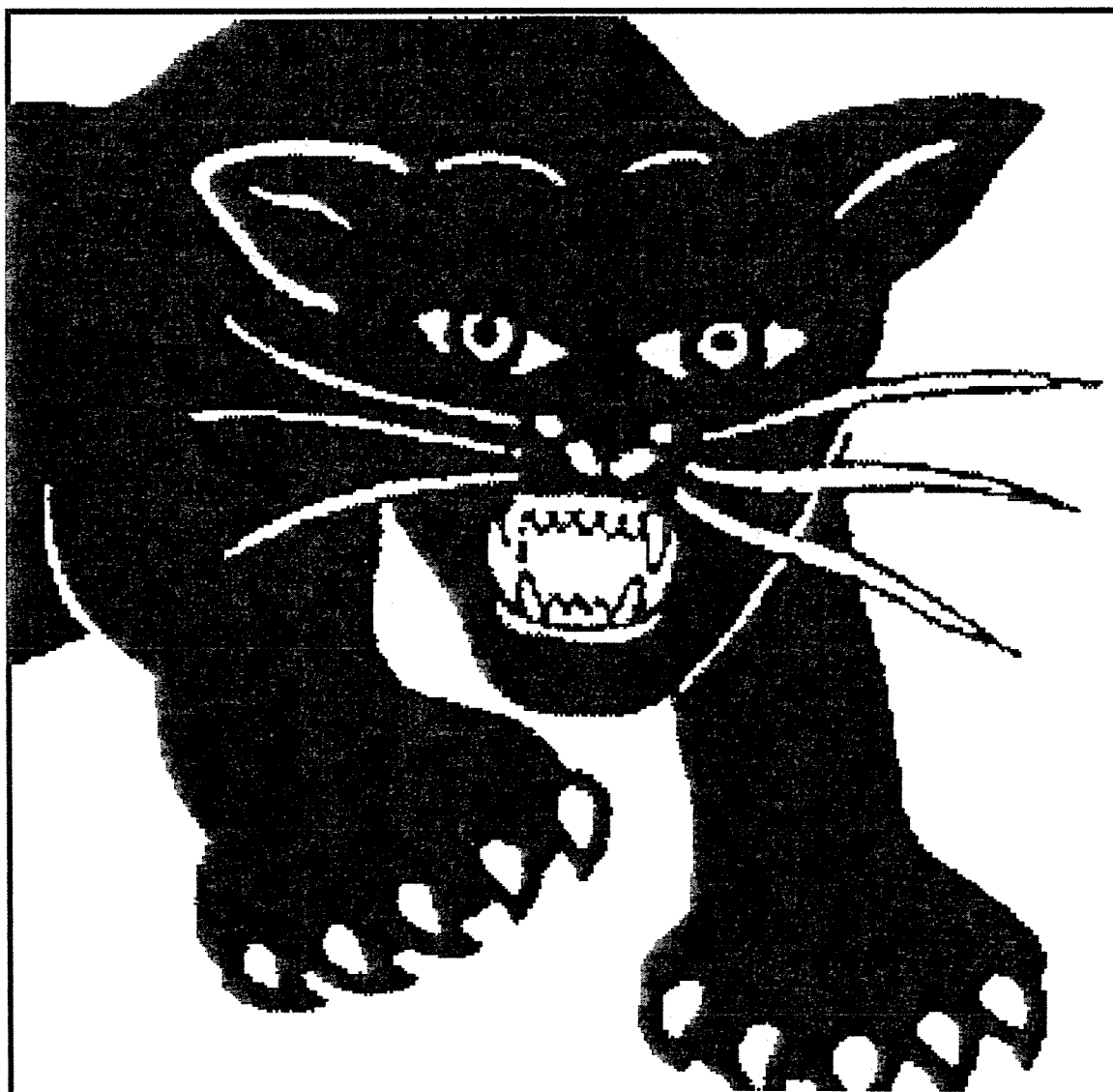




*"In service to the nation of New Afrikans in Amerika and all oppressed people"*



Newsletter of the New Afrikan Service Organization (formerly the Black Brigade)  
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**Hasan Shakur (1977-2006)**

## **Editorial: Black Panthers step forward!**

On August 31<sup>st</sup>, 2006, the State of Texas murdered the Minister of Human Rights of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC), Hasan Shakur (AKA Derrick Frazier). They executed him, even though he had an appeal filed in the Federal Appeals Court. His lawyer went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court to try to get a stay of execution for his appeal to be heard. But you can't look to this system for mercy, and you can't look to it for justice!

Our comrade knew that. He'd already spent nine years on Death Row for a crime he did not commit. He'd seen brotha after brotha taken out and murdered by the State. He'd seen brothas driven to madness and suicide. But Comrade Hasan was not afraid to die, and he was not afraid to live, because he'd found something worth living and dying for: **REVOLUTION!**

Like the rest of us, he was born in this stinking sewer called capitalism, where the Big Rats tell us, "This is the best of all possible worlds." In this rat eat rat, dawg eat dawg world, a poor Black kid with no father and a crack addicted mother doesn't stand much of a chance. After his mom died from an overdose, it was the mean streets and juvenile hall that raised him. It was only a matter of time until he got in a jam where the cops could frame him, and frame him they did!

At 19 he was sentenced to die. No material evidence linked him to the crime, and the cops already had the confession of the youth who did it, but cynically they tricked him into a false confession, pretending it was the way to save himself from certain execution. It was a big fat lie!

Hasan found himself in prison awaiting execution. That is, he found the man inside himself. It began with his conversion to Islam under the tutelage of an Iman who was an original Black Panther. And he began a journey of both self-discovery and political education. Along the way he met Malcolm X, and Mao Tse-tung, Che, Huey, Eldridge and George Jackson. He found life in assisting those around him awaiting death. He took up the fight for human rights for all prisoners. Under the mentoring of another original Black Panther and BLA fighter, Russell "Maroon" Shoats, a political prisoner in Pennsylvania, Hasan

formed the Texas chapter of the Human Rights Coalition (HRC), an organization inspired by Comrade Maroon to unite prisoners, their families and community activists in struggle against the oppressive conditions on the razor-wire plantations.

This brought him to the attention of Comrades Shaka S. Zulu and Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, the Chairman and Minister of Defense of NABPP-PC, and Hasan agreed to accept the position of Minister of Human Rights. NABPP-PC is based upon the 10-Point Program of the original Black Panther Party (BPP) founded by Chairman Bobby Seale and Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton in Oakland, CA, in 1966. Its principle inspiration is the BPP Prison Chapter founded by Comrade George Jackson.

The New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter rejects racism in all its forms and embraces class struggle and the strategy of the United Front Against Imperialism. We base ourselves on *Panther Love* and the principle of *from the masses to the masses*, because the Science of Revolution teaches us that **THE MASSES ARE THE MAKERS OF HISTORY!**

We stand for the liberation of the New Afrikan Nation and Black people everywhere, and for *Revolutionary Internationalism*. We stand for **SOCIALISM** and an end to all oppression, and for the transfer of all power to the people through **REVOLUTION!**

Our strategy is to transform the slave pens of oppression into *Schools of Liberation* and the oppressed communities into base areas of cultural, social and political revolution. We stand for peace and oppose imperialist wars, for freedom and justice and oppose fascism and slavery. We are servants of the people and warriors of our nation – the Nation of Afrikans in Amerikkka.

**The Enemy has killed one of our Panther brothers, we call for 1,000 to take his place!**

**Black Panthers step forward!**

To be enrolled in the New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC), you must commit to memory and live by the Party's Rules of Discipline and the 10-Point Program. You must uphold the Democratic Centralism of the Party. You must join and help build the mass organizations the Party supports. At all times and in all ways you must represent the Party's ideological and political line and conduct yourself as a true servant of the people and strive to be the people's pride.

**"At this very moment, I represent the 2.3 million people in this system's injustice system. I represent the 3,000 plus people sentenced to die at the hands of this government, in its gulags across the nation."**

**"I stand tall as a Panther committed to the people's struggle! And as the Minister of Human Rights, I will exemplify the epitome of Socio-Revolutionary Consciousness!**

**DARE TO STRUGGLE! DARE TO WIN!"**

**Hasan Shakur**

**Uphold the legacy of Comrade Hasan Shakur!**



## THE FOUNDATIONS OF PANTHERISM

By Chairman Shaka Sankofa Zulu

1

"Yes, he turned and walked past the eyes of my life. And he nodded and sang without sound. And his face had the look of a man who knew strife. And a feeling familiarly came 'round. REFRAIN -- I said, Man, where have you been for all these years. Man, where were you, when I sought you. Man, do you know me as I know you. Man, am I coming through."

2

"And he spoke in a voice that was centuries old. And he smiled in a way that was strange. And his lips of night spoke about our people's plight. And a feeling familiarly came 'round. REFRAIN -- I said, Man where have you been for all these years. Man, where were you, when I sought you. Man, do you know me as I know you. Man, am I coming through."

3

"And we sat and we talked about freedom and things. And he told me about what he dreamed. But, I knew of that dream long before he had spoke. And a feeling familiarly came 'round. REFRAIN -- I said, Man, where have you been for all these years. Man, where were you, when I sought you. Man, do you know me as I know you. Man, am I coming through."

### -- New Afrikan Black Panther Party's Anthem

The first thing you should know about the New Afrikan Black Panther Party -- Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC) is that we are the embryonic form of a vanguard party of revolutionary communists committed to Black liberation, socialism and the principle that all people have the inalienable right to determine their own destinies and that all peoples share a common destiny to escape together from the dark epoch of exploitation and into the light of the post-exploitative epoch, or what we call "revolutionary intercommunalism."

The demands we make upon the U.S. government and capitalist-imperialism are universal rights that the people demand everywhere; to have land, bread, housing, education, clothing, health care, justice, peace and people's control of modern technology and the institutions that affect our lives. These basic rights guarantee the people's survival and freedom and we will not compromise on these issues.

Although our Party was born in the bowels of the racist, oppressive prison system, our outlook is that of the great mass of people struggling to survive and create a better future for our posterity. As Comrade Huey once said: "Jail is an odd place to find freedom, but that was the first place..." where most of us found ours. We gladly embrace the freedom of committing ourselves to the world proletarian socialist revolution and we are steeling our minds and bodies for the protracted people's war it will take to win it.

NABPP-PC and the United Panther Movement it is building is a legal, above-ground people's movement for liberation of all oppressed people everywhere, and we are not engaging in nor promoting any illegal activity -- leastwise not in the context of the democratic civil rights we are supposed to have under the existing laws.

We are organizing ourselves to serve the needs of the oppressed people and our Black Nation and imbue both with a revolutionary consciousness through education that teaches the true nature of this society and their role within it and how we can become the leading force in society to revolutionize it to serve the highest interests of humanity.

The NABPP-PC takes class struggle to heart. Our philosophy is: "There is a struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie... the oppressors oppress the oppressed, while the oppressed need to fight back and seek a way out before they start looking for philosophy. It was only when people took this as their starting point that there was Marxism-Leninism, and that they discovered philosophy. We have all been through this."

For us, the people are the makers of history. We believe in the sovereignty of the people and their right to alter or abolish forms of government to best secure their freedom and social welfare. We oppose all racist views and prejudices, sexism and other divisive ideas and practices among the people. We fight these

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with dialectical materialism or "Revolutionary Science," "Panther Love," and proletarian internationalism and solidarity.

Our message to all our class brothers and sisters all over the world, who are suffering under the lash of oppression and intolerable poverty and super-exploitation is simple – "We no longer have to live this way, our future can truly be bright if we dare to take history into our own hands."

The "Science of Revolution" teaches us that things transform into their opposites, and that it is struggle between their opposing aspects that make such transformations possible. It teaches us that to transform this society we must first develop revolutionary organization led by a vanguard party composed of the most dedicated, courageous and far-sighted people armed with a revolutionary strategy and scientific method. Our Party is a stick to swing at the oppressor; a fighting force armed with the lessons of the class struggle and of our New Afrikan people's long struggle against racist, national oppression.

We have received many letters from our fellow prisoners asking for me to explain our ideology of "Pantherism," which is illuminated by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, as it relates to their concrete conditions as prison slaves within the "Belly of the Beast" in this dawning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Let me start by explaining that "Pantherism" sees that the fundamental contradiction in society is between the socialized nature of production in this globalized society and the private ownership of the means of production by an exploiting capitalist-imperialist ruling class.

In other words, society has the means to provide everyone on the planet with a decent standard of living, health care, housing, education and all that, and to establish lasting peace and prosperity for all, but it is being blocked from doing so by the selfish-interests of a class of super-rich social parasites whose wealth and power comes from our collective exploitation. In order for society to move forward and make this qualitative leap, we must sweep away their obstruction and establish true "government of the people, by the people and for the people" – a higher form of "Democracy" which is the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat." The exploiters' dictatorship has got to go and be replaced by that of the exploited to end exploitation by revolutionizing every aspect of society.

The rule of the rich blood-suckers isn't necessary, and in fact is the cause of all our social problems. Whereas capitalism was once revolutionary and progressive relative to the previous feudal system, it is now reactionary and retards progress and grows increasingly dysfunctional and fascistic. It has transformed into its opposite. It can't be reformed because it is rotten to the core. It has to be replaced with a new system based on socialized ownership of the means of production and the principles of equality and social justice for all – a planned economy and planned economic-social development.

We need to build a worldwide United Front Against Capitalist-Imperialism composed of all progressive people and led by the international proletariat – the wage slaves. The key alliance in this united front must be between the oppressed nations and peoples and the international proletariat.

Racism is a built-in feature of the capitalist-imperialist system. Countries and peoples of darker skin are targeted for super-exploitation and the oppression that goes with it. This divides the people and serves the interest of the ruling class. Not that poor and working class whites are not also exploited and oppressed, especially women, but racism serves to drive a

wedge between white and non-white and put super-profits in the pockets of the capitalists while weakening our ability to unite and win the fruits of our common class interests.

Under capitalism, the proletariat must sell its labor power to the capitalists to survive. When we can't do that, we become "lumpen" (broken) and must survive by "any means necessary." As capitalism can only profitably exploit a shrinking percentage of the people, the lumpen-proletariat grows and the crime rate goes up. More and more people keep joining the ranks of the marginalized poor – particularly Blacks and other people of color. This is the constituency of the United Panther Movement.

As agricultural and industrial revolution continues to transform the mode and means of production around the world, the tendency is for the rate of profit to go down – this drives the capitalists to cut wages and move production to where workers can be most intensely exploited, in order for them to survive in the cut-throat competition between them to attract capital investment. Capital is drawn to wherever the rate of profit is highest. As wages decline and unemployment rises, the capitalists respond by criminalizing the poor and instituting mass incarceration – prison slavery.

Approximately 10 million are now incarcerated around the world, caged in prisons because the capitalists can't profitably exploit us as workers in free society. The U.S. holds only 5% of the world's population – roughly some 300 million people – but accounts for more than 25% of the world's incarcerated people – more than 70% of whom are black or brown skinned. This represents an eight-fold increase since 1968, and will double again in the next few years as unemployment remains at record levels – and twice as high for Blacks as for working class whites. Many more are in the system on probation or parole where the threat of prison is held over their heads to keep them working at low-wage jobs, peeing in cups and dodging trouble with the ever-watching and waiting racist police who gleefully sweep our young people off the streets and into the "slave pens of oppression."

The only remedy for this situation is socialist revolution and ending the criminal rule of capitalist-imperialism. I and my comrades in NABPP-PC know first-hand how this injustice is perpetrated and now know what must be done to end it.

We have chosen to model our movement after that of the original Black Panther Party (BPP). People ask "why another Black Panther Party?" Unlike those Black misleaders who are always advocating retreat into the capitalist-imperialists' "Democratic Party," as the "lesser of two evils," the original BPP – in its revolutionary years – stood for self-reliance and building our own community-based people's power and raising the people's revolutionary consciousness and level of organization. The original BPP was a tremendous force and inspired our people to reach within themselves to create the vehicle to attain liberation – which is why it was targeted by the ruling class for destruction. As we said in Right On!, Issue No. #1:

"We believe the original Black Panther Party (1966-1971) suffered an untimely demise before it could mobilize the weight of the working class Black people to advance the Black liberation struggle to victory. Thereby, it left a legacy to be picked up and carried on from one generation to the next. No other party or organization has inspired and mobilized Black people like the old BPP did. The Party's demise was caused by internal weaknesses, egoism, and factionalism, combined with an intense campaign of government infiltration, assassination and false

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imprisonment called COINTELPRO, in which more than 2,000 Party members were arrested and many were killed. The late Khalid Muhammad created the New Black Panther Party in 1990 as a split from the Nation of Islam, and we considered these to be our brothers and sisters, but we have fundamental ideological and political differences with them. We believe in class struggle not racial separatism. Our motivation is love for our Black people not hate of anyone, and we believe that all oppressed people must unite against our common oppressor, the imperialist-capitalist system. Though our Party was founded in the prisons, we do not confine ourselves to them. We see the New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter as the embryo of a new vanguard party, following in the footsteps of the original Black Panther Party. The Party made errors, and we intend to learn from not repeat them, and these are different times, which require fresh analysis and creativity. The Patriot Act and the creation of the Office of Homeland Security go way beyond the FBI's COINTELPRO campaign in violating people's rights. (I want to clarify that when we refer to the BPP existing from 1966 to 1971, we are referring to its revolutionary period. It limped along until 1980 increasingly sinking into reformism and gangster-like rhetoric and activity, before its final demise)."

**by any means necessary.....**



We say that the original Black Panther Party was a beautiful organization! Let the reactionary Black nationalists curse us, we see what they're up to posing as "Black Panthers," but we have work to do and must be about the business of serving the people and building their power, the power to make revolution, which is what the Black Panther legacy is all about!

"We stand for the absolute right of all oppressed people to determine their own political destiny; to decide how to use their own economic resources and organize their own

political economy to meet the needs of their own people. Historically, Black people in America's strongest ally have been the American Indians, the indigenous people of Turtle Island. They have stood with us for nearly five centuries in resisting colonialism, and we have lived among them as runaway slaves and fellow guerrilla fighters in many campaigns. Osceola, Seminole war chief, led Indian and Black people in military actions that repeatedly defeated the slave-masters and the U.S. Army of occupation, and there are many other examples. The BPP cultivated alliances with many other revolutionary formations representing diverse ethnic groups such as the Young Lords Party/Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization and FMLN, the Brown Berets and La Raza Unida Party (Chicano); I Wor Kuhn (Chinese Americans); Ang Katipunan (Filipino Americans); the Young Patriot Party (Appalachian whites); and the White Panther Party, the John Brown Liberation League, SDS, Weathermen, etc. In 1970 some 10,000 to 15,000 people, representing many parties, groups and collectives from across the U.S. and internationally, answered the BPP's call to attend a Revolutionary Peoples' Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. Due to the already developing internal schism within the BPP, this momentous development was not followed up on. Resurrecting the Party will help to rekindle these important links."

— Right On!, Issue No. #1

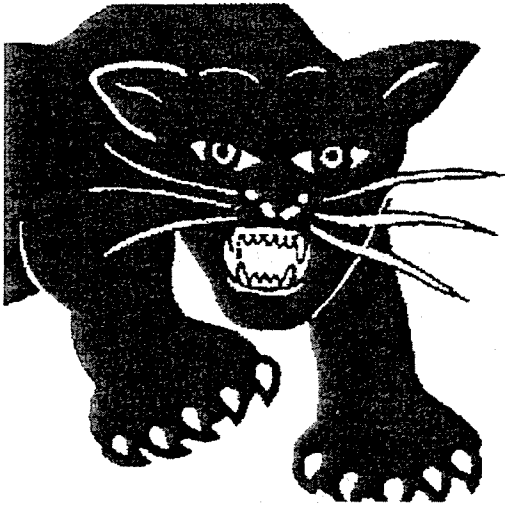
The average Amerikan would be surprised to know that the U.S. Constitution has always been the main legal prop of slavery. Why not? It was written by slave-masters! Even the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment which supposedly abolished slavery in the U.S. contains an exemption clause which perpetuates it. It reads:

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist in the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

The South lost no time in enacting "Black Codes" to "duly convict" the newly-freed slaves and condemn them to "convict leasing" and "chain-gangs." This most blatant attack was rolled back, but the institution of "Jim Crow" laws effectively imposed second-class citizenship and segregation upon Black people for the next century – backed up by police and KKK terror and lynchings. Segregated prisons and "chain-gangs" kept alive the Old Plantation system in the form of "share-cropping" – a feudal-like replacement for chattel slavery.

Only when "share-cropping" became economically unfeasible to continue did the ruling class and the government move to dismantle the system of "Jim Crow" segregation. By then millions of Blacks were "voting with their feet" in the "Great Migration" leaving the Deep South to seek work in the industrial centers of the North and the West. There they found "de-facto" segregation, confinement to urban ghettos and restriction to the most menial and low-paying jobs on a "last hired and first fired" basis in competition with white workers. The ghettos were treated like occupied territory by the racist white police who were quick to shoot, beat-up, or railroad into prison any Black man who didn't show proper servility or just picked victims randomly.

It was these conditions that gave rise to the wave of ghetto insurrections that swept Amerika in the 1960s and to the BPP.



The symbol of the BPP came from the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama and the inspiration from the armed resistance to KKK terror against the Civil Rights workers in North Carolina and Louisiana. Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale formed the BPP in Oakland, California, but it quickly spread to cities all over the country and internationally. Unlike the Civil Rights Movement, the Panthers advocated socialism and identified with the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution, which at that time was being led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Chinese Communist Party. Comrade Huey visited China and saw firsthand how they were dealing with the issue of historically oppressed ethnic national minorities by creating self-governing autonomous regions and promoting people's power.

