

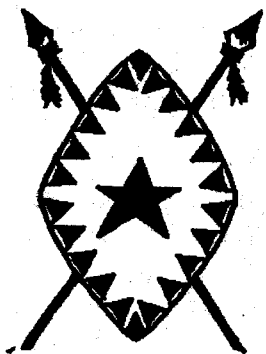
CROSSROAD

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(Donation)

NEW AFRIKAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

WE, Black People in America, in consequence of arriving at a knowledge of ourselves as a people with dignity, long deprived of that knowledge; as a consequence of revolting with every decimal of our collective and individual beings against the oppression that for three hundred years has destroyed and broken and warped the bodies and minds and spirits of our people in America, in consequence of our raging desire to be free of this oppression, to destroy this oppression wherever it assaults **humankind** in the world, and in consequence of inextinguishable determination to go a different way, to build a new and better world, do hereby declare ourselves forever free and independent of the jurisdiction of the United State of America and the obligations which that country's unilateral decision to make our ancestors and ourselves paper-citizens placed on us.

We claim no rights from the United States of America other than those rights belonging to human beings anywhere in the world, and these include the right to damages, reparations, due us from the grievous injuries sustained by our ancestors and ourselves by reason of United States lawlessness.

Ours is a revolution against oppression—our own oppression and that of all people in the world. And it is a revolution for a better life, a better station for **all**, a surer harmony with the forces of life in the universe. We therefore see these aims as the aims of our revolution:

- To free black people in America from oppression;
- To support and wage the world revolution until all people everywhere are so free;
- To build a new Society that is better than what We now know and as perfect as **We** can make it;
- To assure all people in the New Society maximum opportunity and equal access to that maximum;
- To promote industriousness, responsibility, scholarship, and service;
- To create conditions in which freedom of religion abounds and the pursuit of God and/or destiny, place and purpose of **humankind** in the Universe will be without hindrance;
- To build a Black independent nation where no sect or religious creed subverts or impedes the building of the New Society, the New State Government, or achievement of the Aims of the Revolution as set forth in this Declaration;
- To end exploitation of **human beings** by **each other** or the environment;
- To assure equality of rights for the sexes;
- To end color and class discrimination, while not abolishing salubrious diversity, and to promote self-respect and mutual understanding among all people in the society;
- To protect and promote the personal dignity and integrity of the individual, and **his or her** natural rights;
- To place the major means of production and trade in the trust of the state to assure the benefits of this earth and **our** genius and labor to society and all its members, and
- To encourage and reward the individual for hard work and initiative and insight and devotion to the Revolution.

In mutual trust and great expectation, We the undersigned, for ourselves and for those who look to us but are unable personally to affix their signatures hereto, do join in this solemn Declaration of Independence, and to support this Declaration and to assure the success of the Revolution, We pledge without reservation ourselves, our talents, and all our worldly goods.

Remembering Henry Adams: A New Afrikan Leader who Struggled For Land and Independence

As revolutionary New Afrikans, Our national culture is the historical struggle to fulfill the mandate of Land and Independence. Our Comrad Yaki stresses to Us that it is extremely necessary that the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM) assert, at every opportunity, its separate (national) identity from all movements which do not seek the establishment — of a sovereign and independent nation-state for Afrikans in the U.S., because the failure to do so will impede the national liberation struggle. We distinguish Ourselves from false nationalism in all its metaphysical and cultural expressions.

It was Frantz Fanon who made this distinction crystal clear when he said:

I say again that no speech-making and no proclamation concerning culture will turn Us from Our fundamental tasks: the liberation of the National Territory; [and] a continuous struggle against colonialism in all its new forms....

Our distinction establishes Our national identity and culture of resistance. In Our cultural gatherings and during Our rituals We must remember and honor those distinguished New Afrikan leaders who dedicated their lives to Land, Independence, and Self-Government. During slavery/kkkolonialism many of these New Afrikan leaders led escapes and established communities in the woods, mountains, and swamps. Others organized rebellions aimed at freeing slaves and liberating territory from which to build an independent state.

In the reconstruction/neo-kkkolonial era, New Afrikan leaders — *Exodusters* — sought independent land anywhere. One of the Exodusters was the dedicated nationalist leader Henry Adams. Adams was a committed grassroots organizer; he and other New Afrikan men, some ex-union soldiers formed what they called 'the Committee'. As many as 500 New Afrikan men took part in this public clandestine organization. The Committee functioned as a secret intelligence group gathering information on the plight of the New Afrikan masses and assisted the masses with their problems. Committee members were able to relay the concerns of the people because they went into the field and worked with them.

For Adams and other Committee members, working amongst the New Afrikan masses was costly and dangerous; though they organized in a clandestine manner, they were often suspected as being affiliated with the

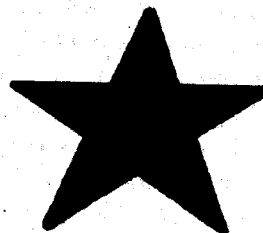
Committee. Once suspected by the 'white league', a kkkolonial terrorist organization, suspected Committee members were fired from their jobs, tortured, or brutally murdered. As a suspected Committee member, one lived under the threat of death. At times, with his pockets empty and a noose hanging over his head, Adams remained committed to the New Afrikan masses.

After working amongst the New Afrikan masses from 1870-1876, the Committee concluded that New Afrikans would remain wretched and terrorized if they remained in the South. In 1877 the Committee became the Colonization Council; the new organization advocated emigration, leaving from the South; and colonization, collective pioneering to acquire Land and establish Self-Government either in Liberia (Afrika) or in Kansas. Until his death Henry Adams was loyal to his vision and pursuit of Land and Independence.

In examining the life of Henry Adams, making the past serve the present, We discover he was a dedicated New Afrikan community organizer. As members of the New Afrikan Independence Movement today, how many of Us are dedicated community organizers and are loyal to the New Afrikan masses? Does Our social practice reflect 'from the masses to the masses'? Are We confined to rhetoric, commandism, tailism, adventurism, or revolutionary intellectualism? Without the New Afrikan masses organized We will never obtain Land and Independence; 'FREE THE LAND' will remain just a battle cry, a dream. The major weakness of the New Afrikan Independence Movement is the lack of skilled cadre who have community organizing capabilities. We must turn this weakness into a strength; let Us internalize the organizing spirit of Henry Adams.

— Cinque Kofi Kinaya

reprinted from 'New Afrikan Prisoner Bulletin' (March, 1996), The Freedom Network, NIS&G publishing, 654 Franklin Rd, Pontiac, MI 48341. Cover picture: Benjamin 'Pap' Singleton, 'Exoduster' & contemporary of Henry Adams who headed the Tennessee Real Estate and Homestead Association.



Destroying the Green Line, Destroying a Community Destroying A People

By Jamila-Ra, copyright Jamila-Ra. 1996

Imagine, the shock of waking up and finding your house has disappeared. Imagine further, that not only, your house, but your block, even your family, and all those you know and love have ceased to exist. Try to imagine, the shock of Woodlawn community residents when they were informed by the Media, and the City of Chicago, that they no longer wanted public rapid transit in their neighborhood. Imagine statements attributed to them that are untrue, contrary, and blatant misrepresentations of their views and actions. It is the same as being completely ignored and, becoming non-existent, actually Urban "Renewalized", and removed from the picture. Exactly the way modern technology can remove and replace objects and people from photographs with computer imaging techniques. Also, very similar to removal and disposal of concrete and rubble when a community is being gentrified and redeveloped for upscale users by unscrupulous developers.

