 *the* college **Voice**
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SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

DOWN WITH THE
REPUBLICANS & DEMOCRATS

SMASH THE WTO, IMF & WORLD BANK
END CAPITALIST GLOBALIZATION

JOBS, HEALTHCARE & EDUCATION FOR ALL

FOOD, CLOTHES & SHELTER FOR ALL

SMASH SEXISM,
RACISM &
HOMOPHOBIA

STOP POLICE BRUTALITY

ABORTION AND
CONTRACEPTION ON
DEMAND

ABOLISH THE
RACIST DEATH PENALTY

CITIZENSHIP
FOR ALL
UNDOCUMENTED
WORKERS

FREE MUMIA &
ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

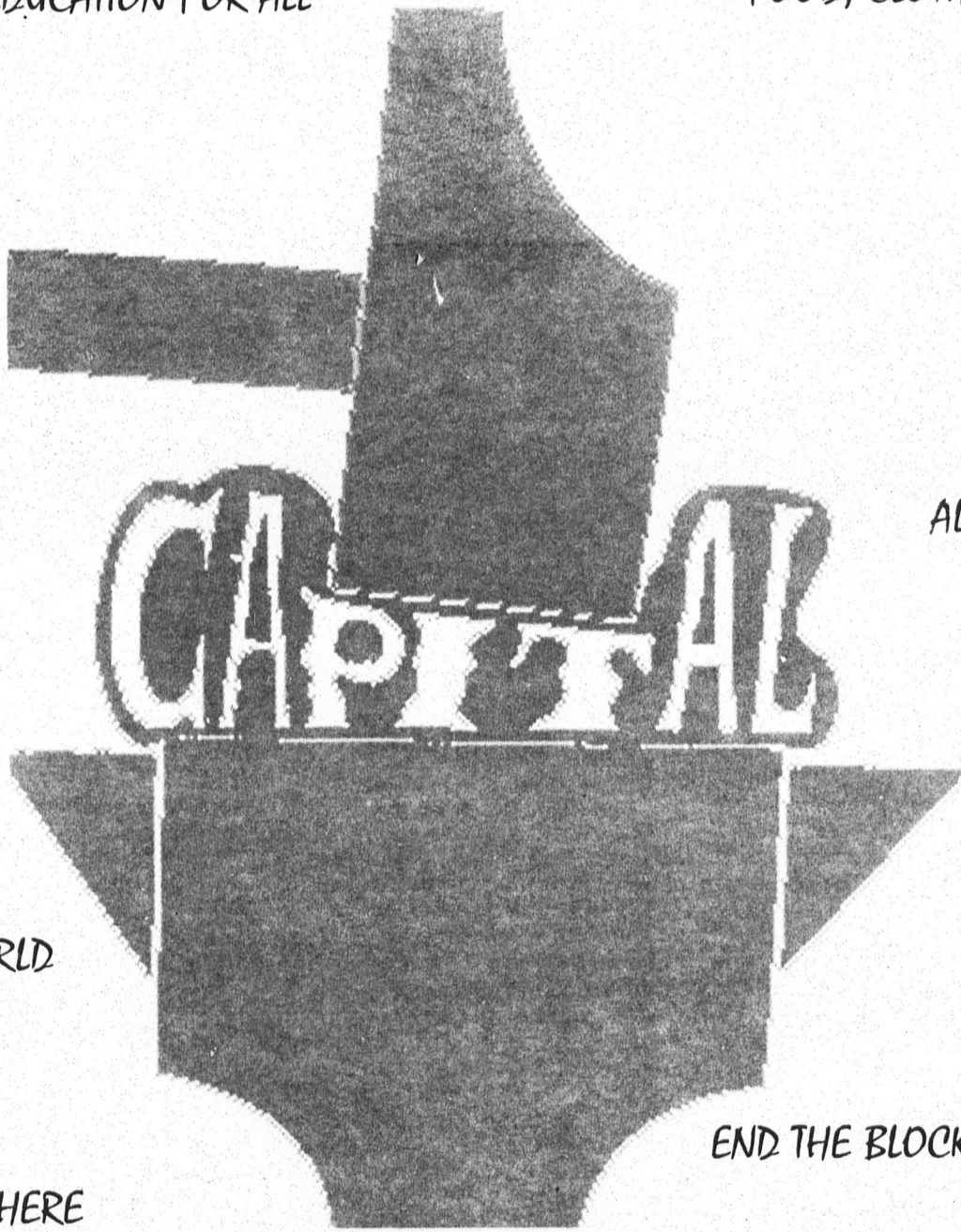
CANCEL THE THIRD WORLD
DEBT

SAVE THE
ENVIRONMENT, STOP
CORPORATE
POLLUTION

END U.S. MILITARY
INTERVENTION EVERYWHERE

WORKERS CONTROL
OF INDUSTRY

END THE BLOCKADE ON CUBA, IRAQ &
ALL NATIONS



THE ONLY SOLUTION

As Democans and Republicrats Choose Candidates: No Matter Who Wins, Workers Lose

Karl Marx once wrote that under capitalism's vaunted "electoral process" the people were given the opportunity by the ruling class of deciding which member of that same class was to rule over them every four years. Needless to say, this year's campaign has proven to be no exception to that rule. While the mainstream media works overtime trying to drum up interest in the most boring bunch of capitalist candidates since the last time around, it is clear that regardless who comes out on top come November, the real losers will once again be the millions of working people who will be stuck with one of them for the next four years. For both Democrats and Republicans have the same program of picking the pockets and paychecks of the poor and needy in order to further feather the profits of the rich and greedy. The only "difference" is that the GOP thinks they can do a better job of it than Clinton and Gore have been doing since 1992. But how could it be otherwise? For if none of the candidates have any solutions for the problems faced by working people and the poor, that's because they all support what causes them in the first place, capitalism.

Bore and Gush...

As if to illustrate this, Gore and Bush don't even bother to offer the traditional dime's worth of "difference" that in the past nominally served to distinguish Republicans from Democrats. Both support the racist death penalty, the construction of more prisons and the presence of even more killer cops on the streets. Both support GATT, NAFTA, the WTO and the further destruction of the environment and of the workers living standards that they represent. Both supported bombing Yugoslavia, starving Iraq, blockading Cuba and continuing to boost the budget of the Pentagon. Both supported welfare repeal and now support privatizing Social Security as well. This has little to do with any of the candidates' characters (none have any to begin with) and a lot to do with the economic exigencies of America's ruling rich. For all substantial sectors of America's corporate elite are agreed that in order to make American capitalism more competitive on the world market, American workers' wages and

living standards must be cut even further. Thus Democrats and Republicans agree that any social programs still on the books that benefit working people will have to go. At the same time they both also agree that even more corporate welfare is the order of the day...in order to provide "incentive" (what, in more common parlance, would simply be called bribery) to big business to "keep the economy going." Thus low wages (and that's what GATT and NAFTA, not to mention welfare "reform" are all about in the first place) and high profits are two sides of the same coin and the real reason why in this year's election, even more so than in most others, there are so

incomes of the rich and poor a division worth ending. While both parties like to claim credit for the fall in "crime," neither likes to mention that the US now has the largest prison population on the planet and has become the death penalty capital of the world as well. As Governor of Texas, the self-styled "compassionate conservative" George Bush, Jr. has already presided over 135 executions since he took office in 1995. Needless to say, all the prisoners on death row are working class and poor, most are Black and many are innocent as DNA tests and other overlooked evidence often prove. As one of them, Mumia Abu Jamal, points

between untested upstarts and a proven product, it is thus hardly surprising that many of the capitalists continues to cast their lot with the incumbent Democrats. After all, corporate profits haven't been so good in years, so why change horses now? Since the Democrats continue to enjoy the support of the trade union bureaucracy and the middle class misleaders of the Black and womens' movements, Gore can not only continue to ravage the living standards of workers, but do so with an impunity that Bush can never hope to do and with a ferocity that Reagan and George Bush, Sr. would never have dared to do.

Put the Democrats first...

Yet if the bosses know what's best for their class, the same, unfortunately, cannot be said of those who profess to speak for the working class. The AFL-CIO, for instance, has already thrown millions into the Gore campaign and will no doubt throw many more millions its way, far more than it has earmarked for organizing the open-shop south, where more and more companies are relocating to take advantage of the low-wage non-union labor available there. AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney, who came into office claiming to be a "new voice" for labor five years ago, sounds a lot like its old voices, turning thumbs down on a labor party based on the unions, let alone one based on a program of militant class struggle. Indeed, Sweeney gave Gore one of the earliest endorsements ever given by the AFL-CIO. But by giving Gore a blank check, Sweeney allows the Democrats to continue to take the votes of working people for granted. For thanks to the AFL-CIO's clinging to the Democrats at all costs, it is assumed by Democratic party strategists that union members have no place else to go. The Democrats can thus move further and further to the right as they compete with the GOP for the middle class vote. The same holds true for the leaders of NOW and most major Black organizations.

