are denied a civilized trial are a reproach to Republican government, the duty of the President and country is to reform these crying domestic wrongs and not to attempt the civilization of alien peoples by powder and shot" (*Boston Post*, July 18, 1899). Whether Fagen was aware of this sentiment cannot be ascertained for now. But he certainly knew that in general U.S. troops regarded Filipinos as "niggers" who were "therefore entitled to all the contempt and harsh treatment administered by white overlords to the most inferior races," as a correspondent of the *Boston Herald* wrote (Schirmer 1971: 21).

Fagen no doubt shared many of the sentiments expressed by black soldiers who felt they were sent to the Philippines to take up "de white man's burden." One of them wrote in 'a letter of 1899: "Our racial sympathies would naturally be with the Filipinos. They are fighting manfully for what they conceive to be their best interests." A black infantryman wrote from Manila in June 1901 to an Indianapolis paper: "This struggle on the islands has been naught but a gigantic scheme of robbery and oppression." Amid the burning of villages and massacre of supporters of the insurgents in Batangas and Samar, African Americans in Massachusetts addressed a message to President McKinley, about how Negroes in Wilmington, North Carolina, "guilty of no crime except the color of their skin and a desire to exercise the rights of their American citizenship, were butchered like dogs in the streets," and how black men were hunted and murdered in Phoenix, South Carolina, while McKinley "catered cunningly to Southern race prejudice" (Zinn.1980: 312f).

Lifting the veil

It was in this climate of racialized exterminist attitudes that David Fagen entered the scene. I cannot describe all the varied and forceful sentiments expressed by African American soldiers and other participants in the war found in letters compiled by Willard Gatewood, *"Smoked Yankees" and the Struggle for Empire: Letters from Negro Soldiers, 1898-1902* — an extremely valuable primary sourcebook. As a sample, I cite an anonymous black soldier who complained that white troops, after seizing Manila, began "to apply home treatment for colored peoples: cursed them as damned niggers, steal [from] them and ravish them" (Gatewood 1987: 279). Patrick Mason, a sergeant in Fagen's 24th Infantry regiment wrote to the *Cleveland Gazette*: "I feel sorry for these people and all that have come under the control of the United States. I don't believe they will be justly dealt by. The first thing in the morning is the 'Nigger' and the last thing at night is the 'Nigger' ...You are right in your opinions. I must not say as much as I am a soldier" (257). A black lieutenant of the 25th Infantry wrote his wife that he had occasionally subjected Filipinos to the water torture (Dumindin 2006). Captain William Jackson of the 49th Infantry admitted that his men racially identified with Filipinos but stated that "all enemies of the U.S. government look alike to us ...hence we go on with the killing." Most often quoted is the statement of Sergeant Major John W. Galloway who accused whites of "establish[ing] their diabolical race hatred in all its home rancor in Manila." He wrote about how white soldiers told Filipinos of "the inferiority of the American blacks — [their] brutal natures, cannibal tendencies" (cited in Gatewood 1987: 253), and speculated that "the future of the Filipino, I fear, is that of the Negro in the South." As a reprisal and warning to African Americans, the U.S. military accused Galloway of sympathizing with the insurgents. He was jailed, deported, and discharged dishonorably.

Completely informed of the history of racial conflict in the U.S., the Filipino resistance used what one black soldier called "affinity of complexion," revealed, for example, by a comment made by a Filipino lad: "Why does the American Negro come...to fight us when we are much a friend to him....Why don't you fight those people in America who burn Negroes, that make a beast of you?" The Filipino resistance claimed to speak as "black brothers" of African Americans, distributing pamphlets addressed "To the Colored American Soldier" with the appeal:

It is without honor that you are spilling your costly blood. Your masters have thrown you into the most iniquitous fight with double purpose — to make you the instrument of their ambition and also your hard work will soon make the extinction of your race. Your friends, the Filipinos, give you this good warning. You must consider your situation and your history; and take charge that the blood of....Sam Hose proclaims vengeance. (Gatewood 1997: 258f)

Another soldier wrote on Christmas Eve, 1900, to Booker T. Washington: "These people are right and we are wrong and terribly wrong." One African American enlisted man learned from his experience that "Filipinos resent being treated as inferior" and thus set "an example to the American negro." After surveying the archive of sentiments expressed by numerous participants, Anthony Powell concludes (1998)



that throughout the war African American soldiers "would be continually plagued by misgivings about their role in the Philippines...Their racial and ideological sympathy for colored people struggling to achieve freedom seemed always to be at war with their notions of duty as American citizens and their hope that the fulfillment of that duty would somehow improve the plight of their people at home."

One might interpolate here that during the war years, an epidemic of anti-black violence swept the South. Howard Zinn notes that between 1889 and 1903, "on the average, every week, two Negroes were lynched by mobs -- hanged, burned, mutilated" (1980: 308). In Lakeland, Florida, during that same period, black soldiers confronted a white crowd because they were refused service by a drugstore owner. Du Bois described the outburst of racist violence, such as the lynching of Sam Hose in Newnan, Georgia, in 1899. These and other incidents were known to the Filipino revolutionaries. Despite the Filipino appeal of racial solidarity against white oppressors and the offer of commissions to defectors, there were only twenty-nine desertions among the four regiments of African American regulars; and only nine actually defected to the rebels (Robinson & Schubert 1975: 73). Other researchers cite 20 defectors, seven of them blacks (including Fagen). Various reasons dissuaded them: among others, their long-standing loyalty, the hazards of war, severance of cultural/social ties, the threat of long imprisonment, capture and certain death. Why and how David Fagen surmounted these risks and dangers remains a persistent subject of speculation, by speculators attracted more to the personality than to the convictions or collective meanings invested in his actions.

Journey to the liberated zone

Fagen was born in 1875 in Tampa, Florida; his early life is unknown. Described as a "dark brown young man with a carved scar on his chin, standing five feet six inches tall," Fagen worked at Hull's Phosphate Company (biographical information on Fagen is from Ngozi-Brown 2000). At the age of 23, on June 4, 1898, Fagen enlisted in the 24th Infantry, one of the four black regiments based in Tampa at that time, and was sent to Cuba. Upon its return, Fagen accompanied the regiment to Fort Douglas, near Salt Lake City, Utah, where he was discharged. After his father died, Fagen re-enlisted on February 12 at Fort McPherson, Georgia, where his character was validated as meeting "all requirements." He trained at Fort D.A. Russell, near Cheyenne, Wyoming, before being shipped to the Philippines from San Francisco in June 1899. Immediately after his arrival, he was engaged in a major campaign. General Samuel Young led the northeast thrust to Central Luzon, fighting the insurgents near Mount Arayat and then garrisoning key towns in the vicinity. Fagen's Company 1, together with three others, occupied San Isidro, the principal town of Nueva Ecija province, from which President Aguinaldo fled.

It is said that Fagen encountered difficulties with his superiors. But the cause could not be incompetence since he was promoted to corporal in the months after his arrival at Fort Russell. Reports indicate that he could have been court-martialed for refusing to do all sorts of "dirty jobs." While a person does not form important decisions based simply on personal discomfort, this adversity may have reinforced that sharpened awareness of the thoroughly

racist way in which the war was conducted, with Filipinos regarded as "black devils," "niggers," thieves, and other insults. All these converged in that "particular solution" to a dilemma that Fagen selected on November 17, 1899. There is no doubt that his decision to defect was prepared and planned in advance. Assisted by a rebel officer with a horse waiting for him at the company barracks, Fagen cut his ties with Company I and headed for the guerrilla sanctuary.

Subsequent reports describe how Fagen wreaked havoc on the invading army. One veteran recounts how Fagen, in the midst of raging battles, would taunt U.S. soldiers; during one encounter, he reportedly shouted, "Captain Fagen's done got yuh white boys now" (Ganzhorn 1940: 191). But there was more to it than getting back at white supremacists. Instead of simply escaping to an isolated native community and withdrawing from the conflict, Fagen embraced the revolution with such boldness and energy that no one could be blind to the depth of his commitment to the Filipino cause.

From November 1899 to September 1900, we have no record of Fagen's activity as a leader of the Filipino resistance. On September 6, 1900, General Jose Alejandrino, commander of the Republic's army in Nueva Ecija, promoted Fagen from first lieutenant to captain "on account of sufficient merits gained in campaigns." His valor and audacity as well as popularity, were acknowledged by his soldiers who referred to him as "General Fagen." The *New York Times* (October 29, 1900) deemed Fagen important enough to cover his exploits, remarking that Fagen was a "cunning and highly skilled guerrilla officer who harassed and evaded large conventional American units and their Filipino auxiliaries." From August 30, 1900 to January 17, 1901, Fagen figured in eight clashes with the U.S. army. In one daring raid, he led 150 rebels in capturing a steam launch loaded with guns on the Rio Grande de la Pampanga river and escaped unhurt into the forest before the American infantry arrived. In two of these skirmishes, Fagen clashed with General Frederick Funston, the U.S. army's famous guerrilla hunter. John Ganzhorn, a member of General Funston's elite scouts, recalled confrontations with Fagen whose shrewd tactics led to successful ambushes (Ganzhorn 1940: 190-92; Funston 1911: 380).

A new development alarmed the U.S. military. In February 1901, six members of the 9th Cavalry regiment deserted and joined the insurgents in the province of Albay: John Dalrymple, Edmond Du Bose, Lewis Russell, Fred Hunter, Garth Shores and William Victor. All were court-martialed; Du Bose and Russell were publicly hanged before a crowd of three thousand people on February 7, 1902. Records prove that their execution was deliberately agreed upon by the military to serve as a warning to soldiers not to emulate Fagen. The Judge Advocate General reported to the Secretary of War that the execution of the two black soldiers was necessary because "great injury has been done the United States by deserters from the service, chiefly of foreign birth or of colored regiments, who have gone over to and taken service with the enemy" (quoted in Ngozi-Brown 1995: 171). The other soldier, Fred Hunter, was killed while trying to escape; Victor and Dalrymple were sentenced to life imprisonment in Leavenworth. Shores and another soldier from the 25th Infantry regiment were sentenced to death for entering "the service of the insurrectionists," but



President Roosevelt commuted their sentence to dishonorable discharge, forfeiture of pay, and imprisonment at hard labor for life (Powell 1998). In May and June 1901, two volunteer regiments of African American troops were shipped home.

Of some twenty deserters sentenced to death, only these two black privates were executed (Robinson & Schubert 1975: 78). While the insurgency continued for more than a decade, Roosevelt had to terminate that "dirty war" (Boehringer 2008) on July 4, 1902 to allay antiwar sentiment and prevent further desertions.

Birth of a legend

In March 1901, Funston captured Aguinaldo by devious means, thus emerging as one of the few heroes of the ugly and brutal war. As recorded in his memoirs, Funston's frustration at his failure to capture or kill Fagen became an obsession, contributing to the rise of a collective fantasy. Throughout 1901, Funston continued to pursue Fagen around Mt. Arayat – sightings of him were reported by the 22nd Infantry in February and April. Rumors of his exploits, stories of his cunning and audacity, led to the creation of a public image, a myth larger than the man – not unlike Nat Turner's. While the infantry was chasing him in Nueva Ecija, a *Manila Times* report narrated his visit to a brothel in the capital city, with the following account:

[Fagen] wore a crash blouse, similar to those of the native police, with a broad white trimming such as officers wear. The insignia on the shoulder straps were a pair of Spanish bugles. His trousers were dark in color, neat fitting, and topped a pair of patent leather shoes. A brown soft felt hat completed his apparel. (Feb. 26, 1901)

When two civilians approached him, Fagen supposedly "rose from the chair, placing his foot upon it and grasping his concealed revolver in his right [hand] and a small sword or bolo in his left." His escape from the military cordon around the city was described as daring and "unscrupulous." He is even reported to have recklessly boarded a troop ship headed back to the United States.

American prisoners of Fagen also repudiated the charges of atrocities and brutalities. At least two of them, George Jackson, a black private of the 24th Regiment, and white Lieutenant Fredrick Alstaetter, testified that they were treated kindly by Fagen. Nonetheless, Funston and other officers called him "a wretched man," a "rowdy soldier," "good for nothing whelp" lacking intelligence because of his "unusually small head," and so on (Funston 1911: 376- 77). Belying these rather malicious dismissals is the gravity with which senior officers like General Adna Chafee (veteran of the ferocious and brutal suppression of the Boxer rebellion in China) expressed grave concern about black turncoats and defectors. Of the twenty defectors, black and white, who were condemned to death, only two were actually executed: the two black privates noted earlier. President Roosevelt supported these executions while commuting all other death sentences for other guilty soldiers. The other victim of this drive to persecute disloyal soldiers was Sergeant Major Galloway (mentioned earlier), also from Fagen's regiment.

Fagen operated as a guerrilla commander, persisting in a relentless and protracted struggle against the U.S. army, even

after his immediate superior, General Alejandrino, surrendered on April 29, 1901. During the negotiation for his surrender, General Alejandrino asked an American officer if Fagen and two other deserters would be allowed to leave the islands; the answer was negative. When Alejandrino's successor, General Urbano Lacuna himself surrendered to Funston on May 16, 1901, General Lacuna also sought amnesty for Fagen. Funston's response was not surprising: "this man could not be received as a prisoner of war, and if he surrendered it would be with the understanding that he would be tried by a court-martial – in which event his execution would be a practical certainty" (Funston 1911: 431).

Prophecy of an ending

General Emilio Aguinaldo was captured by Funston on March 23, 1901. He accepted U.S. sovereignty and called on his followers to do so. His generals, Lacuna and Alejandrino, soon followed. But not Fagen. It was reported that he left the revolutionary camp with his Filipino wife and a small group of nationalist partisans for the mountains of Nueva Ecija. Throughout the year, Fagen was hunted as a bandit, with a reward of \$600 for his head, "dead or alive." Funston rejoiced over Fagen's branding as a common criminal, "a bandit pure and simple, and entitled to the same treatment as a mad dog." Civilian bounty hunters and civilian law enforcement agencies joined forces in pursuing Fagen.

On December 5, 1901, a native hunter, Anastacio Bartolome, turned up at the American outpost of Bongabong, Nueva Ecija, with a sack containing the "slightly decomposed head of a negro," which he claimed was Fagen's. He also produced other evidences, such as weapons and clothing, Fagen's commission, and the West Point class ring of Fagen's former captive, Lt. Frederick Alstaetter. But the military officers who reviewed the report were not convinced, and called the official file "the supposed killing of David Fagen" (Ngozi-Brown 2000, see also Miller 1982: 206). And there is no record of payment of a reward to Bartolome. There are two explanations for what happened: Either Bartolome found Fagen's camp and stole the evidence he presented, together with the head of an Aeta, a tribe of black aborigines; or Bartolome colluded with Fagen in order to fake his death and thus get relief from further pursuit. Fagen could then have fled further to live with the natives in the wilderness of northern Luzon where Jim Crow could not pester him. Shrouded in mystery, Fagen's "death" becomes the birth of his legendary career in academic minds. On October 30, 1902, a Philippine Constabulary unit recounted their pursuit of Fagen and other insurgents ten months after he had allegedly been hacked to death by Bartolome. The most plausible explanation, assuming Bartolome's story as fabricated, is that Fagen survived and remained for the rest of his life with the aborigines and local folk with whom he identified.