Imagine, the utter disbelief of those who attended the March 12, Public Hearing at Hyde Park Career Academy, sponsored by the Chicago Transit Authority Board, chaired by Valerie B. Jarrett, when learning that the board's report(1) was as follows: attendance estimated by Chicago Police at 1000 persons (at least 2-300 persons were unable to find even standing room)(2). 73 persons testified at the hearing (at 11PM, number 125 had not yet spoken); 725 persons submitted written comments; 36 persons commented by phone, a telephone survey with unknown attribution) of 668 calls was submitted for the record; and two petitions were submitted with a total of 3,439 signatures. According to this report, 56% of the respondents were in favor of demolishing the EL.

The Hyde Park Herald has been one of the few publications to accurately and fairly report the issues. Randolph Smith, of Woodlawn East Community and Neighbors (WECAN), is quoted in the May 1, 1996 issue: "I don't believe it... anti-demolition speakers at the CTA public hearing outnumbered pro-demolition speakers by a margin of two to one." The Herald goes on to say that, on Monday April 29, the city's Community Development Commission was meeting to approve plans for a new parking lot to serve Bishop Arthur Brazier's Apostolic Church of God.

It's mind boggling to see how the powers that be continue to control the media and public officials to do their bidding no matter what the cost. Over the course of the last two months various [headline] stories have been reported in the media in a calculated and well-planned series of stories in a disinformation campaign to hide the real issues. The Green Line was awarded millions in federal dollars to be rehabbed and re-opened, [but] it was probably slated for destruction by deals cut long ago. Around the neighborhood, it is well known that residents favor the re-opening of the EL line and what it can provide for a vibrant urban community.

The March 12 meeting was one of the largest I've witnessed since the 1960's involving leadership and community united, and opposed to being manipulated and controlled like marionettes. Many offered documented testimony from recent studies by Urban Planners, scientists, and conservation groups that the idea of traveling by standard combustion engines is something that will be thought of like the horse and buggy in just a few years. Not only are fuel costs going to be prohibitive, but air quality, natural resources and other quality of life issues dictate that the major mode of transportation cannot possibly continue to be gasoline driven buses and cars that belch out incalculable fluorocarbons, nitrous antigens, poisons, and numerous pollutants mortally dangerous to plants, humans and any other species of life as we know it.

There was a loud, well financed, well orchestrated minority representing developers and outside interests who tried, but failed to disrupt the tide of pro-retention speakers and audience members. Many comments were heard among those in the crowded auditorium, about the use of provocateurs reminiscent of demonstrations in the early 70's and late 60's that led to violence and riots. The final speaker spoke in behalf of keeping and expanding the EL. Audience members remained until the very end, riveted and anxious to hear the comments of every last speaker. Memories surfaced of the recent march in Washington; this was a serious gathering and people wanted their voice heard.

The minority, carrying professionally painted signs, bused in by their sponsors, and armed with prepared press releases, charts, graphs, slide presentations and other propaganda, which they were encouraged to utilize "on cue". Their leaders openly led them in the disruptions. While the heavy hitters were allowed to make presentations from the stage using audio/visual aids, community residents were given tinny sounding microphones at a table beneath the stage and with their backs to the audience

(a calculated move no doubt). However, their message was clear and resounding: **Keep The El!** One of the very last pro-El speakers made this stinging comment to the boisterous minority: "you can love your preacher all you want, but don't drink any Kool-Aid, if he offers it to you", an obvious reference to the brainwashed masses who gave up their lives in the Jonestown tragedy some years ago.

What this boils down to is a battle between the Haves and the Have-Nots with the Haves getting the Whole. It's no accident that the Museum of Science and Industry is expanding and in need of parking and other space, or that many large church congregations draw their membership outside of the Woodlawn community, and need more parking areas, or that property in the vicinity has seen a 300% increase, and land value is beginning to be priced similar to other lakefront communities to the north. The people's needs for housing, transportation, schools, and viable shopping are ignored to suit the needs of a politically and financially powerful minority. The stakes are too high, too high for people that depend on public transit for a lifeline. It makes sense/cents that if poor and working people cannot travel to jobs from where they are currently residing, they must move to other areas. And when they move, that allows developers to destroy viable housing stock and replace it with pre-fab, cheap fiberglass constructed housing that pulls in 10 times its money for the owners. With all the evidence pointing to a future of more not-less public rapid transit, and more attention paid to cleaner air and the environment, I'm reminded of something my mother said concerning the folly of nuclear proliferation and mass destruction: "the big guys don't care about any of that, they just want to die rich".

(1) Public Hearing Summary, Public Hearing Comment Response, Jackson Park Branch Rapid Transit Elevated 63rd Street/Dorchester Terminal, April 17, 1996 CTA, Valerie B. Jarrett, Chairman

(2) parenthesis are my own comments regarding the report

Concerned users of the El and those wishing to voice concern should direct comments to the City of Chicago Department of Transportation, 30 N. LaSalle Street, Suite 1100, Chicago, IL 60602-2570, Valerie B. Jarrett, Chairman.

For more information, contact WE-CAN, 1541 E. 63rd St, Chicago IL 60637. 312-288-3000// 288-3081 (FAX)



**A POEM FOR
MALCOLM AND HO CHI MINH**

TODAY is YOUR BIRTHDAY, a day for sadness and CELEBRATION. this is a poem about two FREEDOM FIGHTERS EXTRAORDINAIRE, who understood that the MAIN CONTRADICTION is between OPPRESSOR NATIONS AND OPPRESSED NATIONS. Even though you have both made the SUPREME SACRIFICE and have gone over to the revolutionary happy hunting grounds, YOUR EXAMPLE AND YOUR SPIRIT still continue to reside deep within the PSYCHE of the people who are STRIVING to LIBERATE, the planet from the rotten greedy frightened individuals, who are responsible for man's exploitation of Wemen and men. the beat goes on and on. Your INSPIRATION WILL LAST US FOREVER, BECAUSE no one can stop the beat. FREEDDOM FIGHTING will continue until the planet is free from COLONIALISM.

MAY 19th, 1994
ABDUL SHANNA, CHIURBA

CROSSROAD

is looking for brief essays, poems & reviews from traditionally ignored sectors of the New Afrikan community -- women, gays and lesbians, so please feel free to contact us. If you have a contribution which is more than a maximum of 2500 words, We would be happy to consider an abstract of your article for publication.

Control Unit Hearings - Observations

The Conference held to stop the building of Control Unit prisons on Sat., April 20 was an intense educational experience for most of the attendees. The workshops presented were: Women in Prison Death Penalty, Control Units, Political Prisoners, and Prison Economics. By having the Workshops before the Forum, organizers enabled participants to get information on what is happening in the prison system. Attendees were able to visit more than one Workshop, get questions answered, and engage in meaningful discussion. We also listened to personal accounts from those who are back in society struggling to make a better life for themselves and their families.

