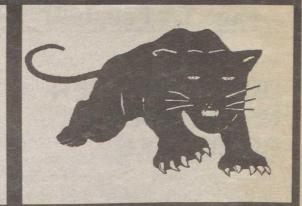
# THE BLACK PANTHER

**Black Community News Service** 

FOR JON & GEORGE: FALL, 1991 VOL.1 NO.3 \$1.00



## IN CELEBRATION OF THE SPIRIT OF AFRIKAN RESISTANCE



This issue of the Black Panther is dedicated to the spirit of Afrikan Resistance and Liberation. This spirit is exemplified by men and women like: George Jackson, Jonathan Jackson, Fannie Lou Hamer, Sandra Pratt, Nat Turner, Marcus Garvey, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Harriet Tubman, and the Attica Brothers. It is carried on today by our imprisoned comrades: Jalil Bottoms, Herman Bell, Nuh Washington, Mondo we Langa, Ed Poindexter, Sundiata Acoli, Mumia Abu Jamal, Mutulu Shakur, Ahmad Abdur- Rahman, Geronimo Pratt and many others. They are all united by their self sacrifice and fierce determination to secure independence and self-determination for Afrikan people. Our comrades struck decisive blows for liberty. That is their contribution to our struggle.

We must unite and learn from their courageous example. It is essential to our success. We can no longer allow ourselves to be divided by religion, political parties, skin tones, hair texture, the names we call ourselves, and any other sorry excuse that comes along.

Let us make it plain. Independence from Amerikkka is our goal. Self-determination and community control is how we shall achieve this end. Our social practice in achieving this end will be how we find out who our friends and enemies are. There are enough of us who agree on these and other basic principles to allow a working alliance to be forged right now!

The BPNC calls for an Afrikan United Front and invites talks to bring about this vehicle for Liberation. The entire old world

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# PROTEST THE 500 YEAR OLD INVASION OF NATIVE AMERIKAN LANDS BY COLUMBUS

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BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER COMMITTEE

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order is collapsing around us. It can't be saved nor should it be. It is not only so-called communism that is in trouble but the entire white-oriented system of economics and exploitation that is in trouble. The United States government is \$4 trillion in debt. Millions of people are out of work. Afrikans are suffering more now than at any other time since chattel slavery.

The Amerikkan system is incapable of producing freedom, justice and equality for Afrikan people. Our relationship to this system is the cause of our problem. It can't be the solution. Amerikkka was built with the blood of our ancestors. It flourishes on our degredation, oppression

and exploitation. Every day is a constant reminder of our subservient status in this country. Poverty, miseducation, homelessness, jails and drugs are the ills bequeathed to us by Uncle Sam. We have never been citizens only subjects of Amerikkka. We have not shed oceans of blood to get a traitor Clarence like Thomas on the socalled Supreme Court to justify our

continued oppression. It is up to us to halt our continuing brutality at the hands of our enemies. We demand Reparations to compensate us for the slavery, peonage, and genocide we have had inflicted upon us here in this wilderness called North Amerikkka. These Reparations will be partial payment for the debt owed us by this country. How dare these barbarians insult us by doling out money to Israel, Poland, and other lackey states while our just claims go unheard and unsatisfied. These fools are even talking about giving money to their former enemies, the USSR, while our people push shopping carts through the streets of every major city in this country.

No, there's no more days like that! We call for an Afrikan United Front dedicated to bringing about absolute independence from the United States. This Afrikan United Front will draft a program for independence and submit it to Afrikans for their approval. This is an initial step in our drive for total independence. Interested parties should contact the BPNC nearest them for details.

Point Number 10: We call for a United-Nations supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate for the purpose of determining the national destiny of black people.



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TARIKA @1991

To Receive Additional Information On How To Work With The Black Panther Newspaper Committee And Help Us Achieve Our Goals, Contact The BPNC Office Nearest You, Or The Central Office, BPNC. P.O. Box 519, Berkeley, CA 94701-0519. The Black Panther Newspaper Committee Is A Non-Profit Corporation Dedicated To The Social, Economic, Political, And National Liberation Of The Afrikan Amerikan Community!

Zip

To:

### CORRECTIONS

In the Summer Issue of the Black Panther, we identified Julio Butler, the chief witness against Geronimo Pratt as a Los Angeles Police informer. We were in error, Butler was a paid FBI informer as well as an ordinary Los Angeles pig informer (see page 21).

## SELL THE BLACK PANTHER

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

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## LETTERS TO EDITOR

### **GREETINGS BCNS:**

I don't know if my letter of request for some of the paper's reached you yet. I have not yet seen any of the issues, but I was told it was good, I was told through some radio about the commeration for the Jackson Brother's next month and a commeration for Sis Assata Shakur as well. If possible, I would like to make a suggestion, why doesn't the group have a commeration for the B.L.A? Commemorate the comrades who died fighting as combatants and the one's who are still captured. The Black Liberation Army did derive from the remaining elements of the BPP who fought to maintain the New Afrikan/Black Liberation movement. The B.L.A. took a further step to resist the oppressors. These days there's not much mentioned of the group. Make the younger generation (masses) aware today that there was a Black clandestine movement operating on another level. Sure the set backs have to be pointed out but the spirit of the B.L.A. should always be remembered.

DEAR EDITORS: This is in response to your summer, 1991 vol. 1 No. 2 paper dedicated to the legacy of Malcolm X. Where you constantly use the term African-American. This is not only practiced by your publication, but also by a great many other progressive publications and individuals. I do not know how the term came about or why it is so widely used. However, it seems like we do not want to break our ties to Amerikkka. We have reached a level where we recognized ourselves as Afrikans, but for some reason we do not want to give up being Amerikkkans. The term Afrikan Amerikkkan is a contradiction in terms. To quote Malcolm, "No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million Black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million Black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy ... I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare." This is to say that we need to take more pride in being Afrikans who are struggling against the system of Amerikkkan institutionalized racism than trying to identify with our oppressor. In the article entitled, The Significance of Malcolm X, the brother Mumia Abu Jamal points out that, "More fundamentally, nothing has changed as African Communities take on all the trappings of urban bantustans: Unrelieved poverty, homelessness, vast unemployment, vicious brutality and numbing alienation." In the article entitled, From Detroit Red to El Hazz Malik Shabazz by Andrea Serviet Tenaze, its stated that "for us, Amerikkka requires giving up dignity and manhood in exchange for a life of poverty, violence, and ignorance." Now tell me, why would anyone suffering in this way would want to boast that they are a part of a system that is doing this to them? Like Malcolm said, we do not benefit from the Amerikkan dream, it's only a nightmare for us. Why can't we just identify ourselves as afrikans in Amerikkka. Because that's what we are, just in Amerikkka. We do not benefit, we suffer! Slavery existed from approximately 1526-1865. When Amerikkka won its independence from Britain in 1776 the Afrikan was still a slave, property owned by someone else, not an Amerikkkan. The Afrikan in Amerikkka did not get to be a citizen until July 18, 1868. Furthermore, we Afrikans weren't even asked if we wanted to be citizens. We were made citizens

just like we were made slaves. Now we want to make ourselves Amerikkkans when Amerikkka keeps showing us that it neither cares or wants us as Amerikkkans, except to help them get elected and work for them for nothing. Not to mention having us available for target practice and punching bags. I write this letter because so many of our revolutionary militant comrades who are so vocal about the oppressive Amerikkkan system and its treatment of those of Afrikan descent, but they still want to call themselves Afrikan Amerikkkans. That's just as bad as calling oneself a Black conservative. which is also a contradiction of terms. How can you be Black and not want anything to change? I have to say that we must look at the terms Amerikkka and conservative. Amerikkka is conservative. So if you align yourself to Amerikkka, you are aligning yourself to the conservative status quo of Amerikkka. We must not allow the powers that be to continue to define our identity for us. We are Afrikans in Amerikkka struggling to survive as human beings. The Amerikkkans aren't suffering! we are. So to say we are Afrikan Amerikkkans is a contradiction in terms. My beloved comrades I do hope that you will publish this analysis. It is a point which should be put before the people for consideration and comment. Your publication is the only one that I felt that would print it.

In struggle always

### **DEAR NEGROES:**

The first issue, this current issue and all other issues will be studied. We are the information command of a decent God fearing, Caucasian group of Christians and as per orders we are forwarding copies, names, addresses, phone numbers, photographs, locations of any and all individuals suspected or knowingly connected with this another Negro uprising to law enforcement people on all levels. The infamous Black Panther party was crushed once before, and withsome technical help from decent folks like us on obtaining the necessary tools and the use of very effective antiterrorist techniques. Gooks in "Nam", Negroes in America, both use the same

methods and while we had to leave Nam, we don't have to travel anywhere to be of assistance to law enforcement people to destroy all those individuals and groups such as the Negro Black Panther who are a threat to decent society.In closing, please don't feel that no one is paying attention, for there are thousands of law enforcement people from coast to coast who are receiving recordings of conversations, photographs taken with telephoto lenses, house locations, car license plate numbers, etc. Where two or more coloreds are gathered in the "Black Panther" name, one of us will be there, if not in person, through the use of electronics and surveillance training."Yo, Boy," think about that as you put on your little black beret.

To the greater glory of the late J. Edgar Hoover, a true blue American.

### DEAR EDITOR:

My name is Mr. Gregory Carey, an African American Pan Africanist, and I write to request a subscription to your newspaper? Can you please reply by answering this letter letting me know if it is possible to receive a complimentary copy of your newspaper along with a free subscription. I only ask for this in this manner because I am in one of Amerikkka's many concentration camps (prisons). I am very happy that you have reactivated this information source for the people because this is the true method of raising the consciousness of the people. You will have to be strong and dedicated to the struggle because as we both know the white power structure will try everything in its' power to silence the newspaper from telling the truth. Please continue to provide the stories of African people, African culture and mainly African thought. Only through this type of confrontation can we hope to win the liberation struggle against colonialism, imperialism, exploitation and oppression. Your newspaper is the very instrument that gives legitimacy to our liberation struggle for self determination. No newspaper of the white power structure is going to print opinions and viewpoints of the African community like

--- CONTINUED PAGE 4, Column 1---

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

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

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

ART: Black and White art preferred, generally smaller than 8 X 11 inches. Include caption and credit. Include self addressed stamped envelope if you wish to have materials returned.

THEME/TOPICS: Self-help groups that are serving the people; politics and politicians on the local, state, or

national level; health issues especially AIDS and infant mortality; hunger; police brutality, [mis]education of our youth; political prisoners and prisoners of war and prison issues; economic development in the Black community including trade associations and boycotts; housing and homelessness; international news with an emphasis on news from Afrika and countries of the diaspora; book reviews about Afrikan Amerikan history and biography. Remember, this is the Black Panther paper not the Ladies Home Journal or Essence magazine.

COMPENSATION: Renumeration is at the rate of three copies of the paper per article for publication rights. DUE DATES: We are a quarterly. Articles are due thirty days before Issue date. Next Issue date: Winter, 1991: Articles, art, photos for Winter issue due by Nov. 30,



# BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS

### **NEW JERSEY SHORTS**

PIGS CONTINUE MURDER SPREE Hillside/Newark.NJ

Tasha Mayse 16 yrs old and 5 months pregnant along with 20 year old Lamont Jones were murdered and four other people were injured when Hillside swinest pumped over 30 rounds into an alleged stolen van. No shots were fired from the occupants of the van. However, the negro mayor of Hillside, Sam McGhee jumped to the defense of the killer cop stating "When the officer left the vehicle, there were shots being fired in his direction, ...he did what he had to in defense of his life". Again, there were no SHOTS fired from the van and the only weapon found in the van was an unfired starters pistol. Demonstrations have been held at NJ Governor Florio's residence also McGhee's and Newark Mayor Sharp James' home. McGhee and James both black were denounced as betraying their people.

### CRIME--TINTING CAR WINDOW, PENALTY--DEATH

Jersey City, N.J.

Twenty two year old Maximino Cintron was shot to death on July 16, 1991 by Jersey City pig John Chiusolo after he tore up a bogus summons issued to him for tinting a friend's car window. Mr. Cintron was tinting a window belonging to a friend when a patrol car pulled up and in their him. In actuality the ordinance is vague on what type of work can be done on the street with an automobile, therefore the summons most likely was invalid. However, based on the harassment and frustration endured by Mr. Cintron, he protested the summons. The pigs then vamped. At that time the community attempted to restrain

the police. According to numerous eyewitnesses Mr. Cintron was gunned down without justification. The pig Chiuslo who murdered Maximino is no stranger to committing acts of brutality. On Thursday, July 25th over two hundred people marched to City Hall demanding Justice. Speakers from the Urban League, All People's Congress, P.A.C.O., City-Wide Parents Council, City Council (Jaime Vasquez, Efrain Rosario, and Dan Wiley), and NJ Black Panther Newspaper Committee gave messages of solidarity and support. Our position was very clear, "We will continue to be gunned down on the streets until we effectively organize concrete structures to beat back the terror of the state.'

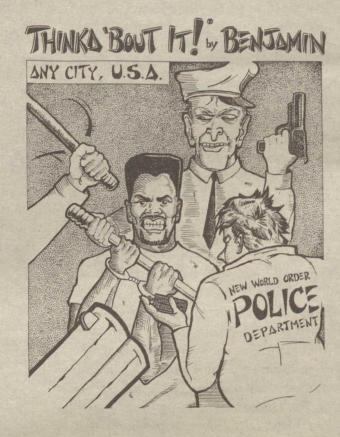
### JERSEY CITY MAJOR INDICTED FOR FRAUD

Jersey City, NJ

Jersey City Major Gerald McCann, also sometimes referred to as Gerry Klu Klx McKlan for his racist remarks and fascist type attitudes was indicted on char-

defraud money from a failed Florida say bank that had invested \$300,000 in a deve

ment firm he headed. The 16 count indictment was handed up by a Federal Grand Jury in Newark. The charges include: One count of making false statements to a bank; One count of evading federal income taxes; Two counts of lying to the I.R.S.; One count of failing to file his 1987 tax return; Eight counts of mail fraud; and



ges that he masterminded an elaborate scheme to three counts of using interstate telephone lines

### --- EDITORS Continued---

the Black Panther Community News Service. In DEAR EDITOR BPCN fact, their newspapers have distorted the truth of the struggle to the point that some of our people that rely only on that source of information don't even think we are still at war. Lastly, I would like Panthers is something that Black youth need to to ask that your editor's constantly write about the subject of reparations. As we both know, the white power structure owes us Afrikans a great being repressed and Jihad Abdul Mumit's parole debt for the horrid and many human right's violawas violated and sentenced to 14 years because hundred thousand people imprisoned in this tions that they broke against our ancestor's and he refused to work with the FBI to entrap Sister that they are even violating today. We must Assata Shakur! All Panther people, is enough launch a campaign to have this point recognized. We can rally the masses to the call for reparations because every African in these Amerikkkas feels the same way that I do. "That the United that they used for free and for the suffering that they put my ancestors through." Can you please raise this issue in every paper that you print so that the people will see that gaining reparations is a reality. All we have to do as a people is to demand them by any means necessary.

PS: I miss the whole African nation and I think about freedom everyday. Freedom not only for me but freedom for you too. Gregory Carey

I have really enjoyed the first edition of the Black Panther Black Community News Service, and the second one as well. The history of the Black know much about. The very fact that Mumia Abu Jamal is on death row, Geronimo Pratt still reason for that history to be told.

In closing please continue to raise the issue of leadership to other prisoners as well as those of our political prisoners and prisoners of war we need to build a movement to resist political States Government owes me for the slave labor repression and ultimately free our political prisoners and prisoners of war, otherwise Dhoruba will be hunted down again

To Live for the People and Die for the People,! Bilal Abdul Hakeem Paterson, New Jersey

### DEAR EDITOR:

For those of us who were part of that army of young activist in the 60's, publication of the Black Panther paper holds special significance. Nothing will ever erase my shock at the sight of murdered young people of my age, - and it is

good to be reminded - and reminded again, of their commitment and passion.

Perhaps one of the greatest joys is to see Sundiata Acoli's wise perspectives once again in print. Having worked in prison advocacy for the last 16 years, I would like to underscore the importance of his comments. In NJ, 85% of prisoners are people of color. With one million, one country, the role of political prisoners, POW's and politically aware social prisoners becomes increasingly important in terms of principled us who are free. It is, therefore, vital that each of us give genuine support to those we know who are living in human cages - letters, visits, food packages - whatever it takes to insure their well being. I am constantly on the receiving end of mail and phone calls from "non-celebrity" by the progressive community. Should we fail in this, we then will lose yet another generation. We, who are free, owe many of those who are not, for their courageous fight to give us all a better life. One other comment. You reported that the Black Panther paper was not allowed into Trenton State Prison. I sent copies of the paper to

--- CONTINUED, Page 5 Column 3---

# The Black Panther, Black Community News Service Fall, 1991 Page 5

# BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS CONTINUED

## **EDUCATION**

STUDENTS WHO PROTESTED NOW FACE HEAVY SANCTIONS

by Kimberleigh J. Smith

There is no sign anywhere that the takeovers last spring of 12 campuses by City University of New York (CUNY) students hoping to forestall tuition hikes did any good. If anything, the students' protest action has triggered a series of events that appears now to be penalizing them. Not only did the increases, averaging between 30 and 35 percent, go through with Gov. Mario M. Cuomo's doomsday budget, but now the students who had mobilized against it are facing stiff penalties - both in state court and at their colleges - that could result in expulsion, fines and even jail.

"Why are these students still being prosecuted? What is the point?" asked Jeanee Ollivierre, an adjunct lecturer in the school of education and a member of the Concerned Faculty and Staff of the City College of New York (CCNY). Ollivierre and several other faculty and student representatives had been working with the CCNY administration on a "blanket amnesty" plan that would have pardoned scores of students who participated in a strike that crippled activities on the Harlem campus for four weeks. The CCNY plan had followed a prototype that came out of negotiations at Herbert H. Lehman College in the Bronx. The amnesty plan, it was hoped, would have encouraged similar talks at other CUNY campuses where, in all, more than 160 students were facing a variety of disciplinary charges stemming from their defiance of a court order to halt their protest.

But the good-faith negotiations the faculty-student coalitions thought they were having with the various college administrations apparently have fallen through. Student-activists who were involved in the campus takeovers are learning the lessons of the hard line.

Ronald B. McGuire, a lawyer, who is defending students facing criminal and administrative charges, told The City Sun, a weekly Black newspaper, he saw "a very disturbing pattern" to the prosecutions: The vast majority of the students facing stiff penalties are Black and latino campus leaders".

"What is happening at CUNY is literally that non-white people are fighting for educational survival," said McGuire, an alumnus of CCNY. The disciplinary actions against these students, he charged, will put out of commission CUNY's "best and brightest."

"When tuition was imposed in 1976 on CUNY campuses, the enrollment dropped from 250,000 to 180,000; most of that drop were non-white students. These students now are involved in what is going to be a protracted struggle for higher education and they're being punished," McGuire added.

Recently, students from Herbert H. Lehman and Bronx Community Colleges charged with criminal trespass and contempt of court had their cases adjourned until September. A Criminal Court judge was willing to dismiss the charges, but he received signed affidavits from President Ricardo R. Fernandez of Lehman and President Roscoe C. Brown of Bronx Community indicating they were opposed to having the criminal charges dropped and officially were to be listed as complainants against the students.

Ollivierre called the presidents' actions reprehensible and said that, at least with the Lehman students, it was an outright betrayal of good-faith negotiations that had produced a mutual understanding just last May. A settlement had been worked out in which the students were to acknowledge their participation in the strike, although not admit "guilt," and do research papers on CUNY history. In return, Fernandez agreed to lift all suspensions that were pending and cancel other punitive actions the school was threatening to take.

"I'm not satisfied with the way things have evolved." said McGuire, who himself was expelled for participating in a CUNY-wide strike in 1969 that led to a more liberalized, open-admissions policy that significantly increased the numbers of Black, Chicano and Asian students in the 21 college system

McGuire, who is representing students from CCNY, Lehman, Bronx Community, La Guardia Community and York colleges, said justification is the main defense for students currently facing criminal charges and possible jail sentences of up to one year.

CUNY campuses may have been inconvenienced by the protesting students' actions, he said, but inconvenience pales in comparison to the larger issue of their "life-and death struggle" for higher education.