Gone are the days when Jesse Jackson pretended to be leading any kind of "rainbow coalition" crusade against the status quo...for he led it right into the dead end of Democratic party politics and now staunchly supports whoever gets the nomination come hell or highwater. In the wake of the Diallo verdict and other incidents of police brutality, Jackson, Al Sharpton and a whole

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few "differences" between both bosses' parties.

...Not even a dime's worth of difference

Recognizing this and desperate to create some semblance of popular interest in the election, lest the myth of "government of the people, by the people and for the people" take another beating by most of the people's absence on election day, the pundits and pollsters thus have to invent issues. However, they must make sure to steer clear of anything that may remind workers of how the benefits of the economic boom have yet to trickle down to them and how economic inequality and insecurity is greater than at any time since the great depression. After all, Pat Buchanan didn't get into all that hot water in 1996 over his admiration for Adolf Hitler. He'd been a fuhrer fan for years; his tirades against "big business" and "corporate greed" did him in since he treaded on forbidden turf by even remotely raising the specter of class politics. Instead, the candidates argue about ending "divisions;" only they certainly don't consider the growing gap between the

out "the [only] service that the state delivers is death." Then there is the war of words being waged over which ruling class insider is the real "reformer" even though neither intends to "reform" anything anymore in the interests of working people and the poor. As if to underline that, Gore boasts of how "mainstream" the Democrats have now become. Translated into plain English, that means that the Democrats are every bit the party of the white middle class yuppies that bother to vote as the Republicans are and gone are the days when "special interests" (i.e., labor, Blacks, women) supposedly called the shots.

Even against Bush, it would be hard to pass off Albert Gore as a spend and tax "social liberal" à la FDR or LBJ. While the Republicans may attempt to do so in order to garner a few more middle class votes, the truth is that Clinton and the "new Democrats" long ago co-opted the Republicans reactionary agenda as their own, as many a GOP spokesman laments, since it is the agenda of the ruling class as a whole. Posed with a choice

host of other lesser lights have come forth in a massive effort to channel the outrage and indignation felt by the Black and Latino communities at these miscarriages of justice out of and off the streets and into the polling places come election day. Some of them have even gone so far as to suggest that the Black and Latino victims of police brutality have no one but themselves to blame for their plight...because they failed to vote in more Democrats! Yet it was Democrats like David Dinkins who hired most of the killer cops let loose by Guiliani. It was Democrats like Ed Koch whose cops killed Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpers and countless others. And it was Democrats like Abe Became, Hugh Carey and Mario Cuomo, who carried out the crippling cutbacks in city and state services (including the ending of free tuition at CUNY) that economically devastated the Black and Latino communities to begin with. What Malcolm X pointed out back in the sixties, that when "you put the Democrats first...the Democrats put you last," remains every bit true today.

...and the Democrats put you last

From Sweeney to Jackson to NOW, the song remains the same: the White House has to remain in Democratic hands and the GOP has to be driven from control of Congress. Yet who would notice the difference even if they weren't? At every step of the way, the Democrats have gone along with the Republicans' right wing agenda, up to and including Clinton's signing of the welfare bill in 1996. In fact, the Democrats controlled Congress all throughout the Reagan-Bush years and for the first two years of Clinton's presidency as well. The Democrats used their time on top to give their stamp of approval to all of those anti-working class, anti-Black, anti-woman, anti-gay and anti-immigrant polices that went under the name of "Contract on America" long before Newt Gingrich grabbed the speaker's gavel back in 1995...just as they have done since then. And why not...they were all pioneered under Democrats like President Jimmy Carter to begin with! And in case John Sweeney, Jesse Jackson and Patricia Ireland haven't noticed, the Democrats promise to keep doing more of the same should they emerge victorious in November.

Of course, Sweeney and Co. hope that the more votes that they can get out for Gore, the more clout they will wield in Washington afterwards. Yet no matter how many votes they may garner for the Democrats, Gore is not about to change course. For the real decisions that concern power and money in this country

are decided in corporate boardrooms by unelected officials, (unelected by the majority of the American people, that is) not in Congress, or even the White House, and least of all in the polling places and voting booths. For only when money talks, do politicians like Gore or Bush walk. Besides, as long as labor believes that it can get somewhere by going nowhere with the Democrats why should anyone bother paying attention to it? To really make the ruling class aware that there still is a labor movement out there that has



some signs of life to it, American workers will have to start carrying out more of the kind of militant mass actions that the Teamsters did in 1997 when they struck UPS, and showing the kind of anti-capitalist consciousness that they did last December during the "Battle of Seattle." For his part, Sweeney would have liked nothing better than to have traded opposition from the outside to the WTO for a place on the inside...if only Clinton and Gore would have gone for it. As it is, Sweeney finds opposing the government of China a lot easier than opposing the government of the US even though it is the latter which is really responsible for the sorry lot of the American working class.

"Lesser evil" liberalism or the road to nowhere

Trailing along behind the big-time betrayers of working people and the poor are those small fry "socialists," like the so-called Communist Party, who, once again are pushing their "lesser evil" line. "We must stop the ultra-right at any cost," they cry. For they are too cowardly and cynical to come out and call for a vote for Gore and his raw deal

Democrats with a straight face. The problem however, is that the Democrats have gone along with welfare repeal and anti-immigrant legislation, in addition to pushing GATT and NAFTA and endless "anti-crime" legislation that targets civil liberties rather than criminal activities. In other words, Clinton and Gore made the "ultra-right's" program their own, not to mention making it the law of the land. So how is voting for Gore going to stop the "ultra right" rather than further whet its appetite for more of the

Hitler, as the way to stop the ultra-right. Joining forces with the Communists in a working class united front against both was, of course, out of the question for them. So they elected the lesser evil, von Hindenburg, who then proceeded to honor the wishes of his working class electorate by appointing none other than Hitler, the greater evil, as Chancellor the next year. In 1992, American lesser evilists pushed for Bill Clinton against George Bush. They got Clinton...along with the right wing's agenda on any and every issue. For just like in Germany in 1932 the ruling rich had a common anti-working class agenda. Only if they can get it by with a Clinton or a Gore, then why bother with a Bob Dole or a George Bush, let alone a Gingrich...especially when working class misleaders are doing anything and everything possible not to rock the boat in order to get those same Democrats in.

With all of the ruling rich agreed upon a common program of pillage and plunder, where are there any evils that are any "lesser" than any of the others to be found amongst both bosses parties? Of course, the lesser evilists would be as hard-pressed to answer that question as they would be to explain how telling working people to vote for the political representatives of the bosses in every election is supposed to advance their struggles against those same bosses. After all, would they tell workers to elect their bosses as their union representatives? And just as workers need to be economically organized as a class in trade unions, they need to be politically organized as a class in a party based on those unions. The latter, of course, is a taboo for the lesser evilists, since it is the greater good for working people. While the formation of the Labor Party in 1996 was a step in the right direction it still has a long way to go; a very long way. It can start by breaking with the Democrats altogether and beginning to fight at all levels, from the polling place to the picket line for the interests and needs of all working people. That's why workers need a revolutionary party based on a program and perspective of class struggle, not compromise, with their exploiters and oppressors. Such a party can begin turn the struggle against the WTO, the IMF the World Bank and both bosses parties that do their bidding into a fight for a socialist alternative to their whole system of institutionalized mass misery. That way they won't get derailed into the dead end of the Democratic party and "lesser evil" liberalism yet again.

same? By associating the left and labor with the politics of the capitalist status quo (in its "lesser evil" face, of course) instead of a class struggle socialist alternative to it, the lesser evilists only insure that more and more of the hard-hit middle class move further to the right rather than to the left. Indeed, putting "lesser evils," who dance to the tune that capitalism whistles into office has only helped pave the way for the greater ones they supposedly sought to oppose. In Austria, the Social Democrats in office were so virtually undistinguishable from the openly pro-capitalist parties, that they not only discredited socialism, but drove thousands into the arms of the neo-Nazi Jurg Haider, and thus paved the way for the latter's inclusion in the government.

Thus the lesser evilists have to overlook the fact that when you vote for the supposed "lesser" of two evils, you usually wind up getting the worst of both of them. In Germany in 1932, the lesser evilists, who then went under the name of Social Democrats, told the workers they led to vote for the reactionary president, Paul von Hindenburg, against Adolf

After Seattle, Washington and Windsor, On to Prague: This Great Humanity Has Had Enough!