The system which we live under today is devoting its energies to systematic oppression of the poor, and the "Cultural Other": Afrikan Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans. The Political Prisoners Workshop covered the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, the Black Liberation Movement, and the Native American struggle against tyranny and capitalist exploitation; many are being held captive for excessively long terms, while money to fight their cases is non-existent. The brutalization and exploitation that exists in the system makes one cringe and weep. This country has more people imprisoned than any country in the world. Many prisoners will one day return to our cities. What are we and the system doing to prepare them for re-entry and independent survival? The Death Penalty is a clear illustration. There is a rush to destroy certain segments of the population, by miseducation, proliferation of guns, drug infiltration, removal of factories and industries, diminishing health-care facilities. The necessities of food and housing are becoming increasingly inaccessible. This creates homelessness, vagrancy, and resulting criminality. The ever-expanding prison economy and resultant slave labor is a boon to the corporate structure and a boost to the outlying areas and towns where many of the prisons are located; isolated from the homes and relatives of most of the prisoners. It is a diabolical construction encouraging greed and racism, as well as creating an elitism within the administration that erodes democracy. Although I was unable to stay to hear all of the Forum presenters, I feel the goals of the Conference were achieved: educating and informing citizens of current trends and events, and encouraging them to become actively involved, and to demonstrate their disapproval of injustice. We must involve our Representatives by letting them know how we expect them to vote on issues that affect the prison system. We must be constantly active and consistently vigilant to prevent the destruction of the spirit which imbues humans with love, hope, and concern for each other. Our potential and creativity must direct us toward providing environments which enhance our lives as humans; not for dehumanizing and exploiting others for material and financial gain for a small elite fascist-like group who rely on weaponry, drugs, and lies to prolong their control.

The conference should be repeated as often as possible.

Submitted by Erline

NEW AFRIKAN NATION DAY CELEBRATION '96

by James Wyatt

The New Afrikan Nation Day Celebration '96 was held March 29-31, 1996 at Malcolm X College in Chicago. This is one of the most important events in our struggle because it shows the continuation of struggle for the liberation of the New Afrikan People.

I was asked to give a presentation on the topic of Reparations. Reparations are cash, land, scholarships, technology and freedom for political prisoners that New Afrikans are demanding the federal government and former slave-holding states pay for centuries of enslavement, unpaid labor and brutality.

The theme of the celebration was: "The Role of Youth in Advancing the Independence Movement: Forward Ever, Backward Never". I would like to tie the Youth Leadership Workshop Focus Questions directly into our struggle for Reparations.

I. What is the direction that Afrikan people in America need to take as we move into the 21st century?

a) Do we need to take the position of mainstream assimilation or Black Nationalism?

b) Do we need to create new goals and ideologies?

II. How have other Afrikan Liberation movements been organized, fought and won?

a) What strategies worked during the Black Power direct action movement?

b) What have been the accomplishments and downfalls of our Black Liberation Movement since the 1960's?

III. How should Afrikans in America continue to progress and move forward as a New Afrikan Independence Movement?

a) What is the role of youth in advancing the Independence Movement?

b) What are effective methods of organizing and mobilizing youth for a direct action campaign?

As we move into the 21st century, Afrikan people in America need to move toward economic re-birth; if we build economic power, we can heighten political power, because any power without an economic foundation is symbol without substance. This economic foundation can be built by collecting a debt for the hundreds of years of unpaid and underpaid labor donated by our ancestors.

Do we need to take the position of mainstream assimilation or Black Nationalism? We New Afrikans here in America were never able to attain full citizenship with America; at best we can only be subjects of this country. The question of Black Nationalism needs to be re-defined in the context of our struggle. The way one dresses does not make one a nationalist.

• Wyatt is The Co-Chair of the Chicago chapter of N'COBRA (National Coalition of Black for Reparations in America) and Program Director of S.I.T.T.E. (*Staying In Touch Through Education*); 7621 North Sheridan Rd., Chicago Il. 60626. He can be reached at (312) 274-7378 Ex. 2

• N'COBRA's 7th Annual Convention will be in Atlanta June 21-23; contact N'COBRA, P.O. Box 115182, Atlanta, GA 30310 or call (404) 286-0258 for more information.

Black Fascism & White Racism: Two Faces of the Death Penalty

(Ken Saro-Wiwa and Mumia Abu-Jamal)

The execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa, the Nigerian playwright, writer and political activist on Friday, November 10th by the military regime of General Sani Abacha should have sent a lightening bolt of reality to freedom fighters around the world. Why? Because despite world wide opposition to this execution, General Sani Abacha said, 'In your face' to public opinion and world wide expressions decrying the anticipated execution and carried it out. Even the United States, in a hypocritical effort, reached out to Nigeria to stay the execution and was told, "You have a death penalty, don't you?" That is the basic issue.

We have consistently held that the death penalty is a politically repressive tool used to silence dissent and build up state power. When all else fails, the state, whether Nigeria or the United States, employs the death penalty to spark fear in the hearts of those who dare to speak out against the racism, capitalism, imperialism and economic slavery of the state.

Over the past few years we have been waging a relentless struggle to save the life of former Black Panther and Revolutionary Journalist Mumia Abu Jamal, and there are those who would say that now that Mumia has the international and national support that he has there is no danger of him being executed. The execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other activists on Friday begs to put a lie to this belief. They executed Ken Saro-Wiwa and there isn't even a ripple in the water. Business is going on as usual. The sky is not lit up with fire, nor are the oil wells of Nigeria aflame.

When South Africa abolished the death penalty earlier this year, for every crime except for treason, the world applauded. But, at the same time we recognized that some of the world's countries, specifically, Japan, Nigeria, the United States and Saudi Arabia among them, still have the death penalty and were pushing forward with the implementation of it. The fact that the United States, the police force of the world, not only has the death penalty but is executing at the rate of 3 to 4 people a month and sometimes a week without the people of the United States pausing to acknowledge the fact that an execution even took place, legitimizes the executions taking place in other 'less humanitarian' countries.

When we speak of the death penalty in the United States and why it should be abolished we invariably speak to the issue of its racist use, because the death penalty is overwhelmingly carried out against Black people. What then do we say about the death penalty in Nigeria? Is it an Afrikan country? Finally, we have to deal with the issue of the fascist state - a Black/Afrikan fascist state. The use of the death penalty can now be seen for what it really is - a fascist tool of repression.

In the United States, the fact that the overwhelming majority of the people sentenced to death are poor, specifically Black and poor, puts a racial and economic spin on the use of the death penalty. An empirical study of the use of the death penalty in this country would show that the death penalty is utilized more when the United States is experiencing economic instability to shift the focus from the economic situation to crime and punishment. In Nigeria, it was Ken Saro-wiwa's organizing around the continuous exploitation of the oil resources and the environmental damage to the oil producing regions by the Shell Oil company with the support of General Sani Abacha and the defacto support of oil importing countries of the world that led to his trial, imprisonment, and subsequent execution.

Shell Oil Company expressed its outrage at the execution of Ken Saro-wiwa, but outrage is/was not enough. The problem was/is an economic one. General Abacha saw Ken Saro-wiwa as a threat to his economic security. An economic problem requires an economic solution. If the Shell Oil Company had really opposed the execution of Ken Saro-wiwa all it had to do was let General Abacha know that there would be an economic price to pay if Ken Saro-wiwa and the eight were executed.

Ken Saro-wiwa and Mumia Abu Jamal: Black Fascism and White Racism - Two Faces of the Death Penalty, both designed to silence dissent. We lost Ken Saro-wiwa but we should have learned a lesson from his death - worldwide protest is not enough. We have to make them an offer they can't refuse! We have to build the revolution... We have to keep the pressure on... We have to Free Mumia Abu Jamal! Or Else!

Long Live the Spirit of Ken Saro-wiwa!

Free Mumia Abu Jamal Coalition

P.O. Box 650, New York, NY 10009, (212) 330-8029

It is now or never, brother.

It is the hour of the knife.

*The major operation: the break
with the past.¹*

—Kwame Nkrumah to Malcolm X

Comrad George: A Signpost on the Road

In all struggles for social change the general course of movement and development proceeds not in a straight line, but in a zig-zag fashion. This is a law of social development (revolution) and there is no exception to the rule. In other words, "stony is the road we trod."² And this road is characterized by stages, by uneven development, by periodic stagnation, by fits and starts, by breaks in continuity, by ideological splits, by setbacks and mistakes, by major and minor defeats and by big and small victories.