Chairman Mao not only voiced his full support for the liberation struggle of Black people in Amerika and urged people all over the world to do so, but he identified it as the key struggle that would in time bring down the capitalist-imperialist Empire. The BPP members all carried copies of Mao's "Little Red Book" and many could quote from it at length by heart. This is how Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (MLM) came to illuminate "Pantherism." It grounded the Panthers in a dialectical materialist method of analysis and the revolutionary proletariat's world outlook.

Even as "Jim Crow" segregationist laws and practices were being overturned and overt expressions of white racism was being made "politically incorrect" and socially unacceptable, the ruling class was employing "dual tactics" and launching its "Southern Strategy" through the 1968 presidential campaign of Richard Nixon. "Law and Order" became the code word for "criminalization of the poor" through the CSA (Controlled Substance Act) and the "War on Drugs" was a thinly disguised, racist and fascist, generalized "War on the Poor" to go along with the targeted "Secret War" of COINTELPRO in raining police repression on the ghettos while at the same time flooding them with addictive drugs and illegal guns and instigating fratricidal gang wars among the unemployed youth of the oppressed communities as the "Great Migration" ended with the industrial jobs moving away from the traditional industrial centers Blacks had migrated to.

Huey P. Newton was among the first to recognize this shift and to predict the logical outcome. He was also one of its victims becoming a cocaine addict and ending up murdered over a drug deal. The "War on the Poor" resulted in the rise of the "Prison-Industrial Complex" as an extension of the

dominant "Military-Industrial Complex" that arose out of World War II and the "Cold War."

Mussolini said fascism should properly be called "Corporatism" because it represents the merger of state and corporate interest and power. Lenin defined fascism as "capitalism in decline," and as it declines capitalist-imperialism resurrects and promotes all manner of reactionary ideology including religious fundamentalism of every type as a counter to a scientific and critical world outlook which the revolutionary proletariat represents – thus we have seen the rise of "Christo-fascism," "Islamofascism," "Hindu-fascism," Zionism and other right-wing religious extremism – often with the direct involvement of the CIA and U.S. ruling class funding.

Comrade George Jackson, the founder of the original BPP Prison Chapter, correctly identified that the U.S. was the most developed form of a two-party fascist dictatorship. The ruling class maintains two parties to promote the illusion of "democracy" and the possibility of reforming the system peacefully to obtain true social justice. When the system becomes too exposed and too broadly opposed, it can simply change its face and promise more substantive change while the ruling class and its monopoly on power remains the same.

Thus, "The essence of fascism is reform," and the ritual of elections ties the oppressed to picking one gang of oppressors over another to keep us oppressed. It's the choice of being hit over the head or stabbed in the back. Any reform can be turned against the people – that's why we have to smash the old state and create our own – a state that dispossess the ruling class and expropriates its wealth and power and allows and encourages the people to revolutionize all social relationships. Even this state has the potential to turn against us and become the headquarters of a new bourgeoisie who are in position to rig up a form of state capitalism under the cover of socialist reform.

Thus the socialist revolution must be a protracted class struggle that is cultural as well as political in which the proletariat must play the leading role at each stage, and the masses must be armed with the Science of Revolution to see through the false fronts that the exploiters and would-be exploiters will put up to oppose the advance to classless society. Only the most advanced and revolutionary theory can lead the revolutionary transformation of society to carry the class struggle to its ultimate conclusion.

We Panthers must commit ourselves to being "all-the-way" revolutionaries. The new members and some of the old members must "toughen their skins" and hold steadfast to our strategy of transforming the "slave pens of oppression" into "schools of liberation" and the oppressed communities into "base areas of cultural, social and political revolution" in the context of building a "worldwide united front against capitalist-imperialism."

We must resist the pull to reformism and to "ultra-left" dogmatism, commandism, adventurism, narrow nationalism and every other deviation that leads to factionalism and corrodes revolutionary unity and deflects the point of our spear from its target. Those who join us must observe the Party's discipline, build its democratic centralism and defend its revolutionary ideological and political line and apply it to building our United Panther Movement. We must put our egos on hold and serve the people heart and soul.

Panther Love! – Comrade Shaka

# **The Onus Is On Us**

By 1<sup>st</sup> Crown & Chairman, Prince Ajamo Khalfani-El  
Black Order Revolutionary Organization (BORO)

**"Salvation for a race, nation or class must come from within. Freedom is never granted, it is won. Justice is never given, it is exacted. Freedom and Justice must be struggled for by the oppressed of all lands and races and the struggle must be continuous. For Freedom is never a final fact, but a continuing, evolving process to higher and higher levels of human, social, political and religious relationships."**

**-- A. Phillip Randolph**

As a practitioner of the political philosophy of New Afrikan Revolutionary Nationalism, and an adherent to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (the Science of Revolution), it is these two schools of thought that give meaning to the above quote to me. One cannot claim to be a revolutionary of any sort and not know that in order for you to become liberated from the tentacles of capitalist-imperialism, you are going to have to fight and win a national liberation struggle and socialist revolution.

Huey taught us that "most human behavior is learned behavior." So, the apathy and inertia that we see in and around our communities – the lazy attitudes, the selfishness, greed and despair, is also a learned behavior.

As materialists, "Our understanding of all life, all nature, allows us to see that no thing, and no one, exists, grows and develops in isolation. We know that the so-called 'chaos' and 'madness' around us actually has a pattern, and we can only trace the pattern, see it for what it really is, by tracing it out thru its interrelated parts. We know there is 'the one,' but also that 'one divides into two' in the real world."

Thus, as we educate and organize ourselves, we must be cognizant that our task is to educate and organize the masses, to show them the most advanced and correct way to conduct a struggle for liberation and socialism followed by the edification of a communist society where no injustice, oppression, classism or racism will exist.

The struggle we have embarked upon is truly one that cannot be won overnight, so we must employ the strategy of protracted people's war with the understanding that "winning state power in the U.S. will occur as a result of the military forces of the U.S. overextending themselves around the world and being defeated piecemeal. Struggle within the U.S. will be a vital part of this process, but when the revolution triumphs in the U.S. it will have been made by the people of the Third World."

Racism, exploitation, injustice and all other forms of oppression cannot be eliminated until we, the poor and oppressed masses, control the major means of production. The injustices that national internal colonies in the U.S. (New Afrikan, Aztlan, First Nations) suffer is due to national oppression.

Some people, especially of the revisionist kind, have not acquired a sufficient understanding of the economics and politics in the world, or they hold class positions and get material rewards (a life of extreme luxury and leisure, resulting from the advocacy of such backwards, revisionist positions), makes them unable to understand (or tell the truth), that we have a national, class and racial fight.

On another level, "...scientifically...race does not exist and what happens is national oppression not racial oppression. 'Racism' does exist as an element of the superstructure of society, which is to say the ideas and culture, but 'racism' is a product of national oppression, including the exploitation and enslavement of various nations by others. Racism can only be disguised, never eliminated, by propagating politically correct attitudes, because racism is just a justification for exploitation and enslavement. To rid the world of exploitation and enslavement requires armed struggle against the imperialists."<sup>1</sup>

When we critically study and analyze history, we see that the only way that the oppressors have stopped oppressing the people is when the people have risen up in arms to stop them. We don't decide this, the oppressors do. As Mao Zedong taught, "We are advocates of the abolition of war, but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun."

"The Vanguard Party must provide leadership for the People. It must teach the correct strategic method of prolonged resistance through literature and activities. If the activities of the Party are respected by the People, the People will follow the example. This is the primary job of the Party."<sup>2</sup>

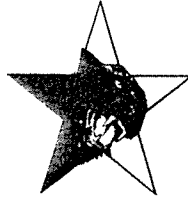
It is our Job, those who claim to be revolutionaries and leaders, to teach the People by living example. This will have a positive effect on the People and the national liberation struggle as we involve ourselves in helping the masses solve their day-to-day problems and needs. The Onus is on US... and 3-3-10.

Power – it is ours! Prince Ajamu, 1<sup>st</sup> Crown/Chair – BORO

<sup>1</sup> "MIM's Jargon is the Terminology of the Oppressed Nations," by MC5, MIM Theory 1, Number 1, Spring 1992, MIM Distributors.

<sup>2</sup> "The Correct Handling of a Revolution," Huey P. Newton, "The Black Panther," May 18, 1968.





## A Response From NABPP-PC

Fraternal Greeting Comrade Chairman,

In response to your missive, "The Onus is on Us!," we very much unite with your expressed sentiments on the whole, but take issue with your statement, "winning state power in the U.S. will occur as a result of the military forces of the U.S. overextending themselves around the world and being defeated piecemeal. Struggle within the U.S. will be a vital part of the process, but when the revolution triumphs in the U.S. it will have been made by the people of the Third World." With all due respect to you and to the comrades in the Third World, this sounds like a contradiction to dialectics and Mao's teaching as we understand them.

Dialectics teaches that it is the internal contradictions that determine the development of a thing while external factors only condition this development. Moreover, Mao taught that: "The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class," and that: "The evil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people."

We don't want to downplay or underestimate the importance of the struggles in the Third World or the importance of building a worldwide United Front Against Capitalist-Imperialism – and of building the struggle here in the context of building the worldwide UFAC-I – but it is important to see that here inside the "Belly of the Beast" we have an obligation to play a vanguard (leading) role in the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution (WPSR) by overthrowing U.S. imperialism in its headquarters. It is not a matter of having the people in the neo-colonially dominated Third World liberate us, rather we must be our own liberators by effectively merging our struggle for Black liberation with the overall class struggle of the multi-ethnic U.S. proletariat (working class) in a revolutionary way and stop the ability of the imperialist to go on victimizing the rest of the world.

Winning the rank and file of the U.S. armed forces to side with the revolution will be a vital aspect of the struggle, and whenever they are sent against others in wars of aggression our position must be one of revolutionary defeatism, but the key to winning their loyalty will be determined by our transforming the oppressed communities here into base areas of cultural, social and political revolution in the context of building the worldwide UFAC-I. They are our brothers and sisters from our neighborhoods and can be won to fight for their own class interests.

Mao pointed out in *On Contradiction* (1937) that:

"When imperialism carries on its oppression not by war, but by milder means—political, economic and cultural—the ruling classes in semi-colonial countries capitulate to imperialism, and the two form an alliance for the joint oppression of the masses of the people. At such a time, the masses often resort to civil war against the alliance of imperialism and the feudal classes, while imperialism often employs indirect methods rather than direct action in helping the reactionaries in the semi-colonial countries to oppress the people, and thus the internal contradictions become particularly sharp...

"When a revolutionary civil war develops to the point of threatening the very existence of imperialism and its running dogs, the domestic reactionaries, imperialism often adopts other methods in order to maintain its rule; it either tries to split the revolutionary front from within or sends armed forces to help the domestic reactionaries directly. At such a time, foreign imperialism and domestic reaction stand quite openly at one pole while the masses of the people stand at the other pole, thus forming the principal contradiction which determines or influences the development of the other contradictions."

Since the great upsurge of national liberation struggles against colonialism and early neo-colonialism following World War II and lasting into the 1970s, U.S. imperialism has been primarily carrying on its oppression by milder, *neo-liberal* – political, economic and cultural – means, and as Mao predicted, the newly "independent" ruling classes of the semi-colonial (Third World) countries have capitulated and formed alliances with imperialism for the joint oppression and exploitation of the masses of people.

With its victory in the "Cold War" and the revisionist-led coup in People's China following Mao's death, U.S. imperialism not only split the world revolutionary movement, it eliminated the socialist camp altogether and assassinated, deposed or co-opted the leadership of the national liberation struggles in virtually every country. However, its victory in the "Cold War" has only accelerated the decline of capitalist-imperialism and brought its internal contradictions to a head, creating a downward spiral of deepening economic and political crisis.

Where revolutionary communists resisted the trend towards modern revisionism and persevered in Mao's line of developing New Democratic revolution through people's war in the Third World countries, we now see a rising wave of the World



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Proletarian Socialist Revolution (WPSR) taking form and setting an example for other oppressed nations. This is a continuation of what Mao commented on in 1968 in *A New Storm Against Imperialism*:

"At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era. The struggle of the Black people in the United States for emancipation is a component part of the general struggle of all the people of the world against U.S. imperialism, a component part of the contemporary world revolution. I call on the workers, peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals of all countries and all who are willing to fight against U.S. imperialism to take action and extend strong support to the struggle of the Black people in the United States! People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and its accomplices! It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism, and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off."

Revolution advances in waves, and a new wave is rising in response to the deepening crisis of capitalist-imperialism. Things did not proceed "straight ahead" but in a spiral due to the above mentioned reversals, but revolution remains the main trend in the world today. With the exception of Iraq and Afghanistan – where the leadership of the resistance are not communists – U.S. imperialism is employing indirect means of oppression against the people of every other Third World country. This may well change as the crisis gets deeper and the resistance grows shaper, and in every case we must oppose U.S. military interventions, but our main thrust – our internationalist duty – must be to build our struggle here to overthrow our oppression and exploitation as a component part of the WPSR and end the criminal rule of the U.S. imperialist ruling class.

If this new wave of the WPSR is to be the one that finally sweeps capitalist-imperialism into the dust bin, it must inevitably end up being centered here inside the sole imperialist superpower. We must understand this dialectically and not be confused by dogmatic-mechanical thinking such as Lin Biao (Biao)'s "Third Worldism" which is in contradiction with Mao's ideological and political line. Mao did not write off the "overwhelming majority of the white people" in Amerika, and neither does the NABPP-PC. We have created the White Panther Organization (WPO) as an arm of our Party to represent our Party among the oppressed whites – here and internationally – because as Mao pointed out in *A New Storm*:

"The Black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States have common interests and common objectives to struggle for."

*One Divides Into Two*, and we must keep in mind that:

"It is the handful of imperialists headed by the United States [ruling class], and their supporters, the reactionaries in different countries, who are oppressing, committing aggression against and menacing the overwhelming majority of the nations and peoples in the world."

The Nation of New Afrikans in Amerika has a critical role to play, and we must "cowboy up and strap on our six guns" to lead by example, confident that all people – Black, Brown, Red, Yellow and White – here and internationally, can be won to stand united against the common enemy and act in a unified way to pull down the Empire and transfer *All Power to the People*. The role of the conscious forces – the revolutionaries – is to "to educate and organize the masses," and we must employ the *Mass Line* – learning from the masses and taking their unsystematic ideas and concentrating them and returning them to them in the form of revolutionary slogans and community-based programs – to raise their level of conscious understanding and conscious organization.

Comrade Huey's theoretical contribution of *Revolutionary Intercommunalism* is often overlooked and under-rated by the Left, but it is very dialectical and speaks to the changing conditions in the world. Breaking free from imperialism becomes less and less possible for oppressed nations while overthrowing it becomes more and more of a necessity. Separate *races* really do not exist, and nations belong to the epoch of history that is passing away. The world is "getting smaller" and more "globalized." Our thinking and our movement must reflect this reality.

For the New Afrikan Nation in Amerika, we can neither separate from nor integrate into the declining U.S. political-economic system, nor should we want to. The way forward to our liberation is to overthrow it. This is increasingly true all over. As capitalist-imperialism becomes unable to profitably exploit more and more of us as workers, it intensifies its "War on the Poor" aimed at our destruction as unwanted *surplus labor*. Racism is *more than* "just a justification for exploitation and enslavement." It is a *motivation* for genocidal elimination of what is to capitalist-imperialism in its decline – *surplus population* by the *ethnic cleansing* of people of color (and the poor generally) targeted particularly at our youth.

The level of oppression in Amerika – and the world – is not just a response to the level of resistance to imperialism but a reflection of the declining need for workers in agriculture and industry. People can't dodge this oppression by being politically inactive and submissive. We have no choice but to resist and build a movement capable of ending capitalist-imperialism, because only a planned socialist economy can provide full employment for all and a decent standard of living and social justice for all. And only socialism can empower us to deal with pressing environmental issues and achieve ecological sustainability. In short, we have many compelling reasons to get serious and scientific about revolution.

One thing we have to contribute is the concept of "Panther Love." Love is stronger than hate and more compelling than greed or selfishness. Love for the People makes Panthers strong – and brave! Dare to Struggle Dare to Win!

# *Do We Really Need To Fight Against The System?*

**Comrade Ali Khalid Abdullah**

**Minister of Human Rights, NABPP-PC**

Do not delude yourself into thinking that because Amerika has a Black President in the White House that happy days are here. They are not! Truth be told, not much of anything has really changed at all. And when all is said and done, it is still the "White House" that was built by Black slave labor.

We, (and when I say "we" I mean the majority of people in Amerika) still find our youth dying in Amerika's wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, we still face high unemployment and low wages, cuts in school budgets and social services, overcrowded prisons bursting at the seams, police breathing down our necks – particularly if we are Black, Hispanic, Arab or Indian – we still have homelessness, hunger, undernourished children that cry themselves to sleep, corrupt politicians and police, and all forms of social injustice, hopelessness and despair that stalks our communities like a plague. We still have a host of political prisoners and prisoners of war, who have been locked down longer than those of any other country. We have masses of prisoners in special units designed to crush the spirit and drive the mind to madness – prisoners whose "crime" was standing up for their rights or resisting being brutalized.

We still have racism, sexism, homophobia, xenophobia and all the strains of bigotry that infect the Amerikan culture and warp our humanity, victimizing millions of people cruelly, unjustly and senselessly. We still have the Establishment only paying lip service to human rights, pointing fingers at other countries while systematically violating the most basic of human rights here and abroad.

Is it right that the poor do not get the same quality of service in hospitals as the middle class and the rich? Is it right that people are turned out of their homes and forced onto the street? Is it right that poor old people are treated like dirt and die of neglect? For all too many the "Amerikan Dream" is a nightmare, and I challenge anyone to show me where things have changed for the better since Obama was elected. It is the system, which was never intended to work for us, that has to be replaced with one founded upon the principle of social justice for all and true people's power.

That is why we need to fight the system to bring about change. We need to build our own power, based in our communities and linked intercommunally through our United Panther Movement. We need to educate ourselves to liberate ourselves, and we need to dare to struggle and dare to win! We have too much going on for us to sit back and think all will be well if we wait for Obama to fix things. The Democrats and Republicans serve the same ruling class interests – they only pander to us for our votes and to keep us neutralized politically.

The smiling posers, who are puppets for the rich and powerful, are now multiracial and in Technicolor. Now we have some wealthy Black people who can hobnob with the white folks at the country club, and they are just as self-absorbed, money-hungry, and distant from the concerns of the Black masses and the working people as Mr. Charlie ever was. They think they are superior in every way to you and I, but I'm here to say this is an illusion.

We are guilty of having sat back and let ourselves be taken advantage of. We have let every filthy rotten thing be done to us because we didn't want to make waves. Nobody wanted to take a bold stand, to stand up and fight for liberation, but we are oh so quick to spill each other's blood. We are quick to kill each other over money, or drugs, or some sign of disrespect. This is a continuation of the slave mentality.

A lot of blood has been shed in Amerika, and still we are not free. Where are our Nat Turners or Harriet Tubmans now? The fight against oppression won't be over until it is won. The struggle continues. It was never about putting black faces in the country club or the White House. It is about all of us, all the oppressed, all the people who have put their sweat and blood into creating the wealth we see all around us, yet we are denied even decent health care – even basic respect for our human rights. It is about our children's future and their children's. It is about the future of humanity.

What are we waiting for? To see if history will repeat itself with a World War Three? To see if capitalist greed will totally destroy the environment that sustains us? To see just how far world hunger can increase because half the world can't afford to buy food? To see all our youth imprisoned? Nothing is going to change for the better unless we make it happen.

The New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC) and the United Panther Movement are not waiting for anything. We are on the move. Building the fight for prisoner's human and democratic civil rights is one aspect of the struggle we are moving on. We support the initiative of Comrade Russell "Maroon" Shoats to build chapters of the Human Rights Coalition (HRC), linking prisoners, their families and community activists to put the issue of prisoner's rights before the Amerikan people and win their active support. Every community and state should have chapters and branches of HRC with broad participation and active campaigns to shape public opinion.

In place of the draconian punishment model of "corrections," we should promote a concept of "liberation penology" and in general work to transform the "slave pens of oppression" into "schools of liberation." We must rely upon our own initiatives to reclaim our lives and our communities and be our own liberators. Doing nothing is not an option. Little reforms are not the solution. We must end the exploitative economic system.

## Serve The People #10

"Once and for all we must realize that we are no longer... in a little utopian world... We cannot realize our economic revolution in a local sense; for economy on a localist basis can only cause collective privation... economy is today a vast organism and all isolation must prove detrimental... We must work with the whole country and if possible the whole world."

-- Diego Abad de Santillan, Ministry of the Economy in Catalonia in the early period of the Spanish Civil War --  
December 1936

We have great work to do, comrades. Play time is over. We must prepare, propagate, agitate, educate and organize for the big push to freedom. There is a role to fill for everyone in this revolution.

In the Trenches...

Ali Khalid Abdullah,

June 14, 2010

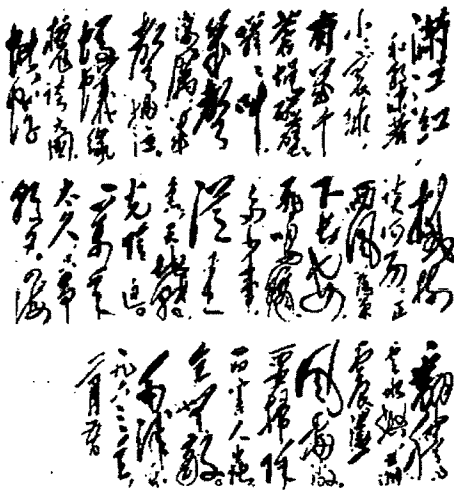
### Reply to Comrade Kuo Mo-Jo

*To the Melody of Man Chiang Hung*

On this tiny globe  
A few flies dash themselves against the wall,  
Humming without cease,  
Sometimes shrilling,  
Sometimes moaning.  
Ants on the locust tree assume a great nation  
swagger  
And mayflies lightly plot to topple the giant tree.  
The west wind scatters leaves over Changan,  
And the arrows are flying, twanging.