The prostitute press, the political pimps and the academic apologists of the ruling rich still sneer and scoff at socialism. They say that it is dead and the collapse of what passed for it in the former Soviet bloc proved once and for all that it didn't and doesn't work. But for the vast majority of the human race who have to work for a living, it is, in fact, capitalism that does not work. For in every nook and cranny of the globe, the perspective of the capitalist class is one and the same: private profit before public need, untold riches for the few and endless misery for the many without even a pretense of trying to smooth over the differences anymore.

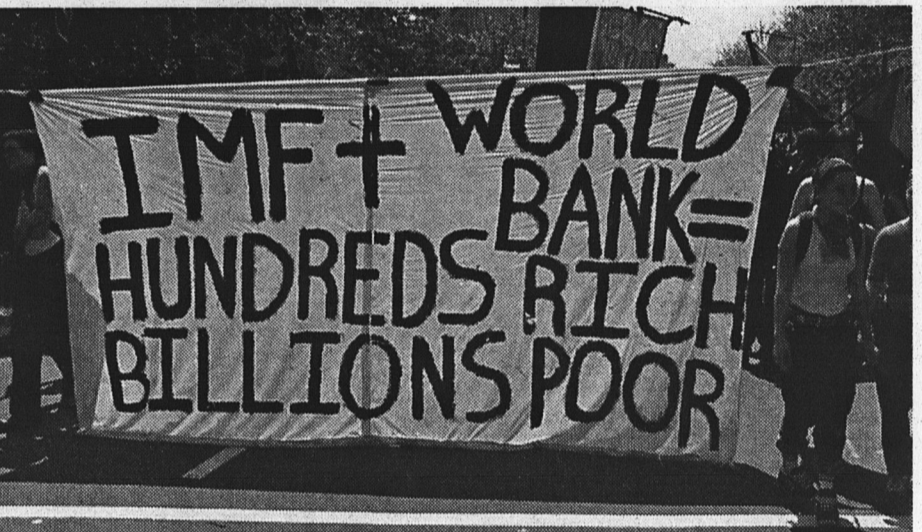
Even under the "New World Order" of "globalization" and the "E-revolution," capitalism has remained capitalism with all the same exploitation and oppression that Marx and Engels described back in 1848 along with a few new add-ons like

people feel about the future (or the present, thanks to "downsizing" and "flexibility") go away.

In the former Soviet bloc capitalist restoration and democratic counter-revolution have brought with them fratricidal slaughter and mass misery on a scale not seen in Europe since the Second World War, instead of the promised peace and prosperity. And the "transition to the market economy" has brought with it economic instability and immense immiseration as its inevitable bi-products. The economies of most of the former workers' states are now half the size they were ten years ago and death rates are up by as much as 32% (in Russia) with diseases like tuberculosis, considered conquered long ago, running rampant. Of course, other "diseases" conquered long ago (by socialist revolutions, that is) like unemployment, homelessness and hunger have

reappeared as well. All of them can be attributed to the same quack "cure" of "shock therapy" recommended by the Western economic "experts" of the IMF and the World Bank. For the "Third World," debt bondage and underdevelopment

remain business as usual. Country after country groans under the weight of IMF-inspired austerity programs that "privatize" (ie, pillage and plunder) those sectors of the economy that might have been able to provide some degree of economic independence for the countries concerned. In other words, Wall Street keeps the cashbox closed until those resources that were previously considered off limits become fair game for the financial sharks of the west while their local stand-ins get to sift through the leftovers. "Structural adjustment" means that for the masses of workers and peasants, not even the crumbs are on offer any more. In Latin America, 36% of all families live at or below the poverty level and in Africa the figure is more than 55% for the rural population. In Indonesia, where the economy has shrunk by 14%, there are now 100 million people living in absolute poverty.



that "IMF bailouts are hurting the countries they are lending to and benefiting (those) who lent them." And its victims have not been limited to working people in the former Soviet bloc or in "Third World" countries either. With the Soviet "threat" no longer hanging over them, West European bosses and their governments no longer felt constrained to maintain "welfare states" as cutting costs to stay competitive has become the name of the game with inter-imperialist rivalries resurfacing in place of "Cold War" confrontations with the Soviets.

All of them however, have a long way to go to catch up with the US. Having little if any such "safety nets" to begin with, the

hours longer than in 1976. Labor's share of all this "prosperity" is now 2 to 4 percentage points (of 8 trillion dollars) below levels reached in the late 1960s. Meanwhile the top managers of the 300 biggest US firms have incomes 93 times greater than their employees.

So was it any wonder then that when the world's corporate kingpins and their politician pals got together in Seattle and Washington like the heads of the five families in The Godfather to haggle over how to divide the spoils "globalization" has brought them they found their private party being crashed by thousands of uninvited guests from amongst their intended victims? Or that when the

One quarter of the world's population live in substandard housing, 790 million people remain chronically hungry and over 1.3 billion people survive on less than \$1 a day.

destruction of the environment and genetically engineered "Frankenfood." Cyclical crises of bust and boom, what Marx called "overproduction," remain as frequent as ever and the unity of the world market ensures that when they come they are even more deadly (e.g., the 1997 "Asian flu"). One quarter of the world's population live in substandard housing, 790 million people remain chronically hungry and over 1.3 billion people survive on less than \$1 a day. Even in the world's 29 wealthiest countries, 47 million children (1 out of every 6) are so poor that their health and well-being (ie, their very existence) are constantly endangered. And fully one third of them (13.5 million!) live in the US. So more and more wealth has accumulated in fewer and fewer hands (the gap between the richest and poorest fifths of the world now stands at 74 to one) while more and more of those who produced it continue to find themselves on the short end of the stick. And no amount of media hype about the "miracles" of the market can make the endless insecurity working

Organization of American States (OAS), long ago labeled "the Yankee colonial ministry" by Fidel Castro, met in Windsor, Ontario on June 4th to discuss "free trade," 5,000 trade unionists and young activists took to the streets in protest. And when the IMF and the World Bank big shots next attempt to break bread in Prague this September, amidst the mess their "shock therapy" has made in Eastern Europe, you can be sure that workers and young people from all corners of the continent will be there to give them the welcome they deserve. For the repentant radicals of yesteryear who long ago made their peace with the status quo,

While Clinton claims the US is in an "era of unprecedented prosperity," the richest 0.5% of the population now owns 42% of all financial wealth even though the average American is now working 164 hours longer than in 1976.

US got off to a head start way back when. In addition the American economy could boast of a quarter century of falling wages and a degree of economic inequality greater than any time since the Great Depression. For unlike the post World War II boom of the 1950's and 1960's,

With "Miracles" Like These, Who Needs "Disasters?"

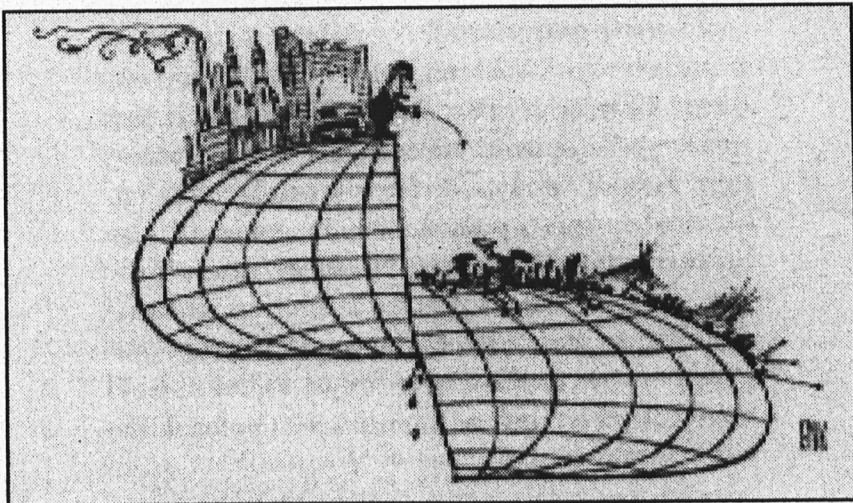
ROY ROLLIN

Judging by all the hype and hot air being dished out by the corporate controlled media about economic "growth," record "recovery" and the like, you would think that we must all be rolling in dough from Bill Gates on down. But in reality, little of the wealth being accumulated on top is "trickling down" to those on the bottom whose labor created it all in the first place. In fact, just the opposite has been taking place, as more wealth is now in fewer hands than at any time in decades. For all the talk about about the "dot.com revolution" and the internet economy, the bottom line is that

Per capita, more Americans live in poverty than any time since 1959, 13.5 million of them children. America's child poverty rate is 4 times as high as Western Europe's

America's ruling rich have gotten richer the old-fashioned way. That is, by super squeezing their workers by making them work longer hours for the same or less pay, or as they choose to call it, "boosting productivity." After all, wealth is still generated on assembly lines, not online.

