

VOLUME 5: ISSUES 2, 3, & 4

BAMN

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

BAMN



Mutulu Lives On
IN THE HEARTS OF THE PEOPLE!



- >> "Another Empire Is Falling"
- >> "Haiti - The Relentless Struggle"
- >> "Preparing for the Return of the Dragon"
- ... and More!



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Section 1: Editorial

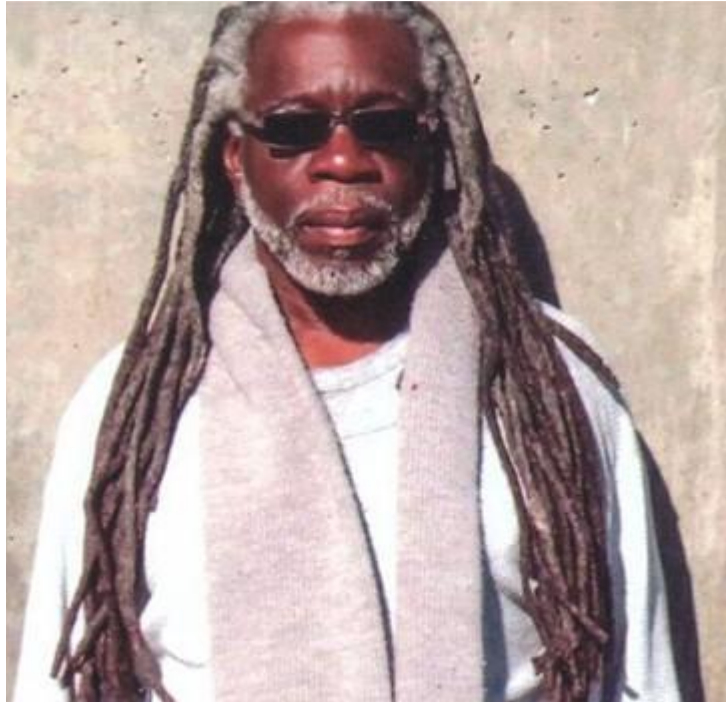
A SALUTE TO MUTULU SHAKUR!

By

Akinyele Umoja

Mutulu Shakur passed away just seven months after being paroled. Like other political prisoners he was released only when he was terminally ill. The US has more political prisoners and incarcerates them for 30, 40, 50, and even 60 years, far longer than any other country.

The New Afrikan Independence Movement and revolutionary Pan-Afrikanists salute our freedom fighter, Dr. Mutulu Shakur, who joined the Ancestors on July 7, 2023. Dr. Shakur was a grassroots organizer, teacher, soldier, anti-repression activist, healer, and unifier of the youth and street forces (whether in the community or inside prison walls). Mutulu Shakur defined himself as a revolutionary nationalist, Pan-Afrikanist, and anti-imperialist. He joined the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) as a teenager in 1966. He was also a signer of the Declaration of Independence of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika (PGRNA) in 1968 and a founding member of the New Afrikan People's Organization (NAPO) in 1984. Shakur lived underground for four years due to his involvement in the New Afrikan Freedom Fighter wing of the Black Liberation Army (BLA). Dr. Shakur was captured on February 12, 1986, and convicted on conspiracy charges that included revolutionary acts of expropriation of capitalist institutions to support movement institutions, including armed defense capacity, providing material support to Afrikan liberation struggle (particularly in Zimbabwe). The imperialist prosecution also included the 1979 liberation of freedom fighter Assata Shakur from imprisonment in the charges against him.



During his captivity in federal prisons, Dr. Shakur organized and provided political education and health care to his fellow prisoners and continued to be a human rights advocate. Shakur continued to be a target of political repression during his captivity. He was constantly harassed and unjustly segregated from other prisoners, despite his work to bring peace, literacy, and end violence in prisons he was held. The conditions of his captivity significantly compromised his health. He battled strokes, COVID, and cancer as result of his confinement and isolation. Dr. Shakur was released from captivity in December 2023 due to a vigorous campaign for compassionate release including grassroots activists, artists, clergy, elected officials, and academics. He continued to advocate for the national liberation of New Afrika, the freedom of political prisoners, and people's medicine in the last months of his life. Dr. Shakur also championed the leadership of women in the national liberation and human rights struggle.

Dr. Shakur's political legacy must include the fight against political repression and state violence. He taught much of the Black Liberation Movement about political repression as the Director of the National Task Force for Cointelpro Litigation and Research. He also fought for the release of the Wilmington 10, Imari Obadele and the Republic of New Afrika 11, Assata Shakur and other BLA prisoners of war, and Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). We must continue to challenge political repression and call for the freedom of the movement's political prisoners as the state intensifies its criminalization of our resistance.

Mutulu Shakur
Live like him
Dare to Struggle
Dare to Win
Free the land
Free em all

*Akinyele Umoja is a scholar-activist and author of **We Will Shoot Back** (NYU Press, 2013) and co-editor of the **BLACK POWER ENCYCLOPEDIA** (Greenwood 2018)*

From The Black Agenda Report <https://www.blackagendareport.com/mutulu-shakur-0>

Another Empire is Falling And Our Ancestors Prepared Us

By

Edward Onaci

Our present generation is witnessing the end of colonialism, Europeanism, Westernism, or 'White-ism' . . . the end of white supremacy, the end of the evil white man's unjust rule.
– Malcolm X

Recently, New Afrikans across the United States claimed May 19 as Malcolm X Day. At one such celebration in Philadelphia, PA, i participated in and overheard so many important discussions that speak to our current moment and the challenges before us. People talked about music, gave advice on how to protect their rights and, for some, how to restore them. Others discussed self-defense and its place in

every home, in every community. Explanations of gender justice and patriarchal violence were frequent. And pledges to eat more healthily occurred in between live music and poetry and during short speeches from the main stage. The feeling in the air was that the organizers and participants had made the central ancestor of the day smile. That feeling became much more palpable when artist [Blak Rapp MADUSA](#) reminded those present just how many political prisoners and prisoners of war have come home in recent years! That feeling, and the reminder of where so many people's labor had borne fruit, convinced us that there is a significant purpose behind our unceasing efforts.



One refrain that wove many of the conversations together was the idea that World War III has begun and that the U.S. as an imperialist force is in decline. In addition to conflicts in Eastern Europe and the increased tensions between the United States and the People's Republic of China, folks discussed protests in France, Western involvement in Haiti, Sudan, and Yemen, the detainment of some Solidarity Brigade participants during their [recent return trip from Cuba](#), and the ongoing assault against comrades in the [African People's Socialist Party](#). Folks became more personal when they shared their experiences dealing with inflation, as well as the covid pandemic and the various measures mandated in response. Discussions turned melancholy, but determined, when attention turned to the myriad ways that our youth are being harmed structurally and interpersonally and how they are responding with self-destructive violence. The smoke from burnt sage and cedar could not cleanse the painful ongoing effects of these few named symptoms that make visceral the fall of the U.S. from its hegemonic global position.

The Malcolm X Grassroots movement formed to fight for self-determination, to instill self-respect, and to equip our people for self-defense. Our organization's elders and ancestors learned through careful study and experience that African people needed to organize around those ideals and in pursuit of [six core principles](#). Understanding that our people have been withstanding multigenerational assaults, they taught us to frame our liberation efforts as protracted People's War. Any observer can see our resolve being carried out through [Camp Pumziko](#), which teaches our youth survival skills, team building, and self-love. It is evident in our PE sessions, Cop Watch, transformative justice workshops, efforts to support our PPs and POWs, and security work. And of course, contributors to the pages of

BAMN News write according to the mission handed down to us. Ultimately, we carry out these actions in our attempts to apply what our elders and ancestors learned as they worked diligently to understand and fight against the system of capitalist, racist, heterosexist oppression that now cannibalizes itself.

Just as the building of this empire was brutal and ugly and took time, so too will be its collapse. The better we understand and prepare for that inevitability, the more robust our organizing will be. And the better our organization, the more equipped our people will be to survive what is unfolding before us. We have to survive so that we can equip the next generation, just as our elders and ancestors did us. Ultimately, we carry out our efforts because we believe in the ideas and actions of [El-Hajj Malik El-Shabbaz](#), [Queen Mother Moore](#), [Nehanda Isoke Abiodun](#), [Ahmed Obafemi](#), and so many more. We do it because we believe that we can and will win.

Section 2: International

Members Permanent Forum on People of African Descent

<https://www.ohchr.org/en/permanent-forum-people-african-descent/members>



Permanent Forum Chair: Epsy Campbell Barr (Costa Rica) a former Vice President of Costa Rica and Minister of Foreign Affairs. She was twice a congressional representative in the Legislative Assembly of Costa Rica. She is an Afro-feminist and human rights and environmental activist. She is also the founder of the Center for Afro-descendant Women and the Afro-descendant Institute for Study, Research and Development, as well as the Black Parliament of the Americas. She is a researcher with dozens of publications on democracy, inclusion, women's rights issues, the environment, and on issues of people of African descent and on racism and racial discrimination. She has delivered statements in States, universities, companies, seminars and conferences in various countries of the world. Ms. Campbell Barr has received various international awards for her struggles in favor of sustainable and inclusive societies. She has a Humanities PhD from the University of Brenau, Georgia, and is an economist with Master's Degrees in International Cooperation for Development and Advanced Techniques in Political Participation.

Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights link for all current information of the Second Session Permanent Forum on People of African Descent.

<https://www.ohchr.org/en/events/sessions/2023/second-session-permanent-forum-people-african-descent>

The videos of the second session of the [Permanent Forum on People of African Descent](#) (from 30 May to 2 June 2023 at the United Nations Headquarters in New York, United States of America) are found below.

videos

- 30 May 2023 - [Morning](#) & [Afternoon](#)
- 31 May 2023- [Morning](#) & [Afternoon](#)
- 1 June 2023 - [Morning](#) & [Afternoon I](#) and [II](#)
- 2 June 2023 - [Afternoon](#)

The Documentation links are below.

