

# CROSSROAD

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## NEW AFRIKAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

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

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

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

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

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

## What's In A Name: The Need For Ideological Consistency

We must study Our Story ("history"), the course of social development of New Afrikan people, with its roots on the Afrikan continent. We must undertake this study with the **critical use of the analytical & philosophical tools provided by dialectical materialism, revolutionary political economy, the sciences of national liberation & socialist revolutions, the world revolutionary process, & the party building process.** When We begin to study Our Story in this way, We'll see that New Afrikan national reality has its roots on the Afrikan continent, since the societies from which We were forcibly taken into colonial bondage ("slavery") had developed social structures (stratifications, classes), political & economic institutions. (1)

It used to seem all so simple, the naming of people predicated on nationality, didn't it? People seemed to be either White, Black, Mexican, Chinese, Filipino, etc., didn't they? There didn't appear to be any complexity to any of these descriptions. If you were dark with curly hair you were Black, or prior to that, Negro. If you had no color & straight hair you were White. If you had slanted eyes you were Chinese. If you looked Chinese, but had a Spanish name, you were Filipino. If you looked Indian, but spoke Spanish, you were Mexican. It was all so simple then, or was it?

Actually, it has never been easy. Well, in the beginning, of course, it was relatively easy to overstand the complexities of human development. Now, however, after centuries of human expansion & fusion, colonialism & forcible dispersion, nothing is the same as before. We need to check this out because old definitions of Black, White, Mexican, Chinese, & Filipino are no longer applicable. Lets begin with the definition of nationality.

Nationality, one of the forms of community of people, which follows historically the clan & tribal community, It is formed in the period of the consolidation & merging of separate tribes, of the replacement of the relations inherent in primitive-communal society by those of private ownership & of the emergence & development of classes. The formation of nationality is characterized by the changeover from blood relationship to territorial community, from a variety of tribal languages to a common language with a number of local dialects still in use. (2)

We should discard the words Black & White immediately, because they serve as obstacles to clarity when an excavation of nationality is needed. In short, this over simplification of people works to Our detriment by obscuring nationality. There is no White nationality, or Black nationality. We know this because these words of mere color differentiation do little to explain the "...formation of nationality...characterized by the changeover from blood relationship to territorial community, from a variety of tribal languages to a common language with a number of dialects still in use." The usage of misnomers of this type serve to perpetuate the obscurity needed by the colonialists to maintain their metaphysical theories of nation development.

We know that the emergence of nationalities in europe "follows historically the clan & tribal community" developments in Afrika & other parts of the world. We can see the emergence of the British nationality by the consolidation of "waves of Jutes, Angles & Saxons" who "arrived from German lands." The French nationality was brought into existence by the invasion of the Franks, led by Charlemagne from Germany. The German nationality was brought into existence by Charlemagne's "consolidation of the Saxon, Bavarian, Rhenish, Frankish & other lands." (3)

So, just as We've learned from the definition of nationality, that "...the consolidation & merging of separate tribes, of the replacement of the relations inherent in primitive-communal society of those of private ownership & of the emergence & development of classes," contribute to the development of nationality; We also find, elsewhere, in the explanation of the definition for nationality that:

Each nationality receives a collective name & accumulates elements of common culture. The nation, a new historical form of the community of people, comes into being on the basis of developing capitalist relations. (4)

We are learning through the breakup of the USSR, the Soviet empire, that several hundred nationalities & more than twenty nations have been suppressed under the misleading banner of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. We are learning that far from practicing Revolutionary Internationalism, the Russians have been practicing imperialism & neo-colonialism against oppressed nations & national minorities. Nation after nation has broken its paternal relationship with Russia & have struggled to establish themselves free of Russian domination. Unfortunately, they are turning towards capitalism. However, until We create an alternative, this will be the case.

The world is not made up of people describable by color, i.e. black, white, red, yellow, & brown. These misnomers gloss over the historical struggles of "clans & tribes" in their "consolidation & merging" towards a "changeover from blood relationship to territorial community, from a variety of tribal languages to a common language."

Is this definition universally applicable? Can We apply it to the development of other people outside of Europe & Afrika?

The Spanish conquest also brought a new people into being - children of the Indian woman & the Spaniard; later, also mixed with African slaves brought by Spain. El Mestizo. La Raza. Some called us "the cosmic people" because we mixed all the so-called races of this planet, White, Yellow, Red, & Black, to make a new people called Brown. A people born from an act of destruction; a people born from an act of rape; a new people of America, born to revolt. (5)

This, of course, was the formation of the Mexican nationality. We know that before 1521, & the Spanish conquest, that there were no such people called Mexicans. Here, again, We can see the invasion, consolidation, fusion, & emergence; from "an act of destruction", a new people, a distinct nationality. The Mexicans developed a culture from this fusion unlike that of their Spanish colonizers, as well as, distinct from that of the Aztecs & Afrikans. They became "A new people of America."

What of the Afrikans in Amerika who were captured & brought to this land during colonialism ("slavery")? Has time stood still for us, or did Our Ancestors refuse "consolidation & merging of separate tribes"?

The emergence & "history" of New Afrika, as an oppressed nation, wasn't something entirely imposed upon it from outside itself, nor has the course & rate of the nation's development been solely governed by the empire. The nation has had its own inner impulses to development, its own social productive forces & relations (e.g. "the African culture of the Negro slave was totally destroyed") during the Middle Passage & after Our arrival on the North American continent. There was a "residue" of these forces & relations, which continued their development, based primarily on

their own self-motion, in relation to - and with - the external influence of oppression. (6)

What happened, then, was that Our social development wasn't so much "destroyed," as it was paralyzed, by the colonialist interruption of Our lives. Moreover, We know that from the nationalities of Ibo, Ashanti, Ewe, Fante, & Akan, among others, came the fundamental consolidation/fusion of who We are today. The reason We use the name New Afrikan, is because it is based on the formation of nationality, through the "new historical form of the community" which "comes into being on the basis of developing capitalist relations," an essentially new nation was born. The nation, following the same social development patterns of "consolidation & merging" as all others before it, took root here, on the north amerikan continent, & We know that "each nationality receives a collective name & accumulates elements of common culture." Hence New Afrikan. New people. New Nation.

It also follows that the cultural development of the "New historical form of the community" will be qualitatively different from the colonizing power, as well as, from those decentralized "elements of common culture" from which it came. New Afrikans have a culture quite distinct from any other on the continent & certainly unlike that of amerikan settlers. It, however, doesn't stop there, as distinction is universal. That is, the Angolans, as a consequence of their own 'inner impulses to development' & subsequently Portuguese colonialism, are essentially a New Afrikan people. This is true of practically every nation & nationality in Afrika. [as well as the diaspora — ed.]

The u.s., then is a nation, but not a "multi-cultural" nation, like it claims to be. On the contrary, it is a new european nation, which as a result of its parasitical addiction to stolen labor, emerged from the second imperialist war ("WW II") as a world empire. Which it actually began as right here, with the colonization of New Afrika. The amerikans are settlers — just like the Dutch Boers in Azania (South Afrika) — occupying stolen land, through an illegal government apparatus funded by blood money. This empire, like all other empires before it, is a prison house of captive nations. New Afrika, Aztlan (the Chicano nation in the Southwest), the first nations, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Samoa, Guam, & the Virgin Islands are colonies of the u.s. empire.

They'd rather us think in terms of color, i.e. Black, White, etc., because this obscures nationality, the ardent amalgamation of people with their own culture, territory, "with a number of local dialects still in use," & a right to self-determination. Black, like Negro, is an abstract, it has no material relevance in Our struggle for ideological consistency. When We use New Afrikan to denote us as a people it is a weapon. Ideology is a weapon. A weapon, We overstand, has no mind of its own, but is guided, given "life", by the person handling it. Therefore, it can be used for a progressive (revolutionary) cause, or as a repressive (reactionary) purpose. New Afrikan is a radical, not to mention scientific, break with neo-colonial tradition plaguing and paralyzing the nation in its life or death struggle against the empire. Black, Afro-American, & African-American are reactionary words misused to denote us, that serve only to patronize the empire's neo-colonial hold on New Afrika's destiny.

The first struggle a people, any people, need to wage is the one for "a collective name." This is so because it cuts to the chase, the heart of the matter, or the nutritious value (quality) of the meal. Let's dig on this vibe for a minute, 'cause a valuable lesson can be gleaned here.

The struggle for national identity is inseparable from the struggle for independence. Yet, it has its own internal dynamic, & its manifestation can be seen to run on the north amerikan continent in continuous development from the 16th century to the present. A key element in the transition of the Black Liberation Movement is the loss of relevance of the term "black" to identify Our people, & to identify the type of consciousness innate to Our collective, national revolutionary, psyche. "Blackness" was necessary, but not sufficient, because it couldn't fulfill the

requirements of phrases & concepts needed to inspire and consolidate national consciousness; to sustain a New Afrikan (not "black") national revolutionary movement. (7)

The reason, as the Comrad points out, that "Blackness was...not sufficient" was because it failed, as a "phrase & concept," to "inspire & consolidate national consciousness." That is, because "Black" is an abstract, where nationality is concerned, it cannot perform a progressive role as a weapon for Our liberation, due to the fact that it does not go the heart of the matter. It does not point up the existence of Us as a nation of people struggling for independence from u.s. settler imperialism. It does little, if anything, to sharpen the contradiction.

New Afrikan, however, is a revolutionary "phrase & concept" that does "inspire & consolidate national consciousness." When We use New Afrikan in place of ambiguous terms like "black", "African-American", etc., it points up ideological strength by:

- 1) Linking Our social development (i.e. "history") with that which began on the Afrikan continent.
- 2) Explaining, to the degree which it does, that We are essentially a New nation of people, and
- 3) that New Afrikan people are not amerikans, but colonized citizens of Our own nation, in opposition to u.s. imperialism.

