

Right On! #19



BPP Comrade Kiilu Nyasha

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



Why is the Right Wing trying to portray Obama as a socialist?

By Tom Big Warrior

"Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are dying who could be saved, that generations more will live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your love in revolution."

— Comrade George Jackson

The commercial ad agencies are working overtime cranking out propaganda for the Right Wing depicting President Obama as a "socialist," and a "Communist," and even comparing him to Adolf Hitler and "The Joker" from Batman. Obviously the Republican Party wants to whip up a backlash among its base and recapture political power, but I think it goes a bit deeper than that. To more fully understand this phenomenon, we must begin with the understanding that the U.S. is, as George Jackson explained in "Blood In My Eye," a two-party fascist dictatorship and has been since the Great Depression:

We might begin by acknowledging that Jackson's study of fascism engages, and rises out of, a much wider (Marxist and non-Marxist) discourse. It is clear that he critiques and sets out to redress "several old left notions" about fascism. First, he argues that analyzing the emergence and "consolidation" of fascism does not lead "to a defeatist view of history." In fact, he says, it is necessary if we are to "regroup and even think of carrying on the fight" (129-130).

The second notion he critiques is the "old guard's" definition of fascism "simply as an economic geo-political affair where only one political party is allowed to exist aboveground and no opposition political activity is allowed" (132). However, I am yet unclear as to whom he is engaging with. Wilhelm Reich and Franz Neumann are referred to explicitly while "important," the former tends to be "overanalytical to the point of idealism" and the latter is "too narrowly based" on Nazi Germany (130). But beyond that it isn't clear to me whose ideas are being drawn on or critiqued and reshaped.

One way that we can come at the question of fascism is by differentiating between a number of different perspectives of Fascism. Jackson seems to do just this as he writes, "The importance or form of a particular political regime can never be understood simply as it stands alone, its social and economic past must be investigated and clearly defined before the distinctive being of the political realm takes shape" (144). While each never gets explicitly isolated from the other it might be useful for us to identify some characteristics of each separately.

In regards to the economic dimensions of fascism, Jackson argues that the rebound from the Great Depression signaled the rise of fascist economy. In this argument the business cycle (or the accumulation cycle) and the trend toward monopoly capital (Jackson 1972: 136) take center stage in the historical development of capitalism: "The heart of the fascist economy is an attempt at control through centralization: monopoly capital control, price fixing, wage freezes, and carefully balanced foreign trade" (155).

The "political" dimensions of fascism seem to entail what Jackson terms "corporativism." In one sense, this seems to refer to the marriage of state elites and industrial elites through the process mentioned previously: nation-state bureaucracies and international monetary institutions team up with industrial capitalists and (attempt to) take the steering wheel in the regulation of economic processes. However, it is important to remember that "the capitalist business cycle cannot be controlled. Inflationary spasmodic attacks, regional recession and depression pursue capitalism in all its forms like a nemesis, break its spirit, reduce its top heavy bureaucratic backbone to jelly" (Jackson 1972, 160).

Another sense of corporativism is its strategic incorporation and co-optation of potential challenge into the system through reform. Jackson writes, "Each economic reform that perpetuates ruling-class hegemony has to be disguised as a positive gain for the upthrusting masses" (118). Reform is carried out in the form of concessions "to the degenerate segment of the working class, with the aim of creating a buffer zone between the ruling class and the still potentially revolutionary segments of the lower classes" (119). This sense of corporativism, or fascism, can bring us back to a discussion of racism which operates to unify capitalists and the white working class which they exploit. It can also bring us back to the failure of the old vanguard that allowed the formation of a fundamental ingredient to effective fascism: the partnership between capital and labor.

The "psycho-social" dimensions of fascism are, of course, tied closely to these considerations. Jackson identifies the presence of *competitiveness*, "a sense of insecurity and insignificance that is inculcated into the workers by conditions of life and work," and that gives rise to "the resentment and the seedbed of fear" which is "patterned into every modern capitalist society," and racism, "the morbid traditional fear of blacks, Indians, Mexicans" and the desire "to inflict pain on them when they began to compete in industrial sectors" (171). This racism and competitiveness are seen as necessary features for a fascist state.

Another key element of the "psycho-social" functions of fascism is the way that it plays on and encourages what he calls the "authoritarian syndrome." While in blacks he sees this condition as relatively superficially engrained, for elements of the white working-class it seems deeply instilled. He describes it as a "loyalty syndrome" that "feeds on a small but still false sense of class consciousness and the need for a community." He also describes it as a "morbid phenomenon that grows out of the psychopathology of mob behavior" (152). This functions to "degenerate and diffuse working-class consciousness with a psycho-social appeal to man's herd instincts" and it is "at the center of totalitarian capitalism (fascism)" (152).

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Kevin Rashid Johnson
NABPP-PC Minister of Defense

Black Liberation in the 21st Century: A Revolutionary Reassessment of Black Nationalism

“[T]rue revolutionary leaders must not only be good at correcting their ideas, theories, plans or programs, when errors are discovered... but when a certain objective process has already progressed and changed from one stage of development to another, they must also be good at making themselves and all their fellow revolutionaries progress and change in their subjective knowledge along with it...”

– Mao Tse-tung, *On Contradiction*



Introduction

Some time ago, comrades of the New Afrikan Maoist Party (NAMP) expressed a desire to reconcile contradictions between their line and the line of our New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC) on the question of Black National Liberation in the 21st Century. On this question, NAMP along with several other organizations – including the New Afrikan People’s Organization (NAPO), the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, the Maoist International Movement (MIM) and others – promote the Black Belt Thesis (BBT) as it was set out by the Comintern (Third Communist International) in the 1920s.

The NAMP comrades are correct in pointing out that our respective organizations have a major line contradiction on this question. Because we have as yet not publicly fleshed out our line on this in contrast to that of NAMP and others, it is time we did so in a formal position paper.

in developing our line on the Black National Question in the U.S., we have applied the method of historical dialectical materialism and deepened the analysis put forward by Huey

P. Newton of the original Black Panther Party (BPP), which means we do not hold dogmatically and idealistically to outmoded ideas and formulations that no longer fit the current situation. Instead we base our analysis on the study of concrete conditions in the context of their actual historical development, realizing that everything is in a state of motion and development from a lower to a higher level, and that correct ideas develop in struggle and contradiction with incorrect ones.

The Black Belt Thesis and the New Class Configuration of the New Afrikan Nation

The BBT was developed by the U.S. “Black Bolshevik,” Harry Haywood, in his 1928 and 1930 “Comintern Resolution on the Negro Question,” which was adopted by the Comintern and the U.S. Communist Party with support from V.I. Lenin. It holds that Blacks in Amerika (New Afrikans) constitute a nation within the territorial U.S. and that we should establish our own sovereign national territory in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana and South Carolina (the “Black Belt” also



known as the "Cotton Belt"). The states were chosen because we slaved there and developed and evolved as a national group and "internal colony" where Blacks made up the majority. The principle factors which supported the BBT were economic and demographic that existed in the 1920s but no longer exist today.

No one can sensibly deny that Black people were forged into a "nation within a nation" because of their loss of Afrikan national identity under slavery and exclusion from the white Amerikan nation under conditions of "Jim Crow" segregation. Nor can one deny that this nation is bound to its Afrikan origin and defined by the imposed value that a drop of Afrikan blood sets one outside of the "melting pot" of white Amerikan society.

But where the BBT breaks down is that our present situation doesn't fit into the neat definition used by the Comintern in the 1920s. The reality is more complex today.



At the time the BBT was developed, Blacks in the "Black Belt" were a predominantly peasant (sharecropper) nation tied to cotton production. This condition was also shared by many poor whites and some Indians and mixed bloods. The BBT was based on Comrade J.V. Stalin's analysis of the National Question as essentially a peasant question. Unlike the analysis put forward by Lenin, and more fully developed by Mao, Stalin's analysis limited the National Question to essentially a peasantry's struggle for the land they labored on geographically defined by their having a common language, history, culture and economic life together. Hence the slogans "Free the Land!" and "Land to the Tiller!"

Indeed, ALL the national liberation struggles of the 20th Century occurred in peasant-based societies in opposition to colonial or neo-colonial domination and feudal or semi-feudal class oppression. Today, however, the Black population within the U.S. is no longer a rural peasantry. It is overwhelmingly a proletarian nation (wage slaves) dispersed across the U.S. and concentrated in and around urban centers in predominantly Black or multi-ethnic oppressed communities.

The trend since World War I has been towards migration away from the "Black Belt" South and from the rural to the urban setting (even within the South). Check this out from "1001 Facts" on Black History:

"African Americans continued to move northward and cityward after World War I in 1918. In fact, the migration increased during the 1920s as another million southern African Americans picked up their bags and left southern living conditions. The migration expanded in the 1930s as the New Deal Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 forced many more to migrate once the AAA paid white southern farmers not to produce crops and made it profitable to dispense with Black sharecroppers. Technological advances such as the cotton picker machine made large numbers of unskilled agricultural laborers obsolete in southern agriculture. Then, as World War II began, Black mass migration exploded and nearly 5 million African Americans left the South for the North from 1940 to 1960... [This] Second Migration created huge ghettos in all the major American cities. Whereas in 1890 close to 90 percent of African Americans lived in the South, by 1960 only 50 percent of African Americans still resided there. Moreover, the movement North was also a movement toward urban rather than rural living. By 1990 over 84 percent of African Americans lived in urban areas, making 'African American' and 'urban' almost synonymous in modern America."

Therefore, without need of pursuing a struggle to achieve a New Afrikan nation state, we have achieved the historical results of bourgeois democracy, at least as far as transforming ourselves from a peasant to a predominantly proletarian national grouping through the "Great Migration."

Of course the Amerikan liberal democratic revolution begun in 1776, which was continued by the Civil War (1861-1865), remains unfinished – in particular as far as Black people are affected. Pre-capitalist forms of exploitation continue to exist, such as the "slave status" of U.S. prisoners, institutionalized torture, legalized "lynching" as embodied in the racist death penalty, and all manifestations of racism, sexism and discrimination that prevent all from enjoying the "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness" promised by liberal democracy.

To complete the liberal democratic revolution and move forward to socialist reconstruction the proletariat must lead the struggle which is stifled by the increasingly anti-democratic, fascist and reactionary bourgeoisie. The bourgeois are no longer capable of playing a progressive role in history.

The Revolutionary Advantages of Our Proletarian National Character

That we New Afrikans are now a predominantly proletarian nation – and one without a national territory – is an advantage to the cause of building a multi-ethnic, multi-racial socialist Amerika. Indeed, it thrusts us into playing a vanguard role in leading the whole working class and the broad masses in pulling down the capitalist-imperialist system and achieving social justice for all.

This conception of our historical role corresponds with Lenin's and Mao's lines on the National Question which we contrast with Stalin's and dogmatic continuation of the BBT. Lenin and Mao saw the national question primarily as a matter of building the ranks of the proletarian revolution to pull down the system of imperialism. In fact, in all of his writings on Black liberation in the U.S. Mao consistently talks about merging the Black liberation struggle with the proletarian revolutionary struggle in the U.S. He doesn't mention the land issue once. In *A New Storm Against Imperialism*, (April 16, 1968), he stated:



"Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the Black masses in the United States and the U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalists class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the Black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The Black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States have common interests and common objectives to struggle for.

"Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States. The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class."

In his August 8, 1963 article, *Oppose Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism*, Mao's emphasis is on racial discrimination, not "Free The Land!" He sees Black liberation as driving forward the United Front Against Capitalist-Imperialism and pulling white workers and other strata towards socialist revolution in the U.S. The issue is not integration versus separation but revolution.

Even Malcolm X came to embrace this position. In fact, every popular, independent Black leader who came to hold this view and actively advanced it was promptly assassinated. Why? Because neither separation nor integration threatens the imperialist system – socialist revolution does!

Separation, Integration or Revolution?

Take Brother Malcolm; in his early stages of political development, he promoted Black separatism. Based upon his observation of independence struggles across the predominantly peasant-based 3rd World of the 1950s and early 1960s, he adopted the view that revolution was about land, and he embraced the slogan "Free The Land!," which he elaborated on in his *Message to the Grassroots* speech given in 1963. However, in an April 6, 1964 speech given in Harlem, he expressly rejected both Black separatism and integration, in favor of revolutionary change of Amerika as a whole. He stated:

"We have to keep in mind at all times that we are not fighting for integration, *nor are we fighting for separation*. We are fighting for recognition... for the right to live as free humans in this society." [my emphasis]

Malcolm increasingly came to identify capitalism and imperialism as the ultimate enemy – embracing the need of Afrikan people everywhere to consolidate their struggles into a united Pan-Afrikan movement, and for Blacks in Amerika to unite in a common struggle with all the "have-nots," regardless of their skin color, against the common exploiters who try to divide everyone and play us against each other. It was at this crucial stage of his development as a revolutionary that he was silenced with a bullet.

A few months before his assassination, Malcolm X criticized his earlier views on separatist Black nationalism, finding that:

"I was alienating people who were true revolutionaries dedicated to overturning the system of exploitation that exists on this earth by any means necessary... I had to do a lot of thinking and reappraising of my definition of Black nationalism. Can we sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as Black nationalism? And if you notice, I haven't been

using the expression for several months. But I would still be hard pressed to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of Black people in this country."

At the opposite pole, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. – who was initially pro-integration and pro-capitalist – also came to identify capitalism and imperialism as the ultimate enemy, expressly rejecting integration and privately promoting socialist revolution in Amerika as the way forward. He stated in November 1967: "Something is wrong with capitalism as it stands here in the U.S. We are not interested in being integrated into this value structure." During later 1967 and 1968, shortly before his assassination, King repeatedly promoted socialism to his inside circle, but he refused to make this stand publicly for fear of government assassination. But his private statements, public opposition to U.S. imperialist wars abroad, and support for the rights of the poor and workers' strikes were enough for the imperialist ruling class to mark him for death.



George Jackson, pursuing the same path and arriving at the same conclusions in a more developed way, was likewise cut down by an assassin's bullet. He observed:



"It's no coincidence that Malcolm X and M.L. King died when they did. Malcolm X had just put it together... You remember what was on his lips when he died, Vietnam and economic, political economy. The professional killers could have murdered him long before they did. They let Malcolm rage on Muslim nationalism for a number of years because they knew it was an empty ideal, but the second he got his feet on the ground, they murdered him."

Despite Malcolm X's and even King's clearly-stated revolutionary positions that New Afrikan liberation lies neither in assimilation (accommodation) nor separation (running away), but in fundamentally changing Amerikan society as a whole, so that we can live as a free people right here, the Black Movement, and those purporting to lead it, have remained deadlocked between these two less than revolutionary positions. The original Black Panther Party has been the notable exception.

The Panthers recognized that the New Afrikan Nation can neither effectively separate from nor integrate into capitalist-imperialist and white supremacist Amerika. Neo-colonialism precludes the former and racist national oppression precludes the later. Our path to liberation – which even the Panthers found a bit difficult to consistently articulate – is to overthrow U.S. imperialism and play a leading role in the global proletarian revolution and socialist reconstruction. We must be the tip of the spear and rally everyone who has contradictions with imperialism to unite with us.

Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, who were greatly influenced by Malcolm X, were organizing in this direction, in implementing the BPP's 10 Point Program and Serve The People (STP) survival programs while carrying out revolutionary agitation, education and political organizing to build community-based people's power. Huey saw that Blacks were an oppressed nation inside Amerika, but his ideas on charting our path to liberation took a quantum leap forward when he visited and toured Mao's revolutionary China. There he found that numerous racial and ethnic minorities had attained genuine liberation within China's socialist state, without separating or integrating in the classic sense.

What Huey observed in China gave him a blueprint for organizing Black folks to become self-reliant in the very urban communities where they were concentrated in preparation for revolution in the U.S. The BPP's implementation of these ideas quickly earned it the label of the "greatest threat" to imperialism's security, and the U.S. government concentrated its forces in an all-out campaign to destroy the Panthers. Here's what Huey found in People's China that inspired the BPP's STP survival programs and illuminated his ideas about Black liberation in Amerika:

"I saw, crystal clear, how we can start to reduce the kinds of conflicts that we're having in [Amerika]. I saw an example of that in China... what I saw was this: when I went there, I was very unenlightened and I thought I knew something about China. I thought, as it has been said so often, that China would be a homogeneous kind of racial/ethnic territory. then I found that 50 percent of the Chinese territory is occupied by a 54 percent population of national minorities, large ethnic minorities. They speak different languages, they look very different, they eat different foods. Yet *there is no conflict*. I observed one day that each region – we call them cities – is actually controlled by those ethnic minorities, yet they're still Chinese... I'm talking about a general condition in China where ethnic minorities I've observed control their whole regions. they have a right to have representation in the Chinese Communist Party. At the same time they have their own principles... the cities in this country could be

organized like that, with community control. At the same time, not Black control so that no whites can come in, no Chinese can come in. I'm saying there would be democracy in the inner city. The administration should reflect the people who live there."



Huey P. Newton in People's China

While Huey proved less than adept at linking together, organizing and leading a multi-racial anti-imperialist united front in Amerika, Fred Hampton, the leader of the BPP in Chicago, successfully pulled together a revolutionary coalition of poor whites (Rising Up Angry and The Young Patriot Party), Puerto Ricans (the Young Lords Organization), Mexicans (the Brown Berets) and various student groups known as the "Rainbow Coalition." He was being considered for promotion to national leadership when he was killed in his bed by FBI and Chicago police in a planned assassination.

Around the country the Black Panthers did inspire and forge alliances with many different ethnically-based groups including the White Panther Party, I Wor Kuen (Chinese), Ang Katipunan (Filipino), the American Indian Movement (AIM) and many others. This was paving the way for a revolutionary united front against imperialism rooted in the oppressed communities.

The NABPP-PC also finds relevance in Huey's theoretical concept of "Revolutionary Intercommunalism," which recognized that the U.S. no longer fits the classical definition of a nation state nor do the countries under its neo-colonial domination. Using "Dollar Diplomacy," along with covert operations and outright invasions, the U.S. has successfully imposed itself upon all of the former European colonies and overthrown the socialist-oriented governments brought to power by national liberation struggles in the 3rd World. This paved the way for the U.S. becoming the world's sole imperialist superpower. Amerika's consolidation of global power since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the increasingly globalized economic interdependence gives greater credibility to Comrade Newton's theory of "Intercommunalism," but we embrace this theory conditionally, recognizing that nation states still exist in the geo-political sense under various political and military set ups of "reactionary intercommunalism," although they exist within a system of relative dominant and subservient positions with the U.S. in the position of "Top Dawg." The shackles of bourgeois nationalism still bind the productive forces of the various nations to some degree, from which world proletarian socialist revolution will liberate them, creating the conditions for "revolutionary intercommunalism."



Reassessing the National Liberation Question

As every national liberation struggle in the 20th Century has demonstrated, genuine national liberation and self-determination have been unattainable. In each case the capitalist-imperialists have created and appealed to aspiring native bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements within the oppressed national groups and used these puppets to derail their own people's liberation struggles. They have used "Dollar Diplomacy" to forge neo-colonial bonds upon these new republics.

