



RASHID 7-87

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



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**Newsletter of the New Afrikan Service Organization (formerly the Black Brigade)
Published by Rising Sun Press, PO Box 4362, Allentown, PA 1810**

Serve The People #9



Chairman Shaka S. Zulu
NABPP-PC

Editorial: Once again the world is witnessing the hard-heartedness of U.S. imperialism that was displayed during Hurricane Katrina – but this time on a grander scale – as the U.S. government asserts its domination over earthquake ravaged Haiti: And who did President Obama pick to head up the “relief effort?” Why George W. Bush, (presumably because he did so well during Katrina), and Bill Clinton. These ex-presidents do have experience at invading Haiti, and that’s just what the U.S. relief effort has been – a military invasion.

Right away, the U.S. military took over the Port-au-Prince airport and made sure its transporting troops and their supplies took precedence over the international relief effort, and the puppet Haitian government was instructed to stop the search for people buried in the rubble. Next, the U.S. military decided to halt the evacuation of critically wounded patients back to the U.S. The excuse given was that Gov. Charlie Crist of Florida, a Republican running for the Senate and a presidential hopeful, asked the federal government to shoulder some of the cost of the care.

Florida’s officials insisted that the state’s hospitals had not refused to take more patients. Dr. Green of the Miami Miller School of Medicine said that his group was evacuating around two dozen patients a day from the emergency clinic they set up in the airport until the U.S. military stopped the flights.

The White House denied that it had sanctioned the suspension of flights, and President Obama ordered that they be resumed after the world press got hold of the story. But with only a trickle of seriously injured being evacuated in the first place, one has to question the administration’s priorities. Florida claims it has taken some 500 cases, (the Feds say 435), but most of these seem to have been U.S. and other nationals. With 250,000 people injured (and 200,000 dead) the Department of Homeland Security says it has only extended humanitarian parole to 34 non-U.S. citizens to receive treatment covered by Medicare.

Yet polls show that 45% of U.S. families have donated money to help the relief effort. Dr. Green stated that, “We have offers from almost every major university hospital in the United States to take patients... We can’t care for them on the ground.” But Maj. James Lowe disagreed, claiming that the need for evacuation of the critically injured had “significantly declined.”

To understand the attitudes and reluctance to help the Haitian people, we must dig into the rubble of the history of Amerikan imperialism and the long suffering of the Haitian people, particularly since 1910. That was the year that the National City Bank of New York (now Citibank) bought the Banque National d’Haiti – Haiti’s only commercial bank and its national treasury.

Five years later, President Woodrow Wilson ordered the military invasion and occupation of Haiti to protect U.S. investments. Until 1934, the U.S. Marines murdered Haitian patriots and made Haiti safe for U.S. bankers to lay claim to 40% of the country’s gross domestic product.

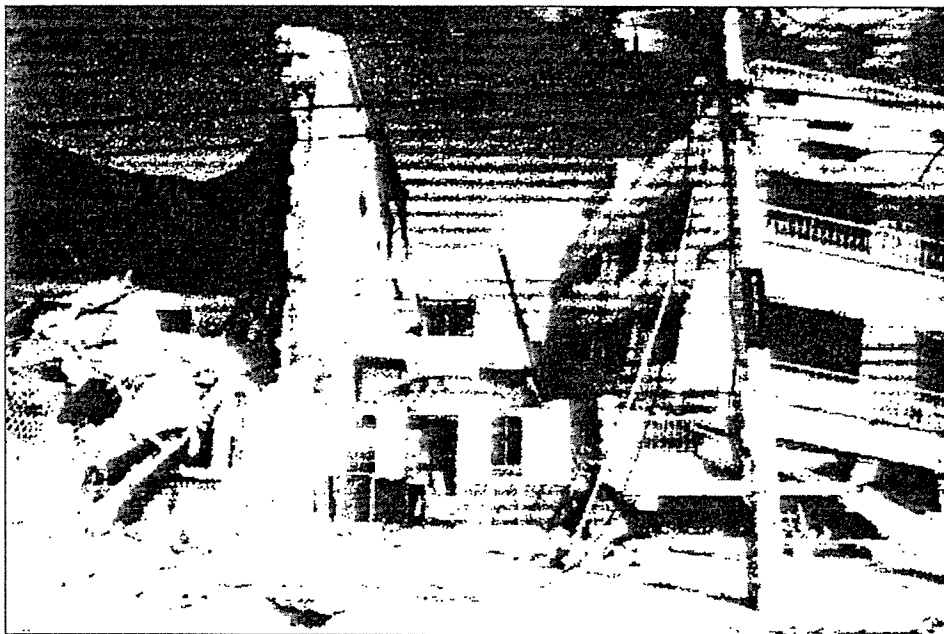
In 1957, the U.S. imposed the regime of “Papa Doc” Duvalier, whose *Tonton Macoutes* death squads disappeared some 30,000 Haitians and forced many more to flee the country. When he died in 1971, his son “Baby Doc” took over, and socked away between \$300 to \$800 million in Swiss accounts, before Ronald Reagan had to send the Marines to wisk him into exile in France before the Haitian people got ahold of him.

Since then the U.S. twice deposed the popularly elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. And in 2004, the CIA kidnapped him to Afrika, where he remains under virtual house arrest. But the tragedy goes on and will likely intensify as it has been revealed that Haiti is sitting on top of major oil and gas reserves, which the U.S. oil companies have known for some time.

In building NASO, we must find ways to involve our Haitian New Afrikan brothers and sisters and unite their struggles with our own. We have a common history of slavery and oppression, and a common enemy in capitalist-imperialism.

Panther Love!





Haiti Earthquake

The 2010 Haiti earthquake was a catastrophic magnitude 7.0 earthquake. Its epicenter was near the town of Leogane, approximately 25 km (16 miles) west of Port-au-Prince, the capital. The earthquake occurred at 16:53 local time on Tuesday, January 12, 2010. By January 24th, at least 52 aftershocks measuring 4.5 or greater had been recorded. As of Feb. 12th, an estimated three million people were affected by the quake, and the Haitian Government reports that between 217,000 and 230,000 people had been identified as dead, an estimated 300,000 injured, and an estimated 1,000,000 homeless. The death toll is expected to rise. They also estimated that 250,000 residences and 30,000 commercial buildings had collapsed or were severely damaged.

The earthquake caused major damage to Port-au-Prince, Jacmel and other cities in the region. Many notable landmark buildings were significantly damaged or destroyed, including the Presidential Palace, the National Assembly building, the Port-au-Prince Cathedral, and the main jail. Among those killed were Archbishop of Port-au-Prince Joseph Serge Miot, and opposition leader Micha Gaillard. The headquarters of the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), located in the capital, collapsed, killing many, including the Mission's Chief, Hedi Annabi.

Many countries responded to appeals for humanitarian aid, pledging funds and dispatching rescue and medical teams, engineers and support personnel. Communication systems, air, land, and sea transport facilities, hospitals, and electrical networks had been damaged by the earthquake, which hampered rescue and aid efforts; confusion over who was in charge, air traffic congestion, and problems with prioritization of flights further complicated early relief work. Port-au-Prince's morgues were quickly overwhelmed; tens of thousands of bodies were buried in mass graves. As rescues tailed off, supplies, medical care and sanitation became priorities. Delays in aid distribution led to angry

appeals from aid workers and survivors, and some looting and sporadic violence were observed.

On January 22nd, the United Nations noted that the emergency phase of the relief operation was drawing to a close, and on the following day the Haitian government officially called off the search for survivors. □



Wyclef Jean's Haiti Earthquake Relief Mission

January 13, 2010

Wyclef Jean is taking the lead in asking for help and assistance for the millions of people affected by the massive earthquake that struck Haiti.

Serve The People #9

According to his Twitter post, the singer, born on the island, is headed to Haiti Wednesday morning, "I am on my way to the D R to get to Haiti. Please urge you council men governors etc., we need a state of emergency for Haiti."

"Haiti today faced a natural disaster of unprecedented proportion, an earthquake unlike anything the country has ever experienced," Jean wrote on his Web site. The earthquake, the largest the island has seen in more than 200 years, struck around 4:50 p.m. on Tuesday.

Jean has set up a donation page on his Yele Haiti Foundation Web site (the site has been down Wednesday morning, possibly due to high traffic). According to Wikipedia, Jean set up the foundation and yele.org in 2005 to provide scholarships to children in Haiti after the devastation by Hurricane Jeanne.

On his Web site Jean said people can make a donation by texting "Yele" to 501501, which will automatically donate \$5 to the Yele Haiti Earthquake Fund (it will be charged to your cell phone bill.)

He spoke on CNN Tuesday night and said he was talking to a friend on the phone in Haiti when she said, "I think an earthquake is coming," and the call was dropped. After contacting her again he was told that buildings were collapsing.

"There are 4 million Haitians outside of Haiti and this is the time for... them to step up and call their congressman," Jean told CNN's Anderson Cooper. "We need a state of emergency right now."

Jean's sister and family are also working to get aid to the nation. Melky Jean spoke to WNYW-TV Wednesday and said that she has been contacting people through Facebook and Twitter while cell phone coverage has been spotty. "We're hoping for the best. The Haitian people are very resilient," she said.

Yele Haiti P.O. Box 2345 New York NY 10108

Are We in Haiti because of Oil?

Peter Schlosser

Prisonplanet.com

Thursday, January 21st, 2010

It has been a little over a week since the devastating earthquake hit just outside Port au Prince, Haiti. Since that day, I have watched in horror as the Haitian people and their society have quickly submerged into a quagmire of social unrest and political grandstanding. Once I observed the mass-murder posse of Team Obama, Bush and Clinton begin circling the wagons and the rapid U.S. militarization of Port au Prince, including the occupation of the Presidential Palace, to the tune of now almost 10,000 U.S. boots on the ground, I began to get suspicious. Call me crazy. I know of the sad history of Haiti imposed upon the tiny former slave nation by one imperial power after the next. But when I see 10,000 American soldiers descend upon a nation in less than a week, my radar flies into the red zone. Just when I was beginning to brush up on the story behind the story regarding Yemen, now I'm thrashed about one more time and forced to begin scrambling for the next story behind the story for this week's latest NWO hot topic.

After a few hours on the Internet, I discovered an article posted in January of 2008 [robbing-people-blind.html](#) indicating that large amounts of, you guessed it; OIL had indeed been discovered in Haiti a short while back. According to the article, scientists Ginette and Daniel Mathurin indicated that "under Haitian soil it is rich in oil and fuel." "We have identified 20 oil sites." said Daniel Mathurin stating that "5 of them are considered of great importance by specialists and politicians."

"The Central Plateau, including the region of Thomonde, the plain of the Cul-de-Sac and the bay of Port-au-Prince are full of hydrocarbons," he said adding that "the oil reserves of Haiti are more important than those of Venezuela." "An Olympic pool compared to a glass of water; that is the comparison to illustrate the importance of Haitian oil compared with those of Venezuela," he explains.

"Venezuela is one of the world's largest producers of oil."

We know that large amounts of oil had been discovered in Cuba a little over a year ago as appeared in a *London Guardian* article from Saturday, October 18th 2008.

"Mother Nature, it emerged this week, appears to have blessed the island with enough oil reserves to vault it into the ranks of energy powers. The government announced there may be more than 20bn barrels of recoverable oil in offshore fields in Cuba's share of the Gulf of Mexico, more than twice the previous estimate.

If confirmed, it puts Cuba's reserves on par with those of the U.S. and into the world's top 20. Drilling is expected to start next year by Cuba's state oil company Cubapetroleo, or Cupet.

"It would change their whole equation. The government would have more money and no longer be dependent on foreign oil," said Kirby Jones, founder of the Washington-based U.S.-Cuba Trade Association. "It could join the club of oil exporting nations." Wrote Rory Carroll, Latin America Correspondent for the Guardian.

If one looks at a map and notices that Haiti and Cuba are only about 60 miles apart separated by the Winward Passage, one might then assume that perhaps the two Caribbean nations might be sitting on the same stretch of oil field. And the plot thickens. According to the article regarding Haitian oil: "Daniel and Ginette Malthurin indicate that the American government had in 2005 authorized the use of strategic reserves of the United States. The door should be used by politicians to launch Haitian negotiations with American companies in the context of the exploitation of these deposits."

"The specialists contend that the government of Jean Claude Duvalier had verified the existence of a major oil field in the Bay of Port-au-Prince shortly before his downfall."

Hmmm, intriguing. It would seem that the Pentagon's interest in Haiti during this crisis just might stretch a bit beyond their normal warm and fuzzy humanitarian intentions. It feels like we've been here before. Keep your eyes on the bouncing ball and watch for Big Oil to move into the region shortly. Perhaps this may also serve as a wee bit of gunboat diplomacy targeted at Cuba and, more ominously, a back-up plan to secure reserves in the Empire's backyard as Obama and the War Machine get ready to take on Venezuela. More will be revealed. □

Haiti could have larger oil reserves than Venezuela

www.worldoil.com

Amidst the utter devastation left in the wake of the earthquake that rocked Haiti on January 12th, new findings indicate the existence of 3 million barrels of oil in a shallow formation offshore the island.

The Greater Antilles, which includes Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico and their offshore waters, probably hold at least 142 million barrels of oil and 159 billion cubic feet of gas, according to a 2000 report by the US Geological Survey. Undiscovered amounts may be as high as 941 million barrels of oil and 1.2 trillion cubic feet of gas, according to the report.

Among nations in the northern Caribbean, Cuba and Jamaica have awarded offshore leases for oil and gas development. Trinidad & Tobago, South American islands off the coast of Venezuela, account for most Caribbean oil production, according to the US Energy Department. According to French scientist Daniel Mathurin, "The Central Plateau, including the region of Thomond, the plain of the

cul-de-sac and the bay of Port-au-Prince are filled with oil." He added that "Haiti's oil reserves are larger than those of Venezuela. An Olympic pool compared to a glass of water that is the comparison to show the importance of oil Haitian compared to those of Venezuela."

Mathurin also stated that "We have identified 20 sites oil... 5 of them are considered very important by practitioners and policies."

President Hugo Chavez recently announced that he would write off the undisclosed sum Haiti owes Venezuela for oil as part of the ALBA bloc's plans to help the impoverished Caribbean nation after the devastating January 12 earthquake.

"Haiti has no debt with Venezuela, just the opposite: Venezuela has a historical debt with that nation, with that people for whom we feel not pity but rather admiration, and we share their faith, their hope," Chavez said after the extraordinary meeting of foreign ministers of the Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas, or ALBA..

He also announced that ALBA has decided on a comprehensive plan that includes an immediate donation of \$20 million to Haiti's health sector, and a fund that, Chavez said, will be at least \$100 million 'for starters.'□



Imperialist Invasion in Guise of Aid: U.S. Sends Marines to Haiti

The World Can't Wait, Friday, 15 January 2010

By *Kenneth J. Theisen*

The devastation and death that has occurred this week in Haiti has made me cry as I read accounts and see pictures of the tragedy there. The numbers of dead will likely be in the tens of thousands, if not higher. The whole world is watching and people want to do what they can to help the Haitian people.

But as the Haitian people suffer, the U.S. government is conducting what amounts to a military invasion of a suffering population, and accompanying this with a public relations campaign to portray the U.S. military and U.S. imperialism as some sort of humanitarian saviors. We must not forget the real role played by the U.S. war machine around the world and also in Haiti.

Serve The People #9

The New York Times carried a story about the first American ship to reach Haiti after the earthquake. The Coast Guard cutter Forward was dispatched from the American naval base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. The 82nd Airborne, the marines, and the aircraft carrier Carl Vinson have also been sent by the President. On the Pentagon's website today there are 5 articles about how the U.S. military has come to the aid of the Haitian people. The White House has stated that Haiti is Obama's number one priority.

All this is intended to re-cast U.S. imperialism and its vast military as a positive force in the world. We are expected to forget the many current wars in which the U.S. is the aggressor and the hundreds of thousands of deaths caused by these wars. We are supposed to ignore that the American Empire has troops deployed in over 100 nations and patrols the seas with nuclear armed armadas to make the world safe for U.S. imperialism.

And even the many interventions, coups, and occupations of Haiti by the U.S. are not mentioned in the mass media. I have not seen one article or broadcast since the earthquake that mentioned that the U.S. invaded Haiti and occupied it from 1915 to 1934. The U.S. imposed military rule on Haitians for two decades, brutally suppressing any resistance. Not one mention was made in any article that the U.S. forces killed thousands of Haitians during this period - people who dared to resist the foreign occupation of their country, people caught in the crossfire, people who were killed because they were Haitians..

The Times article that talked about ships being deployed from Guantanamo Bay did not mention that Gitmo was previously used in the 1990s as a detention center to imprison HIV-infected Haitians who were seeking asylum in the U.S. The article mentioned that the Coast Guard cutter was there to assist in the relief effort of Haiti, but did not mention the many years that the Coast Guard has been patrolling the sea to keep Haitian refugees from reaching U.S. shores. As a result of these patrols and U.S. immigration policies, thousands of Haitians have perished at sea trying to make a better life for themselves and their families.

The mainstream media has also failed to mention the violent overthrow and forced exile of Haiti's democratically elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide at the hands of the U.S. imperialist in 2003. The years of the U.S. supported dictatorship of the Duvalier regime are also left out of current media reports of the "humanitarian mission" of the U.S. military.

Some would say that all this is not relevant at this time. After all this is merely a "natural disaster." While it is true that nature led to the earthquake, the extent of the death and destruction is not natural. The poverty of Haiti is not natural. The lack of properly constructed buildings which collapsed in the earthquake is not natural. The poor infrastructure which inhibits the relief of Haiti is not natural. The inadequate health structure is not natural and this has led to unnecessary death after the earthquake. All these are directly caused by the hundreds of years of imperialist domination inflicted upon the Haitian people.

It is not the purpose of this article to detail all the oppression of the Haitian people at the hands of the imperialists, but Haiti did not come to be one of the poorest nations in the world" by accident or because Haitians are lazy. Most of the people of Haiti are the descendants of slaves forcibly removed from

Africa hundreds of years ago. The Haitian people who have frequently risen to demand freedom for themselves and their nation have been repeatedly put down by military force, including the brutal force of the U.S. military.

Over the last century, the Haitian people have been directly governed by the U.S. or by U.S.-supported repressive governments for most of that time. Occupation forces have at different times included the U.S. marines and army and even U.N. forces. The underdevelopment of Haiti is a direct result of U.S. imperialism. That underdevelopment is a large reason that this earthquake has resulted in so much destruction. But you will not hear that story from the U.S. propagandists. Instead over the coming weeks we will hear how generous the U.S. is in providing aid to the country.

We will see stories of the U.S. troops handing out food to the Haitians or unloading cargo plains with relief supplies. We will see crocodile tears from U.S. officials who are "concerned" about the devastation in that tiny nation. But do not forget that much of that devastation is also the responsibility of the U.S. government. And do not forget the real role of the U.S. war machine - to enforce the domination of U.S. imperialism over the world.¹



Bush, Clinton and the Crimes of U.S. Imperialism in Haiti

by Patrick Martin
Global Research

The Obama administration has announced that former presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush will head the

¹ "Even as people were still being pulled out alive from demolished buildings, U.S. and U.N. officials insisted that further rescue operations were hopeless. At the very least saving lives has not been the priority of the U.S. intervention in Haiti... The cargo planes that are bringing in U.S. military personnel and supplies, it should be noted, fly back empty." Bill Van Auken, World Socialist Website

Serve The People #9

fundraising for relief efforts in the wake of the Haiti earthquake. In his radio speech Saturday, Obama declared: "These two leaders send an unmistakable message to the people of Haiti and the world. In a moment of need, the United States stands united."

The message of the Clinton-Bush appointment is indeed significant, but hardly what the White House and the American media have suggested. In selecting his two immediate predecessors, those who have set U.S. policy in the Caribbean since 1993, Obama demonstrates that the devastating human tragedy in Haiti will not bring any alteration in the rapacious role of U.S. imperialism in that impoverished semi-colonial country.

