

MAIN LINE

TRANSFORMING THE CRIMINAL MENTALITY INTO A REVOLUTIONARY MENTALITY

ISSUE #2

JULY 2017

We have to grasp onto our
leaders and protect our leaders
before they're taken away. You've
got to stop identifying people with
being your brothers because they're
got the same skin color
that you have. And
you've got to stop
getting hung up
in a whole race
question,
because this
is a class
struggle,
whether we
want to face it
or not. The
Black Panther
Party hears alot
of people saying
let's fight fire
with fire. But we
say, "No, no, no!
We're not gonna fight
fire with fire. We're
gonna fight fire with
water. We're not gonna fight racism with racism,
we're gonna fight racism with solidarity
we're not gonna fight capitalism with
black capitalism, we're gonna
fight capitalism with socialism"

Fred Hampton



Introduction

From the late 1670s through the late 1960s open racism and "white" supremacy dominated Amerikan cultural and political life.

The era of the 1950s-60s forced the retreat of open racism in the U.S. The exposure of the barbaric crimes of Nazi Germany against "racialized" minorities discredited doctrines of overt racism. While the anti-colonial national liberation struggles across Asia, Afrika and Latin Amerika, alongside the New Afrikan/Black, Brown and Red Liberationist struggles and Civil Rights Movement in Amerika, demonstrated that oppressed nationalities of peoples of color were no longer willing to accept economic and political exploitation and oppression by the west (western Europe and Amerika) under claims of the "racial" inferiority of Third World peoples.

These exposures and resistance forced western-based capitalist-imperialism to retreat and reform its doctrines of domination. Overt colonialism was therefore reformed as neo-colonialism and overt racism as sneaky racism. As the key beneficiary of these policies in the wake of World War II, Amerika led in instituting them.

Neocolonialism replaced the western "white" regimes and militaries that had directly ruled Third World peoples since the late 1800s with "native" rulers who were/are puppets and junior partners of the west. In this way they quelled much of the resentment that fueled the people's resistance, since there were no identifiable "white" and foreign faces directly ruling them as the source of their underdevelopment, poverty, misery and brutal repression. Instead, those with apparent power looked like them, allowing the west to depict their suffering as a condition of their own making and inherent backwardness, thus feeding racist doctrines of Third World inferiority indirectly and their need for western guidance and tutelage.

Within Amerika sneaky racism came to fore under the prompting of Richard Nixon, who upon witnessing the failed 1964 presidential campaign of Barry Goldwater who used overt racist appeals to the Euro-American electorate, devised to play to the same electorate with coded and sneaky appeals to racism. This play proved a great success and won Nixon the 1968 race for president.

With the proven effectiveness of sneaky racism in the face of overt racism's loss of legitimacy, U.S. political and cultural institutions began molding society around this reformed doctrine of racialized

polarization and oppression. As it had done in previous eras with rulings such as *Dred Scott v. Sanford*, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, etc., the U.S. Supreme Court took up the task of "legalizing" America's "new" racial doctrine.

This was done in the 1976 ruling of *Washington v. Davis*, 426 U.S. 229 (1976), where the court suddenly created the principle that to prove a case of racial discrimination under the 14th Amendment's anti-discrimination (equal protection) clause, it had to be shown that the accused party not only created a discriminatory condition but also acted with a discriminatory motive. In announcing this new standard the court stated (at pages 238-39):

"Our cases have not embraced the proposition that a law or other offensive act, without regard to whether it reflects a racially discriminatory purpose, is unconstitutional [s]olely because it has a racially discriminatory impact."

This statement in justification of this new doctrine was an outright lie and is directly contradicted by the courts own ruling five years earlier in *Palmer v. Thomas*, 403 U.S. 217 (1971), where it stated (at page 224):

"no case in this court has held that a legislative act may violate equal protections solely because of the motivations of the men who voted for it."

In this earlier *Palmer* case the court rejected the need to prove discriminatory motive specifically because one could simply disguise racist motives by claiming different non-racial reasons (see page 225). The *Washington* ruling thus legalized the very sneaky racism that the court in *Palmer* recognized and rejected, and lied about the court's earlier positions.

This new doctrine of legalized sneaky racism, insulated all manner of racial abuse and discrimination from "legal" challenge. All one had to do to avoid liability was disguise or not vocalize racist motives for committing acts that are clearly discriminatory. The court then used this doctrine to immunize itself and the entire criminal (in)justice system from its disparate treatment of people of color. I discuss this overall process in the following article, "Racialization and Incarceration."

Sneaky racism preserved the entrenched culture of racism and "white" supremacy in Amerika, allowing it to fester and operate socially just beneath the surface to be appealed to and whipped into reaction when needed by the ruling class to divert social unrest and potential disaffection against its policies.

With the institutionalization of sneaky racism, it became "politically incorrect" to openly express racist motives or attitudes.

But the U.S.-dominant capitalist imperialist system is in sharp decline with a growing loss of security of its middle and working classes (especially among Euro-Amerikans). Therefore the ruling class has had to divert the attention of these sectors from itself as the cause of their growing insecurity. This is being done through open racism (often couched in "patriotic" or religious terms) now becoming more popularized and led by Trumpism to polarize the workers and poor and set them against each other, because united in class struggle they are the only force that can unseat the capitalist ruling class, who is exploiting everyone. The racial polarization game is an old one and was in fact invented beginning in the late 1600s for this very purpose.

Ironically the game has proven most effective with those from the most insecure sectors of society - typically the most racially vocal and reactionary (of all "races") are found within these sectors whose economic security is imperiled or who feel the lack of economic security and social worth most acutely. Fascist movements have found their strongest support in these layers.

This is why our focus on reeducating and remodeling the poor and criminalized (lumpen proletariat) element is of especial importance. It's within these layers that we see racial politics and "pride" take the most reactionary forms, especially in reactionary nationalists and "tribal" formations and attendant violence against racialized "others", migrants and other marginalized groups.

The rise of Trump is challenging the "political correctness" of concealing racist attitudes and beliefs, which is emboldening hard core racial reactionaries and giving rise to a repopularization of overt racism. In fact the western ruling class has been pushing racial reaction everywhere in the face of destabilization of capitalism across the west.

It is no wonder that the rise of these trends is attended by a negation of science, since science contradicts all of imperialism's anti-people and anti-environment policies, including on race. In fact scientists through DNA studies and physical anthropology now soundly reject the concept of race, since all human populations are basically the same

genetically. Differing physical characteristics of various groups are simply the result of adaptations to different environments, climates and disease factors when they'd migrated and lived in relative isolation. Even so, there has always been a flow of genes between the various groups rendering us all thoroughly "mixed", genetically, while all humans evolved from a single Afrikan ancestry. This is why our comrade Tom Big Warrior observed that "every person with a scientific education realizes that racism is built on lies."

Our resistance to racialization, both overt and sneaky, must be, as Comrade Fred Hampton emphasized, by practicing solidarity not fighting racism with racism. We must actively reeducate the masses on racism and its true roots, which the establishment has *always* resisted because it is a ruling class invention and it is they who have always preserved and manipulated it to serve their own agenda.

Some comrades have written in a response to *Main Line* #1 that we should make the newsletter less political and more "appealing" to younger prisoners and folks who aren't politically conscious. Our response is that this project is oriented specifically to the more politically advanced to help mold them/us into a more coherent and unified revolutionary leadership who can in turn teach and organize the less advanced using such tools as *Main Line* in group study circles.

Further responses to or inquiries about the politics underlying *Main Line* should be directed to Comrade Tom Big Warrior at: Tom Watts, P.O. Box 4362, Allentown, Pa 18105. Readers should also encourage independent publishers and distributors to carry back issues of *Main Line* making them available for future review and study.

Dare to Struggle Dare to Win!

All Power to the People!

Kevin "Rashid" Johnson

Racialization and Incarceration: The Politics of Polarization and Containment in Amerika (2016)

The following article by Kevin "Rashid" Johnson was written for (and will appear in) the book *The Racialization of Murder*, co-edited by StanDoyle-Wood, Bedour Alagraa and Gurpreet Johal, and due out in 2017.

There is an organic link between racialization and incarceration in Amerikkka. Both are tools that serve the interests of capitalist power and social control. To this end the ruling elite *invented* race and incited the oppressed masses against each other on the basis of equally invented racial fictions.

These fictional notions were embodied in the institutions of state power including the police, military, and prisons, which through violence have enforced the racialized status quo.

When certain racial notions and practices were discredited, they invented new ones to preserve the system. As the most oppressed of "racial" groups, New Afrikans/Blacks have increasingly presented the most acute insurgent danger to the capitalist status quo. This danger has intensified as New Afrikans have been pushed further to the margins of the U.S. economy and thus suffer increasing insecurity and lack of access to basic resources needed for survival.

To suppress this growing threat the capitalist-imperialist state has invoked its institutions of repression, including, and especially, its prisons. There has been an interplay between the political powers and the cultural systems to carry out this agenda, and insulate racialized society and imprisonment from being challenged or even questioned.

And so the racialized order continues to keep the masses polarized and thereby prevents the even greater danger of *all* oppressed sectors (of *all* "colors") within the U.S. from uniting in a common struggle against the *real* oppressors, namely the capitalist-imperialist ruling class. The process is not difficult to follow when we know where to look.

The Invention of Race

The initial laboring classes of the English North American colonies were slaves and indentured servants. Initially there were no racial distinctions between anyone. The concept of race as a social category and status did not exist in early colonial life. The subsequent racialization of society proved necessary for the plantation elite to maintain their political power, wealth, and system of captive labor, so they *invented* race and racial fictions to serve this purpose.[1]

The division of English North Amerikan society along racial lines began in the late 1600s in response to frequent slave and servant revolts that not only shook the foundations of the colonial system, but actually succeeded in temporarily overthrowing it.

Initially the planters held Afrikans, Europeans, and some Native peoples in bondage, and under essentially identical conditions of brutal subjugation, which prompted their frequent united resistance. The decisive revolt was Bacon's Rebellion (1676), when a rebellious planter, Nathaniel Bacon, incited Afrikan and European slaves and servants, along with poor farmers (many of whom were recently freed indentured servants), to stage an armed uprising against the colonial government. The revolt overthrew the government and the rebels burned down Jamestown, Virginia, the colonial capital.

Six months into the uprising, its leader Bacon died of an untimely illness, and with the arrival of reinforcements from England, the rebellion was put down. Following which the plantation elite and their government had to devise a system of social control that would secure them against future revolts, and safeguard their domination over the laborers and land on which their wealth and power depended.

They decided to divide and play the laboring class against itself, giving one sector an artificial sense of social authority, superiority, and privilege over the other and using the artificially elevated strata to police the other lower sector. This was done through their invention and use of race. In 1682 the colonial government enacted laws that racialized society into categories of "Negro" and "white," and began phasing out the servitude of the "whites." In 1691 slavery was made a permanent hereditary status for the so-called "Negroes." [2]

In 1705 the racial line was further refined with the "hypodescent" rule, which defined as "Negro" anyone having "a single drop" of Afrikan blood, with the slave status passing by heredity from mother to child. This was done to ensure the continuation of slave status even to children born from the frequent rape and sexual exploitation of the Afrikan slave girls and women by "white" males. [3]

To enforce this arrangement the ruling powers organized the first domestic police - the slave patrols. [4] All "whites" were induced to serve on the patrols as a collective force for monitoring and containing slave society, which was done by imposing summary exceptionally brutal terror on them by means of public beatings, maimings, lynchings, and so on.

The violence which the patrols - manned primarily by poor "whites" - were allowed to inflict on new Afrikans for any actual or imagined slight, became the institutionalized norm of plantation social life. This system also served as a pressure release for the frustrations of the poor "whites," which might otherwise have been directed against the ruling planter class that was the actual cause of everyone's insecurity and poverty. Instead, the planters indoctrinated them to believe their misery was caused by the New Afrikans in their midst. So a divide was manufactured and preserved by polarizing these groups along racial lines, leading them to increasingly resent each other, while the oppressed of both "races" were induced to look to the planter class, who was actually the cause of everyone's sufferings and misery, with trust, admiration, and awe. Thus was the system stabilized and secured against revolts.

THE RISE OF RACIAL INCARCERATION

In June 1772 the High Court of England outlawed the trade and holding of Black slaves, a ruling which extended to the English North Amerikan colonies. This edict and other grievances which the planter class of the colonies had against the English crown prompted them to violently break away from England, in the Amerikan War of Independence (1775-83).

