

# CROSSROAD

A New Afrikan Captured Combatant Newsletter

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**\$2.00**  
**\$1.00 prisoners**

TO FULFILL THE MANDATE

In the late 1960s the slogan "It's Nation Time!" was popular among Afrikans in the United States (the descendants of the Afrikan peoples brought to what's now known as North America--brought here to serve as a colonized labor force for people who were themselves colonists in service to several European nation-states).

"It's Nation Time!" expressed a consciousness, an idea shared by us that We were an oppressed nation--one composed of distinct classes, and manifesting diverse ideological and political stands. However, most of our varied ideological and political expressions found a point of unity in our desire to free the nation from U.S. control and exploitation.

This national consciousness, this idea shared by us that We are an oppressed nation, has--as does all ideas--a basis in objective material reality, while also exerting its own influence over the development of objective (material) reality.

Evidence of this influence of an idea on the further development of reality is seen when: Over five-hundred activists representing diverse nationalist forces met on march 29-31, 1968, and founded what was essentially a national liberation front--a vehicle that would represent the unity of the entire people in our common struggle to free ourselves from U.S. control.

During those momentous three days in March, 1968, the idea of the nation, the national consciousness shared by us, was made even more concrete when the nation was given its formal name: the Republic of New Afrika. The National Territory was also identified (Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina), following which the activists declared the nation's independence from the U.S. They then wrote the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence, which over one-hundred of them signed, on behalf of all those not attending. They then formed a "Provisional Government" as the organizational apparatus that would carry out a mandate: To solidify and spread the New Afrikan national consciousness and identity, and to "Free The Land," i.e., to pursue national liberation revolution.

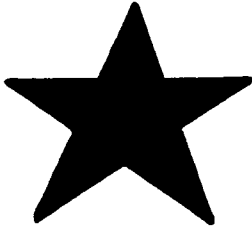
(Not enough people know even this much about the Provisional Government and the nation it represents, and an argument could be made that much of the reason for this lies in the failure of the PG to keep the mandate in mind over the years, and to keep in mind its basic composition as a front--a pre-independence front--which could not hope to become a full-fledged government of an independent state unless and until it carried out its mandate to solidify and spread New Afrikan national consciousness and identity, by utilizing all the coordinated resources of the varied forces represented by the PG.)

In defining this mandate, the founders of the New Afrikan Provisional Government were carrying on a tradition as old as the presence of Afrikan peoples on these shores as a captive labor-force. That is, they did not simply pull out of the air the "idea" to describe themselves as citizens of an oppressed nation, and to forge a revolutionary nationalist ideology. We know that ideas don't fall from the sky, but have a base in material, objective reality:

What, then, was the sense of reality out of which the ideology of black New Afrikan nationalism was fashioned? A consciousness of shared experience of oppression at the hands of white people, an awareness and approval of the persistence of group traits and preferences in spite of a violently anti-African larger society, a recognition of bonds and obligations between Africans everywhere, an irreducible conviction that Africans in America must take responsibility for liberating themselves--these were among the pivotal components of the world view of the black men who framed the ideology. (1)

As Sterling Stuckey points out, "The precise details of certain experiences that bear directly on black New Afrikan nationalism will remain forever enshrouded in obscurity--the degree to which Africans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries continued to think positively of their ancestral home; the extent to which they preferred living apart from white people; the length of time the majority of them remained essentially African in America; and the exact nature of Pan-African acculturation, the process by which

differences between Africans from various parts of Africa, the West Indies, and North America were virtually destroyed on the anvil of American slavery. But we do know something of the broad contours of these developments, and that is more than sufficient to suggest that many of the ingredients of black [NewAfrikan] nationalism, together with the conditions necessary for their perpetuation, were very much in evidence by the time the forces of slavery [i.e., colonialism] were becoming, as the third decade of the nineteenth century opened, more entrenched than ever." (2)



As the above quote indicates, Sterling Stuckey has made significant contributions toward fulfilling the mandate of all conscious New Afrikans--but especially the responsibility of the leading elements and organs of the front which sits, ideally, at the core of the PG, as well as the responsibility of conscious New Afrikan intellectuals and artists. In several ways Stuckey has made a more significant contribution with his latest book, Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America.(3) (See the "irony" here in the fact that this book, like many others, deals with the subject of an oppressed nation, the formation of a new people; yet, because of this very oppression, the book can't be straightforwardly written and published with a more appropriate title, e.g., "The Culture of Colonized Afrikans: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of the New Afrikan Nation on the North American Continent.")

In his latest work, Stuckey uses a study of "slave culture" (e.g., folklore, music, dance) to make his case that Africans in America were (and remain) shaped into an essentially African--or new Afrikan--people. As he describes it, "a single culture" was "formed out of the interaction of African ethnic groups in North American slavery."

He believes that "the depths of African culture in America have been greatly underestimated by most nationalist theorists in America," and he uses his essays on "Slavery and the Circle of Culture," David Walker, Henry Highland Garnet, W.E.B. DuBois, Paul

Robeson, and "The Names Controversy," to follow through on Paul Robeson's proposition that "consciousness of the attributes proper" to New Afrikan people is "required before a genuine sense of nationality" can be achieved. (4)

As indicated earlier, all conscious New Afrikans--but especially our leading organs--have the responsibility of fulfilling the mandate, i.e., a responsibility to further develop and spread New Afrikan national consciousness and identity. This can be done, for example, when We act out the beliefs and pledges of the New Afrikan Creed: To act as true representatives of what We are building--but especially when We "seek by word and deed...to bring into the Movement and into the Community mothers and fathers, sisters and brothers, left by the wayside."

Re-Build!

Atiba Shanna

1. Sterling Stuckey, The Ideological Origins of Black Nationalism (New York: Beacon Press, 1972), p.6.
2. Ibid., p.1.
3. Sterling Stuckey, Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), \$10.95 paperback.
4. Ibid., p.328.

### WHO KILLED HUEY P. NEWTON?

In 1966 a light shone forth from the oppressed Afrikan masses in Oakland, California. As usually seems to be the case, it is in those times of crises, when the people are most oppressed and in most need of leadership that a special someone steps forth and dramatically raises the level of struggle by giving direction and focus to the anger of the people.

It was a time of ferment and rising discontent when the masses of Afrikan people, tired of their status as second class citizens in the land that was largely built through the sweat and blood of their foreparents, tired of the daily humiliation and oppression of the white man's standing occupation army in the Afrikan community, also known as the pigs, were ready for a higher level of confrontation than the picket signs and sit-ins of the negro petty-bourgeoisie intergrationists. Malcom X, our Afrikan warrior prince, and the leading voice for the Pan-Afrikanist tendency within the Black Liberation Movement of the time, had been assassinated the year before by confused negro muslims doing the work of the white man, leaving the integrationist line as represented by Martin Luther King, dominating the Afrikan Agenda. The dialectic within the Black Movement was unbalanced and the people brought forth Huey Newton who, along with Bobby Seale, stepped forward with a law book in one hand and a gun in the other to demand justice. And thus, was born the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense later shortened simply to the Black Panther Party.

It was a measure of the relevance and need of the Black Panther Party that in the short space of less than three years, the BPP had established more than thirty chapters across the country with thousands of members and supporters doing community based work such as getting out a revolutionary message through a nationally distributed newspaper, FREE breakfast for children programs, and other projects designed to raise the level of consciousness of the masses to demand revolution.

Of course, all this was not going on without both overt and covert plots and attacks by the u.s. government, throughout our history, whenever our people have tried to organize for liberation, the white oppressor has used every means to crush our efforts. From the resistance on the motherland, through the middle passage, to the slave rebellions by Nat Turner and others and the mass organizing of Marcus Garvey and Malcolm, our people have constantly struggled for Liberation.

And so it was that the u.s. government declared the Black Panther Party as the most dangerous threat to the

colonialist hold of the government on Afrikan people and determined that Huey Newton and the B.P.P. was to be destroyed. The best known program used to carry out that policy was known as Cointelpro, an acronym for Counter Intelligence Program. In large measure the u.s. governments move to destroy the Black Liberation Movement and in particular the Black Panther Party was effective and their efforts on top of serious internal contradictions within the B.P.P. itself resulted in the effective demise of the Panthers by 1970-71. Huey Newton was hounded, jailed, chased into exile and ultimately rendered ineffective as a threat to the colonial hold of white America on the Afrikan nation within its borders.

On August 22, 1989, in the pre-dawn hours of Oakland, California, the city that gave birth to the Panthers, the light of Dr. Huey P. Newton was finally extinguished allegedly by one Tyrone Robinson, a blood who, had he been educated into knowledge of self and his Afrikan History, would never have let himself be used even indirectly as an instrument of white racist colonialism. Tyrone Robinson has allegedly admitted to killing Huey and if that is so he must be subject to the wrath and justice of the Afrikan Liberation Movement. But is the question of who killed Huey fully answered by the one who actually pulled the trigger?

Are the bloody hands of European colonialism completely innocent of the death of our brother and comrade. I say No! Huey Newton, like all the rest of us, was born and lived within the context of white racist Euro-American control and domination of the Afrikan colony in North-America, under normal circumstances he would probably have lived a normal life as an academic, having earned his Ph.D, or in any other profession chosen by him. Instead, like so many others among our people, his life was distorted by the exigencies of the Afrikan Liberation struggle. Therefore it can logically be said that the answer to the question of who killed Huey P. Newton is white racist Euro-American Colonialism.

Ajamu Chaminuka

## WHY I MOURNED THE DEATH OF HUEY P. NEWTON

by Kiilu Nyasha  
a.k.a. Pat Gallyot  
of the New Haven Chapter  
of the BPP

When I first heard the news of Huey Newton's death, I thought of Malcolm X's statement following the death of John F. Kennedy, when he referred to it as a case of the "the chickens coming home to roost." I shed no tears initially and remained as cool as if i'd just heard the news of some stranger's death. Then, a day or two later I found myself crying in the middle of the night upon waking up from a vivid dream of Huey in Connecticut in 1970. Still, I couldn't believe I was really grieving for Huey -- but there I was feeling the pain of loss in spite of myself.

You see, I'd fallen out with Huey nearly 20 years prior -- before Huey left New Haven in the Winter of 1971. Weeks later, the party split into two factions and I became one of Huey's harshest critics, siding with the radical left and the BLA in opposition to Huey's "back to the church," and "back to capitalism" movement.

Before He was shot on August 22, 1989, ironically, just one day and 18 years after the murder of Panther leader George Jackson, no one could have told me that I would mourn for Huey P. Newton. Yet I felt compelled to attend his funeral; and as he lay there before me, still and lifeless, I flashed back on the Huey I first met in Connecticut about twenty years ago.

It was a warm, summer day at a lavish barbecue given by the Koskoffs at their Westport home to celebrate Huey's release from prison. (The Koskoffs were attorneys who represented Panther Lonnie McLucas whose trial preceded that of Bobby Seale and Ericka Huggins in New Haven.) The guest list read like a Who's Who of the Movement, and there was an excitement in the air as people who had worked hard to "Free Huey," finally got to meet him. Tanned, buff, and glowing with good health, Huey was indeed a handsome sight, constantly surrounded by admirers. I, too, was smitten. I was a 31-year-old single parent, and Huey was the most eligible bachelor in the country. I delighted in a photo op with Huey and his and Bobby's lawyer (my boss), Charles Garry: Standing arm-in-arm with me in the middle -- a visual memory I treasure though i've long since lost the picture.,

I recall being taken aback by Huey's mild, soft-



spoken manner and shyness that seemed so incongruous with the gun-toting macho image of the media. In reality, there was an irresistible sweetness about him.

It was nearly a year before we met again, strangely enough at my own pad, a plain but spacious six-room apartment in New Haven's black community. Huey and his entourage including BPP Chief of Staff, David Hilliard, Huey's secretary, Connie Matthews and her husband, Michael Cetawayo Tabor, one of New York's Panther 21 out on bail, and Marty Kenner, Huey's business manager, I had come to support Bobby and Ericka whose trial was in progress. They spent the first night there before moving to more accommodating quarters at Yale University where Huey was to speak. He also spoke to a standing-room-only audience at Lee High School where a Panther rally had been organized, and met with the renowned psychologist, Erik Erikson. In fact, I was privy to one of their meetings at the temporary home of Donald Freed and his wife, Barbara. (Freed was writing a book on the trial, The Agony of New Haven, published later.) Huey's keen intellect and knowledge of political science and philosophy made me very conscious of my own ignorance - - inspiring me to study, if only to never again find myself unable to participate in such a discussion.

However, on this second visit, I couldn't help noticing a distinct change in Huey's manner and personality. I recall being puzzled as to why he was so nervous and jumpy, often springing to his feet and pacing the floor, agitated and given to sharp retorts in reaction to questions or criticisms on Party affairs. In retrospect, I can only guess that Huey's chemical dependency had already begun, although I have no way of knowing for sure. But according to Geronimo Ji Jaja (Pratt), former Deputy Minister of Defense, who was in San Quentin when Huey was briefly incarcerated there last year, Huey explained how upon his release in August, 1970 he was showered with everything imaginable for his comfort and pleasure including drugs and Hollywood starlets -- and confessed he found it all too much to resist. The two former comrades-in-arms and subsequent "enemies" also discussed the incredible havoc wreaked by the FBI'S COINTELPRO, particularly its tactics of creating divisions between Party members and targeting individuals for "neutralization." In fact, since the 1973 Freedom of Information Act-- it was learned that COINTELPRO was up to its usual "dirty tricks" when it concocted a split between Geronimo and Huey. Note the following FBI memo dated January 20, 1971, from the FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover, approving a proposal to mail a forged letter to Eldridge Cleaver in Algeria from Connie Matthews (Huey's secretary) to cause "turmoil among top echelon" and cast suspicion on Pratt's Party

loyalty:

"...You may know the story about G and his gang. I believe that people like G have many sympathizers who are not yet under suspicion but who should be...I do not like the evidence of disloyalty I see...One of the two steps must be taken soon and both are drastic...I fear the only sensible course that the Party can take is to initiate strong and complete action against rebels, exposing their underhanded tricks to the communities."