## ACTIONS TAKEN AGAINST **CUNY STUDENT PROTESTERS**

Bronx Community College: The school administration has censored 18 students for one year. In addition, criminal action was taken against 19 students who were arrested. The DA had offered the protesters an adjournment contemplating dismissal (ACD) plus 40 hours of community service on their campus, but the college president has indicated he favors a prosecution on criminal charges. The students are Blacks and Latinos.

Herbert H. Lehman College: The school administration had agreed to no penalties for 46 students facing disciplinary charges; that agreement is now in doubt. At the same time, the college president also has said he favors a criminal prosecution of 12 students who were arrested. The DA had offered an ACD plus 40 hours of community service. The students are predominantly Black and Latino.

Borough of Manhattan Community College: Twenty-three students were given 150 hours of community service and one year censure. Three arrests were made. The students are all non-

New York City Technical College: The administration censured one student and suspended another for a semester. One student was Black; the other, Latino.

City College of New York: Twenty-five students were facing disciplinary charges, but those were wiped out after negotiations between the administration and a pro-student coalition that included faculty members and community activists. Eighty percent of the students were Blacks and Latinos

LaGuardia Community College: Seven students have been censured; three placed on disciplinary probation; and charges against another student were dismissed. In addition, one student was arrested and faces criminal charges. All but

two of the students were Blacks and Latinos. York College: Nine students faced disciplinary charges. But a defense motion at a hearing on July 2 resulted in the dismissal of all charges for lack of evidence. All the students were Black.

--- EDITORS, Continued---

prisoners in all NJ State prisons - it was universally rejected. I also sent the paper to prisoners in many other states - no problem. Apparently the paper has more "power" in NJ to "disrupt" the smooth running of the institution" than it does elsewhere in the country.

My deepest thanks to you all . . . the paper is a most needed link from one generation to the

Bonnie Kerness, N.S.W., Associate Director

### **DEAR EDITOR:**

Your article titled Unity is the Way does an injustice to the courageous perseverance of the liberation movements in South Africa, and reflects a lack of awareness of what's really going on there.

Firstly, it's incorrect to label all "Europeans" as our enemies. It plays into the hands of racists and narrow nationalists while letting our real enemies, the enemies of the oppressed peoples of the world, off the hook. There are members of European descent in the African National Congress with heroic records of sacrifice and struggle against the apartheid regime. The dominant, racists White minority is of European descent, but it's not their European ethnicity that makes them oppressors and enemies of the people. Rather, it's their greed, ignorance and meanness of spirit. The same holds true for those Black lackeys used as tools to sabotage the Black majority's righteous struggle for freedom and justice -- it's their greed, ignorance, and mean

individualism. Secondly, it's incorrect to lump the ANC, the PAC (Pan African Congress), and AZAPO (The Azanian Peoples Organization) with Inkatha, led by government stooge and lackey Gathsa Buthelezi. Incidentally, the Inkatha movement or Inkatha Freedom Party is not the Zulu nation. While it is led by a Zulu chief and has a majority of Zulu participants, there are no doubt ethnic Zulus in all the various organizations. Like the Europeans, their Zulu ethnicity doesn't determine their politics or morality.

Editors Note: See our Bootlickers Row for our opinion of Buthelezi



# BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS CONTINUED

### AIN'T NOTHING LIKE THE REAL THING: Beware Of False Panthers And Opportunists, By Landon Williams

In Fall of 1986, former members of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and Community Workers came together to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the founding of the BPP. Comrades and supporters held events in New York and Oakland California for hundreds of members and supporters and their families. At each meeting there was a tremendous outpouring of affection and an expressed need to network again to try to make social change.

In the months following those events, Panthers and their supporters have continued to network and many have come together to form the Black Panther Newspaper Committee (BPNC) which hosts forums, produces and publishes the Black Panther, Black Community News Service (BPCNS). The Black Panther was once the official voice of the BPP. Today it is the official voice of the spreading BPNC with offices and distribution centers nationwide and internationally. The Black Panther is also the official voice of the California Office of the reemerging BPP. The Black Panther contains articles and news submitted by Panthers and their supporters. Revenues and proceeds from the sale of the paper go toward supporting BPP and BLA political prisoners and POWs, and to community service programs. A major focus of the Black Panther is to inform the community of the legitimacy of the struggle waged by our political prisoners and POWs against a barbaric racist Amerika, and for the need to continue that struggle.

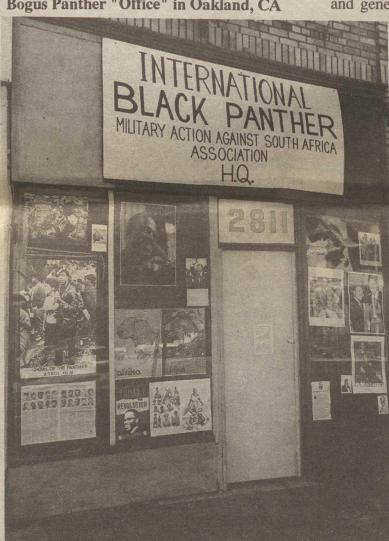
INTEREST IS SPREADING AND SUPPORT

The arrival on the streets of the Spring, 1991 Memorial Issue of the Black Panther, Black Community News Service with its banner headline, "The Struggle Continues", stimulated an unprecedented amount of contemporary interest in Panthers in general, and the Black Panther Party phenomenon in particular. Within six months, the circulation of the Black Panther has grown to 15,000 copies distributed in twenty states and foreign countries. The Black Panther has a readership of 60,000. Each day, the editorial committee receives numerous letters from our readership here and abroad expressing interest and support for the rebirth of the paper and for the continuation of struggle. Many of the letters ask how they can help. We are deeply moved by the growing support which we have received. We also, however, feel that we must warn potential supporters to refrain from giving GUIDELINES TO COMBAT OPPOR- or door to door. When there is a need for donasupport to those claiming they are Panthers until you check with us. If the reorganization, of the Panther paper and the BPP are to be successful and efficient, you, our supporters, must be vigilant and "Beware of False Panthers". FALSE PANTHERS?

What is a false Panther? Put simply, a false Panther is an opportunist out to make a personal profit from the name and history of the BPP. We all have seen them. They figure out a way to make a profit from our people's just struggle. Some of them write books and make movies about how great they were. Most have done very little day-to-day work building programs and working within the community - but they talk a "good rap". We learned through practice during the organization and disorganization of the BPP that the revolution and struggle attract the very best and the very worst. The best come to the struggle out of a sense and feeling of the need to

contribute all they can toward making things better for the mass of Afrikans in Amerikkka. They represent the very best that our community has to offer to the world. They formed the bulk of the Panther rank and file and community workers and worked tirelessly without compensation or financial reward. The worst are petty hustlers and opportunist out to "beat" someone. They abhor hardwork and are attracted to the struggle out of greed and selfishness. They have and are not true Panthers. a feeling that there are resources (financial, emotional, sexual, etc.) that they can exploit for personal gain or satisfaction. Within the ranks of the BPP leadership and rank and file, the worst ignored BPP rules and discipline whenever it suited their needs while demanding special consideration because of their BPP participation. They became, some knowingly some unwittingly, tools that our enemies used to disrupt our organization and sow distrust among us. We must all maintain our guard against them.

Bogus Panther "Office" in Oakland, CA



TUNISM:

It has come to the attention of the BPNC that several BOGUS (i.e., FAKE) BPP offices have begun to appear in some cities (see picture). These people profess to be Panthers but many are rip-off artists. The "panther" who set up the storefront in the photo claimed to serve the people and then ripped off the young men in the neighborhood who had trusted him with their possessions. Please be advised that these are not true BPP offices. Everyone claiming to be an official Panther office has not been sanctioned by us. The officially sanctioned BPNC and BPP offices are listed within the pages of the BPBCNS. We call upon you to assist us in maintaining the community vigilance needed to stop these pretenders before they can once again cause disruption and harm. The BPNC has established a set of guidelines for our readers,

comrades, and supporters to help determine truth from falsehood, real from false Panthers.

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

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

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

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

5. If someone is soliciting donations space, etc., in the name of the Panthers or Black Panther Party, call us. We do not solicit donations on street corners

tions, we announce it in the Black Panther and provide addresses for receipt of donations. 6. If you are in doubt, call us.

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

## SYMPOSIUM ON REPARATIONS

figerians in the Bay Area celebrated the 31st inde endence anniversary of their homeland's freedom fron olonial rule. The Nigerian American Association California organized a series of events, including a syn sium held at the Oakland Convention Centeron Octobe to rally around our African American brothers at sters in a cause in which we all believe: the issue parations. This a moral issue which must be put to the iblic again and again for a free and open discussion with view of exploring common grounds for a peacef solution. For more information, contact Tund orodudu at (415) 653-6753.

# The Black Panther, Black Community News Service Fall, 1991

his side of the incident.

# BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS CONTINUED

The recent acts of wanton violence in major New in Hillside, where the van crashed into a police

charged when Grey tripped. Potts died at the

"YOU CAN'T GO HOME AGAIN!"

"A man's home," the ancient English axiom

proclaims, "is his castle." That common law prin-

There, after several nights of racial violence, a

mob assembled at his home threatened violence

against two inhabitants, a young woman and her

child. The reason? The woman is White; her

After this occurred, the man, who was away at

work during the assault, met with township

police. Their solution? Leave. They made token

comments about assigning a skeleton force, but

the underlying message was simple. Move.

He wondered about the white friendships nur-

couraged, he gathered his family and belongings

and left Hanover in a cloud of bitterness. A

The police, paid in part by his 9 years of labor

and taxes, weren't there to "serve and protect"

by Mumia Abu -Jamal

such claims.

man, Black.

person is Black.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

"To see your ENEMY and Know HIM IS A PART OF THE COMPLETE EDUCATION OF MAN." .MARCUS GARVEY most Blacks, but

One is reminded of Malcolm X's observation:

One wonders--if a Black mob had threatened a White homeowner, based upon his Black girlfriend and inter-racial child, would the police have urged him to leave his home--or would they have defended it? Would the mob have been confronted--or ignored?

I think the answer is clear. The U.S. Supreme Court in <u>Dred Scott v. Sanford</u> once opined that "a Black man has no rights that a White man is bound to respect." A constitutional amendment, a Civil War, a century later, and still the most fundamental rights, though written on paper, elude us on the ground of the living.

What "rights" did the Black Hanover, Pa. resident have? The right to run?

## TEXANS MEET, TAKE ON EN-VIRONMENTAL RACISM. by

Mario Marcel Salas, BPNC Distribution Texas

African American, Latino and other activists of color from around the State of Texas met July 19-20, 1991 in Austin. Texas, to explore the impact of toxins on communities of color throughout Texas. The participants met with the staff of Governor Ann Richards and the Texas Water Commission to demand that both offices consider race when looking at site selections for waste dumps.

Texas ranks second in the nation in the number of Africans and Latinos living in communities with uncontrolled toxic waste sites. Houston, Dallas, and San Antonio are among the metro areas with the largest communities of people of color living with these sites. These findings are documented by the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice in its 1987 report, Toxic Waste and Race. This landmark study concluded that corporate waste companies purposely choose African American communities to locate their hazardous waste

On July 19, 1991, at the State Capitol building the conference participants called a press conference to blast polluters such as the B.F.I. Company and others. Over 100 people attended the press conference.

At the conference Frontline 2000 President Mario Marcel Salas said, "there are industries in this state and country whose official policy is to build toxic waste dumps in black and brown communities because they don't think we're organized. It's racist. They won't go and build in a white middle-class neighborhood. We are going to build a movement that they will have to listen to. We can organize boycotts of the polluters and their supporting

"Our immediate aim is to build a coalition...to put a halt to the toxic assaults in our communities, said Arthur Shaw of Houston. Added Susanna Almanza of Austin: "If you're going to dump your toxics, don't dump them on us. We've had more than our share. We're tired of seeing our children and our parents sick.

West Dallas was dubbed "Waste Dallas" conference attendees who said their community has been hit hard by toxic waste dumpers with slag.

It is important to note that the next link in the dumping chain is the Third World. The governments of many Third World countries are often lured by large sums of money and employment in exchange for letting these racist dumpers use their land for dump sites. For example, "Guinea Bissau canceled two contracts to receive half a million tons of industrial and pharmaceutical waste from Switzerland. A member of European Parliament has alleged that as much as 10% of the EC's toxic waste was being dumped in Guinea-Bissau," this according to Greenpeace Waste Trade Update.

It will be a long struggle but fighters everywhere must take on these racist toxic dogs - the fate of life itself on this planet is at stake - An power to the People of the World! Locate and isolate the pollutors in your area!



# POLICE ARE MURDERING OUR YOUTH

Jersey cities by their police departments once again clearly illustrates their true role. The mercenary actions of these aggressive forces in their daily occupation of black and brown communities manifests itself at a steadily rising rate. Especially during the summer months, when the weather and aggravation that accompanies stress, unemployment and lack of positive "programs" and activities force our youth into the street, among the many characters that populate the sun soaked concrete jungle. In Newark, members of the Newark police department along with fellow "swine" of the Hillside police department recently fired between 30-40 bullets into a "stolen" van killing two black youth. They were 16 years young Tashe Mayse who was five months pregnant and 20 years young Lamont Russel. Four other youth in the van, all juveniles, were also wounded in the shooting. The shooting erupting after a chase which began in Newark and ended

In another incident, Shawn "Unity" Potts of New Brunswick, 25 yrs young, was fatally shot by a member of that city's swinest. The story is that Mr. Potts was chased by city police responding to a complaint of two men scuffling. Sgt Zane Grey, 47, claims that he signaled for Potts to stop, but Potts fled and Grey gave chase with his weapon drawn. According to Grey, his gun dis-

minority groups and even larger youth populations. A pattern, reminiscent of days of the King Alfred Plan and COINTELPRO Acts, is ever present. Miseducation, chemical and biological warfare as well as economic exploitation are but minor parts of the arsenal that Amerikkka has amassed in its domestic war against black, brown, and poor people. The outright murder of our youth, our future, by the occupying forces of aggression who are the immediate arm of

hospital not long after and was unable to provide

Both cases involved black youth, as the victims:

Perpetrators in these instances were members of

police departments active in cities with large

Amerikkkan repression in our communities will only be halted when confronted. This confrontation has to be both political and military. There has to be a political entity that deals with education and theory

Then there is the military, that puts theory into actuality, carries out the practice, participates in actions designed to insure the continued existence of our community and educates its inhabitants through action that clearly illustrates their interest.

This action must also be designed to win the support of our community. One such action could be elimination of forces present that seek to engage in genocidal acts against our com-THINKA BOUT IT! BENJAMIN munity.

him. His life, his

property, those

he loved, were, in

police terms,

safer elsewhere.

ciple was central to American colonial polity, who propounded a Constitution establishing a right to security, safe from the state's search, a few generations removed from forebears who seizure or snooping. Basic to that concept is the migrated from the repressive southlands for a right to live where one wishes, free from the better life, are still not safe and secure in the state's intervention. A 9-year resident of the North--especially those who dared to mate with Southcentral Pennsylvania township of white women! Hanover, in York County might take issue with

"What you talking 'bout 'the Deep South'? Long as you south of the Canadian border, you in the Deep South"!

tured over 9 years, at work and at "home". Some of them phoned him to urge him to leave. He wondered, "These are my friends?" None offered to stand with him. None criticized the police for urging him to leave. None defended him. Dis-

person's home is their castle, it seems, unless a

## BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS CONTINUED



BOOTLICKERS ROW General Colin Powell, Clarence Thomas And Gatsha Butheleze Have Been Selected For This Issue's Bootlicker Awards. Each Month The Editors Will Select Another Person Of Color Who Exemplefies Bootlicking, Lackyism, And General Flunkyism.

COLIN POWELL was chosen because he has travelled all over the globe fighting Amerikkka's so-called enemies but not once has he lifted his voice or even his hand against the historical enemies of our people in this country. His priorities are handwritten by his master. He barks, bites, bleeds and dies at the command of racist Amerikkka. He has participated in the murder of people of color in Vietnam, Lybia, Grenada, Panama and Iraq while never raising a finger to combat the KKK and other racist who brutalize Black folks in his home town. Truly a loyal dog and faithful to the last. May his breed disappear from the face of the earth.

CLARENCE THOMAS was self-selected because if he didn't exist our enemies would invent him. Come to think of it they did. Miseducated in "exclusive" schools, trained to bite the people who look like him and lick the boots of those who don't look like him, he gets to marry one of their daughters as his reward. He has been married to her for ten years and has had four federal appointments during that time. In prime bootlicker style, he parrots whatever his master tells him to and abuses Black women under the guise of an oppressed Black male. He has taken advantage of every opportunity gained as a result of our people's struggle, yet rejects our just claim for group remedies. He is truly the Amerikkkan dream. The judge sure is funky.

GATSHA BUTHELEZE is a liar and a murderer. In the middle of the nightmarish scene in South Africa he is playing both ends against the middle. Accepting a pocketful of krugerrands from the Boers while at the same time he plays on his Zulu ethnicity to divide our people into warring camps. A true son of Afrika like Cetawayo must be turning over in his grave. Here's wishing Gatsha a nice necklace to go with the money he claims he knows nothing about.



### AFTER STRUGGLE: TEXAS PASSES M.L. KING, JR HOLIDAY

FrontLine 2000 has led the fight for the bill since the first senate hearings this year. The organization had become the focal point of the struggle after Rick Marshall Greene, Chairman of the Research Committee of FrontLine 2000, suggested that the only way the state was going to listen was to threaten an economic boycott of the state. Mr. Greene made the recommendation at a FrontLine 2000 meeting and it became the strategy that won the

The tactic was simple: the state must pass the bill or we would petition the NFL to withdraw the Superbowl from Houston in 1995. The organization also promised to petition various conventions to withdraw any activities from the state. With this type of pressure and a sustained effort by Senator Frank Tejeda, State Rep. Ron Wilson (Houston) and many others, the bill is now a reality.

The Bill also received support from the Baptist Ministers Union, Rev. R. A. Callies, State Rep. Karyne Conley, Rev. Ronald Benson, Akwasi Evans (Austin), State Senator Eddie Bernice Johnson, State Rep. Wilemina Delco (Austin), Speaker of the House Gib Lewis, Renee Watson, Larry Daves, and many others too numerous to mention. This is an important victory against racism and brings Texas a little closer to the 20th

## SUPREME COURT FOLLIES: Woman Awarded Worker's Compensation Because Of Her Fear Of Black People, By Sakiza

awarding a White Florida women workers compensation benefits because of her fear of associating with black people. Ms. Ruth Jandrucko won her award based on a claim of "post traumatic stress disorder" following an attack by a mugger who stole her purse. The incident occurred while she was on the job and Ms. Jandrucko claims that although she is trying to, she is unable to shed the psychological scars and return to work because of her newfound "phobia toward Black persons." In letting the lower court decision stand, the Court awarded her worker's compensation back to 1987 (when the incident | White Amerikkkans, every Afrikan in happened). It also virtually assures that Amerikkka over the age of six should Ms. Jandrucko will only work in a suffer from post and present traumatic

It is not surprising to see the Highest court in Amerikkka make this obscene award. We live in an era of reverse discrimination suits and challenges by right wing and middle class white Amerikkans. Most Afrikans in Amerikkka know the past history and present practice of racial injustice and bigotry practiced not only in Florida but throughout the U.S. To us, it is an insult that this women can receive

Malcolm X in one of his most eloquent speeches spoke about the wolf dressing up life a lamb and crying that he had been wronged. That's what we have here How many White Amerikkkans have been lynched by Black people? How many

In another slap to the face of Afrikans in have been attacked like Howard Beach, Amerikkka, the United States Supreme Rodney King or eaten like the Black folks Court let stand a lower court decision in Milwaukee, Wisconsin? To read of some of the Afrikans who have been lynched by White Amerikkkans read We Charge Genocide and 100 years of lynching - or pick up a copy of your local newspaper. If there was any justice in Amerikkka at all, most Afrikans in Amerikkka would receive compensation not this woman. We've been lynched, beated, raped, discriminated against, lied on, despised and abused for no reason other than the color of our skins are black by white Amerikkkans for greater than four hundred years.