A nationality points to origins, a beginning, & usually under the lies & colonial fabrications, a Nation, buried in the archives. It is the obligation of the people of the buried Nation to dig themselves out, promote & establish themselves in the world, among the community of nations. This is done from one generation to the next.

And as the young ones come up, they know what they want (land!). And as they listen to your beautiful preaching about democracy & all those other flowery words, they know what they're supposed to have (land!). So you have a people today who not only know what they want but also know what they are supposed to have. And they are creating another generation that's coming up that not only will know what it wants & know what it should have but also will be ready & willing to do whatever is necessary to see that what they should have materializes immediately. (8)

The New Afrikan Independence Movement is waging a national liberation struggle to Free the Land, to bring into existence the socialist Republic of New Afrika. "Revolutions are fought to get control of land," Malcolm taught Us, & this is what We believe. However, without the requisite, national consciousness which flows from the overstanding of the New Afrikan ideology, ones practice will not be towards the independence of anything & certainly not for socialism.

This interrelated struggle to maintain a bio-sociological identity has an unbroken (though largely hidden & distorted) record of development that's pregnant with lessons relevant to present organizational & ideo-theoretical tasks. An examination of this record (relevant to the terms used to identify the people/Nation) would reveal key twists & turns in the Nation's eco-political development as well as its socio-cultural development. It would reveal the influence of external & objective factors as they conditioned (stimulated and/or caused retrogression) the origin, use, demise/transition of certain terms. Such an examination would also reveal the ways in which the terms were influenced on the basis of the internal

struggle & development of the national revolutionary & the bourgeois neo-colonialist trends (and the relative strengths & weaknesses of each) within the context of the nation's overall development, & in its struggle against the empire for independence. (9)

With all of the above in mind, in closing, We'd like simply to say that when We start calling "white" people by their nationality (amerikan, french, german, portuguese, etc.) & Ourselves by Ours (New Afrikan, Angolans, Azanians, etc.) then consciousness concerning the contradiction between imperialism (national oppression) & independence (national liberation & self-determination) will be sharpened. We'll begin to see that amerika is free & New Afrika is not. That amerika is an empire & New Afrika is a neo-colony. That amerika maintains dominance over New Afrika by colonial violence & that in order to stop this & Free the Land, New Afrika will have to employ revolutionary violence through a People's Protracted War (Vita Wa Watu).

So, what's in a name? Consciousness & strength which can be a catalyst for unity & liberation. We are New Afrikan People. We must Free The Land!

Re-Build!

Sanyika Shakur

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- (1) "On What It Means To "Re-Build," Vita Wa Watu, Book 12 — Atiba Shanna
- (2) Dictionary of Philosophy — Ivan Frolov
- (3) The 1995 World Almanac
- (4) Dictionary of Philosophy — Ivan Frolov
- (5) 500 Years of Chicano History In Pictures — Elizabeth Martinez, editor
- (6) Vita Wa Watu, Book 12
- (7) "New Phrases, Evolving Concepts, Part Two," Vita Wa Watu, Book 8 — Mwalimu Shanna & Seldom Seen
- (8) "The Black Revolution," Malcolm X Speaks
- (9) Vita Wa Watu, Book 8, Mwalimu Shanna & Seldom Seen



# ReBuild!

\*editorial note: CROSSROAD will use [New Afrikan] wherever our people are referred to as 'black,' 'African American,' etc., etc.

## Revolutionary Feminism: An Africentric Perspective

by Sonora Haynes

I almost had a fight with a brother at the 1990, Selassie I Festival (a Rasta celebration commemorating the birthday of Emperor Haile Selassie I) because I was wearing a button that said "Revolutionary Feminist." This brother, who obviously did not have any concept of feminism, told me that it is impossible to be both a revolutionary and a feminist. My definition of a revolutionary feminist is a sister in the struggle for equal rights and justice for all men, women and children of color. A revolutionary feminist is a sister who has taken off her rose colored glasses and no longer sees the revolution in black and white, but, instead sees it the way it really is: the oppressed against the oppressors.

There has been a propagation of male-dominated, Africentric religions in recent years. Brothers are using archaic religious doctrine to subjugate sisters to an inferior position. Despite its insight into political and economic oppression, Rastafarianism has an explicit ideology about the subordination of women (Yawney, 1983).

Just over one-quarter of the membership was comprised of women and their role in Ras Tafari was very much a subordinate one. It was a role graciously accepted by the sisters themselves; new feminism, or women's liberation was regarded as "foolishness, because a woman should do what a man tells her to do." The movement was seen as men's property. "The Bible shows that man was created in His image, the likeness of God and the woman was created for the company of man. God gave man the movement." (Cashmore, 1979)

Through her fieldwork in Jamaica, Ms. Yawney observed that domination of women is built into the Rastafarian culture in a way that legitimizes, among other forms of oppression, violence against women (Yawney, 1985). After a decade of affiliation with the Rastafarian community in Chicago, it has been my observation that sisters are expected to sexually accommodate the brothers, lend financial support, be humble in the presence of men and yet, many Rasta brethren still put the sisters down for more "affluent" and "submissive" white women. Why do sisters tolerate this exploitation? It is my theory that since involvement in the movement relies heavily on male attachment, Rastafarian women foster more of a need for affiliation than a need for self-actualization.

Fear of success is defined as the expectancy or anticipation of negative consequences as a result of success. In the case of women, the specific negative consequences may be social rejection by men, loss of affection, friendship, or of one's marriageable quality (Puryear and Mednick, 1974). A study of [New Afrikan]\* college women demonstrated that unattached militant [New Afrikan]\* (see page 5) women scored higher on fear of success than their more conservative attached counterparts (Puryear and Mednick, 1974). The researchers observe that militant ideology exhorts [New Afrikan]\* women to "redefine their role from a position of dominance and success to one that is supportive and ancillary to that of a man" (Puryear and Mednick, 1974). These women are being told to be more passive and traditionally female. As a result:

At least the most militant of these women seem to have accepted a view, consonant with that of larger society, that a woman who achieves in the male world will not be able to fulfill herself in the conventional female role.

I would like to repeat this study using a different subject group. Instead of college women,



I would like to measure levels of fear of success anxiety of women involved in male-dominated, Africentric religions (Rastafarian and Muslim women) as opposed to women involved in a nationalistic movement (i.e. Black United Front). It is my expectation that while all of these women will be revolutionary spirited (militant), the Rastafarian and Muslim women will score higher in fear of success due to the sexist values inherent in their religious practice.

There is a need for a feminist agenda. Brothers try to make sisters believe feminism is a white concept and that we are selling out our people by concerning ourselves with feminist issues. Contrary to popular belief, being black and female is not mutually exclusive! While [New Afrikan]\* men seem to take the feminist movement as a personal threat to their manhood, [New Afrikan]\* women also exhibit an anti-feminist sentiment possibly due to their "distrust of white women" (Smith, 1982). I have heard many educated, "revolutionary" sisters call feminism a "white/lesbian" movement. But as Smith explains:

As Third World women we must define a responsible and radical feminism for ourselves and not assume that bourgeois self-aggrandizement is all feminism is and therefore attack feminism wholesale. (Smith, 1982)

#### End Notes

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## Black Greeting Cards



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"Say It With A Card"

## The Release of Mark Cook: It's A Question of Justice

By Ed Mead

(Ed Mead was a former member of Seattle's George Jackson Brigade, a small group of revolutionaries that conducted armed actions and bombings against the state during the last half of the '70s. He was released from prison in late 1993, after serving eighteen years in prison for Brigade related crimes.)

I am going to write a little bit about my imprisonment, and in doing so I hope to express to you the twisted logic that enables me to be out here in minimum custody (on the streets) while Mark Cook is still in prison today. I am writing this way because I told the story of my release to a comrade, and he said I should write about it. I am doing so, in the ultimate context of Mark's continued imprisonment. So here's my story: When I first went to prison I was put in the hole in the Penitentiary at Walla Walla. From that incarceration grew a group of resisters who became known as the Walla Walla Brothers. That resistance culminated in an institution-wide work strike that lasted for forty-seven days. Of the fourteen demands presented to the administration, first on the list was a rectification of the brutal conditions and treatment of prisoners in the segregation unit.

The strike at Walla Walla was a major news story in 1977, with television and newspaper coverage every day. In all of that daily coverage by the bourgeois media, however, not once did a prisoner or even someone representing the prisoners get a single inch of print space, or a second of air time on the Seattle television stations. Then, on the forty-third day of the strike, the George Jackson Brigade placed bombs in safety deposit boxes in two Rainier bank branches located in the affluent Bellevue community. The Brigade issued a communique that pointed out the interlocking directorship between the Rainier Bank and the Seattle Times, it unmasked the biased coverage the Seattle Times and other media outlets and explained how they presented only the state's point of view of this struggle, and the Brigade promised to continue bombing Rainier Banks until such time as the Seattle Times at least made a pretense of evenhandedness in its coverage of the struggle at Walla Walla. Within days of the adoption of a new perspective by the news media, the public's sympathies had changed. This was because the Seattle Times finally interviewed a prisoner. The statewide change in consciousness was so drastic that it quickly resulted in the firing of Harold Bradley, the boss of Washington's Department of Corrections, as well as Walla Walla's warden, B.J. Rhay. Lesser figures, like the associate warden of custody, were transferred to different prisons within the state. And the Walla Walla Brothers were released to the prison's general population, where they went on to organize Men Against Sexism and other work on the inside. The strike at Walla Walla was the longest in state history. The winning of that struggle represents the application of armed liberalism at its best. We are not about liberalism any more.

There were other struggles at Walla Walla and much trouble, too. The end result of it was that I was placed in the hole with several comrades in connection with an armed escape attempt. From within the segregation unit my friends and I tried to escape again, and we were waging constant battles with our captors. During one such battle guards shoved a riot baton up Carl Harp's ass, causing a 5/8 inch tear in the wall of his rectum. No guard was ever charged, although some lost their jobs for a little while before they were put back to work in the segregation unit and elsewhere within the prison.