Hoover approved this proposed letter with the following stipulation: "You must ensure that the mailing cannot be traced to the Bureau..."

Another memo took credit for geronimo's subsequent expulsion from the BPP: "The present chaotic situation within the BPP must be exploited, and recipients [of FBI directives] must maintain the present high level of counterintelligence activity...to further aggravate the dissension within the BPP leadership and to fan the apparent distress by Newton of anyone who questions his wishes."

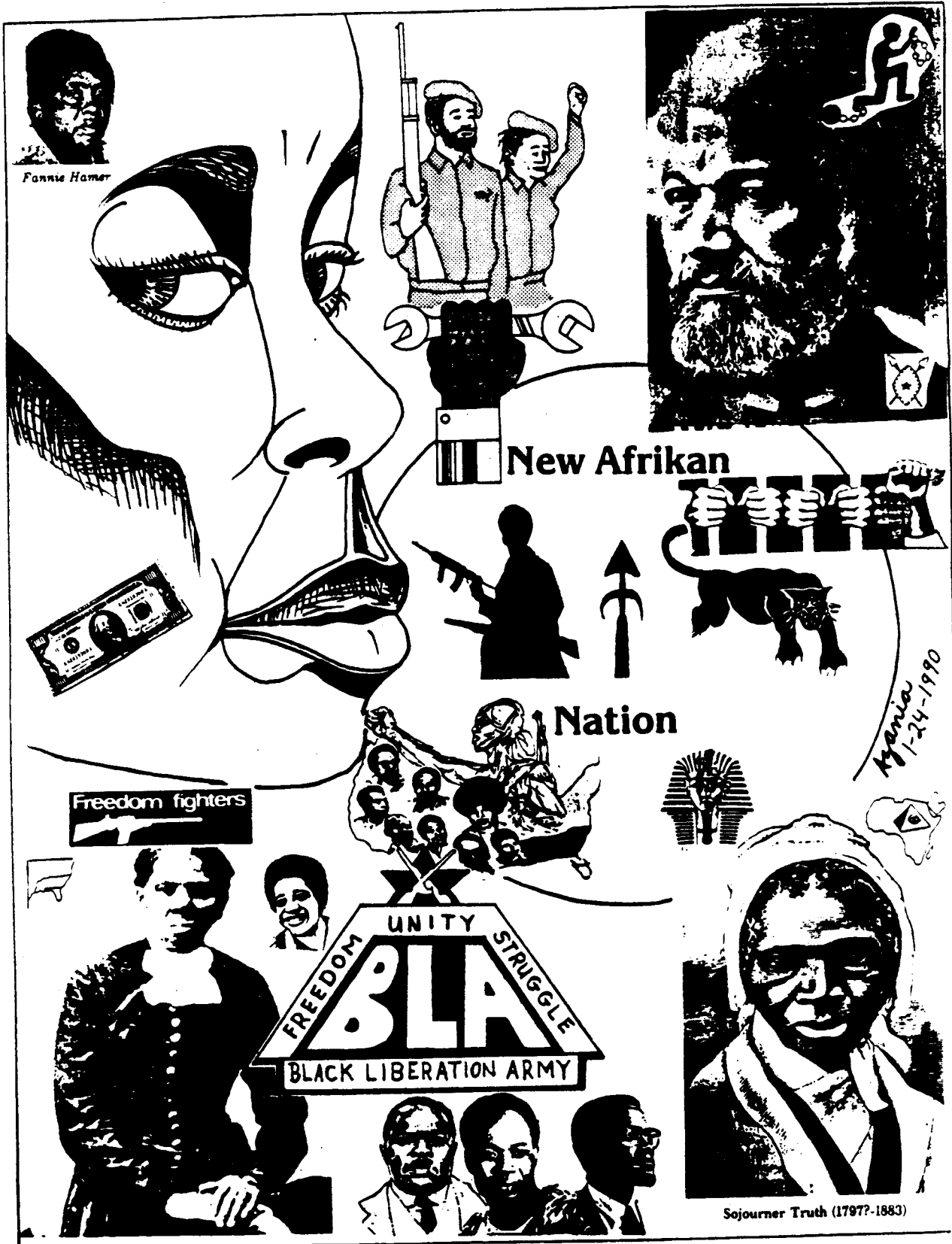
"Huey P. Newton has recently exhibited paranoid-like reactions to anyone who questions his orders, policies, action or otherwise displeases him. His Hitler-like hysterical reaction which has very likely been aggravated by our present counterintelligence activity, has resulted in a number of suspensions of loyal BPP members. It appears that Newton may be on the brink of mental collapse, and we must intensify our counterintelligence."

Clearly, the FBI's COINTELPRO had targeted Huey as their number one public enemy, resorting to any and all means to "neutralize" him.

Since Huey's funeral and serious thought, I've come to the conclusion that we Panther and Panther supporters (those who were serving the people not the FBI) must all share in the responsibility for Huey's ultimate demise. Had we diligently practiced our motto, "All for one and one for all," we would have used the power of our collective love to keep him healthy and strong; we would have provided him with better protection from his enemies (especially the sugar-coated bullets), constructively criticized him when he needed it, offered praise only when warranted, been more responsive to his needs, and more understanding of his weaknesses.

My grief at Huey's death extended beyond his person -- for he so symbolized the Black Liberation Movement, I found myself grieving for the militant Movement itself,

long dead. And I ask now, will we repeat the decade of retreat -- the Seventies -- or the greedy-individualist Eighties? Or will the Nineties call back the spirit of the Sixties and Huey P. Newton?



W H A T ' S I N A N A M E

(Through) Jumanne Mweusi  
November 25, 1989

WHAT'S IN A NAME? EVERYTHING .....whether we understand what it means, or not. Someone of the language does.

A name identifies the commitment of its citizens to that nation's language and to that nation itself.

In these united (SNAKES) states of amerika, they have forced their language and names on Afrikans Born In Slaveland Amerika (A.B.I.S. A.). They started calling Afrikans after themselves from the time that the first of our kind was born in captivity.

Their records (the united snakes/states of ameriKKKa) states that the first Afrikan was born (ABISA/AFRIKAN BORN IN SLAVELAND AMERIKA) in 1624, five years after 20 Afrikan P.O.W.S.(prisoners of WAR) were brought to Jamestown, Virginia (the penal colony) on August 19, 1619. This first born was a male and was given a christian slave name of William (for we were not christian and no Afrikan wanted to be a slave to these Europeans) and he was considered the property of Massah Tucker, then he would be called the christian slave William Tucker. Now, we as a people have called ourselves christian slaves for 365 years, "This being the year 1989.

Once we say that we accept this as an understanding, and that we want our freedom, then, we stop calling ourselves slaves and seek a name of fredom and a nation with ideas of freedom that we can believe in. After finding such a nation, we stop promoting the slave masters by calling ourselves after them and start to identify them for what they are: pagans/barbarians from Europe. We CANNOT lead our people to F R E E D O M by still calling ourselves slaves. Therefore, as you choose to help lead your people to freedom, "what is your 'NEW AFRIKAN' name, and what does it mean?

The REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRIKA (RNA) is this nation for me and kiswahili is one of the languages that it has adopted for its people. To be a NEW AFRIKAN is to take a NEW AFRIKAN name and have a commitment to this belief, enough to promote it with our people. As you choose to help lead your people to FREEDOM, "What is your NEW "AFRIKAN" name and what does it mean?"



24-1990

## "Consciousness"

To be conscious is to know objective truth, to know the social development of ones people/Nation as well as that of others--- especially ones enemy. To be conscious is to be vigilant to al that transpires around you. To be aware of present situations & being able to trace each contemporary development back to it's origin (s) & to overstand completely the contradiction that set it in motion.

Consciousness is a correct guide to action; it allows us the opportunity to distinguish our friends from our enemies i.e. us from them. It affords us a clear reflection of the ignoble regimes of the world. With consciousness We are able to perceive problems & conceive solutions. Consciousness is that quality in humans that derives from study & analysis, theory & practice.

Consciousness is not a vulgar conglomeration of book/read knowledge, but a protracted development of ones intellect that goes thru stages & makes leaps in it's pursuit of social knowledge. Consciousness goes beyond just being "awake" or knowing, simply, who Malcom X was; because consciousness affords usa clear reflection of objective truth & is, in fact, a guide for action We must utilize our conscious state of mind to change the existing conditions.

Consciousness allows us to be theoretically propelled into the future (based of course on our dialectical analysis of the past) to prepare us for what is coming, or what can be [if] We employ our consciousness correctly. In closing i will say let us all work relentlessly to raise the consciousness of our citizenry for without consciousness there can be no victory.

Re-Build!

Sanyika Shakur

---

FREE THE LAND

---

Listen good people  
the basis of unity is love  
and lots of it.

But in order to be free and independent  
We must have land of our own.  
Revolutions are fought to get control of land.

The economic politics of the New Afrikan Nation  
is the economic politics to  
Free the Land!  
Free the people!  
Rebuild to win!  
Freedom and independence  
in our life time.

It is our duty to fight for our freedom  
It is our duty to win  
The basis of independence is land;  
to be deprived of it is a sin.

Listen good people  
We must fight to the death  
so that our beloved children  
shall live happily  
in lots of love; security--  
free from oppression and poverty

Our love and unity is the key to  
Free the Land!  
Free the people!  
Rebuild to win!  
Freedom and independence  
in our life time.

Brains plus labor  
plus natural resources  
equals wealth.

Slavery is a crime  
for hundreds of years  
we've worked and produced wealth  
for somebody else  
The time is now we go and do for self.

The New Afrikan Nation has launched  
a liberation independence cultural revolution,  
the only solution which will  
provide the means for restoring our identity  
that we might rejoin  
our beloved brothers and sisters on the  
Afrikan continent, culturally, psychologically,  
economically and share with them  
the sweet fruits of freedom from oppression  
here and now.

We must continue to struggle hard to  
Free the Land!  
Free the people!  
Rebuild to win!  
Freedom and independence  
in our life time.

Oppression retards the life growth  
and conscious development of any nation.  
It is our responsibility  
to eradicate the monster of injustice  
no longer accepting passively  
the daily harassment, intimidation, and  
brutalization suffered at the hands  
of our enemies.

Listen good people  
the basis of unity is love  
and lots of it to  
Free the Land!

By: Zolo Agona Azania  
Zolo Agona Azania  
2-8-1990



'WHO ARE WE?'

This is a burning question, a question of the utmost importance: a people with no knowledge of self, is a people lost & doomed to operate in the realm of the unconscious, a people prone to be overwhelmed by external mis-interpretation of their origins, social development ('History') and most importantly, their nationality. Thus We must know who We are, where We come from and where We need to go. To reach a logical-scientific conclusion as to who We are, it's vital that we back up in order to arrive in 1988 ameriKKKa: West Africa was thrown into a constant state of consternation by the military aggression of euro-ameriKKKans seeking chattel for the sole purpose of building Europe and the 'New World' (The newly 'Founded' North Amerikan Continent) between 110,000,000 and 175,000,000 Afrikan men, women & children were stolen from Afrika's West Coast Countries (i.e. from Senegal to Namibia). These Afrikans mobilized themselves for war against the aggressors, but to no avail, thus enormous onslaughts took place in the name of economic expansion-capitalism-imperialism in it's embryonic stages of existence. Between Senegal and Namibia there are (15) countries, so you can imagine the variety of peoples, languages, customs, religions and cultures that existed between these brothers & sisters. Nonetheless, and with profound determination, the euro-ameriKKKans compressed/fused all these afrikan peoples together under one socio-economic system (slavery), one religion (christianity) and one culture/language (submission as a conquered people & english). So, we are taken from our independent homelands, striped of our language, culture, religion and dignity, forced onto a plantation in a foreign kountry and forced to adopt their alien ways in order to survive. We arrived here (North Amerika) in 1619. By 1660 there were 10 million stolen afrikans living, working & dying as conquered people-slaves, IN ameriKKKa. We were dispersed throughout the south east corner of the North Amerikan Continent, but primarily in South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana and Alabama. By 1660 it was clear that we were never to be a part of the New Amerikan Nation; thus we, ourselves, after having evolved into this new religion, culture and language were indeed a New Afrikan Nation right here in ameriKKKa! Our New Afrikan Nation was constantly under attack by the oppressor nation in many forms & fashions. Our sisters were raped, tortured and used as mere breeders. Our brothers were lynched at random and for no particular reason-other than being New Afrikan...Our children were taken from their biological parents and sold into slavery only to grow up, Live & Die as New Afrikan slaves. By 1865, there were only 4 million of the 10 million New Afrikans left. Also, in 1865 the New Afrikan people were let out of chattel slavery (private

ownership of slaves) and herded into the newly devised neo-colonialism. But let us not get ahead of ourselves here; because of our unique experience as a stolen people/nation stripped bare of our cultures, languages and religions upon kapture and transfer here are indeed New Afrikan people, belonging to the New Afrikan Nation in this section of the continent and still do to this day. Our primary koncentration was/is in Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina & Louisiana. Thus, we recognize this land mass as New Afrika. We arrived here as Afrikans, but because of our having been subjected to harsh forms of aggression, repression & psychological warfare for so long, we didn't know exactly who we were! thus, the oppressors nation dubbed us 'niggers', and after so long under this derogatory moniker we were named colored, then Negro and lastly Black! so as anyone can see, the oppressor nation negated totally the fact that we were Afrikans. This brings us to the understanding that our De-Afrikanization was but another nail in the coffin of the burying of our illustrious Afrikan social development. 'A people without knowledge of self is doomed and prone to be overwhelmed by external (outside) mis-interpretation of their origins, social development & nationality'. Nigger, Colored and Black, most of all, signify no nationality. A nationality is a name given to a people who are citizens or descendants from a particular continent, land mass or island etc... (e.g. Afrika (Afrikans), Europe (Europeans), Asia (Asians)). So by calling us Nigger, Colored, Negro and Black is saying that we are from nowhere! thus, leaving us to 'function/operate in the realm of the unconscious'. We are descendants from Afrika, thus making us Afrikans. We feel through the wanton destruction of our customs etc., and our having been forcefully transplanted in an alien kountry that we are New Afrikan people, belonging to the New Afrikan Nation that we formed together in order to survive. By us calling, or referring to ourselves as anything other than New Afrikans/Afrikans is to condone (agree/along with) the striping of our culture & customs as well as our enslavement! we recognize Afrika as our motherland and we are as Afrikan as any nation in Afrika! we, through scientific endeavor, accept Our national name as New Afrikans and our nation as New Afrika. To give usa a clear cut understanding as to what the problem is, we will define a few words: Capitalism-the economic exploitation of workers labor force, the private ownership of the means of production as well as distribution of the worked and finished product/commodity; Imperialism- the last stage of Capitalism, the economic exploitation & domination of one nation by another; colonialism- the final stage of Imperialism, the cultural, social & psychological domination of one nation over another. Since 1660 New Afrika has been plagued by these destructive 'Ism's-