Our pioneering biographers, Michael Robinson and Frank Schubert, conclude that Fagen's rebellion is significant in revealing the "intensity of black hostility toward American imperialism," a militant act of self-determination that can cross boundaries and seize opportunities anywhere:

[Fagen's] Career illustrates the willingness of Afro-Americans to pursue alternatives outside the caste system when such options become available. Militancy did not distinguish him from the civilians who razed Tiptonville, Tennessee. The difference is in the circumstance. The Philippine insurrection offered him a



chance similar to the one Nat Turner gave Southampton slaves and the Seminole wars gave escaped slaves like Abraham. (1975: 82)

The editor of the *Indianapolis Freeman* supplied an obituary to Fagen's supposed death on December 14, 1901, by attempting to extenuate the "traitor's death" with the plea that he was a man "prompted by honest motives to help a weaker side, and one to which he felt allied by ties that bind."

Indeed, the specific historical circumstance inflected individual choice. Unlike the slaves who revolted from the plantations in South America and the Caribbean and formed runaway communities – maroons, cimmarones, quilombos – Fagen joined a community already up in arms against an invading and occupying power. In that process of affiliation, his rebellion from a white-supremacist polity mutated into a revolutionary act. His decision exemplified what Eugene Genovese calls (in his study of how Afro-American slave revolts helped fashion the modern world) a visionary emblem of dialectical transformation:

Ignorant and illiterate as the slaves generally were, they grasped the issue at least as well as others, for their own history of struggle against enslavement in the world's greatest bourgeois democracy led them to recognize and to seize upon the link between the freedom of the individual proclaimed to the world by Christianity and the democratization of the bourgeois revolution, which was transforming that fateful idea into a political reality. (Genovese 1979: 135)

Subaltern testimony

Before returning to the socially symbolic and prefigurative value of Fagen's act, I want to cite here the testimony of the Filipino general under whom Fagen served. General Jose Alejandrino wrote a memoir in Spanish entitled *La Senda del Sacrificio* (*The Price of Freedom*), published in 1933. He recounts how when he confronted Funston to discuss the terms of his surrender, Funston brusquely insisted that his surrender could not be accepted without his first delivering Fagen, otherwise he would remain a prisoner. Alejandrino refused because it would be an infamy since (as he told Funston) if you catch him, "you would be capable of bathing him in petroleum and burning him alive" (1949: 173). General Alejandrino met Fagen around August 1899 when Aguinaldo was in full retreat. Alejandrino provides us ingredients for a portrait of Fagen that might flesh out the legend, tidbits loved by the spinners of our mass media infotainment industry:

Fagen was a Negro giant of more than six feet in height who deserted the American Army, taking with him all the revolvers that he could bring, and who served in our forces with the rank of captain. He did not know how to read or write, but he was a faithful companion. He was very affectionate and helpful to me, going to the extent of carrying me in his arms or on his shoulders when I, weakened by fevers and poor nutrition, had to cross rivers or to ascend steep grades. The services which he rendered to me were such that they could only be expected from a brother or son...I had heard narrations of the feats of valor and the intrepidity of Fagen, but his most outstanding characteristic was his mortal hatred of the American whites...When our surrender was effected, I really felt very sorry in having to leave Fagen. (1949: 174-76)

Neither Alejandrino nor Fagen appear in the recent provocative book on the colonial occupation by Alfred McCoy (2009), a leading authority on Philippine-American

relations. But Fagen's example of imperial "blowback" sheds light on the putative origin of the hegemonic security state in the U.S. subjugation of Filipino resistance. McCoy argues that the establishment of modern sophisticated policing, covert techniques, systematic surveillance, and internal security apparatus employing native soldiers and acquiescent Filipino elite, succeeded in pacifying the Philippine colony. However, numerous peasant insurrections, revolts, and workers' strikes occurred from 1902 to 1946 (Constantino 1975), and the U.S. deployed various non-legal tactics to suppress them (Boudreau 2009). Aside from rewarding Filipino rebels who surrendered, the U.S. applied maximum counter-insurgency terrorism in the Samar and Batangas campaigns (the latter illustrated the classic "scorched earth" tactic of destroying food supplies, farm animals, villages, and concentration camps, where eleven thousand civilians died in a few months) – a "systematic destruction of the countryside" later replicated in Vietnam (McCoy 2009: 81).

Coercion and persuasion were combined and modulated according to local and inter-state contingencies. Such methods of the "dirty war" which McCoy catalogues – clandestine penetration, psychological warfare, disinformation, media manipulation, assassination, torture (such as the infamous "water cure"), and other sub rosa techniques – functioned within the larger program of violent colonial subjugation that had been deployed ever since 1899. These practices supplemented political instrumentalities and ideological agencies that tried to co-opt Filipino "revolutionary nationalism" through bribery, appointments to state offices, concessions, "divide and rule" schemes, etc. Though they dampened public sentiment and decapitated the native leadership, they never really stifled the durable Filipino hunger for sovereignty nurtured for over 300 years. Fagen's heirs today are the ingenious guerrillas of the communist-led New People's Army and the formidable combatants of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, not to mention countless Filipino militants inspired by African American civil rights movements. Imperial mimesis thus worked both ways, intensifying the internal colonialism of Black ghettos after the demise of "Reconstruction" in the South.

Pacification of annexed territory implied persistent refusal of the natives to yield consent to domination. Despite the elaborate institutionalization of the Philippine Constabulary and Philippine Scouts by the end of 1901 – the ambush of 48 American soldiers in Balangiga, Samar, on September 28, 1901 was used to justify the blanket punishment of all civilians "under ten" (Tan 2002: 141) – Fagen was never captured, nor was incontrovertible proof of his whereabouts established. Policing and surveillance failed. After Fagen's "supposed death" in December 1901, he was still being blamed for inflaming the Filipino resistance, as in the Samar disaster, and for renewed fighting in the other islands. His legendary figure began to haunt popular memory and civic conscience. We might encounter Fagen again in the persons of African Americans who found themselves in the Philippines when the U.S. army returned to "liberate" the colony from the Japanese occupiers, with the son of Gen. Arthur McArthur leading the forces to liberate the colonized from Japanese tyranny. Their sense of affinity was no longer based on complexion but on shared ideals and political solidarity.



Alternative interventions

After a hundred years, the situation of David Fagen and six other African Americans who were labeled by the *Manila Times* as "vile traitors" still awaits understanding and judgment by the peoples in the United States and the Philippines, as well as by the international community. This topic is still taboo, too dangerous to handle. Ngozi-Brown reminds us again of their "extremely difficult situation," serving as "foot soldiers for a racist ideology in which white Americans characterized Filipinos as they did African Americans as inferior, inept, and even sub-human" (1997: 42). The official authorities of course have pronounced them traitors and renegades, though one novelist, Robert Bridgman (author of *Loyal Traitors*) believed that their commitment to American ideals compelled them to resist the immoral course of their country and that a "higher patriotism" prompted them to commit treason (Powell 1998). Can such ambivalence of judgment be maintained? After the war, over 1,200 African Americans opted to stay in the Philippines. One soldier explained why: "To an outsider or one who has never soldiered in the Philippines the question would perhaps be a hard one to answer, but to the initiated the solution is easy and apparent at once... They found [the Filipinos] intelligent, friendly and courteous, and not so very different from themselves" (White, quoted in Gatewood 1987: 190).

World War II gave the opportunity for African American soldiers to "return," as it were, to the Philippines as part of MacArthur's "liberation" army. In his autobiography, *Black Bolshevik*, Harry Haywood, mentions his brief sojourn in Manila, where he met a group of revolutionary students and intellectuals with ties to the Hukbalahap, Communist-led anti-Japanese guerrillas. He was told how American troops disarmed these peasant guerrillas who had helped in the capture of Manila. Writes Haywood: "They were bitter and sharply critical of MacArthur's hostility toward the popular democratic movement. His clear intention was to return to the status quo of colonialism" (1978: 526), a return to the days of his conquering father, General Arthur MacArthur, and his notorious "stringent" and "drastic" measures under General Order 100, punishing non-uniformed guerrillas as criminals (Linn 2000: 213).

During the same period, Nelson Peery, bricklayer and political activist; participated in World War II as a soldier in the all-black 93rd Infantry Division. He details the momentous political awakening that he experienced in the Philippines in the first volume of his autobiography, *Black Fire* (1994). Peery made contact with the same groups and confirmed Haywood's observation. The entire apparatus of the U.S. State, its intelligence agencies and armed forces, had mounted a ruthless plan to crush the national liberation movement as they did forty-five years before. Peery noted that MacArthur quickly moved to reestablish a fascist, privileged officer corps in the Philippine army to protect investments and control the islands for the United States. He recalls that activists knew the story of David Fagen and how the "US army would never have allowed this talented black soldier to become an officer. Captain Fagen, with his black comrades; fought to the death for Philippine independence" (1994: 277).

Peery goes on to indict the hundred thousand U.S. mainly Southern white soldiers, who slaughtered over a million Filipinos, introduced the water cure, burning of villages, killing of civilians as part of the "scorched earth" tactics, while they "routinely brutalized the black troops. "Nevertheless," he goes on: "the black Twenty-fourth and the Twenty-fifth Infantry murdered right along with them. The Philippine people would not surrender. In 1914, black troops were sent in to crush the Moro rebellion. This time, however, the black soldiers refused to fight their black Filipino brothers. The people of Mindanao never forgot that." (1994:278).

Peery offers an eloquent judgment that I find quite prophetic in terms of what is going on right now in the Philippines:

If the Americans had never committed genocide against the Indian; if they had never incited wars of annihilation between the native peoples of this land; if there had never been a Trail of Tears; if America had never organized and commercialized the kidnapping and sale into slavery of a gentle and defenseless African people; if it had never developed the most widespread, brutal, exploitative system of slavery the world has ever known, if it had never held carnivals of torture and lynching of its black people; if it had never sundered and fractured and torn and ground Mexico into the dust; if it had never attacked gallant, defenseless Puerto Rico and never turned that lovely land into a cesspool to compete with the cesspool it had created in Panama; if it had never bled Latin America of her wealth and had never cast her exhausted peoples onto the dung heap of disease and ignorance and starvation; if it had never financed and braced the Fascist dictatorships; if it had never pushed Hiroshima and Nagasaki into the jaws of hell, if America had never done any of these things, history would still create a special bar of judgment for what the American people did to the Philippines. (1994: 276f)

Although Peery did not join the Huks (the Filipino communist guerrillas), he may be said to have traced Fagen's footsteps in forging solidarity with Filipino revolutionaries opposing U.S. neocolonialism. A politics of linkages and reciprocity afforded a new internationalism, a global perspective, a synthesizing of double-consciousness. Kevin Gaines observes that the Spanish-American War and the Philippine campaign accomplished little in the way of improving African American social conditions since political disfranchisement persisted, culminating in the Atlanta Race Riot of 1906. However, Gaines believes that African American soldiers, despite their contradictory position in an imperialist war and within a segregated army, provided symbols of heroism and "a boost of morale" (Gaines 1999). The fusion of the struggle for civil rights at home and self-determination for colonized peoples abroad constitutes a paradigm-shift from the dualistic polarity of isolationism and messianic nation-building, from the Social Darwinistic and evolutionistic stance of Anglo-Saxon, Eurocentric triumphalism.

Theorizing elective affinities

The most incisive formulation of this transformation may be found in Harold Cruse's reflections on his passage through World War II as a soldier radicalized by contact with the anti-colonial movement in the French colony of Algeria. Chiefly responding to Albert Camus' existentialist theory of metaphysical rebellion in a 1966 essay published in Sartre's review, *Les Temps Modernes*, Cruse's project of



conceptualizing the black "idea of revolt" germinated from his part in the war effort. It was a unique catalyzing experience that connected fragments of his world picture into some kind of concrete universality. Cruse's perception of the global arena pervaded by revolution and counter-revolution crystallized from a reflexive rationality:

The Army was the beginning of my real education about the reality of being black. Before the war, being black in America was a commonplace bore, a provincial American social hazard of no particular interest or meaning beyond the shores of the Atlantic. It was simply a national American disability – a built-in disadvantage to us all that we had to put up with, similar to a people that has to endure the constant imminence of droughts, floods, famines, or native pestilences. Race in America is her greatest "natural calamity," but it has today become internationalized into a global scandal because she is so rich in everything else, including democratic pretensions. A global war has made all this a global fact. But it is also a fact that it took this global war to initiate a personal metamorphosis that has culminated in what I am in 1966, as an American black. (1968: 169)

Cruse's metamorphosis parallels Fagen's, except that Fagen and his fellow African Americans were plunged into a war of colonization, while Cruse was engaged in the fight against fascism and reaction. But Cruse's realization of his collective plight and the ethico-political imperatives required to resolve the division between his abstract citizenship and his humanity, between his racialized self and his potential species-being, resembles Fagen's. It approximates what Frantz Fanon would refer to as the passage from the racial/national sensibility to a liberatory social consciousness transcending national boundaries and other socially constructed differences.

I would like here to add the insight of C.L.R. James on how the revolt of the colonized subalterns in Africa, Latin America and Asia, joining the insurrection of the racially oppressed peoples/nations (African Americans, indigenous communities, etc.), could act as the "bacilli" or ferment that would mobilize the proletariat and usher the beginning of world revolution against capitalism (James 1994: 179-87). Whether this is still applicable today or not; remains to be discussed. In any case, Fagen's metamorphosis prefigured what Cruse and others went through as their minds entered the stage of world history, in a moment when the Owl of Minerva (to use Hegel's worn-out trope) has not yet awakened from the night of the problematic, duplicitous Enlightenment and its contradiction-filled "civilizing mission."

From solidarity to community

After more than a hundred years of Americanization, however, the attitude of the "natives" would no longer be hospitable to Fagen, or even to Haywood, Peery, and their kind. Filipinos have chosen to be on the other side of the Veil, have exchanged their identity for that of their erstwhile colonizers. That is, they have chosen to be "white" in body and soul: a testimony to a century of McKinley's not-so-"Benevolent Assimilation." The majority of Americanized Filipinos seem to confirm the fructifying power of what scholar David Joel Steinberg called "the U.S. policy of self-liquidating colonialism, in which the 'little brown brother' [Taft's patronizing epithet] was permitted to achieve independence when he grew up, a maturation process that took forty-five years" (1982: 50). Nonetheless, Filipinos have

celebrated some other personalities of foreign descent, including two Spaniards and a Chinese who served as generals of the Philippine army (Manuel Sityar, Jose Torres Bugallon, and Jose Ignacio Pua): but Fagen has so far eluded such recognition. The reason is simple: the Philippine elite, vulnerable to blandishments, corruption, and patronage, has absorbed American Exceptionalism and perpetuated the Veil, fearing that to elevate Fagen to heroic stature would offend the fabled "special relations" with Washington and stir up the guardians of White Supremacy.

