



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



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# **PANTHERISM: PAN-AFRIKANIST, PAN-AMERIKANIST & PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALIST**

**BY TOM BIG WARRIOR**

**FIRST CHIEF, RED HEART WARRIORS' SOCIETY**

Pantherism is rooted in the Black Liberation struggle, and there is a special bond between the people of Afrika and the New Afrikans of the Amerikas. Separated by force and united by common victimization under racist colonial and neo-colonial oppression, the people of the Afrikan continent and the people of the Afrikan Diaspora share a common cultural heritage and history. The Indigenous people of the Amerikas likewise share a common cultural heritage and history, including a history of resistance to invasion and genocide – cultural as well as physical. Between the Indigenous and New Afrikan people there is a special bond of shared oppression and resistance and of integration and solidarity.

All the oppressed and exploited working people of the world share a special bond of class solidarity and a common destiny to unite to reshape the future of human society by overthrowing the capitalist-imperialist system that exploits and oppresses us all and constructing a new world based upon social justice and equality. Pantherism recognizes that the division of society into classes belongs to a specific epoch of history – the Epoch of Exploitation – and this epoch has reached its highest and final stage in Capitalist-Imperialism.

## **THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THE WORKING PEOPLE**

Capitalism created a new class – the modern proletariat (wage slaves) – who basically own nothing but their labor power, which they are forced to sell as a commodity to the capitalists for a fraction of its value. But the “primitive accumulation of capital” which made the capitalist class powerful was largely based on exploiting people through chattel slavery, penal servitude and indentured servitude to work the stolen lands of the “New World.” This is what gave the rising capitalists the “juice” to challenge the old feudal set-up of kings and landed nobility buttressed by the Holy Church.

Exploitation is always about some form of slavery. Even the highest-paid workers produce more value than they receive in wages. Part of their day is spent doing uncompensated labor. Wages are only paid to keep the worker working hard to make a profit for their employer – an incentive for consenting to being exploited. If he's not profiting by their labor – they'll soon be laid off or fired. Basically, the workers get enough pay to survive (sometimes just barely) but not enough to save-up and go into business themselves.

The capitalists created the proletariat out of the peasants being displaced from the land by the Agricultural Revolution (modern farming techniques) and independent artisans (skilled workers) reduced to wage slavery by their inability to compete with modern manufacturing techniques (the Industrial Revolution). As masses of peasants were driven

from the land as surplus labor, they crowded into urban slums in Europe or migrated to Amerika for the promise of “Free Land,” landing in urban slums like Manhattan's “Lower East Side.” Many were recruited in Europe and had to work off their passage at starvation wages when they got here.

The two revolutions in the mode of production – Agricultural and Industrial – created the modern world and elevated the capitalist class to the position of global domination. A super-rich ruling oligarchy appeared as capital concentrated into fewer hands – first to dominate countries and then the whole world. These ruling class families operate through corporations by controlling the dominant block of stock. The state is their dictatorship – even when the form is democratic. Every state has been a dictatorship of the ruling class. Its purpose is to serve their interests and keep the common people in line.

Under capitalism money talks – and it doesn't take “No” for an answer. All of society is enslaved to the interests of the ruling class – fight its wars and pledge allegiance to its flag. Not to do so is “treason.” They own the governments, the major political parties and the mass media. They create public opinion favorable to their interests. They hold a monopoly on the use of force and violence. As Mao put it, “political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.” Their interests and those of humanity as a whole are in contradiction – and this contradiction is intensifying. Eventually, this contradiction will be resolved in the only way that it can be – through the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution.

## **THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM**

As Economics Professor Özlem Onaran explained in a recent edition of the independent Marxist *Monthly Review*:

“There are three dimensions to the current, unprecedented global crisis of capitalism: economic, ecological, and political.

“Let us look first at the economic dimension, which will be our main concern in this article. Capitalism is facing a major realization crisis – an inability to sell the output produced, i.e., to realize, in the form of profits, the surplus value extracted from workers' labor. Neoliberalism can be viewed as an attempt initially to solve the stagflation crisis of the 1970s by abandoning the “Keynesian consensus” of the “golden age” of capitalism (relatively high social welfare spending, strong unions, and labor-management cooperation), via an attack on labor. It succeeded, in that profit rates eventually recovered in the major capitalist economies by the 1990s.

“However, the system's success, partially due to neoliberalism, in reviving profits engendered a *potential* realization crisis, due to low wages and investment. The dramatic deterioration in wages limited consumption,

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forcing workers to resort to increased borrowing. The decline in investment in physical capital went hand-in-hand with the growth of a casino economy, in which profits were funneled into speculation in financial assets. In the last two decades, the rapid financialization of the U.S. economy helped to increase demand through various wealth effects and debt-credit stimuli, despite the weakening of the underlying economy. Eventually, however, debt-led growth could not be sustained. Beginning in the summer of 2007, this solution also collapsed, and the capitalist economy has come to face a major systemic crisis, comparable to the Great Depression – except for the unprecedented state intervention moderating the visible dimensions of the downturn. Now, with the collapse of the financial mechanisms that allowed for all the debt, it is unclear how these state policies can overcome the realization crisis.

"Second, consider the ecological dimension. Recovery efforts have been centered on maintaining growth and employment through high consumption. It is assumed that we can go on consuming as before, by means of magical technological innovations engendering ever higher energy efficiency. However, today the ecological limits to growth have been scientifically established, so we cannot return to business as usual. To sustain our environment, long-term economic growth must be zero or low-equal to the growth rate of "environmental productivity." For this to be socially desirable, however, there has to be a guarantee of high employment and an equitable distribution of income. The latter is clearly at odds with capitalism.

Third, the depth of the present crisis has created holes in the legitimacy of neoliberalism. The rise in unemployment and inequality after the crisis in Western Europe, similar to the transition crisis of twenty years ago in Eastern Europe, will lead to serious political discontent..."

-- "The Crisis of Capitalism in Europe, West and East,"  
Özlem Onaran, *Monthly Review*, Vol. 62 No.5

In simpler terms, capitalist-imperialism is rapidly becoming economically, ecologically and politically less viable because of the development of its own internal contradictions. Built-in to the development of modern production technology is the tendency for the rate of profit to fall as production becomes more and more capital intensive. In order to revive the sagging rate of profit, employers must downsize their labor force and cut wages. But this only provides temporary relief for the capitalists and hardships for the working class, and it sets the stage for another downward spiral of economic crisis -- sparking greater political unrest. Bailouts also only provide temporary relief and set the stage for deeper crisis.

Capitalist-Imperialism is a dying system. It is dying because it has passed the stage where it should have been retired and replaced with a new political-economic system based on the needs of humanity instead of the greed of the capitalist oligarchy. Like an undead creature it prolongs its preternatural existence by sucking the blood of the living and terrorizing the peasants and townspeople into submission.

Marx and Engels, writing in 1848, noted that:

"Modern bourgeois society ...a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells... the commercial crises... by their periodical return, put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on its trial, each time more threateningly. In these crises, a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In

these crises, there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity -- the epidemic of over-production."

-- *The Communist Manifesto*

Suddenly Marx's writings (and Marxist writings in general) are "selling like hot cakes." Even the bourgeois press can't evade admitting that it may have been premature to pronounce communism a dead issue, as illustrated by this quote from *The Independent*:

"Whatever else one thinks of Marx, he certainly knew a thing or two about the business cycle. Were he alive now, he would surely claim his theories were being vindicated. We are, after all, witnessing the most remarkable collapse in economic activity around the world. Take Japan. In November, industrial production fell 8 per cent. That was bad enough. In December, production dropped another 9 per cent. That was even more remarkable. January's production figures, though, are simply eye-wateringly awful, showing a further 10 per cent decline. Production, then, is down almost 30 per cent in just three months, a pace of decline unprecedented in Japanese post-war economic history.

"Or how about the US, where we discovered last week that national income contracted in the final quarter of last year at an annual rate of more than 6 per cent, the biggest drop since the early 1980s. Then there's Taiwan, where exports have been in freefall in recent months. Not to mention dear old Blighty, where the economy might end up shrinking by approaching 4 per cent this year.

"The pace of decline in global economic output is extraordinary. On virtually any metric, we are seeing the worst global downturn in decades: worse than the aftermath of the first oil shock in the mid-1970s and worse than the early-1980s downswing, when the world economy had to cope with a doubling of the oil price, the tough love of monetarism and the onset of the Latin American debt crisis. Moreover, this time we cannot use the resurgence of inflation as an excuse for lost output: the credit crunch in all its many guises has seen to that. Instead, we have a world of collapsing output combined with falling prices: a world, then, of depression.

"For many years, Marxist ideas appeared to be totally irrelevant. The collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 brought to an end the era of Marxist-Leninist Communism, while China's decision to join the modern world at the beginning of the 1980s drew a line under its earlier Maoist ideology. In western economies, Marxist ideas were at their most potent after the First World War when the likes of Rosa Luxemburg could smell revolution in the air and as the Roaring Twenties gave way to the Great Depression of the 1930s. I'm not suggesting we're entering revolutionary times. However, it seems increasingly likely that the economic landscape in the years ahead will be fundamentally different from the landscape that has dominated the working lives of people like me who entered the workforce in the 1980s. We've lived through decades of plenty, where incomes have risen rapidly, where credit has been all too easily available and where recessions have been mostly modest affairs. Suddenly, we're facing a collapse in activity on a truly Marxist scale. It's difficult to imagine the world's love affair with free markets being sustained under this onslaught. The extreme nature of this downswing will change our lives for decades to come."

-- "Stephen King: As capitalism stares into the abyss, was Marx right all along?" *The Independent*, March 2, 2009

But in India, where more than two-thirds of the 1.1 billion population live in dire poverty on less than a dollar a day, these are "revolutionary times," and this is how the

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revolutionary Communist Party of India (Maoist), which is leading armed revolutionary struggle throughout the countryside, views the current crisis:

"The Great Depression of the 1930s was finally pulled out of its crisis after World War II through Keynesian formulas of state intervention (nationalization) and the welfare state. In those days it also had to contend with a powerful Socialist Camp. But with the temporary collapse of socialism worldwide and the retreat of national liberation movements and a persisting economic crisis since the mid-1970s, the neo-liberal formulas were pushed to the fore. Reaganism, Thatcherism, et al became the fashion and Keynesianism, nationalization were much ridiculed, not to mention the socialist alternative. The 1990s saw neo-liberal economic policies peak where the market was the new god that determines everything. Fortunes were made on a scale never seen in the history of capitalism; of course, in the wake of immense impoverishment, with the rich-poor gap also becoming the widest ever. It was even portrayed as 'the end of history,' as though the 'golden' capitalist era is here for ever and socialism relegated only to history text books. Even welfare was now privatized with a massive mushrooming of NGOs funded by the moneybags and the state.

"Growth rates grew compared to the era of the 1970s and that became the irreversible alibi for the neo-liberal theoreticians. And with it was accompanied the gigantic leaps in communication technology in the form of the computer, internet, cell phone, TV, etc that gave it the glamour of a scientific inevitability. The high profile media portrayed none of the misery below the surface and only promoted the world of wealth and glamour. The middle class was brainwashed with this continuous bombardment, and a section even got an opportunity to eat off some crumbs from the imperialist/comprador table. The smallest dissidence was labeled 'terrorist' and callously dispensed with. Once so branded, one ceased to be human, it was as though a dangerous insect had been crushed. The poverty stricken masses too were a non-entity in this make-believe world.

"But now the fantasy world of the neo-liberal bubble has burst; and burst in a way that it is unlikely to regain for long. Meanwhile it will pull down with it millions more into the mire and suck away lives in lakhs. With one financial bubble after the other bursting the theoreticians of neo-liberalism have no answers and seem totally helpless in the face of the continuing collapse of pillar after pillar of the financial establishment. The gods of power and wealth are tumbling down.

"They have just their standard fiscal answers -- reduction of interest rates is their main tool: to increase liquidity (i.e. money for capitalists) and make available easy credit for the masses to spend and revive the slumping market. But it is not working. On Oct. 9th, for the first time ever several Central Banks acted in concert to stem the market panic. The U.S. Fed cut interest rates by 50 basic points to 1.5%; while the European Central Bank cut interest rates from 4.25% to 3.75%. The Bank of England and the Central banks of Canada, Sweden, Switzerland and China also cut interest rates within seconds of each other.

"But this was not able to stem the rot. The collapse of the banks, financial institutions and now even the industrial giants continue. Interest rates were reduced further and now in the U.S. the rate stands at 1% and in Japan at 0.2%. On Nov 6<sup>th</sup>, England once again slashed interest rates, this time by as much as 1.5% to bring it to 3% -- a 53-year low.

"In desperation they have thrown all their neo-liberal theories to the winds and governments have intervened with gigantic bail-out packages to rescue the banks, investment institutions and even companies. This is de facto resorting to the much abused 'nationalization.' As long as they were making huge profits, privatization was the

mantra; now when they are making losses and are in fact collapsing it is back to nationalization. But this Keynesian alternative is no real solution; it is a mere palliative to give immediate relief. The social democrats and the CPI/CPM type socialists may harp on these alternatives but they will have to explain the earlier failures of the Keynesian model of the 1960s resulting in the crisis which began in the 1970s, and still continues. Also they will have to explain the collapse of the Soviet Union (after capitalist restoration) and those of the then East European countries -- all of which were built on a powerful state sector.

"The present crisis which is reminiscent of the Great Depression is a systemic problem of the capitalist mode of production itself. The roots of the crisis lie in the capitalist system itself for which there is no solution within it. The only real solution to revive the economy is through the very overthrow of the system and its replacement with the socialist alternative."

— Arvind, "Present Financial Crisis & the Impending Great Depression," *The People's Voice*

### THE END OF AN EPOCH

At this point, capitalist-imperialism is in a downward spiral of crisis upon crisis as the system of private exploitation of socialized labor and production grows ever more dysfunctional. Capitalism is a "one trick pony." All it can do is replicate itself -- its unrelenting law is "expand or die trying." Capital is drawn to wherever the rate of profit on investments is highest -- it will do what is most profitable in the short run even when it means self-destruction in the long run. It has no more "free will" than a dope addict. The "Founding Fathers" of the U.S. could not -- for all their talk of "Liberty" -- free their slaves so long as it was more profitable NOT to do so. Nor could the "Cold War Liberals" continue the "Welfare State" when it became more profitable to institute the "New Slavery."

"Money Talks... (even to the monopoly capitalists) and... it doesn't take NO for an answer!" Thus capitalist-imperialism breeds mass poverty instead of ever rising prosperity. It creates crisis and war... instead of security and peace. The intentions of the individuals really do not matter, because the "Bottom Line" is always about maximization of profitability.

The relative "Boom Time" of the world economy centered in the U.S. following World War II created a lot of illusions -- even in the socialist countries -- and seemed to many to disprove Marx's predictions. But Marx was not a "soothsayer," he was a social scientist analyzing a phenomenon based upon uncovering its internal contradictions and their historical development. The flaws in the first attempts at socialist reconstruction stemmed from the subjective idealism of the leaders and the masses and the limitations of the objective conditions at that time. Capitalist restoration in the former Soviet Union and the victory of the capitalist-imperialists in the "Cold War" did not alter the fact the revolution is the main trend in history and socialism will inevitably triumph over capitalism.

Ultimately, capitalism defeats itself, by turning every hand against it. Now there is basically one ruling class in the world oppressing and exploiting the great majority in every country. As the contradictions within the capitalist-imperialist system intensify and conditions worsen for the masses of people the truth that oppression breeds resistance and the consciousness that; "It Is Right To Rebel Against Exploitation And Oppression!" will work to create a



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worldwide United Front Against Capitalist-Imperialism under the leadership of the international proletariat.

### THIRD WORLD RISING

Conditions are worst for the people in the neo-colonially dominated Third World countries of Asia, Afrika and Latin Amerika, where the majority must struggle to stay alive on less than a dollar a day. In many of these countries, a more or less permanent revolutionary situation exists, and in several there are ongoing Maoist-led people's wars being fought. Throughout, the Agricultural Revolution is displacing masses of peasants from the land and causing them to crowd into the urban centers and the vast shantytowns that surround them, but there are not nearly enough jobs to employ them as workers – and with the worldwide economic crisis these too are disappearing. Manipulation of food prices by the imperialists has defeated all efforts to reduce world hunger, and in some places (like Haiti) people have been reduced to eating mud cakes or grass to alleviate their hunger pains. Millions of people are forced to leave their home countries seeking work for whatever pay they can get, further depressing wages in the host countries.

Following the Sino-Soviet Split and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in People's China, Maoist factions split off from the Communist Parties that were going revisionist and created new revolutionary communist parties dedicated to waging New Democratic Revolutions to free their countries from imperialist domination, bureaucratic capitalism and the remnants of feudalism. These parties see their struggles as part of the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution to end the criminal rule of capitalist-imperialism. Most successful have been the struggles led by the Unified Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), the Communist Party of India (Maoist) and the Communist Party of the Philippines.

Following the strategy of surrounding the cities with the countryside, the Maoists lead the peasants in seizing the land of the big landlords and corporations and creating liberated zone of red political power and guerrilla zones where the government forces are ambushed and their weapons taken. The armed peasants create their own courts and civic development programs and defend their villages with people's militia. Regular People's Liberation Armies fight to extend and defend the liberated zones by consolidating red power in the guerrilla zones. Within the government-controlled areas, the Maoists build mass organization of every type and win over the trade unions to a revolutionary consciousness and militant conduct of the class struggle. In particular the Maoists concentrate on organizing among the youth, women and ethnic minorities.

On the international level, the Maoist strategy is to surround the imperialist countries with the Third World cutting off the source of their super-profits and causing them to overextend their military forces, ruining their economies and pushing capitalist-imperialism deeper into its downward spiral of crisis. The main event in the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution however, will be the rising of the masses in the imperialist countries – particularly in the U.S., the sole imperialist superpower – to bring the system down.

### THE MAIN EVENT

The U.S. has been almost constantly at war since before it was founded. The seeds of the Amerikan Revolution were sown in the French and Indian wars over possession of the

North Amerikan colonies. Having defeated the French at great expense, the British "Lords of Trade" decided the colonists should bear the cost through taxation and tailor their economic development to serve British imperialist interests. The Amerikan colonists, on the other hand, saw no need to have to pay for protection from a threat that no longer existed, nor to restrict their economic development to benefit the mother country. But there was more to it.

Feudalism's weakest link was in the Amerikan colonies, and the rising bourgeoisie sought to break the chain that bound them to this moribund system. The Amerikan Revolution was very much a part of the World Bourgeois Democratic Revolution. The high-sounding call for "Liberty" and "Government of the People, by the People and for the People" that rallied the poor and working people to the side of the merchants, lawyers and master artisans clamoring for "Independence" opened the way for a more profound revolution in human social evolution – particularly the concept that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed" (as opposed to God). Having established the "Right of Revolution," the bourgeoisie set the stage for their own eventual overthrow by those they exploit and dictate to.

In a system based upon chattel and wage slavery, the governed hardly consent to their exploitation and denial of rights except by submitting to the force (and threat of force) employed by the state. As Mao Tse-tung said; "Political Power Grows From the Barrel of a Gun!" In essence, that's what a state is – hired guns, whose job it is to keep the exploited oppressed and the exploiting class in power. The only exception to this rule is when the exploited seize power and use their guns to dictate to the exploiters and would-be exploiters and allow the People to revolutionize society to eliminate all exploitation. This is the only way that "Liberty, Equality and Justice for All" can be realized.

It took the Amerikan bourgeoisie over a century to end chattel slavery – and still the Black masses were kept down and oppressed under a racist caste system of "Jim Crow" segregation and KKK terror forcing them into virtual serfdom as "share-croppers." It took another century for them to end lynchings and "Jim Crow" – only when "share-cropping" was no longer economically viable and Blacks were needed as unskilled labor in the basic industries. But they were still oppressed by de facto segregation, institutionalized racism, "red-lining," ghettoization and systematic police brutality and murder. As MLK pointed out, all of this was in stark contradiction to what the ruling class claims the U.S. stands for.