> Given the sick, violent racial history of stress disorder. Think about Rodney King and tell me if he should suffer post traumatic stress disorder every time someone mentions the word police or he hears a vehicle siren. And tell me, what about the Africans who must ride by or through Howard Beach, do they suffer traumatic stress? It is a testament to our fortitude that we are not all totally insane because of what we've had to endure.



# The Black Panther, Black Community News Service Fall, 1991 Page 9

# FORTY ACRES AND A MULE: Dedicated To A Discussion Of Issues Affecting Black Economic Development And A Claim For Afrikan Reparations

## WE ARE OUR OWN LIBERATORS: Black Economics 1A.

THAN \$300 BILLION PER YEAR!

by A. Jalil Bottom of the New York Three

In the quest to develop a new economic order for and about Black people, it becomes necessary to isolate the political mechanism of the Black bourgeoisie, and develop a national strategy for the economic empowerment of the country's Black majority. It is essential to formulate political goals that are wholly responsive to our economic determination.

This must be done on all fronts in a class struggle within our movement towards national liberation. The Black bourgeoisie must make their knowledge and skills available to the Black community. This would serve to fortify and ensure continued economic growth and development -- creating practical, moral, ethical, and cultural ties that could unify us for economic and political empowerment.

Such cultural ties are based on the

philosophical Are Our Own Liberators. This conviction should be internalized by those responsible for maintaining and

reinforcing our cultural and political institutions nationwide. Whereas existing racist institutions operate to perpetuate our peoples' physical and mental dependence on their oppressors; our movement to secure economic and political empowerment will liberate us from those establishments, and greatly enhance our culture and politics.

One of the principle failures of the Black Liberation efforts of the '60s and '70s was not formulating and instituting a national economic strategy combined with a national political strategy. For example, the Black Panther Party evolved "survival programs pending revolution," but these programs did not have the financial foundation to support the revolutionary movement. No economic strategy was created to sustain the political apparatus, i.e., the

Similarly, while significant gains were made politically and socially during the Civil Rights Movement, it failed to introduce and maintain a strategy for economic salvation and total liberation.

The 40 acres and a mule promised Black people immediately after chattel slavery was abolished obviously never materialized. Instead, the newly freed Afrikan slaves and their decendents became a dispersed, colonized and impoverished people. Despite the historical touting of individual, Black success stories, the overwhelming majority of former slaves

were left landless and homeless to survive on their own while ostracized racially from the means of production and gainful employment; others became sharecroppers subjected to the exploitation of White landowners, or migrated to the urban areas of the North where they were crowded into vicious living conditions relegated to domestic and menial labor.

Considering the enormous wealth Whites amassed as a direct benefit from the slave labor of entire generations of African men, women and children, it's an outrage that to this day, Black people have a median income of less than half that of Whites; and according to the 1984 Census report, the net worth of a typical White household is 12 times that of a similar Black household, not to mention the disproportinate social ills we suffer. Thus,

our token politiposition that We AFRICANS IN AMERIKKKA HAVE A cal and social COMBINED INCOME FROM ALL gains, have not changed the SOURCES, I.E., WAGES, INVEST-MENTS, GOVERNMENT TRANS- economic con-FER PAYMENTS, ETC., OF MORE ditions of the Black majority. Opportunities

> nominal few still depend on the gratuitous whims of the White ruling minority who control American economic might, leaving us a relatively poor and powerless

> As long as Negro politicians and Negro political activists continue to maintain constituent allegiance to the "Democratic-Republican party," nothing will change except to get much worse. It is when we finally resolve to build independent political and economic power -- uniting with those groups, organizations and parties likewise opposed to the status quo -- that we will define ourselves and determine our own destiny. In short, "without a revolutionary party, there can be no revolution." There must be a political horse on which the people can ride to

Back in the '60s, the Black Panther Party attempted just such a task, forming coalitions with Asian, Indian, Latino and oppressed White organizations (The American Indian Movement, I Wor Kuen. the Young Lords, Brown Berets, and the Patriot Party, among others). This international movement met the full force of the government's domestic and international military, including the FBI and the CIA. The Bureau's counterintelligence program (COINTELPRO), targeting all Black nationalist and revolutionary organizations to neutralize or destroy, left -- Continued page 25, Column 3---

### THE CASE FOR BLACK REPARATIONS, By Attorney Nkechi Taifa

The concept of reparations for Africans born in North America is not novel, nor is the demand for such compensation new. The demand did not originate with 92-year old Queen Mother Moore from New York, who has kept the issue alive all of her adult life. It did not start with the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, who on the back of Muhammad Speaks year after year after year demanded that the U.S. government exempt Black people from all taxation as long as we are deprived of equal justice. It did not begin in 1966 with the Black Panther Party who made the issue of reparations and restitution for slave labor as point number three of their 10-point program. It did not begin with William Patterson who documented the abuses of this country in his historical treatise, "We Charge Genocide," or with Marcus Garvey in the 1920s, or with the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika in 1968 who in its Declaration of Independence consistently stated that "We claim no rights from the United States of America, other than those rights belonging to human beings anywhere in the world, and these include the right to damages, reparations, due us for the grievous injuries sustained by our ancestors and ourselves by reason of United States' lawlessness..."

The concept of reparations did not begin with the end of the Civil War when, in response to the demands of African people, the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate voted to provide freed families with the hallowed 40 acres, only to have the bill vetoed by Andrew Johnson. It did not begin with the Ex-Slaves Bounty and Reparations Association, which between 1875 and 1890, had several hundred thousand dues-paying

Reparations is a well established, long-standing principle of international law. It is payment for a debt owed. Most recently in 1988 legislation was passed in this country authorizing the payment of \$20,000 to each Japanese-American detention camp survivor; a 1.5 million trust fund to be used to educate Americans about the suffering of the Japanese-Americans; a formal apology from the U.S. government, and a pardon for all those who resisted detention camps.

It is a sad commentary on this country, however, that the U.S. government or any state government has not had the dignity to offer even a token of reparation to African people in America or even a formal apology. To add insult to the injury, Abraham Lincoln, upon the conclusion of slavery advocated payment, not to the African for life and labor stolen, but payment to the slaveholders! The U.S. Congress agreed and payments were made froom the U.S. Treasury to the kidnapping, murdering slave owners and their

Reparations essentially constitutes four elements:

- 1. The formal acknowledgement of historical wrong,
- 2. the recognition of continuing injury,
- 3. the commitment to redress,
- 4. and the actual compensation.

We must keep uppermost in our minds that New Afrikan people are the descendants of Africans kidnapped and transported to the United States with the explicit complicity of the United States government and every arm of the U.S. lawmaking and law enforcing

Article One, Section Nine, Clause One of the U.S. Constitution expressly guaranteed and sanctioned the importation of kidnapped African prisoners of war to every state that might desire it until the year 1808. Article One, Section Two, Clause Three upheld the further dehumanization of the African by relegating their status to that of three-fifths of white men. Still another constitutional provision, Article Four, Section Two, Clause Three, known as the Fugitive Slave Law, mandated that no slave, even if he or she had reached a "free" state, was safe and it was the constitutional responsibility of every United States citizen to track the African down and deliver him or her up to the

The slavery that flourished in the United States constituted an immoral and inhumane deprivation of the African's life, liberty and cultural heritage, and constituted an act of genocide as defined under the International Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, a treaty ratified by the U.S. Senate 38 years after its acceptance by the international community and signed by Ronald Reagan as "The Genocide Convention Implementation Act" in 1988. The internationally accepted definition of genocide includes the following:

--killing members of the group

- -- causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group
- deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its destruction in whole or in part.

The Convention goes on to make clear that those guilty of genocide "shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials, or private individuals." Genocide, however, is not the only actionable crime. Also punishable is

--- Continued Page 11, Column 1---

## NO ONE CELEBRATES NEW YEAR'S ON APRIL 1: African National Congress and PanAfrican National Congress Unite to Continue Fight gainst Apartheid Regime's Economic and Racial Domination of Azania

The Pan-Africanist Congress is less well known than Nelson Mandela's African National Congress, but it too has long fought for the liberation of the people of South Africa, which it calls Azania. Unlike the ANC, the PAC has refused to either suspend armed actions or enter into discussions with the white racist regime. The PAC was founded in 1959 to fight for the overthrow of the white settler minority regime and economic domination by imperialism. In its own words, "self-determination and independence...also means the repossession of the Fatherland and the control of its wealth for the benefit of the majority...The ultimate aim of the PAC is the total liberation and unification of Africa. We further strive for unity and solidarity with all Africans wherever they are, that is, those at home and those abroad."

The Organization of African Unity and the United Nations recognize the PAC as well as the ANC as liberation movements. Newly-elected PAC President Mlamli Clarence Makwethu addressed the leaders of the Frontline States in February, 1991 on the issue of negotiations. "We all agree that it was our collective efforts, that is, internal resistance, including armed struggle, international isolation and economic sanctions that compelled the regime to adopt a reformist posture. [The regime's repressive] tactics had failed, and were actually fuelling greater internal resistance. The reformist posture is aimed to achieve the old goals of liquidating internal resistance and international support for our struggle. Legal apartheid may indeed disappear - but not so that economic apartheid which was built upon the Land Acts."

The PAC's Secretary for Information, Mr. Barney Desai, has commented: "Millions of hectares of land held by the Government and provincial authorities will open to the free market. With almost half of the black population living below the poverty line and the rest in dire economic straits, how are the dispossessed going too be able to purchase land? The writing is on the wall. Whites, with their economic power, will use blacks as nominees and a scrabble for land will occur resulting in the remaining land going to white."

government have deteriorated greatly. The regime is refusing to release hundreds of political prisoners who it accuses of violent acts. The ANC is so convinced that de Klerk is not operating in good faith that it is no longer talking to the white government. The PAC points out that FW de Klerk's regime has set aside five billion

> rands of its defense budget for secret operations and acquisition of arms. "This Special Defense Account also finances the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), which has recently been exposed as being responsible for assassination of African patriots."

Ms. Ncinci Simelani, speaking for the PAC, said last November, "if de Klerk was genuinely committed to peace, he would have long ago disarmed ultra rightists and those who collaborate with them...Armed struggle will therefore continue as Pretoria only understands the language of the gun and we will communicate with them in that language."

While the PAC and the ANC clearly maintain their different perspectives, they are working hard at building a working relationship. The National Executive Committees of the two liberation movements met for the first time for two days in April, in

Harare, Zimbabwe. Led by Mandela and Makwetu, the meeting called for a Conference of Patriotic Forces to take place in Capetown during August 1991. All groups who support a Constituent Assembly will be invited. The meeting also demanded that the regime disband its "killer squads" such as the CCB, and discussed how incidents of fighting among the oppressed can be eliminated. Finally, the joint statement issued after the

talks declared that "there shall be no

engagement on the modalities for a Constituent Assembly until the regime meets the demands for the unconditional release of all political prisoners, and the unhindered return of all exiles."

A joint resolution was approved expressing the two organizations' "grave concern and deep disappointment" that the European Economic Community lifted its remaining economic sanctions against South Africa. The Bush Administration admitted in June that it had already begun talks with South Africa aimed at lifting U.S. sanctions.

The ANC/PAC resolution "reiterated that profound and irreversible changes have not yet taken place in South Africa." As Barney Desai puts it, "Why has the 'democrat', Mr. de Klerk, rejected one person one vote? Unless government is legitimized PAC will remain committed to the isolation of South Africa. No one celebrates New Year's on April 1. We must see real changes before we can ask the world to drop sanctions."



Sojourner Truth

### SOUTHERN AFRIKA UPDATE, by Walter Turner

Chris Hani ANC

The PAC maintains that "there is nothing

to negotiate over our land. The least

compromise that can be tactically made

by the PAC on a peaceful resolution of

the conflict would be the establishment of

an elected Constituent Assembly on the

basis of one person, one vote. Of course,

the settler regime has rejected this call."

Although Nelson Mandela described FW

de Klerk as "a man of integrity" when

Mandela was released from prison last

year, relations between the ANC and the

"It has become pretty obvious to us that these are critical years in the history of Azania. The winds of liberation which have been sweeping down the face of Africa have reached our very borders. There is no more doubt about the inevitability of change...the only questions now remaining are how and when." Steve Biko

In February of 1990, Nelson Mandella, the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress was released after 27 years. During the last years of his imprisonment Mandela had initiated a process of discussion and dialogue with the South African government that resulted in the release of key leaders in the liberation struggle of the people of South Africa (Walter Sisulu,

Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada). Most importantly, the release of Nelson Mandela signaled new concerns for the ruling South African government. Now was the time for the South African government to kick into high gear and employ all military, political, and international forces available to enable themselves to remain in power forever. In addition to accelerating its military and political activities the South African government utilized the international press to project the images that the existing South African government could make qualitative changes and that the African community was hopelessly divided by political factionalism and "black on black" violence.

Developments in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa are a direct reflection of the major powers and their goals in southern Africa; to maintain South African dominance in the region as the political and economic controller of all developments; to encourage and support the South African government in taking whatever steps necessary to disrupt, confuse, and destroy the mass movements and liberation movements inside Southern Africa and specifically South Africa; to wreak havoc on the independent countries of the front line states including Zimbabwe, Angola, Zambia, and the recently independent Namibia; and finally to re-insert South Africa into legitimacy in the international community by lifting

sanctions. In these scenarios, the goals of South Africa extend well beyond the front line states toward being a maintainer of pre-1960 colonialism throughout southern

The countries of Angola and Mozambique have been direct recipients of a pervasive and savage South African and United States policy. Sixteen years after independence Mozambique faces a continuing wave of terrorism and brutality sponsored by the governments of South Africa and the United States-a terrorism that in the last decade has cost over 100,000 Mozambiquean lives. Key targets of this terror include health clinics, schools and public facilities. In its claims to stop the spread of "communism" South Africa and its

--- Continued Page 11, Column 1---

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# INTERNATIONAL NEWS CONTINUED

--- UPDATE Continued---

Africa.

allies have done everything to destroy the infrastructure of Mozambique and the abilities of the Mozambiquean government to improve the quality of life for its population. Scarcely a month passes that there is not yet another story of mass destruction and beheading of the population carried out by the terrorist band referred to as RENAMO. Organizations like the Heritage Foundation and individual U.S. congressmen have been in the forefront of advocating direct and indirect United States financial assistance and diplomatic support for RENAMO. Clearly, the crippling of Mozambique and the attempt to install RENAMO in the political process is a continuing saga of US/South African visions in southern

Angola, a country 2 1/2 times the size of Texas has faced a South African led war since 1975. After independence in 1975 Angola was beset by a war initiated by the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) with the support of the government of Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire. Upon independence Angola was invaded by South Africa with direct designs of making Angola a northern province of South Africa. The country bordering Angola to the south, Namibia, was involved in a war led by the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) against the South African military machine based in Namibia. Angola and Cuban military units forced South Africa to retreat back

into Namibia. South Africa and the United States then directed their efforts at supporting a surrogate terrorist force, UNITA-under the leadership of Jonas Savimbi, to disrupt and attack the government of Angola. Throughout the last decade UNITA has continued to receive direct economic, military, and diplomatic support from a variety of countries-spearheaded by the United States and South Africa. The cost of the war to the Angolan population has been devastating. Over the last 2 decades over 300,000 lives have been displaced. The food crisis has been so severe that the Angolan government has worked with the United Nations to get food to the most desperate regions of the country. UN estimates damage to the infrastructure of | rorism in the townships and in the cities. Angola at \$25 billion dollars. Still United

States and South African military support

for UNITA continues. Recent agreements in December of 1988 by the governments of Cuba, South Africa, and Angola set the stage for the withdrawal of South African forces from Angola and the implementation of United Nations resolution #435, mandating an independence process for Namibia. Suffice to say that these developments would not have been possible without the military support of Cuba. Negotiations in early 1991 have resulted in a series of agreements which would arrange a cease fire between the Angolan government and UNITA, and national elections for Angola to be held in mid 1992. Again the South African/United States goal of forcing the Angolan government to capitulate and recognize UNITA has been successful...the consequences for Angola may be dire in the scheme of developments in Southern Africa.

"America should cease showing any form of tolerance toward bantustan leaders who are operating as a model on a platform obviously designed for the perpetual subjugation of black people. Invitations to people like Gathsa Buthelezi, Mantsanzima, Mangope (bantustan leaders) and granting of any form of official or semiofficial recognition to them is a gross insult to the black people of this country"....Steve Biko.

Recent disclosures of the involvement of the South African government in funding Gatsha Buthelezis' Inkata movement (reformed in 1975) and the operations of other South African black running dog lackeys, are but a small indication of the lengths that South Africa is willing to go to undermine the process of change in Southern Africa. In 1989 approximately 75-80% of Inkatas' \$600 million dollar budget came directly from the South African government. Information has also revealed that the United States Department of Commerce has allowed the shipment of approximately 40 tons of shotguns to South Africa in direct violation of United Nations arms embargo against arms trade with South Africa. These shotguns have become the weapons of choice in government initiated ter-

for Buthelezi increased in early 1980s coinciding with the increasing organization and militancy of the anti-apartheic movement. The international press hails Buthelezi as a leader and compares him to Nelson Mandela in terms of his qualifications to be spokesperson for the anti-apartheid/liberation movement. As early as the 1970s' Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness movement pointed out that Buthelezi is a puppet of the South African government, that his supporters are financed and directed by the South

African military and police, and that the

Inkata movement stands in opposition to

the overthrow of the South African

government by the majority population.

United States and South African support

South Africa has made no qualitative changes in its policies of apartheid. These policies have existed since the days of Jan Van Rieebeck and the early european bandits of 17th century. The land and political power is still solely in the hands of the white community. The majority African population is still prevented from political participation in the land of their birth. The recent "changes" in the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act are only cosmetic aspects of a very well planned and financial two-track strategy by the DeKlerk government. The discussions going on now are not negotianegotiation.

At the African National Congress National Conference in July of 1991 Nelson Mandela stated that Umkhonto we Sizwe..the military wing of the African National Congress...should remain vigilant and more prepared. Talks in Zimbabwe between the ANC and the PAC (Pan Africanist Congress) signal a new level of anti-apartheid organization that will bring an even more violent reaction from the South African government and its allies. There can be no doubt that the struggle against fascist South Africa is shifting into a higher gear...from both

JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE ANC AND PAC ON THE JOINT EXECUTIVES MEETING, HARARE, 15-16 **APRIL 1991** 

The historic two day meeting of the Joint National Executive Committees (NEC's) of the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania was held in Harare, ZIMBABWE from April 15 to 16, 1991.

The agenda included an Assessment of the Current Situation, the unprecedented escalation of violence in our country, the Constituent Assembly, Sanctions, the Interim Government, the Patriotic Conference, the Multi-Party Conference and the All-Party Congress. The main thrust of the meeting was to pave the way for an early establishment of a Patriotic front, in pursuance of resolutions adopted by both organizations at their respective national

It was agreed that the main content of the present phase of the struggle is the immediate transfer of democratic power to the majority. It was further agreed that it is vital for all forces which support this objective to unite for this purpose.

The meeting discussed, in depth, the current violence and concluded that the principal source of the violence is the apartheid system and regime, by employing special counter - insurgency units such as the C.C.B., Koevoet, Buffalo Battalion 32, the Askaris, the Z. Squad and others to repress and terrorize the National Liberation Movements and other democratic activists.

Both sides called for the verifiable disbandment of the C.C.B. and other death

It was also resolved that the organizations of the oppressed should identify and speedily isolate those among their membership who indulge in attacks on supporters of other political organizations. In this regard, all organizations should encourage and develop a culture a political tolerance and democratic practice and should desist from making hegemonistic claims.

### --- REPARATIONS Continued---

conspiracy to commit genocide; direct and public incitement to commit genocide, attempt to commit genocide, and complicity in its commitment.

Genocide. There is no statute of limitations on redressing human rights violations and debts are neither absolved nor diminished by the passage of time. In fact, over time, unpaid debts grow larger with added interest. Although the present generation of whites may be innocent of the crimes against humanity of their ancestors, as a people they sit in a privileged position because of that history and African people languish in a state of hell because of that history. Each generation passes its debts as well as its assets on to the next generation. The heritage which

whites enjoy in this country is what has been called "white skin privilege": they benefit from a society, state, and economic structure which is governed by white supremacy. There is no question that as a nation, they enjoy the fruits and have been unjustly enriched by the stolen labor of African people.