Since the emergence of the Prison Movement in the mid-1960s, its overall growth and development has been positive in spite of its many shortcomings. For the most part it is still pregnant with dynamic revolutionary possibilities, and in order to transform these possibilities into actuality there are a number of internal contradictions that must be tackled and resolved to smooth the path. It is beyond the scope of this paper to address every shade of contradiction that besets the Prison Movement, and we will not argue the point of which particular aspect of the contradiction is playing the primary or secondary role in the "sum of contradiction," even though we recognize its importance. No — the aim of this paper is to focus on one particularly disturbing internal contradiction which has grown along with the Prison Movement: that is, "ultra militancy" or "revolutionary posturing."

By the mid 1960s the integrationist Civil Rights Movement, which had been revitalized by the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation, had run its course. It was time for a new direction and a new leadership. As a response to this impasse, the Black Power Movement arose to chart a more militant course. Since nothing exists in a vacuum or splendid isolation, the sociopolitical struggles being waged in the black communities in particular, and the larger society in general, reverberated in the prisons. As prisoners began to become more politically conscious, they also began to come to the forefront of the liberation struggle, creating various organizations and challenging, rebelling and struggling against depressed conditions on the inside. As a result of this prison activism, prison struggles in turn reverberated on the consciousness of the black communities and larger society. Thus the inside/outside, back and forth interconnection was born.³ It became even more solidified as activist/revolutionaries from the communities entered prison.

Other community-based organizations began to take up the "cause" and align their struggles with the plight of prisoners. Some of the most significant prison rebellions to dramatize the inside/outside interconnection were the case of the Soledad Brothers in the West, the Attmore-Holman Rebellion in the deep South, the Attica Rebellion/Massacre in the urban North, and the Pontiac 17 Rebellion here in the Midwest. Within the Prison Movement these events are exalted as courageous and audacious revolutionary events. Out of these struggles figures such as George Jackson, L.D. Barkley, Yukeena Dotson, Chagina Dobbins, Fred Ahmed Evans and Sam Mellville, to name a few, have emerged to be revered and placed in the pantheon of martyred revolutionaries. In fact, these events and the political lifestyles of those who led them have come to serve as models for a whole generation of prisoners who were inspired by them.

In connection to this, the role that revolutionary literature⁴ has played in awakening political consciousness among prisoners must be emphasized. For this literature more than anything else is responsible for personal transformations, and for the radicalization of many prisoners. It is through books that prisoners have come to meet, love and be influenced by revolutionary figures. In every political movement there emerges a body of work which most shapes the vision and behavior of the revolutionaries of that generation. Spontaneously, these writings generate a "required reading list." Among the books to most inspire the Prison Movement are: The Autobiography of Malcolm X; Soledad Brothers; Soul On Ice; Blood In My Eye; Comrade George; Revolutionary Suicide; To Die for the People; Sun Views; and New Afrikan P.O.W. Journals.

From this group of books, the works of George Jackson would have the greatest impact upon the political consciousness of prisoners. A warrior and a major theoretician, Jackson was one of the leaders who best expressed the ideology of the entire radical movement because his influence was not limited to the Prison Movement alone, but reached a wider group of radicals. No single figure has had more impact upon the militancy of prisoners than George Jackson. It was he more than anyone else who set the tone for the rising militant prisoner of the seventies.⁵ This is validated by the fact that it was his assassination that ignited and gave impetus to the Attica rebellion on the other side of the continent, when one morning in September 1971 prisoners emerged from "their" cells and filed through the chow-hall wearing black armbands in homage to him, and as a protest against his execution.

If it can be said that George Jackson imbued prisoners with a militant revolutionary attitude, then it must also be said that the Attica Rebellion introduced hostage-taking as one of the most effective ways to drama-

tize prison grievances. In the wake of Attica a rash of hostage-taking situations erupted in numerous prisons and jails across the country, and even today, 25 years later, we still see prisoners making these same desperate moves. The Attica Rebellion was also significant because for the first time in its history the Prison Movement was catapulted onto the international stage, politicizing the grievances of prisoners, and linking them to the colonial struggles for national liberation throughout the Third World. The martyred revolutionary prisoner L.D. Barkley⁶ would characterize this event and period as "The sound before the fury."

From Militancy to Ultra Militancy

The current ideological struggle being waged by the various factions inside the independence movement today is a necessary and unavoidable process. It shouldn't be viewed merely as something negative, divisive and counter-productive, although that will surely be the case in some instances. What matters most isn't whose line is the most militant, but which lines and programs best correspond to the material reality of our situation and advance us closer to national independence.

Although we recognize the political significance of prison uprisings, and we hold in esteem the exemplary behavior of all those who have acted to dramatize our grievances and push the Movement forward, especially the martyred prisoners who made the supreme sacrifice and paid with their lives, we nevertheless also feel that there is now a pressing need to re-examine the "role of force and violence," particularly the strategy of hostage-taking. Furthermore, we have come to identify the tendency of "ultra militancy" as being a retardant and corrosive inside the Prison Movement, because this tendency is largely responsible for scores of prisoners now being locked into the prison system with long additional extra time.

Briefly defined, ultra militancy is the tendency which says that the only real revolutionary prisoner is the one who is an agitator, is confrontational and is always ready to take hostages or correct a pig. We categorically reject this one-dimensional view. There are 5 basic styles and/or modes of behavior for a politically active prisoner to assume: (1) the Political Educator mode; (2) the Agitator Organizer mode; (3) the Conspirator Organizer mode; (4) the Theoretician Organizer mode; and (5) the Ultra Militant mode. These are distinct modes and are not absolutely rigid or mutually exclusive. One can, and often does, shift from one mode to another; sometimes a prisoner may even combine more than one mode at any given moment.

The political educator's primary concern is consciousness-raising by teaching history and revolutionary theory. The agitator's primary concern is to keep things

"stirred up" by agitating and constantly confronting the administration about prison conditions or abusive pigs; the ultimate aim is to organize the prison population for mass confrontation. The conspirator has a furtive style and seeks to work in the least conspicuous way to politicize prisoners — all the while conspiring with new recruits and those on the verge of release about how to establish political bases and carry out revolutionary armed activity. Whereas the "agitator" is more inwardly focused, the "conspirator," is more outer-directed. The theoretician is a writer who is primarily concerned with developing and disseminating revolutionary strategy and tactics for the Movement. This is intellectual work that amounts to "subversive propaganda" because it organizes the readers around a set of ideals which illuminate the path, and it provides the ideological ammunition to undermine the enemies' political and cultural hegemony. The ultra militant prisoner generally espouses the line, "When the killing starts then come and get me," or "If it ain't about some bloodshed, then i don't want to hear it." Once politicized, the ultra militant begins to shun books and theory, or any type of mass line work among the population, and moreover, the ultra militant has the tendency to deliberately exaggerate and magnify minute contradictions.

In other words, ultra militants have the tendency to take a non-antagonistic contradiction and blow it up, that is, to convert it into an antagonistic contradiction. They will then polarize the situation by drawing an artificial line and characterizing one position as "hard-line" (read: real revolutionary) and the other as "soft-line" (read: weak, reactionary). This is not the correct way of handling contradictions among people because it only turns potential recruits, friends and dissenting comrades into enemy's. The bottom line to organizing is: "unite with the left, win over the middle and isolate the right."⁷ There should always be space for disagreement without hostility. It's not simply an either-or situation, that is to say, either you're with us or against us. What happened to the middle ground? Neutrality? Or, more importantly, the right of individuals to choose how and when they will sacrifice their lives?