In a similar vein, the government's much heralded budget surpluses are the result of the bi-partisan push to lay waste to any and every social welfare measure on the books. Cutting back on welfare for the poor and needy makes for more corporate welfare for the rich and greedy, along with more money for the cops, courts and military



THE RICH GET RICHER,, THE POOR GET POOR

machine that protects their power and privileges. It also helps push wages even further down. (Even before Clinton's welfare repeal in 1996, the US was spending almost twice as much on handouts to corporate

kingpins than on Food Stamps, AFDC and HUD combined!) And if all that wasn't enough, now both bosses' parties want to turn Social Security into so many chips for the ruling rich to gamble away at the casinos and crap shoots of Wall Street.

Most workers know from their own bitter experience that what Al Gore boasts of as: "the achievements of the 1990s" amount to little more than extra hours of work, often at more than one job, for less pay than they made a decade ago. They also know that since they have to spend more than they earn, debt is at an all time high and savings are at an all time low. After all, the average annual gain in working class income between 1989 and 1996 was a paltry \$300 a year; not enough to pay a month's rent with, let alone enough to have any left over to play around with. And most working people don't need a rocket scientist to tell them that they, and probably their children as well, will live the rest of their lives less well off than their parents, who grew up in the fifties and sixties, did. While for most white Americans this is a first, it's just more business as usual for African Americans. Small wonder that so many workers, Black and white, are playing the Lottery these days! Yet since this is an election year, capitalism's

the polls come election day, they should keep these "achievements of the 90's" in mind:

- Income inequality grew faster during the eight years of Bill Clinton's administration than at any period before. In 46 states, the gap between the

workforce. Black workers earn only 58% of what white workers earn a differential that rose 50% between 1979 and 1989.

- The average American is now working 164 hours longer than in 1976, three and a half weeks longer than in 1968. Americans

work eight weeks longer each year than workers in Western Europe. Between 1977 and 1997, those working 20 hours or more saw the working week increased from an average of 43 to 47 hours a week. Those working 50 hours or more per week increased from 24% to 37% of the workforce over the same period. Mass layoffs were greater in the last two years than at any other period in the nineties.

- Per capita, more Americans live in poverty than any time since 1959, 13.5 million of them children. America's child poverty rate is 4 times as high as Western Europe's and amongst African American children is 45%. Overall, 9.1 million Blacks and 8.3 million Latinos live at or below the poverty level.

Does anyone seriously think that Al Gore and his apologists will put any of that over the airwaves this fall? Nor will his Republican "rival" George Bush, since the GOP controlled Congress worked hand-in-hand with the White House when it came to cutting social services, slashing workers' wages and driving down living standards.

When the boom turns to bust those who created all the wealth in the first place will, needless to say, be the first to pay the price. After all, while the bosses may lose a little sleep about not being able to buy another home or two, they're not about to become homeless and go sleeping in the street. However, they did go sleepless over what happened in Seattle last December. Workers can make them do more of the same if they turn the "Spirit of Seattle" into militant mass action and independent class politics. That way, when the bubble bursts, it won't be working people who foot the bill for it...whether it's called prosperity or not.

incomes of the top 20% and those of the bottom 20% is now wider than it was 20 years ago. The earnings of the bottom 20% grew less than 1% in the last 10 years but jumped 15% for the top 20%. Overall, .5% of the population now owns 42% of all the financial wealth. The average earnings of families in the top fifth of the population is now more than 10 times that of the poorest fifth.

- The three richest individuals in the US have a combined wealth equal to that of more than 115 million working class Americans. The total income received by 20% of the population is 45.5% of the total national income, while that received by the bottom 20% amounts to 6% of the total income. The average CEO was paid 475 times as much as the average worker, an increase of 17%.

- The real hourly wages of the average worker are now at a record low, 9% below what they were in 1973. Real weekly income declined by 18% from 1973 to 1995. From 1989 to 1997, hourly pay declined for 60% of

Mobilizing for Global Justice

MANJULA WIJERAMA

The "Mobilization for Global Justice", as the anti-IMF/World Bank events of the week ending April 16th were dubbed, was a marvelous happening. Under the general umbrella of Global Justice, a multitude of organizations and a multitude of struggles came together. Literally dozens of different groups from all parts of the country and some from abroad, representing the struggles of labor unionists, environmentalists, vegans, animal rights advocates, anti-AIDS fighters, immigrant workers, students, women, youth, gays/lesbians, "Global South" advocates, people of color, converged on the nations capital to take "direct action" to confront the IMF/WB agenda.

Indeed this mobilization was unlike anything those of us radicalized in the 80's and 90's, particularly us New Yorkers, have ever seen. Concepts like Direct Action, Direct Democracy, Decentralization of Power were brought to action in a massive and spectacular fashion. The streets of downtown D.C. were transformed into a celebration of revolution, in action as well as art. Giant puppets, theater, music, dance, poetry animated the atmosphere. At the same time, downtown D.C. was very clearly a battle zone between the forces of international capitalism and the rest of us. Some 50 intersections on the perimeter of the IMF and World Bank had become battlefronts. The smell of tear gas and pepper spray permeated the air. D.C. Police, U.S. Marshals, Secret Servicemen, National Guardsmen and other military agencies of the State were conducting a coordinated military effort. Having studied the events of Seattle, Nov 30 1999, when the World Trade Organization meeting was shut down by the direct action of people, the State was better prepared. Preemptive strikes against the assembled people - the raiding and closing down of the Convergence Center, where activists were living and organizing, the arrest of 600 peaceful protesters in front of the Prison Industrial Complex ("Justice Department") building revealed a strategy of "massive force".

Massive force was being used in a non-military situation as a means of diminishing the numbers and the morale of the people. The massive force strategy is in microcosm, akin to the U.S. military policy employed in the Gulf War Slaughter and Yugoslavia of massive aerial bombing prior to occupation. As with any such use of massive force, bystanders, non-combatants are victimized. Reporters from the Washington Post and Fortune magazine were among the more notable victims of these massive force tactics. In an obvious physical sense, the combatants in this battle were ridiculously mismatched. Sixteen year old kids weighing a hundred plus pounds armed with bandannas soaked with lemon juice or vinegar (to protect from tear gas) versus 2-300 pound 30-40 year olds clad in high tech riot gear, armed with machine guns, long batons, tear gas, pepper spray and mace does not constitute a fair fight.

But then again unfairness and inequality was exactly what the battle in D.C. was about. The starvation of millions in the midst of massive wastage of food. The homeless huddling in cardboard boxes in the shadows of glittering towers of finance. The worker earning barely enough while the capitalist

profits by the millions off of the workers labor. The destruction of the ecological balance that all life on earth depends on for the short term profit interests of a handful of global capitalists. Such are the contradictions that the courageous multitude armed only with a vision of a better future exposed to the world. The submerged realities of the millions, deemed irrelevant, ridiculous,

principles and in marxist analysis. It is the historical juncture that is unique. The coming together of these strands of liberatory thought handed down by those before us, at a point in history where global capitalism proclaims its total victory over any alternative ways of organizing social life, inspiring the youth of America to declare loudly, seriously, that a new way is necessary is truly a marvel.

However beyond the magic of this convergence of people and ideals lay the basic realities of class society.

The ruling capitalist class, the CEO's of the Fortune 500 firms, the bankers and financiers and politicians will, to paraphrase Frederick Douglas, concede nothing without a fight. In fact this ruling class that thinks nothing of starving thousands of Iraqi babies through economic sanctions, killing millions of innocents with bombs and guns in Yugoslavia, Iraq, Vietnam, Korea, Japan, etc. will not hesitate to crush its "own people". The lessons of Kent State University where the US National Guard shot dead four students protesting the Vietnam war, the lessons of COINTELPRO - the FBI program launched to "neutralize" the Black Panther Party and other militants, must be clearly learned by the people rising up today. Let us never forget that the state that protects the capitalist system is very real and very deadly. Let us not underestimate nor overestimate this formidable enemy. Let us see it for what it is and destroy it, in its place creating a new power - the power of the organized.

While the courage and imagination of the youth serve to inspire in all people of conscience the desire and hope for a better world, it is in the transformation of power relations at the point of production where the key to the new world lies. The AFL CIO, corrupt and misled, organizes in its ranks millions of American workers that form the backbone of the economy. The ability of demonstrators in Seattle to shut down the WTO had much to do with the powerful presence of labor who provided the main battalions of the people. It was the notable absence of labor in massive numbers in DC that made the April 16th actions less effective.