first our enslavement was purely capitalistic as our labor was exploited for private use and for one purpose and that was/ is to gain super profits!. By 1660 we had evolved into a New Afrikan nation so our relationship then was imperialistic as ameriKKKa exploited, plundered and dominated New Afrika for economic purposes. Once this conquering process was completed, New Afrika was made into a colony of ameriKKKa to further perpetuate the flow of revenue from our exploited/forced labor! capitalism - Imperialism - and Colonialism administered by euro-ameriKKKan mad men to establish white supremacy, perpetuate it and maintain it for future generations of euro-ameriKKKans. Today as we view these mad men politicians in Washington, the top corporate capitalist of AT&T, ITT, Xerox, general motors etc., we must understand that these are the sons & daughters of the slavers, and we who work for them are the sons & daughters of their slaves. This rule has been held in tact for generations and so has our domination. So what must be done to liberate ourselves and New Afrika (now referred to as 'The Republic of New Afrika')?? people's war - protracted war of national liberation is the only path that is available to us now we've tried peace, integration, sit-ins, march-ons, etc.. Now we are left with but one option: To Stand Up Collectively and Wage War on the Oppressor Nation!! For too long we have been hit without hitting back, or hitting back hard enough to make a difference. For instance: If someone is being bullied, attacked continuously by another person without any resistance or resolute effort to throw off the aggression of that person, then that person will continue to do with you as he/she will, with no fear of reprisal. We explained the above scenario to exemplify our (New Afrikans) relationship to ameriKKKa. Our small oppressed nation has continuously been 'bullied' by ameriKKKa in many, many ways from the time (minute, hour, day, month etc.) of our arrival here until today, 1988. We have been stolen from our homeland, forcefully transplanted in totally alien kountry to be chattel (someone else's property), lynched, castrated & voided of our birthright to be ourselves. Our men have been sent off to fight & die in foreign wars in defence of the same people that enslaved us. We've been 'bullied' into defending our bully! our sisters have been playthings for our enemies - knowing fully that our sisters are our most precious resources, as they are the givers of life to our nation. So our enemies target our sisters for special aggression by sterilizing them without prior knowledge, persuading them (however subtle) to get abortions due to their economic destitution, housing and one parent family structure. ('It's easier to kill a guerrilla in the womb than in the mountains' - (Che Guevara) our sisters are caught up in the 'look - so - good' syndrome where their beauty is measured by their ability to look & keep up

with stereotypical ameriKKKan women (i.e. hair, make-up, dress, etc.) our infant mortality rate is 7 to 1 over ameriKKKans. This means that our babies die at birth 7 (seven) times more often than ameriKKKan babies! our children are taught in ameriKKKan schools that the only social development that is relevant in his-story, designed, acted out and wrote by them (ameriKKKans), negating totally the richness and universal social development of Afrikans & New Afrikans. Thus our children are left with a sense of no past except that of a slave in ameriKKKa. Our-story was interrupted by the euro-ameriKKKans; we were taken out of our-story and forcefully placed in his, so to make his-story sound/look humanitarian and glorious, he must negate the social development of Afrikans pre-slavery, New Afrikans in slavery and New Afrikans post-slavery. Are children are left to believe (through his-story) that without having been 'kaptured & kolonized' that we would be worse off, left to walk around with 'bones in our noses' and 'eating each other'! With those thoughts imbedded in our childrens' head, they are then asked to 'choose' as to who they'd rather be? Afrikan/New Afrikan or 'Black' ameriKKKans? This is Absurd! our children are being de-Afrikanized daily in ameriKKKa. mis-educational institutions are training kamps for reactionaries of all persuasions. If this is not bullying us then what is? At every turn, avenue and road we are being assaulted, insulted, murdered, maimed and ameriKKKanized without mobilizing ourselves for a long drawn out fight with this bully to throw off his yoke of wanton aggression. Surely by now he feels no immediate threat from us; as he feels we have grown accustomed to his blows, slaps and in some cases murderous ways of telling us that we've outlived our usefulness to him/them. To our oppressor our extinction is eminent. We are going to have to fight hard and long to win our Natural right to govern, police & defend ourselves. To be frank (and a lot of us fail to be in the most required areas) we are in a 'do-or-die' situation here. By 'die' we mean literally, as well as culturally, economically & socially. Our death by culture, socio-economical castration and deliberate destitution is a slow process designed by the oppressor nation to 'get all they can get' out of us before we are discarded (as with a tube of toothpaste, it's squeezed until there's nothing left and then discarded, an empty tube). Colonial-violence (genocide)' is as much a fact as gravity in ameriKKKa; - yet we see no gas ovens, or thousands of people being herded into acid showers & box cars headed for kamps of carnage. These methods were appropriate for that particular epoch, but are not appropriate today nor were they yesterday. ameriKKKa is much too technically advanced for gas ovens, acid showers etc.. they have a multitude of tools, methods and strategies to control & eliminate populations. We see

these tools, methods and strategies manifest themselves daily in our communities thru crack, heroin & alcohol. We see them in the form of hypertension, sickle cell, cancer & aids. Then of course there is always the ever present army-pigs that carry out acts of terrorism on our citizens, tie them up in their kourt system only to be presided over by another ultra-right ameriKKKan pig in a robe, who more often than not condones our capture, the methods used, and fully endorses the strategy. Thus an overwhelming number of our nationals are languishing in koncentration kamps throughout the kountry. In fact, a lot of our most heroic soldiers are prisoners of war today! These are the ills we as a colonized nation are subjected to daily. Genocide has been carried out on us for so long that we now feel comfortable embraced in the bosom of death! We, the conscious citizens, must (thru the inextricable dialectical relationship we share with the New Afrikan masses) push, pull and drive them to the unavoidable realities of people's war. By 'unavoidable' we mean that ameriKKKa declared war on the Afrikan people in the 17th Century by capturing, killing and enslaving our people; we are 500 years too late to start the war, we can now only defend ourselves and push on towards victory & national independence. It's a fact that we have been at war with ameriKKKa for centuries and it is also a fact that the war has touched every New Afrikan in some form or fashion and will continue to do so; thus we dub it 'unavoidable'. We are New Afrikan people, from the colonized nation of the republic of New Afrika. We are in he midst of Re-building our movement (New Afrikan Independence Movement) so we can, in fact, mobilize ourselves for a protracted war of national liberation/revolution. Let us be as critical as possible while re-building so the next generation can move into a 'furnished' institution of revolutionary culture. And all they'll have to do is keep up with the latest 'trend' in decorating.

FROM ONE GENERATION TO THE NEXT!

Sanyika Ajamu

Greetings,

Comrades, brothers and sisters. I'd like to respond to Omali Yeshitela's criticism in the Oct./Nov. 1989 edition of the Burning Spear. His criticism was waged against the theory of New African and the Republic of New Africa, (RNA). The section of the Burning Spear I refer to is the "point of the Spear." It's titled, "In theory and in practice."

Yeshitela begins his article with a call to build the African People's Socialist party (APSP) as the primary task required to over-throw u.s. imperialism. Implicit in this statement is the APSP's the only New African revolutionary organization capable of defeating u.s. imperialism. The difficulty this position poses for building broad base revolutionary unity is obvious. Unity, based on such a political line, would require revolutionary organizations to dismantle and become members of the APSP. Or, changes would have to be made in existing organizations more consistent with the political line of the APSP. I think the minimum criteria to judge if a New African organization is revolutionary or not is by its position on the national question. Whether, for instance, it up-holds (and works towards) the right of the New African nation to be independent by any means necessary. From this angle, the rally cry should be support--not one--but all organizations working for our national independence.

I don't have a copy of the New African where Obadele mapped out his anti- drug strategy, but if Yeshitela's criticism is accurate, that Obadele worked with the police, among other things, then yeshitela's criticism is valid. My concern here is not with his criticism but its with the uncomradely way it was delivered. Yeshitela's criticism was replete with ridicule and dejection. This kind of behavior is inconsistent with the high ethical standards revolutionaries should always employ with other comrades and the masses.

Further in the article Yeshitela points out behavior he identifies as political opportunism with New African People's Organization (NAPO) and RNA. His view is the ideological bases of these organizations rest on political opportunism. This, he explains, is the reason for the political opportunism that exist in their practice.

I accept the analysis that if an ideology is based on opportunism, practice based on this ideology will inevitably be opportunistic. But the historical bases

which NAPO and RNA put forth for land, that labor (in part) is what entitles a people to land, is a perspective all oppressed people assert to claim ownership over land. Despite the presence of Native Americans in Latin America, were African slaves opportunistic for struggling against colonialism and seizing land? Would we call Toussiant L'Ouverture a black zionist for defeating the French and seizing Haiti? Of course not. In a like manner, i contend our historical aspirations for land here is just as legitimate as the struggle that Africans waged in the Caribbean for land.

If i understand Yeshitela's theoretical position on liberation, what exists as the u.s. now would be transformed into a socialist society where everybody would live. But if white people can come to these terms with Native Americans on land, why can't we (independent of white people) come to terms with Native Americans on the five states in the South?

Yeshitela feels the RNA is opportunistic because it's willing to consider the five states in the South being liberated without the entire u.s. imperialism being destroyed. As a revolutionary internationalist, i'm committed to the destruction of all forms of imperialism. But an advantage RNA has over APSP is it doesn't make our independence contingent on anyone else being free. As revolutionaries, we have to consider u.s. imperialism could be weakened in a way where it loses domination over us, but it still may have strength enough to maintain control over other nationalities within its range of power. If this should occur, we must be willing to take freedom even if others aren't able to do likewise. Yeshitela would never call the Puerto Rican Independence Movement opportunistic for struggling to free itself first and foremost from u.s. imperialism. But yet he considers New Africans who place our independence primary as political opportunist.

Yeshitela goes on to say that our call for land here obscures our birth right to Africa. He states too that the ideology of New Africa requires slavery as the bases of our national entity. But Africans in the diaspora still continue to look to Africa as the mother land. Their birth right to Africa hasn't been obscured by their efforts to build strong black nations in the Caribbean. Likewise, our struggle here for land doesn't obscure our historical birth right to Africa.

The emphasis Yeshitela places on NAPO'S assertion of slavery being the bases that formed our national entity is (in my opinion) designed to evoke shame and revulsion but for many third world people nationhood was

forged through slavery or colonialism. Rather than be exterminated and have our bones crushed into the ground by chattel slavery, our response to that oppression was the New African nation. There's nothing mystical about the way different ethnic groups of Africans were forged into a nation to survive chattel slavery. It's an accomplishment we should be proud of.

The points I've tried to affirm is not to deny that NAPO or the RNA haven't (at times) acted opportunistically. Frankly, i believe all organizations have been guilty of this. In a limited way, i've tried to stress the theory of the RNA is legitimate and rest on sound historical bases. That's not to say, however, that the RNA or NAPO are the only credible revolutionary theories. Certainly, APSP and similar New African revolutionary organizations are also viable theories for revolutionary change. As a New African prisoner, enduring the full brunt of the colonial yoke, i'm deeply distressed over the lack of comradely relations that exist between New African revolutionary organizations. Having studied the tenentes of most revolutionary organizations, i find no fundamental difference between any of them that would prohibit unity. To various degrees, most of these organizations satisfy the aspirations of New Africans for national independence and socialism.

Giving the reformist changes occurring in the Soviet Union, it's reasonable to assume third world liberation struggles can expect less from the Soviet Union interms of material and moral support. Coming to terms with this reality and challenging the u.s. imperialist assault on our community requires the New African left unite in ways we haven't done in the past. We must develop a tolerance for theoretical difference and a sophistication to struggle exhibited by our comrades in El Salvador. Without this level of commitment to unity our influence in the community will continue to be minimal and ineffective. At worst, we'll be crushed by the destructive forces generated by our colonial conditions.

Michael Mccoy

Leavenworth, KS



INTERVIEW

(1) Q. Much has been made of the drug problem in third world communities. Do you see a qualitative difference between the drug culture of today and what has historically existed in our communities?

A. That's a good question. There's a number of ways it could be answered. On one hand, the colonial conditions of powerlessness has always created an alienation in our communities that's left us vulnerable to substance abuse. But I think there has been some changes in the drug culture that makes it more devastating now than it every was before. I believe consumerism has added another dimension to the drug cultural that changes it substantially from the early 1900s. Never in u.s. history has the ideology of consumerism been so developed and persuasive as is now. For oppressed people, already suffering from low self-esteem, they search for in drugs what liberation can only give: dignity and purpose.

(2) Q. Some have argued just as other ethnic groups used crime to establish an economic base in their communities that later developed into legitimate institutions, structures and businesses that third world people here in the u.s. should do the same. Do you see any viability to such a perspective?

A. None at all. Most of our people who use this analysis lack historical clarity. The great portion of white immigrants who migrated here were greeted by an expanding economy that could absorb them. Crime was just a secondary factor which facilitated that process. Those same historical conditions don't exist for us. What area of the economy is expanding in a way that can absorb us. MacDonalds? Burger King? Ginos Pizza? Another important factor about the crime white immigrants used was quite a bit of it was concentrated within the government. Political appointments based on favoritism, fraudulent loans, contracts, etc. Smart capitalist know their workers must have a minimum of good health so they can work steady. But the drug merchant destroys the very market which sustains them. To our young entrepreneur i'd like to pose a question: Are we intelligent enough to make money without harming each other?

