

# THE BLACK PANTHER

Black Community News Service

SPRING/SUMMER 1993

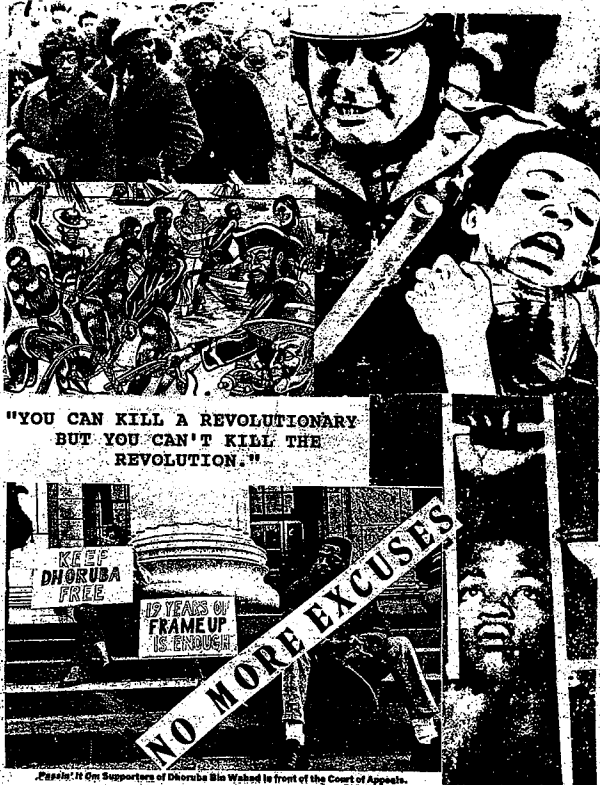
VOL. 2 NO. 1 \$1.00



## STATE OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY

### FRUSTRATION IN BLACK COMMUNITY

BOSTON, Mass., Feb. 12, 1993



"YOU CAN KILL A REVOLUTIONARY BUT YOU CAN'T KILL THE REVOLUTION."

People: 11 On Supporters of Dhoruba Bin Wahed in front of the Court of Appeals.

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PUBLISHED AND EDITED BY:  
THE BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER COMMITTEE  
P.O. BOX 519, BERKELEY, CA 94701-0519

### EDITORIAL STATEMENT

#### THE STATE OF THE RACE

Two years ago the Black Panther Newspaper Committee began to publish the Black Panther newspaper again. Our goal was to address the critical issues facing the Afrikan community here and around the world. These issues are unemployment, inadequate housing, police terror, drugs, substandard health care, mis-education and the institutional racism that has been endemic to Amerikkka since its founding. Internationally we are plagued with the continued and systematic looting of Afrika by its former colonial masters. This looting is aided and abetted by the rigging of the international financial system in favor of the capitalist countries.

These issues have not disappeared. In fact they will intensify with the election of Bill Clinton to the Amerikkkan presidency. It was Bill Clinton who executed an Afrikan in Arkansas during the recent campaign to prove his law and order manhood. Historically it has been the democrats who have posed as the friends of the poor and downtrodden (especially Afrikans in Amerikkka) since Franklin Roosevelt was the occupant of the Big House. This time they go into office with a mandate to make things alright again for white Amerikkka. Twelve years of the republican wolf has brought white Amerikkka to its knees. They thought that the Reagan-Bush regime would only raise hell with Black people. They were sadly mistaken. By the time they woke up, the financial system had been looted and millions of jobs had been shipped overseas. They began crying for change so they elected two white men from the south with blond wives. Right, some change, Clinton and Gore will try to right the capitalist ship in Amerikkka. We believe the capitalist ship is beyond repair and will sink of its own greed and internal contradictions. It will be a rough ride for all concerned. Working people will see their so-called "benefits" sacrificed for the health of the capitalist system. Those with jobs and financial "security" will build even higher walls to keep out those who don't have any "security."

Afrikan people will continue to slide downhill until we wake up to the fact that this system can't/won't save us. Only we can do that.

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## SELL THE BLACK PANTHER

The Black Panther Newspaper Committee is looking for vendors to help distribute the Black Panther, Black Community News Service. The Black Panther is published quarterly and sells for \$1.00. Vendors keep \$.40 of every sale and return \$.60 to BPNC Distribution. Unsold papers can be returned to BPNC for a refund or credit. Vendors pay all postage and freight.

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### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

#### A Statement of America's Presence in Somalia.

Humanitarianism has nothing to do with the reason America sent troops [poor blacks/whites] to Somalia. This government creates problems that cause predetermined and predictable responses, for which it has false solutions. The problems in Somalia were deliberately created to cause confusion, dis-unity and envy to legitimize america's presence. If america was concerned about people suffering in Africa it would have done something about African people suffering in america.

"Law and order," "new world order," and the "war on drugs" here in america; and "humanitarian aid" in Somalia, are nothing but catch words to cover up the real purpose of america's presence in Somalia.. america's real purpose in Africa is Genocide.

C. Mullins  
Tulsa, OK

#### AFRIKANS IN THE DIASPORA.

As Salaam Alaikum wa Rahmatullah

Kindly place us on your mailing list to receive the Black Panther Newspaper, which we deem to be a critical instrument for the education of Afrikans in the Diaspora. We are a newly established Islamic Center in the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago serving mostly the needs of Muslims of Afrikan descent; we would like to develop a proper library and community information service. Thank you very much and anxiously looking forward to hearing from you.

Kareem Ibrahim  
Director  
The Community Islamic Center  
Republic of Trinidad & Tobago

#### CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Independence and self-determination must be our goal and principled unity is the vehicle to achieve our goal. We must wage struggle on all fronts; organize block by block; community by community; develop progressive coalitions around issues affecting the communities; challenge the black petty bourgeois politicians to be "accountable," employ strategies and tactics in the concrete for various stages of empowerment. Only when these things begin can we "seize the time" and change the sad state of our race.

#### POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Editors note: We would like to acknowledge that in the Fall 1992 issue of the Black Panther the editorial Statement in Response to Amerikkkan Justice was a joint statement of BPNC and Crossroads Support Network. We regret the omission.

#### From the Belly of the Beast

Dear Editor,

I was able to get a hold of y 1991 copy of Black August, Tribute the Soledad Brothers, pertaining George and Jonathan Jackson. reality of having laid eyes on picture of both brothers, which never seen before and I'd heard since I was a kid growing up, rea was electrifying to me. I just w to say the story of both Brothers something that was never pinpoint. But now a lot of brothers are fill: in on how much of an impact it made.

Is there any way I can get ba issues of the Panther paper? I dor know when I'm getting out of t hôle. They put me in here becau I'm a strong brother with a strc mind and they say I'm militant, b what is militant? ... In so call amerikkka, they say the land of t free and home of the brave, I s it's the land of the oppressed a home of the slave. If you can spa an issue for me to share with t

brothers here I would appreciate it Well, love and Peace, my Nubi: Brothers and Sisters.

The Python  
Susanville, Ca

CONTINUED ON PAGE 6



## SUBSCRIBE TODAY TO THE BLACK PANTHER

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## BEWARE OF FALSE PANTHERS AND OPPORTUNISTS-II

By Shepard McDaniel, BPNC/NY

On page six of the Fall 1991 issue of the Black Panther, we printed an article which warned of the existence of false Panthers and bogus Black Panther offices. We defined false Panthers as individuals who are out to make personal profit from the name and history of the Black Panther Party.

Recently, we received numerous complaints and allegations regarding the sexist actions of a "Black Panther" rap artist named POSR a.k.a. (MC)3 SHANK. According to several sources, while on tour in Europe and the United States (in the name of the Ad-hoc Coalition to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal), POSR engaged in un-principled and disrespectful behavior, specifically aimed at women.

Please be advised that POSR is not, nor has he ever been, a member of the Black Panther Party or the Black Panther Newspaper Committee (BPNC). He does not represent our organization on any level. The photograph of the Black Panther newspaper and logo on both his album and cassette covers (entitled "Political Prisoner Tour"), were neither sanctioned nor approved by the BPNC.

There are many who use our people's just struggle for individualized profit and gain. POSR is yet another example of the opportunists who prostitute books, movies, video and audio tapes (as well as speeches and interviews) for personal fame.

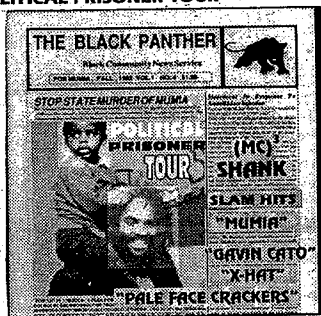
We continue to call upon you to assist our efforts in maintaining community vigilance. We must stop these individualists before they, once again, cause disruption and harm to our movement. The following guidelines were established to help our readers, supporters and comrades determine truth

from falsehood, real from false Panthers:

1) We operate by democratic centralism where everyone who is a member has a duty and obligation to speak openly and without reservation about what is right and what is wrong with everything we do. If "Panthers" in your area behave as though they are above reproach, they are not abiding by the rules of the BPNC or BPP and are not true Panthers.

2) We have adopted the Three Main Rules and the Eight Points of Attention as the guiding principles for all interpersonal relationships between us and the community and within our organization (these rules are being revised to bring them up to the 1990s). These rules are as natural to us as following the Golden Rule and the things you learn in the second and third grade. Things like speak politely, don't hit and swear at people, don't take liberties with women [people], and return everything you borrow, to name a few. If the "Panthers" in your area are arrogant, steal, lie and generally behave badly, they are not true Panthers.

FREE GERONIMO PRATT

**(MC)3 SHANK**  
POLITICAL PRISONER TOUR

3) The locations of all officially sanctioned offices and distribution centers are published in the Black Panther. If the office near you is not listed in the Black Panther, call the Central Office to report it. It may be that the office was established between printings of the paper. But prudence and history dictates that we had better be sure NOT sorry. Real Panthers will not object to you checking out their credentials with us.

4) If someone tells you they have been sent by Central Headquarters or another office, call us and we will verify it, if true. Ideally, we believe in grassroots organizing. That means we rely on local people to form local Committees and offices to do local work. We don't believe in sending someone into your community to "lead" you. We network and assist locally initiated actions and sanction local offices through a vote of the National Committee.

5) If someone is soliciting donations, space, etc., in the name of the Panthers or Black Panther Party, call us. We do not solicit donations on street corners or door to door. When there is a need for donations, we announce it in the Black Panther and provide addresses for receipt of donations.

6) If you are in doubt, call us.

**Help us combat False Panthers. Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win.**

**MILITARY SPIED ON KING, OTHER BLACKS, PAPER SAYS**

(AP- March 20, 1993) The Army began spying on "Black Americans" more than 75 years ago in a campaign that was centered on southern churches and covered three generations of the family of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. the *Commercial Appeal* reported.

The spying, sometimes involving Green Berets, began with King's maternal grandfather who was pastor of a Baptist church in Atlanta. It continued to include King's father and then King himself.

The newspaper did not indicate when or if the spying has stopped but it also involved H. Rap Brown (now Jamil Al-Amin) and Stokely Carmichael (now Kwame Toure).

The *Commercial Appeal* said its findings were the result of a sixteen month investigation that included a review of classified documents and meeting notes from government and private archives, as well as more than 200 interviews with Army intelligence agents living in this country and Mexico.

**FALLEN COMRADE**

On Sunday, December 27, 1992 the Black Panther Newspaper Committee and the Black community in general lost one of its own, Dwight Michael Brady, affectionately known as DE.

Dwight, at age 26, was in the midst of accomplishing a long time dream of owning and operating his business under the name of Tisa Tribe Incorporated. His dream was to buy real estate for the members in order to provide a safe community, jobs and organize black businesses. He imagined an organization that dealt with the economical, political and cultural deprivations of the Afrikan community.

He completed his book *Deep into the Black Mind* in October 1992, which consists of his first 10 poems that relate to the plight of Black people and began a series of poetry readings. Working mainly with A. D. A. M. (Afrikan Descendants Awareness Movement) he also read at Nia Force on December 12, 1992 and had his first "One Man" poetry reading/book signing at Mart 125 on 125th Street in Harlem where his book sold easily.

Dwight was well known and outgoing and would do anything for anyone if he felt he could help. He tutored, tried his hand at managing a rap group and did artwork for the Black Panther Black Community News Service.

To paraphrase the words of Mao Tse Tung, some deaths are lighter than a feather and others are weightier than Mt. Tai. The passing of Brother Dwight is weightier than Mt. Tai. Dwight we miss you...

The Black Panther Newspaper Committee



The spying was conducted because of the Army's belief that "black americans" were ripe for subversion by German agents during World War I and later communists and anti-war groups.

While previous surveillance has been documented, most has involved the work of the FBI and local police agencies rather than the military.

"The army was over a barrel", Maj. Gen. William Yarborough, the Army's top spy in the mid-60s, said in an interview from his Southern Pines, NC home. "Blacks were using the uncertainty of the Vietnam period and taking advantage of it. You couldn't expect people (us) to be rational and look at this in a cool way. We were trying to fight a war at the same time where the home base was being eroded."

According to the newspaper, the Army used wiretaps and information from the Klu Klux Klan to keep track of the civil rights movements leaders. U2 spy planes also were used to gather information on civil rights demonstration throughout the 1960s. When King was shot to death in Memphis on April 4, 1968 eight undercover Green Berets soldiers were there to keep an eye on him.

**REVOLUTION IN PERU**

**Findings of the April Delegation of the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzman**

[Editor's note: Abimael Guzman, a.k.a. Chairman Gonzalo, is the leader of the Communist Party of Peru, also referred to as Sendero Luminoso or the Shining Path. Guzman was captured September 12, 1992 by the Fujimori regime in Lima, Peru.]

We came to Peru to investigate the conditions of the imprisonment of Dr. Abimael Guzman and other political prisoners, (including the imprisoned lawyers of the political prisoners), to represent and communicate the protest of millions around the world about repeated reports of death-penalty threats, the denial of the most basic human rights, and summary military trials with hooded judges and no defense. While in Lima we received written statements of support from 63 members of the Napal parliament, prominent attorneys and public figures from Barcelona, Britain, Australia and the United States, including professors, clergy and political activists.

In Lima we personally met with Dr. Jorge Avandano, President of the Lima Bar Association; Teodomiro Chavez, head of the Public Ministry of the National Office of Human Rights, Francisco Oberon, Association for Human Rights; and with family and representatives of those imprisoned. We also talked with people of the Shanty towns. The Ministry of Justice and the President of the Supreme Court both refused to meet with us. Nor were we able to visit Dr. Guzman or other prisoners, as was our highest goal. However, based on our discussions and observations, we were able to conclude the following:

1. Abimael Guzman was transferred on April 3, 1993, to an underground cell at the Callao Naval Base in Lima. The media broadcast that he "would never be seen again." Guzman has had no visits from anyone -- attorneys, family or doctors since early October 1992. Everyone we spoke to at any length recognized that the trial and treatment of Abimael Guzman has been a stark violation of all legal and basic human rights.

2. Other political prisoners including attorneys Crespo, Dr. Jorge Cartagena and Dr. Marta Huatay, all given life sentences, are also being denied the most fundamental rights, including visits and medical care. Dr. Huatay, according to reports, "lost her mental capacity," due to severe torture and beatings. The physician for Dr. Cartagena has now been arrested and is in prison. Recently, another lawyer, Alberto Loaytz, was sentenced and imprisoned.

3. The International Red Cross (IRC) appear to be the only people allowed into the prisons. These visits are extremely limited and the IRC issues no reports, except the most minimal, to prisoners' family members.

4. We were told by individuals and organizations that the court and prison system would change for the worse. We were told that even to express strong concern for the human rights of political prisoners in Peru could be very dangerous. Not only have attorneys for the political prisoners been imprisoned for life, but doctors, friends and attorneys for those imprisoned attorneys have been arrested, detained and harassed.

5. The hooded military summary tribunals of civilians, as well as others, is the most blatant violation of all legal norms, United Nations treaties, the San Jose pact and more. The right to counsel is non-existent.

While we were in Lima the Peruvian government reported that all 115 of these "trials," held since the first one with Dr. Guzman, resulted in summary convictions. Eighty percent of those accused have been convicted for treason and sentenced to life. The government also announced that many of the prisons are being rebuilt as isolated maximum security cells for political prisoners.

On April 5, 1993, the one year anniversary of the coup, President Fujimori was shown on TV opening a new wing of the women's prison in Chorillos, near Lima. The new wing has a built-in "court" where the judges sit behind a one way window and speak through a distorted loudspeaker. Thus, the inquisition has been institutionalized!

We surmise there can be no doubt that the present "justice" system in

Peru resembles that of a fascist police state in violation of all legal and human rights, international treaties and norms. Moreover, the conditions of the prisons are worsening.

All this is concentrated in the case of Abimael Guzman. Furthermore, as several people in Peru pointed out, and we agree, the treatment of Guzman, Crespo, Cartagena, Huatay and others is a most dangerous precedent for political prisoners everywhere.

If reports are correct in stating that the United States government played a major role in establishing this inquisition, we may anticipate more inquisitions in the "New World Order."

There are many people in Peru who expressed outrage at the situation. Many are risking their own freedom and very lives to defend the lives of political prisoners. These people need the support of all people of conscience to protest, with all their strength, the death penalty and the grievous violations of the human rights of all political prisoners in Peru.

We are pleased to note, on May 15, 1993, the out-going Barcelona President, Eugeni Gay Montalvo, is expected to propose that a delegation of Bar presidents from the European Federation of Attorney's Bars, come to Peru to investigate the situation in defense of the rights of political prisoners.

In conclusion, we express our thanks to all who helped the delegation's work and we take pride in announcing from Lima, Peru that May 14th and 15th are the International Days to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzman.

Lima,

Peru April 8, 1993

Signed:

Yuri Kochiyama, New York  
(Imprisoned as a child in U.S. concentration camps, long-time activist for human rights and political prisoners)

Pilar Noriega, Mexico City  
(Human rights attorney)

Francesc Arnau, Barcelona  
(Attorney of the Catalan-Spain Bar)

Phil Farnham, New York  
(International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzman)

Michael Harrington, Liverpool  
(London IEC and translator)

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Telex (33) (1) 49 82.60.96

**STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE IN SUPPORT OF THE REVOLUTION IN PERU**

May 17, 1980-1993

**PRINCIPLES OF UNITY**

The People's War raging in Peru is extremely important for oppressed people the world over. This revolution, led by the Communist Party of Peru, is bringing into being a radically new society. The dispossessed of Peru are rising up bold and defiant to seize political power and break the chains of imperialist domination. In the fiery furnace of People's War, every aspect of the old social order is being challenged, from the exploitation and the oppression of workers and peasants, to racism and the oppression of women. We the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru (CSRPP) are inspired by this revolution and recognize our responsibility to build political support for it.

We will build CSRPP chapters across the country that will contribute politically and financially to building a national organization that develops literature and other written materials, prepares spokespeople, and draws up plans with a national perspective to accomplish the following objectives.

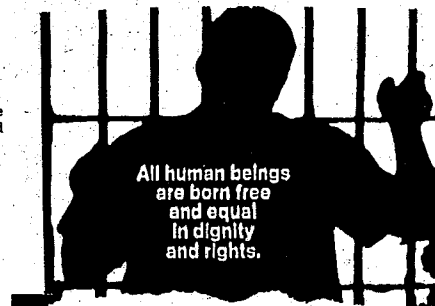
1. Develop political support for and popularize the People's War in Peru, led by the Communist Party of Peru.

2. Distribute and popularize the writings of the Communist Party of Peru and other materials that help people understand what this revolution is all about; and oppose and expose the lies and slanders about the revolution.

3. Expose and organize broad opposition to the repression and terror carried out against the revolution and the Peruvian people.

4. Expose and organize massive opposition to foreign intervention in Peru, mainly and especially of the United States while opposing U.S. aggression and intervention anywhere in Latin America.

C.S.P.P  
3008 Broadway #159  
Queens, NY 11106



there are more than 100 people locked up in U. prisons because of their political actions or belie



# BLACK UNITY

by Shepard McDaniel

In traditional times, if you walked up to an Afrikan and asked him who he was his reply would be, "one of the multitude." Meaning that he saw himself as not being outside of the whole, but as a part of the whole. Each and every member of the community was dependent upon each other to insure the welfare and survival of the community as a whole. Thus the personal interests of each person was related and looked after by everyone in the community by mutual respect and cooperation. The key word found in community is the last five letters that spell U-N-I-T-Y. Unity can be achieved only when all parties involved can come together under the realization that if their conditions are the same, then their interests must also be the same.