It should be crystal clear that mere affirmative action is not sufficient to remedy the crime of genocide against a people. Affirmative action as it has come to be practiced in the U.S. seeks to compensate all groups who have been disadvantaged. It is critical, however, to give substantial, additional and separate weight to the particularly injurious results of human slavery and of government-sanctioned war, exploitation and discrimination, especially

when such conditions continued for centuries. That additional recognition must be in the form of reparations. Moreover, reparations is not solely an economic concept. It is a political concept as well. One of the leading theorists on reparations, Dr. Imari Obadele, teaches, "reparations are not just for stolen labor but for unjust war and cultural aggression as well. The political essence of slavery is not merely found in the economic exploitation of labor, but in the illegal imposition of U.S. jurisdiction on the slave or the slave's descendant."

What does this mean in terms of reparations? It means that for the descendants of Africans held as slaves in North America, the concept of self-determination is closely aligned to that of reparations: The necessary corollary --- Continued Page 12, Column 3---

### The Black Panther, Black Community News Service Page 12, Fall, 1991

### A Report on The First African African American

Summit, by Shyaam M. Shabaka The first African-African American Summit was held in Abidjan, Cote D'Ivoire, Africa from April 17-19, 1991.

Over 500 African Americans attended this historical summit...and joined hands, hearts and minds with over 2,000 of their African brothers and sisters (which consisted of 5 African Presidents, numerous cabinet members, ambassadors, students, etc.) to seek more effective ways and means to improve the health, education, social and economic condition and overall quality of life for Africans.

This Summit was highly significant at this point in time for the following major

In helping to draw the world attention to the rapid deterioration of living condition in Africa and demand that equal economic development assistance be provided to Africa by the USA and other economic developed countries to the same degree as these G-7 countries provide economic assistance to Eastern European Countries, and Israel. African Americans pay over \$70 billion dollars a year in taxes and must demand a greater role in how their tax dollars are spent both domestically and aboard.

The conference resolved that the destiny of Africans and African Americans are inseparably linked. And as the Europeans and Euro-Americans prepare for their 1992 celebration of Columbus' 1492 transatlantic invasion and their New World Order, we as Africans and African Americans should use the occasion to unite all African people to terminate five centuries of world wide oppression and exploitation of African people.

The Summit assembled to reestablish the bond of togetherness that has not existed since Africans were captured as slaves and shipped as subhumans to the Americas and other parts of the world three hundred years ago.

Excerpts from some of the Summit declaration included the following:

-We recognize that the sufficient production of food and the protection and preservation of the environment are key to the survival of Africa. We pledge to work for the improvement of international trade and exchange policies to encourage forming all strengthen African's agricultural infrastructure.

Delegates to the Summit established Commission on the following issues:

:Economic Development

History and Culture

Education

Agriculture

Health

The next Summit has been scheduled to occur in Gabon for 1993.

As a followup to the 1991 Summit African Americans throughout the USA are scheduling followup activities and main African Constituency Building forums. If you would like to participate in the planning of the constituency for Africa Bay Area Summit contact Shyaam M. Shabaka C/O BPNC-California.



### AFRIKAN FAMINE IGNORED

The significant of this first African-African American Economic Development Summit is also clearly demonstrated by the gross lack of concern and beligerent callousness, which is rooted in selfishness and racism, when million's of Americans turned off their televisions sets or switch channels rather than view the excellent CNN documentary on the current famine which is ravaging the African Countries of Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia, Mozambique, and Malawi and other parts

If sufficient emergency food and medical supplies are not provided within the next several months it is estimated that over 30 million Africans are in danger of dying of starvation this year. African Americans must take appropriate actions to prevent this holocaust by demanding a humanitarian response from the USA

mobilizing the world resources to kill 200,000 people and to destroy countries, such as in the recent Persian Gulf war why can't it do the right thing for a change and take the lead in helping to save millions

For those of you who would like to help participate in a constituency for Africa forum that will be held in the San Francisco Bay Area to address famine relief and other issues of the Afrikan diaspora, please contact:

Shyaam M. Shabaka c/o PO Box 519 Berkeley, CA 94701-0519 --- REPARATIONS Continued---

to the fruition of self-determination: That capacity should be in the form of reparations, regardless of whether the self-determining choice is to accept the U.S. offer of citizenship made after the Civil War; whether the self-determining decision is to return to a country in Africa or emigration to another country; or whether the choice is for the creation of an independent New Afrikan nation-state on currently U.S. claimed soil.

It is also crucial that any type of reparations settlement necessarily include amnesty for Black Liberation Army soldiers and other political prisoners and prisoners of war who resisted U.S. genocidal practices. Indeed, the Japanese Reparations Act called for a pardon to all those who were convicted of resisting evacuation, relocation or detention camp internment. We must demand no less. If ever one felt If the USA government can succeed in hesitant about the legitimacy of the call for freedom for Black political prisoners and prisoners of war, hesitate no longer! The precedent has been set.

Since the passing of the legislation authorizing payments to Japanese-Americans, elected officials have begun to recognize that the demand for reparations to compensate African descendants of persons held as slaves in North America is legitimate and can become a reality. In 1989 Congressman John Conyers introduced H. R. 3745, modeled after the Japanese bill, which would create a commission "to examine the institution of slavery, subsequent de jure and de facto racial and economic discrimination against African Americans, and the impact of these forces on living African Americans." This commission would be charged with making recommendations to the Congress on appropriate remedies.

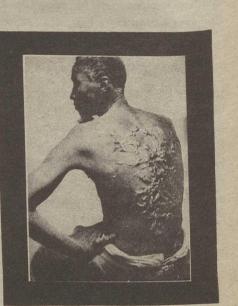
Reparations legislation also has been introduced into the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the City Council of Detroit adopted a resolution urging the federal government to establish a \$40 billion educational fund to provide college grants for the descendants of Africans held as slaves in the United States. In 1990 the legislature of Louisiana and the City Council of the District of Columbia both

passed resolutions urging Congress to enact reparations legislation.

Reparations, like independence will not drop from the sky. The words of the great orator Fredrick Douglas still ring true today: "If there is no struggle, there is no progress ... Power conceeds nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will."

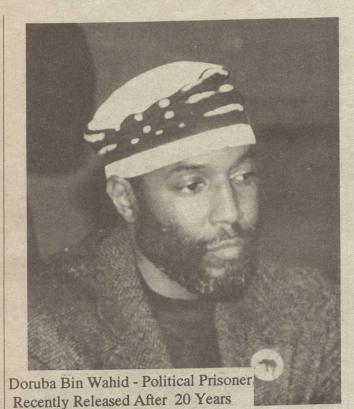
Editors' Note:

Nkechi Taifa is chairperson of the National Conference of Black Lawyers, D.C. Chapter and is a member of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (n'COBRA)



Afrikan Slave

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## POWS AND POLITICAL PRISONERS MESSAGE TO MANDELA DELIVERED BY DORUBA

Historically, the governments of the United States and South Africa have dealt with political dissent and radical resistance to institutionalized racism in much the same manner. Under the pretense of maintaining "law and order," the U.S. and South Africa criminalize radical and progressive movements for social and political change. Here in the U.S., our movement was brutally and viciously destroyed. Our leaders were murdered, forced into exile or imprisoned.

In both the U.S. and South Africa there are hundreds of political prisoners within the bowels of their prisons. And yet the U.S. and South Africa bodly deny the existence of these freedom fighters to the world. Instead they claim these peoples' heroes are criminals.

In both the U.S. and South Africa, white skin privilege is the rule. The needs and humanity of poor people of color are for the most part ignored and denied. In South Africa racism is codified, reduced to a system of law. In the U.S. racism is more subtle and hypocritical: the odor of phony democratic idealism masks the foul stench of a racist, eurocentric system that dehumanizes us, imprisons our youth, marginalizes our women and tramples our most basic humanity.

As a former political prisoner, Comrade Mandela, you surely know what it menas to be defined as a "terrorist" by a state that refuses to deal with the right of oppressed people of color to defend themselves against the racist violence, injustice and terrorism of the State. The very individuals and governments who hail you today as a "freedom fighter" in the past supported efforts to kill and imprison you. These same hyprocrites defined the A.N.C. as a terrorist organization. The same white media that now hangs on your every word just a moment ago in history supported "constructive engagement" with the racist apartheid regime. This same white media has consistently distorted and stifled the righteous cause of the South African people.

Brother Nelson, I was incarcerated for twenty years for my political views and activities on behalf of the African-American community. Today there are over 100 political prisoners in the U.S. suffering under some of the most repressive conditions imaginable. Many of my comrades in the African-American liberation movement have been murdered by agents of the U.S. government, our families have been destroyed and our organizations decimated. But one day the African-American community will again have its own Intifada, its own peoples' uprising.

Today, U.S. political prisoners have no voice, they remain invisible. The A.N.C. and the anti-apartheid forces in South Africa have always kept the names and faces of your political prisoners in public view. We should learn from your example. We must not forget those who have sacrificed on our behalf. Brother Mandela I stand before you on their behalf, so that they may be heard. There's an African proverb which says if you speak the name of an ancestor they live again. Let us speak the name of our freedom fighters that they may be free again. Free Geronimo! Free Nuh! Free Herman! Free Abdul! Free Mumia! Free Leonard Peltier! Free Marilyn Buck! Free Jalil! Free Robert Seth Hayes! Free Ahmed Rahman! Free Sundiata! Free Sekou Odinga! Free David Rice! Free Kaza Toure! Free Hanif Shabazz Bey! Free Alejandrina Torres!

Our hearts and souls are with you and the freedom loving people of South Africa. It's been said that there are no strangers in the struggle for freedom, only comrades that never met. African-American political prisoners of the United States share a human experience with you that few who have not undergone long periods of imprisonment, isolation and torture for their political principles can understand. We are one in struggle! Power to the people! Amandla!

### DESERT SHIELD AND DESERT STORM BOOST SAGGING U.S. ARMS INDUSTRY, by sakiza

Reports recently aired over National Public Radio (NPR) show that Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm have been a tremendous boost to the sales of U.S. weapons of destruction to Third World countries. NPR, in its reports on August 13, 1991, reported that the total volume of weapons sold by private (non Pentagon) arms manufacturers and distributors to Third World countries has increased by more than 100% since the U.S. began its Mideast military build up and subsequent invasion of Iraq.

According to NPR, in the year preceding the U.S. Mideast military build up, the U.S. arms industry accounted for slightly more than 29% of third world weapons sales. In the year since the build up began, the U.S. share of lethal weapons sales has mushroomed to 45% world wide and has catapulted the U.S. arms industry to the position of top dog in this rotten trade of death and destruction.

Through its ability to manipulate facts and use slick marketing the U.S. government and the arms merchants who direct it have turned the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of men, women, and children into a "significant" military victory for "smart" weapons and U.S. military technology. As a result, arms sales have dramatically increased and the U.S. arms industry is able to boast once again that it is the number one merchant of death on Prior to the Mideast slaughter, the industry was desperate to find alternate markets because of declining domestic sales to the Pentagon as a result of the ending of the "Cold War". Since the military invasion, its sales of weapons of death and destruction to military dictatorships, racist and corrupt governments, medieval fiefdoms, sheiks, cronies, bootlickers, sellouts, and outright flunkies has increased from \$9 billion in fiscal year 1989-90 to a projected whopping \$18 billion in 1990-91.

Through his military adventurism, George Bush ("former" CIA Director of Planning) has been able to divert attention away from domestic issues such as the Savings and Loan scandal, (where his son Neil Bush made out like a bandit with several billion dollars) and give a needed boost to his friends in the military industrial complex. We must oppose this priority system which puts the development and deployment of "smart" weapons and troops in foreign lands ahead of the development and employment of smart children to solve national and international problems and crises such as hunger, malnutrition, disease, infant mortality and morbidity. Halt development and sale of all U.S. weapons. Support the movement to divert dollars away from the Pentagon into genuine economic development and revitalization here and abroad



# FALLEN COMRADES



# BLACK AUGUST: The Story of George and Jonathan Jackson

**GEORGE LESTER JACKSON:** 

"I have a plan, I will give, and give, and give of myself until it proves our making or my end." Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson.

And give of himself he did right up til the end of his life when he sacrificed himself by running out on the yard of San Quentin prison to draw the "pigs'" gunfire away from the other inmates in the Adjustment Center (AC).

By the time August 21, 1971, marked the end of George's life, he had spent 11 years in prison, for a \$78 gas station robbery (a crime he hadn't even committed). Then 18 years old, George received the infamous "indeterminate sentence" The indeterminate sentence could be an undetermined number of years or from one year to life, leaving the final time a prisoner served to the arbitrary discretion of parole boards.

Repeatedly denied parole, George spent countless hours secluded in study. He read extensively -- George was likewise a prolific writer, producing two books -- the one mentioned above and another published posthu-

mously titled, Blood In My Eye.
[Writer's note: It's no accident that the public library has no trace of George or Jonathan Jackson in its system; under "Jackson," the only blacks who turn up are Jesse and Michael. Yet they were front-page news on several historic occasions.]

When he was not isolated, George was very social. "I met black guerrillas, George 'Big Jake' Lewis, and James Carr. W.L. Nolen, Bill Christmas, Tony Gibson, and many, many others. We attempted to transform the black criminal mentality into a black revolutionary mentality." George also taught illiterate brothers how to read and write, helped them learn to study and develop their political consciousness, and was known to share whatever he had -- commissary items, books, money. He was a natural leader, and commanded respect from fellow inmates

Of course, some of the respect he evoked resulted from his martial arts skills. He spent long hours studying and practicing martial arts in his cell from books, and could boast a thousand fingertip pushups a day.

George became a Field Marshall of the Black Panther Party while in San Quentin, "...blacks are openly passed over when paroles are considered. They have become aware that their only hope lies in resistance...The holds are beginning to slip away...Most of today's black convicts have come to understand that they are the most abused victims of an unrighteous order. Up until now, the prospect of parole has kept us from confronting our captors...But now with the living conditions deteriorating, and with the sure knowledge that we are slated for destruction...They are now showing great interest in the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung, Nkrumah...and the achievements of men like Che Guevara, Giap, and Uncle Ho."

By Kiilu Nyshasha

Born in Chicago, September 23, 1941, in an area that was "part ghetto residential, part factory," George was the second of five children, three girls and two boys. His father, Robert, was a postal worker. Mischievous and rebellious, George was sent to Harrisburg, Ill., every summer to stay with relatives. His mom called it "removing me from harm's way." It was there that George learned to shoot rifles, shotguns, and Chicago's Troop pistols. After moving to Street projects, George began getting into trouble

who often referred to him simply as "Comrade." with the law, and staying away from school. So when George was about 14, in 1956, his father decided to transfer his post-office job to Los Angeles in hopes of providing a better environment for his family.

> But after settling in L.A., George continued to get into trouble, and when he was 15, he was shot by police in a hijack attempt. He was subsequently sent to The California Youth Authority at Paso Robles, where he became "the absentminded bookworm." Released after seven months, he returned to high school.

> During the summer of 1958, George, then 16, and two buddies committed an armed robbery that ended in a shootout with police, and the three on the run. Ironically, after holing up for a while, suffering illness for 11 days, and winding up broke again, he and two friends traveling together got busted on "suspicion" (being black in the wrong place) and locked up in the County Jail. Playing on all "blacks-look-alike" to racists, George tied up a cell mate doing two days and

walked out in his place the next day. At that point, he decided to seek refuge among his relatives in Harrisburg, his mother's birthplace -- but lived to regret it. One of his aunts thought it best to inform the police of his presence; he was arrested, shackled, and unceremoniously transferred back to Bakersfield County Jail.

After 15 months, George was released with a trade as a meatcutter. He worked as a butcher long enough to buy a car and some arms and take off again. When he was later accused of the gas

station robbery, he agreed to spare county court costs and confess to get a brief county-jail sentence. Instead, he was thrown into the state pen with one to life (the indeterminate sentence).

### JONATHAN JACKSON

The youngest child and the second boy in the family Jonathan was 12 years his brother's junior. In fact, Jonathan no doubt only began to really know his big brother after he was incarcerated. During this time, they grew close developing a revolutionary comraderie as the years went by and their communications increased.

George took his role as big brother so seriously, he struggled with their parents about Jon's education and upbringing; and in practice became his private tutor. Introducing Jon to Black history/culture. Jon was a brilliant student. Like George, he became a socialist who understood capitalist economics. Attacking rightwing blacks, Jon wrote, "The mantle of ignorance doesn't cover their behavior...They know that there isn't but one fight going on across this planet, the one between the imperialist forces of capitalism and its victims. They know that it was for work that we were kidnapped....These Black, black, black, black men (if you can swallow their shallow shit) have had time to study, some have traveled, they 'know' that it was

capitalist agricultural economics that first caused our pain, and that the only change since then is the decline of the agricultural elite and the rise of the modern bourgeoisie. A seat-shop displaced the plantation. Could it have escaped the notice the African states that really liberated themselves booted out the foreign businessmen and are socialist states?"

Jon also became very military-minded: "We are obviously faced with a need to organize some small defenses to the more flagrant abuses of the system now. I mean this in a military sense. The period of disorganized activity, of riots and rallies, and purely political agitation/education has come to a close. The violence of the opposition has brought it to an end....Some of us are going to have to have to take our courage in hand and build a hard revolutionary cadre for selective retaliatory violence."

### THE SOLEDAD BROTHERS' CASE

In January, 1970, at the State Prison in Soledad where George was held, several of his comrades, including the venerable W.L. Nolan, were allowed to play basketball on the yard. A short while later, racist guards released onto the court some prison nazis, whose rabid racism was well known. The expected fight resulted when the Whites attempted to take the court from the Blacks, and a tower guard fired on them supposedly to break it up. No Whites were hit, but three Blacks were shot and left to bleed to death on the yard. Black inmates -- were up in arms demanding the guard's arrest for murder. Prison officials reluctantly gave in to holding a hearing, but returned a verdict of "justifiable homicide," a common phrase used by officials to justify the murder of Black people. Subsequently, a guard was beaten and thrown from a tier to his death, and three inmates were charged with his murder -- John Clutchette, Fleets Ddrumgo, and George Jackson -- who became know as the Soledad Brothers.

Under California law, assault on a guard while serving life sentence carries with it the death penalty which meant these brothers would be on trial for their very lives.

### **AUGUST 7, 1970**

A month later, in February '70, a brother named Fred Billingsley was beaten and tear-gassed to death by guards at San Quentin. Affidavits filed by jailhouse lawyer, Ruchell Cinque Magee, were filed presenting evidence that prison officials were guilty of the murder -- and inspiring a wrongful-death suit by Billingsley's family. In retaliation, another guard was assaulted, though not killed, and James McClain was put on trial for the attack. His first trial ended in a hung jury, and he was on trial in the Marin County Courthouse where he was acting as his own lawyer, presenting inmate witnesses to expose the criminal and racist repression to which Black prisoners were being subjected.

It was in this context of official violence outside and inside the prison walls that, August 7, Jonathan Jackson took his "courage in one hand, the assault-rifle in the other" and tried to take three brothers and five hostages to a radio station where he planned to broadcast the existing prison conditions and

demand the release of the Soledad Brothers." But no sooner than the van was secured with all passengers seated, preparing to take off, the San Quentin prisoner guards arrived and fired a barrage of shots into the vehicle in what can only be

described accurately as A MASSACRE! Jonathan was hit point blank in the head and died instantly. Then San Quentin inmates, William Christmas, James McClain and Rushell Cinque Magee (all black) were all shot, with Magee (wounded and unconscious) the only survivor. The judge was shot dead; a prosecutor paralyzed, and a jurist sustained a superficial wound. Almostneedlessto say, Magee was charged with the murder of the Judge, etc., and he's now locked under the prison at Pelican Bay. Unfortunately, the media managed to divide him from his famous codefendant, Angela Davis, leaving him pretty much forgotten and still suffering.

"Freeze!" Jonathan shouted on entering the courtroom with rifles, shotguns and pistols hidden under a long coat. "We're taking over," as he tossed guns to the brothers. By the time they got outside to the front of the courthouse, cameras were flashing as the media moved closer. "You can take our pictures. We are the revolutionaries," said Jonathan as he proceeded toward the van. They may well have been the last words he uttered.