The influx of immigrants from England into the Northern territories and the development of industry there generated a concentration and ascendance of an industrial capitalist class and political economy in the North, compelling the need to expand wage labor as opposed to the "free" slave labor on the rural plantations of the South. These competing economic systems prompted an antagonistic clash between the ruling classes of the North and South, generating the Amerikan Civil War (1861-65), which the industrial North won.

Although wage labor became the predominant form of labor in Amerika, slavery was not to be eliminated, nor was the racial stratification of society as a form of social control to end. The Civil War only reformed the system. In fact, in 1865 the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was instituted continuing the "legal" use of slavery, but now as punishment for crimes rather than as an explicitly race-based condition. Indeed, prior to and during the war, convict labor proved extremely profitable in mining, railroad, textile production, etc. After the War such notorious Confederate leaders as

Nathan Bedford Forrest (founder of the Ku Klux Klan), rebuilt his fortune with convict railroad workers.

Prior to the War poor Euro-Americans were the main ones confined in prisons. New Afrikans, 94% of whom were slaves, were already forcibly confined by slavery. But with the abolition of slavery and enactment of the 13th Amendment, imprisonment and convict labor was suddenly directed at New Afrikans on a massive scale, with laws passed across the South to achieve this end and to preserve the racialized status quo, called "Black Codes."^[5]

At first the Union Army occupied the South and moved to counter the Black Codes. But this was with the motive of using the newly emancipated New Afrikans to build a political power and electoral base through which the North might break the old Planter class's hold over the South. This gave rise to Reconstruction, but with very different results than what the Union was seeking, including the economic, political, and educational ascendancy of New Afrikans, and a class-based unity developing between them and many of the poor Euro-Americans, thus creating a social base for the united struggle and seizure of power by the laboring classes and poor of both "races."

As a counter to the Union's actions and its threat to the racialized status quo and the planter class's traditional power, the old plantation elite incited a swift and widespread racial backlash (playing to the racial fears of the South that they'd long controlled and manipulated to their own ends). This prompted terrorist and vigilante violence against New Afrikans and their Euro-American allies across the South which the Union could not bring to heel. This violence was directed especially at those New Afrikans seen as making economic and political gains. Various laws were also passed to strip New Afrikans of basic citizenship rights including disenfranchisement. This prompted the Union to back off and strike a compromise with the old Southern elite.

Racially selective criminal laws and law "enforcement" were again asserted against New Afrikans to impose slave-like conditions (convict labor, sharecropping, debt tenancy, etc.) and segregation (Jim Crow). The name Jim Crow symbolized the disguised racism of segregation and came from the name of a popular minstrel show character. Minstrels were stage productions, popular with Southern Euro-Americans of that era, in which primarily Euro-American performers made up in "blackface" acted out caricatured imitations of New Afrikans.

In its "compromise" with the Southern elite, the Union soon joined in restoring New Afrikans to their former condition of subjugation, even removing at the point of their rifles those who'd occupied land taken from the old planters. The U.S. then withdrew its support for Reconstruction and in 1877 the Army withdrew from the South, leaving New Afrikans to fend for themselves against the vicious racial backlash.

The Southern reign of terror drove New Afrikans to flee in large numbers and settle in the urban centers of the North and West U.S. There they joined the lowest ranks of wage labor, were segregated, and met with a similar experience of racialized law enforcement. The enforcers of this system (police) served the same role as the South's old slave patrols and racist Euro-American vigilante groups, of containing and repressing New Afrikans through terroristic violence and summary killings, on top of racially targeted imprisonment based on selective enforcement and application of criminal laws. The latter brought the judiciary to bear against them as an added institution of racial oppression of the antebellum era. As W.E.B. DuBois was to observe, "Negroes... look upon the courts as instruments of injustice and oppression, and upon those convicted in them as martyrs and victims."^[6]

The old Jim Crow era saw the expansion of New Afrikan convict labor, with them working on plantations just like during slavery, clearing wooded areas, digging ditches, constructing railroads and so on (bound together in chains) across the South. The Texas prison system, where I am being held in retaliation for my own political work while imprisoned in my home state of Virginia, became and remains the hub of convict labor and still widely uses chain gangs (now called "aggie squads" – or derisively called "hoe squads"). Indeed Texas compels all of its prisoners – except those with debilitating medical or mental health conditions – to work without pay under penalty of disciplinary action if they refuse. Often those with disqualifying medical/mental health conditions are still forced to work.

In fact Texas, which set the model of "convict leasing," rented its prisoners out to corporations under conditions as bad and worse than that of German Nazi concentration camps. As Robert Perkins found:

"Recorded mortality rates in excess of 20 percent, in some instances, put U.S. Steel on par with German and Japanese companies that profited from slave labor in World War II. But while these corporations have been held to account, U.S. Steel has escaped unscathed. Although the *Wall Street Journal* recently probed the company's shameful history, no reparations movement has emerged among former convicts or their descendants."^[7]

Through a similar process of cultural and political indoctrination as applied during the era of chattel slavery, the ruling elite have conditioned the general public to regard prisoners with much the same resentment as were the New Afrikan slaves; so that the public is as indifferent toward (and in many cases even support) their abuse, just as "White" society was toward the brutal mistreatment and exploitation of those slaves.

So Amerika's punishment industry has not served to address or correct crime, but instead as a system through which to exploit, contain, and subjugate select racialized groups and the poor. In fact, throughout their use, prisons in Amerika have proven absolute failures in containing, controlling or stopping crime, yet the U.S. imprisons more people than all other countries in the world, and disproportionately targets people of color.

CREATING "UNCONSCIOUS" RACISM

As we've shown, racism was deliberately created as a tool of social control and manipulation. It also continues based on continued deliberate actions of the ruling class which has molded and modified its forms for the same purposes.

Throughout U.S. history each time the lower classes have struggled for power against the dominant classes, racial divisions and conflicts have been appealed to and whipped up by the ruling elite through their institutions of social influence (mainstream media, politicians, churches, and so on), leading to a diversion of mass disaffection away from the power structure and towards racialized and other oppressed minority groups (New Afrikans, migrants, LGBTQ people, etc.).

Overt racism was discredited with the post-World War II exposure of the barbaric and inhumane crimes of the Nazis, particularly against racialized minority groups. Also, by the rise of movements across the 3rd World and within the U.S. against racialized oppression, such as the struggles against European colonialism of 3rd World peoples (of color), the Civil Rights, Black, Brown, and Red Liberation Movements, etc. These struggles compelled the elite, especially in the U.S., to disavow racism and overt displays of racist attitudes. But they still needed to preserve racial polarization in order to keep the masses divided. This was accomplished by their cultivating what has been called "unconscious racism."

The old "conscious" racism that was proudly flaunted had to be jettisoned; and now the elite portrayed themselves as newly enlightened and allies of the anti-racist struggles on the one hand, while on the other they subversively continued to nurture racist attitudes across society and preserved its practices within the controlling institutions. It was the typical two-faced liberal versus conservative dual strategy of making mild concessions while preserving the same old oppressive conditions.

The game went like this. In 1963 when New Afrikans were planning at the grassroots levels to stage a mass siege to stop all movement and operations in the U.S. capital in protest of Jim Crow and inner city poverty, police violence and so on, President John F. Kennedy suddenly presented the previously pro-slavery pro-segregation Democratic Party as an ally of the Civil Rights Movement. Through moneyed interests he funded and promoted a coopted New Afrikan misleadership to become the head of the Movement and rein it in. In this way he was able to stop the planned siege on Washington, D.C. and convert it into a one-day peaceful march and model of future mass "protests," and present the Democratic Coalition as the channel through which New Afrikans and other so-called minorities should seek resolution of their grievances. This coalition has predictably not solved a single problem facing these oppressed groups. Malcolm X predicted this sellout of the struggle in 1963 was going to result in a "long hot summer" of New Afrikan revolt, because of the continued betrayals of their struggles. And true to his warning, the urban centers across Amerika erupted in mass revolts beginning in the summer of the next year and continued through 1968.

On the other hand, during that same year (1964), Barry Goldwater ran an openly racist presidential campaign and used the "law and order" platform to appeal to Southern Euro-Americans portraying the civil rights protests (of passive disobedience of racist Jim Crow laws in the South) and urban uprisings as threatening the Southern way of life through lawlessness; thus equating the New Afrikan struggles with attacks on the legal framework that upheld

traditional white supremacy. But Goldwater's campaign, with its overt appeals to racism, failed abysmally.

However, in the subsequent 1968 presidential race, Richard Nixon learned from Goldwater's failed effort to win over the vast base of Euro-American voters who abandoned the Democratic Party, when it suddenly aligned itself with New Afrikans in 1963 in efforts to coopt their struggle, which was threatening the established order. Nixon refined the game, recognizing that while racist sentiment was still alive and well, expressions and appeals to it could no longer be made explicitly. As his principal advisor H.R. Haldeman revealed, Nixon, "emphasized that you have to face the fact that the whole problem is really the [B]lack. The key is to devise a system that recognizes this while not appearing to."^[8] His counsel John Ehrlichman admitted of Nixon's Southern campaign strategy that the aim was to, "go after the racists." And to this end, "that subliminal appeal to the anti-[B]lack voter was always present in Nixon's statements and speeches." Nixon's sneaky appeal to racism at a time when overt displays of racism were unpopular, succeeded where Goldwater's open appeals had failed. The race game took on a new shade. The era of "sneaky racism" was born.

The new order of sneaky racism was to follow Nixon's design and proposal to the letter, creating a system where it was perfectly fine to be racist and practice racism so long as racist intentions are concealed or disguised.

Nixon set the standard, the next step was to give it legal sanction. This was done by the U.S. Supreme Court who set out a new interpretation of the U.S. Constitution's anti-discrimination (equal protection) clause that made such sneaky racism immune from constitutional challenge.

To do this the Justices (sic!) created a wholly new ruling that so long as one hid or disguised racist motives or intentions, they were free to create racist laws and policies. They did this in the 1976 ruling in the case, *Washington v. Davis*,^[9] which essentially legalized Nixon's doctrine of sneaky racism.

Prior to *Davis*, under the 14th Amendment's equal protection clause, one could challenge laws, policies, practices, etc., that had racially discriminatory effects without needing to prove racist intentions. For example, in the pre-Nixon ruling *Hunter v. Erickson*,^[10] the Supreme Court held that a law violated the equal protection clause without explicitly addressing its purpose, intent or legislative history.

However, *suddenly*, in *Davis* the Court changed this, holding that it is *not* sufficient to show laws, policies, etc. have a racially discriminatory *impact* alone to establish an equal protection violation. But rather, now one had to prove a discriminatory *intent* as well. The Court stated:

"[o]ur cases have not embraced the proposition that a law or other offensive act, without regard to whether it reflects a racially discriminatory purpose, is unconstitutional [s]olely because it has a racially discriminatory impact."^[11]

What's most telling is the claim here that the Court did not previously allow findings of unconstitutional discrimination without proof of discriminatory intent was an outright lie.^[12] In fact legal scholars can find no legal precedent for the *Davis* ruling. Rather the Court just suddenly created it acting outside the "usual" channels of following its own precedent previously laid down, or that of other Courts of authority. This because the ruling was instead motivated by the need of the status quo to preserve racism, but, according to the effective new Nixon doctrine, so long as racist intentions remained hidden.

It was clear by creating the "intent" standard, the court was making it practically impossible to prove a claim of unconstitutional racial discrimination. Even legal scholars have acknowledged that it is so easy to conceal racist intentions and to make racist acts and laws appear racially "neutral," that proving discriminatory intent is almost impossible.^[13] And it makes acts, policies, and laws that have discriminatory effects permissible by simply portraying them as done negligently or with reckless disregard, instead of with racist intent. As one constitutional text points out:

"[The requirement to prove discriminatory intent] overlooks the fact that minorities can also be injured when the government is 'only' indifferent to

their suffering or merely 'blind' to how prior official discrimination contributed to it and how current acts perpetuate it." [14]

Yet another noted that this standard, "provides little incentive for public institutions to address how their policies and practices perpetuate racial inequality." [15]

As civil rights lawyer and legal scholar Michelle Alexander pointed out:

"[T]he Supreme Court has closed the courthouse doors to claims of racial bias. The Court has ruled that in the absence of conscious, intentional bias – tantamount to an admission or a racial slur – you can't even get in the courthouse doors with allegations of race discrimination in the criminal justice [sic!] system." [16]

And the court did this knowing that admission of racist intent will almost never occur, because as the courts have themselves recognized, discrimination is rarely openly confessed. [17]

This politically invented doctrine was soon inculcated into the broader society as occurred when overt racism was first invented 300 years before. Unconscious or unintentional racism now became the new and accepted normal. Socially, it became permissible to harbor and act according to racist sentiments, so long as it wasn't seen to be done consciously or intentionally.