Even though they may be separated sometimes by thousands of miles, the conditions of the Black communities in the world today are the same. The ghettos of Kingston, Jamaica and San Juan, Puerto Rico are no different from the ghettos in Soweto, South Africa. The Black children who die every day in Harlem, U.S.A. are the same Black children who die in Haiti and Zimbabwe. In the final analysis the fact is that no matter where our communities may be located, we are Black and we are oppressed by the same enemy. Thus, since our conditions are basically the same, our interests should also be the same. We all want freedom, justice, equality and the power to determine our own destiny as a people. Something which only come about through the selfless and sincere unity between all of our people.

The primary threat to Black unity on a world-wide scale is the western conception and practice of individualism. On a larger level individualism conceals itself under the guise of nationalism and/or "the one true religion." The result being fragmentation and dis-unity between our people as a whole. Black Muslim against Black Christian, Uganda against Tanzania, Trinadadians against Jamaican and the so-called African-American against them all.

On the smaller and more personal level we see individualism causing the traditional idea of "I am We" to change to "I For Me." With the oppressor controlled media promoting such phrases as *To Each His Own*, *Do Your Own Thing* and *Look Out for #1* pride is replaced by ego and self-respect by self-interest. The overall result being the denial of our natural humanity and love for life

in order that we may adopt the European's kill or be killed, dog eat dog, John Wayne mentality.

Once we begin to understand these two forms of individualism it becomes relatively easy to recognize it's Black faced offspring. The Black dictator who dresses and talks about Blackness, but in fact keeps his own people under the same oppressive capitalist conditions that they lived under while under the direct rule of the white european. All to insure his own personal luxury as well as a guaranteed place in the history books. Next we have the Black Politician who serves the oppressor by purposely keeping the people submissive, passive and non-violent, reduced to nothing more than an apologizing parrot, who will continuously turn a deaf ear to the cries and suffering of his own people. They are handkerchief headed "Uncle Toms" who seek the token prestige that can only be obtained by the official endorsement of the white oppressor. The third type of individualist is the Black Capitalist, who seeks to buy his way into the mainstream of a society that does not, never did, and never will accept him on equal terms. Capitalism dictates that whether he be a businessman or a drug dealer, that his main concern in life must be to make as much money as he can, regardless of how many of his people he has to use and step on to do so.

Finally, we have the most treacherous individualist of them all, the police informer or what is more commonly known as the agent provocateur. A Black traitor who will, for a small fee, disrupt, setup and at times, even murder, his own sisters or brothers at the command of the FBI/CIA, slave master.

We must come to realize that those individualists who have more regard for their won egos or self-interest than they have for the survival and future of our children, and those who abandon community altogether in favor of petty interests, are in direct opposition to the real interests of our people as a whole. In attempting this form of escapism they are only fleeing the objective conditions of their real life, and will eventually reach the ultimate contradiction of facing their twin sister or brother over the barrel of a gun. Either that or he will find himself in no mans land, cast out by his people and suspected by his family and most trusted companions.

As far as the liberation of our people is concerned, no line of demarcation has been officially drawn as of today. But, the egotistical black individualist should take warning to the fact that that line could very

well be drawn tomorrow. The conditions of our people happen to be just that bad. The choice is simple. Repudiate the oppressor and come back to the struggle for our liberation, or face the prospect of a merciless, swift and most timely execution for treason. A fair and just punishment for being "too wrong, for too long."

*All Power to the People!!!*

## CLOAKED

Burying crosses  
sacred words  
perverted into foreign tongues  
enslavement and shipping of Africans  
raping of the nuns  
Native american genocide  
ancestor irreverence  
Sexist relations  
and drunks  
discrimination  
prophets toting guns  
homicide  
by virtue of political community  
responsibilities shunned  
lasciviousness  
holocausters  
men only in the pulpit  
respectors of persons  
destroyers of nature  
consumers of unclean flesh  
penciled stealers  
licensed drug dealers  
fashion show-called Sunday best  
**GAMBLERS**  
**INCESTORS**  
**ADULTERERS**  
gods fashioned of material things  
the sons and daughters of the Creatist  
laying with the sons and daughters of men  
Decidedly these actions are appalling  
to the multitude of heavenly host  
none the less they are committed  
in the name of  
Mother Mary  
The Farther  
The Son  
and Holy Ghost.

## FORMER BLACK PANTHERS SPEAK IN ORLANDO

by Breeze and Shepard

Former Black Panther Party members Breeze Barrow and Shepard McDaniel of New Jersey and New York respectively spoke to audiences at Rollins College and Murchison, Terrace Housing Complex, February 25th and 27th along with other activities as part of Central Florida's Black History Month Celebration.



Members of the Black Panther Newspaper Committee.  
Left, Breeze Barrow/N.J. Right, Shepard McDaniel/N.Y.

The Black Student Union of Rollins College at Winter Park Florida under the direction of Sister Robiaun Rogers (President of the B.S.U.) sponsored the trip.

The presentation at Rollins College began with Breeze Barrow speaking on the history of the Black Panther Party from its origin in 1966 through its split in 1971 to

its ceasing to exist as a national organization in 1980. Special focus was put on the governments counter-intelligence-program (COINTELPRO), The Black Liberation Army, Panther exiles and political prisoners as well as the many community programs of the Black Panther Party.

This historical analysis had been enhanced two days earlier by a film festival at Rollins College which featured: Framing the Panthers, "Assata Shakur in Cuba" and "Black Panther, Black Power" which had been mailed earlier in the month along with written documentation to provide the students with some requested information on the BPP and Black Panther Newspaper Committee.

Breeze closed his presentation by describing the events at the East and West Coast 20th Anniversary of the founding of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense which was instrumental in leading to the return of the Black Panther newspaper and the present organizing of BPNC collectives throughout the country.

The second part of the program with a presentation by Shepard McDaniel of BPNC/NY dealt with efforts to re-organize today. Shepard focused on the production, distribution and goals of the Black Panther newspaper since its return in 1991. Current BPNC community programs were discussed such as our Prison Programs in New Jersey and The Afrikan Burial Ground Project in New York.

The overall efforts to work with youth in our communities was discussed as well as the current networking with progressive forces on the national and international level.

Shepard's presentation concluded with a concrete analysis and expose on the issue of current captured Black Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War in the United States.

The question and answer period following the presentations lasted well over an hour with students expressing a strong desire to work with the newspaper.

Additional highlights to the trip included, a political education session held at Brother Babatundes' house, who served as host to Shepard and Breeze. A community Forum was conducted at the Murchison Terrace housing project in Orlando, FL. which included presentations by Breeze and Shepard along with a video showing.

[editors note: Organizations, colleges, groups or individuals who would like someone from our Speaker's Bureau to speak in your area contact your local BPNC chapter]

## 25th Anniversary of Founding of Black Nation Celebrated

On March 29-31, 1968 over 500 nationalist leaders met in Detroit, Michigan at a Black Government Conference which culminated with the issuance of a Black or New Afrikan Declaration of Independence and the election of a Provisional Government for the subjugated New Afrikan Nation-State and named this nation the Republic of New Afrika. On March 25-28, 1993 in Jackson, Mississippi, 25 years later, Black people from all across the United States and parts of the diaspora convened to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Provisional Government, Republic of New Afrika (PG-RNA) and to "review and evaluate the strategies and tactics for independence and power now guiding this crucial work and to determine ways in which each of us, no matter where one now lives, may contribute positively to our victory".

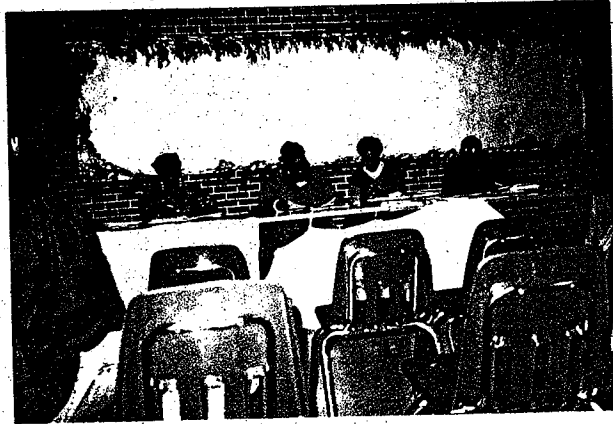
The March 1968 Black Government Conference was called by the Malcolm X Society under its leaders Milton Henry, Queen Mother Moore, Thomas Lockett, Charles Enoch, Henry King, Octavia Obadele, Raymond Willis and Christopher King and was held at the Reverend Albert Cleage's church, the Shrine of the Black Madonna. It undertook to speak for all those in the New Afrikan Nation who would choose to live in an independent Black Nation if given a free and informed choice, as international law requires, and identified the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina as the land base of the Republic of New Africa. This founding conference elected then exiled Robert Williams as its first President and Milton Henry and Betty Shabazz as its First and Second Vice-Presidents and charged them with the task of Freeing the Land. The first task of this new and provisional government was to immediately launch a national petition drive for reparations - payment for slavery and subsequent racial discrimination. Under the subsequent leadership of President Imari Obadele and Vice President Dara Abubakari and Ministers

Rahim Ajaniku and Rashid Ali the fledgling government moved its center of work from the north to New Orleans and Mississippi.

This Nation Day '93 (the name given to these annual celebrations of the Black Nation) was jointly sponsored by the PG-RNA and the New Afrikan Peoples Organization (NAPO). The theme of the 25th Anniversary celebration - which in reality was a reaffirmation of its work and as well as an attempt to define its direction at this critical juncture in history - was "The Decade of Self-Determination: Winning New Afrikan Independence and State Power". This was a working celebration. Held at Jackson State University and Tougaloo College, the workshops covered such critical issues as Community Self-Defense, Grassroots Organizing, New Afrikan Youth: Tomorrow's Revolution, Reparations, Afrikan-Centered Education, Land Acquisition and Development and New Afrikan Prisoners and Prisoners of War. There was also sessions held on Strategies for Liberation and Censorship and Hip-Hop.

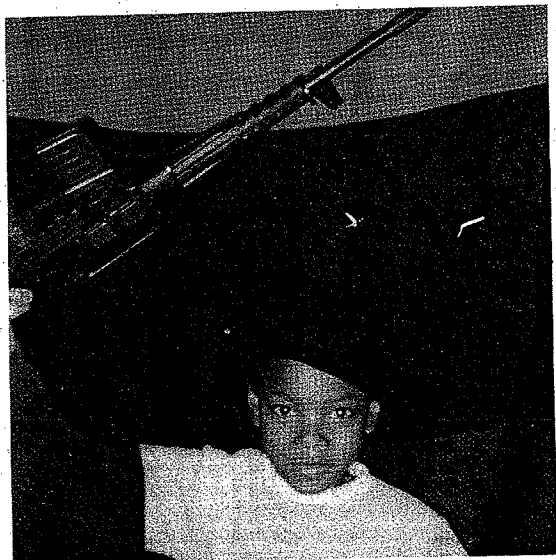
According to former Minister of Justice and Washington DC based attorney Nkechi Tiafa, the most inspiring aspect of this 25th Anniversary celebration was that "so many people from so many different areas - I know that's not substantive, but - there was so many young people present and that was such a moving experience." Sekou Owusu, of Brooklyn, New York and the present Minister of Interior for the PG-RNA stated that, "Seeing the people together, inside and outside of the workshops, and knowing that they still wanted to carry out the goals of the New Afrikan Independence Movement was the high point of this Nation Day celebration for me." The youth were indeed out in numbers, from Grambling, Louisiana to Hunter College in New York City, the youth came.

And they came, not just to observe, but to have an input into what was going on. Kwame Afoh,



President of the PG-RNA stated that, "The enthusiasm, knowledge, inspiration and apparent commitment from the youth to the New-Afrikan Independence Movement during the full day of workshops that the youth

were in charge of on Friday made me feel that I could feel very good about the future of our movement.



CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

### COMMITTEE TO FREE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

I am a co-director of a recently formed group (located at Penn State University) called The Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal. We formed this committee in light of the fact that the Penn State campus is scarcely 30 miles from the Huntington State Prison where Abu-Jamal continues to be incarcerated. We have made Mumia's a household name for 38,000 students that attend Penn State.

The Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal considers Abu-Jamal to be a death row political prisoner persecuted for his revolutionary beliefs and the color of his skin. We strongly oppose the death penalty as a tool of the government against the poor and oppressed. In these days of "Malice Greens" and "Rodney Kings," we believe it is crucial not

to forget those in the belly of the beast, the gargantuan U.S. prison system.

Your newspaper promises to be a great resource for information about this nation's political prisoners and prisoners of war, and the continuing struggle for justice and liberation from the talons of this racist/capitalist state. Best of Luck.

F. Anderson  
State College, Pa

### The History of the X and Kente Cloth.

Why are our people wearing the X and Kente cloth today. Do the wearers know why they are wearing these?. Is it a fad and the thing to do? Do they know the origins for the X and Kente cloth. The X originated from the Nation of Islam. It represents x-smoker, x-slave, x-drug addict and

the elimination of worldly harmful habits. The X also represents the discarding of the of the whiteman's surnames. The Kente cloth is a multi-colored cloth that originated from Ghana. It is worn for special occasions. The cloth was always draped over the body and placed on walls in the home. Before anyone should sell, buy or wear clothing, pins, hats etc., with these symbols one should learn of their origins. By doing this one will appreciate the articles, become more intelligent, and in some cases appreciate their ancestry.

K.V. Williamson

EDITORS NOTE: Letters to the Editor does not necessarily reflect the views of the paper. It is our readers Forum to express their opinions.

**The BLACK CAT COLLECTIVE**

The communication is to introduce you to an effort which is in its embryonic stage and to solicit your support in insuring a healthy birth and fruitful life. The Black Cat Collective (B.C.C.) grows from the need to address the issue of sisters and brothers who are locked down in amerikkka, particularly here in New Jersey. Many of these arrests resulted from Civil/ Human Rights and Black Power Movements (from the 60s to the 90s) which increased the number of Black political prisoners (making the prison struggle a major part of the Black Liberation struggle).

We are presently in contact with sisters and brothers in all of the institutions of this state. Their needs are many, and resources are few. The Black Cat Collective is seeking people of conscious to participate in this endeavor. We are creating a cadre that will be responsible for maintaining contact with prisoners in general, and political prisoners in particular, imprisoned here in New Jersey. Envisioned is a disciplined type of communication based on principles designed to promote consciousness among all who are involved.

There will be a session to plan future directions soon. Anyone interested can respond by contacting:

The Black Cat Collective  
P.O. Box 1191  
Newark, NJ 07101-1191  
Attention: M.A. Smith

**SPECIAL TO BCNS**

**LOCKED UP FOR MORE THAN TWO DECADES, FORMER PANTHER AGAIN DENIED PAROLE.**

Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (previously know as "David Rice") appeared before the Nebraska Board of Parole on March 5, 1992 for an "Offender Board Review". In July 1992, he was notified that the Board of Parole had met in executive session and decided to take no action other than to defer his case to a March 1993 "Offender Board Review." The notification cited as the reason for the inaction: "Your continued correctional treatment, medical care, or vocational training, or other training in the facility will substantially enhance your capacity to lead a law abiding life when released at a later date." The above "reason" was actually one of several listed on what is essentially a form letter sent by Nebraska's Board of Parole to prisoners who have appeared before it. A reason(s) is simply checked off on the form as applicable in a given case.

Mondo has been in prison since April of 1971, following trial and conviction of a first-degree murder charge in connection with the bombing death of a member of the Omaha Police Department. He has been in jail on this charge since August of 1970. At the time of his arrest, Mondo was

Deputy Minister of Information of the Omaha Chapter of the National Committee to Combat Fascism, the organizing arm of the Black Panther Party.

Ed Poindexter, who was tried with Mondo, was Deputy Chairman of the chapter. He has been doing time in Minnesota since transferring from the Nebraska institution about twelve years ago.

From at least as early as the mid-seventies, the Nebraska Board of Parole has a policy requiring that persons doing life sentences on first-degree murder convictions do at least 15 years before they would be considered for recommendation to the Board of Pardons for commutation of sentence. However, within days after Mondo appeared before the Board of Parole in March of 1987, this policy was altered. It now requires persons doing life sentences for first-degree murder, in connection with the killing of law enforcement personnel, do at least 20 years before any such consideration.

Mondo has consistently maintained that he was falsely tried and convicted and that his trial and conviction were politically motivated and designed to silence a dissident voice and to destroy the Omaha chapter of N.C.C.F. by removing its leadership. Several groups and individuals have either supported the contention that he is a political prisoner and/or called upon the courts to at least grant him a new trial. His

experience with the Nebraska Board of Parole suggests that those forces that may well have worked together to make Mondo a political prisoner have been joined by another force--the Board of Parole-- to keep him a political prisoner. Further information: HARAMBEE Afrikan Cultural Organization. P.O. Box 2500., Lincoln, Nebraska 68502-0500.



**CHRONOLOGY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY in New Jersey 1967-1991**

1967...Forming of the first branch office of the Black Panther Party in Jersey City.

Opening of first branch office, of the BPP in Newark.

1968...Aug. "Fire-Bombing" of Newark branch office.

Nov/Dec. Jersey City Panthers, Charles "Count" Hicks, Isaiah "Duberry" Rowley, and Victor Perez arrested and charged with machine gunning of the Greenville Precinct.

1969...BPP Branch office opens in Jersey City, Pacific Ave.

BPP Branch established in Paterson.

BPP Branch established in Plainfield.

BPP Branch established in Orange.

1970...Jan. Pacific St. office bombed and fired upon in J.C.

Party functions achieved thru Newark's Third World Organization based on campus of Rutgers University Newark.

Summer. BPP branch office opens on Springfield Ave. NWK.

BPP Branch established in Trenton

BPP Branch established in Somerville.

BPP Branch established in Asbury Park.

Opening of office on Summit Ave, J.C. under the National Committee to Combat Fascism (N.C.C.F.F)

1971...Solidifying of forces in New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and others to publish Black Community News Service Newspaper entitled "Right-On".

1972...Newark based office of the National Committee to Defend Political Prisoners (N.C.D.P.P.) continues functions of BPP.

1973...Building, housing N.C.D.P.P., seized and demolished in plan by city of Newark and Bell Telephone Co.

1976-1980...BCNS efforts continue based in apt. in East Orange.

1981-1985...BCNS continues under banner of the Black Liberation Organization (B.L.O) based in Jersey City and New York.

1986... 20th Anniversary of founding of BPP held in Jersey City, New York and Oakland, California.

1990...BCNS continues to function thru efforts of Newark and Jersey City.

BCNS and BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER COMMITTEE merge to develop a national effort.

1991 Feb. Black Panther Newspaper re-issues the Black Panther, Black Community News Service newspaper.

Oct. The Black Community News Service/Black Panther Newspaper Committee, sponsor the 25th Anniversary of the founding of the Black Panther Party.

1992... Via, Forums. Video presentations, Speakouts,

position papers, and principle solidarity with other forces we continue to address the issues which affect our communities. The Demand is still for Land, Bread, Housing, True Education, Clothing, Justice and Peace.

**FOR THE PEOPLE**

The latter months of 1992 proved to be progressive for BCNSNJ. Two programs were initiated and gained support from local organizations including the American Friends Service Committee, Frontline Artists, Love and Rage Network, and the P.E.A.C.E. Movement among others.

The first program was a part of the Fall '92 offensive against misinformation in our community. Entitled, State of The Black Come-Unity; A movement Update. The program featured a film and speakers from various community based organizations. It focused on the present status of local contributions to the movement for the National Liberation of oppressed people in general and of Black people in particular.

The second program was a presentation and discussion on the Control/Isolation Units in the prisons around this country. The focus dealt with the facts and implications involved. The guest speaker was Glen Good, representing the Committee to End the Marion Lockdown (CEML). CEML is a Chicago, Illinois based organization that has been in the forefront of the struggle to end these units that are used primarily to control activists who are locked down throughout the many gulags and camps in our midst.

Both programs were scheduled at the Seton Hall Law School in Newark, New Jersey.