[Provisional agenda](#)

[Programme of work](#) (Draft)

[Concept note on the thematic discussions](#)

[Modalities of participation](#)

[Logistic information](#)

[Preliminary conclusions and recommendations](#) | [Portuguese](#)

Permanent Forum on People of African Descent Background Information

Compiled by

kwame-osagyefo kalimara

Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

In August 2021, the General Assembly adopted resolution 75/1314, which operationalized the Permanent Forum on Peoples of African Descent as “a consultative mechanism for people of African descent and other relevant stakeholders” and “as a platform for improving the safety and quality of life and livelihoods of peoples of African descent.”

The Permanent Forum also operates as an advisory body to the Human Rights Council, in line with the program of activities for the implementation of the International Decade for People of African Descent and the coordination with existing United Nations mechanism promoting action to combat racism against people of African descent.

The priority theme of this year's session is “Realizing the Dream: A UN Declaration on the promotion, protection and full respect of the human rights of people of African descent.”

The first session of the Permanent Forum on People of African Descent took place from 5 to 8 December 2022 in Palais des Nations of the United Nations Office in Geneva, Switzerland.

The Thematic Discussions were:

1. The Fight against Systemic Racism – Future Policymaking for People of African Descent

2. Inclusion of People of African Descent in the Sustainable Development Agenda – The Case for Climate Justice
3. Inclusion of People of African Descent in the Sustainable Development Agenda – The Case for Reparatory Justice
4. Connecting the Past and Future – A United Nations Declaration on the Rights of People of African Descent
5. Connecting the Past and the Future – Equality for All People of African Descent
6. The future work of the Permanent Forum: Feedback from participants

The schedule for the 1st session of the UN Permanent Forum on People of African Descent is here: <https://africandescentforumsession1.sched.com/>

The video links for the 1st session of the UN Permanent Forum on People of African Descent sessions are here:

- 5 December 2022 - [Morning](#) & [Afternoon](#)
- 6 December 2022 - [Morning](#) & [Afternoon](#)
- 7 December 2022 - [Morning](#) & [Afternoon](#)
- 8 December 2022 - [Morning](#) & [Afternoon](#)

The Preliminary Conclusions and Recommendations for the 1st session of the UN Permanent Forum on People of African Descent is here:

<https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/documents/issues/racism/forum-people-african-descent/1st-session/PFPAD-1st-session-Preliminary-Conclusions-and-Recommendations.pdf>

Second session of the Permanent Forum on People of African Descent took place from 30 May 2023 - 02 June 2023 at the United Nations Headquarters, New York, United States of America.

The Thematic Discussions were:

1. Global Repertory Justice
2. Pan africanism for Dignity, Justice, and Peace
3. Transnational Migration
4. An Evidence-Based Approach to Recognizing and Addressing Systemic and Structural Racism: Data Collection for People of African Descent
5. Health, Well-Being, and Intergenerational Trauma

The schedule for the 2nd session of the UN Permanent Forum on People of African Descent is here:

<https://africandescentforumsession2.sched.com/>

Preliminary Conclusions and Recommendations UN Permanent Forum on People of African Descent (PFPAD) Second Session, 30 May – 2 June 2023, New York City, USA



The primary conclusions and recommendations of the UN Permanent Forum on People of African Descent second session from 3rd May to the 2nd of June 2023, at the United Nations headquarters in New York City

Introduction

1. The United Nations Permanent Forum of People of African Descent (PFPAD) held its second annual session from 30 May – 2 June 2023 at the United Nations Headquarters in New York City. Its overarching theme was “Realizing the Dream: A UN Declaration on the promotion, protection and full respect of the human rights of people of African descent.” In addition to the opening of the second session and the general debate, five thematic discussions were held, including: Global Reparatory Justice; Pan-Africanism for Dignity, Justice, and Peace; Transnational Migration; Recognizing and Addressing Systemic and Structural Racism—A Data-Driven and Evidence-Based Approach; and Health, Well-Being, and Intergenerational Trauma. The event was attended by Member States, United Nations entities and approximately 900 civil society representatives from more than 85 countries, and other stakeholders from across the world participating in person and online. In addition, more than 60 side events were held. The Permanent Forum expresses its appreciation to all participants, their contributions to the conversations, conclusions and recommendations.

2. The Permanent Forum extends its thanks to all the high-level dignitaries who participated in the session: H.E. Mr. Csaba Kőrösi, President of the General Assembly; H.E. António Guterres, Secretary General of the United Nations; H.E. Ilze Brands Kehris, Assistant Secretary-General for Human Rights; H.E. Mr. Václav Bálek, President of the Human Rights Council; H.E. Volker Türk, United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights; H.E. Natalia Kanem, Executive Director of the United Nations Population Fund; H.E. Mr. Lula da Silva, President of Brazil; H.E. Francia Marquez, Vice President of Colombia; H.E. Ms. Anielle Franco, Minister of Racial Equality of Brazil; H.E. Dr. Silvio Almeida, Minister of Human Rights and Citizenship of Brazil; H.E. Mr. Ahmed Hussen, Minister of Housing and Diversity and Inclusion, Canada; H.E. Ms. Oneidge Waldron, M.P., Minister of Tourism, Industry and Commerce, Guyana; H.E. Dr. Amery Browne, Minister of Foreign and CARICOM Affairs, Trinidad and Tobago; H.E. Mr. Michael Stanley Regan, Administrator of the

United States of America Environmental Protection Agency; Honourable Sheila Jackson Lee, Congresswoman at the United States of America House of Representatives; and Ms. Gabriela Ramos, Assistant Director-General for Social and Human Sciences at UNESCO.

3. The following conclusions and recommendations are preliminary in nature. Together with the proceedings of the first session, they will form the basis of a combined report to the 54th Session of the UN Human Rights Council, the 78th Session of the UN General Assembly, and will also be shared with civil society and other relevant stakeholders across the world.

Conclusions & Recommendations

DECLARATION

4. The Permanent Forum on People of African Descent affirms its commitment to contribute to the elaboration of a UN Declaration on the promotion, protection and full respect of the human rights of people of African descent that fills gaps in, evolves, and complements already existing human rights instruments in relation to people of African descent. The Permanent Forum also values the clear commitment to the Declaration from various delegations and other stakeholders, as well as the active participation of civil society in the process of drafting the declaration. The Permanent Forum reaffirms its critical role in engaging civil society in the drafting of the Declaration.

5. The Permanent Forum reiterates that while the full and effective implementation of the ICERD and the DDPA remain the cornerstone in addressing racial discrimination against people of African descent, there is a further need for comprehensive recognition, monitoring, and effective address of systemic and structural racial discrimination—at the local, national, regional and global levels.

6. The Permanent Forum welcomes with special interest the contributions made by civil society that the elaboration of the Declaration include, inter alia: cultural and linguistic rights such as rights to preserve cultural heritage, native languages and ancestral knowledge; the right to self-determination; collective rights of peoples and communities of African descent; the right of peoples of African descent to their lands, territories and resources; rights of indigenous peoples of African descent to free, prior and informed consent in relation to decisions that affect their rights and territories; the right to family integrity for families of African descent; the right to justice and reparations.

7. The Permanent Forum affirms that the Declaration should consider the voice and perspectives of women, youth, older persons, LGBTQI+ people, persons with disabilities, and other vulnerable groups.

8. The Permanent Forum looks forward to having a broader deliberation with the IGWG and stands ready to submit substantive contributions to the elaboration of the Declaration, together with other United Nations anti-racism mechanisms.

9. The Permanent Forum calls on Member States to support the Permanent Forum in organizing regional consultations with civil society and other relevant stakeholders to contribute to the elaboration of the above-mentioned UN Declaration.

SECOND DECADE

10. The Permanent Forum urges the UN General Assembly to proclaim a second International Decade of People of African Descent with a view to taking further actions to bring about the full recognition, justice and development of people of African descent, bearing in mind the closure of the first Decade in 2024.

11. The Permanent Forum recommends that the Second International Decade for People of African Descent focuses on reparatory justice, recognition, equity, and addressing systemic and structural racial discrimination at the local, national, regional and global levels.

GLOBAL REPARATORY JUSTICE

12. The Permanent Forum affirms that reparations are the cornerstone of what justice looks like in the 21st century and that there can be no effective sustainable development agenda without it. As recognized by the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action, the full human dignity and rights for people of African descent require comprehensive reparatory justice. The Permanent Forum affirms that enslavement, the transatlantic trade in enslaved Africans, apartheid and colonialism are crimes against humanity and constitute genocide. The trauma and structural impacts of these crimes remain manifest in disparities in health, well-being and the enjoyment of human rights. The Permanent Forum encourages Member States to take concrete actions to educate themselves and the public on the histories and legacies of colonialism and enslavement; recognize how they have contributed to or suffered from these histories and

legacies; and to eliminate all forms of systemic and structural racial discrimination at local, national, regional and global levels. Member States should treat this as a matter of justice, not charity or aid, and in doing so center the will, participation, and needs of people of African descent.

13. The Permanent Forum recognizes that there is no adequate legal mechanism in dealing with reparations claims for the transatlantic trade in enslaved Africans, colonialism, hundreds of years of African enslavement, and the multiplicity of related injuries and damages to Africans and people of African descent in the various countries of the world.

14. The Permanent Forum reiterates its recommendation to promote an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on the legal question of reparatory justice for histories and legacies of colonialism and enslavement. Member States could also encourage that such opinions be made by other competent legal bodies, such as the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, and the European Court of Human Rights.