How can we understand racism except in the context of its economic benefit to the capitalist ruling class? Capitalism created racism, and it can bend over backwards to deny it, but it can't do without it. Particularly now when the basic industries have been largely sent overseas and the masses of Black people are considered surplus labor – as are poor and unskilled working people of all ethnic backgrounds.

The strategy of "Criminalization of the Poor" and mass incarceration is rooted in the reality that the monopoly capitalists cannot profitably exploit the majority of the people on the planet. In fact the percentage is rapidly increasing. As wealth concentrates into fewer and fewer hands, the numbers of destitute people grows. As the old saying goes; "the rich get richer and the poor get poorer."

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You can't assimilate en masse into a downsizing economy. A few individuals can and the system can point to them and say; "racism is a thing of the past, look, you've got a Black president and Black cops shooting up your ghetto, what more do you want?" This is just neo-colonialism. It's putting black faces in high places to obscure the reality of a still deeply racist society based on super-exploitation of the masses of people of color.

The Amerikan Revolution of 1776 can only be completed by the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution. Only socialism can sweep away racism and institute social justice for all. In this period, it is impossible to make revolution in the U.S. outside of the context of world revolution because the U.S. is now a global empire. This makes revolution here the main event in the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution.

### THE PRESENT TASKS

There is not yet a revolutionary situation in the U.S., but we are headed towards one. This is happening independent of what we do. Our task is to prepare the People to seize the time when it arrives. Sun Tzu, the ancient sage of the "Art of War" stated that, "Battles and Wars are Won or Lost *Before They Are Fought!*" And Mao summed up "Revolution" as "Create Public Opinion Seize Power!" To create public opinion favorable to socialist revolution we need to create a revolutionary mass movement and our own media. To lead such a movement we need to create a vanguard party that is rooted in the masses and draws its strength from the People.

Given the historical conditions in the U.S., the New Afrikans must play a leading role in this – not in some mechanical way but by setting a revolutionary example and uniting all who can be united through the United Panther Movement (UPM). Pantherism is applicable to any oppressed community. In methodology it combines creating "Serve The People" (STP) survival programs and building community-based People's Power with relentless revolutionary agitation, education and organizing – building "ghetto 2 ghetto" intercommunalism and solidarity.

Our social base is the urban poor and marginalized workers, the lumpen-proletariat, youth generally and oppressed ethnic groups. Our "turf" is the "bad side of town," the "ghetto," the "barrio," the "rez" and the "slave pens of oppression." Wherever poor and oppressed people are concentrated – that's our constituency. We know the poor cannot on our own overthrow this rotten system, but we can act as a catalyst on the proletariat as a whole and on the masses of people to rise up and take history into their hands. As Mao pointed out, "A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire!"

In simplest terms *Communism is the extension of human rights to include all human needs*. So our fight must necessarily center on the defense and extension of human and democratic rights, particularly in opposition to the "New Slavery" and the strategy of criminalization and mass incarceration of the poor. We must struggle to transform the "Slave Pens of Oppression" into "Schools of Liberation," and we must build a mass movement to fight for prisoners' human and democratic civil rights.

In every community we should build chapters of the Human Rights Coalition (HRC) with prisoners and their

families as the core. But this coalition should include legal professionals and law students, anti-death penalty activists, community organizers, clergy, educators, health care providers and others concerned with the inhumane treatment of prisoners and lack of actual rehabilitation in the so-called "correctional facilities." Constant exposure of conditions, beatings, torture, neglect, profiteering and corruption must be carried on to provide a measure of protection for prisoner activists and to expose the unfitness of the bourgeois political parties to govern.

We don't want anarchy, riots and individualist acts of violence. We want to build solid organization uniting all factions of the imprisoned population and backed up by strong community-based organization. We want to hold the states and federal government to the internationally agreed upon standards for human rights and the treatment of incarcerated citizens. Our main goal is to transform the prisoners themselves into dedicated and disciplined fighters, activists and organizers for the people so that when they get out they will be assets to their communities and the people's struggle.

We want to: *transform the oppressed communities into base areas of cultural, social and political revolution in the context of building a worldwide united front against capitalist-imperialism*. This means building different types of organizations that take on different aspects of the struggle. These organizations are of three general types; vanguard, intermediate and mass. Vanguard (leadership) organizations are highly disciplined and work through other organizations as well as play an independent role representing the most advanced ideological and political line. Mass organizations have an open membership, like unions or neighborhood committees, and intermediate organizations are based on programmatic unity – but not necessary ideological and political unity.

All three types of organizations must be built from the grassroots up. This requires the highest degree of initiative and self-reliance on the part of individual comrades and collectives in implementing the general line and policies established by the revolutionary headquarters. We must also generate our own funding.

Central to the task of building organization is creating our own media, starting with simple newsletters and building them up to mass-distribution newspapers as well as other forms of print and electronic media. We must all work on developing our skills at writing and illustration, and this goes hand in hand with developing political study and discussion circles. We must be our own liberators and develop collective leadership. We must train ourselves in the skills of agitation and organizing.

We live in a country where there are more guns than people, and the government has flooded the oppressed communities with military grade weapons as part of their strategy to get us to kill each other and neutralize ourselves. We must take this strategy head on. As Sun Tzu said, "to defeat an enemy you must defeat his strategy with one of your own." They seek to criminalize the poor and institute fratricidal violence – so we must do the opposite. We must transform the lumpen street and prison tribes into revolutionary mass organizations with a "Serve The People" orientation and eliminate "gang bangin'," dope dealin' and robbin' and stealin' from the People.

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To this end the NABPP-PC is calling for the formation of a Red Fist Alliance (RFA) among the members of the various street and prison tribes to promote peace and unity as part of the United Panther Movement (UPM). The RFA would be an intermediate organization between the Panther vanguard and the masses of street tribe members. We must change not only the orientation of the tribes but also the public's perception of them – overcoming the stereotype promoted in the capitalist mass media intended to “demonize” all gang members as vicious homicidal thugs.

Culture is an important weapon in creating public opinion and we must utilize it to the fullest. We must wage a “Total Assault on Capitalist-Imperialist Death Culture” and strike “Blows Against the Empire” with songs, poetry, art and theater. Our policy must be to “Let 100 Flowers Bloom” and utilize all styles and mediums of culture – and create new ones. We must create new venues, such as coffee houses and hip hop clubs, community art centers and web sites.

Hand in hand with this, we must create our own social welfare programs, taking up the slack caused by government cut backs and demonstrating the principles of socialist self-reliance. We must organize social-political events around Mayday (International Workers' Day), International Women's Day (March 15<sup>th</sup>) and Black August, as well as other events designed to build proletarian consciousness and unity.

And we must build community-based and intercommunally-linked people's power creating a situation of dual power in the oppressed communities. This includes creating our own people's courts and security forces in the oppressed communities. We must create a contrast to the corruption and oppression of the cops and the courts that actually

works to reduce crime and rehabilitate criminals through political education and community service.

### GOING INTERNATIONAL

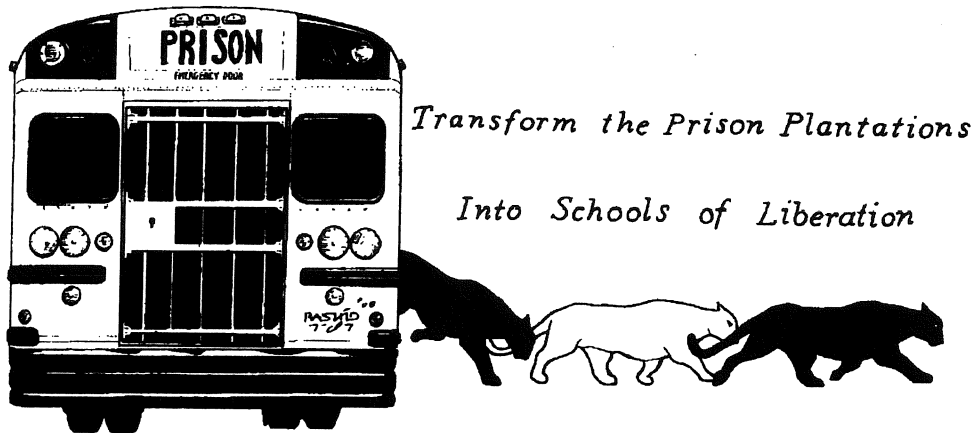
To become truly powerful, the United Panther Movement needs to be built internationally and work to build the worldwide united front against capitalist-imperialism. We need to “Walk on Two Legs,” organizing in the urban centers of both the imperialist and Third World countries (as well as in the 2<sup>nd</sup> World). The natural bonds of Pan-Afrikanism and Pan-Amerikanism need to be strengthened as does Proletarian Internationalism.

We need to build “Ghetto 2 Ghetto” intercommunalism and solidarity. The key to this is uniting with the immigrants and people visiting this country and bringing them into our movement. We need to employ the internet and use it to spread Pantherism. Where our community organizing is successful, we need to sponsor the establishment of sister STP survival programs in another community where the need is greatest. We need sponsor youth and activists from abroad coming here to get technical training and education to take back to their home communities to serve the people. And youth and activists from the ghettos here need to spend time abroad as volunteers. In this way we will build strong bonds of solidarity and internationalist consciousness.

To defeat capitalist-imperialism we must see it as a whole system and defeat it everywhere. Only then can we break free of the Epoch of Exploitation and move forward to a higher stage of human social evolution. The future can be bright, if we dare to make it so.

**DARE TO STRUGGLE DARE TO WIN!**

**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**



## 41 DAYS IN HELL

By Joseph J. Taylor

October 12, 2010

SNOWBLIND

Dear Editor:

I was one of the first 125 Pa. State prisoners transferred to Virginia from SCI-Graterford on 2/13/10. The following is my story.

On February 9, 2010, the blizzard struck. The jail opened up as usual. I went to work as normal all the while thinking I might be able to make a few extra pennies on the snow removal detail. After lunch at 1 O'clock when the jail didn't

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open up I wasn't too surprised and although I wouldn't be able to make the few extra pennies, I was kind of pleased with the prospect of being laid-in for a day or two with pay! I figured I'd get some typing done and just relax.

Then the guards and counselors came around and doubled-locked us in! I thought -- and I'm sure the rest of the prisoners thought the same -- that the jail had gone into emergency mode do to the blizzard.

So on Wednesday there was no cause for alarm when the jail didn't open up. The guards and staff brought breakfast around and I made me some oatmeal. At lunchtime we were given some lunch meat on a role and I decided I would skip lunch and hook something up for diner. So I put the sandwich in the window for later. Sometime around 3 or 3:30 pm I heard a lot of noise on the block and I got my mirror and looked out on the block to see what was going on. I saw what I thought was guards shakin' down! I immediately began hiding my contraband while cursing and wondering how they got enough guards together for a shake-down during a blizzard!

Just as I was removing the contraband curtain from my cell door, the door opened and outside was two Unit Managers, a Lieutenant, and two guards from Security! I began laughing because they've caught me in the act of taking down my curtain when one of the Unit Managers announces in a tone as if my life sentence had just been vacated, that I had been selected by Central Office for transfer to Virginia. I looked at them as my heart stopped and I went numb as a buzzing began in my head. I heard myself saying: "You're kidding. Right!" And the Lt. answered "No." I stopped smiling as I looked at them and considered my options... one of which was fight! But then I looked into the eyes of the two guards from security and realized that they were there to see that I go; one way, or the other!

So, at that moment I decided the best way to fight this transfer would be a Food-Strike... Beginning with lunch! I stated to the Lt. who had come into my cell to talk to me: "I guess I don't have a choice." to which she replied: "No. You don't have a choice."

\*I was told I had five minutes to put my property in three trash bags and to get to the Property Room. At the Property Room there was a line of surprised transfer victims all the way down the maintenance corridor and they were still coming! We were lied to and told that we may only take three boxes of property; the rest of our property would be stored. After forcing us to throw away all of our open commissary items and packing what we could get into the three boxes, we were then given an Information Packet. In this packet was a two page letter telling us what to expect at the Green Rock facility.. It also stated that all excess legal property would be shipped with us and that the only open commissary we could not take was liquid because it may spill. None of our property was inventoried nor did we receive a copy of a Property Inventory sheet as per policy.

The boxes our televisions, word processors and radios were packed in was not marked with what was inside as required by policy. I was then taken to the "New Side" and put in cell 120 on lower "I" block, a cold empty cell, for the next 2 days. We were not let out of our cells for exercise or showers until Friday, the 12th. By time we left the prison -- (Feb. 13th. at 1:50 am) -- I had missed a total of eight meals. We were

issued new thermal underwear at Graterford for the transfer due to the cold weather. We were transported to SCI-Camp Hill for the change over to the Virginia authorities. We were redressed by Va. guards in lightweight (summer) clothing after taking our thermal underwear. We were then placed on buses that had been sitting for hours in the cold.

### THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

The trip down took more than 16 hours! -- (They really milked the \$.55 per mile pay) -- We were transported in full restraints -- (handcuffs, waist-chains, black-box and leg shackles) -- on buses that resembled live-stock carriers. The buses had no windows! Only oval portholes up at the ceiling... slave ships on wheels! The area for us prisoners -- (the haul) -- was caged-off from the driver with diamond mesh and sheet metal. The door in this partition had a small window in it which was covered over with a piece of notebook paper just before we would pull off so that we could not see where we were going. So we traveled in near darkness for more than 16 hours. Because our eyes could not focus on the movement our brains we're sensing, most of us came down with motion sickness. We "high-balled!"

It was cold, cramped and dark... probably much the same as it was on those slave ships carrying kidnapped slaves to America 450 years ago! I'm average height and I could hardly get my legs behind the seat in front of me. My knees were sore for days after the trip.

Sometime around 3pm, we arrived at a jail called Cold Springs. Here we were to be fed and allowed to use the facilities. We were greeted with a gauntlet of guards holding AR-15s, shotguns, and barking attack dogs stationed all around! One bus at a time was off-loaded, fed and reloaded and then the next.

Once inside, we were seated in chairs along three walls with little tables in front of each. On each table was a bagged lunch and juice. The handcuffs, black-box, waist-chains, and leg shackles remained in place making it impossible for us to either eat or use the toilet!

Then it was back on the road for another 3 to 4 hours!

### THE ARRIVAL

Sometime around 6pm we arrived at Green Rock Correctional Center. The temperature was in the teens and with the wind blowing it was down in the single digits. Again we were greeted with a gauntlet of guards with AR-15s, shotguns, and barking attack dogs... the only thing that was missing was the firemen spaying us with water hoses! One by one each bus off-loaded it's cargo. One by one we each had to cite our name and number as we left the bus and wait outside it in the freezing cold until there were ten of us. All the staff were bundled up in heavy winter coats, hats, scarves, and gloves. One of the dogs even had on a coat! And all we prisoners had were (summer) short-sleeved two-piece uniforms. Welcome to Virginia!

The group of ten would then be escorted about 30 yards in full restraints and then stopped and wait until the group ahead moved on. Then we would move another 30 yards and stop. We were told to stand shoulder to shoulder while drug sniffing dogs were walked pass us 4-5 times each until the more experienced dog gave a false alert. That prisoner would be pulled from the line and the rest of us escorted to the door of the visiting room.

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One by one we entered the building -- (which has a stone-covered driveway right up to the door) -- where we had to again cite our name and Pa. DOC numbers into a video camera. From there we proceeded on inside where the officials were forcing prisoners to get haircuts and shaves whether they needed it or not. Even prisoners whose religion forbid the shaving of beards were forced to shave.

I didn't need a haircut or shave. I saw three officials "working" the crowd who turned out to be the Warden, Deputy Warden, and the Regional Director. I began trying to counter what they were doing by quietly chanting to different prisoners ("Take-it-to-the-hole"). In groups of twos, threes, and fives, they allowed themselves getting their hair cut and beards shaved. As I watched these guys fold like paper towels, I switched tactics and got loud and demanded to be taken to the hole. I had heard them threaten guys with the hole so I began asking where the hole was! Which way was it?! You keep talking about this hole; where is it?! Let's go! I had saw one young-blood go to the hole but came right back out! So I decided to lead by example! I informed the Regional Director that I was on food-strike in protest of my illegal transfer. He had gotten upset with me countering every piece of B.S. he presented to me and me cutting him off! I was placed in segregation for being on food-strike. Once in seg, I was stripped of everything! Bedding, clothes, shoes, even my eyeglasses! I was naked my first night at Green Rock. First they took my underwear and shoes but left me with the jumpsuit. That's when I discovered that I had defecated on myself. I had to wash in the toilet because they had turned off the water to the cell.

For five days they tried to convince me to eat, telling me what good people they were; what great food they have, etc. The whole time I'm looking at them knowing full well prisoncrats are not good people and no prison has good food! At the same time, they were telling me: ("We're not sending you back.") and each time I'd tell them: "Dead or alive, I'm going back!" For five nights I had to sleep either sitting at the desktop or sleep on a cold hard steel shelf! I would pull my arms inside the jumpsuit, then pull the jumpsuit up over my head and hold it closed with my hand, and finally, cover my feet with my pants legs. I was like a turtle inside it's shell! I would then rest my elbows on my thighs and slowly move from side-to-side as a speed skater would. This generated heat inside the jumpsuit and I would then go back to a place in time before I messed up my life! 1971. The Philadelphia Navel Base where I worked for the summer. I would do this for hours. Many times they would come to me about something and it would take me a few moments to get back to the present!

On the 14th, I called on God to help me! I began by acknowledging the fact that like so many others, "I only call on you in a time of need. But you see my situation. I need you! I need your help; I can't do this one by myself!" I told him that I wasn't ready to die; that I wanted to see my children, grandchildren as well as my sister and nephew one last time. I also told him that although I didn't want to die, if it was his will, then I place myself in his hands! He answered me in a very quiet and calm voice that he had been here the whole time! And in that moment I knew he wasn't speaking about just that moment but all my Life! I broke down in tears knowing I didn't deserve his love and I asked for his forgiveness for all the wrong I'd done in my life! Although he

did not take me out of the situation immediately, I did feel a sense of calmness come over me.

On Feb. 18th I was moved to the Medical Unit and placed in an isolation cell. Here they really put their thing down! The water to the cell was turned completely off! In the seg-cell, even though the water was turned off, I discovered that by pushing the water button and sucking on the faucet I could get the water left in the pipes. In the isolation cell this was not the case. Once the water was turned off, that was it.

Three times a day the guard would turn on the water, but he never told me it was on and there was no indication that it was on. On several occasions I became so delirious from thirst, I'd wake up and stumble to the sink and frantically push the water buttons while sucking on the faucet trying desperately to get a drink of water! I could taste the water but just couldn't get it in my mouth!

My lips and tongue were swollen, I had lost my voice and still, I refused to eat. I had resolved myself that I was going to die somewhere in Va. and my family would never know the truth. Although God had comforted me in the seg-cell, I wasn't so sure it was God that spoke to me or my mind playing tricks! Although I had begun to believing!

And in that isolation cell I began to believe I was a dead man! I would lay back down after not being able to get any water thinking I'll never wake up again. Finally it got to the point where I had to drink my own urine! And then I had to drink from the toilet bowl because I had no more urine!

This isolation cell had a video camera mounted inside so all of this was monitored and recorded. Once they saw I just wasn't going to eat -- even when they locked the trays of food in the cell with me -- they then turned the water on to keep me from drinking from the toilet which posed a serious health risk. But then I was denied toilet tissue! When a person goes without food for an extended period of time, gas builds up in the stomach and you're constantly passing that gas. It wasn't long before I became chafed and raw!

They tried every thing they could think of to break me. They offered me their best prison job -- buffing the housing unit floor! They even offered me a wife! They sent their female guards at me! When none of this worked their true nature came out! They put trays with dog food in my cell! They put a hangman's noose outside the cell! Then they put a sheet over a coat rack or something and made it look like a Klansman and placed that outside the cell!!! But they're nice people!

### THE OUTER LIMITS

On Feb. 16th, myself and 16 other PA prisoners was transferred five hours further to Red Onion State Prison. I was so weak from lack of food and water I had to be carried onto the bus by two guards. I passed out 3 times enroute.