Jonathan had written: "People have said that I am obsessed with my brother's case, and the movement in general. A person that was close to me oncesaid that my life was too wrapped up in my brother's case, and that I wasn't cheerful enough

Ruchell Magee - Sole Survivor Marin County Courthouse Slave Rebellion



for her. It's true I don't laugh very much any more. I have but one question to ask all you people and people who think like you, what would you do if it was your brother.?"

## AUGUST 21, 1971:

One year and two weeks later, to the day, in an alleged escape attempt -- which on information and belief -- was really an escape setup (the mysteries of which exist to this day) -- three notoriously racist "pigs" were killed and two known turncoats. George was shot and left to bleed to death after guards' gunfire away from the cell block where about 26 prisoners were under attack.

Twenty-six prisoners were spread-eagled out on the yard naked while armed helicopters hovered above them, and guards with weapons drawn terrorized the chained and handcuffed inmates. One Allen Mancino was shot in the leg with a shotgun and left bleeding for hours before getting medical attention. Later, they were forced to crawl in and out of their cells while guards hurled racist epithets at them and put their cigarettes out on their backs, all the while threatening them with death within days.

Ruchell Magee filed a lawsuit, but by the time lawyers and others were allowed into the prison which was kept locked down for days, Magee was nearly unrecognizable, badly bruised and emaciated from the lack of food and water (he was lean to begin with).

The case resulting from the August 21st incident became known as that of The San Quentin Six. brothers were acquitted, two were convicted and one is still locked down in the SHU (Security Housing Unit) in Pelican Bay, namely,

> Hugo L.A. Pinell (affectionately called "Yogi" by inmates).

### THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE **OF BLACK AUGUST:**

The best of our kind, Black warriors in defense of their people's dignity and humanity -- freedom fighters George and Jonathan Jackson deserve a place in history equal to that of other leaders who laid down their lives for the people. They demonstrated to the prison officials and police that Black people would no longer be murdered and brutalized with impunity. They developed their minds and bodies to a higher level than most of us, and used them to serve the people, especially Black people -- practicing "each one teach one," and dedicating their lives through revolutionary change.

If there are lessons to be learned they are that when we plan military actions, we must (1) have the full backing of the oppressed masses, (2) never again underestimate the viciousness of our enemies, and (3) recall there are more than one ways to skin a cat, such as militant but nonviolent action like boycotts and strikes.

And finally, we owe a debt of gratitude to George and Jonathan Jackson who put their lives on the line to test the waters in our ongoing struggle for freedom. Not only should they be honored as the martyred heroes they were, but their young

lives must not have been sacrificed in vain. We must pick up the torch and continue the struggle until victory, learning from past mistakes and setbacks to avoid future ones.

Venceramos. All power to the People.



"When The Prison Doors are Opened, The Real Dragon Will Come"

We have chosen these quotes from George and Jonathan Jackson as a means to show their ideas and philosophy on different issues that confront our people in facist

We present these quotes for our people and others to be able to objectively judge them for their truth and timeliness.

Our presentation of these quotes is not to be interpreted as our unqualified adoption or agreement with these ideas, nor does it mean that we reject them!

We do believe that these ideas, then and now, address valid issues for discussion in the areas of interpreting the historical and current situation and organizing to advance our liberation struggle.

Space does not allow us to present all the quotes we would like, so we have collectively chosen the following for their relevance to our current situation.

We highly recommend that you read both of George Jackson's books: Soledad Brothers-Prison Letters of George Jackson and Blood In My Eye.

of George Jackson's books: "Soledad Brothers-Letters (Date) and "Blood In my Eye (publisher and date.

### RESISTANCE AND DIGNITY

This monster-the monster they've engendered in me will return to torment its maker, from the grave, the pit, the profoundest pit. Hurl me into the next existence, the descent into hell won't turn me. I'll crawl back to dog his trail forever. They won't defeat my revenge, never, never. I'm part of a righteous people who anger slowly, but rage undammed. We'll gather at his door in such a number that the rumbling of our feet will make the earth tremble. I'm going to charge them for this, twenty-eight years without gratification. I'm going to charge them reparations in blood. I'm going to charge them like a maddened, wounded, rogue male elephant, ears flared, trunk raised, trumpet blaring. I'll do my dance in his chest, and the only thing he'll ever see in my eyes is a dagger to pierce his cruel heart. This is one nigger who is positively displeased. I'll never forgive, I'll never forget, and if I'm guilty of anything at all it's of not leaning on them hard enough. War without terms,



I have a young courageous brother whom I love more than I love myself, but I have given him up to the revolution. I accept the possibility of his eventual death as I accept the possibility of my own. I accept this as a necessary part of our life. I don't want to raise any more black slaves. We have a determined enemy who will accept us only on a master-slave basis. When I revolt, slavery dies with me. I refuse to pass it down again. The terms of my

existence are founded on that.

Nothing will defeat our revenge and nothing will countervail our march to victory We come to our conclusion: the only historical recourse that is left to us. Freedom means warmth and protection against harsh exposure to the elements. It means food, not garbage. It means truth, harmony, and the social relations that spring from these. It means the best medical attention whenever it's needed. It means employment that is reasonable, that coincides with the individual necessities and feelings. We will have this freedom even at the cost of total war.

The black cop could be a large factor in preventing our genocide. But no help can stupidity and desperation that brought him to the gates prevent him from interceding. The job, the wage means too much to him. Often he feels compelled to prove himself, prove that he is loyal to the force, prove that he is not prejudiced in favor of us, prove that he is honest.

This same fear will cause him to show more zeal in the "club therapy" sessions that even the whites manage. If the victim is black, he's going to get so mad that the white pigs will have to stand back and let him swing. If they don't have murder planned for that session, they'll have to pull that nigger off of you. A pig-is a pig.

I would very much like to get out of here. I would not like to leave my bones here on the hill-if it is a choice between that and surrendering the things that make me a man, the things that allow me to hold my head erect and unbowed, then the hill can

Many times we were presented with this choice, too many times, too many of us choose to live the crippled existence of the near-man, the half-man. well, I don't care how long I live. Over this I have no control but I do care about what kind of life I live, and I can control this. I may not live but another five minutes, but it will be five minutes definitely on my terms.

am an extremist. I call for extreme measures to solve extreme problems. Where face and freedom are concerned I do not use or prescribe half measures. To

me life without control over the determining factors is not worth the effort of drawing breath. Without self-determination I am extremely displeased.

We can only be repressed if we stop thinking and stop fighting. People who refuse to stop fighting can never be repressedthey either win or they die-which is more attractive than losing and dying. The primacy of politics remains but we must now prepare for armed confrontations. By no stretch of the imagination can we hope to overthrow so determined an enemy without force.

We Will Win!

### **FASCISM**

Intellectuals will argue whether Amerika is a fascist country. This concern is typical of the Amerikan left's flight from reality, from any truly extreme position. This is actually an manifestation of the authoritarian process seeping into its own psyche. At this stage, how can anyone question the existence of a fascist arrangement? Just consider the awesome centralization of power, and the proven fact that the largest part of the Gross National Product is in the hands of a minute portion of the population.

of one million men and their families-the Rockefellers, Vanderbilts, Morgans, Mellons, DuPonts, Hunts and Gettys, Fords and their minions and dependents. They us the Ivy League universities and elite law schools as private schools for their offspring and as training grounds for their corporate hirelings. They rule with iron precision through the military, the CIA, the F.B.I., private foundations and financial institutions. Their control of all the media of education and communication comprises an extremely effective system of thought control.

The hypocrisy of Amerikan fascism forces it to conceal its attack on political offenders by the legal fiction of conspiracy laws and highly sophisticated frame-ups. the masses must be taught to understand the true function of prisons. Why do they exist in such numbers? What is the real underlying economic motive of crime and the official definition of types of offenders or victims? the people must learn that when one "offends" the totalitarian state it is patently not an offense against the people of the state, but an assault upon the privilege of the privileged few.

The trappings of this pseudo mass society are empty, cheap, spectacular leisure sports; parades where strangers meet, shout each other down and often trample each other to death on the way home; mass consumption of worthless super-suds or aspirin; ritualistic, ultra-nationalistic events on days to glorify the idiots who

who sent them out to die. A mass society that is actually a mass jungle.

At its core, fascism is capitalist and capitalism is international. Beneath its nationalist ideological trappings, fascism is always ultimately an international move-

Here in the black colony the pigs still beat and maim us. They murder us and call it justified homicide. A brother who had a smoking pipe in his belt was shot in the back of the head. Neoslavery is an economic condition, a small knot of men exercising the property rights of their established economic order, organizing and controlling the life style of the slave as if he were in fact property. Succinctly: an economic condition which manifests itself in the total loss of absence of self-determination. Only after this is understood and accepted can we go on to the dialectic that will help us in a remedy.

A diagnosis of our discomfort is necessary before the surgery; it's always necessary to justify the letting of blood. And we don't want the knife to damage any related parts that could be spared for later use.

Every time I hear the word "law" I visualize gangs of militiamen or Pinkertons busting strikes, pigs wearing sheets and caps that fit over their pointed heads. I see a white oak and a barefooted black hanging, Or snake eyes peeping down the lenses of telescopic rifles, or conspiracy trials.

The question I've asked myself over the years runs this way: Who has done most of the dying? Most of the work? Most of the time in prison (on Max Row)? Who is the hindmost in every aspect of social, and economic life? Who has the latest short-term interest-or no interest at all-in the survival of the present state? In this condition, how could we believe in the possibility of a new generation of enlightened fascist.

### PROTRACTED STRUGGLE



My pledge is to arms, my enemies are institutions and any men with vested interests in them, even if that interest is only a died at war or other days to deify those | wage. if revolution means civil war-I accept, and the sooner begun the sooner done.

I don't think the enemy can be identified any more carefully than this. Further identification must be made in the process.

The Black Colony, U.S.A., has little choice. We must enter the war on the side of the majority of the world's people, even if it means fighting the U.S.A. majority. We fight to live. And we're learning to fight; it'll be a war, to the knife if necessary.

We can't wait until the generation that things of blacks as niggers and the rest of the world as gooks, chinks, spics, etc., has been educated away. It may be the reverse that happens; we niggers and gooks may be blown away first. Or if we survive, what will we inherit? A desert?

We'll mass what people we can; perhaps that won't be the whole lower class. We'll mass ourselves and any ally we may be able to draw from the whole class structure, and we'll attempt to wage a war on property and property rights. Essentially that is the fight, but, even then, some men will die as in all forms of war. but if we cannot draw the support that is necessary for such a war, then we see a positive benefit for the majority of the world's people n the reduction of this whole country to a vast wasteland, and a graveyard for two hundred million of history's most damnable fools!

I'm convinced that any serious organizing of people must carry with it from the start a potential threat of revolutionary violence. Without it, the establishment forces will succeeded in isolating the political organizer and closing down his project before the people can feel its benefits. Self-determination requires a small, hidden, highly trained army equipped with the best and most destructive of military weapons, and a body guard of counter-ter-

The warnings that "our thrusts toward selfnination will bring on fascism" are irresponsible-or better, unrealistic. The fascists already have power. The point is that some way must be found to expose them and combat them. An electoral choice of ten different fascists is like choosing which way one wishes to die. The holder of so-called high public office is always merely an extension of the hated ruling corporate class.

To seize power for the people and relegate fascism to the history books the vanguard must change the basic patterns of thought. We are going to have to study the principles of people's movements. We are going to have to study them where they took place and interpret them to fit our situation here. We have yet to discover the meaning of people's war, people's army.

The Black Colony must actively invite other revolutionary people to follow their example. However, we cannot delay our own preparations toward a united black revolutionary culture. No one will undertake to aid us unless they sense the power of our movement. It is blacks who must play not only the role of liberating the Black Colony but also the leading role in the liberation of the whole city-state. To expect that someone else will take the full responsibility for our own liberation is suicide. We'll be asked to be "patient" for another one hundred to one hundred and fifty years! We'll get stuck with long theoretical explanations on consciousness or objective conditions when it's clear that consciousness will not grow unless there is someone among us willing to feed it.

The first struggle is one waged within our own minds. We must in all haste transcend the intellectual inhibitions that preclude support of at least the minimum level of violence that must develop concomitantly with each thrust; our attitudes must change before we can expect any response from the people, workers, students, lumpen-proletariat. We must accept the eventuality of bringing the U.S.A. to its knees;

There will be a fight. The fight will take headed by the blacks of the lower class and their vanguard

People at the top will be removed and the guy with the programmed mind will have no boss to think for him. he will remain neutral or join us in our fight to liberate him. We will work this attack at the productive level indirectly by first building our central-city communes, which will revolutionize the all too conservative black laborer. We will build these communes against all resistance, the pamphlet in one hand, the gun in the other.

It requires only the proper set of ecosociological circumstantial pressures to turn blacks around and reawaken their revolutionary consciousness. We're hungry.

Our insistence on military action, defensive and retaliatory, has nothing to do with romanticism or precipitous idealistic fervor. We want to be effective. We want to live. Our history teaches us that the successful liberation struggles require an armed people, a whole people, actively participating in the struggle for their liber-

Dialectical materialism is my bag. I identify with anyone who hates just one fascist. I don't want a piece of the pie, I don't want all of it even. I think it's rotten, should be discarded, we should start all over again. This new start should be made without individualism (read isolation), mysticism (read religion), with a modification of the | consciousness against a system

language for the purpose of removing the concept of possession (read capitalism), without the hard-hat mentality (read william F. Buckley, Playboy, Central Intelligence Agency).

The war will be fought in the nerve centers of the nation, the cities

We cannot withdraw from the cities. In order to complete the revolutionary syllogism, the fascists must be forced to withdraw. And under cover of the guns which force their withdrawal, we will build the new black communes. A BLADE IN THE THROAT OF FASCISM.

Counter-terrorism is a facet of urban people's guerrilla warfare. It's our logical response to the repressive measures taken by the enemy state to contain us in the early stages of the rebellion. Our military cadre involved in this activity has the tactical advantage over the establishment's terrorists only if we remain clandestine. while working at the direction of a front we must remain separate from it.

Consciousness grows in spirals. Growth implies feeding and being fed. we feed consciousness by feeding people, addressing ourselves to their needs, the basic and social needs, working, organizing toward united national left. After the people have created something that they are willing to defend, a wealth of new ideals and an autonomous subsistence infrastructure, then they are ready to be brought into "open" conflict with the ruling class and its supporters. This conflict must extend to every level of capitalist production and distribution. Consciousness of our power will grow, as a result of this mass contact with the ruling forces. There is no question that people must be organized and educated to the benefits of people's government before they can successfully move against their class enemy

It isn't revolutionary or materialist to disconnect things. To disconnect revolutionary consciousness from revolutionizing activity, to build consciousness with political agitation and educational issue-making alone is idealistic rather than materialist.

we must educate the people in the real causes of economic crimes. They must be made to realize that even crimes of passion are the psycho-social effects of an economic corder that was decadent a hundred years ago All crime can be traced to objective social-economic conditionssocially productive or counterproductive activity. In all cases, it is determined by the economic system, the method of economic organization.

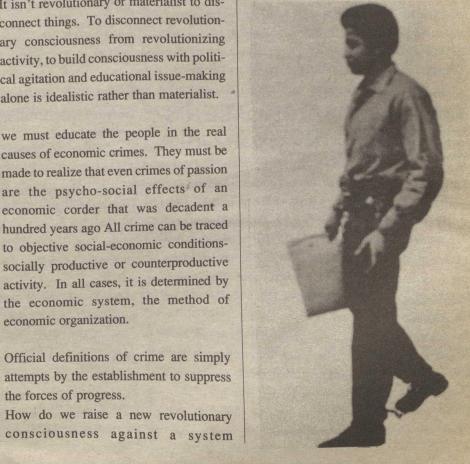
Official definitions of crime are simply attempts by the establishment to suppress the forces of progress.

programmed against our old methods? We must use a new approach, unite and revolutionize the black central-city commune, and slowly provide the people with the incentive to fight by allowing them to create programs that will meet all of their social, political and economic needs. We must fill the vacuums left by the established order. We must push the settlers off our land when they won't cooperate with the new communal life of our system. We must learn from the people, we must learn from the workers,

In return, we must teach them the benefits of our revolutionary ideals. We must move blacks to the forefront of a really productive assault on the outside enemy reactionary culture, not only on the production level, but in all significant areas of property relations.

"When revolution fails ... it's the fault of the vanguard parties."

As revolutionaries, it is our objective to move ourselves and the people into actions that will culminate in the seizure of state power. Our real purpose is to redeem not merely ourselves but the whole nation and the whole community of nations from colonial-community economic repression. The U.S. has established itself as the mortal enemy of all people's government, all scientific-socialist mobilization of consciousness everywhere on the globe, all anti-imperialist activity on earth. The history of this country in the last fifty years and more, the very nature of all its fundamental elements, and its economic, social, political and military mobilization distinguish it as the prototype of the international fascist counterrevolution. The U.S. is the Korean problem, the Vietnamese problem, the problem in the Congo, Angola, Mozambique, the Middle East. It's the grease in the British and Latin Amerikan guns that operate against the masses of common people.



# POLITICAL PRISONERS/POWS



### MARK COOK Black Political Prisoner

Mark Cook, a 52-year-old Black man, was born October 26, 1936, in Seattle, Washington. His father, who worked as a "redcap" (railroad station worker), died when Mark was four years old. His mother worked as domestic help seven days a week and often 16 hours a day to care for Mark, his two sisters and five brothers.

He gained his formal education in the Washington State school systems, attending three colleges and majoring in mathematics. His secondary was social science. His frustration with not being able to find steady work led to his committing robberies which resulted in convictions and long periods of incarceration. While in prison he realized that the denial of labor rights was more severe in prison than the denial of labor rights in the outside world regarding non-union workers.

Mark was attracted by the political articulations of the Black Panther Party (BPP), especially the dictum concerning labor rights and the franchise rights of Blacks and poor working-class folks. In 1967, while still in prison, he joined the BPP and became a lieutenant of information for the Walla Walla, Washington, Chapter of the BPP. In 1972, he was released to a halfway house in Seattle. While there he attended college, and in furtherance of his political concerns, founded CONVENTION '73, a political organization demanding labor rights and franchise rights for prisoners and ex-prisoners. While still in the halfway house, he provided a public forum under the banner of CONVENTION '73 that involved attendance and participation for prisoners and guards from major organizations and personal interests both locally and nationally.

In 1973, Mark paroled from the halfway house and continued to hold yearly forums for CONVENTION for the years 1974 and 1975, which grew in attendance and participation and public respect. He was a single parent carrying a full college program, working full-time as an upholsterer while caring for his pre-teen son.

Police and government interest in Mark's political activities was noted by their surveillance of CONVENTION activities-taking photos of those in attendance at CON-VENTION forums and recording license plate numbers of autos of those who attended. Complaints by Mark and others to higher authorities met with some success-at least further surveillance was not so obvious.

In mid-1975, Autrey Stirgis, a former prison associate of Mark's, advised him that he was under surveillance by the Seattle Police Department's Intelligence Unit, as they believed he was involved in the political activities of the George Jackson Brigade (GJB). The GJB was a group of political activists who used armed struggle to support labor rights and franchise rights of workers in general, and of prisoners and specifically Native Americans at the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations. The GJB waged armed struggle against government and private property in defiance of violations of labor rights and franchise rights. Stirgis advised Mark that one Sgt. Whalen of the Seattle Intelligence Unit wanted him and his woman companion, Suzzane Weisfield (Suzzane LeBray) to be informants for them as they were interested in discovering the membership of the George Jackson Brigade.

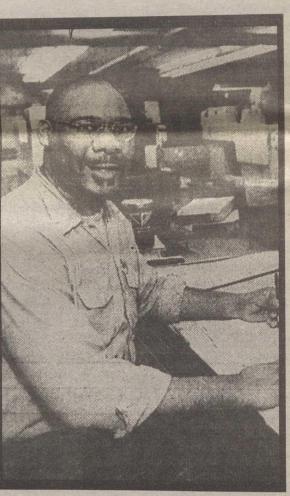
Later, in January of 1976, at least four members of the GJB attempted to expropriate funds from a bank, which resulted in a gunfight. Three members were captured and one escaped in the getaway car. One of the members, Bruce Seidell was fatally wounded; another, John Sherman, was shot in the face and suffered a broken jaw. March 10, 1976, John was taken to the King County Hospital in Seattle during a final series of follow-up treatments. While leaving the hospital with his armed guard he was liberated by armed members of the GJB. The guard was shot during the incident. The night of March 10th the Seattle Police implemented a dragnet and picked up all Black men off the streets and from public places having the general description of the Black men involved in the liberation of John Sherman. Mark was arrested as he came out of a laundromat near his home. He was held for several hours, photographed, and released without questioning.