Racism would now become socially identified not with racist treatments of people of color, but rather with showing color consciousness, while displays of color-"blindness" (or not noticing race) proved one was free of racism. Of course this new standard proved to be an affront to people of color, because now de facto racism and discrimination was accepted while it was perversely projected as racist when one dared to even talk about race and racial injustice, since they were "noticing" racial issues. Questions of racial oppression were suppressed by now dismissing the victims as being themselves the racists if/when they exposed or noticed them.

In fact this doctrine of not noticing or talking about race also infected the political movements on the left, where pretending to be blind to racial categorization as a prevailing form of social identification and that race as such doesn't exist, has been portrayed as a strategy of countering racism. Also when people of color express their own senses of cultural difference and pride as distinct from mainstream ("white") culture, it is portrayed as "divisive" and racist, and many Euro-Americans (even well-meaning ones) are offended because people of color are expressing a desire to recognize their "differences." Whereas people of color see this position as culturally insensitive, ignorant, and misinformed; and a perpetuation of age old racism which always sought to compel them to conform, assimilate, and aspire to adopt the values, styles, customs, and ideas of the "white" mainstream, which is by definition "white supremacy" and are exactly what the doctrines of "The White Man's Burden," "Mission Civilisatrice," and such invoked to rationalize the many European conquests, genocides, colonizations, enslavements, etc. of people of color the world over.

Another mechanism for enforcing and preserving unconscious racism has been coined the doctrine of "deracialization." Professor William W. Sales, Jr explained and gave an example of its application when Bill Clinton, as U.S. president, denied government posts to two prominent New Afrikan women – Spellman college president Johnetta Cole and civil rights attorney and University of PA law professor Lani Guinier – because they persisted in talking about race-based inequality against New Afrikans. As Sales explained:

"as the conditions African Americans (sic) face become worse and worse, the political and business leadership of the nation speaks less and less about this crisis confronting the race. Both Johnetta Cole and Lani Guinier were rejected because they refused to pursue what the political scientists call a politics of 'deracialization'. One popular sense of 'deracialization' simply means that it is considered politically expedient not to talk about the problems of African Americans (sic) because White people feel uncomfortable with that topic and because the topic is 'divisive.'" [18]

"Deracialization" as such enables unconscious racism by suppressing discussions or acknowledgment of racial inequalities and oppression. It insulates "white" supremacy from challenge and Euro-Americans from even being confronted with its existence, thereby removing the moral restraints that might be aroused against persistent racism by keeping its practice from being consciously acknowledged or even mentioned.

Barack Obama likewise based his own presidential campaigns and terms on "deracialization," until New Afrikan mass protests and social media exposures forced the issue of prevailing racism in Amerika before the shocked eyes of the world; particularly in the form of routine officially sanctioned murders of people of color by police and the blatant militarization of the police in communities of color. Also the murder of nine New Afrikans as they attended a Bible study class on June 17, 2015, in the Mother Emmanuel Church in Charleston, SC by an openly avowed white supremacist. Before these events Obama lyingly insisted along with the mainstream media that Amerika was now a post-racial society in which racism was now dead. [19]

Indeed, in their twisted mouths, Obama's very election in 2008 and 2012 was invoked as evidence of this lie. In fact, Obama's election to the helm of power in a still deeply racist Amerika gives testament to the effectiveness of unconscious racism to preserve racism and racist abuses while pretending not to. A common self-congratulatory proclamation heard across Amerika was that Obama was able to receive a large "white" vote because Euro-Americans simply don't notice race anymore.

We notice too that Dylan Roof, the accused killer of those nine churchgoers, has been universally denounced by the mainstream on account of his open stance on "white" supremacy, whereas, the establishment has gone to the ends of the earth to protect cops who've been murdering New Afrikans in manners no less heinous, because at worst they are "unconscious" of having racist inclinations. So what distinguishes a Dylan Roof from a murderous Euro-American cop is whether one openly expresses racist sentiment when they commit a racist murder. Any Klansman is thus free to join the local police force and freely murder any person of color, all he need do is refrain from openly avowing his racist motive. This in fact is the power of unconscious racism and the system created to continue to repress people of color in Amerika while, as Nixon promoted, "appearing not to." [20]

Also, the shift after the 1960s went from individual acts of racism to institutional processes also, enabled by the holdings that made racism impossible to assail absent showing intent. Furthermore, racism has been built into U.S. society and its institutions for centuries, and exists independent of the intentions of any individual's attitudes. By making proof of intent a necessary element for legally challenging racism, the system is thus able to treat people of color in the most explicitly racist manners from mass imprisonment, militarized police occupations of their communities, impunitious police abuse and murders of their members, systemic segregation in schools, housing, systemic poverty, etc., with complete immunity from "legal" challenge.

THE CONVERGENCE OF SNEAKY RACISM AND RACIAL IMPRISONMENT

Goldwater's 1964 presidential campaign was the first time the "law and order" platform was raised as a partisan political issue. However, it was so effectively linked with the prevailing racist current across Amerika, that, "[b]y 1968, 81 percent of those responding to the Gallup Poll agreed with the statement that 'law and order has broken down in this country,' and the majority blamed 'Negroes who start riots' and 'Communists.'" [21]

So while Nixon jettisoned the failed component of Goldwater's racist political strategy (namely, overt appeals to racism), he nonetheless held fast to the "law and order" aspect that held Euro-Amerika under its sway:

"During the presidential election that year, both the Republican candidate, Richard Nixon, and the independent segregationist candidate, George Wallace, made 'law and order' a central theme of their campaigns, and together they collected 57 percent of the vote. Nixon dedicated seventeen speeches solely to the topic of law and order, and one of his television ads explicitly called on voters to reject the lawlessness of civil rights activists and embrace 'order' in the United States." [22]

Upon his election, Nixon went about instituting the system he proposed, that would be targeted at New Afrikans without appearing to be, and based upon the "law and order" platform. He launched a War on Crime and a War on Drugs, both targeted at communities of color, and their political movements. He used the so-called drug war to vastly

expand federal domestic police power, through which began several decades of a renewed targeting of New Afrikans with massive imprisonment, with each administration only heightening what Nixon began especially upon the election of Ronald Reagan who stepped up the drug war, and under whom the CIA-generated crack cocaine epidemic exploded in communities of color and the selective crack drug laws were instituted, that saw the U.S. prison population grow over three decades from 300,000 to over two million.

And not just the racist crack laws but the entire criminal (in)justice process that was used to target people of color with this explosion in imprisonment were insulated from challenge by the Court's repeatedly invoking the sneaky racism doctrine set out under *Washington v. Davis*. With respect to the racist federal sentencing laws that were sending vast numbers of New Afrikans to prison for crack cocaine possession, the courts upheld the laws, ruling:

"There is no evidence that Congress reaffirmed the sentencing disparity 'at least in part' because of, not merely 'in spite of,' its adverse effect upon blacks." [23]

In other words, although the crack laws had a discriminatory impact on New Afrikans it was held to be not discriminatory because it was not shown that Congress had intended to discriminate against them in creating or upholding the laws. It was the doctrine of sneaky racism at play, where a racist law was upheld because its creators had disguised or concealed any racist intentions.

But the Supreme Court went on to apply the *Davis* doctrine much broader so as to insulate the entire criminal (in)justice process from challenge on grounds of racial discrimination. This was done in the 1989 ruling in *McCleskey v. Kemp*. [24] As Michelle Alexander pointed out:

"In 1987, when media hysteria regarding [B]lack drug crime was at a fever pitch and the evening news was saturated with images of [B]lack criminals shackled in courtrooms, the Supreme Court ruled in *McCleskey v. Kemp* that racial bias in sentencing, even if shown through credible statistical evidence, could not be challenged under the Fourteenth Amendment in the absence of clear evidence of conscious, discriminatory intent. On its face the case appeared to be a straightforward challenge to Georgia's death penalty scheme. Once the Court's opinion was released, however, it became clear the case was about much more than the death penalty. The real issue at hand was whether – and to what extent – the Supreme Court would tolerate racial bias in the criminal justice [sic!] system as a whole. The Court's answer was that racial bias would be tolerated – virtually to any degree – so long as no one admitted it." [25]

Alexander hit the nail on the head when she observed that the ruling was really about insulating a system that is inherently racist from being challenged as such by simply being sneaky about racial intent.

"There is good reason to believe that, despite appearances, the *McCleskey* decision was not really about the death penalty at all: rather, the Court's opinion was driven by a desire to immunize the entire criminal justice [sic!] system from claims of racial bias. The best evidence in support of this view can be found at the end of the majority opinion where the Court states that discretion plays a necessary role in the implementation of the criminal justice [sic!] system, and that discrimination is an inevitable by-product of discretion. Racial discrimination, the Court seemed to suggest, was something that simply must be tolerated in the criminal justice [sic!] system, provided no one admits to racial bias." [26]

And so there be no mistake about the extent to which the power structure has meant to go to enable sneaky racism and protect it from challenge, the Supreme Court went further in another case to extend the *Davis* principle to protecting not just "unconscious" racial bias, but also to deliberate racial bias, so long as one deceitfully denies it, to conceal racist motives. This was done in the 1995 case of *Purkett v. Elm*. [27]

In that case, the Court ruled that criminal prosecutors can systematically exclude people of color from juries so long as they invent a race-neutral excuse (no matter how absurd) for doing so. Again, here's Michelle Alexander,

"In *Purkett v. Elm*, in 1995, the Supreme Court ruled that any race-neutral reason, no matter how silly, ridiculous, or superstitious, is enough to satisfy the prosecutor's burden of showing that a

pattern of striking a particular racial group is not, in fact, based on race.”[28]

This principle corresponds with studies that show that in this era of sneaky racism, many Euro-Americans reveal themselves to be openly racist in their private relationships but portray themselves publicly as race-neutral, even having “friends” who are people of color.[29]

This value system has been engendered in society at large where it is perfectly acceptable to act with racial bias, so long as that bias goes unadmitted. With the rise of protest movements against the pervasive practice of murders of people of color by U.S. cops, a number of federal probes (undertaken solely for purposes of damage control) have revealed police departments and cops all over to practice policies of blatant racial bias. Yet numerous “studies” have followed on the heels of these exposures which attribute such bias to “accidental” or “unconscious” racism. Which is portrayed as views and values that have developed in the perpetrators by factors over which they’ve had no conscious awareness and therefore could not have countered. What is avoided is the actual fact that this “unconscious” racism has been structured into society by design and insulated from being challenged or even spoken about by the power structure and the dominant culture. And this process not only has provided the means of mass imprisoning people of color in Amerika, but also continuing the practice of violent terror against them by the armed enforcers of the state.

These systems converge to continue serving the age-old purpose of mass polarization and containment of the most oppressed sectors who are resigned to a lower strata based upon completely invented racial categorizations and fictions that were and continue to be manufactured by those in power.

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

NOTES

[1] See, Theodore Allen, “Class Struggle and the Origin of Racial Slavery: The Invention of the White Race,” ed. Jeffrey Perry (NY, 2006).

[2] See, William W. Hening, *Statutes at Large: The Laws of Virginia* (Richmond, 1808), pp:492ff: 3:87-88.

[3] The rape of Afrikan slave girls and women by “white” men was both culturally and legally sanctioned. An example is found in the 1767 ruling of the Maryland Provisional Court that, “a slave had no recourse against the violator of his bed.” Quoted in, Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution* (NY, 1956), p. 343. As Blassingame wrote, “The white man’s pursuit of black women frequently destroyed any possibility that comely black girls could remain chaste for long.” John W. Blassingame, *Plantation Life in the Ante-Bellum South* (NY, 1972), p. 82.

[4] Those New Afrikans who fled the South clearly recognized police as serving the same function and role as the old slave patrols which they called “patty rollers,” even giving the name “paddy wagon” to the vehicles police used to transport arrestees.

[5] The “Black Codes” were used to limit where New Afrikans could live and work, and criminalized those without jobs or money. Those convicted were leased to plantation owners and other companies where they “worked off” their crimes. Also New Afrikan children were forced to serve as apprentices in industries.

[6] W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Studies*, 1953 ed. (Greenwich, Conn., 1961), p. 133.

[7] Robert Perkinson, *Texas Tough: The Rise of America’s Prison Empire* (NY, 2010).