Ultra militants also have a propensity for dramatic, grandstand plays, that is, seeking the spotlight, where they can be seen, known and recognized. In short, it's the macho attitude of "Yeah, I done it, so what? Come on with it!" In the movie, The Battle of Algiers, the leading character (Ali Aponte) makes a similar mistake. For after leaving prison he is given a test by the F.L.N. to "prove himself" by correcting a pig. However, instead of correcting the pig from behind, with one well-placed shot to the head, Ali confronts him face-to-face in order to verbalize his personal vengeance, anger and rage — eventually discovering that he had been given an unloaded gun!

Coming out of prison, the fictional character Ali Aponte got a chance to "prove himself," and there's a lesson to be learned from his performance. There are scores of real live prisoners, however, with long-term sentences, who came of age in prison and dream of proving themselves one day, but who may never get the chance to do so. On the other hand, there is another group of prisoners who have also "come of age" while in prison, who do have a chance of getting out shortly, but who unfortunately fall under the influence of the ultra militant line and/or "commandist personality" and end up drawing an extra long-term sentence.

Now we come to the crux of this paper because it is here that the ultra militant tendency causes the most practical damage to the developing infrastructure of the Prison Movement. If the ultimate aim of Peoples' War is the "fielding of a peoples' army," then special attention must be taken to return politicized prisoners to the front, and they shouldn't be engaging in any type of activity that could jeopardize their release. In fact, unless it is a "do or die" situation, this policy shouldn't ever be bent. When confronted with a serious problem it is especially incumbent upon the leadership elements to evaluate these situations and to make sound judgments and rational decisions regarding just what should be the course of action, keeping fully in mind that the hostage-taking move, though courageous and dynamic, is basically a trap — an end game that is nowadays mostly a Pyrrhic victory for the Movement. To be sure, self-sacrifice definitely has its place in the struggle, but for the most part, at this stage, it is not necessary or wise. Besides, there are some comrades among us who have long-term sentences and who are locked into the judicio-penal system without any hope for release in the near future, barring revolutionary help. So it is from this pool that the soldier-guerrilla(s) should come.

Now, we understand the "psychic hunger" of prisoners. That is to say, the psychological hunger for self-validation, social recognition and that deep desire to contribute to the revolutionary Movement by wasting the agents of repression. This is a natural reaction engendered by years of living under the boot of authoritarian rule and becoming conscious of the revolutionary process. However, Samsonian politics is not a viable strategy. No, it is time for us to elevate our thinking, to think more soberly, and less emotionally and amateurishly.

In the aftermath of the 1970 San Rafael, Marin County Civic Center Massacre⁸ Henry Winston (member of the Communist Party U.S.A.) wrote a book entitled, Strategy for a Black Agenda. In this book there is a particularly interesting chapter (entitled "Meaning of San Rafael") in which he attempts to point out a lesson in mature political thinking by drawing a parallel between the

lives of two sets of brothers: Lenin and his brother Alexander; and George and Jonathan Jackson. For instance, like George and Jonathan, Lenin and Alexander had an undying love for each other. Winston would characterize it as a unique bond of "love and honor." Some other similarities in their lives are: (1) at age 17 both Lenin and Jonathan would get drawn further into the Movement because of the activities of their brothers; (2) Alexander, Jonathan and George were executed by agents of the state — Alexander officially by hanging, and Jonathan and George summarily by gunfire; and (3) after the deaths of their brothers, Lenin and George each would become grief stricken and find himself confronted with a choice about how to carry on the struggle. Herein lies the wisdom of Winston's insight: he foresees this fork in the road, and in an almost prophetic voice he warns revolutionaries against adventurism, acting hastily, and reacting impulsively in a spirit of vengeance and retribution. Continuing to use the life of Lenin as a model, Winston then goes on to point out how Lenin repudiated his brother's "line of struggle" and instead took a different road by devoting himself to the long-term strategy of mass revolution.⁹ (As we know, Lenin's decision would ultimately turn out to be the correct strategy, because he and the Bolshevik Party would seize state power in 1917.)

So, speaking on behalf of the Movement, in an ominous voice, brother Winston would entreat Comrad George, saying: "It is our fervent hope that George Jackson, unjustly imprisoned these many years, and himself a courageous symbol of indomitable will to Freedom of his triply oppressed people, will take under consideration the lessons pointed out by Lenin. In doing so he can fulfill the remarkable potential he has manifested in serving the cause of liberation."¹⁰ We know Comrad George never got a chance to "fulfill his remarkable potential" because he was summarily executed by the state before he could join the "wider struggle" outside. His death was a tragic loss and it wounded us near the heart.

As sharp as Winston's insight was in comparing the lives of George and Jonathan with Lenin and Alexander, he failed to take into consideration one crucial factor: George, unlike Lenin, was "caught under the hatches"¹¹ — facing the death penalty. As such, he was a desperate man, pressed for time. We agree with the principle and the spirit of Winston's admonition against adventurism and impulsiveness, but it is one that does not fit Comrad George's situation squarely. Winston is not the only one to have misread the situation that was confronting George. No, for we must venture to say that there also has been a whole generation which has misread Comrad George and has taken his lifestyle as a license to embrace ultra militancy.

Let's examine two of the most salient events concerning Comrad George's prison life: first, the Soledad Brothers case where a guard was killed as a retaliatory measure; second, his execution and the circumstances surrounding it.¹² With respect to the retaliatory killing of the guard, if Greg Armstrong can be credible, he reports in his book, The Dragon Has Come, that George admitted to breaking the pig's neck. He didn't take any hostages. No, he simply committed the act and let the deed speak for itself. Now, the question is, if he did it, should he himself have done it or been a direct participant in it? We don't think so. No, that move should have been delegated because George was advance cadre — in short, Field Marshal material. And although he had not yet garnered the level of support he would later attract, things were nevertheless becoming favorable for his release. (For instance, his connection to the Panthers was ripe with possibilities, and James Carr¹³ had just been recently released.)

With respect to the second event, in which Comrad George's life was snuffed out, there have been several versions of the story to emerge. Of course, one is the "official" version in which his lawyer¹⁴ smuggled a gun in to him and George supposedly tried to sneak it back into the maxi-max unit, under an Afro-wig, to be used later as an escape weapon. Then there is Louis Tackwood's¹⁵ version, which says that indeed there was a real escape plan afoot, but that the authorities had gotten lucky because a Dry Cleaner had supposedly discovered the escape plan inadvertently left in the pants pocket of James Carr. The political police seized upon this opportunity by returning the "escape plan" to his pants pocket, then turning the whole operation into a "controlled situation" (i.e., encapsulation)¹⁶ and going so far as to plant an inoperative gun with dud bullets.

A third version would surface in The Guardian, an independent Marxist weekly and one of the most reputable papers on the left, in which, according to the San Quentin 6,¹⁷ a group of fascists came to George's cell and confronted him, and he managed to disarm the gunman. Realizing that this perhaps was his date with death anyway, he then slipped into the "martyr's mode" and went about "knocking" informants and agents of repression, finally running out of the unit, into the open yard, in order to draw gunfire away from the other cadre housed at maxi max. Lastly, at the grassroots level, it is commonly believed that George had indeed become boiling with vengeance and decided to fulfill his declaration that "My forefather trembled when his brother was lynched, but my brothers' immolation means war to the death, war to the utmost, war to the knife!"¹⁸

Now, we may never learn the full story or the complete truth of the circumstances surrounding his death

or what actually motivated George that day. Only he and the cadre there would know this. Our guess is that it's probably bits and pieces of all the above versions. However, one thing is quite clear: in none of these scenarios was he trying to take hostages, hold down ground and complain about grievances. No, Comrad George was a Black Guerrilla of the highest order and as such he strove to practice basic guerrilla strategy, that is, "get down and get up" / "strike and melt."