March 12, 1976, Mark was arrested at his home by federal authorities for aiding in the January bank robbery attempt day. In March 1976 he was charged by federal indictment with the bank robbery and using a firearm to commit a felony. In May 1976 the indictment was amended to include conspiracy to rob banks, to aid in escapes, and to rescue and to harbor fugitives. Following the federal indictment, Washington State authorities charged him by information with first degree assault in two counts involving the gunfight at the bank robbery and the shooting of the guard during the escape. The state also charged him in a third count with aiding in the escape. Based primarily on the testimony of Autrey Stirgis and Suzzane Weisfield, who were paid up to \$20,000 and given changes in identity and relocation by federal authorities, Mark was convicted first in federal court, then in state court. He is presently serving a 30-year federal term and has been advised that he will not be given a parole. His projected release date, minus good time credits, will be in 1992. His state sentence of life plus ten years is to run consecutive to his federal term.

Although both the federal court and the state court denied prosecution requests to introduce information regarding the GJB or CONVENTION into the court proceedings the federal authorities have placed an extensive document called "The 1977 Political Statement of the George Jackson Brigade" in his prison file as political reason for keeping him in prison.

Mark's politics are simply articulated where he states: "There are two classes of people in this world, those who worked and those who do not work. The foundation of economy, government, and society is based on the performance of the worker. Because of the importance of the workers, all workers, they have inherent labor and franchise rights that must never be limited by government or non-worker caprice. 'Free labor' means the worker is free to set the terms and conditions of labor premised on fairness to both the worker and the employer. Where that freedom is lost, labor is entitled to regain that freedom by any means necessary."

Mark Cook, #20025-148(E) United States Prison PO Box 1000East Leavenworth, KS 66048



. Poindexter

## RICE-POINDEXTER CASE HIS-TORY COUNTDOWN TO JUS-TICE FACT SHEET

David Rice and Ed Poindexter are presently serving life sentences for the first degree murder of police officer Larry D. Minard of the Omaha Police Department. Minard was killed on August 17, 1970 by a suitcase bomb placed in a vacant house at 2867 Ohio Street in Omaha. An anonymous phone call to the Police Department, claiming that a woman was screaming in the house drew the police to that address.

Facts which indicate that justice has not prevailed in the Rice-Poindexter case are as follows: Peak gave at least six contradictory sworn statements about how the crime was committed, who was involved and how.

Statements by the prosecution indicate that Peak was offered a deal and allowed to plead guilty to the lesser

charge of juvenile delinquency if he would implicate Rice

Duane Peak did not implicate David Rice until August 31, 1970 -- a full eight days after Peak's arrest on August 23, and four days after Rice's arrest.

David Rice was originally arrested for possession of explosives on the basis of a search conducted illegally in violation of the Fourth Amendment on the U.S. CON-STITUTION. This was one of the major reasons his conviction was overturned on July 5, 1974 by the Federal District Court in Lincoln, Nebraska.

At the morning session of the preliminary hearing on September 28, 1970, Peak initially denied having anything to do with either David Rice or Ed Poindexter. Peak was then removed from the witness stand. At the Afternoon Session, Peak returned wearing sun glasses, changed his testimony and implicated both Rice and Poindexter. Under questioning from attorneys for Rice and Poindexter, Peak admitted that his change of testimony was what the Police had wanted him to do and that he was afraid

On May 25, 1971, the Omaha World Herald reported that Rice's former residence had burned down. Rice had stated that the Police pictures and testimony about where dynamite was allegedly seized in the house were not accurate. The destruction of the house eliminated the possibility of any further check on that claim.

FBI files concerning David Rice and Ed Poindexter were obtained by March of 1978. These files revealed that COINTELPRO tactics were directed against Poindexter

Key pieces of evidence which could have cleared Rice and Poindexter were withheld from the trial, such as the

---Continued, Page 19, Column 1---

## The Black Panther, Black Community News Service Fall, 1991 Page 19

# THE CRIME OF BLACK IMPRISONMENT by Steve Whitman

The United States "Criminal" "Justice" System

The U.S. "criminal" "justice" system is the largest in the lifetime; world. There are over 750,000 people in U.S. prisons, over \*\*one out of every four Black men will go to prison in 400,000 in jails, and more than 3.5 million people or more his lifetime; than one percent of the U.S.population who are under some \*\*there are more Black men aged 20-29 who are under form of criminal justice control (including prison, jail, control of the criminal justice system than there are Black probation and parole). It is difficult to grasp the enormity men in college; of these numbers. For example, the number of people in \*\*as you read this, one out of every four Black men are prison would comprise the 11th largest city in the U.S. The under some form of criminal justice control; number of people who are incarcerated in jails or prisons is \*\*as you read this, more than 3% of all Black men are in greater than the number of people who live in 13 states. prison; The number of people under the control of the criminal \*\*although most (about 95%) prisoners are men, the racial justice system is larger than the number of people who live differential for women is even greater than it is for men. in Chicago or Nicaragua. In 1988, almost 14 million people (And please note, that when it says prison above, it means were arrested in the U.S., and this is more than the number only prison. That is, this category does not include jails, of people who live in many countries.

The Sentencing Project's Report

operating out of Washington D.C. (Its address is 918 F St, be arrested in his lifetime; one out of every four will go N.W., Suite 501, Washington, D.C. 20004). It has recently to prison; and 3% are in prison at this very moment. It is (1991) issued a report entitled "Americans Behind Bars: A not just that these people are gone from the community: Comparison of International Rates of Incarceration." The their roles must be filled by others; many will return to report was written by Marc Mauer, the assistant director of the streets as damaged or even destroyed human beings; the organization. In this report Mauer uses the number of and whatever opportunities might have existed before people in prison and jail. This makes it easier and more incarceration will surely be gone for these "ex-cons." In accurate to compare international rates since in some other short, these imprisonment numbers are an indication that countries distinctions aren't made, as they are in the U.S., an entire people are under extreme attack. between prisons and jails.

Among the rates Mauer computes are the following: Country Incarceration Rate per 100,000 Population, for regular basis in 1925. From then until 1971, or for almost

United States 426 South Africa333

Soviet Union268 Hungary196 Poland106 New Zealand100

United Kingdom97

France81 Spain76

Italy60 Netherlands40

United States: Black males3,109 South Africa: Black males729

United States: white males\*420

United States: white people\*210 United States: Black people\*1,500

It is important to examine closely the racial dynamics revealed in this table. Imprisonment rates for Black people are about 7.4 times higher than for white people. Indeed, the grotesque distinction of the U.S. having the highest imprisonment rate in the world stems from how the U.S. imprisons Black people. In fact, it is stunning to note that the incarceration rate for white people in the U.S. is twice as high as the rates for other European peoples while the rate for Black people in the U.S. is four times as high as the rate for Black people in South Africa!

Returning to the U.S. There are many ways of expressing the horrors of Black imprisonment:

\*\*as noted above, a Black person in the U.S. is 7.4 times more likely to be imprisoned than a white person;

911 tapes which were clearly not Duane Peak's voice. Also withheld was a jailhouse letter written by Duane Peak in which he implied that he falsely accused Rice and Poindexter.

--- RICE Continued-

Mundo We Langa

\*\*one out of every two Black men will be arrested in his

probation, parole, etc.)

Now, just stop to think what these numbers mean to the The Sentencing Project is an independent organization Black community. One out of every two Black men will

Why Are the Imprisonment Rates So High?

Imprisonment rates in the U.S. were first compiled on a 50 years, the rates stayed more or less constant. Then in 1972 the rates started zooming upward and have not yet stopped. In fact, U.S. imprisonment rates have tripled in the past twenty years. What was happening around 1972 that might explain this upward spiral?

To begin with, the 1960's saw the birth and rise of groups such as the Black Panther Party (BPP), the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, and the Black Liberation Army. The government viciously attacked the Black Liberation Movement, murdering many members of the BPP, people like Fred Hampton, Mark Clark and Bunchy Carter, and incarcerating dozens upon dozens of Black revolutionaries. According to one article, in the three years after J. Edgar Hoover's infamous COIN-

TELPRO memorandum, dated August 25, 1967, nearly a thousand members of the BPP were arrested, key leaders were sent to jail, and 31 were murdered. Another author notes that the ACLU recorded 48 major police-Panther clashes in Chicago alone in 1969, and that "[T]he killings of Hampton and Clark brought the 1969 death toll of Panthers to 28, according to a Newsweek report in 1970." In that same year, police jailed or arrested 749 Panthers. Perhaps the culminating acts of this period were the murder of George Jackson on August 21, 1971, and the great Attica prison rebellion on September 9 - 13, 1971. Just a few months later the first control unit section of Marion prison was established and imprisonment rates began to soar. I do not believe that these relationships are

### Do Prisons Deter Crime?

coincidental.

Before concluding this article, there is one other important question that I would like to address: Do prisons deter crime? It may come as a surprise to many that virtually everyone who has studied this question believes that prisons do not deter crime.

### What Should We Make of All of This?

We have seen that prisons incarcerate huge numbers of people of color, especially Black people. We have also seen that prisons do not deter crime. And certainly no one seems any longer to believe that prisons rehabilitate people. Finally, it turns out that prisons are enormously expensive. For example, the entire budget for "justice system expenditures" in 1988 was \$60 billion dollars. "Corrections expenditures" accounted for over \$19 billion of this. (It has been estimated that all the children of the world could be fully vaccinated for about one billion dollars.) Furthermore, it costs about \$20,000 a year to send a person to prison, about what it would cost to send that person to Harvard.

And so it is natural to ask, what is it that a system like this does? What is its purpose. It seems to me that the most reasonable explanation, the one that best fits the facts, is that prison is some kind of control mechanism for people of color, some form of counterinsurgency which has as its purpose the goal of preventing rebellion by people of color within the borders of the U.S.

## OPEN LETTER TO THE NEW AFRIKAN - AFRIKAN COMMUNITY

We New Afrikan...P.O.W.s and Political Prisoners want to express our firm support for the Resistance Conspiracy Defendants: Marilyn Buck, Linda Evans, Laura Whitehorn Susan Rosenberg, Alan Berkman and Timothy Blunk. These people are being held in Washington D.C. by the federal government and have been charged with conspiracy to bomb the US Capitol and attacks against the South African consulate. These attacks were done in protest against the invasion of the Black Island Nation of Grenada by US armed forces and the evil system of racial oppression apartheid. Unlike the liberal politicians who can't decide what sanctions should be taken against South Africa nor had the courage to speak out against the racial assault against the people of Grenada-the conspiracy defendants have followed a tradition which transcends racial politics and the ideology of white supremacy by risking life and liberty

That there is a history and tradition of such selfless courage cannot be denied, there was John Brown who took his family to struggle for Afrikan peoples freedom and was hung for it. Minister Charles T. Torrey, who pioneered the "underground railroad," died in Maryland State Penitentiary. In 1849, Calvin Fairbanks was sent to the Kentucky State prison for refusing to inform on Blacks he helped to freedom. Marilyn Buck was sent to prison in West Virginia in 1973 for refusing to inform on Blacks engaged fighting for New Afrikan/Afrikan liberation. History is full of these whites who could have looked the other way but instead of turning a deaf ear to the cries of the oppressed, responded. This example of humanity has always been dealt with harshly because a united people can defeat those who profit from human misery.

We, the Black community cannot sit back while those who have joined our cause are locked away and tortured for being human enough to care. Many of us have worked with these defendants in free breakfast for children's programs, against forced sterilization of Black women and women of color. Name an issue which found New Afrikan/Afrikan activists involved and be assured you'd find these defendant's. They are involved in a conspiracy which we all are a part of and that is a conspiracy to have human and political rights. In supporting them we reaffirm our own

Afrikan and New Afrikan POWs and Political Prisoners

Jalil (Anthony Bottom) Muntuqine; Herman Bell; Albert Nuh Washington: Abdul Majid; Bashir Hameed; Kazi Toure; Sekou Odinga; Sundiata Acoli; Mutulu Shakur; Kojo Bomani Sababu; Geronimo ji jaga pratt; Mumia Abu Jamal.

# POLITICAL PRISONERS CONTINUED

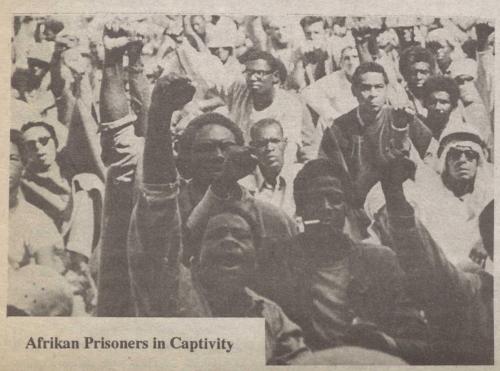
### LIFE WITHOUT PAROLE FOR 13 YEAR OLD

On April 15 the U.S. Supreme Court refused to overturn a sentence of life in prison without the possibility of parole for a Washington state 13-year old boy convicted of murder. The state courts had held that the sentence did not violate the eighth amendment prohibition against cruel and unusual punishment.

The case involved Barry Massey, convicted of killing a Tacoma marina owner during the robbery. He was 13 at the time,

and accompanied by a 15-year old with a criminal record who allegedly orchestrated the killing Massey sufferers from a learning disability, had third-grade reading level, and a borderline IQ of 77, and had never been in trouble with the law before his arrest on murder charges.

Massey's attorney wrote that: "One cannot know with any degree of reasonable probability that youth of such tender age cannot be rehabilitated."



## LIFE'S LIGHT IN ANGOLA -- U.S.A. by Mumia Abu-Jamal

bodies at hard work in lush fields of green life; of fiery Queen N'Zingha leading Black troops into battle against the Portuguese invaders of South West Africa; and of slavery, millions sold into lifelong bondage, making the dreaded trek from Africa to the so-called New World, brought in shackles to Brazil, the West Indies, and the U.S. Southlands. Angola--the nation's largest maximum security prison, "camps" spread over 20,000 acres of lush, subtropical Louisiana earth, where over 5,000 mostly African-American prisoners work in fields and prison industries for a meager pittance--neo-slave labor. Recently, the men of Angola put down their slave implements and stood tall in a remarkable display of human dignity, when Andrew Jones was rushed to death by rabid neo-Republication Gov. Chuck Roemer, who, despite calls for a brief stay until Louisiana's method of execution would be changed to lethal injection after September 15th, barked, "This man deserves what he is about to get," letting Jones' electrocution go on.

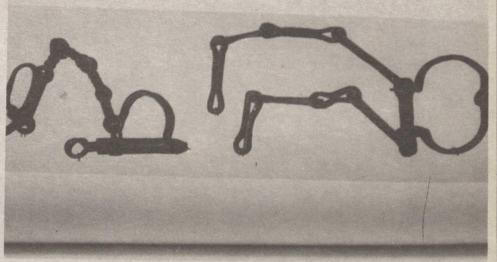
The day after Jones' legalized lynching, Angola's warden J. Whitley ordered men in the welding shop to construct a table upon which men could be legally poisoned.

They refused, among them, Eddie Sonnier, brother of "Pat" Elmo Sonnier, electrocuted on April 5, 1984 by Louisiana. All of the men in the welding shop were tossed into solitary, known as the "dungeon." Word spread from camp to camp, across the vast New Age slave factory. Prisoners in the field, in solidarity, laid down their hoes, refusing to work. They were put in lockdown, and the National Guard was called in.

The prisoner-welders' principled refusal to participate in their own degradation forced the administration to hire outside contractors to build the death gurney. They, and the field resisters are subject to severe administrative sanction including extended periods in the "dungeon," isolation or punitive transfer.

The Angolite prison newsmagazine, edited by the award-winning prisoner/journalist W. LaDeau, will undoubtedly have coverage (altho' perhaps censored) of the demonstrations. The New Orleans-based Pilgrimage Peace and Justice Center (916 St. Andrew St., New Orleans, LA 70130) is urging folks to write the governor, or telegram/fax, demanding that no disciplinary action be taken against prisoners who won't participate in the death penalty--Chas. E. Roemer, Governor, State of Louisiana, P.O. Box 94004, Baton Rouge, LA 70804--Ditto: John P. Whitley, Warden, Angola Penitentiary, Angola, Louisiana 70712.

From the pits of these human hells, from the steaming fields where our very forefathers/mothers toiled in brutal stolen drudgery, come bright sparks of human dignity amidst the simple decent refusal to serve the state in its' dehumanizingly, deadly ritual. They, rather than punished, should be widely, and warmly supported, for embracing life, rather than death.



# INMATES CLEAN UP, PATCH UP NORTH CAROLINA ROADS by David Guth

Whenever Division of Prisons Director Joe Hamilton is asked why state prisons don't send inmates out in chain gangs to work on the state's highways anymore, he explains that inmates are working on state roads but not in chain gangs. "We don't use the terminology chain gang any longer in the Division of Prisons," says Hamilton. "However, we do have over 1,700 inmates who are signed out on a daily basis to the Department of Transportation to do a variety of jobs."

Many of the states smaller prisons were actually built in the 1930's as work camp sites for inmates, when the state prison system was managed by the State Highway and Public Works Commission. during that time, inmates were put to work building roads in every country of the state. The prison system was separated from the Highway and Public Works Commission July, 1957. Since then, the agencies have reached annual agreement on the number of inmates needed for road work.

The agreement between the two state agencies for fiscal year 1990-91 will provide job assignments for more than 600 medium custody inmates and over 1,000 minimum custody inmates. "Medium custody road crews go out under armed supervision," says Hamilton. "These inmates must be within a year of transfer to minimum custody.

They are assigned to work crews of up to eight inmates with two armed correction officers or up to ten inmates with three armed correction officers. Department of Transportation officials provide an assign-

ment and the officers transport and manage the inmates at the job site.

"Minimum custody inmates are those that are nearing the end of their sentence and have demonstrated through their behavior that they're an adequate risk to assign under DOT supervision out in the community," Hamilton says.

Minimum custody inmates are placed under the supervision of a Department of Transportation employee and assigned in crews of three to ten inmates as needed. As minimum custody inmates, these men are near the end of their sentences and risk extending their prison sentence by any violation of Division of Prisons rules. These inmates work on jobs and at sites as directed by their Department of Transportation supervisors. "These road crews work across the state and they do a number of different things", Hamilton says, "they cut trees, dig ditches, clear right of way and pick up litter. They provide a valuable service to the taxpayers of the state." Of the states 91 prisons, there are 82 medium and minimum custody facilities spread across the state. Inmates are assigned to jobs, like the road crews, based on the decision of a committee that considers the needs of the inmate and prison programs. Inmate labor is also associated with

a number of highway related prison industries. Since 1927, Central Prison inmates have been making license plates. At Franklin Correctional Center, inmates make highway signs and at Piedmont they make street signs.

## The Black Panther, Black Community News Service Fall, 1991

# COURT SLAMS DOOR TO EX-PANTHER LEADER GEROMINO JI JAGA

Geronimo Ji Jaga, has been dealt a double blow in the courts of California. On August 15 in Los Angeles, just one day after receiving Geronimo's 284-page petition for a new trial, Judge Gary Klausner dismissed it as "without merit." Just days earlier, on August 9 in San Francisco, federal court Judge Stanley Weigel refused to order Geronimo released from "the hole" at Tehachapi prison, where he was thrown April 1 as he was preparing his petition for a new trial.