For eight years apiece, Clinton and Bush were directly and deeply involved in a series of political machinations and military interventions that have played a major role in perpetuating the poverty, backwardness and repression in Haiti that have vastly compounded by the disaster that struck that country last Tuesday. Both men have the blood of Haitian workers and peasants on their hands.

Clinton took office in the immediate aftermath of the military coup which ousted Haiti's first democratically elected president, the populist cleric Jean-Bertrand Aristide. That coup was backed by the administration of Bush's father, who saw Aristide as an unwanted and potentially dangerous radical.



President Jean-Bertrand Aristide

The new Democratic Party administration undertook a tactical shift in policy. Clinton imposed economic sanctions on the Haitian junta, which destroyed Haiti's fledgling export industries, then dispatched the Marines to Haiti -- for the third time in the 20th century -- to compel Gen. Raoul Cedras, the junta leader, to depart. The U.S. restored Aristide to the presidency, after he had given assurances that he would do nothing to challenge the domination of either Washington or the native Haitian elite, and that he would leave office in 1996 without seeking reelection.

After Aristide obediently left office on schedule, he was succeeded by Rene Preval, who served the first of his two terms as president from 1996 to 2001, carrying out the dictates of an International Monetary Fund "structural adjustment" program that slashed employment, cut public services, and ruined domestic rice farmers.

When Aristide's Fanmi Lavalas party won a clear victory in May 2000 legislative elections, the Clinton administration and the Republican-controlled Congress refused to accept the election and cut off U.S. aid. Aristide himself returned to the presidency after winning a landslide election victory in November 2000, only to face an implacable enemy in the incoming Bush administration.

For three years, Haiti was systematically starved by the U.S. aid cutoff and measures taken by the Bush administration to block international aid and isolate the Aristide government. Finally, in February 2004, amid protests fomented by the Haitian ruling elite with covert American backing, the U.S. military again intervened in the country, seizing Aristide and shipping him out of the country to exile.

The Marines turned over effective control of the country to a United Nations peacekeeping force, with Brazil providing the biggest troop contingent, propping up a series of unelected Haitian prime ministers until elections in 2006, from which candidates of Fanmi Lavalas were largely excluded. Rene Preval was elected president for the second time, in a term scheduled to end late this year. Once a supporter and professed political "twin" of Aristide, Preval has long since made his peace with both Washington and the Haitian ruling elite, and his second term has been characterized by slavish subservience to the economic prescriptions of Wall Street and the International Monetary Fund.

Throughout the Clinton and Bush administrations, U.S. demands for adherence to IMF austerity policies were combined with a vicious program of repression against Haitians fleeing the country of their birth to seek refuge and a better life in the United States. In his first campaign for the presidency, in 1992, Clinton criticized the persecution and forced repatriation of Haitian refugees, only to reverse himself and continue those policies unaltered. For the next 17 years -- and continuing with no change from Obama -- hundreds of refugees have died in small boats seeking to evade the U.S. Coast Guard blockade.



Haitian sweatshop

Most recently, Clinton has been the official UN envoy for Haiti, backing the corrupt Preval regime and seeking to develop Haiti as a base for a profitable U.S.-run garment

Serve The People #9

industry founded on near-starvation wages. Food riots swept the country in April 2008, but that did not stop Preval from blocking legislation that would have raised the minimum wage of \$1.72 a day for workers in the garment factories.

As for George W. Bush, his selection as co-leader of a supposed humanitarian campaign is an insult to the people of both Haiti and the United States. His appointment by Obama is in keeping with the Democratic president's unflagging efforts since his election, the result of popular hatred of Bush and his party, to rehabilitate the Republicans.

An unapologetic war criminal who is responsible for the slaughter of a million Iraqis, Bush's signature domestic "achievement" was the abject failure of the U.S. government either to prevent the devastation of New Orleans and the Gulf Coast in Hurricane Katrina, or to mount an effective relief and recovery effort afterwards.

This is the record of the two men whom Barack Obama has selected as the public face of the latest U.S. initiative in Haiti. Bush and Clinton made a series of media appearances over the weekend, including interviews on all five Sunday television news programs, during which they emphasized the need to restore "stability" to Haiti, and the important role that the United States would have to play in that effort.

Bush and Clinton personify the pernicious and reactionary role that American imperialism has played in Haiti for the last century. It is no exaggeration to say that the policies of their administrations have caused as much death and devastation in that country as last Tuesday's earthquake.

Patrick Martin is a frequent contributor to *Global Research*.

U.S. Imperialism: No Friend of Haiti



Abayomi Azikiwe, Editor, Pan African News Wire

Sunday, January 24, 2010

The following address was given at a public meeting on Haiti held on January 23, 2010.

Many days after the January 12 earthquake in Haiti, thousands of tons of supplies and food are sitting at the airport in the capital Port-au-Prince and not being distributed to the people who need it desperately. Tens of thousands of injured people are losing limbs, becoming permanently disabled and dying because of the obstruction of aid delivery

and the lack of a coordinated effort between states, aid agencies and the Haitian community leadership.

At the epicenter of the quake people had not been provided with any outside assistance. U.S. helicopters fly over the area and drop pieces of bread to the thousands of survivors on the ground. As a result of this disconnect between the Haitian people and the western-based relief effort, anger is growing among many at the grassroots level.

In an Associated Press article on January 22 it states that "As aftershocks still shook the city nine days later, aid workers streamed into Haiti with water, food, drugs, latrines, clothing, trucks, construction equipment, telephones and tons of other relief supplies. The international Red Cross called it the greatest deployment of emergency responders in its 91-year history." (AP, Jan. 22)

Nonetheless, the distribution of this assistance is extremely slow. The AP article continues by pointing out that "the built-in bottlenecks of this desperately poor, underdeveloped nation and the sheer scale of the catastrophe still left many of the hundreds of thousands of victims without help. The U.S. military reported a waiting list of 1,400 international relief flights seeking to land on Port-au-Prince's single runway, where 12 to 140 flights were arriving daily."

Why after over an extended period of time since the quake and later aftershocks, that relief has not gotten to the Haitian people in mass? Why does the corporate-media seek out incidents to validate its claim that the Haitian people are incapable of handling their own affairs and determining the destiny of the country? The answers to these questions are to be found in the history and contemporary situation in Haiti and the Caribbean.

As of late January 2010, the U.S. has announced the deployment of 11,000 troops from the army and the marines. Also the United Nations' 9,000-person peacekeeping force will be increasing its presence with another 3,500 soldiers to bolster the Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). The Obama administration pledged \$100 million in relief assistance but the appointment of Bill Clinton and George W. Bush to coordinate efforts sent the wrong signal for not only the people in Haiti and the Caribbean, but also those within the United States itself who vividly recall the role of both these presidents in invading the country.

A myriad of other U.S., European and Canadian agencies have announced tens of millions of dollars in relief aid. Yet, from all credible accounts emanating from inside Haiti, the military forces deployed by U.S. imperialism are serving more as an impediment to helping the people than providing the type of assistance that is really needed.

There have been news reports showing U.S. troops firing on Haitians who are simply trying to get food, water and supplies from destroyed businesses damaged in the earthquake. Such scenes provide the rationale for increased repression and containment of the majority of the people in Haiti. At the conclusion of one week after the quake, it was stated that hundreds of thousands of people would be relocated from Port-au-Prince to other regions of the country.

Therefore, despite the presence of thousands of marines, army units and other U.S. personnel, the conditions of the Haitian people are worsening. The organizational capacity of the workers and youth are being stifled as a result of the dominance of the United States.



Jean Jacques Dessalines, Haiti's Liberator

A History of Rebellion and Revolution Against Slavery

How did Haiti arrive in this social situation where it is often described as the "poorest country in the western hemisphere?" Absent of the series of hurricanes that hit the country over the last two years and the recent devastating earthquake that registered at 7.0 with a number of substantial aftershocks that did further damage to buildings, the character of Haitian political economy cannot be separated from the history of slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism in the Caribbean.

Western European contact with the island that became known as Hispaniola, where both Haiti and the Dominican Republic are located, was a traumatic one. The Spanish Monarchy sent Columbus in 1492 to pave the way for its imperial and colonial aims that resulted in the extermination of the indigenous people on the island.

Ralph Korngold in his political biography of Toussaint Louverture, "Citizen Toussaint," states with reference to the indigenous people in Hispaniola that "If the Indians perished by tens and by hundreds of thousands, the white colonists prospered. Mines and plantations were developed. The ports of the island were crowded with proud galleons bringing manufactured products from the mother country and carrying away rich colonial produce." (Korngold, 1944, p.6)

Korngold continues by noting the tremendous wealth the Spanish gained from the exploitation of the resources and people of Hispaniola. He states that "For many of the colonists the dream of wealth came true. Some returned to Spain and spent in riotous living the wealth wrung from the Indians. Others built fine houses, imported costly furniture and clothing and set out to found a colonial aristocracy."

The colony of Hispaniola began to rival its European capital in wealth and opulence. According to Oviedo, who wrote to

Charles V saying "that there was not a city in Spain comparable with Santo Domingo City,...there were mansions surpassing in size, splendor and comfort the palaces in which royalty lived in the mother country."

Frederick Douglass, the former abolitionist and U.S. Minister to the Republic of Haiti delivered an address in Chicago during 1893 where he discussed the role of Spain in the conquering of Hispaniola. Douglass pointed to the role of the Church in this process and the contradictions between the principals of Christianity and the practice of the Spanish in their extermination of the Caribbean native people and the enslavement of the Africans.

Douglass said in this speech that "In thinking of Haiti, a painful, perplexing and contradictory fact meets us at the outset. It is: that Negro slavery was brought to the New World by the same people from whom Haiti received her religion and her civilization. No people have ever shown greater religious zeal or have given more attention to the ordinances of the Christian church than have the Spaniards; yet no people were ever guilty of more injustice and blood-chilling cruelty to their fellowmen than these same religious Spaniards. Men more learned in the theory of religion than I am, may be able to explain and reconcile these two facts; but to me they seem to prove that men may be very pious, and yet pitiless; very religious and yet practice the foulest crimes. These Spanish Christians found in Haiti a million harmless men and women, and in less than sixty years they had murdered nearly all of them. With religion on their lips, the tiger in their hearts and the slave whip in their hands, they lashed these innocent natives to toil, death and extinction. When these pious souls had destroyed the natives, they opened the slave trade with Africa as a merciful device. Such, at least, is the testimony of history." (Haiti: A Slave Revolution, 2004, pp. 77-78)

Later the French, British and the Dutch would come seeking their fortunes on the island. The economic decline of the colony under Spain opened up the island to settlement by the French who took over the western region by the second decade of the 17th century.

Beginning in the middle 17th century, the main products developed on the island were cocoa, indigo and tobacco. In 1644 Benjamin Dacosta brought in sugar cane production from Java which led to rapid growth in this industry throughout the island and the Caribbean.

Korngold points out that "Sugar cane might have been profitably grown on small farms had independent mills been erected. But there appeared instead large sugar plantations that had their own mills and were manufactories as well as agricultural establishments. To produce sugar in this fashion required a great outlay of capital. Vast estates swallowed up the small farms." (Korngold, p.11)

By 1789 over one million Africans had been imported into Hispaniola as slaves. C.L.R. James wrote in the "Black Jacobins" in 1938 that "In 1789 the French West Indian colony of San Domingo (Haiti) supplied two-thirds of the overseas trade of France and was the greatest individual market for the European slave trade. It was an integral part of the economic life of the age, the greatest colony in the world, the pride of France, and the envy of every other imperialist nation. The whole structure rested on the labour of half-a-million slaves." (James, Preface)

Serve The People #9

James continues by recounting the sheer magnitude of the revolutionary struggle launched by the African people of Haiti beginning during the last decade of the 18th century. He says that "In August 1791, after two years of the French Revolution and its repercussions in San Domingo, the slaves revolted. The struggle lasted for 12 years. The slaves defeated in turn the local whites and the soldiers of the French monarchy, a Spanish invasion, a British expedition of some 60,000 men, and a French expedition of similar size under Bonaparte's brother-in-law. The defeat of Bonaparte's expedition in 1803 resulted in the establishment of the Negro state in Haiti which has lasted to this day."

The revolt and subsequent seizure of power in Haiti, is the only recorded revolution that was conceived, organized and carried out by a slave population in the entire history of human society. James says "The transformation of slaves, trembling in hundreds before a single white man, into a people able to organize themselves and defeat the most powerful European nations of their day, is one of the great epics of revolutionary struggle and achievement."

The Haitian Revolution had a tremendous impact on the United States. It struck fear into the slave master class in the South and the North who new from that point forward there was a real potential for the overthrow of the plantation owners and their dreaded system of exploitation and oppression. The revolutionary struggle in San Domingo rendered absurd the notion of the inherent superiority of the European and the inability of the African people to both rise up and defeat their rulers.

Inside continental North America, the defeat of the French imperialist army in 1803 weakened its stranglehold on large sections of the territory. Korngold says that "It was not Toussaint's intention to help the United States of America acquire the Louisiana Territory, which doubled the area of the country and made possible further expansion westward; but there is reason to believe that but for the Negro general the Territory might have remained a French colony. (Korngold, p. xii)

In regard to the role of Toussaint, James says in the "Black Jacobins" that "The writer believes, and is confident the narrative will prove, that between 1789 and 1815, with the single exception of Bonaparte himself, no single figure appeared on the historical stage more greatly gifted than this Negro, a slave till he was 45. Yet Toussaint did not make the revolution. It was the revolution that made Toussaint. And even that is not the whole truth." (James, p. x)

As it relates to the role of the individual in history, James notes that "Today by a natural reaction we tend to a personification of the social forces, great men (women) being merely or nearly instruments in the hands of economic destiny. As so often the truth does not lie in between. Great men (women) make history, but only such history as it is possible for them to make. Their freedom of achievement is limited by the necessities of their environment. To portray the limits of those necessities and the realisation, complete or partial, of all possibilities, that is the true business of the historian."

A Chronology of Historical Events From 1803-2010

As mentioned earlier, the role of the Haitian Revolution between 1791-1804 had a tremendous impact on the slave system in the United States. The fear of rebellion in the South, the Louisiana Purchase after the defeat of the French

imperialist army in 1803 changed the economic and social character of the United States.

Toussaint, however, would not live to see the triumph of the Revolution. He was betrayed and later deceived in discussions with the French that led to his arrest, deportation to France and eventual death in prison in 1803.

Nonetheless, the Revolution continued under the leadership of Jean-Jacques Dessalines and the Republic of Haiti was proclaimed on January 1, 1804. Some two years later Dessalines was assassinated at Pont-Rouge.

Both the United States and France refused to recognize the Haitian Republic. This did not stop the new nation from playing an important role in Caribbean and Latin American affairs during the 19th century.

In 1815-1816 Simon Bolivar, the South American revolutionary, was granted asylum twice in Haiti where he gained support and military assistance in his campaign to liberate Latin America from Spanish colonial rule. Later in 1822 Haiti intervened in the Dominican Republic (Santo Domingo) resulting in the collapse of slavery on the island of Hispaniola. The Haitian occupation of the Dominican Republic lasted until 1844.

In 1825 the French granted conditional recognition to Haiti after the Republic agreed to pay "indemnity" to the former colonial power for the property destroyed during the revolutionary war of 1791-1803. Haiti promised to pay 150 million gold francs as compensation resulting in full recognition in 1838.

In 1861, the United States ruling class split over the question of slavery and several southern states withdrew from the Union leading to the civil war that lasted until 1865. At the time of the civil war, some 4 million Africans remained enslaved by the white ruling class. During the civil war approximately 176,000 Africans participated in the Union army in the fight to end slavery.

It was during this period in 1862-63 that both the Emancipation Proclamation was issued and the formal recognition of Haiti was granted by the United States Government. It became obvious that the northern states under Lincoln could not win the war without the participation of the African people. In 1889 Fredrick Douglass was appointed as the U.S. Minister and Consul General to Haiti.

During the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the United States escalated its drive to become the world's leading imperialist power. The so-called Spanish-American War was in actuality a concerted effort to seize control of the Spanish colonies of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. The U.S. would build a military base on the island of Cuba at Guantanamo Bay. The Platt Amendment was passed by the U.S. Congress which granted the imperialists a "legal right" to occupy this section of Cuba for decades to come.

In 1914, world war erupted in Europe although the U.S. did not become directly involved until 1917. Nonetheless, the U.S. Marines invaded Haiti in 1915 and virtually re-enslaved the African masses. Eventually the brutal conditions and blatant racism led to the formation of a guerrilla army among the Haitian masses under the direction of Charlemagne Peralte, whose "cacos" would play an instrumental role in the withdrawal of U.S. troops during the Roosevelt administration.

Serve The People #9

Another tragedy inflicted Haitians in 1937 when between 17,000 to 35,000 of its people, who were living in neighboring Dominican Republic, were massacred by the armed forces on the orders of President Rafael Trujillo. This massacre was endorsed by the United States when Secretary of State Cordell Hull declared that President Trujillo was one of the greatest people Latin America had produced.

In 1957, the most well-known dictators and U.S. puppets, Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier, became President of Haiti. In subsequent years, Duvalier attacked his opponents and drove many of them into exile. This reign of terror continued with the full backing of the U.S. until 1964 when Duvalier declared himself "President-for-Life."



"Papa Doc" and "Baby Doc" Duvalier

Although "Papa Doc" Duvalier died in 1971, his son, "Baby Doc" took over the reigns of power in Haiti. During the 1970s and 1980s, thousands more Haitians fled the country and sought asylum inside the United States. The level of poverty and repression against the people accelerated with mass exploitation carried out against the people by many U.S.-based multi-national corporations.

Between the years of 1982-84, the agricultural sector in Haiti was virtually destroyed when the U.S.-controlled Organization of American States and the State Department's Agency for International Development oversaw the slaughter of livestock deemed to be carriers of "African Swine Fever." The country has yet to recover from this tremendous set back to the peasant economy in Haiti. Consequently, many people were forced to leave the countryside and take up residence in the urban areas which became extremely overcrowded.

Despite these repressive measures by the Duvalier regime backed by the United States under successive administrations, the masses in Haiti rose up through strikes and rebellions forcing the dictatorial regime of "Baby Doc" Duvalier to flee the country. The U.S. Air Force provided safe passage for Duvalier to take refuge in France. A military junta took charge, led by Gens. Henri Namphy and Williams Regala, largely due to the fact that no cohesive political party or coalition was in a position to effectively seize power.

Unrest in Haiti continued in 1987 when the landed elites engineered the mass killings of peasants who were demanding land reform in Jean-Rabel. In November 1987, the scheduled

elections were canceled after the military and the para-military *Tonton Macoutes*, set up by the Duvalier regime, murdered opposition politicians and their supporters.



"Tonton Macoutes" derives from the name of the Creole "Boogy Man" who steals children from their beds at night.

By January 1988 there had been a military-controlled election that was boycotted by the Haitian masses. That election brought Leslie Manigat to power. In June Manigat was overthrown in a military coup by Gen. Namphy. By November Namphy was overthrown by Gen. Prosper Avril.

These political and military actions did not appease the Haitian people. In early 1990 the military was forced to declare a state of siege. Avril was forced to resign in March of 1990. This resignation created the conditions for the formation of a Provisional Government led by Supreme Court Justice Ertha Pascal-Trouillot.

Another round of elections were held in December 1990 where the former priest Jean-Bertrand Aristide was elected with 67.5% of the popular vote. The favorite candidate of the United States, Marc Bazin, finished second with only 14.2% of the vote.

The election of Jean-Bertrand Aristide was opposed by the United States because he had become a symbol of political representation for the Haitian workers and peasants. As a result the Tonton Macoute attempted to stage a coup in January of 1991, but it was halted due to the actions of tens of thousands of Haitians who surrounded the National Palace and demanded the return of President Aristide.

Aristide was sworn in as President of the Republic of Haiti on April 7, 1991. However, on September 30, another military coup overthrew Aristide who was forced into exile in Venezuela and later the United States. Between 1991-94, thousands of Haitians made attempts to leave the country and flee to the United States. Many of them were captured by the coastguard and returned, however, many others were able to land inside South Florida.