(3) Q. Do you see the culture of drugs that dominates an ever increasing number of our people, especially youth, as being irreversible?

A. There are few things in life that's irreversible. Human beings show an enormous elastic to change. The legacy of survival and creativity we've

shown under oppression is weaved indelibly in our culture. Despite the negative signals targeted against our youth, our culture through art, music and the family is still rich with positive reinforcements that equip many of our youth to ward off the lure of drugs. An encouraging commentary recently made by civil rights advocate Eleanor Holmes," was drug use among ethnic groups is either balancing off or declining."

(4) Q. What can revolutionaries do to combat the scourge of drugs in our communities?

A. First understand there's no quick solution to the drug problem. If we seize state power tomorrow some of the problems created by drugs (eg. health care for crack babies) will plague us into the next decade. There are; however, some measures we can take that will have long term political dividends. The creation of community drug centers is one. As many centers as can be practically managed should be started. This will probably require some comrades spending a year or so in school to learn the latest techniques in drug treatment. One asset revolutionaries have that our oppressor can never expropriate is the promise of a liberated future to our people. For this vision to be therapeutic it must be concrete; based on people's institutions that show leadership through tackling the problems of the community. Revolutionaries must also keep in mind that a lot of our young people aren't on drugs. We have to encircle them with a security net against the lure of drugs by building their self-esteem. Empower them with knowledge, love them, tell them that there're significant and can go as high as their minds will carry them. And last but not least, a people's army is needed to protect the struggle and advance it against the enemies of our liberation.

What follows are (partial) excerpts from a prison program here at Leavenworth Penitentiary.

#### Interview

Q. Mike, would you define what the black prison movement is?

A. It's a struggle by conscious black prisoners to raise the political awareness of other black prisoners about the nature of our oppression and what we must do to eliminate it. In most prisons around the u.s. there're conscious brothers and sisters whose practice places them in the category of being part of the "black prison movement."

Q. Why should the African-American community be

concern about prison?

A. Because penal institutions are part of the apparatus that oppresses us. One way it does this is by threatening to remove or actually removing the most politically astute and active members of our community. By depriving us of our Mandela's, Malcom X's, and Assata Shakur's, the oppressor hopes to undermine the fighting spirit that these comrades provide for us.

Q. Would COINTELPRO be an example of this?

A. Yes. And keep in mind that this tactic of framing and imprisoning black political activist is still operative to day.

Q. I'd like to talk a bit more about the black prison movement. Specifically, why should the black community be concerned about this?

A. Current projections by magazines like News Week state that by year 2000 one out of every 4 black males will be in prison or can expect to be incarcerated at some point in their lives. This means your son, father, uncle, or some other love one will likely spend time in prison. The only mechanism back here that can change them in significant ways is the black prison movement.

Q. What about school. Aren't there educational facilities back here?

A. In most instances, yes. But since materialist, individualistic impressions permeate so much of Western education; when a brother leaves here that dog-eat-dog attitude he came in with is strengthen through his education. No fundamental change has occurred. His education simply expands his range to exploit. Usually, in cases like this, that brother will come back to prison because even with his education he discovers he can make more money illegally.

Q. So...

A. One moment Carol, I'm not through. Despite such weaknesses within the educational system, I still encourage brothers to attend school. At the same time, however, I stress the need for them to develop themselves politically through being involved with progressive prison groups.

Q. But if education does what you say, why do you encourage it?

A. Because with consciousness those problems can

be over come and the positive benefits of an education can be retained. Our movement needs those skills.

Q. Earlier in the program you mention that the black prison movement is an intellectual and human resource to the over-all black struggle. I can see how it would be human resource if brothers return to the community as political activist. But how is it an intellectual resource?

A. The free time we have allows us to study social issues in a depth few people outside of school can do. With the results of our research we can write position papers (for community groups) or, share that information with outside guest like you--Carol. A smile.

Q. Okay Mike. One more question. There're people who feel that brother's back here are just theoretical. That once you're released, you won't be heard from. What's your feelings on this?

A. Certainly there're people like this back here. They project themselves as ultra militant to their family and friends. But anyone whose objective and has street sense can detect such people. Usually, they're undisciplined, rarely attend programs and their personal lives are full of contradictions. There lots of brothers who leave here politically conscious and do participate in community affairs. Make inquires to your local boy's club, rehab center, or any community center and you'll discover ex-convicts there. For the most part, they keep their past private, working like you to take of their families. We're an integral part of the struggle and will continue to be politically active on every level of the black liberation movement.

### The B.P.P. and Political Prisoners

Because the Black Panther Party (BPP) was young and its leadership politically inexperienced, party members were exposed to attacks from local and national police agencies, which in some instances, a politically more seasoned political party could have side stepped. A critical oversight in Party strategy was it's failure to consolidate a strong base of support within the black community. Had it done so, it might have survived the suppressive police and f.b.i. attacks and its own internal dissolution. That way, it would have had a powerful base of support to draw from. But this is hindsight. The political currents of the 60's and 70's can be viewed as the distillation of three distinct periods in African-American history: The slave experience, the Negro experience, the African-American experience each of which exhibits greater sophistication and complexity employed by the forces militating against the legitimate aspirations of the black community. One of the unique aspects of the latter i.e., the African - American experience is that its agenda and its demands were articulated by a young leadership. In and of itself, young leadership is commendable, since it is the young who are less covered by life experiences and it is they who will do, when in instances they have been advised not to do, or are advised that a thing cannot be done. Still, young leadership must be tempered by experience that comes only with age.

A young politically inexperienced leadership and its failure to consolidate its base of support, combined with a faint-hearted attempt to abide by the principles of democratic centralism within the hierarchy of Party leadership, ultimately led to policies and procedures being determined by a small inner-circle of top Party leaders. With growing internal contradiction within the Party itself, much of which is attributed to the f.b.i.'s Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) which among other things fabricated disinformation about the party, party leaders, and their political objectives, all to create an atmosphere of suspicion and mistrust between party members and party allies - this, in conjunction with the machinations of government agents in the guise of party members who frequently initiated actions calculated to bring on swift and deadly reaction from local and national police agencies. Given the level of sophistication, unlimited manpower and resources available, what's remarkable is that the party lasted as long as it did.

With the dissolution of the party, those comrades who chose to stay in the country went underground, and while some thought of themselves as having retired from political work, others chose to press on with the political objectives of the party despite the increasing danger. And because of their firm political commitment most of these comrades were railroaded to jail then and they remain in jail today and they have been there a long time. A few of them have been released since then, but the majority remain where they are and they exist under the most trying of circumstances:

in special housing units where conditions are primitive and every activity is severely limited. All reading material must meet a prescribed criteria, visiting conditions are strict, and closely monitored. The most obvious thing about their treatment is that they are treated different than those whose imprisonment is not directly related to political activity on the street. These mini-jails-within-a-jail are designed to break the spirit and generate psychological stress and mental disintegration. The reader should bear in mind that this article is not meant to speak of specific horrors which find free expression in these special housing units. The aim of

this article is to speak on how our political prisoners have become practically forgotten. Throughout the years of their internment, no concerted effort has been undertaken to organize a legal defense and family visitation fund for them. Buses and trains won't transport to prison without money and lawyers will do but so much without money. The few lawyers who provide legal service for 'rades generally bear the expense out of heir own pockets. More often than not they are lawyers who have developed a personal relationship with one or several of our imprisoned 'rades.

The 'rads in jail still see themselves as part of a revolutionary movement that aims to abolish racism and class privilege and to create and safeguard a social order that will nourish freedom and justice for all. Meanwhile, they continue to display exemplary moral conduct under the most trying of circumstances. Most of them are well thought of by the prison population and even by some of their jailers. It ain't easy for them. Their children have now begun to have children of their own and practically all of them have become grandmas and grandpas of children they have yet to see or hold in their arms. And although no one talks about it, and this writer does not presume to speak for every imprisoned 'rad, something has to be done for them and it is mean-spirited and unkind to view their unvoiced concerns and criticisms of 'rades on the street as a response to pressures generated by constant abuse and long term confinement.

Against this bleak background they read in the papers that in some foreign country where a national liberation front avenged a wrongful death of a comrade or took measures to insure that a comrade would not be maltreated by the authorities, or liberated a comrade from the clutches of the authorities. It is not uncommon to read in the papers where members of the criminal underworld liberated a crime partner. Common street criminals are not motivated by any high revolutionary ideals, but they often look after their own when they can. Yet only recently in the u.s. did a campaign to address this serious issue of our political prisoners get underway which is just a drop in the bucket compared to what should and still can be done for the 'rads in prison.

Herman Bell

## WHERE DOES IT END?

Here at U.S.P. Marion, Illinois, a program has been fully implemented which utilizes the draconian so-called "Progressive Level System." In this program the entire 350-man prison population has been placed in a Control Unit setting and compelled through ultimate deprivation to participate in a system that provides a prisoner with more liberties in compensation for his good behavior.

Upon arrival at U.S.P. Marion, the subject is assigned to one of the three torture chambers: D-Unit, E-Unit, or F-Unit (or in some cases, where the subject has incurred the ultimate wrath of the state, H-Unit, where at a minimum the subject will remain isolated for five years). After remaining in one of the three torture chambers for a period of twelve months with clear conduct, the subject becomes eligible for placement in C-Unit (the pre-work unit), where he must remain for two months before he is placed in B-Unit (the pre-transfer unit), where he must remain for a period of 18 months to reach eligibility for transfer. If at anytime during the stages of his participation in this carrot and stick game he receives a disciplinary report, the subject must start all the way over from phase one, with no credit given for any of his past behavior.

After a prisoner has worked his way from C-Unit to B-Unit, does the Behavior Modification treatment stop? Emphatically No! Upon the subject's arrival at his next destination, (Lompoc, Leavenworth or Lewisburg), he is then placed in an euphemistically termed A-Unit, and then alphabetically all the way to Z-Unit, from which he must then work himself all the way back up to A-Unit. Although these further phases are just speculative, the fact remains that the Bureau of Prisons does not fastidiously relinquish control of the subject upon his being transferred. Of course, there are always a few exceptions to the rule who do maintain certain principles of integrity and resistance upon their departure from Gulag Marion.

On a large scale, U.S.P. Marion has been turned into a "Groder Kamp." That is to say that today, some 21 years after its initial introduction into the federal system, the Asklepion program founded by Dr. Edgar Schein and Dr. Martin Groder has now become a fixed part of everyday life at U.S.P. Marion. Dr. Schein's own description of the program included the following statement: "I would like you to think of brainwashing, not in terms of politics, ethics and morals, but in terms of the deliberate changing of human behavior and attitudes by a group of men who have relatively complete control over the environment in which the captive populace lives."

In the 1970's, this Asklepion program was restricted to just one unit (A), with some 20 or 30 participants from the Marion population. Therapeutic groups were common, functioning to reinforce the guilt-trip on participants for such recalcitrant acts as stealing sugar, cutting into the Commissary line, or failing to stand for the playing of the National Anthem.

The Groder program gradually became so notorious, despised and distrusted by the prison population that a sort of "snitch



jacket" or informant label was placed on participants in the Behavior Modification program. The stigma became so dangerous that the program was shut down in 1978, after one member was stabbed in the messhall. Speculations had it that the attack had been prompted by the victim's mere participation in the "Groder Program."

Today, dozens of "Groder products" are being filtered out each year into the other federal prisons after being subjected to the Asklepion setting at U.S.P. Marion for two or three years. These prisoners, when placed in other institutions, are often looked up to by a large percentage of the prison population for having graduated from the "big school." This, added to the aggrandizement of the charges which may have led to the subject's initial placement at U.S.P. Marion, will often overshadow the fact that at this point he is now a "Groder product." As stated earlier, there are always a few exceptions to the rule, and those who meet the criteria are often the ones who are well grounded in politics, religious belief, or those who are just plainly true to the convict code. However, those who have no solid conviction and are just "hanging out" will most likely be the "Groder products" who filter out through the system and recruit new members for Dr. Schein.

A prisoner learns 90% of his prison routine from other prisoners, rather than from his keeper, as most people are led to believe. Thus, newly arriving prisoners must closely scrutinize the veteran prisoners whom they choose as role models.

In the 1990's, prisoners sentenced under the new federal sentencing guidelines will have little hope of returning to the streets in less than 20 years for offenses of violence, bank robbery, etc.

The Federal Bureau of Prisoncrats knows that if they are to control this population of prisoners who have virtually nothing to lose in rebelling against repressive conditions, they must have an effective program of Behavior Modification to produce warehouses of "walking Zombies." This is where the "Groder products" fulfill their usefulness.

We must identify the "Groder products" around us, and the Groder characteristic in ourselves, and then move to undermine the process. The longer we let the Repressive Monster exist, the greater sacrifice we will have to eventually make to rid ourselves of this dehumanizing process.

A Luta Continua

Hanif Shabazz Bey  
s/n B. Gereau

January 1990

NEW AFRIKAN NETWORK IN DEFENSE OF  
POLITICAL PRISONERS & PRISONERS OF WAR FORMED!

by Nkechi Taifa. Esq.

In the wake of the Resistance Conspiracy Case, A group of six north american political prisoners about to go to trial in Washington, D.C. for politically motivated charges, New Afrikan political and cultural activists in D.C. saw a distinct lack of information and organizing around the issue of Black political prisoners in Washington, D.C.. and saw the need to establish a locally-based organization which could reach out to the New Afrikan community in this city and raise consciousness around the issue of Black political prisoners of war in this country specifically, as well as political prisoners in general.

Although the New Afrikan Network whole heartedly supports the Resistance Conspiracy Case, prospective members queried how could they justify supporting white people, irrespective of how revolutionary they were, When they were delinquent in supporting the recent case of Mutulu Shakur, or Geronimo Pratt, or the New York Three, or Sundiata Acoli, or Mumia Abu-Jamal and the list goes on and on.