Twins

On the other side of ultra militancy is revolutionary posturing. So close are these two tendencies, we could think of them as twins; not identical twins, but twins nevertheless, with similar characteristics. And just as ultra militancy has grown up inside the Prison Movement, so too has revolutionary posturing come to assume a certain "stature" of its own. Just as we have come to identify ultra militancy as a retardant and corrosive inside the Movement, we also have come to view revolutionary posturing as a negative, extremely harmful, and often hideous, practice.

Briefly, We define revolutionary posturing as the tendency of half-baked, militant prisoners (sometimes well-meaning) to project themselves as serious and genuine revolutionaries. There are a variety of poses associated with revolutionary posturing. Here are a few striking examples: (1) It is revolutionary posturing when a prisoner baits or needles a pig unnecessarily, and then when the prisoner is roughed up and confined to a disciplinary unit, the prisoner tries to project himself (herself) as a hard-core revolutionary.

(2) It is revolutionary posturing when a neophyte comes into the Movement seeking instant recognition as a Prisoner of War or Political Prisoner based upon a small act (e.g., hitting a pig in the mouth) or a paucity of work. To be sure, there are many newly emerging militant revolutionaries in prison deserving wider recognition and support. We feel, however, that it is wrong for them to elbow their way to the front of the line through exaggerated and inflated measures of self-promotion, eventually making themselves equal to, and/or overshadowing, long-standing, genuine PP/POWs in the public's eyes.

(3) Another form of revolutionary posturing is embodied in the individuals who have assimilated a good grasp of the theoretical, political and historical knowledge of the social problems, but yet are unwilling or incapable of purging themselves of negative habits that "damage the line" and/or cause security problems. These individuals have made only partial transformations. In other words, as Richard Wright would say, "They are a warning and not an example."¹⁹

(4) By far the most hideous tendency of revolutionary posturing is when individuals politicize their cases "after the fact" and present themselves as the "suffering servant." For instance, banks are the "nerve centers of capitalist society" and we consider an attack upon them as a legitimate act of expropriation. This doesn't mean that all prisoners who were captured for robbing a bank have the right to re-write the script and declare themselves POWs. No — we must make a distinction based upon the prisoner's original and conscious intent, and the aims and purpose for which that money was to be used. According to Zayd Malik Shakur,²⁰ some expropriations are carried out to sustain the group itself, and others are earmarked to finance Movement projects. To give another example of revolutionary posturing, if an individual in prison kills a pig because of a personal beef, although we may applaud the pig's death, the assailant doesn't have the right to politicize the case because it wasn't carried out in the revolutionary spirit of retribution.

Now, this doesn't mean that prisoners who acted out of personal motivations don't have the right to raise funds for their cases. It is obvious that they need financial help for lawyer fees and so forth, but we feel that it is the worst kind of deception to appeal to the masses and rally them around a flat out lie that they are PPs/POWs. This practice, in effect, drains material resources, and political and spiritual support, away from long-standing, genuine PP/POWs. So, this practice of hustling the masses, of appropriating the behavior of others, in short, of misrepresentation and of building monuments to ourselves, is wrong. And we shouldn't engage in it or give credence to it.

The fundamental principles that differentiate PP/POWs from prisoners who engage in revolutionary posturing are work, sacrifice and service to the Movement. There certainly are high profile PP/POWs who should get our special attention. ("Special attention" is due not because of their celebrity status, for not even veterans have the right to simply rest on their laurels, but because of the political dynamics of their cases, and because of their work, sacrifice and service.) The whole point is that we have no choice but to evaluate and distinguish people inside the Movement by the roles they have performed and are capable of performing in the future. Realistically, there are some who are eloquent orators and articulate our brand of politics well. Others are accomplished writers and effective organizers. There are even some who are more audacious than others. Most importantly, not all political theories or lines are of equal value; some are progressive and some are downright backwards. Therefore, we must come to terms with the fundamental, inescapable law of uneven development. The idea of "absolute equality" is a myth, and we need to debunk and collapse it, for everybody does not possess the same amount of political knowledge

or social skills. In any case, high profile or not, no genuine PP/POW should simply be left in the lurch "to rot, bleed and die,"²¹ nor should those who pose as what they are not be accorded PP/POW status. We are not attempting to establish a hierarchical structure of elitism, but a structure of relevance where what matters most is "socially necessary labor."

In conclusion, by focusing on the destructive tendencies toward ultra militancy and revolutionary posturing, this paper has explored some issues relevant to "style of work," "cadre building" and "basing the party in clandestinity." Since we are discussing the need to change our style of political work in the public arena and communities, then why should it be any different on the inside as well, where people are constantly held under the repressive gaze of the state authorities? Some of us are "contaminated" and surveillance will never be relaxed. Therefore we should attempt to conceal precisely how we relate with the newcomer. For example, with respect to an activity like Political Education classes, a subtle method for holding sessions is the one-on-one, or 3-person cell, where the cadre hangs out together [i.e., weight pile; handball court; work site; walking in the yard] and discusses the assigned material in an informal style. Absolute clandestinity is almost impossible in prison, given the fact that all our mail and literature passes through administrative channels, and that our Afrikan/Islamic style of dress and "look" is obvious. However, we can minimize obstacles and interference with our work by making it a little more difficult for observers to identify each and every one among us who is politically active, or for them to learn exactly how we're "pushing the line." For concerning the politicizing and training of cadre we should be thinking in terms of planting "seeds beneath the snow."²²

Moreover, if "Good practice is the result of good practice"²³ then we also need to begin cultivating the clandestine style of work immediately, and we must eliminate ultra militancy and revolutionary posturing. For the bottom line is: "we are concerned with avoiding pitfalls... We are concerned with materialist factors of revolutionary warfare," and with how to avoid moving "too fast with too few."²⁴ We're concerned with having a sufficient degree of consolidation before the next "open" attack by the enemy, so that the Movement loses none of its dynamism and continuity, and the scattering of our ranks is kept to a minimum. We wanna take a few steps forward, without taking any steps backward.

Vita Wa Watu
Tchaka Olugbala Shabazz
Predators' Unit
Indiana State Prison
December 1995

* * * * *

Jalil A. Muntaqim and Lorenzo Komboa Ervin deserve particular mention, and any paper dealing with the Prison Movement would be remiss if it failed to acknowledge their theoretical contributions and incessant practical work.

Also we would like to salute prison abolitionist D. Austin for her persistent work and assistance to prisoners, especially her work against the death penalty.

* * * * *

Suggested Reading List

- So That We Don't Get Fooled Again
- New Afrikan Theoretical Journals
Spear and Shield Publications
- The Roots of the New Afrikan Independence Movement
Chokwe Lumumba
- Black Belt Theory Laid to Rest
- Stolen Labor
Omali Yeshitela
- Low Intensity Operations, Frank Kitson
- Afrikan Peoples Socialist Party
Chokwe Lumumba
- A Scientific Form of Genocide
Mutulu Shakur, Anthony X Bradshaw
Malik Dinguswa, Terry D. Long
Mark Cook, Mateos Adolpho
James Haskins
- Glass House Tapes
Louis Tackwood
- Tupamaros
Adolfo Gilley
- For the Liberation of Brazil
Carlos Marighella
- State of Siege (film), Costa-Gavras

Notes

- 1 The Death and Life of Malcolm X. Peter Goldman.
- 2 Renita J. Weems, p. 222. Black Theology Vol. II. James Cone.
- 3 This paper draws its understanding of the growth and development of the Prison Movement primarily from the New Afrikan P.O.W. Journals (i.e., Discussion Papers 1 & 2), especially its interpretation and conception of the dialectical interplay of the inside/outside interconnection.
- 4 This paper recognizes and salutes Red Books of Massachusetts and Left Bank Books of Seattle, Washington for their consistent contribution in providing free literature to prisoners.
- 5 We are not hero-worshippers and we do not have an exaggerated view of the role of the individual in history. It is the masses who are decisive. Nor do we wish to diminish the role that other West Coast cadre have played in helping to transform the colonial/criminal mentality.
- 6 Executed by Fascist goons during the retaking of Attica.
- 7 Chairman Mao.