The new movements rising against the WTO/WB/IMF and other imperialist institutions must develop a strong base in organized labor, including amongst militant trade union oppositionists. The State will have to think twice before attacking militant unionists who have the muscle to shut down the bosses profit spigot. But of course the State will crack down. The only way to counter the violence of the State is with the most massive and principled organization of the oppressed and exploited the world over. If Globalization has made one thing clear it is that the economy is truly global, that politics is truly global. A new international movement must be developed that is totally independent of capitalist politics and financing. At the same time we develop the broadest possible democracy within this new movement, we must be centralized in our actions so we can have the greatest possible impact. There is much work to be done. There is a world to win.



indeed criminal, by the power structure, was thrust unto the surface.

The finance ministers attending the World Bank meeting on Sunday April 16th had to be smuggled in at 3:30 in the morning to avoid the human blockade developing on the perimeter of the IMF/WB. Massive fortifications, fences, barricades, guarded by layers of armed State personal were deemed necessary by the power structure to maintain normalcy.

Indeed normalcy - the normalcy of unnecessary suffering - was undermined by the action of a conscious mass of people. The courageous youth who lay their bodies in defiance, in repudiation, before the massive ugliness and violence of the State. "Go ahead and arrest us if you want but how many of us can you arrest? We will fill your jails so you can't arrest anymore. We will refuse to cooperate in your bureaucracy so you cannot process us all. There's no power like the power of the people and the power of the people won't stop! We are non-violent so that your violence is all the clearer, all the more senseless. We resist your authority because your authority is undemocratic and unfair to the masses of humanity." Such are the sentiments and sensibility of this new movement for Global Justice.

The methods of organization and struggle are not new, being rooted in the American Civil Rights movement, in anarchist

HOW WE REALLY SHUTDOWN THE W.T.O.

STARHAWK

It's been two weeks now since the morning when I awoke before dawn to join the blockade that shut down the opening meeting of the WTO. Since getting out of jail, I've been reading the media coverage and trying to make sense out of the divergence between what I know happened and what has been reported.

For once in a political protest, when we chanted "The whole world is watching!" we were telling the truth. I've never seen so much media attention on a political action. However, most of what has been written is so inaccurate that I can't decide if the reporters in question should be charged with conspiracy or simply incompetence. The reports have pontificated endlessly about a few broken windows, and mostly ignored the Direct Action Network, the group that successfully organized the nonviolent direct action that ultimately involved thousands of people. The true story of what made the action a success is not being told.

The police, in defending their brutal and stupid mishandling of the situation, have said they were "not prepared for the violence." In reality, they were unprepared for the nonviolence and the numbers and commitment of the nonviolent activists—even though the blockade was organized in open, public meetings and there was nothing secret about our strategy. My suspicion is that our model of organization and decision making was so foreign to their picture of what constitutes leadership that they literally could not see what was going on in front of them. When authoritarians think about leadership, the picture in their minds is of one person, usually a guy, or a small group standing up and telling other people what to do. Power is centralized and requires obedience. In contrast, our model of power was decentralized, and leadership was invested in the group as a whole. People were empowered to make their own decisions, and the centralized structures were for co-ordination, not control. As a result, we had great flexibility and resilience, and many people were inspired to acts of courage they could never have been ordered to do.

Here are some of the key aspects of our model of organizing:

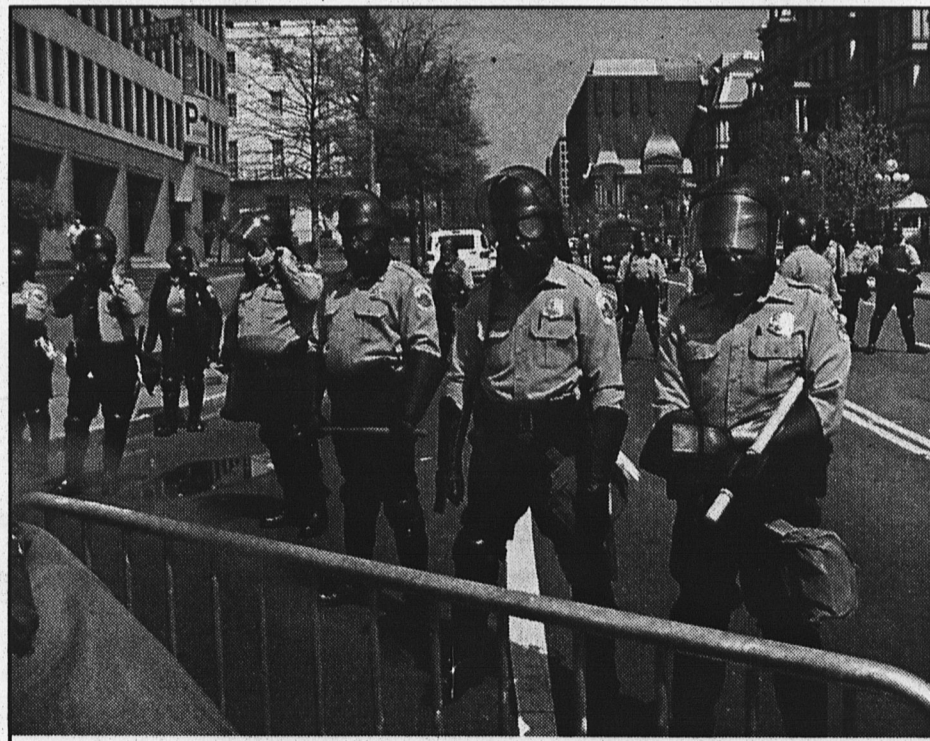
TRAINING & PREPARATION:

In the weeks and days before the blockade, thousands of people were given nonviolence training—a three hour course

that combined the history and philosophy of nonviolence with real life practice through role plays of staying calm in tense situations, using nonviolent tactics, responding to brutality, and making decisions together. Thousands also went through a second-level training in jail preparation, solidarity strategies and tactics and legal aspects. There were first aid trainings, trainings in blockade tactics, street theater, meeting facilitation, and other skills taught. While many more thousands of people took part in the blockade who had not attended any of these trainings, a nucleus of groups existed who were prepared to face police brutality and who could provide a core of resistance and strength. And in jail, I saw many situations that played out just like the role plays. Activists were able to protect members of their group from being singled out or removed by using tactics introduced in the trainings. The solidarity tactics we had prepared became a real block to the functioning of the system.

COMMON AGREEMENTS:

Each participant in the action was asked to agree to the nonviolence guidelines: To refrain from violence, physical or verbal, not to carry weapons, not to bring or use illegal drugs or alcohol, and not to destroy property. We were asked to agree only for the purpose of the 11/30 action—not to sign on to any of these as a life philosophy, and the group acknowledged that there is



much diversity of opinion around some of these guide lines.

AFFINITY GROUPS, CLUSTERS AND SPOKESCOUNCIL:

The participants in the action were organized into small groups called Affinity Groups. Each group was empowered to make its own decisions around how it would participate in the blockade. There were groups doing street theater, others preparing to lock themselves to structures, groups with banners and giant puppets, others simply



prepared to link arms and nonviolently block delegates. Within each group, there were generally some people prepared to risk arrest and others who would be their support people in jail, as well as a first aid person. Affinity groups were organized into clusters. The area around the Convention Center was broken down into thirteen sections, and affinity groups and clusters committed to hold particular

each sent a representative who was empowered to speak for the group.

In practice, this form of organization meant that groups could move and react with great flexibility during the blockade. If a call went out for more people at a certain location, an affinity group could assess the numbers holding the line where they were

and choose whether or not to move. When faced with tear gas, pepper spray, rubber bullets and horses, groups and individuals could assess their own ability to withstand the brutality. As a result, blockade lines held in the face of incredible police violence. When one group of people was finally swept away by gas and clubs, another would move in to take their place. Yet there was also room for those of us in the middle-aged, bad lungs/ bad backs affinity group to hold lines in areas that were relatively peaceful, to interact and dialogue with the delegates we turned back, and to support the labor march that brought tens of thousands through the area at midday. No centralized leader could have co-ordinated the scene in the midst of the chaos, and none was needed—the organic, autonomous organization we had proved far more powerful and effective. No authoritarian figure could have compelled people to hold a blockade line while being tear gassed—but empowered people free to make their own decisions did choose to do that.

CONSENSUS DECISION MAKING:

The affinity groups, clusters, spokescouncils and working groups involved with DAN made decisions by consensus—a process that allows every voice to be heard and that stresses respect for minority opinions. Consensus was part of the nonviolence and

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COLLEGE VOICE WHO WE ARE

The College Voice (CV) is a publication committed to the interests of working people. The working class is composed of all those people who own nothing but their ability to perform manual or mental labor and are forced to sell it for a wage. As students at CUNY, we recognize that we are a part of the multi-racial, multi-national working class of New York City. The severe attacks that CUNY has undergone are mirrored by the endless assaults on the jobs, wages and living standards of working people, as well as by the attacks on trade union, democratic and civil rights.