Vibrant solidarity with the Philippine struggle by progressive African Americans – one recent example being former Trans-Africa Forum president and long-time activist Bill Fletcher, Jr. (2004) who denounced the knee-jerk "terrorism" label imposed by the Bush administration on the Communist Party of the Philippines fighting the brutal, corrupt U.S.-supported regime of Gloria Arroyo – testifies to the enduring legacy of David Fagen's early commitment (via support for national-liberation struggles) to a universal ideal of socialist emancipation. The South African struggle against apartheid had a similar catalyzing effect on pan-African praxis in the U.S. in the 1970s and 1980s. From the diasporic intellectual tradition initiated by Marcus Garvey in the 1920s to Du Bois's Pan-African conferences to Malcolm X's diasporic populism, an African American internationalist outlook has continued to evolve up to the present. It is a totalizing trend that found its civic embodiment in the Black Panther Party's support for the Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions and in the border-crossing lives and aesthetic performances of Amiri Baraka, Jayne Cortez, and other African American artists.

Marx and Engels theorized the proletariat as a universal subject or agent of humanity's emancipation. But Marx in his last years envisaged a multilinear process of global emancipation that took into account the intersection of class with race, ethnicity, and nationalism (Anderson 2010: 240-44); With the rise of imperialism, the revolt of colonized peoples became for Lenin a vitalizing force in the growth of world socialist revolution, the "weak link" of oppressed emergent nations, delineated in his 1916 theses on "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-determination" (1971). The unfinished struggle for Filipino national self-determination, from the Cavite Mutiny of 1872 onwards, has been obscured if not denigrated by U.S. scholarship. Peter Starilev (1974) and David Steinberg (1982), for example, categorize the U.S. occupation as "tutelage" or "comprador colonialism," in which rulers and ruled negotiated compromises on an equal basis, both sides collaborating in underwriting the Cold War's prime "showcase of democracy" in Asia. Starilev Karrow sums up the orthodox apologetics of neocolonialism: "After World War II, American negotiators did indeed force Filipino leaders to accept onerous conditions... But the majority of Filipinos, then yearning to be part of America's global strategy, would have been disappointed had the United States rejected them. So they submitted voluntarily to their own exploitation" (1989: 330; for rebuttal, see San Juan 2000, 2007; Doty 1996). Targeting global capitalism, the Philippine project of national liberation does not simply mimic a Eurocentric model but articulates the manifold demands of women, indigenous communities, youth, racial/ethnic, and gendered minorities in a new paradigm of radical collective transformation.



Lenin's multidimensional vision of social transformation coalescing ethnicity, nation and race in both the imperial metropole and the colonized dependency, was implicit in Du Bois's idea of "double consciousness" applied to intercontinental conflicts and controversies. Meanwhile, the British-Boer war in South Africa, the Boxer Rebellion in China, and the Spanish-American War converged around the composition of *Souls of Black Folk*. As though reflecting on Fagen's situation, Du Bois addressed the complicated dialectic of class, race, ethnicity and nationalism in his 1900 "Address to the Nations of the World." This was delivered around the time that Fagen separated himself from the occupying army, joining the Philippine insurgents in the plains of Northern Luzon to continue the subversive tradition of Nat Turner, Sojourner Truth, George Jackson, and other African American rebels. With serendipitous intuition, Du Bois affirmed Fagen's internationalist solidarity within an encompassing historical-materialist framework:

[T]he modern world must remember that in this age when the ends of the world are being brought so near together the millions of black men in Africa, America, and the Islands of the Sea, not to speak of the brown and yellow myriads elsewhere, are bound to have a great influence upon the world in the future, by reason of sheer numbers and physical contact... Let the nations of the world respect the integrity and independence of the free Negro states of Abyssinia, Liberia, Haiti, and the rest, and let the inhabitants of these states, the independent tribes of Africa, the Negroes of the West Indies, and America, and the black subjects of all nations take courage, strive ceaselessly, and fight bravely, that they may prove to the world their incontestable right to be counted among the great brotherhood of mankind. (Bresnahan 1981: 193t)

References:

- Alejandro, Jose. 1949 [1933]. *The Price of Freedom*. Tr. Jose M. Alejandro. Manila: Solar Publishing Corporation.
- Anderson, Kevin. 2010. *Marx at the Margins: On Nationalism, Ethnicity, and Non-Western Societies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Blum, William. 2004. *Killing Hope: U.S. Military and CIA Interventions since World War II*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press.
- Boehrer, Gill. 2008. "A Magnificent Seven and an Unknown Soldier: Black American Anti-Imperialist Fighters in the Philippine-American War." *Bulatlat* viii. Vol. 2 (April 27-May 3).
- Boot, Max. 2002. *The Savage Wars of Peace*. New York: Basic Books.
- Boudreau, Vince. 2009. "Methods of Domination and Modes of Resistance." In *The American Colonial State in the Philippines*. Eds. Julian Go and Anne Fortes. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Bresnahan, Roger. 1981. In *Time of Hesitation*. Quezon City: New Day Press.
- Constantino, Renato. 1970. *Dissent and Counter-Consciousness*. Quezon City: Malaya Books.
- Constantino, Renato. 1975. *The Philippines: A Past Revisited*. Quezon City: Tala Publishing Services.
- Cruse, Harold. 1918. *Rebellion or Revolution*. New York: William Morrow & Co.
- Doty, Roxanne Lynn. 1996. *Imperial Encounters*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. 1970. *W.E.B. Du Bois Speaks: Speeches and Addresses 1890-1919*. Ed. Philip Foner. New York: Pathfinder Press.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. 1997 [1903]. *Souls of Black Folk*. Boston: Bedford Books.
- Dumindin, Arnaldo. 2006. *Philippine-American War, 1899-1902*. <http://philippineamericanwar.webs.com>
- Fast, Jonathan. 1973. "Imperialism and Bourgeois Dictatorship in the Philippines." *New Left Review* 28 (March-April), 69-96.
- Fletcher, Bill, Jr. 2004. "Speech at Connecticut Anti-War Conference. U.S. Labor Against the War," November 22. <http://www.uslaboragainstawar.org/article.php?id=72909>.
- Foster, William Z. 1954. *The Negro People in American History*. New York: International Publishers.
- Funston, Frederick. 1911. *Memories of Two Wars: Cuban and Philippine Experiences*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Gaines, Kevin. 1999. Interview by PBS. In "Crucible of Empire." http://www.pbs.org/crucible/resources_int.html
- Ganzhorn, John. 1940. *I've Killed Men*. London: Robert Hale.
- Gatewood, Willard, Jr. 1987. *"Smoked Yankees" and the Struggle for Empire: Letters from Negro Soldiers 1898-1902*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press.
- Genovese, Eugene D. 1979. *From Rebellion to Revolution*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Haywood, Harry. 1978. *Black Bolshevik*. Chicago: Liberator Press.
- Ignacio, Abe, Enrique de la Cruz, Jorge Emmanuel, and Helen Toribio. 2004. *The Forbidden Book*. San Francisco: TBoi Publishing.
- James, C.L.R. 1994. "The Revolutionary Answer to the Negro Problem in the United States," In C.L.R. James and *Revolutionary Marxism*, eds. Scott McLemee and Paul LeBlanc. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press.
- Kaplan, Amy. 2003. "Confusing Occupation with Liberation." *Los Angeles Times* (October 24).
- Karnow, Stanley. 1989. *In Our Image*. New York: Random House.
- Kolko, Gabriel. 1976. *Main Currents in Modern American History*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Kramer, Paul. 2006. *The Blood of Government*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Kramer, Paul. 2008. "The Water Cure." *The New Yorker* (February 25).
- Lenin, V.I. 1971 [1916] "The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-determination." in *Selected Works*. New York: International Publishers.
- Lewis, David Levering. 1993. *W.E.B. Du Bois: Biography of a Race*. New York: Henry Holt & Co.
- Linn, Briar M. 2000. *The Philippine War, 1899-1902*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.
- McCoy, Alfred. 2009. *Policing America's Empire*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Miller, Stuart Creighton. 1982. *"Benevolent Assimilation": The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Moody, William Vaughn. 1981 [1901]. "On a Soldier Fallen in the Philippines." In *A Time of Hesitation*, Ed. Roger Bresnahan. Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers; 125.
- New York State Military Museum and Veterans Research Center. 2006. "Black Americans in the U.S. Military from the American Revolution to the Korean War: the Spanish American War and the Philippine Insurgency." (March 30). <http://www.dnma.state.ny.us/historic/articles/blacksMilitary/Blacks>.
- Ngozi-Brown, Scot. 1995. "White Backlash and the Aftermath of Fagen's Rebellion: The Fates of Three African-American Soldiers in the Philippines, 1901-1902." *Contributions in Black Studies* 13.5 (1995/1996): 165-73.
- Ngozi-Brown, Scot. 1997. "African-American Soldiers and Filipinos: Racial Imperialism, Jim Crow and Social Relations." *Journal of Negro History*, 82.1 (Winter 1997) 42-53.
- Ngozi-Brown, Scot. 2000. "Fagen, David." *American National Biography Online* (February). <http://www.anb.org.ezpprod1.hul.harvard.edu/articles/05-00227.html>.
- Ocampo, Ambeth R. 1998. *The Centennial Countdown*. Pasig City: Anvil.
- Peery, Nelson. 1994. *Black Fire*. New York: New Press.
- Pomeroy, William. 1970. *American Neo-Colonialism*. New York: International Publishers.
- Powell, Anthony L. 1998. "Through My Grandfather's Eyes: Ties that Bind: The African American Soldier in the Filipino War for



Liberation, 1899-1902." Paper presented at 1997 National Conference of African American Studies and Hispanic & Latino Studies, Houston. <http://boondocksnet.com/sctexts/powell98a.html>

Putzel, James. 1992. *A Captive Land: The Politics of Agrarian Reform in the Philippines*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Robinson, Michael C. and Frank N. Schubert. 1975. "David Fagen: An Afro-American Rebel in the Philippines, 1899-1901." *Pacific Historical Review* xiv (February): 68-83.

San Juan, E. 2000. *After Postcolonialism: Remapping Philippines-United States Confrontations*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

San Juan, E. 2007. *U.S. Imperialism and Revolution in the Philippines*. New York: Palgrave.

Schirmer, D.B. 1971. "Mylai Was Not the First Time." *New Republic* (April 24): 18-21.

Schirmer, Daniel B. and Stephen R. Shalom. 1987. *The Philippines Reader*. Boston: South End Press.

Sheridan, Richard Brinsley. 1970 [1900]. *The Filipino Martyrs*. Quezon City: Malaya Books.

Stanley, Peter. 1974. *A Nation in the Making: The Philippines and the United States 1899-1921*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Steinberg, David Joel. 1982. *The Philippines: A Singular and a Plural Place*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Storey, Moorfield, and Julian Codman. 1902. *Secretary Root's Record: "Marked Severities" in Philippine Warfare*. Boston: G.H. Ellis.

Tan, Samuel K. 2002. *The Filipino-American War, 1899-1913*. Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press.

Vidal, Gore. 1981. "'Death in the Philippines.'" *New York Review of Books*, vol. 28, no.20 (December 17).

Welch, Jr., Richard. 1979. *Response to Imperialism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Wolff, Leon. 1961. *Little Brown Brother*. New York: Doubleday.

Zinn, Howard. 1980. *A People's History of the United States*. New York: Harper Colophon Books.

Zwick, Jim, ed. 1992. *Mark Twain's Weapons of Satire*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Socialism and Democracy is published three times a year by the Research Group on Socialism and Democracy, 411A Highland Avenue, (#321), Somerville, MA 02144, USA and is on line at: www.sdonline.org.



Town Business from the Bay to L.A.:

"WE ARE ALL OSCAR GRANT!"

By Shango Abiola, Field Marshal, Black Riders Liberation Party

Reprinted from *TURNING THE TIDE: Journal of Anti-Racist Action, Research & Education*, Vol. 23, No. 4, Oct.-Dec. 2010

"Point number 1: We demand an immediate end to police brutality and the murder of Black people." These words from the Ten Point Program and Platform of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, "What We Want & What We Believe," forever immortalized in the warrior spirit of the Afrikan Diaspora, have embodied the spirit of the people of northern and southern California.

If ever the phrase "history repeats itself" has had a positive connotation it's in the parallels of the movement for justice for Oscar Grant and the spread of the Black Panther Party in the 1960's. Let's not romanticize this historic struggle for justice of our brother Oscar Grant and all the ancestors who fell victim to the pigs' bullets, but it does seem quite obvious that the seeds of resistance are being planted similar to the ways they were in the '60s. Militant rebellions that ranged from protests that destroyed property in downtown Oakland to police being killed in response to an atmosphere of fear they created: The similarities are undeniable...In order for us to win this struggle this time around, we should need to analyze the situation as it is in order to decide how to move. This article will be an analysis and timeline of the events of the Oscar Grant Movement and the movement to end police terrorism.

JANUARY 1, 2009, 2:00 AM: THE PUBLIC LYNCHING

BART police officers Tony Pirone and Johannes Mehserle execute 22 year old Blackman and working father Oscar Grant, with his hands behind his back and Tony Pirone's knee on Oscar Grant's neck, while officer Merysol Domenici and other officers stood by and watched. Prior to their lynching Oscar Grant, well-known racist Tony Pirone was caught on tape assaulting Oscar Grant and calling him a BITCH ASS NIGGER multiple times before officer Mehserle cowardly shot him in the back.

JANUARY 7, 2009: THE TOWN'S REBELLION

At 3:00 PM, many grassroots organizations hold a press conference protesting the execution of Oscar Grant and demanding that all officers on the platform be held accountable and charged. Because of the community outrage and mobilization, Oakland Mayor Ron Dellums calls a separate press conference in order to divert attention from the community organizing around the murder of Oscar Grant. At 9:30 PM, Mayor Dellums' purposeful negligence, along with police provocation, leads a peaceful protest from the Fruitville BART station into a full-scale rebellion in the middle of downtown Oakland. As a result of the rebellion over 100 people were arrested on frame-up charges. This was referred to as the **Oakland 100** case. Many of the



people arrested were community organizers, such as the Minister of Information of the P.O.C.C. JR.

FEBRUARY 27, 2009: COINTELPRO IS STILL ALIVE

Self-confessed agent provocateur Mandingo Hayes (**FAKE BLACK PANTHER/REAL SNITCH**) starts a fight at Oscar Grant's birthday celebration outside of the Black Dot Café in West Oakland, in order to neutralize the community organizing against police terrorism.

MARCH 1, 2009

Town Hall meeting at the Black Dot Café: Many community activists gather to expose Hayes as an agent provocateur and strategize on the next move in the Johannes Mehserle case.