BCNSNJ will be providing future activities for the people, designed to educate, agitate and inform. It is our intention to instill a level of consciousness within our people, that will be the motivating factor in the movement for liberation.

"EDUCATE TO LIBERATE"

ABDUL/BCNSNJ/Black Community News Service, New Jersey...A Luta Continua

# THE CHALLENGE OF X A WORKING TITLE

by Kai Lumumba Barrow

At the age of ten, I read the Autobiography of Malcolm X -- for the first time. It blew my mind. Thus began my initiation in the struggle. I read and re-read everything I could get my hands on. Revolutionary hands on about Malcolm. I listened to recordings of his speeches with the same fervor I had applied to learning Aretha Franklin lyrics. I was genuinely hooked. Over the years I have started a sentence or two with "Malcolm said ..." and even now can quote him on a good day. I love Malcolm. It troubles me to find with the hoopla and the hype of Spike Lee's half-ass interpretation of Malcolm X's life, X, I am growing weary hearing references to the man whose analysis of our condition in amerikkka gave me my life purpose. But isn't this to be expected? Isn't this the way of the commodity? As fads come and go, Malcolm X is being milked for all he is worth. If it pleases capitalist amerikkka, even Malcolm X becomes a commodity. And of course, in time, this too shall pass.

The sad and unfortunate thing here is that Malcolm is not a commodity. He was/is not a fad. He was a man with an ideology that, though complex, was filled with substance. He was a man whose ideology was powerful in the purest sense of a truth-seeker and explorer. Malcolm X was an analytical man, a thinker who changed to some degree his route to liberation, but was consistent and clear about the fact that there must be liberation.

Therefore, it is problematic when someone with a proven track record of vasculating liberal white approval/disapproval; someone who courts celebrity status and "bad boy" attention; someone who consistently regurgitates trivial, bourgeois, sexist, and fallacious -- in short shitty -- films takes on the responsibility of pop-documenting the life of the father of our nation? X, as a process, from its conception to the way it was marketed, identifies Malcolm X as a hero to be sold, glamorized, and watered down for mass consumption, an image that directly contradicts the substance and purpose of the man and the movement he represented. This troubles me. This troubles many of us.

In the spirit of Malcolm, I have been sitting for the last few days pondering why I am bothered by the X mess. In the spirit of Malcolm, I have done self-inventory and question if perhaps Spike Lee and his individualized vision, is not the real problem; if perhaps there are some hidden, ugly machinations that I don't want to face.

Perhaps I am envious that Spike has the hype and the dollars to do a feature film on Malcolm X; and I am worried that Malcolm will no longer belong to me and my elitist clique of revolutionaries those of us who lay a foundation for people like Spike Lee with our "Power to the People"/"Free the Land" slogans and our free political prisoner/POWs agenda's; catchy phrases and radical issues the essence of which tend to be marginalized -- in part due to our lack of thoroughness. Perhaps I am somehow worried that now that Spike has opened this can of worms with a three and a half hour film about our mentor, we will be challenged to deliver some cogent plans to our people, especially our youth, and find ourselves failing miserably.

And, at the same time, along with the doubts and criticisms of our movement, there too is the fear that with the X hats, t-shirts, potato chips, underwear, and the likes of Diana Ross, and Madonna attending the film's preview, sooner or later, most likely sooner, the film, the man, and even the "X," will become passe to this postmodern generation. There too is the concern that our cadres of future warriors will remain small; and we will emerge into the 21st-century still unable to deal with the charges Malcolm laid out to us some twenty-five years ago.

## THE QUEENS TWO CASE

### BACKGROUND

Since 1968 Bashir Hameed/James York and Abdul Majid/Anthony LaBorde were members of the Black Panther Party and active in grassroots community organizing.

The Black Panther Party was a target of a federal government's plan to disrupt, discredit and destroy the Black Liberation Movement. As a direct result of prior BPP membership and activism, Bashir and Abdul were hunted, captured, framed and convicted for the 1981 attempted murder and murder of two police officers in St. Albans, Queens.

First Trial: Hameed and Majid were convicted of attempted murder, jury unable to reach verdict on murder charge.

Second Trial: Jury was deadlocked 8-4 for acquittal. Judge declared a mistrial.

Third Trial: Hameed and Majid were convicted of second degree murder and given maximum sentences of 33 1/3 years to life.

UPDATE: In the Spring of 1992, the Appellate Division ordered an evidentiary hearing in the case of the Queens 2. This hearing is to determine whether the prosecution used its votes against black prospective jurors for racial reasons.

After several postponements, by the prosecutor's office, on October

13, 1992, the hearing finally proceeded. The following are quotes from assistant D.A. Gregory Lasak's testimony on why Black's were excluded from the jury in the 1986 trial of the Queens 2. "They all went to church and very religious people tend to be very forgiving and loving." "These cop-killing revolutionaries had gotten away in two previous trials and this was probably our last chance to get them. We couldn't take the chance of those religious people serving as jurors in this trial."

STOP THE FRAME-UP OF ABDUL MAJID AND BASHIR HAMEED. WE MUST PACK THE COURTROOM TO SHOW THE STATE THAT THESE REVOLUTIONARIES ARE NOT ALONE IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.

### FURTHER INFORMATION:

QUEENS TWO COMMUNITY SUPPORT COALITION  
P.O. BOX 1354  
BROOKLYN, NEW YORK 11247

We will continue to fight this battle in the courts while simultaneously building movement in the streets. We have not been defeated and

We Shall Conquer Without A Doubt!

With Black folks' elation over Clinton's stroll to the Big House and the continuing shock of police terror (the treatment and murder of Black police by their counterparts in NYC and the Detroit pigs' attempts to upstage the L.A. pigs'), significance of Malcolm's positions on international and land issues, his fierce criticism of amerikkka, his struggle to bring about a human rights as opposed to rights agenda and the heir-issues of political prisoners/POWs, environmental racism, armed struggle and international solidarity run the risk of disappearing if we let Spike's joint to tell our whole story. Will this legacy of resistance be carried off those who wear the t-shirts while dealing down or the brothers who wear the X's their heads while busting sisters in the nose, calling us bitch?

Spike has done with X what culture vultures from outside of our communities continually done with our expressions of identity and pride: taken something potentially powerful and co-opted its substance for the sake of individual wealth and fame. No surprise that a 35 million dollar product of Warner Brothers is the vehicle which brings us this sanitized hero (clearly contradicting Malcolm's position on self-determination). It will be a surprise if the sure to be mega-bucks made off the Black consumerist market is channeled into liberatory efforts. (Word to the wise: don't go on it.) But, alas the struggle continues with systems, not individuals, regardless I much their petty bourgeois politics make you wanna throw down.

Perhaps if anything good can come from this commodification we, as a movement might develop ways to utilize the hype and the hoopla to organize, agitate and educate our people.

Perhaps We can build coalitions to produce films about our struggle -- past, present and future -- taking those films not to theater houses charging \$7.50 a head; not to so-called mainstream media for its marketing schemes and critical approval, but to people: in the churches and prisons and schools and union meetings and crack houses and empty lots.

Perhaps we can produce collective books, newspapers and magazines that analyze and inform about our conditions, while committing ourselves to teaching our people how to read.

Perhaps we can develop more independent programs and projects that speak to the tangible needs of our people: programs that bypass our individual ideologies and focus on everyday short and long-term solutions. Then, and only then, will colonialist and neo-colonialist forces pose zero threat to the liberatory potency we have built.

So, yet again, a key opportunity to mobilize towards liberation has presented itself and from this perspective Spike Lee and his film may serve as a catalyst. However, responsibility for achieving our goals does not rest with the likes of Spike, or Eddie any of the boys that by now we've grown way too tired of, the responsibility continues to rest with us.

Throughout the years we have been talking to ourselves. We have consistently had programs, conferences, and produced various documentation about Malcolm X as a liberatory struggle. However, we find that oftentimes such events are attended only by those already familiar with Malcolm and his legacy. In this age post-modern consumerism we must continue the legacy of Malcolm and all of the other freedom fighters who have died or are incarcerated for our liberation. We must continue to exist and resist; developing new strategies or tightening up the old. By any means necessary.

## ANARCHIST BOOKSTORE OPENED

RIGHT TO EXISTENCE (anarchist bookstore) has been opened by the Paterson Anarchist Collective in Paterson N.J., but not without incident. Two days after the lease was signed 12-15 pigs raided the store in search of two stolen police motor cycle helmets. The pigs recognized two local anarchists hanging outside (they were actually waiting for Public Service Electric & Gas utilities to come and turn on the electricity) and decided it must have been them who took the helmets. Although the store was not yet open to the public and they had no search warrant, they proceeded to rummage through everything, leaving no stone unturned they even checked the ceiling tiles. The pigs left disappointed, their 20 minute search turned up nothing. Naturally the pigs left with an onslaught of verbal threats. The most memorable being "I will do whatever I have to, to make sure this place is shut down." The pig that said this lives 2 houses down from the bookstore.

Two days after this incident eight 9mm bullets were shot through the front door, no one was inside at the time of the shootings. Detectives are treating the incidents separately, even though the only people aware we were renting the place were the pigs, the landlord and us (at the time of both incidents there were no signs identifying us as the renters.)

CONTINUED ON PAGE 27



# JUSTICE DELAYED ...

## JUSTICE FOR MUMIA ABU-JAMAL

by Leonard Weinglass

In one of the most extraordinary trials in recent history, Mumia Abu-Jamal, a leading African-American broadcast journalist in Philadelphia, aptly dubbed "the voice of the voiceless," was put on trial before Judge Albert Sabo, notorious for having put more men on death row than any other sitting judge in the United States. Before ascending to the bench, he had been undersheriff in Philadelphia for 16 years. No less distinguished was the tough and experienced prosecutor who had previously convicted a demonstrably innocent man. After he had served 12 years for a crime he didn't commit, the district attorney's office petitioned the court for his release following an investigation into the prosecution's use of perjured testimony.

The only inexperienced actor in the proceedings was Mumia's court-appointed attorney, who was thrust into the role of defense counsel after Mumia was stripped of his right to represent himself midway through jury selection. Not only had this lawyer never tried a capital case before, but he repeatedly sought to be relieved as assisting counsel to Mumia during pretrial hearings. He has since been disbarred from the practice of law.

It would have been impossible for counsel to effectively defend Mumia even if he had the skill and dedication. The court allocated just \$150 to the defense for the pretrial investigation of the case, despite the fact that the police investigators had conducted more than 125 witness interviews. By trial time, the defense had succeeded in locating just two witnesses, although aware there were many more. In a desperate last-minute move, Mumia's attorney frantically tried to contact a key eyewitness by borrowing the judge's telephone while the jury sat waiting in the courtroom. The effort failed.

While the prosecution presented experts on ballistics and pathology, the defense was unable to challenge their testimony, because no expert witnesses could be retained for the \$150 the court had allocated for each expert.

On the third day of jury selection, the court barred Mumia from further questioning of the prospective jurors. Reluctantly, and obviously unprepared, his court-appointed attorney was compelled to take over. Although 77 of the first 80 jurors had heard or read of the case, necessitating a probing inquiry into what opinions, if any, they had formed, the court became impatient with the process, falsely claiming that Mumia's questions intimidated jurors. Court observers attributed

the court's action more plausibly to the fact that Mumia's professional training in broadcast journalism was creating too favorable an impression.

Under pressure from the court to expedite the selection process, which at one point included threatening Mumia's lawyer with contempt, a jury was selected. It included a man whose best friend was a former Philadelphia police officer on disability as the result of having been shot while on duty, an

his attorney, who had prepared the case. Without Mumia's presence or assistance, his attorney could only feebly attempt to cross-examine the prosecution's witnesses.

It was undisputed that the police officer had been shot on a public street at 4 A.M. on December 9, 1981, after having stopped Mumia's brother's car. It was also undisputed that Mumia, who had arrived at the scene moments later, was also shot, presumably by the

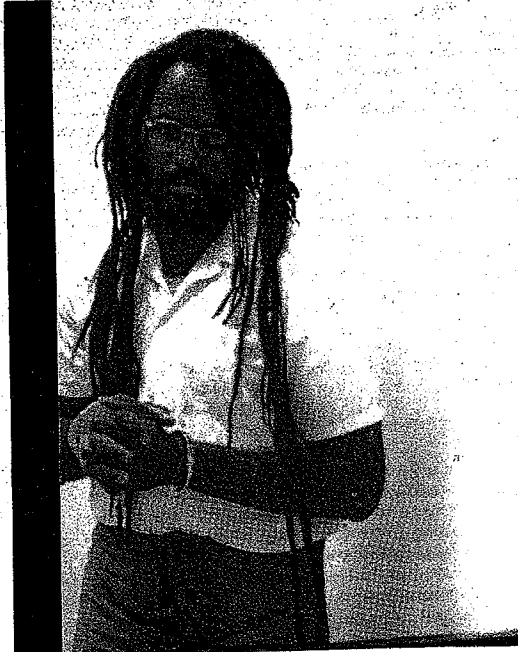
working the same area that night testified she was offered the same deal as the prosecution's witness: immunity from arrest by the police in return for her testimony against Mumia.

Of the three remaining witnesses, all male, two said they saw Mumia run to the scene where the police officer was beating Mumia's brother. Both testified that gunfire erupted shortly after Mumia arrived, but neither one saw Mumia shoot the officer. The third witness, a cab driver who pulled up behind the police car, was closest to the shooting. He told police that night that the shooter had fled the scene before the police arrived, running to where an alleyway intersects the sidewalk some 30 yards away.

The gunman, this witness said, was a large, heavy man, over 6'2" and weighing more than 225 pounds. Mumia is 6'1" and weighed a scant 170 pounds. At the trial the witness denied that the shooter had run away, insisting instead that he took just a few steps and then sat down on the curb at the precise point where the police found Mumia; slumped over and bleeding profusely from the wound. The judge kept from the jury the fact that this witness had previously been convicted of throwing a Molotov cocktail into a public school for pay and might therefore have altered his testimony to curry favor with the prosecution, or even out of fear. Another witness, a nearby resident, also reported seeing a man flee the scene in the same direction. She was the witness defense counsel couldn't produce after contacting her on the judge's telephone midway through trial. A third witness, a prostitute, told the authorities that she also observed one or two men running from the scene, but recanted her story after being threatened by police.

The prosecution's theory was that Mumia first shot the officer, wounding him slightly. According to that theory, when the officer returned fire and hit Mumia, Mumia, angered by having been shot, stood over him where he had fallen to the sidewalk and put a bullet in the face, killing him instantly.

None of the witnesses, however, saw it that way. None even saw Mumia get shot. That theory was constructed out of the simple fact that the police found both Mumia and the officer lying within several feet of each other on the sidewalk, both wounded. No attempt was made to investigate the several reports about a gunman seen running away. While Mumia's gun was found at the scene (he had a permit to carry a weapon since he had been robbed as a cabdriver), the prosecution's expert claimed he could not match the bullet recovered from the officer's body to Mumia's



Mumia Abu-Jamal

Photo: B.C.N.S.

alternate juror whose husband was a Philadelphia police officer. Counsel inexplicably failed to object or even make note of the prosecution's racist use of 11 of 15 peremptory challenges to remove African-American jurors. He even consented to the judge's summary dismissal, in Mumia's absence, of an African-American juror who had already been selected, replacing her with an older white male who refused to answer a question as to whether he could keep an open mind, saying he didn't think he "could be fair to both sides."

The prosecution presented its case in less than seven days. Mumia was not present during most of it, having been removed from the courtroom for insisting on his right to self-representation, as well as on the assistance of John Africa at counsel table. With his life on the line, he argued that he was being defended by a lawyer who was not only unqualified, but unwilling to represent him. Nothing was done to assist Mumia in following the proceedings, such as transmission into his holding cell, or the provision of a transcript. Not only was this a departure from common practice, but it was particularly damaging since it was Mumia, not

same officer, since the bullet taken from Mumia's body matched that of the officer's gun. Mumia remained in critical condition for a period of time following emergency surgery. Nonetheless, his case was rushed to trial within six months without any continuances being granted. From the time he announced that he would be defending himself, Mumia was given just three weeks to get his case ready for trial.

The prosecution's case relied mainly on the testimony of four witnesses who claimed to be at or near the scene of the shootings. The court had refused all requests to have these witnesses attempt to identify Mumia in a lineup, instead allowing him to be identified as he sat at counsel table or through photographs shown in his absence. The most damaging witness was a female prostitute who had a record of more than three-score arrests and who was facing additional charges in Massachusetts. She testified that she saw Mumia shoot the officer by running up behind him, shooting him once, and then firing again after he fell to the sidewalk. Previously, she had given a number of differing accounts, most of them contradicted by the other three witnesses.

Another prostitute who was

# IS JUSTICE DENIED!

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

gun due to the fragmented nature of the bullet.

To add weight to his somewhat shaky thesis, the prosecutor produced a security guard who had been assigned to the hospital where Mumia was taken for treatment. She testified that Mumia, an experienced journalist who had covered scores of court cases, openly confessed to everyone within earshot that he had shot the policeman, adding for emphasis, "I hope the motherfucker dies." However, the officer who took Mumia into custody and stayed with him specifically told investigators that Mumia had remained silent throughout the entire time he was with him. His testimony, however, like that of the missing eyewitnesses, was not produced at trial. The honest officer who reported these events was "on vacation" and not available when called by the defense. A defense request to continue the case a few days until his return was denied.

Not being able to produce the witness it needed to rebut the prosecution's case, the defense relied instead on the testimony of 16 character witnesses. All testified that Mumia could not possibly have committed such a crime, since he was known professionally and socially as a gentle and decent man. When one of the character witnesses, the noted author and poet Sonia Sanchez, took the stand, the prosecutor questioned her, over objections, about the irrelevant fact that she had written the foreword to Assata Shakur's (Joanne Chesimard) book. Then, with the court's blessing, he launched into a highly prejudicial and improper line of questioning about Assata's conviction for the killing of a police officer in New Jersey; he injured further, whether Sanchez politically supported three New York men who had also been convicted of killing police. Thus, the prosecutor improperly suggested to the jury that Sanchez supported convicted police murderers; and that, by implication, Mumia must be one. In so doing, the prosecutor not only committed prosecutorial misconduct that should have been reprimanded, but he set the stage for what later became an all-out attack on Mumia's politics.

The jury began deliberations at noon on the Friday of the Fourth of July weekend. By then they had been sequestered in a downtown hotel and away from their families for almost three weeks. Not surprisingly, before the day was over they reached a verdict - guilty of first degree murder. However, they were unable to do so without first requesting, following several hours of deliberation, that they be re-instructed on the law of third-degree murder and manslaughter. Evidently at least some jurors were troubled by the fact that, even if they accepted

the prosecution's theory of the case, the element of premeditation was lacking, since the officer was not fatally shot until after Mumia himself was shot, and then, presumably, as the result of an unthinking reaction. With the jury thus considering the lesser charges of manslaughter and third-degree murder, no one anticipated these same jurors would vote the death penalty.

The key to understanding why they did lies in what transpired during the part of the case which followed, referred to as the penalty phase. It is then that both sides present evidence bearing on the issue of whether a sentence of life without parole or of death should be imposed. In a clear violation of Mumia's constitutional rights, the prosecution presented evidence of Mumia's background as a member of the Black Panther Party some 12 years earlier and his political beliefs as reported in a newspaper interview when he was just 16 years old. Beyond any doubt, Mumia is on death row because of those political beliefs and associations. The transcript reflects just how the prosecution succeeded in obtaining a death sentence on the basis of Mumia's politics. It reads like a grotesque chapter out of the Inquisition.

It began when Mumia rose at counsel table to read a statement to the jury, exercising the time-honored right of allocation before sentencing which all convicted persons have. He was not sworn as a witness and did not take the stand. In his statement he claimed his innocence and eloquently accused the entire proceedings of being unfair. Angered by Mumia's stinging criticism, the judge ruled that Mumia had become a witness and should be cross-examined. The prosecutor was ready.