We oppose the poisonous divisions fostered on the basis of race by the bosses, who make black and white workers fight each other for the crumbs off their table...even though it is the workers who produce all the wealth.

We oppose the systematic attempts to reduce women to a defined "feminine" status, that serves to legitimize the special oppression they face as women and the additional exploitation they undergo as workers.

We oppose the vicious attacks on immigrant workers, who are the most vulnerable victims of the bosses job market, and who are thus used to drive all workers wages down.

We oppose every form of bigotry, on principle, as unbecoming our species and recognize that the fight for human liberation will be achieved only in the course of combating these divisions.

We oppose the use of the environment as a source of short-term profit and plunder by the ruling rich regardless of the consequences for the majority of the world's population.

The CV recognizes that it is the capitalist system, based upon the private ownership of the means of producing the wealth, that is fundamentally responsible for the fantastic hardship and misery that the vast majority of our species undergoes across the globe...in the midst of plenty.

The CV recognizes that this contradiction, far from being some "natural" condition, is one maintained by the armed power of the capitalist state (army, cops and courts) and ideological apparatus (media, church and schools) of the capitalist class that insures the domination of the few over the many; of the bosses, who produce nothing and appropriate everything over the workers, who produce everything but appropriate nothing.

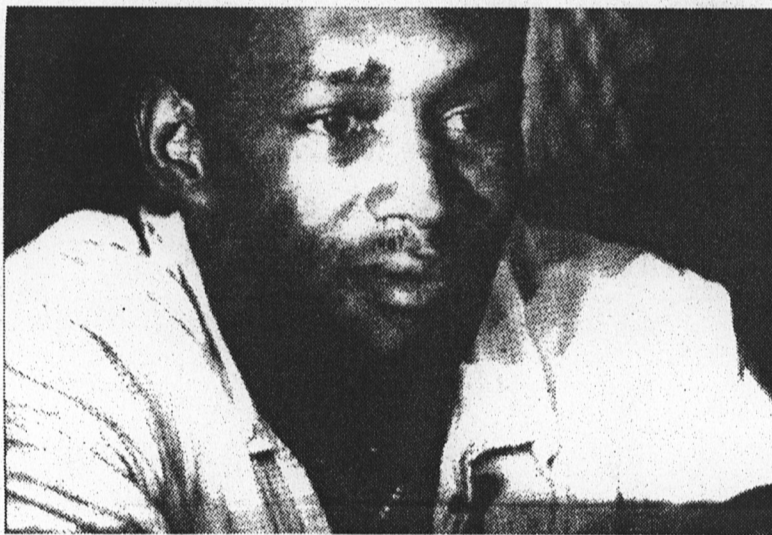
The CV recognizes the possibility and the burning necessity for creating a society in which the productive forces are democratically organized through the cooperative association of workers and production is based on human needs instead of private profits in harmony with the environment.

The CV recognizes the necessity for creating a revolutionary party of working class, based upon a program of militant mass action and class struggle politics, that will organize internationally against world capitalism and its multi- and transitional corporations and fight for a socialist revolution against them.

The CV seeks to engage all those who are committed to fighting exploitation and oppression in common action against the common enemy...capitalism.

EDITORIAL

REST IN PEACE OUR BROTHER SHAKA SANKOFA



*YOUR DEATH
WILL NOT BE IN VAIN*

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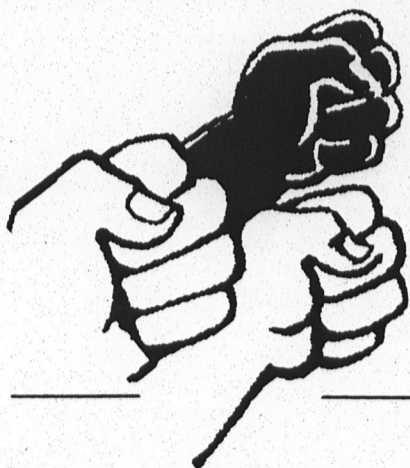
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www.j4mumia.org

www.freepeletier.org

www.globalexchange.org

www.greenleft.org



HOW WE SHUTDOWN THE W.T.O.

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jail trainings and we made a small attempt to also offer some special training in meeting facilitation. We did not interpret consensus to mean unanimity. The only mandatory agreement was to act within the nonviolent guidelines. Beyond that, the DAN organizers set a tone that valued autonomy and freedom over conformity, and stressed coordination rather than pressure to conform. So, for example, our jail solidarity strategy involved staying in jail where we could use the pressure of our numbers to protect individuals from being singled out for heavier charges or more brutal treatment. But no one was pressured to stay in jail, or made to feel guilty for bailing out before the others. We recognized that each person has their own needs and life situation, and that what was important was to have taken

action at whatever level we each could. Had we pressured people to stay in jail, many would have resisted and felt resentful and misused. Because we didn't, because people felt empowered, not manipulated, the vast majority decided for themselves to remain in, and many people pushed themselves far beyond the boundaries of what they had expected to do.

VISION AND SPIRIT:

The action included art, dance, celebration, song, ritual and magic. It was more than a protest; it was an uprising of a vision of true abundance, a celebration of life and creativity and connection, that remained joyful in the face of brutality and brought alive the creative forces that can truly counter those of injustice and control. Many people brought the strength of their personal spiritual practice

to the action. I saw Buddhists turn away angry delegates with loving kindness. We Witches led rituals before the action and in jail, and called on the elements of nature to sustain us. I was given Reiki when sick and we celebrated Hanukkah with no candles, but only the blessings and the story of the struggle for religious freedom. We found the spirit to sing in our cells, to dance a spiral dance in the holding cell, to laugh at the hundred petty humiliations the jail inflicts, to comfort each other and listen to each other in tense moments, to use our time together to continue teaching and organizing and envisioning the flourishing of this movement. For me, it was one of the most profound spiritual experiences of my life.

I'm writing this for two reasons. First, I want to give credit to the DAN organizers who did a brilliant and difficult job, who learned and applied the

lessons of the last twenty years of nonviolent direct action, and who created a powerful, successful and life-changing action in the face of enormous odds, an action that has changed the global political landscape and radicalized a new generation. And secondly, because the true story of how this action was organized provides a powerful model that activists can learn from. Seattle was only a beginning. We have before us the task of building a global movement to overthrow corporate control and create a new economy based on fairness and justice, on a sound ecology and a healthy environment, one that protects human rights and serves freedom. We have many campaigns ahead of us, and we deserve to learn the true lessons of our successes.

THANKS AND BLESSINGS,
STARHAWK
www.reclaiming.org/

HUMANITY HAS HAD ENOUGH

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"globalization" is a given and capitalist "democracy" is about as good as it gets. But what that "democracy" really means is that bourgeois parliamentary politics, based upon the permanent passivity, apathy and non-participation of the majority, is the only game in town...a game in which the only players are those whose wealth and power permits them to participate in the first place. For what could be more undemocratic than a hand full of rich white men, most of whom no-one elected to any office in the first place (i.e., the big bosses of the WTO, the IMF and the World Bank), getting together behind closed doors to decide the fate of the world? This is what democracy really looks like under capitalism!

For those partisans of the "Third Way" who dance to the tune that the bosses whistle and accept the parameters of private property as sacrosanct, cutting wages, slashing social benefits and taking workers' jobs away is second nature by now. And their claims that capital now knows no boundaries or national loyalties only exist to absolve and excuse their authors from opposing their own ruling classes austerity attacks at home and acts of imperialist aggression abroad. For as a New York Times reporter bluntly stated, "for globalization to work, America can't be afraid to act like the almighty superpower that it is. The hidden hand of the market will never work without a hidden fist...and the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's

technology is called the US Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps."

But a whole new generation of rebels has risen, undeterred by the defeats of the past and the demoralization that went with them, unwilling to settle for sweatshops with a human face. For them, there is no "business as usual" when it comes to the kind of business the WTO, the IMF and the World Bank have in mind. Thus their visions extend beyond the boundaries of what bourgeois "public opinion" finds fashionable, and they are not afraid to be "realistic" by demanding the impossible. These are the tens of thousands of workers and students who chased the WTO out of Seattle last December and who confronted the IMF and the World Bank in Washington. And behind them stand millions more around the world, from France to Argentina, from South Korea to Bolivia, from Mexico to Indonesia, from Italy to Ecuador, who have already risen up against the greed that capitalist "globalization" bases itself upon.