Upon our arrival, the others were placed in segregation while I was placed in the Medical Unit, Cell #1(isolation). It wasn't long before the Warden, Major, Captain and several others were outside the cell threatening me with: "If you don't eat, come Monday we're going to strip you down to your boxers and cuff you to that bunk and force feed you." I replied: "Get the Court order!" They replied: "We don't need a Court Order!" During this exchange I realized the significance of the transfer. By transferring me, Green Rock in effect, reset the food-strike clock to zero! Although the



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officials know you're on food-strike, they only count the meals you miss at their facility.

Having realized at Green Rock that something was wrong in that the food-strike was not having the anticipated affect and, noting on the bus ride to Red Onion, that the other 16 prisoners needed (guidance), I, allowed them to "think" I was intimidated by their scare tactics and agreed to eat in exchange for a shower. They gleefully excepted. I was given regular food which I should not have been given. When it came time for the first bowel movement on Sunday mid-morning, I paid dearly! I'll spare you the sordid details... Suffice it to say that I now know what it is to give birth! -- to quadruplets!! I was in "labor" for about 35 minutes the first time. I got hemorrhoids from the first bowel movement and after the third, I had to stop eating in order to give myself a rest. I informed the nurses of my need for something for hemorrhoids but was ignored. Being that both isolation cells are monitored by video cameras mounted inside the cells, all of this was monitored and recorded. During my first bowel movement in cell #1, I could hear at least two people laughing as I struggled.

By eating; on March 1st, I was moved to the building where the other PA. prisoners were, which was part of my plan and reason for eating. However, approx. two hours later I was returned to the Medical Unit and placed in Isolation cell #9 supposedly for the purpose of seeing the psychologists. However, after meeting with the psychs I remained in the isolation cell. After being placed in this second cell in isolation, I was finally given writing materials, envelopes, and law library request forms -(I had been denied all forms of communication since my arrival in Va. on the 13th.). The first thing I ordered was the Interstate Corrections Compact and a meeting with the Institution's Attorney. Once I got the ICC it wasn't long before I learned why the food-strike wasn't working; Attachment 4;8 at 26. A media block on all prisoners transferred under the Compact! (unconstitutional!).

After taking notes, I drafted my Civil Rights Complaint against PA. on toilet tissue and gave it to the guard for mailing not knowing if it would be or not. Nine days later, I received my docket number (Taylor v. Rendell, et al., 10-105). It had been mailed and I had made contact with the outside world! I had also drafted up a suit against VA. and it's DOC and on 3/8/10 I resumed my food-strike just as I planed! The Warden, Major, Regional Director and others were back at my cell wanting to know why I wasn't eating now! I gave them a laundry list of what was wrong. (Prolonged isolation, sensory depravation, no outside exercise, no showers, no change of clothes, no seat and desk at which to sit and eat or write, no clean linen, and the food was garbage!)

The psychologist took notes and when I was done stated that he would meet with each department head to address my concerns. I started getting showers, clean clothes, the cell was swept and mopped once and the food got a little better. I still didn't get any outside exercise and they never did change the linen.

### MEDICAL

On 3/2/10 I was "assessed" by the medical department as a new intake/transferee, and was seen by a Nurse Practitioner - Nurse Ball Fripp. I informed her about my feet and she

attributed the pain and swelling to my food strike and note that they are going down. She had never seen my feet before.

I then told her about the infection in my eyes stating: "It's in both eyes but, it's the left one that's the worst right now." I also told her about the rash on my face and lips and that it was due to mold in my cell's window back at SCI-G.

She asked me if I was asthmatic and I replied yes. I could not recall the names of either medication I had received in the past for either my eyes or face. She stated that she would check my file for the names.

A few days later a nurse arrived at the cell with an inhaler and eye-drops. The first time I used the drops I put the drops in the left eye only. Afterwards, I realized I should have put some drops in the right eye before it gets as bad as the left eye. The next time the drops are brought, I put (a) drop in the right eye and (2) in the left. The nurse quickly informed me that the drops are prescribed for the (left) eye. I informed the nurse that the infection is in both eyes and that I know what I'm doing. This is Sunday night. Monday morning when the male nurse delivered the eye-drops, he told me that he had been informed that I was putting the drops in the right eye. He informed me that the eye-drops are prescribed for the left eye. I pointed out to this nurse that the infection is in both eyes and I'm treating the right eye before it gets as bad as the left. I also presented the logic that if the nurse had heard me correctly, would she have prescribed a bottle of medication for the left eye and another for the right?! He replied that I'm a grown man and I administered one drop to each eye.

They didn't bring me the eye-drops the next two times but when they brought it back, the nurse informs me that she checked with nurse Ball and she states that if I put the drops in both eyes, it wont last as long. I just stopped using the eye-drops after that realizing that there is just no reasoning with stupidity. Instead, I sent a request to the medical department concerning the matter. On the 16<sup>th</sup>, two guards asked me if I wanted to see the doctor. I'm thinking this is because of my 8 day food strike. When we get there, nurse Ball is there. It's not long before the eye-drops come up. She tells me that I never said anything about the right eye. I tell her I did. I know I did and quote myself. She then goes back to the logic of using the drops in both eyes will cause the bottle not to last as long and ask me if that makes sense. I didn't answer that trick question!

She then states that she is going to order the "ointment" for both eyes -- this is what she was supposed to prescribe the first time -- and says she's also going to order some type of medication for my lips that's a steroid after exclaiming that you don't put the ointment for my face on my lips... Something I've been doing since I had the rash. It's the same infection!

Two days later I get a receipt for \$4.00 medical co-pay charge. I also get the response to my request to medical. It was responded to the very day I was taken back to see nurse Ball. They held it for two days. The response stated that I was scheduled for "follow up" treatment.

So I was charged for nurse Ball to correct her mistake during the initial intake/transfer assessment for a chronic illness as a follow-up treatment. All of which are exempt from co-pay charge! I had also been seen by the dentist as intake/transfer assessment and was charged \$2.00 medical co-pay.

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That was it! This was the 18th. I refused all medications from that point on. I told them to (terminate) all medications for-me! I then just out-right ignored all medical personnel!

### THE GO-BACK

On March 22nd, an officer Ramey came on at 6pm. The first thing he does was to ask me if I had any mail to send out. Hum... No other officer has asked me if I had mail to go out! A short while later he asks me again if I had mail to go out. Again I tell him no and now I'm wondering what is up with this dude. I suspected he was asking because they read the mail and that would give him something to do and, I can't spell worth a lick!

Once I lay down to go to sleep, this guard begins to wake me up every half hour to see if I'm okay. I keep the cover over my head and don't answer him. Sometime during this he asks: "Where's Mr. Taylor at? Right there in cell nine!" And he and the other officer laugh. Finally, at about 5:30AM, I get fed up with his childish actions and confront him. Officer Ramey is obviously quite young. When I confront him about waking me up during the night he replies that he's just doing his job. I then point out the fact that he is harassing me, and the conversation quickly becomes heated. During our exchange, he asks me if I can spell, (now I'm certain that they've been reading my mail and that's why he keeps asking me if I have any mail to send out). This exchange ends with him calling me a "nigger." I then demand some Informal Complaint forms. He promptly asks how many I want, and I tell him six.

I had been trying to get these forms since I arrived, but had only managed to obtain one. Officer Ramey promptly left and returned in less than five minutes with the six forms. He slides them between the door and the door jam. When I attempt to take them, he refuses to let go of them! I had to literally pull them from his grasp! Once I had them, I made up the bed and then rolled up the mattress. I knelt alongside the bed and wrote him up. When I'm done, I write on toilet tissue: "Food-Strike 4 CO Ramey," and I tape it to the cell door when the shift changes. The sign is noted by the male nurse. A little while later, I calm down enough to realize that I have too much legal writing to do. I decide to change my mind about the food-strike and take the sign down.

Shortly after breakfast, an Officer Vanover comes to the cell and asks for ALL of my personal property. All I had was a manilla envelope with my legal notes and filings. I gave him this, my hygiene items and shower shoes. I was left with nothing but the clothes I had on and the bedding and a wash cloth!

I thought they were implementing their hunger-strike protocol. That's when they take everything from you, and when you start eating, they give you a little back each time you eat. So I figured they would be coming back for the rest of the stuff. I was also thinking I really messed up! I had too much writing to do to be without my pen! All I could do was pace trying to figure this one out. I just "threaten" to hunger-strike and they implement the hunger-strike protocol? How am I to "earn" the stuff back when I'm already eating?!

I lay down and covered my head so as not to let them see I'm worried. I eat the rest of the day. The next morning the regular officer of the Medical Unit comes on. When he comes with the breakfast tray, I tell him that they took all my property. He looks at me, blinks a couple of times, and he

says: "When they do that, it usually means you're leaving." I reply: "I ain't going nowhere!"

I then asked him to find out what I have to do to get my property back. He says: "Okay, but it usually means you're leaving." A few minutes later, he returns saying: "You might as well strip now, you're leaving!" I look at him for some sign that this is a trick or something, but he looks sincere as he says: "I told you so!" So I strip as he and the other officer question the necessity of strip-searching me when I've been in the isolation cell the whole time.

A short while later, I am back in the original cell I was put in when I arrived – stripping again and changing into a gold transport jumpsuit. Still, I don't believe I'm going back to "The Fort" – Graterford. On my way into the cell I see a small box on a cart with my Red Onion I.D. number on it – but its missing the last digit!? I point this out to the guards, but they ignore me.

I was then escorted out of the building and to the car. One of the guards standing at the car exclaims: "You still not eating?!" I replied: "I'm eating, man!" (For some reason this question irritated me.) I then asked the guard escorting me where they were taking me. He replied: "You ever hear of Marion?" I exclaimed: "Illinois?!" and he said: "Yep!"

Just the previous morning – (when I had placed the hunger-strike sign on the cell door) – Officer Dye asked me if I knew how the state of Virginia was shaped. I couldn't recall. So he drew an outline of the state on the glass of the door and pointed out where Tennessee and Kentucky were and that I was at the very most southern tip of Virginia. He stated that within an hour I could be in either one of those other states. He stated that people up north in Richmond – (where their central office is) – couldn't care less about me raising Cane down here!

So when the guard said Marion I'm thinking detention in an underground super-max [ed – the Federal Detention Center in Marion, Illinois] and that I'd really dug myself into a hole! I was also trying to recall if I'd seen Illinois on the list of states that are part of the ICC. Then the guard laughs and says we're going about two hours away, that his part (of the trip) lasts about two hours.

At three minutes after 8AM, I'm in the car. At 8:07AM we pull out. At about 10AM we arrive at Marion State Prison in VA! We drive around to the back and into a sally-port where a van enters from the other side. I'm handed off to two guards, and I see Regional Director Posters standing off to the side. Just two weeks ago – on the 9th – during my second strike, he had asked me if I was ready to go back to Green Rock. The officers greet each other and one of the two from Red Onion ask how are things at "The Rock." So I'm going back to Green Rock. Okay, I just won't eat!!

After swapping cuffs, chains, and shackles, I'm helped into the van. A large box of what must be my files is placed into the back of the van. I sit sideways so I can keep my eyes on them in case they are plotting to assassinate me. At 10:37AM we pull away from Marion. The one officer even asks me what kind of music I wanted to hear. I thought for a moment and then said, "Jazz." He replied that they didn't have any Jazz and asked what other kind of music I'd like to hear. I told him it didn't matter. I was thinking: "They don't have any Jazz stations! I damn well have to get the Hell out of this state!"



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At 1:23PM we arrive at Green Rock. The guard riding shotgun asked if I was going to eat. I replied, "No!" I decided that even if I am going back to PA I should not eat just to keep continuity.

I entered the Segregation Unit from the rear. I stopped at #9 Cell and holler at Spider, whose still there, and tell him I'm back from Red Onion. I'm placed in Cell #4, and the guards ask if I want something to eat. I tell them, "No!"

I'm not given any sheets, pillow case or blankets, and I don't ask for any. Once I'm settled in, I and the other PA prisoners exchange information about what's been happening. I tell them about asking for a copy of the Interstate Corrections Compact and to read it. Everything they need to know to get back to PA is written there. I still don't believe I'm heading back, even when the brother in #5 Cell tells me there's a shipment going back to PA in the morning. I refuse dinner, and about 4:30AM a guard wakes me up telling me: "It's that time!" and asks if I want to eat. I tell him, "No!"

At about 5:15AM, I am standing with seven other PA prisoners in the sally-port beside the bus. Warden Dillman arrives. I watch him the whole time as he tries hard not to look at me. Finally, he does look at me, smiles, and says, "Hi!" and then looks away. As he looks away, the smile drops from his face. Priceless! He had insisted that he was not going to send me back when I said, "Dead or alive, I'm going back!" But I'm still not sure I really am going back to PA. I could be going to another VA jail or another state for that matter.

I board the bus and as I walk up the isle I look at each face to see who I know, and more importantly to see if these guys are from "The Fort." I don't know any of the faces, at first. Then I see one that looks vaguely familiar. I sit next to him. I ask if he's from Graterford, and he nods and says, "Yeah!" I think to myself, "Okay! But who are the rest of these guys, are they the last of the VA prisoners, and the two of us have been thrown in with them to be transported somewhere else?!"

I look to the rear of the bus at every face and I don't recognize anyone! I'm worried. Out of all these faces, I don't recognize any of them! Twice more I look to the rear, then finally, I see one face I know! I blurt out: "Stretch!" He gives me a wave. Then I recognize another; "Kenny!, JT!, JR!" We are laughing and greeting each other, and I go back to where they are, and there are others from "The Fort." One of them tells me we are going back! Yes! Now I believe it!

At approximately 6AM, we pull out. This time the bus has windows for human beings. We can see the world this time! Behind us is a 4 wheel drive vehicle with a trailer that has our property.

Sometime around 10AM, we arrive at a jail named Coffeewood. Here we were turned over to the care of PA guards from Camp Hill. There was a line of portable toilets for us to use. This time the shackles, the black-boxes and waist-chains were removed so that we could use the toilets. After we used the toilets, we were escorted to the Dining Hall where we were fed and treated like human beings this time! Twenty-eight of us had been returned, and while we were still in the Dining Room, more PA prisoner-victims were brought in and fed in the next Dining Room.

Once we were done eating, we were taken to another room where we changed from of VA (summer) uniforms to the PA jumpsuits that had just been taken off by the PA prisoners on their way to Green Rock. We were then loaded onto the Camp Hill bus. We were alongside of the bus on which they were loading the PA prisoners going to VA. Some guys signaled to them that they were making a big a mistake!

Finally, we pulled out, and after what seemed like an eternity, we arrived at SCI-Camp Hill at about 5PM. We left Camp Hill at around 6:30PM and arrived at Graterford at 8:12PM. Four of us were from the same housing unit – D-Block. We got back on the Block right at lock-up time. Everyone was shocked at my appearance. By 10PM, I was locked in a nasty, dirty cell, and I was pleased! I was back – Yeah! After 41 days in Hell!

### PURGATORY

Because I refused to cooperate (concur) with the transfer, my Timberland Pro Series boots, prescription eyeglasses, underwear and \$11 were stolen by the Commonwealth of Virginia. I believe that an Officer Crews, who was working the Seg-Unit at Green Rock, got my boots. As punishment, the PA officials – the Graterford guards specifically – have stolen my keyboard and recorder. Nine boxes of my legal materials are being held hostage by the Property Room Sergeant. My Sony Flat Screen TV, word processor and radio were damaged during transit. My property was unpacked and inventoried at Green Rock (even though I was not present), and they didn't bother to repack it with the protective wrappings.

All told, I suffered more than \$200.00 in property loss and damages. Not to mention the personal suffering I was put through.

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## AMERIKKKA PRACTICES ITS OWN BRAND OF ETHNIC CLEANSING

**By Ali Khalid Abdullah**  
**NABPP-PC Minister of Human Rights**

*This was written in 2004 when Comrade Ali was at Mound Correctional Center in Detroit, MI.*

In today's super information age there is a crisis taking place that few people have noticed, and those who have are of the mind that it is needed. The government and the media have perpetuated and falsely created national hysteria in reporting about crime.

Crime has been used for political reasons to advance an array of agendas and pass a litany of laws that otherwise would not have been accepted by the general public. The government has capitalized from promoting fear and so has the news media, the private and corporate sector.

In Amerikkka, the steady stream of propaganda given to the people is that crime is out of control, and they have effectively targeted the young Black and Latino male as the enemy. Criminologist and right-wing conservative professors and writers have purposefully used distorted statistics in their predictions and reporting of crime where it has

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amplified the distrust between whites, Blacks and Latinos by suggesting Blacks and Latinos are disproportionately committing the majority of crimes in Amerikkka.

These government and conservative statisticians systematically worked the numbers (in reporting actual crime) to give the necessary message to middle and upper class whites that urban areas are rife in all manner of deviance, thus creating such fear in the minds of whites that the vast majority of whites have fled the urban area and moved in the metropolitan/suburban areas thinking that they have escaped the criminal mindset in the urban areas where there is a predominance of Black and Latino people, due to red-lining districts, gerrymandering and political maneuverings by banks, real estate agencies and politicians.

The government and media use "code words" in today's politically correct society. By using such terms as "war on drugs" or "war on crime," which are meant as a war on Blacks and Latinos with the emphasis being that Blacks and Latinos are responsible for the majority of crimes committed, which is backed up with bogus statistics and false reporting designed to meet the propaganda rhetoric in order to heighten the public fears.

Such false reporting allows the police to view Blacks and Latinos as wild and drug-crazed animals who must be dealt with using deadly force as justification for committing open murder, or mass incarceration and/or both. The media and the public see crime as acts committed by violent, drug-crazed young Black and Latino males, even though the corporate sector, Wall Street and bankers commit the most serious of crimes, ala Enron and Global Crossing.

The poor have become the target for an array of attacks. Seen as useless and an inherently criminally dangerous class and undeserving, it allows for the disbanding of social programs like welfare and job-creation programs for the more lucrative prison industrial complex, and law enforcement complex where there is maximum return from investment as 2 million languish in prisons and jails across the nation.

Today we have a President who bought, tricked, lied, schemed and petitioned the Supreme Court for the White House job as the "Commander and Thief" rather than the Commander and Chief of the country.

The myth lives on by the influence of government, its criminal agencies and overzealous policing of ghettos, that drugs is the major factor of crime and as a result police create situations in Black and Latino neighborhoods to support the overblown myth that young Black and Latino males are destroying the fabric of life with drugs, which is categorically untrue. Pharmaceutical companies are the biggest promoters, pushers and profiteers, but they are government sanctioned so they are allowed to commit their acts. But Black and Latinos are accused of being the major problem with drugs and as a result are sentenced to long prison terms, which has fueled a vast and prosperous prison industry where billions of dollars are made from the incarcerated. Revenues of cities and towns have found kapital gain which adds to more money in taxes for the government coffers at the expense of taxpayers, while also guaranteeing reelections for politicians, judges and prosecutors who sell fear to the public and securing for themselves, good paying jobs.

Young Black males make up roughly 6 percent of the total population in the United States, but 40 percent of those arrested for drug possession and trafficking, and it is estimated that *more* than 50 percent of young Black males are convicted of violating drug laws. Yet, the white male population, which is *five times* greater than the Black male population accounts for only 37 percent of those convicted of drug offenses, despite the fact that as national household surveys indicate, whites are more likely to use illicit drugs than either Blacks or Latinos, with the exception of perhaps marijuana, which is then basically evenly paired. It is estimated that 73 percent of whites use drugs but Blacks are 73 percent of those arrested and convicted for drugs and Latinos are estimated to be in the 45 to 50 percent range of those arrested and convicted for drugs.

Another growing and disturbing problem in Amerikkka is that Black women and juveniles are the hardest hit by the racially inequitable enforcement of drug laws. In the last twenty-five years the number of women in state and federal prisons has increased four-fold.

The majority of women prisoners are in prison for drug use or drug related crimes, which has had a devastating impact on the Black family, because figures show that 7.5 percent of Black female prisoners are mothers. Overt discrimination in sentencing for Black juveniles is staggering by all standards, while white juveniles in detention for drugs has declined since 1985, whereas the number of non-white juveniles (mostly black) in detention increased by 259 percent. If the statistics indicated that 75 percent of white females were in prison/jails or that the white juvenile in detention was up 259 percent. Washington D.C. would be besieged by an array of white organizations, white radicals activists and social workers of all kinds demanding a change in police arrest and the sentencing practice. But, because it is Blacks and other non-whites, the cry for equality has fallen on deaf ears.