First, Mumia was asked why he didn't stand for the judge when he entered the courtroom. That irrelevant and prejudicial inquiry was followed in rapid order by questions about why he didn't accept the court's rulings, shouted in anger at an appellate judge and engaged in hostile exchange with the court during pretrial hearings. As if he had the answers to these questions, the prosecution produced a 12-year old newspaper article about the Black Panther Party which contained, among other things, an interview with Mumia when he was 16. With his voice now rising, the prosecutor went on the attack: Had Mumia ever said that "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun"? Mumia calmly responded that the quote did not originate with him, but was a well-known dictum of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China. Continuing without let up, the prosecutor asked if Mumia could recall in the same interview having said, "All Power to the People." Again Mumia acknowledged the quote, but insisted

on the right to read extensively from the news article in order to place his comments in context. The article included references to the Black Panther Party, and its ongoing dispute with the Philadelphia Police Department.

Having thus elicited for this jury a portrait of Mumia as a radical Black militant, the prosecutor argued in that it was Mumia's political history and angry arrogance against the system which caused him to shoot the officer on the night in question. In returning a verdict of death, the jury overlooked the fact that the quoted words were those of a 16-year-old who had since miraculously grown into manhood without a single arrest or conviction on his record, and with a college education, a family, and the abiding respect and admiration of his peers.

The appeal which followed was no less irregular. A year passed before Judge Sabo got around to formally pronouncing the sentence of death. Mumia's first assigned appellate attorney did nothing for an additional year, and had to be removed from the case by the appellate court.

His replacement counsel required another year to reconstruct events and file the necessary papers. Part of that reconstruction was an affidavit from Mumia's trial attorney testifying to the number of African-Americans who had been removed from the jury. Due to the passage of time the Pennsylvania Supreme Court discounted his recollection on the grounds that his memory had faded in the interim. All relief was denied. Just four justices signed the court's Opinion, making Mumia the first person to be consigned to death by a bare minimum of justices. One of those justices clearly should have disqualified himself, since he had been involved in a direct and personal exchange with Mumia, but didn't. He has since died. The chief justice, an African-American, inexplicably removed himself from the case as did another justice, without comment. Recently a dispute has erupted within the court, implicating at least two of the justices involved in Mumia's case.

The court's Opinion, a particularly vituperative 15-page document, which perhaps motivated by Justice James McDermott's personal encounter with Mumia, rejected all of Mumia's arguments respecting constitutional and trial errors. Sanctioned were the prosecutor's racist use of the peremptory challenges, the court's deprivation of Mumia's right to defend himself and be present, and the improper cross-examination of both Sonia Sanchez and Mumia. Most remarkably, the prosecutor's argument to the jury that Mumia would have "appeal after appeal, and perhaps there could be a reversal of the case, or whatever, so that may not be final" was upheld. That precise argument, undermining the

need of the jury to confront the finality of what they were being asked to do, was specifically rejected by the United States Supreme Court in 1985 in reversing a conviction in which the prosecution's summation implored the jury to return a verdict which might not be final. Following the decision, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania reversed a state conviction which, ironically, was based on a summation given by the same prosecutor who prosecuted Mumia and also contained a similar plea of non-finality. However, when Mumia's case came before the same court it ignored both these precedents and affirmed his death sentence.

Mumia fared no better with the U.S. Supreme Court. It refused to even consider his appeal, and denied review of the action taken by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court without comment. However, that same year it accepted, and decided favorably, a case in which a member of the Aryan Brotherhood, a white racist organization, complained that the prosecution had improperly introduced into the penalty phase of his capital case the fact of his political association. Ruling that the First Amendment to the Constitution bars such evidence, the court reversed the death sentence. Since the issues were identical, Mumia petitioned to be heard at the same time. The request was denied.

Now, 11 years after his conviction, Mumia is seeking a new trial by filing for post-conviction relief in the state courts of Pennsylvania. If denied, he will file a habeas corpus petition in the federal courts. However, new restrictions imposed by the U.S. Supreme Court on habeas corpus severely restrict his ability to obtain any relief.

For the first time, his case is being investigated. Already ample evidence is being found respecting his innocence. Investigating his case more than a decade after the event has proved to be difficult and expensive.

While a death warrant has not been signed by the governor, there is now the imminent danger that an execution date may be set in the very near future. We are in a race against time to save this innocent and eloquent spokesman of the African-American community.

For More Information write or call:

Concerned Family and  
Friends of Mumia Abu Jamal  
P.O. Box 19709  
Philadelphia, PA 19143  
(215) 552-8985  
tax deductible contributions to  
help defray costs can be made  
payable to:  
Black United Fund/  
Mumia Abu Jamal

**BOOK REVIEW: A TASTE OF POWER, A BLACK WOMAN'S STORY**

AUTHOR ELAINE BROWN

In defining the class known as the Black Bourgeoisie, E. Franklin Frazier characterized them as persons of mixed ancestry, "Lacking a cultural tradition and rejecting identification with the Negro masses on the one hand, and suffering from the contempt of the white world on the other, the black bourgeoisie has developed a deep-seated inferiority complex."

It is the combination of psychological traits even more than mixed ancestry which defined the black bourgeoisie at the time of Franklin's study. This period is also the time frame of the formative years of the ghetto girl from Philadelphia, known to the world as Elaine Brown. Her childhood fantasies vicariously lived out in the homes of her Jewish girlfriends, and her life as a waitress and suspected CIA mistress supply the symptoms of conspicuous consumption to which Franklin repeatedly refers.

It is in the light of Franklin's study of the Black Bourgeoisie, that Elaine Brown's story of her career within the Black Panther Party is properly analyzed. Her 'story' is rife with repeated confessions of self-doubt, self-hatred and conspicuous consumption.

While Elaine may have escaped the lumpen of York Street, it is clear that she has yet to escape the psychological traits of the black bourgeoisie.

As Franklin rightly points out, there are sub-divisions of the black bourgeoisie. There is the old form comprised of 'free-men' who were never enslaved, yet were slave owners themselves; the 'freed-men' who if they owned slaves did so as they were forced to 'buy' their loved ones in order to free them from their white masters. A more recent division is the result of educational opportunities following emancipation and two world wars. This last type is best apt to bear marked antipathy to the ways of what Franklin called the Negro masses and what the BPP called the lumpen proletariat.

Like the old bourgeoisie, Elaine admits to preferring her "Cuban" grandparents to her poor despised maternal forbearers. Years later on, describing her meeting with Susanne De Plessey, she regrets the frizziness of her hair in order to disguise the fact that she was blessed with "good hair." She recalls her relationship to the suspected white CIA agent who introduced her to the ideas of revolution, as eloquently as any of the "Confessions" of Jean Jacques Rousseau, having adopted this white man as her spiritual father/lover, (her words, not mine.)

Franklin also details at length the interactions of the black bourgeoisie with and

on behalf of the "masses of the Negro folk." This interaction ranges from missionary activity with the best of motives, to out and out opportunism. In any case the aims and goals of the dominate culture and political system are well-served.

Indeed, the publication of this book serves the interest of those who wish to prevent the youth of today from organizing in the strength and spirit of their parent's efforts. By focusing her narrative on the most negative aspects of the decline of the Black Panther Party, Elaine has made the most obvious of security mistakes seem rational, despite the controversy caused at the time. By encouraging Huey to move into a penthouse apartment which could be more easily spied upon by counter intelligence forces, not only was the rank and file embarrassed by the contradiction of spending the people's monies on luxuries while dedicated comrades remained imprisoned for their efforts in the struggle, but the leadership itself was divided while under attack. Huey's grip on reality was loosened as his contact with the masses declined and his substance abuse increased. Elaine as 'Queen' of the BPP violated the very principles which attracted the most dedicated fighters to the cause of revolution and advanced the aims of the FBI's Counter intelligence program (COINTELPRO) operation to discredit, disrupt and discourage the progressive forces of the time. According to 'ex-CIA agent' Richard Agee, in his book, Inside the Company, counter-intelligence forces have used the publication of books of former movement leaders to discredit those movements as a matter of course: "In late 1962, Carlos Manuel Pellecer, the station's most important communist party penetration-agent, broke openly with communism by publishing a book. He was a leader of the Guatemalan Communist Party (PGT) and had been Minister of Labor in the Arbenz government during the 1950's...His book, of course was financed by the station and distributed by the Agency all over Latin America." (page 527).

As for Elaine's claim to have left the Party over the beating of a female comrade, whose name has been changed, this is an out and out lie. While the repeated disciplining of party members had no effect on her conscious in the past, I am sure that her beating at the hand of her lover, Huey, had much more to do with her departure. The release of this book has done more to bring to the surface the post traumatic stress long endured by many sisters. A Taste of Power, A Black Woman's Story is no less than a disservice to those who died, were and are imprisoned, and are widowed and orphaned in the service of the Black Community than any racist tract published by the White Citizen Council. It's greatest value is to underscore the need for those who survived and retained their sanity to speak and write about the mistakes and the accomplishments of the BPP before it became a monarchy controlled by Elaine Brown.

SHEBA HAVEN. Sister Sheba Haven is a former member of the Black Panther Party. She is also a Author, Poet and still active in the struggle for liberation of our people.

**MALCOLM X/BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY: A Biography (For Young Readers) WALTER DEAN MYERS.**

Scholastic, Inc. New York 1993, pp.210  
Hardcover \$13.95 ISBN 0-590-46484-1

by Zayid Muhammad

In the wake of the hype and hoopla over the release of the movie, "Malcolm X," by Spike Lee, little or no meaningful attention has been paid to the appearance of several important books addressing various aspects of the life and impact of this revolutionary champion of PanAfricanism and human rights.

Among the noteworthy of these titles is a handsome biography for young readers (ages 10-18) by Jersey City, New Jersey author, Walter Dean Myers. His new book, Malcolm X/By Any Means Necessary, (Scholastic Books), helps fill a void created by the suing of revolutionary scholar, Abdul Alkalimat, by Pathfinder Press over Alkalimat's necessary and accessible, Malcolm X/For Beginners, and that book being taken out of print.

While Myers employs an approach or framework that is basically mainstream, eurocentric and integrationist in character, his scope is comprehensive, well-illustrated, and most important of all very readable for young readers.

Important to Myers' approach is his attempting to couch Malcolm's emergence onto the stage of struggle in broad socio-political terms. In other words, after using two-pronged chronology to illustrate Malcolm's historical ascendance against the background of the other important historical and social forces of his time, he tries to make plain to his readers that Malcolms of our history come from somewhere. They do not just appear out of the sky and leap into our consciousness. Or in Myer's own words, "people do not just 'happen' in our history. They come along at a certain time and a certain place. They react to ideas that have come before them and to people who have expressed these ideas." He then goes into an important discussion about Malcolm's father, Garveyite, preacher and organizer, Earl Little, and discusses the character of Little's life, work and grisly death against the backdrop of the impact of the Great Depression on our people's lives in America's Midwest. While Malcolm's life and 'telling' is very much the tale of the plight of the Afrikan male in urban Amerika, Myers biography also rightfully illustrates that it is also a tale about the struggle of the Afrikan family in Amerika to stay together in a violently racist society built upon tearing that family structure apart and still hell bent upon tearing it apart.

To Myers' credit, he also handles the particular importance of the Nation of Islam's historic, creative and ingenious role in the reclaiming and reconstructing of the most abused, most rejected and most alienated elements of the Black nation (especially the Black male as prisoner and as addict,) quite well when he gets to

Malcolm's near self-destruction "on the streets" and in prison after his young psyche had been turned out by the state's attack on his family, especially on his mother, after his father's lynching, and by racist miseducators. The race and class "luggage" of mainstream intellectuals, Black and White, still clouds their ability to give the Nation its 'props' on this salient contribution they have made to our struggle to this very day. Myers also exhibits intellectual courage by daring to discuss Malcolm's political ascendance against the back drop of government hostility, especially the surveillance and counterintelligence of the FBI. He even dares to discuss the significance of Malcolm's legendary meeting and receiving Fidel Castro, when the charismatic uncompromising Cuban revolutionary choose to stay in Harlem's Hotel Theresa after he was met with hostility when he was to address the United Nations in September, 1960.

Myers also exhibits considerable ideological restraint when he develops his comparative chapter on Martin Luther King, Jr. without setting up King as being the yardstick by which Malcolm must be measured. That chapter is also important because it is here that Myers captures in a very visual way, the dehumanizing impact and character of Jim Crow segregation, a debilitating dimension in our history that in our history that our young do not understand well at all.

What really makes the book work, in addition to its readability, is its photo illustrations. Young people are given with their own eyes, a full picture of Malcolm's humanity from his childhood pictures, his 'street' days as a teenager, pictures of his father and mother, exhibits of both their work in Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association, clippings from his father's murder and how it was covered up, pictures of his brothers and sisters, of the Black world he grew up in, the world of Pullman Porters and big band dances, of an emergent Nation of Islam, pictures of Malcolm, not just speaking, but as a minister, counseling young NOI couples, and as an organizer building the Nation--its membership, its businesses and its paper that he established, Muhammad Speaks.

If there are any criticisms of the book, they are minor, given the ideological framework of its author. For instance, Myers partially succumbs to the mainstream bourgeoisie evaluation which dichotomizes Malcolm into 'four' Malcolms: Malcolm Little, Detroit Red, Malcolm X and El Hajj Malik El Shabazz, without capturing the dual emergence of El Hajj Malik El Shabazz and Omowale and greatly stressing his re-evaluation of relationships with whites. For the record, Malcolm was very specific about his views on the role of whites in our struggle: "...where my own organization...is concerned, they can't join us...Where the really sincere white people have got to do their 'proving' of themselves is not among the Black victims, but on the battle lines of where America's racism is--and that's in their own communities...(Autobiography, p.376)

To his credit, however, Myers balances that by clearly capturing Malcolm's

CONTINUED ON PAGE 13



"DID....?"

Poem & Art by Nzinga R. Chavis

Did somebody say  
 Amerikkka is "the Land of the Free?"  
 But how can that b-----t be  
 When we live under mental slavery?  
 Doesn't the u.s.a. say it  
 has NO political prisoners?  
 Then who are the Mumiás, Bashirs,  
 Geronimo Pratts and Sekou Odinga's?  
 Did the words "40 acres & a mule"  
 come outta somebody's mouth?  
 Forgit dat! **FREE THE LAND** is what  
 I'm talkin' about: like down South!  
 Did somebody say  
 "A mind is a terrible thing to waste?"  
 Well in the u.s. school can be a waste of time  
 Their education is brainwash  
 White-washed: we gotta **FREE THE MIND!**  
 Our children bein' killed are our **FUTURE**  
 Read "Conspiracy To Kill Black Boys" \*  
 It explains the psychological **TORTURE**  
 We must raise them in  
 Rights of Passage of Truth  
 to **FREE OUR YOUTH!**  
 ... Did somebody sing "God Bless Ameri kkkta?!"

\* By Jawanza Kunjufu, Ph.D.

## The Black Panther Newspaper: Continuing the Harassment

Reprint from  
 THE NEW HAVEN ADVOCATE 2/25/93

George Edwards knows well how the authorities overreact to the Black Panther Party. As a central figure in the party's New Haven chapter during heyday in the late '60s and early '70s, Edwards amassed an FBI file thicker than a stack of phone books, filled with stories of police harassment.

So Edwards had a feeling of déjà vu recently when he mailed editions of the newly revived quarterly Black Panther newspaper to seven inmates at the state jail in Somers. Edwards received the envelopes back in the mail, stamped, "Refused-unauthorized."

The papers contained no stories about Connecticut, no stories urging prisoners to revolt. It did describe cases of what it called wrongful imprisonment of black "political prisoners" elsewhere in the U.S. One issue included a petition to the governor of Pennsylvania to spare the death penalty for a black inmate.

State corrections department spokesman Bill Flower says he checked with the Somers employee responsible for screening mail. "He doesn't remember this issue, but does fall under the category of things he would reject." That category includes "inflammatory" materials.

Edwards says a prison official told him the papers were "threatening" to the institution. "It's nothing but continuing harassment and arbitrary unconstitutional decisions," Edwards argues, "It denies African-Americans the right to freedom of expression."



Edwards: Still on the Panther prowl against "continuing harassment."

### U.S. - CUBA FRIENDSHIP CARAVAN BREAKS ECONOMIC BLOCKADE

by Zenile Khoisan

Washington's illegal 31-year old trade blockade of Cuba came under fire on two fronts last month. On Friday, November 20, 104 members of the U.S. Cuba friendship caravan successfully won a grassroots victory over U.S. foreign policy towards Cuba.

Four days later the international community voted overwhelmingly to reject the recently passed Torricelli bill, also known as the Cuba Democracy Act.

On Friday just before 10p.m., 104 U.S. citizens, ranging in age from 26 to 82, succeeded after several hours of struggles with U.S. customs authorities, state troopers, border police and treasury police - in achieving their goal of bringing 15 tons of material aid across the Mexican border.

The aid, destined for churches in Cuba, consisted of powdered milk, bicycles, school supplies, Spanish language Bibles, wheelchairs, medicines and medical supplies.

The group, composed of a cross-section of the U.S. population, was unique in that it represented the unified organizing efforts of several groups, including the Venceremos Brigade, the National Network on Cuba and Pastors for Peace.

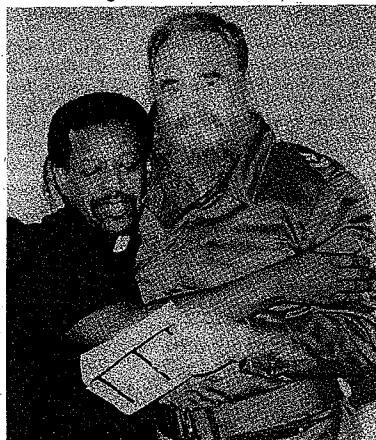
Organized through 95 cities along nine routes, the caravan was, in effect, a solid grassroots foreign policy initiative.

According to West Coast caravan participant Gloria Lariva, the caravan "provided a tremendous opportunity to reach people and to inform them of the truth about the blockade." From Poughkeepsie to Los Angeles, from Seattle to Laredo, Texas, the Caravanistas spoke of a willingness on the part of ordinary people to hear about the caravan and to discuss this critical issue, which has been suppressed or pushed to the margins of the society.

One of the main organizers of the caravan,

Brooklyn-based Baptist minister Rev. Lucius Walker, the executive director of the Interreligious Foundation of Community Organizations (IFCO), said, "This victory opens possibilities for the movement here, and it challenges us to escalate our work in several directions."

Walker says what's needed now is for people to focus clearly on the tasks that lie ahead. He believes people must center their work around the issue of ending the blockade because "no amount of



aid that we can take to Cuba, if given simply as an aid-giving activity, can save Cuba. Only the ending of the blockade - so that Cuba can use its tremendous creativity and energy and commitment to the revolution to develop its own resources and to function as an equal in international commerce - can save the Cuban revolution."

Although the caravan covered 95 cities in about two weeks, the initiative was much more than just a quick one-shot-deal protesting Washington's attempt at making the Cuban people surrender by

hunger, Walker says. The Friendship Caravan had been in the pipeline for more than a year and taken up as a direct request of church leaders in Cuba.

However, when the activity got under way became broader than IFCO pastors for peace Walker, speaking at a welcoming celebration for caravan participants, described the organizing behind this popular victory, saying, "One of the most salient characteristics of our effort is that it was characterized by coalition. It was a display teamwork that perhaps is unparalleled in all efforts of solidarity." He says a lot of quiet, behind-the-scenes discussion with IFCO counterparts in Cuba and the appropriate people in the Cuban government is what allowed the project to happen.

In the spring of this year, Pastors for Peace became aware of similar projects being planned by other groups like the National Network on Cuba, Venceremos Brigade and other groups. He says this joining together which made the winning combination that allowed this grassroots initiative successfully break the blockade.

Walker's remarks were echoed by Esmeral Brown, co-coordinator of the National Network on Cuba, who witnessed "a tremendous act of solidarity with the people of Cuba" when she joined up with the caravan in Tampico, Mexico. Brown says the success of the caravan has opened the way for an entirely new phase in the Cuba solidarity movement.

It is with this background that the progressive movement needs to view this victory over three decades of U.S. Cuba policy, despite the difficulties of this period, there are openings which have to be exploited. Unlike the recent U.S. devastation of Iraq and the current U.S. occupation of Somalia, Washington cannot easily "have its way with Cuba."



# "TRUTH CRUSHED TO THE EARTH SHALL RISE AGAIN"

## CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS AT THE AFRIKAN BURIAL GROUNDS 1673-1993

The recent unearthing of the Afrikan Burial Grounds in New York City not only re-enforces the fact that America was built on the blood and sweat of Afrikan people, but it also proves that even in colonial New York our ancestors did engage in a continuous struggle for their freedom.