Through their neo-colonial designs, the budding socialist and non-aligned 3rd World blocs were undermined and overthrown (sweeping the tillers off the land) and their natural resources and productive forces were brought under U.S. imperialist domination (with other imperialist powers getting a share). In this world of U.S. imperialist hegemony, any New Afrikan struggle for independence and separation from the U.S. – along the lines of the BBT – would suffer the same fate in spades. Even if we did manage to reconstitute ourselves as a territorial nation in the "Black Belt," we would only join the ranks of imperialist dominated 3rd world nations – and with the imperialist U.S. right on our border.

At a time when few within the 3rd World national liberation struggles foresaw the danger of U.S. neo-colonialism, Amilcar Cabral sounded a warning to other leaders of anti-colonial national liberation movements in the 3rd World. He questioned whether the national liberation movements were altogether born of the colonial peoples' determination to be free or if they were also to some degree instigated by imperialism to create and "liberate" 3rd World bourgeois and aspiring petty-bourgeois forces to serve as imperialist agents and "front men" to impede and counter the growth of world socialism and create global U.S. imperialist hegemony. Few took heed to his words – then or now. Here is Cabral:

"In Guinea, as in other countries, the implementation of imperialism by force and the presence of the colonial system considerably altered the historical conditions and aroused a response – the national liberation struggle – which is generally considered a revolutionary trend; but this is something which I think needs further examination. I should like to formulate this question: is the national liberation movement something which has simply emerged from within our country, is it a result of the internal contradictions created by the presence of colonialism, or are there external factors which have determined it? In fact I would even go so far as to ask whether, given the advance of socialism in the world, the national liberation movement is not an imperialist initiative. Is the juridical institution which serves as a reference for the right of all peoples to struggle to free themselves a product of the peoples who are trying to liberate themselves? Was it created by the socialist countries who are our historical associates? Let us not forget that it was the imperialist countries who recognized the right of all people to national independence."

Cabral went on to point out the inherent contradiction in the imperialists "promoting" 3rd World national independence if indeed such struggles were a threat to imperialism:

"This is where we think there is something wrong with the simple interpretation of the national liberation movement as a revolutionary trend. The objective of the imperialist countries was to prevent the enlargement of the Socialist Camp, to liberate the reactionary forces in our countries which were stifled by colonialism, and to enable these forces to ally themselves with the international bourgeoisie. The fundamental objective was to

create a bourgeoisie where one did not exist, in order specifically to strengthen the imperialist and the capitalist camp."

– Amilcar Cabral, *The Politics of Struggle*, (1964)



Amilcar Cabral (1924-1973)

Cabral found that "what really interests us here is neo-colonialism," which he observed was a new phase of imperialism devised after World War II to replace the old colonial system, by "grant[ing] independence to the occupied countries plus 'aid.'"

Witnessing the failed promises of 'national liberation' Cabral recognized that to be genuinely revolutionary and 'liberating' the struggles for national independence had to be *joined with* the struggle of the international proletariat. He concluded;

"...that imperialism is quite prepared to change both its men and its tactics in order to perpetuate itself, it will make and destroy states and, as we have already seen, it will kill its own puppets when they no longer serve its purposes. If need be, it will even create a kind of socialism, which people may soon start calling 'neo-socialism.' if there has been any doubts about the close relations between our struggle [for national liberation] and the struggle of the international working class movement, neo-colonialism has proved that there need not be any."

– Ibid.

Even the U.S. imperialists admitted using such "new tactics" of neo-colonialism as Cabral observed in supporting Afrika and Asia's various national liberation movements. In the words of Vice President Richard Nixon on his return from a 1957 tour of Afrika:

"American interests in the future are so great as to justify us in not hesitating even to assist the departure of the colonial powers from Africa. If we can win native opinion in this process, the future of America in Africa will be assured."

– Quoted in *Dirty Works 2: The CIA in Africa*, edited by Ellen Ray, et al. (Seacacucus; Lyle Stuart, Inc., 1979, p. 58)

Accord this statement of the U.S. National Security Council:



"We must recognize, although we cannot say it publicly, that we need the strong men of Africa on our side. It is important to understand that most of Africa will soon be independent... Since we must have the strong men of Africa on our side, perhaps we should in some cases develop military strong men as an offset to Communist development of the labor unions."

-- Quoted verbatim from the record of a January 14, 1960 meeting of the NSC

So clearly the U.S. government favored pushing its European rivals and their colonial governments out of Afrika by supporting the Afrikan national liberation struggles, by backing or placing native puppets at the head of those anti-colonial movements. In doing so:

"The stage was set for the transition to *neo-colonialism*: formal political independence for the African countries, but continued economic domination by imperialism, with imperialist political control exerted indirectly through bureaucratic African governments more or less subservient to imperialism, and military control exerted indirectly through covert links between imperialist powers and African military/police hierarchies."

-- Daniel Fogel, *Africa in Struggle: National Liberation and Proletarian Revolution*, (ISM Press: CA, 1982, p.116).

National 'Liberation' has therefore proved empty of substance to oppressed 3rd World peoples, absent the defeat of imperialism: Exactly as it would be in a struggle for New Afrikan national 'Liberation' in the southern U.S. territory, absent the defeat of imperialism.

Moreover, any such struggle would almost certainly degenerate into an imperialist-sponsored race war, similar to what went down in the Kosovo conflict (1998-1999), and present day Sudan. In any such struggle, Blacks would be at a decided disadvantage -- witness our helplessness in the face of the Hurricane Katrina Crisis and attendant martial law in Louisiana and Mississippi (both "Black Belt" states). And in that crisis we didn't have to contend with angry and desperate whites fighting to keep their land and homes. Or do our proponents of the BBT expect whites in the "Black Belt" to passively concede the territory and leave? Or do they think we will just grab the imperialists by the throat and demand that they give us five states, make all the arrangements, and then let us run the show there without interference?

And what about the white proletarians who live in the "Black Belt?" What stake would they have in this? Or would we want to just push them into the arms of the reactionaries opposing us? Such a plan would only divide the proletarians along racial lines, set them against each other and give the imperialists a free hand to play the "Divide and Rule" game "Willie Lynch" style.

Furthermore, our migration back to the "Black Belt" would be "a leap from the frying pan into the fire" for how would we survive in the already poor economy of the rural South? "Returning to the Land" may sound romantic, but trying to bust a living out of the depleted soil of the Deep South was a dead end that caused the "Great Migration" in the first place.

And what a loss it would be to the international proletariat for us to give up our strategic positions within the urban centers across Amerika. Of course revolutionary work should be done among the people of the "Black Belt" South (including the poor whites and others) as well, as part of building the revolutionary movement to overthrow capitalist-imperialism.

The BPP did not promote a mass exodus of New Afrikans back to the "Black Belt," rather they correctly looked to New Afrikan self-determination right in the oppressed urban communities where Black people are concentrated. It really wasn't until Harry Haywood's book *Black Bolshevik* was published in 1978 that the BBT was revived among the New Communist Movement in the U.S. The name New Afrikan was adopted by a convention of 500 Black nationalist leaders in Detroit in March of 1968, at a Black government conference.

For the NABPP-PC "New Afrikan" is more than the latest in a series of monikers given to Black people in Amerika. Afrika is our common heritage. It -- not the "Black Belt" -- is our common historic homeland. When a Black person comes to Amerika from the Caribbean, Brazil or from Afrika they become a part of the New Afrikan Nation in Amerika -- and suffer national oppression and discrimination -- even though their ancestors never set foot in the "Black Belt."

As proletarians, our relationship to production and the world economy makes us "New" and different from the peasantry of the 3rd World and our ancestors in the Old South. Even if we could go back it would be a retrogressive step -- and we doubt this is what the Black masses want.



We Have Not Liquidated the National Question

By our pointing out that the shift from peasantry to proletarian and from rural to urban has fundamentally changed the National Question for New Afrikans, we expect some critics will accuse us of having "liquidated" the National Question. For those who dogmatically apply



Stalin's analysis, the problem is: "How can we be a nation without a land base?"

We reiterate that the issue is a bit bigger and more complex than that.

If we look at the New Afrikan Nation as being part of a greater Pan-Afrikan Nation – inclusive of the peoples of Afrika and the Afrikan Diaspora (as Malcolm X did), – and this liberation struggle in the context of world proletarian socialist revolution, then we shall see the issue a bit differently. Then we can also see our struggle within the context of a future socialist Amerika that is multi-ethnic and a strong ally of the oppressed peoples internationally.

The proletariat fundamentally has no country and seeks to create a world without boundaries or nation states. So to the proletariat national liberation is not an end in itself but a stage to pass through on the road to World Communism. It is a stepping stone to greater unity and the ending of all oppression.

There are many white comrades (Communists, Socialists, Anarchists, Radicals and Progressives) who are committed to supporting Black liberation because it serves the cause of liberating all of humanity from imperialism and exploitation – because it strengthens the workers' movement. The cause of uniting the Black liberation struggle with the proletarian class struggle is a step towards the total liberation of humanity and the whole world becoming one people.

Just as the proletariat seeks to abolish itself as a class by abolishing all classes, we must seek to abolish ourselves as a nation by abolishing all nations – all national divisions and all national oppression. But this has to begin with liberating ourselves as *nations* from the grip of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism. Just as the proletariat must rise as a class and "pick up the gun to put down the gun," (what is the state but a special body of armed men and wimyn?) we create nation states only to render them obsolete and allow them to fade away when they are no longer necessary. The transitory nature of nation states under socialism is clear.

Comparing Racial and National Oppression

We can only speak of New Afrikan national liberation because we suffer from national oppression. National oppression is linked to but not the same as racist oppression. The people of Haiti don't just suffer national oppression as citizens of a 3rd World nation but also racist oppression because they are black. Iceland is a small island nation too, but if an Icelander family emigrates to the U.S., they will be accepted as whites. If a Haitian family moves here they will face racial oppression. All people of color, to one degree or another, suffer racist oppression because of the institutionalization of the ideology of white supremacy.

The Haitian family will suffer oppression and discrimination in the U.S. because they are immigrants, because they are Black, and because they are not white. A Korean family will have to face the first and the last but not the specific oppression and discrimination leveled at Blacks (New Afrikans in Amerika). This oppression is rooted in the history of slavery (not just in the "Black Belt" South) and colonialism that spawned the white racist mentality.

Whereas in Amerika, the oppression of the indigenous people is a bit different. People with Indian features ("Skins") suffer

from national oppression and so do Indians with black or white-skinned features. Black Indians are also oppressed as New Afrikans. White-skinned Indians (if they are identifiable by their dress) may be subjected to racial slurs and discrimination, but this is really national oppression. There is a difference between "white Indians" and "white people" in Amerika, but the difference is national rather than racial.

Within the Indian nations there are divisions between "Bloods" and those who are perceived as "Black Indians" and "White (or mostly white) Indians." These contradictions (which can be antagonistic) between "Red," "White" and "Black" members of the same oppressed indigenous nations are a reflection of the culture of racism that permeates Amerikan society (a colonial-settler state) and projects throughout the world.

We do not (as many Black nationalists do) confuse race with nationality. Nationality is not confined by race. One can change their nationality. One can also have dual or multiple nationalities. One can be a Puerto Rican and a New Afrikan (and also a Taino Indian). One can be a Palestinian, an Arab and a New Yorker all at the same time. National identity is a complex issue.

Do not some New Afrikans identify primarily as Amerikans? What is Obama trying to sell us? Yet look around any prison and what do you see? Look at the statistics on poverty, infant mortality, hunger, unemployment, and violent deaths. These tell a very different story – one of continued (and intensified) national and class oppression for the Black masses in the U.S.

I have written before that:

"As revolutionary New Afrikan nationalists, we realize that there is a contradiction between race and nationalism, and moreover, that there is no nation composed of a single race. All existing nations, like the Indian nations here in North Amerika, includes whites and mixed bloods, even though there are contradictions. It was the policies of white colonialism created by the ruling class that produced these contradictions, and indeed the New Afrikan Nation. In this regard, we say all people of Afrikan heritage, regardless of skin tone, are part of a single New Afrikan Nation – a Pan-Afrikan Nation. Indeed, most "Blacks" in Amerika are "mixed bloods," mixed with white and/or Indian bloodlines.

"We therefore move beyond black and white dogmatism – Native Americans have always done this in adopting any "race" of people into their nations who embrace and respect their heritage and culture. All non-chauvinistic nations have done this. We also accept that nationalities can overlap and are not merely an either/or situation. People the world over embrace multiple nationalities, and so can New Afrikans. One can be a Venezuelan and a New Afrikan, or a Lenape and a New Afrikan, etc. This concept becomes practical revolutionary internationalism that has all nationalities struggling for both national self-determination and united multi-national, anti-imperialist cooperation...

"From our point of view, the key question is building alliances between the oppressed nations [and nationalities] within the U.S. and abroad and the multi-national proletariat."

– Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, *On the Questions of Race and Racism, Revolutionary National Liberation, and Building the United Front Against Imperialism, 2007*

U.S. Revolution as an Advance Towards Global Communism

The success of socialist revolution in the U.S. would "break the back" of global imperialism and create conditions for successful revolution in every other country. This eventuality



will create the conditions for a global dictatorship of the proletariat and move the struggle decisively towards rendering nation states obsolete. What then will be the need for national boundaries or militaries?

colonialism had an advantage because it was able to play the various budding nation states and tribal groups against each other. Our strength is based on unity and common purpose.



Black Riders Liberation Party (BRLP)

Could we not then move forward towards classless society at an accelerated pace? Could we not, for example, create a single international currency and globalized planning of production and distribution of goods? Would it not be possible to have a World Health Organization that really provides for people's health needs and a global commission with clout to address the issues of ecological preservation and balance? Could we not standardize wages and prices and ensure a decent standard of living for everyone on the planet – eradicating poverty?

Conclusion

Most theories on the National Question do not address the dialectical relationship between New Afrikans in the Diaspora and Afrikans in Afrika, the contradictions between Afrikans everywhere and imperialism in the Age of Neo-Colonialism and the Crisis of Capitalist-Imperialism, and between New Afrikans in the U.S. and the white-supreacist, imperialist U.S. ruling class. These questions demand a reanalysis of the BBT and our strategy for Black Liberation.

Kwame Nkrumah's concept of an All-Afrikan (Pan-Afrikan) Revolutionary Party (supported by a military arm) is the correct answer to neo-colonialism. We can take a lesson in this from the struggles going on in South Asia. India contains many nationalities with their own languages and regions, yet they are being led by a united Communist Party of India (Maoist). Likewise we can look to Nepal where the Maoists have won the support of many national minorities and have created autonomous regions. In Afrika, neo-

Our concept of Afrika as a Pan-Afrikan nation departs from the Comintern's definition of the National Question which confines the nation to the boundaries already in existence (even though these only reflect the imperialists' carving up of Afrika). We don't expect that the New Afrikan Nation will ever constitute itself again in the "Black Belt," but we can play a significant role in the constitution of a Socialist Afrikan Union, and in the creation of a Socialist U.S.A.



Dr. W.E.B. DuBoise and President Kwame Nkrumah

We believe that it is the historic destiny of the nation of New Afrikans in Amerika to play a leading role among the oppressed peoples of the World in overthrowing capitalist-imperialism and advancing humanity to a higher stage of political-economic organization based on the principles of social justice and equality.

Our unique history and position within the "Belly of the Beast" gives us the opportunity to deal the *coup de grace* to U.S. imperialism. Our long suffering at the hands of white-supremacist Amerika gives us a bond with all who have suffered racist and national oppression and enables us to be truly internationalist in outlook.

As Mao predicted:

"The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class."

This is the mission of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter and our position on the National Question.

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



Comrade Ganapathy

'Unification is the only way to advance the cause of the Indian revolution'

This is an interview with Muppalla Lakshmana Rao, better known as Comrade Ganapathy, now the leader of the unified Communist Party of India (Maoist) and formerly the head man of the outlawed Communist Party of India-Marxist-Leninist (People's War) in India's decades-long Naxalite armed rebellion. This interview was posted on Abhay on 5/25/2007. The dirty golden rays of the candle, stuck crookedly on top of the inverted flash-light, glinted off the Naxalite's glasses as he prepared to answer yet another query from the visiting journalist. In the shadows, his gaunt face looked more strained. He responded characteristically, softly, in Telugu, a hand on the hip, the other cradling his stengun.

This is Muppalla Lakshmana Rao. Infamous as Ganapathy, head of the outlawed Communist Party of India-Marxist-Leninist People's War.

In person, Ganapathy – wiry, medium height, thinly moustached with specks of grey in his hair – comes across as unassuming, unimpressive and utterly harmless. There is no hint that this is a man whom the Bharatiya Janata Party considers one of the most dangerous in the country. No hint that this is one for whose head the Andhra Pradesh government would gladly pay over a million rupees.

A bit shy, a bit unsure, he looks and behaves like the school teacher he once was.

One of the few to have risen in ranks without serving in a dalam (guerrilla squad), the 48-year-old revolutionary has been with the movement since the 1970s. For the last 20 years, the forests have been his refuge. He took over as PW secretary in 1992 after the ouster of the legendary Kondapalli Seetharamaiah.

The PW; with ideology firmly rooted in Marxist-Leninist-Maoist thought, has today emerged as a powerful force in parts of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. So much so that Home Minister L K Advani is taking an active interest in trying to wipe it out.

The revolutionaries' strategy for expansion is through mergers with like-minded organisations. As part of this, it merged with the Communist Party of India-Marxist Leninist Party Unity; mainly operational in Bihar; recently.

Senior Feature Writer Chindu Sreedharan rendezvoused with the Naxal leader deep in the forests of Andhra Pradesh

after a gruelling five-hour night march. An excerpt from a rare interview recorded soon after Ganapathy, together with the defunct Party Unity's secretary, Prasad, announced the unification of their parties:

How did the merger come about?

In April 1994, our unity talks with the Maoist Communist Centre broke down completely. But even while those talks were on, we had fraternal relations with the PU. A central committee delegation had met with the PU in 1993 to understand their basic line of thought. We had informed our MCC comrades about this primary level meeting. At the next meeting with the MCC, it became clear that it was not possible to unify with them at present. We started unity talks with the PU. There were many differences when we began, but over discussions we have solved all the fundamental questions. There are a few minor issues that remain to be settled. These will be settled in the next party congress.

What is the political significance of this unification?

There are many oppressed nationalities in India fighting the imperialist government. For instance, in Jammu and Kashmir and the North-East. We expect the merger to have a positive impact on their fights.

In our agenda for a new democratic revolution, there are two aspects – the agrarian revolution and fight for nationality. For the development of a new democratic revolution, the unification of the two is needed. Our merger is a cue for such unification.

In India there are several movements now cropping up under the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie. They are of



several social groups. Our merger will act as an inspiration for them. It will give them the necessary impetus to struggle. It will rejuvenate them. Likewise, there are many revolutions developing in semi-colonial, colonial and capitalist countries due to imperialist exploitation and oppression. The merger will give them inspiration and strength to fight on.

How will your merger help movements in other countries?

Our merger will put the task of unity before the revolutions of the world. Everywhere, the oppressed people are fighting against the same enemy: Imperialism. Our merger will convey to them that without unifying against the common enemy, the revolution cannot succeed. Thus, our unity will help the unifying process world-wide.

Does the merger have any military significance? Will it translate into military prowess for the PW in Bihar, in Telangana or Dandakaranya (a PW guerrilla zone spread over AP, Maharashtra, Orissa and MP), where the party is badly in need of personnel?