MARCH 21, 2009 CHICKENS COME HOME TO ROOST R.I.P. LOVELLE MIXON

Lovelle Mixon (Deep East Oakland Soldier) is killed after defending his life against four Oakland pigs while more than likely being racially profiled. Oakland police have a brutal history of terrorizing the Black and Brown community, from Black Panther Li'l Bobby Hutton to Oakland residents Gary King, Andrew Mopin, elderly woman Anita Gay and many more. Multiple officers (if not all) were corrupt, including officer Dunakin, a North Oakland pig known for lynching ("justifiable homicide") of Black men. We (the Black Riders Liberation Party) feel Lovelle Mixon's actions were righteous, whether he was a political organizer or not. We feel that our brother Lovelle Mixon represented with his dying breath the spirit of Afrikan resistance. The B.R.L.P. feels that whether he was a revolutionary or not, he acted in a more revolutionary manner than some so called "revolutionaries" who are more scared of police repression than they are in tune with the unspoken language of the streets! To the Afrikans in the united snakes, brother Lovelle Mixon's actions speak to the need in the black community to militantly organize the masses of Afrikan people in ways that aren't all theory with no action. Black Riders is just that kinda organization. We feel because of the political atmosphere from the Oscar Grant execution, the historic nature of the pigs being an occupying army, and the terrorist reputation of Dunakin and OPD, that Lovelle Mixon's act of rebellion were, as El Hajj Malik El Shabazz (Malcolm X) would say; **"THE CHICKENS COMING HOME TO ROOST!"**

SEPTEMBER 11, 2009: CHANGE IN VENUE

Mehserle's defense attorney Michael Rains files for a change of venue order to stop the people of Oakland and the Bay Area's continuous rebellion, and the trial moves to Los Angeles shortly after. The defense filed the motion from the belief that the people of Alameda were too racist to be an impartial jury...ain't that some B.S.

JANUARY 8, 2010: LIVE AND DIE IN LA

The preliminary hearing in Los Angeles starts for the trial of Johannes Mehserle and the people of LA are there, to show their support for Oscar Grant's family and protest police terrorism. Being a city drenched in blood of pig terrorism from Rodney King to Deandre Brunston, the people made sure to have a strong presence at the courthouse to show that police brutality won't be tolerated in LA. Among the

organizations that were there were the Black Riders Liberation Party, the Commemoration Committee for the Black Panther Party, the Prisoners Of Conscious Committee, the Justice Coalition for Oscar Grant (Bay & LA) and more.

JUNE 10, 2010: TRIAL OFFICIALLY STARTS

The trial of murdering pig Officer Mehserle begins in LA.

JUNE 14, 2010: ALL OUT TO THE COURT HOUSE

The Black Riders post on security detail as the LA Coalition and the people protest police terrorism outside the court house as witnesses are called to the stand. Supporters from as far as Seattle and New York come to LA to help build resistance against police terrorism and fight for justice for Oscar Grant.

JUNE 25, 2010: THE DISRESPECT CONTINUES

Mehserle takes the stand and gives a rehearsed testimony with the acting skills of a politician, crying on stand about him killing Oscar Grant, even though he hadn't apologized to the victim's mother or family. At this blatant disrespect for Oscar Grant, Comrade Timothy Killings of the Laney College BSU (in Oakland) stands up and tells Mehserle to "save those f@*king fake tears..." He was assaulted and taken into custody in LA County Jail, until he was freed a few days later.

JULY 1, 2010: NO JUSTICE NO PEACE

The possibility of Murder1 is taken off the board and the stage is set by the state to deny yet another Black family justice.

JULY 5, 2010: PIGS FAKE THE FUNK

Black Riders drill and demonstrate in front of the court house even though the courts have postponed the verdict announcement. For some odd reason the trial is postponed because one juror is supposedly sick and another had an appointment to go to.... hmmm, sounds like a set up.

JULY 7, 2010: OPPRESSION BREEDS RESISTANCE, RESISTANCE BREEDS REPRESSION

Pigs raid the Black Riders headquarters on a supposed parole violation, on the night before what turns out to be the day the verdict comes in. Several comrades are hemmed up while the fascist police seize computers and literature from the house and take General T.A.C.O. straight to state custody bypassing booking and holding. The fact is the fascist state knows that the Black Riders have been the main voice for the Afrikan community in LA standing up for justice for Oscar Grant non-stop.

Without a pot to piss in, comrades still push the line for justice every day of our lives, providing support and political education for comrades from Oakland while down in LA. I can say personally as a member of Black Riders and being from the Bay Area, that General T.A.C.O. in the short time that I have known him has helped to sharpen my military and political skills as a revolutionary more than anyone else I have met in my life. Linking Afrikans with Indigenous people not just in LA but all over California. The parole officer told T.A.C.O. he was being taken for "sending the Black Riders



to the Oscar Grant trial." A few days later, after the verdict came in, the supervisor of General T.A.C.O.'s parole officers released him back to the streets, acknowledging that it had been an unfounded action, but warning him that the feds, the LAPD and the parole system saw him as a threat. Despite the fact that the Black Riders proved in court during the trial proceedings against the Black Rider 3 that the BRLP is not a gang, the parole officers still intend to use the former gang jackets hung on some members of the BRLP to restrict T.A.C.O.'s ability to associate and communicate with members of his community.

JULY 8, 2010: NO JUSTICE NO PEACE, F*#K THE POLICE!

After only six hours of deliberation, the jury convicts murderous pig Johannes Mchserle of only involuntary manslaughter with a gun enhancement, and the court proves yet again that this system is not designed for poor and oppressed people. Protestors meet up in Los Angeles at Leimert Park demanding real justice. In downtown Oakland, on 14th and Broadway, a group of thousands of people angrily meet up to speak out against police terrorism, and after their assembly is declared illegal, destroy corporate property in spite an excess of scary ass pigs and the National Guard being called in. Seventy-eight people were arrested, 12 of whom weren't even from California. One thing is for sure, the fascist state is getting scared, but the people aren't. Shout out to the righteous fury connecting the people from the Bay to LA. Game recognizes Game, and it shows that the people will not let Oscar Grant's memory go in vain!

It is hard to say how the outcome of this trial will affect oppressed people in general and Afrikan people in particular, but it is safe to say that whatever the outcome of the Mehserle trial, that our work as revolutionaries will not be done even with a partial guilty verdict. The fact that officers Domenici and Pirone were fired is not enough. Just the simple fact that their appeals weren't ripped up and laughed at shows that there is no justice in the system for black people, or brown people or any oppressed people so long as kkkapitalism lives. Sentencing has been postponed until November 8 in hopes people will drop their guard and Mehserle's defense can win a motion to throw out the gun enhancement. People are mobilizing to make sure Mehserle gets the maximum sentence, and that justice is sought in other legal arenas.

But one thing is for sure – that the Black Riders Liberation Party will be here to push the line for justice for Oscar Grant, Lovelle Mixon, Deandre Brunston, Carlos Rivera, Ayana Jones and all victims of police terrorism, until the principles of Revolutionary Afrikan Inter-communalism are achieved. Our work is not defined by the verdict of white supremacist bourgeoisie law, but this case is a catalyst for the people who were too plugged into the matrix to see the terror that Black people experience to wake up and get active. We will continue to push the line until we are FREE!

**Free Mumia, Free Leonard Peltier, Free Oso Blanco,
Free Chip Fitzgerald, Free General T.A.C.O. and Free All
Political Prisoners!**

**Justice for Oscar Grant, Justice for Deandre Brunston,
Justice for Carlos Rivera!**

Black Power to Black People!

ALL POWER THROUGH THE PEOPLE!

JOIN NOW!

Black Riders Liberation Party

PO Box 8297

Los Angeles, CA 90008

blackridersliberation@gmail.com

(323) 557-5607

As we went to press, street protests erupted in LA against cops who killed a Maya day laborer, ARA, Black Riders, Brown Riders, and the LA Oscar Grant Coalition were out to support the Guatemalan community.



Letters

Aug. 27th, 2010

Shikamu! (Respectful Greeting!)

Although I write you from the "Belly of the Beast," let there be no doubting – Revolution is on the march here in the Illinois Dept. of Correction. I am sure that you have received dispatches from Illinois. And I am sure some of those must have given you satisfaction. The NABPP-PC material as well as WPO material and Brown Panther material has made the rounds. I have strategically sent newsletters to all of the maximum security facilities through inmate conduits.

There is a new Illinois NASO (New Afrikan Service Org.) chapter – headed of course by me. One of my staunchest comrades is Terrence "Mau Mau" Washington. He is in many ways like a reincarnation of our beloved fallen comrade, Jonathan Jackson. He takes Fanon from the heart. ("The time for talking has ended, the time for acting



has begun.") I have made him my co-chair. We have no other formal positions.

We are engaged in a struggle for hearts and minds. There is so much fear and complacency to contend with, but we refuse to allow that to discourage us. The proletariat here in prison hungers for change. They see for themselves the inherent mentality born out of capitalist-imperialism. They know the neo-con is an elitist, greed-driven exploiter. They want something better than the substandard of living they've had to contend with in Chicago's ghettos.

Eyes and minds are being opened and world views transformed. These "correctional" facilities are ripe for recruiting and transforming into "Schools of Liberation." The prisoners realize that this is the Department of Corruption not Correction!

They've basically cut off all the programs in the prisons. The COs routinely abuse and misuse their authority. The mentally ill are medicated and thrown into Ad-Seg. Anyone who puts up a stink or files grievances is labeled an agitator and shipped off to the super-max in Tamms, IL. (I was sent there in 1998).

The oppressor's minions and lackeys – aka COs and "Jakes" – fight fiercely to preserve the current course. With that understood – we will fight harder! On these galleries in Ad-Seg: Revolution is on the march!! Let there be no doubt of it! Please continue to send newsletters and pamphlets!

I just got in a new book I've let at least 10 other guys read already. It's called "The Irritated Genie" by Jacob H. Corruthers – about the Haitian Revolution. It is a remarkably inspiring story. Toussaint as well as Dessalines deserves to be mentioned along with Che, Lumumba, Nkrumah, George Jackson, Huey, etc. Although Toussaint "danced" with the Phantom of Liberty and paid for it – he was a part of the initial vanguard and deserves his due recognition. Dessalines took it to an entirely new level. He was the real hero!! The Spirit of Ogun (Warrior Spirit) is alive and well!!!

I have enclosed a powerful essay by my Co-chairman. I am also enclosing two poems by me.

All Power to the People!

Panther Love!

Uhuru!!

Chairman of the Illinois Branch NABPP-PC and NASO Chapter

Mr. Patrice Lumumba Daniels #B-70662
Pontiac Corr. Ctn. Box 99
Pontiac, IL 61764-0099

The Solution

Revolutionize the masses

inhale these toxic gasses

created to get ya'll off those asses.

Time waits for no one –

the lunch counter sit-ins and marching days are done.

In the name of all that is sacred,

it's time for some action.

I'm sick and tired of hearing the same old crap from Sharpton and Jackson.

Rise Up and Wise Up!

Say a prayer – do a salat

write yo' will then grab a Glock!

Sounds radical, huh?

Well it is!

Now is the time 2 seize the time

for the sake of our kids.

Neo-colonialist, conservative capitalist mongrels

with elitist deep pockets and designs

can't stand the sight of our kind

regardless of whether or not you mind

you can't negotiate with evil –

there's no peaceful co-existence

nor non-violent remedy

the evidence is overwhelming.

They didn't hesitate to assassinate

Lumumba, Malcolm, Tupac, Dr. King or Kennedy.

At the end of a barrel we will find that pie in the sky –

all the rhetoric about Democracy is a nothin' but a lie.

They specialize in collateral change –

under the guise of good.

Sorta like the local kingpin drug lord who passes out free

Thanksgiving turkeys to the turkeys in the hood.

It's time 2 take it 2 the streets –

demand a truly equal distribution of wealth,

adopt a government policy that's communal –

and not solely fixated on self.

Communalism and a socialist economic agenda can

peacefully co-exist.

The political fear-mongering and hyperbolic speech is pure nonsense.

But anyone who believes this can be achieved –

without massive bloodshed –

lives in a fantasy world

inside their head.

They won't give up so easily –



what they've killed to maintain.
We've got to be equally ruthless –
if we are ever to reign.
Revolution is the only solution!!
Power 2 the People!!

A Luta Continual (The Struggle Continues)

In the trenches fighting –
this never-ending battle.
Inspired by those before me –
who fought
shed blood
risked imprisonment and death –
and died.
Injustice is still the norm.
His-Story is still taught in the school books.
I promise to all –
I will not rest.
Until my last breath –
I will resist.
I will inform, enlighten, uplift, empower
and if need be –
I will take up arms
for our sake.
To perish for the cause –
what a noble demise.
if you have nothing 2 die for –
your life don't mean shit!
Uhuru!
Panther Love!

Patrice Lumumba Daniels #B-70662
Pontiac CC PO Box 99
Pontiac, IL 61764

HOW TO BREAK A SLAVE

**By Terrence "Mao Mao" Washington, Co-Chairman
Illinois NASO/NABPP-PC**

From an IDOC "Death Kamp" – Aug. 2010:

The Illinois Dept. of Corrections has a peculiar brand of dehumanization it employs to control its imprisoned population. Its max-segregation facility is not unlike a Nazi death camp in its heavy use of terror and chemical stimulants in behavior modification to induce submissive conduct. Harkening back

to the slave plantations of the antebellum South, it is a slave-breaking site where psychological and physical abuse and torture are employed to violate just about every internationally-recognized human right and Constitutionally-guaranteed, democratic civil right there is. Astoundingly, these inhuman abuses are show-cased for the public: Brazenly and unabashedly put on display to reveal the horrors of the slave pen with no attempt to play down the inhumanity to the spectators, who are the likely source of replenishing the staff here.

A page must have been taken straight from Dachau and implemented in detail to come up with these brutal behavior-modification techniques. Captives are sent here not for disciplinary action but to be broken. Routinely, prisoners who have mental illnesses, a penchant for violent outbursts, or an adamant disregard for the rules, are sent here to be stripped, humiliated, dehumanized and broken.

With psychological damage festering inside them, they are programmed to inflict pain on others – as well as themselves. Sick, obsequious "dogs" are unleashed back into the prison population, to divide the prisoners and prevent any unity from materializing. These "dogs" prey on the weak prisoners or those they are sent against – victimizing them, throwing bodily fluids and excrement at them, and attacking while others are in restraints.

The "dogs" comprise a regiment of cheerleaders who encourage the pigs to beat, bludgeon and abuse other prisoners more savagely. Ironically, no incentive is given to them to reward this behavior. Quite the contrary, the pigs often brutalize their "dogs" with more ferocity and frequency than they do other prisoners. Often for doing just what they've been encouraged to do – attack other prisoners.

In this sick relationship, the "dogs" continue to grovel before their masters, grateful for the ability to hob-nob and fraternize with their abusive tormentors. This dysfunctional relationship is analogous to that of an abusive bully and his battered consort. The technique is actually being developed and perfected as a management tool in the program to break "troublemakers" and intimidate the masses of prisoners into meek submission.