So, it was determined to establish a network which would raise consciousness in the Black community around this pertinent issue. NAN-P-POW is a locally based organization whose purpose is to network with other local, National and international groups to raise public consciousness and develop concrete support for political prisoners and prisoners of war inside the United States.

The Network will provide background and updated information on cases of political prisoners and POWS, provide speakers for events, compose and submit articles to publications, maintain contact with attorneys representing the individuals and their respective defense committees, and encourage people to communicate with the brothers and sisters inside and assist in providing assistance to their families and children where possible.

The following is an excerpt from a NAN-P-POW presentation linking the struggle of the past to the present.

There are Black Freedom Fighters, political prisoners and prisoners of war, who have been languishing in prisons for over 18 years and many others recently captured who face the same fate. We all know the name of Nelson Mandela, But what about Sundiata Acoli or

Herman Bell, Anthony Bottom, Albert Nuh Washington, Abdul Majid, Sekou Odinga, Richard Dhoruba Moore, Bashir Hameed, Geronimo Pratt, Mutulu Shakur. Can we dare teach Patrick Henry or George Washington, or even Nelson Mandela, and not teach Assata Shakur, Masai Ehehosi, Safiya Bukhari or Henry Sha Sha Brown???

We cannot separate our freedom fighters of today from our freedom fighters of yesterday, They need to be supported. Their names need to be remembered. The deeds they were convicted of need to be analyzed, not in the context of the Hollywood media which performed a hatchet job on the New York-3 in "Badge of the Assassin", but in the context of our evolving strategies for liberation.

What was it that possessed these freedom loving people? It was none other than the spirit of struggle, the spirit of freedom, the spirit of independence: the same spirit which propelled brothers and sisters like Denmark Vesey and Dessalines and Gabriel and Fannie Lou and Paul Robeson to be on the frontlines. That spirit of independence, that spirit of carrying on the tradition of resistance.

Ever since we were snatched from our homeland Afrika, we have always had resistance movements for independence. It was Black independent military forces in the hills of San Domingo that brought independence to Haiti. It was Black independent military forces which established and maintained the Palmares Republic for over fifty years.

Over here, however, in the English colonies, where the white folk decided they were going to live, everytime we ran away, it didn't matter if we fled to Pennsylvania or New York, the oppressors constitution mandated that each white person had the duty to come after us.

The names of those who began to respond to this war the white nation was waging against our people should be common household parlance: Vesey, Nat, Harriet, L'Ouverture, Dessalines, Cato, Grabriel, Frederick, Walker, Truth, Wells -- the list is endless. Overground as well as underground resistance movements.

Sundiata Acoli, a New Afrikan prisoner of war currently incarcerated in Leavenworth, Kansas stated that the media rarely says where freedom fighters come from, or why they appear. In her opening statement to the jury during her last trial, Assata Shakur, who was liberated from prison in 1979, stated that the resistance movement calling itself the Black Liberation Army rose during the 70's and continued the response to the war which had been

waged against our people since the time of the slave trade. "The idea of a Black Liberation Army emerged from conditions in Black Communities, conditions of poverty, indecent housing, massive unemployment, poor medical care and inferior education. The idea came about because Black people are not free or equal in this country." It came about because Black people were being lynched and killed disrespected everyday by the colonialist power structure. Because Black women in Chattanooga, TN were being shot at, because Black men's hearts in Buffalo, NY were being cut out beastly and Black people complained and demanded that something be done about all this madness.

So we are told that the BLA emerged from the ranks of the Black Panther Party and started doing something about it. The BLA became a part, an underground part, of the resistance movement. NAN-P-POW teaches that our resistance movements of today represent the same resistance movement which sister Yaa Asantewa raised against the British, the same resistance movement which Queen Nzingha raised in Angola, the same resistance movement the Toussaint and Dessalines waged against the English, French and Spanish, the same resistance movement which the maroons waged against the slaveholders, the resistance movement which built the Palmares Republic, the resistance movement which Denmark and Prosser attempted to organize, which Nat Turner struggled for, which David Walker wrote about, which Sojourner Truth spoke about, which Harriet Tubman lived.

Just as we admire and respect the resistance movements of yesterday and just as we applaud and demonstrate for and support and provide material aid to resistance movements of today around the world struggling for independence, we likewise need to respect and support Black resistance movements of today, and when persons who are or are alleged to be part of these resistance movements are captured, they need to be supported.

As Imari Obadele, President of the Republic of New Afrika teaches, most people in this country have no problem recognizing the need of the landless Palestinian people for a military force, clandestine as well as overt, or the similar need of the Catholics in Northern Ireland or the Oglala Sioux in the Dakotas. Similarly, without a doubt, the military arm of SWAPO and the military arms of the resistance movements in Azania are loudly applauded by Afrikans all over, yet we in this country have been brainwashed into believing -- by none other than the enemies of our struggle who control the media, that we in North America, alone of all the colonized people in the world, neither have a need for a military force, nor have created one.

We seem to have forgotten and in most cases never even knew the names of those who were convicted of heeding our collective call that something must be done to stop the terror inflicted against our people and who answered violence with violence or who were viciously framed up in an attempt to stifle the growing resistance movements.

We must not allow our brothers and sisters of today to be separated from the rich tradition of resistance of which we applaud our heroes of yesterday.

In the words of Frederick Douglass:

If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet depreciate agitation are men who want crops without plowing p the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightening. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its waters. The struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, or it may be both moral and physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did, and it never will.

## CRIMINALIZATION AND PERSECUTION OF OPPONENTS TO THE COLONIAL STATUS OF PUERTO RICO: HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

Statement by Dr. Luis Nieves-Falcón, President, Puerto Rico National Chapter,  
International League for the Rights and Liberation of Peoples

The permanent People's Tribunal, at its Session on Puerto Rico, in Barcelona, from 27-29 January 1989 concludes that the United States of America is criminalizing and persecuting opponents of the colonial status of Puerto Rico. The sentence further concluded that "the U.S. has used a variety of dubious tactics to attack the activities of Puerto Rican activists, including conspiratory charges, wide ranging grand-jury investigations, paramilitary arrest procedures, assassinations by "death squads", and repeated police brutality. Puerto Ricans are, however, treated as common criminals, not as political prisoners... Conspiracy charges and indictments have been used to intimidate the whole nationalist community".

Today, I bring before you the case of 19 Puerto Rican men and women, anti-colonial combatants, convicted for opposing U. S. authority over Puerto Rico. <sup>1</sup>These patriots are serving draconian prison sentences of 35-90 years, and are being subjected to special inhuman conditions of isolation and selective punishment. These men and women share unique characteristics. They are not "criminals"-they have no criminal records, and, in the eyes of the independence movement and international law, have committed no crimes.

The special and punitive treatment of these men and women falls short of meeting the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (UNMRPT). beginning with the proscription against discrimination on grounds of political opinion-a basic principle of the rule. Rule A 1 6 (1).

The arsenal of tactics includes a denial system which includes isolation, destabilization, criminalization, humiliation, denial of medical treatment, physical and sexual assault, and continued harassment and vigilance. The denial system connotes not just denial of human rights, but denial of the essence of the person's political being and existence. The very existence of this governmental political campaign to destroy these prisoners violates the guiding principles of the UNSMRTP, which prohibits the aggravation of suffering inherent in imprisonment (Rule A II 57) and prescribes "minimizing any difference between prison life and life at liberty which tend to lessen the responsibility of the prisoners or the respect due to their dignity as human beings" (Rule A II 60 (1). The rules also mandate that for persons under sentence "the treatment shall be such as will encourage their self respect..." (Rule A II 65).

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<sup>1</sup>Thirteen men and women Puerto Rican Prisoners of War (POW) are currently held in U. S. prisons: Edwin Cortés, Elizam Escobar, Ricardo Jiménez, Oscar López Rivera, Adolfo Matos, Dylcia Pagan, Alberto Rodríguez, Alicia Rodríguez, Ida Luz Rodríguez, Luis Rosa, Alejandrina Torres, Carlos Alberto Torres, and Carmen Valentín. Political prisoners held in jails and prisons for their pro-independence beliefs and actions: Lucy Berríos Berríos, Jaime Delgado, Dora García (out 4/18-served 3 out of 5 yr. sentence), Filiberto Ojeda Ríos,(out on bond pending trial, almost 3 yrs in preventive detention), Haydeé Beltrán and Julio Antonio Veras y Delgadillo (served 11 years of a 25 year sentence). Also incarcerated at this point are Juan E. Segarra Palmer, 75 years and Antonio Camacho Negrón, 15 years.

**Isolation:**

The U. S. government intentionally places the prisoners far away from their families and communities. The isolation from political support is accomplished not only by assignment to distant and inaccessible prisons but also by restrictions on contact. Oscar López, Carlos Alberto Torres, Ida Luz Rodríguez and Alejandrina Torres have each endured periods of months to years, prohibited from corresponding with anyone outside the immediate family. In each case the restriction was imposed for absolutely no valid reason, and in violation of Rule A I 37.

A dramatic example of isolation is reflected in the visiting restrictions, which include denial of contact visiting all together (Oscar López at USP Marion and Alejandrina Torres at the Lexington Women's Control Unit), to denial of all social visits (non-immediate family) (Oscar López, Alejandrina Torres, Carlos A. Torres). The UNSMRPT clearly provides for communication of prisoners, including of visits, with family and friends (Rule A I 37) and that prison staff be responsible for maintaining and improving the prisoner's relationship with their families (Rule A II 61). See also Rule A II 79, that special attention be paid to maintenance and improvement of prisoner-family relationships.

Another manifestation of isolation is the assignment of the sentenced prisoners to pretrial detention centers which are ill-equipped to provide programs or services to people with lengthy sentences, in disregard for the provisions of Rule A II 66 (1). Dylcia Pagan, Ida Luz Rodríguez, Haydeé Beltrán, and Alejandrina Torres have all spent periods of months to years in such settings, often at great expense to their physical well being.<sup>2</sup> Oscar López Rivera was kept in such a jail for over one year. He was held in a solid steel closed-front sensory deprivation cell 23 to 24 hours a day, equipped with plumbing that brought his neighbor's excrement into the toilet in his cell (Rule A I 12), with absolutely no ventilation (Rule A I 10, 11 (a)), no access to fresh air or sunshine (Rule A I 21 (1)), denied all interaction with other prisoners, and shackled upon leaving for any purpose (Rule A I 33). Recreational opportunities consisted of being placed in a corridor outside the cell, where there is nothing to do. (Rule A II 78).

A less subtle form of isolation in the Control Unit, which describes Marion Federal Prison<sup>3</sup>, where following a year in pretrial jail, Oscar López Rivera was confined alone to a cell 23 hours daily; FCI Alderson's Davis Hall, where Ida Luz Rodríguez and Haydeé Beltrán were held for ten months, the only two prisoners in the unit, prohibited from seeing other prisoners; and the Women's Control Unit at Lexington, where Alejandrina Torres was prohibited from contact with other prisoners. With regard to Marion Prison, it is pertinent to point out that it was the first prison in the United States to be observed and condemned by Amnesty International.<sup>4</sup> Using the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners as an international norm, Amnesty's observer concluded:

Within Marion, violations of the Standard Minimum Rules are common. Although this report deals only with some facts of life at Marion, a comparison of the Standard Minimum Rules with

<sup>2</sup> This punishment by close confinement violates Rule A I, 30, 32.

<sup>3</sup> Marion is the only prison in the history of the United States to be observed by Amnesty International whose report on that prison facility is highly critical.

<sup>4</sup> Amnesty International, Allegations of Ill-Treatment in Marion Prison, Illinois, U.S.A., May 1987.

the conditions at Marion...shows there is hardly a rule in the Standard Minimum Rules that is not infringed in some way or other. The reason has to do with the purpose of Marion. According to the Standard Minimum Rules, treatment of persons shall have as its purpose encouraging self-respect and developing a sense of responsibility amongst inmates. The purpose of Marion, however, is security. All other considerations are secondary.

The effects of living under the "sordid and horrible" conditions reveal the human toll. Says POW López:

*The last few months have been rather lethargic for me. The intellectual and spiritual stimulation is lacking. I don't like to feel that the environment is stagnating or stifling me, yet that's the reality.*

The government also seeks to isolate the prisoners from their attorneys and legal advisers. Tactics range from denying legal visits to opening mail that is, by U. S. law, confidential between attorney and client to electronically eavesdropping on confidential legal visits.

A final example of isolation is to prevent these men and women from communicating with each other. In addition to seeking to demoralize them the U.S. also seeks to preclude the prisoners from effectively preparing their case for presentation to international tribunals and other global forums, such as this one.

### **Destabilization**

To ensure that no one gets too "comfortable", prison officials maintain a practice of program assignment, changes, moves from one cell or unit to another, and transfers between prisons -sometimes frequent and sometimes infrequent, always without notice or legitimate reason. While the concrete act itself is disruptive to the individual, resulting in lost property, (Rule A I 43) unforwarded mail, and severed friendships with social prisoners; the anticipation of abrupt changes is itself unsettling. The transport of the prisoners has often been dangerous for them, traveling at break-neck speed or being escorted by drunken prison guards, in violation of Rule A I 45 (2). Transfers are generally carried out in military fashion, sometimes complete with convoy and helicopters accompanying. On occasion the timing of the transfers has been calculated to maximize the destabilizing effects. Elizam Escobar's family came on their annual visit from Puerto Rico to see their son, and spent a day with him in the prison in which he had been for one year. The following day they returned to the prison, only to be told he had been transferred to another prison hundreds of miles away. See Rules A II 61, A I 37. Years later, this same man was transferred at the Thanksgiving/Christmas holidays, a difficult time for many people in prison, and then held incommunicado in segregation over Christmas and New Year's. This transfer was to punish this artist for painting - timed to coincide with the publication of a catalog of his work and the opening of an exhibit to commence a national tour of his paintings and drawings. He was placed in a prison where he was prohibited from painting for almost a year.