Despite the unity, our party is very small. The enemy is much stronger. The PW is still confined to a small area.

In our areas, we require revolutionaries and guerrillas. Even in areas where we are not present, we require revolutionaries and guerrillas. In such conditions, the merger might not translate into military prowess there or here. We will not be able to transfer men from one place to another.

But the unification will definitely have a positive military impact in the long run. In the short-run, the PW have gained in experience. Between the old PW and the PU, we have vast experience in conducting class struggles. This has now been pooled together. We will gain a lot from these. The unification will also see a combined military leadership and more military camps.

How much has the PW's strength gone up by the merger?

That's a technical question I don't want to answer.

What kind of impact will this have on the MCC? Wouldn't this kill any chance the PW has of unifying with them in future?

We believe the MCC will take it positively. They are the only genuine revolutionary party in the country besides the PW. Our party has great desire to have unity with them. And we are confident that we will achieve it. Through unity of action, we will achieve unity with them. The merger will lead to maturity of conditions for unification. This is the first step in the unification of all revolutionary forces. The MCC would welcome it.

Isn't that a bit too optimistic? Chances are that the MCC would feel threatened now and try to wipe out the PW from Bihar. After all, the merger hasn't changed anything for it. The differences it had with the PU still remain...

We admit there were clashes between the MCC and the PU. But the clashes were confined to those two parties. Now there's no PU. It will be the PW that will be operating in Bihar from now on. Taking into consideration the interests of

the Indian revolution, the MCC now has to define its relation with the PW. We expect comradesly relations, not violence, from them. Our central committee will make serious efforts to solve the troubles that existed between them and the PU. We expect the talks to transform the physical clashes into political debate.

To advance the cause of the Indian revolution, unification is the only way. As a serious and sincere revolutionary party, the MCC also understands this. Which is why we feel that they will take this merger positively. The truth of this expectation will be proved in practice.

This is your expectation, but which may prove completely wrong. In case the MCC steps up its violence, how will you protect yourself? As you admitted, it is not possible to shift personnel from here to Bihar.

That question does not rise because we are expecting positive results.

The question is, how can you be so confident about that?

Like I said earlier, no serious revolutionary party will be against the unity of revolutionary forces. No serious revolutionary party will feel threatened by the unity of revolutionary forces. And the MCC is a serious, sincere revolutionary organisation. They will take the merger positively.

What exactly will be the PW's plan of action for Bihar with regard to the MCC?

The first step is to rectify the mistakes committed by our comrades and the MCC. The second is to hold talks about these with them and arrive at a permanent solution. We are sure that these will give definite results. Now let the MCC comrades speak out. Let them make their stand on the merger known. Let them show in practice what type of reaction they have.

Does this mean that you don't rule out the possibility of a clash?

There's no point in discussing that now. We are confident about the MCC's reaction. We will discuss it if there comes a stage when we are not confident about them.

You said the MCC was the only genuine revolutionary group in the country. Does this mean that you consider the other splinter ML groups as not worthy of joining up with?

The PW invites all genuine revolutionary organisations to unify. We welcome the comrades in the other rightist and leftist groups to fight against their leadership and join the revolution. At present, we do not plan to hold unity talks with any other party other than the MCC. Some of the left groups reject the parliamentary process and support the protracted people's war – but they practise this in a sectarian manner. If they are ready to rectify this mistake, we will definitely hold talks with them, even with the smallest.

Which are these groups with whom you would like to unite in future?

Groups like the Second Central Committee.



A meeting of revolutionary farmers in the forest of India

How do you think such splinter groups would react to this merger?

I think it will trigger off more interest in unifying with us. Small sections of many splinter groups have been joining our party since 1992-93, mainly in North India, Srikakulam and North Telangana. This process of unification of genuine revolutionaries, from rightist or leftist parties, will gain momentum from this merger. After the 1972 split, many revolutionaries and sympathisers were spread far and wide. We expect the merger to prompt them to join us. More than unification talks, the party will concentrate on bringing such people into the movement. What we want is to rebuild 1972 on a higher plane. What we want is to rejuvenate the dormant revolutionary spirit and potentialities in these comrades.

The Communist Party of India (Maoist) was founded on September 21, 2004, through the merger of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) People's War and the Maoist Communist Centre of India (MCC). The merger was announced to the public on October 14 the same year. In the merger a provisional central committee was constituted, with PW leader Ganapathi as General Secretary.

In 2006 Prime Minister Manmohan Singh referred to the Naxalites as "the single biggest internal security challenge ever faced by our country." The Indian government, led by the United Progressive Alliance, banned the CPI (Maoist) under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA) as a terrorist organisation on 22 June 2009.

As of October 2009, the CPI (Maoist) is believed to be active in 20 out of 29 states in India. □

Interview with Ganapathi: Leader of India's Growing Maoist Revolution

Posted by Mike E on Kasama, Oct. 17, 2009

In this interview, taken from the October 17, 2009 issue of QJJ&11, Ganapathi, General Secretary of the CPI (Maoist), talks about the party's work in Lalgarh, its response to the government's upcoming military offensive, the political situation in Nepal, the defeat of the UTE, the contradictory nature of Islamist movements in the world today, and the role of the new chieftain of US imperialism.

"We Shall Certainly Defeat the Government"

At first sight, Mupalla Laxman Rao, who is about to turn 60, looks like a school teacher. In fact, he was one in the early 1970s in Andhra Pradesh's Karimnagar district. In 2009, however, the bespectacled, soft-spoken figure is India's Most Wanted Man. He runs one of the world's largest Left insurgencies – a man known in Home Ministry dossiers as Ganapathi; a man whose writ runs large through 15 states.

The supreme commander of CPI (Maoist) is a science graduate and holds a B Ed degree as well. He still conducts classes, but now they are on guerilla warfare for other senior Maoists. He replaced the founder of the People's War Group, Kondapalli Seetharamiah, as the party's general-secretary in 1991. Ganapathi is known to change his location frequently, and intelligence reports say he has been spotted in cities like Hyderabad, Kolkata and Kochi.

After months of attempts, Ganapathi agreed to give his first-ever interview. Somewhere in the impregnable jungles of Dandakaranya, he spoke to RAHUL PANDITA on issues ranging from the Government's proposed anti-Naxal offensive to Islamist Jihadist movements.

Q. Lalgarh has been described as the New Naxalbari by the CPI (Maoist). How has it become so significant for you?

A. The Lalgarh mass uprising has, no doubt, raised new hopes among the oppressed people and the entire revolutionary camp in West Bengal. It has great positive impact not only on the people of West Bengal but also on the people all over the country. It has emerged as a new model of mass movement in the country. We had seen similar types of movements earlier in Manipur, directed against Army atrocities and Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA), in Kashmir, in Dandakaranya and to some extent in Orissa, after the Kalinganagar massacre perpetrated by the Naveen Patnaik government.

Then there have been mass movements in Singur and Nandigram but there the role of a section of the ruling classes is also significant. These movements were utilised by the ruling class parties for their own electoral interests. But Lalgarh is a more widespread and more sustained mass political movement that has spurned the leadership of all the parliamentary political parties, thereby rendering them completely irrelevant. The people of Lalgarh had even boycotted the recent Lok Sabha polls, thereby unequivocally demonstrating their anger and frustration with all the reactionary ruling class parties. Lalgarh also has some distinctive features such as a high degree of participation of women, a genuinely democratic character and a wider mobilisation of Adivasis. No wonder, it has become a rallying point for the revolutionary-democratic forces in West Bengal.



Q. If it is a people's movement, how did Maoists get involved in Lalgarh?

A. As far as our party's role is concerned, we have been working in Paschim Midnapur, Bankura and Purulia, in what is popularly known as Jangalmahal since the 1980s. We fought against the local feudal forces, against the exploitation and oppression by the forest officials, contractors, unscrupulous usurers and the *goondaism* of both the CPM and Trinamool Congress. The ruling CPM, in particular, has become the chief exploiter and oppressor of the Adivasis of the region, and it has unleashed its notorious vigilante gangs called Harmad Vahini on whoever questions its authority. With the State authority in its hands, and with the aid of the police, it is playing a role worse than that of the cruel landlords in other regions of the country.

Given this background, anyone who dares to fight against oppression and exploitation by the CPM can win the respect and confidence of the people. Since our party has been fighting uncompromisingly against the atrocities of the CPM goons, it naturally gained the confidence and respect of the people of the region.

The police atrocities in the wake of the landmine blast on 2 November [in 2008, from which West Bengal Chief Minister Buddhadeb Bhattacharjee had a narrow escape] acted as the trigger that brought the pent-up anger of the masses into the open. This assumed the form of a long-drawn mass movement, and our party played the role of a catalyst.

Q. But not so long ago, the CPM was your friend. You even took arms and ammunition from it to fight the Trinamool Congress. This has been confirmed by a Politburo member of CPI (Maoist) in certain interviews. And now you are fighting the CPM with the help of the Trinamool.

How did a friend turn into a foe and vice-versa?

A. This is only partially true. We came to know earlier that some ammunition was taken by our local cadre from the CPM unit in the area. There was, however, no understanding with the leadership of the CPM in this regard. Our approach was to unite all sections of the oppressed masses at the lower levels against the *goondaism* and oppression of Trinamool goons in the area at that time. And since a section of the oppressed masses were in the fold of the CPM at that time, we fought together with them against Trinamool. Still, taking into consideration the overall situation in West Bengal, it was not a wise step to take arms and ammunition from the CPM even at the local level when the contradiction was basically between two sections of the reactionary ruling classes.

Our central committee discussed this, criticised the comrade responsible for taking such a decision, and directed the concerned comrades to stop this immediately. As regards taking ammunition from the Trinamool Congress, I remember that we had actually purchased it not directly from the Trinamool but from someone who had links with the Trinamool. There will never be any conditions or agreements with those selling us arms. That has been our understanding all along. As regards the said interview by our Politburo member, we will verify what he had actually said.

Q. What are your tactics now in Lalgarh after the massive offensive by the Central and state forces?

A. First of all, I wish to make it crystal clear that our party will spearhead and stand firmly by the side of the people of Lalgarh and entire Jangalmahal, and draw up tactics in accordance with the people's interests and mandate. We shall spread the struggle against the State everywhere and strive to win over the broad masses to the side of the people's cause. We shall fight the State offensive by mobilising the masses more militantly against the police, Harmad Vahini and CPM goons. The course of the development of the movement, of course, will depend on the level of consciousness and preparedness of the people of the region. The party will take this into consideration while formulating its tactics. The initiative of the masses will be released fully.

Q. The Government has termed Lalgarh a 'laboratory' for anti-Naxal operations. Has your party also learnt any lessons from Lalgarh?

A. Yes, our party too has a lot to learn from the masses of Lalgarh. Their upsurge was beyond our expectations. In fact, it was the common people, with the assistance of advanced elements influenced by revolutionary politics, who played a crucial role in the formulation of tactics. They formed their own organisation, put forth their charter of demands, worked out various novel forms of struggle, and stood steadfast in the struggle despite the brutal attacks by the police and the social-fascist Harmad gangs. The Lalgarh movement has the support of revolutionary and democratic forces not only in West Bengal but in the entire country. We are appealing to all revolutionary and democratic forces in the country to unite to fight back the fascist offensive by the Buddhadeb government in West Bengal and the UPA Government at the Centre. By building the broadest fighting front, and by adopting appropriate tactics of combining the militant mass political movement with armed resistance of the people and our PLGA (People's Liberation Guerilla Army), we will defeat the massive offensive by the Central-state forces. I cannot say more than this at the present juncture.

Q. The Centre has declared an all-out war against Maoists by branding the CPI (Maoist) a terrorist organisation and imposing an all-India ban on the party. How has it affected your party?

A. Our party has already been banned in several states of India. By imposing the ban throughout the country, the Government now wants to curb all our open activities in West Bengal and a few other states where legal opportunities exist to some extent. The Government wants to use this draconian UAPA [Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act] to harass whoever dares to raise a voice against fake encounters, rapes and other police atrocities on the people residing in Maoist-dominated regions. Anyone questioning the State's brutalities will now be branded a terrorist.

The real terrorists and biggest threats to the country's security are none other than Manmohan Singh, Chidambaram, Buddhadeb, other ruling class leaders and feudal forces who terronse the people on a daily basis.

The UPA Government had declared, as soon as it assumed power for the second time, that it would crush the Maoist 'menace' and began pouring in huge funds to the states for this purpose. The immediate reason behind this move is the pressure exerted by the comprador bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the imperialists, particularly US imperialists, who want



to plunder the resources of our country without any hindrance. These sharks aspire to swallow the rich abundant mineral and forest wealth in the vast contiguous region stretching from Jangalmahal to north Andhra. This region is the wealthiest as well as the most underdeveloped part of our country. These sharks want to loot the wealth and drive the Adivasi people of the region to further impoverishment.

Another major reason for the current offensive by the ruling classes is the fear of the rapid growth of the Maoist movement and its increasing influence over a significant proportion of the Indian population. The Janatana Sarkars in Dandakaranya and the revolutionary people's committees in Jharkhand, Orissa and parts of some other states have become new models of genuine people's democracy and development. The rulers want to crush these new models of development and genuine democracy, as these are emerging as the real alternative before the people of the country at large.

Q. The Home Ministry has made preparations for launching a long-term battle against Maoists. A huge force will be soon trying to wrest away areas from your control. How do you plan to confront this offensive?

A. Successive governments in various states and the Centre have been hatching schemes over the years. But they could not achieve any significant success through their cruel offensive in spite of murdering hundreds of our leaders and cadres. Our party and our movement continued to consolidate and expand to new regions. From two or three states, the movement has now spread to over 15 states, giving jitters to the ruling classes. Particularly after the merger of the erstwhile MCCI and People's War in September 2004 [the merger between these groups led to the formation of the CPI (Maoist)], the UPA Government has unleashed the most cruel all-round offensive against the Maoist movement. Yet our party continued to grow despite suffering some severe losses. In the past three years, in particular, our PLGA has achieved several significant victories.

We have been confronting the continuous offensive of the enemy with the support and active involvement of the masses. We shall confront the new offensive of the enemy by stepping up such heroic resistance and preparing the entire party, PLGA, the various revolutionary parties and organisations and the entire people. Although the enemy may achieve a few successes in the initial phase, we shall certainly overcome and defeat the Government offensive with the active mobilisation of the vast masses and the support of all the revolutionary and democratic forces in the country. No fascist regime or military dictator in history could succeed in suppressing forever the just and democratic struggles of the people through brute force, but were, on the contrary, swept away by the high tide of people's resistance. People, who are the makers of history, will rise up like a tornado under our party's leadership to wipe out the reactionary blood-sucking vampires ruling our country.

Q. Why do you think the CPI (Maoist) suffered a serious setback in Andhra Pradesh?

A. It was due to several mistakes on our part that we suffered a serious setback in most of Andhra Pradesh by 2006. At the same time, we should also look at the setback from another angle. In any protracted people's war, there will be advances

and retreats. If we look at the situation in Andhra Pradesh from this perspective, you will understand that what we did there is a kind of retreat. Confronted with a superior force, we chose to temporarily retreat our forces from some regions of Andhra Pradesh, extend and develop our bases in the surrounding regions and then hit back at the enemy.

Now even though we received a setback, it should be borne in mind that this setback is a temporary one. The objective conditions in which our revolution began in Andhra Pradesh have not undergone any basic change. This very fact continues to serve as the basis for the growth and intensification of our movement. Moreover, we now have a more consolidated mass base, a relatively better-trained people's guerilla army and an all-India party with deep roots among the basic classes who comprise the backbone of our revolution. This is the reason why the reactionary rulers are unable to suppress our revolutionary war, which is now raging in several states in the country.

We had taken appropriate lessons from the setback suffered by our party in Andhra Pradesh and, based on these lessons, drew up tactics in other states. Hence we are able to fight back the cruel all-round offensive of the enemy effectively, inflict significant losses on the enemy, preserve our subjective forces, consolidate our party, develop a people's liberation guerilla army, establish embryonic forms of new democratic people's governments in some pockets, and take the people's war to a higher stage. Hence we have an advantageous situation, overall, for reviving the movement in Andhra Pradesh. Our revolution advances wave-like and periods of ebb yield place to periods of high tide.

Q. What are the reasons for the setback suffered by the LTTE in Sri Lanka?

A. There is no doubt that the movement for a separate sovereign Tamil Eelam has suffered a severe setback with the defeat and considerable decimation of the LTTE. The Tamil people and the national liberation forces are now leaderless. However, the Tamil people at large continue to cherish nationalist aspirations for a separate Tamil homeland. The conditions that gave rise to the movement for Tamil Eelam, in the first place, prevail to this day. The Sinhala-chauvinist Sri Lankan ruling classes can never change their policy of discrimination against the Tamil nation, its culture, language, etcetera. The jingoistic rallies and celebrations organised by the government and Sinhala chauvinist parties all over Sri Lanka in the wake of Prabhakaran's death and the defeat of the LTTE show the national hatred for Tamils nurtured by Sinhala organisations and the extent to which the minds of ordinary Sinhalese are poisoned with such chauvinist frenzy.

The conspiracy of the Sinhala ruling classes in occupying Tamil territories is similar to that of the Zionist rulers of Israel. The land-starved Sinhala people will now be settled in Tamil areas. The entire demography of the region is going to change. The ground remains fertile for the resurgence of the Tamil liberation struggle.

Even if it takes time, the war for a separate Tamil Eelam is certain to revive, taking lessons from the defeat of the LTTE. By adopting a proletarian outlook and ideology, adopting new tactics and building the broadest united front of all nationalist and democratic forces, it is possible to achieve the liberation of the oppressed Tamil nation [in Sri Lanka].



Maoist forces have to grow strong enough to provide leadership and give a correct direction and anti-imperialist orientation to this struggle to achieve a sovereign People's Democratic Republic of Tamil Eelam. This alone can achieve the genuine liberation of the Tamil nation in Sri Lanka.

Q. Is it true that you received military training from the LTTE initially?

A. No. It is not a fact. We had clarified this several times in the past.

Q. But, one of your senior commanders has told me that some senior cadre of the erstwhile PWG did receive arms training and other support from the LTTE.

A. Let me reiterate, there is no relation at all between our party and the LTTE. We tried several times to establish relations with the LTTE but its leadership was reluctant to have a relationship with Maoists in India. Hence, there is no question of the LTTE giving training to us. In spite of it, we continued our support to the struggle for Tamil Eelam. However, a few persons who had separated from the LTTE came into our contact and we took their help in receiving initial training in the last quarter of the 1980s.

Q. Does your party have links with Lashkar-e-Toiba or other Islamic militant groups having links with Pakistan?

A. No. Not at all. This is only mischievous, calculated propaganda by the police officials, bureaucrats and leaders of the reactionary political parties to defame us and thereby justify their cruel offensive against the Maoist movement. By propagating the lie that our party has links with groups linked to Pakistan's ISI, the reactionary rulers of our country want to prove that we too are terrorists and gain legitimacy for their brutal terror campaign against Maoists and the people in the areas of armed agrarian struggle. Trying to prove the involvement of a foreign hand in every just and democratic struggle, branding those fighting for the liberation of the oppressed as traitors to the country, is part of the psychological-war of the reactionary rulers.