Targeted captives are denied meals, showers, toiletries, medical attention, sleep, exercise, sunlight, mail, cosmetics and personal possessions and are often kept incommunicado for weeks on end. They are forced onto psychotropic medications, kept in restraints, and subjected to psychological abuse as well as beatings. The treatment is calculated to push the victim into a state of suspended ambivalence over how to respond and cause the victim to suffer a mental or emotional breakdown, commit suicide or become one of their obsequious "dogs."

The flunky acts as the agent of the COs, spreading false rumors, acting as courier, snitching or acting as a provocateur or hit-man. They become part of the apparatus of oppression while remaining oppressed themselves – as well as hated by the general population. Willie Lynch could not have devised a more barbaric application of the principle of "divide and rule."



Essential components cornerstoning the operation of this slave camp:

- Atmosphere of suffocating melancholy, hopelessness and despair
- Kangaroo hearings
- Insalubrious living quarters and shower facilities
- Sadistic pigs and flunkies
- Fiendishly cynical doctors and mental health professionals
- Apathetic and negligent medical staff
- Fraternal solidarity among the staff on cover-ups
- Implicit universal institutional malfeasance
- Collusion of the state and federal courts to shoot down prisoners' petitions
- Wardens who act as plantation owners
- Majors who act as slave drivers

Most bizarre is the "Monkey Show" when they open the infamous North Sea 1 Gallery to the public, proudly parading queer lots of curious spectators through the gallery to gawk at the "deviants," all the while explaining the spectacle, methods and security procedures – like a zookeeper. The proverbial "nigger monkeys" act their part by slinging feces. The majors actually encourage this, inciting captives to perform this "trick" for the shocked audience.

The mentally disturbed use feces as a weapon of protest against inhumane conditions – and the courts have meted out severe sentences for this offence – but in this context it is encouraged because it is what's expected.

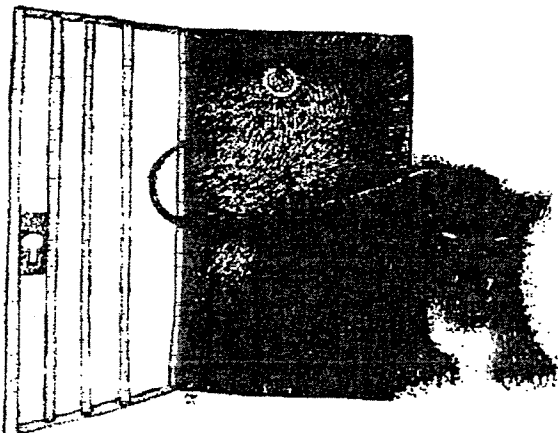
For those who spend years in this "Mad House," there is no full psychological recovery. Super-max has nothing to do with corrections – it is simply "cruel and unusual punishment" intended to destroy or psychologically maim the victims for life. It must be abolished!

Dare to Struggle – Dare to Win!

Panther Love!

From: Co-Chairman Illinois Chapter NAASO/NABPP-PC

Mr. Terrence "Mau Mau" Washington #K-82690
Pontiac Correctional Center
PO Box 99
Pontiac, IL 61764-009



Coming Soon! **Defying the Tomb**



A collection of pre-Party writings and drawings by
the Minister of Defense of NABPP-PC

Defying the Tomb

***"Each generation must, out of relative
obscurity, discover its mission, and fulfill or
betray it." – Frantz Fanon***

Kevin "Rashid" Johnson has been compared to a contemporary George Jackson and Emory Douglas rolled into one. His transition from teenage gang-banger to imprisoned revolutionary intellectual and artist is the subject of this first published volume of his work. Subjected to the most oppressive treatment imaginable in Virginia's notorious Red Onion super-max prison, "Defying the Tomb" was composed using the center piece of a ball point pen – yet the scholarship of the writing and precision of the artistry will astound you.

Much of the book consists of an exchange of letters between Rashid and Outlaw, another young Black prisoner on a revolutionary path of discovery. Discussing everything from hip hop to dialectical materialism, the reader is included in the thought process of this amazing comrade in the period leading up to the formation of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter and the United Panther Movement it is leading.

Defying the Tomb will be available in the U.S. from:

AK Press
674-A 23rd Street
Oakland, CA 94612

Voice: (510) 208-1700
Fax: (510) 208-1701
www.akpress.org

And in Canada from:

Kersplebedeb
CP 63560, CCCP Van Home
Montreal, Quebec
Canada H3W 3H8

www.kersplebedeb.com
www.leftwingbooks.net



A Prisoner Writes

July 17, 2010,

Revolutionary Greetings!

I hope this missive finds you & loved ones in the best of health & spirit. As for myself, I'm trying to manage.

I thought my piece to MIM was well written as well; too bad the MIM didn't think so. I don't think they printed it in their 'newspaper.' After all, they claim to recognize that armed struggle is a necessary part of communist-socialist revolution, yet they refuse to promote or educate about it. Reformists, if you ask me. Correct, new democratic revolution & people's war does not apply to the U.S.; there is no peasantry. What we have is an industrial proletariat & the lumpen. As the days pass, the working class are losing their jobs or settling for lower wages; unions are striking; people are losing their homes; government aid is becoming harder to get; the urban communities have become a police state; the crime rate & murder rate are up; younger children are familiarizing themselves with drugs & violence; the technology of today & the media have influence over man's every day life & activities. On top of all this, the country continues to engage in a war the American people no longer support. The flag will soon wave RED!

True, urban guerrilla warfare can be harmful, but I don't think it should be forgotten or neglected as a tool once we engage in mass armed insurrectionary war. Of course the readiness of the masses & our preparation are important, & we should combat adventurism & police provocations.

Although the urban city street gangs have engaged in much stupidity, I believe they can be valuable once unified & educated. Their tribalism is much like racism which separates a people by senseless discrimination & prejudices, deterring them from their cause. Some of these gangs consider themselves "leftists" & "revolutionaries" but lack the education. In turn, their influential power lacking direction reduces to nothing but "strength in numbers" & they themselves become an oppressive force.

These gangs are the same way in the prison system with the same weaknesses; only difference is their oppression is more direct, forcing them to become more conscious. Along with them you have the NOI who speak out, and at times act out, as revolutionaries, but are still marred by the religious aspect of their ideology & their racial impression that the white man is the enemy & the Devil. Besides them are the typical religious factions, & the rest of the oppressed prisoner population.

Though there will be obstacles, the prison system can readily become a school for liberation due to the environment. Freedom is the objective of every inmate/prisoner. With education, they too will become Black, their eyes golden & the night sky will be RED. The MIM, whether they choose to grasp the proper ideology of Maoism or not, will be swept by the revolution; whether they rise with us or fall at our feet is of their choosing.

Be safe Comrade!

Power to the People! Panther Love!

Hezron Emprenciano #07A4632, Orleans Correctional Facility, 3531 Gaines Basin Rd., Albion, NY 14411-9199

And Another Writes

Dear Comrades,

Revolutionary Greetings, Love and Solidarity to All!

As I continue to carry out the mission placed before me before my birth, it's a blessing to have any revolutionary literature to help with this mission of educating and organizing the POWs around revolutionary utopia. These prisoncrats work so hard to suppress the growth and development of the New Black Man in his highest revolutionary form. At all cost!

But we are too strong to be repressed: too strong to be defeated – and our struggle continues! Our situation of having too little literature is crucial!! We don't have much to work with, so growth in some areas is slow – but still we grow!

Here at this concentration camp (Broad River) we are only allowed to get photocopies of books. So please don't send any books in book form. We need more revolutionary booklets like the ones sent (Right On!, Serve The People!, etc.). In short we need all that we can get back here and if possible I would like to request some photocopies of books (Chiek Anta Diop, Comrade George Jackson, Huey P. Newton, etc.): Regarding the cost, we have a system to have our family members put money together for this cause. So please inform us on how and who to make donations to.

I have submitted a poem for Mother Assata and all our mothers! Please publish if possible.

Comrade Omega

Donyell Hodson #235562
BRCI Saluda B 215
Columbia, SC 29210

Mother Assta: and all our mothers

Understand

That from caves and pits of a place formidable to Hell's unknown submerged in complete darkness – I think of you!

Understand

That as I wage war for my survival, my sanity, my freedom, and the fruits of a world fashioned by the hands of my elders – noble and upright people whose blood saturates the soil of this planet – I think of you!

Understand

That as seconds become minutes, minutes hours, hours days, and days months; as months become years and years decades into oblivion; I know of nothing more beautiful, sublime and righteous as the thoughts of you. I see you and smell you – I hear you, and though I long to be with you to hug and kiss you, I touch you with energy more potent.

Understand



That as I sit here pondering these thoughts, these words, I think of you. In every battle – mental, physical, emotional or spiritual – I think of you!

Understand

That as time consumes me and my flesh rots in the cool embrace of Mother Earth, as maggots feast only to be feasted on by other things that crawl through me – I think of you.

And now I lay here my soul and the ragged pieces of my heart clenched in a rotted fist thrust out to you. Indeed my last gift which says:

Understand

That even as my bones become dust, I'll think of you!

Comrade Omega

Donyell Hodson #235562
BRCI Soluda B 215
4460 Broad River Road
Columbia, SC 29210



"Gangsterism" – Has it progressed or has it regressed? By Nigerian King

Aug. 1, 2010

Greetings Comrades,

This is your fellow comrade in the struggle, Nigerian King. This is a topic I want to touch on, not only from personal experience but from my growing concern over the direction of "street formations" and their refusal to implement all of the ideologies that was bestowed on the many brothers and sisters of this lifestyle. The foundations of street formations have changed tremendously over the span of approximately 40 years now. The proper rules, or philosophy, that were handed down (protecting and unifying the communities, instill love in the youth, etc.) are not being practiced as they once were when created by brothers such as Benson Owens, Sylvester Scott, Raymond Washington and Stanley "Tookie" Williams. Which brings me to state how all street formations were once influenced by the BPP, but after the systematic repression of the Panthers, most "gangs" were either swayed by Reganomics or created self-righted movements of their own. I have often questioned myself and other brothers and sisters who live(d) the same lifestyle and most of the answers contained similarities.

That it seems as if we've been "bangin" in vain, in which none of the rules or oaths instilled in us – and from the BPP – are being used today. It's sad but true, because we have not accomplished anything at all – but "turf" and gains from drug money!?! The visionaries who started this would be very disappointed in what's going on today. They fought long and hard to make sure we'd have rights to serve and

protect our own instead of killing and robbing each other, as members of law-enforcement/government sit back and laugh at us. Deservedly so: since we're helping them do their job. If we take a look at the mid-80s to late 90s, there have been more "gang-related" crimes and casualties reported than U.S. deaths in the Persian Gulf War and this "non"-war on Terrorism.

Why is that? We've allowed the government to rock us to sleep. Instead of stepping up and putting a stop to this, we'd rather receive "gifts" that will keep us content with each others' "sets." It is no different from the way Ronald Regan and Bush, Sr. did back in the 1980's.

The effects of the government's COINTELPRO still linger in our communities today. It's evident with the high crime rate, outrageous cuts on welfare recipients, and displaced youth dropping out of school and resorting to living the best way they know how. There's no direction in the hoods, and we continue to have the same lingering problems. Unless the street formations that "run" the hoods collectively use their minds to rebuild instead of further destroy the hoods the problems will only worsen.

If the street formations (members) have pledged to uphold and protect their communities, then the people as a whole are in a position to show the youth that there are many ways to be productive instead of killing each other and polluting our families with the poison that is distributed through our hands.

Let me state that I cannot cast a stone without sin. I have been guilty of the same things while representing a street formation. Knowing the rules and the oath I've taken, stating I'd fight oppression, (and not meaning killing my own over a different flag color or over turf and drugs). I know from walking down this path how one can be mislead into hating anyone who didn't share the same flag color as me. This hate is dangerous and it has consumed my body to the point where I looked forward to "puttin' in work" on the "enemy." Later, I learned that my "enemy" was not the other Black youth in the hoods in the U.S., but that this was a backlash and resentment to the oppression of my people and played a major role in striking them.

I was caught up in the ways of the government traps set before me, and going against my better judgment landed me in prison. Although we hosted community cook-outs, turkey give-a-ways, and inter-communal sports tournaments, it was mainly a front to keep the cops and the elders off our backs. These things didn't matter because we still participated in live shootouts, robberies, and caused casualties of war on a daily basis. Despite being shot twice, having my homey (relative) die in my arms, being a victim of armed robbery, and having shootouts with the police still didn't wake me up. "Putting in work" to gain status was the main thing that drove me to destroy my own community at a rampant pace.

Now that I've sat back and analyzed my ways and action, what have I gained from this? Bullet wounds, dead partners, destroyed families and a 20 year prison sentence. The only work put it was unwittingly serving the government's madness put on us, creating a huge void instead of unity between each other.

Times have indeed changed, and would those such as George Jackson, Bobby Hutton, or Bunchy Carter approve



of how we are conducting ourselves these days? No they would not! For a fact, since we are doing the total opposite of what they placed before us, they would hold us accountable. Their teachings cannot be allowed to go to waste. We must teach the youth the correct ways of our forefathers in the BPP.

Many leaders, such as myself, must be held responsible for this stagnation of the direction of the street formations and the youth generally. We let the people down, and this must be corrected. I'm talking to all the leaders of the various street formations I can about this problem and the need to start showing the youth how to better themselves instead of showing them the negative stuff depicted in the media. Mainly to show them it's the government that's behind this negative portrayal to keep us down.

If every member of the street formations reviewed their "lessons," and then asked themselves, "Am I really following the creeds that systematically made me who I am today?" Chances are that if they are "keeping it real" with themselves, they would have to say "No!" Violence amongst street formations will continue to grow unless a conscious decision is made to stop it. For example, here in north Carolina, most street formations in the prison system are quick to go to war with each other. Brothers are quick to assault other brothers instead of helping each other out and stand up united against the oppressive attacks of the system. This is backwards, because the majority of prisoners belong to some street formation, have knowledge of the COINTELPRO-type tactics being employed against us and still fall for the same old tricks and tactics.

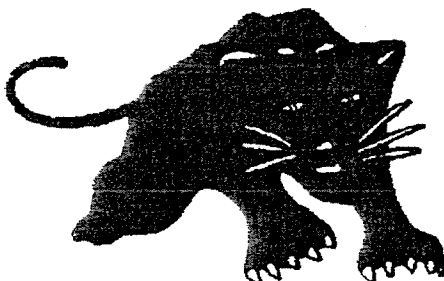
It's gotten to the point here where inter-fraternal violence is allowed and encouraged in each and every street formation in here. Unless we revert back to the teachings of the BPP, we're just pawns to what the government is doing to us. As we continue to destroy our own, through turf and drug wars, the result is families destroyed by death and separation due to imprisonment. We will lose regardless of how many blocks we lock down brick solid.