In 1994, the military regime in Haiti resigned and President Aristide was returned to power in Haiti by the United States administration under Bill Clinton. Aristide's return to power was carried out under unfavorable conditions for the Haitian masses. Aristide was forced to step down as leader after

Serve The People #9

one year. He later returned to power in 2001 but was once again undermined by U.S. foreign policy.

On February 29, 2004, the United States administration under George W. Bush invaded Haiti again and staged a coup against Aristide, forcing him into exile in the Central African Republic. With the intervention of the International Action Center and the Congressional Black Caucus Haiti Task Force, Aristide was released from Bangui, the capital of the Central African Republic, and is granted political asylum in the Republic of South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress.



Melvin Dickson and Melvin Johnson, editor-in-chief and reporter for the *Black Panther Commemorator* newspaper demonstrate with Haitian Action Committee in Berkeley in 2004.

Haiti, Cuba and the African Revolution

In the most recent disaster to strike Haiti with the earthquake on January 12, other nations were there to lend assistance. Cuba had over 400 medical personnel in the country and set up field hospitals for the victims of the quake.

The People's Republic of China also sent rescue teams to help with the efforts to save lives and provide rehabilitation services to the victims. In Africa, there was a major mobilization to provide assistance to Haiti. Leading political and religious figures such as former Mozambican and South African first lady Graca Machel as well as former Archbishop Desmond Tutu have announced initiatives to collect humanitarian aid for the people of Haiti.

In 1963, C.L.R. James wrote an appendix for the re-issued version of "Black Jacobins," which had been published originally during the Great Depression when the author was making a transition from the United Kingdom to the U.S. In this appendix, which was entitled, "From Toussaint

L'Ouverture to Fidel Castro," James draws a direct line between the Haitian Revolution of 1804 and the Cuban Revolution of 1959.

James says that "Castro's revolution is of the twentieth century as much as Toussaint's was of the eighteenth. But despite the distance of over a century and a half, both are West Indian. The people who made them, the problems and the attempts to solve them, are peculiarly West Indian, the product of a peculiar origin and a peculiar history. West Indians first became aware of themselves as a people in the Haitian Revolution. Whatever its ultimate fate, the Cuban Revolution marks the ultimate stage of a Caribbean quest for national identity. In a scattered series of disparate islands the process consists of a series of uncoordinated periods of drift, punctuated by spurts, leaps and catastrophes. But the inherent movement is clear and strong." (James, *Black Jacobins*, p. 391)

The author goes on to look at the role of the sugar industry in the Caribbean as a source of labor exploitation and profit for the imperialists but also as a production center that played a key part in shaping the consciousness of the people of the region and consequently their contributions to the overall international working class struggle.

James goes on to point out that "The history of the West Indies is governed by two factors, the sugar plantation and Negro slavery. That the majority of the population in Cuba was never slaves does not affect the underlying social identity. Wherever the sugar plantation and slavery existed, they imposed a pattern."

These two factors that have shaped the history and the class character of the Caribbean are rooted within the production process itself. James goes on to say that "The sugar plantation has been the most demoralising influence in West Indian development. When three centuries ago the slaves came to the West Indies, they entered directly into the large-scale agriculture of the sugar plantation, which was a modern system. It further required that the slaves live together in a social relations far closer than any proletariat of the time. The cane when reaped had to be rapidly transported to what was factory production. The product was shipped abroad for sale. Even the cloth the slaves wore and the food they ate was imported. The Negroes, therefore, from the very start lived a life that was in its essence a modern life. That is their history -- as far as I have been able to discover, a unique history." (James, p. 392)

Even today in the aftermath of the quake, it is the United States -- the leading imperialist power on the globe -- that is dominating the political situation in Haiti. Why was it necessary to send thousands of U.S. marines and army personnel? In previous military occupations of Haiti, the people have suffered immensely. At the same time these periods within Haitian history where the people were subjected to military occupation, the masses have rose up in resistance.

After the U.S. invasion on February 29, 2004 that deposed President Aristide and imposed a puppet regime that was allied with imperialism, the United Nations operation in Haiti carried out the foreign policy aims of the U.S. Therefore, when the corporate media and the capitalist state advances the notion of the inherent dependency of the Haitian masses and the altruistic motives of U.S. imperialism, the actual history of relations between the two countries must be considered.

Serve The People #9

Workers and oppressed people in the United States have a role to play in the current crisis in Haiti. The anti-war and peace movement can also raise issues in the current debate around U.S. assistance to the Caribbean nation. The workers and the oppressed peoples through their organizations can demand that all direct aid to the Haitian people must be delivered immediately. They can demand that aid shipments be distributed in conjunction with grassroots community organizations operating on the ground in Haiti.

The anti-war and peace organizations must call upon the Obama administration to cease and refrain from utilizing military force against the Haitian people. That the weapons carried by the army and marines be unloaded so that there can be some effort towards developing trust between aid distributors and the Haitian masses.

All groups can call for the permanent lifting of deportation orders against Haitians. There should also be an immigration process for Haitian who wish to travel and live in the United States.

What is one of the most significant outstanding issues involving U.S.-Haitian relations is the right of President Jean

Bertrand Aristide to return to Haiti. Aristide in a statement after the quake, expressed his willingness to return to Haiti in order to assist in the reconstruction process.

It was the African National Congress government in the Republic of South Africa that supported Aristide when he was under attack by the imperialist countries. Former South African President Thabo Mbeki supported the 200th anniversary independence celebrations held in Haiti on January 1, 2004. At great personal risk and amid threats to the South African state, President Mbeki refused to leave after his helicopter was fired on by counterrevolutionary elements operating in Haiti during this period.

South Africa clearly understood the connection between the revolution that overthrew slavery in Haiti during the 18th century and early 19th centuries and the struggle to abolish apartheid and settler-colonialism in Southern Africa that reached fruition during the closing decades of the 20th century. Just as the Haitian Revolution drew the attention and support of African people outside of Hispaniola, the South African Revolution attracted the support of people through the African world and the international community as a whole.



Haiti Under Siege

200 years of U.S. imperialism

by Helen Scott

International Socialist Review, May-June 2004

In the U.S., Haiti is portrayed as a world apart: the "poorest country in the western hemisphere" -- a place of inexplicable violence and instability, horrible poverty, and scant resources. Seldom are we reminded that this was the first nation after the U.S. to achieve independence, and was the first Black republic -- that this is a country with a history not only of repression and violence but also of heroism, resistance, immense human and cultural vitality. Far from

being "a world apart," Haiti has from its inception been all too firmly locked into a world system that has exploited, battered, and abused its natural and human resources.

Perhaps the starkest omission is that the U.S. has played a long and devastating role in Haiti, including a brutal nineteen-year military occupation, from 1915 to 1934. Writes Historian Mary Renda:

Serve The People #9

"While in Haiti, marines installed a puppet president, dissolved the legislature at gunpoint, denied freedom of speech, and forced a new constitution on the Caribbean nation – one more favorable to foreign investment. With the help of the marines, U.S. officials seized customs houses, took control of Haitian finances. Meanwhile, marines waged war against insurgents (called *cacos*) who for several years maintained an armed resistance in the countryside, and imposed a brutal system of forced labor that engendered even more fierce Haitian resistance. By official U.S. estimates, more than 3,000 Haitians were killed during this period; a more thorough accounting reveals that the death toll may have reached 11,500."

Renda continues: "This extended breach of Haitian sovereignty constitutes an infamous but crucial chapter in Haitian history." Yet, "the occupation has earned little more than a footnote in standard accounts of U.S. history."

This occupation was in fact a crucial moment in the development of American imperialism, and the brutality and betrayal of the long occupation is consistent with the treatment meted out to Haiti by the U.S. throughout its history to the present day.

From Slavery to Revolution

"Haiti" comes from the name given to the island it occupies by the original inhabitants, the Arawaks: "Ayiti," meaning "land of the mountains." The hilly island the Arawaks lived in was lush, beautiful, and bountiful. Edwidge Danticat explains in *After the Dance*, her account of the popular carnival at Jacmel, where Christopher Columbus first saw Haiti in the fifteenth century, that Columbus wrote in his log: "This island is very large... there are some of the most beautiful plains in the world, almost like the lands of Castille, only better." It came to be known as the "Jewel of the Caribbean" by the Spanish and then the French.

There is much to suggest that the Arawaks were a generous and peaceable people. Columbus described their warm reception of him and his men: "They gave my men bread and fish and whatever they had. The Indians on my ship had told the Indian accompanying the sailors that I wanted a parrot and he passed the word on They brought many parrots and required no payment for them." As Danticat explains, the kindness was not reciprocated: "The cost to the Arawaks, however, was great. A hundred years after Columbus's arrival, they had all but disappeared. And the Spaniards, having exhausted the mining possibilities of their lands, moved on to newer adventures..." French settlers moved in, and for some time they fought the Spanish for dominion of the land until, in 1697, they carved it in two, forming a French colony in the west, Saint Domingue (now Haiti); and a Spanish one, Santo Domingo in the east (now the Dominican Republic).

Haiti soon became a huge source of wealth for the French, who enslaved Africans and forced them to work on sugar, coffee, and tobacco plantations. Like all the plantation economies that provided the "primitive accumulation" of young capitalism, Saint Domingue was an ugly and brutal place: An immensely wealthy elite of slave-owners pursued lives of extravagance and opulence, while presiding over a system that denied the vast majority of Black slaves the most basic requirements of humanity. The central division was between the white slave-owning minority and Black

slave majority, but the system also relied on an elaborate hierarchical system of divisions based on status and color. A minority of *gens de couleur* or mulattoes, light-skinned free Blacks, also owned slaves. The race-obsessed system divided the nonwhite population into no fewer than 128 divisions based on skin color and ancestry.

Again, like the other plantation societies of the eighteenth century, the slaves of Saint Domingue constantly resisted their enslavement, periodically in organized rebellions. Many escaped, and joined with other former slaves and *affianchis*, free Blacks, in the forests and mountains. These "maroons" became increasingly organized and sizeable, and in 1790 started to develop into rebel cells, using voodoo – a religion combining Catholicism with African traditions – and horn-like conch shells to communicate. In August 1791, according to Haitian legend, they came together in Bois Caiman-Caiman woods – under the leadership of a *Vodou Houngan*, or priest, and vowed to overthrow the brutal slave owners by coordinating a campaign of burning the plantations and killing the planters. Unlike the slave rebellions of other plantation societies, this was a successful revolution. Overcoming the armies of Spain, Britain, and France, and the divisions between themselves – the slaves, mulattoes, and free Blacks came together to fight their common enemy. In 1804, Haiti became an independent nation. This remarkable achievement forms a crucial part of Haiti's popular culture and history.

Independent Haiti: Island in a Storm

Yet Haitians had to continually struggle to maintain their security and their freedom: The contradictions of the slave economy and the hostility of the world's powers formed insurmountable obstacles to the establishment of a healthy nation. The new rulers – drawn from the *gens de couleur* and Black military leaders – wanted to establish a profitable economy based on commodity production for export; many tried to re-establish plantations. The majority of former slaves wanted freedom from the humiliation and hardship of plantation labor, and the right to subsistence farming on their own plots of land. Meanwhile, the world powers, led by the U.S. and the Vatican, would not recognize Haiti's sovereignty – the U.S. refusing to do so until 1862 – and placed an embargo on trade and political relations with this lone Black nation. In 1825, France finally agreed to recognize Haiti, but at a price: Haiti was to pay 150 million francs as an indemnity to the French planters who lost their land in the revolution. This saddled Haiti with a debt that crippled its already foundering economy and increased Haitian dependence on France. The new Black nation also faced the constant threat of invasion by the world powers: Its territorial waters were in fact invaded many times in the second half of the nineteenth century by Spain, Britain, France, the U.S., Germany, Sweden, and Norway. Despite formal prohibitions, foreign merchants, particularly German and American, continued to operate in Haiti: The global ostracism ensured that trade would be on their terms, not the Haitians. As Haitian historian Michel Rolph Trouillot puts it "the foreign trader has always operated in Haiti with the assurance that he can call in a foreign power if necessary."

Haitian writer Michael J. Dash writes of how the U.S., fearing that the example of a successful slave rising and independence struggle might spread, used its influence in

Serve The People #9

Haiti to promote internally repressive, externally obedient, regimes:

It was this influence that was feared, and the United States relaxed only when the counter-revolution led by elite - interests within Haiti made the possibility of Haitian success unlikely. The United States since then has tended to favor any regime, Black or mulatto, from Boyer to Duvalier, which reduced Haiti to an impoverished, peasant community.

Haiti became a nation with a weak and heavily dependent economy and growing divisions between the majority of peasants and the elite -- who were willing to make deals with foreign powers to enrich themselves -- and therefore chronic political instability was the rule.

Economic patterns developed that would determine Haiti's crisis-prone future. The vast majority were agricultural workers-peasants using archaic methods of production, with a feudal relationship to the landowning class. The fruits of their labor were seized by the landowners and the middle men, who dealt with the foreign merchants who exported primary goods -- coffee, cocoa, and logwood -- for the world market.

Through heavy taxation on basic goods, peasants also bore the brunt of repaying the loans from foreign powers secured by the Haitian ruling class. A vicious cycle emerged whereby the peasants worked harder but produced less and sank further into poverty, while the urban elite enriched themselves. Despite their actual dependency on the mass of laborers, the elite became increasingly removed from them; this is shown by the fact that the peasantry became known as the *mounn andeyo*, "the people outside." The rulers were Roman Catholic, spoke French, the official language, and enjoyed fine imported goods and culture from France; the masses practiced voodoo, spoke Haitian Creole, were mostly illiterate and lived perilously close to destitution. The *pigmentocracy* developed under the plantation system continued: The elite -- perhaps 3 percent of the population at the time of the 1915 invasion -- consisted mostly of light-skinned descendants of the *gens de couleur* while the majority were mostly Black.

The state became increasingly militarized and corrupt, dominated by patronage. The customs houses at Port-au-Prince, which accounted for all government revenues, became the country's main power source. As the nineteenth century turned, a series of military governments rose and fell; of the eleven presidents between 1888 and 1915 none served a complete seven-year term, and all but one were either killed or overthrown. According to Trouillot, no single group was able to assume absolute power due to three factors: The military was decentralized; different regions of the country still exerted some autonomy from Port-au-Prince; and imperialist rivals abroad gave support to different factions, preventing anyone from becoming all-powerful.

The 1915 Occupation

The U.S. government's official reason for invading was to protect human rights and restore democracy. Haitian President Vilbrun Guillaume Sam was overthrown in July 1915, after he massacred 167 political prisoners; his opponents dismembered him and paraded his body parts around Port-au-Prince. Historian Hans Schmidt writes:

The United States, as the self-appointed trustee of civilization in the Caribbean, was obligated to maintain minimal standards of

decency and morality. The weakness of this argument was readily demonstrated by opponents of the intervention. A prominent Haitian writer, referring to an incident in a southern United States town where a Black man was dragged from the local jail and burned alive in the town square, pointed out that barbarity also existed in the United States. In a 1929 U.S. congressional debate, several congressmen noted that the number of Haitian presidents assassinated over the years was almost the same as the number of American presidents assassinated and that since 1862, the year of the American recognition of Haiti, the number was identical -- three presidents killed in each country.

Such logic did not deter the U.S., since these justifications were simply alibis for the invasion and occupation, which were actually driven by imperialist competition. As Trouillot explains, "Plans for the invasion were in the works at least a year before the events that precipitated it." The U.S. ruling class saw military occupation as a way to establish political and economic dominance of Haiti and secure a base of power in the region. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the United States had been interested in acquiring a naval base in the Caribbean. Securing Haiti's deep and protected harbor at Mole-Saint-Nicolas had been considered favorably by presidents Johnson and Grant; and again seriously by Secretary of State James G. Blaine in the late 1880s. In the 1890s, increasing emphasis on American naval expansion and the subsequent building of the Panama Canal again heightened the attraction.

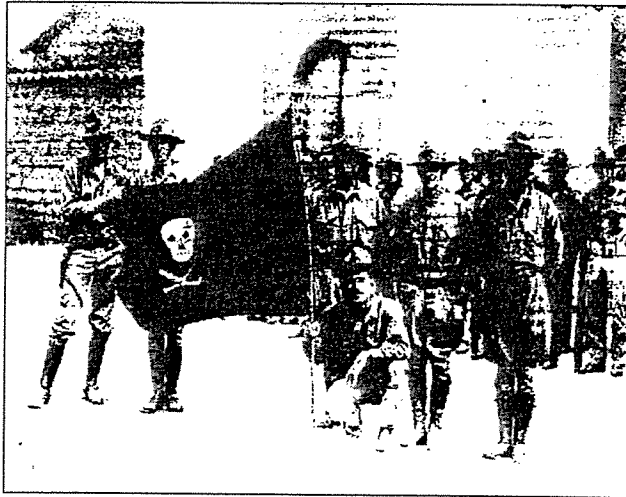
American warships had in fact been very active in Haitian waters in the previous fifty years, visiting Haitian ports to "protect American lives and property" on numerous occasions. In the late nineteenth century the State Department worked actively to develop American trade, in competition with France and increasingly Germany, which had successfully penetrated the Haitian economy. By the first decade of the twentieth century, U.S. capitalism had made significant inroads in trade, and investments in railroad construction and banking. This interest in Haiti was part of the larger Caribbean plan, which in turn was part of the broader effort by the U.S. to become an imperialist power capable of challenging its European rivals. Mary Renda summarizes: "[Haiti] was one of several important arenas in which the United States was remade through overseas imperial ventures in the first third of the 20th century. The transformations of imperialism were also effected in Puerto Rico, Cuba, Nicaragua, China, the Philippines, and dozens of other places around the globe. The Monroe Doctrine explicitly staked out Latin America and the Caribbean as the United States' sphere of influence. The "big stick" policy of President Roosevelt -- based on dominating Latin America through military might -- was continued by President Taft, whose policy was "oriented towards introducing American financial participation as a means of limiting European influence."

While the U.S. had direct commercial interests to defend and expand, the central motivation for the invasion of Haiti in 1915 was negative: It wanted to stop its rivals, particularly Germany, from acquiring more influence.

The immediate actions of the occupying forces blatantly contradicted the rhetoric of bringing freedom and democracy to Haiti. First, they installed a puppet president, Philippe Sudre Dartiguenave, one hundred armed marines

Serve The People #9

"overseeing" his "election" by the senate (which they dissolved the following year). They wrote and imposed a constitution giving the U.S. the right to police the country and take control of public finances. They seized the national bank and the customs houses. They wrote a new constitution that granted foreigners the right to own property -- removing one of the central principles of Haitian independence. When the National Assembly refused to pass the constitution, the occupiers compelled the puppet president to dissolve the assembly. The official story was that the president Dartiguenave was responsible for the dissolution, but Major General Smedley Butler, who was in charge of the occupation at the time, observed privately that the assembly had become "so impudent that the Gendarmerie had to dissolve them, which dissolution was effected by genuinely Marine Corps methods." The new constitution also created a Council of State, to be appointed by the client president, to take over all legislative functions until the elected legislature was reconstituted, at some unnamed future date. The occupying forces instructed Dartiguenave to declare war against Germany in July 1918, which enabled them to intern or supervise all Germans in the country and sequester their property. Since the start of the First World War, Butler had been urging the state department to "cook up" some scheme to drive the German influence out of this country, "now that the 'open season' for Germans is upon us, as after the war we should control this island. A declaration of war would permit us to take most any step we saw fit towards the German holdings here."



U.S. Marines in Nicaragua in 1912

In one of Edwidge Danticat's short stories a character says: "The Americans taught us how to build prisons. By the end of the 1915 occupation, the police in the city really knew how to hold human beings trapped in cages."

The U.S. did indeed establish a national gendarmerie, or military police force. The marines who became gendarmerie officers ruled their respective regions, and the commandant-the first was Butler-effectively ruled the country. Butler had previously headed up the occupation of Nicaragua. The Nation in 1921 noted that his brutality was so broadly known that Nicaraguan mothers threatened naughty children that "General Butler will get you." The gendarmerie's rank and file came from the Haitian poor, and this became an avenue for social advancement for a small section of this class. In order to facilitate their control of the whole country, the

occupying force also embarked on a project of road building, and to do this they imposed a *corvee* -- a system of forced labor -- on the Haitian people. The occupation at the same time initiated a policy of "uplift," in keeping with the racist idea of the "white man's burden" that was so central to British imperialism. They set up a technical school system, and embarked on a project of public works and public health, but these social programs were always secondary to two objectives. First, national development was, as Mary Renda puts it "based on the assumptions and imperatives of international capitalism."