Q. What is your party's stand regarding Islamist jihadist movements?

A. Islamic jihadist movements of today are a product of imperialist-particularly U.S. imperialist-aggression, intervention, bullying, exploitation and suppression of the oil-rich Islamic and Arab countries of West Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia, etcetera, and the persecution of the entire Muslim religious community. As part of their designs for global hegemony, the imperialists, particularly U.S. imperialists, have encouraged and endorsed every war of brazen aggression and brutal attacks by their surrogate state of Israel.

Our party unequivocally opposes every attack on Arab and Muslim countries and the Muslim community at large in the name of 'war on global terror'. In fact, Muslim religious fundamentalism is encouraged and fostered by imperialists as long as it serves their interests-such as in Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries, and Kuwait, Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan.

Q. But what about attacks perpetrated by the so-called 'Jihadis' on innocent people like it happened on 26/11?

A. See, Islamic jihadist movements have two aspects: one is their anti-imperialist aspect, and the other their reactionary aspect in social and cultural matters. Our party supports the struggle of Muslim countries and people against imperialism,

while criticising and struggling against the reactionary ideology and social outlook of Muslim fundamentalism. It is only Maoist leadership that can provide correct anti-imperialist orientation and achieve class unity among Muslims as well as people of other religious persuasions. The influence of Muslim fundamentalist ideology and leadership will diminish as communist revolutionaries and other democratic-secular forces increase their ideological influence over the Muslim masses. As communist revolutionaries, we always strive to reduce the influence of the obscurantist reactionary ideology and outlook of the mullahs and mauvais on the Muslim masses, while uniting with all those fighting against the common enemy of the world people – that is, imperialism, particularly American imperialism.

Q. How do you look at the changes in U.S. policy after Barack Obama took over from George Bush?

A. Firstly, one would be living in a fool's paradise if one imagines that there is going to be any qualitative change in American policy – whether internal or external – after Barack Obama took over from George Bush. In fact, the policies on national security and foreign affairs pursued by Obama over the past eight months have shown the essential continuity with those of his predecessor. The ideological and political justification for these regressive policies at home and aggressive policies abroad is the same trash put forth by the Bush administration – the so-called 'global war on terror,' based on outright lies and slander. Worse still, the policies have become even more aggressive under Obama with his planned expansion of the U.S.-led war of aggression in Afghanistan into the territory of Pakistan. The hands of this new killer-in-chief of the pack of imperialist wolves are already stained with the blood of hundreds of women and children who are cruelly murdered in relentless missile attacks from Predator drones in Afghanistan and Pakistan. And, within the U.S. itself, bail-outs for the tiny corporate elite and attacks on democratic and human rights of U.S. citizens continue without any change.

The oppressed people and nations of the world are now confronting an even more formidable and dangerous enemy in the form of an African-American president of the most powerful military machine and world gendarme. The world people should unite to wage a more relentless, more militant and more consistent struggle against the American marauders led by Barack Obama and pledge to defeat them to usher in a world of peace, stability and genuine democracy.

Q. How do you look at the current developments in Nepal?

A. As soon as the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) [CPN(M)] came to power in alliance with the comprador-feudal parties through the parliamentary route in Nepal, we had pointed out the grave danger of imperialist and Indian expansionist intervention in Nepal and how they would leave no stone unturned to overthrow the government led by CPN(M). As long as Prachanda did not defy the directives of the Indian Government, it was allowed to continue, but when it began to go against Indian hegemony, it was immediately pulled down. CPN-UML withdrew support to the Prachanda-led government upon the advice of American imperialists and Indian expansionists. We disagreed with the line of peaceful transition pursued by the UCPN(M) in the name of tactics. We decided to send an open letter to the UCPN(M). It was released in July 2009.



We made our party's stand clear in the letter. We pointed out that the UCPN(M) chose to reform the existing State through an elected constituent assembly and a bourgeois democratic republic instead of adhering to the Marxist-Leninist understanding on the imperative to smash the old State and establish a proletarian State. This would have been the first step towards the goal of achieving socialism through the radical transformation of society and all oppressive class relations. It is indeed a great tragedy that the UCPN(M) has chosen to abandon the path of protracted people's war and pursue a parliamentary path in spite of having *de facto* power in most of the countryside.

It is heartening to hear that a section of the leadership of the UCPN(M) has begun to struggle against the revisionist positions taken by Comrade Prachanda and others. Given the great revolutionary traditions of the UCPN(M), we hope that the inner-party struggle will repudiate the right opportunist line pursued by its leadership, give up revisionist stands and practices, and apply minds creatively to the concrete conditions of Nepal.

Q. Of late, the party has suffered serious losses of party leadership at the central and state level. Besides, it is widely believed that some of the senior-most Maoist leaders, including you, have become quite old and suffer from serious illnesses, which is also cited as one of the reasons for the surrenders. What is the effect of the losses and surrenders on the movement? How are you dealing with problems arising out of old age and illnesses?

A. (Smiles...) This type of propaganda is being carried out continuously, particularly by the Special Intelligence Branch (SIB) of Andhra Pradesh. It is a part of the psychological war waged by intelligence officials and top police brass aimed at confusing and demoralising supporters of the Maoist movement. It is a fact that some of the party leaders at the central and state level could be described as senior citizens according to criteria used by the government, that is, those who have crossed the threshold of 60 years. You can start calling me too a senior citizen in a few months (smiles). But old age and ill-health have never been a serious problem in our party until now. You can see the 'senior citizens' in our party working for 16-18 hours a day and covering long distances on foot. As for surrenders, it is a big lie to say that old age and ill-health have been a reason for some of the surrenders.

When Lanka Papi Reddy, a former member of our central committee, surrendered in the beginning of last year, the media propagated that more surrenders of our party leaders will follow due to ill-health. The fact is that Papi Reddy surrendered due to his loss of political conviction and his petty-bourgeois false prestige and ego. Hence he was not prepared to face the party after he was demoted by the central committee for his anarchic behaviour with a woman comrade.

Some senior leaders of our party, like comrades Sushil Roy and Narayan Sanyal, had become a nightmare for the ruling classes even when they were in their mid 60s. Hence they were arrested, tortured and imprisoned despite their old age and ill-health. The Government is doing everything possible to prevent them from getting bail. Even if someone in our party is old, he/she continues to serve the revolution by doing whatever work possible. For instance, Comrade Niranjana Bose, who died recently at the age of 92, had been carrying out revolutionary propaganda until his martyrdom. The social fascist rulers were so scared of this nonagenarian Maoist revolutionary that they

had even arrested him four years back. Such is the spirit of Maoist revolutionaries and power of the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism which they hold high. When there are serious illnesses, or physical and mental limitations to perform normal work, such comrades are given suitable work.

Q. But what about the arrests and elimination of some of your senior leadership? How do you intend to fill up such losses?

A. Well, it is a fact that we lost some senior leaders at the state and central level in the past four or five years. Some leaders were secretly arrested and murdered in the most cowardly manner. Many other and state leaders were arrested and placed behind bars in the recent past in Jharkhand, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Haryana and other states. The loss of leadership will have a grave impact on the party and Indian revolution as a whole. We are reviewing the reasons for the losses regularly and devising ways and means to prevent further losses. By adopting strictly secret methods of functioning and foolproof underground mechanisms, by enhancing our mass base, vigilance and local intelligence, smashing enemy intelligence networks and studying their plans and tactics, we hope to check further losses. At the same time, we are training and developing new revolutionary leadership at all levels to fill up the losses.

Q. How do you sum up the present stage of war between your forces and those of the Indian State?

A. Our war is in the stage of strategic defence. In some regions, we have an upper hand, while in others the enemy has the upper hand. Overall, our forces have been quite successful in carrying out a series of tactical counter-offensive operations against the enemy in our guerilla zones in the past few years.

It is true that our party has suffered some serious leadership losses, but we are able to inflict serious losses on the enemy too. In fact, in the past three years, the enemy forces suffered more casualties than we did. The enemy has been trying all means at their disposal to weaken, disrupt and crush our party and movement. They have tried covert agents and informers, poured in huge amounts of money to buy off weak elements in the revolutionary camp, and announced a series of rehabilitation packages and other material incentives to lure away people from the revolutionary camp. Thousands of crores of rupees have been sanctioned for police modernisation, training and for raising additional commando forces; for increasing Central forces; for training Central and state forces in counter-insurgency warfare; and for building roads, communication networks and other infrastructure for the rapid movement of their troops in our guerilla zones. The Indian State has set up armed vigilante groups and provided total support to the indescribable atrocities committed by these armed gangs on the people. Psychological warfare against Maoists was taken to unheard of levels.

Nevertheless, we continued to make greater advances, consolidated the party and the revolutionary people's committees at various levels, strengthened the PLGA qualitatively and quantitatively, smashed the enemy's intelligence network in several areas, effectively countered the dirty psychological-war waged by the enemy, and foiled the enemy's all-out attempts to disrupt and smash our movement. The successes we had achieved in several



tactical counter-offensive operations carried out across the country in recent days, the militant mass movements in several states, particularly against displacement and other burning issues of the people, initiatives taken by our revolutionary people's governments in various spheres – all these have had a great impact on the people, while demoralising enemy forces. There are reports of desertions and disobedience of orders by the jawans posted in Maoist-dominated areas. Quite a few have refused to undertake training in jungle warfare or take postings in our areas, and had to face suspension. This trend will grow with the further advance of our people's war. Overall, our party's influence has grown stronger and it has now come to be recognised as the only genuine alternative before the people.

Q. How long will this stage of strategic defence last, with the Centre ready to go for the jugular?

A. The present stage of strategic defence will last for some more time. It is difficult to predict how long it will take to pass this stage and go to the stage of strategic equilibrium or strategic stalemate. It depends on the transformation of our guerilla zones into base areas, creation of more guerilla zones and red resistance areas across the country, the development of our PLGA. With the ever-intensifying crisis in all spheres due to the anti-people policies of pro-imperialist, pro-feudal governments, the growing frustration and anger of the masses resulting from the most rapacious policies of loot and plunder pursued by the reactionary ruling classes, we are confident that the vast masses of the country will join the ranks of revolutionaries and take the Indian revolution to the next stage. □

FREE MUMIA!

Once again the government is threatening to take the life of Mumia Abu Jamal, and the Supreme Court has put him back on Death Row at SCI Greene in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania. Once again they are testing the resolve of the people to defend his life.

Rise Up! takes the position of unconditional support for Mumia, and we demand that he be freed immediately and without conditions. There is no way anyone with knowledge of this case can construe that the Philadelphia police conducted a fair or a professional investigation, that the prosecution acted in good faith to arrive at the truth or that the judge was unbiased and conducted a fair and proper trial. It was a railroad all the way – a legal lynching!

And the whole world knows it!

Even if we bought the prosecution's case that Mumia witnessed his brother being beaten about the head by a cop with a heavy metal flashlight, and that when he rushed over to try and stop it a gunfight broke out and he was seriously wounded and the cop was killed; the whole scenario begins with an out-of-control cop illegally using a potentially deadly weapon to assault a motorist over a traffic violation. How could anyone not have a reasonable suspicion that this out-of-control cop instigated the shooting?

The issue is not did Mumia shoot the cop, but do YOU have the right to defend yourself from being gunned down in the street – by anyone? If you are not willing to concede this right, than Mumia's case should be of concern to you.

It has been amply demonstrated that the police suppressed evidence, tampered with witnesses, gave lying testimony and in every way acted unprofessionally. If the facts in evidence supported the allegations, why all the shenanigans?

The trial was a farce – a circus of prosecutorial and judicial misconduct. Mumia's case has been rammed down our throats by the F.O.P. and the powers that be because Mumia is a former Black Panther and a pain-in-their-ass journalist they wanted to crucify regardless of the facts of the case. Mumia is a revolutionary and an articulate spokesman of the oppressed.

Tom Ridge built his career by promising to execute Mumia if elected governor. But his would-be executioners were blocked by the massive outpouring of support and protest all over the world by people who saw through the smoke-screen and recognized the issues of racist injustice the case represents. The powers that be decided to stop the execution and toss the case back to the courts for a while.

It's still in the courts, but this recent move by the Republican Party-appointed Supreme Court – in which they compared Mumia's case to that of a white-supremacist, neo-Nazi mass-murderer in Ohio – shows they are using Mumia to get at President Obama and force him to either intervene to stop Mumia's being executed or expose himself to his Black and more liberal supporters as a "slick-talkin' Uncle Tom" by doing nothing to stop it.

Mumia continues to be a "pain-in-their-ass" journalist from his prison cell, writing insightful and hard-hitting commentaries and doing radio bits over the telephone. He continues to be an inspired voice of the oppressed exposing the many cases of social injustice and the guilty manipulations of the corporate oligarchy and politicians behind them.

He continues to be a revolutionary thinker and teacher, and the world is richer for his being in it. Mumia is still fighting for his life, and the reactionaries are still trying to silence him because of his courage and honesty in a time when few journalists exhibit either quality.

Mumia is a political prisoner, one of many of this government that denies that it has any. Many, like Mumia, are former Black Panthers who continue to articulate the cause of Black liberation and uplifting the nation of New Afrikans in Amerika and creating community-based people's power: Who speak out – to those who will listen – about our need to be our own liberators.

We demand freedom for all the political prisoners!

Free Mumia Abu Jamal! Stop the Railroad!



**Rise Up!
PO Box 4362
Allentown, PA 18105**



Haiti Earthquake Leaves Thousands Dead



Residents of Port-au-Prince sleep in the streets as aftershocks continue in wake of massive 7.2 quake

The Red Cross estimates that three million people have been seriously affected by the recent earthquake in Haiti. The Parliament and the National Palace were among the many buildings that collapsed, including the five-storey U.N. headquarters, where up to 100 staffers were killed as well as Hedi Annabi, the Secretary General's special envoy.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop Monsignor Joseph Serge Miot's body was found in the ruins of the archdiocese headquarters. Hotels, schools and the city's main hospital collapsed. People were crying out from the rubble as rescue workers dug them out with their bare hands.

The island of Hispaniola, which Haiti shares with the Dominican Republic, is on the edge of two tectonic plates, making it particularly susceptible to earthquakes. At 7.2 this quake was the most severe in 200 years and was followed by at least 30 aftershocks, one of which measured 5.9 on the Richter scale. The last similar-size quake to hit Port-au-Prince was in 1770.

In 2008, five scientists authored a paper warning that a fault-line on the south side of the island poses a "major seismic hazard." Haiti was severely hit by hurricanes and storms in 2008, and in that year the mayor of Port-au-Prince warned that 60% of the buildings in the city were shoddily built and unsafe under normal conditions, following the collapse of a school in Petionville.

Most of Haiti's 9 million people are desperately poor. Haiti has the lowest minimum wage in the Western Hemisphere. In May of 2009, the legislature voted to raise the minimum

wage from 70 gourdes a day to 200 gourdes (around \$5.00 USD). But really this was just an adjustment to make up for the high rate of inflation that has devalued the currency. None-the-less, the U.S.-installed President Preval has done all he can to block the raise, which would exempt the foreign-own corporations anyway.



Masses demonstrate outside Haitian Parliament in December demanding an increase in the minimum wage to 200 gourde (\$5.00) a day.

Haiti has been occupied by U.N. troops since 2004, when President Aristide was kidnapped by the joint forces of the U.S., Canada and France, and the U.N. Security Council voted in 2009 to extend the "peacekeeping" mission another



year. While the police have been used to repress the demonstrations of the workers demanding the raise in minimum wage, in which at least two demonstrators were killed and many were beaten and arrested, the U.N. troops are the main prop of the dictatorship.



Wyclef Jean

Haiti's favorite son calls for help

In the wake of Hurricane Jeanne in 2005, Haitian-born singer Wyclef Jean initiated the Yele Haiti Foundation. Now he is calling for people to help by sending donations. This can be done by texting "Yele" to 501501, and \$5 will be added to your phone bill. Or, you can send a check or MO to:

Yele Haiti Earthquake Fund
P.O. Box 2345
New York, NY 10108



Ezili Dantó

Oil in Haiti

According to Haitian activist attorney, Ezili Dantó:

"There is evidence that the United States found oil in Haiti decades ago and due to the geopolitical circumstances and big business interests of that era made the decision to keep Haitian oil in reserve for when Middle Eastern oil had dried up. This is

detailed by Dr. George Michel in an article dated March 27, 2004 outlining the history of oil explorations and oil reserves in Haiti and in the research of Dr. Ginette and Dr. Mathurin.

There is also good evidence that these very same big U.S. oil companies and their inter-related monopolies of engineering and defense contractors made plans, decades ago, to use Haiti's deep water ports either for oil refineries or to develop oil tank farm sites or depots where crude oil could be stored and later transferred to small tankers to serve U.S. and Caribbean ports. This is detailed in a paper about the Dunn Plantation at Fort-Liberté in Haiti."

- *Oil in Haiti: Economic Reasons for the U.N./U.S. Occupation*,
Ezili Dantó

Ezili's Haitian Lawyers Leadership Network (HLLN) has consistently maintained that the U.S.'s 2004 invasion of Haiti used U.N. troops to avoid the charge of imperialism and fool the American people into believing it only has a humanitarian interest in Haiti:

"We have also consistently maintained that the U.N./U.S. invasion and occupation of Haiti is not about protecting Haitian rights, security, stability or long-term domestic development but about returning the Washington Chimeres [gangsters] - the traditional Haitian Oligarchs - to power, establishing free trade not fair trade, the Chicago-boys' death plan, neoliberal policies, keeping the minimum wage at slave wage levels, plundering Haiti's natural resources and riches, not to mention using the location benefit that Haiti lies between Cuba and Venezuela. Two countries the U.S. has unsuccessfully orchestrated regime changes in and continues to pursue. In the Dunn Plantation and Georges Michel papers, we find and deploy further details as to why the U.S. is in Haiti with this attempted Bill Clinton facelift to the UN's continued occupations...

"For, no matter the disguise or media spins it's also about Haiti's oil reserves, and about securing Haiti's deep-water ports as transshipment location for oil or for tank sites to store crude oil without interference from a democratic government beholden to its informed population's welfare."

- Ibid.

For a decade prior to the 2004 U.S. invasion, the government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide frustrated the imperialists by stimulating an intense grass-roots movement to discuss how best to develop Haiti's natural resources. The book *Investing in People*, written by Lavalas under Aristide's direction, explained to the people where the resources were and proposed a partnership with the foreign oil and mining companies to jointly exploit them:

The Aristide/Lavalas plan, as I've articulated in the *Haiti's Riches Interview*, was "to engage in some sort of private/public partnership. Where both the Haitian people's interest would be taken care of and of course the private interest would take their profits. But I think it was around that time we had St. Genevieve saying they did not like the Haitian government. Obviously, they didn't like this plan. They don't like the Haitian people to know where their resources are. But in this book, it was the first time in Haitian history, it was written in Kreyol and in French. And there was a national discussion all over the radio in Haiti with respect to all these various resources of Haiti, where they were located, and how the Haitian government was intending on trying to build sustainable' development through those resources. So that's what you had before the 2004 Bush regime change/Coup D'etat in Haiti. With the Coup D'etat now, though the people know where these resources are because this book exists, they don't know who these foreign companies are. What they're profit margins are. What the environmental protection rules and regulations to protect them are. Many folks, for instance, in the North talk about losing their property, having



people come in with guns and taking over their property. So that's where we are." (Haiti's Riches: Interview with Ezili Dantó on Minina in Haiti.)