Anyway, the prison administration was quite anxious to get rid of my friends and I. Some years later, through documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act, I learned why I am out of prison today. The state contacted the federal government about sending me and some of their other troublesome prisoners to the U.S. Prison at Marion, Illinois. As it happened, however, the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals, the Circuit that has jurisdiction over Marion Prison, in a case involving a Hawaiian state prisoner, had just held that the feds are not in the rent-a-prison business for the states, and that they can no longer accept state prisoners from other jurisdictions. The feds told Washington prison officials how to circumvent this ruling. They said if you write the U.S.

Attorney and ask him to get the federal court to run Mead's federal and state time together, concurrently, then they could ship me to Marion as a federal prisoner. That's what they did. The federal appeals court ruling was soon overturned, but in that small window of time my sentencing structure had changed. Within five months, while taking part in a hunger strike by all segregation prisoners at Marion, I was given back to the custody of the state of Washington. From Marion I went to various other state prisons in other states, and ultimately back to Washington. In Washington I stayed at the prison in Monroe, where I served the next ten years.

While I was in exile I filed a Motion to Correct an Illegal Sentence in Seattle's federal court. I successfully contended that my thirty year sentence for bank robbery was illegal because the court cannot give me consecutive terms for armed bank robbery (25 years) and being armed during the commission of a federal felony (five years). While my federal time was cut from thirty to twenty-five years, the federal bureau of prisons was not informed of this fact. Thus they always told the state that my federal release date was five years longer than it actually was. In April of 1998 the state parole board gave me the two year administrative review all long timers receive. As always, they had unceremoniously continued my case for another two years, meaning the soonest I would have a parole hearing, not even a parole hearing but another administrative review, was in April of 1995. I did not have a defense committee, but I did have a circle of good friends. I filed a clemency petition and these friends wrote letters in my behalf. My attorney said a few words about my case, about why I was in prison for so long, got to the governor and he suggested that the Board review my case. What ever the reason, I was promptly given an unscheduled and un-requested in-person parole hearing and released to my federal detainer. The state thought I had that extra five years to serve with the feds.

Upon arriving at a federal prison I presented the applicable officials with a certified copy of the court order cutting my sentence by five years, and after every effort to drag the process out, the feds released me a little over a year ago. I was given a plane ticket and some shabby clothing. After eighteen years I was "free." In an written article in the Seattle Post Intelligencer shortly after the feds let me go, the Parole Board boss was quoted as saying that my release was a "mistake," that they thought I had several more years of imprisonment to serve.

The Board was wrong. I was not released early. My release came ten years too late. I should have been released, and could have been released safely, back in 1983 rather than 1993. That's one of the problems with corrections today, they don't know when it is time to release someone. They don't even care. And that's what makes the experience such a destructive one, to you as well as to us.

I am out here today not because I deserve it, but because I was a trouble maker. In contrast to my case, Mark Cook has maintained a good record in prison. He was active in the struggle for prisoner rights, and filed prosecuted litigation in behalf of the labor and safety rights of prisoners, especially those working in the prison's industrial area. But unlike me, in the earlier years of my confinement, he did not do his prison work violently. At Walla Walla I was busted having three home-made hand grenades, a pistol, and eighty rounds of ammunition. So I am now on the outside. And Mark is in prison. Yet I am the more culpable, both while inside the walls and out here in minimum custody before my imprisonment. So why is Mark still in prison? Just how much should a person serve for committing crimes such as those allegedly committed by Mark Cook and his comrades? There are three things that need to be looked at: Firstly, you should look at the amount of time served by darlings of the right wing who are convicted of political crimes.

Secondly, the amount of time served by social prisoners convicted of the same type of crime Mark was convicted of, that being two counts of first degree assault. And thirdly, the amount of time served by others in the Brigade for committing the same range of crimes. On the first point, the amount of time right wing terrorists are sentenced to, you can take it from me that they receive relative pats on the back of the hand in relation to the time given to left wing political offenders. The pro-capitalist Cuban who blew up a Cuban airliner that killed 76 people received something like three years in a U.S. prison. As for the issue of social prisoners, according to the Washington state

department of statistics, the average amount of time served in this state for first degree assault (I averaged the annual figures over a ten year period) is 57.1 months, that's under five years. Mark is serving his nineteenth year, more than most first degree murderers, who on average serve a little over seventeen years. And thirdly, we expect political prisoners on the left to serve more time than social prisoners for the same crime, just as we expect to be treated more harshly than right wing offenders. Not only are both of those true in Mark's case, but he is also serving more time than his white counterparts in the Brigade. We are free. Janine Burtram is free. Rita Bo Brown is free. Threse Coupez is free. I am free. Yet Mark Cook, the only [New Afrikan]\* arrested in connection with Brigade actions, remains in prison.

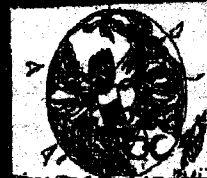
Mark would like people to ask three pertinent questions of state parole and clemency officials in Washington. These are: (1) Why hasn't Mark Cook's federal and state terms run concurrently, like Ed Mead's sentence? (2) Why hasn't the Washington state parole board (ISRB) used its discretion under the Sentence Reform Act's RCW 9.94A.400(3) to run Mark Cook's state and federal time concurrently? And (3), if Ed Mead had two consecutive life terms and Mark Cook had two concurrent life terms, then why must Mark serve more time than Ed did?

We of the Mark Cook Freedom Committee are not seeking a break for Mark Cook. That point was passed many, many years ago. What we are asking for is simple justice—something that is long past due. To get justice from this state's apparatus of repression will require the involvement of a lot of people. One very important person is the lawyer who will be doing Mark's clemency petition. The governor had a hand in my release, I believe, and so he should have a hand in Mark's. But the process of getting an attorney to file and prosecute a clemency petition is a costly one. We could use your support. Send contributions and requests for more information to: Mark Cook Freedom Committee, P.O. Box 85763, Seattle, WA 98145-2763; Phone: (206) 524-8597, quawk@eskimo.com

## Organized KKKrime By Shaka Shakur



## Voice of the Oppressed By Lorenzo L. Stone-Bey



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waukee WI 53291

## **We Educate To Liberate**

### ***The Nkrumah-Washington Community Learning Center***

#### Who We Are and What We Do

The **Nkrumah-Washington Community Learning Center** was founded as an Afro-centric community schooling venture in 1988. The Center was created to combat the cultural and historical "invisibility" of [New Afrikan]\* (see page 5) in America, the raw racism that still plagues public educational programs and the material and psychological scars this creates in non-white America.

In 1992, we moved permanently to a two-flat in Chicago's North Englewood community, one of the city's poorest [New Afrikan] neighborhoods. We have salvaged this building from demolition court, and in the last year have raised roughly \$15,000 in cash and **over \$75,000** in sweat equity and donated building supplies from the community to liberate this building from the city court system. The build-out continues, and we hope to begin Afro-centric literacy and GED programs on site this fall.

We care deeply about basic education, but classes will also explore the roots of racial oppression and the economics of discrimination, and will stress community unity, self-worth, social consciousness, and organizing for progressive change. In the meantime, we work with local adults and youth - many of whom are gang members - and their extended families and friends.

- We run programs for youth and adults - from dance parties to cultural events.
- We help broker gang truces and keep the peace in the neighborhood.
- We work with local parolees and ex-offenders to develop a sense of constructive purpose and involvement in the neighborhood.
- We work with prisoners to develop political consciousness and a more affirming sense of self and community.
- We run an in-house food program for the hungry.

#### How We're Organized

We are a collective in the truest sense of the word. We're all volunteers, from the master tradesmen and laborers who work on the build-out to the kids who come in every day to read, do their homework or have a meal. About a dozen people belong to our core group of volunteer staff, and many live on-site. We operate by democratic consensus and collective struggle, and we work closely with people from the community to resolve issues that affect the collective, our programs and our plans for the future.

We're deeply committed to equality in leadership and decision-making for all our members - men and women - and look to the neighborhood for new members. The open nature of our space and our structure gives both our collective and the community access to a powerful conduit for information and exchange. Local kids, in particular, often stop by just to talk about what's happening in the neighborhood, to candidly discuss local concerns, and to brainstorm about issues, ideas and strategies to solve problems.

We also work with the **Nkrumah-Washington Solidarity Group**, a multi-ethnic group centered on Chicago's north side that helps us raise funds and implement our programs.

#### Our Philosophy

The [New Afrikan]\* liberation movement of the 1960's left a powerful legacy - our brothers and sisters understood the brutal political and economic roots of racial injustice and class struggle. And they knew that community empowerment and the fight for social and economic justice was based on the ability to create and control local agendas and institutions on the ground. We embrace this powerful tradition.

We believe that cultural nationalism is not enough, that we need to address the vast historical forces of economic injustice and political oppression that continue to stifle the well-being of our people. Our communities cry out for a new movement for social, political and economic justice for [New Afrikans]\* in this country. We believe that all politics is local, and that the movement starts here.

**Nkrumah-Washington Needs Your Help!**

[New Afrikans]\* need to throw off the politics of dependency, seize control of our communities, and develop our own independent institutions. Any struggle of this sort stands or falls based on the dedicated and voluntary labor of people who support our mission. So if you have skills in tutoring, teaching, leadership development, construction, community organizing, or would just like to lend us a hand, let us know! Please call us or mail in the information below.

Of course, material support is essential, and we ask you to consider making a financial donation to the Center. Your tax-deductible gift will go to complete the costs of the build-out and underwrites our academic programming. Please make your check or money order payable to: **The Nkrumah-Washington Community Learning Center.**

Mail To:

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Let this government know very clearly that you have not forgotten the massacre and that you don't agree with it.