With so many blacks and non-whites locked away this can only be viewed as an ethnic cleansing by way over-policing, over-arrest, over-sentencing and over-murdering (by police and other law enforcement agencies) of young black males especially, and all non-whites, generally.

Sooner or later these rather disturbing problems must be fully and honestly addressed and solutions made for the current trend dealing with the social problems of today. Either we will deal with the problems in an effective manner or we all will sink further and further in social destruction.





## **Urgent Statement from the Black Riders to All Prisoners**

Black August, 2010

**Power to the People!**

First off, let us get straight to the point. We have been critically repressed by the evil enemy. Just last month, due to our victories achieved during the campaign to seek Justice for Oscar Grant, we have been raided, harassed, and threatened with organizational destruction. We are a bold Black revolutionary group designed specifically to stop brothers and sisters from committing acts of violence against each other. We have also taken on the mantel of armed and unarmed (karate) self-defense against police terrorism.

We have never claimed to have all the revolutionary answers to the complex ideological issues to free our people, but we have only tried to raise the New Black Liberation struggle to a higher, militant level. Due to the massive U.S. government assault waged on us, a small, local L.A.-based group, we are officially drafting you into training to be a member of our Black Rider soldier alliance. Slowly, over time, during our mutual struggle with the racist beast, we will have on the job training and discussions around rules and regulations, but for now, please help us save our freedom with your loyalty, discipline, and commitment. Just take on the spirit of true George Jackson principles and Panther Love – be a Black Rider.

There is a critical need for a Black Panther to be born every three minutes in the ghetto to stop the destruction of the Black Riders. Write us back and let us know if you want to be drafted into training to be a member. And if some strange government agency stops our communication with each other, just know the war must go on, and we will always be together fighting side by side against the enemy of humankind, based on Pantherism. Our immediate goal is to plant the seeds of Black Riders all across the country to bolster our ability to survive state repression. Study the Black Commune Program and train to be a Black Rider!!!

**Power to the People!!!**

P.S. If you are involved with a revolutionary formation or street gang organization already, can you and your group join our National and International Panther United Front? Write us back and let us know some of your ideas on how to structure these new, gigantic, worldwide, revolutionary, joint operations. Any ideas should place strategies to stop infiltration at the top of the list. Without Black Unity, we will all fail!

We must not let Black extermination become a reality! The Black Riders P.O. Box is back up and running, please write back! We apologize to all prisoners who we haven't wrote back to in the past years due to the tremendous amount of state repression. We are moving to correct our mistakes every day!



## The Black Commune Program of the Black Riders Liberation Party

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

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

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

- D. **We Ride** for freedom of speech. **We Ride** because we believe that all attacks on social redeeming hip hop rap songs should stop. The 1<sup>st</sup> Amendment to the U.S. Constitution gives a right to freedom of speech. During chattel slavery the Black spirituals provided us songs with social redeeming qualities. Today's hip hop raps provide us songs with social redeeming qualities because conscious rappers help to guide us to liberation by outlining the horrible plight that Black people suffer in this new era of crisis.
- E. **We Ride** because we demand the cases of all Black people held captive in the jails and prisons of America reopened, reinvestigated and retried by members of the Black community. **We Ride** because we feel that Black people living in incarceration have been tried unfairly by the U.S. Justice Department. We have been denied the right of trial by ones peers resulting in guilty verdicts for an enormous amount of innocent Black people. We have been and are being tried by juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the Black community. It is time that these cases be reopened and retried by Black people so that the innocence of Black inmates can be determined by a jury of their peers, as stated in the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. We as Black people shall then deal with our own people by granting freedom from incarceration to those whose retrial has validated it and deferring charges and sentences for those proven to be guilty by their peers. We want amnesty for all *political prisoners*.
- F. **We Ride** for decent housing fit for shelter of human beings. **We Ride** because we believe that if the capitalist landlords will not give descent housing to our Black community than the housing and the land should be made into a communal so that our community, with government aid, can build and make housing for its people.
- G. **We Ride** for education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. **We Ride** for education that teaches us our true history and our role in present day society. We believe in a educational system that will give our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have a knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.
- H. **We Ride** for an end to the drug problem. **We Ride** because we demand all the files of the Iran/Contra hearings, and information regarding aid to the Contras in Nicaragua be released to the Black community. This should be done to determine the connection between the government and the influx of drugs into the Black community during the 1970s and 1980s. Black people neither own airplanes or manufacturing plants needed to produce and distribute drugs. We believe that the best way to begin to solve the drug problem is to find out how it is entering our community so we can put a stop to it.
- I. **We Ride** for all Black people to be exempt from military service. **We Ride** because we believe that

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Black people should not be put in financial deprivation, causing them to be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like Black people, are being victimized by the racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist military by whatever means necessary.

- J. **We Ride** for an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of Black people. **We Ride** because we believe we can end police brutality in our Black community by organizing Black self-defense groups dedicated to defending our Black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The 2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment to the U.S. Constitution gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all Black people should arm themselves for self-defense.
- K. **We Ride** for full medical attention that should be given to all Black people. **We Ride** because we believe that American capitalist economics is to blame for the high rates of disease in the Black community. Black people suffering from life threatening ailments like AIDS should no longer be left to the mercy of low budget county hospitals. For whatever illness any member of the Black community suffers, the federal government is obligated to send them to medical institutions that provide the best treatment.
- L. **We Ride** for an end to environmental racism and to stop the disruption of the earth's ecological balance. **We Ride** because we believe that American industrial production has and is currently creating terrible environmental side effects locally, nationally, and internationally – especially in areas where Black people live. Industrial production causes pollution of air, land, and water, which in turn lowers the life expectancy of people. If the racist American industrialists sought out technology to further industry then he must seek out technology to protect the environment. If the racist U.S. industrialists refuse to do so then his industry should be taken and placed in the Black community so that we can protect the environment and our own communities.
- M. **We Ride** for land, technology, bread, housing, education, clothing, medical care, justice, peace, and an end to environmental racism. When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

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

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



## The Black Soldier Revolutionary

By Comrade Ali Shakka

Minister of Information NABPP-PC

As I begin to write this article, I want you to look deeply into yourself and see if we are still slaves (as the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment says) of these United Snakes of Amerikkka.

As an elder revolutionary, my mission is to teach my young "Brothas" – yes I said "Brothas," 'cause that's the way our Afrikan tongue speaks English. I will not change because I love my people, and I am a committed servant of my people, and anyone who stands in solidarity with us.

When I speak of the Black Revolutionary Soldier, I don't mean a member of the armed forces of the United Snakes necessarily – one could be – but of anyone who is actively involved in resistance to the oppression of Black people worldwide.

Struggle is our lot, until we have won our freedom. As Frederick Douglas observed:

"Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what people will submit to and you have found out the exact amount of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them; and these

will continue until they have resisted either with words or blows or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress."

We must further recognize that one aspect of White Amerika's campaign to contain the Black Liberation Movement is an expressly military operation. In addition to the FBI, CIA and various intelligence agencies of the federal government and military, (all of which operate domestically in the U.S.), there is also the state national guards and police and local sheriffs and police, all of which have in the past few decades been used as occupying armies – using helicopters and armored cars, pistols, rifles, shotguns, automatic weapons, gas bombs, stun guns and clubs to repress the Black Liberation struggle.

In addition they have created and used special tactical squads, stress units and SWAT teams and employed undercover agents, agent-provocateurs, paid informants and snitches. They have murdered our freedom fighters, shot them, beat them up and railroaded them into prison.

They have terrorized our Black communities and killed innocent men, women and children with impunity. Twenty-eight members of the Black Panther Party were murdered by the police, and no one was prosecuted. The Panthers were subjected to what was earlier done to the Black Muslims when they were looked upon as the most ominous threat to the oppressors.

Frederick Douglas said: "He who would be free must strike the first blow!" We are just getting around to raising our fists again, as we did in the 60s and 70s. To be a revolutionary is to be an enemy of the United Snakes. To be arrested in the struggle is to become a political prisoner and/or prisoner of war.

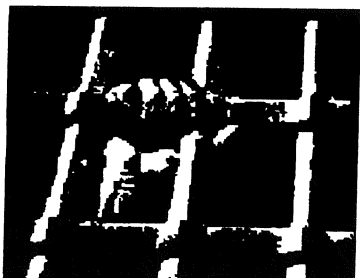
We now have the New Afrikan Black Panther Party Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC) that is rising up – standing up, and not shutting up! – a new generation of young Black men and wimmin who are proud to be Black; who are aware of the power we must resist and go up against to end our oppression, and are determined to fight for and win our liberation!

Repression generates resistance, and resistance raises consciousness that we can be free. This is as true in the United Snakes as it is all over Afrika. The Black soldier revolutionary fighter is the manifestation of this higher consciousness.

Dare to Struggle Dare to Win!  
All Power to the People!

*Comrade Ali Shakka*

AKA: Bennie Hayes #825298  
Polunsky Unit  
3872 FM 350 South  
Livingston, TX 77351



## ESSAY CONTEST!!

NABPP-PC has put out a call for the various street and prison tribes to unite to form a Red Fist Alliance (RFA) as part of the United Panther Movement (UPM). How can this best be done, what should be the rules and points of unity, and what should be its program? What are your ideas?

To stimulate debate and discussion and draw on the collective wisdom of the people, NABPP-PC is sponsoring an essay contest. First prize will be a set of the *Collected Works of Chairman Mao Tse-tung*. Honorable mention will win a copy of Comrade Rashid's new book *Defying the Tomb*.

All submissions should be in English, typed or hand printed clearly, and be postmarked no later than April 15<sup>th</sup>, 2011. Include your name and mailing address, and your street-tribe or organizational affiliation if any. Submissions are non-returnable and will become the property of Rising Sun Press. They may be edited before publication. The winner will be announced on May Day, International Workers' Day.

Send your essays to:

Rising Sun Press  
PO Box 4362  
Allentown, PA 18105



# REVOLUTIONS GO FORWARD

By Tom Big Warrior

Revolutions go forward and counter-revolutions go backwards. But you can't go back to the way things were. The world situation keeps changing.

To grasp the meaning of "forward" and "backwards" in this context, we have to recognize what time it is. It is the end of the long Epoch of Exploitation. Global capitalist-imperialism is its final stage. It is capitalism in decline and crisis. It is the era of fascism and socialist revolution.

"Going forward" means advancing the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution. Going "backwards" means going deeper down the downward spiral of crisis and fascism. Fascism, as Mussolini defined it, means the merger of state and corporate power and interest.

The goal of the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution is to create a planned, socialist, global political-economy, led by the proletariat, and based upon equality and social justice. The modern proletariat is the international class of wage slaves created by globalized capitalist-imperialism.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, countries are just "fences and guns" and corporations rule the world. In its decline, capitalism can only create a "prison planet" – a world of fences and guns, torture and enslavement. Between the interests of the ruling class and the oppressed and exploited majority there is a growing divide that has become an institutionalized "War on the Poor." It is a war without mercy – a class war.

As the percentage of the population that cannot be profitably exploited as workers by the capitalists grows, the alternative of mass incarceration in an expanding prison-industrial complex run for corporate profit becomes a reality for more and more people – particularly poor youth of color.

The "New Slavery" is a lot like the "Old Slavery." But this time it is a partnership between the state and private corporate interests. What did Mussolini call that? The plan is to exploit millions who would otherwise be unemployed by keeping them as slaves of the state – forced labor in the service of corporate profits subsidized by the taxpayers.

While on the outside – the oppressed communities have been transformed into "slave-catching zones" where the police have been militarized and equipped with TV cameras, high-tech bugging devices, and a network of spies and informants. Masses of youth are being tagged in "gang registries" or as "drug users" or otherwise tracked as "social undesirables," captured, classified and processed into the system.

The criminal justice system is a "spider's web" designed to ensnare the youth of the ghettos and barrios and trap them in a "correctional system" – that is not intended to "correct" anything. It isn't about rehabilitation, it is about surplus labor power and its value as a commodity. Lower than low wages is slave labor – subsidized by the tax-payers.

Capitalism is driven by one thing only, the maximization of the rate of profit. Capital investment goes wherever the rate of profit is highest. At the same time, the tendency of modern production is for the rate of profit to decline. Competition forces the capitalists to cut wages and downsize their operations and to outsource production to where labor costs are cheapest. Fewer workers means fewer consumers. Lower wages means masses of people sinking deeper in debt to try to maintain their standard of living.

This is the "Big Picture" of post-modern capitalist economics. It is a fascist world of growing poverty and loss of freedom. The "end game" of capitalism is not "Industrial Democracy" but "New Slavery." The alternative is socialist revolution, and creating a world based upon social justice and full employment.

To end capitalist-imperialism and create socialism, the proletariat (wage slaves) must create their own "state" and keep control of it until it is no longer needed – until it "withers away." That is to say until the class struggle is resolved by the elimination of classes.

This will mark the end of the Epoch of Exploitation and the start of a new, post-exploitative epoch, the epoch of Communism. Society will no longer be driven by the private interests of a small class of capitalists but by the collective interests of humanity as a whole.

Marx pointed out that the struggle for democracy leads inevitably to socialist revolution, that capitalism cannot democratically evolve into socialism, even though this is in the interests of the majority. This is because "democracy" is but the "window dressing" that hides the real dictatorship of the capitalist ruling class. Let something threaten the continuation of the system and it reveals its true nature; like when J. Edgar Hoover declared the Black Panther Party's Free Breakfast for Children Program to be the "greatest threat to national security."

This was because the Panthers were creating public opinion favorable to socialism in a way that reached the most oppressed class. They weren't throwing bombs or assassinating people – they weren't doing anything illegal! But the feds murdered Comrade Fred Hampton in his sleep. They assassinated Panthers all over Amerika and railroaded many more into prison.

Mao summed up "Revolution" as "Create Public Opinion Seize Power!" This is because the masses are the makers of revolution and it is the role of revolutionaries to make them conscious. The Communists represent the future in the struggles of today. They arm the masses ideologically and politically. Mao stressed that; "Ideological and political line determines everything."

Hoover didn't feel threatened by poor kids getting a free breakfast but by the ideological and political line the Panthers represented. He knew that if the poor Black masses the Panthers were reaching out to grasped and adopted this ideological and political line as their own they could act as a catalyst upon the whole proletariat and the masses of people to inspire them to rise up and take history into their hands.

The long suffering and abuse of Black people in Amerika is part of the objective reality of the world situation. It is linked to the whole fabric of colonialism and neo-colonialism and



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global imperialism. It is part of the foundation of the U.S. nation. The Black nation within Amerika is trapped in that foundation. It can neither escape from nor integrate into mainstream Amerika. Its liberation can only be accomplished by smashing the foundation and raising up a new system based on equality and social justice for all. And you can't make revolution here in the U.S. without bringing down the whole world capitalist empire. Objectively, the Black Panther Free Breakfast for Children was the greatest threat to continued capitalist-imperialist rule – and worth dying for!

Revolution is a necessity. It always is! The masses don't take up arms lightly. They don't break with tradition and security until they are convinced that there is no other acceptable alternative. It takes a genuine crisis to birth a genuine revolutionary situation. We are not in a revolutionary situation yet, but one is coming, and we need to prepare for it. As Sun Tzu put it, "Battles and wars are won or lost before they are fought."

Preparation is all about education and organization. In a system based upon inequality, some people are more oppressed and some people are more privileged. In a state founded upon social injustice class oppression and discrimination are institutionalized. The struggle for Black liberation has always been a class struggle. It is part of the world revolutionary struggle.

The original Black Panthers recognized the necessity of their playing a vanguard role – not just nationally but internationally. Their ideological and political line – "Pantherism" or "Revolutionary Intercommunalism" – reflected this consciousness. To be a Panther one had to be down for "all-the-way" revolution. Serving the People was key to this commitment. The tasks of a revolutionary are threefold; to agitate, educate and organize for revolution.

Like Steve Biko's Black Consciousness Movement in South Afrika, they recognized that community service programs were necessary to free people's minds of the paralysis of dependency and build collective political consciousness. Community-based people's power is the key to building Pan-Afrikan power.

To get at the corporations and take them over we have to smash the state that defends the status quo. The workers employed by the corporations have to be won to support the revolution and taking over their workplaces, but the proletariat as a whole must seize the power and wield it to create equality and social justice for all.

Proletarian class consciousness must be internationalist consciousness. It can't be otherwise. Nationalism is a trick, a scam, that leads the workers to identify and side with their own exploiters and would-be exploiters.

Let's look at how this trick has been played. World War I was an important water-shed for the international workers' movement. Prior to this the various socialist parties all professed proletarian internationalism. They vowed that they would turn an inter-imperialist war into a revolutionary war to end capitalism, but when it got down to it, these parliamentary "Leftists" all rushed to vote war credits, with few exceptions. They called on the workers to be "patriotic" and defend their "fatherland."

Comrade Lenin was one of the exceptions. He and his Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party promoted "Revolutionary Defeatism" – even when it meant prison to do so. When the workers rose up in 1917 to unseat the Tsar, the capitalists and the "socialists" tried to keep Russia in the war, but the Bolsheviks promised peace and led the workers and peasants in seizing power from the capitalists and their "socialist" allies. They had to fight the intervention of the Western imperialist countries who backed the counter-revolutionaries, but the Soviet Union emerged as the world's first successful workers' state.

A bit later the German workers rose up, but their "socialist" leaders sold them out and tortured and murdered the revolutionary leaders who didn't sell out. The same thing happened in other central European countries. As revolutionary workers split or were expelled from the "socialist" parties around the world, they formed new Leninist-style parties and adopted the title "Communist," -- after Marx's original association.

What was the basis of this betrayal and switch to the side of counter-revolution? The ideological and political line of the "socialists" had in practice degenerated into "Economism" and political reformism. Their social base was the relatively privileged skilled workers organized into craft unions. Imperialism diverted some of the super-profits made from colonialism to bribe a section of the working class and made great efforts to inspire patriotism and national chauvinism among the masses generally.

But the magnitude of horror of the war and workers slaughtering workers shocked many to adopt the perspective of "revolutionary defeatism." Meanwhile, the infant Soviet Union was left to attempt to consolidate socialism in one country faced with an encirclement of hostile imperialist countries.

In Germany and internationally the capitalists opted to create fascism – which took on different styles in different countries. But common to all was the idea of "class collaboration" and support for the "fatherland." In the U.S., fascism took the form of the "New Deal" instituted by FDR during the "Great Depression." Unlike Nazism in Germany, the "New Deal" embodied the idea of "Industrial Democracy" and allowing the workers to form industrial unions as well as forming a "safety net" of social services. This effectively co-opted both the old "socialists" and the new Communist Party along with the masses.

The Second World War saw a United Front Against Fascism bringing together the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement and the Western imperialist powers against the Axis Powers headed by Nazi Germany. But the dream of post-war collaboration was shattered when the U.S. immediately launched the "Cold War" against the now expanded "Socialist Camp," which included Eastern Europe and Red China. "Cold War" liberalism was an extension of "New Deal" liberalism with the addition of virulent anti-communism.

The aftermath of World War II saw a powerful wave of anti-colonialism and national liberation sweep across Asia, Afrika and Latin America. Supported by the Communist movement, and inspired by the victory of the Chinese Revolution, these struggles rocked the imperialist system. But the U.S. was able to take advantage of the situation to penetrate markets formerly

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reserved for the European colonial powers while posing as the leader of the "Free World" and champion of "Democracy."

U.S. workers experienced a period of unprecedented prosperity and upward mobility. U.S. industry was geared up for war production, and the "Cold War" enabled continued massive military spending. Wages were high and unemployment low, while the "Reds" were being purged from the unions, and "demonized" in popular culture. Korea, Vietnam and a host of proxy wars saw the U.S. assume the role of "Global Policeman" installing brutal fascist-gangster regimes around the world in the name of anti-Communism.