- Ibid.

The plan for the oil companies to industrialize Fort-Liberté as a deep water port goes back to the 1970's:

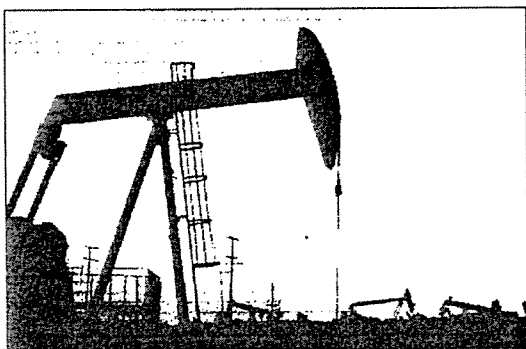
In the November 6, 1972 issue of Oil and Gas Journal, Leo B. Aalund commented in his article "Vast Flight of Refining Capacity from U.S. Looms," "Finally, 'Baby Doc' Duvalier's Haiti is participating with a group that wants to build a transshipment terminal off Fort Liberte, Haiti." One of the proposals referred to by Carbone was undoubtedly submitted by Dunn interests.

Additionally, we learn from this article that "Lonnie Dunn who owned the Dauphin plantation "planned to straighten and widen the entrance to the [Fort Liberté] bay so that super tankers could be brought in and the cargo distributed to smaller tankers for transfer to U.S. and Caribbean ports that could not accommodate large ships..."

Since the coup, the U.S. has built its 5th largest embassy in Haiti. Haiti's jails are full. Many have been detained since 2004 without charges or trials, including community organizers, union representatives and political activists. Lovinsky Pierre Antoine, the head of Haiti's largest human rights organization has been among the "disappeared" since 2007. Between 14 and 20 thousand Haitians have been killed or "disappeared" under the occupation. Haiti's Supreme Court was dismissed and replaced with U.S. picked judges.

The Greater Antilles, which includes Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Cuba and Puerto Rico, may hold as much as 941 million barrels of oil and 1.2 trillion cubic feet of gas, according to a 2000 report by the U.S. Geological Survey. The January 12th earthquake was on a fault line that passes near the main oil and gas reserves, according to geologist Stephen Pierce, who has worked in the region for 30 years.

As far back as November 1962, the U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) guaranteed an oil contract in Haiti to an American businessman named Charles C. Valentine that gave him a monopoly on anything having to do with oil in Haiti, and later paid him when it couldn't deliver.¹ The first thing President Obama did after this earthquake was to announce that he was empowering Rajiv Shah of A.I.D. to have complete control over the relief effort.



¹ Valentine successfully claimed \$327,000 from the development agency, a sum U.S.A.I.D. was itself able to extract from the Haitian government along with \$4,396 in interest charges. - Ezili Dantó, Oil in Haiti, reasons for the U.S. occupation, Part 2, Jan. 29, 2010

Right now there is an outpouring of concern for the long-suffering people of Haiti, but we must be aware that the root cause of their suffering is imperialism and the neo-colonial domination and exploitation of their country. Haiti was the first New Afrikan republic and the only completely successful slave rebellion. Transforming Fort-Liberté into a greasy-grimy oil depot would be an insult as well as an injury to their historic struggle for independence.

In *The Fateful Geological Prize Called Haiti*, F. William Engdahl explains that:

Haiti straddles one of the world's most active geological zones, where the deepwater plates of three huge structures relentlessly rub against one another-the intersection of the North American, South American and Caribbean tectonic plates.

The rubbing against each other of these underwater structures produces the oils, gas and rare strategic minerals and pushes them up fault lines and cracks in the earth to the surface. The convergence of such plates is what makes the Middle East region so rich in oil and gas. Engdahl, writes:

The vast oil reserves of the Persian Gulf and of the region from the Red Sea into the Gulf of Aden are at a similar convergence zone of large tectonic plates, as are such oil-rich zones as Indonesia and the waters off the coast of California. In short, in terms of the physics of the earth, precisely such intersections of tectonic masses as run directly beneath Haiti have a remarkable tendency to be the sites of vast treasures of minerals, as well as oil and gas, throughout the world.

Behind the smoke, rubble and unending drama of human tragedy in the hapless Caribbean country, a drama is in full play for control of what geophysicists believe may be one of the world's richest zones for hydrocarbons-oil and gas outside the Middle East, possibly orders of magnitude greater than that of nearby Venezuela...

(*The Fateful Geological Prize Called Haiti*)

Meanwhile the kidnapped president, Aristide, remains in forced exile in South Africa, where he is virtually under house arrest. If President Obama really feels compassion for the people of Haiti and wants to show that there has been a change in policy since the Bush administration, he should let Aristide return and run against the imposed puppet regime in Port-au-Prince.





Located in the northeastern part of Haiti, Fort-Liberté is where the declaration of Haiti's independence took place on November 29, 1803. The fort was built by the French in 1731. It overlooks a beautiful bay of turquoise water that sparkles in the sun. Soon it may be the site of a refinery and oil storage tank farm. □

India Maoists attack troops' camp



BBC NEWS

February 19, 2010

By Subir Bhaumik
BBC News, Calcutta

At least 24 troops were killed when armed Maoists attacked a camp of the paramilitary forces in India's West Bengal state, officials said.

Nearly 50 rebels on motorcycles encircled the camp of the Eastern Frontier Rifles (ERF) at Silda village on Monday and started firing on it.

More fighters joined the assault on foot, firing from automatic weapons.

More than 6,000 people have died during the rebels' 20-year fight for communist rule in many Indian states.

The Indian government recently began a major offensive against the rebels in several states.

Indian Prime minister Manmohan Singh has described the Maoist insurgency as India's "greatest internal security challenge."

The rebels now have a presence in 223 of India's 600-odd districts.

Landmines

The camp was overrun by the Maoists after the troops put up brief initial resistance, district magistrate of West Midnapore district NS Nigam told the BBC.

"The Maoists then burnt down the camp and planted landmines on the entire length of the road leading to the camp. Reinforcements with night vision and anti-landmine vehicles reached the camp late at night," Mr Nigam said.



At least 24 bodies have been recovered from in and around the camp and some of them are badly charred, he said.

The seriously injured troops were being taken to the state capital, Calcutta, for treatment. Officials said at least 12 soldiers were still missing.

It took four hours for reinforcements to reach Silda as there were landmines planted on the entire stretch of the road.

Police officials leading the reinforcements that reached Silda late at night said many of the paramilitary troops were shot dead by the rebels as they tried to escape the fire.

West Bengal's police chief Bhupinder Singh said there were nearly 50 ERF troops in the camp when the attack took place.

The Maoists pulled out of Silda after looting a huge amount of weapons from the camp's armoury.

Chief of the rebels' military wing, Koteswara Rao - alias Kishenji - claimed responsibility for the attack.

He said this attack was the beginning of "Operation Peace Hunt," the Maoist answer to the government "Operation Green Hunt" launched against the Maoists recently.

"We are looking for peace but we are forced to fight and kill the poor troops of the government forces. We will mourn the death of those killed but the government is responsible for their death," Kishenji told the BBC by phone from an undisclosed location.

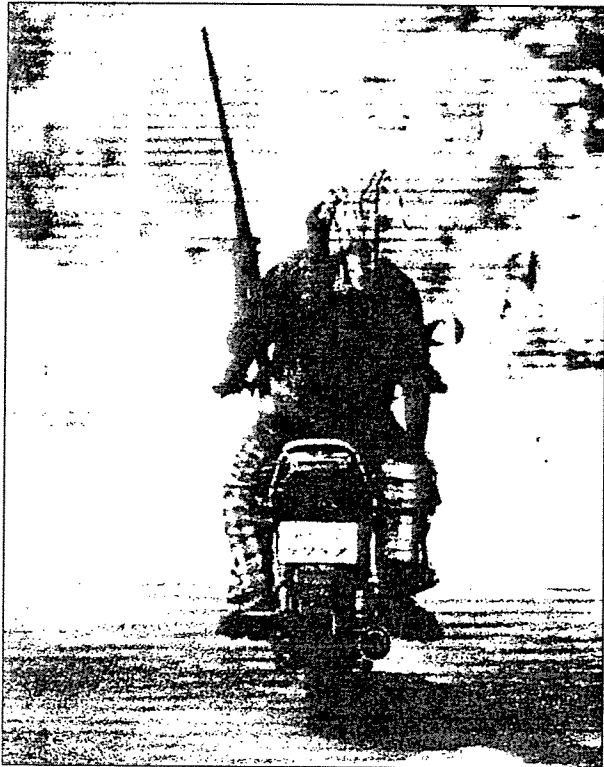
The Maoist leader warned of more such attacks unless Operation Green Hunt was stopped.

Earlier this month Home Minister P Chidambaram held a meeting of four Maoist-affected states - West Bengal, Jharkhand, Bihar and Orissa - in Calcutta.

He threatened to intensify Operation Green Hunt if the rebels did not start talks by abjuring violence.

The Maoists said they would agree to talks if four of their senior leaders now in jail were released and Operation Green Hunt was halted.

The government has not responded to that conditional overture. □



Bloodstained

By Comrade Ali Khalid Abdullah

The State in which we find ourselves in, as a nation and as a nation within a nation, is held together by the sacrifice and the spilling of blood. In fact, the very idea of being an alleged sovereign country rests on the fact that the land we walk on is soaked and dried in human blood.

The idea that Amerika is a "free and democratic country" becomes transparent when you delve into the history of the birth and growing pains as the U.S. matured into this 2010 reality. The truth of it is not a bedtime story for children.

There are a host of problems that rip through the belly of this country and leave its people exposed to the disease of poverty, debt and despair - based upon the actions of the wealthy and the acceptance of the middle class - who hypocritically look the other way and Amerika's children of color and hunger receive less (far less) than their own.

This social illness is pathological and cruel but acts in a fashion of "normality." This is because the exploiting ruling class has fashioned the criteria of what is considered "right" and "wrong" and what constitutes "normal" based upon what does and does not serve their exploitative interests.

Misery for the many and luxury for the few is considered "normal." Wars of aggression that kill and maim millions of innocents to add a point or two to the imperialist's rate of profit on investments, are also "normal" - practically an "Act of God." Pollution and destruction of the environment, waste of resources, causing people to live "butchered half-lives," are all part of "business as usual."

The question which has been around for some time now is - how long are we going to let the elite-class step all over the rights of the people? How long will the great majority believe that "Democracy" means submitting to the will of the super-rich blood-suckers and sacrificing our blood (and our children's future) on the altar of their greed?

To begin to struggle for our own consciousness and awareness of reality, we must get soberly on the same page in order to collectively analyze the concrete situation and what it will take to become our own liberators. This cannot be done if we are so caught up in our own ideas that we can't listen to and give consideration to the ideas of our comrades.



The dividers of a possible union and the power of our numbers are often ego-centered. The protectors of "doctrinal truth" are "close-minded idiots." Truth is always relative and changing. "Concrete analysis of concrete conditions is the soul" of revolutionary theory. Revolution is about problem solving, and to analyze a problem is the first step towards solving it.

To move forward we must cast away illusions – and self-delusions – and our damn egos. There has to be a point where we step back from what we perceive as "right" and "wrong" and disassociate ourselves from the belief that we are more enlightened than others – thus more important – so that we can evaluate other points of view without prejudice. We have to be good at listening.

We must find the inner courage and strength to withstand any hardship; to weather any storm of adversity without fear. The bloodstained footprints of yesterday's people's struggles show the direction of our march to liberation – our justice, our freedom. To take the struggle farther, we must blaze a new trail and find our own bearings by applying the Scientific Method and the "Mass Line."

In the Trenches!

Ali Khalid Abdullah, Feb. 10, 2010

A Fair System?

by Ali Khalid Abdullah

There can be no fair judicial system until and unless there is justice in the economic and social dynamics and the issue of artificially-created poverty is addressed in earnest.

The basic and fundamental rights accorded to individuals must be met in order to have a healthy and viable social system that branches out to affect neighborhoods and communities so they become collective and cooperative support systems.

Justice cannot stand if there are citizens who are not given fair representation in the political structure thereby causing a gap to widen between the citizenry and the government which rules in the name of the people.

If we are going to act in our own behalf and advocate and articulate the aims and goals from the grassroots – then our words must be backed by actions and more actions.

The politicians were supposed to be the servants of the people but we can clearly see whose interests they serve.

However, we have effectively handed over our rights to these career politicians who serve the corporations.

Until We The People,
base ourselves on the principle that
We Are the People,
and that the government of
We The People
has yet to be forged
we will continue to suffer
the fate of slaves.

****The Plague Vs the Vaccine**** *by Comrade Vamp*

I'm completely surrounded by putrid capitalistic propaganda that's being spread like a plague causing an epidemic of idiocy that ravishes our communities... The symptoms of this disease are devastating as it is potent worldwide affecting all races, creeds, & ages. Kids eating food composed of only mud & vanilla extract, mother's only input consists of a full syringe, men's eyes peering & cold stone 'till death. Malnourished is the grand scheme of this entity that's depriving humyns to grow mind, body & soul. Not only does the imperial virus invade us as people but it digs into the very planet we inhabit causing it to try and buck us off as her love can only extend so far. Must we blush from head to toe while nations starve? Can't we shine illuminating the masses with enlightened brain & body so we can rise above indoctrination? We propagate slavery unto ourselves by our inaction against & adherence to the fascist mental construct. Did your ancestors die for your Mercedes? Did your brothers & sisters grab bars for 100 years or get exiled so you can dope deal? Mine didn't, they sacrificed themselves for the vaccine. Dare to Struggle Dare to Win All Power to the People!

Comrade Vamp
Boisie, ID

Respekt Comrade Tom,

The Downpressor is fakin' in my current situation, but that's the nature of Beast – when they do something that they suppose to do then u watch for the Hook – cause it's a hook coming – Comrade George Jackson say – we must remain nameless & faceless. what we do is illegal so we are Doomed – the outlaw is the helper – to be aware is to fight – to fight means to win – Big Warrior don't u know that the Downpressor strive to stop my newsletter



of NABPP – But I'm fightin' it – Listen to their justification statin' that it is gang stuff – I told them need to study history cause this is no where near gang stuff – It's political – We are a political party – Comrade Bobby Seale & Comrade Elaine Brown ran for office – I have never seen a gang member do that – But I feel that it's a game – I'm fightin' this to the end – This place of oppression is known to break cats – cause they lack the knowledge plus they are not willing to grow – this place breeds stagnation – but I refuse to be stagnated – I build & build some more – we must learn from Bobby Seale, Huey P., George Jackson, Jonathan Jackson, Fred Hampton, John Huggens – it shouldn't be so easy to capture & kill the Panther again – I am the Panther – I've been lied to all my life – but yet they strive to use sensory deprivation to try and take your sense of reality – I don't skin & grin with the Downpressor – that's why they strive to drag me down – they think they can Break the strong but knowing in their minds that they can't – I pray as in plan – I pray for my enemies & families – to go from deaf, dumb & blind to a conscious state – it's a struggle between conscious & unconsciousness – the Beast is forever hungry – A wish, a hope, a prayer won't stop the Beast. One must become a Dragonslayer to stop the Beast – Fred Hampton say he is not happy unless the people is happy. How can I be full & my family hungry? – I work for the people & I'll die for the people – we must expose those who mean us no good – we must test methods & ideas – Marcus Garvey was a true nationalist – But when we speak about nationalism – we must speak land when we deal with nationalism – we are in a very unique position. We built a land we ain't even reaped no benefit from – we got a Homeland that we damn near cut off from – we need to win our minds back and the land – I'm anti-capitalist, anti-sexist and anti-racist – We teach our brothas & sistas class consciousness – We must build our people up – educate and organize – We must teach them what they need to know to liberate themselves.

All Power to the People!

Long Live the Guerrilla!

Respekt – Panther Love!

Comrade Hoshima

Roy G. Wilson, III #276454

Perry Corr. Inst. C-Y-2

430 Oaklawn Road

Pelzer, SC 29669



Tennessee Branch of NABPP-PC launches newsletter

The newly-formed Tennessee Branch Committee of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter has come out with volume #1 no. #1 of the *Black Print Newsletter* for distribution throughout the state prison system. It is edited by the Branch Chairman, Xavier Todd. Tennessee is known as the "Volunteer State," and our Tennessee Panthers are setting the pace for comrades in other state systems to get organized and take the liberating ideological and political line of our Party out to their fellow prisoners in a lively and exciting way.

"I HAVE NOTHING, SO I CAN LOSE NOTHING," they quote from Comrade George Jackson on the first page. "NABPP stands for liberation of Afrikan, New Afrikan, and oppressed people everywhere," Comrade Xavier writes. "We are not racists and our organization isn't based on any religious sectors. In this struggle for international socialism, we are armed with the ideology and theoretical views of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism."

He quotes from General Vo Nguyen Giap of Vietnam on the six factors of revolutionary success:

1. A just cause
2. A people's army
3. A united front



4. A government recognized by the people
5. A Marxist-Leninist party
6. The support of the people worldwide.

"This is the hour that we must *Seize The Time*, to agitate, educate and organize, incorporating international socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat," Xavier writes, "and the Vanguard Party." He points out what Mao had to say about extending the party organization all over the country and that:

"... we must purposely train tens of thousands of cadres and leaders versed in Marxism-Leninism, politically far-sighted, competent in work, full of spirit of self-sacrifice, capable of taking problems on their own, and devoted in serving the nation, the cadres, and the party. It is on these cadres and leaders that the party relies on its links with the membership and the masses, and it is relying on their firm leadership of the masses that the party can succeed in defeating the energy. Such cadres and leaders must be free from selflessness, from individualistic heroism, ostentation, sloth, positivity, and sectarian arrogance, and they must be selfless, national, and class heroes, such as the qualities and style of work demanded by the members, cadres, and leaders of our party." - Mao Tse-tung

The TN Branch Committee can be reached by writing:

Xavier Todd #126502
P.O. Box 679
Whiteville, TN 38075

He can receive mail from other prisoners.



BPP Comrade Kiilu Nyasha

Media, Revolution & the Legacy of the Black Panther Party

Posted by Mike E on *Kasama*, April 5, 2009

This is an edited interview, featuring excerpts from Nyasha's article: "Ruchell Cinque Magee and the August 7th Courthouse Slave Rebellion." Thanks to Hans and *The Black Commentator* for submitting it to *Kasama*.

By Hans Bennett

Hans Bennett: How did you join the BPP?

Kiilu Nyasha: I started running into Panthers when I worked for President Johnson's so-called "War on Poverty," at The Community Action Institute (CAI) in New Haven, CT. We were supposed to organize the community, and of course they didn't really mean it; but I was politically naive. So I took them literally at their word and plunged into organizing, going to various community meetings.

A young Panther named Belva, just a teenager and known as "sisterlove," was sent to New Haven from Oakland to organize a free breakfast program. A town hall meeting was organized to decide whether or not they could institute the breakfast program. I was employed at the teen center where they wanted to house the breakfast program. I wound up being the Breakfast Program Coordinator after being eliminated by CPI when they closed the auxiliary

Community Action Institute, absorbing those they wanted to stay into the main body, CPI. Later on, I was recruited from the Chapter to work as office manager and secretary to the attorneys for Lonnie McLucas, Ericka Huggins and Bobby Seale, including the late Charles Garry, Esq.