Electricity, plumbing, telephones, paved roads, and bridges... would facilitate the establishment of stability because policing could be more effective with improvements in communication and transportation... (and) they would make possible increased American investment in the Haitian economy.

Second, investment in infrastructure, public education, and health was always subordinate to debt repayment. Successful maintenance of foreign debt repayment was in fact probably the only "positive" achievement of the nineteen-year occupation.

Furthermore, the idea of benevolent development coexisted with vicious racism. Schmidt's history gives us plenty of examples of the attitudes of those who implemented and ran the occupation: Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan infamously said of the Haitian elite, "Dear me, think of it! Niggers speaking French." State Department Counselor Robert Lansing believed that "[t]he experience of Liberia and Haiti show that the African race are devoid of any capacity for political organization and lack genius for government. Unquestionably there is in them an inherent tendency to revert to savagery and to cast aside the shackles of civilization which are irksome to their physical nature." And Assistant Secretary of State William Philipps bemoaned, "the failure of an inferior people to maintain the degree of civilization left them by the French." Such attitudes posed practical problems. At one point the president of the Black Tuskegee College (which was often cited as a model for the technical school), Robert Moton, was charged by President Hoover to visit Haiti and advise the administrators. However, as the visiting team members were Black, they were not allowed passage to Haiti on U.S. Navy ships.

The American occupying army was met with hostility and resistance. The majority of Haitians were against the occupation and their opposition took many forms. Within the elite there emerged new movements known variously as "Indigenist," "Haitianist," or "Africanist," forerunners of the negritude movement, that rejected the influence of European culture and looked for a new identity based in Haiti's Black, African origins. New cultural movements investigated and celebrated Haitian folklore-the religion and language of the peasantry. Among Haitian novelists and poets there arose a new style of socially engaged literature - "*ja literature engagee*." Politically, Marxist internationalism became more influential and in 1934 writer Jacques Roumain founded the Haitian Communist Party. Left intellectuals were oriented around newspapers critical of the occupation; their editors and writers were frequently arrested and imprisoned by the American authorities, who maintained ruthless censorship throughout their rule. But the political reaction to the occupation that would become dominant was based around nationalism and patriotism, which paved the way for the *noirisme* or Black nationalism, manipulated by dictator Francois Duvalier.

Serve The People #9

From Armed Resistance to Mass Rebellion

The occupation confronted powerful resistance from the peasantry, who organized into rebel armies known as *cacos*. According to mythology they were named after a fiery red bird, and this is why they wore patches of red material to identify themselves. From the initial invasion, *cacos* fought the marines. Like their maroon ancestors, they used conch shells to communicate, and gathered in the mountains to plot against the hated invaders. The occupying army followed a policy of "vigorous pursuit and decimation," and used all the latest in weaponry against the hoes, sticks, and stones of the Haitian peasants. In a single battle at Fort Riviere, 200 *cacos* were killed; there were no American casualties. Butler talked of his men hunting the *cacos* like pigs (he was awarded a medal by President Roosevelt for this). By the fall of 1915, the first *caco* resistance was crushed. But after the imposition of forced

labor, the *cacos* came back in even greater numbers and the scattered resistance turned into full-scale revolt. The *corvee* was officially terminated, but the rebellion was not able to end the occupation. Rebel leader Charlemagne Peralte organized a provisional government in the north and thousands of Haitians fought alongside him—some estimates suggest as many as 15,000 at the height of resistance—but the American government and military maintained the myth throughout that opposition was restricted to an elite minority.

Again the Americans used all their superior weaponry to destroy the opposition. In the first case of recorded air-ground combat, the marines surrounded groups of *cacos* and dropped bombs on them. The Marine Corps officially registered more than 1,800 Haitian fatalities in 1919. Among them was Charlemagne Peralte. Two marines, disguised as Haitians and tipped off by an informer, went to his camp and shot him. The triumphant marines tied his dead body to a door and displayed it in an attempt to intimidate the population, but the Haitians saw a resemblance to Jesus on the crucifix, and Peralte became a popular martyr. The rebellion was nonetheless crushed, and until 1929 the occupation met little organized resistance.



After fifteen years there had been no democratization or shift toward self-determination, and the occupation remained monolithically authoritarian. The occupation had, in fact, become an embarrassment to the American government since the end of the First World War, but they were unable to extricate themselves. Only the massive military presence kept the client government in place; without it the country would have replaced the U.S.-imposed regime with something of their own choosing. By the late 1920s, opposition was mounting at home: *The Nation* published an issue on the case for Haitian independence, and prominent Americans, especially African Americans, made links with the Haitian opposition. Stories of atrocities committed by marines at the highest levels against Haitian civilians were made public, fueling opposition in the United States.

Meanwhile, the economic recession caused the coffee market, already hit by a bad crop in 1928, to collapse, removing the one source of income for most Haitians. At the same time, the occupying government increased taxes and once more "postponed" elections, at a time when the client president, Louis Borno, was widely hated. "These factors exacerbated the latent hatred of the occupation inspired by American racial condescension and boorish military dictation."

The result was a mass rebellion against the occupation. It started with a series of student strikes against the technical school established by the occupying regime. In late October 1929, students walked out to protest changes in how scholarships were awarded. A British reporter in the *Manchester Guardian* wrote, "resentment against the American occupation has long been smoldering and needed only some minor dispute to cause it to burst into flame." This was the spark.

Sympathy strikes spread across private and public schools all over the country. The authorities attempted to pacify protesters by announcing that President Borno would not return to power at the end of his term, but at the same time the regime appealed for more marines. In December, the rebellion became generalized, with a strike by workers at the customs houses in Port-au-Prince—the heart of the country's wealth. The strikes led to general mass protests on the streets, where marine patrols were stoned. The Americans imposed a curfew and military law, shut down the opposition press, dispatched marines across the nation, fired government workers who had

gone on strike, and arrested protesters. On December 6, 1,500 peasants protested against taxes and arrests of protesters in Cayes. Marine airplanes dropped bombs on the harbor, which only enraged the Haitians more. Around 1,500 peasants armed with stones, machetes, and clubs, confronted twenty marines armed with automatic weapons. The marines opened fire into the crowd, killing two dozen and injuring more than fifty Haitians. The U.S. Navy awarded the Navy Cross to the commander of the detachment for "commendable courage and forbearance."

The official response, carried by the "embeds" of the time, Associated and United Press reporters who were also marine officers, maintained that opposition was restricted to a minority, "a few elite politicians." An American colonel said that the strikes and protests were the work of an "international red conspiracy" and "dishonest, paid agitators." But as news reached the world, public opinion

Serve The People #9

turned strongly against the occupation. One American congressman remarked, while criticizing the U.S. marines for "playing pirates" in Haiti: "Our smugness irritates the world and does not blind it. The White House often fools the country, but seldom fools the world." The Communist Party played a major role in publicizing the truth of the occupation. They sent out, for example, a press release about the Cayes massacre to African American newspapers across the U.S. and worked with the Anti-Imperialist League to organize conferences and generate and distribute literature about imperialism in Haiti.



Cover of early *LIFE* magazine depicts U.S. military using water torture, which has remained a common practice.

The criticism coming from across the world, including Latin America and at home, was very embarrassing to the Hoover administration, which had been boasting about their "good neighbor" policy towards Latin America. As protests escalated, the U.S. government sent in a task force, "the Forbes Commission," to evaluate the occupation. They were met by 6,000 protesters with placards denouncing the occupation. The commission's report, predictably, mostly praised the occupation, but, recognizing the scale of the problem, also recommended that Colonel John H. Russell, Haiti's appointed high commissioner, be removed, and preparations be made for American withdrawal. President Borno was to be replaced by an interim government and elections were scheduled for November 1930. Ominously, the report concluded of Haitians' future that, "their best hope is for a benevolent despot to arise, who like Porfirio Diaz in

Mexico, will guide them." As historian Schmidt points out, Diaz was benevolent only to American interests.

In Haiti, the rebellion continued to escalate after the commission left. Protesters burned down homes of marine colonels in what High Commissioner Russell referred to as an attempt to "create a reign of terror among the Americans." There was a general strike in Cap Haitien. Longshoremen, coffee sorters, logwood workers, agricultural laborers, public works, and sanitary department employees all walked out, undaunted by the punishments meted out against previous striking workers.

The elections soundly defeated the American-supported candidate and selected the Haitian nationalist Stenio Vincent. The U.S. was forced to withdraw ahead of schedule and troops finally left in 1934. Before leaving, however, the U.S. government made a deal with Vincent, bypassing the more principled Haitian legislature, in the Executive Accord of August 1933. In exchange for withdrawal of troops and a loan, the U.S. government would maintain supervision of Haitian finances until all outstanding American bonds expired in 1952.

What was the outcome of the occupation's vaunted policy of "uplift?" After nineteen years, 95 percent of Haitians remained illiterate – the same as before the invasion. Despite an explicit goal of diversifying and therefore stabilizing the Haitian economy, Haiti was even more dependent on a single crop, coffee. While sisal, a plant fiber used for making rope, and banana production had started to develop, both were controlled by American companies. The terms of trade had been shifted overwhelmingly in favor of U.S. interests. The occupation also intensified the inherently unjust system of raising money through taxes and customs duties from the Haitian peasantry.

The U.S. left a highly centralized state apparatus in Port au-Prince and a large U.S.-trained military well practiced in repressing domestic rebellions. The gendarmerie of Haiti was to become the Duvalier dictatorship's chief weapon, just as the constabularies developed during the U.S. occupation of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua were central to the Batista, Trujillo, and Somoza dictatorships. All the practices of absolutism perfected by the Duvalier regime were actually introduced by the occupation: Martial law and military tribunals for civilians; intimidation and imprisonment of journalists; dissolution of the legislature; indiscriminate killing of peasants; civilian administrative roles filled by soldiers; censorship of culture. The negative role of the U.S. in Haiti throughout the twentieth century was more than simply a legacy, however'. U.S. power continued to hover over Haiti, aiding its dictators and intervening more directly whenever necessary.

The Duvalier Regime

By the 1950s the conflicts exacerbated by the occupation came to a head, as the peasantry, already drained to such an extent that it was at or below subsistence level, was hard hit by another collapse in the international coffee market. A series of short-lived governments were unable to offer any solution other than increased taxation and repression.

In 1957, a campaign of military terror was unleashed on the suffering population, "the totalitarian response was the brainchild of the army trained by the marines, and

Serve The People #9

particularly of the cadets of the graduating class of 1930-1931. That year a decree banned "drawings, prints, paintings, writings, or any other mode of expression of thought aimed at undermining the authority of the state" and another outlawed the wearing of khaki or "or any other cloth of that shade" -- the army was instructed to open fire on anyone wearing light brown or olive green.



In this context, Francois Duvalier won the presidential election in September 1957. Using the rhetoric of *noirisme*, Black nationalism, he promised to redistribute the wealth out of the hands of the light-skinned elite to the Black majority. In fact, once in power, he favored the very elite he claimed to despise. Duvalier made sure that the share of coffee profits would grow for the merchants and middlemen, and fall for the peasants. Duvalierism thus led to an extreme social polarization between an astonishingly wealthy minority on the one hand, and the impoverished bulk of the population on the other. The only wealth he redistributed was from the pockets of the poor via the state coffers into the pockets of his henchmen and lackeys.

As Trouillot puts it, Duvalier "formalized the crisis" of Haiti. He attacked all national institutions that could support an opposition; shut down the press, purged the Catholic Church, schools, and colleges; cracked down on the unions; punished his critics with torture and execution and rewarded his followers from his slush funds; and created a climate of terror through random violent attacks by the military. He built "a maniacal private security force," a new plain clothes body of armed thugs, the dreadful *tonton-makout* or Tontons

Macoutes, named after the frightening bogeyman of folklore who stole children and put them in his basket. The Macoutes made it clear that nobody was immune from state terror. Women, children, the elderly, state officials -- all were vulnerable to indiscriminate attack at any time.

While "Papa Doc" Duvalier, as he came to be known (in a name that linked him to the voodoo deities), was not installed by the U.S. government, and at times, especially during the presidency of John F. Kennedy, was not on good terms with it, ultimately his regime survived and thrived on American support. This was because Duvalier proved himself very useful to U.S. imperialism in two major ways. First, he unconditionally supported U.S. capital. In the first four years of his regime, for example, the American Reynolds Mining Company, with a monopoly on Haitian bauxite mining, paid a mere 7 percent of its earnings to the Haitian state; and those exports controlled by the U.S. -- sisal, sugar cane, copper, and bauxite increased. Second, during the Cold War Duvalier acted as a bulwark against communism, a counterweight against Cuba. He proved his anti-communist credentials by destroying the Haitian Communist Party, *Parti Unifie des Communistes Haitiens* or PUCH (Unified Party of Haitian Communists), and then pursuing a witch hunt against the Left that would have been the envy of Joseph McCarthy:

[Duvalier's government] physically eliminated, imprisoned, or forced into exile hundreds of progressive intellectuals, writers, professors, journalists, and union and peasant leaders. The vast majority of these people had no contact with the PUCH or with any other political organization. In ideological terms, most of the victims were barely what U.S. nomenclature would describe as left of center. But that was all it took Duvalier used the proven existence of a few armed communists to push the legislature into voting a legal monstrosity, the Anti-Communist Law of April 1969. Every "profession of communist belief, verbal or written, public or private" was declared a crime against national security and made its perpetrator into an "outlaw eligible for the death penalty meted out by a permanent military court."

From then on, Haiti became a firm ally of the United States. Nelson Rockefeller visited to pay his respects to Papa Doc, and when his son Jean-Claude Duvalier inherited the presidency, U.S. vessels patrolled Haitian waters to make sure the inauguration was not interrupted.

From Neoliberalism to Lavalas

Jean-Claude Duvalier, who came to power in 1971, played just as important a role for imperialism's next phase, neoliberalism. He opened up the economy to light industry and oversaw the development of assembly plants that offered cheap, non-unionized labor-predominantly of young women-to manufacture clothing, baseballs, and other goods for American companies on wages that barely covered costs of transport and food for the worker. In the coming decades, neoliberalism would transform the nation, accelerating the decline of the peasant system of agriculture, causing hundreds of thousands to flee rural poverty for the cities. The poor crowded into slums like Cite Soleil outside Port-au-Prince, where more than 200,000 people live in tin-roofed, cinderblock, and cardboard shacks without electricity, water, or sewers.

The dire consequences of American influence in this period can be seen graphically in the Creole pig incident of the

Serve The People #9

early 1980s. On the (unproven) grounds that an outbreak of African swine fever threatened the North American pork industry, the U.S. government paid Duvalier to exterminate the Creole pigs that played a crucial role in the peasant economy and replace them with pigs imported from the United States. Many, especially poorer peasants, never received the promised replacement pigs; those who did found that these animals failed miserably to adapt to the Haitian environment. This struck a terrible blow to the rural economy and further contributed to the problem of deforestation, as many of the rural poor turned to charcoal production to replace their lost pigs.

The period of the Duvaliers' rule was also one of increased international "aid," largely in the form of loans from the International Monetary Fund, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the North American and Western European governments. The corrupt regime siphoned off much of the money for personal gain and very little was invested in development. Between 1973 and 1980 Haiti's debt increased from \$53 million to \$366 million, while the percentage of the population living in extreme poverty increased from 48 percent in 1976 to 81 percent in 1985. Loans were contingent on an economic orientation on agricultural exports and the assembly industry—"The American Plan" — which ruined Haiti's peasant farmers while benefiting only U.S. and Haitian corporate elites. The American plan proved an economic disaster. Official unemployment increased from 22 to 30 percent between 1980 and 1986, and in the same period economic growth showed an annual 2.5 percent decline.

But after a decade in which a minority continued to enrich itself and flaunt its extravagances, while the majority was squeezed and battered, Haiti's majority again rose up to fight against its enemies at home and abroad. In the late 1980s, a mass movement developed, using the church and radio stations to organize an opposition to the Duvalier regime and to the conditions brought on them by American imperialism and global capitalism.

Despite repression, tens of thousands took to the streets until, in 1986, they ousted Jean-Claude Duvalier. Gage Averill's eyewitness account conveys the jubilant mood:

As the news of Duvalier's exile spread throughout the country, throngs took to the street, stripping trees of their branches and hoisting them high in the air as symbols of renewal. Crowds sang the French version of Burns' "Auld Lang Syne," a song of parting that takes on sarcastic overtones when bidding farewell to a humiliated or despised ruler.

The people of Haiti, free of Duvalier, talked of *dechoukaj* — Haitian Creole for uprooting — which meant pulling the old regime up by the roots. A popular song of the time, (translated from the Haitian Creole) declared, "Wo, uproot them! We're uprooting all of the bad weeds/ in order to unite," and the poor did just that:

Dechoukaj ruled the land as Haitians administered a people's justice, looting the villas of the rich, lynching Tontons Macoutes and staging strikes and sit-down protests to drive Duvalierists out of their jobs and into hiding. The Macoutes' new national headquarters was turned into a school; some cabinet ministers handed back their salaries; communist historian Roger Gaillard was named head of the university; the Cite Simone slum, named for Duvalier's

mother, was renamed after the Church's Radyo Soley; and women marched to demand their rights for the first time in Haitian history.

By the end of the decade the movement consolidated into *Lavalas* — which means cleansing wave or flood — and the slogan "alone we are weak, together, together we are a flood" rang loud in the streets, on t-shirts, and on posters. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a radical priest and activist for the rights of the poor, emerged as a leader. In 1990 he was elected on a reform platform by a 67.5 percent majority—in a contest that had fourteen candidates— and Haiti's majority celebrated their seeming liberation on the streets of cities and villages across the nation.

Just nine months later, however, a military coup was launched, funded by the nation's seven richest families and orchestrated by Duvalierist thugs. The coup regime took its revenge on the population with mass arrests, assassinations, torture, beatings, rapes, and atrocities for the next three years. And in September 1994, U.S. troops again entered Haiti. The goal of this invasion, the official story goes, was not to repress but to liberate the Haitian people, remove a military regime, and reinstate a democratically elected president living in exile in the United States. "Operation Restore Democracy" was to be the poster child of American foreign policy in the post-Cold War era: This was to be a "humanitarian intervention." Stephen Solarz, in his stunningly naive foreword to Schmidt's history of the first intervention, summarizes the official ideology of the 1994 invasion:

The primary difference between the interventions in 1915 and 1994 was the motivation...in the latter, the purpose of our intervention was not to deny a foreign power the use of Haitian territory for military purposes, but to restore to its proper place on Haitian territory the democratically elected government of the country.

In reality, the substance remained the same, only the details were different. The goal of this invasion, like the first, was to protect the interests of American imperialism. The main threat to those interests was not the coup regime, but rather the masses — who had already unseated a U.S. ally, Duvalier, and now were challenging the entire system of neoliberalism.

The evidence for this is everywhere. First, in the fact that the U.S. government consistently sponsored the Duvalier regime while it was in power, and when the uprising threatened to bring him down, they came to the rescue. Greg Chamberlain describes Duvalier's exit in February 1986 this way: "It was clear...that the longer the revolt went on, the more radical influences and anti-U.S. sentiment would grow. Washington had to act, organizing a night escape of the Duvaliers into exile in France." Duvalier actually drove his BMW to the airport where he was met by a U.S. C-141 Starlifter cargo plane and taken, with his family and his ill-gotten riches, to a happy retirement in France.

Once they'd removed Duvalier to safety, the U.S. installed the National Government Council (CNG), containing key figures of the old regime and led by right-wing General Henri Namphy; the CNG officially abolished the Tontons Macoutes, "but many simply changed uniforms and slipped quietly into the ranks of the army or police." Trouillot calls the orchestrated removal and establishment of the CNG "a multinational exercise in crisis management; a calculated break in the democratic path that the Haitian people had embarked on."