So many deeds cry out to be done,  
And always urgently;  
The world rolls on,  
Time presses.  
Ten thousand years are too long,  
Seize the day, seize the hour!  
The Four Seas are rising, clouds and waters raging,  
The Five Continents rocking, wind and thunder  
roaring.  
Away with all pests!  
Our force is irresistible.

Mao Tse-tung  
9 January 1963



## Institutionalized Cruelty: Torture at SCI Dallas and in Prisons Throughout Pennsylvania

*HRC-Fed Up!, the Pittsburgh chapter of the Human Rights Coalition, has issued a scathing report of its investigation into systematic human and civil rights abuse at Dallas State Correctional Institution and other prisons in Pennsylvania. This should serve as a model for others conducting systematic research to document violations of prisoner's rights and educate the public.*

For a copy of the full report write:

HRC-Fed Up!  
5129 Penn Ave.  
Pittsburgh, PA 15224

The purpose of this report is to reveal the cruelty, illegality, suffering, racism, violence, and despair that constitute the reality inhabited by inmates at SCI Dallas.

In this task we aim to contribute to an enhanced public awareness and outrage over what a day in the life is like for some of the more than 2.4 million men, women and children incarcerated in the United States, the prison-house of nations.

### Summary of Findings

*"I was confined in the RHU for my mental problem, and I can tell you that the RHU of SCI-Dallas is Hell."*

-- Roberto Rivera

The major findings of our investigation into SCI Dallas are:

- Frequent usage of racist slurs, threats of violence, verbal and physical abuse by guards;
- Retaliation against prisoners exercising their constitutional rights to file grievances, criminal complaints, and civil suits regarding conditions of confinement and guard misconduct/crimes. This practice commonly takes the form of the issuance of fabricated misconducts and subsequent placement in solitary confinement, as well as the seizure and destruction of legal property;
- Failure to provide adequate, or at times any, physical or mental health care;



HRC-Fed Up! at the state capitol in Harrisburg, April 22, 2009

- Brown drinking and bathing water, filthy cells, exposure to infectious diseases, and generally substandard environmental conditions;
- Encouragement of prisoner-on-prisoner violence, including incitement to murder and sexual violence;
- Incitement to and encouragement of suicide;
- A defective inmate grievance system that is systematically biased against prisoner claims of staff misconduct and substandard conditions, commonly refusing to permit prisoners to present witnesses or security camera evidence in support of their claims, and thus violating their right to due process. This practice conforms to inmate grievance procedures throughout the PA DOC (see enclosed official inmate grievance statistics, wherein less than 2% of prisoner grievances were upheld between January 2008 and May 31).

The highest concentration of prisoner reports came from those being held in the Restricted Housing Unit (RHU).<sup>3</sup> The RHU is a solitary confinement/control unit where prisoners are held in their cells 23 hours each day during the week and 24 on the weekends. Conditions in the RHU at Dallas were summarized by one prisoner as follows:

"The conditions were very inhumane... hot, no working vents at all... stuffy and humid... My first cell bugs were biting me all over my body, when I said something about it they (medical staff) played like I was crazy then finally after constant complaining

they gave me benadryl then moved me and still didn't clean the cell. They had a light on all day that felt like a rotisserie lamp. It was hard to sleep because of the hot humid cells and constant bugs biting me all day and night... We had no cups to drink the brown colored water that came out of the sinks and toilets. There was constant screaming yelling kicking and banging (with objects on doors to multiply the sound on the doors)."

Along with dangerously substandard conditions comes the psychological deterioration of prolonged isolation. While a vastly higher prevalence of psychological instability and disorder already exists amongst the prisoner population than within the population at large<sup>4</sup> the rate of mental illness, becomes higher yet amongst those confined in control units. Responses to questionnaires sent to large numbers of prisoners led the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics to claim in a September 2006 report that as many as 56% of state prisoners likely suffer from a mental health problem,<sup>5</sup> based on the presence of a recent history or symptoms of mental health problems.

The regime of solitary confinement both exacerbates and generates psychological instability, abnormality, and disorder, therefore perpetuating an escalating cycle of mental illness and suffering inside and outside the prisons. The scientific consensus deduced from copious research on

<sup>3</sup> RHU, solitary confinement, control unit are used interchangeable in this report. Prisoners and popular discourse commonly refer to these units as "the hole."

<sup>4</sup> Terry Kupers, *Prison Madness: The Mental Health Crisis Behind Bars and What We Must Do About It*. Dr. Kupers writes that "The prevalence of mental disorders among prisoners is quite high, at least five times the prevalence rates in the general population," p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> "Mental Health Problems of Prison and Jail Inmates," Doris J. James and Lauren E. Glaze, *Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report*, September 2006.

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the psychological impact of solitary confinement is that the experience generates considerable and sometimes permanent mental suffering.

Prisoners at SCI Dallas frequently reported experiencing suicidal tendencies, distortions in thought processes, hallucinations, rage, inability to concentrate, and helplessness. During the course of our investigation one prisoner, Matthew Bullock, committed suicide by hanging. In the days and weeks that followed HRC obtained 8 statements from other prisoners testifying that: (1) Mr. Bullock was severely depressed as a consequence of conditions in the RHU, where he was being held in violation of a judge's sentencing order that he serve his time in a secure mental health institution; (2) Mr. Bullock made staff aware of his urge to commit suicide; (3) guards ignored his plea for help and even encouraged him to kill himself; (4) guards moved him from a cell with a camera to a cell without a camera after Mr. Bullock threatened to kill himself; (5) staff then failed to make rounds for at least four hours providing Mr. Bullock the opportunity to kill himself.

HRC has received several such reports of guards encouraging prisoners to kill themselves. Mental health care is virtually non-existent, especially for those in solitary confinement. These reports are consistent with countless others received from prisoners in the PA DOC.

The lack of mental health treatment fits within a more extensive problem of medical neglect. The provision of medical services in SCI Dallas, and throughout the PA DOC, has been contracted to Prison Health Services, Inc. (PHS), a Tennessee-based for-profit corporation that has left a trail of corpses and lawsuits in its wake around the country (see section 3.3). Prisoners frequently report being denied medications, surgery, hospitalization, and other necessary care. The compelling and obvious motive behind these restrictions on access to medical services is the lowering of costs, which for a private corporation means the increase of profits.

According to official PA DOC statistics 13 prisoners died at SCI Dallas in 2009. Aside from the Bullock suicide 11 were listed as "natural" while the death of 25 year-old Howard Kelley was undetermined.<sup>6</sup> Newspaper reports subsequently reported that Mr. Kelley died as the result of complications from H1N1, aka "Swine flu," although family of Mr. Kelley report being told conflicting information. HRC has received several reports that Mr. Kelley had attempted to seek medical care for his illness prior to his death but was refused. By the time he was given attention it was too late.

Another lethal example of medical neglect and cruelty in the RHU was reported to HRC in late November by Andre Jacobs (see case study in section 2.2). Mr. Jacobs reports that he informed both C/O Rayburn and Nurse Dawn Williams that prisoner Bernard Carr was coughing and throwing up in his cell. Nurse Williams replied, "Mind your business. He can sign up for sick call." Sick call was not until tomorrow. At approximately 6:00 am on the morning of 11/25 C/O Wilk found Mr. Carr dead in his cell. When Sgt. Ransom arrived on the block that morning, it was reported that he loudly stated, "Another dead nigger. Jacobs' next."

Mr. Carr's death was confirmed by the official PA DOC inmate deaths list.

Guards at SCI Dallas routinely engage in racist harassment and intimidation, targeting black and Latino prisoners with fabricated misconducts, physical abuse and assault, and deprivation of food, water, and other rights. One example amongst many came from Randolph Creighton when he sent HRC a copy of a private criminal complaint he submitted to the DA of Luzerne County regarding Sgt. Henry, stating that "Dec. 2, 2009, roughly after 3:00 pm, Sgt. Henry ordered myself and other compound workers to pick up all the rocks that were left around the edge of the dug up hole. As I proceeded to do so, Sgt. Henry stated the following comments "you black guys sure are fucking lazy (stated twice); If those were crack you guys would kill each other trying to pick them up! You black guys should all be fired. I'm going to see if you all can be fired. You're nothing but punks and drug dealers." The complaint also stated that on December 9th Sgt. Henry refused to sign paperwork of Mr. Creighton's, stating, "I'm not signing your pass. I'm leaving Friday for good so take that pass and shove it up your black nigger unemployed ass you black bitch."

Prisoners who attempt to resolve problems of substandard conditions and staff misconduct through non-violent, constitutionally-protected means such as filing grievances or lawsuits are singled out for retaliation. Along with racist intimidation and threats of violence, commonly reported tactics of retaliation include issuing false misconduct reports that provide a pretext for holding prisoners in prolonged, sometimes indefinite, solitary confinement. Once in the RHU these prisoners are routinely subjected to deprivation of food, running water, yard, showers, personal property, access to the law library; their mail is opened, delayed, confiscated, or destroyed. Prison misconduct hearings are virtually always formalities that rule against prisoners after refusing them the right to call witnesses or access security camera footage for purposes of evidence.

Those who file grievances do so with the knowledge that these too are virtually always decided against prisoners. Official PA DOC grievance statistics reveal that between January 1, 2008 and April 28, 2009 less than 2% of prisoner grievances were upheld throughout the state.<sup>7</sup> Yet because of the provisions of the Prison Litigation Reform Act (see section 3.5.1) those who want to challenge violations of their rights in court are forced to file grievances, despite the serious risk to their health and safety, lest the Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment; the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights; and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Other guidelines for interpreting and implementing human rights principles that have been adopted by the United Nations are also included in order to provide analytical support and as useful tools for addressing violations of prisoners' rights.

We have chosen not to focus on U.S. domestic law for this particular report, although the conditions alleged herein violate numerous aspects of such, because it is our contention that international law (which is also constitutional law, see below) must be the legal standard which

<sup>6</sup> Pennsylvania Department of Corrections Inmate Deaths System data, obtained via PA Right to Know request; on file.

<sup>7</sup> PA DOC Inmate Grievance Tracking System Summary Totals, on file.

government actions are measured by if human rights and the rule of law are to be respected.

The treaties, resolutions, and other guidelines presented herein represent the customary understanding of international law acknowledged by the world community. For this reason HRC recognizes international human rights law as binding upon the United States under Article 6 of the U.S. Constitution, which states that "all treaties made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land."<sup>8</sup>

This report does not probe the U.S. record on ratifying, recognizing, or abiding by international conventions claim be dismissed on a procedural technicality.

In sum, conditions of confinement at SCI Dallas fail to meet minimal standards of decency, competency, morality, or legality. Substandard conditions expose prisoners to infectious diseases and ill-health (see section 3.3) and medical staff routinely refuse adequate or any treatment; mental health services are grossly deficient when they are available at all; solitary confinement is being used as a warehouse for the mentally ill and as a tool of retaliation; and flagrant racism of a distinctly white-supremacist nature governs the entire operation of the prison. In all of the above SCI Dallas falls squarely within the mainstream of the PA DOC.



Revolutionary Greetings,

I greet all of you receiving this letter in the spirit of resistance — resistance to exploitation, injustice, oppression and bullshit/backwards ideas. My name is Prince Ajamu Khalfani-El, and I am the 1st crown and chairperson of the Black Order Revolutionary Organization (BORO) and a representative of the United Struggle from Within (USW), a MIM (Prisons)-led anti-imperialist prisoner's organization. Many of you may be familiar with me as Wiggins-El or Wiggins Mo. (note: MIM (Prisons) usually does not print the name of its correspondents and affiliates for obvious security reasons. However, I have asked them to go ahead and print my name to give a little more weight or legitimacy as to the seriousness and dedication of this project.)

Oftentimes we hear prisoners and others in society complaining either about what "should be done" or what others "are not doing," but nowhere in their critique do they offer any analysis or alternatives, and are usually not doing much more themselves other than talking shit. Well this is not one of those times. This project is about U.S.-Missouri prisoners — taking our destiny into our own hands.

On February 1, 2010 the Director of Adult Institutions, Tom Clements, signed a new censorship policy. Many of you should now be aware of the blanket ban on all musical recordings which carry a parental advisory label, will no longer be allowed in any Missouri prisons. They have for a number of years now been arbitrarily denying any books or literature of a historical, social, political or religious nature that they don't agree with. Federal constitutional law clearly has stated, "prison officials may not reject a publication solely because its content is religious, philosophical, political, social, sexual or unpopular or repugnant or to establish an excluded list of publications, but must review each issue of a subscription separately." *Thornburgh v. Abbott*, 490 US 41. Also, "the court required that an inmate be notified of the rejection of correspondence and that the author of the correspondence be allowed to protest the decision and secure review by a prison official other than the original censor." *Procunier v. Martinez*, 416 US 396.

Accompanying this letter is a brief complaint to the director airing our grievance with regard to this new censorship policy and the continual censor of our social and political books, literature and newsletters. The general idea here is to send in as many individual complaints as possible to the director and the Department of Justice and other officials. There are over 35,000 prisoners in Missouri and we can and we must make our voices heard. And if they ignore us and do nothing, it proves our point when we say that they don't give a damn about us. If we don't do something now, don't be crying when the only books and magazines available are Dr. Seuss and the only music the Mickey Mouse Club!

If you don't have the finances to copy the complaint, handwrite them and you can utilize the "inside mail" procedure to send your complaint to DOC officials. Please send in any and all responses that you receive to MIM (Prisons)'s Prisoner Legal Clinic at PO Box 40799 San Francisco, CA 94140. They will be assisting us in this fight and will post our campaign on their website [www.prisoncensorship.info](http://www.prisoncensorship.info).

Please do not send in your individual cases as we don't have the time, resources or finances to help fight individual cases. We're fighting a thousand pound beast and we have to make our blows effective. So we engage in legal battles that will have the most impact on the majority of prisoners. I believe this is an issue we can all fight together regardless of our organizational ties, religious, or political beliefs. The more of us involved, the stronger our voice will become.

It must be noted that: "MIM (Prisons) only engages in and promotes legal means of combating injustice. When the prison staff represses every educational and legal outlet for prisoners to redress their complaints then it is clear what kind of strategies they are promoting. In those prisons, we predict there will be violence, and they cannot blame it on us because they have kept us out. This is similar to what we say about all struggles for justice around the world. We believe violence is necessary to end injustice because history has demonstrated that the oppressor never stops oppressing any other way. We do not want or promote violence, we are merely stating our conclusion from reading history. In every case of revolutionary war, it was up to the oppressor to decide whether violence was used or not. History shows that the same has been true in the prison

<sup>8</sup> The Constitution of the United States of America, Article VI



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rights movement. The struggle for prisoner rights has only become violent when the state initiated such violence.

Anyone interested in this campaign should get busy, Send out your complaints, keep MIM (Prisons) informed of all responses and chances in policy (if any). If there are other organizations that you know can help us push this agenda, send them copies and also refer them to MIM (Prisons), In the end, if people don't take responsibility for manifesting the type of society that they want to live in, then they shouldn't complain about their oppression. I look forward to struggling with you.

Power -- it is Ours!

Prince Ajamu  
BORO/USW

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PhB 950 Pennsylvania Ave., NW  
Washington, DC 65101

### Sample Letter

"We begin, as did the courts below, with our decision in *Procunier v. Martinez*, which described the principles that necessarily frame our analysis of prisoners' Constitutional claims. The first of these principles is that the Federal courts must take cognizance of the valid constitutional claims of prison inmates. Prison walls do not form a barrier separating prison inmates from the protection of the Constitution. Hence, for example, prisoners retain the Constitutional right to petition the government for the redress of grievances, *Johnson v. Avery*, 393 U.S. 483., they are protected against racial discrimination by the equal protection clause of the United States Constitution, *Lee v. Washington*, 390 U.S. 333., and they enjoy the protections of due process, *Wolfe v. McDonnell*, 418 U.S. 539. Because prisoners retain these rights 'when a prison regulation or practice offends a fundamental Constitutional guarantee, Federal courts will discharge their duty to protect Constitutional rights', *Procunier v. Martinez*, 416 U.S. 396."

-- U.S. Supreme Court in *Turner v. Safely*, 482 U.S. 78

Date:

To: Tom Clements  
Director, Missouri Department of Corrections  
P.O. Box 236  
Jefferson City, MO 65101

Re: Violation of Prisoners' First and Fourteenth Amendment Rights

Dear Director,

This letter is written to you in the hopes that you, as the Director of Adult Institutions for the state of Missouri, will open and conduct a fair and impartial investigation into practices by corrections staff -- mailroom officers, censorship committees, and deputy wardens -- to violate prisoners' rights guaranteed them under the 1st and 14th Amendments to the United States Constitution.

The Constitutional violations in question revolve around (1) prisoners receiving mail of a socio-political nature, some of which is critical of governmental and corrections policies; (2) the blanket ban on all recordings that carry a "Parental Advisory" label; and (3) reprisals taken against prisoners who exercise their right to grieve these issues.

According to IS 13-1.2 Censorship Procedure, "a publication or item may not be rejected because its content is religious, philosophical, social, sexual or is unpopular or repugnant. Publications will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis." However, prison authorities have continued to deny several of our publications claiming they are a threat to institutional safety with no other proof or evidence in documentation other than they told us so.

Section B, #4C of the same procedure states, "...all recordings with a 'Parental Advisory' warning or similar designation shall be censored." This blanket ban is both unreasonable and uncalled for in that there no legitimate penological interest in banning all musical recordings that carry this label. It is also discriminatory in nature in that most recordings that carry this label are R&B, hip hop/rap, and some rock recordings which are listened to by a majority of the Black prisoner population and some young white prisoners.

We find that mailroom staff and institutional censorship committees have continuously and deliberately denied our publications based on their own personal preferences and not legitimate governmental interests. When we have used the grievance system, our complaints are then reviewed and denied by the very same officials who originally censored them. This negates the entire idea of a fair hearing and procedural due process guaranteed us by the Federal Constitution.

In addition to these, we have also been retaliated against when we attempt to resolve complaints through the grievance procedure. We contend that all reprisals do not come in the form of a false conduct violation report, but also with our mail being lost or destroyed, denial of recreational and phone privileges, punitive and harassing body and cell searches, and loss of job/work assignments, etc.; all of which are against departmental policy and U.S. Constitution.

Sir, you have it within your power to authorize an investigation into this complaint and to order these illegal practices to stop. To avoid the lengthy cost of multiple legal complaints and litigation, and a further strain on government



## Serve The People #10

funds, we trust that you will take the necessary steps to remedy these injustices.

Respectfully submitted,

CC: Personal file

Office of Inspector General, Missouri DOC

Director of Offender Rehabilitative Services, Missouri DOC

Missouri CURE

U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division.



**Rising Sun Press**  
**PO Box 4362**  
**Allentown, PA 18105**

June 19, 2010

Capt. K. McGuyer  
Pelican Bay State Prison  
Investigative Services Unit/IGI  
PO Box 7000  
Crescent City, CA 95532-7000

Dear Sir (or Madam),

I received a notification from you dated May 19, 2010 stating that some materials from Rising Sun Press were being kept from a prisoner named Perez #P-33572, material which you claim "promotes gang activity," and then you go on to specify "promoting platform of Black Panther Party that is also supported by the BGF prison gang."

Now, personally, I don't know what the BGF promotes. I only hear from the many prisoners you have falsely "validated" as being BGF members who write to me from SHU cells.

And I don't know what specifically you object to in the Black Panther Party 10-Point program – though I assume it is Point 10 – which quotes word for word from the *Declaration of Independence*. You know, the part where it says governments should not be altered or abolished lightly or for little cause but only when there is a long-standing set of grievances designed to reduce a people to slavery.

I think this because it fits the situation. No other government in the world is locking up such a great percentage of its people. Since the Panthers' 10-Point Program was written, some 40 years ago, there has been an eight-fold increase in the incarceration rate in the U.S., and California is out in front among the states for reducing people to prison slavery.

And I think most people in the know would agree that Pelican Bay leads the state in human rights abuses and particularly interference with prisoners' mail and false "validations." Since this is evidentially your job, I guess that

puts you up there with the world's worst human rights abusers, doesn't it? Was this your ambition?

One really has to wonder what the original Black Panthers were so upset about, when, as compared to today, those were progressive times; people had more spendable cash in their pockets, jobs weren't so hard to find, the cops weren't so omnipresent and militarized, and people had less chance of being railroaded into prison, not to mention less chance of being thrown into "the hole" for life because some "snitch" or racist CO had it in for them.

Censorship is a funny thing. It doesn't stop the spread of ideas – not at all! In fact I'm sure Mr. Perez can infer more from your stop-mail notice than he could read about in one of our newsletters. You make it clear just how un-free this country is.

It all goes back to Point No. 10 doesn't it? But how long does the chain of abuses have to be? Thomas Jefferson didn't specify. George Jackson, (you remember him?), said "Wake up, fascism is already here!" And he predicted then – a long time ago – that if people didn't take action millions would die or live half-butchered lives.

Well, wasn't he on the money? And the bullets that stopped his life didn't erase the truth of his words, did they? No, because you're still afraid of him – aren't you?

The New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter has adopted the 10-Point Program of the original BPP, and why not? It's more applicable today than when it was written.

It is a completely legal, aboveground political organization. I don't know what you mean by "promotes gang activity." What activity would that be? The only thing NABPP-PC has to say to gangs is; "Stop gangbanging and reorient yourselves to serve your communities." Is that what you call "promoting gang activity?"

I don't know what BGF is doing these days. What I hear is that they've become part of the system not that they are still promoting the 10-Point Program to uplift their fellow prisoners. Maybe you know different. As I said, we're not in touch. I'd like to think I've been misinformed and hear that they are carrying on in a way that would make George Jackson proud. So if you could give me any specifics on what they are doing today to promote the 10-Point Program, I'd like to hear about it.