It all peaked in the 1960's, as prosperity for the common people in Amerika hit a record high, while a wave of youth rebellion, – inspired by the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in People's China, the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people to U.S. aggression, and the Civil Rights and Black Liberation movements in the U.S. – swept the world. But U.S. imperialism still had great reserves, and was objectively winning the "Cold War" as modern revisionism ate away the resolve of the world Communist movement to continue on the path of socialist revolution and reconstruction.

The fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 and its breakup into fifteen separate countries was actually a collapse of social-imperialism (state capitalism), as it had ceased to be socialist except in name since the coup following Stalin's death in 1953. This long period of masquerade sowed great confusion among the masses and Communists alike. The revisionist coup in China following Mao's death in 1976 was another great blow to the world Communist movement.

The victory of U.S. imperialism in the "Cold War" actually accelerated the overall decline of capitalist-imperialism. The U.S. rulers became more arrogant and demanding and set about dismantling the "welfare state" and taking back the concessions made to the working class – both economic and political – including human and democratic civil rights.

Capitalist pundits proclaimed the "End of History" and that the capitalist-imperialist system was the pinnacle of human social evolution. The creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1994 greatly enhanced the power of the transnational corporations and weakened the ability of governments to regulate them. Along with the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF), WTO has accelerated the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few super-rich monopoly capitalists and accelerated the mass impoverishment of humanity and ecological destruction of the planet.

But revolution remains the main trend and capitalist-imperialism will be overthrown. A new wave of the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution is rising and will inevitably be centered here inside the sole imperialist super-power. It would be impossible to make a workers' revolution just in the U.S. and impossible to overthrow capitalist-imperialism without the proletariat here playing a vanguard role.

Revolution is about problem solving, and the revolution that is called for must provide a worldwide solution and lead to a global dictatorship of the proletariat – not just to overthrow capitalist-imperialism but to carry out socialist reconstruction of the global political-economy. This will mark the end of the Epoch of Exploitation and the beginning of the post-exploitative epoch of human social evolution.

Nation states are already an anachronism. The fences must come down and the people must unite as one. National cultures will survive in a multi-cultural world that is egalitarian and celebrates diversity. Different life-styles will thrive and different expressions of culture will co-exist. Uniformity of opinion and perspective are neither possible nor desirable. We are one big family, but that doesn't mean we will share the same tastes and outlooks. Communism is a garden where 100 flowers will bloom and different schools of thought will contend.

There is no question that we shall be freer, better off and more empowered in the future. Nor can we say now just how things will develop once humanity is liberated from the restrictions of class society. Our potential to create a more rational, just and satisfying society is seemingly unlimited.

The only real question is; how long must we suffer before we wake up to the need to act in our own class interests and become our own liberators? What will it take to make us shake off the illusions of the "Amerikan Dream" and face reality? Capitalist-imperialism has no bright future to offer – only slavery, poverty and war. But the future shall be bright, because we shall dare to make it so!

Dare to Struggle Dare to Win!

All Power to the People!

## Black unemployment remains at crippling and intolerable levels

By Dr. William Leon

April 13, 2010  
Black Star News

Many analysts agree that the Bureau of Labor Statistics' recently released employment data for March numbers show the first substantial gain for payrolls since December 2007.

Non-farm payroll employment increased by 162,000 and the unemployment rate held steady at 9.7 percent. According to Mark Zandi, chief economist of Moody's Analytics, "The U.S. economy has 'turned the corner,' but it will still take up to five years to regain all the jobs lost since the economic collapse..."

This is encouraging news on a number of fronts. However, a closer look reveals some frightening realities that lay behind the positive indicators. For African Americans in many regions of this country the numbers reflect a tale of two cities—it was the best of times, the worst of times, the spring of hope, the winter of despair; to paraphrase a famous book.

In March 2010 while the unemployment rate for the country was 9.7 percent; the national unemployment rate for African Americans was almost double at 16.6 percent. On the state level, according to the Economic Policy Institute's 4Q 2009 numbers, the unemployment rate in Michigan for African Americans was 22.3 percent, California 15.5, and New York 14.6.

As disturbing as the unemployment numbers are for African Americans, they don't begin to tell the whole story. When these numbers are viewed in the context of other factors such as the disparity in median family income, wealth accumulation, and poverty levels they indicate that an

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entrenched systemic social policy problem exists for African Americans that a jobs recovery will not address.

According to 2007 U.S. Census Data, White families made 62% more than Black families. The median family income for White families was \$54,920 while the median income for Black families was \$33,916. Based on data from the 2002 Survey of Income and Program Participation, White median household net worth was about \$90,000, compared to a mere \$6,000 for the median Black household. 8.2% of White families were – this is data from 2007– living in poverty compared to 24.5% of Black families. As Dr. Ronald Walters explains in *White Nationalism Black Interests*, these indicators of greater social instability loom large for a substantial portion of the Black community that has not benefited from the economic system.

Some members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) are expressing concern that they are not receiving a significant level of support from President Obama and his staff, claiming that the administration has not done enough for African Americans. According to POLITICO, House Judiciary Committee Chairman John Conyers (D- MI) said that White House officials are "not listening" to Black lawmakers and Rep. Alcee Hastings (D-Fl) said "there's not enough attention to poor people."

According to The Washington Post, other members of the CBC such as Emanuel Cleaver II (D-MO) and Donald Payne (D-NJ) are expressing their frustration regarding how to address these issues. "How can you express criticism of the administration without eventually confronting the man at the top?" The article continues, "Some (CBC members) say that any public airing of their disagreements with Obama runs the risk of politically damaging the president and ultimately slowing the advancement of other African Americans."

Why is holding the president accountable a problem? What are members of the CBC afraid of? With 24.5% of African American families living in poverty, a median household net worth of \$6,000, and a national unemployment rate for African Americans almost double the national average, how much slower can African American's advance? Are the same figures that were unacceptable for a white president somehow acceptable under an African American president?

Why should they be concerned about political damage to a president who by their own admission feels that key members of the Obama administration, "have taken them for granted, in the belief that Black members of Congress have no stomach for a fight with the country's first Black president." According to POLITICO, A CBC aide said that senior aid Valerie Jarrett has "canceled lunch plans with the caucus eight times and that her office is slow to return calls and pays more attention to longtime supporters than to senior CBC members."

Since the CBC is so frustrated and confused, here are a few suggestions for them to consider proposing to President Obama: Work with the SBA and insurers such as AIG to back African American owned business that are having difficulty meeting bonding requirements as they pursue government contracts (stimulus package projects) as prime and subcontractors.

**Resurrect the '98 Clinton Administration SBA plan to enhance access to debt/equity capital via SBA guaranteed loans for African American owned businesses.**

The Senate and House Small Business Committees should mandate that the SBA enforce federal agency subcontracting plans. Liquidated damages have rarely if ever been enforced against a non compliant government contractor. CBC members probably have numerous African American owned firms in their districts that would benefit from enforcement efforts in federal contracting.

Members of the CBC chair four committees and 18 subcommittees. If they can not leverage their power and effectively develop legislation and social policy that address the systemic ills impacting African American progress, an increasing number will continue to experience the worst of times in a season of darkness.

*Dr. Wilmer Leon is the Producer/ Host of the nationally broadcast call-in talk radio program "On With Leon," and a Lecturer in the Department of Political Science at Howard University in Washington, D.C.*

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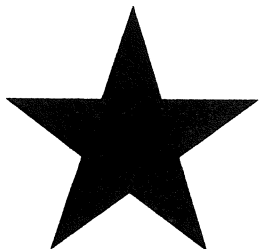
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## African Blood Brotherhood

(1919-1925)

### ORGANIZATIONAL HISTORY

The African Blood Brotherhood (...for African Liberation and Redemption) was a radical black liberation organization with ties to the Communist Party. The group was the brainchild of Cyril Briggs, a West Indian-born radical of mixed racial parentage living in New York. Briggs was a staunch exponent of the theory of racial separatism who, after feeling his work had been censored at *The Amsterdam News*, quit and launched his own monthly magazine *The Crusader* in November 1918. The African Blood Brotherhood was launched shortly thereafter, early in 1919, beginning with about a score of activists in Harlem and gradually adding membership through the recruiting clout of the magazine, which had a peak circulation of 36,000.

The ABB was a propaganda organization built on the model of the secret fraternity, organized in "posts" with a centralized national organization based in New York City. The group's size has been variously estimated between 1,000 to Briggs' claim of "less than 3,000" members at its peak. In the words of historian Mark Solomon, Briggs' ABB "sought to draw together the themes of race patriotism, anticapitalism, anticolonialism, and organized defense against racist assault. The organization projected fraternity and benevolence, and even offered a program of calisthenics."

The early ABB was an independent radical organization – not an auxiliary of the Communist Party. That situation changed only in 1921, when Briggs was convinced by Rose Pastor Stokes to join the underground CPA, becoming the 3rd black member of that organization. The party sought to make the ABB into a vehicle for mass work among the black working class.

In June of 1921 *The Crusader* formally announced that it had become the official organ of the African Blood Brotherhood. With Communist Party funds tight in 1922 and Briggs' own financial situation no better, *The Crusader* was not long for the world, however; publication was terminated in February 1922. In the aftermath, Briggs continued to operate *The Crusader News Service*, providing news material to affiliated publications of the American black press. Briggs later asserted that central to this decision was a desire to fight the ideology of Marcus Garvey and his "back to Africa" movement, which Briggs believed to be bourgeois.

Sometime during the early 1920s the African Black Brotherhood was dissolved, with many of its members merged into the communist Workers Party of America (WPA) and later into the National Negro Labor College.



Cyril V. Briggs

### Excerpt from: "What the African Blood Brotherhood Stands For"

by Cyril V. Briggs (April 1922)

[T]he Great Migration of Negro workers from the South continues. Negro workers are pouring North to escape the hellish conditions described in another part of folder and in search of higher wages and better living conditions. Shall they be tools for the employers' Open Shop plot against Labor or will Organized Labor move to win these workers to its ranks by (1) opening the doors of the labor unions to them on terms of full equality with white workers, not in theory only but in practice; (2) eliminating all discriminatory practices, non-promotable and "dead-line" clauses, unfair legislative enactments, etc., and (3) acquainting the Negro workers with the benefits of unionism and actively bidding for their membership The African Blood Brotherhood is an organization of Negro workers pledged by its Constitution and Program:

To gain for Negro labor a higher rate of compensation and to prevent capitalist exploitation and oppression of the workers of the Race...

To establish a true rapprochement and fellowship within the darker races and with the truly class-conscious white workers...

The A.B.B. Seeks:

To bring about co-operation between colored and white workers on the basis of their identity of interest as workers;

To educate the Negro in the benefits of unionism and to gain admission for him on terms of full equality to the unions;

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To bring home to the Negro worker his class interests as a worker and to show him the real source of his exploitation and oppression;

To organize the Negro's labor power into labor and farm organizations;

To foster the principles of consumers' co-operatives as an aid against the high cost of living;

To oppose with counter propaganda the vicious capitalist propaganda against the Negro as a race, which is aimed to keep the workers of both races apart and thus facilitate their exploitation;

To realize a united front of Negro workers and organizations as the first step in an effective fight against oppression and exploitation;

To acquaint the civilized world with the facts about lynchings, peonage, jim-crowism, disfranchisement and other manifestations of race prejudice and mob rule.

SOURCE: Cyril V. Briggs, "What the African Blood Brotherhood Stands For," April 1922. In *Let Nobody Turn Us Around: Voices of Resistance, Reform, and Renewal; An African American Anthology*, edited by Manning Marable and Leith Mullings, 247-248. New York: Bowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000.



## The American Race Problem

By Cyril Briggs

Published in *The Crusader* [New York], V. 1, No. 1-4 (Sept.-Dec. 1918).

### What Is It?

The American Race Problem is the problem of Black and White. Other race problems there are in this country, but before this problem of Black and White all others sink into pale insignificance. It is one of the most written of and talked about of American public questions and the one least understood.

It is based upon hatred of the unlike -- the white man's hatred for his racial opposite and for other types that are in any way different from his selected standard. It derives most of its virulence from the firm conviction in the white man's mind of the inequality of races -- the belief that there are superior and inferior races and that the former are marked with a white skin and the latter with dark skin and that only the former are capable and

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virtuous and therefore alone fit to vote, rule and inherit the earth. This belief finds strength and support in the partial decadence and almost complete submergence of Negro culture from the time Arabs overran North Africa and the Sudan offering, by virtue of SUPERIOR FORCE, the Sword or the Koran, and implanting the Mohammedan religion and Arab civilization where formerly had nourished Negro theology and culture of such a type as to excite the wholehearted admiration and emulation of the ancient Hebrews and Greeks.

The American Race Problem is further accentuated by the history of the country and the fact that the Negro a little more than a half a century ago occupied here a most subservient and helpless position. He was a slave and unlike the Anglo-Saxon and other European races who made up the mass of the slaves of the Roman Empire, the freed Negro, on account of his color, was not able to merge with the rest of the free citizens. He remained, therefore, a thing apart. In the American body but not accepted of it. In many sections of the country, he has not the status of an American citizen – since an American citizen VOTES; And in those sections he is not alone disfranchised but made to feel in many other ways the Caucasian-proclaimed inferiority of his Race. So that he may know that he is inferior, he is Jim-Crowed on public conveyances, segregated into undesirable and unhealthy locations, and even in the public schools, theatres and moving picture houses the controlling white man assiduously toils to convince him of his inferiority. This Caucasian propaganda aims to exalt the white races into the heaven of the little tin gods by the blatant declaration of the inferiority of the darker races and the more or less effective attempt to cover up their achievements in the past so that, the white man may claim credit for all that has been done in the development of civilization. And when all this fails, and the Negro still feels himself Man, the superior Caucasian descends to the savagery and terrorism of lynching!

Such are some of the most salient phases of the American Race Problem. To fully appreciate the difficulties of the problem however, it is necessary to go a field a bit. In the first place we must remember that racial antipathy is not exclusively confined to the Caucasian, that the Negro dislikes the white man almost as much as the latter dislikes the Negro. We must remember secondly, that this racial antipathy is not of modern origin, that it probably existed before the dawn of history, that it certainly has been a factor in all times and countries of which there are any records, that never before in history have the two races lived together on terms of peace, justice, and equality. That today, only in Brazil and for the first time is this phenomena presented and that between the NEGRO, INDIAN, AND LATIN RACES, but nowhere on earth in the present or in the past between the Negro and the Nordic – Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, Scandinavian. And that in Brazil the darker races enjoy equal opportunities and complete equality merely because they greatly outnumber the white races in the country. But that in ancient lands, as in most modern countries, the relations of the two races have always been on the basis of slave and master, inferior and superior. And so strong was this racial antipathy which the Negro in the past felt for his racial antipodes that history records that the Negro women of a Sudan town about to be captured by besieging white enemies committed suicide by flinging themselves from the walls rather than fall into the hands of the hated Caucasian.

Is race prejudice then so light a thing, so shallow an emotion that we can airily prate of an ultimate solution while allowing matters to drift along their own way or rather, the way of the white man, and without taking some action to assure the future "security of life" and happiness of our Race? The solution this magazine has to offer is not easy. It calls for Sacrifice and Service! But at least it leads to Glory and Respect! The other way leads to degradation and hell upon earth.



### The White Man's Solution

"Is it for this we all have felt the flame.

This newer bondage and this deeper shame?" -- Dunbar.

While the Negro has been drifting and letting things take care of themselves, trusting in that great illusion, the Ultimate Equitable Peaceful Solution the white man in the South has been solving the Negro Problem in his own way. And in this he has had the acquiescence of the white man in the North.

Now, the white man's solution of the Negro Problem is great -- for himself. For the Negro it is hell and worse! The white man's solution is simply that the Negro should behave himself and keep his place. To this end he has instituted Jim-Crowism, segregation, the terrorism of lynching, and peonage and convict-labor. If the Negro will stand for this, in the end he will be the dehumanized, servile, unambitious, and abject creature that the white man evidently desires to see him. And lest we be accused of exaggeration we call the white man himself to the witness stand. Read what white men, naturally in half-sympathy with the South and only protesting when cracker cruelty went too far, have to say in the white man's solution then consider whether the Northern Negro can afford to stand by in smug complacency of mistaken geographical safety while his brother is being dehumanized in the South. The first we shall call to testify is William P. Pickett, a resident of Brooklyn and author of *The Negro Problem: Abraham Lincoln's Solution*, a book we have lately read with great interest. Says Mr. Pickett:

One of the most alarming aspects of the Southern situation is the constantly increasing tendency towards reducing the Negro to a condition of peonage. A chapter



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might be profitably devoted to this view of the subject, did space permit.

From Virginia to Texas various state laws are in force which virtually operate to restrain the Negro farmhand from leaving the farm, or the common laborer under contract from leaving his employment, and enable the employer through a system of fines or imprisonment to control the personal liberty of his employee.

...This amounts substantially to selling into enforced public service or the retaining in private involuntary servitude, persons who fail to pay alleged debts, frequently extortionate or fraudulent. The crime appears to be on the increase throughout the South...

No more may be said upon this point here than that this system, with the barbarous and inhuman convict-labor system of the extreme Southern States, has a general tendency compulsorily to retain the Negro upon his native soil, and *is leading towards a system of complete physical subjugation which promises to be fruitful of the greatest injury to the race.*

The practice prevails throughout the range of states extending from Virginia to Texas, of leasing persons convicted of crime (the great majority being Negroes) to the highest bidder, who thus acquires the right to avail himself of their labor as a matter of speculation. Statistics relating to this barbarous practice are simply incredible.

The usual custom is for the bidder, frequently some favored politician, to sublet the convicts by hundreds to contracts for road-making, lumbering, working in the turpentine industry, or other similar exhausting labor. The prices paid for the labor of these convicts by those employing their services appears almost beyond belief, and when we take in consideration the ordinary wages paid to unskilled labor in that section, or even the highest compensation of the same class in the North, and reflect upon what must be exacted in the way of production from an ill-fated convict for whom a subcontractor is paying \$47.50 per month, with the expense of keeping, the horrors of the system must at once impress themselves on the mind of any person possessing the least spirit of humanity.

Mr. Pickett's testimony is substantiated by other whites who have written on the subject. Prof Alben. Bushnell Han in *The Southern South* bears witness that:

Even without a contract a Negro may be legally obliged to labor for a white man under vagrancy laws, by which Negroes who are not visibly supporting themselves may be convicted for that crime, and then sent to the County Farm, or hired out to somebody who will pay their fine. Once in the hands of a master, they are helpless. For instance, one Glenny Helms, who was apparently guilty of no offense, was in 1907 arrested, fined and sold to one Turner, who in this case thought it prudent to plead guilty of peonage. The son of this Turner was the agent in the most frightful case of peonage as yet recorded. A woman was accused of a misdemeanor; it is doubtful whether she had committed any; but at any rate she was fined fifteen dollars; Turner paid the fine; she was assigned to him and he set her to the severe labor of clearing land. And then what happened? What was a

hustling master to do with a woman who would not pile brush as fast as the men brought it, but to whip her, and if she still did not reform, to whip her again, and when she still would not do the work, to string her up by the wrists for two hours, and when she still shirked, God Almighty at last came to the rescue; she was dead!

This much testimony does space allow for peonage and convict-labor. Of the cruelty of the system there can be no doubt. Of the menace to the future of the Race let thinking Negro men and women judge for themselves. Of "Jim-Crowism" William P. Pickett says:

Of all devices employed for the purpose of marking the distinction between the white and Negro races in the South, probably the most offensive to the Negro is what are commonly known as the "Jim Crow" laws.

Nothing more destructive of the natural pride of an intelligent and self-respecting man or woman can be conceived than the treatment to which the better class of Negroes in the South are subjected in this ruthless enforcement of the mortifying regulations for the separation of the races. Yet all protest is unavailing. The laws which accomplish this degrading discrimination against the black man are denounced by the enlightened members of the race, but have been steadily upheld by the courts and sanctioned by the Interstate Commerce Commission as constituting proper and reasonable regulations of travel. The Negro asserts that these unjust laws result in the dwarfing of the manhood and womanhood of his people, and bitterly denounces the practice of exacting payment for first-class accommodations and then compelling the members of his race, theoretically equal before the law, to submit themselves to such obnoxious requirements.