[8] H.R. Haldeman, *The Haldeman Diaries* (NY, 1994), p.53. For the subsequent quote of John Ehrlichman, see Ehrlichman, *Witness to Power: The Nixon Years* (NY, 1970) p. 233.

[9] *Washington v. Davis*, 426 U.S. 229 (1976).

[10] *Hunter v. Erickson*, 393 U.S. 385 (1969).

[11] *Davis*, 426 U.S. at 238-39.

[12] Michael J. Perry, “The Disproportionate Impact Theory of Racial Discrimination,” 125 *U. Pa. L. Rev.* 540, 544 (1977).

[13] Charles R. Lawrence, “The Id, the Ego, and Equal Protection: Reckoning with Unconscious Racism” 39 *Stanford Law Review* 317, 319 (1987).

[14] Lawrence H. Tribe, *American Constitutional Law* (2nd

Ed. 1988), pp. 1518-1519.

[15] Olatunde C. A. Johnson, “Disparity Rules,” 107 *Columbia L. Rev.* 374, 386 (2007).

[16] Michelle Alexander, “How the Drug War Has Subjugated Poor People of Color and Nullified the Fourth Amendment,” *Nieman Watchdog* (Sept. 20, 2010).

[17] *Hillery v. Pulley*, 563 F. Supp. 1228, 1238 (E.D. Ca. 1 983).

[18] William W. Sales, Jr., *From Civil Rights to Black Liberation: Malcolm X and the Organization of Afro-American Unity* (Boston, Ma., 1994), p. 11.

[19] Just as bill Clinton denounced Johnetta Cole and Lani Guinier, Obama publicly denounced his pastor, Jeremiah Wright, because Wright criticized the role of the U.S. government in the ongoing abuses and neglect of New Afrikans.

[20] *Op. cit.*, note 8.

[21] Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* (NY, 2010/2013), p. 46.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *United States v. Teague*, 93 F. 3d 81, 85 (2d Cir. 1996).

[24] *McCleskey v. Kemp*, 481 U.S. 279 (1989).

[25] *Op. cit.*, note 16, p.109.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

[27] *Purkett v. Elm*, 514 U.S. 756 (1995).

[28] *Op. cit.*, note 21, p. 122.

[29] This was seen in studies such as ones conducted by sociologists Joe Feagin and Leslie Picca in their book *Two-Faced Racism: Whites in the Backstage and Frontstage*.

The Revolutionary Response To Racism: Reply To A Communiqué By Azzurra Crispino (2017)

THE DISPATCH

Recently, I received a copy of a communiqué issued by Azzurra Crispino, an ethics professor, who is also an anarchist, a Gandhian pacifist, a founder of Prison Abolition Prisoner Support (PAPS), and the *elect*media co-chair of the Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWOC/IWW).

Azzurra’s statement defended her having corresponded with a man while he was imprisoned who is apparently a white supremacist, and whom she brought onto a radio program to give his personal account of living in solitary confinement in U.S. prisons, in refutation of others who spoke in support of solitary without knowing its tortures and inhumane reality.

Apparently others within anarchist circles and the IWOC came down on her for interacting with the white supremacist and giving him a platform from which to speak on the radio show. From her account, she’s been met with reactions ranging from being called a Nazi sympathizer, to being threatened, to being asked to voluntarily resign from her IWOC media position.

Azzurra rejects these label and critiques, contending that as a Gandhian her political strategy embraces working to win opponents over and by “patient and sympathetic” persuasion not violence. Her statement addressed other matters but the above points were the principal issues.

WHERE WE DIFFER WHERE WE AGREE

As someone who has corresponded with Azzurra off and on for some time, as a fellow member of the IWW, but foremost as a Panther whose duty it is to speak truth to the people in service to their/our struggle to overthrow this oppressive capitalist imperialist system, I feel a duty to weigh in on this situation.

First I should distinguish myself and my worldview from Azzurra’s. I’m neither an anarchist, nor a pacifist. I’m a Communist of the Maoist persuasion, and a firm believer in the right of self-defense and that the only way that this system of mass exploitation and oppression can be ultimately destroyed is through the extremes of armed struggle. This because it is history’s most violent and destructive political economic system, and its ruling class has not and will never relinquish its hold on power and monopoly over social wealth peacefully. In fact they maintain this power through the greatest excesses of violence, and not only against the world’s masses of innocent people, but against the very environment and entire planet on which our species depends for its survival. In this light I see strategic non-violence as suicidal and fundamentally irresponsible.

Anyone familiar with Maoism knows that it created the

first comprehensive Marxist military line, and method of engaging in oppressed people’s war that even the U.S. military admits inability to contend with.

With that said, Azzurra and I clearly have very different political and ideological views. Indeed, our class perspectives differ quite a bit, with hers originating from a petty bourgeois (PB) line and mine from a revolutionary proletarian one.

Yet, despite our differences, we have unity on the issue of struggling to win over everyone we can by persuasion, where we can and when we can. This is an inherent aspect of the Maoist or mass line. Gandhians have no exclusive claim to this approach.

One reason Azzurra’s anarchist peers have clashed with her over this line is because their line generally rejects anything like the mass line. They imagine instead that small collectives can somehow engineer a revolution, and that it will be an instantaneous process, that the capitalist system can be toppled in one fell swoop and an egalitarian social order set up in its place overnight without need of a protracted struggle to remould the views and values of the broad masses that have been ingrained in them over their entire lives, generations, and centuries even, by capitalist culture; which will only regenerate capitalism if they are not systematically reeducated with revolutionary values and morality.

The Gandhian line recognized a need to change peoples’ views over a protracted period because it was to a vast oppressed population that it appealed, namely the colonized peoples of India who were subjugated by a tiny British elite and neo-colonial Indian elite and military/police system. But Gandhi’s wasn’t a revolutionary philosophy or movement. It wasn’t anti-capitalist. And it didn’t grasp the nature of capitalist class relations and oppression, and that there is indeed an irreconcilable class enemy with whom we *cannot* negotiate and strike bargains, namely the imperialist bourgeoisie.

And I know from experience in living under people *corrupted* by absolute power and grown drunk from its impunitous abuse, passivity and weakness on the part of a victim only invites abuse and greater violence.

WHENCE RACISM?

But let’s look more closely at the particular question that Azzurra and her detractors are struggling over; namely that of interacting with racial supremacists – should we and if so to what extent? Since I’ve had quite a bit of experience with this issue from a theoretical and practical standpoint, I think I can offer particular insights on it.

Now, Azzurra’s exactly right that the IWOC never set out a “no platform” policy toward white supremacists, and the IWOC newsletter did endorse the cessation of hostilities agreement signed by various prisoner leaders in California, which included several “confirmed” white supremacists.

It’s important to understand that the concepts of race and racism were *manufactured* by the capitalist class less than 500 years ago. This in response to frequent united rebellions of Afrikan, Indian and European slaves and bond servants, which culminated in the 1676 revolt under the leadership of a rebellious planter, Nathaniel Bacon (Bacon’s Rebellion), that succeeded in overthrowing the colonial system in Jamestown, Virginia.[1]

These rebellions showed the ruling class that united in resistance the laborers were the one internal force that could quickly and completely throw them out of power, so they devised to polarize them and give one sector a slightly privileged status to police the other completely degraded sector. They did this by inventing race and using it to ally the poor Europeans (now classified as “white”) to themselves based upon a shared “race” as against the Afrikan (now classified as “Negro”) who were reduced to a permanent status of hereditary slavery. Servitude and slavery of “whites” was then phased out.

This tactic of racial privilege and polarization has been employed ever since and spread abroad, to keep the laboring classes divided against themselves, and competing against each other for the meager scraps the capitalist class leaves to them from the massive wealth they steal that the laborers produce with their labor power. It’s the old Roman dictum of “divide, agitate and rule.”

So to the extent that those who proclaim to struggle against the capitalist system refuse to struggle to overcome racist programming within the ranks of the laboring and poor masses, they are ceding victory to the enemy class and system by default.

PANTHER POLITICS ON RACE

The original Black Panther Party, during its most revolutionary stages, dealt most effectively with the race

question, in the interest of the New Afrikan/Black masses and all oppressed and working sectors in Amerika. And the example they set was one that saw them struggle directly to change racist programming, while isolating the more die hard racists and identifying the system as the source and cause of racial division and oppression.

Comrade George Jackson, the founder of the BPP's first prison chapter, struggled mightily to unite the races in the California prison system in struggle against the abuses of the guards and administrations. This while those same officials repeatedly angled to have him killed by those "die hard" racist prisoners whom they allied with themselves. He also struggled to have his Black peers understand that some of the whites could be won over to the united struggle but they had to stop pushing those potential allies away with their own polarizing racial attitudes and behaviors. As he stated:

"I'm always telling the brothers that some of those whites are willing to work with us against the pigs. All they got to do is stop talking honky. When the races start fighting, all you have is one maniac group against another. That's just what the pigs want." [2]

Comrade Tom Big Warrior made the point precisely in a recent article:

"Those who argue that 'Black people can't be racist' because Black people don't have institutional power, ignore that racism is a weapon to divide the masses in the interests of the class that does hold power. *It doesn't matter if they divide whites from Blacks or Blacks from whites, the result is the same.*" [3]

Comrade George saw the correct approach against the overall capitalist system, and correctly recognized that capitalism created racial divisions.

As communists, we also recognize that racial contradictions are really contradictions of nationality distorted by the bourgeoisie, to serve their own class interests. And it's manipulated to the benefit of not only the white bourgeoisie but to that of the Black bourgeoisie and those of all races as well. Comrade Big Warrior spoke to this as well:

"Historically, the Black political class has sought accommodation with the white ruling class and opposed solidarity between Black and white working class people. Marcus Garvey allied with the KKK and met with their national leader to seek support for his back to Afrika movement. He is quoted as saying: 'I regard the Klan, the Anglo-Saxon clubs and White American societies, as far as the Negro is concerned, as better friends of the race than all other groups of hypocritical whites put together.'

"With few exceptions — most notably the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB) and the BPP — Black political figures and associations in Amerika have either sought to assimilate into the white capitalist class or, in the case of nationalists, to replicate the capitalist system somewhere with themselves on top exploiting the Black masses. Fred Hampton [Chairperson of the Chicago chapter of the BPP], was wise to their nature:

"We have to understand very clearly that there's a man in our community called a capitalist. Sometimes he's black and sometimes he's white. But that man has to be driven out of our community, because anybody who comes into the community to make profit off the people by exploiting them can be defined as a capitalist. And we don't care how many programs they have, how long a dashiki they have. Because political power does not flow from the sleeve of a dashiki: political power flows from the barrel of a gun. It flows from the barrel of a gun!" [4]

Fred Hampton proved the most advanced revolutionary and Panther of that era, and the most feared by the pigs. Not only was he a good teacher and leader of the oppressed Black masses, but he was able to turn white racists into revolutionaries. And it's he who we should measure our work in this regard by and take lessons from. As I pointed out in a past discussion on race and racism; upon the NABPP-PC's founding of the White Panther Organization as an arm of our Party:

"It was Fred's work that led to the formation of the Young Patriots Party (YPP), a revolutionary party of poor redneck white Appalachian youth whose symbol was a confederate flag with a red star emblazoned on it. Fred's approach was to appeal to class instead of being sidetracked by race. He walked into a redneck Hillbilly bar in Chicago. When they asked, 'What are you doing here?' he

said, 'I'm here to organize the Niggers.' They said, 'No Niggers come in here,' and were ready to fight. He said, 'Oh yeah? Well the way I see it, they work y'all like Niggers, treat y'all like Niggers, and make y'all live like Niggers. So that makes y'all Niggers in my book, and I say it's time to get organized and deal with this shit!'" [5]

Fred enlarged on the point and the point made by Comrade Big Warrior, that the work must be based on unity and also struggle against racism, so as to change its programming. And this in the context of Blacks confronting white racism which we see programmed in many whites other than those who are more overt in their attitudes. In fact many whites who might like to believe themselves free of racist programming are deeply racist, including some who think themselves champions of anti-racism. Should we reject them too, because they're racist? Here's Fred on the entire question:

"We have to grasp onto our leaders and protect our leaders before they're taken away. You've got to stop identifying people with being your brothers because they've got the same skin color that you have. And you've got to stop getting hung up in a whole race question, because this is a class struggle, whether we want to face it or not. The Black Panther Party hears a lot of people saying let's fight fire with fire. But we say, No, no, no! We're not gonna fight fire with fire. We're gonna fight fire with water. We're not gonna fight racism with racism, we're gonna fight racism with solidarity. We're not gonna fight capitalism with Black capitalism, we're gonna fight capitalism with socialism." [6]

As all of us from the oppressed communities know, most of the street and prison tribes (so-called gangs) organize and polarize along "racial" lines, consistent with the segregated character of our communities and racialized social values inculcated into many of us by a society polarized along racial lines by the ruling class. Fred recognized this and in response, he sought not only to politicize the street tribes but also to unite them and other groups in a revolutionary "racial" unity, which he called the "Rainbow Coalition," a name that Black capitalist Jesse Jackson later ripped off and gave to his capitalist program.