The following chronology of the Afrikan Burial Grounds depicts the over three hundred years of Afrikan resistance at the site which continues even today.

With representation on the congressionally approved Burial Ground Steering Committee, the Black Panther Newspaper will continue to provide the Black community with updated information on what is now internationally recognized as the most significant archeological find of the century.

- 1673- Documentation shows the first Afrikan slaves to be interred in the burial ground located on land owned by Cornelius Van Borsum.
- 1702- As the second largest slave port in colonial America, New York City also executed more slaves than anywhere else in the country. In order to provide easy access to the disposal of

- Blacks who were executed for resisting their enslavement, the Common Council passes a New York City ordinance in March of this year to erect a gallows on the site of the Afrikan Burial Grounds.
- 1712- Between April 7th and 21st, a large group of New York City slaves revolted, burning houses, killing nine whites and wounding fifteen others. As a result, twenty-one of the captured Black freedom fighters are tortured, executed and then interred in the Afrikan Burial Grounds.
- 1722- White New Yorkers, fearing the sounds of traditional chanting and drumming that took place during night burial rituals, passed an October city ordinance which stated that "All Negroes and Indian slaves must be buried by light or before sunset."
- 1741- New York Mayor John Gruger, formerly a city slave purchasing agent, was a major force behind the execution of slaves during the New York Conspiracy. Thirteen Black men were burned at the stake, seventeen were hanged and over one hundred and fifty more were jailed and deported as a result of the "Negroe Plot" to kill whites, liberate slaves, burn and then take over the City of New York. The remains of the thirty executed slaves

- were interred in the Afrikan Burial Grounds.
- 1779- During the American Revolutionary War Sir Henry Clinton, the commander-in-chief of the Briti forces, directed that all slaves w sought asylum with the English granted their freedom. New Yo City, occupied by the British for sev years during the war, became a met for fleeing New York slaves.
- 1781- Because of the large number of Bla runaways fighting as free men for 1 British and the increased threat slave insurrection, a law was pass which promised freedom to any N- York slave in return for three years service in the American Arm Artifacts recovered from the Bur Grounds site include buttons fro military uniforms which confirm th Blacks fought and died on both sides the American Revolution in order gain their freedom.
- 1795- Ignoring the protests of the Bla community, further use of the Afrik Burial Ground is terminated in fav of the land being sold for commerc interests. The site is gradually cover by landfill in order to make way f the expansion of New York City.
- 1991- Construction crews, under contract the federal government's Gener

## Hundreds pay respects to their ancestors in burial ground vigil

AFRIKAN BURIAL GROUND REMEMBRANCE VIGIL  
AUGUST 9-10, 1992

AFRIKAN BURIAL GROUND PUBLIC HEARING

DO NOT LET THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DISRESPECT YOU AND YOUR ANCESTORS!!

FEB. 26 - MAR. 3, 1992 SPEAKING TRUTH TO POWER

NEW YORK CITY METROPOLITAN WEEKLY

VOL. 10, NO. 9

75¢/OUTSI

### EDITORIAL THESE PRECIOUS BONES

Federal authorities finally have agreed to honor what a recently formed watchdog group had been demanding ever since a major historic find literally was unearthed when construction began on last Octob concerned 200 grave buildings' crews.

But that And, after respect they deserve.

Much of what we know today as the City Hall area and the

banharan e that a close to for the struction d bones. I get the



ANCESTRAL GROUNDS — Hundreds attended the memorial vigil at the site of the "Negro" Burial Grounds and paid homage to their ancestors in their own way, but this man had a special time for the Africans buried below him, and he captured a few hearts while doing so. (Photo: Harlan Press)

### Day of Tribute to Our Ancestral Burial Ground

# TOWN HALL MEETING

at Boys & Girls High  
1700 Fulton St., Brooklyn, NY (Between Utica and Schenectady Aves.)

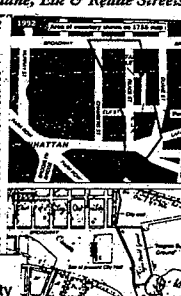
called by the  
The P

# Grave Concerns

Saturday, August 22 - 10 A  
at Broadway, Duane, Elk & Reade Streets

Dinkins Seeks to Halt Work  
At Site of a Black Cemetery

By LANCE BARON  
Mayor David Dinkins has called for a halt to the construction of a new office building at the site of the African Burial Ground in Manhattan.



A debate over a 34-story Federal building atop a colonial relic.

National Movement For the Preservation of  
The Sacred African Burial Grounds of New York City

THEME: "Leave Our Ancestral Burial Site Alone or Else"

DATE: THURSDAY, MAY 14, 1992

TIME:

# REMEMBRANCE VIGIL



## Native Americans honor African burial grounds

By L. STRICKLAND-REUWI  
Special to the Journal  
Andy Three Ravens was one of a contingent of Native Americans who came out in force last week to lend their support and solidarity at the African burial grounds remembrance vigil.



## Hundreds pay homage at 18th century cemetery

at THE AFRIKAN BURYING GROUND

NEW YORK  
**Amsterdam News**  
The new Black view

## Outrage over desecration of ancestral burial ground

STEERING COMMITTEE FOR THE AFRIKAN BURIAL GROUND  
AGENDA  
November 23, 1992

- 1991- Service Administration (GSA) discover skeletal remains during the initial stages of the construction of a new federal court and office building.
- 1991- Over twenty graves are mistakenly destroyed by the construction crew and the GSA under the direction of its New York supervisor David Diamond who orders bulldozers to scoop up and then to discard the remains.
- 1991- Black community activists descend upon the construction site in force and physically block the trucks demanding that the desecration of our ancestors' graves be halted immediately.
- 1991- The GSA responds in the same manner as its predecessors did in 1795 by ignoring the protests of the Black community. It contracts an inexperienced and white controlled archeological team to remove the remains and artifacts from the site as soon as possible so that the new building can go up before. Black activists could organize and halt its construction. Three hundred years old bones are then improperly wrapped in newspaper and thrown into cardboard boxes.
- 1992- Black activists join forces and mobilize the Black community into collective action around this issue by organizing town meetings, teach-ins, forums and

- public hearings at churches and schools throughout the city. As a result of these meetings the following demands were made by the Black community and it was understood that they could not be compromised:
  - a) The Afrikan Burial Ground must be designated as a national landmark and historic site.
  - b) Construction of the proposed thirty-four story federal office building be halted and replaced by a world class Afrikan Memorial Museum and Research Center.
  - c) All archeological functions be under the direct supervision of Dr. Michael Blakey and his staff at Howard University.
  - d) That a Steering Committee with majority representation from the Black community be established to oversee all aspects of the Afrikan Burial Ground.
- 1992- Illinois Black Congressional Caucus member, Gus Savage, chairs a congressional hearing to hear testimony regarding the Afrikan Burial Grounds. After listening to the concerns of the community as well as the irresponsible and racist responses of the GSA, Savage orders all construction at the site to cease until the initial demands of the Black community are justly recognized.

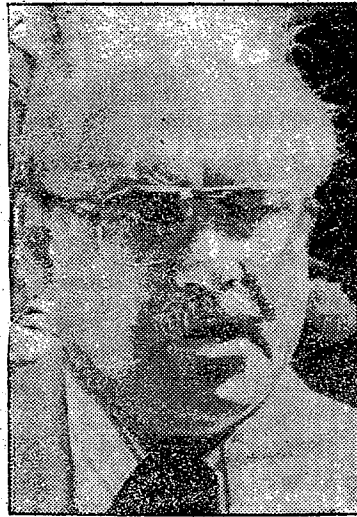
- 1992- Nearly four thousand people from throughout the Afrikan diaspora participate in the ancestral Remembrance Vigil. Organized by a coalition of Black grassroots organizations, the 26 hour interfaith drumming vigil attracted delegations from as far away as Ghana, West Africa to Belize, South America to pay respects to the ancestors at the Burial Grounds site.
- 1992- The federal government finally gives in to the intense political and community pressure and instructs GSA to accept the Black community's initial demands.
- 1993- Black and Latino children from throughout the city show their respect for the ancestors' struggle for freedom by painting over fifty murals which are put on display around the boundaries of the Afrikan Burial Ground site.
- 1993- While putting in new underground gas/electrical lines Con Edison, which supplies New York City with its electricity, unearths the skeletal remains from another part of the Afrikan Burial Ground. Once again the Black community is called to respond as the utility workers were caught trying to discard the remains of another violated grave site. The site has been secured and the struggle indeed does continue.

# NYC Council Supports Amnesty for Puerto Rican POWs:

Another Step Forward in The Struggle for Freedom

The New York City Council, on Thursday, November 20, 1992, passed a resolution supporting amnesty for 21 Puerto Rican Political Prisoners. This resolution was a history making event and provides lessons for the struggle to free all political prisoners within the U.S. borders. Even though the resolution was only 'symbolic' it brought the issue of political prisoners to the floor and exacted debate and drew support from sources thought to be outside the realm of possibility. Queens Councilman Walter McCaffrey, a champion of Northern Ireland issues said that it was important to endorse "fighting wars of liberation".

The following, taken from Libertad is a reprint of an interview with Bronx Councilman Jose Rivera, who ushered the resolution through the City Council.



**JOSE RIVERA**  
*Introduced resolution.*

**Libertad:** How did the resolution come to pass?

**Councilman Rivera:** We scheduled the first hearing for September 23rd. Scheduling on that date was not a coincidence. We requested that date because of its significance to us [The Uprising of Lares, 1868]. At the first hearing about 200 people participated. No one spoke against the resolution. Our ability to mobilize caught the establishment by surprise, so they said we needed another hearing, to make the proposed resolution known to the public in case anyone wanted to testify against it. I have a funny feeling that the reactionary forces here didn't like our resolution. But I said, "Be my guest. You can invite the F.B.I. or whoever you like." It's unusual for resolutions to go to a second hearing, but you can understand why people might think it's controversial. Though we had a resolution about Joe Doherty [ed. note: the Irish Republican Army prisoner held in US custody & then extradited to England], we'd never dealt before with Puerto Rican political prisoners.

We asked to schedule the second hearing October 30 [The Uprising of Jayuya, 1950]. Again, no coincidence. They set it for October 26. And again, no one testified against the resolution. But the council still wasn't ready to vote.

The third hearing was November 19, the day Columbus set foot on Puerto Rico. Here's what I said to the council:

...Desde Critóbal Colón a Rafael Hernández Colón, 499 años de colonia. [From Christopher Columbus to Rafael Hernandez Columbus, 499 years of colony.]

The history of Puerto Rico is a history of conquest. In 1493, conquest by the Spaniards led by Christopher Columbus. In 1868, rebellion against the oppressive rule of Spain crushed by superior might. In 1898, the United States became an imperial power by attacking Spanish holdings around the world; in the Pacific, the Philippines, in the Caribbean, Cuba and tiny Puerto Rico.

Although American troops were initially welcomed as liberators, the realization that the

United States did not intend to immediately grant these countries their freedom soon led to shock waves of continued resistance. Cuba was fortunate in gaining a tenuous independence only ten years later. In the Philippines, however, guerrillas intent on complete independence, for their country were able to resist for five bloody years, only succumbing after U.S. occupation troops had suffered five times their losses in the entire Spanish-American War. When Filipino leaders did seek statehood in the 1920's, they were refused by the American legislators on the grounds that the "negroid" Filipinos would be too difficult to assimilate and would add to the already considerable civil rights problem of African-Americans. The Philippines would not gain complete independence until 1946.

Puerto Rico did not have the good fortune of Cuba or the great numerical strength of the Philippines. Inhabitants of a small and underdeveloped country, the Puerto Rican people would not be offered their first opportunity for self-determination until 1952, 54 years after the arrival of the first American troops. In the early 1920's a young Puerto Rican man named Pedro Albizu Campos, formerly a first lieutenant in the US Army, attended Harvard University, a place where young men were groomed for leadership by the elitist establishment. But those of us who grew up during the times of Rosa Parks, Dr. Martin Luther King, and a man now recognized as a great hero, Malcolm X, can imagine what the Black and Puerto Rican Pedro Albizu Campos must have been subjected to at the white Harvard of the 1920's. There Albizu Campos, well known as a fiery orator, was soon perceived as a threat to the American plans for the annexation of Puerto Rico. History will tell us that Albizu Campos never committed any crimes, yet spent 10 years of his life, from 1936 to 1946, in a jail cell in Atlanta, Georgia. Such has been the fate of Puerto Rican freedom fighters.

The old imperial powers have long since shed their former possessions, and few colonies remain. But Puerto Rico is one of them, still a colony after almost a hundred years, denied any effective representation in the federal government and with only limited powers of

self-rule. Under such circumstances, the choices of Puerto Ricans who desire complete independence for their country within the usual political process are limited. While reminding United Nations member states the U.N. Charter states that nations have the right to seek self-determination "by any means necessary," I ask the United Nations to call upon the federal government of the United States to release the 21 Puerto Rican political prisoners currently held in American jails...

Then I read each of the prisoner's names. When I got to the part about the Philippines, I told the council, "I'm sure some of you will want to know where I got the information on the Philippines. I got it from a John Wayne movie. I described a scene where there was a need to organize resistance to the Japanese. It was important for the US to reach out to the grandson of Filipino freedom fighter Aguinaldo. The US freed the grandson from the Japanese and ask him to join them to fight the Japanese. The grandson told them, "I'm willing to join forces with you to get rid of the Japanese. The I'll get rid of you." When I got to the part about Albizu at Harvard, I told them that he was a great supporter of the Irish struggle and advocated Irish independence. Many of the Irish council members never knew this. No one had told them before.

Throughout the process, what I tried to do was reach out, to make connections. I reached out to the most orthodox, conservative Jewish member of the council, and he put his name to the resolution. Then I reached out to a council member who happens to be a Brigadier General in the US Army Reserves. He put his name to it. This was not just a Puerto Rican resolution. After a total of about 4 or 5 months lobbying, or, better said, sharing our history, the resolution was cosponsored by 13 members in a body of 51. So you see, we only needed 13 more votes to pass the resolution. And in the council we have a Black and Puerto Rican caucus with 21 members. The best way to work is in coalition.

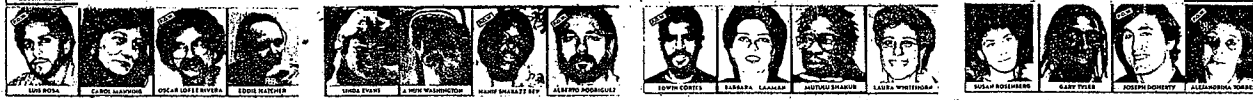
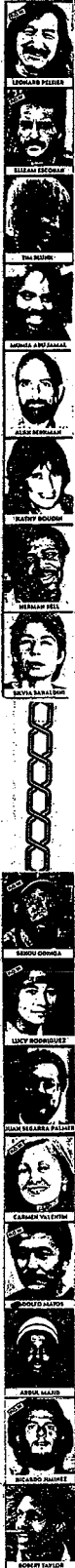
**Libertad:** Did you encounter any opposition?

**Councilman Rivera:** The leading spokesman for the opposition was a young man who had spent some time in Chile. He says he's for self-determination for any country. But his view was that 9 of these individuals supposedly robbed Well Fargo, which, he said, is not a crime against the government. During the September 23 hearing, I had the opportunity to give a history, the background as to Puerto Rico and struggle, and to link it with other struggles. For example, I told the council that before this year is over, there will be only two remaining colonies: as South Africa will be free: One in the hands of that colonial power we broke free from, England, the north of Ireland and the other is Puerto Rico. One of the Irish council members later met the opposition, speaking out in favor of the resolution. He said; "If in their minds and their hearts they did it for political reasons, they could be free," and he reminded the council not to forget 1773 and the Boston Tea Party.

A Republican council member lobbied against the resolution in the plenary. He'd put out an information packet. He had come to me with an amended resolution. It deleted the prisoner's names and totally watered down what we were proposing. I told him that even though some of the forces were willing to give up including their names, I told him, "You do what you have to do, and I'll do what I have to do, and we'll see how it comes out."

How did we deal with opposition? We supplied

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# Panthers Speak in Germany

"Once our freedom struggle is lifted from the confining civil rights label to the level of human rights, our struggle then becomes internationalized". (El Hajj Malik Shabazz-Malcolm X)

In carrying out the legacy of this statement, former Black Panther Party members Safiya Bukhari and Dhoruba Bin Wahad mad separate trips to Europe in order to address the various aspects of racist repression/oppression at home in the U.S. and it's imperialism abroad.

Addressing international audiences in The Netherlands, France and Germany the two former political prisoners were able to effectively expose the reality of Amerikkkan hypocrisy when the issue of human rights was brought to the forefront. Mainly, contrary to government statements, there are political prisoners being held captive in the United States.

As a direct result of this initial exposure, members of the Black Panther Newspaper Committee were invited to speak at the historic International Conference, Held in Nurnberg, Germany, focused primarily on the German governments complicity in the recent Nazi attacks on Gypsies, Jews, immigrants and people of color.

The following statement, written by former Black Panther Nathaniel Shanks, was delivered at the conference in response to a request that the BPNC give it's perception of the recent rise of violent Nazi activity in Germany:

Friends, Brothers, Sisters, Comrades...

We are extremely honored that we were invited to participate in this historic gathering. Those of us who live in the "Belly of the Beast" are visited daily by the causes which impel this meeting here today. Understand that the recent outbreaks of virulent racism must be understood in an historical context.

Racism is deeply rooted in the culture of Europe as a whole. The slave trade which uprooted millions of Afrikans from their homelands, carried them in shackles and chains, then transported them thousands of miles to the now United States of America can attest to that fact.

The renowned Afrikan-American historian and social scientist, W.E.B. DuBois wrote, at the beginning of this century, "The problem of the twentieth-century is that of the color line." Thus, we see a resurgence of this mean and vicious ideology where it reached its peak under the aegis and iron rule of Adolf Hitler, as well as in Italy under the ugly face of fascist manifestation itself, by the brutal Vatican endorsed invasion of Ethiopia; and, with the aid given to General Francisco Franco in the repression of the valiant people of Spain.

With the vanquishing of the most vigorous and militant "Democracy," the racist have regrouped and loom more numerous and vicious as time goes on. We can see this in Eastern Europe where once subdued ethnic hostilities are now most blatant. This "Democracy" had its roots in the doctrine of racial superiority, as demonstrated in the robbery of Indian lands and their near extermination from the face of the earth.

Historians have gone to great lengths to prove to us that one reason for the start of World War I was the assassination of Arch Duke Ferdinand of Austria. Yet, when we study the Berlin Conference we can clearly see that its primary goal was to settle concerns regarding land acquisition, access to raw materials and cheap labor. Hence, there is a fundamental contradiction between what historians would lead us to believe and what was really the catalyst responsible for World War I. The colonial powers went to war with each other and the results was the enslavement and brutal repression of the indigenous people.

Today, vestiges of colonial domination are quite apparent. Third world people still find themselves crushed by the boot of economic hegemony and social ostracization. Most thirdworld people realize that the so-called freedoms, allegedly shared by them, are indeed illusions as they find themselves mired in the quagmire of capitalist domination. As long as those outmoded and pernicious paradigms remain, they will even be the force that threatens and oppresses the masses of the people.

Let us here, conscientiously, rededicate ourselves to the total eradication of this cancer that is all-pervasive in our respective societies. Let us pledge ourselves to the total creation of not a "New World Order" but a New World. One that knows the meaning of true Brotherhood and Sisterhood for all Humankind.

All Power to the People!



## EDITOR'S NOTE:

As a result of BPNC's participation in the Nurnberg Conference and the six day Germany speaking tour that followed, Germans of Afrikan visited Harlem, N.Y. this past January and met with staff members of the Black Panther News Service. The linking of the struggle with our sisters and brothers throughout the diaspora is now becoming the reality that Marcus Garvey envisioned and that Malcolm X taught us. Despite the many oceans and different languages that separates us, we all have the same enemy and thus our struggle is one.

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the council members with substantial information about the prisons. Better they should be informed. We were ready.

Libertad: What was the vote?

Councilman Rivera: The resolution pass with 39 in favor, 2 abstained, and 9 against.