Of lynching, the weapon of terrorism used by the Southern whites when all else have failed to break the spirit. On lynching, let Walter F. White, assistant secretary of the NAACP, and, investigator of the recent lynchings in Brooks and Lowndes County, Ga. speak. We quote from his report in the September *Crisis*:

The murder of the Negro men was deplorable enough in itself, but the method by which Mrs. Mary Turner was put to death was so revolting and the details are so horrible that it is with reluctance that the account is given. It might be mentioned that each detail given is not the statement of a single person but each phase is related only after careful investigation and corroboration. Mrs. Turner made the remark that the killing of her husband on Saturday was unjust and that if she knew the names of the persons who were in the mob that lynched her husband, she would have warrants sworn out against them and have them punished in the courts.

This news determined the mob to "teach her a lesson," and although she attempted to flee when she heard that they were after her, she was captured at noon on Sunday: The grief-stricken and terrified woman was taken to a lonely and secluded spot, down a narrow road over which the trees touch at their tops, which, with the thick undergrowth on either side of the road, made a gloomy and appropriate spot for the lynching. Near Folsom's Bridge over the Little River a tree was selected



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for her execution -a small oak tree extending over the road.

At the time she was lynched. Mary Turner was in her eight month of pregnancy. The delicate state of her health, one month less previous to delivery, may be imagined, but this had no effect on the tender feelings of the mob. Her ankles were tied together and she was hung to the tree, head downward. Gasoline and oil from the automobiles were thrown on her clothing and while she writhed in Agony and the mob howled in glee, a match was applied and her clothes, burned from her person. When this had been done and while she was yet alive, a knife, evidently one such as is used in splitting hogs, was taken and the woman's abdomen was cut open, the unborn babe falling from her womb to the ground. The infant, prematurely born, gave two feeble cries and then its head was crushed by a member of the mob with his heel. Hundreds of bullets were then fired into the body of the woman, now mercifully dead, and the work was over:

Of the general attitude toward the Negro, Prof Hart says:

So far as can be judged, the average frame of mind in the South includes much injustice, and unwillingness to permit the Negro race to develop up to the measure of its limitations.

Observe that this ferocity is not directed against the Negro simply because he does ill, but equally if he does well.



And William Pickett admits that:

The conditions under which the great majority of the Negro race live, the handicap imposed upon them by their color, the implacable hostility which they encounter in their endeavors to compete industrially with the white man, their exclusion from the unions, all combine to constitute them a class apart in the realm of productive activity, and to compel them to accept the most meagre wages for their unskilled efforts, and in like manner to accommodate themselves to the lowest scale of living.

### The Negro's Solution

While lynching, Jim-Crowism, peonage, convict slave labor, segregation and other forms of oppression leading to the ultimate dehumanization of the Negro constitute the white man's "Solution" to the American Race Problem, the Negro's Solution, until recently, has been more of a hope against hope, a dream in a realm of fact, than any definite attempt towards a solution that would be just and honorable to his race as well as acceptable to the white man.

Whether it was the advice to "buy pigs" or the declaration that white men would learn to respect and honor Negroes as soon as Negroes acquired sufficient property and education it was all diametrically opposed to human nature, the lessons of history and the facts in the case. The South has long since proved the fallacy of the theory that the ownership of pigs (and other property) will secure one in the rights of life and property. "Observe," says Prof. Hart, "that this ferocity is not directed against the Negro simply because he does ill, but equally if he does well."

While William E. Pickett, a keen observer of conditions in the South, says:

Now the fallacy of this view (that education or wealth will solve) lies in the assumption that the higher the state of education and ability the Negro can attain, the more wealth he can accumulate and the greater his prosperity, the more he will be liked and appreciated by the white race in the South.

The contrary is always the case. The Southern Negro who performs humble duties, who is content with menial occupation, who bears himself meekly, stands in the attitude of hat in hand, is not ordinarily the subject of aggressive racial animosity. It is the Negro who asserts himself to the level, social or political of the white man, who meets with the sternest opposition.

Another proffered solution for the problem is a "simple justice beautiful theory, indeed, but one that absolutely ignores the kind of human nature that made the poet exclaim that "man's inhumanity to man makes countless millions mourn." In the face of the fact that the white race (nor, in truth, any other race) has never been just in its dealings with unorganized and (therefore) weak peoples, it would seem that Negro leaders, (who are expected to be versed in the human records called history), would hesitate to offer seriously such a solution as "simple justice," yet a sea of talk has been sent out along this line and much good mental energy wasted.

Still yet another beautiful solution is "to leave it to God." This is the advice of those who would have us egoistically look for a special dispensation of Providence in our own

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particular case, forgetful of the fact that, "God helps those who help themselves."

All these beautiful theories come together to form the "Ultimate Equitable Solution," the great illusion of the Negro in an alien civilization. But the fact is that beautiful theories and eloquent harangues upon justice, liberty, and the guarantees of the Constitution little avails in the face of the many-sided race problem, imbedded as the latter is in the natural fortresses of human nature (Caucasian nature in particular) and the cold reality of racial antipathy.

Latterly, however, a new solution has been offered as the Negro began to recognize that the salvation of his race and an honorable solution of the American Race Problem call for action and decision in preference to the twaddling, dreaming, and indecision of "leaders."

This new solution is nothing more or less than independent, separate existence. "Government of the (Negro) people, for the (Negro) people and by the (Negro) people."

"When two ride a horse one must ride behind" is an old adage the truth of which has yet to be questioned. Then, too, Negroes have had the opportunity of observing how quickly the Japanese adaptation of their Government and philosophies to the Caucasian gospel of force won for them the respect and consideration still denied the Jew after centuries of achievement and much accumulation of wealth. Negroes are rapidly learning that superior force (not sentiment whether of justice or liberty) dominates the thoughts and actions of men.



### The Menace of the Future

The end of the war is in sight. In the sharp industrial competition which will follow the war (and which was on the way war or no war) the Negro Race in America and in the sub-tropical sections of America will face annihilation and economic death unless protected economically -- as other and wiser races have seen fit to protect themselves -- by the ownership of territories large and rich enough in resources to supply present needs and guarantee future requirements. All the dead and dying races were not conquered by the sword; many were victims of economic warfare.

For years the white man has been assiduously fencing off the earth while the darker races slept. The vast Dominion of

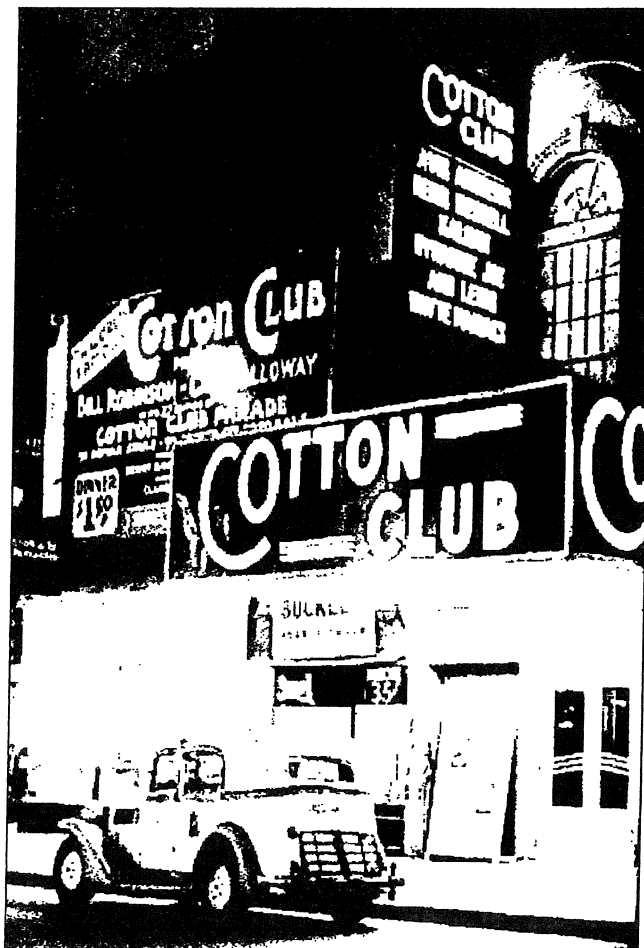
Canada, the illimitable expanse of Siberia, the entire continent of Australia have been fenced off to supply the future territorial needs of the white race while, at the present moment supporting puny white populations who, backed by mother nations in Europe, plainly tell the Colored races to keep out, that they will have none of them, that these vast territories, once the habitat of Colored races, and capable of supporting millions upon millions of human beings, are to be held by sparse white populations -- backed by militant Europe -- for white posterity.

Here we have an example of the white man looking hundreds of years into the future and taking steps now to safeguard the white men of a far distant future day.

His action is wise and deserves applause -- *from white men*. To Negroes, however, his action is a menace and from them, deserves the sharpest and swiftest opposition.

In the economic war that is to follow the war -- that in fact, is already upon us -- Negroes in countries dominated by a numerically superior white population will be at a deadly disadvantage.

Ownership and control of large and rich territories is necessary to safeguard the existence of the race and to guarantee it political equality and justice and the freest opportunity for development. Without control of resources we are lost. Only the race that is in possession and control of such resources can hope to survive the stern economic competition of the future.





## The Negro Liberation Movement

By C. Lorenzo

Published in *The Toiler* [New York], V. 4, whole No. 200 (Dec. 10, 1921), pp. 7, 14.

That the Negro people are at last waking to a realization of their rights and, accordingly, to participation in the universal liberation struggle of the exploited masses of the world, must be, of necessity a source of constant and intense gratification to all workers who are genuinely class-conscious.

The efforts of the Negroes to throw off the yoke of the white capitalist-imperialists cannot fail to react favorably on our fight against the same enemy. In spite of the folly and blindness of most of their present leaders, the Negroes, to attain any measure of success in their struggle against the imperialist governments of Europe and North America, must come eventually to a full realization of the identity of their interests with those of other oppressed people and of the class-conscious white workers. They are beginning to realize that not all white people are their enemies, and that the same group which oppresses and exploits them also exploits and oppresses the working masses of the white race.

Every blow struck for Negro liberation will be a blow struck for the world Proletariat, since whether the Negroes consciously will it or not the effects will be the weakening of the capitalist foe of both the "subject peoples" and the exploited white workers. In like manner, every blow struck for the liberation of the Proletariat will be a blow struck for the Negroes, both as Negroes and as workers. The difficulties which will face the proletarian struggle in Europe and America will be increased so long

as the enemy is able to draw on the colonies for material resources and fighting men with which to war upon the workers in the homelands. This is a truth that, while fully recognized by the Communist International and its millions of followers in all countries, is generally blinked at by the leaders of the British Labour Party and other traitors to the Workers' Cause. It is largely on account of these traitors that the Negroes have not yet been brought to the realization of the primacy of their workers' interests over their merely racial interests. For this reason a short survey has to be made from a racial angle.

At present there are two great outstanding sections or phases of the Negro Liberation Movement with headquarters in the United States. These are the Universal Negro Improvement Association, better known as the Garvey Movement, and the African Blood Brotherhood. There are minor phases which, however, either are not of an international character, or do not subscribe to the doctrine of full Negro liberation. Some of these phases, as we may call them, are represented by the Equal Rights League of Boston and the Pan-African Congress, the first a purely political and American organization, the second merely an aggregation of the Negro petty bourgeois officeholders and other beneficiaries of the imperialist system who, in the early part of September, strutted around 3 or 4 European capitals pleading for an amelioration of the condition of the natives in the colonies, but otherwise endorsed the

partition and exploitation of Africa by European capitalists. Then there are the two great native African movements: the Mohammedan Movement, which seeks to drive out "the infidels and aliens" and win Africa for Islam; and the Ethiopian Movement in South Africa, whence first came the cry of "Africa for the Africans and an end to native despoliation and exploitation."

Of the two great sections of the Liberation Movement emanating in the United States and now encircling the globe and demanding full Negro liberation, the African Blood Brotherhood, or ABB, headed by Cyril Briggs, appears to have the better tactical direction which, together with a clear realization of the underlying causes and intensity of the struggle, makes it the most effective Negro organization in the field. It is the only Negro organization that the capitalists view with any degree of alarm. This may be because of the historic reputation of the organization, dating from the Tulsa race riots, or because the ABB recognizes the capitalist-imperialist system as the cause of the economic slavery of the Negro people and loses no opportunity to drive home to the Negro masses this most important point. Moreover, ABB tactics are based upon the idea expressed by the Indian proverb that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend," and the organization openly seeks the cooperation of all other forces genuinely opposed to the capitalist-imperialist system.

While placing a free Africa as the chief of its ultimate aims, the ABB has no intention of surrendering any rights that the Negro has won in any parts of the world, or of letting up on the fight for liberty -- "political, economic, social" -- in the United States. It is at present carrying on a most uncompromising fight for the rights of the Negro workers in this country to organize for the betterment of their condition, the raising of their standard of living, and for shorter hours and higher wages. At the same time it seeks to imbue the Negro workers with a sense of the necessity of working class solidarity to the success of the struggle against the capitalist-imperialist system, which it asks Negroes to wage both as Negroes and as workers. The ABB is a genuine working class organization, composed of Negro workers, and with Negro workers at the helm.

The Universal Negro Improvement Association, or UNIA, is headed by Marcus Garvey, and may be described as an organization of Negro workers headed by a Negro bourgeois and pursuing bourgeois policies. It represents a prostitution of the Liberation philosophy to business ends, such as the "Black Star Line, Inc.," "Negro Factories Corporation," etc., etc., and is a fair sample of a tendency among the Negro petty bourgeoisie to graft capitalist enterprises upon mass movements; for the "Black Star Line, Inc." and "allied corporations" are not cooperative enterprises which would give equal benefits to the members of the UNIA, but corporative affairs which are supported by the many for the benefit of the few.

While there is more noise in the Garvey Movement than in the ABB this is no sign that that movement is the more effective. Rather the contrary, it would appear, for much of the time and energy of the UNIA is expended in the giving and receiving of empty titles and meaningless decorations. Garvey himself bears the grandiloquent self-bestowed title of "His Excellency, the Provisional



Marcus Garvey

President of Africa," while Mayor Johnson of Monrovia, Liberia, who is merely an African appanage of the organization, bears the even grander title of "The Potentate" and occupies in theory the position that Garvey occupies in reality. Then there are the knights and nobles -- a set of parasites specially created to take the place in a free Africa that the European parasites now occupy -- whose titles belie Garvey's more democratic, if high-sounding, title and give credence to the conclusions which his opponents draw from the existence of a Potentate as theoretical head.

Big noise and big salaries are two of the outstanding features of the UNIA. Salaries range from \$3,000 to \$12,000 per year. Garvey gets \$12,000 a year as President-General of the UNIA, and \$10,000 more as President of the Black Star Line, Inc. He is also President of the Negro Factories Corporation, but no one seems to know whether he draws a salary for that position. Mayor Johnson of Monrovia also receives a big salary for the privilege of his connection to the organization -- a connection which helps to confuse the masses as to Garvey's real strength and standing in Liberia. While Garvey continuously calls upon the race-patriotism and loyalty of the Negroes to support the various capitalistic enterprises which he has launched under the auspices of the UNIA, it is apparent that he proposes no reciprocity in race-patriotism and loyalty on the part of himself and other officials of the organization and its corporations, whose big salaries plainly represent "all that the traffic will bear" and are said to be a source of constant irritation to the more intelligent membership of the UNIA, as well as an effective bar to the further growth of the organization.

The Garvey association in concentrating its attention upon a free Africa to the neglect of the race and labor rights of Negroes in other parts of the world has done

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much to confuse the Negro masses and distract the American Negro workers from their urgent problems in this country. There are signs, however, of a reversal of this policy, due, no doubt, to the stream of criticism which has been leveled at Garvey as a result of said policy. The ABB, in particular, has attacked Garvey on this and other points in order to show to the masses of the Negro workers exactly what the Garvey movement stands for. The African Blood Brotherhood is practically supported by the rank and file of both organizations. In fact, several thousand members have left the UNIA, and that organization now faces a severe international crisis as a result of the brilliant tactical victories which the ABB leaders have won over Garvey and his staff.

It is clearly seen, then, that the two great sections of the Negro Liberation Movement are almost diametrically opposed in policies and in aims, for while the goal of the

Garvey organization is evidently the liberation of Africa from the white imperialist powers for the purpose of creating the entire vast continent of nearly 12 million square miles into an empire for the imperial dynasty of Marcus Garvey... *<line of type missing>* ...Workers' Republic. The ABB is fighting the battles of the Negro workers in the political, economic, and social field; educating and organizing them to take their place in the class struggle as workers as well as oppressed peoples. So that the Negroes will not rid Africa or any country from white exploiters in order to turn it over to imperialists of their own race but that a Workers' Republic may be established, since only under a Workers' Republic can the oppressed masses of any race hope to throw off the chains of economic slavery.

*Edited by Tim Davenport. Published by 1000 Flowers Publishing, Corvallis, OR, 2007.*



# THE NEW RECOLONIZATION IN AFRICA

by Mumia Abu-Jamal

[Col. Writ. 8/9/03]

*"Political independence, without economic independence, is — but an illusion." — Kwame Nkrumah*

Several weeks ago, the President of the Empire, George W. Bush, paraded throughout West, and southern Africa, to pave the way for corporate expansion and, of course, further Western exploitation of Africa.

He gave some mindless speech about freedom at Goree Island, in Senegal (which, like his infamous State of the Union speech, he didn't write); even as he defiled the place

of colonial rape of a continent, he comes to Africa with shackles in his pockets, designed to re-enslave the people for the wealth and enrichment of others. This time, he came to chain African workers to the leeches of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the neo-liberalists of the World Trade Organization (WTO).

These institutions, leaders of the global credit cartel, have done untold damage around the world, forcing governments to follow socially destructive policies against their own people, in order to gain access to Western

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markets. The IMF/World Bank are, to use a now-common phrase, weapons of mass destruction. These are instruments of U.S. imperial policy. In the book, "Power Trip: U.S. Unilateralism and Global Strategy After September 11<sup>th</sup>" (Seven Stories, 2003), the writers explain how powerful these groups are:

These are ostensibly multinational organizations, but it is well-known that the IMF is primarily controlled by the U.S. Treasury Department. The World Bank is subordinate to the IMF, and most other lenders – including the governments of the major industrialized powers and even much of the private sector – defer to the IMF's judgment. The creditors' cartel, in conjunction with what Columbia economist Jagdish Bhagwati has called the "Wall Street-Treasury complex," confronts most low -and middle-income countries with enormous power. It is analogous to the power that the Oil Producing and Exporting Countries (OPEC) have over oil. OPEC uses its cartel to control, as much as possible, the price of oil; the IMF/Treasury uses the creditors' cartel not to control the price of credit, but to decide the economic (and sometimes political) policies of borrowing countries.

*In other words, the IMF is able to tell most governments that if they do not adopt its policies, then they will not get credit from most other sources. This is the most concentrated power in the world, greater in its efficacy than the might of the U.S. military. (p. 86)*

Imperial President Bush came to Africa for the same reason that Henry the Navigator sent ships down the West Coast of Africa 500 years ago, and Arab dhows sailed the eastern African coastlines for a thousand years --to exploit Black life for their own enrichment. Period.

Does anybody think this guy, who presided over the racist death penalty in Texas, who mis-governed the state as it experienced a racist, violent resurgence, who became president only because tens of thousands of Black so-called citizens were disenfranchised of their right to vote in Florida, gives a hot damn about Africans?

Texas, we should recall, fought a war with Mexico, to extend slavery into its territories.

And so, he comes to Africa, to sit and have photo ops with African leaders, while they both look at the people the way lions look at gazelles – like prey.

The lion doesn't announce his presence. He creeps in the tall grass, its color blotting out his intent and his threat, until he gets close enough, to pounce.

The People of Africa must unite, across borders, across languages, across tribes and clans, to beat back this perverse second colonization.

It is possible. It is necessary. All it takes is will. The Americans today are not the friends of Africa. They weren't a century ago; they ain't today. They come with smiles and suits, and promises. History has taught us that where they walk, bones will surely follow. This should be an important part of the anti-globalist movement that has grown, and blossomed since the surprising explosion of Seattle.

If we could've saved centuries of heartache for our ancestors, what would we have done?