Serve The People #9



The U.S. government granted \$2.8 million in military aid for CNG's first year, even as human rights organizations protested and Haitians demonstrated against the government. And with good reason: The CNG, using U.S. money, gunned down more Haitians than had Duvalier in the previous fifteen years. Throughout the period the U.S. maintained a hostile stance toward Aristide. In the 1990 elections, the U.S. supported and funded former World Bank official and darling of the multinational corporations Marc Bazin, through the ironically named "National Endowment for Democracy." Journalist Bob Shacochis, who was in Haiti during the period, witnessed the institutional double-dealing:

The CIA, in collusion with elements in the Defense and State Departments, Congress, the INS and the national press, was openly working to subvert the White House's stated policy. It launched a smear campaign against Titi's (Aristide's nickname) mental health with fabricated evidence recycled by...a senior analyst at the agency [T]he agency functioned as a behind the scenes architect of FRAPH, a paramilitary terrorist organization run by a media-slick, cocaine-snorting, self infatuated madman named Emmanuel "Toto" Constant.

The U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency's Colonel Patrick Collins met with Constant and "urged him to organize an effective counterforce to Aristide's base of popular support among the masses." Agents met with Constant almost daily, gave him \$700 a month, walkie-talkies, and updates from their surveillance.

Many of the junta members and supporters received substantial U.S. funding, through the National Endowment for Democracy, the U.S. Agency for International Development, as well as the CIA—all agencies that have worked against the development of popular movements in

Haiti. The Haitian people saw through the duplicity of the United States. Gage Averill cites Haitian popular songs from the late 1980s that suggested that little had really changed in Haiti since February 7, 1986. Duvalierists still held state power, class relations were largely unchanged, and the transition in Haiti was being managed by the U.S. State Department precisely to forestall revolutionary change.



Serve The People #9

But if the U.S. largely orchestrated the coup, it adamantly denied responsibility for the ensuing suffering. During the coup's reign of terror in 1991, 38,000 Haitians fled and sought refuge in the United States. Of those, less than 5 percent received asylum and the rest were repatriated or held in prison camps at Guantanamo Bay. Even more criminally, U.S. agencies actually gave names and addresses to coup leaders of some of those who had attempted to flee, guaranteeing arrest, torture, and execution for unknown numbers.

The U.S. agreed to an embargo on the coup regime. But its impact was exclusively on the poor, not the ruling class, as Shacochis recognized with characteristic derision:

The embargo's impact on one's opportunity for fine dining in Petionville was zero...except for the better hotels, the military caserns, central police stations, and homes flush enough to afford a generator, the entire country had been living in darkness, without electricity, for months.

Prior to the invasion, the U.S. secured a deal with the coup leaders in the infamous Governor's Island Accord, with former President Jimmy Carter as the American spokesperson, chosen, as embassy spokesman Stanley Schragger put it, because "Carter knows how to ingratiate himself with tyrants and dictators." The accord secured the coup leaders a role in the new regime. Aristide, on the other hand, would only be allowed to serve out the rest of his term (even though most of it had been stolen by the coup) and had to sign on to a strict structural adjustment program "intended to narrow the role of the state and control government spending, privatize the state-owned enterprises, maintain low wages, eliminate import tariffs, and provide incentives for export industries;"

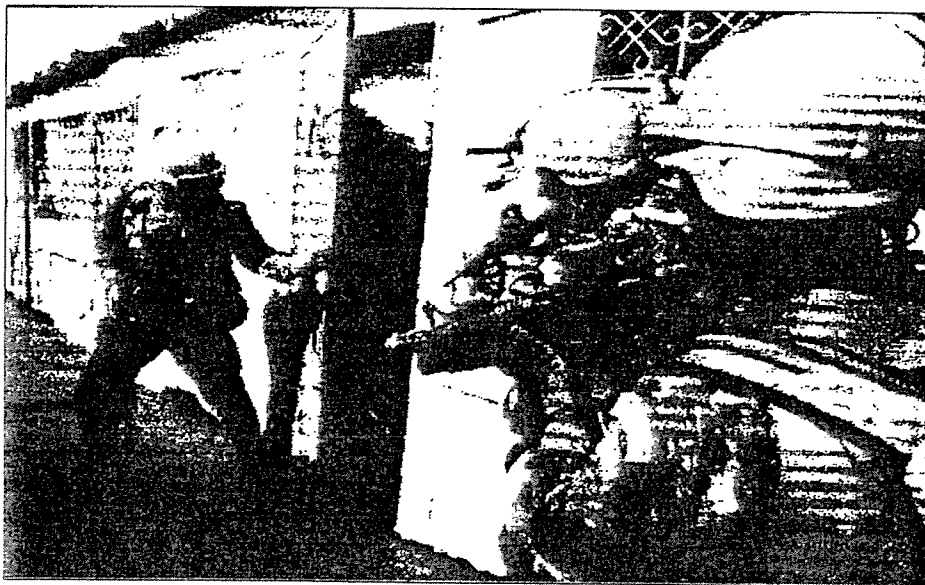
The actual military occupation did not disarm but rehabilitated the thugs of the Duvalier and coup regimes, giving the old police a facelift and calling it something new. In the process of supposedly monitoring the coup regime's activities, U.S. officials seized approximately 150,000 pages of documentation from the headquarters of FRAPH and the Haitian army and refused to hand them over to Aristide. They doubtless contained evidence of years of atrocities, and of course CIA complicity.

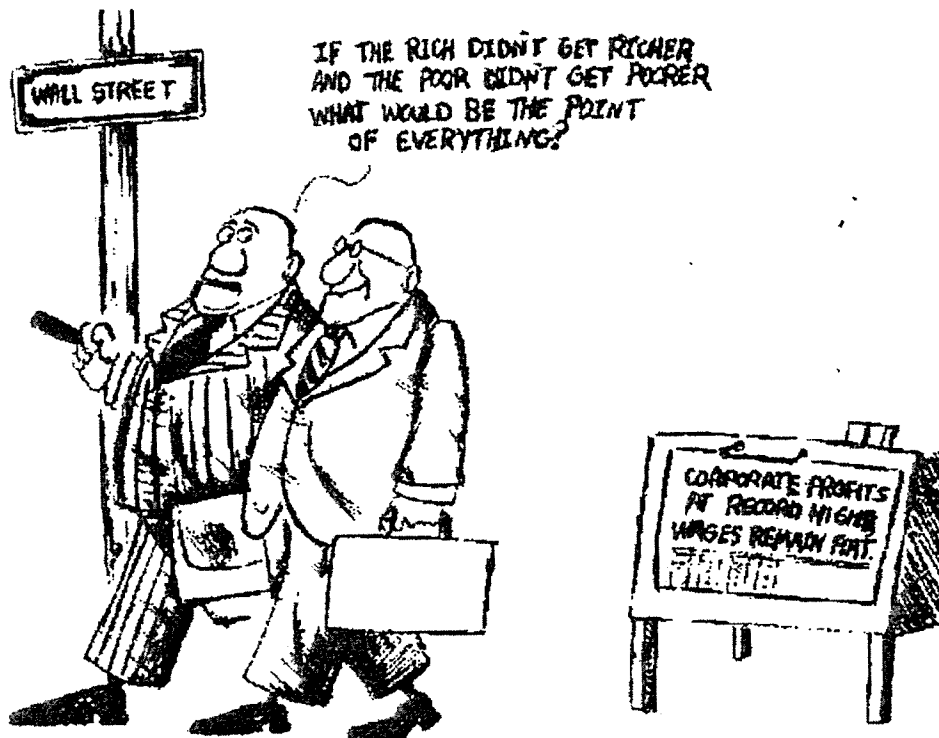
Shacochis observed a typical scene in Port-au-Prince, where *attaches* -- basically Macoutes by another name -- fired into a crowd while the American army looked the other way. "The objective of the U.S. military now seemed rather conclusive -- to protect the well-heeled elites up on the mountainside from the wrath of a million poor people in the slums below, whom the troops had supposedly come to liberate." The other reason, made clear by the Clinton administration's imprisonment of Haitian refugees, was to create the semblance of order; in Haiti in order to justify a policy of refusing Haitian immigration into the United States.

Ten years after the occupation, the situation in Haiti had become so bad that, as a recent survey found, 67 percent of the population would emigrate if they could. Conditions are worse than ever. Poverty has grown more severe by the embargo on aid imposed by the U.S., European Union, Canada, and Japan supposedly because of electoral irregularities. The U.S., having happily paid for decades of Duvalier brutality, had the gall to refuse money to Aristide until he proved that such money would be "honestly spent."

But Aristide, serving his second term as president, bore little resemblance to the rebel priest, advocate of the poor that so threatened the world's rulers. None of the promised "literacy campaigns, rural clinics, public works, and land reform" materialized. His Lavalas Party was torn apart by divisions, and Aristide proceeded to rule by a cult of personality, totally disconnected from the mass movement that brought him to power, and he offered new Export Processing Zones at the border with the Dominican Republic as the solution. Tragically, the only opposition with any forces has come from the Right, which led to the new coup to remove Aristide, orchestrated by the Haitian ruling class in collaboration with the U.S. state.

Haiti's mass movement for change has once again been cut down, with the collusion of the Haitian ruling class and U.S. imperialism. Yet the hope for the future remains where it always has -- in the inspiration of the masses. They can only win if we do our part here, in exposing and opposing U.S. imperialism, and ultimately removing this major obstacle to Haitian freedom.





Rich Get Richer:

by Ed Mead, California Prison Focus

In days of old, when money came in the form of gold coins, some less than scrupulous kings would help fund their wars by having those running the kingdom's coffers shave a little gold from the edges of each coin before it was passed back out into circulation (all the crooks are not behind bars).² As more and more gold was repeatedly shaved from each coin the actual value of that money became less and less. It is for this reason that China does not want to lend the U.S. any more money as the Federal Reserve (Fed) merely prints more money to buy new debt. The result of this long-standing policy is that the dollar is now worth 4 cents in comparison to what it was worth in 1913 when the Fed was established. And while the stock market has rebounded since March, between then and now the dollar has lost another 12.5 percent of its value.

According to Don Monkerud writing in the *Capital Times* on July 18th, income inequality continues to grow here in the land of the free, home of the incarcerated. He says "Wages for most Americans didn't improve from 1979 to 1998, and the median male wage in 2000 was below the 1979 level, despite productivity increases of 44.5 percent. Between 2002 and 2004, inflation-adjusted median household income declined \$1,669 a year. To make up for lost income, credit card debt soared 315 percent between 1989 and 2006, representing 138 percent of disposable income in 2007."

On the other hand, Mr. Monkerud points out, "*Forbes* magazine, declared 2007 'the richest year ever in human

history.' During eight years of the Bush administration, the 400 richest Americans, who now own more than the bottom 150 million Americans, increased their net worth by \$700 billion. In 2005, the top one percent claimed 22 percent of the national income, while the top 10 percent took half of the total income, the largest share since 1928."³

But what about the good times, between 2002 and 2007, things were better then? Well, yes, if you were already rich. According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, two-thirds of the nation's total income gains form 2002 to 2007 flowed to the top 1 percent of U.S. households. During those years the inflation-adjusted income of the top 1 percent of households grew more than ten times faster than the income of the bottom 90 percent.

Not only are the rich raking in more profits and paying those who actually produce things less, they are dumping more and more of the tax burden on the working class. Monkerud says, "In 1955, the rich paid an average 51.2 percent of their income in taxes under a progressive federal income tax that included loopholes. By 2006, the richest paid only 17.2 percent of their income in taxes. In 1955, the proportion of federal income from corporate taxes was 33 percent: by 2003, it decreased to 7.4 percent."

In the meantime the "official" national unemployment rate is 9.7 percent (14.9 million), a 26-year high, and is expected to hit 10 percent by year-end. The actual rate, the one that includes those whose unemployment benefits have run out and those who have stopped looking for work, is generally considered to be around 20 percent. And this figure does not include the under-employed. By year's end 1.3 million Americans will lose their jobless benefits. And it's even worse for you on the inside. According to *Justice Journal*, the

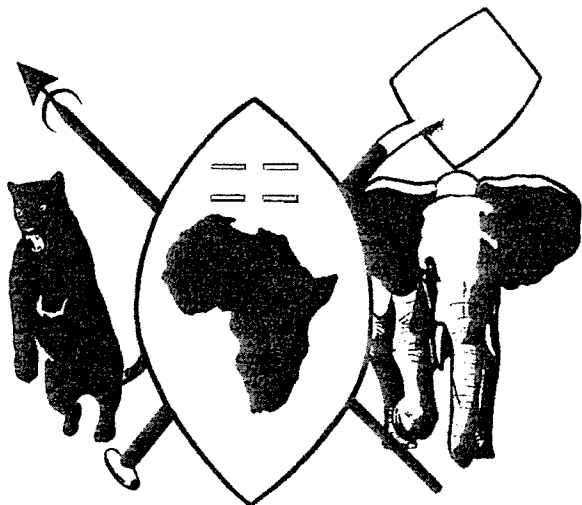
² "Great robbers punish little ones to keep them in their obedience; but the great ones are rewarded with laurels and triumphs, because they are too big for the weak hands of justice in this world, and have the power in their own possession which should punish offenders." - John Locke (1632-1704).

³ The year before the onset of the "Great Depression." - note STP

Serve The People #9

publication of Legal Services for Prisoners with Children, "the unemployment rate of people with felony convictions is currently 70 percent." The USDA says the food stamp list now soars past 35 million recipients – that's up 22 percent from June of 2008. Another wave of foreclosures looms, and now there are six unemployed people for every available position (job openings down 50 percent from 2007).

But not to worry, the business of weapons is still good. The United States signed weapons agreements valued \$37.8 billion in 2008, or 68.4 percent of all business in the global arms bazaar, up significantly from American sales of \$25.4 billion the year before. Go capitalism!



Build NASO as the Hard Core of the United Panther Movement

Just as the Nation of New Afrikans in Amerika forms the core of the multi-ethnic "underclass" in the U.S. and the New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC) is playing a leading role in building a revolutionary vanguard party to represent and give ideological and political leadership to this "underclass," NASO must provide the hard core around which to build the United Panther Movement.

This movement must be both national and international in scope and consciousness. Our class is multinational and multi-cultural. Our communities are in and around every municipality, every urban center, in both the developed and under-developed countries. We are the marginalized and oppressed masses, the "wretched of the earth" struggling to survive on pennies a day in the midst of the affluence of the modern technological-industrial mass society.

Colonialism and capitalism arose with the enslavement and kidnapping of Afrikans, and the trade in and exploitation of slaves was the foundation of the Amerikan economy and society. The model of Amerikan Democracy was that of the slave-owning empires of ancient Greece and Rome. Iron shackles and the lash were the real "Founding Fathers" of Amerika.

Black people were formed into a nation in Amerika under conditions of slavery, KKK terrorism and "Jim Crow" segregation, working as "share-croppers" growing cotton on the former slave plantations of the "Black Belt" South. This region constituted an "internal colony" of semi-feudal oppression and exploitation within white Amerika.

Led by the Black middle class – and particularly the clergy – in alliance with the liberal white bourgeoisie (bush-wah-zee), the Civil Rights Movement took on the system of "Jim Crow" segregation paving the way for the shift of capital and manufacturing to the "New South."

But the "Great Migration" of Blacks from the agricultural South to the industrial centers of the North and West, which went on throughout the 20th Century, had already begun the transformation of the New Afrikan Nation to a dispersed, urbanized and proletarianized "Nation of a New Type," that gave rise to the Black Liberation Movement.

Inspired by Malcolm X, the formation of the Black Panther Party in 1966 was the embodiment of the vanguard of this movement. While the government begrudgingly gave its approval to the limited demands of the Civil Rights Movement, it recognized the Black Liberation Movement as a serious security threat to capitalist imperialism and made war on the Black Panthers and their allied forces. Moreover, following the "Southern Strategy" of Nixon's 1968 presidential campaign, it launched the "War on Drugs" as a thin disguise for a "War on the Poor" and particularly inner-city Blacks.

Since 1968, (the year Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated), there has been an eight-fold increase in the number of incarcerated people (predominantly Blacks and other people of color) in the U.S., and this number is expected to double again in the next few years. The CIA, and police generally, have worked hand in glove with narco-military dictatorships and organized crime to keep the U.S. ghettos and barrios saturated with heroin, crack cocaine and other addictive drugs – while manufacturing jobs have been moved away (often out-of-country) from the oppressed communities where Blacks are concentrated.

The "Southern Strategy," which continued unabated under succeeding administrations – both Republican and Democratic – relied upon a "white backlash" to integration, "knee-jerk" racism, programmed anti-communism, homophobia, religious fundamentalism, "know nothing" xenophobia and patriarchal "family values" to whip up a wind of conservatism among the white "silent majority" to create a "mandate" for dismantling the "welfare state" and substituting "prison slavery" as a "cure" for the problems of deepening poverty and social dysfunction generated by outsourcing of manufacturing and expansion of the "underclass."

Militarization of the police and their virtual nationalization through the creation of federally-funded multi-jurisdictional task forces – and their corruption by the "War on Drugs" – went hand-in-hand with attacks on civil rights and civil liberties and the passing of "Draconian" laws by "Law and Order" corrupt politicians.

The racial integration of the police, judiciary and government generally was carried out side-by-side with the intensification of institutionalized racism and the overall merger of class and racial oppression. Some Blacks could escape the ghetto and integrate into white Amerika. Some could move up the ladder while the masses got kicked in the teeth. The election of President Obama is the crowning achievement of this sort of integration.

The "Bottom Line" is that capitalist-imperialism is in decline due to its own internal contradictions, and it cannot profitably exploit even half the world's population. Capital is rapidly concentrating into fewer and fewer hands and more and more people are being driven down into the mass of the poor. The

Serve The People #9

mouthpieces of the ruling class fret that there are simply "too many people," but the reality is that it is the political-economic system not the size of the population that is the cause of world poverty and hunger, of overcrowded slums and prisons.

As modern production demands greater and greater investment in technology to be competitive – and you can't exploit machinery – only people – the tendency is for the rate of profit to go down and the work force to get smaller. To maintain (or slow the decline) of the rate of profit, the capitalists slash wages and lay workers off. This reduces the ability of the workers (employed and unemployed) to buy the goods they created by their socialized labor, leading to more wage cuts and lay-offs.

We have the technology and resources to provide everyone on the planet with a decent standard of living, decent housing and health care, and with full employment. We can abolish poverty and the conditions that breed crime and ill health. What holds society back from doing so is the rule of a small class of super-rich exploiters who own most of the means of production, the banks and mass media, and whose dictatorship extends throughout society. Their profits and not society's needs is what rules our society.

It will take a revolution to change this. "Pantherism" is about revolution. It is about the poor and oppressed uniting to build a powerful movement that will act as a catalyst on the working class as a whole and the great masses of people to inspire them to rise up against capitalist-imperialist rule, to *SEIZE THE TIME* – and to *TAKE HISTORY INTO THEIR OWN HANDS!*

To accomplish this, we must build from the ground up. We must create community-based (and intercommunally-linked) *PEOPLE'S POWER!*

The 10 POINT PROGRAM of the Black Panther Party set forth a framework for building such a movement. NASO is based on programmatic unity with these 10 points. Its goal is to create a mass organization that unites all sections of the oppressed Black masses to initiate and sponsor Serve The People (STP) survival programs in the Black communities – and through the United Panther Movement the oppressed communities generally – to serve as the basis for transforming the oppressed communities into base areas of cultural, social and political revolution in the context of building a worldwide united front against capitalist-imperialism.

We need to prepare ourselves and our people to become masters of our own destiny. We need to rise up from the grass roots.

DARE TO STRUGGLE DARE TO WIN!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



The 10-Point Program of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

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

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALISTS OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of our fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

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

5. WE WANT DECENT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

Serve The People #9

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of the self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and in the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventive medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide our selves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desire of the United States ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the United States government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U. S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in United States prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the United States military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trial.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have

connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are most disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpation, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

All members and potential members must study and memorize our Ten Point Program and Platform.



ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Creating an Economic Base to Support Our Movement

by Comrade Tom Big Warrior

In order to fund STP ("Serve The People!") survival programs, produce and distribute literature, and in general build our movement, we need to create an economic base of movement-run, co-op enterprises in our communities that will generate funding, as well as doing various types of fundraising events and campaigns. We're not talking about "Black capitalism" as a strategy, but pooling our labor power and resources to set up small-scale businesses like store-front fast food joints, coffee houses, bookstores, hip-hop dance clubs, and other such things that the people can support with their patronage, where the profits will go directly to our movement.

Another idea is to set up various collectives, like a "motor-head" collective of comrades who are good at working on cars. They could buy used cars, vans, etc. at auction and fix them up for

Serve The People #9

resale or trade off the street or a vacant lot in the community. They could buy a garage and do low-cost maintenance and repairs, state inspections, etc. for people in the community and keep the vehicles belonging to the movement running in good order. Another group could be organized as a "zipper-head" collective to work with used computers and other electronic stuff, rebuilding and repairing them for resale, along with new and used software and discount supplies.

Those with building trades skills can form a "hard-hat" collective and acquire run-down and abandoned properties and renovate them for sale or lease. A "day-laborers" collective could bypass the "blood-sucking" temporary help agencies, solicit their own jobs and split the profits with the movement.

If these collectives live together in "Panther Houses," split the rent and shop and eat together communally, they can do so very economically so as to be able to offer services to the people at low rates and generate a steady flow of funding to support the free services offered by the movement. In general, we should try to establish communal living arrangements for all the comrades.

Music is an area where we can generate a lot of revenue for the struggle – as well as promote revolutionary culture – by organizing our own venues and doing the promotion to bring people around. A vacant factory or warehouse can be easily converted to a dance hall.

The "bottom line" is to transform our oppressed communities into cultural, social and political base areas of the revolution. Art, music and poetry are potent weapons in the class struggle.

Survival and Struggle

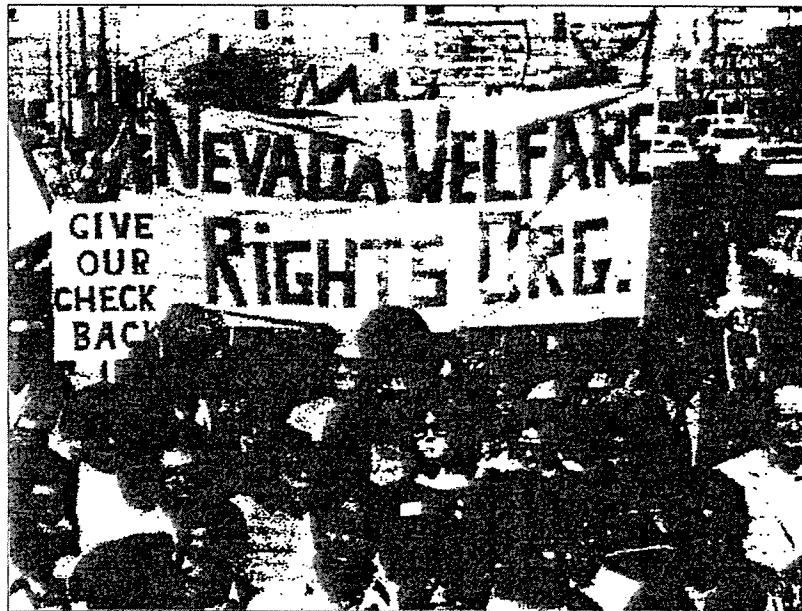
Survival is an important day to day struggle for millions of our people (of all ethnic groups), and in the long-run, our survival depends upon our building unity and rising up to take history into our own hands.

It is necessary that we take the short-term and long-term aspects of survival into consideration at all times and grasp the dialectical relationship between them. We must use the "microscope and telescope" of historical dialectical materialism to see things in their interconnectedness and their essence and understand and affect things in their development. That is what a revolutionary movement is all about.

Ideas become a force when they are grasped and acted upon by the masses of people. As individuals alone, all we can do is bitch and moan and try to keep our heads above water. As a united movement we can change the world.

Dare to Struggle Dare to Win!

All Power to the People!



Welfare Cut Backs

Doing the Math on the Welfare Family Caps

By *Barbara Vobejda and Judith Havemann*

Washington Post Staff Writers

Sunday, March 30 1997; Page A01

Two-month-old Michael Myers-Evans has huge, dark eyes, just like his brother and two sisters. Like his siblings, he is poor, the child of a single, unemployed mother.

But in one very important way, Michael is different from the rest of his family, different from almost everyone else in his circumstances: He is not eligible for welfare.

Michael is one of the first generation of babies being born around the country under a controversial new policy known as the "family cap." Now in place in 19 states, the family cap denies additional benefits to children conceived and born while their mothers are receiving public assistance.

Serve The People #9

That means that Michael's mother, 25-year-old Nandora Myers, is now supporting four children on the same \$650 monthly welfare payment she received when she had three children. And that basic calculus defies the history of federal welfare policy, which until now has always tied the level of benefits to the size of one's family.

"It's the children that are going to suffer," said Nandora Myers. But then, in a twist of incongruity, she adds that the policy makes some sense. "All these women having all these babies and not being able to take care of them is not right."

For years, social scientists and Washington lawmakers have waged an emotional debate over whether welfare benefits affect behavior — whether single women were having children knowing they could support them at taxpayer expense. Now, as an array of welfare changes takes hold, the family cap is the principal revision aimed at severing the link between money and babies.

It seeks to send a message to poor women that having more children will only increase hardship and deprivation — not bring extra cash. That message is intended to be so clear and harsh that it will reach into the most private sexual relationships, persuading women to stop having children they cannot support.

Conservatives have pushed hard to see the bitterly contested policy adopted in state capitals around the country, describing it as the centerpiece of their efforts to lower out-of-wedlock births. If it works, and welfare births decline, they would prove a critical point: New welfare policies can indeed alter human behavior.

But in Massachusetts, so far, the evidence is, at the very least, slow in coming. While a handful of other states are reporting ambiguous or conflicting results from the combination of the family cap and dozens of other policy changes occurring simultaneously, the rational calculation made by Massachusetts legislators — dock a welfare check and women will change their lives — has yet to prove true.

In this New England state, where *The Washington Post* is chronicling the impact of this historic reform, the family cap has had no discernible effect on the birth rates of welfare recipients.

Women have known that the cap would be going into effect for more than a year, so they had plenty of time to take precautions to avoid getting pregnant.

Nonetheless, in the first five months since the cap went into effect, 3,390 babies were born to the state's welfare mothers, slightly more than the 3,333 average for a comparable period the previous year. And that has happened as welfare caseloads have declined by about 12 percent, a trend that should have resulted in fewer welfare births.

Most of the women *Post* reporters spoke with said they knew about the cap, either through interviews with their caseworkers or as a result of the mass publicity surrounding the new policy. The message, they said, was clear: If they had another baby, it wouldn't put an additional \$90 a month in their pockets — as the old policy did. State Rep. Anne Paulsen (D), a critic of the policy, said the new numbers indicate the cap is failing to meet the goal its supporters promised.

"The point made in passing it was that we would reduce the number of children born on public assistance," she said. "We haven't done that."

Throughout the debate over the family cap, liberals have argued that it punishes innocent children, and other groups have warned that it could encourage women to seek abortions.

Supporters have countered that the family cap merely removes a perverse incentive for welfare mothers to have more babies in order to get more money.

After all, if these women had jobs, conservatives argue, having another child wouldn't automatically produce a pay raise. That argument has caught on, transforming the family cap from a conservative cause to one that is gradually gaining wider support.



Now, with very preliminary data emerging from a few of the states with family caps, officials are eager to interpret apparent drops in welfare births in four states as a sign that the policy has worked.

The stakes are enormous. Many governors' political fortunes are riding on the success of the welfare reforms they have championed. And the financial incentives are equally potent: States that successfully drive down out-of-wedlock birth rates without increasing abortions can win as much as \$25 million a year in an "illegitimacy bonus" created in the federal welfare law enacted last year. Officials already are scrambling to do everything they can to win the money, targeting efforts particularly at lowering births among welfare mothers.

Most states with family caps have not collected or released birth rates or have yet to begin denying benefits. In some states, including Nebraska and Arkansas, scientific studies using control groups that were evaluated by independent researchers with no stake in the outcome have found no difference in births between women who are covered by the cap and others who would continue receiving benefits.

But supporters of family cap policies say they see signs of success in several states.

Based on a few months' data, Virginia reports a 15 percent decline in welfare births, Arizona a drop of 6 percent and, in Mississippi, state officials report an astonishing 45 percent drop.

Serve The People #9

In New Jersey, where the family cap has been in effect since the fall of 1993, officials say births reported by women on welfare have fallen by 15 percent.

Officials in several states agree that any drop in births is probably not due to the family cap alone.

Even the more cautious welfare researchers say it is possible that the welfare reform debate and its strong message emphasizing personal responsibility – not just the family cap – could be having an effect on behavior – perhaps a short-lived "shock effect" that may dissipate later.

"I'm not going to say the family cap is causing all that," said Scott C. Oostdyk, Virginia's deputy secretary for health and human resources. "A lot of folks got the message they were outside the norm and maybe this was something that was not socially acceptable."

In New Jersey, the state implemented the family cap at the same time it told mothers on welfare that they must work or get training or education if their youngest child was 2 or older.

"We want people to make responsible decisions about childbearing," said New Jersey Welfare Commissioner William Waldman. "I believe the public message does have an impact on people's behavior."

But welfare researchers say any drop in births should be seen in the context of what is happening across the country. Nationally, birth rates dropped 7 percent between 1990 and 1995, according to the National Center for Health Statistics. Over the same period, rates dropped 17 percent for black women, who are disproportionately represented in the welfare population.

That makes it difficult to know how much of the drop in states reporting notable declines would have happened regardless of welfare policy changes.

Researchers also caution that the family cap numbers raise numerous unanswered questions, among them: Could falling birth rates in some states be explained by an increase in abortions? Abortion statistics are notoriously poor in many states. Are women not bothering to report new births because they no longer receive the additional benefits? Are some families claiming that a new child will be raised by a grandmother or other relative as a subterfuge to continue receiving benefits? Are young women increasing their use of more long-term contraceptives, such as Norplant and Depo-Provera?

In Massachusetts, welfare director Claire McIntire argues that the primary purpose of the family cap was not to reduce births, and that five months of flat birth numbers is not nearly enough time to know its' effect on a mother's decision to bear more children.

"We're asking welfare mothers to take responsibility for what they do," she said. "We're not saying you're absolutely forbidden to have children. It's your choice, knowing if you have a child you will receive no additional money from the taxpayers."

One thing is clear: The threat of losing out on \$90 a month in extra benefits doesn't get much notice in the chaotic lives of many women on welfare. It must compete with an often chronic state of crisis, with frequent moves from one tenuous household to another, with a constant struggle to pay the bills, and with neighborhoods wracked by violence and crime, and boyfriends in and out of jail.

Despite all that, Nandora Myers and other women on welfare here say they were aware of the family cap and other changing welfare rules. It just wasn't enough to change their lives.

"I was thinking I gotta be careful," said Myers. She had been using Depo-Provera, a contraceptive delivered in a shot every three months. "I must have missed the appointment," she said. "I don't know what I was thinking. I had three little kids. Sometimes things just slip my mind."

Compared with many others on the caseload, Myers has some advantages. She completed high school and has held several jobs over the years. But for reasons not even she can explain, it seems impossible for her to take control of her life the way policy makers envision she should.

As she describes her thinking on the family cap, the realities of being a single mother of four young children intrude: Five-year-old Kyle interrupts her to announce that the baby is crying. Myers must shoo away 2-year-old Ashley, who seems to have upset Michael. She sends Kyle to fetch a bottle. Only her 4-year-old, Kwameeshie, is quiet.

The question of how she ended up bearing four children by three different fathers is not a simple one to answer. Myers said she had been taking birth control pills, then enforced a condom rule, then opted for the foolproof method of Depo-Provera.

When even that didn't work and she had Michael, she went after a permanent solution, getting her tubes tied. "They gladly did it," she said.

If welfare reformers believed they could reduce births among Myers and other poor women, they may have underestimated what they were up against. More than half of all pregnancies in this country are unintended, according to the Alan Guttmacher Institute. That figure climbs for poor, less educated, young and minority women. But even among higher-income women, 45 percent of pregnancies are unintended, a term defined as mistimed or unwanted.

Nineteen-year-old Stacey Burns, for example, said she was using birth control pills when she discovered she was pregnant. She already was raising a baby girl on her own, but had begun to take control of her life. She had completed her high school equivalency exam, had been accepted at community college and had arranged for financial aid. When she found out she was pregnant for a second time, she was devastated.

"My daughter wasn't even a year old," said Burns, who is unmarried and living in a Catholic Charities group home for teenage mothers in Lynn, Mass. "I'm still not ready to take care of two kids, but I don't believe in abortion or giving up my baby for adoption. I feel like I had no choice."

She knew about the family cap, but had given it little thought since she wanted to prevent another pregnancy for her own reasons: "The hardest part," she said, "is just gonna be buying diapers and everything else I need."

Least surprised by the unchanged welfare birth numbers in Massachusetts are social workers who spend their days counseling young mothers.

Sylvia Missal, who runs a young parent program at Children's Hospital in Boston, said the welfare mothers she deals with are very much aware of the family cap. "Long before this rule, adolescent girls were saying they didn't want to have a second baby," she said. "But they're not able to organize themselves" to prevent it.

Researchers who have looked at welfare policies and their impact around the country tend to believe that the economic incentive in the family cap is relatively weak – loss of additional

Serve The People #9

benefits that, across the nation, typically amount to around \$70 a month. Also, the loss of that income is mitigated to some extent by an increase in food stamps triggered by the new child.

"We're trying to change the most fundamentally, biologically programmed impulses of human beings -- to have babies -- by waving \$40 a month at them," said Harvard University sociologist Christopher Jencks. "Would you have expected this to turn people around in some way?"

Other welfare changes, including work requirements and time limits, are much more likely to have an impact, according to Jencks and several other analysts. When women contemplate supporting three children, rather than one or two, after their time limit on welfare runs out, or paying child care costs for more children, they will be more likely to avoid having bigger families, they say.

Research has shown that births are likely to fall when women are more educated and see promising futures for themselves. But nearly half of all AFDC mothers do not have a high school diploma, and programs aimed at improving the future prospects of teenage welfare mothers have been only marginally successful.

Still Douglas Besharov, a welfare researcher at the American Enterprise Institute, argues that young women in the inner city are absorbing the message that welfare will no longer be a lifelong option for them to fall back on.

"Family caps, welfare reform, talking about illegitimacy is all a form of social signaling," he said. "We're changing people's views

of what it means to have a baby when you cannot provide for it. There has been a sea change in public attitudes on this."

He also argued that the family cap may help social workers who, for fear of sounding judgmental, have found it hard to tell young women they should not have more children until they can support them. Now social workers can merely point to the policy."

For some young women, however, the message intended by family cap sponsors is ringing hollow.

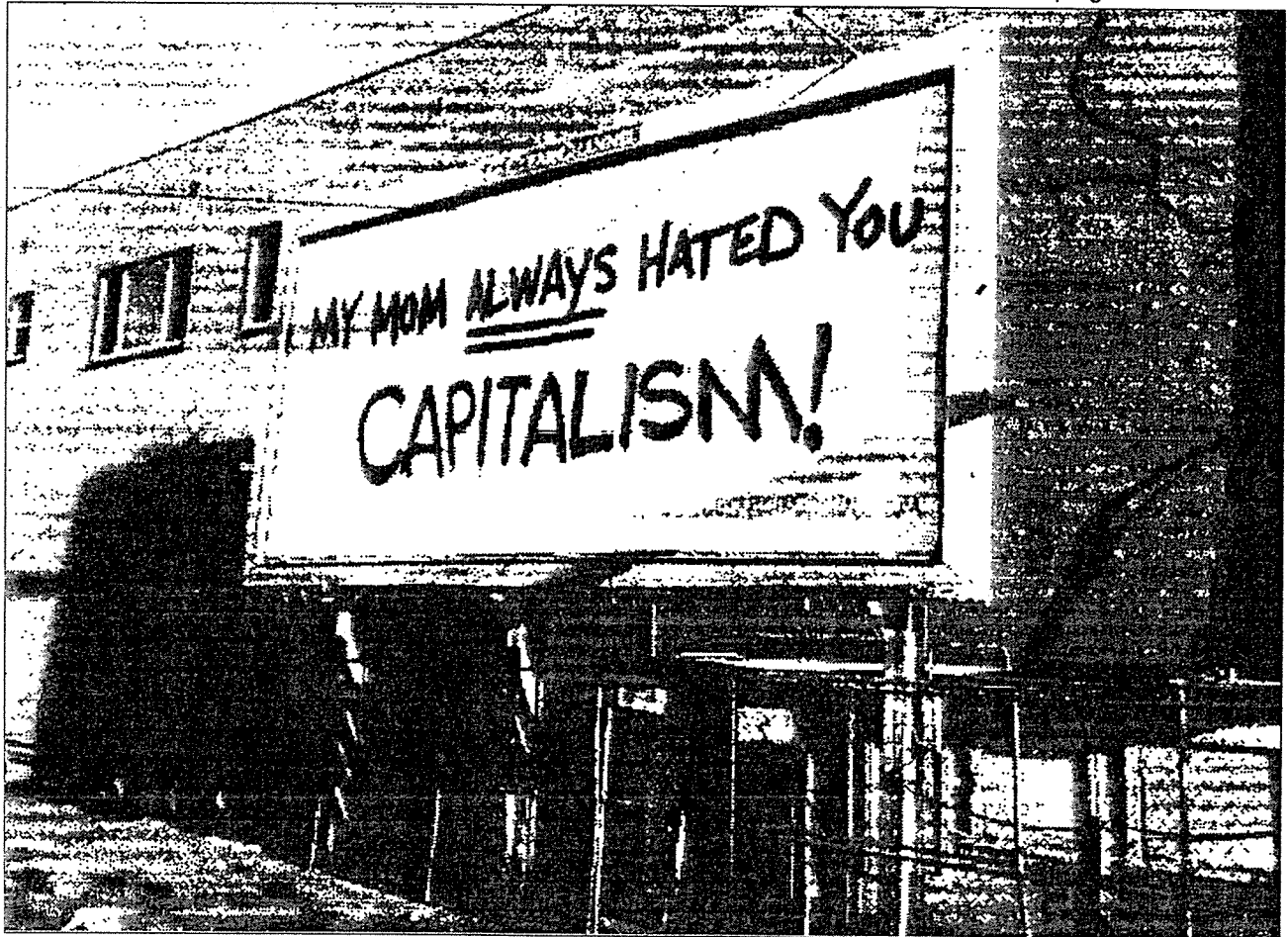
"It's like a stranger in the street telling me I shouldn't wear those sneakers," said 18-year-old Shante Hodges, whose third child is due in April. "The politicians tell them not to have a baby, but that doesn't mean they're not going to have it. And they're going to find one way or another to support their child."

Hodges, who has a 3-year-old son and a 2-year-old daughter, knew about the family cap, and even gives it something of an endorsement, saying some women "think they can have as many kids as they want and welfare will take care of them."

But she also finds it naive that lawmakers believed they could change a woman's mind about whether to have a baby by taking that money away.

The extra money, she said, "is not going to put Pampers on your baby. It's not going to feed your baby when your baby is hungry."

Hodges had been on birth control pills, she said, but quit taking them because her boyfriend was in jail. When he was released, she didn't have any contraceptives around the house. And that's when she became pregnant.





A Prisoner Writes,

Revolutionary Greetings!

I agree with everything you were speaking about in your letter. The so-called powers that be don't want us to see what's going on in the world today with a conscious mind. They are under a lot of pressure right now, and are trying their best to direct the attention of the masses elsewhere so that it can go unnoticed. Being consciously aware of this, one of our most urgent duties is to teach what we know to those that don't know according to our knowledge. Each one teach one and we can keep the blood-sucking system under pressure and wounded. Never let up.