On the MOVE

for more information call MOVE at:  
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## **Impressions of the Florence AD-MAX**

by Edelle Corrine

There are 554 cells in the Florence AD-MAX. There are nine units including SHU (78), control unit (64), four general population units (64 each), an intermediate unit (64), a transitional unit (28) and a pre-transfer unit (64). All cells are between 80 and 90 square feet and except for the 64 in the pre-transfer unit all have showers inside the cell and have double doors, one barred and one solid steel with a small window for prisoner observation and a food slot.

In all the areas we observed the halls were painted in dark colors. The inside of the cells were dark gray, unpainted cement. Several members of our group reported feeling disoriented and depressed from just spending the afternoon in the AD-MAX. It seemed to us that the architecture was purposefully disorienting. There is nowhere in the prison where one can see anything of the outside except the sky. Each cell has a window about 3 in. by 3 ft. Each window looks to a rec. yard or other cement wall.

Each cell has a 12" B&W TV which also has a radio. All education, religious services etc. will take place over closed circuit TV. Prisoners will be allowed to smoke in their cells. There is a cigarette lighter built into the wall in each cell. When asked what "privileges" would be taken away when someone is sent to the SHU, they answered, "smoking and TV". Otherwise the control unit and SHU are the same. And the general population units are very similar.

In the control unit (64 people) and the SHU (78 cells) there is supposed to be 7 hours a week of individual recreation which can be either inside in an area about 20 ft by 20 ft, or outside in a similar area with 20 foot walls and a chainlink cover. There was nothing in any of these areas when we saw them. The BOP officials assured us that each would have a chin-up apparatus.

Although they refer to one unit as the control unit, the general population units (256 people) are essentially identical to the control unit. Here the "minimum" recreation time is increased from 7 to 12 hours a week and prisoners "may" be able to choose group recreation with up to 12 others in an outside area about 60 feet square, with basketball hoops. This outside area also has 20 foot walls and a chainlink cover. Individual rec. will also be an option for any prisoner we were told. We were assured that all prisoners would have access to the "small" law library on that unit and to the larger (\$220,000.) law library of the prison.

Every time our group expressed concern about the effects of total isolation on people, warden Bill Storey assured us that he would instruct his staff to walk the halls and interact with the prisoners. We asked how this could be done given the solid steel doors. He responded that sometimes the doors would be open. We asked for the written policy on how much the doors would be open. He said there is no policy. When pushed, he said that the steel doors would be shut most of the time.

The assistant warden, Fleming laughingly assured us that they had discovered that one could communicate by yelling near the heating register which is located in the "dead space" between the bars and the steel door. We asked if this was a purposeful design of the prison. He said "No, we just discovered it." A couple of us did try yelling from one cell to another and found that one could be barely heard this way. But of course it would be very difficult communication.

As far as the program planned for people, it was outlined this way:

- 1) control unit: varies by length of the sentence, (example given, 60 months)
- 2) general population: at least 12 months
- 3) intermediate unit: at least 8 months
- 4) transitional unit: at least 4 months
- 5) pre-transfer unit: at least 12 months

In this example, a person would be in the Florence ADX for 8 years, assuming everything went perfectly. Any time spent in the SHU would not count toward the total time. We asked repeatedly for any outside studies done to evaluate the psychological effect of such long-term isolation on human beings. We were told that there were no outside studies but were given a paper written by a BOP psychologist siting Alcatraz and Marion as proof that no psychological damage has been done by long-term isolation in these prisons. The paper is not scholarly and offers no such proof of the benign nature of isolation. Also it seemed evident that the isolation at Florence will be much greater than that at Marion.

It did seem that facilities at Florence have been designed to address some of the human rights criticisms of Marion. Each prisoner will be able to control the lights in his cell. Each cell will have an alarm buzzer which the prisoner can push in an emergency. This rings at the guard desk and we were told that a guard has to come and put the key in the cell lock within 90 seconds or a second alarm buzzes in the central guard area and cannot be shut off until the cell door is opened. When this was being described to us the assistant warden said, "We are trying to give them as much responsibility as possible and we'll see what they do with it." This leads me to believe that the plan may be to dismantle this alarm system as soon as they can say that it was tried and prisoners abused it.

An area that was quite impressive was the medical rooms and facilities. The equipment there would rival that in a well-stocked city hospital emergency room. They had two defibrillators and a massive x-ray machine. The staffing was less impressive. They said that a PA would be available 24 hours a day and an MD would be on call 24 hours a day.

We were told that the pre-transfer unit (64 people) would have 1/2 day jobs in the UNICOR factory. They said that the exact nature of this work had not been determined but would be related to the Florence UNICORE word of furniture construction. They said it would probably be cutting foam for the furniture.

I asked about the use of the SORT team: who has the authority to call in this team? what are the criteria for them to be called in and would each of these events be videotaped? I was told that this written policy would be mailed to the Task Force but I have not heard if it has been received. They described this as a 40 member team to be used by the entire Florence complex under the direction of the AD-MAX warden. He stated that they have been trained by the FBI and the Air Force. We were not shown any cells where the beds had metal rings embedded in the corners. In answer to questions they said there eight such beds in the control unit. Reports from construction workers leads me to believe there are many more.

We were told that no outside groups would be allowed into the prison to do religious services, tutoring, or any programs. Visiting can take place Thurs. through Saturday for a total of 35 hours per week. There are seven non-contact visiting areas essentially similar to those I have seen on videos at Marion. There is one contact visiting room for attorneys and two non-contact attorney visiting rooms. The BOP officials stated that they did not anticipate having to limit visitation further because the experience in the rest of the Florence complex is that there are very few visitors. This due to the remote location of Florence. Essentially, it seems that whatever happens at Florence will be hidden from the view of anyone from the outside.

*Edelle Corrine can be reached through the Rocky Mountain Peace Center, P.O. Box 144,  
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**\*Nouvelle Ecole** is an academic journal, quarterly published. Redearship: students, professors, universities. The journal publishes articles and reviews on politics, economics, history, philosophy, sociology, psychology, etc. (circulation: 13,000 copies per issue). write to: *editions & publications*, 41 rue Barrault, 75013 Paris France

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## De Politics of Klass and Privilege Inside de KKKamps

During a recent discussion with a couple of comrades We were trying to determine why it has been so difficult for revolutionary elements inside these kkkamps to develop a higher level of unity and a type of revolutionary culture/morality dat was designed to enhance Our effectiveness in developing revolutionary cadre and attacking de kkkolonial kkkriminal mentality.

i took de position dat one of de reasons were dat We on de inside and de "left" on de outside have failed to put forth a klass analysis, define de klass structure, inside de kkkamps and as a result have [been] unable to develop a strategy dat is able to be conducive to advancing de struggle inside these kkkamps.

If We agree dat prison society is merely a micro form of de macro society across de wall then We have to recognize dat a klass structure exist inside these kkkamps and just like We have Our petty-bourgeois, neo-kkkolonial (neo), etc. klass out in society We also have such inside these kkkamps. To just break de kkkamp down into revolutionary vs. reactionary, lumpen vs. political etc. is no longer sufficient. It has been ineffective in helpin Us to resolve many of de internal contradictions dat We are plagued by. So i offer one perspective on de issue in an attempt to generate some discussion around de particular contradiction, of course someone else is welcome to expand on it.

### Revolutionary Politics, Class and Privilege

Using de kkkolonial state of Indiana as sort of a case study i see de revolutionary klass as comprised of those elements who are conscious, who have transformed their kolonial kriminal mentalities. Also revolutionary political prisoners, prisoners of war and revolutionary cadre who are active. These elements usually represent de leadership in de kkkamps and is usually well respected amongst other prisoners due to ones principled stances/politics. When in comparison with de average prisoner dis is a privileged klass.

For a lot of Us just being conscious and able to advance/articulate Our politics to de masses of prisoners, able to organize etc. affords a certain degree of respect from de general oppressed prison masses. It also represents a certain degree of power.

Within dis klass you have prisoners who usually have some degree of outside support, family and/or political support, defense campaigns etc. Dis is especially so if de prisoner was active prior to his kapture and came in as a traditional P.P. or P.O.W. Support dat allows some of Us to organize and mobilize, to build networks dat de average prisoner does not have. some of these same networks allows some of Us to purchase typewriters, computers, books, color TV's etc. when a lot of prisoners particularly New Afrikan prisoners families and friends are usually so overwhelmed with and plagued by kolonial contradictions of poverty, unemployment, drugs, reactionary kolonial violence etc. dat they hardly get any support while living off of de prison slave wage.

One can say de opposite of dis particular dialectic is dat along with de politics and privilege comes repression and political persecution by de state dat might not apply in magnitude to de other classes. Usually de antagonism between these two poles of privilege and persecution is what either makes one strengthen his politics and deal with de pressure or commit klass suicide and go with de flow of neo-kkkolonial opportunism.

### Neo-kkkolonial kkkriminal klass

Dis is de klass usually referred to as de lumpen klass. De more reactionary klass and politically backwards inside de kkkamps. Due to their political backwardness most oftenly they become unwitting accomplices in their own oppression and act as agents for de enforcement and implementing of de state genocidal and repressive policies. Most oftenly their conduct allows them to be utilized by de enemy in a neo role against other prisoners. Dis klass also holds de most revolutionary potential if able to be politicized.

Though many prisoners in dis klass just wants to de their time as comfortably as possible and get out, most recognize de legitimacy of de state/enemy and as a rule have a kkkriminal mentality and such dictates their actions. What makes one neo is their mentalities and de fact dat they are utilized by de state as tools to counter de weight and de attempts at organizing by revolutionary forces.