15. The Permanent Forum also recommends to Member States the following measures:

a. Promote research, education and public awareness raising on the histories and legacies of colonialism and enslavement of Africans and people of African descent.

b. Provide data and information on steps taken on reparatory justice for people of African descent.

c. Support the PFPAD to articulate with development and funding agencies the funding and promotion of the economic development of people of African descent to achieve reparatory justice and opportunities to change the realities of people of African Descent.

d. Create an international fund for the restitution and return of cultural properties and artifacts taken from Africa and the Americas. Resources of such a fund could be utilized for the creation of museums and other forms of memorialization.

e. Establish a specialized International Tribunal within the United Nations to address reparations for enslavement, apartheid, genocide, and colonialism, in coordination with other United Nations anti-racism mechanisms.

PAN-AFRICANISM FOR DIGNITY, JUSTICE & PEACE

16. Pan-Africanism was and still is a global movement for the liberation of Africans and people of African descent from colonialism, enslavement, subjugation, and systemic and structural racial discrimination at both the domestic and international levels. The Permanent Forum holds that 21st Century Pan-Africanism needs to be grounded in equality,

non-discrimination, and the rule of law. It must address impunity and be inclusive of all people, including women, elders, youth, persons with disabilities, migrants, and LGBTQI+ people. It must also be for environmental justice and sustainability. To put these principles in action, the Permanent Forum welcomes initiatives taken by the AU and CARICOM, and invites them to further collaborate with each other, and with the Permanent Forum and all other relevant stakeholders. The Permanent Forum recognizes the pioneering Pan-Africanism of the Haitian people and that the neo-colonial costs imposed on Haiti have contributed to its current crisis. The Permanent Forum acknowledges the Pan-Africanism espoused by the 1920 Declaration of the Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World as a forerunner to the UN Declaration on the human rights of people of African descent.

17. The Permanent Forum recommends that UN Member States establish an informal Pan-African Group of States to build bridges of solidarity between Africa and the Diaspora, support, consult and discuss with the Permanent Forum on key Pan- African issues such as reparatory justice, sustainable development, education, cultural exchanges and racial discrimination.

18. The Permanent Forum welcomes with optimism a dialogue with the African Union on working together towards the realization of Agenda 2063 and the Diaspora as the 6th Region of the African Union. The Permanent Forum also looks forward to presenting its work at the annual summits of the African Union and CARICOM.

TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION

19. The Permanent Forum expresses its deep concern about the political instrumentalization of xenophobia and the rise of the harmful ideologies of demographic replacement and reconversion, and their implications for democratic stability, peace and international security.

20. The Permanent Forum highlights that racism, structural discrimination and inequities in transnational migration disproportionately affects Africans and people of African descent, particularly women of African descent and Black African migrants crossing North Africa and the Mediterranean Sea. The Permanent Forum acknowledges crimes of enslavement, colonialism, and neo-colonialism as root causes of Haitian migration.

21. The Permanent Forum affirms that seeking asylum is a human right and stresses that the international community has a responsibility to ensure safe, orderly, regular, accompanied and equitable forms of migration for African and African descendant migrants. The Permanent Forum recognizes that transnational migration is increasingly becoming a global problem that requires global policy solutions, review, and mainstreaming, and calls on the international community to act in accordance with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, the Global Compact on Migration, and other relevant international agreements.

22. The Permanent Forum calls on Member States to put an end to arbitrary detention, deportations and pushbacks; to separate civil migration systems from criminal legal systems; and

to ensure that migration processes are purely administrative in accordance with international human rights standards and laws.

23. The Permanent Forum recommends that the International Organization for Migration, in consultation with Member States, include disaggregated data on racial disparities in national and international migration regimes, especially as they affect Africans and people of African descent. This data should include:

- a. Approximate numbers of African and African descendent migrants and migration trends in various regions in the context of global flows of migration; including deaths, and location of deaths, of migrants.
- b. Causes of transnational African and African descendant migration.
- c. Inequities in the freedom of movement, including in access to visas for Africans and people of African descent in different countries.
- d. Status of refugees of African descent in different parts of the world, including status of de facto protection of refugee rights, as well as vulnerability to cruel, inhumane and degrading treatment, exploitation, and violence.

24. The Permanent Forum recommends the publication of periodic review reports with policy recommendations based on the collection of such data.

AN EVIDENCE-BASED APPROACH TO ADDRESSING SYSTEMIC AND STRUCTURAL RACISM

25. The Permanent Forum emphasizes that a right to comprehensive recognition of systemic and structural racial discrimination as it affects people of African descent, needs to include broader social, international, and historical contexts of systemic and structural racism.

26. The Permanent Forum emphasizes the importance of data-driven policies, including special measures, to address the inequities faced by people of African descent. Member States have the obligation to provide disaggregated data as a means to monitor, recognise and address systemic and structural racial discrimination against people of African descent at both the domestic and international levels.

27. The Permanent Forum acknowledges that comprehensive monitoring and promotion of the enjoyment of human rights of people of African descent require a systemic and structural racial equity and justice lens with:

- a. Evidence-based indicators of equal enjoyment of dignity, rights, and non- discrimination across areas of society.
- b. Comprehensive disaggregated data-collection across areas of society.
- c. The mainstreaming of evidence-based equity considerations in all relevant policy making across all areas of society.

28. The Permanent Forum notes the potentially positive aspects of digital technologies and artificial intelligence (AI) in enhancing the collection and analysis of data to monitor racial discrimination and inform policy making. However, it is concerned that inequities are being

reproduced in the digital transformation of AI. The Permanent Forum urges that to address the risks of digital transformation and AI, the development of responsible and inclusive technology should be encouraged and enabled. This means developing technology that is fair, equitable, and inclusive by engaging with UN mechanisms for this purpose, supporting research and development, raising awareness, and holding technology developers accountable.

29. The Permanent Forum encourages Member States, specialized UN entities, and other relevant stakeholders to promote equitable access for people of African descent to artificial intelligence, including by providing technology transfer, and taking action to prevent the deepening of inequalities and algorithmic bias.

30. The Permanent Forum calls for the coordination of disaggregated data collection on people of African descent across UN agencies, funds, and programmes. The UN Statistics Division is encouraged to compile this data to be presented through an online interactive dashboard.

31. The Permanent Forum recommends that at the international level, the UN General Assembly and Human Rights Council take short- and long-term initiatives towards monitoring, recognizing, and effectively addressing systemic and structural racial discrimination against Africans and people of African descent across the world. These initiatives should take into consideration how histories and legacies of colonialism and enslavement have shaped the international order, including the global economy and relationships of power at the UN and other institutions of global governance. Such initiatives could include:

a. The drafting of guidelines for data-collection on racial inequities in the global economy, especially as they pertain to Africans and people of African descent. This could be undertaken by the UN Permanent Forum in collaboration with the UN Conference on Trade and Development, the Regional Commissions of the UN Economic and Social Council, as well as other relevant UN anti-racism mechanisms and bodies.

b. A General Assembly commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the 1974 Declaration of a New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States—with a focus on their understanding of structural inequities in the global economy and their continued relevance to addressing them, especially as they affect Africans and people of African descent.

c. That Member States, in their efforts to establish a new international economic and financial order, recognize equity and the right to development for people of African descent, and other marginalized and excluded peoples and communities, by eradicating structural racism and discrimination.

32. The Permanent Forum strongly encourages the inclusion of indicators and data on racial disparities, especially as they affect people of African descent and their often multiple and

intersecting forms of discrimination, in the monitoring and implementation of the sustainable development goals.

HEALTH, WELL-BEING AND INTERGENERATIONAL TRAUMA

33. The Permanent Forum is concerned about the intergenerational trauma and other health disparities caused by the legacies of colonialism and enslavement, as well as the barriers in accessing healthcare by people of African descent. The Permanent Forum is also deeply concerned about the impact of racism and racial discrimination on the physical and mental health, of people of African descent as evidenced by disproportionately worse health outcomes, including higher rates of infant and maternal mortality, asthma, heart disease, diabetes, and high blood pressure—further aggravated by the COVID-19 pandemic. Taking into account the combination of economic, social, and environmental factors, the Permanent Forum believes that urgent and robust policy and practical measures are required. Timely and accurate data on health inequities, promoting medical education and capacity for people of African descent, development of ‘culturally safe’ structures and processes in healthcare systems, research and legislation on intergenerational trauma are also essential.

34. The Permanent Forum recommends Member States to consider:

- a. Adopting specific programmes and policies for people of African descent that are accountable to ensure universal health coverage, including mental health services.
- b. Supporting the development of ‘culturally safe’ structures and processes within national systems, and private organizations surrounding healthcare, including, inter alia, safe and culturally appropriate midwifery practices.

c. Promoting research, education, and policymaking to address health disparities and intergenerational trauma caused by histories and legacies of systemic and structural racial discrimination, including the establishment of health infrastructures for people of African descent as an act of reparation.

35. The Permanent Forum recommends that the WHO, with the participation of Member States, civil society, and other UN mechanisms, establish a task force on racial disparity, in the area of health and intergenerational trauma.

36. The Permanent Forum recommends to the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) and other relevant stakeholders, to consider producing a report on the health status of people of African descent, including the impact of racism and racial discrimination.

37. The Permanent Forum also recommends to the WHO to consider including in its work race and ethnicity as a fourth cross-cutting theme along with equity, gender and human rights.¹

38. The Permanent Forum recommends that the commemoration of the international day for people of African descent in 2023 focuses on the theme of health of people of African descent

and encourages Member States, UN entities, civil society, and other stakeholders to undertake activities in this regard.

ACCESSIBILITY

39. The Permanent Forum expresses its deep concerns about the structural barriers and obstacles in the implementation of its mandate, such as financial and human resources constraints of the Secretariat; access by participants, in particular representatives of civil society, to meeting rooms; lack of interpretation services in Portuguese; difficulties of obtaining visas, among other issues.