Otherwise, I'll just have to assume that you are invoking their name falsely to promote your own ant-democratic and criminal agenda of violating prisoner's rights, as you do when you falsely "validate" prisoners as BGF members.

Have a Nice Day!

Sincerely,

Tom Big Warrior

Editor/Publisher

cc: Perez "P-33572

Calif. Prison Focus



## A Few Words from Huey P. Newton

[EXERPT FROM HUEY P. NEWTON'S PH.D. DISSERTATION, "WAR AGAINST THE PANTHERS: A STUDY OF REPRESSION IN AMERICA, UC SANTA CRUZ, 1980]

### III. FORMATION AND PURPOSE OF THE PARTY: WHAT MAKES IT DIFFERENT?

By 1966, the United States had experienced a recent series of disruptions in several of its major urban Black population centers — Harlem, Watts, Chicago and Detroit. Numerous organizations and leaders representing groups of Black people — e.g., SCLC (Martin Luther King, Jr.), the Black Muslims (Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X), CORE (James Farmer), NAACP (Roy Wilkins) — had repeatedly articulated the causes of these riots or urban rebellions: high unemployment, bad housing, police brutality, poor health care, and inferior educational opportunities. Their consensus on the ills that caused or contributed to the violent explosions in inner cities was confirmed by official investigating bodies such as the Kerner and McCone Commissions.<sup>2</sup> While all groups were generally in agreement on the specific maladies of the society affecting Blacks, they were in disagreement as to the best solution for ending them. The Black nationalists favored separatism; traditional liberals, integration and passage of new legal guarantees; and some of the more activist-oriented demanded "revolution now." Amidst this clamor for social justice, the Black Panther Party was formed in Oakland, California, in 1966.

### A. Ideology of Revolutionary Intercommunalism

The Party differed from other organizations representing Black and poor persons in several respects. First, the Panthers embraced from the outset an explicitly socialist ideology, which it soon named "revolutionary intercommunalism." In essence, the Party acknowledged that it was, despite certain differences, basically socialist or Marxist because it employed the dialectical method and sought to integrate theory and practice. As the founder of the Panthers observed:

"We are not mechanical Marxists and we are not historical materialists. Some people think they are Marxists when they are actually following the thoughts of Hegel. Some people think they are Marxist-Leninists but they refuse to be creative, and are, therefore, tied to the past. They are tied to a rhetoric that does not apply to the present set of conditions. They are tied to a set of thoughts that approaches dogma... If we are using the method of dialectical materialism we don't expect to find anything the same even one minute later because "one minute later" is history. If things are in a constant state of change, we cannot expect them to be the same. Words used to describe old phenomena may be useless to describe the new. And if we use the old words to describe new events we run the risk of confusing people and misleading them into thinking that things are static."<sup>3</sup>

This espousal of revolutionary intercommunalism by the BPP obviously influenced the perception of others about it, especially, as will be shown, the federal government. Of equal importance, however, is the effect this ideology has upon the actions of the Party and the decisions of its leadership. Revolutionary intercommunalism provided an important paradigm for interpreting the world, much as a belief in laissez-faire capitalism affects the actions of corporate decision-makers who embrace it. Thus, to the BPP, government opposition to its existence was expected as partial confirmation of its *raison d'être*. On a more personal level, the BPP leadership felt toward their ideology and its likely opponents that "truth made you a traitor as it often does in a time of scoundrels."<sup>4</sup>

"Revolutionary intercommunalism" not only served to pit the BPP and government law enforcement against each other in ideological struggle, [but also] it gave the Party a perhaps unexpected asset in its struggle for survival. The popular conception of ideology, especially one embracing terminology that seems foreign to traditional democratic politics, is that it is rigid and doctrinaire. Yet to the BPP leadership, its ideology, despite the sound of dogma it may have conveyed to others, served it as a pragmatic methodology for interpreting events. A central tenet of revolutionary intercommunalism, for example, is that "contradiction is the ruling principle of the universe," that everything is in a constant state of transformation. Recognition of these principles gave Party leaders an ability to grow through a self-criticism that many other radical political organizations seemed to lack. Thus, in 1970, Newton could say of the Party:

"In 1966 we called our Party a Black Nationalist Party (BNP). We called ourselves Black Nationalists because we thought that nationhood was the answer. Shortly after that we decided that what was

## Serve The People #10

really needed was revolutionary nationalism. That is, nationalism plus socialism. After analyzing conditions a little more, we found that it was impractical and even contradictory. Therefore we went to a higher level of consciousness. We saw that in order to be free we had to crush the ruling circle and therefore we had to unite with the peoples of the world. So we called ourselves Internationalists... We sought solidarity with what we thought were the nations of the world.

"But then what happened? We found that because everything is in a constant state of transformation, because of the development of technology, because of the development of the mass media ...and because of the fact that the United States is no longer a nation but an empire, nations could not exist, for they did not have the criteria for nationhood. Their self-determination, economic determination, and cultural determination has been transformed by the imperialists and the ruling circle. They were no longer nations. We found that in order to be Internationalists we had to be also Nationalists, or at least acknowledge nationhood. Internationalism... means the interrelationship among a group of nations. But since no nation exists, and since the United States is in fact an empire, it is impossible for us to be Internationalists. These transformations and phenomena require us to call ourselves "inter-communalists" *because nations have been transformed into communities of the world.* The Black Panther Party now disclaims internationalism and supports intercommunalism."5

### B. Strategy for Building Community Institutions: The Survival Programs

A second distinguishing characteristic of the Party has been its specific strategy to achieve revolutionary intercommunalism: the building of "survival" or community service programs.6 The purpose of these programs is to enable people to meet their daily needs by developing positive institutions within their Communities and to organize the communities politically around these programs. This, of course, is nothing new when one thinks of certain minority or ethnic communities in the United States, such as the Jews or Chinese. Historically, one way these groups have affected their rise from deprivation is by developing communal associations, ranging from fraternal and religious bodies to political machines. The function of these community associations or institutions has been described by Cloward and Piven as "provid[ing] a base from which covert ethnic solidarity evolves into the political force required to overcome various forms of class inequality. They are therefore an important device by which the legitimate interests of particular groups are put forward to compete with the of other groups."7

Unfortunately, as Cloward and Piven conclude, "the Black community -- and this was especially true in 1966 when the Party was forming -- "lacked an institutional framework in private social welfare [as well as in other institutional areas], and the separatist agencies of other ethnic and religious communities [were] not eager to see this deficiency overcome "8 Hence the BPP emphasized the importance of its survival programs.

### 1. The Police Patrols

An early survival program focused on the issue of police brutality, which was a major concern, nationally and in Oakland, California. Applying knowledge of California law, Party founders Huey Newton and Bobby Seale organized police patrols to respond to arrests of citizens that were regularly broadcast on the police officers' shortwave radio.

Several Party members equipped with a shortwave radio in a car intercepted the calls, rushed to the scene of the arrest, and, armed with a law book, informed the person being arrested of his constitutional rights. Party members also carried loaded weapons, publicly displayed but not pointed toward anyone, and dressed in leather jackets and berets. The patrol participants were careful to stand no closer than ten feet from the arrest, to stay within the presumption that they were not interfering with the arrest.9 These initial contacts between Panther patrols and Oakland police resulted in the arrests of Party members and [in] considerable publicity.10 Media portrayals of these confrontations gave the impression that the Panthers were primarily an armed insurrectionary group. One of the reasons for this distorted image was astutely noted by Erik Erikson:

"You have all seen the now traditional picture of young Huey Newton like a latter day American revolutionary with a gun in his hands, held not threateningly, but safely pointing upward. To a man of my age, it was, not too long ago, almost impossible to imagine black men carrying guns openly -- black vigilantes, black nightriders in automobiles, keeping an eye on (of all things) the law. Most readers of the news, of course, did not and do not know that according to California law, every citizen then had the right to carry a gun, one gun for self-defense and joint defense. But those who created that law certainly did not envisage anybody but white men doing so, nor did they envisage anybody but potential lawbreakers as the ones to be patrolled vigilant citizens in an ill-defined and frontier territory.

...[What the BPP did] was to show how the black man's territory has never outlived the frontier state and is still the land of undefined laws; and that arbitrary violence in this territory often comes not from roving outlaws but from those charged with the enforcement of the law. Inclined to disregard the rights of black citizens, they break the law under the guise of defending it. [The BPP] made of the police, then, the symbol of uniformed and armed lawlessness. But [it] did so by ingeniously turning the white man's own imagery (especially dear to the American West and the Western) around against the white world itself. And in arming [themselves] and [their] brothers against that world, [the BPP] emphasized a disciplined adherence to existing law. In fact, [the BPP] patrol member traveled equipped not only with a gun but also with a law book. The book and the fire -- it cannot escape us -- what an elemental pair of symbols this has been in revolts as far removed from each other as that of the Germans in Luther's day and that of the Zionists in our own.11

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The image of Blacks armed for self-defense against police brutality catapulted the Party nationally into the public consciousness and gave an erroneous impression that it advocated armed confrontation. Ironically, however, the single event most responsible for projecting this violent image was itself a pristine case of a group legally petitioning the government for redress of grievances.

The BPP learned in April 1967 of the shooting by Richmond, California police of Denzil Dowell, a twenty-two-year-old Black. Official police accounts claim that the youth was running from the police after they had flagged him down in a stolen car. He reportedly jumped one fence, ran across an automobile junkyard, and was about to jump another fence when an officer shot him. No one claimed that Denzil Dowell was armed. Since he was shot while in the commission of a felony, the police claimed that it was justifiable homicide. But the police account suffered from factual inconsistencies. The victim suffered a hip injury, which made him an unlikely fence-jumper. Moreover, no oil or debris was found on his shoes or clothes, which, had he really run through the automobile junkyard near where he was found, would almost certainly have been present. Finally, several people had witnessed previous threats made by the police to Denzil Dowell, who was apparently viewed by some Richmond law enforcement personnel as a troublemaker.

When BPP members went with Denzil Dowell's family to the sheriff of Contra Costa County to complain about the shooting, they were advised to go to the state capitol in Sacramento and get the law changed that permitted officers to shoot at suspects fleeing the scene of a felony. Party leaders saw this buck-passing as further confirmation of their belief that armed citizen patrols of the police and the arming of the citizenry as guaranteed by the Constitution were the most effective deterrents to excessive use of police force.<sup>12</sup>

Soon after the shooting of Denzil Dowell, an East Bay legislator, Don Mulford, gave the BPP another reason to carry their grievances to the state capitol. Mulford introduced a bill to repeal the law that permitted citizens to carry loaded weapons in public places so long as the weapons were openly displayed.<sup>13</sup> Obviously, the law Mulford sought to repeal was integral to the BPP's police patrols, which was why it was tagged the "Panther Bill" in numerous media reports. Passage of Mulford's bill, which the Panthers viewed as almost certain, would make it a crime for a citizen, not otherwise licensed, to carry a loaded weapon in a public place, whether openly displayed or concealed. In response to the introduction of this legislation, the BPP sent a delegation to the capitol to protest this attempted disarming of the citizenry. The delegation carried loaded rifles and shotguns, which they publicly displayed. They entered the state capitol, a public place, to make their protest by delivering Executive Mandate No. 1.<sup>14</sup>

The legislature responded to this protest by promptly passing the law, which was signed by Governor Ronald Reagan. But the gathering of armed Black men on the capitol steps was photographed and published in newspapers and on television throughout the nation. These photographic representations served as a stimulus for Party popularity and growth among young Blacks, hostility by the government, and fear by much of the white citizenry recently racked by a series of Black urban riots.

What never became clear to the public, largely because it was always deemphasized in the media,<sup>15</sup> was that the armed self-defense program of the Party was just one form of what Party leaders viewed as self-defense against oppression. The Party had always urged self-defense against poor medical care, unemployment, slum housing, under-representation in the political process, and other social ills that poor and oppressed people suffer.<sup>16</sup> The Panther means for implementing its concept of self-defense was its various survival programs, symbolized best by the police patrols and the free breakfast program for school children. In addition to these programs, however, the Party early initiated health clinics providing free medical and dental service, a busing program to take relatives of prisoners on visiting days, and an escort and transportation service for residents of senior citizen housing projects, as well as a clothing and shoe program to provide for more of the needs of the local community. It was these broad-based programs, including the free food program, where thousands of bags of groceries were given away to the poor citizens of the community, that gave the Party great appeal to poor and Black people throughout the country.<sup>17</sup> For one of the first times since the organized slave rebellions before the Civil War, Blacks were responding to an organization that tried to build community institutions and did so under the banner of a political ideology that directly challenged democratic capitalism.



## Haitians still wait for recovery

**Real reconstruction has yet to begin, while the people suffer in ramshackle housing in overcrowded camps. Instead of facilitating imports of equipment, leaders have lapsed into a pattern of corruption and delay.**

E. Thomas Johnson  
latimes.com, June 25, 2010

Five months after Haiti's devastating earthquake, the emergency response has finally secured a toehold: No one is lacking essential life-preserving services. But real recovery and reconstruction efforts have yet to begin, and there is a significant risk of further disaster.

In more than 10 years of emergency relief work, I've never seen camps like those in Port-au-Prince. International

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standards defining what people are entitled to after a disaster are in no way being met.

The Haitian camps are congested beyond imagination, with ramshackle tents standing edge to edge in every square foot of available space. With the rainy season now beginning, the crowded conditions and overtaxed public toilets have raised very real concerns about a cholera epidemic.

The tents themselves are a hodgepodge. Families' first attempts at fashioning shelters have been augmented with plastic sheeting supplied by international agencies. But the makeshift housing certainly won't withstand a hurricane. If one were to hit Port-au-Prince, the death toll can only be guessed at. There would be nowhere for displaced families to take refuge in a city where most of the hotels, public buildings, schools and churches still lie in massive heaps of rubble.

It's to be expected that cleaning up the rubble will take time. But what is shocking is that it hasn't really started. In four days of driving through this sprawling, heavily populated city recently, I saw only one backhoe in operation. It was repairing a sewer line. The other handful of modest cleanup efforts I saw were being done by teams of a dozen people with shovels and wheelbarrows, tools pitifully inadequate to the task.

Massive, aggressive intervention is required. It will take a convoy of construction equipment, such as that possessed by the U.S. military camped on the edge of the city, to remove the rubble and clear streets that are clogged with piles of concrete and iron. But the cleanup is just not happening.

Why has so little been accomplished? Why hasn't heavy equipment been brought in? Why hasn't the government depopulated at least some of the worst camps, moving residents to safer locations on the outskirts of the city where proper settlements can be planned, and proper shelters constructed?

After an initial honeymoon period with the international aid community, the Haitian government has imposed stringent controls. With more than 600 organizations present, some central planning is essential. But the government in Port-au-Prince has lapsed into the classic pattern of corruption, inefficiency and delay that holds the country hostage.

At a recent United Nations-led meeting, one international organization reported that it had 45 vehicles waiting at Haiti's border with the Dominican Republic. They had been there several weeks because Haitian officials had denied them entry. This is not an isolated case. Dozens of organizations involved in the aid effort have had trouble importing goods and materials, and the restrictions and requirements on new projects to help the affected families continue to grow.

Though it's important that the Haitian government is in the driver's seat of the recovery effort, it has not yet stepped up to the job. The government needs to aggressively facilitate imports of needed goods and equipment and allow agencies to resettle both camp residents who are most at risk and those whose homes were not damaged. The government says it prefers a solution in which all camp residents are resettled at once.

Meanwhile, as ordinary Haitians suffer, the elite families of Port-au-Prince continue to live in luxury in elegant homes

high above the dusty sprawl. These families have controlled the wealth of Haiti for generations, and many are now profiting from their country's latest tragedy. The aid agencies all need rental cars and trucks, housing, offices, warehouses and local supplies, and Haiti's elite tend to control access to those things. Experienced aid workers have seen this phenomenon before; our efforts to assist the poorest also end up making the richest even richer.

And of course, Haiti's wealthy businessmen also have a stake in how the reconstruction takes place. A friend described an absurd moment from a recent meeting of a number of aid agencies with President Rene Preval. The president, my friend said, announced that he'd just received a message on his BlackBerry from the owner of one of Haiti's private water companies. The man was concerned that aid agencies were giving out free water to people in camps and said it would ruin the economy. No one in the room knew how to respond.

The government's recent establishment of a settlement commission is a positive sign, as is its change in rhetoric from talking about temporary shelter to more permanent housing. But more aggressive cleanup is urgently needed, as are efforts to start resettling some of the displaced. U.S. and European donors need to exert more diplomatic pressure on the Haitian government to remove obstructions, most notably those for importing capital items. A hurricane contingency plan is urgently needed.

Meanwhile, the view from the rain-soaked tents in Port-au-Prince is bleak. Graffiti calling for Preval's ouster has started appearing everywhere, but with endemic corruption and a fractious, weak opposition, a clear alternative has yet to appear. Until earthmovers arrive and the rubble clearance operation begins in earnest, the hundreds of thousands of displaced families can do no better than pray that another disaster doesn't come before reconstruction.

*E. Thomas Johnson is humanitarian response coordinator for the Danish relief organization DanChurchAid.*



## U.S. Senate report says Haiti rebuilding has stalled

By JONATHAN M. KATZ, Associated Press Writer

Mon, Jun 21, 10:42 pm ET

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — Haiti has made little progress in rebuilding in the five months since its earthquake, because of an absence of leadership, disagreements among donors and general disorganization, a U.S. Senate report says.

Obtained Monday by the Associated Press; the eight-page report is meant to give Congress a picture of Haiti today as U.S. legislators consider authorizing \$2 billion to support the country's reconstruction.

That picture is grim: Millions displaced from their homes, rubble and collapsed buildings still dominating the landscape. Three weeks into hurricane season, with tropical rains lashing the capital daily, construction is being held up by land disputes and customs delays while plans for moving people out of tent-and-tarp settlements remain in "early draft form," it says.

The report was written by staff of Sen. John Kerry, the Massachusetts Democrat who is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and other Democrats who interviewed U.S., Haitian, United Nations and other officials and visited resettlement camps, hospitals and schools throughout the quake zone.

"While many immediate humanitarian relief priorities appear to have been met, there are troubling signs that the recovery and longer term rebuilding activities are flagging," said the report, which is scheduled to be released Tuesday.

Three times it says the rebuilding process has "stalled" since the Jan. 12 disaster.

The report also criticizes the government of Haitian President Rene Preval and Prime Minister Jean-Max Bellerive, saying it has "not done an effective job of communicating to Haitians that it is in charge and ready to lead the rebuilding effort." The report calls on Preval to take a "more visible and active role, despite the difficulties."

Bellerive responded to the criticism in a Monday interview with the AP. He said officials are working hard behind the scenes to ensure reconstruction does not simply mean the rebuilding of barely livable slums.

"We understand the impatience and we are the ones more frustrated than anybody," the prime minister said. "It took some time. I believe four months (since a U.N. donors' conference in March) to plan the refoundation from such a disaster is pretty acceptable."

With a chuckle, he also said it is unfair for U.S. officials to take him to task when the Senate still has not approved aid money that Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton promised at the donors' conference.

"They ask me to move more projects when the money is still on hold," Bellerive said.

In all, just 2 percent of the \$5.3 billion in near-term aid pledges have actually been delivered, up from 1 percent last week.

The report expresses concerns that even once the money is in hand, it will not move quickly enough to help. The funds are managed by a 26-member reconstruction commission led by Bellerive and former U.S. President Bill Clinton that started its operations last week.

While the report calls the commission the "best near-term prospect for driving rebuilding," it also says the panel "has the potential to dramatically slow things down through cumbersome bureaucratic obstacles at a time when Haiti cannot afford to delay."

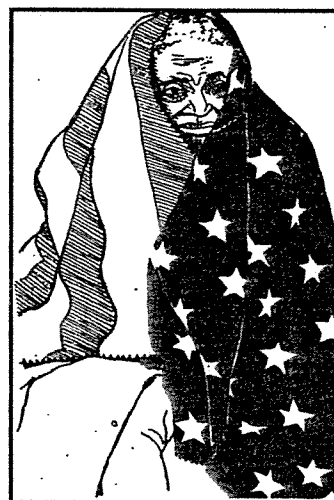
The report notes disagreements among donors over strategy, approach and priorities, saying the disputes "are undercutting recovery and rebuilding."

The reconstruction panel includes representatives of donors who pledged at least \$100 million in cash or \$200 million of debt relief, including the United States, Venezuela, Brazil, Canada, the European Union, the Inter-American Development Bank and the World Bank.

Bellerive said the report's criticism that the panel has been too slow in organizing is already moot. "We had a meeting, we have an office, we have administrative support," he said.

One thing on which all parties agree is the importance of November elections. The legislature has almost entirely dissolved after members' terms expired because the quake forced the cancellation of February legislative elections. Preval's five-year term ends next February; an attempt to prolong his term by several months if elections are not held resulted in protesters clashing with police in front of the ruins of the presidential palace.

Failing to hold the November elections on time, even despite the losses of the electoral commission's headquarters and records, could imperil "Haiti's fragile democracy," the report says. But it expresses limited optimism that a plan for holding the vote is "apparently imminent."







## Johann Hari: You are being lied to about pirates

Some are just gangsters. But others are trying to stop illegal dumping and trawling.

The Independent  
Monday, 5 January 2009

Who imagined that in 2009, the world's governments would be declaring war on pirates? As you read this, the British Royal Navy – backed by the ships of more than two dozen nations, from the U.S. to China – is sailing into Somali waters to take on men we still picture as parrot-on-the-shoulder pantomime villains. They will soon be fighting Somali ships and even chasing the pirates onto land, into one of the most broken countries on earth. But behind the arrr-me-harties oddness of this tale, there is an untold scandal. The people our governments are labeling as Pirates have never been quite who we think they are. The people our governments are labeling as "one of the great menaces of our times" have an extraordinary story to tell – and some justice on their side.