They will, no doubt, be joined by millions more from all the other areas imperialism has adversely affected by its policies of pillage and plunder who will give new meaning to the rallying cry of the Communist Manifesto, "workers of the world unite!" For even in the epoch of "dot.com" capitalism, it is still labor that creates all wealth. And by withholding that labor power, workers can bring the whole system to a screeching stop. But for confrontation and resistance to be successful, workers around

the world need a party and a program that can not only lead today's strikes and struggles against corporate greed but link them to the fight for working class power on a global scale; for an international socialist

democratic revolutionary party so that the struggle isn't sidetracked down the dead end of Democratic party politics and "lesser evil" liberalism. For the hunger, homelessness, disease and destitution that the rule of



YOU DON'T NEED THE BOSS, THE BOSS NEEDS YOU

alternative to the "globalization" of the corporations and the states that stand behind them. To beat the bosses, especially in the US, the energy, inventiveness and defiance that today's young rebels have shown is not enough. They need Marxist theory, a working class orientation and the recognition of the necessity for a centralized, disciplined yet

the rich perpetuates will only be banished when working people take and make the power to create a society that meets the needs of the many and not the greed of a few. The bosses have mismanaged the world long enough. It's high time to take it from them!

THE RACIST DEATH PENALTY & THE EXECUTION OF SHAKA SANKOFA

AYMAN EL-SAYED

On June 22, Shaka Sankofa (Gary Graham) was legally murdered by the state of Texas. Shaka Sankofa was on death row for the past 19 years for a crime he clearly did not commit. At the age of 17, Shaka was falsely accused of killing Bobby Lambert in front of a Houston grocery store. He was convicted and sentenced to death on the account of one witness, Bernadine Skillern, who claims it was him even though she was waiting in her car 30 feet away from the grocery store. There was no physical evidence that would prove his guilt and ballistics test showed that the gun he had when he was arrested was not the murder weapon. Six witnesses stated that Sankofa was not the gunman. All this was withheld from the jury, so an innocent man once again was put to death.

In 1973 the death penalty was reinstated in the United States. Since then 640 people have been executed by the federal government. In 1999, 98 people were put to death, this is the highest since 1951. This year the total is estimated to be higher, executions will reach the level of the 1870's. The death penalty is banned in 108 countries. America, the so called democracy practices this anti-human act of executing people because of their class and race.

Since 1973, 87 prisoners have been released from death row after new evidence proved their innocence. That is one released prisoner for every seven that have been executed. Between 1973 and 1993, an average of 2.5 death row inmates a year were released after being found innocent. From 1993 and 1999, the rate doubled to 4.6 people released from death row a year. And in the first few months of the year 2000 already 3 inmates were released. In Illinois, Governor

Since 1973, 87 prisoners have been released from death row after new evidence proved their innocence. That is one released prisoner for every seven that have been executed.

George Ryan announced a moratorium on executions. Illinois has released 13 death row inmates since 1976 that is one more than it has actually executed.

The death penalty has been used as a killing machine for America's poor. 56% of death row inmates are black and latino and account for 42% of executions. It is mostly poor people and people of color who end up in America's hell holes and this is for several reasons. One reason is being unable to pay for a decent lawyer. Without a lawyer who is

there to defend you, how are you able to fight for your innocence. Poor people are given court appointed lawyers and these lawyers are given very little sums of money to investigate the case. If you were a rich person you have money to get the best lawyers and to investigate the case. Is this what we call justice, where you need to have money in order not to be sent to jail and death. Shouldn't everybody have the right to prove their innocence whether they are rich or not?

The murder of Shaka Sankofa has brought us to a new stage in America. Murder is now legal in America. Black men are now legally lynched by the state, whether it be the police shooting of Amadou Diallo in the streets of New York or the execution of Shaka Sankofa in a Texas penitentiary. These are both very similar incidents, in both cases the victims were executed and the true killers were left alone to kill more.

Many liberals and lesser evil seekers try to say that the death penalty exist because of the Republican party. They say vote Democrat and your problems will be solved. We must understand who the Democrats are and who they represent. They do not represent the people for sure. Look at Clinton's anti worker policies of NAFTA. This policy eliminates workers jobs and lowers the working wage by closing factories in the US and opening sweatshops in poor Third World nations. Al Gore is a supporter of the death penalty. This should be of no surprise, because neither Gore nor Bush are representatives of the working people of America. They represent the big corporations that fund their campaigns. They represent Wall Street which tries to profit off of everything they possibly

can as we can see with education and prisons. In New York, CUNY is being privatized in order to profit off students. Our student access and space is being limited by administration while our campuses are sold to outside corporations like Barnes & Nobles and the Staten Island Yankees. Prisons are concentration camps where the majority of prisoners are in for non violent offenses such as drugs and theft. They are in prison because they are poor. Petty drug offenses and theft are ways of income for many poor people. Instead of solving the problem by raising wages, creating good jobs and funding these poor communities that are thrown to rot in prison. They are used for cheap labor by corporations, paying prisoners 56cents an hour.

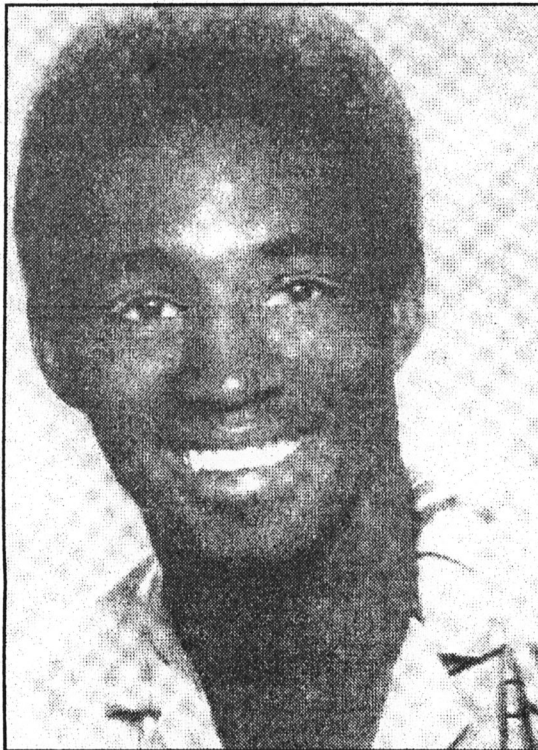
There are many innocent people sitting on death row or in prison for crimes they did not commit. Fred Hampton Jr., Mumia Abu Jamal, Lawrence Hayes, Leonard Peltier and George Bell are all well known prisoners who are trapped in America's dungeons. Many people such as Mumia and Hampton are in prison because of their political backgrounds. They were both

hypocritical justice system where more than two million are incarcerated and four other million on probation or parole. Many Union leaderships are already tied to the Democratic party and are endorsing Gore while other Unions are flirting with Ralph Nader, the Green Party Candidate. Workers need to battle these leaders, who have sold out the Unions and have betrayed the workers by supporting Democrats or Republicans.

In the past year police brutality and the state's legal lynchings of death row inmates have been on the rise. In New York, Patrick Dorismond was shot by an undercover cop, in Philadelphia a homeless man was shot and killed by the police and over a dozen cops beat a man who was trying to escape them bringing flashbacks of the Rodney King beating. Shaka Sankofa was executed by the state of Texas. Mass protest against the WTO, IMF and World Bank were met with clashes by the police and mass arrests of thousands of people. Attacks by the state have increased as anti-state and anti-capitalist sentiments have been on the rise.

In the future, we are to see more of this killing by the police and the state. The more the gap between the rich and poor widens, crime will rise which means prison population will rise. There has been much boasting about how the economy is at it's best. The prison population is at it's highest and is growing rapidly. For who has this "great economy" benefitted? Not the poor, the black, latino, immigrant, women and working person, but for the rich. The rich have increased their wealth through exploitation, sweatshop labor and the privatization of all public services.

It is time for the working people of America to stop this backward way that we live. We must realize who is in prison and why? We need to abolish this death penalty and not give the state the power to kill anyone of us in the streets or on the gurney. Most importantly we need to understand that the worlds natural resources are limited, we cannot have a few people own and monopolize the world's resources. These resources are for all of earth's inhabitants. The majority of the world is left to survive on the very little resources that are left, by killing one another for it. The death penalty is a stupid, backward and a false hypocritical way of justice. It does not deliver justice, democracy and equality. Justice, democracy and equality needs to exist at the workplace, streets, homes and schools before the courtroom.



SHAKA SANKOFA/ GARY GRAHAM

affiliated with the Panthers, Mumia was a member of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party at the age of 15, Fred Hampton Jr.'s father was also one of the founders of the Black Panther Party in the late 60's and was gunned down while sleeping by FBI agents. The FBI had a campaign called Cointelpro which targeted groups that promoted social justice and liberation. Groups like the Black Panthers, the American Indian Movement, Puerto Rican nationalist and others were all targeted by the FBI. Many were jailed and still remain in prison, however some have gained their freedom after staying long years in prison, while others like Shaka have been executed and other are still fighting for their freedom.