### **Criminalization**

Officials have accused the prisoners of prison rule violations for several purposes, none of which are legitimate. Rules A I 27032 establishes a due process regimen calling for rules, notices of violation thereof, the opportunity for self-defense, and proscribing "all cruel, inhuman or degrading punishments." In spite of these international minimum standards, and though the U.S. has a set of rules that on paper meet the minimum standards, the government's political motivation to destroy these prisoners, and through them, their movement, dictates abuse of the disciplinary process. First, accusations result in disciplinary segregation, allowing physical isolation and disruption of the prisoners' routine. Second, the arbitrary invoking of rules, castigating previously unpunished conduct, assists in destabilization. Third, criminalization is calculated to defame and demoralize. "Dirty" urine has supposedly resulted from "random" testing, as occurred with Carlos Alberto Torres, clearly meant to slur this man and the movement, who politically reject the use of drugs because of the devastation they wreak on the Puerto Rican community. Finally, and most significantly, officials create adverse disciplinary records by this means which they then use to "justify" higher security classifications and transfers to maximum security prisons or Control Units.

### **Humiliation and Degradation**

To belittle the prisoners and the movement they represent, official actions run the gamut. They have assigned demeaning tasks to POW's. (Ricardo Jiménez was ordered to pick cigarette butts out of the cracks in the sidewalk) (Rule A II 71) and illegally denied them privileges afforded to social prisoners. Rule A II 70.

The UNMSRTP expressly prohibits disrespect for the human dignity of prisoners. Rules A II 60 (1), A II 65. Yet the U.S. prisons' use for the "strip search," loudly condemned by Irish political prisoners, parallels and may even surpass its use by the British government. The procedure is not a search at all, for it is invoked without even a suspicion that the person is carrying contraband. Rather, it is an occasion to dehumanize, a non-consensual disrobing when guards usually require the men to lift their scrotum, the women to lift their breasts, and both to bend over and spread their gluteal cheeks. Examples of its use are instructive. Oscar López Rivera was made to disrobe before guards who recorded the procedure on videotape. Prison staff invoked the strip search so often that one day he was made to strip seven times: Carmen Valentín was recently searched three times in a row following a visit with her teenage son.

### **Physical assault and sexual abuse**

Taking humiliation and degradation one step further, prison authorities have made the prisoners targets of physical and sexual assaults. The UNSM RTP prohibits aggravating the suffering inherent in imprisonment (Rule A II 57) as well as officers' use of force except in rare and clearly delineated circumstances. Rule A I 54 (1). Flaunting the Minimum Standards, officials have placed an inordinate focus on Alejandrina Torres, with whom they have consistently experimented in this regard. In three different prisons, guards have attacked her physical and psychological integrity. The first assault was the

most indirect - locking her in an all male unit, in violation of Rule A I 8(a), and permitting men to expose themselves to her. Prison staff then took a more active role, when a male lieutenant wrenched her arm behind her back, costing her the use of her arm for two years, and then forcefully held her head between his knees watching as female guards tore off her clothes and exposed her naked body to this man. In another prison, a male guard conducted regular pat-down searches, fondling her breasts. See Rule A I 53(3). And, before taking her to the Women's Control Unit, as four women guards held her down, a male prison employee rammed his fingers up her vagina and anus, painfully invading her body cavities in a "search", though devoid of even a suspicion that she had secreted contraband. And most recently four male guards ogled at her naked chest, refusing to allow her to receive a needed electrocardiogram in private.

Other political prisoners and POWS have also been assaulted-Orlando González Claudio, choked unconscious and beaten for the "heinous crime" of wearing a small cloth Puerto Rican flag on his shirt; Elizam Escobar, beaten during a hunger strike as officials sought to impose medical intervention; Haydeé Beltrán, weighing 90 pounds, severely beaten while exemplars of her hair were forcibly taken.

#### **Denial of Medical Treatment**

The UNMSRTP applicable to prisoners under sentence provide for diagnosis and treatment of any medical problem "which may hamper a prisoner's rehabilitation. All necessary medical (and) surgical...services shall be provided to that end." Rule A II 62. Disregarding the Minimum Rules, prison staff and health care providers alike routinely inform the POWS that, in spite of their serious medical needs, they are "security cases" not "medical cases." This label leads not only to serious adverse physical consequences but is also a means of government psychological gamesmanship, in its announcement to intentionally deprive needed medical attention to these men and women whose sentences would keep them in custody virtually all of their lives. It also ignores the mandate of Rules A I 22-26 that adequate medical services be provided. Haydeé Beltrán is sterile today because for five years prison officials refused to treat her pelvic inflammatory disease, ignoring her episodes of drastic weight loss and pelvic pain so severe she could not stand up. Felix Rosa's entire arm swelled from an infection in his finger, left unattended by officials who refused to take him to a nearby hospital. Oscar López Rivera's rectal bleeding for 8 months was aggravated by an intrusive examination and then ignored. It took officials three months to take Alejandrina Torres to the third floor of the same building that houses the Control Unit for needed eye and cardiac examinations. Alicia Rodríguez, undergoing surgery for a large uterine tumor, was disappeared to an undisclosed hospital where she remained shackled to the bed throughout surgery, recovery and recuperation.

#### **Assassination**

Angel Rodríguez Cristóbal, a young family man active in the independence movement on the island, took part in a 1979 demonstration to protest the presence of the U.S. navy on the tiny island of Vieques.

Along with twenty others, he was arrested and charged with a misdemeanor. Following conviction, he was taken to prison in the U.S. The government placed him in FCI Tallahassee in Florida to serve a six month sentence. There he was forcibly injected with thorazine. Nevertheless, he enjoyed a visit from his attorney, talked of continuing pro-independence work and returning to his family and country upon his imminent release. Hours later he was dead. The gash on his head belies government claims that he committed suicide by hanging.

### **Sensory Deprivation**

On October 1986, the U.S. opened the Women's Control Unit, a prison within a prison, and the only one of its kind in the United States. This small unit, which is underground, housed only POW Alejandrina Torres and four other women, two of whom are also in prison for political activity against the U.S. government.<sup>5</sup> Its capacity is 16 women, and is ill-equipped to provide for the needs of the women interned therein. Rule A II 63 (4). The special conditions which apply in no other prison in the U.S. embody the "denial system," and include:

- placement of political prisoners and POW'S in the Unit solely because of political associations).
- indefinite length of stay in the Unit, with no stated policy of how one earns one's way out, (except possibly renouncing one's political association).
- performances of non-consensual vaginal and rectal cavity "searches" conducted by male prison employees prior to placement in the Unit. The prison officials denied them the option of x-rays, an option offered to men housed at the only other federal Control Unit, Marion Federal Prison.
- a policy of no contact visits with family or lawyers which, for a time, was not enforced with them.
- no visits whatsoever with people other than immediate family (Rule A I 37).
- limited visiting hours (Rule A I 37, A II 61, A II 79).
- an initial restriction on correspondence, limited to 15 people, who must first submit to FBI and prison screening and approval (Rule A I 37).
- censorship or rejection of all political literature (Rules A I 39, 40).
- visitors - family and attorneys - will be denied unless they submit to being photographed twice by officials before entering.
- denial of religious services and congregational worship, as well as denial of religious visits from any non-prison employed clergy (Rules A I 41(3), 42, A II 59).
- denial of interaction with any other prisoner.
- denial of participation in normal work and recreation activities (Rule A II 71-75).
- denial of haircuts (Rule A I 16).

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<sup>5</sup> Susan Rosenberg and Silvia Baraldini are anti-imperialists active in social justice issues.

- limited recreation in a small outside yard surrounded by a tall wooden fence to prevent sensory stimulation (Rule A II 78).

- strip "searches" every time they return from recreation in the outside yard.

- special uniforms purportedly designed to keep the women "feminine" (Rule A I 17 (1)).

- denial of all privacy - guards and video cameras are present at all times, including a camera aimed at the shower, which has no curtain or provides no privacy.

- placement in closed front cells painted stark white, in a unit painted stark white.<sup>6</sup>

- virtually no natural light or ventilation. Rule A I 11(a).

- limitation of personal property to 5 books and 10 photographs.

The government asserts that placement in the unit is merely a classification and is not for discipline or punishment. Yet the conditions approximate those of disciplinary custody, in total disregard for the provisions of Rule A I 30. Bureau of Prisons documents reveal that all three political prisoners were assigned to the unit because of their political beliefs and associations. *Baraldini vs. Meese*, 691 F. Supp. 432 (Wash., D.C., 1988). Neither Alejandrina Torres nor any of the women in the Control Unit have been notified of, tried for, or found guilty of a prison rule violation. Furthermore, officials have announced policies here distinct from those at other maximum security prisons: media are prohibited from bringing cameras into the Unit.

The women begun to experience some of the predictable psychopathological effects of long term solitary confinement,<sup>7</sup> including lethargy, inability to concentrate, memory lapses, loss of appetite, and problems with eyesight (See Rule A I 32).

So unusual is this Unit that Amnesty International has determined that the allegations of human rights violations meet its criteria and has concluded:

*The conditions and regime are deliberately and gratuitously oppressive. The constant and unjustified use of security chains, the repeated strip searching, lack of sensory stimuli, freedom of movement, possessions, choice of activities and incestuously small range of contacts cannot be other than debilitating... There is overwhelming evidence that the prisoners at HSU have deteriorated physically and psychologically during their custody there. There has to be a prospect that one or more will finally resort to suicide should their custody at HSU be prolonged.<sup>8</sup>*

<sup>6</sup> Public pressure has resulted in a change of wall color, now a drab institutional beige.

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., Grassian, Stuart, "The Psychopathological Effects of Solitary Confinement", 140 *American Journal of Psychiatry*, pp. 1450-1454 (November 1983); Amnesty International's *Work on Prison Conditions of Persons Suspected or Convicted of Isolation and Solitary Confinement*; May, 1980; Amnesty International's *Current Work on the Federal Republic of Germany*, February 20, 1986.

<sup>8</sup> Amnesty International, *The High Security Unit, Lexington Federal Prison, Kentucky, U.S.A.* August, 1988, at p. 15.

Even the United States federal court concurred that unit "in many respects measures below acceptable standard for federal prisons," noting prison officials' "gross insensitivity" and operation of a unit that "has skirted elemental standards of human decency." 691 F. Supp. at 447.

After months of public pressure, the Bureau of Prisons announced it would close the Lexington High Security Unit in favor of a larger unit, to which it would "transfer the mission" of the HSU. Soon after the August, 1988 opening of the Marianna Unit, the Bureau of Prisons stated its intention to place there four Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, if it could get around the court order prohibiting placement of women based on their political beliefs and affiliations. Three of the cited women - Dylcia Pagan, Carmen Valentín and Ida Luz Rodríguez - have served several years of exemplary conduct without incident, in the general population of an open, coed prison in Pleasanton, Ca. The fourth woman is Alejandrina Torres. The government has acknowledged that the only basis for such placement is the women's affiliations with the FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional - Armed Forces for National Liberation).<sup>9</sup> Rule AI6(1) UNSMRTP.

The government asserted that "Their FALN affiliation and their participation in the seditious conspiracy were virtually co-extensive". Id. This virtual recognition of the status of political prisoner, accompanied by the harsh and discriminatory treatment of the Puerto Rican prisoners of war and political prisoners, flies in the face of the U.S. government's denial that it has no political prisoners.

#### **Conclusion:**

In concluding, we wish to bring to your attention the part of the judgement of the Permanent People's Tribunal related to the actual criminalizing and persecuting of opponents of the colonial status of Puerto Rico:

"This Tribunal is convinced that Puerto Rico nationalists deserve to be treated as political prisoners and given protection as "prisoners of war" in accordance with the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Geneva Protocols of 1977. As such, all Puerto Rican political figures, currently in custody, should be released forthwith or, at minimum, should be sent into exile in a country whose government is prepared to grant asylum".

We ask that United Nations Human Rights Commission send representatives to the United States to interview the political prisoners and Prisoners of War, particularly Oscar López Rivera at Marion, Ill and Alejandrina Torres at MCC San Diego, Ca., since transferred to Pleasanton Federal Correctional Institute in Ca., and report on their conditions. We further ask that the Commission establish a committee to review and monitor their prison conditions.

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<sup>9</sup> Baraldini v. Thornburgh, No. 88-5275 (D.C. Cir.), defendants' motion to expedite appeal.

# *Freedom Now!*

## Campaign for Amnesty and Human Rights for Political Prisoners in the U.S.A.

Item 12  
46th Session  
Commission on Human Rights  
Geneva, Switzerland

Representative: Robert J. Boyle, Esq.

On behalf of Freedom Now: Campaign for Amnesty and Human Rights for Political Prisoners in the United States, I wish to express my deep appreciation for the opportunity to address this distinguished Body.

All those concerned with human rights are experiencing much joy over the release of Nelson Mandela by the apartheid regime in South Africa. The international human rights community should take pride in the role that it played in securing his release from 27 years of unjust, brutal, imprisonment. With the release of Mr. Mandela, it is now the United States of America which holds the longest held political prisoners in the world. New Afrikan/Black political prisoners Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt, Dhoruba bin-Wahad, Sundiata Acoli, and Jalil Bottom, to name a few, have been illegally imprisoned for nearly 20 years. Carlos Alberto Torres, Dylcia Pagan, Ricardo Jiminez, and other Puerto Rican Prisoners of War have been incarcerated in violation of international law for nearly 10 years. Leonard Peltier, a Native American and an internationally recognized victim of a politically-motivated frame-up, has just completed his 14th year of maximum security imprisonment. North American (white) political prisoner Ed Mead, has been incarcerated since 1976 and has been told that he will never be paroled.

At this Body's 45th session, Freedom Now briefly addressed the issue of political prisoners in the United States. Since that time, a team of human rights activists, legal workers, and attorneys have conducted an analysis of the cases of scores of prisoners in the United States in an effort to document their status as political prisoners under international law, to wit: Resolutions 1984/2B and 1988/39 of this Body and Protocol II of the 1977 Protocols to the Geneva Convention. What we have discovered is that although the United States has a Constitution which allegedly guarantees freedom of speech, freedom of association and due process of law, these guarantees are regularly not applied in the cases of political dissidents, particularly those who are Black, Puerto Rican and/or Native American. In the cases of many of these prisoners, evidence has been fabricated and "rights" trampled upon. The right to an "appeal" is, in most instances, a meaningless formality. Moreover, once sentenced, these political activists are singled out for mistreatment and abuse due to his or her race, religion, or political beliefs.