However, we must also analyze our internal problems. There can be no real substantive discussion of the problem unless we take stock of the underlying factor, the fuel that feeds this construction (capitalism): fear. Law makers create crime and the criminals to fit them, reason being; drugs, crime and complaints = money, jobs and reelections. And they have launched a war of divide and conquer against the oppressed. The blood-guzzlers of the poor play us against one another. If your mind is preoccupied with believing that individuals within your community is your enemy, it's impossible to notice the real enemy, the individuals behind our internal conflicts, and also behind the bloodshed from Amerika back to Afrika: The money hungry capitalist.

Allow me to expound:

A look at the real impact of street crime begins to reveal that crime and fear of crime are forms of social control. Strong-arm robbery, rape, homicide, and general thuggery in poor communities leave people scared, divided, cynical, and politically confused. Ultimately, these acts drive the victims of

capitalism, racism and sexism into the arms of a racist, pro-business, sexist state. In short, crime justifies state violence and even creates popular demand for state repression. Thus, it helps to liquidate or at least neutralize a whole class of potential rebels. Crime also short-circuits the social cohesion necessary for radical mobilization.

To transform this reality, you must first transform consciousness, you must first present people with a vision that challenges the fiendish projections of the fear industry. People are hungry for that which is life affirming. We must reach out, and unite them (the masses). Why?

The law, a political institution in itself, provides the framework for war of social control against oppressed nations, working classes, and non-compliant women. So it is urgent that we unite. Where do we start?

A starting point would be to organize our communities so as to redirect the force of [the crime issue] back up against those elements responsible for its development – the rich. On the outside, we can start laying the foundation for dual power by policing our communities (without collaboration with the state's apparatus of repression).

Taking control of our neighborhoods is an important part of increasing the resistance that will ultimately direct [the blame for] crime against the rich. We need individuals with a powerful influence throughout our neighborhoods to reach the Brothas and Sistas most individuals fear. And once everyone understands what we are fighting for, we can come up with solutions to our current problems, solve them, and come together as a whole to crush the enemy. We know that that the object is to win, and once we win, we must continue to fight in order to protect what we've won. However, we must know what to focus our attention on: Our focus must be on social justice and economic redistribution.

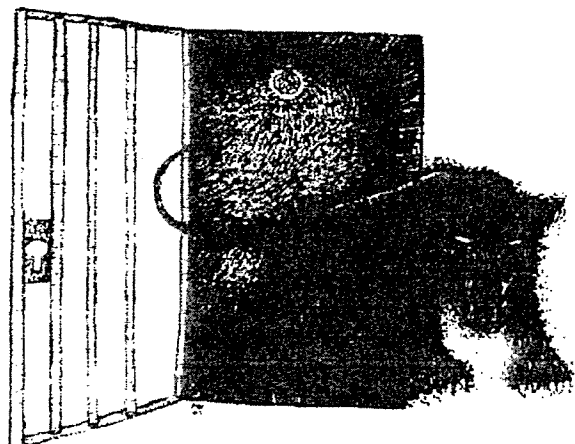
But in order to launch the attack on the blood-guzzling capitalist, we must go to the root of our internal problems and cut the cancer out. Then we can direct our aggression toward the real enemy.

A People United Will Not Be Defeated!

Dare to Fight! Dare to Win!

In Struggle,

F. Scots



MARK MASON



FROM THE DESK OF A PANTHER

Conditions That Lead to Armed Revolt in Society

by Comrade Obataiye

2/20/2010

Before the people can understand the concept of armed revolt and why it is we must revolt in the first place, they must be made to understand the conditions which contributed to this situation being such a harsh reality. Until an understanding of this kind has taken place, the lumpen-proletariat and the proletariat will remain subjected to capitalist and fascist rule.

The common man has no idea as to what places him into either of these categories which denote the separation of society into classes. They have clouded our minds with concessions and deceptions, and there are still many concessions to be given and tricks to be played.

The *proletariat* is the class of society which lives from the sale of its labor power and does not draw profit from any kind of capital investment: Everything the proletarian gets depends upon the demand of the labor market. The *lumpen-proletariat* – literally “broken wage slaves” – are the underclass; the unemployed or underemployed who usually live outside the law (to some degree) and hustle to survive. The aged, disabled and dependent members of the poor class can also be defined as “lumpen.”

The *bourgeoisie* (“bush-wah-zee”) are those rich and super-rich who own and control the basic means of production; i.e. the big corporations. They are the ruling class. These are the two major classes in capitalist society, and in between there is a strata called the *petite-bourgeoisie* or “middle class,” which includes people with a whole range of different relationships to production.

Now that we have an idea how class society breaks down, let’s examine under what conditions the *class struggle* in society can lead to armed revolt:

According to the principles of liberal democracy, “We The People” have the “Natural Right” to liberty to pursue our own destiny and to maintain an active position in the governance of society through the power of the vote. Under such form of government it is presumed that each has the opportunity to

prosper according to their ability. But the ability of the majority to prosper has always been handicapped due to the economic system that goes with this “democracy.”

These contradictions exist because of the nature of *capitalism*, a system based on “Free Enterprise” and private ownership driven by profit. Therefore, one who owns nothing but his labor power becomes a virtual “wage slave” to his employer. The proletariat as a whole is dependent upon the capitalist class for employment, or the government for unemployment compensation income and social security if they become disabled or upon retirement (which is deducted by the government from their wages when they’re employed).

At this point the bourgeoisie divides into two entities – the government and the “private sector” – whose interests and power are in fact merged. The “democracy” is a tightly managed dictatorship of the ruling class, whose interests both major political parties serve. This is the essence of “fascism” (corporatism) where “government regulation” really means; *corporations running the government*.

The “middle class” (or *petite-bourgeoisie*) includes middle management down to shop foremen and the “labor aristocracy” of trade union bureaucrats, small business owners, independent contractors, professionals and academics. This strata has been called the “social base of fascism” because it is from this strata that the bourgeoisie draws its “political footsoldiers” (and “stormtroopers”) who will defend the interests of the rich as their own, spurred on by appeals to nationalism and white supremacy. These appeals also have great influence on a section of the proletariat and lumpen-proletariat who aspire to join the ranks of the middle class or even the rich (someday) or just lack proletarian class consciousness.

The bourgeoisie makes the tacit promise to the middle class that they will always be in favor and never have to suffer the indignities and privations the workers and the poor must endure. At this point “democracy” means inclusion of the “middle class” in the bourgeoisie’s dictatorship over the proletariat and poor. “Populism” is employed to appeal to the middle class and backward workers as a form of “false class consciousness” where the downwardly mobile section of the middle class gets to blame their problems on the rich liberals “catering” to the unions, “illegal aliens,” uppity women, Blacks and the poor generally, and having to pay taxes.

There is also a radicalized section of the petty-bourgeoisie who are more politically conscious than the middle class as a whole. They tend, however, to vacillate between impotent reformism and equally impotent protest that is more about self-validation than changing which class rules society. In fact the petty-bourgeoisie has contradictions with proletarian rule even when they self-identify as socialists. Only the proletariat, as a class, has no stake in the maintenance of class exploitation.

Fundamental to fascism is the doctrine of class collaboration. There is big talk about the “good of the nation” and all classes cooperating to support the “national interest” – which is just a smokescreen for multinational corporate interests. The people are called upon to sacrifice to promote the global domination of these exploiting corporations.

The goal of every capitalist is to maximize the rate of profit on his capital investments. Patriotism doesn’t enter into it. Capitalists buy their raw materials and labor power where they can do it cheapest – for next to nothing if possible – and work it so they pay as little as possible in taxes. Capitalists have no country and are as happy with yen or yuan as they are with

Serve The People #9

dollars. The super-rich buy politicians internationally and force governments to do their bidding.

But "the world is not enough" and the capitalist corporations can't keep expanding. Moreover, modern capital-intensive production causes the rate of profit to drop. This is what has prompted the exodus of jobs from Amerika. The only way to raise the rate of profit is to drastically cut wages. "Free Trade" means the freedom to move production to where labor costs are lowest (and union organizers disappear).

Imperialism is the highest (and final) stage of capitalism, and neo-colonialism is the highest stage of imperialism.

Old-style colonialism involved European empires setting up expensive colonial administrations in the "Third World" countries of Afrika, Asia and Latin America, to monopolize trade and force the people to labor on European-owned plantations or in European-owned mines. Under neo-colonialism, the U.S. and other imperialist powers dominate through "Dollar Diplomacy," manipulating these countries into debt so the U.S.-dominated IMF (International Monetary Fund) can dictate their internal and external policies to bend them to the will of the multinational corporations that ruthlessly exploit their people and rape their natural resources as a condition for "debt forgiveness" or further loans.

As capitalist agriculture for export displaces tenant family and communal farming, masses of peasants are driven from the land to seek work in the urban centers. But the imperialists and local capitalists cannot profitably employ and exploit all these new proletarians leaving the majority marginalized and living in dire poverty in the huge slums and "shanty towns" that surround every urban center in the "Third World."

The bourgeoisie plays the mass of lumpens off the employed workers to keep wages down, and it controls the lumpens with police repression and corruption, protecting and colluding with the "illegal capitalists." Even where the people are starving, the oppressed communities are flooded with drugs and cheap alcohol and are "war zones" of lumpen gang violence – often instigated by the police.

In the countryside and the urban oppressed communities of the Third World, the masses of people are subjected to state terror, corruption and neglect. "Liberal democracy" is a sham and boils down to a constant dog fight between local elites over who will serve the imperialists and share in the exploitation of their countries and people. Conditions are so bad and worsening so fast that pretty much everywhere in the Third World is ripe for revolt and armed struggle if there is a vanguard party and movement to lead it. Examples of this are the people's wars being wage in India and the Philippines.

The basic strategy of surrounding the cities with a liberated countryside applies in these countries. However, conditions are a bit different in the U.S. and other imperialist countries. Here capitalism has already fully transformed agriculture to agribusiness, and there isn't a peasantry demanding "Land to the Tiller!" The infrastructure of roads and so on is highly developed.

We are also faced with deindustrialization and a declining industrial workforce and a growing lumpen-proletariat and marginalized workforce. What is new and arising is "Prison Slavery" as a strategy of criminalization of the poor and our mass incarceration is being carried out, particularly of young men of color.

National oppression of Black people in Amerika is rooted in the kidnapping and enslavement of millions of Afrikans in the period of rising capitalism and colonialism. Amerika was founded as a European colonial-settler society on land stolen from the indigenous Native Americans. Afrikan slaves were employed to work the plantations of the southern colonies.

The liberal democratic revolution that separated the United States from the British Empire did not free the slaves, emancipate women nor did it stop the continued invasion and colonization of Indian land. It was a white revolution that created a white Amerikan nation.

Black people were formed into a "nation within a nation" under conditions of slavery and "Jim Crow" segregation after the U.S. Civil War abolished slavery. Excluded from participation in the white nation, Black people formed their own culture and social institutions. The "Black Belt" South was a virtual internal colony of U.S. imperialism with "Third World"-like conditions.

Blacks were given little choice but to accept the exploitation of the former slave-owners under a feudalistic sharecropping system. KKK terror was employed to keep the Blacks and poor white sharecroppers divided and under the thumb of the big landlords, who were now subordinated to the northern capitalists.

But as capitalist-imperialism developed, mechanization of agriculture made sharecropping obsolete and unprofitable. At the same time there was a shortage of labor to man the rapidly expanding industry – particularly during WWI and WWII. A "great migration" of displaced Black (and white) sharecroppers to the urban industrial centers took place between WWI and the 1960s.

But "Jim Crow" followed, and every major city soon hosted its segregated Black ghetto with white police. Black workers were "the last hired and the first fired," and they were consigned to the dirtiest, most menial jobs at the lowest pay. In the 1920s, white race riots swept the country, and the KKK reached its peak membership of some two million.

In response to this, the African Black Brotherhood (ABB) was formed. It was a secret society of armed Black revolutionaries that was a forerunner of the Black Panther Party headquartered in Harlem. They became famous when ABB members took part in defending the Black section of Tulsa during the worst of the "white riots." Later they merged with the newly-formed U.S. Communist Party.

The Communist Party did the spade work in organizing unions among the sharecroppers and southern workers that was to give rise to the massive civil rights movement of the 1950s and 60s. The Party also introduced the idea of Black national self-determination in the "Black Belt" South.

But it was in the urban centers that the idea of revolutionary Black nationalism really took hold, inspired by the armed resistance led by the Deacons of Defense, Robert Williams and others in the South who did not rely on the FBI to protect the civil rights workers from the violence of the KKK, and by Malcolm X as well as by the armed national liberation struggles sweeping Afrika and the rest of the Third World. The most developed formation of this trend was the Black Panther Party (BPP) founded in 1966 in Oakland, California by Bobby Seal and Huey P. Newton. The Black Panthers in turn inspired the formation of similar groups among other ethnic minorities and poor whites.

The "Other Amerika" that had grown up alongside the affluence of middle class, white Amerika consisted of rural poverty pockets and vast urban ghettos. – where the police conducted themselves like

Serve The People #9

an occupying army. Standing up to the police, the Panthers also won the admiration and support of the impoverished masses by instituting "Serve The People" survival programs like free breakfasts for children, free health clinics, free bus rides to prisons, and may other programs based on community self-reliance and building community-based peoples' power.

The Vietnam War, and the example of the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese peasants and workers, had a radicalizing effect on people the world over – particularly the students and youth – including in the U.S. The "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" in Peoples' China led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung had an even more profound ideological and political influence. People thought that revolution here must not be far off.

But overall, U.S. imperialism was winning the "Cold War," and deep internal contradictions were pulling apart the "Socialist Camp" following the restoration of capitalism (in essence) in the Soviet Union. In 1968, Richard Nixon rallied the Republican Party (and a significant section of the ruling class) around the "Southern Strategy," which called for engineering a "War on the Poor" under the guise of a "War on Drugs" and "Law and Order."

After waging an all-out campaign to disrupt and smash the Panthers, the government instituted a campaign to flood the oppressed communities with drugs and create a virtual police state combining the military-industrial complex with a domestic prison-industrial complex, militarizing the police and industrializing the criminal-justice system.

Since 1968, there has been an eight-fold increase in the number of incarcerated people and a dramatic increase in the percentage of Black and other people of color. At the same time, "bones were thrown" to the aspiring Black middle class in the form of "affirmative action" and assimilation into the white middle class neighborhoods and middle management.

Following the advise of the "sage of slave-masters," Willie Lynch, the government promoted the tactics of "divide and rule" breaking the Movement for radical change into "single issue" constituencies and identity politics, and dividing the petty-bourgeoisie from the oppressed masses. Ethnic divisions were promoted among the oppressed, and urban youth gangs were incited to war upon each other. A cultural of violence, drugs, sexism and decadence was consciously promoted while at the same time the cultural conservatism and religious fundamentalism of the backward white middle class and proletarians (particularly in the rural areas) was drummed into a reactionary political movement.

The bourgeoisie was applying its own strategy of "surrounding the cities with the countryside," and playing the South against the North. Meanwhile, the "Socialist Camp" collapsed and the U.S. gained a position of near-complete global domination as the world's only imperialist superpower. But in this victory were the seeds of its own downfall as it moved to establish "Free Trade" and "Privatization" as the cornerstones of the "New World Order."

From attacking the Left the Right-wing switched to attacking the Center and dismantling the social-welfare net established by "New Deal" and "Cold War" liberalism. Hard-fought for concessions were swept away as the "War on Poverty" became the "War on the Poor," but the poor were not the only people under attack. The massive outsourcing of "blue collar" and "white collar" jobs overseas undercut the unions and drove down the standard of living of the lower middle class and upper working class while "tax reform" benefited the upper middle class and the rich and most of all the super-rich.

The gap between rich and poor was greatly widened. Deregulation of capitalism led to widespread and reckless speculation in "junk bonds" and "investment scams" leading to the crash on Wall Street and the massive "bail-outs" of corporations considered "too big to be allowed to fail."

Now the U.S. and World economies are in serious crisis – the worst since the "Great Depression." Masses of people are crying out for change. The ruling class has been forced to change faces and for the first time to bring in a Black President to represent its interests. But the Right-wing is still on the attack and trying to whip its conservative white base into "lynch mob hysteria" by defaming President Obama as a "Socialist" and "Communist" to block any concessions – like healthcare insurance reform – and ride a wave of white backlash back into power.

Of course Obama is far from being a socialist, but this tactic reveals what the ruling class really fears – raising the expectations of the oppressed and the masses of people. Revolution is an expression of hope and the self-confidence of the masses as well as anger, disillusionment and desperation. It is not Obama they fear but the common people moving beyond his empty rhetoric to take history in their own hands.

And, "Yes We Can!"

The "Epoch of Exploitation" is near to its end. Capitalist-Imperialism is a dying system. It is as Mao said a "Paper Tiger." Its teeth and claws are real enough, but it stands in contradiction to the needs and best interests of the great majority of humanity. It can only offer us more of the same; more prisons, more poverty, more social dysfunction, more wars of aggression – more social injustice!

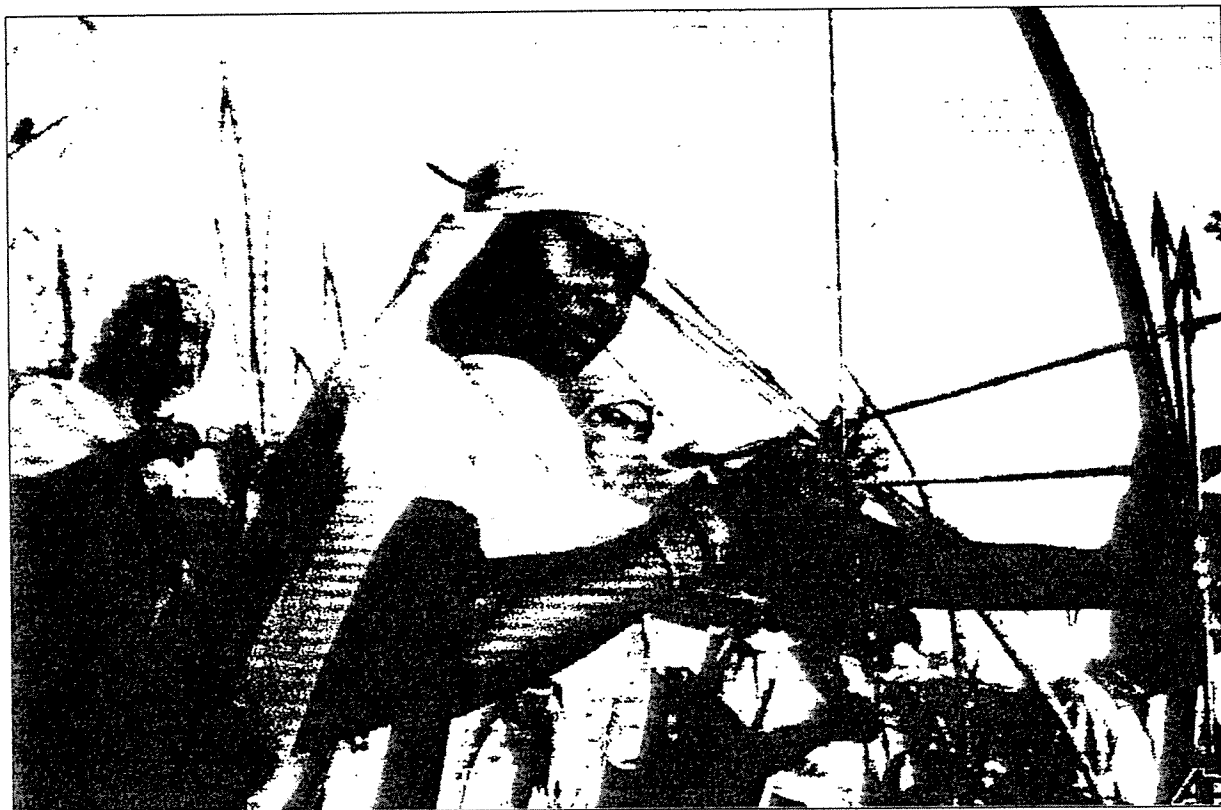
The conditions that lead to armed revolt and revolution are when the ruling class can no longer confuse, fool and intimidate the people, and the people have the leadership and organization to resist and rise up to end their oppression.