8 In 1970, at Marin county Civic Center, Jonathan Jackson, Bill Christmas, James McClain and the judge were killed by prison guards in a kidnap situation. Ruchell McGee and the state prosecutor were also severely wounded.

9 Alexander was a member of a clandestine organization which sought to topple the Russian monarchical state by force of arms. He was tried, convicted and hanged for an attempt upon the life of the czar.

10 Strategy for a Black Agenda. Henry Winston, p. 254.

11 Soledad Brother. George Jackson.

12 In 1970 W.L. Nolen, Cleveland Edwards and Alvin "Jugs" Miller were killed by a guard on the rec yard at Soledad Prison. The pig was not charged for these murders. So in the aftermath of the state's refusal to prosecute, a guard was killed as retaliation. Fleeta Drumgo, John Cluchette and George Jackson were indicted for this murder and would come to be known as the Soledad Brothers.

13 James Carr was a Black Guerrilla of unswerving character; an indomitable will. He was one of George's closest comrades. They met in the California penal system and became fast friends and both made the transformation from lumpen to revolutionaries. A glimpse of their history together can be read in James Carr's autobiography Bad. In the early 70s, he was mysteriously executed outside of his home in California.

14 Stephen Bingham, radical people's lawyer, subsequently cleared of charge of aiding and abetting. He stayed on the lam for years.

15 Louis Tackwood is a sleazy, slimy informant who worked for the counter-intelligence unit in California, infiltrating various black left wing organizations. He also was/is the brother-in-law of James Carr. His treachery can be read in The Glass House Tapes.

16 Encapsulation comes from the vocabulary of counter-revolutionary jargon. It is a term used to describe a special tactic of surveillance where the revolutionaries have been identified (unknowingly to the revolutionaries) and are allowed to carry on their activity until such time as the political police call for a round-up.

17 In the aftermath of the assassination of Comrad George, six prisoners were charged with a variety of charges from "rioting" to murder. They became the San Quentin Six. Later all were acquitted.

18 Blood In My Eye. George Jackson. p. 29.

19 Black Boy. Richard Wright.

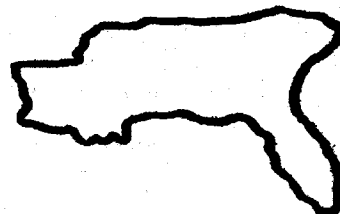
20 Spring Came Early. Zayd Malik Shakur.

21 Arm the Spirit. Winter Issue 1984. Hugo Pinell.

22 False Nationalism/False Internationalism. E. Kani.

23 "So That We Don't Fool Ourselves — Again." Spear and Shield.

24 New Afrikan P.O.W. Journal. Bk. 4, p.9.



Though the United States government denies their existence, there are now over a hundred political prisoners and prisoners of war imprisoned in federal and state prisons throughout the United States, among them dozens of sisters and brothers of Afrikan descent who, in the words of Dr. Mutulu Shakur, "dared to uphold the spirit and principles of Malcolm X with their lives and freedom." This is a list of Black, African-American & New Afrikan Political Prisoners & Prisoners of War in the United States. Join the campaign for their release. Write and visit them!

Mumia Abu-Jamal
#AM-8335; SCI Green
1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy
Waynesburg, PA 15370

Mutulu Shakur
#83205-012; USP Florence
5880 State Hwy, 678
Florence, CO 81226

Herman Bell; #79-C-0262
P.O. Box 51
Comstock, NY 12821

Bashir Hameed (York)
#82A6313; WCF
1187 Wende Road
Alden, NY 14004

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)
#B-40319; A-3-224L
P. O. Box 409099
Ione, CA 95640

Sundata Acoli (C. Squire)
#39794-066
USP Allenwood, Unit 3
P. O. Box 3000
White Deer, PA. 17887

Robert Seth Hayes
#74A2280
P.O. Box 500
Elmira, NY 14902

A. Jallil Muntaqin
(A. Bottom); #77A4283
P.O. Box 500
Elmira Correctional Fac.
Elmira, NY 14902

Albert Nuh Washington
#77A1528
Clinton Correctional Fac.
Box 2001
Dannemora, NY 12929

Maliki Shakur Latine
#814469
Shawangunk Corr. Fac.
Box 700
Wallkill, NY 12589

Sekou Odinga (N. Burns)
#05228-054; USP Lompoc
3901 - Klein Blvd.
Lompoc, CA 93436

Malik El-Amin (M. Smith)
#96557-131
FCI Lewisburg
Lewisburg, PA 17837

Hanif Shabazz Bey
(B. Gereau), #9654-131
USP Atlanta; P.O. Box 1000
Atlanta, Georgia 30315

Abdul Aziz (W. Ballentine)
#96521-132
USP Leavenworth
P.O. Box 1000
Leavenworth, KS 66048

Raphael Kweai Johnson
#96558; USP Lompoc
3901-Klein Blvd.
Lompoc, CA 93436

Kojo Bomani Sababu
#39384-066; USP Florence
5880 State Hwy, 678
Florence, CO 81226

Tillman Morris, #12733
P.O. Box 41
Michigan City, IN 46360

Russell Shoats
#AF-3855
630 Jefferson Road
Waynesburg, PA. 15370

Mark Cook, #20025-148
USP Leavenworth
P.O. Box 1000
Leavenworth, KS 60048

Teddy (Jah) Heath
#75A0319
135 State Street
Auburn, NY 13024

Eddie Conway, #116469
P.O. Box 534
Jessup, MD 20794

Mohaman Gekua Koti
#80A808
Shawangunk Corr. Fac.
Box 700
Wallkill, NY 12589

Abdul Majid (A. LaBorde)
#83A483; Box A-G
Sullivan Corr. Fac
Fallsburg, NY 12733

Thomas Warner
M#049; Drawer R
Huntingdon, PA 16652

Jihad Abdul Mumit
#32379-138-02
P.O. Box 1000
Lewisburg, PA 17837-1000

Richard Thompson-EL
#155229; USP Marion
P. O. Box 1000
Marion, IL 62959

Monda Langa (David Rice)
#27768; Box 2500
Lincoln, Nebraska 68520

Gary Tyler
#84156; Ash 4
Louisiana State Prison
Angola, LA 70712

Sekou Kambui
(William Turk); #113058
P.O. Box 10 (6A100)
Clto, AL 36017

Rikki Green; #84244
P.O. Box 220
Hominy, OK 74502

Kalima Aswad
(Robert Duran); #B24120
CMC; P.O. Box 8108
San Luis Obispo, CA 93409

Haki Malik Abdullah
(M. Green); #C-56123
Corcoran Prison
P.O. Box 3456
Corcoran, CA 93212