### I. The Existence of Political Prisoners in the United States

Many of the New Afrikan/Black political prisoners in the United States

were once members of an organization in the 1960's and 1970's called the Black Panther Party (BPP). The BPP, along with other organizations at that time, was engaged in a struggle for political empowerment in the African-American community. Their programs included community control of education, adequate health care, and an end to the genocidal proliferation of drugs in the community. The response by the United States government was one of brutal repression. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) instituted a covert program known as COINTELPRO. This counterintelligence program was, according to government documents, designed to "neutralize" the African-American liberation movement. An FBI memorandum dated April 3, 1968 describes in candidly racist terms the goal of COINTELPRO.

"The Negro youth and moderate must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teaching, they will be dead revolutionaries."

By the late 1960's, every Black leader who had not been slain, imprisoned, or hounded into exile, was a target for COINTELPRO neutralization. By 1971 FBI covert operations had all but destroyed the Black Panther Party. The leadership of the BPP was hunted down, arrested, and falsely prosecuted on "criminal" charges. In many cases, there is now overwhelming proof that evidence at trial was fabricated and exculpatory evidence suppressed or destroyed. In all instances, the trials of these activists took place at a time when COINTELPRO was unknown to the public. Thus, they could not show a jury - or the community - that their "criminal" prosecution was in fact, a method for their political internment. It has only been through years of litigation that government documents have been obtained which prove these frame-ups. Yet, in spite of all the evidence collected, these political prisoners remain in jail.

The U.S. government continues to ignore international law on the question of the colonial status of Puerto Rico. Once again, in August 1989, the United Nations Committee on Decolonization issued resolutions calling upon the government to grant the people of Puerto Rico a meaningful exercise of their right to self-determination and to release all political prisoners and prisoners of war. Yet, the United States continues to illegally hold 13 Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and political prisoners for alleged acts, whose purpose was to end the 92-year colonial domination of Puerto Rico.

## II. Human Rights Abuses

In 1989, human rights abuses to political prisoners in United States jails continued unabated. These include the political use of the death penalty, expansion of control units, preventive detention, and religious persecution.

A. Death Penalty: Black political prisoner Mumia Abu Jamal, a former radio broadcaster in the Black community in Philadelphia, PA remains on death row even though there is compelling evidence that he is innocent. In arguing for the death penalty, the prosecutor stressed that Mumia had been a member of the Black Panther Party in the 1960's.

B. Control Units: In 1988, a federal judge in Washington, D.C. had ruled that it was unconstitutional to house three women at the high security unit in Lexington, KY solely due to their political beliefs. The Lexington control unit has been denounced by human rights organizations worldwide for

its use of sensory deprivation techniques. In 1989, however, an appeals court reversed, holding that it was permissible for prison authorities to take into account political views they consider "revolutionary" when classifying a prisoner to a control unit. Since that ruling, Black POW Sekou Odinga and North American political prisoners Raymond Levasseur and Thomas Manning have been moved to high security units solely due to their political beliefs. Puerto Rican POW Oscar Lopez has been held at Marion, IL under 23-hour-per-day lockup for the last three years, solely due to his political associations. In New York State, Black political prisoner Bashir Hameed is currently housed in indefinite solitary confinement because, according to prison officials, he has "speaking" and "organizing" abilities.

C. Health Care: The water provided to prisoners at the federal penitentiary in Marion, IL has been found to be so toxic that local residents refuse to drink it and purchase water from the next county. Yet, prison authorities refuse to permit objective scientists to gather samples from the water and test it for toxins.

D. Preventive Detention: North American prisoner Laura Whitehorn has spent nearly five years in prison and has yet to be tried for any alleged offense. Ms. Whitehorn is detained under the "Bail Reform Act of 1984" which permits detention without bail prior to trial. In the past, this law has been used against numerous political activists in the Black Liberation movement, Puerto Rican Independence Movement and against other North-American political prisoners.

E. Religious Persecution: Contrary to the Constitution of the United States as well as international law, Muslim prisoners are regularly harassed or their right to practice their religion, totally denied. In 1988-89, Black political prisoner Dhoruba bin-Wahad, who had previously been elected Imam on an inmate Mosque, spent 18 months in solitary confinement for speaking out against religious persecution in the prisons. Currently, both Sekou Odinga and Bashir Hameed cannot attend Jum'ah services because they are confined to control units.

In order to call further attention to the existence of political prisoners in the United States, Freedom Now is sponsoring an international tribunal in New York City on April 27-29, 1990. Presiding at this Tribunal will be 10 respected jurists and human rights activists from around the world. We urge this Body to send representatives to this Tribunal as part of an independent investigation into the existence of political prisoners within the United States and the human rights abuses they suffer while incarcerated.

Madame Chairperson, thank you for permitting us to address this Body on this important question of human rights.

Robert Boyle, Esq.  
For Freedom Now



## Support the Resistance Conspiracy Case:

# An Open Letter to the Progressive Community

The Contra war... the invasion of Grenada... increasing racist attacks... more violence against women, lesbians and gay men here in the U.S....

The U.S. government wants us to "forgive and forget" those responsible for these crimes. Yet some activists who opposed these crimes now face life in prison.

One of Ed Meese's last actions before leaving the Justice Dept. was to order the indictment of six long-time political activists on charges of protesting U.S. domestic and international policies through "violent and illegal means."

Like other recent political trials, *U.S. v. Whitehorn, et al.* (The Resistance Conspiracy Case) targets domestic opponents of illegal practices such as the contra war against Nicaragua and the invasion of Grenada. The investigation of these defendants is linked to the recent illegal FBI investigations of CISPES and the Central America solidarity movement. Like them, it's characterized by massive FBI misconduct and illegality.

The six — Alan Berkman, Tim Blunk, Marilyn Buck, Linda Evans, Susan Rosenberg, and Laura Whitehorn — are charged with being part of a network of groups that claimed responsibility for bombings of government and military buildings in 1983-85, including the 1983 bombing of the U.S. Capitol after the invasion of Grenada. No one was injured in any of these actions. The government makes no claim to know who actually carried out the bombings. Rather, it wants to convict the defendants by proving that they shared a "common purpose" of resisting illegal U.S. war crimes: "guilt by political association."

The government has already put these defendants through fourteen separate political prosecutions. Five of the defendants are already serving sentences of up to 70 years. The sixth has been held in preventive detention for 2 1/2 years. This April, the trial judge dismissed all charges against three of the defendants on the grounds of double jeopardy, but the Justice Department has vowed to fight the decision.

The government wants to stage a show trial to have a chilling effect on activists. It uses the guise of security to create an atmosphere of fear and intimidation to make a fair trial impossible. A bulletproof plexiglass wall in the courtroom separates the defendants from their families and supporters. Surveillance cameras in the courtroom are trained on defendants and spectators.

This is political persecution, not a criminal prosecution. The targets are people who have shown a deep commitment to human rights and social justice over many years. There may be political disagreements among us, but we are all part of the community of people in the U.S. who have opposed and tried to stop the murderous, inhumane and illegal practices of the Reagan administration. The defendants in this case, like the other political prisoners in this country, need to be returned to our communities and not disappear into the prison system. We must lend our voices and support to ensure their rights — and thereby our own. We ask you to join in a campaign to halt this vindictive prosecution. Stopping this last prosecution brought by Reagan and Meese can be an important step in dismantling their legacy of a politicized criminal justice system and resurgent FBI.

- Drop this politically motivated indictment
- Stop preventive detention/Release Laura Whitehorn on bail
- Remove the bulletproof wall and surveillance cameras from the courtroom

ACT-UP/Atlanta  
 ACT-UP/Chicago  
 ACT-UP/Los Angeles  
 ACT-UP/Maine  
 ACT-UP/New York  
 ACT-UP/Portland  
 ACT-UP/Seattle  
 ACT-UP/Syracuse  
 Brian Adams, D.C. Pledge of Resistance\*  
 Kwame K. Afek, Minister of Foreign Affairs,  
 Prov. Gov't, Republic of New Afrika  
 Jane Aiken, Law Prof., Arizona State Univ.  
 Adjoa Aiyetoro, Nat'l Conf. of Black Lawyers\*  
 Nancy Ailsberg, National Lawyers' Guild  
 Akil Al-Jundi, Attica Rebellion Org. Cmte.\*  
 Anarchist Black Cross, Toronto  
 Shelley Anderson, Ed., *Disarmament Campaigns* (Netherlands)  
 Rafael Anglada-López, Attorney & Puerto  
 Rican Independence Activist  
 Pedro Archuleta, Movimiento de Liberación  
 Nacional Mexicana

Axe Street Arena, Artists' Collective (Chi.)  
 Charity Baker, Women for Guatemala\*  
 Marion Banhart, ACT-UP/NY  
 Silvia Baraldini, Political Prisoner  
 Madeline Bassett, *Winnipeg Prisoners' Survival Network* (Canada)  
 Agnes Bawerlein, AVCO Plowshares\*  
 Alison Bechdel, *Dykes to Watch Out For*\*  
 Brian Becker, Workers World Party  
 Behr, KMRB Women's Radio Collective (CA)  
 Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement\*  
 Lynn Bernabei & Debra Katz, Attorneys  
 Rev. Dan Berrigan, Peace Activist  
 Rev. Theodore & Mary Ann Blunk, Cmt. of Family & Friends  
 Henry "Camomilo" Bortman, Grand Jury Resister  
 Father Bob Bozse, S.C.J., Eighth Day Ctr. for Justice\*, Chicago

Anke Bronnke-Eggers and 14 other West  
 German political attorneys  
 Bob Brown, All-African People's Revolutionary Party\*  
 Rita "Be" Brown, Former Political Prisoner  
 Haywood Burns, Past Pres., National Lawyers Guild  
 Ken Burtigan, Nat'l Dir., Pledge of Resistance\*  
 Ruth K. Cadwallader, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom\*  
 Francis Calputura, All. for Philippine Concerns\*  
 Rev. Dr. Benjamin S. Chavis, Jr., Commission for Racial Justice\*  
 Ward Churchill, Colorado AIM  
 Judy Clark, Political Prisoner  
 Kingsley Clarke, Atty., NE Illinois U.  
 Jan Clauson, Writer  
 Shirley A. Croyes, Dir., Lawrence Hill Books\*  
 Felice & John Cohen-Jopps, Eds., *The Nuclear Resister*\*

Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES)  
 Committee to End the Marian Lockdown  
 Committee to Fight Repression (NY)  
 Community for Creative Non-Violence (D.C.)  
 Barb Corbel, Feminist Voices\*  
 Michael Cowan, Exec. Dir., Nat. Lawyers' Guild  
 Richard Coontes, Coordinator, Native American Support Network\*  
 CRY OUT/Pittsburgh  
 Cacajewiah, AIM, East Coast\*  
 Angela Davis, National Alliance Against Racist & Political Repression\*  
 Ray Davis, D.C. Student Coalition against Apartheid and Racism (D.C. SCAR)  
 Susie Day, Writer  
 D.C. Student Coalition against Apartheid and Racism (D.C. SCAR)  
 Skip Delano, Vietnam Veterans Against the War (Anti-Imperialist)\* (over)

## More Signers to the Open Letter

**Dave Dellinger**, Peace Activist  
**Michael Dautsch**, People's Law Office  
**Art D'Luigi**  
**Ferd Egan**, ACT-UP/Chicago  
**Arawa Eibhyn**, Nat'l. Coord., ACT-NOW\*  
**Ruth Eisenberg**, Whitman-Walker Clinic\*  
**Soffiyah Elijah**, Attorney  
**Elizam Escobar**, Puerto Rican Prisoner of War  
**Rachael & John Evans**, Cmte. of Family & Friends  
**Eva Faber**, OUT!  
**Luis Nieves Falcón**, Pres., Puerto Rico PEN\*  
**Families of the Political Prisoners in the FRG (West Germany)**  
**Danielle Fautoux**, Arts for a New Nicaragua\*  
**Fight for Life Committee/ACT-NOW/FL**  
**David Filipowaki**, North American Greens\*  
**Film Project for Women & History & Future** (Chi.)  
**Dick Fine**, M.D.  
**Lisa Fithian & Mark Anderson**, Co-Coord., Washington Peace Center\*  
**Henry Foner**, Past Pres., UFCW Int'l. Union, Local 1-FLM-FJC\*  
**Jeanette Ford**, Lesbian Activist  
**Russ Ford**, Draft Resistor  
**Free Puerto Rico Committee**  
**Alexa Freeman**, Attorney  
**Louise Franklin-Ramirez**, Hiroshima/Nagasaki Peace Cmte.\*  
**Rus Ervin Funk**, Coordinator, Men's Anti-Rape Resource Center\* (D.C.)  
**Ana Lucin Galabert**, Prisoners United for Revolutionary Education, TX  
**Jean Gibbs**, Ctr. for Const. Rights\*  
**David Gilbert**, Pol. Prisoner & AIDS Activist  
**Jack Gifford**, Actor  
**Vince Godwin**, Nat'l. Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America\*  
**Rennie Golden**, Writer & Sanctuary Activist  
**Tina Gomoll**  
**Mark Gambiner**, Attorney  
**Judy Greenspan**, Nat'l. Prison Project\*  
**Ruth Greenspan**, Cmte. of Family & Friends  
**Hag Rag Intergalactic Lesbian Feminist Newspaper**, WI  
**Bill Hall**, Co-Coordinator, Environmental Project on Central America\*  
**Vincent Hallinan**, Attorney  
**Peggy Halsey**, Gen. Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church\*  
**Neelle Hanrahan**, Writer  
**Mary Harding**, Coalition of Labor Union Women\*  
**Jackie J. Haught**, Inst. of Traditional Chinese Medicine\*  
**Her Turn Collective**, WORT-FM, Madison\*  
**Andy Hernandez**, Ass't Dean, Williams College  
**Lennox Hinds**, Int'l. Assoc. of Democratic Jurists\*  
**Sarah Holmes**, Lesbian Activist  
**Theresa Horvath**, Physician's Assistant  
**Sr. Mary Kay Hunyadi**, Bay Area Pledge of Resistance\*  
**Peggy Hutchinson**, Tucson Sanctuary Deter-dant  
**Sue Hyde**, Nat'l. Gay & Lesbian Task Force\*  
**Gary Indiana**  
**Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), SW Ohio Gen. Membership**  
**Jacobin Books**  
**Eric Jackson**, Attorney  
**Mumia Abu Jamal**, Political Prisoner