40. The Permanent Forum stresses the importance of increasing the participation of civil society organizations in its annual sessions and calls for adequate financial and other support to ensure their broader participation.

¹ See

<https://www.who.int/activities/advancing-gender-equity-and-human-rights-through-programmes-and-policies>, and

[https://www.who.int/publications/m/item/integrating-equity--gender--human-rights-and-social-determinants-into-the-work-of-who--roadmap-for-action-\(2014-2019\)](https://www.who.int/publications/m/item/integrating-equity--gender--human-rights-and-social-determinants-into-the-work-of-who--roadmap-for-action-(2014-2019))

41. The Permanent Forum affirms its readiness to amplify the participation and voices of civil society by developing robust civil society networks, inter- and pre-sessional consultations, and encourages the establishment of civil society-led regional and thematic committees around the Permanent Forum and its annual sessions.

42. The Permanent Forum calls on Member States to:

- a. Strengthen the Secretariat of the Permanent Forum; facilitate support to organize an annual intersessional meeting of the Permanent Forum; facilitate regional consultations with a view to contribute to the elaboration of the draft Declaration; and increase the number of funded civil society participants to the sessions of the Permanent Forum.
- b. Ensure the facilitation of appropriate accessibility of all civil society participants to the annual sessions, including facilities accommodating older persons and persons with disabilities.
- c. Provide sufficient resources for Portuguese and International Sign interpretation, including availability in simplified language, International Sign, Braille and accessible formats as well as in information about the sessions.

The video link for the 2nd session of the UN Permanent Forum on People of African Descent Preliminary Conclusions and Recommendations (the source of the transcript below) session is here:

<https://media.un.org/en/asset/k1n/k1n8bks5d5>

**TO THE MEMBERS OF THE
Second Session Permanent Forum on People of African Descent and the Peoples of African
Descent 30th May - 2nd June, 2023 UNHQ, New York
Mutulu Shakur: Toward a Truth and Reconciliation Commission
for New African/Black Political Prisoners, Prisoners of War, and Freedom Fighters**

submitted by

Dr. kwame-osagyefo kalimara

New Afrikan People's Organization/Malcolm X Grassroots Movement

“If you're a writer, write about revolution. If you're a teacher, teach revolution. If you are a painter, paint the scenes of freedom. If you are a computer specialist, design the leaflets. If you're a community organizer, organize the next rally. If you're an MC, then wrap about Kuwasi Balagoon, Sandra Pratt, and Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata. There's a job for everyone.” Nehanda Isoke Abiodun

Exiled Ancestor

Dr. Mutulu Shakur, prisoner, prisoner of war, human rights activist and healer for nearly three decades has advocated the need for a Truth and Reconciliation Commission in the United States to examine the history of slavery, oppression, racism, segregation and lynching to resolve the issues of the gross human rights abuses by the systems and institutions of the United States empire.

Dr. Shakur examined the system setup in South Africa, the original Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and determined its efficacy in addressing the gross human rights violations by the apartheid regime, and how an application in the United States would be significant. He acknowledges it was a valuable tool in assisting South Africa in the peaceful transition into a democratic society by acknowledging public knowledge of the abuses by the government and its agents. The voices of victims and the perpetrators of crimes was necessary for society to solidify itself under democratic principles.

Dr. Shakur values the concepts of international law and the importance of its use in the human rights struggle for independence and self-determination for New Afrikan/black people in the United States empire, and those people who are modern-day Harriet Tubman's, Sojourner Truth's, Denmark Vesey's, and Nat Turner's who are political prisoners, prisoners of war, and exiles. Dr. Shakur's article "Toward a Truth and Reconciliation Commission for New African/black Political Prisoners, Prisoners of War and Freedom Fighters," places into context the lived experiences of freedom fighters within the United States, their incarceration, and the use of the U.S Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) as a counterinsurgency mechanism to criminalize freedom fighters.

Dr. Mutulu Shakur has received a death bed release after 37 years. He is terminally ill with bone cancer, hastened by medical neglect.

Free all Political Prisoners, Political Prisoners of War and Exiles. Free them All!!!
Reparations Now! Free the Land! Black Power for All Afrikan peoples everywhere!!!

**AN OPEN LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE
Second Session Permanent Forum on People of African Descent and the Peoples of African
Descent 30th May - 2nd June, 2023 UNHQ, New York**

By

Adjoa A. Aiyetoro

At the Request of Efia Nwangaza, J.D. and Malcolm X Center for Self Determination

**REGARDING THE CENTRALITY OF THE DURBAN DECLARATION AND PROGRAMME OF ACTION
World Conference Against Racism, Durban South Africa**

I was one of three co-chairpersons (the other co-chairs were African and South/Latin American) of the African- African Descendant Caucus that was formed by NGOs attending the Preparatory Meetings for the World Conference Against Racism (WCAR). The African-African Descendant Caucus was the lead Caucus advocating for slavery and colonialism to be identified for what they were, crimes against humanity, and for reparations to be put forward as the necessary remedy. The African-African Descendant Caucus, however, did not just talk with itself. It networked with many other caucuses, gaining support for these goals. Many of the other Caucuses joined the African-African Descendant Caucus in demonstrations supporting these issues.

I was appalled, but not surprised, to learn that the United States and some Western European and other countries began their attack on the WCAR Declaration and Program of Action almost immediately after the WCAR. Not wanting to own up to their crimes and make reparations for the severe injuries they caused and continue to cause, they use their power to attempt to erase the World Conference that correctly called them to task. By forming the Permanent Forum on People of African Descent, the U.S., under the guise of supporting people of African Descent, will continue its historic track record of not fully acknowledging nor making amends for its crimes.

At the first Preparatory Meeting in Geneva in 2000, African Americans attending as members of various NGOs, attempted to meet with the head of the United States delegation, a woman of color. She was not willing to meet with us; however, as the head of the United States delegation she did indicate that the U.S. did not support inclusion of language concerning reparations. The U.S. withdrew from WCAR on September 3, 2001, at the beginning of the government conference ostensibly because of proposed language suggested for the documents that Israel indicated was anti-Semitic. This language did not get into the document. It was clear to African Americans who had spoken with members of the U.S. delegation, as well as other NGOs and government delegations, that a major reason for the U.S. withdrawal was the advocacy for language in the documents that slavery and colonialism were crimes against humanity, and always should have been so, and that reparations are owed. This advocacy came from the NGOs and a number of Caucuses, the leader of which was the African-African Descendant Caucus. It also came from many government delegations, particularly those of countries in the Caribbean, South and Latin America and Africa. Indeed, the African-African Descendant Caucus met with members of a number of government delegations from Africa, South and Latin America. I also spoke, on behalf of the African-African Descendant Caucus, at one of the opening sessions of WCAR in Durban, South Africa.

The United States, in its withdrawal from WCAR, continued its historic pattern of ignoring the voices of those it had injured by its crimes against humanity in enslaving African peoples and continuing that legacy through many forms of institutional racism. As such, from the first African its predecessor colonies allowed its agents of capitalism to capture and force into bondage to the WCAR and beyond, it has refused to recognize and honor African people's right to self-determination.

The Permanent Forum for People of African Descent must honor and respect, not diminish or eliminate, the hard fought for truths that are in the WCAR Declaration and Program of Action. These inclusions were made as a result of the courageous and self-determining work of the African-African Descendant Caucus, African nations and their allies, The Permanent Forum for People of African Descent should use these documents as the foundation on which to build its work. It should put some teeth in the call for reparations outlined in the Program of

Action. Otherwise, the Permanent Forum will, consciously or unconsciously, be in collusion with the United States and Western European and Other Group, to escape full accountability. The United States and its allies must be required to fully acknowledge their roles in the crimes against humanity of slavery and colonialism and to make full reparations for slavery. To fail to push them to do so dishonors not only those NGOS and government delegations that courageously and relentlessly fought for the language in the documents, it once again denies the right of self-determination and devalues the importance of justice.

By Adjoa A. Aiyetoro, J.D., Professor Emerita University of Arkansas Little Rock, Wm. H. Bowen School of Law Co-Founder, first female co-chair and chair of Legal Strategies Commission, National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N:COBRA), Former Executive Director, National Conference of Black Lawyer (NCBL)

UNDERSTANDING THE DURBAN DECLARATION AND PROGRAM OF ACTION

A Global Consensus Reached 2001 at UN World Conference Against Racism

A Comprehensive Framework Durban, South Africa, 31 August to 8 September 2001

Summary by

Siphiwe Baleka

Requested by Efi Nwangaza, Esquire, MX Center

The pdf version of the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action (DDPA) is sixty-two (62) pages and is divided into two parts: The Declaration (twenty-two pages) and the Program of Action (forty pages). The Declaration begins with a Preamble that is four pages. It then continues for two pages by describing the General Issues and proceeds to cover six sections, <https://www.un.org/WCAR/durban.pdf>.

The first section is entitled **Sources, causes, forms and contemporary manifestations of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance** and is four pages long. As the title indicates, it identifies the origin – the sources and causes – of the problem and connects them to the present.

The second section is entitled **Victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance** and is six (6) pages long. Now that we know what was done and how, section two discusses the victims.

The third section is entitled **Measures of prevention, education and protection aimed at the eradication of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance at the**

national, regional and international levels and is four (4) pages. This section discusses what must be done to prevent the human rights violations and crimes from continuing.

The fourth section is entitled **Provision of effective remedies, recourse, redress, and compensatory and other measures at the national, regional and international levels** and is two (2) pages. This section discusses what must be done to repair the damage done to the victims.

The fifth section is entitled **Strategies to achieve full and effective equality, including international cooperation and enhancement of the United Nations and other international mechanisms in combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance** and is five (5) pages.