When I found myself jobless, I applied for welfare because having worked for Yale and the government, I didn't qualify for unemployment insurance. I had a 9 year-old son and rent for my apartment was \$80/month, but they would only give me \$25 a week. What was I supposed to do with that? So I joined the second chapter of the BPP in late 1969, created after the first chapter got locked up for murder charges, along with the Chairman, Bobby Seale – basically recruited to organize around the Panther trials by Robert Webb [martyred] and Doug Miranda. At this time, I was still "Pat Gallyot," because I changed my name later in the 1970's.

HB: Tell us about the BPP.

KN: The BPP was initiated by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, who were students at Merritt College in Oakland. They saw the needs of their community and began to address them with the Ten-Point Platform and community programs. They confronted police brutality by following the police around with law books and guns, because at the time, it was legal to carry arms openly. They witnessed arrests to make sure the police didn't go into their brutality mode. Eventually, there was a shoot-out between the police and the BPP when Huey's car was stopped, and an officer was shot and killed in self-defense. Huey himself was shot in the abdomen and the picture of him handcuffed in the hospital went around the world.

An incredible movement swept this country like wild-fire, because police abuses were a national epidemic. The BPP developed a 10-point platform demanding self-determination for our Black community, including land, bread, housing,



clothing, education, justice and peace. We started free medical clinics, and in New Haven, the clinic was staffed by doctors and nurses from Yale. In Oakland, Dr. Tolbert Small initiated the sickle cell anemia awakening with education and free tests.

We propagated revolution and formed the original "rainbow coalition." We worked with many groups, including the Young Lords, the Young Patriot Party from Appalachia, the Peace and Freedom Party, SOS, the Red Guard, the Brown Berets, I Wor Kuan, and the American Indian Movement. History books have omitted the fact that Blacks were leading the revolutionary movement in this country. Other communities adapted our programs for themselves. We organized within our own separate communities, but we all came to the same rallies. So then you'd have this huge multicultural rally led by the BPP. It was also intergenerational. I was practically an elder at 30 because most Panthers were teenagers.



Bobby Seale and Huey P. Newton, Oakland

HB: What is the BPP's legacy?

KN: Once instituted, our free breakfast program was in high demand because kids were hungry. Subsequently, a free school lunch program was started in New Haven, and similar free food programs were instituted across the country.

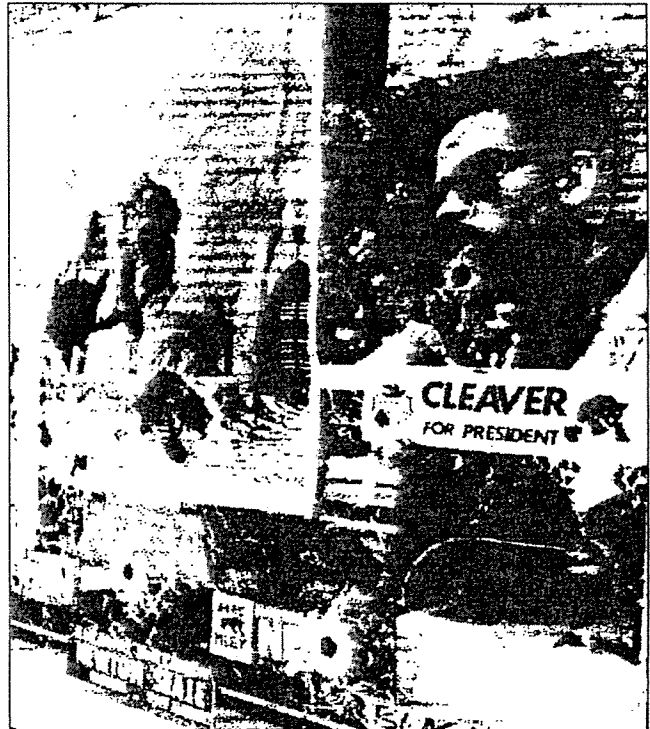
The "Black is Beautiful" campaign elevated the mentality of Black people in terms of what we thought about ourselves. Don't forget, James Brown's song "I'm Black and I'm Proud" came on the heels of the BPP. Music and culture reflected the Movement. That legacy has endured.

The BPP ushered in a whole crew of Black politicians, but what did that do for Black people, especially poor Black people? For example, President Obama is a friend of capitalism, imperialism, and fascism. Fascism needs a new brown face to deal with the so-called Third World. Obama cannot and will not produce real change, like moving from capitalism to socialism, redistributing the wealth, abolishing the prison system per se, and changing domestic and foreign policies.

HB: How did the BPP fare against US government repression?

KN: We were defeated. They pulled every dirty trick in the book to wipe us out and succeeded. They organized fratricide and had us killing each other. They jailed and assassinated us. By 1969, 28 Panthers had already been murdered by the police. There was the blatant murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in Chicago in 1969.

President Richard Nixon and FBI Director J Edgar Hoover orchestrated COINTELPRO and another program that was behind the walls called "NEWKILL." We were targeted and declared the most dangerous threat to the internal security of the US. This came out when the secret programs were revealed after files were stolen from the FBI office in Media, PA. Later, Senator Frank Church conducted hearings further documenting the repression.



Oakland office after police attack

HB: What impact did the BPP have on police brutality and prisons?

KN: We may have caused a temporary calm, but it actually got worse. For example, Panthers Harold Taylor and John Bowman (currently of the SF8) were chased down in Los Angeles by plain-clothes police and shot at. They shot back, were eventually arrested, had a capital trial, but were acquitted on grounds of self defense. However, today we're getting shot left and right. The incarceration rate is the highest in the world. President Clinton ushered in a prison boom that has our prison population up to 2.4 million today. Here in California there are 180,000 prisoners, with many more on probation and parole. We're living in a police state and have a cradle-to-prison policy for our youth. We have to regroup and develop new tactics and strategies that address today's conditions.

HB: What can we learn from the successes and failures of the BPP, so that we can be more effective today?

KN: Organizing worked! As in, door-to-door street organizing, on the ground, rolling up our sleeves and going



right to the people, and helping them meet their own needs. People have gotten far away from that. Stop knocking on city hall's door! Why are we asking our enemies for help? Working within the system only works if you consider yourself an infiltrator. We have to draw the line and stop supporting it. Today, we should organize gardens to grow our own food.

Propaganda is a necessary tool and our job right now is to raise consciousness to educate to liberate. The BPP had regular political education classes. That needs to happen again. People need to get into small study groups and discuss politics.

Also, students aren't organizing on the campuses like they used to. I think it's partly because the lower class isn't on the campuses these days because nobody can afford it.

HB: What do you think of recent events in Latin America, where people are fighting U.S. domination and local ruling class power?

KN: I'm inspired! I highly recommend the recent documentary film about Venezuela titled "The Revolution Will Not Be Televised." The people's reversal of the attempted coup is such a wonderful demonstration of people's power and what an impact it can have. Watching it recharged my batteries. I was like "Oh my goodness!" It's very exciting, promising, and I hope we have sense enough to be in solidarity and support the struggles there and everywhere else oppressed people are fighting. How else is the US empire going to be defeated? The global economy is here to stay.

HB: This issue of global solidarity reminds me of Huey Newton's idea of "revolutionary intercommunalism," emphasizing that in today's age of transnational corporate power, the U.S. working class' liberation is inherently tied to that of workers everywhere. Globalization is a popular topic today, but do you think Huey gets credit for talking about it back then?

KN: Huey's theory was brilliant, prophetic, and is a perfect solution in today's world. Of course Huey has not been given proper credit and it's the same thing with Malcolm X. Now more than ever, oppressed people around the world need to unite against the common enemy that is transnational corporations. We can't let them divide us. We're in the throes of a death spiral right now, and if we don't hurry up and deal with climate change, for example, things will get horribly worse for ordinary people and we can kiss this planet goodbye, probably within this century.

HB: When did you start working in media?

KN: Because of my years of secretarial work, I had typing skills. At the time of Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins' trial in New Haven, on behalf of the Panther Defense Committee, we printed a tabloid and I co-wrote and typeset an article covering the story. I also wrote articles for the national BPP paper, and eventually learned how to put a newspaper together. After moving to San Francisco, I was working for a local Black newspaper called The Sun Reporter, but left in anger after they chopped up an article that I wrote about the uprising at NY State Prison in Attica that resulted in the massacre of some 39 prisoners and guards. Afterwards, in late 1971, a bunch of us had political education classes that met at my pad in the Fillmore, and we put together a tabloid called "By Any Means Necessary." In '72, I wrote and published another tabloid titled, "Niggahs of the World Unite."



Later, I lived in the Hunters Point neighborhood, and while practicing a very strenuous form of martial arts, my muscles started deteriorating. I wound up in the medical system for many years—a long, hairy story. Suffice it to say, I walked into the system in 1975 and rolled out in 1980, and have been in Chinatown ever since, living in a 12 story Housing Authority building that they said was the only place they could find that was wheelchair accessible.

HB: How does the mainstream media today compare to 40 years ago?

KN: It's much worse! I used to see BPP leaders Kathleen Cleaver and David Hilliard on TV. The movement used to get media attention. Now you can't get any media attention on prisoners. We can have a demonstration with 10,000 people, and they still don't cover it. You don't even have good journalists anymore.

HB: Why do you think that is?

KN: Look at all the journalists who've been fired for telling the truth. Not to mention all the journalists who have been murdered these past few years, particularly by the US in Iraq. It intimidates people and they need real courage to tell the truth today.

HB: How has the alternative media changed?

KN: It's not anywhere as bold. We had the BPP newspaper and all kinds of badass tabloids. Today they censor you. To me, with a few exceptions, the Black press and other alternative media have fallen down on the job.

HB: Your recent Black Commentator article titled "Black August 2008" focused on the legacy of the late prison author and BPP leader, George Jackson, who was assassinated by guards at San Quentin Prison on August 21, 1971.

KN: I initiated a correspondence with George in early 1971, and months later, got a one-hour visit in the holding cell of San Quentin. I've met no one before or since more dedicated to revolutionary change. George's book of prison letters, *Soledad Brother* was a best seller, and his second book, *Blood In My Eye*, had just been finished at the time of his death, and was published posthumously.

George was one of the three "Soledad Brothers," whose story began on January 13, 1970 when a tower guard at



George Jackson, San Quentin

Soledad State Prison shot and killed three Black captives on the yard, leaving them unattended to bleed to death: Cleveland Edwards, "Sweet Jugs" Miller, and W. L. Nolen, all active resisters in the Black Movement behind the walls. Others included George Jackson, Jeffrey Gaudin, Hugo L.A. Pinell, Steve Simmons, Howard Tole, and the late Warren Wells.

After the common verdict of "justifiable homicide" was returned and the killer guard exonerated at Soledad, another white-racist guard was beaten and thrown from a tier to his death in retaliation. Fleeta Drumgo, John Clutchette, and Jackson were charged with his murder, and became known as The Soledad Brothers. A campaign, to free them was led by college professor Angela Davis, and George's brother Jonathan. The three were awaiting trial, with a mandatory death sentence if convicted, at the time of George's death.

HB: You wrote that we should honor Jackson's legacy by working to free two California prisoners: Hugo "Yogi Bear" Pinell and Ruchell "Cinque" Magee. Currently housed in Pelican Bay State Prison's notorious "Security Housing Unit," Pinell has been in continuous

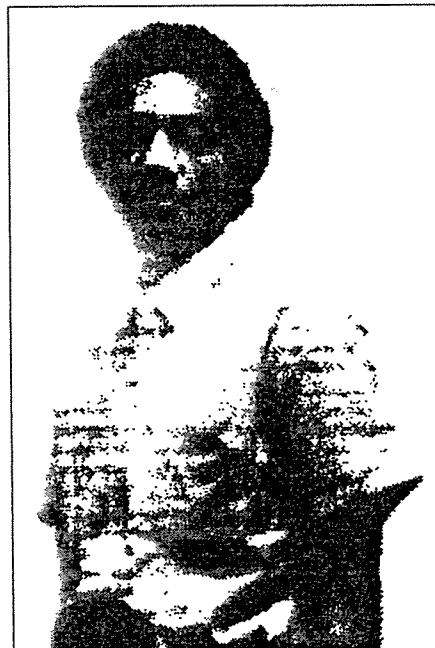
solitary confinement since at least 1971. On January 14, 2009, Pinell was denied parole for 15 years, a virtual re-sentencing.

KN: The book titled "The Melancholy History of Soledad Prison," by Min Yee, documents how Hugo Pinell was one of the original members of the Black Movement, led by George Jackson and others in Soledad Prison. At that time, it wasn't safe for Blacks to walk the yard. The collusion between the racist, KKK-type guards and white racist prison gangs was horrendous. These conditions were horrible.

Yogi was eventually transferred to San Quentin, and was there on August 21, 1971, when George was assassinated. That day, in what was described by prison officials as an escape attempt, George allegedly smuggled a gun into San Quentin in a wig. That feat was proven impossible, and evidence subsequently suggested a setup designed by prison officials to eliminate Jackson once and for all as they had tried numerous times. On that fateful day, three notoriously racist prison guards and two inmate turnkeys were also killed. According to ..an eye witness, when Jackson was shot while running on the yard, he got up instantly and dived in the direction of some bushes. He was subsequently murdered while lying on the ground wounded.

Six Black prisoners were charged with murder and assault. Hugo Pinell, Fleeta Drumgo, David Johnson, Luis Talamantez, Johnny Spain, and Willie Sundiata Tate became known as the "San Quentin Six." Johnny Spain was the only one convicted of murder. The others were either acquitted or convicted of assault. Hugo is the only one remaining in prison, and badly needs our support.

HB: Tell us about Ruchell Magee.



Ruchell Cinque Magee

KN: I first met Ruchell in the holding cell of the Marin County courthouse in the Summer of 1971. I found him to be soft-spoken, warm and a gentleman in typically Southern tradition. We've been in correspondence pretty much ever since. I was then working for The Sun Reporter, and covering the pretrial hearings of Angela Davis and Ruchell



Magee. By 1971, Ruchell was an astute jailhouse lawyer. He was responsible for the release and protection of a myriad of prisoners benefiting from his extensive knowledge of law, which he used to prepare writs, appeals and lawsuits for himself and many others behind the walls.

Ruchell was fighting charges of murder, conspiracy to murder, kidnap, and conspiracy to aid the escape of state prisoners. Although critically wounded on August 7, 1970, he was the sole survivor among the four brave Black men who conducted the courthouse slave rebellion, leaving him to be charged with everything they could throw at him. On August 7, 17-year old Jonathan Jackson raided the Marin Courtroom and tossed guns to prisoners William Christmas and James McClain, who in turn invited Ruchell to join them. Rue seized the hour spontaneously as they attempted to escape by taking a judge, assistant district attorney and three jurors as hostages in that audacious move to expose to the public the brutally racist prison conditions and free the Soledad Brothers.

McClain was on trial for assaulting a guard in the wake of Black prisoner Fred Billingsley's murder by prison officials in San Quentin in February, 1970. With only four months before a parole hearing, Magee had appeared in the courtroom to testify for McClain.

The four revolutionaries successfully commandeered the group to the waiting van and were about to pullout of the parking lot when Marin County Police and San Quentin guards opened fire. When the shooting stopped, Judge Harold Haley, Jackson, Christmas, and McClain lay dead; Magee was unconscious and seriously wounded as was the prosecutor. A juror suffered a minor injury.

Magee had already spent at least seven years studying law and deluging the courts with petitions and lawsuits to contest his own illegal conviction in two fraudulent trials. As he put it, the judicial system "used fraud to hide fraud" in his second case after the first conviction was overturned on an appeal based on a falsified transcript. His strategy, therefore, centered on proving that he was a slave, denied his constitutional rights and held involuntarily. Therefore, he had the legal right to escape slavery as established in the case of the African slave, Cinque, who had escaped the slave ship, Amistad, and won freedom in a Connecticut trial.

Thus, Magee had to first prove he'd been illegally and unjustly incarcerated for over seven years. He also wanted the case moved to the Federal Courts and the right to represent himself.

Moreover, Magee wanted to conduct a trial that would bring to light the racist and brutal oppression of Black prisoners throughout the State. "My fight is to expose the entire system, judicial and prison system, a system of slavery. This will cause benefit not just to myself but to all those who at this time are being criminally oppressed or enslaved by this system."

On the other hand, Angela Davis, his co-defendant, charged with buying the guns used in the raid, conspiracy, etc., was innocent of any wrongdoing because the gun purchases were perfectly legal and she was not part of the original plan. Davis' lawyers wanted an expedient trial to prove her innocence on trumped up charges. This conflict in strategy resulted in the trials being separated. Davis was acquitted of all charges and released in June of 1972.

Ruchell fought on alone, losing much of the support attending the Davis trial. After dismissing five attorneys and five judges, he won the right to defend himself. The murder charges had been dropped, and Magee faced two kidnap charges. He was ultimately convicted of PC 207, simple kidnap, but the more serious charge of PC 209, kidnap for purposes of extortion, resulted in a disputed verdict. According to one of the juror's sworn affidavit, the jury voted for acquittal on the PC 209 and Magee continues to this day to challenge the denial and cover-up of that acquittal.

Ruchell is currently on the mainline of Corcoran State Prison doing his 46th year locked up in California gulags – many of those years spent in solitary confinement under tortuous conditions! In spite of having committed no physical assaults or murders. Is that not political?



George Jackson

HB: Let's conclude with a quote from George Jackson.

KN: He wrote in *Blood In My Eye*:

"Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are dying who could be saved, that generations more will live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your love in revolution."

Special thanks to Ed Mertex for help transcribing the interview.

Hans Bennett is an independent multi-media journalist (www.insubordination.blogspot.com) and co-founder of Journalists for Mumia Abu-Jamal (www.abu-jamal-news.com).

Kiilu Nyasha is a San Francisco-based journalist and former member of the Black Panther Party (BPP). Kiilu hosts a weekly TV program, "Freedom Is A Constant Struggle," on SF Live (Comcast 76 and AT&T 99), which can be viewed live at www.accessforg every Friday at 7:30 pm (PST), and rebroadcast Saturdays at 3:30 p.m., and Mondays, 6:30 p.m. She writes for several publications, including the SF Bay View Newspaper and BlackCommentator.com. Also an accomplished radio programmer, she has worked for KPFA (Berkeley), SF Liberation Radio, Free Radio Berkeley; and KPOO in SF. Some of her work is archived at www.kofa.org and www.mvsoace.com/official_kiilu.



Rosa Luxembour

Chiang Ching

Edith Lagos

International Women's Day 2010



March 8th

Celebrate the Role of Women

U.S. Hands Off Assata Shakur!



Assata Shakur: The government's terrorist is our community's heroine

by Mos Def

Early in May, the federal government issued a statement in which they labeled Joanne Chesimard, known to most in the Black community as Assata Shakur, as a domestic terrorist. In so doing, they also increased the bounty on her head from \$150,000 to an unprecedented \$1,000,000.