Support of the death penalty has declined as Americans realize that it is not a correct way of handling crime and that crime is very much rooted to the economic policies of the country. The fact that poor people make up the majority of prisoners proves that crime can be eliminated if poverty is eliminated. In America a large anti death penalty campaign has been on the move, bringing consciousness about the prison system in America. The only problem is that unions are not the main forces battling this

SHAKA SANKOFA'S LAST WORDS

"I would like to say that I did not kill Bobby Lambert. That I'm an innocent black man that is being murdered. This is a lynching that is happening in America tonight. There's overwhelming and compelling evidence of my defense that has never been heard in any court of America. What is happening here is an outrage for any civilized country, to anybody anywhere to look at what's happening here is wrong.

I thank all of the people that have rallied to my cause. They've been standing in support of me. Who have finished with me. I say to Mr. Lambert's family, I did not kill Bobby Lambert. You are pursuing the execution of an innocent man.

I want to express my sincere thanks to all of ya'll. We must continue to move forward and do everything we can to outlaw legal lynching in America. We must continue to stay strong all around the world, and people must come together to stop the systematic killing of poor and innocent black people.

We must continue to stand together in unity and to demand a moratorium on all executions. We must not let this murder/lynching be forgotten tonight, my brothers. We must take it to the nation. We must keep our faith. We must go forward.

We recognize that many leaders have died. Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and others who stood up for what was right. They stood up for what was just. We must, you must brothers, that's why I have called you today. You must carry on that condition. What is here is just a lynching that is taking place. But they're going to keep on lynching us for the next 100 years, if you do not carry on that tradition, and that period of resistance.

We will prevail. We may lose this battle, but we will win the war. This death, this lynching will be avenged.

It will be avenged, it must be avenged. The people must avenge this murder. So my brothers, all of ya'll stay strong, continue to move forward.

Know that I love all of you. I love the people, I love all of you for your blessing, strength, for your courage, for your dignity, the way you have come here tonight, and the way you have protested and kept this nation together. Keep moving forward, my brothers. Slavery couldn't stop us. The lynching couldn't stop us in the south. This lynching will not stop us tonight. We will go forward. Our destiny in this country is freedom and liberation. We will gain our freedom and liberation by any means necessary. By any means necessary, we keep marching forward.

I love you, Mr. Jackson. Bianca, make sure that the state does not get my body. Make sure that we get my name as Shaka Sankofa. My name is not Gary Graham. Make sure that it is properly presented on my grave. Shaka Sankofa.

I died fighting for what I believe in. I died fighting for what was just and what was right. I did not kill Bobby Lambert, and the truth is going to come out. It will be brought out.

I want you to take this thing off into international court, Mr. Robert Mohammed and all ya'll. I want you, I want to get my family and take this down to international court and file a law suit. Get all the video tapes of all the beatings. They have beat me up in the back. They have beat me up at the unit over there. Get all the video tapes supporting that law suit. And make the public exposed to the genocide and this brutality, and let the world see what is really happening here behind closed doors. Let the world see the barbarity and injustice of what is really happening here. You must get those video tapes. You must make it exposed, this injustice, to the world.

You must continue to demand a moratorium on all executions. We must move forward.

Minister Robert Mohammed, Ashanti Chimurenga, I love you for standing with me, my sister. You are a strong warrior Queen. You will continue to be string in everything that you do. Believe in yourself, you must hold your head up, in the spirit of Winnie Mandela, in the spirit of Nelson Mandela. Ya'll must move forward. We will stop this lynching. Reverend Al Sharpton, I love you, my brother. Bianca Jagger, I love all of you. Ya'll make sure that we continue to stand together. Reverend Jesse Jackson, know that this murder, this lynching will not be forgotten. I love you, too, my brother.

This is genocide in America. This is what happens to black men when they stand up and protest for what is right and just. We refuse to compromise, we refuse to surrender the dignity for what we know is right. But we will move on, we have been strong in the past. We will continue to be strong as a people. You can kill a revolutionary, but you cannot stop the revolution. The revolution will go on. The people will carry the revolution on. You are the people that must carry that revolutionary on, in order to liberate our children from this genocide and for what is happening here in America tonight. What has happened for the last 100 or so years in America. This is the part of the genocide, this is part of the African (unintelligible), that we as black people have endured in America. But we shall overcome, we will continue with this. We will continue, we will gain our freedom and liberation, by any means necessary. Stay strong. They cannot kill us. We will move forward.

To my sons, to my daughters, all of you. I love all of you. You have been wonderful. Keep your heads up. Keep moving forward. Keep united.

Maintain the love and unity in the community. And know that victory is assured.

Victory for the people will be assured. We will gain our freedom and liberation in this country. We will gain it and we will do it by any means necessary. We will keep marching. March on black people. Keep your heads high. March on. All ya'll leaders. March on. Take your message to the people. Preach the moratorium for all executions. We're gonna stop, we are going to end the death penalty in this country. We are going to end it all across this world. Push forward people. And know that what ya'll are doing is right. What ya'll are doing is just.

This is nothing more than pure and simple murder. This is what is happening tonight in America. Nothing more than state sanctioned murder, state sanctioned lynching, right here in America, and right here tonight. This is what is happening my brothers. Nothing less. They know I'm innocent.

They've got the facts to prove it. They know I'm innocent. But they cannot acknowledge my innocence, because to do so would be to publicly admit their guilt.

This is something these racist people will never do. We must remember brothers, this is what we're faced with. You must take this endeavor forward. You must stay strong. You must continue to hold your heads up, and to be there. And I love you, too, my brother. All of you who are standing with me in solidarity. We will prevail... we will keep marching...

keep marching black people
... black power
... keep marching black people
... black power
... keep marching black people
... keep marching black people
... they are killing me tonight
... they are murdering me tonight

Commentary by Mumia Abu - Jamal: KILLING FOR A JOB

MUMIA ABU - JAMAL

On the evening of June 22, 2000, at approximately 8:49 p.m., the life of Shaka Sankofa (né Gary Graham) was snuffed out by the state of Texas. With a sweaty-lipped smirk and a nod, Texas Governor George W. Bush cleared the way for the state's killing of a young Black man.

The legalized lynching of Sankofa, the 132nd in recent Texas history, was but the latest in a long line of state killings. All of these have but one objective: to propel Bush, the younger, into the White House.

With serious questions about his guilt, and equally serious questions about the competency of his original, court-appointed trial counsel, the Graham (Sankofa) case posed serious questions about the entire Texas death machine.

Sankofa's trial lawyer has the dubious distinction of having a subsection of Texas death row unofficially named for him: the "Mock Wing." The wing is so named for Harris County defense attorney Ronald G. Mock, whose 12 clients were shuffled to the Texas death row. With the legalized lynching of Sankofa, seven of his clients have been killed by the state, and five now await death.

Sankofa's trial took two days, and the lawyer (Mock) called no witnesses during the guilt phase of the trial. In a recent interview, Mock told reporters, in a boast, that he flunked criminal law at Texas Southern University's Thurgood Marshall School of Law. He never called, nor interviewed, two eyewitnesses, that would've cleared Sankofa of the May 13, 1981, killing of a 52-year-old white man.

One of his former colleagues, attorney

Chester L. Thornton, was quoted in a recent interview describing Ron Mock as the kind of "lawyer who play[s] along with the rules" (The New York Times, June 11, 2000). He served the interests of the judges, perhaps, by rushing cases through the trials, but it can hardly be said that he served the interests of his clients, most of whom are dead.

The strong, rebellious spirit of Sankofa drew hundreds of supporters to the city of death, Huntsville, Texas, to protest in favor of life.

The Sankofa case, which poses the spectacle of the broken Texas death machine killing an innocent young man, is an indictment of a system that is, in essence, one built upon the most premeditated of murders.

Politicians, and their corporate media mouthpieces, make much of the kinds of crimes that rock major U.S. cities, like

rapes, robberies, and murders. But, usually, poor folks commit crimes for money. Politicians kill poor folks for their own political advantage: for a promotion; for a job.

Which one is worse?

Who will condemn a criminal political system? Remember Shaka, and like his mighty namesake (of the Zulu Empire), let us build an army, dedicated to life, and to the destruction of the death machine.

On this, one of the most important issues of our time, let us understand that there would've been no difference if there was a Democrat at the death-switch in Huntsville. Shaka Sankofa was killed by a deadly political system; not a political party. Let the movement grow!!

CAPITALISM



IS MURDER