This section concludes by identifying a vision of how stakeholders can work together to achieve the necessary objectives.

Part 2 The Programme of Action

219 points outlining how the objectives in the first part will be achieved. (Editor's note:

“Achieved” as defined by, to the satisfaction of the DIRECTLY IMPACTED)

<https://www.un.org/en/fight-racism/background/durban-declaration-and-programme-of-action> .

Durban Declaration and Programme of Action - bedrock to fight discrimination

<https://youtu.be/Hfl-u0or2qc>

“NO” to SDGs:

Colonizers, Enslavers Distraction, Boondoggle! Protect, Promote the DDPA!!!

Beyond the Human Rights Rhetoric on (SDGs) “Leaving No One Behind:” (The Need for) Integrating the Elimination of Systemic Racism, and Racial and Ethnic Discrimination, into the Implementation of the SDGs Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (SPSSI) 21 September 2020

[https://www.spssi.org/document/queries/qry_getfiletoview.cfmID=77C21227C2733DF873E71EA23B0A09B70FC51BF0AFFB756BE7EEA3DC22473427927](https://www.spssi.org/document/queries/qry_getfiletoview.cfmID=77C21227C2733DF873E71EA23B0A09B70FC51BF0AFFB756BE7EEA3DC2247342792775EF3794FF18601E824C71F19EDC7)

75EF3794FF18601E824C71F19EDC7 “We are particularly disappointed that the SDGs, targets and global indicators are

disturbingly silent about the eradication of systemic racism and racial and ethnic discrimination which constitute global barriers to human development and the fulfillment of human rights throughout the lifespan.”

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. All PFPAD work be grounded in, guided by DDPA for DDPA's full and effective implementation;
2. PFPAD works with and supports the Independent Eminent Experts, the Working Group of Experts on PAD;

3. PFPAD call for implementation all Human Rights Council and General Assembly anti-racism resolutions;
4. OHCHR publish, distribute basic brochure on International Decade Programme of Activities and the DDPA

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Haiti: The Relentless Resistance Against Colonization

By

Nyusi Jami



Factory workers chant anti-govt. slogans demanding a salary increase in Port-au-Prince, Haiti [Odehyn Joseph/AP Photo]

On the [April 24th, 2023 edition](#) of the Revolutionary African Perspectives (R.A.P.) radio show, I interviewed Pierre Labossiere and Robert Roth, founding members of the [Haiti Action Committee](#). They came on the show primarily to discuss their recent Days of Action on April 27th and May 18th. However, that discussion necessitated a broad ranging talk about the history of Haiti's national liberation movement; a movement that began centuries ago with enslaved people and has continued to the present moment. What follows is just some of what we learned from Pierre and Robert in that interview.

From May 14th to May 18th of 1803, the principal heads of the insurgency against French rule in Saint Domingue held a major meeting, this meeting is known as the [Congress of Arcahaie](#) (a town located outside of Port-Au-Prince). The meeting agenda had two main themes: the establishment of a unified command of the revolutionary army under Jean Jacques Dessalines, and the adoption of a new flag to replace the French flag that the people had used up until that time. The decision to adopt a new flag reflected a collective decision that it was time to establish a new nation. The people didn't just want to gain equality under French rule, they wanted national liberation, they wanted to Free The Land. On the final day of the Congress they agreed on a new flag, and every May 18th since then has been celebrated as Haitian Flag Day.

It is common for people in the U.S. to think of Haiti's battle for independence as a struggle against the French. Of course, Haiti had been colonized by France and they fought against Napoleon's army to gain their independence. However, people within the U.S. empire are less aware of the history of U.S. military occupation of Haiti. In 1914, the U.S. Marines began a twenty-year military occupation of Haiti. The U.S. ruling class was concerned about the growing influence of German and French capitalists in Haiti; they were determined to be the only

colonizer in the Americas, as expressed in what is called the Monroe Doctrine. In December 1914, [Marines stole \\$500,000 \(\\$15.2M in 2023 dollars\) from the Haitian National Bank](#), thus giving the U.S. control of the bank, and the Haitian economy as a whole.

The U.S. military rulers installed a puppet president named Philippe Sudre Dartiguenave. They attempted to force the Haitian legislature to adopt a new constitution in 1917 which would allow foreign land ownership, which had been outlawed since the Haitian Revolution kicked out the colonizers over 100 years prior. The legislature responded by drafting a new anti-US constitution, but Dartiguenave dissolved the legislature, which didn't meet again until 1929, to prevent that congressional act of resistance to imperialism. [This time period was also marked by racial segregation, complete press censorship, and forced labor](#) – also known as slavery. Over 20,000 Haitians were killed as the peasant armies fought back against the U.S. Marines trying to steal their lands.

The Haitian people being who they are, they launched a decade-long series of strikes and uprisings which convinced the U.S. rulers that it wasn't worth the trouble to remain in Haiti any longer. In 1930, the U.S. began [training a new cadre of Haitian sellouts to become the neo-colonizers](#) once the U.S. military occupation left the island. In 1934, the military left, but left behind a system that allowed U.S. capitalists to maintain economic control over Haiti.

For two decades after that, there was a loosely organized network of Haitian elites ruling on behalf of the interests of the U.S. ruling class. Starting in 1954, that loose network was organized and systematized under the dictatorship of Francois “Papa Doc” Duvalier. His was a brutal regime, with extreme repression enforced by the feared Tonton Macoutes, the secret police. Papa Doc, a medical doctor, had been a part of the people's movement in the 1930s and '40s. It is believed that he was recruited by U.S. forces to work for them. Because he knew the language of the movement, and he knew the various players, he was the perfect person to destroy the movement once he was imposed as president. In 1964, [Papa Doc declared himself “President For Life” in a rigged constitutional referendum](#).

In 1971, Francois Duvalier died and was succeeded by his son, Jean-Claude, or “Baby Doc”. [The same brutal repression of Papa Doc continued](#). Many people had their land taken and given to various corrupt officials. Union organizers were disappeared, or bought off, before they were able to advocate for workers' rights. The judicial system was gutted so that it was unable to provide any accountability for the system of corruption. Thousands of Haitian “boat people” fled by sea to Florida, many dying on the way.

Again, the indomitable Haitian people showed their mettle when their people's uprising forced Baby Doc to flee into exile in France in 1986. For a few years, military figures were able

to insert themselves into the vacuum of leadership. Lieutenant General Henri Namphy took over immediately after Baby Doc. In 1988, General Prosper Avril replaced Namphy in a coup d'état.

In 1990, the military planned to stage a sham election. However, the people made themselves so ungovernable under this military regime, that Avril was forced to flee to Florida. The planned sham election turned out to be Haiti's first truly democratic election since the founding of the republic nearly two full centuries prior. Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide was elected president of Haiti in a landslide victory on December 16, 1990. [Aristide was a priest who taught in the liberation theology tradition](#) that powered quests for people's power in numerous nations of the Global South. Aristide represented the Fanmi Lavalas, which is a political party as well as a grassroots movement. Fanmi Lavalas is the current embodiment of the ongoing national liberation movement that "began" at the first Haitian Flag Day.

After eight months in office, Aristide was removed in a coup at the hands of the Haitian military and the CIA. Many Aristide supporters were massacred while he was out of power. The military was supported by massive profits gained from [their relationship with the Cali Cartel](#), a drug selling organization based in Colombia. But the Haitian people remained undefeated. In October 1994, international pressure, including the voices of tens of thousands of Haitian expats, forced the military regime to back down. Aristide returned to office and served as president until his comrade and Prime Minister, Rene Preval, was elected president in 1996.

Aristide returned for another term as president in 2000. In 2003, Aristide called for France to [pay \\$21 billion in restitution](#) to Haiti for the 90 million gold francs supplied to France by Haiti. After the successful Haitian Revolution, the U.S. and France and other European powers had used a trade embargo to force Haiti into agreeing to pay reparations to France as atonement for gaining their liberation from slavery.

In 2004, Aristide and the Fanmi Lavalas, were again removed from power in a coup. Again, the Haitian military was assisted in its efforts by the U.S. military. U.S. Special Forces officers [put Aristide on a plane in the middle of the night](#) and flew him and his family to the Central African Republic.

Since 2004, Haiti has been returned to the control of forces that don't mind surrendering the country's resources to the corporations of the US, Canada, and France. Food shortages, cholera outbreaks, and the massive 2010 earthquake have made life very difficult for the Haitian people. The current president, Ariel Henry, has dissolved the parliament and rules the entire country by himself, a complete and total dictatorship. A set of well-funded and well-armed gangs called the [G9 are terrorizing the people](#). Kidnappings, rape, assassinations, home burnings and pillage are features of daily life in Haiti. The G9 are a modern reinvention of the Duvalierist Tonton Macoutes.

The gangs, the dictator, and their international capitalist backers seek to manufacture a situation in which a permanent foreign military presence can be installed on the island to oversee the unencumbered access of multinational corporations to Haiti's natural resources. Haiti is thought to have [some of the largest oil reserves in the world](#), possibly larger than the reserves of Venezuela. It has the world's second largest reserves of iridium, used in the making of aircraft engines and deep-water pipelines. Haiti's untapped gold, silver, and copper are estimated to be worth about \$20 billion. A transition to democracy in Haiti could lead to these immense resources being used to turn one of the world's most impoverished countries into a land of prosperity.

Since November 2018, Fanmi Lavalas [has proposed a government for the public's safety](#), a "Sali Piblik," to replace the current illegitimate government. Fanmi Lavalas has been working with many organizations and civil servants to reach an agreement on how to create the needed changes. The Sali Piblik government will be tasked with: organizing a national conference, rebuilding the judicial system, prosecuting the massacres and financial crimes, and bringing justice to the people who are the victims. A new electoral council is needed to organize free and fair elections in order for democracy to bloom again in the country, for justice to spread, for people to have employment, housing, food, schools, and safety in their communities.