Talk is cheap, and until the leaders snap out of this "hip hop vigilante" mode, we will continue to lose our youth at a rapid rate and accomplish nothing. Seriously, let's wake up and stop carrying out the dirty work of the government that oppresses us. I know changing won't be easy, because I've experienced it myself, but it takes more than me - it takes us all! Unite to save the youth, because the future depends upon it!

Black Panther Motivation!

Comrade Nigerian King (Derrick Chidomere)

Central Prison, Raleigh, NC



The Black Commune Program of the Black Riders Liberation Party

The BRLP is a revolutionary political street formation in LA based upon continuing the legacy of the original Black Panther Party (BPP) that was formed in the California Youth Authority by then active members of the Bloods and Crips under the leadership of General T.A.C.O. (Taking All Capitalists Out).

We ride for the Black Commune Program because it is what we want and believe. A Black commune is a Black community built on the belief of sharing and mutual cooperation between all people of that community which brings forth unity. What is mine is yours and what is yours is mine, or "I am because we are; and because we are, therefore I am." This is a belief system that Black people have held since the beginning of human existence. It allows us to ride out any storm in perfect unity. This is the type of Black community that we ride for.

- A. **We Ride** for total liberation. **We Ride** for power to take full control of the destiny of our Black community. We will *not* be liberated and free from oppression until we take full control of our destiny.
- B. **We Ride** to put a stop to the thievery by the capitalists of our Black community. **We Ride** because this racist government has stole from us and now we demand the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised over 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency, which will be distributed, to our communities. The American racist have taken part in the slaughter of over 50 million Black people, therefore, **We Ride** to make sure we receive complete payment.
- C. **We Ride** for maximum and complete employment for our people. **We Ride** because the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. **We Ride** because we believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen, placed in the community, and communized. That way, the people of the community can organize and employ its entire people and give a high standard of living.



- D. **We Ride** for freedom of speech. **We Ride** because we believe that all attacks on social redeeming hip hop rap songs should stop. The 1st Amendment to the U.S. Constitution gives a right to freedom of speech. During chattel slavery the Black spirituals provided us songs with social redeeming qualities. Today's hip hop raps provide us songs with social redeeming qualities because conscious rappers help to guide us to liberation by outlining the horrible plight that Black people suffer in this new era of crisis.
- E. **We Ride** because we demand the cases of all Black people held captive in the jails and prisons of America reopened, reinvestigated and retried by members of the Black community. **We Ride** because we feel that Black people living in incarceration have been tried unfairly by the U.S. Justice Department. We have been denied the right of trial by ones peers resulting in guilty verdicts for an enormous amount of innocent Black people. We have been and are being tried by juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the Black community. It is time that these cases be reopened and retried by Black people so that the innocence of Black inmates can be determined by a jury of their peers, as stated in the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. We as Black people shall then deal with our own people by granting freedom from incarceration to those whose retrial has validated it and deferring charges and sentences for those proven to be guilty by their peers. We want amnesty for all *political prisoners*.
- F. **We Ride** for decent housing fit for shelter of human beings. **We Ride** because we believe that if the capitalist landlords will not give descent housing to our Black community than the housing and the land should be made into a communal so that our community, with government aid, can build and make housing for its people.
- G. **We Ride** for education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. **We Ride** for education that teaches us our true history and our role in present day society. We believe in a educational system that will give our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have a knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.
- H. **We Ride** for an end to the drug problem. **We Ride** because we demand all the files of the Iran/Contra hearings, and information regarding aid to the Contras in Nicaragua be released to the Black community. This should be done to determine the connection between the government and the influx of drugs into the Black community during the 1970s and 1980s. Black people neither own airplanes or manufacturing plants needed to produce and distribute drugs. We believe that the best way to begin to solve the drug problem is to find out how it is entering our community so we can put a stop to it.
- I. **We Ride** for all Black people to be exempt from military service. **We Ride** because we believe that Black people should not be put in financial deprivation, causing them to be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like Black people, are being victimized by the racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist military by whatever means necessary.
- J. **We Ride** for an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of Black people. **We Ride** because we believe we can end police brutality in our Black community by organizing Black self-defense groups dedicated to defending our Black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The 2nd Amendment to the U.S. Constitution gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all Black people should arm themselves for self-defense.
- K. **We Ride** for full medical attention that should be given to all Black people. **We Ride** because we believe that American capitalist economics is to blame for the high rates of disease in the Black community. Black people suffering from life threatening ailments like AIDS should no longer be left to the mercy of low budget county hospitals. For whatever illness any member of the Black community suffers, the federal government is obligated to send them to medical institutions that provide the best treatment.
- L. **We Ride** for an end to environmental racism and to stop the disruption of the earth's ecological balance. **We Ride** because we believe that American industrial production has and is currently creating terrible environmental side effects locally, nationally, and internationally – especially in areas where Black people live. Industrial production causes pollution of air, land, and water, which in turn lowers the life expectancy of people. If the racist American industrialists sought out technology to further industry then he must seek out technology to protect the environment. If the racist U.S. industrialists refuse to do so then his industry should be taken and placed in the Black community so that we can protect the environment and our own communities.
- M. **We Ride** for land, technology, bread, housing, education, clothing, medical care, justice, peace, and an end to environmental racism. When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them a descent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable



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

Sis. Etana, BRLP
PO Box 8297
Los Angeles, CA 90008

31 Gun Salute to Jonathan Jackson

by Comrade Kwame Holloway

"Where Did Jonathan Jackson Go?"

The Bible says that there is no love greater than to die for your brother. Jonathan Jackson set the perfect example of a man willing to die for the struggle. Now I ask every brother and sister that's conscious of the struggle, "Where did Jonathan go?" Nowadays, people are too scared to lose their "JOB," or something material, to help their people in the struggle. They won't speak out against injustice that is right in their face. They are too busy being Uncle Toms and Aunt Jezebels to help lift their brothers and sisters out of the pit of ignorance.

Forty years ago, Jonathan Jackson laid down his young life to set his oppressed New Afrikan blood brothers free. I myself would have no trouble dying for my people, but who will follow after me? Will I become another Jonathan? Forgotten by a generation whose only focus is drugs, sex and rap?

Today's young Afrikan Amerikans don't recognize the sacrifices made by the vanguard that traveled down the long road to freedom ahead of them. If you were to ask the average Black youth today who Jonathan Jackson was, they couldn't tell you.

This is a sad thing, because without the sacrifices of men and women like Jonathan Jackson, we'd still be slaves in the worst sense. As a people, we run here and there looking for answers to cure the social ills we suffer, but most of us don't know our history. We only learn what "Massa" tells us and accept it at face value.



"ON OPPOSITION TO ISOLATION AND TORTURE"

BY HERMAN BELL

Physical torture and forced isolation are two arms of the same body. At its social base is the state, which relies upon this practice to enforce its will upon its citizenry to achieve some specific political objective: usually to elicit information, or to dissuade one from engaging in disfavored activity.

In its efforts to assert its political and economic hegemony across the globe, even as the social contradictions between itself and its opposing forces intensifies, Western imperialism will employ any and every draconian means at its disposal to achieve its goal: world domination. Social activists, educators, workers, grassroots organizers, people who are avowed opponents of their government's egregious social and foreign policies, are cast in the mode of "trouble makers," "agitators," "criminals," and the like, or in some other expedient pejorative to justify state repression. Imprisonment, torture, isolation cells, and disappearances are the tools of choice. Therefore, Abu-Ghraib; Guantanamo; u.s.a. Florence, Colorado; F-type prisons in Turkey, the EU, and elsewhere are not aberrant lapses — they set the stage for this type of repression.

This is why support work to get people out who are locked in these torture chambers is so critical, and is why work to prevent their expansion must be vigilant and unrelenting. The word "ineluctable," which means, "not to be avoided or escaped" is an apt characterization of what the world's people are up against as regard Western imperialism and its quest for global hegemony. One is either "in the fray," or "out of it." The former means that one's next location could well be in Abu-Ghraib; Guantanamo; or Florence, Colorado. The latter means



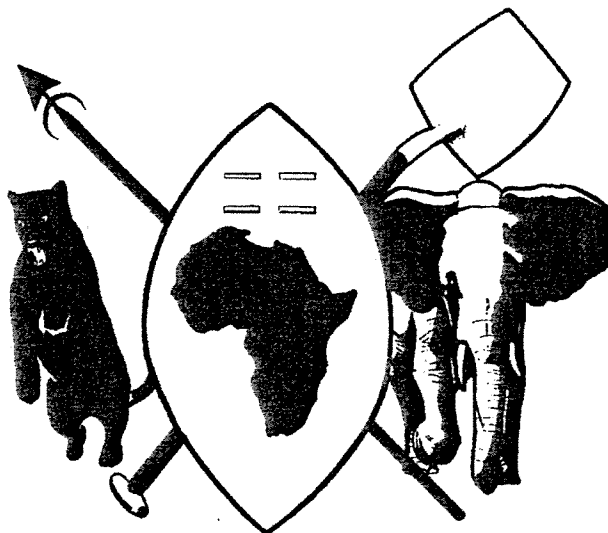
that one could become an instant "collateral damage" statistic (not to suggest that life offers any guarantees), as was the unfortunate case with the foreigner on a british subway platform shot to death by british authorities without provocation in the aftermath of a tragic subway bombing incident in that country.



Ultimately, ours is a struggle of ideas, of how people wish to live as opposed to the exigencies of market forces, a struggle to build a social environment in which basic human rights and freedoms are protected, a struggle to make judicious and respectful use of the earth's resources, which is the birthright and natural inheritance of all life on our planet. Unfortunately, a select group of people who have organized for centuries and are well established in governmental bodies have presumptuously claimed through tradition, by so-called "right of inheritance," organized state violence and so on, to privately own what Mother Nature avails to us all. Therefore, and to the end of days, to all the good and unselfish people past and present who have taken a stand against this long train of social injustice, tyranny, usurpation, and oppression, I salute and stand with you.

Herman Bell #79C-0262
Eastern Correctional Facility Box 338
Napanoch, NY 12458-0338

*Herman Bell is a former Black Panther/BLA member
and a political prisoner/POW*



New Afrikan Service Organization (NASO)
P.O. Box 4362
Allentown, PA 18105

Application for Chapter Recognition

NASO is part of the Black Panther Movement continuing the legacy of the original Black Panther Party established in 1966 by Huey P. Newton – the BPP Minister of Defense – and Bobby Seale – the Chairman of the BPP – in Oakland, CA. However, one need not fully agree with the ideological and political line of the Party or the goal of socialist revolution to join and be an active member of NASO, so long as one programmatically supports the Party's 10-Point Program.

NASO is a secular organization and welcomes people of all religious/spiritual orientations – as well as non-believers – and people of various political tendencies to join and help to build NASO into a powerful mass organization in service to the nation of New Afrikans in Amerika and all oppressed people. NASO upholds the principles of religious freedom and separation of church and state, the principle of free speech and democratic civil rights, and of respect for human rights as enumerated in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

Specifically we oppose the racist death penalty and the sentence of life imprisonment without the possibility of parole, the use of torture and physical and psychological abuse of prisoners, mandatory sentencing and the "Three Strikes" laws. We call for an end to the racist "War on Drugs" and amnesty for the POWs of this "War." We believe that the basic democratic civil rights of prisoners should be respected, including their right to vote, and we call for the amendment of the 13th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution to strike the clause that perpetuates the status of "slave" for those convicted of a crime.

Our basic program revolves around the establishment of "Serve The People" (STP) survival programs in the oppressed urban communities and the creation of community-based people's power. We seek to create a variety of STP programs based upon the principles of self-reliance and mutual aid, to serve the people's basic survival needs, and under the leadership of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter, to create community-based



people's power in the context of building an international "United Front Against Capitalist-Imperialism."

Procedural Rules

1. To apply for recognition by the National Steering Committee (NSC-NASO), a chapter must have at least three members – one of whom has been designated to act as the corresponding secretary and/or chairperson.
2. Chapters must function democratically and vote on all major decisions.
3. No one may compel another to do anything against his/her will, nor may officers act in a commandist manner.
4. Temporary officers or committees may be appointed by the Chairperson, but standing officers or committees must be elected by the members of the chapter.
5. Chapters can merge or split to form new chapters as serves the needs of the struggle.
6. Chapters must submit monthly activity reports to the NSC.
7. Half of any monies collected by fundraising should be forwarded to the National Office.

Rules of Discipline

Those who violate these rules may be reprimanded, suspended or expelled from the organization.

- 1.) Members will conduct themselves in a manner to bring credit to the organization and will treat others with respect and politeness.
- 2.) Members will be sober when on organization business and will not engage in any criminal activity while a member.
- 3.) No member will engage in violence except in the extremity of self-defense.
- 4.) Members will not gossip nor be divisive to the unity of the organization.
- 5.) Members will not act as informers nor work against the purpose of the organization.

Calling All Rasta Panthers!

Those interested in forming a NASO chapter based upon a Rastafari spiritual orientation should contact:

Ras Shadeed I Rasta
s/n Robert Williams #102061
960 State Route 212
Tiptonville, TN 38079

and:

Adrain Dominic Watkins #0579327
PO Box 1808
Laurinburg, NC 28353
adwakarastk@hotmail.com

T.Knomenson@mocospace.com

LionKing0678@yahoo

Adrian D. Watkins@facebook

Obviously prisoners in different prisons cannot meet together but they can collectively put out a newsletter which will enable them to discuss both politics and spirituality and apply it to their practice in serving the Black community and all oppressed people.



The Unrepentant Street Guerrilla

Members of urban street and prison tribes interested in working on a newsletter for the Organizing Committee for the Red Fist Alliance (RFA) should contact Rising Sun Press, PO Box 4362, Allentown, PA 18105 or:

Brandon Caples #0654842
PO Box 1808
Laurinburg, NC 28353

or: Brandon Caples
c/o Mimarioposita L Rhoads
5015 Inglewood Road
Lynchburg, VA 24503



Echoes of the Past

I've made spears and shields with Shaka Zulu
I've pledged my unbending love to Queen Nzinga
I've built railroads with Harriet Tubman ' I've struggled for freedom with Sojourner Truth
I've spoken and plotted with Denmark Vesey
I've conspired and held clandestine meetings with Nat Turner
I've ridden the ship back to Afrika with Marcus Garvey
I've spread the word with Malcolm X
I've dreamed the dreams with Martin Luther King, Jr.
I've taken to the streets during the sixties uprisings
I've picked up arms with the Black Liberation Army
I've danced for liberation with Queen Assata Shakur
I've fought side by side in the trenches with George L. Jackson
I've led the Black Prison Revolution with Jeffrey Khatar Gaulden
I've sung redemption songs with Bob Marley
I've hoped and wished for a Winnie Mandela
Ah, the echoes of the past

Take me on a journey when Black was Black, Free, Strong
Queens & Kings

Be my light of inspiration my teachers of divinity

Echo the rhythm that shall set us free

Echo the rhythm that shall make our enemies fall to their knees

My Black People of beauty, i shall be your escort to the future

Your fighting soldier echoing so bravely the triumphants of tomorrow

Echoes from the past, i shall be your revenging warrior

Echoing to Freedom from Slavery!