Within de midst of dis klass you have a core element of prisoners dat We call convicts who are prisoners dat are basically anti-administration, stand up strong types of individuals who adhere to a prisoner code of ethics dat promotes no snitching, i mind my own business etc. These prisoners are usually respected based on these facts or based on fear. These prisoners will usually be de first to support radical actions against de state, demos etc. They usually have a power base within de population. However de politics of dis particular(?) core element is neo, their mentalities nor actions are not revolutionary. As a rule they are usually engaged in a host of reactionary activities dat assist de enemy in maintaining their kkkontrol over - Us. Despite de fact they will usually support collective resistance their politics is one of individualism. All of de above also represent unconscious opportunism.

### **Neo-kkkolonial Opportunist klass**

Dis klass is comprised mostly of people who have some kind of politics, elements who are conscious but have chosen to continue to engage in counter-revolutionary activities of using and selling dope, organized gambling, etc. These are usually elements who have some kind of political line but continue to straddle de fence in de area of revolutionary morality and attempt to justify such through bourgeois liberal politics. They refuse to challenge their shortcomings, to challenge and struggle with self and instead become apologist for politically backward vices and actions. Often times these elements have attained some type of legitimacy amongst de masses and thereby some degree of influence and because generally de masses still practice/engage in some of dis reactionary conduct they tend to lean towards these elements because they are liberal and less demanding. How can i demand you stop selling dope if i'm doing it? So in dis regard these elements help to stagnate de effectiveness of rev. cadre elements by legitimizin counter-revolutionary activity.

These elements will also take positions and make choices dat is contrary to de overall best interest of de collective masses for some opportunist reasons. Taking politically incorrect positions dat is contrary to de best interest of de whole.

De enemy utilize these elements to demoralize those brothers who are in de early stages of their development. It also provides convenient excuses for those elements who refuse to resolve various contradictions because they look and see these same contradictions existin amongst so called revolutionary elements. Eventually these elements must be held accountable to a code of ethics through klass struggle/warfare.

### **De Politics of Ageism and Elitism**

Within de revolutionary klass We have a core element who feel they have hegemonic rights over various issues or over those who have not been a part of de struggle twenty-five or thirty years. Who feel one have no right to raise various issues/contradictions within de movement. As if there should be no internal klass and ideological struggle within de movement. Dis is a bourgeois politic/practice. Instead of de legitimacy of de politic being looked at, de legitimacy of de criticism, analysis and so forth being weighed one have subsumed to emotional subjectivism or divine protectionism. De are of claiming something is divisive or subtly suggesting one is a agent of cointelpro etc. has become fashionable as a way of avoiding de task of confronting de contradictions and resolving such dat is at hand. Practicing de unprincipled line of follow de party line and don't rock de boat.

When i speak about privilege i think a lot of Us who settin standards and criterias have to start questioning Our right/privilege to set/define such. For example. A lot of people within de rev. klass who are not necessarily active in terms of organizin, not in kkkontrol units, not on de frontline dealing with these people, not getting shot up with psychotropic drugs, gettin' their heads bashed

in etc. are taking authority positions on issues and settin de tone on issues dat they have no right to do. Or they dismiss these brothas resistance/struggle as a result of youth or inexperience which is real condescending and its being done based on their privileged position within de movement. Contrary to what one may think a lot of these brothers who are on de frontlines being victimized and denied support from de outside are not necessarily engagin in reactionary politics, not just doing dumb sh— but are actually organizin and being attacked as a result of such. i find it very difficult to see how a person who ain't been in a combat zone and instead have chosen a different route such as pushin position papers for example can define, dictate and attempt to set de tone on legitimate concerns and issues and help to promote dis type of klass privilege to de outside and thereby cut off critical support for some of these brothers.

A lot of people dats practicin dis ageism/elitism tend to look harshly upon de youth or these particular political elements because they are not conforming to some idealized expectations of what one has constructed of what a revolutionary cadre should be.

De outside helps to institutionalize such bourgeois politics by actin like political prostitutes and groupies by solely seeking out "celebrity" cases to support. There has been many street organizations who have turned political who have reached out to de movement, to de "left" who cried out for some assistance only to be ignored.

### A Primary Contradiction

One of de primary contradictions facing Us on dis particular front is de lack of ideological cohesiveness and political clarity in general and for those who embrace de New Afrikan Communist line inside these kkkamps in particular on dis front. Even within de revolutionary klass We have been unable to realize Our full potential and reach Our full potential thereby effectin a higher form of unity and practice. Though many of Us practice some form of revolutionary politics We have been unable to move towards a collective strategy in attempting to resolve some of de contradictions We are plagued by. As a result of liberalism, a practice dat ultimately leads to de promotion of and sanctioning of neo-kkkolonialism, has given rise to de tendency of non-klasse struggle, non-ideological struggle which in effect has been effective in preventing Us from developin a collective strategy. A collective strategy dat helps Us develop a revolutionary kulture and code of ethics dat helps to strengthen Our attempts to develop revolutionary cadre. How can We change dis?

i think initially We have to ask whose responsibility is it to try and influence de social conduct/social relations of Our mini society? If in fact We are movin towards creatin rev. universities then it is upon Us. It is Our responsibility to try and set de tone as rev. leadership, cadre. Doing so not from some privileged position but through de struggle for clarity and unity by challenging, exposing and criticizing ones who scream politics in command and yet their actions are not consistent with de principles of de New Afrikan Creed and other revolutionary ethics. To more aggressively combat de practice of liberalism towards others and more importantly towards Ourselves. As a revolutionary klass and as representatives of such then We have to start taking collective positions on key issues and struggling around issues. In order for Us to fashion a revolutionary kulture We have to take a position and stand on it across de board while engagin in ideological and klass struggle. Take principled positions on de issue of selling dope, sexism and homophobia. We have to begin to challenge de apologist positions of some brothas for their sexist/patriarchal views and behavior. What should Our position be as representatives of a rev. klass? No longer should it be just an individual personal position dat is allowed to become de primary position. De position should be a reflection of Our line and position on rev. morality which of course is both personal and political because de personal is in fact a representation of de political.

If as a klass We begin to take firm positions We would be able to counter some of de counterinsurgency programs being implemented against Us in these kkkamps. We would be able to create a type of movement and momentum based on not just organizational affiliation but based on revolutionary principles and morality. If We as representatives cannot unite around struggling against neo-opportunist agents, backwards political conduct etc. then We only frontin' at being

committed to de struggle. Its easy to theorize but practice is key and one must be committed to be able to practice anything.

In regards to particular lines. One's line crystallizes, becomes stronger or showed to be incorrect through de process of struggling around various issues and contradictions, by waging ideological struggle and applying one line. We either attempt to challenge Ourselves to take things to higher levels or go on like de monk tolling de bell. A lot of de classic definitions no longer apply to Our particular reality and both old and new contradictions dat must be confronted continue to re-emerge in new forms.

*"Typically Our approach to and critique of neo-kolonialism has been one sided. We focused Our attention on the outward and easily perceived face of neo-kolonialism ("house negroes"). We tend to neglect the internal (and much more difficult to recognize, especially due to Our liberalism) aspect of the problem: the failure of the working masses and their highest expression (the party) to consistently manifest the appropriate response to Our problem. "Thuggin', Free O.J.!, Videogaming, etc. - any and all of that which is not directly designed to bring about our independence and socialist development is accomodation. The more accomodating We do, the more covert Our kkkolonization (neo-kolonialism). Conversely, the more agitating, educating, mobilizing, organizing, institution-building and fighting We do, the more open and naked will be the oppression and repression We'll face. This is the kkkolonial reality for all New Afrikans - inside or outside the kamps."*

— "Spittin" Dialectical Materialism On House Niggerosis (Neo-kolonialism), H.R.H.H. Fall '94



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## A Blast From the Past (by Juanita Hodges)

There are great disparities in sentencing between offenders convicted of crack cocaine offenses, which are predominantly [New Afrikans]\* (see page 5) and those convicted of powder cocaine offenses, who are mostly White Americans. In my opinion, this strongly resembles what happened to three indentured servants in the year 1640 in the state of Virginia. It is recorded in the "Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia, Richmond: Colonial Press, 1924", and can be found in the introduction to the book entitled "Slavery in the Courtroom, An annotated Bibliography of American Cases," by Paul Finkelman.

Three indentured servants ran away from their master but were recaptured. Of the three, two were White and one was [New Afrikan]\*. Each was sentenced to the punishment of whipping and was to have thirty stripes apiece. The two White servants were also required to serve their master an extra year after completing their original indentures; and after completing their service to their master they had to serve the colony for three years. Now surely this was a very severe punishment for simply running away!

But in comparison to the sentence which was given to their [New Afrikan]\* companion, John Punch, the two White servants' sentence of four additional years of servitude was light. The court declared "that the third being a negro shall serve his said master or his assigns for the time of his natural life here or elsewhere." Sound familiar?...

Today there is a 100-to-1 ratio difference in the sentencing of crack cocaine and powder cocaine defendants although there is no scientific or medical distinction between the two. For example, simply possessing "5" grams of crack (the weight of two pennies) is a felony for which first time offenders are convicted to five years in prison with no chance of parole. For the same amount of powder cocaine, the charge is a misdemeanor which requires no jail time... Now can you see the resemblance!

The 1640's recorded account of same "crime" different "time" for Whites and [New Afrikans]\* marked the beginning of slavery for [New Afrikans]\* in this country. And just as two sets of laws characterized slavery and the Jim Crow era, a double standard continues today, in 1995 (355 years later) in our criminal justice system.

Since 1980 the Federal prison population has more than tripled. [New Afrikans]\* account for nearly half of that population, (48%); and according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, in 1992 the incarceration rate of [New Afrikan]\* males was 2,678 per 100,000 [New Afrikan]\* residents, more than 7 times the rate of White males (372 per 100,000). The female incarceration rate, although substantially smaller than the male rates, were also 7 times larger for [New Afrikans]\* (143 per 100,000) than Whites (20 per 100,000). Yet we, [New Afrikans]\*, make up only 12% of the total U.S. population. In a report released by the Sentencing Project, a non-profit advocacy group, it is reported that [New Afrikan]\* men in this country are incarcerated at a rate four times that of [Azanian] men in apartheid South Africa.