Libertad: What have your constituents said about the resolution?

Councilman Rivera: The feedback is very, very positive. As a matter of fact, I want to do a mulling, to keep my constituents informed. I want to speak to my constituents on this issue and get everyone prepared.

Libertad: What reaction have you had from the media?

Councilman Rivera: The New York Post printed a big article on page two, with the headline "Council backs P.R. 'freedom fighter'". We were on the front page of all the Latin papers. Very favorable. The press asked me what kind of message would this send to the "common criminal." You know what I told them? "The 'common criminal' wouldn't receive the sentences these people received!"

Libertad: What do you see as the next step toward winning their release?

Councilman Rivera: The resolution is going to the

United Nations Secretary General. It is being printed on City Council stationary. I just finished speaking to someone. They're waiting for the resolution. In the meantime, the newly elected Puerto Rican Congressional representatives should grab on to this and bring it to the US Congress.

I was in Puerto Rico the recent elections. It is the feeling that quite a number of people voted pro-statehood, but because the PNP [New Progressive Party] was the only party in favor of a plebiscite. A lot of independentists expressed that to me. Fernando Martin is also lobbying for a plebiscite. There will be a movement for a plebiscite from the PNP and the PIP [Puerto Rican independence Party]. We need to reach out to them. Any conversation with the leaders from Puerto Rico should include the prisoners. It seems to me that one of the most emotional issues this country has been facing since 1975 is the missing prisoners of war. This country, before normalizing relations with any country... it is the standard practice with any country following a war or uprising... the first thing they do is to settle the prisoner of war question. We shouldn't be different from any other country. We have prisoners of war, and we want them released. I'm suggesting that Representative Luis Gutierrez play a leading role. I've already made contact with him, and we'll link up with the others. They are progressive, and it shouldn't be too much to ask them to ask the PIP to make this the number one item on the agenda for the plebiscite.

In 1989 when the plebiscite first became an issue, and I believe that it was initiated from Washington, not from Puerto Rico, I proposed a resolution in the City Council about the status. The resolution, which the council

passed, said that if we enter into conversations about a plebiscite, Puerto Ricans residing in the S.U. should be part of the conversations and participate. Now, why would we enter into a plebiscite without dealing with the Puerto Rican political prisoners and prisoners of war?

We should remember that we were able to release Lolita Iobron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irving Flores and Oscar Collazo with much less than we have today.

## REPARATIONS BILL

Would establish a Congressional commission to investigate the impact that slavery has had upon the Afrikans in Amerikkka. The Commission will also make recommendations for reparations to compensate Afrikans in Amerikkka for over three hundred years of slavery and discrimination. Make it into a petition, get signatures and mail it to the Congressional Black Caucus to show you support this effort.

SELL THE BLACK PANTHER



# IN DEFENSE OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION: Taking a Stand in Support of Humanity

by Rosemari Mealy

Earlier this year, noted Paraguayan intellectual Augusto Roa Bastos sent a message of solidarity to the prestigious Casa de Las Americas in Havana noting, "the Cuban Revolution is the only authentic revolution for independence, establishing the closing and continuation of the epic quest for emancipation begun by Bolivar." The Cuban revolution, wrote Roa Bastos "is an indestructible part of the patrimony of our free, autonomous sovereign and independent peoples, and any aggression by those who control world power will be an affront to all."

In these desperate hours, nation states, north, south, east and west are confronting the wretched designs of U.S. imperialism to recolonize people of color worldwide. Various methods are being employed, from economic coercion to starvation, biological warfare and outright military aggression as implied in the truthful meaning of the "New World Order". Only the Cuban revolution, as Augusto Roas Bastos implied, stands up in the defense of all of humanity.

The January 1959 victory of the Cuban Revolution gave rise to a new stage of struggles, political, social and economic which proved not only to the people of Latin America, but to the world, that humanity's destiny was not locked into a perpetual state of submission and oppression despite the hegemony of capitalism.

Over the past 33 years Cuba has been an indicator of the achievements ascribed to the applications of scientific socialism. With a population of more than 10 million, her doctors have achieved the lowest infant mortality rate in Latin America, closely reflecting the same rate as in the United States, 10.7 per 1000 live births.

Their scientists have found an arrest for sickle cell anemia, the killer disease of our own people. Education is provided free of charge to its own and thousands of African youth, while on constant alert, its military must defend its territory from attempted invasions led by U.S. backed terrorist. Cuba has been one of the loudest in support of our movement to free all of our political prisoners and prisoners of war. Cuba also provides a safe haven to our own Sister Assata Shakur and Puerto Rican Nationalist Guillermo Morales.

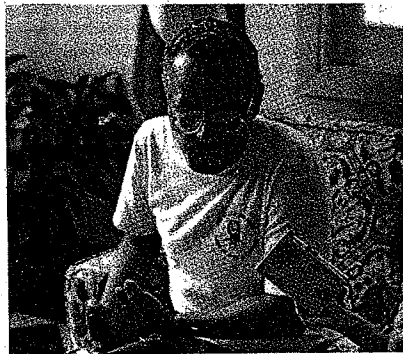
Cuba's boldness in the United Nations merits respect in the wake of so-called nonaligned countries' cowering to U.S. intimidations. When few others stood up for nation's right to sovereignty, Cuba denounced the United States' barbaric invasion of Panama, the criminal assault against the people of Iraq and calls into question the U.S.'s own record of human rights violations. For these actions Washington has shown nothing but outright contempt while declaring a vicious and relentless propaganda war against Cuba's leaders and its people.

This most recent aggression against Cuba comes in the form of bipartisan consent. This was reflected in the recent passage of the so-called Cuban Democracy Act, signed into law, a few days before the November election, by George Bush. The legislation was crafted by New Jersey representative Robert Torricelli who made a successful bid for reelection.

The bill is designed to literally strangle the banning trade to Cuba by subsidiaries of U.S. companies in third countries; calls for the confiscation of any ship that docks in a U.S. port within six months after docking in Cuba; reduces U.S. aid to any nation that imports Cuban sugar by the same dollar amount as the value of the sugar imported; directs the president to pressure countries that trade with Cuba (Great Britain, France, Canada, Mexico, Japan) to halt their trade with the island; provides for the imposition of civil penalties of up to \$50,000.00 on any

person who violates any license, order, rule or regulation issued under it; authorizes the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) to fund Cuban "dissident" groups.

President Bill Clinton displayed his sentiments for Cuba early in the game by courting the Miami based anti-Castro Cuban Americans, those same reactionaries who snubbed Nelson Mandela when he appeared in their fair city. Clinton proved to be more hawkish on the Cuba question than George Bush. When Clinton assumes office the National Endowment



Guillermo Morales Photo: R. Mealy

for Democracy (NED) will have a direct line to the White House through one of Clinton's top foreign policy advisers, Madeleine Albright, the longtime vice-chairperson of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs which received an Endowment grant of \$99,837.00 FY 1991 to organize a two-day international conference in Venezuela on democratic transitions, to enable Cuban democrats inside and



Assata Shakur Photo: Ben Jones

outside of Cuba to learn about the experiences of individuals who have played leading roles in democratic transitions in Eastern Europe and Latin America.

Recently the Cuban delegation to the United Nations charged that the United States government finances propaganda networks against Cuba on human rights issues. The U. S. has gone so far as to manipulate the subject at the United Nations itself.

Organizations such as the National Endowment for Democracy, according to the Cuban delegation, is largely being used to "substitute for undercover political subversion activities against countries that U.S. intelligence agencies had previously carried out on the basis of the, by then discredited, principle of "plausible denial" (of U.S. government involvement): The Endowment is incorporated as a supposedly private, non-governmental and non-profit organization.

According to the bulletin, NED Background, October 1992, VOL. 1, NO.4, NED's 1991 annual report showed that more than 70 percent of the grant funds to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union were funneled through grantees linked to the NED's board. More than 80% of Cuba's imports came from the former socialist countries of Europe. Thanks to organizations such as NED, the Democracy Corps, Freedom House, The Republican Institute for International Affairs, democracy graces Eastern Europe with a face of starvation, war and the rise of fascism and skin heads attacking immigrants of color.

The cold war may have ended, but it continues against the people of Cuba. Meanwhile, people all over the world are taking a stand against the immoral U.S. blockade by supporting Cuba. The passage of the Torricelli Bill has generated an international outcry against U.S. intervention in the affairs of other nations. Recently, the normally placid and staid atmosphere of the United Nations General Assembly was refreshingly challenged. Fifty-nine nations voted in support of Cuba to have the issue of the economic blockade brought before the world body for debate. Seventy-three countries abstained the vote with only the United States, Israel and Romania voting No. This was a real victory for Cuba within the international community. In October the European Community voiced its opposition to the unilateral extension by the U.S. of the "reach of trade measures implementing U.S. foreign or national security policies."

International solidarity efforts, report the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the People (ICAP), are expanding world wide with shipments of oil, material aid, medicines and other needs reaching the country daily. In the recently published *Cruel and Unusual Punishment - the U.S. Blockade Against Cuba*, author Mary Murray documented, in just one four month period in 1992, Cuba received 12 tons of medicines and hundreds of tons of clothing, food, tires and powdered milk collected by local government officials of Galicia, Spain, classroom supplies from grade school children in China, more school supplies and two buses from the Tarragona municipality in Spain's Catalonia region, a \$10,000.00 check from Uruguay's "Dollar for Cuba Festival", a \$3,600 check from supporters in India's southern state of Kerala and a promise from Indian farmers to send 82 tons of rice to the island. The answer here, she wrote, "is not humanitarian shipments, but tearing down the blockade."

And what has been the response of those who struggle inside of what the Cuban patriot José Martí called, "The Belly of the Monster"? To note some of the efforts, the U.S. Cuba Medical Project has been collecting pediatric medicines, the Cuba Information Project led vigorous letter writing and call in campaigns while monitoring the Torricelli debate where Congressman Charles Rangel of New York put up a good fight against the bill on the House floor.

The American Public Health Association urged the new president and the Congress to lift the embargo and pass legislation revoking the "Cuban Democracy Act". On November 22, 1992 the Cuba U.N. Committee held an International Day of Solidarity with the People of Cuba where more than 300 spirited and strong voices demanded that the debate be supported in the United Nations. The Committee called for a lifting of the blockade and travel ban which denies U.S. citizens the right to travel to Cuba. The National Network on Cuba has been lobbying all over the country against the Cuba Democracy Act.

Longtime African American activist minister, Rev. Lucius Walker, issued a pastoral call to U.S. churches for



May Day - 92 Photo: R. Mealy

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# ORGANIZING IN THE 90'S...

E. Breeze Barrow/NJBPCN

In a few short months, candidates will once again flood our communities with alibies, lies, some truths, and mis-truths to either deceive, confuse, cajole, or implore support. Whether they are honest or dishonest a bootlicking opportunist or sincere about "serving" the people, the people must be the power and exercise this power by establishing serious tactics and strategies for accountability by the candidate to the community.

We have allowed too many wolves in sheep's clothing; too many negro lackeys, too many ineffective "representatives," too many uncle toms and aunt jemimas, too many of the same old tired petty bourgeois so-called community leaders and organizations that will sell out the people quicker and cheaper than Judas sold out Jesus. The progressive elements of the community along with the masses must become more analytical, organizational and forceful. If these forces are serious and can put aside petty differences and sectarian politics we may exploit electoral politics to benefit the people. By no means does this address the real issue of self-determination and liberation which are beyond the limitations of bourgeois elections. However, we need to wage struggle on various levels to advance the people's struggle.

Hopefully, this position paper will offer insights or at the very least spark dialogue and critical analysis. This paper is not meant as a blueprint for empowerment but a primer to raise some of the issues we should be concerned about.

## THE PROBLEM

There is a lack of sophistication in analyzing the issues and seeing through the candidates smoke screens. We must look at the role of the local negro political hacks (individuals and organizations), who prostitute themselves for personal gain regardless of the candidates policies and politics. We must discuss the lack of any coalition of progressive community activists to build a movement for a consensus candidate.

Black politicians and wannabees tend to take the community for granted. Their actions are dictated

by political expediency not necessary correctness. Their accountability is served not to the people but other political. And they are primarily inaccessible to the community until election time. Incompetents are rewarded by politicians who they campaigned for. The vicious cycle continues.

## WHAT IS TO BE DONE!

To reiterate, Black petty-bourgeois electoral politics in of itself is no way a panacea regarding self-determination and the struggle for justice and peace. However, as a particular tactic and strategy the Black candidate or wannabee, at the minimum, needs to do the following:

1. A viable potential candidate should have some history of progressive community activism and use this as a base of support.
2. Develop a council that is diversified in skills and levels of activism. Within the core be very inclusionary of serious progressives who are talented in the areas of housing, education, health, economics and the all around well being of the community.
3. Be wary of the same old tired political hacks who will prostitute themselves to the highest bidder.
4. Establish information centers to keep the community abreast of what's happening, for example, "town hall" type of settings. A monthly community newsletter also would be beneficial in organizing a positive network.

## THE MASSES

As noted in the introduction, the people are being used as a cannon fodder for the politicians. Apathy; confusion; the lack of sophistication to see through the smoke screens; propaganda and outright lies of the "candidates" are often used as tools for the political. In the main, the so-called civil rights organizations, civic groups, political hacks, arts community, jack-legged preachers and other petty-bourgeois are so busy "sucking up" to the politicians that they won't put the interest of the community as their number one priority. These folk often work in conspiracy with corrupt politicians. The so-called progressives, and radical forces are splintered via sectarian politics. In the main, their organizing has been minimal and ineffective. The cold-blooded reality

of the present mentality of the so-called working class is, at best, naive and exclusionary; at most, reactionary in nature. We cannot allow the romanticizing of the "working class" blind the realities.

## WHAT IS TO BE DONE!

Given the above gloom and doom scenario, what can be done? We must put aside petty differences and form broad-based coalitions (principled) around issues in which we can unite. The masses must demand accountability from the politicians. However, it is a two-way street.

Enthusiastic support must be given to the politician who is trying to work in our interest. The people must attend council meetings, and other board/commission meetings (i.e. board of education, rent leveling, housing). We need to unite with other coalitions outside the immediate community to develop and network for mutual support. We must have our own mini-conventions and seriously study candidates platforms and programs. We must develop the agenda for a candidate to support.

Another important concern DO NOT VOTE FOR A CANDIDATE SIMPLY BECAUSE OF THEIR BLACKNESS OF COLOR. We must see beyond narrow mutant nationalism and become more sophisticated. Judge candidates on their deeds; study their history. Beware of the traitors who are only Black at election time.

If you do vote, do it intelligently. Maintain your principles. Again, the radical forces are fractured and have little effect. They must pull together their own sit down, if not to support a consensus candidate from within, at least, to unite around an agenda to present to the community.

## CONCLUSION

This paper was put together for the purpose of stimulating dialogue and moving our cause forward. We look forward to debates on the issues raised. Hopefully, we can grow positively from these type of communiques. We are not running for office nor are we supporting one candidate over another. Our only agenda is in raising issues which effect the community.

The reality of electoral politics, as is established, will not resolve the problems and contradictions inherent in a system of capitalism;

that by its very nature can only survive by exploitation and oppression. By no means will the process of bourgeois electoral politics secure self-determination. Since, we are not in a "revolutionary" situation, strategies and tactics must be explored where we are. It is a labor of love for the people.

"CLAIM NO EASY VICTORIES, TELL NO LIES."

## SUBSCRIBE TODAY TO THE BLACK PANTHER

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dialogue and action in response to the U.S. blockade against Cuba. Walker, along with more than 100 individuals in open defiance of the Cuba Democracy Act, organized the Caravan, Friendship to Cuba, this past November. The Caravan traveled throughout the United States, stopping in nearly 100 cities for educational events, press conferences and collections. The group crossed the border at Laredo, Texas into Mexico and, with more than 7 million dollars worth of material aid, loaded it on to a Cuban freighter.

In Cuba, President Fidel Castro and the Cuban people hailed the Caravanistas as heroines and heroes. Fidel told the group that they had added a new page to the Bible by their actions. Returning to the United States after accomplishing the mission, the group plans another Caravan in the Spring of 1993. The Friendship refused to apply for a license and ignored the intimidations of the police, treasury agents and dared the U.S. to prosecute them.

At this writing, no arrests have been made against any of the participants who violated the "Trading with the Enemy Act/Cuba Democracy Act". If the feds do come knocking, Rev. Walker said that each will stand firm and fight to the very end, even if fines of \$250,000 are imposed and jail sentences of 10 years hang in the wing.

Finally, the Venceremos Brigade, which for 24 years has been organizing trips to Cuba in display of solidarity, is accepting applications for their two week spring program. "Now is not the time for our movement to run scared" said a recent recruit to the Brigade, "This is an historic moment which calls for bold action in regards to defending the Cuban Revolution. To defend the Cuban revolution is to defend the fate of all of humanity."

For more information on the *Friendship*, Write: IFCO, 402 W. 145th Street, New York, NY 10032, or call (212) 926-5757. For more information on the *Venceremos Brigade*, Write: VB, P.O. Box 673, New York, NY 10035, or call (212) 228-6000 Ext. 503.

Cesar Chavez, President of the United Farm Workers of America, was found dead April 23, 1993, from apparent natural causes at his home in Arizona. He was 66 years old. Mr. Chavez, perhaps most widely remembered for his crusade against grapes, was a formidable leader in the U.S. Labor Movement.

First coming to public attention in the early 1970s, Chavez organized thousands of farm workers to protest their economic and working conditions.

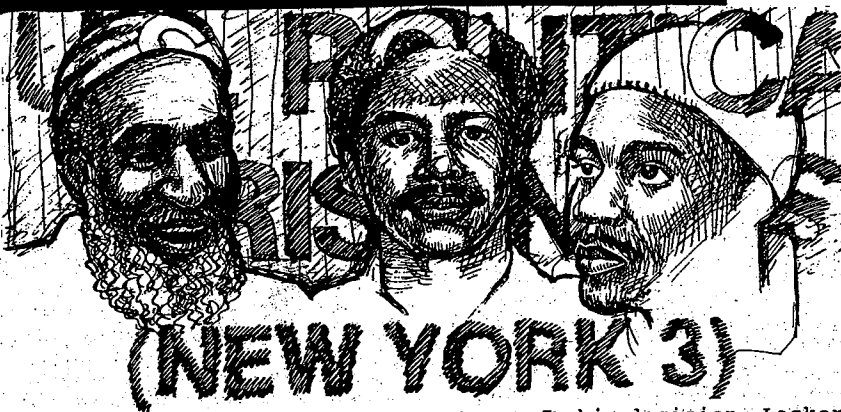
Most recently, Chavez re-surfaced with a new broad-based campaign focused on the toxic poisoning of field workers; specifically those field workers who cultivate table grapes.

Cesar Chavez will be remembered as a fighter for the rights of all especially the downtrodden, exploited migrant workers.

We, the New York Three -- Herman Bell, Anthony Jalil Bottom, and Albert Nuh Washington, are former members of the Black Panther Party who have been political prisoners in the United States for 20 to 22 years, respectively. After over seven months of awaiting the final opinion, on May 20, 1993, the NY3 learned federal district court judge Morris Lasker denied their petition for habeas corpus. A year ago we were granted an evidentiary hearing based upon FBI documents which contradicted the New York City Police Department's ballistic section. Our attorneys showed that the NYPD conducted two prior ballistics tests which were never revealed to the defense at trial, and that the ballistics expert, Det. George Simmons, lied to the grand jury, about the ballistics tests and this perjury was used at both of the trials (the NY3 received a hung jury in the first trial). In this testimony Det. Simmons had sworn that his first ballistics match-up was three weeks after his first two tests. He swore that he had taken all the ballistics evidence to San Francisco to compare with bullets fired from a .45 caliber gun allegedly seized from the Jalil and myself during our capture in that city in 1971. The evidence shows that he could not have taken the ballistics evidence to San Francisco because at least two critical pieces were at the FBI lab in Washington during this entire prior.