The U.S.-based Haiti Action Committee works in close relationship with Fanmi Lavalas.. The Haiti Action Committee calls on people within the U.S. Empire to make a [series of demands on the U.S. Government](#):

- Stop the massacres! Stop using our tax dollars to fund the brutal Haitian National Police and affiliated death squads
- Stop supporting the dictatorship of Ariel Henry
- Stop blocking, attacking, and deporting Haitian refugees
- Support the Haitian people's struggle for liberation, and their own transition government free from interference by the U.S. and the Core Group (made up of representatives from the United Nations, Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, Spain, the European Union, the United States, and the Organization of American States)
- End the occupation! Sovereignty and self-determination for Haiti

Jean-Bertrand Aristide published a book in 2011 entitled [Haiti-Haitii? Philosophical Reflections for Mental Decolonization](#). In this book he posits that, in addition to the fact that the Taino people called their home Haiti prior to the arrival of the European colonizers, there is an African meaning to the name. There are two Swahili words – *Hai* meaning Not, and *Tii* meaning Obey. Joined together, the word "Haitii" speaks to the resistance of Haiti's people – "*Haitii*, Do Not Obey." Let us all strive to take on more of the spirit of Haiti.

Go to HaitiSolidarity.net to see how you can support the Haiti Action Committee and the people of Haiti.

Section 3: Political Prisoners & Prisoners of War

Dr. Muluatu Shakur joined the ancestors on July 7, 2023. As we honor him, we remember his work on behalf of those behind the wall. In particular, we recommend that readers revisit his essay titled “Toward a Truth and Reconciliation Commission for New African/Black Political Prisoners, Prisoners of War and Freedom Fighters.” That ever-timely piece was featured in *BAMN News* Volume 3, Issue 2, which we published in May 2021. You can [access that essay here](#). We also recommend that readers obtain the special edition of *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society*, which explored Dr. Shakur’s political significance.

Free the Land!

By Any Means Necessary!

Section 4: Culture

Preparing for the Return of the Dragon! Black August Cometh!

By

Jomo Muhammad, MXGM National Information Coordinator



Every August since 1979, we who believe in freedom and seek liberation for our people and all people commemorate the sacrifices of our freedom fighters. Black August is a means to reconnect with our legacy of resistance and revitalize ourselves to face our ongoing oppression and exploitation. Whether this year will be your first time practicing Black August or your 20th time, grounding ourselves on the purpose of the month of resistance can help prepare us for the return of the Dragon, the revolutionary spirit of George Jackson. Remembering the seriousness and sacrifice involved will help us to combat the opportunism and liberalism the emerging popularity of Black August has generated.

To deepen our understanding of Black August, we must remember WHY it was created and the actual conditions it emerged from. Black August was created by political prisoners for political prisoners for a three-fold purpose. First, Black August is a month to commemorate the lives and deaths of fallen Freedom Fighters: Jonathan Jackson, George Jackson, W.L. Nolan, James McClain, William Christmas and Khatari Gaulden, all assassinated by the state and its prison guards for their revolutionary nationalist beliefs and actions. Next, the month's intention is to create more dragons like George Jackson who became politicized while in prison. "America means prison," Malcolm X reminds us. In other words, the conditions faced by those inside prisons reflect the conditions of our people inside the belly of the beast, the US Empire. Last, it is a month to educate our people and honor the history and actions of Black/New Afrikan/Afrikan peoples continued resistance to oppression, colonization and slavery in the U.S. and throughout the Diaspora, with particular focus on prisoners, political prisoners, freedom fighters and their historical acts of resistance.

Though fighting for freedom and revolution can be a joyful act, the mood of Black August is not one of celebration. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's 1969 declaration that the Black Panther Party, and by association the entire Black Liberation Movement, as the number one threat to the United States internal security unleashed the full force of Cointelpro-America's illegal war against us. Black August was born at a time of intense repression by the government

at all levels and in particular the murderous California penal institution. The death of the Khatari Gaulden marked a decade of terror behind bars that left many heart-broken and feeling defeatism. One of the ways liberalism has begun to creep into Black August is in the greeting. It is not a "Merry Black August " or "Happy Black August. Black August is NOT a celebration to be sold back to us by the very capitalist system George Jackson and others fought to end. Black August was not created as an alternative to replace Black History Month or be a revolutionary Juneteenth for Black opportunities to exploit for their own self-interest. The proper greeting for the month is "Black August Resistance!" and is to be said with the warmth and invitation of George Jackson's smile.



Black August's intention is one of revolutionary resilience. For us to win our liberation, we will need the ability to reconnect with our New Afrikan revolutionary aliveness under the pressure of oppression and repression. We will need the ability to return to the source of struggle to overcome defeatist attitudes and moods that repression's pressure would naturally generate. Our capacity to transform "every defeat, every heartbreak, every loss" into its own seed of struggle will provide the substance and the healing needed to pick up the struggle the next day. The Black August practices of fasting, studying, training, and fighting were designed to generate this revolutionary resilience.

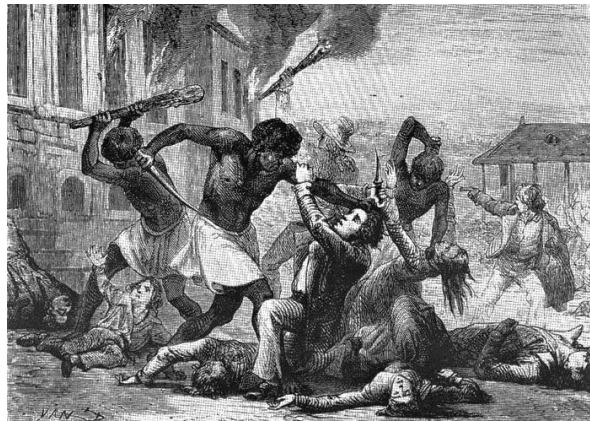
The four Black August practices are intended to reconnect freedom fighters with their purpose-the transformation of ourselves into revolutionaries and the liberation of our people, the freedom of political prisoners and ultimately, all people. Black August is about COLLECTIVE

practice. We should avoid practicing Black August alone. The state's forever strategy is to isolate the revolutionaries from their base, the people. As Audre Lorde teaches us "There is no liberation without community."

By refusing food and drink, we are practicing the sacrifice required to win our liberation and teaching our bodies that we are guided by principles greater than our natural impulse and urges. Historically, fasting was adopted as a practice because the first Black August occurred during the month of Ramadan. George Jackson and the first Fallen were not Muslims but many of New Afrikan Revolutionary Nationalists were in the exemplar of Malcom X. As a political practice, fasting strengthens the will of the revolutionary and prepares one to turn the weapon of hunger against our oppressors. Hunger Strikes were and continue to be strategies used to educate, motivate and organize against brutal prison conditions.

Studying as a practice is to remind and to reconnect us to the uniqueness of our struggle. George Jackson was well-read and read across a lot of different subjects. Revolutionaries must learn and learn quickly. When we study our struggle, we learn what our ancestors and others have done to win as well as learn from their mistakes. Studying also helps us to carry on the Tradition by developing ourselves and liberation strategies methodologically and systematically. Studying enhances the science of our struggle.

Training during the month of Black August is to promote a New Afrikan political martial survival culture capable of transforming the deathstyle of our oppressors into a lifestyle of



liberation. We train to prepare our bodies for the rigors of a protracted struggle and to be able to defend ourselves and communities from all forms of violence. Training should include daily exercises like those developed by New Afrikan Revolutionary, Kuwasi Balagoon as well as learning personal and community self-defense like [Kupigana Ngumi, the New Afrikan Combat System](#).

August has been a month our people have used to wage rebellions, revolts, and revolutions starting with the greatest revolution in human history, [the Haitian Revolution](#). It started on August 21, 1791 to the Watts rebellion in 1965 to modern day revolts like Ferguson in 2014 and over this recent summer in 2020 after the murder of George Floyd. We use the month to fight for the

freedom of the remaining political prisoners and prisoners of war in the United States. We give our time, our mind, our strength and our wealth to their freedom campaigns as well as fighting for issues in our time that help meet the immediate needs of our people.

Reflecting on why we practice heading into Black August will prepare ourselves for the month of resistance to be one of revolutionary resilience. Black August is not a celebration but is a commemoration. Its mood is one of seriousness, of sacredness, of sacrifice. Black August is a collective practice, and we should be practicing with each other. We should fast in communion and breakfast with the community. Together we should study the uniqueness of our struggle. Together we should train to be our best revolutionary selves and to love and protect one another from all forms of violence. And together we must fight for our liberation and the freedom of all political prisoners, prisoners of war and political exiles.

Black August Resistance! Free The Land!! Free Em All!!

**From Philadelphia to Omaha: A Brief History of Resistance and Self
Determination**

By

Saudia Durrant

Organizing member of MXGM Philadelphia

Joe Joe Bowen is a 76-year-old freedom fighter. His experiences mark him as a Politicized Prisoner, then later a Political Prisoner (PP) and Prisoner of War (POW), who has been suffering behind bars since 1971. He was born and raised in North Philadelphia around 30th and Norris. It's an area known historically as black working-class community. But it looks vastly different 50 years later due to serious gentrification and erasure of black and Latinx peoples. Although a member of the underground community defense, Black Liberation Army, he like George Jackson, and Malcolm X, was taken into the prison system, by engaging in a social crime, an offense that was not explicitly political. In this case, it was due to his activities as a gang member. While inside he was introduced to revolutionary politics and mentoring from other prisoners and was released in 1971, choosing to commit his life to movement-building. However, just a short week after being freed from prison, an incident with a Philadelphia police officer resulted in his recapture and the death of an officer. He was sentenced to 10-20 years in prison.