Because of his proven success in this work and the danger that unifying the oppressed across color lines posed to the system, the pigs outright murdered Fred. Similarly, Martin Luther King, Jr and Malcolm X were assassinated at just the point they recognized that the struggle was really one compelling unity of all oppressed sectors against the capitalist system and that racism was a tool used to polarize and incite the oppressed against themselves along color lines.

If we're to reject white supremacists out of hand, then it would be impossible to ever struggle against the imperialist system since the contradictions of race are programmed into it and affect most everyone at every level of society. As I've discussed elsewhere, the system has for several decades conditioned much of the white population in Amerika to adopt what has been called "unconscious racism." [7]

In this context, it would be impossible to join with few if any whites in the struggle against the imperialist system, since most have been influenced by white supremacist values and views, although not aware of it.

PIGS AIM TO RACIALIZE THE STRUGGLE

I have long recognized and personally experienced officials' use of racial polarizations to incite conflict against those who oppose and organize against their abuses and the capitalist system.

Following co-founding the NABPP-PC in 2005 and having exposes and articles published exposing the inhumane and abusive conditions that pervade U.S. prisons with marked results, I was the target of false profiling as a Black separatist by the Virginia State Police, in collaboration with the Department of Homeland Security and FBI in a 2009 *Terrorism Threat Assessment Report*.

Subsequently my lines of communication to the outside of prison were largely cut and in 2012 I was abruptly interstate transferred to the Oregon prison system. Oregon's is one of the very few prison systems in the U.S. that has a majority white prisoner population, and where over a dozen white supremacist tribes operate openly in the general prison populations.

I'd spent over 17 years in solitary confinement in Virginia's prisons prior to the transfer to Oregon, whereupon I was immediately released into the general population. Upon my release officials began spreading amongst the white groups that I was a Panther, which they falsely portrayed as a Black supremacist group that sought to engage all whites in a

race war. Many whites already entertain such stereotypes of Panthers in general based upon similar efforts of the pigs to portray the BPP thusly in the 1960s-70s, and the antics of the so-called New Black Panther Party today that dressed up the racialist views of the Nation of Islam in a fake Panther garb.

Indeed the pigs have persistently angled to push all Black revolutionary formations into adopting racialized platforms or reacting in a racialized way to conditions they manufacture or facilitate, such as what they attempted to do to me. In fact they routinely use such racialized groups to target revolutionary ones. They used or manipulated the US organization against the BPP, Garvey's UNIA-ACL against the ABB, the NOI against Malcolm X, any untold numbers of such individuals against other revolutionaries. This was the principal tactic the German Nazis used against Communists, anarchists, and others who opposed the fascist regime. Whether it's white separatists or those of the minority "races" the function is the same, to polarize the masses and neutralize those who would struggle against the enemy order.

But in Oregon I peeped the pigs' game and countered it by not getting distracted by race but instead focusing on us prisoners as a common class, and working to politicize the white groups and individuals along these lines. I met with significant success. I wrote about the experience in an expose. [8] My efforts ended with the Oregon prisoners joining California's prisoners in the 2013 hunger strike that saw 30,000 prisoners participate across California, Oregon, my home state of Virginia, and Washington state.

When the pigs' ploy failed to have its intended effect of seeing me embroiled in violent conflict with the Oregon prisoners, they again interstate transferred me just a month before the 2013 hunger strike was set to begin. This time I was sent to Texas, where I remain, and where they've attempted again to play up racial conditions in the prison system to isolate and target me.

In the Texas system I've been kept in solitary at the William P. Clements Unit, and at all times housed with only "confirmed" members of white or Mexican/Chicano separatist tribes around me. The very few Black prisoners whom they've ever housed nearby me were extremely mentally ill.

Guards on numerous occasions have remarked to or around me that the administration wants to keep only prisoners around me that they feel I have "nothing in common with." In essence they want those around me whom they think will distance themselves based on racial views. Guards, including gang investigators, have often verbally tried to incite these prisoners against me with whom they share the same race.

These plays have seldom if ever worked, which they very likely would if I elected to refuse to politically engage my peers, specifically because of their racialist views and prejudices. The result has often been to change the views of many and even win some over. This is consistent with years that I'd spent in struggle with a Black Comrade who is now a member of the NABPP-PC. He was deeply indoctrinated with a visceral hatred of whites, but I saw in him particular potential and commitment should I ever win him over, which ultimately I did. And he has proven just as I thought he would to be one of the most committed revolutionaries I know, and a powerful voice against the counterproductive effects of racial programming. He was recently targeted by Virginia prison officials for interstate transfer to Rhode Island, another state with a majority white (and tiny Black) prisoner population. You do the math. Both this Comrade, Kelvin "Khaysi" Canada, and I have written about the struggle I engaged him in to change his reactionary views on race. [9]

Also telling is on December 21, 2017, I was assaulted by guards who gassed me while I was handcuffed from behind and locked inside the cell. They'd also taken a large amount of my personal property. In this Texas system most prisoners are not willing to speak up as witnesses to abuse by guards, fearing as they do retaliation in return. However, six prisoners readily wrote witness statements for me and were willing to speak up as witnesses in any disciplinary or legal proceedings about what they witnessed. Five of the six were men who are "confirmed" members of white or Mexican/Chicano separatist tribes. All of them are men I've engaged with politically or otherwise to confront their racial conditioning, and all have seen my willingness to speak up on behalf of all prisoners regardless of race, affiliation, mental state, etc. So, in turn they proved willing to come to my aid despite the threat of personal abuse from guards. This speaks volumes on the value of engaging others who have racialist views and prejudices and struggling to remould them.

Each of these examples shows the benefits that may be gained from this approach to such people. If I had refused to engage them, there would have been violence (very likely deadly violence) between me and the Oregon and Texas groups just as the pigs intended to see. The Oregonians

would not have joined the Cali prisoner strike (they also entered into an agreement to end hostilities in Oregon following the example of Cali's prisoners). The various Comrades, allies and neutrals I was able to influence to these ends would not have been won over to an anti-racist position. And so on.

THE MAOIST LINE ON COMBATTING CHAUVINISM

As in many areas of revolutionary struggle, the Maoist line has proven superior in its approach to uniting the oppressed, even in the area of combatting chauvinism on both the "majority" and "minority" sides of the social divide.

The Chinese revolution that Mao Tse-tung led, was compelled to unite many distinct and polarized nationalities of Chinese into a force capable of reckoning with and defeating both multiple foreign imperialist powers, and native warlords, and bourgeois forces in pawn to the imperialists. Mao was himself a member of the Han majority who had for centuries reigned over and oppressed the many other minority nationalities. He led the struggle to purge these chauvinistic relations from Chinese society, by reeducating and confronting those who adhered to chauvinistic views and attitudes. He specifically opposed any position that would allow people to avoid or shun those who harbored polarizing attitudes, which included his own Party Comrades. He correctly recognized that they were remnants of bourgeois thinking that had to be reeducated to be overcome.

His work in this regard proved so effective that it had a profound influence on BPP co-founder Comrade Huey P. Newton, when he visited and was allowed unrestricted access to tour Mao's revolutionary China. Huey saw in Mao's work a solution to racism in Amerika. He expressed as much in an interview:

"I saw crystal clear how we can start to reduce the kinds of conflicts that we're having in this country. I saw an example of that in China... What I saw was this: when I went there I was very unenlightened and I thought, as it has been said so often, that China would be a homogenous kind of racial/ethnic territory. Then I found that 50 percent of the Chinese territory is occupied by a 54 percent population of national minorities, large ethnic minorities. They speak different languages, they look very different, they eat different foods. Yet, there is no conflict. I observed one day that each region — we call them cities — is actually controlled by these ethnic minorities, yet they're still Chinese... I'm talking about a general condition in China where ethnic minorities I've observed control their whole regions. They have a right to have representation in the Chinese Communist Party. At the same time they have their own principles... The cities in this country could be organized like that, with community control. At the same time, not black control so that no whites can come in. I'm saying there would be democracy in the inner city. The administration should reflect the population of people there."^[10]

But things were not always so harmonious. So how did they reach this state? Mao gives the answer as one of confronting the chauvinists and chauvinistic values as reflections of the influences of the old enemy order that must be confronted and reeducated. Avoiding them clearly offered no solution, except to allow them to prevail unchallenged.

Here's Mao; just a few decades before Huey was to witness the harmonious condition that he found in Mao's revolutionary China:

"In some places the relations between nationalities are far from normal. For Communists this is an intolerable situation. We must go to the root and criticize Han chauvinist ideas which exist to a serious degree among many Party members and cadres, namely, the reactionary ideas of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie or the ideas characteristic of the Kuomintang, which are manifested in the relations between nationalities. Mistakes in this respect must be corrected at once. Delegations led by comrades who are familiar with our nationality policy and full of sympathy for our minority nationalities, make a serious effort at investigation and study and help Party and government organizations in the localities discover and solve problems. The visits should not be those of 'looking at flowers on horseback.'

"Judging from the mass of information on hand, the Central Committee holds that wherever there are minority nationalities the general rule is that there are problems calling for solution and in some cases very serious ones. On the surface all is quiet, but actually there are some very serious problems.

What has come to light in various places in the last two or three years shows that Han chauvinism exists almost everywhere. It will be very dangerous if we fail now to give timely education and resolutely overcome Han chauvinism in the Party and among the people. The problem in the relations between nationalities which reveals itself in the Party and among the people in many places is the existence of Han chauvinism to a serious degree and not just a matter of its vestiges. In other words, bourgeois ideas dominate the minds of those comrades and people who have no Marxist education and have not grasped the nationality policy of the Central Committee. Therefore, education must be assiduously carried out so that this problem can be solved step by step. Moreover, the newspapers should publish more articles based on specific facts to criticize Han chauvinism openly and educate the Party members and the people."^[11]

And Mao understood, as do we, that this sort of polarizing chauvinism infects not merely the "majority" nationality group, but also the "minority" nationalities, and must be struggled with among the "minority" groups as well. This is the same with New Afrikans/Blacks and others who hold polarizing "racial" views as against the white majority.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it should be rather apparent that the problem of white supremacy cannot be resolved by shunning those who harbor such views as Azzurra's detractors believe; and that to the extent that Azzurra's interaction with them is based upon a conscious commitment to struggle to remould racist programming, then her position is exactly right.

But as for the hard racist reactionaries, they must be dealt with by isolating them and mobilizing revolutionary forces to minimize their influence on others, and to repress them by force where they present a genuine threat of violence. In either case unless we actively struggle to change the conditioning of people, they will not change. As Mao said, "everything reactionary is the same, if you don't hit it it won't fall." It's like a dirty floor, the dirt will not remove itself.

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

NOTES

[1] Bacon led the revolt against the Virginia colonial government because the governor would not support his efforts to invade and seize lands from Indian tribes living near the colonial settlements. So he brought servants, slaves and poor farmers together in the rebellion promising them land and freedom. The revolt succeeded in overthrowing the colonial government and burning down the capitol. Six months into the rebellion Bacon died of swamp fever and the rebellion, deprived of its leader, was ultimately put down and the colonial government restored to power. But the lesson that was taken from this event was the need to counter such a united resistance of laborers again, which prompted the invention of racialized statuses amongst the population and the polarization of the laborers along racial lines by the colonial ruling class and its government.

[2] From the preface of George Jackson's, *Blood in My Eye* (1971).

[3] Tom "Big Warrior" Watts, "Mao More Than Ever 2017" (2017).

[4] *Ibid.*, quoting, Fred Hampton, "Power Anywhere There's People", *Vita Wa Watu: A New Afrikan Theoretical Journal*, Book 11, Aug. 1987, p.4.

[5] Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, "On the Questions of Race and Racism: Revolutionary National Liberation and Building the United Front Against Imperialism — A Statement in Support of the White Panther Organization" (2006), <http://rashidmod.com/?p=288>

[6] *Op. cit.*, note 4, *Vita Wa Watu*, Book 11, p.23.