Dare to Struggle Dare to Win!

All Power to the People!

Comrade Obatalye, NABPP-PC North Carolina





Tribal women arm themselves with bows and arrows to confront police

India Launches War Against Tribals

Counter-insurgency offensive is really a resource and land grab

by Dhruv Jain, BASICS #16 (Nov/Dec 2009)

On June 17, 2009, the Indian state launched a major counter-insurgency offensive, Operation Lalgah, to "restore law and order" to the West Midnapore district of West Bengal. In the months leading up to the military offensive, the adivasi, or tribal, populations of Lalgah and surrounding villages in the district had been subject to consistent police harassment, including the torture and detainment of tribals on the slightest suspicion of rebel activity.

To protect the autonomy and self-governance of the area, villagers formed the People's Committee Against Police Atrocities (PCAPA). As the people's movement had support from the Maoist party, the state quickly labeled the organic, self-directed community uprising a Maoist rebellion. Although the Maoist party only played an advisory role and was only one of the progressive forces supporting the movement, the Indian state was able to employ its commonly-used scare tactic of labeling villagers opposed to state intervention as "Maoists". Paramilitary forces suppressed the movement in twelve days through the recapture of the villages, but did not defeat it.

In the months following the June offensive, the people's movement – under the leadership of the PCAPA – has continued to grow and resist, while the police harassment has escalated. On September 27, 2009, Chhatradhar Mahato, a key leader of the PCAPA, was arrested for sedition and raising funds for the Maoists.

In early October 2009, the Central Government of India announced that they would start preparations for a major anti-Maoist offensive. What they did not announce is that this major offensive would serve as a huge resources and land grab. The government had entered into hundreds of secret memorandums of understanding (MOUs) with companies that include mining corporations and information technology parks. The communities had not been consulted about the business deals and actively resisted the "development projects" the national government was championing for the area. Areas like Lalgah, largely inhabited with tribal populations, are mineral-rich and the people recognize that the companies that exploit these resources will not contribute to their livelihoods. These so-called 'development' projects would effectively dispossess tribal populations from their ancestral lands and allow for greater exploitation of the population, including a highly exploitative labor market. Thus, under the veneer of an anti-Maoist offensive, the Indian state hopes to achieve the final suppression of tribal populations from the area.

However, the people of Lalgah are not alone. A national and international campaign has begun to stop the offensive. A petition signed by luminaries including Noam Chomsky, Arundhati Roy and several hundred human rights activists and academics was presented to the Indian government calling for the immediate halt to the offensive and to have the MOUs made public to the tribals so that they can decide for themselves how to improve their lives.

[End]



Mao Tse-tung

IN REFUTATION OF "UNIFORMITY OF PUBLIC OPINION"

May 24, 1955

* Article criticizing the counter-revolutionary Hu Feng clique.

What Hu Feng calls "uniformity of public opinion" actually means that counter-revolutionaries are not allowed to express counter-revolutionary views. Indeed this is true, our system does deprive all counter-revolutionaries of freedom of speech and allows this freedom only among the people. We allow opinions to be varied among the people, that is, there is freedom to criticize, to express different views and to advocate theism or atheism (*i.e.*, materialism).

In any society and at any time, there are always two kinds of people and views, the advanced and the backward, that exist as opposites struggling with each other, with the advanced views invariably prevailing over the backward ones; it is neither possible nor right to have "uniformity of public opinion." Society can progress only if what is advanced is given full play and prevails over what is backward. But in an era in which classes and class struggle still exist both at home and abroad, the working class and the masses who have seized state power must suppress the resistance to the revolution put up by all counter-revolutionary classes, groups and individuals, thwart their activities aimed at restoration and prohibit them from exploiting freedom of speech for counter-revolutionary purposes.

Thus Hu Feng and counter-revolutionaries of his kind find "uniformity of public opinion" inconvenient for them. Their inconvenience is exactly what we want and is exactly what is convenient for us. Public opinion in our country is at once uniform and non-uniform. Among the people, both the advanced and the backward are free to use our newspapers, periodicals, forums, etc. to compete with each other, so that the former can educate the latter by the democratic method of persuasion and backward ideas and systems can be overcome.

When a contradiction is resolved, new contradictions emerge, and competition takes place again. In this way, society constantly progresses. The existence of contradictions means non-

uniformity. The resolution of contradictions results in temporary uniformity, but new contradictions soon emerge, which means non-uniformity, and they, in turn, have to be resolved.

As for the contradiction between the people and the counter-revolutionaries, that is a matter of dictatorship over the counter-revolutionaries by the people under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party. Here the dictatorial, not the democratic, method is used; in other words, the counter-revolutionaries must behave themselves and are not allowed to be unruly in word or deed. In this respect, it is not only public opinion that is uniform, but the law too.

On this question, the arguments of Hu Feng and other counter-revolutionaries may seem plausible, and on hearing such counter-revolutionary remarks some muddleheads feel themselves somewhat in the wrong. Well, you see, "uniformity of public opinion," or "absence of public opinion," or "suppression of freedom" – don't they sound awful? These people cannot distinguish clearly between two different categories, between what is within the ranks of the people and what is without. Within the ranks of the people, it is criminal to suppress freedom, to suppress the people's criticism of the shortcomings and mistakes of the Party and the government or to suppress free discussion in academic circles. This is our system.

However, all this is legitimate in capitalist countries. Outside the ranks of the people, it is criminal to allow counter-revolutionaries to be unruly in word or deed and it is legitimate to exercise dictatorship over them. This is our system.

The opposite is true of capitalist countries, where the bourgeoisie exercises a dictatorship under which revolutionary people are not allowed to be "unruly in word or deed" but must "behave themselves." Exploiters and counter-revolutionaries are always and everywhere in the minority while the exploited and revolutionaries are invariably in the majority. Therefore,

dictatorship by the latter is perfectly right, while dictatorship by the former is invariably wrong.

Hu Feng also said, "The great majority of readers belong to some organization where the atmosphere is coercive." Among the people, we reject the coercive method of *commandism* and adhere to the democratic method of persuasion; here the atmosphere should be free, "coercion" is wrong. "The great majority of readers belong to some organization" – this is excellent. In thousands of years nothing like this had ever happened. It was only after the Communist Party led the people in waging a long and arduous struggle that they were able to change to being united from being like loose sand, a condition which favoured the reactionaries' exploitation and oppression, and that the people achieved this great unity among themselves within a few years after victory in the revolution.

By "coercion" Hu Feng means our coercing those on the side of counter-revolution. Yes, they tremble with fear, feeling "like the miserable daughter-in-law always afraid of being beaten," or worrying that "a mere cough is being recorded." We consider this excellent too. Nothing like this had ever happened in thousands of years either. Only after the Communist Party led the people through a long and arduous struggle were these scoundrels made to feel so uncomfortable. In a word, the day of joy for the people is a day of woe for the counter-revolutionaries. This, above all, is what we celebrate each year when National Day comes around.

Hu Feng also said, "When it comes to literature and art, *mechanism* is really the easiest thing." Here "mechanism" is a derogatory term for dialectical materialism, and to call it "the easiest thing" is sheer nonsense. Idealism and metaphysics are the easiest things in the world, because, being neither based on objective reality nor submitted to its test, they permit people to talk as much nonsense as they like.

Materialism and dialectics, on the other hand, demand effort. They must be based on and submitted to the test of objective reality. Unless one makes the effort, one is liable to drift into idealism and metaphysics. In his letter[1] Hu Feng raised three questions of principle, which we have deemed it necessary to repudiate at some length. In addition, Hu Feng wrote in the letter, "At present there is a desire to resist everywhere, there are further demands everywhere;" this was in 1950. At the time, the bulk of Chiang Kai-shek's military forces had just been wiped out on the mainland, many of the counter-revolutionary armed forces who had turned into bandits were yet to be eliminated, the large-scale movements of agrarian reform and suppression of counter-revolutionaries had not yet begun, nor had the work of readjustment in the fields of culture and education. What Hu Feng said did reflect the situation then, but he left something unsaid. To spell it out, it should have read: *At present there is a desire on the part of counter-revolutionaries to resist the revolution everywhere, there are further demands of all sorts from counter-revolutionaries everywhere seeking to make trouble for the revolution.*

NOTES

[1.] This refers to a counter-revolutionary confidential letter Hu Feng wrote on August 13, 1950 to his follower Chang Chung-hsiao. [p. 174]



The CPP/NPA's Quest for Victory: Impossible Dream?

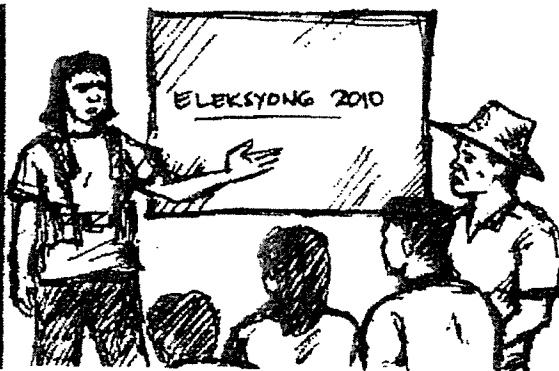
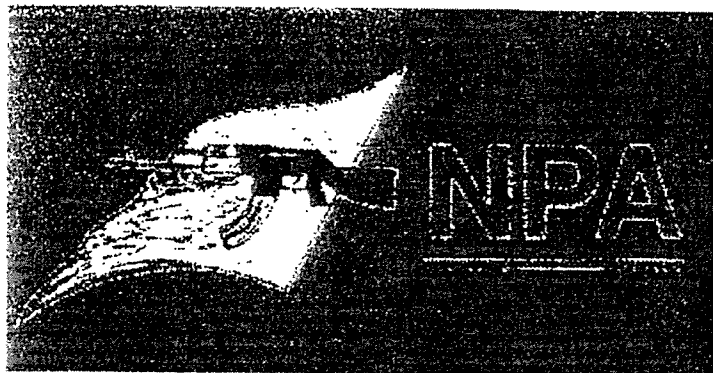
The year 2002 dispelled whatever notion there was - peddled mainly by the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) -- that the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and its armed wing, the New People's Army (NPA), are on the road to extinction.

BY ROWENA CARRANZA
Bulatlat.com



CPP spokesman Gregorio Rosa

In the press conference called early this month by CPP spokesman Gregorio "Ka Roger" Rosa, the more important message was not the one uttered by Rosa. (For one thing, the no-ceasefire announcement was already posted in the CPP's website a day *before* the press conference.) The activity was held amid a cluster of thatched huts in a village less than 30 minutes away from the nearest Army detachment and hosted by a very-much alive, even buoyant, Rosa, whom the military has "killed" several times in its press releases.



The primary message was: the CPP-NPA has regained its strength, contrary to government claims that its members are surrendering in droves to the AFP. That it can meet with members of the media right under the nose of the military, proving the mass support it allegedly enjoys as well as its confidence on its ability to defend itself.

Several armed offensives by the NPA in the latter part of the year support this claim. On Sept. 24, members of the Merardo Arce Command, the NPA unit operating in Southern Mindanao, raided the Philippine National Police (PNP) station in Maco, Compostela Valley, taking with them 33 high-powered firearms. Three days later, NPA guerrillas attacked the municipal hall of Lopez, Quezon, killing the town's chief of police and two others. The following week, the NPA raided the 306th Provincial Mobile Group headquarters in Sampaloc, San Rafael Bulacan.



Some of the NPA offensives were even volubly lauded by local residents, such as the closure of the cement factory owned by the Goodfound Cement Corporation in Camalig, Albay. The Taiwanese-owned company allegedly displaced farmer-tenants without compensation, caused students in a nearby school to develop lung problems and polluted the river from where residents get irrigation water. Thus, on Nov. 29, the NPA's

Santos-Binamera Command raided the plant and destroyed the control room to stop its operation. It became a joke among local radio commentators afterward that problems should be referred to the NPA if people want immediate action.

Ineffectual

When the United States (U.S.) officially declared in August, followed later by the European Union and other countries, the CPP and NPA as terrorist organizations, the move failed to gain support in the country, outside the president and the AFP. Even anti-CPP columnists such as Ramon Tulfo and peeved ex-comrades like Joel Rocamora admit that the CPP and NPA are not terrorist organizations.

People's organizations and non-government groups led by the Bagong Alyansang Makabayan (New Patriotic Alliance), Karapatan, Kilusang Mayo Uno (May First Movement) and Kilusang Magubukid ng Pilipinas (Peasant Movement in the Philippines) all strongly assert that while the NPA launches armed attacks, these are limited to military targets.

Far from causing demoralization and fear among CPP members and leaders, U.S.' action and Arroyo's instant agreement caused more political damage on the part of the Arroyo administration, which was perceived as either being over-obedient to the U.S. in the hope of getting Washington's support in the 2004 presidential elections, or dominated by militarists, or both.

Ghosts from the past

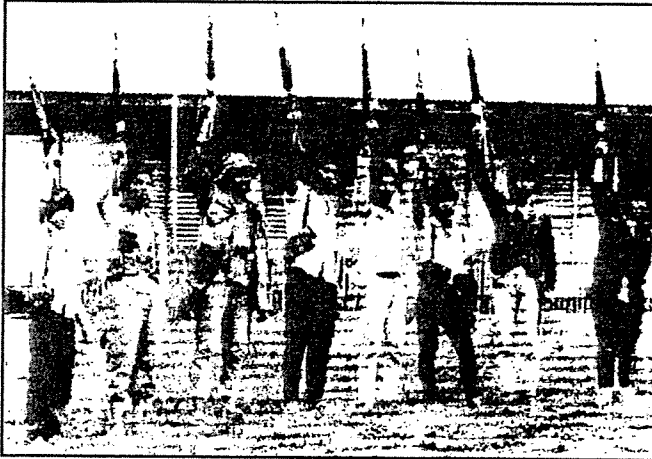
But despite the political and military victories it scored this year, the CPP continues to be haunted by the anti-infiltration purge that its Mindanao and Southern Tagalog Party branches committed in mid-to late-'80s.

Although the CPP leadership has several times admitted the error, the issue continues to be its Achilles heel, guaranteed to put the revolutionary leadership in the defensive whenever raised by the military or its opponents.

But in a three-part article published by the Philippine Daily Inquirer early this year, a Catholic nun who herself witnessed the aftermath of the purge in Southern Tagalog said that the incidents "were not authorized but were aberrations" and that due penalties and restitution were done.

Using the name Sr. Victoria Miranda, she said that once the national leaders found out, they immediately stopped it. "The national-level cadres who arrived immediately set the prisoners free. Victims were given first aid while the guys from the national center went about the sordid task of reviewing the record of investigation — every single line of it. At the end they announced with sorrow that there was not a single DPA on the list."

Meanwhile, an added headache for the revolutionary left is its former comrades, called "rejectionists" or "paksyunalista" (factionalists). Exchanges with them range from bitter and personal verbal blows to the armed attacks, such as those with the Rebolusyonaryong Hukbong Bayan (Revolutionary People's Army) and Revolutionary Proletarian Army - Alex Boncayao Brigade (RPA-ABB), armed breakaway groups in Central Luzon and Negros, respectively.



More offensives

The current political situation would no doubt be described in the coming CPP anniversary statement as favorable for the revolutionary movement.

The Arroyo government, if surveys are to be believed, has now become quite unpopular as the economic crisis worsens and reports of unbridled corruption and rent seeking -- by the president's husband no less -- continue. Arroyo is now also isolated from other political groups, including those that led the 2001 People Power uprising.

All these, according to Rosal, will help the revolution advance. During the press conference, he announced that NPA tactical offensives in 2003 would be bigger, more frequent and more intensive.

According to him, the Communist Party is now stronger in all aspects than when it started the rectification movement in 1992. He said that the 128 guerrilla fronts each have a platoon to company size armed force. Although armed offensives were more frequent this year than the previous year, only 10 of the fronts were active in military work.

"E, paano pa kung ang bawat isang front ay magdaos ng opensiba (Imagine if each front would launch an offensive)!" he said.

Later in the evening, the 54-year old Party leader would croon the classic song, "Impossible Dream," the footage of which some media men would use to refer to the seeming impossibility of winning the armed revolution.

But for Rosal, and perhaps the rest of the CPP, the song is far from being a song of hopelessness. The lyrics reflect courage and determination; it speaks of running "where the brave dare not go," of trying "even when the arms are too weary." For them, revolutionary victory is not an impossible dream.

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Communist Party of the Philippines congratulates New People's Army for string of victories

February 3, 2010...3:52 pm

CPP Information Bureau

The Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) today congratulated the New People's Army (NPA) for its recent string of military victories in the Cordillera and Bicol regions saying "these signals great advances in the people's war this 2010."

In the Cordillera, the NPA roundly frustrated the all-out military operations of the Philippine Army's 5th Infantry Division and successfully carried out a series of battles against attacking government forces in the Mountain Province and Abra. Also last January, the NPA engaged the state armed forces in 37 encounters including one ambush, one raid, numerous other military actions as well as defensive turned offensive actions.

Citing reports by local NPA units and other revolutionary organizations, the CPP highlighted the following military actions of the NPA carried out in the month of January in the Ilocos-Cordillera at Bicol regions alone:

- On January 27, with the support of the masses, the NPA ambushed an elite platoon of the 54th IB led by 1 Lt. Victor Leopoldo at the vicinity of Mt. Bato in Mainit, Bontoc resulting in the annihilation of five elements and the wounding of another four.
- On January 31, three more troopers of the Philippine Army's 50th IB were killed in a fight with an NPA unit in Tubo, a southern Abra barangay bordering the Mountain Province.
- On the same day, NPA forces almost wiped out another platoon of the 41st IB in Barangay Lap-ey in Malibcong.
- Five government troopers were killed and another eight were wounded.
- Last January 14, the NPA successfully ambushed the Special Operations Team of the 2nd IB in Barangay Tapiacon, Camalig, Albay resulting in the death of Pfc. Michael Sacza.
- On January 15, two enemy soldiers belonging to the 49th IB were killed when NPA Red fighters fired upon the military truck in Barangay Palogtok, Irosin, Sorsogon.
- On the same day, four soldiers belonging to the 9th IB were killed and six others were wounded when their vehicle was ambushed in Barangay Lalaguna, Mobo, Masbate.
- On January 20, an NPA commando team set an explosion damaging the walls and guardhouse of the 9th IB and the PNP-RMG at Barangay Armenia, Unson, Masbate.

All in all, at least 28 enemy soldiers were killed in the Cordillera and Bicol regions and 25 others wounded. Four NPA Red fighters were martyred.

Serve The People #9



The CPP denounced the brutal, destructive ways of the attacking government troops. "In the Mountain Province, ground operations of the 54th IB were accompanied by three days of aerial bombings by helicopter gunships and jet planes, resulting in the destruction of rice paddies and terraces, irrigation canals, and domestic water systems, and the burning of mountainside forests in the towns of Mainit and Guinaang."

In Albay, elements of the special operations team (SOT) of the 901st Brigade abducted Ananias Cardiente Jr and Vicente Moradillo last January 15 in Baranggay Taplacon, Camalig. On January 30, elements of the 2nd ID fired and killed Vergel Mapola Catubig in Baranggay Lawinon, Pio Duran.



"In the face of the government forces' brutal suppression of the people's rights, wanton destruction of the people's economy and utter disregard of the people's interest," the CPP said "the masses in the area and their army have remained undaunted and have been able to fight with virtuosity in guerrilla tactics against the ineffective government armed forces.

"These victories in battle of the NPA belie pratings of the US-Arroyo regime and its top defense and military officials that the armed revolutionary movement will be drastically reduced to inconsequence if not totally defeated by the end of the present term of the ruling regime and at the same time the end of its brutal nine-year "counter-insurgency" program - *Oplan Bantay Laya*.

The CPP said that the recent victories of the NPA in the Cordillera and Bicol regions are only a few of the many victories nationwide. "With these victories, the people's war is on track to developing from the present stage of strategic defensive to the stage of strategic stalemate by the middle of the decade."