Pirates have never been quite who we think they are. In the "Golden Age of Piracy" – from 1650 to 1730 – the idea of the pirate as the senseless, savage Bluebeard that lingers today was created by the British government in a great propaganda heave. Many ordinary people believed it was false: pirates were often saved from the gallows by supportive crowds. Why? What did they see that we can't? In his book *Villains of All Nations*, the historian Marcus Rediker pores through the evidence.

If you became a merchant or navy sailor then – plucked from the docks of London's East End, young and hungry – you ended up in a floating wooden Hell. You worked all hours on a cramped, half-starved ship, and if you slacked off, the all-powerful captain would whip you with the Cat O' Nine Tails. If you slacked often, you could be thrown overboard. And at the end of months or years of this, you were often cheated of your wages.

Pirates were the first people to rebel against this world. They mutinied – and created a different way of working on the seas. Once they had a ship, the pirates elected their captains, and made all their decisions collectively, without torture. They shared their bounty out in what Rediker calls "one of the most egalitarian plans for the disposition of resources to be found anywhere in the eighteenth century."

They even took in escaped African slaves and lived with them as equals. The pirates showed "quite clearly – and subversively – that ships did not have to be run in the brutal and oppressive ways of the merchant service and the Royal Navy." This is why they were romantic heroes, despite being unproductive thieves.

The words of one pirate from that lost age, a young British man called William Scott, should echo into this new age of piracy. Just before he was hanged in Charleston, South Carolina, he said: "What I did was to keep me from perishing. I was forced to go a-pirateing to live." In 1991, the government of Somalia collapsed. Its nine million people have been teetering on starvation ever since – and the ugliest forces in the Western world have seen this as a great opportunity to steal the country's food supply and dump our nuclear waste in their seas.

Yes: nuclear waste. As soon as the government was gone, mysterious European ships started appearing off the coast of Somalia, dumping vast barrels into the ocean. The coastal population began to sicken. At first they suffered strange rashes, nausea and malformed babies. Then, after the 2005 tsunami, hundreds of the dumped and leaking barrels washed up on shore. People began to suffer from radiation sickness, and more than 300 died.





Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah, the UN envoy to Somalia, tells me: "Somebody is dumping nuclear material here. There is also lead, and heavy metals such as cadmium and mercury -- you name it." Much of it can be traced back to European hospitals and factories, who seem to be passing it on to the Italian mafia to "dispose" of cheaply. When I asked Mr Ould-Abdallah what European governments were doing about it, he said with a sigh: "Nothing. There has been no clean-up, no compensation, and no prevention."

At the same time, other European ships have been looting Somalia's seas of their greatest resource: seafood. We have destroyed our own fish stocks by overexploitation -- and now we have moved on to theirs. More than \$300m-worth of tuna, shrimp, and lobster are being stolen every year by illegal trawlers. The local fishermen are now starving. Mohammed Hussein, a fisherman in the town of Marka 100km south of Mogadishu, told Reuters: "If nothing is done, there soon won't be much fish left in our coastal waters."

This is the context in which the "pirates" have emerged. Somali fishermen took speedboats to try to dissuade the dumpers and trawlers, or at least levy a "tax" on them. They call themselves the Volunteer Coastguard of Somalia -- and ordinary Somalis agree. The independent Somali news site *Wardheer News* found 70 per cent "strongly supported the piracy as a form of national defense."

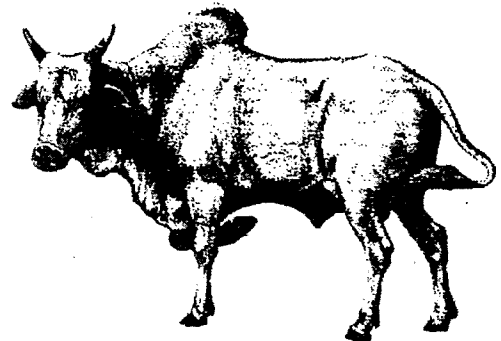
No, this doesn't make hostage-taking justifiable, and yes, some are clearly just gangsters -- especially those who have held up World Food Programme [WFP] supplies. But in a telephone interview, one of the pirate leaders, Sugule Ali: "We don't consider ourselves sea bandits. We consider sea bandits [to be] those who illegally fish and dump in our seas." William Scott would understand.

Did we expect starving Somalis to stand passively on their beaches, paddling in our toxic waste, and watch us snatch their fish to eat in restaurants in London and Paris and Rome? We won't act on those crimes -- the only sane solution to this problem -- but when some of the fishermen responded by disrupting the transit-corridor for 20 per cent of the world's oil supply, we swiftly send in the gunboats.

The story of the 2009 war on piracy was best summarized by another pirate, who lived and died in the fourth century BC. He was captured and brought to Alexander the Great, who demanded to know "what he meant by keeping possession of the sea." The pirate smiled, and responded: "What you mean by seizing the whole earth; but because I do it with a petty ship, I am called a robber, while you, who do it with a great fleet, are called emperor." Once again, our great imperial fleets sail -- but who is the robber?

## MADAGASCAR: A financial crisis on the hoof

AMBOHITSAHATAZA, 1 June 2010 (IRIN) -- Far from the world's financial centres, isolated from sub-prime mortgages, collateral debt obligations and collapsing investment banks, Madagascar is going through a financial crisis of its own, and stock prices are plummeting.



As in most of rural Africa, wealth is measured in livestock. Joseph Rabemamantsoa, leader of Ambohitsahataza village in Amphany district in the southwest of the island, told IRIN that the value of his zebu -- sturdy cattle with long horns and a fatty hump on their shoulders -- had halved. "Normally, we could get up to 300,000 ariary [U.S.\$140] for a good animal; now we are lucky to get 150,000."

Not only has the value of individual animals dropped in the past few years, the average size of herds has also dwindled. "In a good period one rich family will have between 20 and 40 animals, now they have only 10," Rabemamantsoa said. Poor families -- most of the roughly 1,700 villagers -- now had none.

The Malagasy government's Early Warning System (SAP) noted that the average price of a zebu in southern Madagascar had dropped from A221,000 (\$130) in March 2008 to A110,000 (\$51) in March 2010, which was in line with the 50 percent devaluation experienced in Rabemamantsoa's community.

### Breaking the bank

In local terms this is a financial meltdown: people in the south of Madagascar depend on their zebu for more than just meat, milk and draught power to pull carts and plough the fields; their herd of zebu are their life's savings, insurance, their standing in the community. "It is what we value most," Rabemamantsoa said.

Lundi Percle, a civil engineer and head of Hiara Hampandroso (Develop Together), a local NGO that helps communities build resilience in the harsh, dry conditions of the region, said a large herd of zebu meant social prestige and importance.

He has helped build water harvesters with the help of UN World Food Programme (WFP) Food-For-Work projects, in

which a community works on projects geared to restoring self-sufficiency in exchange for food aid.

On his desk there is a huge pile of envelopes with requests from communities. "Most are for water catchment basins for cattle," he said. "The decision of what to build is taken by the community. We are in the south, [where] water is the big problem. They prefer not having water to drink themselves than having their zebu go without water."

The importance that Malagasy attach to their zebu cannot be underestimated: "It is their life and their death," Perole commented. Cultural practice dictates that a deceased person's zebu be slaughtered and the skulls set to decorate the tomb – the more skulls on a tomb, the greater the wealth and status – although outsiders often consider the practice destructive.

#### A buyers market

Drought lay at the heart of this local recession, and the consecutive years of scant rain had pushed families beyond their ability to cope, Perole said.

By the end of April 2010 the government projected that a record of 65 communities in the south would face hunger in the coming months – surpassing the 45 of the previous year – and some 866,000 Malagasy would probably need assistance by June 2010.

"Food prices are increasing beyond the purchasing power of the population, reducing their access to food," said Krystyna Bednarska, head of the WFP in Madagascar.

Official figures indicate a rising cost of living in southern Madagascar; the price of one kapoaka (a small tin can) of maize, the staple food, rose from A130 (\$0.06) in July 2009 to A230 (\$0.11) by February 2010 in some areas.

Alexandre Huynh, Emergency Rehabilitation Coordinator at the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), said poor harvests meant families were forced to sell off assets – like their prized zebu – to make ends meet.

"Zebu provide a solution to purchase food during the lean seasons and food shortages, but... as the sale becomes critical to the family, and as numerous households sell their animals at the same time, prices [fall] extremely low," he said.

"When the crisis has passed, [people] try to repurchase animals, but at the normal, and higher, market price, which directly contributes to their increasing destitution and current heavy de-capitalization."

The loss of local wealth is keenly felt. Rabemamantsoa said the zebu were being bought and trucked to the cities, like Tulear on the southwest coast, "But even up to Antananarivo [the capital in the north]."



## Imperialists' policies cause worldwide hunger

By Deirdre Griswold, Workers World

Published Apr 24, 2008

When hungry people rebel in the streets over the high cost of food, it is only because they have tried every other way to feed their families -- and come up with nothing.

That is what is happening around the world today -- in so many countries that those whose economic policies have created this situation are truly alarmed. When the problem was just hunger, it was very, very low on their agenda. But now that the problem is seen as one of "social instability," the huge transnational corporations that control the world market know their "bottom line" could be severely affected.

The U.N.'s World Food Program released a report in mid-April estimating that 800 million people are going hungry every day around the globe and malnutrition is rampant. Many explanations are being given for why, suddenly, so many people are in a dire situation of "food insecurity" after so many promises that the "green revolution" pushed by agribusiness would end world hunger forever.

Some point out that a huge and growing area of rich cropland is now producing crops for biofuel -- in other words, to fuel cars, buses and trucks instead of to feed people. Others say it's because the earth's population is getting too large.

However, the same WFP report says that food production has been rising along with population and enough food is grown to feed everyone in the world. Yet hundreds of millions just can't afford to eat.

Was there any warning that a crisis like this was coming?

Absolutely. In fact, people who study food production in the developing world have been literally pleading with the rich imperialist countries -- especially the U.S. -- to change their policies.

For example, as long ago as 1999 Sophia Murphy of the Institute for Agricultural and Trade Policy wrote an article on "WTO, Agricultural Deregulation and Food Security," in which she concluded that "Those who face persistent hunger in the world do not have the money to exercise effective demand in a 'free' market. ...Nobody needs to go hungry -- each person that does is the victim of conscious policy choices and policy failures."

What Murphy, and others who work in various organizations trying to mitigate the effects of the "free market," are referring to are the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) imposed by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization on poor countries. These institutions are controlled by the banks and corporations in the rich imperialist countries and do what's best for them, even though their stated mission is to help the development of poorer countries by loaning them money -- at interest, of course.

It is a measure of the enormous injustice incorporated into international agreements that the very countries plundered of their resources during centuries of colonialism are now in the category of "debtor nations." They are up to their ears in debt and have been forced by these international imperialist institutions to accept the most onerous "adjustment" to their economies just to be able to participate in any commerce or trade.

In fact, in this era of neocolonialism, it is the banks and the transnationals that keep the people of the oppressed nations enslaved. This arrangement is usually more satisfactory for the exploiters than direct rule, although the U.S. is now attempting to reconquer in the old colonial way countries like Iraq that exerted too much sovereignty.

The SAPs were pushed on the poorest countries in the world beginning in the 1980s. That was a time when the vigor of the Third World national liberation movements was waning, along with the aid that had been given developing countries by the Soviet Union and China, whose socialist commitments had been worn down by the unrelenting pressures and costs of the Cold War.<sup>9</sup>

There were two main focuses to the SAPs: *privatization* and *deregulation*.

To continue to get loans so they could pay their "debt" and hopefully have something left over, the poor countries had to sell off what belonged to the state: natural resources, airports, land and even water.

They also had to end import tariffs that had protected their farmers against the inflow of cheap agricultural products – especially products from the U.S., where grains in particular can be grown very cheaply because of abundant land and modern technology.

In Mexico, for example, the flooding in of cheap corn after the implementation of NAFTA ruined millions of small farmers, many of whom have lost their lands and must emigrate to the U.S. in order to get work.

Under the SAPs, countries have had to eliminate subsidies and price controls that helped keep food affordable for the people.

The imperialist bankers forced all this on the developing countries in order to squeeze out of them even more immense profits and take over the reigns of their economies. The result has been that where once these countries were fairly self-sufficient in food, much of their agricultural land has now been taken over by transnationals, which produce cash crops for export.

Flowers, palm oil for biofuel, cattle for the huge hamburger chains, and costly fruits and vegetables for export year-round to the colder and more affluent countries of the North are replacing the indigenous crops that had provided a balanced diet for most of the people.

The structural adjustment programs have completely broken down the sovereignty of these countries drawn into their web. Economic decisions are not made in-country, as the military say, but in the boardrooms on Wall Street and its European and Japanese equivalents.

There will undoubtedly be many more studies that show how cruel and unsustainable is the new world order created by imperialist globalization. What will end this nightmare, however, is the revolutionary action of the popular masses. The food rebellions are a signal of their desperation but also of their hope and belief in their own power.



## Causes of Poverty in Africa

By Kallie Szczepanski

Today, 300 million African people live on less than \$1.00 U.S. per day. The incidence of extreme poverty never seems to go down, despite decades of work by African governments and NGOs, and foreign government aid programs. What causes this entrenched poverty, on a continent rich with natural resources?

Unfortunately, poverty in Africa doesn't result from just one or two causes. There are a number of different factors at work, all interacting with one another, and making the problem of entrenched poverty extremely difficult to solve.

Some of the major causes of poverty include: war and armed conflict, poor farm policy, lack of access to credit, rampant unemployment, lack of access to education, and disease.

### WAR AND ARMED CONFLICT

One-fifth of all African people live in countries seriously disrupted by armed conflict. When war is ranging all around, it's very difficult to grow crops, continue to work in an office, or earn money. Ordinary life becomes impossible, as people are forced to flee their homes.

Thus, productivity goes down, and poverty rates shoot up. Countries at war produce an average of 12.5 percent less food per person than they do during peace time.

One example is Angola, where a 27-year long civil war killed half a million people and left 3.8 million people displaced. Virtually all the country's infrastructure was destroyed in the conflict, and more than three-quarters of the population fell into extreme poverty. Today, 85% of Angolans make their living through subsistence farming, working fields that conceal left-over landmines.

<sup>9</sup> To say nothing [sic] about the restoration of capitalism in these formerly socialist countries. – Editor.

## Serve The People #10

### POOR FARM POLICY

The agriculture sector accounts for about 60% of African workers. Three-fifths of them are subsistence farmers, trying to eke enough food from their plot to feed their family. The rest work for large multinational industrial farms, or labor on huge export-crop fields.

Cash-strapped African governments try to squeeze every last penny out of their agricultural sector, imposing export taxes and commodity taxes on production. This drives up prices and drives down wages, increasing poverty rates. Meanwhile the governments of European nations and the U.S. do the opposite: they subsidize farmers to the tune of \$300 billion U.S. per year.

In addition, African governments often are forced to sell their crops for bargain prices, in order to remain current on their foreign debt load. Importing nations in the developed world know that the producers have to sell at any price, so offer artificially low amounts for their produce.

### LACK OF ACCESS TO CREDIT

The very poor can't get a bank loan or a credit card with which to make basic purchases that could help lift them out of poverty. While they may need only a tiny cash infusion, between \$20 and \$300 U.S. to buy a cell phone, some livestock, a sewing machine, etc., this is often impossible for people in poverty. They don't have any collateral, or income, and they don't have a credit record.

Increasingly, micro-lending organizations are addressing this problem by specializing in loans to the very poor. However, micro-lending is still centered in Asia, and is just getting started in Africa. As it grows, it may cause substantial improvements in the lives of many of Africa's poorest people.

### RAMPANT UNEMPLOYMENT

The unemployment rate in some African nations is more than 70%. Zimbabwe's unemployment rate is now 85% and rising. Even in South Africa, one of the most developed African nations, unemployment is around 36%, significantly higher than that in Europe or North America.

With so many people out of work, it's little wonder that economic productivity is low, and poverty rates high.

### LACK OF ACCESS TO EDUCATION

A UN survey in 2000 found that only 58% of school-aged children in Africa were actually enrolled in school. Somewhere between 40 and 45 million African children will never set foot inside a school building.

Across Africa, most schools have to charge the students fees in order to operate. Even if the fees are as little as \$20 or \$30 U.S. for a child to attend for a year, the price of basic education can be out of reach for many poor families. In addition to school fees, parents also have to buy uniforms, books, and possibly lunch for their students, and many families simply can't afford it.

Children who don't have even an elementary-school education have little hope of finding steady work when they grow up. If they join the ranks of the chronically unemployed (or underemployed), their children too may miss out on schooling, and the cycle will continue.

### DISEASE

According to the UN, about 2 million African people die each year just from AIDS, and 24 million more get infected with HIV. Deaths from malaria also total about 2 million, although a higher percentage of those killed by the parasite are small children. Each disease costs Africa about \$10-12 billion U.S. every year in lost GDP, and plunges more families and whole communities deeper into poverty. Africa also suffers from epidemics of cholera, measles, and polio.

The link between disease and poverty is easy to see. Workers who are weakened by AIDS or malaria miss work, and they typically don't have paid sick leave. Their employers lose their productivity, decreasing profits. Other family members also have to stay home from work or school to take care of the ailing person, so the loss expands. In many villages, elderly grandparents who have lost several adult children to AIDS are working to feed 8 or 10 orphaned grandchildren. It's almost impossible for them to feed all those mouths and scrape together all those school fees.

### CONCLUSION

Poverty in Africa is a complex problem, born of many interlocking causes. It will be difficult to solve, but the world must continue to try. It's unconscionable that so many people continue to live in such grinding poverty.

## In A Word

By Tom Big Warrior

The cause of poverty – in Afrika and everywhere else – is the outmoded system of Capitalist-Imperialism. It is the root cause of all the suffering of the oppressed masses, the reason the "developing" countries remain undeveloped, and the people underfed. It is the cause of the wars and famines, the mass unemployment and the food crisis. Until its neo-colonial domination is ended the people of Afrika and the other Third World countries will "continue to live in such grinding poverty," or worse.

This is why we must build NASO internationally – wherever poor Black people are concentrated – and build "Ghetto 2 Ghetto" intercommunalism, mutual aid and solidarity. We must build NASO as a new type of NGO that not only provides necessary survival programs and builds community-based peoples' power, but that also raises people's sights through revolutionary agitation, education and organization. We need to build revolutionary Pan-African consciousness and unity and build the overall struggle for new democratic and socialist revolution.

The struggle here and the struggle there are part of an integrated whole, and we must "Walk on Two Legs" in building a Black liberation movement that liberates Afrika and the African Diaspora, as a component part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. The United Panther Movement is just what is needed to set the wheels turning and the people's struggle headed towards a solution to all our problems.

The United Panther Movement is not a movement of a minority but of the majority. It is not just a Black Movement but a movement of the oppressed and exploited, whether Black, Brown, Red, Yellow or White. Our common interest is peace, prosperity and social justice for all – for it is all of us or none.

The masses in the imperialist countries are better off than the masses in the Third World, relatively speaking; our poverty is less intense, our prisons less horrible, our life expectancy is longer, and in general we have more access to education, health care and social welfare programs. None-the-less, our situation is worsening – and will continue to get worse – under the present system.

Such advantages as we have should be taken advantage of to play a vanguard role in building a worldwide united front against capitalist-imperialism representing the broadest interests of humanity and particularly those most oppressed and most pressed for survival under the present system. Our placement in the "Belly of the Beast" gives us opportunities to play a revolutionary vanguard role – as well as a moral responsibility and the class interests to do so.

We must learn to think and act globally, not just as individuals but as communities, building links and networks of solidarity and support that will build our unity and our ability to be our own liberators. We are each of us part of a whole with a common history and a common future – a world without boundaries, without wars and without exploitation. We have nothing to lose but our chains – we have a world to win!

**Dare to Struggle Dare to Win!**

**All Power to the People!**



## **"Turning a Blind Eye to Injustice"**

By Comrade Khaysi, NABPP-PC

What are injustices? Aren't they the criminal, judicial, institutional, physical and psychological maltreatment of individuals based upon class, race, gender, or caste and social discrimination and oppression? Isn't this offensive to all moral people? So why then do we allow ourselves to become desensitized and "turn a blind eye" to the injustices being perpetrated every day in our communities and on the prison plantations?

The expressed outrage over Abu Garhib demonstrated how public opinion can have a strong impact in eradicating the maltreatment of prisoners – but people have to realize that such injustices are perpetrated every day in the Amerikan prison systems. If public outrage can shut down a prison in Iraq, why turn a "blind eye" to what is going on here? Where is the moral outrage? Why can't the oppressed masses have the same effect upon the prison plantations here, which have historically subjected masses of people to the same sort of maltreatment, indignities and injustices as Abu Garhib?

The rebellion at Attica State Prison in New York in 1971 shook things up for a minute, and some reforms followed, but as soon as they realized that the public eye was turned elsewhere, conditions got worse – much worse – as the techniques developed by the CIA and the military were incorporated throughout Amerika's civilian prison systems. What we have today is systematic human rights violations on many times the scale of what was being done in the 1970s.

In Angola, Louisiana, Red Onion in Virginia, Pelican Bay in California, and in thousands of prisons and jails across Amerika, the beatings, tortures and other outrages committed on prisoners are not considered "cruel and unusual" because we are considered as "slaves of the state" and "sub-human commodities" to whom internationally-recognized human rights and democratic civil rights do not apply. The "Blind Eye" that society has turned to us encourages the sadistic guards, grafting administrators and "bought and paid for" politicians to disregard our pleas for justice.