[7] Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, "Racialization and Incarceration: The Politics of Polarization and Containment in Amerika" (2016), <http://rashidmod.com/?p=2225>

[8] Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, "Political Struggle in the Teeth of Prison Reaction: From Virginia to Oregon," *Socialism and Democracy*, Vol. 27, No.1 (March 2013), pp. 54-59, www.sdonline.org

[9] Kelvin "Khaysi" Canada, "Pantherizing the Masses," <http://rashidmod.com/?p=2169>, and *Op. cit.*, note 5.

[10] David Hilliard & Donald Weiss, eds., *The Huey P. Newton Reader* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002), pp. 279-80.

[11] Mao Tse-tung, "Criticize Han Chauvinism," March 16, 1953.

LINE STRUGGLE

The following is an exchange between Comrade Xinachtli aka Alvaro Luna Hernandez and Rashid in response to the previous article. Xinachtli is a Chicano and Anarchist political prisoner who has been confined in Texas for over two decades.

WEDNESDAY, 22 MARCH 2017
ALLRED PRISON SLAVE KKKAMP

DEAR MAIN LINE,

Fraternal, revolutionary anarcho-communist greetings, from within the belly of the racist, fascist beast, hoping this one finds all in the very best, as it leaves me, in spite of being under the boot heel of neo-nazi, naked prison fascism in the "Guantanamo" of Texas prisons, supermax high security control unit, now going on 15 years of pure, utter torture designed to 'break my will and my spirit of resistance,' the prison will never be victorious over, as Comrade FRED HAMPTON once put it, "they can jail the revolutionary, but they can never jail the revolution," or something to that effect.

I did receive the copy of your MAIN LINE piece, and let me say that I agree with all those revolutionary principles, being a long time student of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Fidel, Che, Chairman Mao, Malcolm X, Garvey, the original Black Panther Party, and other of our revolutionary icons that have carried the banner of revolution within the fascist juggernaut. Although I am not African American, I am in solidarity with all poor people's liberation organizations and movements that seek to dismantle the current capitalist economic system, wherein derives all racial, social, economic, and political oppression and injustices; for it is a system founded on plantation slavery, genocide of indigenous peoples, land theft of Mexicano/Chicano lands, and the enslavement of the LABOR POWER of the working class by the forces of elitism and CAPITAL ACCUMULATION, the division of classes, AND THE EXISTING DICTATORSHIP OF THE BOURGEOISE, paraded as "free enterprise" and "true democracy," all capitalist and imperialist lies that blind and deceive the people from seeing the true nature of the racist, oppressive and fascist beast. Certainly, as a MEMBER OF A COLONIZED PEOPLE, AND AN INTERNAL COLONY OF YANKEE COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM, over white colonial settler wars of conquest and occupation by racist, foreign invaders, and their lackey vigilante groups like the KKK, The Minuteman, and other historical white supremacist formations, that have enforced colonial, neo-colonial and imperialist rule, in our native homeland, AZTLAN, THE OCCUPIED U.S. SOUTHWEST, TEXAS, NEW MEXICO, ARIZONA, CALIFORNIA, COLORADO, NEVADA, UTAH, WYOMING, we move forward, with the torch of self-determination, national liberation, freedom, justice and equality in our hearts, a prolonged struggle that must continue no matter where we find ourselves in -- either in the racist cages of their neo-colonial prisons, to homelessness existence under a bridge, with our young children going to bed hungry at night, to a system and government that is all designed to oppress us, and to deny us our humanity, and in its stead, all we get is more MASS INCARCERATION OF THE POOR, CHIEFLY OF PEOPLE OF COLOR, MOSTLY AFRICAN AMERICANS, MEXICANS, CHICANOS, NATIVE AMERICANS, that are disproportionately represented in the U.S. Prison Industrial Complex and its \$2 billion dollar\$ a year industry that is sustained by brute, racist prison slave labor, specially in this historically notorious and infamous slave plantation called the TEXAS DEPARTMENT OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE, spread across East, South and Central Texas, where massive injustices and crimes against humans are this very instance being committed against a voiceless, defenseless class, all in the name of "law and order" and "public safety." WITH THE RECENT ELECTION OF THIS RACIST, FASCIST PIG DONALD TRUMP and his administration of THEOCRATS, GHOULS, AND WAR CRIMINALS, who are misogynist, xenophobic, anti-Mexican, anti-Muslim and Islamophobic, evangelistic and white nationalist race supremacists, it becomes critical for all of us to unite and come together and to mobilize and resist this corporatist fascism and to unite the splintered and scattered forces in society who can, must and will stand up to take their place in history in the UPCOMING REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST REVOLUTION LEAD BY THE VANGUARD OF THE MOST OPPRESSED UNDER WHITE RACIST SOCIETY -- BLACKS, AND CHICANOS who will be at the forefront of this revolution to bring about another society and economic system, where labor is not oppressed by capital, AND A REVOLUTIONARY HUMANISM OF WHICH CURRENT CAPITALIST SOCIETY IS PREGNANT WITH, AND OF WHICH WE MUST ACT AS MIDWIVES AND DELIVER A NEW BORN SOCIETY AND SYSTEM WHERE THE "COLOR OF ONE'S SKIN" is not a brand of racial, or social inferiority, and where the full social,

and human faculties of all members of the human family can be realized and achieved, WITHOUT CAPITALIST SLAVE BOSSES OR SLAVE MASTERS. I will add more to these principles, as time permits, but this will do for now, if you will, to get to other pressing matters.

I know ED MEAD, PAUL WRIGHT, of years gone by, when we used to correspond when both were in Washington State Prison. At that time, we were allowed to correspond with each other. In Texas, we had formed the theoretical revolutionary journal named PRISONERS UNITED FOR REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION (PURE), and our slogan was Comrade George Jackson's one, MAIN LINE now uses, TRANSFORM THE CRIMINAL MENTALITY INTO A REVOLUTIONARY MENTALITY, in our efforts at converting these racist plantation cages into schools of revolutionary liberation thought. We suffered extreme forms of repression from the pigs, and several of us were assassinated either by the prison guard pigs, or their "inmate guard" mercenaries they then had known as BUILDING TENDERS OR TURN KEYS, who acted as supervisory, control mercenaries for the prison pig establishment. We were also involved in the prison movement for human rights, and in the celebrated RUIZ V. ESTELLE prison conditions case, that exposed gross human rights violations in Texas prisons, and a federal judge declaring every aspect of its prison operations unconstitutional. See RUIZ, 503 F. Supp. 1265; SEE ALSO, TEXAS PRISONS: THE WALLS CAME TUMBLING DOWN, by MARTIN & OLSEN, 1983, TEX, MONTHLY PRESS; The struggles continue. In any case, hope COMRADE ED MEAD gets well and recovers from his ailments. If possible, give him my revolutionary regards and a speedy recovery, if at all possible. As to KEVIN RASHID JOHNSON, Ed Mead tried to send me his book, DEFYING THE TOMB, years ago, when it first came out, but the political prison counter-intelligence thought police and suppression apparatus denied it, and I have never had a chance to read it. I have never met RASHID but have heard about him and his work, while is admirable. Which brings me to the controversy in the matter of AZZURRA CRISPINO, IWW/IWOC MEDIA REP. recently expelled from her position for her Nazi sympathizing behavior, of which RASHID submitted a 9 page piece in her defense. FIRST OF ALL, let me say that I totally agree with all the revolutionary and theoretical quotations used by RASHID in his piece, but totally disagree with his FINAL ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION that AZZURRA was "correct" in her actions and behavior, in giving said White Supremacist (ANDREW AURNHEIMER) a forum and a "voice" and link to the progressive community related to his confinement years/time in solitary while in prison, under the "rationale" that it would bring clarity and "understanding" as to the evils of solitary of an uninformed community. I don't buy that logic or rationale. This White Supremacist is a well known violent, reactionary racist pig snake who while in prison, and outside of prison, has continued to spit out his snake-like venom, and poison against PEOPLE OF COLOR, for many years. JEREMY HAMMOND, and the group ANONYMOUS all know about this racist pig white supremacist, and he sparked many racial controversies while in prison, among many of these groups, of which AZZURRA was, and is well aware of, as she, then, also supported this racist pig, and his ties to a "merchandise online" sales group who sells HITLER AND NAZI MEMORABILIA, INSIGNIAS, AND PROPAGANDA MATERIALS, also supported by AZZURRA under the ridiculous logic and rationale that by distribution of said racist propaganda, people will become syntonized to that ugly era of NAZISM and would not repeat such a history again; RASHID does not know this history and AZZURRA'S repeated statements and actions sympathetic to white supremacist ideas and ideology, under her "justification" of trying to CONVERT WHITE SUPREMACISTS, as ordained by some theocentric, divine guidance , moral compass and "calling" from God. SEE ATTACHED LETTER FROM AZZURRA TO ME. SEE ALSO MARGA ET HAULE'S LETTER TO ME, COMPLAINING OF AZZURRA'S "WORK WITH WHITE SUPREMACISTS, KKK OR NEO-NAZIS."

I have repeatedly tried to persuade AZZURRA that her position is unacceptable, as well as her stubborn positions that :(1) we must forgive all snitches, (2) that not all cops are pigs, (3) her defense of, and advocacy for child molesters and pedophiles, and now (4) her insistence of giving again a voice and forum to white supremacists of the racist, violent nature of her "friend" she calls "WEEV." Time and again, I have made my positions clear to her of the degree of offense and personal insult we, PEOPLE OF COLOR, feel against these white supremacists, and the utter disdain and ugliness of even coming close to them, or hearing them spit out any words coming from their racist, rotten, foul mouths. I have clinged to the hope that AZZURRA would come around, but seems she gets worse and worse, like the time a few years ago she was expelled from the DENVER ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS CONFERENCE in DENVER, CO., for publicly expressing some of these "positions" of hers, she calls her "moral compass," yet still characterizing herself as an "anarchist." RASHID does not know of all

these "historical and personal background" of AZZURRA, otherwise I believe he would not have concluded his analysis the way he did, IN DEFENSE OF AZZURRA. All the "Pantherism" and "Maoism" rhetoric cannot change the fact that it is very destructive , corrosive, unprincipled, and dangerous to our "mutual efforts" to bring the poor and oppressed communities together, to unite and resist what is going on now, with the reins of political power in the hands of a racist, fascist, evangelical, ghoul, theocratic war criminal gang of billionaires, who used "appeals to white nationalist supremacist emotions" to stir the ghost of KKK GHOSTS that have laid dormant in a majority of white folks, brought to light again and emboldened by fascist, racist, reactionary elements like TRUMP and his "team," of which more is to come. WHAT OUR MOVEMENT NEEDS IS MORE CLARITY, NOT MORE MASS CONFUSION AND DECEPTION. It would be a big mistake for us to take the position AZZURRA, and RASHID have taken in this controversy, that we all must "engage" these white supremacists in civil dialogue and debates and discourse and try to "convince" them of the evils of their racial hatred, and "convert" them to our side, for these known racist, reactionary elements like "WEEV" are hard-core racists not deserving of our time, and to "give them a public forums" as AZZURRA did, causes only more confusion and splintered divisions within the ranks of our oppressed communities under siege by racist police pigs (WHO IF YOU UNMASK, UNDRRESS THEM, YOU WILL SEE THEY ARE WEARING UNDER THEIR BLUE UNIFORMS, THEIR WHITE SHEETS AND REGALIA SYMBOLS OF THEIR IDEOLOGICAL PERSUASIONS, REPRESENTING THE KKK AND THEIR WHITE SUPREMACIST HATRED THAT MOTIVATES THEM TO "PULL THE TRIGGERS" OF THEIR WEAPONS, WHEN THEY CONFRONT PEOPLE OF COLOR, THE SYSTEM HAS TAUGHT THEM WE ARE "PRONE TO VIOLENCE").