The City of Philadelphia, like most historically segregated and working-class cities, leads the way in policing and surveillance tactics. Joe Joe's story falls within the context of local police violence issues. A symbol of white supremacist leadership repressing black, radical, leadership for self-determination is Frank Rizzo, a former Police Commissioner and eventual Mayor.

At the same time that freedom fighters were being targeted for campaigns to end fascism, Philly youth experienced the same targeting. On November 17, 1967, over 3,000 students participated in a citywide walkout to demand the end of racial discrimination in schools. In response, Rizzo commanded the police to “get their black asses.” This act of systematic state violence came in response to decades of political repression that New Afrikans experienced in Philadelphia, where segregation was a core tactic in keeping communities from accessing equitable and sustainable public education and housing. Between the 50s and 70s, the City experienced doubling in its black population, city leaders orchestrated gerrymandering, a practice of redrawing neighborhood lines, manipulating the accessibility for where black students would be allowed to attend neighborhood schools. Subsequently, black schools became overly crowded, overwhelmed with lack of funding and development opportunities for teachers, resources, and a curriculum that did not reflect its student demographics. Meanwhile, whiter schools in predominantly white neighborhoods were able to out organize black schools for teaching jobs and resources, due the power of the deeply racist and predominantly white teacher’s union. After three months of black youth and school communities organizing information, and a list of 25 demands, they strategically planned a massive student walkout, with so much power built that resulted in white fascist police inflicting violence to stop them. Over 50 people were arrested and 22 more were injured and it would be nearly 40 years for those demands to be won. Just a few short years later, Rizzo would also target future political prisoners like Russell Maroon Shoatz, Fred Burton, and Mumia Abu-Jamal. It’s been documented that many of his tactics, which were used to target and surveil the Philly Black Unity Council, and Black Panther Chapter, would ultimately become a model for the FBI’s Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) through which freedom fighters were surveilled and entrapped by informants throughout the organization to create chaos and disorganization.

It would only be a few short years later, when the world would witness the City of Philadelphia engage in domestic terrorism. On May 13, 1985, Mayor Wilson Goode ordered police to drop a bomb on the MOVE Family, a political pacifist and naturalist organization at 6221 Osage Ave in West Philly. This resulted in the destruction of an entire block and the incineration of 11 MOVE members, including six adults and five children. Not a single person who approved or facilitated that decision faced arrest.

In addition to the local conditions, we see Joe Joe’s emergence and speedy capture in alignment with similar political conditions across the country. In Omaha, Nebraska, Ed Poindexter and Mondo De Langa were accused and sentenced to life for their alleged involvement in the death of an officer and injury to another after a suitcase bound with dynamite exploded in August 1970. They were convicted based on no more than one informant’s testimony as evidence. Mondo passed away in prison in March 2016 as a result of medical neglect and poor health in prison. He and Ed maintained their innocence consistently, and Ed Poindexter continues to suffer behind bars, also dealing with medical negligence and suffering.

Two short years after Joe Joe's sentencing to 10-20 just at the early age of 25 years old, Joe Joe and Black Liberation Army POW Fred Burton, were navigating immense racial and religious repression by prison guards at the Philadelphia Holmesburg Prison. They faced persecution by prison guards who despised their Islamic faith and practices. It was in this context that Joe Joe was blamed for the deaths of the Warden Patrick Curran and Deputy Warden Robert Fromhold. Joe Joe was sentenced to two life sentences for the incident.

Eight years later, he attempted to end his captivity through a liberation effort. In this instance, Bowen and the others engaged in a shootout against prison guards and held a standoff for five days with more prisoners joining them in the effort. In the end the men lost this fight despite their attempts to negotiate for limiting the torturous and UNopposed practice of solitary confinement. The practice includes being isolated in a box for 23 hours a day. If and when they are let outside for fresh air, they get only one hour. After their failed attempt to end the practice, the men were given multiple charges, including assault and kidnapping. Joe Joe would ultimately spend 40 years in solitary confinement, alone and isolated, like Arthur ``Cetewayo'' Johnson and so many other PPs and POWs across the country. The UN deemed solitary confinement a torturous and inhumane practice when lasting for more than 15 days, yet so many PPs have spent over 14,600 days inside of a hole. As a hole inside of a cage, Mumia Abu Jamal would characterize the conditions in this way: "Prison is a second-by-second assault on the soul, a day-to-day degradation of the self, an oppressive steel and brick umbrella that transforms seconds into hours and hours into days."

What would we give up to liberate our incarcerated movement elders? How much discomfort would be willing to endure to make sure their names aren't forgotten and misremembered? Many activists continue to experience repression from the U.S. government as they defend land, access to water, housing encampments, and more. Are we prepared to fight to protect and connect these efforts to our movement elders, not a part of the past but in our present and future? We must (un)learn and then "educate, organize, educate, organize, agitate, liberate," as our ancestor Safiya Bukhari has told us.

Bowen recently shared some thoughts and comments on the struggles we face. We will present his ideas in his own words in the next issue of BAMN News.

American Dance

By

Katrina Hazzard Donald, Ph.D. (to Amiri Baraka)

Come out of Europe if you can
and tell me Amerikkka, where is your dance?
In the Jooks and Honky Tonks, Sweaty Dance Halls

and Chittlin Struts, Flop Wallies, and Cootie Crawls,
Do you hear me Amerikkka, Where is your dance?
Backatown in some Blue Monday Affair? At a Razor Drill?
Camel Walkin' outa some Rent Party? - Dance Baby Dance

Come out of Europe if you can!

Tell me, who you dancin' Amerikkka?
Willian Henry Lane, known as "Master Juba," Pete Nugent?, ask Fred about
Pete,
You dancin' King Rastus Brown, Time steppin' his way up your behind;
You dancin' Bill Robinson? Shirley is. You dancin' Josephine wrapped in a
banana leaf,
dancin' Ida Forsyne, dancin' Buck & Bubbles, Chuck & Chuckles, Coles &
Atkins, The
Whitman Sisters, Williams & Walker

I ain't even mentioned Sandman, Miller & lyles, Harold & Fayard Nicolas,
The Four Covans, Eddie Rector, who you dancin' Amerikkka, Earl "Snake
Hips" Tucker
Before you knew it here come Asadata Dafora, Hemsley Winfield, Lavinia
Williams,
Syvilla Fort, Edna Guy, Katherine Dunham, Pear Primus, Carmen
DeLavelada, Eleo
Pomare, Talley Beatty, Donald McKayle, Alvin Ailey, Arthur Mitchell,
Dianne McIntyre,
Misty Copeland

Where is your AMERICAN dance?

Tell me you can Black Bottom, Bootie Green, Bus Stop, Bugaloo,
Breakdown, Bunny
Hop, Boogie Woogie, Birdland, Boston Monkey, Buzzard Lope, Bristol
Stomp, Break-a-
Leg, Break Dance, Buzzard Glide, Cake Walk, Charleston, Camel Walk,
Chicken, Chug,
Creep, Conga, Continental, Crump - yes Amerikkka - Where is your dance?
- "Niggah
Dance"?

Can you Ditty Bop, Dixieland, Double Shuffle, Dog, Eagle Rock, Funky
Butt, Fish, Fly,
Fox Trot, Frug, Funky Broadway, Gooseneck, Grind, Horse, Huckle-Buck,
Hully Gully,
Niggah Dance Amerikkka?!

Can you Jerk, Jinga, Jersey Bounce, Jitterbug, James Brown, Mummers
Strut,
Madison, Mashed Potatoes, Merenge, Pop Lockin', Peckin', Philly Dog,
Popcorn, Pony,
Pimp Walk, Ring Shout, Rock, Waddle, Wing-Steppin', Truckin', Texas
Tommy, Turkey
Trot. Amerikkka - is THIS your dance?
Get down with some Scrunch, Shag, Shimmy, Slop, Shuffle, Skate, Shorty
George,
Suzy-Q, Sway Back, Stroll, Snake Hips, Samba...Come out of Europe if you
can.

Section 5: Labor: Black Workers UNITE! A Report on Our Conditions and How WE Fight Back

“Who Will Bell the Cat”: The Façade of BRICS and the Whip of Capital on the Black Masses

By

Gus Wood

“Haha...it’s a good impersonation, Earthman...but we know who you are...the way one of your dogs...can tell a cat.”

-The Outer Limits, “The Chameleon” 1964.

It is almost a certainty that the geopolitical control of capital is shifting away from the West. The problem, though, is that New Afrikans are further from wresting power away from capital than previous eras. As colonized subjects, we lack self-determination, full access to food, water, shelter, clothing, livable wage labor, land, and other material necessities. Because of the new structure of accumulation—internal neo-colonialism—the Black, Brown, and white petty bourgeoisie, acting as the junior partners of capital, have hardened the barriers between liberation and subjugation for the Black masses. Thus, who controls the very system of political subjugation, economic exploitation, and social humiliation offers no beneficial power to New Afrikans as long as said system exists. More clearly, as other superpower nations like China, Russia, Brazil, and India challenge the U.S. and the West for global domination, the whip of capital will change hands, but not lose power. In fact, the fight between BRICS and the U.S. dominated West not only denies New Afrikans the chance of overcoming capitalist exploitation, but it exacerbates class warfare as both hegemonic monsters fight it out Godzilla vs. Mothra style with the masses caught in the bloody crosshairs. As much as bourgeois nationalists cheer on challengers to the United States by highlighting pseudo-leftist discourse of “lesser of two evils,” they always cheer for being controlled by another superpower and not the redistribution of power, land, and labor to the masses. The conflict over which imperialist power will attempt to discipline the Black worker—to “bell the cat,”—is an impossible task as long as we build local social movements to take the whip out of the hands of either oppressor.