**JEB (John E. Biren)**, Photographer  
**John Brown Anti-Klan Committee**  
**A. Billy S. Jones**, Nat'l. Coalition of Black Lesbians & Gays\*  
**June Jordan**, Writer  
**C.J. Joyce**, U.S.-Cuba Women's Exchange  
**Marilyn Kalman**, Attorney  
**Bob Kaspar**, Earth First\*  
**Flo Kennedy**  
**Gillian Kerley**, Exec. Dir., Committee Against Registration & the Draft\*  
**Arthur Kinoy**, Attorney  
**KMUD Women's Radio Collective (CA)**  
**Yuri Kochiyama**, Human Rights Activist  
**Sally Koplin**, Organizing Against Pornography\*, MoIs.  
**James Koplin**  
**Dr. Richard Kora**, Prof. of Criminology, John Jay College  
**Ren Kuby**, Attorney  
**William M. Kunster**, Ctr. for Constitutional Rights\*  
**Mark Lane**, Attorney  
**Ring Lardner, Jr. & Frances Chaney**  
**Trella Laughlin**, Community TV Producer  
**Bob Lederer**, Writer & AIDS Activist  
**Ken Lerch**, Pres., Nat'l. Assoc. of Letter Carriers, Branch 3025  
**Lesbians and Gays Against Intervention (LAGAI)**, S.F.  
**Harold Loventhal**  
**Betty & Norman Liveright**, Berkshire Forum  
**Lucille Lockhart**, San Francisco Human Rights Commission\*  
**José López**, Movimiento de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña  
**Jonathan Lubell**, Attorney  
**Chokwe Lumumba**, Chm., New African People's Org.  
**Elizabeth McAllister**, Peace Activist  
**Rob McClure & Joe Magic**, Progressive Student Network\*  
**Bon McMurray**, Student Orgs. United for Peace, E. Michigan U.  
**Paul Magno**, Ploshares Activist\*  
**Tom Manning**, Political Prisoner  
**Esperanza Martell**, Puerto Rican Cmte. Against Repression  
**Francisco "Kike" Martínez**, Former Political Prisoner  
**Alfredo Martínez-García**, ACT-OUT, Orlando  
**Ell Mossinger**, Health Activist  
**Matt Meyer**, War Resisters' League\*  
**Arthur J. Miller**, Ed., *Bayou La Rose*  
**James "Blood" Miller**, Prisoner of War  
**Shelley Miller**, Free Puerto Rico Cmte.  
**Peter Murdoch**, Former Mayor, Ypsilanti, MI  
**Jon David Nailley**, Writer & AIDS Activist  
**Nat. Assoc. of Letter Carriers, Branch 3025**  
**National Lawyers' Guild**  
**Nelly Near**, Redwood Cultural Worker  
**New African People's Organization**  
**New Studies on the Left/Suffrage Publications Group**, Boulder  
**New York Marxist School**  
**No Pasarán Women's Group**, Chicago  
**Michael Nevick**, Guardian Bureau Chief, L.A.\*  
**Filiberto Ojeda-Ries**, Puerto Rican Political Prisoner  
**Oppression Under Target (OUT) (ACT-NOW/D.C.)**

**Suzanne Osgood**, Mental Health Rights Activist  
**Out of Control, Women's Cmte. to Support Women Political Prisoners**  
**Don Pacheco**, Prof., CUNY Law School  
**Gov Parrish**, Wash. Area War Resisters League  
**Partisan Defense Committee**  
**Alicia Partsey**, Writer & Human Rights Activist  
**Kim Petersen**, Maryland Food Co-op\*  
**Mary Patten**, Artist, ACT/UP/Chicago  
**Dr. Susan Patten**, Southern Rainbow Education Proj.\*  
**Viola Plummer**, Dec. 12th Coalition  
**Richard L. Powell**, Dorothy Day Catholic Worker\* (D.C.)  
**Prairie Fire Organizing Committee**  
**Gerónimo (Jagan) Pratt**, New African P.O.W.  
**Ann Rail**, OUT!  
**Nelson Ramirez**, Puerto Rican Grand Jury Resistor  
**Margaret Randall**, Writer  
**Boh Rapp**, Feminist Task Force\*  
**Ellen Ray & Bill Schapp**, Eds., *Covert Action Information Bulletin*  
**Revolting Lesbians (CA)**  
**Dr. Helen Rodriguez-Trías**, M.D., Health Activist  
**José Luis Rodríguez**, Nat'l. Cmte. to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War  
**Ricardo Romero**, Movimiento de Liberación Nacional Mexicano  
**Eve Rosahn**, Cmte. to Fight Repression  
**Dr. Emanuel Rosenberg & Dr. Barbara Zeller**, Cmte. of Family & Friends  
**Steve Rosenberg**, New Jewish Agenda\*  
**Nina Rosenblum**, Filmmaker  
**Annette Rubenstein**, Writer & Prof. of Lit.  
**Mark Rudd**  
**Barbara Ruth**, Ed., *Out/Inside*  
**Joel Schwartz**, Pres., CSEA Local\*  
**The Sedition Committee**  
**Pete Seeger**  
**Jeffrey Segal**, Pres., Legal Aid Workers' Union (NOLSW, Dist. 65-UAW)\*  
**Sandy Semon**, Tribade Productions\* (WI)  
**Amilcar Shabazz**, Ed., *By Any Means Necessary*\*  
**Dr. Metula Shaker**, New African P.O.W.  
**Barbara Smith**  
**Bama Smith**, Former Dir., Washington Office on Africa\*

**Jonathan Smith**, Nat. Lawyers' Guild\*  
**Mitch Snyder**, CCRV (D.C.)  
**Morton Sobell**, Former Political Prisoner  
**Southern Voice Newspaper Collective**, Atlanta  
**Ruth Staber**, Wild Roses Women's Resistance Group\*  
**Thomas Stanley**, New African Network in Defense of Pol. Prisoners & POW's  
**Don Stern**, Prof., N.E. Illinois U.  
**Bertram Stillier**  
**Faisal Sunai-AM**, New African Activist  
**Walter Teague**, Nat'l. Assoc. of Soc. Workers\*  
**Thunder Squadron M/C**, Madison  
**Susan V. Tipograph**, Attorney  
**Rev. José A. Torres**  
**Ikongo Toure**, Int'l. Council of African Women\*  
**Wotani Tyohimba**, New African People's Organization  
**Urushi Vaid**  
**Deisy Warland**, Writer  
**Washington Area Committee for Political Prisoners' Rights**  
**Washington Area NICA (Nicaragua Information Committee)**  
**Washington Area War Resisters' League**  
**Leonard Weinglass**, Attorney  
**Dr. Cory Weinstein**, Prisoners' Rights Union\*  
**West Town Community Law Office** (Chi.)  
**Chuck Winant**, WAW\*  
**Rev. Dr. Farley W. Wheelwright**, Interim Sr. Minister, Arlington St. Church, Boston  
**Mariann S. Wizard**, Austin Peace & Justice Coalition\*  
**Women Against Imperialism (CA)**  
**Women's Jail Project (WI)**  
**Peter Yarow**, Folksinger  
**Rev. Michael S. Yasutake**, Prisoner of Conscience Project, United Church of Christ\*  
**Bert Zipperer**, Madison City Council\*  
**John Zwerling**, Chm., Board of Directors, NORMA\*

**And hundreds more activists, political prisoners & other supporters.**

\* Organization for identification purposes only

\_\_\_\_ Please add my name to the "Open Letter."

\_\_\_\_ Please send more information about the case.

Enclosed is a contribution of: \_\_\_\$25 \_\_\_\$50 \_\_\_\$100 \_\_\_\$  
 (Make checks payable to: Emergency Committee for Political Prisoners)

Name (Please print) \_\_\_\_\_

Title/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_

(Clip and mail to: Emergency Cmte. for Political Prisoners  
 P.O. Box 28191, Washington, D.C. 20038-8191)

# DHORUBA IS FREE! NOW THE NEW YORK THREE!

(HERMAN BELL, ANTHONY BOTTOM & ALBERT WASHINGTON)

These Black political activists have been in prison for almost nineteen (19) years as a result of the United States government's covert military operation to destroy the Black Panther Party which was a critical part of the now widely publicized COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM (COINTELPRO).

The FBI designated the Panthers "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country" and the main target of this clandestine program. The bureau joined forces with local prosecutors and police in what amounted, in the words of a Congressional committee that later investigated COINTELPRO, to a "covert war to destroy the Black Panther Party". Calling for "imaginative and hard-hitting counter-intelligence proposals aimed at crippling the BPP," the FBI secretly decreed that "the negro youths and moderates must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teaching, they will be dead revolutionaries." **THE TIDE IS TURNING AND THE DIRTY DEEDS ARE BEING REVEALED!**

**DHORUBA IS FREE, NOW THE NEW YORK THREE!**

It is within this context that we have to view what happened with the NY3, Elmer 'Geronimo' Pratt, Robert 'Seth' Hayes and countless other BPP members who are languishing in prison across this country.

Find out how you can help:

WRITE: THE NEW YORK THREE FREEDOM CAMPAIGN  
2170 Broadway, Suite 2234  
New York, NY 10024

# OUTLINE OF THE INDICTMENT

## INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF WAR FALL 1990

### I. Introduction to the Indictment--the context for the allegations made in the Indictment

There are approximately one hundred people in prison in the United States who have been convicted because of their political activism against the policies and practices of the United States government, who are committed to struggling for justice and human rights for all people. Many of these imprisoned political activists represent the movements of oppressed nations within the United States and the world. These include Native Americans, Blacks/New Afrikans, Puerto Ricans, and Mexicans. A number of the prisoners are white Northamerican political activists who fought for the right of nations to self-determination and independence and for social change.

The U.S. government has tried to destroy these liberation and resistance movements, using a wide variety of repressive tactics such as harrassment, surveillance, assassinations, trumped up charges, grand jury subpoenas, etc. As a result many people from these movements went underground and continued their activism by means of armed struggle. Some of them have since been captured. Some who were combatants for national liberation have claimed prisoner of war status under international law. Others who continued in open political activities have also been imprisoned. The U.S. government has charged all of these people as criminals; the U.S. government is one of the few in the world which does not recognize the status of political prisoner within its own borders.

The manner in which these political activists are treated is fraught with violations of basic human rights from the time of their initial targeting for surveillance, investigation, and capture and throughout their imprisonment. The government uses its massive resources to attempt to insure that these persons will be examples to all those who dare challenge its policies and practices in order to quell dissent and immobilize the movement to make fundamental changes.

### II. The Petitioners

Freedom Now brings this Indictment on behalf of the approximately 100 political prisoners and prisoners of war imprisoned in the United States. Freedom Now is a national campaign which was inaugurated on December 10, 1988, the fortieth anniversary of the International Declaration of Human Rights, and was initiated by families and friends of political prisoners, professionals, religious leaders, and community activists concerned about the conditions under which political prisoners in the U.S. are held.

There are \_\_\_ who concur in this Indictment (in the Appendix there will be a list of those persons who have contributed \$50 to the Tribunal and have indicated their concurrence with the Indictment).

The following persons are the political prisoners and prisoners of war on whose behalf Freedom Now brings this Indictment: [A description of each prisoner will follow.]

### III. The Statement of the Case

#### A. Short history of the U.S. government's attacks on movements demanding

fundamental changes in its policies and practices. Include how prisons are generally used in the U.S. for Third World people and that conditions experienced by political prisoners are often experienced by all prisoners, especially Third World prisoners.

- B. Counter-insurgency.
- C. The nature of the indictments--what people are in jail for, how the U.S. uses criminal charges against political prisoners, the use of seditious conspiracy.
- D. The position of "prisoner of war."
- E. The case for the frame-ups--Dhoruba Bin-Wahad, Geronimo ji Jaga (pratt), Leonard Peltier.
- F. Political Internment
  - 1. Preventive detention
  - 2. Grand juries
- G. Pre-trial treatment
  - 1. Denial of attorney visits
  - 2. Isolation
  - 3. Torture
  - 4. Children/psychological torture
- H. Trial antics
  - 1. Prosecutor misconduct
  - 2. Judge misconduct
  - 3. Possible inclusion of the use of the media and story "leaks"
- I. Sentencing
  - 1. Death penalty--Mumia Abu Jamal
  - 2. Excessive sentences
- J. Incarceration
  - 1. General prison conditions
  - 2. Censorship
  - 3. Detention
  - 4. Highest security facilities
  - 5. Control units
  - 6. Privatization
  - 7. Arbitrary assignments, denial of privileges, rights, and mental and physical abuse, harassment.
- IV. Violations of U.S. laws and international law. Context in which to place U.S. government's refusal to recognize political prisoners and prisoners of war.
- V. Relief requested--Amnesty and until amnesty is granted the release of prisoners who would be eligible for release if it were not for their political views. Place this in the context of international law.

# TRIBUNAL ON POLITICAL / POW PRISONERS IN THE UNITED STATES

24 East 116th Street, New York, N.Y. 10029

(212) 860-4101

In October 1990, New York City will be the site of the Tribunal on Political/POW Prisoners in the U.S. Presiding will be an impartial body of ten internationally-known jurists and human rights experts. The judges will be presented with an indictment which outlines the conditions faced by political prisoners in the U.S. Evidence and testimony to substantiate the indictment will be given by family members, expert witnesses, and the prisoners themselves. The findings of the Tribunal will be published as a report for presentation at international and national human rights forums.

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