A victim of the FBI's racist COIN-TELPRO campaign to destroy the Black Panther Party, L.A. Panther leader Geronimo has spent over 20 years in jail for a murder the FBI, the cops and millions of people know he did not commit. The petition for a new trial presented new evidence, much of which was concealed from Geronimo at trial for almost two decades thereafter: statements from six former Panthers that Geronimo was with them in Oakland at the time of the 1968 Santa Monica murder; testimony from two investigators who saw the FBI wiretap log proving Geronimo answered the phone in Oakland just before the murder; testimony from another witness that in 1970 he reported overhearing two associates of FBI paid informant Julius Butler admit they committed the murder but was told by the cops to keep his mouth shut; documents showing that Butler, the

witness on whom the government's frame-up rested, was a LAPD informant as early as 1966 and FBI paid informant by May 1969.

The petition was originally filed in San Francisco rather than the L.A. Superior Court where the district attorney instrumental in the frame-up of Geronimo and the attorney general who defended that frame-up against Geronimo's 1985 habeas corpus challenge, now both sit as judges. But the State won a change of venue to L.A. where Klausner threw out the petition overnight.

Robert Bloom, lead attorney in Geronimo's fight for a new trial, intends to challenge the dismissal. He said, "In 25 years of practicing criminal law, I have never seen anything like this." Muhjah Shakir of the International Campaign to Free Geronimo Ji Jaga Pratt stated, "We seek to mount every available means of protest and pledge continued support until Geronimo is exonerated and set free.' Partisan Defense Committee attorney Valerie West explained, "The FBI frameup of Pratt is so shaky at this point that judges fear it would crumble under any inspection. People now in high places who conducted the frame-up would be exposed. The rulers of this country see in Pratt a highly-decorated Vietnam veteran who became a powerful leader in the fight for black freedom. The racists who fill political offices and corporate boardrooms see him as a threat. They want him to remain buried in prison at all costs."

Weigel's August 9 ruling leaving Geronimo in "the hole" came in the latest stage of a lawsuit brought by PDC attorney West in 1989 to challenge the punitive mistreatment of Geronimo in prison and to demand the removal of false and life-threatening charges throughout his prison file. "Because Geronimo remains true to his political beliefs, state authorities are determined to make his prison hell even hotter. His disciplinary confinement was based on a bogus marijuana trafficking charge on the uncorroborated testimony

of a jailhouse snitch," said West. Although leaving Geronimo in "the hole," Weigel has recognized the state's mistreatment, writing, "the old adage 'where there's smoke there's fire," is apt here." The judge declared Geronimo's life-threatening transfer to Folsom in 1989 an unlawful retaliation for his exercise of First Amendment rights; persuaded prison officials to remove Geronimo from cell conditions which exacerbated medical problems stemming from his Vietnam war wounds; ruled that his attorneys be allowed contact visits with him; appointed a doctor to report to the court about his post-traumatic stress disorder; and restrained prison authorities from "impos-

ing punishment, penalty, or other reprisals
because of plaintiff's exercise of his
rights." Without explanation, prison officials later reduced Geronimo's term in
"the hole." which would return him to the

"the hole," which would return him to the general prison population in October. In a significant ruling on July 18, Weigel granted Geronimo and his lawyers access to the confidential portions of his 4,000page prison file. Two weeks later he set up a process for negotiating Geronimo's demand for removal of false and damaging documents. West said, "California's prison authorities continue to act on their assumption that because Geronimo was a Panther leader they can peddle any lie about him. Such lies as that he conspired 'to kill Folsom guards with poison darts' and 'kidnap children of Folsom guards,' were deemed bogus by a jury in the 1976 Pratt v. Rees case. But they remain in his file today, along with later fabrications that continue to set him up for victimization and undermine his chance for parole.' Another hearing on this aspect of the case is scheduled for November 1.

People who want to support Geronimo can contact the Partisan Defense Committee at Box 77462, San Francisco, CA 94107 or the International Campaign at Box 3585, Oakland, CA 94609.

Editors' Note: Geronimo was released to general population in November.

# FOLSOM BLUES, by

CVG Sheba Makeda Saturday, September 7, 1991 thirty-three hundred prisoners at Old Folsom Prison, California, began a hunger-strike at the dinner meal. This action was initiated by the prisoners in protest to proposed changes in the visiting rules due to state budget cuts. A prison kite (open-letter) had been circulated throughout Old Folsom insisting upon the following demands by the prisoners: (1) No cut in visiting hours; (2) No increase in canteen (store) prices; (3) Opposition to a proposed cut in the 21 cents per hour inmate slave wage; and (4) Opposition to the end of inmates ability to receive tobacco products in packages sent from loved ones outside (the prison canteen no longer carries cigarettes and tobacco products for sale to inmates). The prison's official response to the prisoners' demands was typical: prison authorities ordered an immediate lock-down of the entire Old Folsom Prison population. The lock-down was followed by isolated incidents of resistance as the prisoners lit toilet-tissue fires and flooded the toilets with toilet-tissue.

Outside the prison, the California Visitors Cooperative (CVC), an organization of prisoner's wives organized to represent their interests and provide family support, began to protest. They handed out information and material about the lock-down and the proposed rule changes, and demanded that the lock-down be immediately ended. It should be noted here that visiting rules are not governed by law, but through regulations issued by the California Department of Corrections. Within its system, the warden of each prison has great discretionary powers not only over visiting rules, they also decide what constitutes the outside equivalent of a felony conviction (known within the California prison system as a "315"). In this case, the warden decided that the mass refusal by the prisoners to eat dinner constituted a "state of emergency". He then decided that the fact that a prisoner's wife had the nerve to be outside "his" prison protesting the "state of emergency" constituted a felony for the inmate. For this offense, he ordered that the husbands of the Treasurer, Secretary, and Vice-President of the California Visitors Cooperative be placed in the prison hole until such time as either their wives ceased to demonstrate or they were transferred to the infamous, state-of-the-art, maximum-security prison at Pelican Bay. A newly built prison located on the Pacific coast near the California-Oregon border. The prison authorities know that because many of the families of inmates reside in the Sacramento Valley, the Bay Area and Los Angeles, such a transfer would have an even greater

effect of limiting visitation and family contact, so this was a potent threat indeed. Saturday, September 14, 1991, the lockdown was partially lifted. Visitors were allowed for a maximum of two hourson Saturday and Sunday. As of September 17, 1991, fifty men were placed in the hole, accused of participating in the "toilet paper riot"; those accused of initiating the hunger-strike are currently being threatened with transfer to Pelican Bay; and in an attempt to break the back of the wives' organization, those wives identified as CVC members are not being allowed to visit.

Although the California legislature has mandated that each prison have an inmate grievance committee, warden Borg has been able to disband the committee at Old Folsom under his "state of emergency' decree as he continues to abuse and intimidate prisoners in a continuing search for the organizers of the hunger-strike. The retaliation against and intimidation of CVC husbands, wives and families continues unrelenting. The elderly husband of one CVC activist had his prescription glasses confiscated: he will be reading no more kites! The intimidation is widespread. For example, one local TV station photographed the wife of an Old Folsom inmate who was not connected with the CVC. After the newscast was

aired, her husband was confined to the hole where he remains.

These courageous women have been treated as criminals by the prison authorities for having the audacity to exercise their right to demonstrate. They and their children have been neither accused nor convicted of any offense. Their right to demonstrate cannot be denied on the basis of marriage. Yet during their weeklong demonstration, these women and their children were the targets of verbal abuse and continual threats of violence from local redneck vigilante-types as well as being taunted and jeered at by prison guards drawing bonus pay for working during the "state-of-emergency".

Ignored by the mass-media, the lock-down and their mistreatment have escaped the notice of the public-at-large. Long accustomed to unsanitary conditions in the family visit facilities, unreasonable and arbitrary dress codes in over 100 degree weather as well as the verbal abuse of guards, these women have made the decision to come forward to insist upon their rights as citizens of a so-called "free society". They need your support. For further information contact: Sheba Makeba-BPNC California







## **HEALTHY BABIES** 0



## SURVIVAL FOR THE 1990S AND BEYOND: Community Control of Health Care and Prevention, Interview With Majeedah Rahman Executive Director of Oakland, California Based Healthy Babies

The Healthy Babies Project was founded by Majeedah Rahman in 1989 with a budget of less than \$6,000. She had a vision of the way she and others could help Black women have healthy babies and a staff of four. The main programs Majeedah and her staff worked on were nutritio education including food demonstrations and screening for sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) among the Afrikan American community in the Acorn Housing project of West Oakland, California. Within a year of its modest beginning operating out of one site, the Healthy Babies Project has expanded to eight (8) sites with a multiplicity of programs covering prenatal health, drug detoxification, homeless shelters, alcohol and substance abuse education as well as STD, nutrition, and parenting counselling on an outpatient and residential basis. Thanks to the hard work of its executive director and her staff, the project's budget has mushroomed to over one million dollars and its staff has ballooned to over forty serving a thing. Our philosophy was that the children belonged to the entire BPP thousand clients. Through hard work and perserverance, her vision has

The Editors of The Black Panther, Black Community News Service sat down with Healthy Babies Project Executive Director Majeedah Rahman and asked her to share with us and you her views on her organization, its goals and the operating philosophy of Healthy Babies as part of our continuing coverage of survival programs for the 1990s and beyond.

EDITORS: Our readers don't know it, but you founded the internationally acclaimed Black Panther Party Liberation School (BPP Youth Development Institute) in the 1960s. Can you tell us a little about how those schools were formed and their goals and objectives?

MAJEEDAH: The basic philosophy driving us to form our Liberation schools was that all Black people have a right to a quality education; that is Point Number Five of the BPP Platform and Program. Most school districts at that time, and today, were out of compliance with respect to Black and poor children getting a quality education. So we were very deliberate in seeing that Panther schools provided quality education. Also within the Black Panther Party we had a special group of Black people, Panthers, who were engaged in the Afrikan Amerikan liberation struggle. It was difficult for their children to go to public school 5 days a week getting the "normal" miseducation and attend liberation classes only on weekends. So we felt it was necessary to develop a full time school for our children and those of our supporters to spend more time learning about a history that reflected our perspective and that encouraged young Black children to achieve their goals and aspirations. As you know, school districts generally treat Blacks people and children as non-entities throughout history. So we began BPP Liberation Schools with three major goals. First, to keep track of the children of Panthers who were under the constant threat of attacks from the police and government agents and agencies. Second,

we wanted to truly educate our young Black youth and to prepare them to take an active part in the 20th and 21st centuries. And third, we pushed the liberation ideology and philosophy of the BPP through classes on the believed it necessary to develop Black run and controlled community survival programs.

EDITORS: When was the first BPP Liberation School started? MAJEEDAH: We started the the BPP Liberation Schools as 24 hour learning institutes in 1970. When we began, all Bay Area Panther children and many of the children of Panthers outside California were enrolled. It was more than just a school. It was a new living environment. The children lived and learned together in a collective system. The youth helped teach each other and were peer tutors; they shared meals, classes, and everycollective. There was no special treatment of any youth because their parents were leaders or what ever. They wore uniforms like the Panther's dress uniform and we emphasized non-selfish behavior and cooperative education. The entire collective shared in the rearing of the youth. In the BPP we had an extensive support system for parenting which was important because many Panthers lacked parenting skills. So we learned from each other and were very supportive.

EDITORS: When did you start Healthy Babies Project and what motivated you to take on this monumental task?

MAJEEDAH: Healthy Babies Project began in May of 1989 with a group of community organizers and community folks who had been organizing to fight the high prevalence of low birth weight of infants in Alameda County [California]. Oakland has the 2nd or 3rd highest infant mortality and morbidity rate in the nation behind Chicago and Washington D.C.. Its especially evident in Oakland because of its relatively small population and high number of Black infant deaths. We started Healthy Babies to create a total therapeutic community for women and their babies. We believe that the problem goes way beyond alcohol and drug abuse. Out of the one thousand women we have enrolled in Healthy Babies' programs the percentage of women using drugs and alcohol is relatively small compared to the percentage who use tobacco and suffer other physical and emotional assaults from family abuse and the impact on their lives of racism and economic problems like not being able to find a job or get

In the low-income community our pregnant mothers and their newborns are also assaulted by environmental dangers such as pollution and lead from automobile exhaust from the freeways through our communities and lead paint from old raggity houses, pollution and dirt, and other factors which the media doesn't stress. These other areas not emphasized by the

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media often have a major impact on low birth weight and infant morbidity. For example, an unemployed family of four in Alameda County [California] has to survive on an AFDC Grant of less than \$600 per month. Out of this it has to pay rent, buy food, clothes and other things. The medical system also discourages women from going in for check ups and prenatal and infant care because of long waits and because few providers accept MediCal patients.

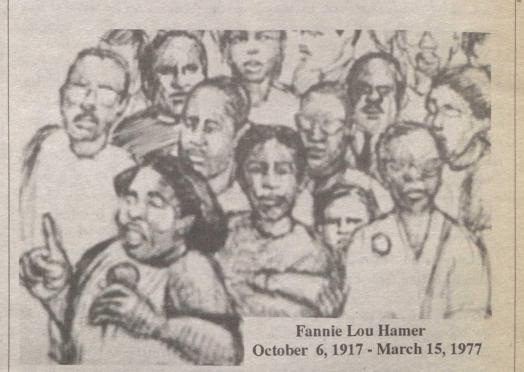
EDITORS: The Healthy Babies Project operates with an explicit Afrikan Amerikan perspective. What is it, why are you basing your programs on

MAJEEDAH: I'm a mother myself with grandchildren and I've always been interested in working to help sisters get into a healthy life style. We've found that 90% of the recovery programs out there emphasizing drug and alcohol recovery operate on the european model which is based on helping white males recover. Their model was developed when it was felt that alcohol was the major problem. That's the AA [Alcoholics Anonymous] approach. That model was developed for men when women weren't considered. If a woman had an alcohol problem, she was considered to be a whore and unworthy of help. Later when drug treatment programs were developed they still emphasized males. Women weren't considered and the program model was deliberately set up for white males. They never worked for Black Amerikans and native Americans. Their failure as we see it had a lot to do with their lack of cultural relevancy and the overriding issue of racism in Amerika which these traditional substance abuse programs never address headon. It has a lot to do with Culture; if there is nothing there that looks or sounds like us then we are not interested. Also, there were no programs for pregnant women and children until lately. Healthy Babies is one of the few programs which allow a woman on alcohol or drugs to stay with their infant children in a clean and sober recovery environment. Most other programs require that they leave their young children somewhere else. Now that just doesn't work with Black women so we let them keep the younger children with them. They want and need to be near their babies. But even this is not enough as we see it because they are often separated from their other children and partners. To get around that, a future goal of Healthy Babies is to expand the program to accept the whole family in a therapeutic living environment. That's an important concept because if the woman returns to an unclean drug and alcohol filled environment with family abuse, etc. she will become recontaminated and all the treatment will do no good. So we deal with the culture of Black family life in our treatment philosophy. Its important that our clients understand history and culture to understand where drugs originate, how they get here. We talk about the social and cultural link between alcohol, drugs and capitalism. Black folks don't own any of the planes or boats bringing the drugs into the country or the refineries making alcohol. We don't make excuses for our actions so we must take the blame for low self esteem and a dependence on drugs and alcohol or family violence and abuse. So we spend time talking about the history of the Afrikan Amerikan woman; she has a history of being queens and was the first woman on earth. We're Mother Earth so we must keep our bodies and systems and minds clear of alcohol and drugs. EDITORS: Does Healthy Babies Afrikan Amerikan philosophy mean that women from other ethnic and racial groups are not welcome?

MAJEEDAH: All women are welcome at Healthy Babies. We stress Afrikan Amerikan women because right now that's the group where there are not enough programs available. Also, Afrikan Amerikan women do not trust other programs and the system. So its difficult for them to research what's available and seek help. Our Afrikan Amerikan perspective encourages Afrikan Amerikan women to attend. Healthy Babies has outreach workers in the Chicano, Asian and Native American communities to encourage participation from those particular groups. For example, we have outreach material in spanish including GED, computer training, health education. nutrition education, self esteem, chicano history and other issues relevant to the chicano woman. Beginning in September, we'll have classes taught in spanish. We plan to expand to other ethnic groups as soon as we have the resources to do it.

EDITORS: Are there any plans to expand to include programs for men or to expand to other cities and states?

MAJEEDAH: We're developing a program component right now to work with young men 18-24 years old. It includes a job opportunity program with drug treatment, intensive counselling, acupuncture and meditation sessions. We've looked at other programs and both acupuncture and



meditation have been effective treatments for assisting with recovery. We are trying to create a total therapeutic society and so we'll emphasize male/female relationships and mediation as a method of conflict resolution. We're developing the program guidelines and plan to start it in June 1992. We're also looking to start a Healthy Babies program in the San Francisco Filmore District. We're also sending representative to other cities at the request of community folks to assist them in setting up similar programs. We haven't decided yet but we may charter Healthy Babies in other states and localities where we will train the staff and help set up programs. Healthy Babies is developing a package of how-to-do-it. People interested in getting information about Healthy Babies Project and our programs should call (510)596-4189 between 8 - 5PM California time.

### **TORISK**

To laugh is to risk appearing the To weep is to risk appearing sentimental, To reach out for another is to risk involvement, To expose feelings is to risk exposing your true self.

To place your ideas, your dreams, before a crowd, is to risk their loss.

To love is to risk not being loved in To live is to risk dying,

To hope is to risk despair, To try is to risk failure.

But risks must be taken, because the greatest hazard in life is to risk nothing.

The person who risks nothing, does nothing, has nothing and is nothing... Only a person who risks is free.

(author unknown)

# SICK AND TIRED OF BEING SICK AND TIRED, By Steve Whitman and Vicki Legion

In 1980-81, the Department of Health and Human Services drew up an estimate of "excess deaths" among Black people, the number of Black people who would not have died had they experienced mortality at the same rate as white people. The number of excess deaths for that year was 60,000, meaning that the Black community needlessly lost more people in one year alone than the US lost during the nine years of the Viet Nam war. Since 1980, the gap in life expectancy between Blacks and whites has actually widened. In 1988 the life expectancy was 69.2 years for

### Health

A study found Mississippi and South Carolina had the highest infant mortality rate in 1979-84, averaging 15.8 deaths per 1,000 live births, an advocacy group for the poor said yesterday. "Our progress in preventing infant deaths in this country has come to a virtual halt, despite the fact that advances in medical technology make us capable of saving more and more very low birthweight babies," said Robert Fersh, executive director of the Food Research and Action Center. The federal government's national center for Health Statistics says that the infant mortality rate has continued to decline, reporting last

1,000 live births as of 1986. It says that was down from a rate of 10.6 a year earlier, and 10.8 in 1984. New Jersey had a rate of 11.6 deaths per 1,000 live births, while Pennsylvania had 12, the study found. The Food Research and Action Center, a non-profit group concerned with hunger and poverty issues, released the study of infant mortality and low birthweight rates in states and large cities for 1979-84. The study said 65 percent of the cities and half the states made less progress in reducing infant mortality in 1982-84 then they did in 1979-81. It said that in 1984, Washington, D.C., with 21.2 deaths per 1,000 live births, and Detroit, with 22, had infant mortality rates about double the national rate. It added that a non-white child in Washington, D.C., was more than three times as likely to die in its first year of life than a white one. For 1979-84, Washington topped the cities with 21.5 deaths per 1,000 live births by Detroit at 21.1, Atlanta at 19.7, Newark, N.J., at 19.5, and Baton Rouge, La., at 19.3 according to the study. Fersh said high rates appear to have a close relationship with poverty and advocated a coordinated federal effort to reduce it. Among other things, the group urged an expansion of a supplemental food program for pregnant women, babies and young children, which currently serves about 40 percent of those eligible. Fersh said states should take advantage of an option to provide Medicaid insurance coverage to poor

pregnant women.

Black people and 75.6 years for white this spector is unfortunately just ahead of In Wretched of the Earth, psychiatrist people. Data recently released by the National Center for Health Statistics reveal that the life expectancy for Black people decreased for the fourth straight year, with Black men being hardest hit. As a result, the average Black man will not even live long enough to collect his social security. Two doctors from Harlem Hospital showed that the life expectancy of a Black man in Harlem was lower than for a man in Bangladesh.