We are the living ancestors of those to come; it is our duty to save them the heartache that America wants to bring – again.

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### HARRIET TUBMAN: WOMAN WARRIOR

by Mumia Abu-Jamal

[Col. Writ. 7/18/02]

"I started with this idea in my head, 'There's two things I've got a right to, death or liberty.'" --Harriet Tubman

Born into a family held in bondage in Tidewater, Maryland in (or around) the year 1821, a tiny, brown baby girl named "Araminta" didn't seem like one to shake up the world.

The enslaved people on the farm called her 'Minta,' or 'Minty,' when she was a baby, but in the "peculiar institution" called slavery, childhood didn't last long.

It was at the tender age of 5, when 'Minta' was rented out to a white woman nearby for "domestic work." On her first day, before breakfast, the child was lashed with a leather strap four times across her face. By the time she was 7 years old she ran away, tired of her treatment. She was so tired, and so afraid of being caught that she fell into a pig-pen, and competed with pigs for scraps of food. When she returned to the house where she worked, some 4 days later, she was beaten, whipped by a man.

Later, returned to her home farm, she was called Harriet, no longer house slave, but field slave.



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As a young woman, she made her way out of the house of bondage, and, not content with her own freedom, she resolved to return to the plantations to lead others out of bondage. She was so successful that she became a living legend to the enslaved, and a thorn in the side of the enslavers. The planters put out a bounty totaling \$40,000 (in 1850 dollars) for her capture, dead or alive.

In the hovels of the enslaved, a whisper of her name ("Moses") or the humming of a spiritual told of her presence and her mission – freedom. She brought over 300 souls north, and built a deep network of informants throughout slave territory.

She so incensed the slavers that they pushed through the federal Fugitive Slave Act which deputized all whites in the pursuit or capture of a former (or escaped) slave, anywhere in the United States.

For Harriet, that meant slavery reached up to the Canadian border. So she started taking people up there for a taste of freedom.

She took her job dead seriously. When a captive, tired, scared, or hungry, wanted to turn back to the life he knew, he would find himself staring at a pistol in Harriet's hand, and an offer he couldn't refuse: "Go on with us, or die." There was no turning back.

When Civil War broke out, she left her home in West Canada, and came back down to do whatever she could against the Slaveocracy. With her deep contacts in slave country, she gave important intelligence data to the Union Army, and she personally led several raids against Confederate targets.

One of the most famous was the Combahee River raid, in June 1863. Her contacts on the plantations on the South Carolina coast reported the placement of floating mines in the Combahee to block the Union Navy.

Under her guidance, the mines were removed, railroads and bridges were destroyed, and the Slaveocracy's most precious resource -- captives -- were liberated from the very heart of the Confederacy.

In fact, over 800 of the enslaved were given passage aboard Union ships. It delighted "Moses" to no end, as she would later recall:

I never saw such a scene. We laughed and laughed and laughed. Here you'd see a woman with a pail on her head, rice-a-smoking in it just as she'd taken it from the fire, young one hanging on behind... One woman brought two pigs, a white one and a black one; we took them all on board; named the white pig Beauregard [a Southern general], and the black one Jeff Davis [president of the Confederacy]. Sometimes the women would come with twins hanging around their necks; it appears I never saw so many twins in my life."

It seemed she loved few things more than the sight of her people, free. She was a soldier for freedom.

Her words, fueled by a courageous heart, have echoed down the centuries; "I had seen their tears and sighs, and I heard their groans, and I would give every drop of blood in my veins to free them."

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## Mumia's May Day message: May Day is the People's Day

As the Iraq war continues to lurch from disaster to disaster, from scandal to scandal, and from puppet to puppet, people are beginning to see the futility of this mad scheme to remake other nations in our image.

As more and more people from more and more social strata see the futility of this imperial grab for lands and oil, it becomes clearer and clearer that people must join together and resist.

May Day 2005 presents a perfect opportunity for us to do so. It is a time chosen by American Workers over a century ago to mark the triumph of an eight hour work day with a full day's pay. The setting aside of May Day as International Workers Day reflected a real, social gain of the workers' movement and the realization that the working class exists in all nations, and that the world was our home.

It is precisely that sense of internationalism that is needed now, to reclaim that high water mark of social activism and to turn away young folks from the mindless struggle for empire. As capital is globalized under the WTO and the IMF, the poor and working people, the majority of the people of this earth must be globalized in internationalism, and in defense of the many not the few. What is necessary for this to prevail is the realization that this mad war in Iraq is in reality, a war against the future generation here. A war against education. A war against decent health care. A war against decent housing. And a war against good jobs which pay living wages.



## Serve The People #11

The bombs may burst and the mortars may fire over there but the human wreckage, the social dislocation, the destruction of communities and the decimation of civil and constitutional rights is happening right here, in the heart of the Empire. It is therefore imperative that we join together, across our perceived boundaries, against the empire of eternal war. It is in our own self-interest to do so. Millions upon millions of people took to the streets in a valiant and historic attempt to stop this mad cap dash to war. They were right then, they are right now. It is time to come back together. To fight against the War Against Life. We can do it and we must do it. To change the course of this imperial messianic militarism: Let us give a new birth to the meaning of May Day as a day of wide and deep solidarity against the Empire. Those who will follow us will one day look back to us and ask "What did they do when the Empire went mad? We must be able to say we did everything in our power. We organized ourselves, we worked together; we stood against the madness of empire. This is what we must say. And that is what we must do to insure a livable future for later generations. When we fight against this mad imperial enterprise, we fight for ourselves, our real selves, as workers, as builders, as fathers as mothers, as brothers, as sisters, as the human family. Let's unite and fight against empire for May Day and everyday. I thank you.

Ona Move! Long live John Africa!

From Death Row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal!

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## LECTURES ON HUMAN RIGHTS

By Mumia Abu-Jamal

[Col. Writ. 5/9/04]

A recent U.N.-based human rights report critical of Cuba came at a wonderful time.

Cuban president Fidel Castro, at a vast May Day celebration in Havana, gently, but soberly, criticized both Mexico and Peru for their joining with the U.S. in a diplomatic attack on Cuba, for her treatment of U.S.-backed dissenters there.

While Pres. Castro did indeed criticize those countries, he heralded Mexico's long and proud history of independence, and her Revolution against Spanish conquest. Within weeks of Pres. Castro's remarks, Mexican and Peruvian ambassadors were recalled from Havana, an act applauded by the U.S. State Department.

Within days of that applause, however, came the pictures from the dark corridors of Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. Almost instantly, a hush settled over Washington.

Just hours before the horrific and humiliating pictures from Abu Ghraib were made public, U.S. president George W. Bush took to the fundraising stump, to announce that "torture no longer happens in Iraq, because we removed Saddam Hussein;" and he robotically repeated his refrains about the Iraqi regime's "rape rooms."

Then came the flics from prison, of grinning U.S. soldiers, torturing, beating, sexually humiliating hooded, naked, Iraqi men --with whispers of rapes in the wings!

American claims to the right to lecture others on "human rights," rings exceedingly hollow in its sheer hypocrisy.

Bush exclaims: "This isn't an America I recognize."

Really?

One wonders if this transplanted Texan ever bothered to study how his adopted state was carved out of Mexican soil; or, for that matter, how much, perhaps most of U.S. land was stolen from Indian territories? Perhaps not.

It is precisely this oddly American form of amnesia that allowed Abu Ghraib to happen; and that prepares Abu Ghraibs to come.

It is precisely this racist, xenophobic blindness that assures us that those 7 or so guards did it alone, and that allows us to whitewash this scandal.

About 7 years ago, this prison was racked by scandal. Over a score of guards, and several ranking officers were implicated in an orgy of racist violence, and abuse of hand-cuffed prisoners, at SCI -Greene. Many prison guards were fired, and several were demoted in rank.

Months thereafter, however, union arbitrators had the vast majority (if not "all" of them) back at the job, albeit at other prisons.

It took time; but perhaps a year thereafter, the white-wash was complete.

Is it therefore surprising that one of the guards at the heart of that scandal, plays a repeat at Abu Ghraib?

Already, within days of the news, the skeleton of a whitewash can be sensed... "isolated incident;" "... limited to seven or eight guards;" "... the guards were untrained..." etc. These are the garb with which this whitewash will be clothed.

Meanwhile, the U.S. architects of the anti-Cuban resolution, are hoisted on their own petards -- the images from Abu Ghraib, where Americans practice the human right of humiliation.

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## The Case of Mumia Abu Jamal

by Terry Bisson

(From New York Newsday, 1995)

In 1978, Philadelphia Mayor (and ex-police chief) Frank Rizzo blew up at a press conference, threatening what he called "the new breed" of journalists. "They [the people] believe what you write and what you say," said Rizzo, "and it's got to stop!" One day—and I hope it's in my career—you're going to have to be held responsible and accountable for what you do."

What the "new breed" was doing in 1978, and is still doing today, was exposing police misconduct. A cop had been killed in a confrontation between Philadelphia police and the radical MOVE organization (the same MOVE that was fire-bombed by the city seven years later), and the police version of who shot first hadn't been accepted without question. Rizzo feared a new trend, and he was right.

The trend has continued. Today, the Mollen Commission, the NYPD "party" in DC, the Rodney King case and hundreds of other local scandals have exposed the dark underside of police misconduct nationwide. Ironically, the most prominent of the "new breed" of journalists at whom Rizzo's outburst was directed is awaiting execution on Pennsylvania's Death Row, the victim—many believe—of a police frame-up.

Mumia Abu-Jamal began his journalism career with the Black Panther Party. The Panthers were the original "affirmative action" employer, and Mumia (then Wesley Cook) was Minister of Information for the Philadelphia chapter at age 15, writing for the national newspaper. A heady beginning for a West Philly kid. After the Panthers fell apart (helped by a stiff dose of FBI harassment) Mumia turned to broadcasting. He had the voice, the writing talent and the ambition, and by age 25, he was one of the top names in local radio, interviewing such luminaries as Jesse Jackson and the Pointer Sisters and winning a Peabody Award for his coverage of the Pope's visit. He was president of the Philadelphia Association of Black Journalists, called "one to watch" by *Philadelphia* magazine.

But Mumia was still a radical. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* called him "an eloquent activist not afraid to raise his

voice," and this fearlessness was to be his undoing. His vocal support of MOVE's uncompromising life-style lost him jobs at Black stations, and he was forced to moonlight to support his family. The mayor's outburst marked the beginning of a campaign of police harassment that included such subtleties as a cocked finger and a "bang bang" from a smirking cop, and escalated to a late-night police beating of Mumia's brother on the street.

Mumia was driving a cab that night. It is undisputed that he intervened. It is undisputed that both he and officer Daniel Faulkner were shot, and that Faulkner died. What is in dispute is who killed Faulkner. Mumia says it was someone else, and several witnesses saw another shooter flee the scene. Mumia's legally registered .38 was never decisively linked to Faulkner's wounds.

Mumia's murder trial was a policeman's dream. Denied the right to represent himself, he was defended by a reluctant incompetent who was later disbarred (and who has since filed an affidavit in Mumia's support detailing his delinquencies). Mumia was prosecuted by a DA who was later reprimanded for withholding evidence in another trial. He was allowed only \$150 to interview witnesses.

But best of all was the judge. A life member of the Fraternal Order of Police, branded as a "defendant's nightmare" by the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Judge Albert F. Sabo has sentenced more men to die (31 to date, only two of them white) than any other sitting judge in America. A fellow judge once called his courtroom a "vacation for prosecutors" because of bias toward convictions.

Sabo wouldn't allow Mumia to defend himself because his dreadlocks made jurors "nervous." Kept in a holding cell, he read about his own trial in the newspapers. A Black juror was removed for violating sequestration, while a white juror was given an court escort to take a civil service exam; in the end all the Black jurors but one were removed. A policeman who filed two conflicting reports was never subpoenaed (he was "on vacation"). Mumia's Black Panther history was waved like a bloody flag: *Had he said, "All Power to the People?" Yes, he admitted, he had said that.* Character witnesses like poet Sonia Sanchez were cross-examined about their "anti-police" writings and associations.

Thus with Judge Sabo's help, an award-winning radical journalist with no criminal record was portrayed as a police assassin lying in wait since age 15. After Mumia's conviction, Sabo instructed the jury: "You are not being asked to kill anybody" by imposing the death penalty, since the defendant will get "appeal after appeal after appeal." Such instruction, grounds for reversal since *Caldwell vs. Mississippi* was allowed in Mumia's case.

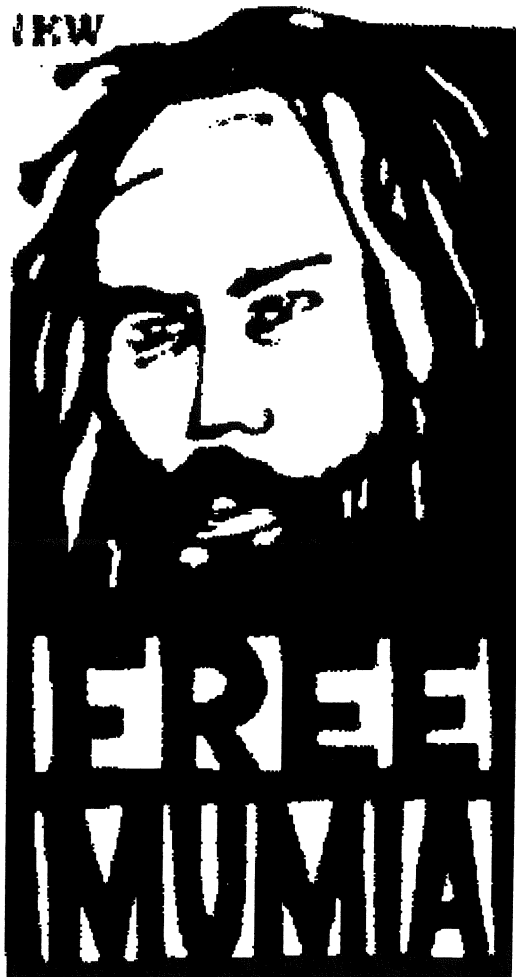
Mumia's appeals have so far gone unanswered. After being on Death Row for thirteen years, he is now the target of a police-led smear campaign. Last year NPR's "All Things Considered" canceled a scheduled series of his commentaries after the Fraternal Order of Police objected. Mumia's book, **LIVE FROM DEATH ROW**, has been greeted with a boycott and a skywriter circling the publisher's Boston offices: "Addison-Wesley Supports Cop Killers" Officer Faulkner's widow has gone on TV claiming that Mumia smiled at her when her husband's

bloody shirt was shown—even though the record shows that Mumia wasn't in the courtroom that day.

Mumia and his supporters want only one thing—a new trial, with an unbiased judge and a competent lawyer. Defense attorney Leonard Weinglass has entered a motion to have Judge Sabo removed from the case because he cannot provide even the “appearance of fairness.” The struggle became a race against time last month, when Pennsylvania Governor Ridge, though fully aware of the many questions in the case, signed a death warrant scheduling Mumia for execution August 17.

Mumia Abu-Jamal was not surprised. Several of the essays in his book deal with America's frantic “march toward the death chamber.” As he wrote several years ago in the *Yale Law Journal*: “states that have not slain in a generation now ready their machinery: generators whine, poison liquids are mixed, and gases are measured and readied.”

Unless Mumia Abu-Jamal's final petition is answered, and he gets the fair trial he deserves, America will see its the first explicitly *political* execution since the Rosenbergs were put to death in 1953. Frank Rizzo's angry threat will be fulfilled, for one “new breed” journalist at least. **It will stop!** We won't hear any more criticism of the police from Mumia Abu-Jamal. Forever.



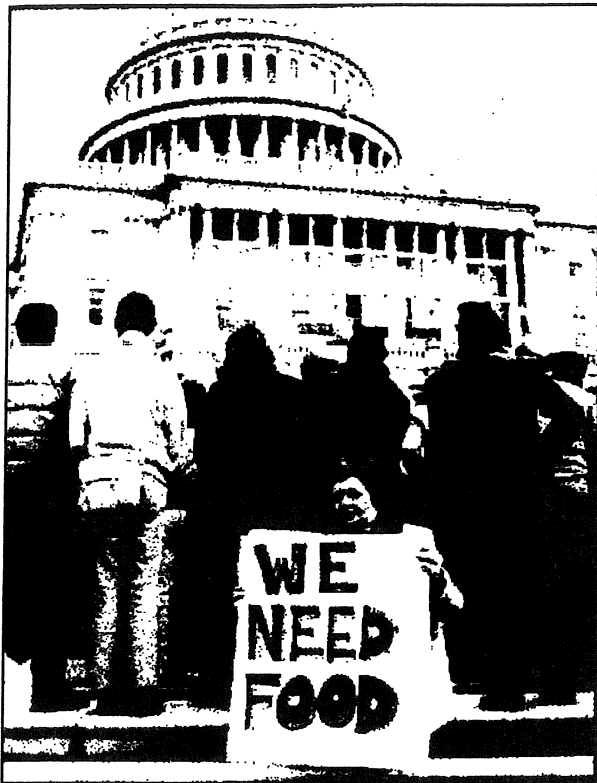
# HUNGER



Hunger is a feeling experienced when the glycogen level of the liver falls below a threshold, usually followed by a desire to eat. The usually unpleasant feeling originates in the hypothalamus and is released through receptors in the liver. Although an average nourished human can survive weeks without food intake, the sensation of hunger typically begins after a couple of hours without eating and is generally considered quite uncomfortable.

When hunger contractions occur in the stomach, the person sometimes experiences mild pain in the pit of the stomach, called hunger pangs. Hunger pangs usually do not begin until 12 to 24 hours after the last ingestion of food, in starvation. A single hunger contraction lasts about 30 seconds, and pangs continue for around 30-45 minutes, then hunger subsides for around 30-150 minutes. Individual contractions are separated at first, but are almost continuous after a time. Emotional states (anger, joy etc.) may inhibit hunger contractions. Levels of hunger are increased by lower blood sugar levels, and are higher in diabetics. They reach their greatest intensity in 3 to 4 days and may weaken in the succeeding days, though hunger never disappears. Hunger contractions are most intense in young, healthy people who have high degrees of gastrointestinal tonus. Periods between contractions increase with old age.

P. D. Wikipedia



## Hunger in America: An In-Depth Look

Despite America's great wealth, there are still millions of Americans who are classified by government statistics as "food insecure." Nearly six million people use emergency food assistance every week. This paradox of hunger amid plenty is a threat to our nation's prosperity and our collective well-being.

Hunger in America 2010 is the third in a series of studies that Mathematica has conducted for Feeding America, formerly known as America's Second Harvest—the Nation's Food Bank Network. With data collected in 2009 during the height of the economic downturn, it is the most comprehensive study to date that captures the significant connection between a weak economy and increased needs for emergency food assistance. This study provides important information on both the local and national levels about the demographics, household makeup, and economic status of individuals and households receiving food assistance.

Interviews were conducted with approximately 61,000 individuals receiving food assistance in order to assess the capacity of the charitable food distribution system to meet the needs of these individuals. The study included a census of agencies providing emergency food (pantries, kitchens, and shelters) affiliated with 185 food banks. Almost 74 percent of eligible agencies—totaling more than 37,000—completed a questionnaire. Findings were presented in a national report, local reports for participating food banks, and state reports.

Findings from the 2009 survey include:

\*More than 37 million low-income people received emergency food assistance through Feeding America's network in 2009, an increase of 46 percent since 2005

\*Recipients represented a broad cross-section of America, including 14 million children and 3 million elderly. Approximately 40 percent were white, 34 percent were African American, and 20 percent were Hispanic.

—Thirty-six percent of recipient households had at least one adult who was working.

—Ten percent of all recipients were homeless.

—Seventy-five percent of Feeding America's clients were food insecure

—Most recipients made difficult choices between food and other necessities, such as housing or medical care

—Only 66 percent of people eligible to participate in government support or food assistance programs are currently doing so. More than 40 percent of those deemed food insecure are not eligible for the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program.

—Private charities were providing high-quality services to emergency food recipients

—Most of the organizations providing assistance in the network were faith-based.

—Volunteers were crucial to food pantry and kitchen activities.