The incarceration increase of [New Afrikans]\* can not be attributed to [New Afrikans]\* being more criminally active than White Americans, as Whites account for a higher percentage of all violent-crime arrests in this country. Nor can it be attributed to [New Afrikans]\* being the greater users or sellers of drugs, as Whites sell most of the nation's illegal drugs and represent the higher percentage of drug abusers. It can however, be attributed to more harsh sentencing policies and racial prejudice in the criminal justice system which seems to target [New Afrikans]\*.

The National Center on Institutions and Alternatives, a non-profit organization that provides services and research to the criminal-justice community, made this point apparently clear when they stated "as color of the arrestee gets darker, the sentences get longer, and the political rhetoric more strident." Likewise, studies by the federal government also confirmed the fact that racism plays a significant role in the criminal justice system. In reference to the death penalty, the

General Accounting Office found a "pattern of evidence indicating racial disparities in the charging, sentencing, and imposition of the death penalty" and concluded that "those who murdered Whites were found to be more likely to be sentenced to death than those who murdered [New Afrikans]\*." Whereas [New Afrikans]\* have been executed for killing both [New Afrikans]\* and Whites, Whites have virtually never been executed for killing [New Afrikans]\*. In fact all death penalty prosecutions reportedly approved by the Clinton administration as of September 1993 were of [New Afrikan]\* defendants.

In addition, since the enactment of the death penalty for murders by drug dealers in 1988 by Congress; 73 percent of those convicted under this law between 1988 and 1993 were [New Afrikans]\*. And although 64.4% of all drug abusers are White Americans, 91.3% of those sentenced for federal crack cocaine were also [New Afrikans]\* according to a 1992 U.S. Sentencing Commission report.

Consequently, as in the account of the three indentured servants in 1640, where the two White servants were sentenced to four years of additional servitude, and the [New Afrikan]\* servant sentenced to serve his master for the rest of his life; race, historically and currently, is the prevailing factor in the criminal justice system. The color of offenders' skin rather than the severity of the criminal offenses, not only determines who goes to prison but also the length of time to be served.

Just as in the 1600s slavery was not planned; the disparity and discrimination we witness today in our criminal justice system was not planned. In fact, it was the intention of Congress, in passing mandatory minimums, to reduce arbitrary and unwarranted sentencing disparities, yet in a 1992 Federal Judicial Center report it was concluded that mandatory minimums may have actually increased such problems.

Human greed and racism were perhaps the most significant factors resulting in the slavery of [New Afrikans]\*. Add to that a dose of ignorance on the part of many Whites who believed that because [New Afrikans]\* were not viewed as "Christians", they were "heathens," thus enslaving "heathens" was surely more acceptable than enslaving fellow "Christians". Further, since Afrikans were clearly different from Europeans, it was perhaps easier to view them as property or things rather than persons. Even the highest court declared that "[New Afrikans]\* had no rights that Whites were bound to respect," and [so] "they sold us like beasts, and they counted our teeth... and they felt our testicles and they tested the lustre or dullness of our skin," according to Cesaire.

Then finally, after stand-ins and sit-ins; marches, walks and talks; after much bloodshed, sweat and tears; and after the loss of many, many lives [New Afrikans]\* were declared free! But what of our freedom today?... Is it not a new form of slavery when overblown political rhetoric and the law are used as a tool to enslave? And what is to be the end result? Perhaps, this time the eradication of the [New Afrikan people]\*? **Think about it!** After all it was a slaveholder who wrote in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal," and that all are "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness". I wonder... does this also apply to [New Afrikans]\*? **Think before you answer... Are you sure?**

The current 100-to-1 ratio in sentencing between crack and powder cocaine is not equal justice. It does not concur with this country's "Declaration of Independence" which states that "all men are created equal". There is no equality when Whites who commit similar crimes as [New Afrikans]\* serve less time behind bars. It simply goes back to our horrible beginning in this country in the 1600s; when one [New Afrikan]\* man, John Punch and two White men, accused of the same crime were sentenced to different punishments simply because of the color their skin! And what chance at "Life, Liberty or pursuit of Happiness", is there for a nonviolent offender facing 10 years to life in prison, or for the family left behind in despair? And what is it when those who commit murders are set free to kill again? Yes, it is truly... **"A blast from the past!"** — **Be forewarned and remember: those who forget history are doomed to repeat it!**

(Juanita Hodges is the director of *Seekers of Justice Equality & Truth, Inc.*; she may be contacted at: 2075 Bankhead Highway, suite C • Atlanta, GA 30318 • 404-691-2855).

• Another grassroots effort in this fight is *Families Against Discriminative Crack Law*, 14105 South Manor Avenue, Dolton, Illinois 60419.

## Cuba

The Cuban refugee "crisis" is providing fuel for the amerikkkan propaganda mills to distort the realities of life in revolutionary Cuba. granted widespread media exposure, this event is projected as evidence of the inherent inability of a socialist state to provide a decent standard of living for its citizens. Images of desperate, wretched people braving treacherous seas in dilapidated boats and rafts seem to provide credence to the argument. With the dissolution of Communist states in the Eastern Bloc, some have begun to write the obituary for Cuba, proclaiming her socialist ideals as the latest casualty in the monumental struggle between Capitalist "democracy" and Communist "dictatorship."

On the surface, this latest exodus was sparked by "pro-democracy" riots within Cuba, and declining economic conditions on the island. Yet the current crisis is rooted in six decades of exploitation, and is a direct result of amerikkkan imperialist policy and its efforts to strangle the breath out of Cuban desires for self-determination.

In January 1959, Cuba broke out of the sphere of amerikkkan neo-colonial control. Since then she has been in a struggle for her existence, fending off relentless u.s. attacks against Cuban self-determination. amerikkka created the economic conditions in Cuba, blames the Castro government, and proposes amerikkkan capitalism and "democracy" as antidotes to the backwardness the u.s. imposed on the Cuban masses. But amerikkkan colonial and neo-colonial control planted the seeds of Cuban underdevelopment. Cuba began its independence on January 1, 1889, under u.s. occupation, and for the next six decades amerikkka controlled the politics, plundered the resources, humiliated the population and crippled the economy of the island. The u.s. introduced vice and corruption into the political vocabulary and transplanted its peculiar brand of legal and extra-legal racism to Cuban soil.

Economic development was unequal, with appalling poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, and lack of public services or opportunities in the rural areas, as opposed to a booming tourist based economy (based on mob-owned casinos, hotels and brothels) supporting an amerikkkan controlled capitalist class comprised primarily of european (Spanish) descendants. The so-called Cuban capitalist class was dependent on amerikkkan capitalism-politically, militarily, economically. They were illegitimate in the eyes of virtually the entire population, but stayed in power because they had a military regime to protect them.

Into the equation of oppression stepped the revolutionary leader Fidel Castro. After a protracted guerrilla war, Fulgencio Batista, the last of the fascist old guard, was ousted and a new social order was initiated on the island of Cuba. The new government set about building a movement based on the poor peasants, the urban workers, the young, and the non-white. The revolutionary government gradually adopted a pragmatic Socialism designed to bring equality and social justice via agrarian, educational, and social reforms.

Tens of thousands of disadvantaged [New Afrikans]\*(see page 5) and other Cubans were recruited into the ranks of revolutionary enthusiasts because of the egalitarian posture of Fidel Castro and the Communists. On the other hand, great numbers of white Cubans, especially among the wealthy and skilled, emigrated mainly to the united states, creating a serious shortage of professional expertise. These exiles provides valuable insights into the race/class dimension of the latest exodus. Although no official figures were released concerning the racial breakdown of the latest wave of refugees, a close look at western reports, and a cursory knowledge of Cuban history are sufficient to raise the suspicion that most of the exiles fleeing Cuba toward amerikkkan "democracy" are caucasians, or mestizo (mixed) who identify more readily with their white bloodlines.

This is the lens through which the exodus from Cuba must be viewed — first as an understandable response to the crippling effect of amerikkka's policy of isolation and economic and military and economic terrorism, and secondly as the exit of opportunists, capitalists, racists and

non-believers whose exploitative way of life was threatened by the new social order imposed by the people of revolutionary Cuba. The Cubans realize also that the flight of exiles also has a positive outcome. While the bourgeois exiles took with them needed professional skills and expertise, their departure also "purified" and strengthens the movement by removing those of questionable loyalty while enriching government wealth with confiscated land and goods.

If nothing else is considered, the figures still show that the number of refugees leaving Cuba in the latest wave is less than 1/3 of 1% of the Cuban population (Source: ABC's Nightline), even though full permission was granted to all Cubans to leave if they desired. The "flood" of boat people hardly represents the triumph of capitalist ideals. And despite the devastating effects of amerikkka's war against Cuba, the people remain firm in their egalitarian vision of society, and steady in their fight against amerikkkan imperialism.

### **Viva Cuba Libre!**

reprinted from *The Liberator*, The Voice of the Students for Afrikan-Amerikan Empowerment (SAAE), P.O. Box 92580, Atlanta GA 30314; (404) 593-6058.



**Antonio Maceo**  
New Afrikan Freedom Fighter

### **Baragua!**

#### **A Voice for Cuba Solidarity!**

a publication of the National Network on Cuba (NNOC), is named for Cuban revolutionary leader Antonio Maceo's immortal *Protest of Baragua*, issued at the end of Cuba's 10 years War for independence from Spain in 1878. At Baragua, Maceo refused to halt the struggle against Spain until Cuba was free and independent and slavery had been abolished.