Judge Lasker determined that Simmons lied at least twice, and that the DA withheld evidence favorable to the defense, but then concluded there was overwhelming evidence of guilt -- based upon the forced testimony for the prosecution of: (1) a comrade subjected to brutal torture, and (2) three women held in prison and threatened with the loss of their children should they refuse to testify. One of the women, Jacqueline Tabb, a former BPP member, was also given a deal to drop charges of dispensing weapons and harboring a fugitive in return for her testimony. It should be noted that Lasker was aware that Tabb had lied about this deal and the DA had knowledge of the lie, as was shown in the FBI documents; yet the judge cited her testimony as proof of overwhelming evidence of guilt.

Lasker further distorted the record by saying the three fled together, just as they had arrived together. The significance of the distortion is that it leads one to believe that the three left California together for the purpose of killing police and fleeing. A further distortion of the facts produced at trial was that weapons were sent to all three of the defendants when the



procedure, should only happen with the approval of the District Attorney's office.

Lasker said there was no proof offered that the DA knew about the FBI report, since four former DAs submitted affidavits saying they had never seen the documents. He chose to credit these four affidavits even though the FBI ballistics report was found in the DA's files and had all the earmarks of being well read and thumbed through. In fact, portions of a synopsis which contained the ballistics report were even entered into evidence at trial. Lasker refused to say that the DA had committed misconduct. (It should be noted that former DA John Keenan, now a sitting judge, was in charge of the NY3 case as well as of Dhoruba Bin Wahad).

In order to deny the NY3 habeas Judge Lasker not only had to omit factual evidence, but he had to minimize the impact of perjury and withholding evidence by distorting the facts of the case. Lasker held to an eyewitness report of seeing three gunmen when other witnesses and the prosecution asserted that there were only two. In his decision Lasker stated that the NY3 came to New York together even though testimony at trial said they arrived separately. In fact, the NY3 began trial as the NY5. (The Torres brothers, Gabriel and Francisco Torres, had the case against them dismissed in the middle of the second trial because the trial judge said "...mere conversations did not violate the law nor offer proof of wrongdoing." Yet these same conversations were proof of guilt for the remaining defendants.)

In his decision, Lasker also indicated that our attorneys didn't show the withheld evidence to be important enough in a substantial way to overturn our conviction. In order to come to this conclusion, Lasker had to omit from his decision the fact that our attorneys offered proof of the destruction of all the ballistics evidence several years after the trial following the filing of a motion to vacate the verdict based upon newly discovered evidence (the FBI ballistics report). The destruction of the evidence, by testimony given at trial said a gun was sent to Gabriel Torres, who had the case against him dismissed.

The jury in the first trial refused to convict us based on the evidence they were given: the testimony of the three women, ballistics and fingerprints. At trial it was demonstrated that the state faked Herman Bell's fingerprints. By the time the second trial came along the DA had compensated by producing more fingerprint witnesses. The irony is that during this time a New York state police had been discovered to be faking fingerprint evidence to strengthen their cases against people they believed guilty.

In his finding, Lasker overlooked the fact that the DA said in his summation at trial that the case was in the guns and fingerprints, and the women gave the barest of details which is corroborated by the fact that trial judge Edward Greenfield felt their testimony was not enough to decide the case of the Torres brothers.

It should be noted that the assassination of the two New York City police officers, Piagentini and Jones, was of deep concern to the Nixon White House. The concern was of such magnitude that a former FBI witness testified that he had never seen so much material generated by one case. The reality is that this case is a political case designed to reassure the police that Black Nationalists will be subjected to the harshest punishment for standing up against racist oppression and that the law will be suspended or distorted to maintain the status quo. Lasker has the reputation of being a fair minded liberal,

**POWER 2  
THE  
PEOPLE**

# SUNDIATA'S FREEDOM IS YOUR FREEDOM

After 20 years Sundiata Acoli recently went before the New Jersey State Parole Board. At press time his fate is yet undetermined as the board is currently reviewing his application for parole and FBI psychological profile.

Although Sundiata is immediately eligible for parole, there is strong suspicion parole will be denied. If this occurs, Sundiata's release will be delayed for at least ten (10) years.

**Enough is Enough!** After 20 years in prison, 13 of which were in isolation (including time served at Marion Prison under 23 hour per day lockdown) and exposure to tuberculosis, Sundiata has suffered the atrocities of the US prison system.

Sundiata Acoli, along with other political prisoners and prisoners of war, are unselfishly committing themselves to struggles for liberation. We must stand up for them as they are still standing for us.

Write Sundiata, let him know of your support.

Sundiata Acoli/Squire  
#39794-066  
P.O. Box 1000  
Leavenworth, KS 66048



"His love for Black people is so intense that you can almost touch it and hold it in your hand." Assata Shakur

### Books/Pamphlets by Sundiata

- Sunview's (book)
- (pamphlets)
- Bits 'n Pieces
- Solutions Things to Do
- The Live Right Interview
- Brief History of the Afrikan Prison Struggle

Write the NJ State Parole Board demanding Sundiata's release (see example below). Send your correspondence to:

New Jersey State Parole Board  
CN-862  
Trenton, NJ 08625

Also send a copy to:

Sundiata Acoli Freedom Campaign  
P.O. Box 5538  
Manhattanville Station  
Harlem, NY 10027

To Whom It May Concern:

I am aware that Sundiata Acoli (Clark Squire #54859) is currently up for parole. I strongly urge you to grant him parole. He has served over 20 years in prison under some of the harshest conditions imaginable. As a member of the Black Panther Party and while in prison, Sundiata has contributed greatly to the struggle for human rights and liberation for all people. His release is urged immediately.

Thank you,

## Assata Shakur

### Message to the New Afrikan Nation



"The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is a case where the government of the United States is unjustly trying to kill a Black revolutionary. Trying to literally take his life and put him in an electric chair. We cannot allow this to happen because it is the case of a human beings life who has struggled and dedicated himself to the total liberation of our people. But we also cannot allow an execution to happen because it will set a precedent. If we do not struggle tooth and nail to keep the state from killing him, then we are allowing a situation to happen where the government can accuse any of us of any crime and then put us to death."

JOIN THE STRUGGLE TO FREE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL  
CALL: (718) 655-7954 or (201) 432-0874



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### The New York Three

yet when given facts and documents which show police and prosecutorial misconduct he corrupts himself by distorting the record to protect the DA.

People should write the New York district attorney at One Hogan Place, New York, NY 10013 and demand an investigation into who ordered the destruction of ballistics evidence only eight weeks after the NY3 filed their state court appeals.

The New Yorker magazine did an interview with the NY3 and people involved in the prosecution, as well as witnesses. A ten page article by Alex Prudhomme was scheduled to be published this spring and then pulled. We know the article was favorable to the NY3. People should also write the New Yorker magazine at 20 W. 43rd Street, New York, NY 10036 and ask why the article on the NY3 was pulled.

New York 3 Freedom Campaign  
2170 Broadway, Suite 2234  
New York, NY 10024

# OPERATION RESTORE HOPE:

## HUMANITARIANISM or NEW WORLD ORDER HYPE?

### TOWARDS A PEOPLE'S ANALYSIS

by Z. Muhammad

Nineteen Ninety Two (1992) came to an ugly close for African people at home and abroad. State terror is still the order of the day in Haiti and in South Africa. Remnants of civil war and drought still plague Angola, Mozambique and Liberia. Racial violence and police violence continue to rise on the streets of the United States even against so-called "good Black cops." Finally, the first U.S. led foreign intervention on the African continent in Somalia puts the "New World Order" in a whole new bloodletting groove as two unidentified Somalis are killed by the notorious French Foreign Legion as lame duck George Bush rings in the New Year at Mogadishu with fresh Iraqi blood caked under his fingernails.

This article examines the background of the crisis in Somalia and the U.S. intervention against a backdrop of accommodating New World Order house negroes sanctioning this charade that is being injected into the vein and eyes of the world as "Operation Restore Hope".

#### The Crisis

As of April 1992, Somalia, an ancient land and people on the Horn of Africa, found itself losing an average of 5000 people a week from internecine clan violence combined with the devastating effects of famine and drought. The effects of genocidal indifference in which the U.S. figures centrally in the United Nations, and the effects of a not-so-remote Cold War legacy and the lingering effects of a colonial legacy better than 100 years old contributed to the present day crisis.

It is not, nor has it ever been, simply a matter of backwards uncivilized warlords chewing goat (pronounced cat), getting high and killing their own people for pleasure.

#### Background to the Crisis

This crisis intensifies in scope and in urgency in 1991 when the brutal U.S. backed government of Muhammad Siad Barre falls to a ragged but determined armed revolt. Barre came to power in a military coup in 1969 declaring that he had the solution that would restore the "dignity and confidence of the people." He declared that he was going to use scientific socialism to instill in the Somalia people the "concept of self-help and self-reliance." This would prove to be nothing more than militarism that would ultimately become dependent on the bloodsucking objectives of the U.S. dollarism that Malcolm X had ominously warned African heads of state about in July 1964.

The year 1974 would mark the fall of the regime of Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie and the emergence of a pro-Soviet Marxist regime led by Mengistu Haile Mariam. In 1977, when attempts to resolve the age old Ogaden Desert border dispute with Somalia deteriorated, a war, known as the Ogaden War, ensued between these two "socialist" states, resulting in the humiliating routing of Somalia and the expulsion of Somali nationals who were within Ethiopia's border. As this

conflict gathered momentum the Soviet Union sided with Ethiopia. Cuba's Fidel Castro, much to his credit, tried to get Somalia and Ethiopia to form a Federation of Socialist States so as to avert an intra-Socialist contradiction and to better coordinate developmental efforts. Once the Soviets chose sides, the die of Cold War instability had been set.

With the routing of Somalia in 1978 the Barre regime, now staunchly backed by the U.S., began to turn its armaments against its own people who were now angry about the failure of

Philadelphia's former Mayor Wilson Goode's bombing of MOVE in 1985 look like child's play. These bombings were carried out with the use of South African pilots.

#### The Current Crisis

January 1991 saw the despised Barre regime ousted and Barre himself fleeing the country. A violent power struggle would ensue between two factions of the forces that overthrew Barre. One of the factions was led by



Somalia boy places a tatter of cloth on his father  
Photo: James Nachtwey - N.Y.T.M.

Barre's war to realize the reclaiming of Western Somalia (or the incorporation of Ethiopia's Ogaden border population of Somali people back into Somali territory), and upset about the failure of the government to address the basic needs of its population. The 1977-78 Ogaden War also worsened the problem of drought and famine in Somalia. It should also be noted that in 1980 while U.S. chose

General Farah Adeb and known as the United Somali Congress (USC) and other led by Ali Mahdi Mohammed and known as the Manifesto Group. Analysts close to this equation say that the latter group, on its surface, however, it is said that the Italian government was behind the formation of the Manifesto Group to rival the more broad-based United Somali Congress. Ironically, both



A woman was lying near a pumping station is helped  
to a feeding center. Photo: James Nachtwey - N.Y.T.M.

to renege on an aid package that would have included building a dam to irrigate the famine stricken areas.

By 1986, Barre and Mengistu even found themselves putting their differences aside so each could focus their respective military forces on staying in power. By 1990, Africa Watch reported that between 1988 and 1990 the Barre regime had been responsible for killing as many as 50,000 unarmed civilians. This would include the 1989 bombing of two northern Somalia cities, Hargeisa and Buria, bombings that made

belong to the same clan, the Huwiya. As the two forces fought over the spoils of the decapitated Barre regime, armed atrocities did not subside-the persisted. Both parties are guilty of the continued violence against civilians as well as other inter-clan violence. By April of 1992, conditions deteriorated so badly that 5,000 people were dying a week, as was stated earlier.

#### Background to the U.S. Intervention

In the face of these gruesome conditions, a U.N. initiative also took

shape in April. This initiative called for the mobilization of a multinational UN-led peacekeeping force of some 3500 troops. (Not the 18,000 to 40,000 troop mobilization the U.S. is now calling for!) The U.S.s government, whose resource support was critical, chose not to support the initiative even though they were signatories to the accompanying resolution.

So, if Operation Restore Hope is truly a humanitarian mission, why didn't the U.S. back the April UN initiative when conditions were clearly at their worst?

Asha Samad of the Somali Association for Relief and Development (SAFRAD), a material support organization of Somali nationals in Canada and the U.S., made the following observations: "Had they sent in the 3500 troops in April, not only might they have solved the problem, or greatly diminished it, they would have saved innumerable lives." "At the rate of 5000 dying a week, this is nothing less than genocide!"

Not only should the history and character of U.S. aid be the focus of critical scrutiny, so should U.S. immigration policy be viewed with a similar scrutiny. Dr. Samad asks insistently, "If the U.S. is truly so concerned about Somalia and about Africa, then why is it that up to now U.S. immigration policy only allows in 7000 Africans a year (whereas it allows in as many as four times Europeans), and Africa is the continent with the largest refugee and displaced population in the world?"

So if Operation Restore Hope is not the humanitarian hype it has been pumped up to be, then what is it? Why is the U.S. there?

Given the cobined factors of the scope and character of U.S. aid (arms and more arms) and the overbearing and uncooperative role that the U.S. played at the most critical juncture of the crisis (blocking the April 1992 UN initiative), it becomes clear one of the reasons the U.S. is there now is to save face as they are one of the "main" causes of the suffering the world has been witnessing through the distorted lenses of the U.S. corporate media. Yet there are other geopolitical reasons as well. One is their need for bases in the gulf area to increase its military mobility and capability of U.S. Marines in Mogadishu, Somalia's capitol, Subic Bay, the U.S. naval base in the Philippines, closed down. It was voted down in a 1987 Philippine referendum. Subic Bay was not only important to the deployment of U.S. forces in Asia, it was also important to the deployment of forces in the Middle East. Subic Bay supplied "70 percent" of American naval equipment used in Operation Desert Storm, another humanitarian hype that killed 300,000 people needlessly. Maybe as many as 100,000 Iraqi children have died from the fallout of those actions.

In addition, U.S. intelligence believes that Somalia, where it borders Kenya, may have considerable untapped oil that had previously gone undetected, which would explain the heightened hostility towards Somali refugees in Kenya, and the total white out in the U.S. media about these human rights violations, asserts Dr. Samad. Somalis in Kenya are forced to have two passes in Kenya. They can be stopped and searched arbitrarily at anytime. Not having the passes can mean arbitrary imprisonment and torture or expulsion from the country.

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# HAITI FACT SHEET

Dec 06, 1492 Christopher Columbus lands and claims the island of Hispaniola for Spain.

Oct 30, 1697 Treaty of Ryswick recognizes French claim to Western Hispaniola which comes the colony of Saint Dominque, later called Haiti.

Aug 14, 1791 Slave revolt against French colonist of Saint Dominque, led by Boukman.

Jan 01, 1804 Haiti becomes the first independent nation of Latin America after successful slave revolution.

Jul 28, 1915 U.S. Marines invade Haiti and began a 19 year military occupation.

Jun 12, 1918 U.S. government imposes a new Haitian Constitution allowing foreigners to own land and private property, previously prohibited. From 1915 to 1930, U.S. investment in Haiti increases 300%.

Dec 1934 U.S. Marines withdraw from Haiti, leaving "Garde d'Haiti" to protect U.S. interest.

Sep 22, 1957 Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier comes to power in elections rigged by the U.S. in 1964, he declares himself "President for Life".

Apr 1971 Francois Duvalier dies and his son, Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier succeeds him. U.S. private investment and government assistance dramatically increase.

Feb 07, 1986 Jean-Claude Duvalier is overthrown by a nation-wide popular uprising and flees the country in a U.S. Air Force cargo jet with millions of dollars of possessions. A military junta called the national Council of Government is installed under Gen. Henri Namphy and Gen. Williams Regala.

Nov. 29, 1988 Presidential Election aborted after the Army and former Tonton Macoutes massacre hundreds of would be voters.

Jan. 17, 1988 Christian Democratic politician Leslie Manigat elected in military run elections which are boycotted by the Haitian people and most candidates.

Jun. 20, 1988 Leslie Manigat overthrown in military coup by Gen. Namphy.

Sep. 18, 1988 Gen. Namphy overthrown in military coup by Gen. Prosper Avril.

Mar. 10, 1990 Gen. Avril steps down following nationwide popular uprising. Erta Pascale Trouillot is installed with U.S. support as interim President.

Dec. 16, 1990 Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide a liberation theologian is elected President.

Jan. 07, 1991 Roger Lafontant former Tonton Macoute Chief attempts coup before Aristide's inauguration. Coup fails when thousands of Haitians take to streets.



Feb. 07, 1991 Aristide is sworn in as President of Haiti and retires most of Army High Command.

Sep. 30, 1991 General Raoul Cedras leads military coup against Aristide who is flown into exile in Caracas, Venezuela.

Oct. 04, 1991 34 member nations of Organization of American States unanimously condemn coup, calling for Aristide's restoration and complete trade embargo against the illegal Haitian regime.

Oct. 08, 1991 Soldiers storm the legislative palace and force parliamentarians to accept Supreme Court Judge Joseph Nerette as their new president.

Oct. 11, 1991 The United Nations General Assembly calls for Aristide's restoration and recommends a trade embargo against de facto regime. Meanwhile, 150,000 Haitians march through the streets of New York City for over 12 hours in support of President Aristide.

Oct. 29, 1991 President George Bush orders U.S. trade embargo of Haiti to begin November 5, 1991 except for humanitarian shipments of certain foods.

Nov. 18, 1991 U.S. Coast Guard begins picking up Haitian refugees fleeing in boats and returning them to Haiti.

Nov. 23-24, 1991 President Aristide meets with pro-coup Haitian parliamentarians in Colombia to begin negotiating for his return. Talks break down and no agreements are reached.

Jan. 31, 1992 U.S. Supreme Court rules in favor of Bush administration policy of repatriating Haitian refugees.

Feb. 23, 1992 President Aristide, pro-coup parliamentarians and OAS officials sign the Protocols of Accord recognizing Aristide as Haiti's legitimate head of state but fixing no date for his return.

Feb. 27, 1992 Aristide gives speech before the United Nations Human Rights Conference in Geneva denouncing U.S. policy toward Haitian refugees as reminiscent of the Black slave trade.

March 27, 1992 Haitian Supreme Court rules that the Washington Accord is unconstitutional.

April 30, 1992 The Vatican becomes the only state in the world to officially recognize the de facto regime in Haiti.

May 21, 1992 General strike called by 29 popular organizations to protest against the de facto government.

June 19, 1992 Mark Bazin, the candidate long supported by Washington is sworn in as Prime Minister by the illegal de facto government. He reopens American factories and works to lift the embargo.

Sept. 9, 1992 The NAACP and TransAfrica organize a massive protest in front of the White House condemning the Bush administration's racist policy towards the Haitian refugees. Ninety-five people are arrested.

Over the last few months resistance within Haiti has intensified resulting in increased terror and repression all over the country. Student protests result in shootings, beatings and arrests. Three young men are arrested for putting up posters up Aristide. Their bodies turn up in the morgue. Reports by Amnesty International and the Ton Tons Macoutes, the death squads of the Duvalier family.

*This report prepared by the Haiti Commission 39 W. 14th Street, Rm 206, New York, NY 10011.*

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or both. Thousand of Somalis were expelled by Moi's U.S. backed government in December 1990. The U.S. government has an important military base at Mombasa which, ironically, was once a major port that linked the Trans-Saharan slave trade to the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Is Danis! "The Dog" Arap Moi trying to position himself too opportunistically for some of the oil spoils of Somali's instability?

In addition, this concern for increased mobility in the Gulf also includes southward and westward penetration as well. "Somalia is", as a State Department official just said, "a parking lot" or an entrance point into the Horn of Africa to influence what is happening is more important than Ethiopia and Eritrea. The Mengistu regime in Ethiopia has recently fallen also. Power has been shifting away from the Amhara people in Ethiopia, a previously dominant ethnic group that formerly had close ties with the West, and shifting towards the larger and more politically self-determining Oromo people. Eritrea recently won a long war for independence and have a very independent historical legacy and culture.

Serge Mukendi, of the Workers and Peasants Party in the Congo (Zaire), has said that since the U.S. intervention in Somalia, the FAP or the People's Armed Forces, the new military wing of the Workers and

Peasants Party, U.S. intervention in the (Zaire) against them. Since the despised U.S. backed Mobutu government has reneged on agreement to implement democratic reforms and has continued to use state terror through government forces or through a more secret state-police force known as "Hibou", the FAP has opted to confront Mobutu with arms. Next to the rabid fascist apartheid regime of South Africa, the mineral rich Zaire is the U.S. government's most important client state in southern Africa.