Viewed through the lens of U.S. law enforcement, Shakur is an escaped cop-killer. Viewed through the lens of many Black people, including me, she is a wrongly convicted woman and a hero of epic proportions.

My first memory of Assata Shakur was the "Wanted" posters all over my Brooklyn neighborhood. They said her name was Joanne Chesimard, that she was a killer, an escaped convict, and armed and dangerous.

They made her sound like a super-villain, like something out of a comic book. But even then, as a child, I couldn't believe what I was being told.

When I looked at those posters and the mug shot of a slight, brown, high-cheekboned woman with a full afro, I saw someone who looked like she was in my family, an aunt, a mother.

She looked like she had soul. Later, as a junior high school student, when I read her autobiography, "Assata," I would discover that not only did she have soul, she also had immeasurable heart, courage and love.

And I would come to believe that that very heart and soul she possessed was exactly why Assata Shakur was shot, arrested, framed and convicted of the murder of a New Jersey State Trooper.

There are some undisputed facts about the case. On May 2, 1973, Assata Shakur, a Black Panther, was driving down the New Jersey State Turnpike with two companions. Zayd Shakur and Sundiata Acoli.

The three were pulled over, ostensibly for a broken taillight. A gun battle ensued; why and how it started is unclear. But the aftermath is not. Trooper Werner Forester and Zayd Shakur lay dead.

Sundiata Acoli escaped (he was captured two days later). And Assata was shot and arrested. At trial, three neurologists would testify that the first gunshot shattered her clavicle and the second shattered the median nerve in her right hand. That testimony proved that she was sitting with her hands raised when she was fired on by police.

Further testimony proved that no gun residue was found on either of her hands, nor were her fingerprints found on any of the weapons located at the scene. Nevertheless, Shakur was convicted by an all-White jury and sentenced to life in prison.

Six years and six months to the day that she was arrested, and aided by friends, Shakur escaped from Clinton Women's Prison in New Jersey. As a high school student, I remember seeing posters all around the Brooklyn community I lived in that read: "Assata Shakur is Welcome Here." In 1984, she surfaced in Cuba and was granted political asylum by Fidel Castro.

There are those who believe that being convicted of a crime makes you guilty. But that imposes an assumption of infallibility upon our criminal justice system.

When Assata Shakur was convicted of killing Werner Foerster, not only had the Black Panther Party been labeled by then FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover as "the greatest internal threat" to American security, but Assata herself had been thoroughly criminalized in the minds of the American public.

She'd been charged in six different crimes, ranging from attempted murder to bank robbery, and her acquittal or dismissal of the charges outright notwithstanding, to the average citizen, it seemed she must be guilty of something.



And she was. She was guilty of calling for a shift in power in America and for racial and economic justice.

Included on a short list of the many people who have made that call and were either criminalized, terrorized, killed or blacklisted are Paul Robeson, Martin Luther King, Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman, Medgar Evers and Ida B. Wells.

Perhaps what is most insulting about the government's latest attack on Assata is that while they vigorously pursue her extradition, a few years ago using it as a bargaining chip for lifting the embargo itself, they have been decidedly lackadaisical in pursuing the extradition of an admitted terrorist, Florida resident Luis Posada Carriles. Carriles is likely responsible for blowing up a Cuban airline in 1976, an act which claimed the lives of some 73 Innocent civilians.

For those of us who either remember the state of the union in the 1960s and 1970s or have studied it, when we consider Assata Shakur living under political asylum in Cuba, we believe that nation is exercising its political sovereignty and in no way harboring a terrorist.

Cubans see Assata as I and many others in my community do: as a woman who was and is persecuted for her political beliefs.

When the federal government raised the bounty on her head this May 2, one official declared that Assata was merely "120 pounds of money." For many of us in the Black community, she could never be so reduced. For many of us in the Black community, she was and remains, to use her own words, an "escaped slave," a heroine, not unlike Harriet Tubman.

Mos Def actor and rapper, is currently starring in "The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy." This commentary first appeared at AllHipHop.com with the disclaimer, "The views expressed inside this editorial aren't necessarily the views of AllHipHop.com or its employees."



Hands Off Assata: In Exile Since 1979

On May 2 1973, Black Panther activist Assata Shakur (fsn) JoAnne Chesimard, was pulled over by the New Jersey State Police, shot twice and then charged with murder of a police officer. Assata spent six and a half years in prison under brutal circumstances before escaping out of the maximum security wing of the Clinton Correctional Facility for Women in New Jersey in 1979 and moving to Cuba.

On May 2 2005, the xxth anniversary of Assata's escape, The U.S. Department of Justice, the U.S. Attorney General,

and the New Jersey State Police raised the reward (read: blood bounty) being offered for the capture of Assata Shakur to \$1,000,000 US Dollars, encouraging mercenaries and freelance joy seekers to find, kidnap and if necessary break Cuba law so that Assata might be returned to the U.S. to resume her sentence and be tried on additional charges. Charges which also include the *ridiculous* and slanderous description of "domestic terrorist."

This *obsessive* and barbaric attempt to malign, imprison and/or assassinate important and legitimate Black (Afrikan) activists is an ongoing expression of the contempt and hatred that the U.S. government has always shown Black people and their leadership in America. It is all out assault on our rights as both citizens of the United States and human in general, to voice, dissent and challenge social, economic and political obstacles that hinder our progress, threaten our lives and derail our destiny. The government wants us dumb, silent, docile and compliant. Assata Shakur is one voice that will not be muffled!

Assata: In her own words

My name is Assata ("she who struggles") Shakur ("the thankful one"), and I am a 20th century escaped slave. Because of government persecution, I was left with no other choice than to flee from the political repression, racism and violence that dominate the US government's policy towards people of color. I am an ex political prisoner, and I have been living in exile in Cuba since 1984. I have been a political activist most of my life, and although the U.S. government has done everything in its power to criminalize me, I am not a criminal, nor have I ever been one. In the 1960s, I participated in various struggles: the black liberation movement, the student rights movement, and the movement to end the war in Vietnam. I joined the Black Panther Party. By 1969 the Black Panther Party had become the number one organization targeted by the FBI's COINTELPRO program. because the Black Panther Party demanded the total liberation of black people, J. Edgar Hoover called it "greatest threat to the internal security of the country" and vowed to destroy it and its leaders and activists.

What Can You DO?

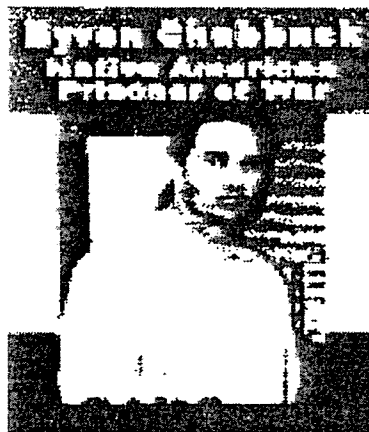
If you care about your own freedom and your right to stand up, be heard and compel change, support Assata Shakur by participating in Hands Off Assata Camoaign Action Alerts.

Hands Off Assata Campaign Action Alerts use networks of ordinary citizens from allover the world to educate, agitate and compel change. Action Alerts are simple enough to be carried out by anyone and effective enough to see immediate results.

Join us in protecting all freedom by telling the Federal Government and the State of New Jersey and its law enforcement agencies: "Hands Off Assata"



United Panther Movement
PO Box 4362
Allentown, PA 18105



Lawyer for Political Prisoner Oso Blanco

Jericho is asking for help in raising funds for a lawyer for Oso Blanco (aka Byron Shane Chubbuck), a Native American political prisoner being held and abused at Lewisburg federal prison.

He has been attacked by guards three times within the last few months and, after consulting with a lawyer, we decided we need to send a lawyer to visit him sooner rather than later. It will cost about a thousand for the trip there and a day visit/retainer, as well as getting the necessary documents for the lawyer.

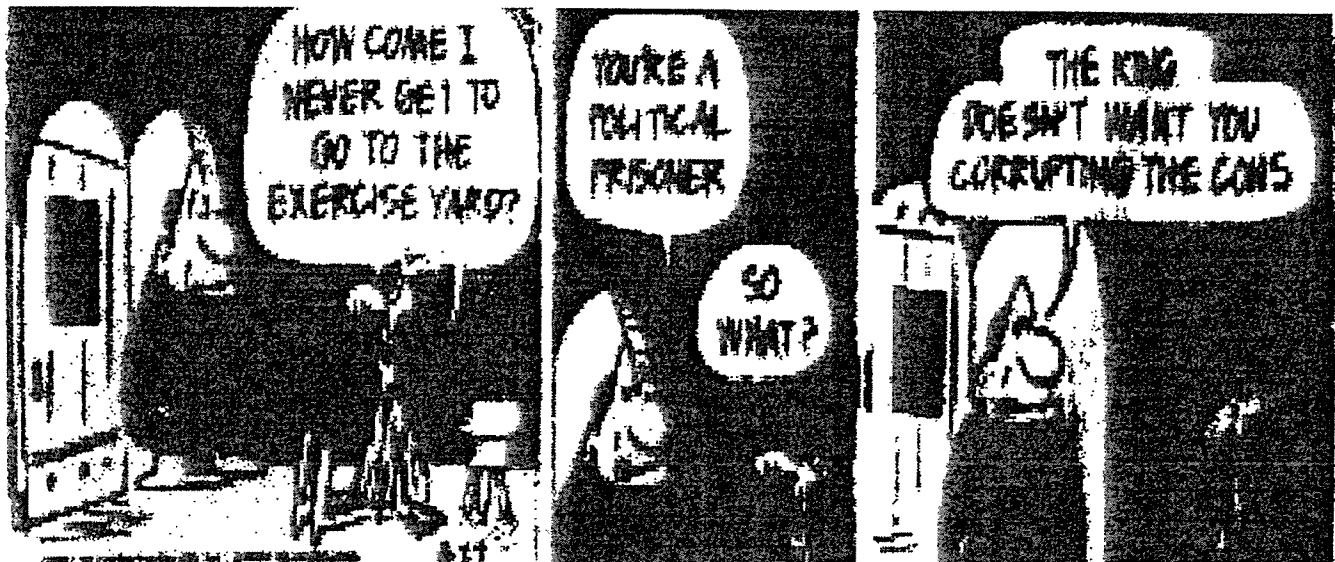
By sending the donation through I.F.C.O., you will be able to have a deduction for your income tax. So please help us get this done, as we are concerned about not only Oso's safety, but his mental health under this abusive treatment.

1. make out check to IFCO/NYC Jericho
2. on memo line: Oso Blanco's lawyer
3. send check to the Jericho Movement, P.O. Box 1272, New York, NY 10013
4. We will take the checks to IFCO
5. Drop Oso a note or card to let the prison know folks outside are concerned about our brother.

Byron Shane Chubbuck (Oso Blanco) #07909-051
USP Lewisburg, PO Box 1000, Lewisburg, PA 17837
www.osoblanco.org

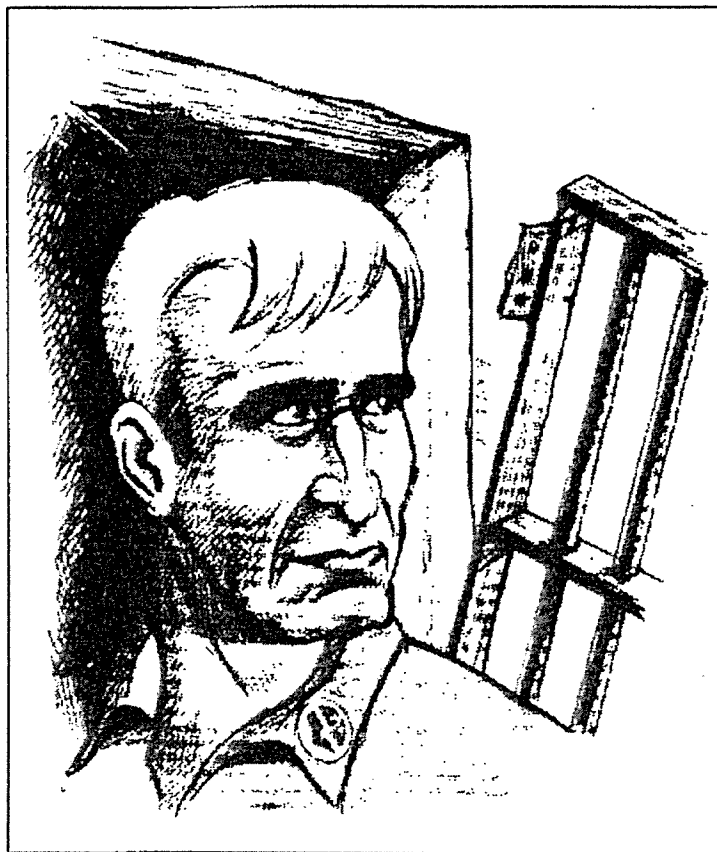
Thank you for your help
NYC Jericho

Wizard





The Campaign to Free Ahmad Sa'adat



Ahmad Sa'adat, General Secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and member of the Palestinian Legislative Council, is one of nearly 10,000 Palestinian political prisoners held in Israeli jails. These political prisoners, men, women and children, are activists, organizers and political leaders of the Palestinian people.

Sa'adat was sentenced to 30 years in the occupation prisons on December 25, 2008. On March 18, 2009, Sa'adat was moved into isolation at Asqelan prison, facing serious medical consequences. In June 2009, Sa'adat engaged in a nine-day hunger strike against his isolation. On August 10, 2009, Sa'adat was moved from the isolation cells at Asqelan to the isolation unit at Ramon prison in the Naqab desert. **On October 22, 2009, Sa'adat was sentenced to an additional six months in solitary confinement by the occupation military court in Bir Saba.**

Sa'adat, with five other Palestinian prisoners, was kidnapped by the Israeli military on March 14, 2006 after a siege upon the prison in Jericho, where he was being held under a U.S. and British guard at a Palestinian Authority prison.

This is a campaign of human rights activists and concerned people from around the world, coming together to address the travesty of justice taking place, and calling for justice and freedom for Ahmad Sa'adat and all Palestinian political prisoners.

We are asking you now to join us in calling upon international human rights organizations to make clear statements about and prioritize this case. Ahmad Sa'adat is a prisoner of conscience, subject to the illegitimate military courts of an illegal military occupation. Indeed, the "security-related charges" against him, such as they are, embody political persecution and targeting for repression due to political activity, including such charges as membership in a forbidden organization (the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, of which he is General Secretary), holding a post in a forbidden organization, and incitement - for a speech delivered after the murder of Abu Ali Mustafa, the previous General Secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, by the Israeli military, as he worked in his office.



Ahmad Sa'adat is joined by thousands of other Palestinian prisoners, including other Palestinian political leaders, in facing imprisonment by the authorities of an illegal military occupation. These include 36 members of the Palestinian Legislative Council elected in 2006 and 3 government ministers, including Sa'adat and Marwan Barghouti, prominent Palestinian leader. Abdelaziz Dweik, chair of the PLC, was recently released after three years in prison.

Your help and support are needed to secure justice and freedom for Ahmad Sa'adat and Palestinian political prisoners. Please take action today!

Sa'adat issues letter from isolation cell calling for action for prisoners

November 9, 2009

Ahmad Sa'adat, imprisoned Palestinian national leader, General Secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and Palestinian Legislative Council member, issued a letter from his isolation cell in response to the international day of action and the efforts of political, social, legal and media organizations in solidarity with Comrade Sa'adat and all Palestinian prisoners, particularly those confronting isolation in the jails of the occupier, calling for ongoing actions against isolation and in support of the prisoners.

Sa'adat's letter expressed his support for these actions and said:

"The policy of isolation is a flagrant violation of international humanitarian and human rights law, and the law of prohibition of torture. This policy is also a systematic practice of killing and destruction of the human personality, and in some cases, a mechanism for carrying out a living death sentence against freedom fighters, particularly those who have served many long years in isolation, such as Hassan Salameh, Jamal Abu Hija, Ibrahim Hamed, Ahmed al-Maghrabi, Abdullah al-Barghouthi and others.

"The policy of isolation, this death penalty imposed upon prisoners and detainees, are not based on any legal grounds. It is a decision of the occupation intelligence services under a secret file that may be seen by nobody but for the judge, who has never denied any decision to isolate a prisoner or made clear any mechanism for the use of isolation.

"The policy of isolation targets the essence of human rights and humanity -the right to social relationships - through isolation from the surrounding environment, and means deprivation of even the minimal rights under the laws of the Israeli Prisons Administration, including access to newspapers, books and clothes. It is collective punishment of prisoners' families as well, as every decision to isolate a prisoner is accompanied by a 3 month prohibition on family visits."

Sa'adat concluded his letter with a call: "The struggle of the prisoners for freedom is part and parcel of the ongoing struggle of our people which will end only with the defeat of occupation across all of the soil of Palestine. I call upon all institutions, activists and organizations to develop an action plan to support the struggle of prisoners in general, and, in particular, the prisoners suffering in isolation."□



Comrade Fred Hampton

"I believe I'm going to do my job, as a Black man. I believe I was born not to die in a car accident. I don't believe I'm going to die because of drugs or drug related things. I don't believe that I'm going to die from a bad heart, lung cancer or by any medical illness. I believe that I'm going to die doing the things that I was born to do. I believe that I'm going to die high off the people's love, and the love for the struggle. I believe that I'm going to die a *revolutionary* – a *servant of the people* – a *brother of the struggle*. I ask why don't you too live for the people – struggle for the people – **WHY DON'T YOU BE WILLING TO DIE FOR THE PEOPLE?" – Fred Hampton**

A Revolutionary

A revolutionary believes in the perfectibility of human society and that people can be better than they are now if allowed to develop and grow in social justice and equality.

A revolutionary sees that property keeps us in poverty drives us to cutthroat competition while cooperation abolishes property and enriches us all.

Where now billions of people feel the bite of poverty and millions know the gnawing of hunger, where today fear chills the streets and violence jumps out at the unwary, and sirens scream through the night in the war zones of urban life,

a New Day will dawn,
 RED with the blood of sacrifice
 and loud with the sounds of battle
 as the oppressed rise up to claim their freedom,
 and the weak united shall be strong.

A revolutionary dares to struggle and to win, rising from each setback with determination and confidence in the inevitability of proletarian victory.

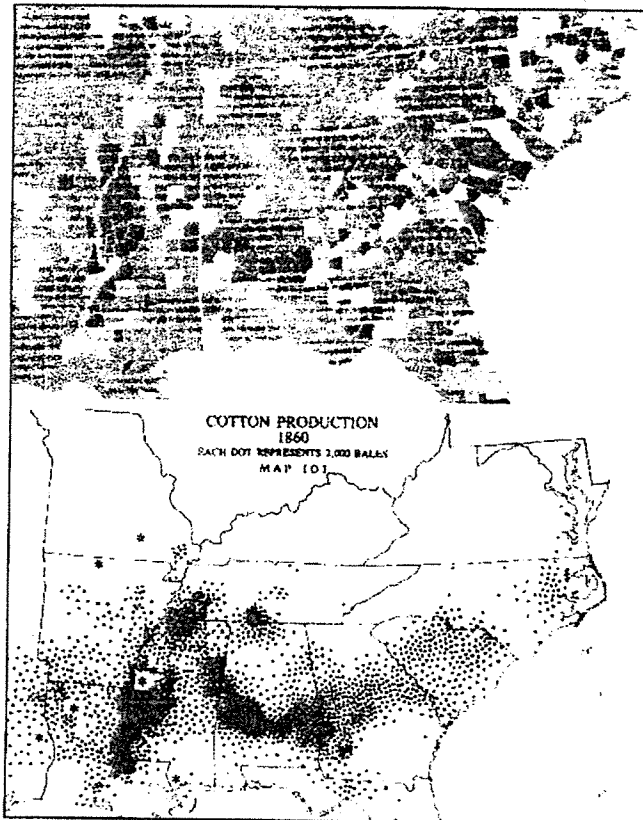
A revolutionary knows the future shall be bright however torturous the road, and that the struggles of humanity shall be rewarded with the blooming of classless society in a world without borders or exploitation. □



Mao Tse-tung and Dr. DuBoise

Reflections on the 2008 Presidential Election and the African American National Question

Posted by Jack Stevens on *DuBoise Consciousness*, Nov. 18, 2008.