Abdul Olugbala Shakur (P.O.W.)

New Afrikan Independence Movement

(two and 1/2 decades in solitary confinement)

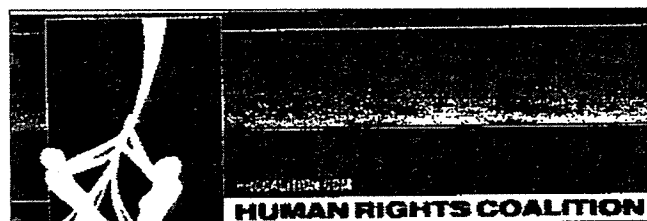
Abdul Olugbala Shakur

s/n James E. Harvey D-6-121/C-48884 (SHU)

Pelican Bay State Prison

P.O. Box 7500

Crescent City, CA 95532



The Human Rights Coalition is a group of predominately prisoners' families, ex-prisoners and some supporters. Our ultimate goal is to abolish prisons. The prison system is based on a foundation of exploitation, punishment and corruption. Most of the people in prisons are poor, brown, urban, functionally illiterate, unemployed or under-employed before they were locked down, and are there for non-violent crimes. The prison system reflects all the other social inequalities in our system, and it does not work in its current incarnation.

Our goal is to empower prisoners' families to be leaders in prison organizing, while at the same time reduce the shame of having a loved one in prison or being formerly incarcerated. Our goal is to make visible to the public the injustice and abuse that are common practice throughout our judicial and prison systems across the country, and eventually end those abuses.

We also work to encourage the rehabilitation of prisoners. HRC understands that prisoners are human beings with problems that need to be addressed. Many prisoners have led horrendous lives of drug abuse, child abuse, or neglect, in addition to impacts of racism, sexism, classism and



homophobia. We as citizens should demand that the prison system focus on the rehabilitation of prisoners so that they can return to society as productive citizens with the skills needed to take care of their families.

Human Rights Coalition
4134 Lancaster Avenue
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Email: Info@hrcoalition.org

Phone: (215) 921-3491

Human Rights Coalition – Fed Up! Chapter
Thomas Merton Center
5125 Penn Avenue
Pittsburgh, PA 15224

Email: hrcfedup@gmail.com

Phone: (412) 361-3022 ext. 4

Human Rights Coalition – Chester Resource Ctn. & Outreach Project
4 East 7th Street (@YWCA)
Chester, PA 19013

Email: hrcchester@yahoo.com

Phone: (610) 876-8226 or (610) 390-4114

NABPP-PC supports the building of local chapters of HRC wherever possible and the broadening of the coalition to include lawyers, law professionals and students to work on cases of alleged human rights violations. We would like to see HRC become a powerful national and international organization in the fight for prisoners' human and democratic civil rights.

Related to this is the campaign to amend the 13th Amendment and remove the exemption clause that consigns the status of "slave" to those convicted of a crime. We support the extension of universal suffrage to include prisoners and former prisoners and raise the slogan: NO INCARCERATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION!

The fight for human rights and democratic civil rights is essentially a class struggle. The exploiting capitalist ruling class that controls 90% of the wealth is inherently anti-democratic and the greatest human rights violator on the planet, though they like to pose as the "champions of human rights and democracy." This is just a "smokescreen."

"Sovereignty of the People" rests on the concept of the "Right of Revolution." Without it there is no popular sovereignty. True "government of the people, by the people and for the people" cannot exist without social justice and equality. It can't exist where capital and political power are monopolized by a few who rule over and exploit the vast majority. This is fascism. To conceal this reality, the ruling class puts on an elaborate charade of respect for democratic rights and the trappings of democratic process and the "rule of law."

The truth can only be exposed by challenging the system – again and again – and fighting for social justice and human rights. This exposes a true picture of the state of affairs and the dictatorship of the big money interests – and of the role of the state in class society. Only when the masses of

people correctly perceive this reality will they be prepared to act to remedy the situation by taking power into their own hands. People's Power is the only antidote for fascism.

Consent cannot be uninformed or based on lies, it cannot be coerced nor based upon duress and intimidation. The suppression of dissent, censorship and political repression are the hallmarks of fascism. They demonstrate the inherent weakness of the system and its vulnerability to exposure.

Having been raised high on an edifice of lies and deceptions, the super-rich fear the poor and powerless – fear their awakening to full consciousness and recognizing their own class interests – and making revolution. We chip away at the edifice of lies to expose the true reality and arm the people with a revolutionary perspective.

Building HRC and the struggle to free political prisoners and POWs of the Class War will be the primary focus of NABPP-PC's Ministry of Human Rights. Comrades interested in working on this aspect of the struggle as their primary commitment should contact our Minister of Human Rights:

Ali Khalid Abdullah # 198144
Putnamville Correctional Facility
17 North 5-L-B
1946 West U.S. Hwy. #40
Greencastle, IN 46135

Make the Capitalists' Fears Come Alive!

Dare to Struggle – Dare to Win!

All Power to the People!



You're Not So Heavy

As I rise from my bed everyday. It's done with great intensity.

Just knowing that my purpose is great
it's a commitment to freeing my people.

You're Not So Heavy...

Struggling on is an everyday thing
when victory is won it can make your heart sing,
it has great powers for most as it gives
the shallow zing!

You're Not So Heavy...

oppression has cast its ugly spell upon our people and their
struggles seem
very unbearable at times;
But strong people we are and...



You're Not Too Heavy...

We are an extended family,
our links and roots run deep all across the
Plains of the motherland to the
Northern plains of North Amerikkka.

My People You're Not So Heavy.

Let's work together to save the Babies,
Children, People, and Our land.
Because it's not so heavy of a task...

During slavery, we helped and carried one another
We shared with one another,
We loved and protected one another.
It's our time to with and not by one another,
we are Not So Heavy...

You're Not Too Heavy,
I am Not So Heavy,
Our Nation are Not So Heavy
Let's now carry each other
as our ancestors Did
on their Backs...

Khalfani Malik Khaldun #874304 (Leonard McQuay)
Wabash Valley Correctional Facility
PO Box 1111
Carlisle, Indiana 47838



Grasp Revolution Build Organization!

By Comrade Big Warrior

Chairman Mao summed up revolution as: "CREATE PUBLIC OPINION SEIZE POWER!" Of course public opinion alone is not enough, there must be a mass revolutionary movement led by a revolutionary vanguard party armed with a correct grasp of revolutionary theory and strategy and a mastery of revolutionary tactics. It must command a revolutionary army and lead a united front of all who can be united and it must defeat the forces of reaction.

Revolution is about problem solving. When conditions in society reach a certain point they call forth a revolutionary solution, because it is the only way the situation can be resolved. These are naturally big contradictions basic to society's organization.

Revolution advances in waves. Each wave builds upon the advances and achievements of the last. As Lenin pointed out, "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." Theory becomes a material force in society when it is taken up by the masses in the form of strategy and program.

There is a big difference between seeing the need for revolutionary change and having a revolutionary program. Grasping the correct strategy for achieving victory is more than half the battle. The closer we get to a revolutionary situation, the more different lines are going to be put forward on how to win. These different strategies will reflect the different classes and class perspectives in this society. But only one class will represent the perspective of all-the-way revolution – the Proletariat – the class of modern wage slaves. Only they must end all exploitation in society to effect their own liberation.

Of course the proletariat has interests short of total emancipation – and just learning to distinguish its true class interests from those of other classes, and particularly from the propaganda put out by the ruling class of exploiters that dominates the opinion-making institutions and owns the mass media, is itself a major struggle. To sort out this mess the proletariat needs to master and use the "Science of Revolution" – Historical Dialectical Materialism (HDM) – which in this period is called Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM).

Marx's contribution to the study of history was to discover that the driving force in history is the class struggle and that the struggle between classes will resolve itself in the elimination of classes under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the conscious revolutionizing of every aspect of society. Capitalism which had arisen under the old feudal society had summoned its own "gravediggers" into existence in the creation of modern proletariat. From the first, this class has shown its revolutionary color – RED!

Dialectics is based upon the understanding that "one divides into two" and everything exists as a "unity of opposites." All things are in motion because of the internal struggle between their opposing aspects and this struggle is conditioned by other forces acting upon it. In effect things transform into their opposites and create a new synthesis.

Materialism is simply the recognition that we live in the material world subject to the laws of matter and motion, as opposed to the illusions of idealism. MLM is scientific in method and outlook.

There is of course much more to HDM and one can spend a lifetime studying it and deepening ones understanding, but the point is to change, not just explain, reality. MLM is the application of HDM to the class struggle to advance it to eliminate all exploitation, taking society to a higher level of social evolution through revolution.

The World Proletarian Socialist Revolution resolves the problems created by world capitalist-imperialist domination.



Capitalism was itself revolutionary relative to feudalism, the stage of social evolution which preceded it. But it was only one system based upon class exploitation replacing another. Still, it raised up ideals of social justice and equality, of human rights and civil liberties that only further revolutionizing of society could materialize.

Capitalism unleashed the productive forces of society but only conditionally to their being employed to amass private wealth for the owners of the means of production. The "dirty little secret" of capitalism is that it is based upon theft – the expropriation of unpaid labor of the producers, reducing the status of the producers to that of "wage slaves" – paid just enough to induce them to continue coming to work and submitting to their exploitation.

But rising capitalism was even more brutal, being built upon colonization, genocide and the horrors of the Atlantic slave trade. The "primitive accumulation of capital" that enabled the capitalists to overtake and replace feudalism was accomplished at gunpoint and involved the outright murder of tens of millions of innocent people and the enslavement of just as many – not to mention the brutal exploitation and wars inflicted on the European masses.

The whole world was made subservient to the European capitalists. Modern European history is the story of their wars and conquests, revolutions and reconstructions. In it, the English rose from pirates to global domination. Along the way their American colonies broke free and in the course of two world wars established dominance over them. The world was also gave rise to socialist revolutions – in Russia in 1917 and the Great Socialist Camp that was formed after World War II. None-the-less, the U.S. won the "Cold War" – even after suffering defeat in the Vietnam War – and achieved near total global domination by the end of the 20th Century.



Ché and Mao

However, this only tended to accelerate the decline and crisis of capitalist-imperialism. A fourth wave of the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution is now on the rise. If this is to be the one that finally sweeps away capitalist-imperialism, it will inevitably end up being centered here, inside the "Belly of the Beast" – the sole imperialist super-power and headquarters of global imperialism.

Mao Tse-tung predicted: "The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose along with the enslavement of the Negroes and the trade in Negroes; it will surely come to its end with the through emancipation of the Black people." Black people in Amerika can neither assimilate into nor separate from white supremacist Amerika. Even with a Black man in the White House, the masses of Black people are still brutally oppressed and exploited at the bottom of Amerikan society. Even with non-white people becoming the majority in many places within the U.S., racist class oppression is intensifying.

Since the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968, there has been an eight-fold increase in the predominantly black- and brown-skinned imprisoned population of the U.S., and this will double again under Obama. Unemployment is higher now in the Black community than it was back then and real wages are lower. The police have been militarized since then, when Huey called them an "occupying army in the Black community." And the prisons have not only multiplied but have been transformed into "slave plantations" and "death camps." The capitalist exploitation of convict labor and the application of psychological warfare and torture to break the spirits and sanity of "troublemakers" have become integral to the rising "prison-industrial complex" – the "New Slavery."

For Black people in the U.S., there is no reasonable alternative but to play a vanguard role in leading the oppressed of the world in rising up to tear down the system of capitalist-imperialism. There can be no other resolution to the struggle for Black liberation. The original Black Panther Party and Comrade George Jackson pointed the way forward. It falls to us to take up the challenge to continue what they started.

The New Afrikan Black Panther Party Prison Chapter was founded in 2005, by prisoners miles apart and in maximum security prisons – each of them inspired to continue in the footsteps of Comrade George Jackson, a co-founder and leader of the original Black Panther Party Prison Chapter. Since that time it has spread to prisons across the country and is now striving to expand the United Panther Movement (UPM) to the oppressed urban communities.

We also need to expand the Panther Movement beyond the borders to oppressed communities everywhere and build a worldwide United Front Against Capitalist-Imperialism. The great mass of marginalized poor people whom imperialism cannot profitably exploit as workers is our social base. In every urban center there is a "bad side of town" where the police and "illegal capitalists" ride rough-shod over the most oppressed and demand their "pound of flesh;" Where children know hunger and fear.

We must transform these communities into base areas of cultural, social and political revolution and build community-based and inter-communally-linked people's power. We must transform the prisons into "schools of liberation," and build solidarity and "Panther Love" and unity between the prisoners and the people in the oppressed communities.

Dare to Struggle Dare to Win!

All Power to the People!



JUSTICE FOR MANUEL JAMINES



Community members show solidarity by standing vigil at a makeshift shrine where Manuel was killed

Two nights of rioting followed the police execution of a poor Guatemalan immigrant day laborer on the streets of Los Angeles, near McArthur Park, where on May 1st, 2007, LAPD cops viciously attacked a mass demonstration for immigrant's rights. Manuel Jamines, 37, was shot twice in the head at point blank range, on a bright sunny day with people all around.

The police say it was self-defense, that he came at them with a knife – but that's not how people in the community saw it – They say it was an unnecessary killing, a street execution of a poor man who'd had too much to drink and was disoriented. The Mayor says he's sure the police investigation will find that the officers acted as "heroes." So are we, which means we see it as a cold-blooded killing that will go unpunished – as usual.

The right-wing media blamed the rioting on the earlier presence of a dozen or so members of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) who passed out leaflets and agitated over a bullhorn. The truth is many people came and left over a 48 hour period – some violently angry: Many of them seeing it as one more of a long list of LAPD crimes against the people – like the beating of Rodney King.

This is how the RCP reported it in their newspaper *Revolution*, #212, September 26, 2010:

LAPD Murders Again – Basta Va! No More!

Justice for Manuel Jamines

It's one o'clock on a warm September 5 afternoon in the immigrant neighborhood of Pico Union. In this area's Westlake district, at the corner of 6th and Union streets, the sidewalks are bustling with vendors, shoppers and children playing in this very densely populated part of Los Angeles. Among them is Manuel Jamines, a 37-year-old day laborer from Guatemala. Today, his footing is a bit wobbly, his reaction time a bit slowed by a few beers earlier that morning. Afterwards, some said they had seen Manuel holding on to a fence to steady himself as three menacing LAPD bicycle cops approached him.

Just forty seconds later, he was dead. LAPD cop Frank Hernandez had shot Manuel twice in the head. It was at such close range that one witness recounted how his blood splashed all the way across the street to where she stood. The cops handcuff his lifeless corpse and threw a white sheet over it. And for four more hours, his blood-soaked body lay in the hot sun. Like a dead animal.

It was just too much of a provocation for the people of Pico Union to stomach, causing people to rebel in the streets for the next three days and nights.