## Q & A: The Causes Behind Hunger in America By Vikki Valentine – npr music

November 22, 2005 – More than 13 million families in 2004 were unable at times to buy the food they needed, according to the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Finances are so strained for 5 million of those families that one or more members goes hungry as a result.

In *An Atlas of Poverty in America*, Penn State University economic geographer Amy Glasmeier takes a historical and, contemporary look at the problems faced by the country's poor. Here, she discusses the phenomenon of hunger in America.

**Q: The USDA has classified 38 million Americans as "food insecure." What is the difference between poverty and food insecurity?**

**A:** There are 37.5 million people in America who live below the poverty line, which is based on an amount of money thought to be required to provide a very minimum lifestyle. In 2005, \$19,350 is the poverty threshold for a family of four, according to the Department of Health and Human Services.

At the same time, the government also classifies 38 million people as "food insecure," which means at some point in the previous year they had difficulty finding the money to buy food.

We can assume that many of those who aren't able to always buy the food they need are also living in poverty, but there is scant empirical research linking poverty and food insecurity. The statistics for each currently are collected separately.

**Q: Why is there hunger in America?**

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**A:** A big part of food insecurity relates to the uncertainties of daily life. People go hungry because of unexpected events, such as paying for an emergency visit to the hospital, a car repair, or the loss of a job. So you can be just above the poverty line, and anyone of those circumstances can push you into poverty.

When a family is living that close to the edge, the bottom line is that cuts will be made in the consumption of food.

Food is purchased with cash. If you don't have a credit card, then you have to pay cash for food. The majority of people don't have a monthly charge account at the local grocery store.

There also are problems of access and distribution. Good, healthy, fresh food is expensive, especially if you work at a minimum wage job. Remember, the national minimum wage is still \$5.15 per hour; that's \$10,300 a year for a fulltime job.

There is a definite geography of poverty. The highest rates of poverty are found in Appalachia, the Mississippi Delta, the U.S.-Mexico border and Indian reservations. I have been in poor communities where you are 30 or 40 miles from a store that manages its vegetables so they don't rot in bins. A year ago I was in a Tunica, Miss., Piggly Wiggly food market examining the role of gambling in the economic growth of the region, and what I found there was a lot of normal products, except for the vegetables and the meat counter. The vegetables were wilted lettuce and dried apples, or even tomatoes with black spots. At the meat counter, I found mostly chicken wings and ham hocks, packaged in every conceivable way to produce a ham hock, and they're 90 percent fat. That's the sum of what's available for people to buy.

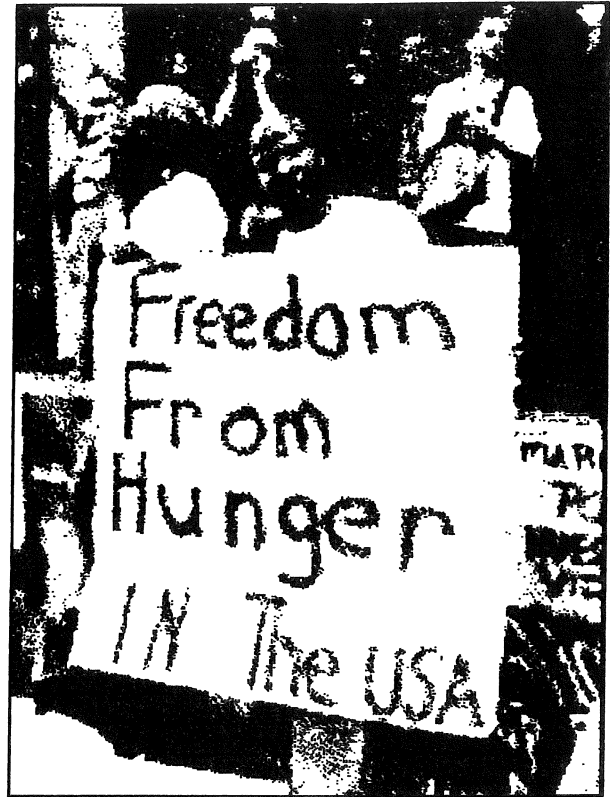
Low-income communities support retail operations that sell low-cost goods. When it comes to food, low-cost items do tend to be high in fat and low in nutritional content.

**Q: How common is it for families to have to make a trade off between food and expenses such as health care?**

**A:** Families are often forced to make the tradeoff between food and other expenses. Health care is a particular problem. In poor, rural communities families often have no choice but to use the emergency room for routine health care. This is very expensive. Car repairs are another significant and unexpected expense. If the family car needs repair and it is the end of the month, when cash reserves are low, a family will have no choice but to reduce food intake to get the car back on the road in order to go to work. It's all about how close to the line you are.

When the original poverty measure was created, it was based primarily on the minimum food budget needed for a family of three. The threshold has been increased to reflect changes in the cost of living, but the same formula is used to calculate today's poverty line. What was missing when it was created, and is still missing, is an account of all the other costs of living that income is spent on, including clothing, furniture, transportation and health care.

**Q: How successful has the food stamp program been at reducing food insecurity?**



**A:** According to the USDA, in 2004 the average monthly food stamp benefit was about \$86 per person and about \$200 per household. This average of \$200 is just over one-third of what the USDA recommends a family of four should expect to spend on food using its *Thrifty Food Plan*.

**Q: Does the program stop hunger?**

**A:** It reduces hunger, but it probably does not eliminate hunger if the family lives at or below the poverty line. Also, according to the USDA, the number of families who received food stamps declined dramatically between 1995 and 2000. This was a time when the poverty rate increased. Thus, just when people needed assistance most, the program was scaled back. After passage of the Welfare Reform Act in the early 1990s, the government cut back on who was eligible for food stamps and made it harder to qualify for the program.

In many places in the country, fewer than half of the people who are eligible for food stamps actually receive them. According to the Food Research Action Center, many people aren't aware they're eligible for food stamps. Also, people go in and out of eligibility. If you lose a job and then get re-employed repeatedly, it is a huge hassle to get them. Stigma no doubt also matters.

**Q: How have poverty and hunger changed since the antipoverty programs of the 1960s were launched?**

**A:** Since the 1960s, when we started to count poverty, we have seen the biggest improvement in economic security among the elderly. Their poverty rate went from 22 percent to less than 10 percent today. Their decline in poverty was due to the creation of Social Security, subsidized health care and the fact that the government made sure that Social Security payments reflect improvements in the country's standard of living.



I would suspect on an absolute basis that more children are hungry today compared with 30 years ago. A good indicator of child hunger is the number of children receiving reduced rate lunches. In recent years, we're seeing an increase in food insecurity. The USDA's Economic Research Service shows a rise from 11.2 percent of households in 2003 to 11.9 percent in 2004.

**Q: Looking forward, what part of the population would you say is most vulnerable to food insecurity or poverty?**

**A:** We're going to see a rise in economic insecurity among the elderly, partially because Medicaid and Medicare only cover certain issues and certain drugs, and –most profoundly –because there is a decline in employer-based pension benefits, due to corporate bankruptcies, and also benefit take-backs. A telling example: GM's most recent negotiation with UAW resulted in larger co- payments for the elderly and larger personal contributions to their drug purchases.

**Q: How does food insecurity differ among rural, urban and suburban settings?**

**A:** First we have to take account of differences in expenses – primarily housing costs. For instance, the cost of housing is higher in urban versus rural areas. Other expenses to take into consideration are transportation costs. These hit rural families particularly hard. Rural residents have few choices aside from owning a car. Health care, furniture, clothing—these are all costs everyone incurs, although there might be a modest difference based on access. Thus, the cost of these expenses may cut both ways.

In rural areas, there is some possibility of contributing to one's livelihood through subsistence types of activities

such as hunting and growing one's own food. That is a major means by which rural families get by in certain parts of the country. Deer hunting is a major activity in a place like rural Pennsylvania, where I come from, for example.

**Q: On average, is food insecurity chronic? Does hunger tend to be permanent or temporary?**

**A:** Food insecurity is primarily temporary. It often relates to some unexpected event that consumes the only cash a family has. If you haven't got much money, you certainly don't have the ability to shop when there are sales. You basically are living hand to mouth.

**Q: Food Insecurity exists at a significant level in the United States, according to the government. Ultimately, what would you say is responsible for this situation?**

**A:** At the core, hunger is the result of employment instability and the lack of an adequate minimum wage. If an employer is allowed to pay a person a wage that essentially does not lift them out of poverty, then the real culprit is failed federal policy. The argument against raising the minimum wage is that it would put small businesses at a disadvantage. The bottom line is that the only sectors that would be seriously affected by raising the minimum wage are industries producing goods traded overseas.



Given that a huge fraction of the national economy is comprised of non-traded goods and services, we could raise the minimum wage and generate little or no harm to business. In fact, if we raised the minimum wage, I think employers would be inclined to invest in people's skills because they would be more "valuable," and hence employers would want them to be more productive. Paying people a living wage is ultimately about personal dignity. People who work should be able to live above the poverty line.

*Amy Glasmeier is the E. Willard Miller Professor of Economic Geography and John Whisman Appalachian Scholar at Penn State University. She is also a visiting professor at the University of New Hampshire's Carsey Institute.*





## **Interview with a Panther POW: Kojo Somani Sababu**

### **1: How did you come by your current name and how old are you?**

The name Kojo comes from my comrades in arms. It means unconquerable, my full name is Kojo Bomani Sababu which means "unconquerable warrior, one who takes the people to heart," our names, derived from African roots were adapted as inspiration.

I am currently 54 years old, born May 27<sup>th</sup> 1953 in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

### **2: What caused you to accept revolution in a country where so much is offered?**

I grew up in a turbulent time in America where racist oppression and repression of New Africans was in vogue, and a great deal of political agitation occurred in the New African communities.

Thus I heard speeches by Malcolm X, Elijah Mohamed and so forth and listened intently to their words.

As a result I made a transition in my young life as I began to understand what was taking place around me from a nationalistic perspective.

The deeds of the Black Panthers pushed me to act.

### **3: Was your life hard or difficult?**

With the exception of the loss of my parents, life was not so difficult, in 1962 my father died coming home from work. In 1964 I was devastated with the murder of my mother.

She was a guide for me, emphasizing education as a tool with which to change society, so her death caused me a pain I still experience.

However her advice, that I learn all that I can, still resides within me.

### **4: How long have you been incarcerated?**

I was captured on December 19<sup>th</sup> 1975 along with the anarchist Ojore Lutalo during a bank expropriation, subsequently other charges were added in relation to the elimination of social parasites from New African communities, ie: drug dealers were killed, so I have been interned since that time.

The war on drugs was started by New African Liberation forces not the U.S. government.

### **5: Your incarceration over all these years has lead you to see many changes in the struggle, what do you now think of the struggle in America?**

The struggle lost its popularity because the contradiction between the oppressed and their oppressors became blurred. People think everything is resolved by having money, so it was made available by the oppressor.

Now the torch bearers who articulated the logic of struggle against the oppressor nation have either been confined in prison cells for a long time or have a comfortable job.

This is no indictment against the movement itself, because just as rapidly as it declined, it can experience a great resurgence given the right opportunities.

However we must make great strides, reorganizing ourselves to embrace the difficulties we face.

I have no solutions but I will say this:

There are some great political minds contained in America's prisons, which are growing old as their era of life departs, this resource needs to be tapped before it expires.

Do not abandon the political prisoners and POWs, they are still insightful with their knowledge and experience.

### **6: Is there a statement or message you would like to pass on?**

Yes!

Immerse yourselves in learning to apply current technologies to organizing.

Your problems, your advances, your struggles can become international in seconds so blog constantly, equip our movement with a new voice, use admirably what is used against you.

## Serve The People #11

We have had setbacks due solely to our arrogance, our refusal to change and modify our approach.

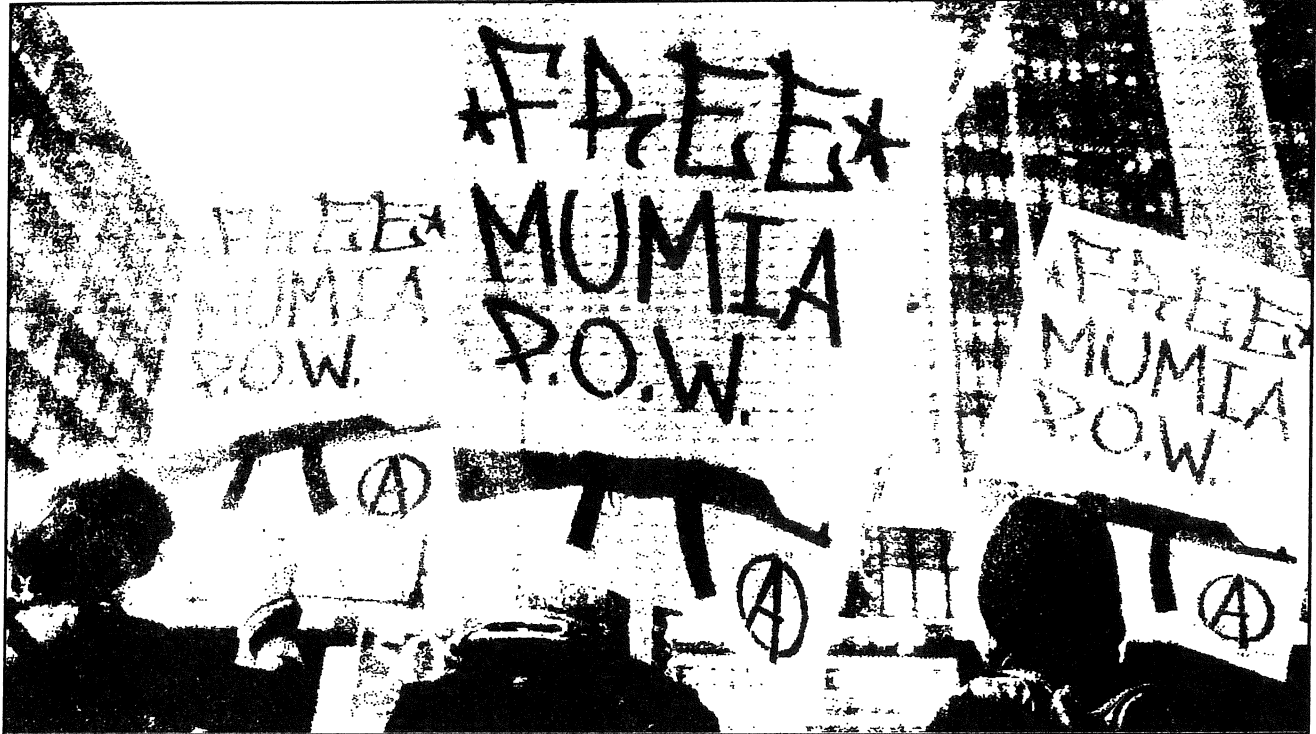
We have to rebuild our resources by seeking effective new ideas, if we commit to that, I believe we will be successful.

7: Would you do it all over again?

Of course, anytime!

Free the land, build to win!

Kojo Bomani Sababu (Grailing Brown)  
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## Still Fighting for His Life!

On November 9<sup>th</sup> hundreds of people came to Philadelphia to rally for former Black Panther and current rebel POW Mumia Abu Jamal. They came to fight the reinstatement of an unjust death sentence handed down nearly 30 years ago. A recent decision by the lower court to vacate Mumia's death sentence because of improper instructions given to the jury by racist judge Albert Sabo and either sentence him to life in prison or hold a new penalty phase was quashed by the Supreme Court. The hearing that was held inside a courtroom packed with supporters of the death row journalist was being held to now determine whether to reinstate the death sentence or not.

Amongst the protesters a contingent held signs calling Mumia a POW. Indeed Mumia is a prisoner of the war on the poor. Mumia is an international symbol of resistance to millions of oppressed people, and to the rich scum in power he is hated as a slave who would not bow. Mumia joined the Panther Party at 14 after some cops kicked him in the face at a student rally at Ben Franklin High School. That same year the first files on Mumia were compiled by the FBI. It was in the midst of Cointelpro versus New Afrikan Liberation. At 15 Mumia was the editor of the Philadelphia BPP newspaper. Here he started his calling as a rebel journalist and nearly three decades on death row has only

made his indictments against the system sharper. Despite living under constant threat of death, Mumia has spoken little of his own plight and instead concentrates his writings on the struggle of oppressed people the world over.

As a youth growing up in the vicinity of Philadelphia, I remember hearing of the MOVE family bombed a few blocks away from where I lived once. Victims of a police massacre right down the street! A whole city block of homes burned down by a bombing by the police right here on U.S. soil. I then heard of Mumia, a journalist shot by the police convicted of killing a cop who was beating his brother over the head with a police flashlight. These cases struck me as a youth searching for the nature of the system in the U.S.A. Mumia's example and that of MOVE did much to help me realize and to choose sides in the struggle. Mumia's case especially has trained generation after generation of youth to question the system.

Revolution begins in the mind -- The minds of the masses of people. Revolutions arise from objective conditions. Learning about these objective conditions develops revolutionary consciousness and the will to act. The motive of a true revolutionary is love for the people, and this too comes with understanding the objective conditions. Mumia's

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gift as a journalist is not just to serve as the "voice of the voiceless" but as an educator of the oppressed masses, consistently raising the consciousness and awaking the humanity of his readers.

An attack on Mumia is an attack on all of us. This year a book of lies entitled "Murdered By Mumia" was published by Maureen Faulkner and Michael Smerconish: The first being the widow of Daniel Faulkner and the second a rabid radio journalist with what seems to be a decades long personal bloodlust against Mumia. 2 Months ago a "documentary" film paid for by the Fraternal Order of Police was released with a theme that Mumia was the "devil incarnate," a vicious Black Panther with a lifelong obsession to kill a cop. Thirty years later and the ruling class is still not content and won't be until Mumia is dead.

Why are the rich making war on the poor? What drives people with so much to repress those with so little? As Mumia says; "It is their very opulence that makes them insecure." It is their age old fear of the power of numerically superior peasants against the well-armed but historically vulnerable nobles. In this time of spiraling downward economic crisis, the voice of revolution haunts the dreams of the rich and powerful. Mumia's voice scares the hell out of them! By the same logic that the Black Panther Free Breakfast for Children Program was, according to J. Edgar

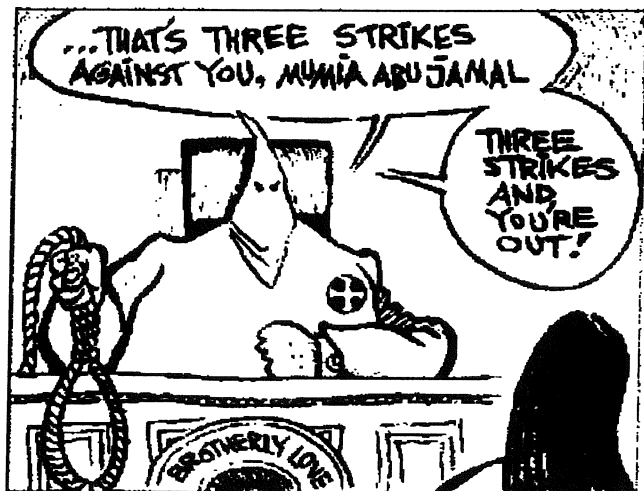
Hoover, "the biggest threat to national security." Mumia's voice "Live From Death Row" is viewed as a deadly threat.

They want to kill Mumia. They want to blunt our consciousness and bank on our ignorance and apathy as they rob us of our future. Stand up for Mumia. Stand up for yourself. Stand up for all the oppressed the world over. Make Mumia's consciousness, and the role he is playing your full-time occupation. Live for the people. If need be die for the people. But like Mumia let not the fear of death, or the chains of imprisonment intimidate your heart. Stand tall as a warrior of the people: Advancing in divisions to end all oppression, once and for all.

The question is not Mumia's guilt or innocence. Nor is it about anything any of us have ever done. The question is about the future. The world we leave behind us. It is to the generations yet unborn we should owe our allegiance and we should defend their interests to the last drop of our blood. Defend Mumia! Set him free! Free the People, Free the Land, Free all Political Prisoners and the People's Prisoners of War, Free the Communities!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

-THE BROWN PANTHER/WHITE PANTHER WRITING GROUP



# Free Mumia!



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