Here are some interesting maps that show a fascinating correlation between the historically constituted territory that makes up the African American Nation and the 2008 election of Barack Obama, the first Black president of the United States. I would like to look at these maps, and based on this data, and on a dialectical and historical materialist look at the U.S. in general and the African American people in particular, try to draw some conclusions about the African American national question.

The maps above are from Strange Maps, which comments,

"The bottom map dates from 1860 (i.e. the eve of the Civil War), and indicates **where cotton was produced** at that time, each dot representing 2,000 bales of the stuff. Cotton was King back then, and mainly so in the densely cultivated border area between Louisiana and Mississippi, and in an equally dense band of cotton cultivation starting west of the Mississippi-Alabama line, tapering out across Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina. Other cotton centres are the areas around Memphis and what appears to be Lawrenceburg in southern Tennessee.

"The top map dates from 2008, and shows the **results of the recent presidential election**, on county level. Blue counties voted for Obama, red ones for McCain (darker hues representing larger majorities). In spite of Obama's national victory, and barring Virginia, North Carolina and Florida, all Southern states (i.e. all states formerly belonging to the Confederacy) went for McCain. The pattern of pro- Obama counties in those southern states corresponds strikingly with the cotton- picking areas of the 1860s, especially along the Louisiana-Mississippi and Mississippi-Alabama borders (the pattern corresponds less strikingly and deviates significantly elsewhere)."

Strange Maps also included the following overlay of the two maps:



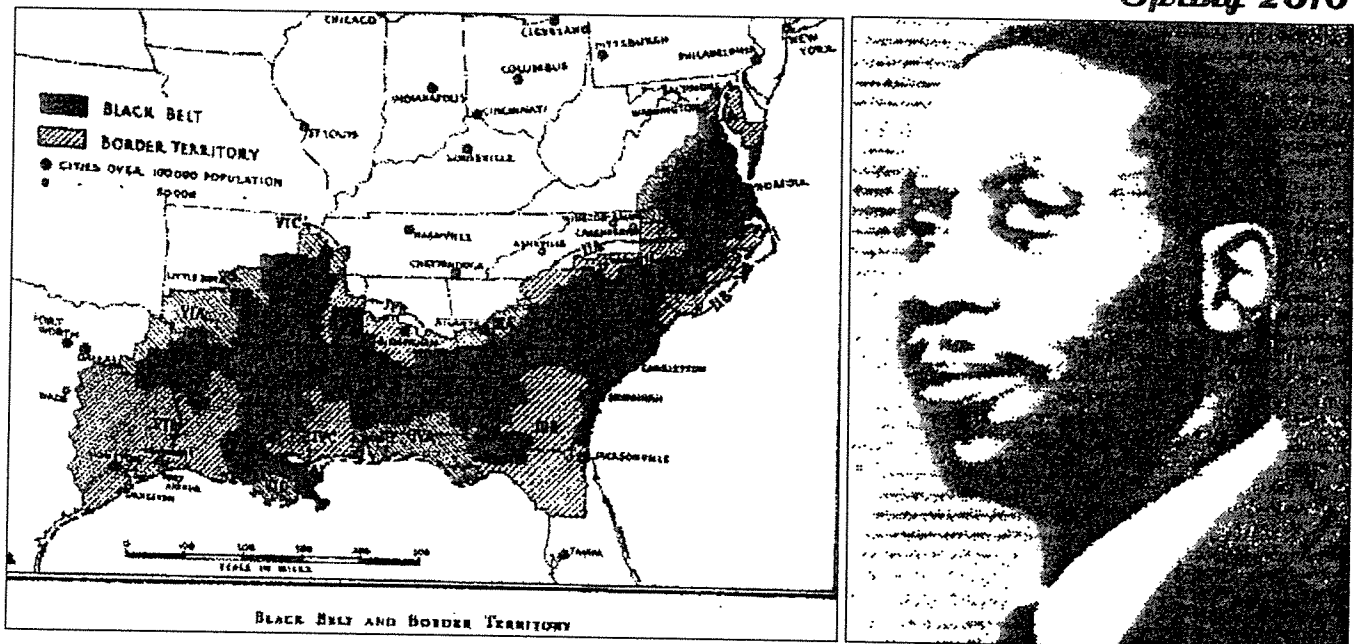
This shows the correlation between the history of cotton production by slave labor and the 2008 presidential election, geographically....

According to the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the national question in the United States, African Americans make up an oppressed nation in the Black Belt South, a historically constituted, stable community of people with a common territory, language, economic life, and culture. This African American Nation has the right to full equality and self-determination, up to and including the right to independence, that is, the right to form their own state within their historical territory, the Black Belt. These maps help to illustrate this.

According to Karl Marx,

Direct slavery is just as much the pivot of bourgeois industry as machinery, credits, etc. Without slavery you have no cotton; without cotton you have no modern industry. It is slavery that has given the colonies their value; it is the colonies that have created world trade, and it is world trade that is the pre-condition of large-scale industry.

The vast wealth of modern capitalism, and the rapid advance of U.S. capitalism, was built by the blood and sweat of African slaves. The slave trade brought together various African tribes in the southern U.S. and through the common experience of toil and struggle in the South, an African American oppressed nation was forged.



Map of Black Belt and Border Area from *Black Liberation* (1932) and Harry Haywood

The rise of monopoly capitalism and the betrayal of Reconstruction locked the African American nation into a state of national oppression and set the conditions by which the national liberation struggle of African Americans and other oppressed nationalities are inextricably linked to the question of proletarian-socialist revolution. This theory was pioneered by the Comintern, particularly by the great African American communist leader, Harry Haywood. This was further developed by the New Communist Movement.

From this understanding, the recent election of the first Black President of the United States is particularly interesting. Because of the uneven development cemented into place by imperialism, the African American national question in the United States has a dual character with a democratic aspect embodied in the demand for full equality, and a revolutionary socialist aspect embodied in the demand for national self-determination. Of course these maps provide little more than raw data, and a narrow empiricist view doesn't do justice to the tremendous struggles and organizing that the data actually results from. There were other factors that played a role in things turning out the way did, including the significant differences between the political positions of the candidates. That said, *what this data seems to confirm is that the election of Barack Obama is an expression of the national democratic aspect of the struggle and is seen by the African American Nation generally as a progressive advance. The electoral map indicates very clearly that there is a strong national consciousness in the Black Belt that was expressed in the election of the first Black president.* While it would appear that the national democratic aspect is principal in terms of national consciousness, the revolutionary land question, the question of territorial self-determination, remains the determining aspect in the final analysis. The maps clearly show that the Black Belt, rife as it is with acute poverty, inadequate infrastructure, anti-union "right to work" laws, Third World – like rural decline, woefully inadequate education, substandard health care, dilapidated housing, and high rates of crime and unemployment, conditions that Harry Haywood called the "shadow of the plantation," is contained firmly within the still solidly reactionary states that make up the former confederacy – the white supremacist land of Dixie – which, with a couple of exceptions, voted for the ultra-right McCain ticket.

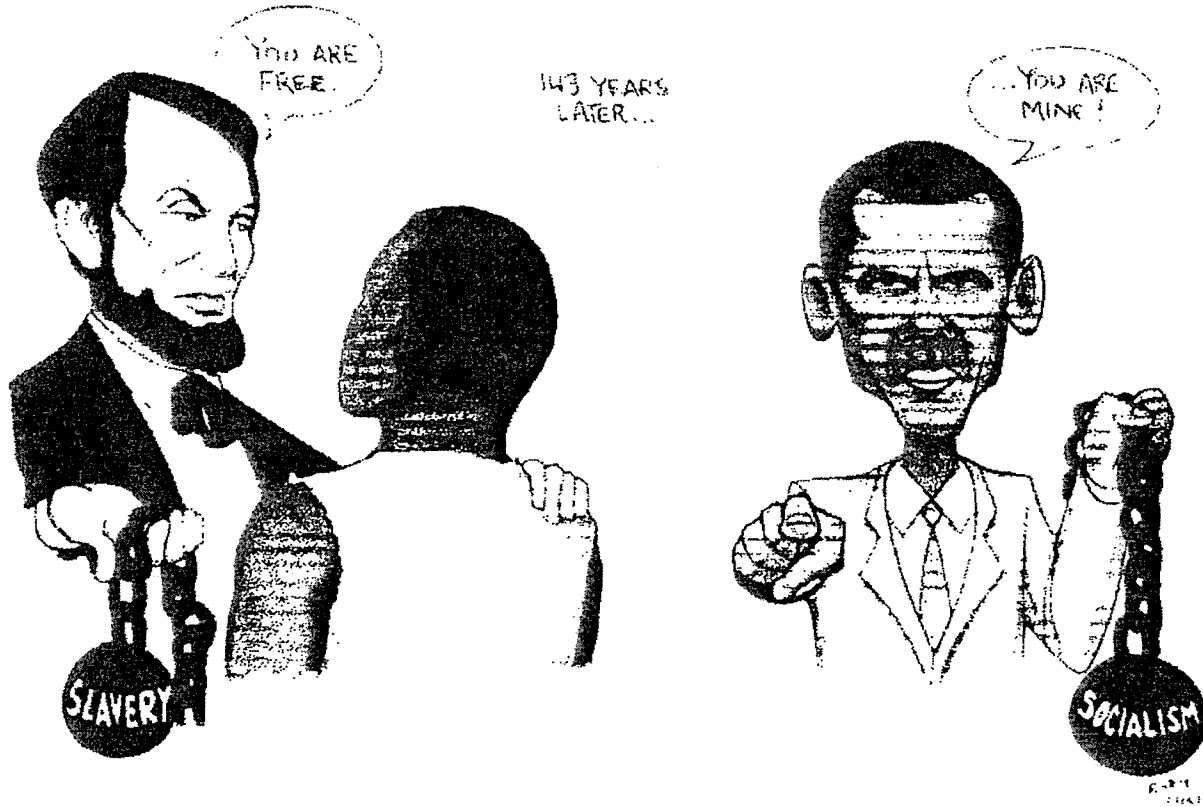
Full equality and self-determination for African American and other oppressed nationalities should be supported by all workers. As Comrade Mao Zedong said, "In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle." Under the conditions of imperialism, ultimately full equality and self-determination are only possible if the Black Liberation struggle is led by the working class and is fused with the multinational, proletarian-socialist revolution. These dual aspects of the African American national question must be understood dialectically and in an all-sided way. This means both that the election of the first Black president should be seen as a leap forward and as a major blow against white supremacy, and that the objective, systemic aspects of racist, national oppression, and the subjective aspects (racism and white chauvinism), remain firmly in place. In other words, we are quite simply not entering a "post-racial era" as so many pundits and heralds of the "american dream" would have us believe. Only the socialist revolution will begin to resolve these contradictions in a thoroughgoing, all-round way.

For more please read the following documents from Freedom Road Socialist Organization concerning the task of building the strategic alliance of the national movements and the multinational working class as the core of the united front against monopoly capitalism, led by the proletariat:

- Unity Statement on National Oppression, National Liberation and Socialist Revolution
- The 3rd International and the struggle for a correct line on the African American National Question
- Class in the U.S. and our Strategy for Revolution



Editorial continued from page 1:



This racist bit of propaganda comes from the National Black Republicans Association web site

-- Studying Fascism, Violence and Failure: George L. Jackson's "Blood In My Eye," Thor Ritz, *Proud Flesh, A New Afrikan Journal of Culture, Politics & Consciousness*, Issue 5 (2007)

To suggest that Obama and the Democrats have a hidden socialist agenda is ridiculous, in fact his commitment is to saving capitalism. As he told the *New York Times*, "The fact that we've had to take these extraordinary measures and intervene is not an indication of my ideological preference, but an indication of the degree to which lax regulation and extravagant risk-taking has precipitated a crisis," pointing out than he was continuing policies established by the outgoing Bush administration.

As *Business Week* pointed out:

Karl Marx called socialism the "revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat," the working class seizing power and replacing a political, economic, and social system controlled by the bourgeoisie, or the propertied class. Such a reordering denotes "an association where the development of each is the basis of the free development of all," Marx wrote in 1848 in *The Communist Manifesto*.

-- "Socialism? Hardly, Say Socialists: Under Obama, socialism chatter has permeated the media in 2009. But beyond sound bites, what is socialism?" by Moria Herbst, *Business Week*, May 22, 2009

But just as FDR was accused of instituting "socialism" with his "New Deal" policies, Obama is being similarly attacked. But it was fascism FDR was instituting, and it is fascism Obama (and every president since) is defending.

As former Black Panther Kiliu Nyasha expressed it:

As George put it, "Fascism has temporarily succeeded under the guise of reform."

Modern-day fascism is the combined dictatorship of big business and government, characterized by greed, militarism, racism, homophobia, and classism.

I think the fascist powers that be feel compelled to put a fresh face on fascism -- a brown face.

We cannot be so naive as to think that Democratic Party nominee Barack Obama has broken all records in campaign fundraising because he's going to change things for you and me. Please. As Jamil al-Amin (H. Rap Brown) noted, "If voting could change things; they'd make it illegal."

It should be obvious that Obama cannot and will not produce real change, like moving from capitalism to socialism, redistributing the wealth, abolishing the prison system per se, changing domestic and foreign policies.

In fact, upon his sealing the nomination, Obama beat a path to AIPAC (American Israeli Political Action Committee, the Zionist lobby), where he pandered grossly to the Zionist occupiers of Palestine. This is nothing short of a betrayal of the Arab/Palestinian people, especially those desperate children, women and men currently under siege in Gaza, an open air prison.

-- "Black August 2008," by Kiliu Nyasha, *The Black Commentator*, Issue 284, July 2008

An "open air prison" is in fact what the oppressed communities in Amerika are turning into. The U.S. already imprisons more of its citizens than any other country. Since 1968, there has been an eight-fold increase in the imprisoned population -- and overwhelmingly by those of darker skin from the oppressed neighborhoods where high unemployment is a



permanent condition. At the same time, there has been an increased globalization of the economy with more and more manufacturing jobs being moved out of country.

Sure, the ruling class fears socialism -- not just a few moderate concessions -- but socialist revolution, here and internationally. Capitalist-imperialism is a dying system -- not because of anything Marx, Lenin or Mao wrote, but because of its own internal contradictions. All Communists do is provide a scientific framework for understanding these contradictions and arm the masses with an understanding of this revolutionary science. It is the masses who are the makers of revolution.

This has nothing in common with the program of the Democrats, yet according to *Newsweek*, a poll conducted by ConservativeHQ.com this month showed that 70% of those who self-identify as conservatives believe Obama's political philosophy is "Socialist" or "Marxist" and 11% think it is "Communist." Well, as Joseph Goebbels said, "The most brilliant propagandist technique will yield no success unless one fundamental principle is borne in mind constantly -- it must confine itself to a few points and repeat them over and over." And as his boss, Adolf Hitler, quipped, "Make the lie big, make it simple, keep saying it, and eventually they will believe it."

The "Tea Bagger" are upset, because the "Amerikan Dream" isn't working out the way they were led to believe it would. The Amerikan Empire is in decline -- and so is their standard of living. They can only think to blame the poor and the "liberals" who they believe are "stabbing them in the back" with "socialist" reforms to aid the poor. As John Stuart Mills observed, "Conservatives are not necessarily stupid, but most stupid people are conservatives."

The World is changing -- and it needs to. As Mao pointed out, "The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is the objective law independent of man's will. However much the reactionaries try to hold back the wheel of history, sooner or later revolution will take place and will inevitably triumph."

Dare To Struggle Dare To Win!

All Power To The People!



Free Eddie Conway!

BALTIMORE, MD -- On October 7, (2008) a candlelight vigil was held to mark the 36th year that Marshall "Eddie" Conway has been locked down in the Maryland prison system as a political prisoner.

Brother Eddie Conway -- like Mumia Abu Jamal, Geronimo Pratt and countless others -- was imprisoned for his role in the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense. As a leader in the Panther Party's Baltimore chapter he became a target of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) infamous counterintelligence program, known as COINTELPRO.

The FBI had in 1967 mandated COINTELPRO to neutralize "Black Nationalist Hate Groups" and potential "Black Messiahs" who would organize African people within the U.S. to take our freedom. It did so through murdering and imprisoning our leaders and destroying our organizations.

In 1969, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover identified the Black Panther Party as "the greatest threat to the internal security of the U.S." and set out to destroy the organization. Brother Eddie Conway was framed up for the killing of a policeman in April of 1970.

While being locked down, Eddie Conway has not allowed his containment to stop him from organizing. He has created several programs behind the prison walls to deal with drug addiction and to provide general scholastic and political education to African men caught up in the colonial prison system.

Despite the fact that he is called a "model" prisoner and has had no infractions in 26 years, Brother Conway has been repeatedly denied parole by the state of Maryland.

Brother Conway was recently moved from the Maryland correctional facility in Jessup, MD to a remote prison facility in Hagerstown, MD. The moving of Eddie Conway further away from family and supporters as well as denial of his requests for parole are continuations of the counterinsurgency being waged on the entire African community.

It is a blatant attempt to erase the legacy of the Black Revolution of the Sixties along with its leadership.

The newly formed Baltimore Chapter of the International People's Democratic Uhuru Movement participated in this vigil to express its unity with freeing Brother Conway. We recognize that freeing Eddie Conway is an important task that has been mandated in our 12-point working platform.

Point number seven of the InPDUM platform states, "We demand an end to the colonial court and prison systems which have the majority of African men incarcerated, on probation or parole, and the immediate release of all political prisoners and prisoners of war."

In the past, there was tremendous work done around Eddie Conway's case. In 2001, a coalition of organizations was able to force the Baltimore City Council to pass a unanimous resolution calling for a review of Brother Conway's case. However, former Governor Parris Glendening and the Maryland Legislature would not act on this call.

It is clear that the only way to assure the release of Eddie Conway and the rest of the political prisoners being held U.S. prisons is to bring the masses of African people into political life!

The Baltimore chapter of InPDUM has pledged to work more closely with the Eddie Conway support committees to educate the residents of the city of Baltimore about his case and to politicize the need to free this brother and all other political prisoners held in U.S. prisons.

Free Eddie Conway!

Free Mumia Abu Jamal!
Free all Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War!
Uhuru!

Send the Brother some love at:

Marshall Edward Conway #116469
P.O. Box 534
Jessup, MD 20794