After the shooting of Manuel, an outraged crowd pressed up against the yellow crime scene tape, some shouting "Asesinos!" "Murderers!" "We are not animals! We are human beings." "Justicia!" One newspaper reported someone yelling, "You guys don't have the right to come into our neighborhood and assassinate people."



From the morning into late night of Monday, September 6, people's anger against this outrage boiled over in the streets with shouts of "justice for Manuel Jamines." Repeatedly, hundreds would gather at the spot of his murder; it became the site of an ongoing vigil. Men and women took turns speaking bitterly about how the cops treat the people of Pico Union, how routinely and constantly the cops terrorize residents, macing vendors in their face, confiscating and throwing their food products in the trash, issuing tickets they cannot pay. People repeatedly marched from the vigil site to the nearby Rampart police station and back. This whole scene lasted for two more days.

People took to the streets over the course of three days, the whole neighborhood was alive with defiance and resistance against this injustice. There were moments of exhilaration where people who yesterday had been fearful of simply being noticed by cops demanding documents now stood up proudly with dignity and humanity. They marched fearlessly up to the hated Rampart Station and pressed signs and banners of "We are all Manuel Jamines" onto the glass front doors. Local TV and newspapers reported that police were pelted with eggs, trash dumpsters rolled down the streets, and garbage was thrown from rooftops and upstairs windows onto streets below. By midweek, Google news showed about 600 news items of the uprising in Pico Union from the U.S. and around the world, from China to Mexico, Canada to Lebanon, from Kentucky to Minnesota, New York to Nevada.

Stunned by the intensity and sustained nature of this mass resistance, the authorities reacted with even more LAPD pouring into the streets and occupying Pico Union. Riot police massed in the hundreds and shot tear gas and rubber bullets as helicopters hovered, with their loudspeakers blaring "by police code, this is an illegal gathering and you are ordered to disperse." Someone yelled back in Spanish: "By what police code do you shoot down an innocent man?" One woman shouted at the cops, "Violadores! Rapists! Rapists! You rape undocumented women!" Another, holding a picture of Manuel stuck it in each cop's face, demanding they look at whom they had murdered. "We are human beings!" Mothers laughed together with their adolescent daughters as people taunted the police.

Nearly 30 people were arrested, many charged with refusing to disperse, inciting to riot, or assaulting police. The *L.A. Times* wrote on September 14 that over a dozen may be charged as city officials review police reports, news video footage, and "witness accounts" to build cases against protesters. There are stories that some of the arrested had been turned over to ICE and face deportation.

A community meeting was called by LAPD Chief Charlie Beck four days after the police shot Jamines. Over 400 people attended. As soon as Beck took the microphone, shouts of Justice! Justicia! and booing arose loudly in the room, drowning him out more than once. Hundreds marched again in the streets after the meeting.

People angrily demanded Beck explain why the police killed Jamines. Some challenged the police story as "made up in Hollywood" with its exaggerated photos of a six-inch knife that Manuel supposedly had. A witness said she had immediately told police at the scene that Manuel had

"nothing in his hands" when he was shot. Her account was ignored until days later when she gave a statement at a press conference called by political activists. Other witnesses have come forward to corroborate her story.

Mainstream press have all repeated the police story that Jamines held a bloodied knife over his head and lunged at the three cops after he threatened a couple of women, including one who was pregnant. This has been confusing for many. But two weeks later, authorities have not found out whose blood was supposedly on the knife, nor have the two women been named.

But even if the police story were true, many have correctly noted the situation could have been dealt with differently, without killing Jamines. With three beefy cops against one intoxicated man, it was possible to have disarmed him and diffused the situation. Many people on the street corner said they knew Manuel Jamines and could have easily assisted.

The cops, city officials, and mainstream press say this police murder is justified, as the cops were afraid of getting hurt. But is it legitimate or right for firemen to let people die for fear of entering a burning building so as to save their own skin? If the role of the police is truly to protect and serve the people, wouldn't they have in fact risked their own safety instead of taking someone's life in less than one minute?

Frank Hernandez has shot two other people. In 2008, he shot 19-year-old Joseph Wolf, who had already turned his back and walked inside his own front door. Wolf was then arrested with a fabricated story of pointing a gun at the cops, "evidence" which turned out to be two plastic toy pistols taken from a dresser of his bedroom! Is this accident or design that such lying, brutal cops like Hernandez are turned loose on an impoverished neighborhood like Pico Union?

In a press interview, Beck casually admits the LAPD shoots dozens of people each year. He was surprised and baffled by the angry resistance this time. L.A. Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa has infuriated a lot of people in saying that he is "certain" that an investigation will prove the cops to be the heroes.

Think about it. The authorities expect to shoot people down in the neighborhoods of the oppressed and get away with it time after time. Does a system like this, with these kinds of representatives and enforcers, have the right, ability, moral authority and legitimacy to rule over society if they cannot handle such a situation better than wantonly killing people and expecting to get away with it, time after time?

Driven from Guatemala...Abused and Murdered in America

The RCP's *Message and Call* captures the reality for all those like Manuel:

Throughout the world, as a result of this system, a billion people or more go hungry every day.. with many facing the threat of starvation. Hundreds of millions of children are forced to work like slaves and to live in putrid slums, in the midst of garbage and human waste. Waves of immigrants, unable to live in their own homelands, travel the earth in search of work--and if they find it, they are worked until they can hardly stand and are forced into the shadows, with the constant fear that they will be deported and their families broken apart.



According to some of his relatives, Manuel left behind his children and wife in Guatemala in 2003 and could not travel to see them for the past five years. He felt trapped in Los Angeles, where he lacked work, money and documents to allow him to visit his loved ones. He left during a time when western Guatemala experienced famine conditions from a combination of factors—devastation of its economy due to imperialist globalization, deforestation and privatization of resources like water for irrigating land. A 2010 study released by Guatemala's education and health ministries reported that over 45% of Guatemalan children suffer malnutrition and 52% of its 13 million people live in conditions of poverty or extreme poverty. The agriculture ministry reports 2 million Guatemalan peasants are threatened by famine this year.

There is a sense broadly that the shooting of Manuel Jamines is part of the epidemic of police brutality and murder, aimed mostly at Black and Latino people all across this country, but especially in impoverished neighborhoods like Pico Union. For many, this is linked to and part of the attacks against immigrants, further unleashed by laws like Arizona's SB 1070. That is, it is part of a climate where immigrants, when they get to this country, are viciously exploited at every turn, demonized, denied basic human rights, dragged away and deported at any moment, brutalized by sadistic border patrol agents and the local police. It's no wonder that the police murder of Manuel Jamines kindled broad and deep rage.

However, instead of laying the causes of this rebellion at the feet of the reality of enforced poverty and misery under this system—enforced by the wanton brutality of the police, Chief Charlie Beck and the L.A. police union claim the protests were "fueled by" "agitators" and "various community 'activists.'" They specifically singled out the Revolutionary Communist Party.

It is telling that, in the face of the honest and justified outrage of the people, the powers-that-be proclaim the police heroes—and then try to divert people's anger against those forces who are resolutely standing with the masses.

The *Message and Call* "The Revolution We Need... The Leadership We Have" was out all over the neighborhood, as was *Revolution* newspaper. Just as they should be! And, together with the many signs people made themselves, they were not only debated, but became ways the people expressed their sentiments.

Resistance...and a Search for Answers

The days when this system can just keep on doing what it does to people, here and all over the world... when people are not inspired and organized to stand up against these outrages and to build up the strength to put an end to this madness... those days must be GONE. And they CAN be. (RCP's Message and Call)

It mattered that people took to the streets in Pico Union. Not only have the people courageously stood up and refused to let this be just one more time when the police literally get away with murder, this resistance can be part of the process through which the political terrain, and the people's thinking, get transformed as they fight the power.

And when those at the base of society refuse to put up with things like the murder of Manuel Jamines, this can have a positive impact throughout society, among people of all walks of life. Some of those sentiments were expressed in statements sent to a September 16 press conference at the site of the killing to call for justice for Manuel Jamines, and to "Support the Protests Against the Police Killing." A statement from Rev. Richard Meri Ka Ra Byrd expressed outrage "over the police execution of Manuel Jamines and the thousands of other cases of murder, brutalization and criminalization of black and brown people in America." A message sent by James Lafferty, Executive Director, Los Angeles Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, called for "an honest, thorough, and transparent investigation into the shooting death of Mr. Jamines" and "if the officers involved are found guilty of wrongdoing in the shooting they be prosecuted appropriately." And a statement from Tomas Olmos, attorney, past President of the Mexican American Bar Foundation & Dean Emeritus of People's College of Law (affiliation for identification only), condemned the "intensifying climate of pushing immigrants more into the shadows." Olmos added, "If supporting this just cause renders me an 'outside agitator,' I will proudly wear that badge of honor."

The upsurge has provoked an openness and curiosity among many who took part and among those impacted by it to seek answers, big and small, about the world and how things work: Is it only about racism? Or is the whole system guilty in these police murders? Could revolution really happen in the US.—and what kind of revolution is both needed and possible? Who is the leader? What is the strategy?

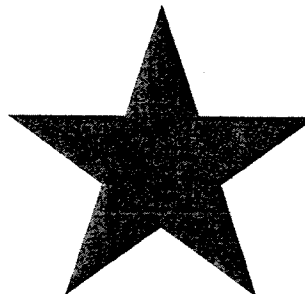
It is important that the revolutionaries stood with the people, and as they did so, raised the people's political consciousness and worked to bring them to an understanding that there is no permanent necessity for the ways things are in this society. When revolutionaries enter into such outbreaks it is an important part of the process of bringing forward a revolutionary people through all the twists and turns of resistance to this and other crimes of this system as a part of all the work to "prepare minds and organize forces for revolution." Another world, a much better future, is possible and it is worth fighting for!

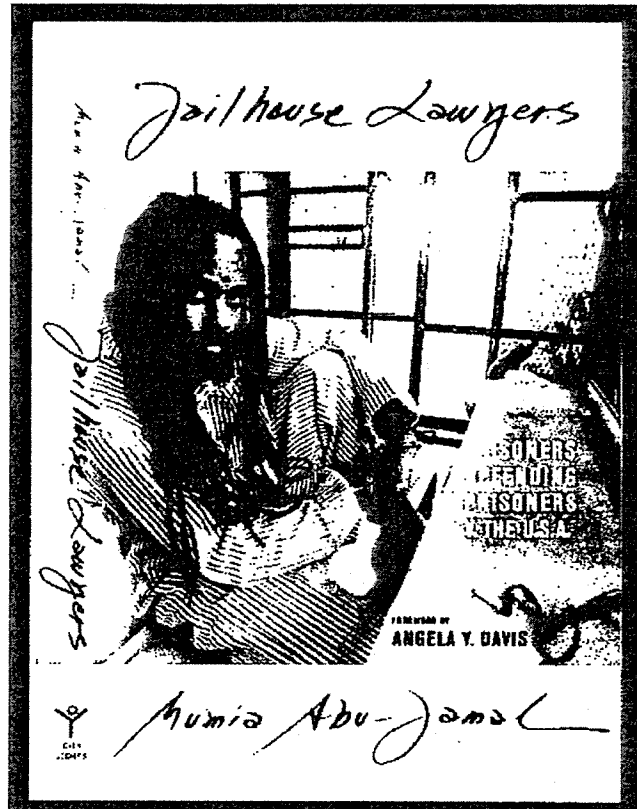
Justice for Manuel Jamines!

Indict and jail the killer cops!

Drop the charges on all protesters!

No raids or deportations!





Book Review:
Jailhouse Lawyers:
Prisoners Defending
Prisoners v. the U.S.A.
 Mumia Abu-Jamal
 Foreword by Angela Davis
 City Lights Publisher
 280 pp., \$16.95

Reprinted from: GRATERFRIENDS, Vol. 40, Issue 9, Sept. 2010

In his book, **Jailhouse Lawyers**, Mumia tells it like it is. He explains what it is like to fight the system from the inside and what happens to prisoners who fight for their rights. People on the street should read this book because a lot of them just do not believe what happens on the inside.

Thomas Barndt, CT-7510
 SCI Graterford

Reviews on www.amazon.com

Mumia Abu-Jamal's 27 years on Death Row for a murder he did not commit would have turned almost anyone else into an embittered, defeated man. Instead, he has remained what he always was: "the voice of the voiceless" as he

demonstrates, yet again, in his most recent book...

Jailhouse Lawyers: Prisoners Defending Prisoners v. the U.S.A. opens a tightly shut door into the operations of the U.S. penal system by chronicling the exploits of dozens of jailhouse lawyers – both men and women – who have fought the injustices the courts and the prisons have dealt them and their fellow prisoners. Their accomplishments, against all odds, have been incredible. Their story is a story never before told.

– J. Patrick O'Connor, author of *The Framing of Mumia*

Mumia Abu-Jamal points out in his latest book, his sixth from Death Row in Pennsylvania, that unfortunately jailhouse lawyers – prisoners who learn the law in the joint and help other prisoners with appeals and legal problems – have a reputation of freeing others while they squat. "It's the bane of jailhouse lawyers. They seem to be able to help everybody but themselves," Abu-Jamal noted.

Abu-Jamal, a journalist and activist who has been a jailhouse lawyer, does not define his existence as one of a prisoner, even though his daily world is a small cell that he has said is the size of a bathroom. That dual actuality makes his return "home" of sorts with this work even more interesting.

Jailhouse Lawyer boomerangs back to themes Abu-Jamal established in his first book, a collection of journalistic essays called **Live From Death Row** that America works hard to create, then to forget, the prison industrial complex; that struggle breeds both repression, and more struggle, and that laws were made to be broken, bent and ignored when the oppressed are concerned.

As usual, Abu-Jamal blends history with current perspectives effortlessly; his decades of reading, writing and analyzing from behind bars has transformed him into his own John Hendrick Clarke or Leronne Bennett Jr.

History in rhythm, commentary with bite.

– Dr. Todd S. Burroughs, whosemedia.com

In addition to telling the individual stories of the best (and worst) jailhouse lawyers defending themselves and their fellow prisoners in the face of official hostility and, in many instances personal danger, and presenting a lively history of jailhouse lawyering in modern America, Abu-Jamal clearly exposes the political and racial bias of the U.S. criminal justice system and explores the role of jailhouse lawyers in the jungle of American law.

– Richard Vogel, *Op-Ed News*

From his unique vantage point (he has been incarcerated for more than a quarter of a century, most of that on Death Row), Abu-Jamal aptly humanizes the individuals toiling behind bars to bring cases against enormous institutional, societal, and legal obstacles...

[The book] testifies to the character of many jailhouse lawyers, who, when treated with disdain or worse, quietly persist in reading, analyzing, writing, and fighting to do what is right – doing justice.

– Heidi Boghosian, *The Federal Lawyer*



"I have no doubt that the revolution will triumph. The people of the world will prevail, seize power, seize the means of production, wipe out racism, capitalism, reactionary intercommunalism --- reactionary suicide."

-- Huey P. Newton