Today 22 countries, including China, Cuba, Argentina, Venezuela and Bulgaria have higher life expectancies than Black people living in the US. Based upon the current trends in the state of health of Black people, it is likely that this situation

For Black men under 45, nearly half the excess deaths was attributable to violence and accidents, followed by infant mortality, heart disease, cirrhosis and pneumonia. For Black women of the same age, the top three causes of excess daeth were infant mortality, homicide and heart disease. Although AIDS has not yet accounted for a large fraction of mortality,

us, as homophobia, racism and sexism fuel the fires of death. AIDS is the major killer of women between the ages of 25 and 34 in New York, and Jonathan Mann, former director of the WHO AIDS program points out that "In parts of the Bronx the AIDS rates are similar to some of the hard hit areas of Africa." A Black woman is 13 times more likely than a white woman to contract AIDS, and 91% of infants with AIDS are not white.

level of war, literally. In 1987, more young Black men were killed in the US than had been killed abroad in the nine years of the Viet Nam War. (In that year Black men were about 7 times more likely than white men to die of "homicide and legal intervention.") According to the Chicago Sun-Times, in 1979 a Black man in New York City "had a 1-in-20 chance of being murdered, a rate that is twice the odds of an American soldier being killed in combat in World War II."

Over 90% of Black murder victims are slain by Black assailants, with well over half being people known to the victim.

Frantz Fanon, in analyzing the Algerian revolution, wrote that the violence of the oppressed is "the direct product of the colonial situation." Since then studies have echoed Fanon's insight that such violence could be halted with liberating struggles. We must both address the immediate crisis and remember Fanon's perspective on more fundamental longterm change.

### **ACCESS TO CARE**

Dozens of studies have investigated racial Violence in the Black community is at the differentials in access to care. For example, the Black infant mortality rate is twice the white rate; the proportion of Black infants born at danergously low weight is twice the proportion for white infants; and the Black maternal mortality rate is three times the white rate. All of these factors are intimately connected to the fact that 40% of Black women receive no prenatal care during the first trimester, twice as high as the proportion for white

Recent cutbacks in federal expenditures have spelled disaster for Black people. Between 1985 and 1988 ten hospitals closed in Chicago, all located in Third World communities. Patients then were forced to turn to Cook County Hospital. Cook County is one of the largest public hospitals in the country, where patients six months for clinic appoi A couple of years ago researchers

revealed the common practice of "patient dumping," transfering hospitalized patients (overwhelmingly Black and Chicano) from private hospitals to Cook County Hospital. Shockingly, 24% of these patients were transferred in an unstable condition. Last week the hospital lost accredidation since virtually all of its buildings are crumbling.

Immunization rates have dropped dramatically in the US. For example, 80% of Black, Latino and Native American children in the US have not been adequately vaccinated. During a recent measles epidemic in Chicago, it was found that 75% of the cases occurred in unvaccinated children. Interestingly, it has been reported that all of the children of the world could be fully immunized for about 1.25 billion dollars, about the cost of one day of Bush's Gulf war.

Black people are also less likely to receive many other preventive services like cancer screening. In addition they have limited access to potentially life saving technologies or surgery in many areas including heart disease, kidney transplantation, internal medicine and obstetrics. A recent study examined 12 diseases (including tuberculosis, cervical cancer and asthma) for which mortality is readily preventable. Black people were 4.5 times

## **PREMATURE BIRTHS**

Premature births may be twice as common among Blacks as white's largely because Black Mothers' blood is more likely to be low in oxygen-carrying red blood cells, a study suggests. If it's severe enough this condition is called anemia, but the research found a link between even mild red cell deficiency and prematurity. The researchers said this problem could account for 60 percent of the increased risk of premature labor among Black women. Prematurity is a major health problem among Blacks. Experts believe it is largely responsible for the infant death rate among Black new borns, which is twice as high as that of white's during the first year of life. Like similar studies this one found that low social and economic status is linked with prematurity. But it concluded that such symbols of poverty as being a high school dropout, receiving welfare and being a single, pregnant teenager could not account for all of the differences between the races. "Some of these people were not horribly anemic, but they were below the average," said Dr. Kenneth J. Ryan, one of the researchers. "The lower the blood level down to frank anemia, the higher the prematurity rate." Newborn death rates have declined substantially over the past 25 years for Blacks and white's, but they've gone down faster for white's. Experts frequently blame poverty, poor education and unavailability of prenatal care, among other things, for these differences. The new study, con-

ducted at Brigham and Women's Hospital in Boston and reported in today's New England Journal of Medicine, suggests that there may be a biological reason as well, although it too may be linked to poverty if it's caused by unhealthy living habits. The research "indicates that there might be explainable reasons why Black women have premature births more often than white women," said Dr. Ellice Lieberman, who directed the study. "This may help us study the problem and lead to interventions" to prevent the problem. She said it is not caused by the well known sickle cell disease, an inherited chronic anemia caused by misshapen red blood cells. Dr. Richard E. Behrman of Case Western Reserve University cautioned against applying the new findings to everyone. "All poor people aren't the same, and all poor Black people aren't the same." he said in an interview. "We're dealing with a problem in which there are a variety of subgroups that may have different risk factors." Lieberman said there are several possible explanations of what the low red cell levels might mean. "It could be, for example, a direct effect," she said. "If you don't have enough red blood cells, not enough oxygen is transferred to the fetus and that triggers premature birth." However, she said low oxygen levels may simply be a marker" or indicator of some other problem.

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---HEALTH. Continued---

Heart disease is a vivid illustration of what is happening to Black health as services are cut back. High blood pressure and related problems are the single most important constellation of diseases underlying the Black/white health gap. A remarkable narrowing of this gap in the 1970s was attributable primarily to hyptertension reduction programs, a gain won as a result of Black struggle. When these programs were cut back in the 1980s, the Black/white gap in life expectancy predictably widened once again.

LEGAL DRUGS While the mainstream media churns out a steady stream of stories about the devastating effect of illegal drugs in the Black community, it completely ignores the larger impact of legal drugs such as tobacco and alcohol. Smoking is the number one risk factor for cardio-vascular disease. The tobacco industry, faced with declining sales among better-educated whites, is beaming its sales pitch to Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as to Blacks and Latinos in the US. In 1985, nearly 40% of small eye-level billboards in the US were purchased by the tobacco industry pitching its product to the Black community. (Subsequently these figures were withheld because of "bad publicity.") It is not unusual to find intersections, like the one at 24th and Federal in Philadelphia: on the sides of dilapidated buildings hang three cigarette billboards, bearing skimpily-clad Black models and welldressed men beckoning the neighborhood | EDITORS Note: The writers are health to "Come Up to Kool." At the same time, tobacco-related cancers make up about half of all new cancer cases among Black | Marion Lockdown and Vicki Legion is a men. The liquor industry spends 4-6 times as many advertising dollars per capita in Black compared to white com-

almost half the homicides in the large central cities. The incidence rate of esophageal cancer for males aged 35-44 years was ten times higher among Black males compared to white males.

In an important new development, successful grassroots campaigns from Brooklyn to Chicago's South Side have organized hundreds of people to participate in "white outs" of alcohol and tobacco billboards whose advertisers prev on Black communities.

### THE WAR AT HOME

The devastating impact of racism on health care is everywhere. More and more Black people seem to be concluding that the convergence of forces responsible for their rapidly decaying health is not coincidental. For example, a recent article by the New York Times (10/29/90) reported on a survey indicating that many Black people see these events as part of a concerted effort by the US to wipe them out, to perpetuate genocide against them. Indeed, Cecil Williams, a prominent Black minister from San Francisco wrote in the "op-ed" page of the New York Times: " What I'm talking about is genocide, 1990s style: when the spirit of a people is destroyed, when the culture of people is destroyed, when basic human relationships are ripped apart, when large numbers of people are killed because of drug-related crimes and overdoses. I am talking about the spiritual and physical

researchers in Chicago. Steve Whitman works with the Committee to End the member of Prairie Fire Organizing Com-

---LIBERATORS, Continued---

no stone unturned when it came to destructive tactics including documented cases of assassinations, beatings, false arrests and frame-ups. In short, our aspirations for political and economic independence, selfdetermination, and revolutionary change were considered a threat to the national security of the country.

> The per capita income of Afrikan Amerikans is approximately \$1,000 per year. If you multiply that by 30 million Black people, the annual income of Black people is \$30 BILLION.

Clearly, the U.S. Government will only allow for very limited democratic participation and dissent - providing the illusion of inclusion while ensuring our continued dependence on the government for subsistence. Today, even that government dependence is being denied as millions of people increasingly are left to die from the ills of homelessness. Despite the fact that we lost the battles of

the '60s -- "A fall in the pit, a gain in the wit." (Mao) -- a luta continua (the struggle continues); the war is not over, and venceremos (we will win) in the long run. We can and must recover from these setbacks, and continue to function in total opposition to the White power brokers. And since wealth is power in the context of this reactionary system of monopoly capitalism, we must harness and control our real economic power as consumers to at least begin to change the disastrous economic conditions in our own Black communities NOW. For while Black people wield an annual purchasing power of \$250 billion, we remain

Therefore, a national strategy for economic empowerment must be forged within a national political strategy for total liberation. Class and color-caste struggle is an undeniable necessity for promoting unity within Doesn't remember when he couldn't pee our oppressed nation. The primary obstacle to the development of such togetherness is sectarianism, i.e, the splitting off into myriad cliques based on color, class,

economically and politically powerless.

Unfortunately, the so-called progressive political forces have placed their own agenselves. In an internecine struggle to be recognized as the Vanguard representing Friends of George Bush who someday will the best interests of Black people, these so-called progressives spend inordinate time and energy battling amongst themseldividing instead of uniting. They fail to understand that they are in essence servants of the people whose principle obligation is to formulate the criteria for the class struggle for national unity. Such a formula is inconceivable when those responsible for establishing a national strategy are themselves grappling over politically infantile matters -- matters that have little to do with developing needed programs to broaden the spectrum of political and economic empowerment for Black people.

It is therefore incumbent upon those leaders/activists who genuinely love and serve Black people to educate, organize, and mobilize them to challenge the Black as well as the White bourgeoisie -- particularly those upper-class Negroes who function as neo-colonial agents of the oppressor Government. They are providing support to the colonial, racist institutions that operate to delude our people into believing in the "American dream," which for most of us is a nightmare. These Negro agents of repression must be exposed as traitors of the Black nation who are in collaboration with our enemies. How can these so-called Representatives in congress, for example, function in our best interests as a tiny minority in a barrel of rotten apples? Everyone knows that it takes only ONE rotten apple to spoil a whole barrel This understanding applies likewise to Negro corporate Amerika whose business is primarily maintained by Black peoples' patronage and exploitation. These corporate Negroes must be made to understand that they are putting profits before people in supporting the very system that keeps our people impoverished, disenfranchised, ignorant, chronically ill, moribund and

Of course we realize that these people can't change overnight, but in the words of Jonathan Jackson, "If there's a big job of growing to do, the sooner begun, the sooner

As a dispersed and colonized nation within Amerika, we are collectively supporting corporate capital to the tune of \$250 billion in annual purchasing power. Yet, what we ourselves control, manufacture, or produce is negligible. We are basically laborers and consumers. A tiny percentage of this multibillion-dollar consumer power serves to secure or develop our own Black communities. Rather, most of these billions are used to purchase goods manufactured and retailed by those who influence and/or control the political apparatus that keeps us powerless and oppressed.

The capitalist system operates to maintain a population of consumers who will also serve as a needed labor force -- the cheaper the better. We must struggle to transform this exploitative relationship, and in the process create social-cultural institutions that will support and reinforce our political and economic struggle for total liberation. Simultaneously, we must evolve the military skills and weaponry necessary to defend and protect this revolutionary move-

Hence, along with the creation and development of a national political party, there must be a national economic strategy that seeks to harness, control and redirect our \$250billion purchasing power. In this way, we will support our own liberation movement instead of continuing to support our own oppression. For example, one of the means by which we can wield our potential economic power as consumers is through boycotts of corporations and products, especially those practicing discrimination against Black people as well as those doing business in South Africa. At the same time, we must begin to produce cooperatively-

## CLARENCE TOM-ASS, by CVG Sheba Makeda

Tom-ed his way

All the way to the Supreme Court gate, Slipping, sliding & shuffling in the blood

munities. Alcohol has been implicated in

of Medgar Evers, (may he ever be remembered)

Martin Luther King, and Malcolm X,

Farrakhan. Good 'ole nigra boy,

Clarence Tom-ass

weed,

Pulled himself up by his own bootstraps, Then found they made a convient noose With which to hang his filial sister by her work-worn toes.

Maternal Uncle to a victim of the poverty His antics give no one cause to laugh,

Even the NAACP was forced to sigh. The media holds him up as a role model for other nigra boys

it find their way in Amerikkkan life, but Does anyone know if the man has a wife? No! Because the woman is white. Even if he did take a tote of the divine

land of the free, Doesn't recall how he got into Yale, While trying to repudiate his admiration of But vows to send civil rights and affirm-

in Amerikkka,

to hell. Yes Clarence is just another new/old das and program above Black people them-

Who looks like you and me,

It didn't clear his nappy head,

For he's forgotten the days he couldn't

turn out to be Just another thug, and

There's so much dirt under the govern- ves -- competing instead of cooperating,

He'll find it crowded there when The Congressional Black Caucus decides to end his

To do a victory dance On the bones of the poor,

Who can't get in the courthouse door Since Mr. Tom-ass headed the EEOC.

## **BOOK REVIEWS**



### **BLACK PUBLISHER REPRINTS** GARVEY, by Blanche Richardson

Amy Jacques-Garvey first published The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey in two volumes in 1923 and 1925 respectively. These volumes constituted the most valuable source of information on the great Black prophet, Marcus Mosiah Garvey and on Garveyism.

These volumes were long out of print when, in the '60s, a friend of Julian and Raye Richardson (co-owners of Success Book Company in San Francisco) loaned them a rare copy of Philosophy and Opinions which was in the forget that intelligence rules the world and ignorance public domain. The friend, Daisy Boyetta's parents had been charter members of the U.N.I.A. in Oakland, California and were ardent Garveyites. The Richardsons were so impressed by Garvey and his philosophy and vision that they asked the lender if they could use her copy to republish the book. At that time, Garvey had been out print for forty years and it seemed to the Richardsons that of all the Blacks who proposed solutions for the dilemma of being Black in America, Garvey's solutions made the most sense. So in 1966, Julian Richardson Associates, Publishers republished The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey. The Richardsons then changed the name of their bookstore to Marcus Books in honor of this great Black visionary.

The impact of Garvey on the world is inestimable. Kwame Nkrumah, ex-President of Ghana and Namdi Azikiwe, ex-President of Nigeria both admit becoming admirers of Garveyism as students in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s, and that it was Marcus Garvey who stimulated their African nationalism. Ho Chi Minth also admits that Garvey was responsible for his adopt of nationalism as a means of throwing off European colonialism. Jomo Kenyatta, former President of Kenya tells of gathering with other nationalist-minded countrymen to read and discuss Garvey's Negro World, then spreading Garvey's message throughout the land.

Certainly Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad were heirs to Garvey's philosophy and it would probably be accurate to call Garvey the "Father of Third World Nationalism". His cry of "Asia for the Asians, Europe for the Europeans, and Africa for the Africans!" still reverbates around the

Because of limited finances, Julian Richardson Associates was only able to publish part one of Philosophy and Opinions. It received such wide acceptance, that by the time they had saved enough money to publish part two, commercial publishers, sensing a new financial market, published the complete Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey in one volume.

With limited funds, the Richardsons could not compete with the establishment publishers. However, thanks to these pioneer Black publishers and their publication of that one thin volume, a plethora of books on the Founder and First President-General of the U.N.I.A., the Honorable Marcus Mosiah Garvey, are now on the

In Message to the People: The Course of African Philosophy, Marcus Garvey states: "Use every spare minute you have in reading. If you are going on a journey that would take you an hour, carry something with you to read for that hour, until you have reached the place. If you are sitting down waiting for somebody, have something in your pocket to read until the person comes. Don't waste time. Any time you think you have time to waste, put it in reading something. Carry with you a small pocket dictionary and study words while waiting or traveling, or carry a small pocket volume on some particular subject. Read through at least one book every week, separate and distinct from your newspapers and journals. It will mean that at the end of one year you will have read fifty-two different subjects. After five years you will have read over two hundred and fifty books.

You may then be considered a well read man or a well read woman and there will be a great difference between you and the person who has not read one book. You will be considered intelligent and the other person will be considered ignorant. You and that person therefore, will be living in two different worlds; one the world of ignorance and the other the world of intelligence. Never carries the burden. Therefore, remove yourself as far away from ignorance as possible and seek as much as possible to be intelligent."

This writer suggests that The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey is an excellent path to the "world of intelligence."The following is a partial list of titles on Marcus Garvey available at your local Black bookstore: Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association

Black Redemption: Churchmen Speak For the Garvey

Garvey & Garveyism

Garveyism As a Religious Movement: The Institutionalization of Black Civil Religion

Literary Garveyism: Garvey, Black Arts & the Harlem

Marcus Garvey, Hero: A First Biography Marcus Garvey: Life and Lessons Marcus Garvey & The Vision of Africa Message to the People: The Course of African

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---LIBERATORS, Continued---

them our full support as consumers.

Again, a national strategy for economic empowerment is within the race to debate our differences... an essential and necessary step toward fulfillment of the ... As the Negro becomes more insistent on these objective of political empowerment, as well as the affirmademands for Constitutional rights and privileges and tion in each of us that We Are Our Own Liberators.

In conclusion, this article is offered for pragmatic political the job that the latter seeks and believes worthwhile discussion on how we can harness and control our annual having, then the inevitable conflict will come, and the \$250-billion purchasing power and develop a national group that is not strong enough to hold its own will go strategy for economic empowerment. I would be interested down, irrespective of the law and of the government in receiving your position papers, proposals and ideas on because the law and the government are but executive this subject. You may write me at the following address: expressions of the sober will of the people; when the A. Jalil Bottom (77A4283), Shawangunk CF, Box 700, people through prejudice or any mass opinion, become Wallkill, New York 12589

## GARVEY ON RESISTANCE, by Thurman

In this commemorative issue of the Black Panther, we are honored to present to you, some thoughts on resistance by one of the greatest freedom fighters of all, the honorable Marcus Garvey.

Certainly, one of the foremost, visionary Africans of the 20th century, his ideas should be studied by any serious student of our culture. Here then are some concepts, precepts and opinions that we of African blood, should remain cognizant of as we face these perilous times.

EXCERPTS FROM AFRICAN FUNDAMEN-TALISM (Published by UNIA Copyright 1925). ... We must inspire a literature and promulgate a doctrine of our own with out any apologies to the powers that be. The right is ours and God's.Let contrary sentiment and cross opinions go to the winds. Opposition to race independence is the weapon of the enemy to defeat the hopes of an unfortunate people. We are entitled to our own opinions and not obligated to or bound by the opinions of others...

FIRST MESSAGE TO THE NEGROES OF THE WORLD FROM ATLANTA PRISON (From the Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey, Army Jacques Garvey ed., Athenium, New York, 1969).

.. When I am dead wrap the mantle of the Red, Black and Green around me, for in the new life I shall rise to lead millions up the heights of triumph with the colors that you well know. Look for me in the whirlwind or the storm, look for me all around you, for, with God's grace, I shall come and bring countless millions of black slaves who have died in America and the West Indies and the millions in Africa to aid you in the fight for Liberty, Freedom and Life.

The civilization of today is gone drunk and crazy with its power and by such it seeks through injustice, fraud and lies to crush the unfortunate. But if I am apparently crushed by the system of influence and misdirected power, my cause shall rise again to plague the conscience of the corrupt. For this I am satisfied, and for you, I repeat, I am glad to suffer and even die. Again, I say, cheer up, for better days are ahead. I shall write the history that will inspire the millions that are coming and leave the posterity of our enemies to reckon with the hosts for the deeds of their fathers. With God's dearest blessing, I leave you for a while.

### AN ANSWER TO HIS MANY CRITICS

(Excerpts from a letter to the white press of the world explaining the aims of the UNIA. No date available). ...The oft repeated statement that the Movement is sponsored and supported by the ignorant and gullible is so frivolous as to need no comment. Our Movement owned, non-exploitative businesses of our own, and give reflects the highest intelligence of the race, and as proof of this we have challenged and still challenge anyone

threatens the more to compete with the white man for dissatisfied, the law and the government are no longer able to control them in their action...



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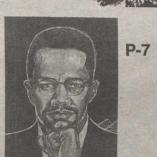
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