Prisons are big business, and the "prison-industrial complex" has become the "new slavery," built upon the legacy of the old plantations and Indian reservations, the chain-gangs, work-houses and convict-leasing. They are as Amerikan as apple pie! It all centers on turning a profit and exploiting the powerless, the core values of this society that have made Amerika a world-dominating empire.

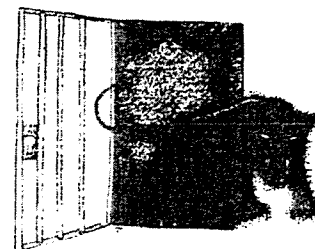
I don't want to belittle the efforts of the few who are earnestly trying to reform the system and who are struggling in the courts and elsewhere to defend prisoner's rights. But we must approach this from a different perspective – that of ending all oppression and creating a revolutionary new future for society. The masses of oppressed slaves on the "New Plantations" and those on the street who bare the emotional and physical scars of their maltreatment are a potentially potent force for revolutionary change.

Do not think of us only in terms of our past transgressions and mistakes. We did not create the social conditions that breed crime and social dysfunction. We too are victims. We don't ask for special favors only respect for our basic human rights and civil liberties. Do not turn a "Blind Eye" to injustice. Good intentions count for nothing. You must speak out and organize. Assist us by helping us to organize.

It is imperative that the destitute and oppressed neo-slave masses understand the dynamics of a unitary movement that will educate and organize our class. You can't expect the capitalists to reform their ways or act against their class interests willingly. They will never end oppression, so it for us, the oppressed, to act as and to be our own liberators. We must empower ourselves. Our power comes from unity and that alone. Sitting back, divided and isolated, we have no power. Only by uniting can we change anything.

So I encourage all my Afrikans, and all of the white, Latino, Asian and Native American comrades, males and females, young and old, to be more assertive, cognitive and committed to building a United Panther Movement and raising the level of mass consciousness and awareness to the plight of prisoners in the U.S. and the maltreatment we are subjected to. Join us in this struggle for human and democratic civil rights. Expose the truth!

Kelvin "Khaysi" Canada, Feb. 17, 2009





## **The Contributions of Women**

By Comrade Khaysi

For centuries, the contributions of women to society have been unappreciated and disregarded, and to some extent, they still are. But imagine our world without women like Harriet Tubman contributing to the struggle of our people against slavery through the "underground railroad." Imagine if we had not had women like Daisy Bates standing up for the desegregation of schools in Arkansas.

Imagine our world without Harriet Beecher Stowe, who contributed to the abolition of slavery by her writings. Imagine our world without Angela Davis and Elaine Brown, two Black Panther sisters who contributed to the work of the Party combating racism and capitalist imperialism and the social inequalities affecting all oppressed people.

In a patriarchal world where women have been systematically oppressed for centuries because of their gender, it is imperative that we acknowledge the significance and magnitude of their contributions. Women in Amerika were denied the right to vote until 1920 and the passage of the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment. They had to fight long and hard to win this right!

Discrimination against women is still common in the job market, where often they receive less pay than men do for doing the same work. The idea that women are not as "equal" as their male counterparts still pervades many workplaces, where they get passed over for promotions and raises. The idea that a man needs to be "in charge" holds them back unfairly.

So the objective in acknowledging the contributions of women is to fight current oppression and the misconception that women are inferior to men. By doing this, we also want to extinguish the practice of calling our sisters "bitches and ho's" and treating them disrespectfully that some people think is "hip." It's not, it's just perpetuating the patriarchal

mindset that created slavery. These misogynist propensities are promoted by the capitalist entertainment industry promoting artists who denigrate women and our culture like a bunch of vultures. To Hell with these culture vultures! They don't speak for us. They only care about their profits and keeping us down.

We say:

**CELEBRATE THE ROLE OF WOMEN – THEY HOLD UP HALF THE SKY!**



## **Commemorating Our Liberators**

We must take this opportunity during Black History Month—And every month—to honor our liberators, because had it not been for them—their blood, sweat and tears—their sacrifices—we'd still be chattel slaves.

Liberators like Nat Turner, Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah, Che Guevara, Harriet Tubman, John Brown, Steve Biko and Amilcar Cabral are all heroes in our struggle—because they fought for our liberation—trying to end the system of oppression that chains us.

We are all riding on the shoulders of those who gave their lives for us—they made it possible for us to carry on this fight from a little better position—and to pass this fight on generation after generation until full liberation is won.

Mr. Carter Woodson created Black History Month in 1915 for New Afrikans in Amerika—to connect us to our Afrikan roots and our legacy of struggle—our Black heritage and history.

Let us all—Afrikans and New Afrikans, Asians and everybody—remember and celebrate our true history of struggle and resistance—not just in February but every month—our history is struggle, our future is liberation—All Power to the People!

Kelvin "Khaysi" Canada  
Written February 3, 2009

Kelvin "Khaysi" Canada #218813  
Red Onion State Prison  
PO Box 1900  
Pound, VA 24279



## Lady Liberty

By Comrade Joe Valentine

There poised in our Creator's life-sustaining water,  
for you who dare to hear the truth from the alter,  
is a statue that will forever falter...

Teary eyed promises to "feed, protect and shelter  
the persecuted poor" — Amerika's "First Lady" by  
fiat...pimps and flatters the world's oppressed like a whore!

Wit' her flirtatious snake ways, this madam of base desires  
entices the naïve to burn in her witchcraft  
Fire, as United States death squads are trained and  
nurtured for hire...

This filibustering bitch, wet at the hips wit'  
a sea of pollution — Exxon's shit — in her salacious  
switch causes opportunist "keep hope alive" Jesse to  
turn tricks and dig true freedom and justice a ditch!

The symbolic torch — wit' flames of torture ablaze —  
raised towards the Indo-Aryan gods of lust, greed and war  
as the true God burns in her deceptions fed to us!

Thorned crown on her wicked breeding head —  
spikes which poison the mind of those who love  
lies...dread not being eatin' alive — you  
the walkin' dead!

For the Wretched of the Earth; this slut is hanged  
by radicals in effigy as her democratic and  
hypocritical defenders of the FBI and CIA  
kill those who like our Patrice Lumumba  
only wanted to live righteous and free!

This French wench, once in slave chains,  
given as a ruling class gift to their white  
supremacist cousins...those who've murdered  
our kin and will veto our demands for liberation  
to the damn bitter end — forever drownin'  
Afrikans in her sins...

Joe Valentine (Comrade Okera)  
Written 9-3-2001



## A Black Manifesto

By General TACO, Black Riders  
Liberation Party

7/15/2000

This letter is a position paper to my brother and comrade Sesso Montgomery. He is a committed Black revolutionary who has been held political prisoner for eleven years inside California prison slave camps on trumped up charges. After he heard about the Pigs raiding our headquarters in Watts he was allegedly involved in a physical altercation with a prison guard and put in solitary confinement. I wrote this report to my brother in the spirit of George Jackson and Jonathon Jackson. We will now criticize the unjust with the weapon!

Dear Comrade,

Revolutionary Greetings! I know it's been a long time since you heard from me. My sincerest apologies go out to you. I am living under strain. There have been numerous issues that have occurred since then that has distracted me from my duties. In our political thrust to bring about freedom and Black self-determination in the neo-colonies out here, the Black Riders Liberation Party has been engulfed in a series of repressive attacks launched by the racist pigs. Of course, we counter-attacked but reestablishing a solid organizational structure throughout the community has been difficult. The enemy ruling class understands the value of mass psychology. They have scientifically taught people "what to think" while we have the more problematic job of promoting "how to think." The goal is still the same: the building of a communal infrastructure capable of fielding a people's army.

In our efforts to build tangible unity and to increase the social strength n the Black community we have helped to organize "gang" truce football games as part of our B.O.S.S. Black on Black violence prevention program (I prefer not to call us gangs because we are tribes) every since a peace treaty as agreed upon by the tribes in Watts in 1992. This initial truce generated the black consciousness that provided fuel for the rebellious explosion in the aftermath of the



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Rodney King beating by the L.A.P.D and the brutal murder of Latasha Hardling at the hands of a Korean storeowner.

This peace treaty was agreed upon only two days before the L.A. uprising and eventually ushered in a temporary truce between all tribes in southern California but it only lasted a few weeks because the fucking pigs sabotaged it by sending government spies in the Black community to cause tension and tribal warfare after the rebellion. Watts only survived the repression because of extensive organizing and it is a small cohesive community. Even this small sign of unity has been put under siege because the fascist rulers understand that the Watts truce will eventually spark something a thousand times more productive -- armed revolution!

For three whole days the people took over one of the biggest cities in Amerika and the action was completely unorganized. Imagine what would happen if we were fully organized. President Bush had just defeated Iraq in another imperialistic war and he had to make a mad dash and call home "the boys" to help reestablish National security during the worse uprising in U.S. history. It was started and carried by the notorious Blood Crips -- the urban Black lumpenproletariat.

All of white Amerika stood up and took notice when we united and rebelled against the fascist state. The reactionary propaganda machine kicked in high gear to smother the explosion with a flood of reports in which Rodney King was used to mouth a few well-worded lies that he learned from the snake. To establish "law and order" and to redirect revolutionary rage into empty outlets "they" made Rodney King ask us the now classic cliché "can't we all get along?" The enemy tried to reduce one of the most tragic episodes in race relations in Amerika into a one-line joke!! Peaceful coexistence is impossible with the white power structure because oppression breeds resistance.

The fear of both Blacks and revolution is imbedded at the core of white racist psychology. In the early 1970's the oppressor actively encourage the growth of Bloods and Crips by smuggling crack cocaine and military weapons to the tribes in the Black neocolony. A few of the main reasons why the ruling elite and their hired gun-slingers manipulated us into intensifying or own genocide was to create the prison-industrial-complex to control the most rebellious people simultaneously raking in profits for a rapidly expanding capitalist global economy. It was also a defense mechanism erected against future revolutionary activity in the Black community by splitting us up into small tribes feuding over territory "they" own and control, after "they" destroyed the old guard Black Panther Party.

The neocolonial repressive measures launched against the Black community in the last thirty years are not a sign of the white power structure's security, but a glaring manifestation of its *insecurity*. Total repression and genocide are not possible if we organize ourselves for survival first -- if we first construct the commune, a sense of community, a common interest of class. The Black commune is the vehicle for the ultimate drive-by against the fascist state!

As comrade George Jackson points out, "...we must all realize that the oppressive contract cannot be broken as long as any sort of hierarchy exists to perpetuate the sensitized relationships of American tribalism, classism, and racism. Society is rendered impossible by such relationships. The

establishment of society through intercommunalism (Huey P. Newton's concepts of the revolutionary solidarity of all oppressed people of the world) will require that the social contract be completely altered. Clearly alteration cannot take place unless hierarchy is destroyed. Can we expect the hierarchy to do away with itself?

When we resisted in 1992 the fascist Pete Wilson moved to pass legislation to put a leash on young Blacks that had finally united and turned on their own slave masters. The 3-strike law and other numerous anti-people bills passed through legislation was a direct response to the uprising. Anglo-Saxon law is firmly grounded in the latent principle that the haves must always be protected from the have-nots. The public alarm sounded by the fear of crime must be seen as white America's reaction to the fear of "niggers" shooting in retaliation for racial oppression!!!

The peace treaty in Watts has become very dangerous to the establishment. We have been waging a relentless struggle to defend our people and the truce from the oppressor's occupying pig army. The fascist pigs main goal is to destroy all revolutionary consciousness. The "gang" truce football games underlying theme is to bring all the hostile tribes together to teach our people that we are one family, one community, and one Nation. Our main political theoretician Comrade George Jackson wrote, "It is the sense of the finality of their exclusion from solid social-economic participation that forces our youth away from the crippled family unit into the streets. It causes the excessive importance of meaningless relationships and the prevalence of anti-communal behavior which is a psycho-social to the loss of -- and longing for -- community."

In the process of building unity in the community we teach Black men and women that to engage in tribalism against each other is tantamount to siding with white supremacy and the best way to get meaningful respect is to actively join the Party and declare war on the capitalist system! In 1992 we just didn't simply loot Korean stores, There were sixteen gun battles between brothers and the pigs reported!! The truce combined with the rebellion represented the decline of tribalism and signaled the rise of urban guerrilla warfare inside the Empire's slums. As comrade George Jackson says, "We must prove our predictions about the future with action."

I was captured and made political prisoner at the beginning of the new millennium (Y2K?) After the pigs raided our headquarters in Watts spraying mace and swinging billy clubs they captured one of our soldiers. We responded by marching into the lobby of 105th precinct and demanded the release of our comrade Daude Sherills (a lead organizer of the "gang" truce football games). While we stood in military formation inside the station, one of the pigs came from behind a desk and tried to brutalize me so I defended myself from the attack... This action had domino effect when more pigs ran into the lobby and the comrades followed my example that we relentlessly fight the myth, the hoax that repression can work against the collective consciousness of the commune, and to prove that ideals cannot be killed with violence. We bled, "they" bled. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a head for a head. After about ten minutes of hand-to-hand combat with the Gestapo our twenty men and women unit was ultimately subdued. The soldier that we went to the station to free was released a couple of hours later. Seven of us were arrested on trumped up charges that

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were eventually dropped but the pigs kept me locked up for six months on a parole violation stemming from the incident. Mao Tse Tung teaches us that, "Politics is war without bloodshed, and War is politics with bloodshed!"

The Black Riders have become the highest expression of organized rage in the new Black Liberation movement. "Action makes the front." We refuse to become intimidated by the specter of repression. We still retaliate blow for blow. The oppressor is very strong, he might beat us down to our very knees, he might crush us to the ground, but it will be physically impossible for the oppressor to go on. At some point his legs will get tired, then the people will tear his kneecaps off.

Bulletproof love

From your 'lii bro'

General T.A.C.O.

P.S.: Long live our B.O.S.S. Black on Black violence prevention program

Revolution in the new millennium

Power to the People!

**Black Riders Liberation Party**  
**PO Box 8297**  
**Los Angeles, CA 90008**



The New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC) has put out a call for the various street and prison tribes among the people to unite to form a Red Fist Alliance (RFA) as part of the United Panther Movement. The

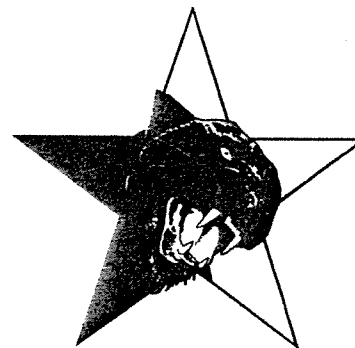
basis of unity of this alliance will be one of service to the people and protection of the communities. Each group will retain its internal leadership and autonomy and the Alliance will operate on the basis of consensus. In each community and prison, the members of the various tribes who wish to join the Alliance will have to meet together to work out their differences and come up with ideas on how to organize to bring an end to conflicts and work together serve the people.

We want this to be as inclusive as possible. People don't have to agree on everything, only to be principled and sincere. We need to end the fratricidal violence and become an asset to the people in our oppressed communities and a positive force for revolutionary change. We need to educate ourselves and the people on how to build people's power and take the future into our own hands.

Right now, we are working on putting together a newsletter for the RFA to act as a collective organizer and a forum for discussing issues pertaining to building unity and organization. For this to work, it must be a collective effort by the warriors of the tribes themselves. It needs everyone's input and participation. Until we get a bit better organized, those who are interested can hook up by contacting:

Rising Sun Press  
Po Box 4362  
Allentown, PA 18105

Dare to Struggle Dare to Win!



## *Ain't Whistlin' Dixie!*

Building the infrastructure of NABPP-PC and broadening the base of the United Panther Movement are our principle tasks right now. To accomplish this we are in the process of forming an "Old South," (as opposed to the "Deep South"), Regional Organizing Committee of the United Panther Movement to consolidate the advances being made in Virginia, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Kentucky and Maryland. Comrade X (Xavier Todd), who is chairman of the TN Branch Committee of NABPP-PC and editor of its newsletter "Black Print," will head up the committee and edit its newsletter, "Ain't Whistlin' Dixie!"

The "Old South" is a region rich in the history of struggle against the national oppression of New Afrikan people and class struggle against wage slavery. It was the scene of many slave revolts and the struggles of sharecroppers, textile workers and coal miners as well as others.

Much has been written about the emergence of a "New South," but for poor Black folks, not that much has really changed. The

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"New Plantations" are just as oppressive as the old ones. Cops and prison guards still get away with murder and torture of the slaves. Voting rights are still denied. Discrimination and racial slurs are still common, and many still live in dire poverty.

The old game of playing the poor whites against the poor Blacks is still going on. Native Americans – like the Lumbees and Cherokees – still suffer national oppression. Religious intolerance is still promoted and congregations like the Rastas and Muslims suffer persecution.

Unemployment is high – particularly for minority youth – and immigrants are discriminated against – particularly the dark-skinned ones. In general, there is a crying need for the sort of revolutionary leadership that the United Panther Movement can provide. There is a need for community-based (and intercommunally-linked) people's power.

The "Old South" is a favorite recruiting ground for the military, and both the military-industrial complex and the prison-industrial complex are big employers in the region. A perverse sort of patriotism that combines nostalgia for the Confederacy and support for U.S. global imperialism is widely promoted. In short, there are a lot of reactionary hold-overs that need to be challenged. Like Mao said: "Everything Reactionary Is the Same, If You Don't Hit It, It Won't Fall!"

The United Panther Movement is an umbrella for different organizations under the leadership of the NABPP-PC or in which the Party plays an influential role:

Uniting the Black community is the special purpose of the New Afrikan Service Org. (NASO). Based on support for the Black Panther 10 Point Program, NASO is a democratic organization that promotes the establishment of "Serve The People" (STP) survival programs in the Black community, based upon self-reliance and community-based people's power. Each chapter can decide what programs it wants to sponsor and what campaigns it wants to take on. The goal is to unite as broad a spectrum of factions in the Black community as possible.

The White Panther Org. (WPO) is the arm of the Party dedicated to working among the white prisoners and poor whites generally. It has a special responsibility for building the Appalachian People's Service Org. (APSO) in the "poverty pockets" of Appalachia. It also has the task of building chapters internationally in every country where poor white folks are concentrated and oppressed, and particularly among the working class youth.

The Red Heart Warriors' Society (RHWS) is a prison-based inter-tribal organization dedicated to orienting the Native warriors of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. It needs to extend its reach into the outside Indian communities – particularly among the youth. This work overlaps with that of the Brown Panther Organizing Committee (BPOC), which is being formed to represent the Party among the Spanish-speaking population.

The Party is also calling for the formation of a Red Fist Alliance (RFA) among members of the street and prison tribes to take the Gang Truce Movement farther and ideologically and politically reorient these youth to "Serve The People" and be part of the United Panther Movement. The RFA will initiate STP programs of its own and support the work of others. It will function on the basis of consensus with each tribe maintaining its independence and internal structure.

Among the smaller fry, the school-age youth, every organization should work to sponsor and build the Warrior Youth Org. (WYO), particularly in the high schools and middle schools and in the youth camps. The WYO should involve youth in progressive and healthy social activities and community service projects as well as promote revolutionary study and discussion.

Another immediate and long-range goal of the UPM is the building up of the Human Rights Coalition (HRC) into a strong national alliance to fight for prisoner's human and democratic civil rights. Initiated by former BPP/BLA political prisoner Russell "Maroon" Shoats, HRC aims to organize the families of prisoners and community activists into a powerful front of struggle against state oppression and the "New Slavery."

These do not limit the possibilities of what the UPM will include. This is just the beginning. Building the infrastructure of the Prison Chapter is the key to advancing the overall movement and laying the foundation for a Founding Congress of the Party.

In any movement, somebody has got to be out in front, and right now the comrades in the "Old South" region are playing a vanguard role and setting an example for comrades in the other regions of the country to follow. In particular, the comrades of the "Volunteer State" (Tenn.) are playing an outstanding role.

Comrades from throughout the "Old South" should contact Comrade X and request to be put on the mailing list for "Not Whistlin' Dixie!" Those who have articles, poems or artwork they would like to have considered for publication should send him copies (don't send your originals!). If you can afford to, send donations to help cover the cost of printing and postage.

**DARE TO STRUGGLE DARE TO WIN!**

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

TN Branch NABPP-PC  
PO Box 301352  
Memphis, TN 38130





## Paul Ortiz: Arizona's New Laws: An Attempt to Secure Cheap Labor?

Source: *Truthout* (6-2-10)

[Paul Ortiz is an associate professor of history at the University of Florida. He is writing a book titled "Our Separate Struggles Are Really One: African American and Latino Histories," that will be published by Beacon Press.]

***"Why are there 40 million poor people in America? When you begin to ask that question, you are raising questions about the economic system, about a broader distribution of wealth. When you ask that question, you begin to question the capitalistic economy. And I'm simply saying that more and more, we've got to begin to ask questions about the whole society. We are called upon to help the discouraged beggars in life's market place. But one day we must come to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring" – Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., message to Southern Christian Leadership Council (1967).***

In the debate surrounding Arizona's laws targeting immigrants and ethnic studies, we've heard very little mention of capitalism and its place in American politics. Senate Bill 1070 is an insurance policy for capitalism, a way to ensure that the cheap labor that serves the foundation of the new economy remains cheap forever. House Bill 2281 is part of a package deal. The erasure of ethnic studies courses that show how poor people have changed history – when they have organized – will allow the invention of a historical narrative as one sided as the old myths of the European Conquest. These bills are a gift from a steadily shrinking, white, ruling class to its own posterity and to any white workers and ethnic minorities willing to accept second-class citizenship in order to avoid something far worse. Unless we mobilize to defeat these measures, worse things are on the horizon. Our history proves it.