In 2001, the nations of Brazil, Russia, India, and China formed BRIC (with South Africa joining in 2009), an alliance of superpower nations whose main priority is to challenge the political, economic, social, and cultural hegemony of the West. As scholar Patrick Bond noted in his 2015 seminal work, *BRICS: An Anti-Capitalist Critique*, BRICS are a *sub-imperialist* power under global capital, meaning “they are fully complicit in reproducing inequality both within their own countries and between others” across the oceans.

Naturally, the leaders of these five nations built a propaganda machine across the globe emphasizing their left-leaning motivations—while ratcheting to the right. *Cape Times* noted that “The BRICS platform has become the most powerful platform for the pursuit of global reform...Brazil has spoken out on the agenda of decent work, food sovereignty...climate change, ecological justice, and the end to ecological imperialism.” The facade did not last long. Actions by the BRICS nations point to catastrophic global struggles over who controls the super-exploitation of working-class Black and Brown people for the foreseeable future.

First, between 2010-2015, the IMF reduced the voting share of poorer African nations while skyrocketing the power of Brazil, Russia, India, and China. Secondly, BRICS postures more than runaway models in their “fight” against Western hegemony where it counts. In 2011, 2015, and 2016, BRICS voted in solidarity with the West’s choice for IMF leadership, Christine Lagarde—despite her notorious 2016 conviction for criminal corruption in a £380 million scheme dating back to her years as the head of France’s financial system. Third, BRICS demonstrated that they operate on the same values as U.S. led forces. BRICS’ New Development Bank claims to “build a more inclusive, resilient, and sustainable future,” but it maintains no civilian oversight at any level and works alongside the World Bank—the most politically corrupt financial institution across the globe. Fourth, the West and BRICS collaborated on stealing billions from poorer nations in the Paris Climate Agreement. The two superpower organizations faced no punitive actions for destroying the food systems, labor institutions, and lives of developing nations. Thus, both the West and BRICS effectively “privatized the public air” away from working class access. Fifth, the South African ruling regime’s storied cuddling history with the United States creeps well beyond “Netflix and chill.” South Africa endorsed NATO’s war criminality in bombing Libya, supported the Israeli government’s mass murder of Palestinians in the open-air prison of Gaza, and enthusiastically hosted joint military exercises with the U.S., arm-in-arm with the drone war criminal-in-chief, Barack Obama. Sixth, Brazil works cozily alongside the corrupt European Union—which is beholden to the U.S.—to open carbon trading loopholes to undermine the already-weak global climate deal. Thus, despite their lack of overt, direct imperialism like their Western counterparts (since 2009, the U.S. by itself invaded or aided coups in Honduras, Haiti, Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Venezuela, and the Ukraine), BRICS openly facilitates illegal regime change for the very nations it claims to oppose, mainly because BRICS supports the suppression of working-class rebellions and public control of resources.

We also cannot neglect China’s ravaging of the African continent today. China’s expanding demand for overseas markets has sparked a colonial coup on natural resources in poor nations like Zambia and Nigeria. South Africa’s partnership with China in super-exploiting the African working classes shows a cooperative spirit in escalating a war on the little material resources left for the workers. This relationship dates to the dubious nature of South Africa’s inclusion into BRICS in 2009. Although it possessed a relatively weaker economy than the other nations, South Africa’s geopolitical position as China’s largest trading partner enticed stronger nations to embrace them. The truth is that BRICS seeks to spread neoliberalization across poorer nations: destroy local autonomy

and extract public resources through privatization. For example, both China and South Africa supply a good portion of commodities, particularly hotels, copper mining and processing, and loans from banks in Zambia. Consequently, Zambia is stuck in a dependent relationship with China and South Africa for its very survival since it no longer holds productive value within its own walls. Zambian working class people cannot make decisions on how to create sovereignty outside of China and South Africa's control. In fact, Zambia cannot operate without its neocolonial relationship with BRICS. One must look further into Zambia to understand the type of "freedom" that BRICS advocates for in today's racial capitalism.

Make no mistake, though, BRICS exploits from a different angle than the U.S. Because China itself is a command economy, thus lacking the neoliberal character within its own walls, it can more easily move domestic capital outward for neocolonial projects. More clearly, China must engage in neoliberalization outside its borders to maximize its accumulation potential. This does not stop BRICS from benefiting from neoliberal arrangements. Nations organized through the World Trade Organization and the World Bank are "open to commodity imports from BRICS nations and offer investment proposals" to Western nations. Thus, BRICS publicly disputes Western capital while openly coordinating exploitative racial capitalism alongside them. In similar ways to how African American petty bourgeois public officials lie to their constituencies about fighting oppression while openly acting as junior partners of the very capital exploiting them, BRICS benefits from manipulating progressive and leftist spaces with its rhetorical strategy.

This struggle between BRICS and the West is pointing towards a violent future. The United States has completely acquiesced its role in global production for hyperactive, non-productive financial and information capital. For the first time in over five hundred years, the production "heart" of global capital is rebelling against the United States and resettling in China and India—the economic powerhouses prior to the fifteenth century colonization of the Western Hemisphere. In response, the no service sector dominant U.S.—having little to no leverage in the material standards of competition economically—over inflate their military budgets to win the fight over the world in the only American way: by bloody force. More frankly, the U.S. would rather destroy the world than let its competitors take control of the whip.

Some argue that the simultaneous decline of the West and the rise of BRICS signals an optimistic future for New Afrikans. That position, however, does not take into account that controlling the whip is nothing more than shifting from one type of capitalism to another. Pseudo-leftists believe that China's capitalist exploitation is "nicer" since it's in competition with the much more predatory United States. This foolish tiering of the "morality" of capitalism is a bourgeois nationalist false sense of hope. First, China's workers are some of the most alienated laborers in the world. Chinese workers in the Foxconn plants make so little wages that they cannot afford the very iPhones and iPads that they produce. Thus, poverty ravages China's domestic economy and Chinese capitalists must resolve overaccumulation by surging their investments into stocks and property, creating a speculative bubble that bursts all over the working classes.

Other BRICS nations have no issue showing their murderous, anti-Black working-class colors. The soft coup of South African president Jacob Zuma by Cyril Ramaphosa in February 2018 concretized the corporate center of BRICS in many ways. First, in the 2012 Marikana Massacre—considered the worst mass killing of workers since the 1976 Soweto Uprising—Ramaphosa’s South African Police Services murdered 34 striking miners and injured countless others. Second, Ramaphosa’s regime imposed a regressive VAT tax that disproportionately damaged the nearly 66 percent of South Africans who live below the poverty line. According to Business Day’s Carol Paton, the VAT increase crippled poor Black South Africans. “On the spending side, it was poor communities that were the biggest losers,” Day stated, “with cuts made to public entities such as the Passenger Rail Service of South Africa and infrastructure grants to provinces and municipalities savaged.”

For New Afrikans, these developments spell disaster and further genocide. The BRICS challenge to the United States’ global supremacy through currency competition has produced unprecedented violence on working class people through the false doctrine of “humanitarianism.” This structural violence is both direct—in the literal destruction of life—and indirect—through the destruction of land and labor. As a result of the latter, history’s worst refugee crisis is erupting and promises to expand in the coming years. Additionally, the growing currency crisis between the West and BRICS offers only collateral damage to New Afrikans. Currency wars throughout history typically resolved themselves through direct warfare, which both sides are pivoting towards now. As the dollar continues to fall in world value and BRICS creates its own currency, we must not fall for the “lesser of two evils” trap. The fact is that two murderous, imperial forces are fighting over which medium of exchange will determine how anti-Blackness is policed, exploited, and destroyed over time.

To this point, problems arise on the left regarding the formation and intent of BRICS. Because of its presumed “opposition” to U.S. capital hegemony, some leftists are willing to neglect the function of BRICS. This same fallacy splintered the left United Front in the twentieth century. As Stalinism laid waste to the promised socialist potential of the Soviet Union that Vladimir Lenin left behind with his passing, Marxists split over Stalinism. Despite all the evidence to the contrary, many Marxists supported Stalinism solely because of its opposition to the West. This not only disorganized the radical grassroots movements in the radical 1930s, but Stalin’s pseudo-Marxism and disregard for humanism also soured many people on the potential values of Communism and fueled anti-Blackness in the Cold War. Black working class Marxist Humanists like Charles Denby, however, worked to align all Black working class people on the alienation of all subjugated people to capitalist exploitation. We must look to revolutionaries like Charles Denby to help us examine the material reality of the rise of BRICS and its consequences on New Afrikans.

BRICS may be on somewhat shaky ground. Newly elected Brazilian President Lula da Silva denounced the new cold war between China and the United States. Additionally, Brazil openly condemned the Russian invasion of the Ukraine, sparking further erosion among the BRICS partners. India has also weakened the alliance of BRICS in posturing against China. In 2017, Indian External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj tightened ties with Bangladesh to counter Chinese

influence in the country. Surprisingly, India is operating on the interests of the United States here, who have been seeking strategic sites for military expansion against China in that region of the world. Both the U.S. and India opposed Bangladesh's support of China's One Belt, One Road project that covers 60 nations and a staggering 70 percent of the world's population. In relation to Bangladesh, China offered them \$21 billion in aid and infrastructure development projects while India has been less successful in offering that much capital.

The gory enterprise of determining who will "bell the cat" by controlling the whip of capital will continue under either imperialist power. Both the West and BRICS possess interests rooted in the disciplining and decimation of Black workers. To believe otherwise is fool's gold. Our political education and social movement organizing must focus on how we can create and pool resources for working class rebellion in this new political economy. Neither imperialist power is better than the other, which is why our duty as New Afrikan revolutionaries must be to burn the whip to ashes.

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

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