Last, but hardly least, are the cultural and ideological factors that need to be considered. According to U.S., British and Israeli intelligence, the new counterforce for northern imperialists to contend with is the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. Somalia, a country that is 99 percent Muslim, is viewed as "the midpoint in what they see as a tentacle of Islamic fundamentalism stretching from Iran to Yemen, Somalia, Eritrea, Ethiopia and finally into the Sudan." Dr. Samad illustrates. Another tentacle would be Islamic communities.

Finally, it is important to self-critically examine what the crisis in Somalia illustrates in terms of "African people solving 'our own' problems in a self-determining character", says Imani Milima, of the All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party (AAPRP). Sister Milima points out the critical need to appreciate the failures of key organs on the African continent in addressing this problem and to examine the need to be prepared to

create new structures that are more grassroots and self-determining in character. "The OAU of 1993 is not the OAU of 1963," she stresses. "The U.S. has taken the position that it will begin to use some of our own institutions, the OAU being at the top of the list, through which they will begin to propel their own foreign policy," Milima points to the example of the Afrikan Development Bank's domination by the IMF and the World Bank and the inability of the OAU, the bank of the OAU, to forge united stands on the most controversial issues plaguing the continent (i.e. Western Sahara, South Afrika, etc). "We have to begin to look at what is happening on the ground in Afrika", she challenges. "What kind of political groupings are developing that actually represent the people's voice?" she asks pointing to formations in places like Eritrea. "We must be prepared to build other vehicles and other institutions in the likelihood of its (OAU's) death as a progressive institution for Afrikan development and independence."

**Free Sundiata Acoli!**

**GOING..GOING ..GUINIER**

The saga of Lani Guinier has once again shown negroes that the white establishment holds them in true contempt despite their unceasing attempts to be faithful. Allow me to explain lesson Number 374. (We have been in this country 374 cursed years).

Bill Clinton withdrew his nomination of Lani Guinier to be the Assistant United States Attorney General for Civil Rights. He did this allegedly because of some "controversial" legal writings in law journals by Professor Guinier. Clinton said that he could not support the thinking in these articles and they ran counter to his beliefs about civil rights. Guinier was also under attack from the usual right wing suspects and shaky liberal "friends of the negro" for the same series of articles. These articles attempted to lay an intellectual foundation for proportional voting for blacks in areas where our legislative status and representation was negligible at best. The articles show how blacks and other so-called minorities could increase their voting clout by having multiple ballots and a legislative veto to combat racist and tyrannical majority rule. According to the New York Time (6/5/93..Pg.9) "communities have experimented with such voting plans for decades. Pennsylvania and until recently, Illinois, used cumulative voting plans favoring minority parties in statehouse elections. Other voting schemes have also been used in New York City, Cincinnati, Alamogordo, N.M., Sisseton, S.D., and Peoria, Ill." In addition, 28 small communities in Alabama have used them since 1988. In other words there was nothing new about what Guinier was advocating. This didn't stop her enemies. They said they were shocked, shocked that this person was against such a sacrosanct concept as majority rule.

She was even accused of introducing racial politics into the situation and dividing Amerikkka into "us vs. them" camps. To add a little spice into the mix Guinier was rumored to be tight with Clinton and his missus. Even if this were so, a fat lot of good it ended up doing for her. A lynch mob promptly formed, she was hunted down and in order to save herself Clinton threw her to the

wolves without even giving her a chance to defend her beliefs in front of the whole Senate. Not that it would have done any good. The Senate had been saying for weeks that they didn't want to be bothered with her, and further she didn't stand a chance of being confirmed. At the end of the whole sorry affair the Congressional Black Caucus, the Civil Rights "community" and assorted other negroes were threatening some vague forms of retaliation for this humiliation of one of their own. What does it all mean? Not much.

For opensers this was entirely in character (?) for old Bill. For those of you who have short memories I'll explain. During the presidential campaign Clinton had signed an execution order for a black man who had killed a highway patrolman. The only problem was that the man had brain damage because he had shot himself in the head after killing the policeman. In other words, he wasn't capable of understanding anything about his trial or subsequent imprisonment and execution. For all intents and purposes he was serving a death sentence. A civilized country would have let him live out his life because he was already being punished to the maximum. Notice I said civilized. No one ever confused Amerikkka with civilization of either a high or low order. Exhibit #1: Clinton, in order to strengthen his law and order credentials, signed this man's death warrant. Guinier and the Black Caucus didn't say a word in protest. Oh, there was some vague murmuring about an injustice however it was quickly hushed up because of the democratic need to defect Bush and get their hands on plus jobs in the government. Exhibit #2 was when the Reverend Jesse Jackson (acting under his frequent delusion that he's a power within the democratic party) invited Clinton to a Rainbow Coalition affair and Bill responded by attacking Sister Souljah. All of this was done to shore up his conservative new democratic credentials. He wasn't afraid to take on the negroes in their own house and disrespect them. After all what were they going to do about it? Vote for Bush? Once again negro democratic lackeys quivered under the lash (in ecstasy?) and kept silent

all in anticipation of promised white house goodies once their boy Bill was Prez.

Imagine their surprise when the goodies didn't come. Instead the homosexuals were the focus of attention (and they loved it). Homosexuals and lesbians paraded in Washington, demanded to have their narcissistic wants place on equal footing with ours and openly coveted Bill's missus from their stage on the Mall. A lesbian told a national television audience that she wanted to have sexual intercourse with Hilary because she was such a "babe". Not a word from Bill. I guess he didn't mind. At any rate he was coming under increasing attack for supporting such a freak show and he had to do something to reestablish his middle of the road credentials. He reacted by hiring Reagan/Bush apologist and flack David Gergen and handed Guinier her head. In other words he followed a tried and true formula for white amerikkka. When in doubt hang a darkey. That'll take care of everything and put the world on notice that you have your priorities straight. It works too. The Black Caucus won't do anything because they are so bankrupt that they have no place to go. They were firmly involved in the two-party system because it works for them. They have cushy jobs, benefits, pensions and life is sweet. Why should they join a campaign for independence and self-determination? Even through that is clearly what is called for and needed by our people. Not just in response to this little melodrama. That's too crude. We need independence because only then will we be able to truly determine our own destiny and not be subject to the whim of racists and opportunist like Clinton and his lackeys.

Point #10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will be black people as to their national destiny.

Brother Alkebulan

**The World Trade Center Bombing  
A Case of the Chickens Coming  
Home to Roost**

FEB 26, 1993

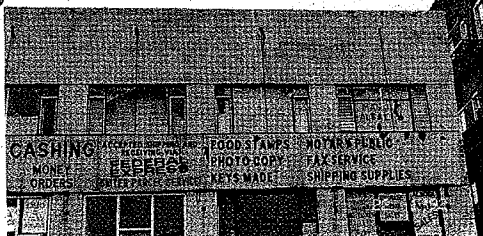
by Aki Lumumba



terror/ism ...Use of terror, especially the systematic use of terror by a government [i.e.: U.S., South Africa, Israel] or other authority against particular persons or groups [i.e.: indigenous people of the U.S. (native americans), Afrikan People at home and in the diaspora, Palestinians and other oppressed peoples).

Historically, the U.S. of Amerikkka by it's very deeds of systematic murdering, enslavement of people, covert and overt actions in overthrowing and destabilizing governments has earned itself the infamous title of the "Real Terrorist." Therefore the surprise was not that an explosion took place in the World Trade Center but that similar acts haven't occurred on a more frequent basis.

One of the arguments against the W.T.C. action (even by some who



oppose U.S. policies) is of "innocent victims" killed and injured in the blast. Where this may pose a concern, clear targets of military and policy makers might have been more advantageous. However the perception and to a large part the reality of the people in amerikkka is of inactivity and ineffective responses to amerikkka's terrorism and supporters of state terrorists, i.e.: srael, S. Afrika, Egypt, El

Salvador, etc. Therefore, after being victimized and terrorized, the oppressed strike back with sometimes impassioned actions.

A few lessons should be learned: witness the speed in which the government "broke the case"; all semblance of innocence until proven guilty was thrown out the window; and the capability of the state was highlighted in their venture on foreign soil to kidnap a suspect. Other very valuable lessons if the reports we read are accurate: never rent a van for an operation in your own name and never, never, never go back for the deposit!

There have been allegations of CIA involvement in the participation of the alleged act, particularly in the role government played with Sheik Abdel. Whether this is accurate, or is a misinformation attempt, further analysis is needed.

# Analysis of An Assassination

**SILENCING THE HEART-OF THE YOUNG LIONS' ROAR? TOWARDS A PEOPLES ANALYSIS OF THE ASSASSINATION OF CHRIS HANI**

19 April 1993

New York--As dusk settles over the fresh grave of the slain popular ANC leader Chris Hani, as a blood soaked South African soil proudly embraces his courageous remains, it is important to try and assess the significance and character of the assassination in order to appreciate its meaning, and in order to apply its lessons to the immediate and future needs of our people's struggle.



**BACKGROUND.**

Hani was assassinated on April 10th, 1993 in front of his home after parking his car in his driveway. Eyewitness accounts say that was approached and shot at point blank range by a white male who proceeded to fire numerous rounds in the downed Hani.

At the time of his death, Hani, 50, was the head of the South African Communist Party (SACP), a leading member of the African National Congress (ANC) and chief of Staff of ANC's armed forces, Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). A charismatic figure, Comrade Hani was considered to be the second most popular ANC leader next to Nelson Mandela and maybe more popular among the youth and militant sect. During this period, the ANC, while trying to press on with CODESA style moderate-toned negotiations with the racist apartheid regime, was going through some not so quiet ideological struggle internally over whether or not they should be negotiating with the regime in a 'power-sharing' framework, or whether they should even be negotiating with the regime at all given the objective conditions inside the country.

In that equation, Mandela represented the moderate position held primarily by the older elements in the leadership. Hani on the other hand represented the more critical radical position held primarily by the rank and file and youth especially.

In light of this background, several critical questions must be asked: Why was Chris Hani killed? Especially now, when conditions are so volatile? Does the character of his assassination (how he was killed) tell us anything as to why he was killed? Or what was at stake when he was killed?

Listening to the racist regime's initial response, they would have it that "Hani unfortunately was killed during the early stages of new and critical phase in the struggle--the negotiations. He was killed by a Polish immigrant who appeared to have been an 'outsider' of a right-wing neo-Nazi group, known as the Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging Movement (AWB)...Perhaps he was part of a right-wing conspiracy...if so that conspiracy did not involve the government. The timing of the killing was lousy to be sure, and Hani's death was unfortunate. But that is no reason to allow things to get out of hand" So spoke the racist regime.

Since when can we take the regime's word at face value, especially against a background of several thousands African people killed in the last year alone inside South Afrika. Chris Hani was a major player in the struggle against Apartheid. His assassination should be treated as a major assassination as those of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. relatively speaking. To be sure, Hani's murder should be treated by the international community as the first major assassination of the so-called New World Order Equation. It is important to contrast these assassinations with Hani's in some basic ways. Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. were both victims of covert neutralization operations. Or, using the language of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, there were definitely some "hidden hands" in both assassinations had particular methods and objectives. Hani at 50 represented inevitably not only the next line of ANC leadership; He also represented the next line of leadership in a new democratic South African equation. In the eyes of his enemies, could Hani's militancy be contained forever in an ANC framework coming more and more under critical mass scrutiny. Could his disciplined and restrained militancy become a more insurgent maverick militancy and threaten to shift the framework of the negotiations further to the left. Could white South Africans trust the personal ambitions of a charismatic Black Communist in such a volatile context.

Combine these factors with the added dimension of one of the most hotly debated points of departure between the ANC and the regime in this so-called 'power-sharing' arrangement. The reconstructing of the armed forces, the ultimate institutional expression of power. Only last month Minister of Law and Order Hennis Kriel rejected joint political control of state forces. The ANC, however, says that this arrangement must include reconstructing of state forces and the integration of all the armed formations (the ANC's, Umkhonto We Sizwe, PAC's People's Army for the Liberation of Azania) and the other national liberation organizations. Incidentally, the PAC has not suspended the armed struggle, although they are engaged in bilateral talks with the regime.) Hani's influence would have figured centrally in these negotiations.

Remember Martin and Malcolm were killed just as they, in the eyes of the U.S. national security state apparatus, were about to do something that would threaten their interest in a fundamental way.

Martin was about to attempt to create a coalition between poor white and Black workers through his Poor Peoples Campaign, which would have been ground breaking work that could have broken down centuries old racist barriers to working class unity. Or Martin might abandon his 'obedience' to white liberal doctrines (nonviolence) and embrace Black Nationalism, as FBI Counter Intelligence Program

(COINTELPRO) documents clearly raised in 1967.

Malcolm the state feared might create an organization (Organization of African-American Unity) that was as tightly-knit as his former Nation of Islam, but a more dangerous organization by having a more international revolutionary mass character. Malcolm might successfully give glue to a genuine Black United Front and get a considerable return on his planning to charge the U.S. with genocide. Malcolm might even be a catalyst to more wide-ranging, better coordinated clandestine formation as well. Prelude to a real 'Mau-Mau' in America as those same FBI COINTELPRO documents also clearly raise.

Chris Hani was killed because his death would meet some basic objectives of the fascist South African national security state. Hani was killed most likely for the following reasons: to derail negotiation by provoking violence, by creating a 'state of emergency type conditions; to neutralize his potential influence in those negotiations surrounding the character of the armed forces; to attempt to isolate and possibly fragment the militant line within the ANC and possibly further isolate the external militant line of the PAC. More long range objectives to his assassination could include retarding the coherent development of a militant line in the near future ANC and eliminating the possibility of a Communist becoming chief of state of chief of the armed forces in a new democratic South Africa.

We should be very clear about one thing, New World Order equation notwithstanding, the national security state apparatus of both racist settler colonialist states of both the U.S. and South Africa have not changed or reformed themselves one bit.

Chris Hani was killed the way he was killed because covert assassinations spin off what is called 'plausible denial' the ability to kill someone in a way to make it appear that the government was in no way involved. "See!, we caught the shooter and we are prosecuting him. Besides, you CAN'T PROVE that we had anything to do with it."

**Towards A Peoples' Pan-Africanist Conclusion:**

So what does this all mean? It means a lot of things both at home and abroad. For our people in South Afrika, it means not only intensifying the struggle in the general direct action sense; It means intensifying the DE-CONSTRUCTION of not just the armed forces, but every branch of the national security apparatus. For our people here, it should mean something similar. Preferably broad-based demands, for a peace dividend "inside the monster" using the words of Jose Marti the father of the Cuban Revolution.

We must take aim not at just the military budget, but the budgets and the institutional network apparatus of the FBI, CIA, NSC, or in a word--the U.S. national security network. Or there will be more assassinations and other deadly covert actions.

Back to South Afrika, finally, given the acceleration of agitated demands to speed up the transition process, it appears that this may also mean that the 'hidden trigger hand' that killed the indomitable Chris Hani may very well have backfired. Long Live Chris Hani!!!

We Will Win!!!

Brother Zayid Muhammad.

Editors Note: Brother Muhammad is an International Political Activist, a renowned Poet and a central organizer with Frontline Artist.

**OLIVER TAMBO, ANC CHAIRMAN DEAD AT 75**

Oliver Tambo, a leader with the African National Congress, died of a stroke, April 24, 1993 in South Africa. Mr. Tambo, born October 27, 1917, dedicated his life to the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. Mr. Tambo received a bachelor's degree in 1941 from Fort Hare University. There in 1942 as a graduate student he was expelled after leading a student protest against restrictions on the use of a campus tennis court.

In 1944 along with Nelson Mandela, Brother Tambo founded the Youth League of the African National Congress. In 1960 shortly after Mr. Tambo was found not guilty of treason and the ANC was banned he went abroad to organize Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). The Sharpeville Massacre in which over 250 Africans were either killed or wounded during a peaceful demonstration was a further lesson to show Brother Tambo that "non-violence had become meaningless." He also answered the question on terrorism by saying. "We are called Terrorists. After 70 years what would anyone do if the response [to non-violence] had been murder, torture, life imprisonment? Who is a terrorist? Is it not the person who has been persecuting human beings simply because they are black?"

Comrade Oliver Tambo is survived by his wife Adelaide and three children.





## Black Panther Party Platform and Program

**1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.**

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

**2. We want full employment for our people.**

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

**3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.**

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 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 many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

**4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.**

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

**5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.**

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

**6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.**

We believe the Black people should not 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 white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

**7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.**

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Con-

stitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self defense.

**8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.**

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

**9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in a court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.**

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the United States Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

**10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonia subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.**

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds 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 unalienable 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 to 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 usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under an absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security. ■

## Key BPP Writings

### Rules of the Black Panther Party

**EIGHT Points of Attention**

1. Speak politely.
2. Pay fairly for what you buy.
3. Return everything you borrow.
4. Pay for anything you damage.
5. Do not hit or swear at people.
6. Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
7. Do not take liberties with women.
8. If we ever have to take captives, do not ill treat them.

**THREE MAIN RULES:**

1. Obey orders in all your actions.
2. Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the "poor and oppressed" masses.
3. Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy.

**RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

**Central Headquarters**

Every member of the Black Panther Party throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. Central Committee members, Central Staffs, and Local Staffs, including all captains subordinate to either national, state and local leadership of the Black Panther Party will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the Black Panther Party were violated.

Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart, and apply them daily. Each member must report any viola-

tion of these rules to the leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the Black Panther Party.

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be drunk while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the Black Panther Party and meetings of the Black Panther Party anywhere.
5. No party member will use, point, or fire a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the Black Liberation Army.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while drunk or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or Black people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested Black Panther members will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and Platform of the Black Panther Party must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party communications must be national and local.
12. The 10-10-10 program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.

14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section leader, Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapon correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it be published in the paper and will be known by all chapter and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each should be there. All others are to sell papers and do political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. Communications-all chapters must submit weekly report writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cad
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the Black Panther Party must submit a monthly financial report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the Central Committee of the Black Panther Party.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters. ■

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If you are either presently selling the Black Panther or wish to be a vendor and you are West of Illinois call or write BPNC P.O. Box 519 Berkeley, California 94701 (510) 534-5875. Illinois and East, BPNC. P.O. Box 16330 Jersey City, New Jersey 07306 (201) 432-0874 or contact your nearest BPNC office.

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On the brightside Right to Exist will be hosting many events to heighten political awareness and revolutionary consciousness. We will host forums, speakers, video nights and poetry readings. It will also serve as a meeting place where people in the area can meet other like minded individuals and hangout.

If you would like to attend or having something you would like to present contact us at the address listed below. **LONG LIVE THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION!**  
**RIGHT TO EXISTENCE** anarchist bookstore  
 285 Preakness Ave., Paterson. New Jersey 07502  
 or call: 1(201)790-3076

**GUIDELINES :****FOR ARTICLES, PHOTOS, ART, AND GRAPHICS**

**ARTICLES:** Manuscripts must be 1100 words or less. However, especially compelling well-written pieces may be longer. All articles must be truthful, and where a problem is outlined a solution should also be proposed if possible. Article tone should never beg or implore, but insist and demand. Stories should flow logically; cite references when ever possible. When ever possible suggest a course of action: write letters, circulate petitions, feed the hungry. Be sure to include dates and addresses or other information as needed: Submit original instead of photocopy.

**PHOTOS:** Send original black and white negative with photo if possible. Do not half tone. Make note of the photo date, caption, credit. If submitting more than one photo and article, number photos and indicate which photo goes with which article. Send return stamped envelope for return of photos.

**ART:** Black and White art preferred, generally smaller than 8x11 inches. Include caption and credit. Include self addressed stamped envelope if you wish to have materials returned.

**THEME/TOPICS:** Self-help groups that are serving the people; politics and politicians on the local, state, or national level; health issues especially AIDS and infant morality; hunger; police brutality [mis] education of our youth; political prisoners and prisoners of war and prison issues; economic development in the Black Community including trade associations and boycotts; housing and homelessness; international news with an emphasis on news from Afrika and countries of the diaspora; book reviews about Afrikan American history and biography. Remember, this is the Black Panther paper not the ladies Home Journal or Essence magazine.

**COMPENSATION:** Remuneration is at the rate of three copies of the paper per article for publication rights.

# ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