SB 1070 makes racial profiling the *de facto* law of the state, but police in Arizona or anywhere else for that matter do not need a law to continue feeding working-class people to the expanding prison industrial complex.(1.) We need to listen carefully to Governor Brewer's rationale for this bill. She consulted closely with major business owners before signing the new law. "The bottom line is that when I go about

meeting with businesses that come into Arizona," Brewer stated, "they want to know that we have a safe and secure environment into which to move their businesses here.. They want to know that their employees are going to have a quality of life that they've had in the places where they're moving from to move here."(2.)

### Arizona, Is This America?

Arizona has a long record of robbing working people in order to provide a "safe and secure environment" for big business. The U.S. conquest of northern Mexico resulted in a dual racial system with similarities to Jim Crow in the southeast.(3.) In the copper mining camps of the Grand Canyon State, there were two wage scales in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century: a "white wage" and a "Mexican wage." In Arizona mines, the top wage for Mexicans was \$2.50 per day; \$4.00 for "Anglos."(4.) Ninety-seven percent of the mine foremen in the copper mine camps were white. Pervasive wage differentials in the southwest gave white workers an incentive to maintain a separate-and-unequal economic system and served as the most visible wedge in the working class. One official exulted, "Mexicans came cheap by the dozen and could be bought for ten cents each."(5.) Many Mexican-American miners became union activists in an effort to abolish this system.(6.)

Armed vigilantes seized and deported 1,300 striking miners in Bisbee, Arizona, in 1917. Many of the workers were members of the Industrial Workers of the World, who envisioned a world without capitalism. Arizona also gave us the anti-labor crusader Barry Goldwater. Elected to the U.S. Senate in 1953, Goldwater sought to extinguish the New Deal. He was an ardent foe of unions and warred against social welfare programs. After initially supporting civil rights, Goldwater embraced the GOP's "Southern Strategy" of wooing white voters away from the Democratic Party by using coded racial appeals to white masculinity.(7.) On the advice of a Republican lawyer by the name of William Rehnquist, Senator Goldwater voted against the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.(8.)

During Goldwater's first term, the federal government initiated "Operation Wetback" in Arizona and other southwestern states. Reprising the brutal racial repatriations of the 1930s, Federal agents seized and forcibly deported tens of thousands of Mexican-Americans from the state using what one critic calls a "mass deportation on the Soviet model."(9.) Many workers who were repatriated to Mexico were owed back wages by their employers.(10.) White leaders have pined for a new Operation Wetback for years.(11.) SB 1070 is their new Bill of Rights.

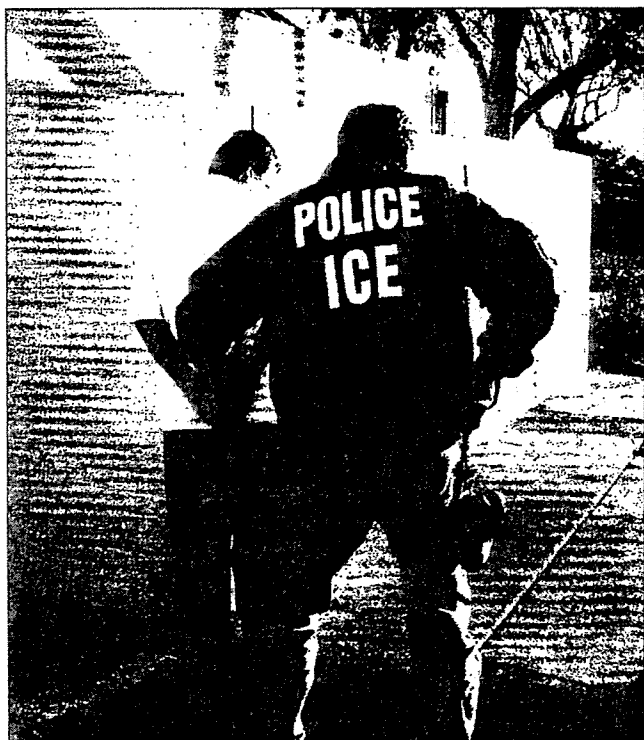
The defeat of the Copper Miners' Strike of 1983-1986 in Arizona was a devastating blow to the labor movement. The victory of the Phelps Dodge Corporation over the miners was made possible by massive state military force as well as infiltration of the unions by the Arizona State Criminal Intelligence Agency.(12.) A strong organizing tradition of Mexican-American leadership in mining unionism was wiped out. In the midst of the struggle, a white strikebreaker responded to Mexican-American unionists by asserting: "I'd rather be rich than an ignorant fucking Mexican union-loving son of a bitch."(13.) Dozens of union locals were crushed.

Arizona delivered Chief Justice William Rehnquist to the Supreme Court in 1971. Two decades earlier, as a clerk for

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Justice Robert H. Jackson, Rehnquist defended the Court's 1898 Plessy v. Ferguson decision that validated racial segregation. The young lawyer was also a leader in the Republican Party's "Operation Eagle Eye" in Arizona. According to retired State Senator Manuel Pena, this group deployed what Gregory Palast later called "voter harassment teams" who tried to prevent African-Americans and Chicanos from voting in Phoenix during the 1962 elections.(14.) Rehnquist's generation of reactionary Republicans, (to borrow a phrase from A. Phillip Randolph) viewed African-American and Latina/o voting as dangerous and disruptive of white business supremacy.

Among its many anti-labor rulings, the Rehnquist Court ruled in Hoffman Plastic Compounds v. NLRB (2002) that "a worker who is undocumented could not recover the remedy of back pay under the National Labor Relations Act." How convenient for the bosses!(15.) Arizona – and the entire country – is continuously becoming more "safe and secure" for employers and more unsafe for workers who want to get paid for their work, nurture their families and develop their capacities to the fullest.



### Actually Existing Capitalism

Latina/o workers have been in the forefront of new labor organizing.(16.) This has not escaped the attention of employers and the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) has carried out so-called "immigration raids" in Iowa, North Carolina and other states targeting workplaces where Latinos were trying to organize unions.(17) These raids are ostensibly carried out to enforce immigration laws. Anyone with common sense knows otherwise. "If anything," David Bacon writes, "ICE seems intent on punishing undocumented workers who earn too much, or who become too visible by demanding higher wages and organizing unions."(18.)

Arizona's SB 1070 is capitalism's latest salvo against the American working class.

One of my UC-Santa Cruz students, Marisa Veronica Espinosa, wrote a senior thesis in 2005 titled "Capitalism at Work: A Contemporary Look at Mexican Immigration to the United States." In this brilliant essay, Ms. Espinosa showed that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was forcing tens of thousands of Mexican farmers off of the land on terms wildly advantageous to U.S. businesses. She argued that "The capitalist tendency to displace people and force them into migration is not recognized in public policy."(19.) Drawing on the work of Jorge Bustamante, Espinosa continued, "Instead, the United States exerts its 'right' as a nation-state to police its borders from 'unwanted' but necessary foreigners. Of course, this occurs because it 'has the function of producing savings for the U.S. economy.'" Espinosa demonstrated that the increasing militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border had the effect of terrorizing many Mexican workers into silence and that "... the goal of these operations has been to satisfy the desires of a nativist electorate and big business." Chalk up another victory for capital.(20.)

A generation of propagandists claimed that capitalism emancipates the poor as long as the state stays out of the way. Espinosa's thesis proves otherwise. She quotes a 1926 Congressional hearing on immigration that illuminated how capitalism *really* works:

"Mr. Chairman, here is the problem in a nutshell. Farming is not a profitable industry in this country and in order to make money out of this, you have to have cheap labor...[I]n order to allow land owners to make a profit on their farms, they want to get the cheapest labor they can find and if they can get the Mexican labor it enables them to make a profit. That is the way it is along the border and I imagine that is the way it is anywhere else."(21.)

Decades later, Jorge Bustamante observes that social conditions for migrant workers in the border states have declined even as NAFTA-fueled agribusiness has thrived.(22.)

### Racism

SB 1070 is not only an anti-immigrant bill, it is an anti-labor bill designed to scare a portion of the American working class into accepting their lot. It criminalizes the Latina/o working class the way that Jim Crow criminalized the African-American working class in the South. Segregation, like slavery is a labor system. It is designed to extract wealth from one portion of society in order to distribute it – unequally – to the rest of the nation.(23.) Insightful African-American leaders are making this connection. "To my... black brothers and sisters that think this is not your fight," Rev. Al Sharpton recently said, "Let me tell you something, after dark, we all look Mexican right now."(24.) At the 2010 May Day Immigration Rally in Washington, DC, Rev. Jesse Jackson compared Arizona today with Selma in 1965 and urged a boycott of the state.(25.) Congresswoman Barbara Lee (D-California), calls SB 1070 a "national disgrace" and argues that it "It harkens back to the era of Jim Crow or apartheid in South Africa."(26.)

Representative Lee is absolutely correct. SB 1070 will help to sustain the Jim Crow style racism that Latino workers face

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nationally. A survey of recent United States Equal Employment Commission (EEOC) cases demonstrates that sexual and national origin discrimination against Latina/o workers is a pervasive problem. The EEOC recently filed suit against Sizzler Restaurants "for the explicitly targeted harassment of Mexican women by non-Mexican men. Latinas were targeted as 'Mexican bitches only good for sex,' physically and verbally harassed and told 'go back where you come from if you don't like it.'" Latina workers at an Arizona firm were fired after they reported being subjected to discrimination and intrusive body searches.(27.)

An analysis of the EEOC cases reveals Latina/o workers are often paid lower wages than their white peers for doing the same work regardless of educational attainment. This confirms contemporary findings of wage discrimination in the scholarly literature on race and wage inequality.(28.) A recent survey of labor market studies demonstrates that Latina/o workers "earn lower wages and/or experience higher unemployment than similarly qualified White workers and [they] attribute some portion of the differential (10%-50% of the White-Latino wage gap, equal to about 4%-16% of Hispanic wages) to employment discrimination."(29.)

Racial injustice continues to be a major barrier to Latina/o progress. We need immigration reform. However, we also need to launch an all-out offensive against racism. What other than racism explains the slander spread on cable television stations about what Latinos do in the United States? We need more truth tellers. "In case you don't know what immigrants do in this country," Barbara Ehrenreich observes, "the Latinos have a word for it – *trabajo*. They've been mowing the lawns, cleaning the offices, hammering the nails and picking the tomatoes, not to mention all that dish-washing, diaper-changing, meat-packing and poultry-plucking."(30.)

### Barriers to Unionization

Comprehensive immigration reform will not improve the lives of America's working people unless workers regain the right to collective bargaining. Recent reports by Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch show that U.S. workers – particularly Latino workers – who try to organize face severe corporate and state hostility. The obstacles that workers faced in their decade-long quest to organize Smithfield Foods in North Carolina show why few workers are able to form unions in the United States. Employees testified that pro-union employees were harassed and fired while management tried to convince Latino workers that African-Americans were organizing to steal their jobs. One former manager of the firm admitted to Amnesty International that: "We were told to fire anyone who advocated for the union." According to the manager, a company lawyer instructed her to deal proactively with a union-inclined employee under her supervision: "Fire the bitch. I'll beat anything she or they throw at me in court."(31.)

Local government officials assisted the firm by distributing anti-union propaganda at the workplace. Investigators responded to workers' safety complaints by haranguing them about their union sympathies. The federal government later targeted the firm for a raid on suspected illegal immigrants. Union activist Julio Vargas affirms that Latino and African-American workers believed that the government raided their plant "because people were getting organized."(32.) Human Rights Watch concludes "that freedom of association is a right under severe, often

buckling pressure when workers in the United States try to exercise it."(33.)

### House Bill 2281

In order to maintain an environment that keeps big business safe and secure, Arizona's leaders understand that it is not enough to control contemporary labor markets; they must also control history. HB 2281 is part of a resurgence of white nationalism that wants to make sure that capitalism and the Confederacy are given their proper due in our nation's classrooms.(34.) (After all, the antebellum slave owners were possibly the most successful capitalists in history!) If students in Arizona have access to stories of labor and civil rights and clean the bathrooms or anything...Everywhere you go, Wal-Mart, anything, all you see are Hispanic people filling their carts to the top. We're the ones making them money."(41)

SB1070 is part of a larger effort to crush the nascent Latina/o social movement that has formed the base of the May Day protests. The measure is part of a national trend to steal our rights and to keep us powerless in our workplaces and neighborhoods. HB2281 is designed to enforce a historical amnesia upon younger Americans and to teach them that any problem they may have will be magically solved by the free enterprise system. Never mind organizing for mutual interests. Leave that to the National Association of Manufacturers.

We must support the students, workers and reformers fighting SB 1070 and HB 2281. Our future hangs in the balance. If we value a society where human rights are defended, we must act now. Today, the focus is rightly on Arizona. However, we must understand that Arizona is only one part of the problem. Unless we democratize American workplaces, even comprehensive immigration reform will not improve the lives of millions of workers.

Marisa Espinosa's senior thesis serves as a starting point for understanding this crisis, especially her insight that "The capitalist tendency to displace people and force them into migration is not recognized in public policy." Until we grasp what Espinosa is telling us we cannot solve the immigration problem. Workers' rights must be at the foundation of all U.S. trade policies. NAFTA needs a massive overhaul or revocation if it continues to push Mexican farmers to the wall. In the U.S. we need to reconsider the relationship among capitalism, public policy and immigration. For example, Social Security, Workers' Compensation and Unemployment Security implicitly recognize that the free market creates a number of harmful conditions at critical points in human life that must be mitigated by the state. Capitalism also has harmful effects on migrants, but where are the social programs to ameliorate their plight?

Along with assertively stating that "No human being is illegal," we must add the cry "Capitalism needs Perestroika." A system that impoverishes people and imposes harsh public measures to preserve itself, needs to be rethought.(42.)

We need to deepen our commitment to grassroots organizing, and we need to listen to the workers who are carrying our rickety economic system on their shoulders. Their voices are missing in the current debate and that is a fatal oversight. As Marra Elena Durazo, executive secretary-treasurer of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, reminds us:



"The most dramatic social changes of the past did not happen because a few politicians and rich people took pity on black people or workers. It did not happen in Congress, or in the White House. It happened in the streets—churches, unions and workplaces. And it needs to happen there again. We must build a movement with thousands of leaders and millions of supporters that can pressure elected and corporations to do the right thing. When we build a movement of the working poor, we will have the power to end poverty."(43.)

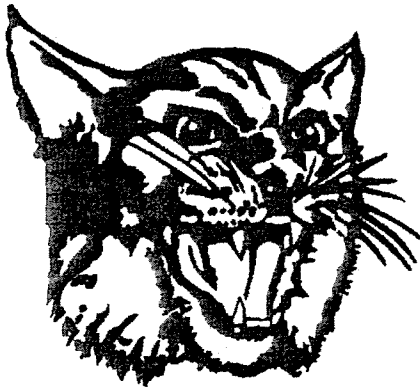
## Footnotes:

1. Jon Swartz, "Inmates vs. Outsourcing," *USA Today*, July 6, 2004; Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis and Opposition in Globalizing California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Robert Perkins, *Texas Tough: The Rise of America's Prison Empire* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2010); *Critical Resistance at* <http://www.criticalresistance.org>
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## A PERSPECTIVE

By Eric Wildcat Hall

*Comrade Wildcat is a Native American political prisoner/POW incarcerated in Pennsylvania.*

This evening, April 7, 2010, I was watching CNN's Anderson Cooper 360, whose guests were Rolland Martin, an African American, and Brag Bowling, a Euro-American, debating the proclamation issued by Virginia's Governor McDonnell asking Virginians to honor their Confederate soldiers.

Rolland's position was that all Confederate soldiers were slavery supporters or slave owners fighting to preserve slavery and that these Confederate soldiers were terrorists that systematically tortured and murdered African American slaves, and as such deserve no honor.

Brag's position was that for the most part Confederate soldiers were fighting for states rights, were not necessarily fighting to preserve slavery, didn't torture and murder African American slaves and deserve to be honored.

Knowing a little history and having some sense of reason, most people would take Rolland's side in this matter and outright reject Brags reasoning, and this is the right position to take, but taking Rolland's position to a higher plane of reasoning, one must come to the conclusion that the entirety of the government of the Confederacy deserves no honor.

What was interesting in this debate was that not once was there mention of the genocidal decimation of the Indigenous People of this land before the Civil War and more to the point following the Civil War, where both Euro-Americans and African Americans in the service of the United States government and its doctrine of "Manifest Destiny" systematically tortured and murdered the Indigenous Peoples of this land – men, women and children – and yet a large number of Euro- and African Americans honor the soldiers who committed these acts upon the Indigenous defenders of their homelands.

Another facet of this subject is the Mexican-American War, wherein essentially Americans emigrated to Mexico – that at the time included all of the Southwest – weren't happy under the rule of Mexico's government, desired their independence and eventually enticed the United States to invade and annex what was then northern Mexico. These soldiers are also honored even though they also committed acts of torture and murder, to compound this even further thousands of Mexicans were forced to flee south of the border in the following years to escape persecution. Later in the early 1900s over One (1) Million United States citizens of Mexican ancestry were forcefully rounded up and exiled to Mexico, one could speculate that today there are at least twenty (20) Million Mexican citizen. that are descended from the one (1) million United States citizens of Mexican ancestry that were forced into exile in to Mexico against their will that had their homes and land stolen. While the homes are likely gone by now the land remains and is now occupied by both Euro and African Americans today of which a significant number are vehemently opposed to immigration reform, as if they have more right to live and work making a life for their families within the borders of the United States than the descendants of its Indigenous People, a class of people that the vast majority of the Mexican People fall within.

The debate between Rolland and Brag centered upon Confederate soldiers, but the common sense conclusion is that only wars that are waged under the motivation of advancing freedom and human rights have any degree of justification, under this standard, one must conclude that wars of aggression that are motivated by territorial expansion, religious doctrine, economic growth and resource exploitation are unjustifiable wars whose soldiers are deserving of no honor nor are the governments that oversaw such conflicts.

In perspective, the United States government deserves no respect, nor does its institutions be they Military, Legislative, Executive, Judicial or Law Enforcement. To bestow honor and respect upon the United States Government and its supporters is to ignore the history of this government and the consequences it has had upon the Indigenous People, and others of this land. The one's to honor and remember are those who have stood in opposition to it and dominant society in the furtherance of freedom, justice and equality for the oppressed and Indigenous Peoples of this land.

Free All Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War!

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Black Panther serving children free breakfast

**"All empty talk is useless. We must give material benefits to the people that they can see for themselves." – Mao Tse-tung**

**Black Panther History:**

**MILWAUKEE CHAPTER – BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

*From: It's About Time*

The Black Panther Party (BPP) made inroads into the Milwaukee community in January of 1969 by establishing an office at 829 West Atkinson Avenue. By June of 1969, the BPP had moved to 2121 North 1<sup>st</sup> Street. The Black Panthers in Milwaukee were a very nomadic organization because most white landlords did not want to rent to armed black militants.

The Panther office was open 7 days a week, from noon until 8 pm, attempting to serve the black people of Milwaukee. This initial Milwaukee chapter of the Black Panther Party had a very short existence, as the BPP Central Committee dissolved it in November of 1969 for "counter-revolutionary leadership," and opportunism. Some Milwaukee Panthers had joined because it was a power trip and trendy, not because they seriously cared about the community. Before being disbanded, the Milwaukee chapter reached a respectable 75-100 members.

The Black Panther Party in Milwaukee was not finished, however. In April of 1972, Ronald Starks, a member of the original Milwaukee Panthers, and Michael McGee, a radical black veteran and future Milwaukee alderman, conceptualized an organization akin to the Black Panther Party. On April 22, 1972, the two helped to form the People's Committee for Survival, which was predicated on community service. The People's Committee for Survival

had also grown out of the People's Committee to Free Jan Starks, a soldier in the military and Ron's brother, who had been imprisoned in Taiwan for allegedly possessing opium.

Although the Committee had no official affiliation with the Black Panther Party, the People's Committee did not hide their devotion to the ideals of the BPP. Kenneth Williamson, a Committee member, stated, "We (the People's Committee) accept the ideology, and follow the leadership of the Black Panther Party."

After the Committee became a stable organization, it applied for a Black Panther charter, which it received 1 ½ years after applying. In August of 1973, a Panther branch was re-established in Milwaukee under the leadership of Starks and McGee at 2470 North 3<sup>rd</sup> Street, and from there they moved to 2750 North 16<sup>th</sup> Street. Even though the history of the Milwaukee Black Panther Party is a very torrid one because of police harassment and internal dissension, the Party did clearly illustrate that their main concern was to serve the people.

The Milwaukee Panthers believed that one of the first problems they had to address was the rampant police brutality that pervaded the city. The Milwaukee Police Department, and especially the Tactical Squad, was notorious for their brutality. Members of the Tactical Squad drove around with three or four officers to a car that was heavily armed with shotguns and rifles. Sergeant Frank Miller of the Tactical Squad was regarded as one of the

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most ruthless members of the Milwaukee Police Department. Miller became so notorious that the Milwaukee Kaleidoscope printed "wanted" signs with his picture on the front page.

Mark Braun maintains "the tactical squad recruited 'outcast officers' from other departments who were considered overly aggressive." In addition to this, the tactical squad was usually the first unit at the scene of a civil disturbance, providing for a highly explosive situation.

The brutality of the Milwaukee Police Department against African Americans was a main causal factor of the riot in 1967. The police, only to have the deaths labeled "justified homicide," reportedly killed a number of Black Milwaukeeans. The infamous riot took place on July 29, 1967 and lasted for three days. Four people were killed, including an eighteen-year-old African American named Clifford McKissick. Over three hundred were injured and 186 were arrested. This riot was labeled the third worst civil disorder of this exceptionally turbulent year.

The Milwaukee Black Panthers attempted to address the problems of police brutality in a number of different ways, without resorting to violent means. Panther Walter Chesser noted that the Panthers "have the gun as merely a defensive tool." Michael Walker, an assistant to Mayor Henry Maier, also wrote, "The Party has no wish to create any civil disorder in the Community, but such problems as police brutality, or any other problems of this nature, the Party will intervene and try to rectify the problem with the best means possible."