A PRIME EXAMPLE, of how these white supremacists can never be trusted is how they first agreed to sign the "AGREEMENT TO END RACIAL HOSTILITIES" in California, that resulted in the release of COMRADE HUGO PINELL from over 45 years in solitary, only to be assassinated after a week in general population at the New Folsom Prison near Sacramento, with the help and collusion of prison guards; let us also, never forget the GREENSBORO MASSACRE of the five anti-klan activists and communist workers on NOVEMBER 3, 1979 in GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA by Klansmen and NAZIS with the help of the local police and federal agents of the BUREAU OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO & FIREARMS (ATF), and the FBI'S continued use of COINTELPRO-style J. EDGAR HOOVER tactics to rid our poor people's liberation organizations and movements of our "leadership" and to use terror as coming from white supremacist elements as their favorite weapon to "neutralize" our liberation movements. SPECIALLY IN THESE CRITICAL TIMES FACING OUR CLASS, the poor, oppressed proletariat, working class. UNDER NO TERMS SHOULD WE SANCTION OR AGREE WITH, OR GLOSS OVER these crucial questions coming from a "activist" such as AZZURRA that resolutely reject the principles of a disciplined and structured "leadership," an authentic political revolutionary, anarchist-cooperative style "party formation," emphasis on community mobilization, and internal communal unity, clear revolutionary, anarchist principles of "class struggle," and the ideological and historical sciences of materialist dialectics and SOUND REVOLUTIONARY THEORY AND PRACTICE, for not merely interpreting the world, but to set out and to change it as KARL MARX once said.

You are at liberty to share the contents of this communique with RASHID, the NBBP, AZZURRA, the IWW/IWOC, and others interested in the resolution of this controversy, for the sake of clarity and unity, and in the memory of all of our comrades, brothers and sisters, who have been lynched, massacred, assassinated and wrongfully framed and imprisoned by judges, police, that wear WHITE SHEETS under their black robes and badges, THE TRUE FOUNDATIONS UPON WHICH WHITE SUPREMACIST, RACIST AMERIKKKA WAS BUILT ON, AND THE STAINS OF THE BLOOD OF OUR MARTYRS WHO SACRIFICED THEIR LIVES FOR THE REST OF US. In their memory, we should uphold those principles they fought and died for, and not allow any one, no matter how good intentioned he or she may profess to be, to corrupt those memories, ideas and history of struggles, we must carry on and wage in their name!!!

BLACK, BROWN, WHITE, OPPRESSED PEOPLE MUST UNITE REJECT ALL EFFORTS TO GIVE WHITE SUPREMACISTS A FORUM AND A VOICE IN OUR OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES OF COLOR!

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITY AMONGST REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS, COMMUNISTS AND ANARCHISTS!!!

IN MEMORY OF ALL VICTIMS OF WHITE

SUPREMACIST, KKK, NEO-NAZI TERROR

XINACHTLI

(NAHUATL DIALECT MEANING "GERMINATING SEED")

ALVARO LUNA HERNANDEZ, #255735

JAMES V. ALLRED UNIT

SUPERMAX HIGH SECURITY CONTROL UNIT

2101 FM 369 NORTH

IOWA PARK, TEXAS 76367

Remolding Racist Brainwash: A Guide to Revolutionary Practice or Revolutionary Theory as Dogma (A Response to Comrade Xinachtli) (2017)

I SAID NO SUCH THINGS

Earlier this year I replied to Azzurra Crispino's communique concerning her being criticized in various circles for corresponding with an alleged white supremacist while he was imprisoned, and using his harrowing account of living in solitary confinement to refute some misguided views of this condition in U.S. prisons. (1)

She was also asked to resign her position as media cochair of the Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee (IWOC). I belatedly learned that shortly before my reply to Azzurra was published she was removed because of these allegations from her *elect*ed position by the IWOC's steering committee.

While I heard nothing formal from any of her original critics, I have received a response by political prisoner, Comrade Xinachtli (aka Alvaro Luna Hernandez) that I'd like to answer here in the spirit of unity-struggle-unity.

Xinachtli harshly criticizes Azzurra, who was until recently co-coordinator of his own freedom campaign, and he charges me with defending her without having a complete picture of her "history" of "unprincipled positions". He also charges her with embracing a hodgepodge of inherently contradictory doctrines and theories that serve only to confuse and mislead.

The principal problem with Xinachtli's response to me is that he largely answers things he read into my reply to Azzurra, instead of what I actually wrote.

First, I didn't *defend* Azzurra anywhere in that reply, in fact I never passed judgment on her period. What I specifically addressed, and as to her I did so hypothetically, was the question of engaging and struggling to remold and win over people brainwashed on race. I agreed with her *stated* position that we should try to win such people over when we can. I did not, however, conclude that she was interacting with such people for the actual purpose of remolding their views and winning them over politically, but said "to the extent" that she was then I felt "her position is exactly right." What's more I specifically distinguished my own ideological and political views from hers.

So not only did I not defend her (I defended a necessary strategy for political organizing), but I also, contrary to Xinachtli's contentions did *not* promote dealing complacently with and embracing "hard core racists." I'm not sure how he overlooked the distinction I made between struggling to remold and reeducate people who harbor racial supremacist views, and those "die hard racist reactionaries [who] must be dealt with by isolating them and mobilizing revolutionary forces to minimize their influence on others, and to repress them by force where they present a genuine threat of violence."

Given that Xinachtli argues against positions I never took, everything else he adds to bolster these arguments is meaningless. But I would like to address some of his positions -- several being mechanically recited stereotypes projected against Communists by Anarchists -- like that I was supposedly "using 'revolutionary theory' as dogma and not guides to serious action."

If he'd read what I *actually* wrote, he'd have seen the *numerous* examples I gave of the effectiveness of the approach I was promoting, which I *have applied myself*, as very "serious action" when thrust by the pigs into environments where I was literally surrounded by racial supremacists ("white" and Chicano/Mexican), with intentions of seeing me dealt with much as Comrade Hugo was. And not only did my approach spoil their plans, but it led to winning over quite a number of them and also bringing many on board with the 2013 hunger strike (and agreement to end racial hostilities) led by the Cali prisoners.

A GUIDE TO REVOLUTIONARY ACTION

In fact that hunger strike which involved over 30,000 prisoners, and the two that preceded it in 2011, were the products of work by Ed Mead (another Communist), who struggled for years through his writings in various periodicals

he published and/or edited going into Cali's prisons (such as *Prison Focus*, *Prison Art*, *Basta Ya!*, *Rock!* and others), to win racists, ultra-nationalists, homophobes and other reactionaries within the prison population over to a united struggle against the system.

No one expected every prisoner or faction to come fully into accord with or not deviate from the hunger strike or agreement to end hostilities, (there *were* those hardcore elements I spoke of who must be isolated and repressed), hence the targeting of Comrade Hugo. But what was achieved in this protracted struggle, was historical, inspirational, standard-setting and monumental. To the extent that Xinachtli opposes work like Ed's and the NABPP-PC to remold and win over folks brainwashed on race, then his line is no less reactionary than that of the hardcore racists who would have us all remain polarized according to the designs of the pigs and imperialist system.

Clearly our revolutionary line on race has *proven* a genuine guide to not only serious action, but effective and historical action, and is anything but dogmatic.

Indeed, this line and practice was brought to Texas prisons by NABPP-PC comrades and led to two prison work strikes (again historic and inspirational events), first in April 2016 then September 2016. The planned strike of September prompted Texas officials to lock down at least eleven prisons to counter or prevent the work strike. Has Comrade Xinachtli's doctrines or theories provided a guide to any such "serious action" during his over two decades in the Texas prison system?

Then too there are definite historic revolutionary examples that validate the work by Communists of remolding and reeducating reactionary chauvinists. Two examples suggest themselves. One being, again, the revolutionary struggle in China under Mao Tse-tung's leadership, the other being the revolutionary anticolonial struggle in Guinea Bissau led by Amilcar Cabral.

In the Chinese case there was an open civil war between the nationalists on one side who were backed and supplied by the U.S. and other imperialist powers, and Mao's Reds on the other side. The nationalists were particularly brutal in their treatment of the Reds and anyone suspected of supporting them. The Reds, however, used such violence as necessary to suppress the enemy on the battlefield but cared for, treated like brothers and released captured nationalist soldiers. Their method proved so effective that the nationalists in turn routinely surrendered in vast numbers to join the Reds with entire supply and weapon convoys.

The Reds actually fought and ultimately won the Civil War using these captured supplies and weapons -- billions of dollars worth provided by the imperialists to the nationalist army.

The same occurred in the Reds' response to China's invasion by Japan who carried out a barbaric "kill all, burn all, loot all" campaign. Despite Japan's brutality, captured Japanese soldiers were also treated as brothers, cared for and released, with the result that many were converted and returned to their side and Japan to espouse the Communist line. The Reds' rag-tag peasant army was thus able to hold its own against one of the day's most advanced and powerful imperialist militaries, and ultimately repelled it from China, while also countering treacherous attacks by the nationalists. Upon Japan's retreat from China, the Civil War was resumed and the Reds decisively defeated the nationalists within four years.

In the case of Guinea Bissau, Cabral refused to play the racial game or the game of tribal or national divisiveness. He united various previously divided tribes and nationalities of Guineans into Afrika's most effective anticolonial struggle. He emphasized that they would not allow the struggle to descend into a racial one as against their 'white' Portuguese colonizers, who'd dealt with them quite savagely. As he stated, "I do not confuse oppression with the color of people's skins."

Like the Chinese Reds, his forces related to captured Portuguese soldiers as brothers, and through published speeches and articles he struggled to remold and awaken the consciousness of the Portuguese people as against the oppression and exploitation of Guinea. His methods proved so effective that, even though he was assassinated before the struggle's successful end, it prompted a near revolutionary overthrow by the Portuguese people of their government, compelling the army to quit Guinea and rush home to Portugal to suppress the uprising there.

KEEPING POLITICS NOT POSTURING IN COMMAND

As noted I did not "defend" as Azzurra. I defended a political strategy -- and *not* the one Xinachtli accused me of. As for her claimed "history" of "unprincipled positions" and such that has led to her estrangement from Anarchist circles, I have no knowledge of any of that. But I *do now* take issue

in her defense with the IWOC's steering committee's independently overriding and revoking her *elected* position as media co-chair which Xinachtli endorses.

To my understanding the steering committee is composed of Anarchists. And Anarchists almost by reflex accuse and denounce Communists as "authoritarians" who reject democratic practices, and rather supposedly concentrate power within a small circle of people operating above and independent of the overall body of their organizations and the masses.

Not only is this projection untrue, especially of Maoists, but we have right now it being practiced by those who traditionally criticize it as the worst sort of political evil... which it *is*. Azzurra was *elected* through popular ballot by the overall Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) membership. As such it is the exclusive right and duty of this same body to hear and decide any case that might warrant her removal from that position. And it is her democratic right to present her defenses and be heard in refutation of such a case before that body.

A steering committee of a few IWW members that overrides the will and decision of a general election without the knowledge and participation of the electorate is "authoritarianism" and "elitism" of the purest sort.

What genuine Communists practice is democratic centralism (DC). In the context of selecting leaders, this involves publicizing their work and qualifications pro and con to the broad electorate and allowing them to elect or reject the candidate by majority vote. If elected then everyone accepts them into the elected position. Democratic choice, centralized enforcement thereof. Likewise when the elected party runs afoul of the organization's or people's interests, their case is presented for a recall vote, with any decision to revoke their position turning on majority vote, after hearing evidence in the case pro and con. *This* was the overall IWW membership's right and duty and Azzurra's right (to be heard and have her fate decided by those who elected her). The steering committee should have no such dictatorial power to override the electoral will of the overall IWW membership.

The reason I never passed judgment on Azzurra's situation or her, and emphasized in the very opening paragraph of my reply to her that her IWOC position was an *elected* one, was because I was looking at the matter from a democratic perspective. I recognized it was the role of the overall IWW membership to hear and decide the matter not mine.

In this respect the undemocratic action against Azzurra comes off more as political posturing against the judgments of outsiders, much like Xinachtli's critiques, than genuine commitment to political principles. Take for example the critiques and rejection of Azzurra because of her interaction with the alleged white supremacist. Remember, Xinachtli stated he supports Comrade George Jackson's position that "we must work with white prisoners although they may express some racism in their viewpoints." Well, neither he nor the steering committee presents evidence to show that the guy Azzurra was corresponding with was a "hardcore racist" as opposed to a guy with "some racist viewpoints." And of course the question and evidence was never presented to or decided by the IWW membership who elected Azzurra.

Then Xinachtli rejects Azzurra for embracing contradictory doctrines and theories. Well, the same can be charged of many other folks on the 'Left', including Xinachtli himself. By his own representations he is a proponent of Anarchism and Chicano nationalism -- inherently contradictory doctrines. Anarchists reject the exercise of state power whereas Chicano liberationists aspire to achieve a separate state in the SW territory of the U.S. that was stolen from Mexico, which they call Aztlan. And wasn't the steering committee's peremptory revocation of Azzurra's elected position a contradiction of principles?