(\$10/yr; DC "Hands Off Cuba!" Coalition; P.O. Box 21560; Washington, DC 20009; e-mail: dchoc@igc.apc.org)

# Granma

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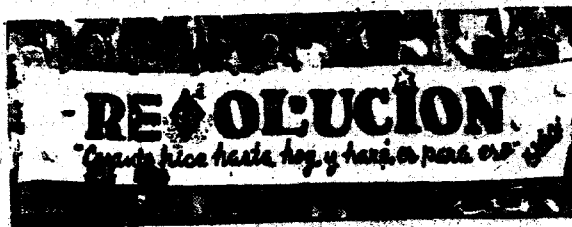
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### **'Cuba Lives'**

#### **International Youth Festival**

August 1-7, 1995. City of Havana and Cuban Provinces



#### **Youth of the World:**

We, Cuban youth and students, sharing with our people an infinite joy and a profound commitment to our history, our conquests and our dreams; Conscious of the immense human and political courage represented by the international solidarity with our country and the declaration of war against the blockade; Wishing to exchange views on current topics of interest to youth around the world, and to share with them the speakers podium, work, dancing, music, and a sincere smile; Call on youth and student organizations, friendship associations, regional and international organizations, those who while being a little more than youth continue to feel close to the youth of Cuba, those who regardless of ideology or creed are opposed to the blockade against Cuba and cherish the right of peoples to self-determination, sovereignty and independence, to participate in the 'Cuba Lives' International Youth Festival, to be held August 1-7, 1995 in the city of Havana and other Cuban provinces. This call issued by:

Union of Young Communists of Cuba  
Federation of University Students  
Federation of High School Students  
Jose' Marti Organization of Pioneers

For more information contact: Union of Young Communists -  
International Relations Department, Avenida de las Misiones 5 y 7,  
Havana, Cuba. Telephone: (537) 625-644 or 625-672



## STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS/PRISONERS OF WAR (by Sekou Kambui)

Rather than using this forum to address my own personal needs for support, I would like to take this opportunity to address a crucial issue that involves all of us - the lack of national coordination among all our individual defense/support groups. This lack of coordination is not the fault of the small support groups whose interest is generally one particular prisoner or small groups of prisoners; this deficiency is created by the lack of a specific, nationally organized committee to speak out against the growing and continued imprisonment of PP/POW's. For many years now, we have awaited a concerted effort by some of our better known national-level organizations; the response has continued to be weak, and the coordination fragmented and most-often factional. Many of our brothers and sisters are without any support and almost no outside contact; our responsibility is to come to their aid as well as to the aid of our better-known prisoners. The growing brutality as evidenced by Control Units, maximum segregation units, and physical torture, the increased use of the death penalty - all signal the immediate demand for coordinated support on behalf of not only PP/POW's but also the tens of thousands of our brothers and sisters presently brutalized by this racist, oppressive system.

The numerous independent support committees should give serious thought to establishing support for these brothers and sisters without any outside aid. Even letters of support for upcoming parole hearings or letters of outrage directed to wardens and superintendents of prisons are important for somebody to do. In this way, if and when a brother is suddenly locked down or transferred, somebody outside knows and responds to his need. Such immediate response may be the only thing standing between that brother and brutalization and/or death. Prisons hate outside interference, and we all need to insure that we provide that interference as often and as directly as possible.

On national levels, the organizations which have over the years called themselves "the voice of the New Afrikan or Puerto Rican or Native American" must take the responsibility to insure that our smaller defense committees are supported at parole hearings or in the governor's office - or wherever might be necessary to indicate to these officials that our wives, loved ones, and supporters are not alone in their fight. No prisoner should be without support at a parole hearing; newspapers which concentrate upon specific groups of PP/POW's should insure that a representative is available at these meetings to report to the people the activities taking place at these hearings. Such activity, of course, demands that these national organizations know the parole dates and other specific dates of each prisoner that may concern the need for support, both physical and emotional.

Such coordinated effort is an absolute necessity in these days of even more reactionary/oppressive government restrictions. The federal anti-crime bill is screaming for prisoners to serve 85% of their terms before gaining parole eligibility. States are being forced to accede to this time frame if they hope to obtain federal funds. What is 85% of life? We can no longer sit back, depending upon our small support groups who are struggling to survive. We must speak out aggressively in a coordinated, supportive effort and make ourselves heard. TIME magazine has just reported that for the first time in history, the numbers of prisoners has gone over one million - 1,012,851 to be exact. Such incredible numbers prove that there are also millions of potential supporters for all of us - the families and loved ones of these one million men and women.

One of the greatest problems faced by the support groups - most often family and loved ones of the prisoner - is isolation from one another and from society in general. Nobody cares about prisoners, and nobody wants to hear about our needs or the needs of our families. The criminalization of our communities, which includes our families, must be openly attacked if we are to raise a public consciousness around the whole issue of PP/POW's and imprisonment of so many New Afrikan citizens around the country. None of us have much money, but each of us can write letters, send faxes, mail a few stamps to a prisoner, or do some other small task that will help a fellow brother or sister to get through just one more day.

At present my own Support Group is in the midst of a Petition Drive/Support Letter Drive for my parole hearing in May or June of this year. We actively encourage your participation and support by mail, fax, or phone contact. Copies of all petitions and/or letters should be sent to my support group in Birmingham as well as to the Parole Board at the address listed below. My four-year long lawsuit against the Parole Board, citing racial discrimination, lack of due process, and arbitrary/capricious rulings was just dismissed a few weeks ago; the appeal is now in process. Ultimately, however, my fate and the fate of all of us rests with the people, not with the racist courts, parole boards, and thousands of other government agencies/entities.

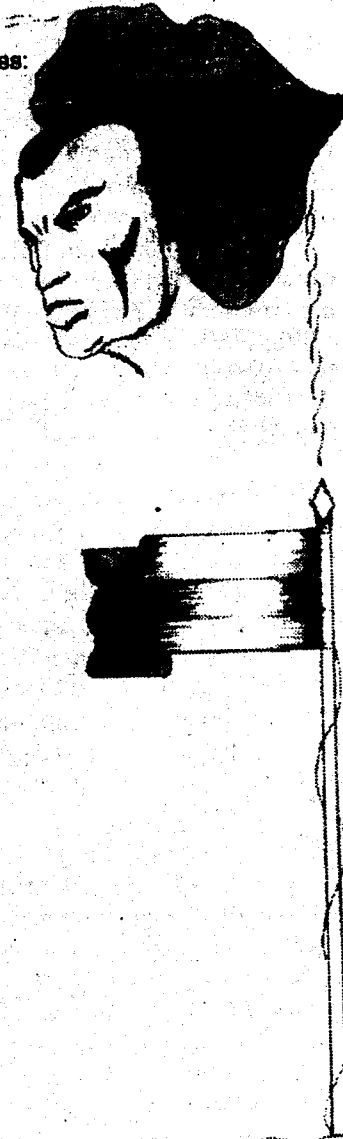
Now is the time for us to come together with one another, to organize, to speak out and speak up on behalf of each other. There is no time to waste; while we debate, define, and discuss; the enemy continues his genocidal plan. We need to bear in mind the Ashanti proverb: "TWO MEN IN A BURNING HOUSE MUST NOT STOP TO ARGUE."

Letters of support and petitions should be sent to the following address:

Alabama Board of Pardons & Parolees  
 ATTN: Chairman John Nettles  
 501 Dexter Avenue  
 Lurleen Wallace Bldg.  
 Montgomery, AL 36130  
 205-242-8700

Sekou C.T.M. Kambui Defense Committee  
 ATTN: Aysha De'Jenaba Kambui  
 2233 Second St. South  
 Birmingham, AL 35205  
 205-322-1047

William J. Turk/Sekou C.T.M. Kambui  
 AIS #113058  
 P.O. Box 10 (6A100)  
 Clio, AL 36017



### Understanding Fratricide Among New Afrikan Males

"For males between the ages of 25 and 44 years, homicide was the number one cause of death for black men, but number five for white males. In that year alone (1977), more blacks (5,734) were killed than all the blacks (5,711) who died in the entire nine years of the Viet Nam War. This fact should underscore that there has been an undeclared war on black Americans and that many blacks have become agents of their autodestruction." - Hussein Bulhan

"Rather than look upon Our young people as demons among Us that We should fear and attack, We must remember that members of gangs are Our children. We must love them unconditionally, We must protect them and guide them along righteous and productive paths." - Owusu Yaki Yakubu

Every year over the last two decades there are more New Afrikan males who are homicide casualties in urban neo-kkkolonies than total deaths in many wars around the world. The shooting of New Afrikan young men by each other is a daily occurrence in Amerikkka. New Afrikan young males murder each other over gym shoes, clothing items, drugs, and gang affiliations; while others are murdered by occupying soldier kkkops, just-us murder.

Kkkolonialism fosters the institutional, interpersonal, and intrapersonal violence that causes the premature deaths of New Afrikan men. The leading cause of death among New Afrikan men under 40 is homicide. In Michigan, New Afrikan males lose 34.1 years of their potential years of life; While in Harlem New Afrikan men are less likely to reach the age of 65 than men living in Bangladesh, one of the world's poorest countries.

We have to admit that the kkkiller of New Afrikan males is not just external, kkkolonialism; it is also in Us, internalized kkkolonialism, among Us, autodestruction, a Frantz Fanon concept:

"Wherever the colonized, with his nerves on edge, meets other people, be it at work, in his closely packed lodgings, at the grocer's store where he still owes money, he meets people like himself who are under the colonizer's heel: mirror images of his own misery. It is on them that he vents his hatred, it is them that he dares to assault as long as he is too frightened or apathetic to revolt against the colonizer himself. While the settler or the policeman has the right the live-long day to strike the native, to insult him and to make him crawl to them, you will see the native reaching for his knife at the slightest hostile or aggressive glance on him by another native; for the last resort of the native is to defend his personality vis-a-vis his brother."