In October of 1969, the Black Panther Party of Milwaukee began their push for the decentralization of the Milwaukee Police Department with the ultimate aim of greater community control. The Party and many Milwaukee citizens believed that police "king" Breier exercised too much power and this power needed to be given back to the people.

The Milwaukee Panthers also sought to remove "all these fascist, racist storm troopers and, in turn, replace them with some respectable new police officers." The Party also noted "the trend in law enforcement by the Milwaukee Police Department has been toward arbitrary and unequal enforcement of law to the detriment of the poor, the property-less, minority groups, and especially Black persons."

In May of 1974, the Panthers publicly announced a plan that would allow citizens to elect a multiracial governing council of fifteen people, known as the Citywide Police Commission. The elections would be "low budget" elections so that rich candidates could not buy an election. The city government would allot every candidate a small amount of funds for his or her campaign. Those elected would have to be eighteen, not hold any other public office, and not be on the Milwaukee Police force at that particular time. Ron Starks noted that these fifteen "would choose area police commissioners, rather than one single, centralized administrator as Breier is now." Starks also stated "these district citizen boards will have control over hiring and firing, promotions, citizen complaints, grievances and internal investigations of the police department."

The records and meetings of the Citywide Police commission would be easily accessible to the public and citizens could petition for special meetings to take place.

The Panthers also placed great emphasis on police officers patrolling the area in which they lived, therefore making them more accountable to the community, and making the police force more ethnically diverse. The Party maintained that this would create better community-police relations as well as lessen the caseload of overburdened courts. The Panthers claimed that many cases resulted from police officers abusing their authority and arresting people on petty or trumped up charges. The Black Panthers logically believed that these officers would not be as likely to do this in their own communities.

The Party set a goal of 30,000 signatures for a 1976 referendum that would request State Legislators to change the laws governing police affairs. The Panthers were not successful in 1976, but their work paid off with the passage of Assembly Bill 42 in July of 1977. Bill 42 limited the terms of police and fire chiefs in Wisconsin to ten years, a vastly different arrangement than the existing rule that had granted Chief Breier a lifetime appointment. Assembly Bill 42, passed the State Assembly and Senate in April of 1977, and acting Governor Martin Schreiber signed the Bill into law in July of that year. The Black Panther Party was not directly credited with the passage of Bill 42, but it is arguable that without the community organizing and the attention that the Panthers brought to the issue, this bill would never have passed.

The Black Panther Party of Milwaukee provided a number of other community services to African Americans in Milwaukee. For instance, there was a very successful Free Busing to Prison Program. This program was created on June 9, 1972, by the People's Committee for Survival, and was taken over by the Party when the Party came back into existence. Buses carried between 250-200 people every Sunday from the Party's office to the relatively distant prisons in Waupun, Green Bay and Fox Lake.

The Party also addressed the lack of adequate health care for the black community of Milwaukee. The establishment of the People's Free Health Center in 1973 at 2636 North 3<sup>rd</sup> Street was representative of an organization that was attuned to the needs of the community.

Panther Geneva McGee stated, "All medical care at the Clinic will be provided free. We believe that good health care is the right of all people and not a privilege of the wealthy." The People's Free Health Center educated the community on a variety of health issues such as sickle cell anemia, drug abuse, children's health and birth control. The Center served as a place for general social issues to be discussed as well, such as relationships between black men and women and the need for unity among black youth. By 1976, the Health Center gave high blood pressure screenings every weekday, except Thursdays, from 1-6pm. As with testing for sickle cell anemia, the Party realized that high blood pressure was a serious concern among African Americans.

These various programs dealt with pressing problems, but no program could match the impact and legacy of the Free Breakfast for Children Program. The BPP of Milwaukee followed the national Party line and began a breakfast program in June 1969 that was open to all races. The Program continued throughout the summer, and by July of 1969, the Milwaukee BPP reported feeding 100-150 kids a day, with children being fed in rotating groups of thirty. The Breakfast Program ran from 7:00 to 9:00am during school

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sessions and from 12:00 noon to 2:00pm after school was out. The children were served pancakes, sausages, oranges and a glass of milk. The Party received a great deal of community support for this because the community realized the importance of such a program.

In addition to these formal community programs, the BPP provided a wide array of other services. These ranged from filling in potholes to providing temporary housing for black tenants whom they believed had been unfairly evicted. The Panthers also published a local Black Panther Newsletter that served to inform and educate the African-American community.

In June of 1969, the Party protested the segregationist policies of the Oasis Theater, located at 2626 West Center Street. The policy of the Oasis was to make young African-Americans sit on aisle floors when watching a movie because they were "troublemakers." The Party responded to this segregation by demonstrating outside the theater at which time three Panthers were arrested for supposedly blocking the entrance. The Party did achieve a satisfactory agreement with the theater owner that called for the Panthers to speak with the kids about behaving and in turn, they could sit in seats.

The Party also picketed I & L Food Stores in late June of 1969. A number of people in the community had complained that the store set prices too high, knowing that people in the community had no other option for grocery shopping.

By September of 1973, the BPP ran a childcare facility in Milwaukee as well as an egg coop, where they sold eggs at wholesale out of their office. The Party also attempted to set up a community blood bank that would sell blood at a fraction of what it was sold for at hospitals.

Besides the decentralization plan, the Party served as a watchdog of the Police Department. They participated in the Committee of 21, a community organization that developed out of the slayings of John Starks, Mary Pendleton and Jerry Brookshire, demanding an investigation and indictment of the officers involved. Despite the efforts of the Panthers and the Committee, a jury ruled that the killings were justifiable homicide.

The Milwaukee BPP took part in almost every worthwhile community project they could. In April of 1975, they joined in a coalition of Milwaukee organizations, including Project Involve (a senior group), Women United for Action and U.S. Steelworkers in their denunciation of a proposed hike in bus fares. Bus fares were already at a national high in Milwaukee. The BPP assisted in drafting a proposal that called for free bus service, paid for by the wealthy businesses, because they needed those workers who rode the bus. The Party was also active in June 1975 during the Milwaukee meat cutters' strike. The predominantly black Local 248 was protesting their wages of \$1.39 an hour.

The Party also mounted active opposition to U.S. Senate Bill #1 in April of 1975, the Criminal Justice Reform Act, which would have curtailed the rights of many citizens. Its critics labeled the Bill as "the most repressive piece of legislation since the Alien and Sedition laws." The Bill would have made executions mandatory for certain criminal offenses and called for fifteen years imprisonment of a \$100,000 fine for membership in an organization that called for revolutionary change.

The Party spent a great deal of effort combating the use of the "Death Chambers" at Waupun State Prison. The Death Chambers were soundproof isolation cells in the basement used to break inmates both physically and mentally. A rally was held where David Dubois, then editor of The Black Panther was the keynote speaker and 10,000 signatures were collected from the community. So much public opinion was mobilized that Wisconsin Governor Pat Lucey was forced to close the unit.

By March of 1974, the survival programs of the Milwaukee chapter were serving roughly 500 people a week. The programs were supported through benefits, profits from newspaper and egg sales, donations from individuals and businesses and their own financial resources.

Despite the short-lived existence of the Milwaukee BPP, they created a durable legacy of community activism and service. Programs like the Free Breakfast for Children were started with the hope that the community would take it over. In providing the spark, the BPP hoped they could instigate social change that would outlive their organizational existence. Like the old school socialists, the BPP embraced bread and butter issues that could appear more reformist than revolutionary, yet the style of their activism and the radical context of their politics made it possible for them to credibly claim that they served as the "Vanguard" in the city's movement for social justice.

The Milwaukee BPP shared many characteristics with other Panther branches, but it also had unique qualities.

Like other Panther chapters, Milwaukee Panthers were armed, they formed numerous coalitions with whites like the SDS and the Patriots, they had a highly publicized trial (the Milwaukee Three), they had internal dissension, they provided numerous community services and they were victims of severe police oppression. One distinctive quality of the original Milwaukee chapter is that the Central Committee disbanded it after only eleven months. It was also unique that they were re-established and that no Milwaukee Panther was ever killed by the police, which unfortunately is not something that most other chapters could claim.

The BPP of Milwaukee was outwardly confronting the power structure in the name of oppressed Black people and the Party paid a heavy price for doing so. Police vandalized the office on two separate occasions. In March of 1969, Walter Chesser alleged that police for no apparent reason other than being a Panther beat him. In June 1969, Nate Bellamy, Lieutenant of Information, had his car rammed by the police, causing him to be hospitalized and then arrested for allegedly carrying a concealed weapon.

The worst spell of persecution occurred in September of 1969, when within a span of 48 hours, six Panthers were incarcerated in two separate incidents. Eyewitnesses said that three Panthers were viciously beaten during their arrest. The other arrest was of the infamous Milwaukee Three, Booker Collins, Jessie White and Earl Levrettes, who supposedly tried to murder a police officer. The three contended that they were all brutally beaten six separate times within 24 hours after their arrest. Collins and White were given 30-year sentences and Levrettes was given ten.

*Presented by Andrew Richard Witt, an excerpt from his thesis paper @ the University of Wisconsin*



Jamal Hart with his son

## Mumia's son speaks out on the railroad of his father

On January 18, 1998, Jamal Hart, the son of political prisoner Mumia Abu Jamal, was sentenced to 15 years and eight months in prison without parole in Philadelphia, where police claimed they "found" a .357 handgun in his possession. "Ironically," the arresting officer had filed a stolen gun report on that very same weapon three years earlier. What a coincidence!!!

Jamal Hart had been actively campaigning to free his father, a former Black Panther, accused of fatally shooting a cop police say was beating Mumia's brother with a flashlight over a routine traffic stop. Jamal Hart organized a "Rap Against the Death Penalty" concert in North Philly that so enraged the Philly cops that a couple of them followed him to New York City, where they baited and harassed him while he was attending a fundraising event for his father.

As the judge was reading off Jamal's sentence on the weapon's charge, his brother Chris jumped to his feet demanding to know, "Why you gonna railroad my brother?" Two court security officers jumped him immediately, and then eight Philly police officers joined in. One of them produced an arrest warrant for Chris from New Jersey. Their mother, Francine Hart, told reporters, "Mumia's been in jail all this long time and now they done finally got to our son, who was out there in the forefront fighting for his father."

## Breaking the Chains

By Jamal Hart

Reprinted from *It's About Time*

As-Salaam Alkaikum, Hotep, Ona Move, and Peace to all of my beloved comrades, supporters, friends and family. I want to take this time to thank you for attending the Class War Prisoners' 22<sup>nd</sup> Annual Holiday Appeal sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee.

Comrades, the time has come for us as a people to unify and turn up the heat against the outrageous fabricated web of lies plagued upon Amerikkka's foremost political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. We must break the chains and ultimately free him from this obvious racist political frame-up.

Many of us have come from different work-related unions, labor coalitions and all walks of life to unite with this common cause. We ask ourselves time and time again how and why does this mendacious legal system continue to cover up and support these trigger-happy, gun-toting, racist rogue police officers? They continue to place urban and suburban communities under siege where people of color and immigrants reside. Each and every hour of the day, they are targeted and killed without just cause.

This system has a deliberate strategy of destroying families' stability. Stay mindful that not one officer on the local, state or federal level has done one day in prison for their illegal activities. We must place an end to these reckless atrocities at the hands of State and Federally-funded law enforcement's abuse of authority!

Because of this, we must galvanize to form a national and international labor union force/work strike. Public Transit Systems nationwide should halt all service, hospital workers should conduct sit-ins and college students all over the country should organize massive walkouts to demand Mumia's freedom.

My dear father, Mumia, known to the world as the "Voice of the Voiceless," is an innocent man who was politically framed and railroaded by corrupt officials within the seedy "City of Brotherly Love." Mumia needs our help now more than ever to break the chains of the racist vindictive FOP and the biased judges within the capitalist courts.

The oppression within this blood-thirsty capitalist country derives on racism and political corruption at its core. So many faceless prospects young and old are being railroaded at an alarming rate. The people that are everyday people struggling to make ends meet on a daily basis from all walks of life regardless of education have seen this racism through rampant racist cops with blind filibustering politicians that sugarcoat, down play and cover up these draconian demonic acts as being justified.

The masses must break the chains of their minds into believing that we have a fair and just system. We must be free of the psychological illusions that biased mendacious robes on the federal and state level allow the masses to publicly reject the status quo operandi instead of being duped that they are defenseless against the courts.

This insidious legal system will continue to murder our people for sport before the young people grow up and warehouse the

elder rebellious ones within these concentration camps until we stop looking the other way neglecting our duties and responsibilities in our community. We must migrate together to save the life of an innocent man.

Comrades, I know all too well what it is to be a railroaded product of the system inside these federal concentration camps. Even while being held behind enemy lines for the last 11 years, I continue to remain focused and I know I will prevail. I will continue to expose the bigotry these racist prison guards and staff continue to express towards me. They continuously attempt to condemn me to a higher level security facility. I've informed the PDC whom have consistently followed up with my attorney, Mr. Jonathan Piper, of the various vile acts these people constantly try against me.

The PDC and Mr. Piper successfully forced the warden to admit in writing that my racist case manager, at the time Walter Whalen, knowingly displayed a poster of my dear father on his office wall that he downloaded off a FOP website stating underneath the picture that (to paraphrase) "He convinced the world he is an innocent man. He is a cold-blooded killer of Police Officer Daniel Faulkner." In turn this incident suddenly inflated my security level points knowingly and deliberately without just cause.

As you are reading this statement, I am still being harassed in prison for my political beliefs and unbreakable support for my innocent father. This excessive harassment does not in any way weaken me nor deter me from taking a stand for what is right and what is just. Many inmates incarcerated with me have warned me in their hateful manner to "not make waves. Just go along with what they say or do and everything will be OK." My response is clear and will not falter; I refuse to sit by like a sheep going to the slaughter and accept this racially and politically motivated abuse as normal. Because I took a stand to break a link in the chain and have held my ground on a consistent basis throughout this process, I was victorious in winning my transfer and was immediately sent to a lower level facility. Nevertheless, the same format will definitely apply to my dear father's situation and he will be vindicated of all charges.

Together we stand as one union. Do you feel that we should stand aside and allow this innocent man to be railroaded to an unjust death? The answer is NO. We will continue to be vigilant within our fight to this vile corruption that many are and still have been placed up the ladder with Mumia's blood on their hands. It's obvious that my beloved dear father is innocent. The corrupt courts already know that but they refuse to release the "Voice of the Voiceless."

Well, clearly it has been proven that false propaganda continues to confuse and dupe the masses through fabricated, biased, false media; a washed-up radio shock jock, that so happens to be an ex-cop, and the obsessively vindictive FOP lynch mobs cowardly pushing a confused and ignorant widow to spearhead their bogus campaign of promoting lies through a book. This is designed to manipulate the public in assisting them in their madness in the murder of a man who is accused of a crime he did not commit. Mumia Abu-Jamal's innocence is backed by massive amounts of evidence. He has maintained his innocence for over 25 years. His fight will not stop until he is free!

Comrades, our time is NOW! We must seize the time and outdo our past by breaking the chains together! This is what those who came before us would want us to do.

## Police Lies and Slanders!

A secret "law enforcement sensitive" report, the April 10, 2009 "Virginia Terrorism Threat Assessment," has leaked all over the internet and is drawing sharp criticism from the ACLU and various human rights watch groups. The 215 page document by the Virginia Intelligence Fusion Center and the Virginia State Police covers purported domestic and international terrorism threats to the U.S. state of Virginia.

Among the many groups listed is the New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC), which they falsely list among the "Black Separatist" groups. These they describe as "strongly anti-White and anti-Semitic." Of course none of this actually applies to NABPP-PC, which strongly condemns terrorism, Black separatism, and all forms of racism and anti-Semitism. So what is the point of this slander?

Noticeably absent from the list are any other groups advocating communist revolution, probably because there are already several rulings that affirm that advocating this is "constitutionally-protected free speech." But the list does include various Anarchist formations, religious and even environmental protection groups. The section on the NABPP-PC focuses on the Party's cooperation with Fed-Up!, the Pittsburgh chapter of the Human Rights Alliance, in documenting and exposing the many instances of human rights violations in the Virginia prison system.

So if you follow this logic, the Party is a potential "terrorist threat" because it exposes the use of torture on prisoners – and other illegal activities conducted by prison staff – which could pose a threat to their job security. See for yourself:

### New African Black Panther Party

*The New African Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC), started in a Virginia prison in 2004, desires to continue the mission of the original Black Panthers. The NABPP-PC acknowledges the presence of the New Black Panther Party, but claims ideological differences with the group.<sup>94</sup> The NABPP-PC has a reported presence within Virginia Department of Corrections with a prison chapter run by a Wise County inmate.<sup>95</sup> This inmate, a charismatic leader whose influence extends outside the prison walls, is a prolific creator and distributor of propaganda. This inmate is the co-founder of a newsletter titled "Fed-Up," which attempts to perpetrate "the brotherhood of the oppressed" philosophy endemic to prison radical actors.\* Disseminated inside and outside the prison system in Virginia, it catalogues a broad spectrum of alleged prisoner abuses and allegations of prison system corruption and features inflammatory rhetoric to rally prisoners and their associates on the outside to unite against law enforcement and the correctional system.*

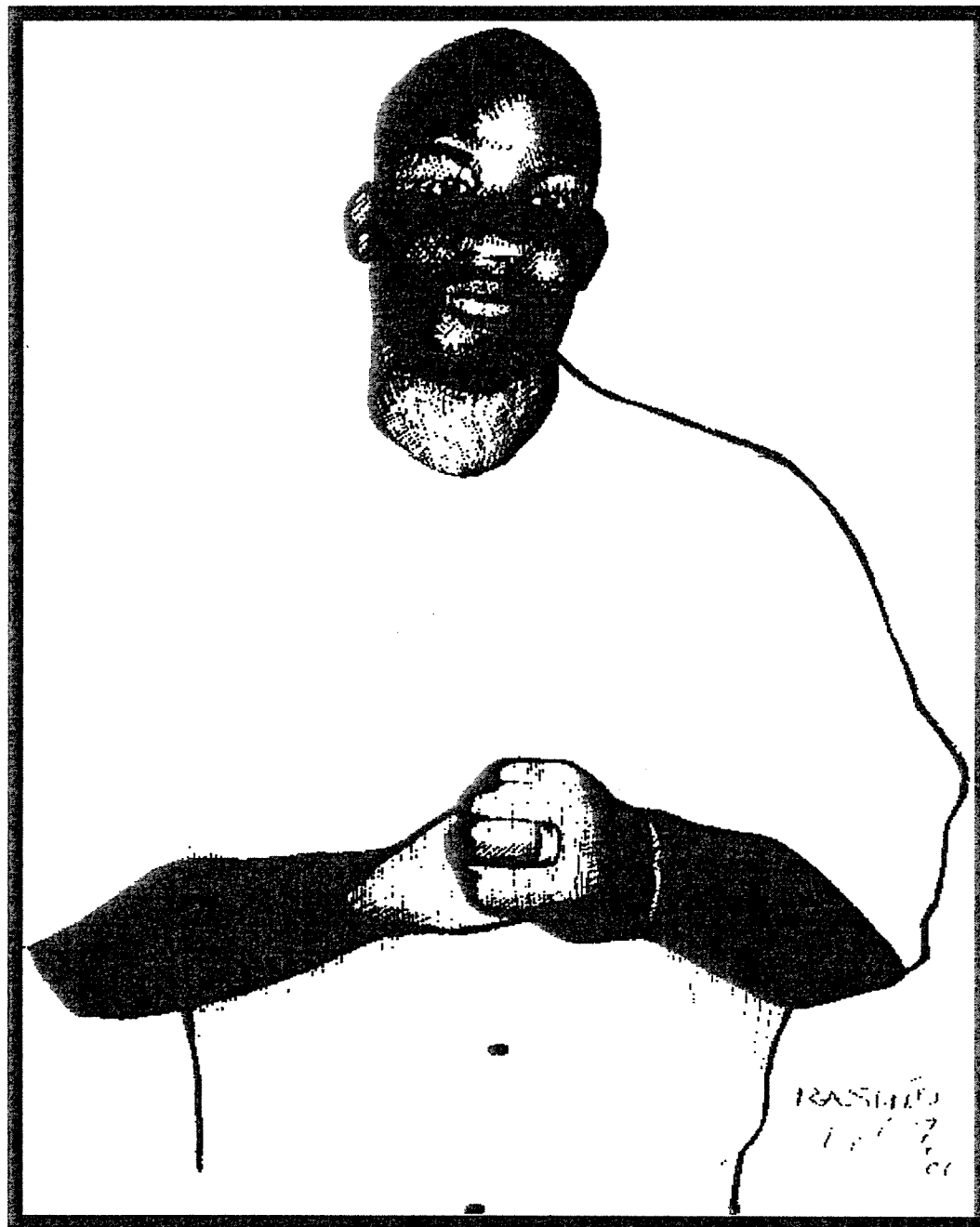
*\*(OS) Information contained within the newsletter indicates additional NABPP-PC presence may extend to Buchanan County, Roanoke, and Virginia Beach (Thomas Merton Center: Newsletter of the Fed Up!, July 12, 2005).*

How does the ACLU view this report? Take a look:

*"If we are to believe this exaggerated threat assessment, Virginia's learning and religious institutions must be*



# WANTED



**Hasan Shakur (1977-2006)**

## **Another 1,000 Comrades like Him!**

Hasan Shakur was born to a crack-addicted mother, and after her death, he grew up on the mean streets of Amerika and in its youth detention facilities. Framed for a murder he did not commit, he was sentenced to death, but he came alive on Death Row, and he became a Black Panther. Follow his lead, Comrades, join the NABPP-PC: PO Box 4362, Allentown, PA 18105.