The U.S. 'Left' has more than its share of groups and people who embrace and espouse contradictory ideological and political lines. This is especially true of the petty bourgeoisie and the lumpen proletariat, who daily experience an admixture of social-economic conditions which conditions them to assume contradictory class lines, doctrines and theories. Even the working class (proletariat) experiences this under bourgeois cultural indoctrination and brainwash. We often see it reflected in the tenacity with which many of the most oppressed and insecure adopt and cling to racist doctrines, to compensate for a sense of lack of social worth and purpose. Should we be relating to them as enemies or working to show them that they are victims of systematic oppression and manipulation?

And while our political prisoners like Xinachtli deserve the greatest support and respect, this doesn't mean their views and opinions are to be given a presumption of correctness or are entitled to automatic deference. We must uphold *correct* ideas, which come from and are proven through practice. Has Comrade Xinachtli's theories and practice

proven to counter racist brainwash and produce serious and effective mass action across "racial" lines?

It's not our opinions that matter in this struggle against this capitalist imperialist monster, but our practice that informs it and the resultant impact it has on organizing the masses to take up and carry the struggle to its victorious conclusion.

Dare to struggle Dare to Win!

All Power to the People!

NOTES

1. See, Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, "The Revolutionary Response to Racism: Reply to A Communique By Azzurra Crispino" (2017), <http://rashidmod.com/?p=2376>

LETTER TO A YOUNG COMRADE

Greetings Comrade,

I hope this finds you well and in good spirits!

Enclosed are some materials that I hope you will find educational and useful.

You say that you are but 21 years old and wish to learn that which will help you to become a positive and great member of the Party. This is commendable, but I can tell you this, what is most important is not something you can learn from books or letters. It is what you can learn from the masses and from examination of your own heart. Love for the people is the most important thing. You can have volumes of book-learning and be able to quote the great teachers on every subject, but no one can teach you the single most important thing every true revolutionary possesses.

Huey Newton said: "I think what motivates people is not great hate, but great love for other people." He was echoing the sentiments of Ernesto Che Guevara, who said: "At the risk of seeming ridiculous, let me say that the true revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love. It is impossible to think of a genuine revolutionary lacking this quality." He also said: "Let the world change you and you can change the world." Love for the people can only come through listening to the people and through serving them. Mao Tse-tung said: "Our point of departure is to serve the people whole-heartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interests of the people and not from one's self-interest or from the interests of a small group, and to identify our responsibility to the people with our responsibility to the leading organs of the Party."

The Party exists to serve the people and it belongs to them. It gives us the opportunity to serve them in the most profound and scientific way. There are billions of oppressed people in the world and only a handful of exploiters who comprise the ruling class. Presently, a mere six of these super-rich "blood-suckers" have as much combined wealth as the poorest 50% of the world's population. Literally, you could fit them all in a stretch limo. Just a few years ago, this club could fit on a double decker tour bus, and a few years earlier you could fit them on a jumbo jet. The concentration of wealth and generalization of poverty is happening rapidly and is accelerating.

How can a small class of exploiters rule the world against the interests of the overwhelming majority? It is only because the masses are disorganized and lack a revolutionary headquarters. As individuals, we are powerless, but organized; THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE IS GREATER THAN THE PEOPLE IN POWER!

"If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs." - Mao Tse-tung, "Revolutionary Forces of the World Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression!" (November 1948), Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 284.

"A well-disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and linked with the masses of the people; an army under the leadership of such a Party; a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a Party - these are the three main weapons with which we have defeated the enemy." - Mao Tse-tung, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" (June 30, 1949), Selected Works, Vol. IV, p. 422.

Now, we cannot build such a party in isolation from the masses and their struggle, like orchids raised in a botanical garden's hot-house. Rather it must be built under the adverse conditions of class struggle drawing to itself the

most resolute and committed sons and daughters of the oppressed class. It must be tempered like steel in the furnace of resistance to oppression. We learn by doing. As Mao said: If you want to understand a pear you've got to take a bite out of it:

Where do correct ideas come from? Do they drop from the skies? No. Are they innate in the mind? No. They come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment. It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world. In their social practice, men engage in various kinds of struggle and gain rich experience, both from their successes and from their failures. Countless phenomena of the objective external world are reflected in a man's brain through his five sense organs — the organs of sight, hearing, smell, taste and touch. At first, knowledge is perceptual. The leap to conceptual knowledge, i.e., to ideas, occurs when sufficient perceptual knowledge is accumulated. This is one process in cognition. It is the first stage in the whole process of cognition, the stage leading from objective matter to subjective consciousness from existence to ideas. Whether or not one's consciousness or ideas (including theories, policies, plans or measures) do correctly reflect the laws of the objective external world is not yet proved at this stage, in which it is not yet possible to ascertain whether they are correct or not. Then comes the second stage in the process of cognition, the stage leading from consciousness back to matter, from ideas back to existence, in which the knowledge gained in the first stage is applied in social practice to ascertain whether the theories, policies, plans or measures meet with the anticipated success. Generally speaking, those that succeed are correct and those that fail are incorrect, and this is especially true of man's struggle with nature. In social struggle, the forces representing the advanced class sometimes suffer defeat not because their ideas are incorrect, but because, in the balance of forces engaged in struggle, they are not as powerful for the time being as the forces of reaction; they are therefore temporarily defeated, but they are bound to triumph sooner or later. Man's knowledge makes another leap through the test of practice. This leap is more important than the previous one. For it is this leap alone that can prove the correctness or incorrectness of the first leap in cognition, i.e., of the ideas, theories, policies, plans or measures formulated in the course of reflecting the objective external world. There is no other way of testing truth. Furthermore, the one and only purpose of the proletariat in knowing the world is to change it. Often, correct knowledge can be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice. Such is the Marxist theory of knowledge, the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge. Among our comrades there are many who do not yet understand this theory of knowledge. When asked the sources of their ideas, opinions, policies, methods, plans and conclusions, eloquent speeches and long articles they consider the questions strange and cannot answer it. Nor do they comprehend that matter, can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter, although such leaps are phenomena of everyday life. It is therefore necessary to educate our comrades in the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, so that they can orientate their thinking correctly, become good at investigation and study and at summing up experience, overcome difficulties, commit fewer mistakes, do their work better, and struggle hard so as to build China into a great and powerful socialist country and help the broad masses of the oppressed and exploited throughout the world in fulfillment of our great internationalist duty.

Mao Tse-tung, "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" (May 1963)

The oppression of Black people in Amerika and in the world, is not some isolated phenomena, it is part and parcel of a system based upon class exploitation. As Mao taught:

In 1963, in the "Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by U.S. Imperialism," I said that the "the evil system of colonialism and imperialism

arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade in Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people."

He also noted that the struggle of Black people against racial oppression was an integral part of the worldwide proletarian socialist revolution:

The fortunes of the African revolution are closely linked with the world-wide struggle against imperialism. It does not matter where the battle erupts, be it in Africa, Asia or Latin America, the master-mind and master-hand at work are the same. The oppressed and exploited people are striving for their freedom against exploitation and suppression. Ghana must not, Ghana cannot be neutral in the struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor. - Kwame Nkrumah

Moreover, the struggle here is the key struggle in overthrowing capitalist-imperialism. As George Jackson explained:

"International capitalism cannot be destroyed without the extremes of struggle. The entire colonial world is watching the blacks inside the U.S., wondering and waiting for us to come to our senses. Their problems and struggles with the Amerikan monster are much more difficult than they would be if we actively aided them. We are on the inside. We are the only ones (besides the very small white minority left) who can get at the monster's heart without subjecting the world to nuclear fire. We have a momentous historical role to act out if we will. The whole world for all time in the future will love us and remember us as the righteous people who made it possible for the world to live on."

The more than 2 million incarcerated people in the U.S. are truly "inside the belly of the beast." The strategy of the United Panther Movement led by NABPP-PC calls for transforming the "slave pens of oppression" into "schools of liberation." What does this mean? Why is this important?

Ideas become a material force in society once they are grasped by the masses. Prisons are the universities of the oppressed class. The dominant ideas of any society are those of its ruling class, so the ideas reflecting the interests and outlook of the oppressed class must develop in opposition to and struggle with the oppressors. The prisons are a natural place for this to develop. Most of the incarcerated will once again return to society and the ideas they learn inside will find traction on the outside. Some of these former prisoners will become activists and leaders in their communities. Malcolm X is an example of such a leader.

"When the people who are in power want to ... create an image to justify something that's bad, they use the press. And they'll use the press to create a humanitarian image, for a devil, or a devil image for a humanitarian. They'll take a person who's a victim of the crime, and make it appear he's the criminal, and they'll take the criminal and make it appear that he's the victim of the crime." - Malcolm X

"The media's the most powerful entity on earth. They have the power to make the innocent guilty and to make the guilty innocent, and that's power. Because they control the minds of the masses." - Malcolm X

What Malcolm was saying is that the capitalist ruling class own and controls the mass media, the newspapers and television, and likewise the universities and political parties. Spontaneously, the masses cannot develop an all-round revolutionary world view and scientific understanding. This sort of consciousness must be brought to them from outside, from the work of revolutionary intellectuals armed with the most advanced and scientific revolutionary theory — and this must be embodied in a vanguard revolutionary party. Steven Biko, a revolutionary intellectual from Azania (South Africa) who was targeted for repression and beaten to death by police in a jail cell, explained: *The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed.*

"We believe it is the duty of the vanguard political movement which brings change to educate people's outlook." - Steven Biko

"The logic behind white domination is to prepare the black man for the subservient role in this country." - Steven Biko

Every person with a scientific education realizes that racism is built on lies. Robert Sobukwe,

another South African and founder of the Pan-African Congress who was imprisoned by the racist apartheid regime, explained: *The structure of the body of man provides evidence to prove the biological unity of the human species. All scientists agree that there is no "race" that is superior to another, and there is no "race" that is inferior to others. The Africanists take the view that there is only one race to which we all belong, and that is the human race. In our vocabulary therefore, the word 'race' as applied to man, has no plural form. We do, however, admit the existence of observable physical differences between various groups of people, but these differences are the result of a number of factors, chief among which has been geographical isolation.*

"In Afrika the myth of race has been propounded and propagated by the imperialists and colonialists from Europe, in order to facilitate and justify their inhuman exploitation of the indigenous people of the land. It is from this myth of race with its attendant claims of cultural superiority that the doctrine of white supremacy stems." — Robert Sobukwe

"Let me plead with you, lovers of my Africa, to carry with you into the world the vision of a new Africa." - Robert Sobukwe

The New African Black Panther Party Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC) embraces Pan-Africanism as a stepping stone to global revolutionary intercommunalism and the eventual attainment of World Communism. We denounce and reject racism in all its manifestations and stand for complete equality and social justice for all. We proudly proclaim ourselves to be "all-the-way revolutionaries." Like everything else, revolution advances in waves and at each stage we endeavor to represent the bright future of humanity, where the wealth of socialized labor will be shared by all in accordance with their needs.

Our immediate tasks revolve around service to the people and education, both of ourselves and the masses. Within the oppressed communities, our strategic task is to transform them into base areas of cultural, social and political revolution in the context of building a worldwide united front against capitalist-imperialism, racism and police state repression. We need to establish Books & Breakfast programs centered in the oppressed communities. For books we have the two excellent books written by our Minister of Defense, Comrade Rashid, and there are many fine books produced by and about the original BPP and its allied formations, and the classical works of Marxism Leninism Maoism. There are books of History and Economics and also Philosophy and the science of Historical Dialectical Materialism.

As we build bases in the communities on the outside, we will be better able to assist the comrades on the inside in obtaining study materials and establishing correspondence between study circles on the outside and those on the inside. We must teach each other and everyone must be both student and instructor. The outside circles will later be able to assist the prisoners coming out and incorporate them in their programs in the communities. We need to make a particular effort to recruit women and mothers into the United Panther Movement and the Party and in the creation of survival programs and co-ops that will serve their needs and those of the communities.

As Brother Malcolm said: "Only a fool would let his enemy teach his children." We need to establish curriculum for home schooling and create liberation schools in the outside communities. Likewise, we need to establish community health care programs and people's clinics. We need to create free transportation programs for families to visit prisons and elders and disabled people to go to hospitals, doctor visits and other necessary appointments. The types and number of potential "serve the people" programs are limited only by our organizational abilities and resources.

As our power grows side by side with that of the establishment, we will need standing bodies of people's defenders to patrol our communities and provide for the security of our leaders and people. These are all things that the original BPP accomplished and provided models for us to emulate. Our goal must be to create strong men and women, strong families and children, strong communities and a strong people's movement. Iron sharpens iron and strength attracts strength.

Panther Love! — Tom Watts