Richard Mafundi Lake
#079972
3700 Holman Unit #4-10T
Atmore, AL 36503-3700

William Allen; #66643
RMSI; 7475 Cockrell Bend
Indian Road
Nashville, TN 37243-0471

Ruchell Cinque McGee
A92051; Pelican Bay CF
Crescent City, CA 95531

Atiba Shanna
(Sayles) #C-01656
2600 N. Brinton
P.O. Box 1200
Dixon, IL 61021

Awali Stoneman
B-98168; Soledad Prison
P.O. Box 100
Soledad, CA 93960

Shaka Shakur; #28443
P.O. Box 41
Michigan City, IN 46360

Zolo Agona Azania; #4969
Indiana State Prison
P.O. Box 41 — death row
Michigan City, IN 46360

Ojore Lutalo, #CN-59860
MCU
Trenton, NJ 08625

Charles Simms Africa
AM-4975
P.O. Box 99901
Pittsburgh, PA 15083

William Phillips Africa
AM-4984
Box A
Bellefonte, PA 16823

Michael Davis Africa
AM-4973
Drawer R
Huntington, PA 16652

Edward Goodman Africa
AM-4974
P.O. Box 200
Camp Hill, PA 17001-0200

Delbert Orr Africa
AM-4985
Drawer K
Dallas, PA 18612

Janet Holloway Africa #006306
Merle Austin Africa #006306
Janine Phillips Africa #006309
Debbie Simms Africa #006307
Cambridge Springs
451 Fullerton Avenue
Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238

**Free All
Political
Prisoners
&
Prisoners
of War!**

Letters

Dear Comrades & Supporters of the Movement:

I am active in the Indiana prison system. The white power monopoly in this state has, for decades, kept the life-blood of politically progressive movements from flowing. This can be seen throughout the state and in the prison system where it is more isolated; the vicious repression of politically active prisoners has become the major plot to undermine the possibility of any progressive movements within from linking up with the efforts in the community to change the wretched conditions that we find dominating our existence here in this state.

This call is to all who would step forward, and it may save the lives of two committed New Afrikan men who have put their lives on the line upon their release from prison to go back into the community and contribute something positive in Gary, Indiana. The genuine efforts and committed actions of these two righteous brothers have been targeted for false criminalization. The mayor has personally and publicly vowed to undermine their efforts and see to it that these two brothers are put back in prison.

We desperately need now for the people, as many as possible, to come to the assistance of these brothers with a strong voice of support. Let it be known that these brothers are supported nationally by the people, and that all eyes are on the situation facing these comrades, who are trying to make a difference in their community, which is more than any city government has done there for decades...

Send your letters of support to:

- The Mayors Office - Gary, IN 46407
- Info News - 1953 Broadway, Gary, IN 46204
- WLTH Radio - 3669 Broadway, Gary, IN 46409
- The Post Tribune - 1065 Broadway, Gary, IN 46407
- You may also write Indiana State Representative Vernon G. Smith (P.O. Box M622 - Gary, IN 46401), and let him know that you support the program that these brothers have initiated.

• Please also send copies of letters you write to Brothers Coley & Campbell; let them know that you are in support of their efforts and let them know what you may be able to do or if you can lend further assistance by helping them expose the injustice that is being waged against them by Gary city officials. (c/o Blacks United to Save the Hood [BUSH], P.O. Box 07094 - Gary, IN 46407-9998)

Listen -

We've been frustrated, often feeling as if We were the only ones saying that which needs to be said. Feeling that exhaustion which accompanies feeling overburdened. The irony of this is that We've missed so much because **We haven't been listening!** Just think: where have We studied the work of bell hooks, Barbara Neely, or Pearl Cleage? i use these three sista/comrade/warriors because they've shown the light for me personally, but there are other voices that We've ignored because of patriarchy & homophobia.

hooks (anything), Neely's novels featuring the domestic worker Blanche White - Blanche On the Lam and Blanche Amongst the Talented Tenth, and Cleage's Mad At Miles and Deals With the Devil all struggle for clarity in this age of neo-colonialism. hooks says it best with this quote:

"...[New Afrikans] must be very, very cautious in embracing the notion of a nation as the redemptive location. The redemptive location lies in our radical politics and the strategies by which we implement those radical politics — not with the formation of a nation." -

"Challenging Capitalism & Patriarchy", Z Magazine, December 1995.

New Afrika is a nation, but this ain't enough. A Luta Continua. Is this nation capitalist or socialist? patriarchal or not? homophobic or not? imperialist or a partner in communist development the world over? free or not?

Re-Build!
a New Afrikan activist



bell hooks



CROSSROAD Support Network News, Notes & Announcements

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• We'd like to extend our condolences to Brother **El-Amin** of the *Nkrumah-Washington Learning Center*, who lost his daughter in a tragic household accident in March. • **Ziyon Yisrayah's** execution date has been set for June. (See CR, V6#2) • Comrad-Brother **Zolo Agona Azania** received the death sentence after winning a new trial. • **Merle Austin Africa** has been released from the hole after doing 30 days of a 75-day sentence. She sends her thanx for "all the cards, letters, but mostly...all the pressure that was put on this prison administration to release me..." • **CLAIM (Chicago Legal Aid to Incarcerated Mothers, 205 W. Randolph #830, Chicago IL 60606. 312-332-5537; (FAX) 332-2570)** provides legal services & educational programs to help the families of women prisoners remain intact whenever possible. Through public information and advocacy, CLAIM strives to promote programs & improve government practices to benefit the children & families of imprisoned mothers. CLAIM was the source for "Women In Prison: A Fact Sheet," in CR, Vol. 6#2. • **Sarah's Circle (P.O. Box 408061, Chicago IL 60640; 312-728-1991; women's line: 312-728-5040)** is a drop-in center that offers a warm, welcoming, supportive, & non-intrusive safe haven for women who are homeless, transient, and/or receiving low-income. Women can come and be themselves, sheltered from the abuses they suffer on the street or in their home. • **New from the Committee to End the Marion Lockdown (P.O. Box 578172, Chicago IL 60657-8172; 312-235-0070; ceml@aol.com):** "Mass Incarceration & Control Units: Crime Control or Social Control?" is a 44-page pamphlet containing transcriptions of presentations by **Alan Berkman, Nozomi Ikuta, Jose Lopez, and Sanyika Shakur** at CEML's Oct. '95 program commemorating the lockdown at Marion. (\$4+\$2p/h); "Women & Imprisonment in the United States: History & Current Reality" is a 32-page booklet by a CEML founding member. (\$3 + \$2p/h); "Racism & Imprisonment" is an audiocassette of a 23-minute taped interview with a member of CEML. (\$5+\$2p/h) • On thursday March, 7, **Loretta Goins** (see CR V6#3) was transferred to FMC Carswell, in Fortworth TX. The Shawnee Unit in Marianna had taken that day to continually dope her up on Thorazine. They then put her on a Lear Jet and whisked her off. Within the last

month Loretta has struggled to keep her head up. She had a book on child abuse she was working on (her only autonomy) taken from her. She is in desperate need of reading material, the strength of good words, and money. It is obvious that Marianna is undermining the truth of Loretta's abuse by these actions. Please write letters to: Loretta Goins #13024-056, FMC Carswell, P.O. Box 27137, Fortworth, TX 76127. Write letters asking for an investigation of Marianna's Shawnee Unit, and Loretta's release, to: Judge Malcolm Howard, P.O. Box 25967, Raleigh, NC 27611-5967. • **Wisconsin Rejects Capital Punishment referendum!** The Wisconsin State Senate voted to reject Senate Joint Resolution 51, which would have put a death penalty referendum on the November 1996 ballot.



Ken Saro-wiwa

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