The main reason why New Afrikan male fratricide escalated after the late 1960's and early 1970's was the successful counter-revolutionary war waged by the Amerikkkan government against the civil rights and black liberation movements, and the failure of the advanced sectors to rebuild the struggle. COINTELPRO tactics of chemical warfare (flooding New Afrikan communities with heroine and cocaine, now crack), propaganda warfare (kkkolonial media's saturation of New Afrikan males minds with glorifying pimps, hustlers, and gangsters), and armed warfare (the assassinations and imprisonment of black revolutionaries) left the proceeding generation of New Afrikan masses floundering without models, corrupted, suffering from false consciousness:

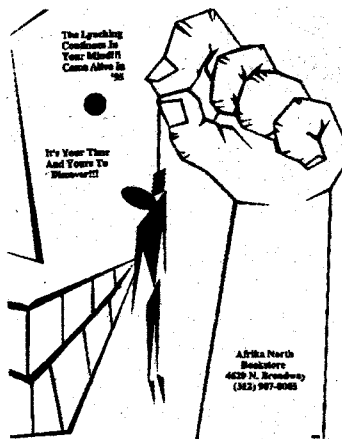
"It is quite obvious that since the civil rights and black liberation struggles of the 60's and 70's and the principles we used to live by which were passed down from one generation to the next are no longer binding us together. But no new principles and no new traditions have been created. When a people breaks with old principles or a tradition but does not create new ones to pass on to the next generation, then that people is subject to decline into barbarism." (James Boggs)

The discontinuity of struggle has led to the senseless barbarism among New Afrikan young men. Many New Afrikan males become fratricide victims as a result of petty disputes. As a New Afrikan rebuilders and social therapist, i have worked with many New Afrikan males in counseling relationships. In understanding that kkkolonial oppression is pathology producing, i realize that fratricide is a social sickness.

Before We can guide New Afrikan males along righteous and productive paths, We must have a many-sided perspective of them, and understand subjectively why they engage in fratricide. The following are some of my diagnostic observations of other psychological motivators of autodestruction:

- \* **Preemptive strike paranoia:** The hyper-vigilant and ever readiness position of New Afrikan males to kill other New Afrikan males before they are killed because of preconceived threats on their life.
- \* **Invisible man syndrome:** The feeling of many New Afrikan males that they are worthless in a society that is based on being a rich, white male. Through the use of violence interpersonally many New Afrikan males establish a sense of distorted power; can gain respect and recognition.
- \* **Uncontrolled eruption:** The pent-up frustration of many New Afrikan males because of economic deprivation that is unleashed against other New Afrikan males in a violent manner, misplaced aggression.
- \* **Perceptual disdain:** The internalization of kkkolonial stereotypes by New Afrikan males that results in low self-esteem and self-hatred, which causes them to resent and hurt other New Afrikan males.
- \* **Provocative communication:** The verbal instigators and non-verbal actions of many New Afrikan males that provoke conflicts and violence.
- \* **Death-Wish outlook:** The attitude of some New Afrikan males that their lives have no meaning and their situation is hopeless. This attitude causes them to live reckless and be involved with senseless violence.
- \* **Urban stress syndrome:** The day-to-day overwhelming pressure that New Afrikan males experience that causes them to snap spontaneously and irrationally because of feelings of impotency, incapacity, inadequacy, and being under constant siege.

i hope these diagnostical insights help Us as We rebuild-to-win in healing and uplifting deaf, dumb, and blind unconscious New Afrikan males who are on the wayside and steer them away from the road of fratricide and bring them on the path toward Land, Independence, and Socialism.



You can  
get with  
this  
or  
you can  
get with  
that

PAMBERI NE CHIMURENGAI



Rebuild dialectically,  
Cinque Kofi Kinaya  
aka: Kenny Anderson

WE ARE OUR OWN LIBERATORS!

IN THE MEMORY OF  
MY YOUNG COUSIN DARRELL REYNOLDS

THE BULLET FADE

\*Another yak-town young Bro bites the dust  
Who cares?, there's no fuss

\*Young cousin killed before the age of twenty five  
Youngbloods falling like dominoes aint no jive

\*Just some more Black - on - Black crime  
One in the grave, the other got to do some permanent time

\*Let Us gather for the funeral parade  
The last rites for another victim of the 'bullet fade'

\*More lasting grief for a Black mama  
When will young Black men stop this murder drama?

\*Two young Bros took out with one metal stone  
What will happen when all young Brothers are gone?

\*Don't get caught-up in the rep, the dope, or the purse  
Learn from the last young brother in the funeral hearse

\*It's time to stop being stupid, dog, young niggas  
Doing the work of the undertaker as gravediggers

\*Stop set - trippin, increase the love and peace  
So the blasts from the gats will cease

\*A short poem from a veteran ghetto soldier  
Wake up young Bros and smell the folgers

-Kenny Anderson  
(4 - 4 - 95)

## CROSSROAD Support Network News & Updates

3021 W. 63rd, Chicago IL, 60629; 312-737-8679; crsn@aol.com

• **Remembrances & Condolences:** A good friend and comrade, Breeze Barrow passed away late last fall. We just want to acknowledge this brother's consistency and courage through the years, and give our condolences to the family • Linda Evans and Larry Giddings, North American Anti-imperialist political prisoners, lost their fathers recently. Larry is currently being held at the Lewisburg, PA kamp and Linda is at the Dublin, CA kamp. • **New Birth:** Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata's grandson joined us in December of '94. • Along with the *National Prison Radio Project* and the *Black Cultural Center* at Loyola University, We brought **Ramona and Consuella Africa** of the MOVE organization in to discuss the upcoming commemoration of the May 13th bombing, as well as the situation with Mumia. Thanx also to Olive-Harvey College (Ramona spoke to a group of New Afrikan alternative high school students there), and Richard Steele, who interviewed Ramona briefly on WBEZ. Too bad We can't say the same for WVON, which apparently doesn't find May 13th worth remembering; the station has also consistently refused to broadcast Mumia's commentaries, despite repeated community requests. • **The Control Unit Monitoring Project** is in the process of setting up an emergency response network/phone tree, so keep your eyes and ears open... • *Two films worth checking out:* **Yuri Kochiyama: A Passion for Justice** and **The Fire This Time** — the film on Yuri is a great overview of the life of this important activist, who has always given consistent support to our struggles to free pp's and pow's and shown true internationalist solidarity. "The Fire This Time" takes a look at the '92 rebellion in L.A.; We took particular interest in it's delineation of the continuous efforts (since the early 70's!) of street organizations to "gang-up" on oppression, and how the LAPD and other u.s. law agencies have always attacked these attempts at building peace. • According to the March 1995 **Coalition For Prisoners' Rights Newsletter**, "there are more women in prison than ever. From 1980 to 1990, the number of women in prison jumped more than 2.5 times, from 12,331 to 43,845. In 1994, there were 90,000 women in prisons and jails across the country. Women are 5 to 10% of the prison population in any one state. The rate of incarceration of women has grown faster than for men every year since 1981... Over two-thirds of the women in prison are women of color. [New Afrikan] women are 8 times more likely to go to prison than white women [and] [New Afrikan] women are 7 times more likely to be arrested for prostitution than women of other ethnic groups... The increasing incarceration rate for women is a result of the so-called "war on drugs." Nearly two-third of women prisoners are doing time for non-violent crimes, related to drug addiction. Alcohol and drug-related convictions tripled from 1977 to 1987. Of the women in prison for violent crimes, two-thirds have been found guilty of attacking or killing relatives or partners. Many of these women were responding to years of abuse and/or battery by their partners..." Write to the coalition at: P.O. Box 1911, Santa Fe, NM 87504-1911 • **Sista Shiriki** sends word that **S.T.A.C.** (Stop Targeting the Afrikan Community), "is in the process of putting together a conference around Economic Sanctions. This project is in its' planning states, and would like input from Brothas & Sistas, and we would like for you to begin thinking about an issue, target and demand..." She can be reached at P.O. Box 5161, Kansas City, MO 64132 • **Insight Arts** (1545 W. Morse, Chicago IL 60626; 312-973-1521) held a "Youth Rights Assembly" on April 1 and 2. We were able to attend the second day and dialogue with young activists about "strategies for fighting racism, sexism, homophobia, the military industrial complex, police brutality, colonialism, sexual violence and child abuse... [placing] particular emphasis on informing young people about the current "political reforms" that target inner-city youth as criminals and the current trend to fund racist "crime prevention" programs." We also had the good fortune to experience a performance by 'Edges,' the



with Ramona & Consuella

resident youth activist ensemble at Insight Arts, called **Our Stories**. The youth bring passion to stories that are very real for them and their peers — stories of abuse, oppression, censorship, homelessness, joblessness and genocide. We urge you to check it out • **Word to the wise:** if you're a prisoner, and someone takes the time out to visit you on a regular basis, don't you think you should check up on 'em if you haven't seen them in a while? Fight Dehumanization! • In December 1995, Lorenzo L. Stone-Bey will have served 20 years on a life sentence and will be eligible for parole by the Indiana State Parole Board. The **Lorenzo L. Stone-Bey Legal Defense Committee** is asking that statements of support be sent to: Indiana Parole Board, E321 Indiana Government Center South, 302 West Washington St., Indianapolis IN 46204. A copy of all letters can be sent directly to Lorenzo, #10006, P.O. Box 41, Michigan City, IN 46360 • **'C' Numbers:** Despite 5-bus/car caravans loaded with supporters on two (2) separate occasions, a bill which would open up the possibility of



home monitoring for some 'qualifying' C-number prisoners failed to get passed out of the judicial committee. Now, We hear that one of the bill's supporters, **Coy Pugh**, has lost his seat on the judicial committee • The Birmingham conference, *The Imprisonment of America - A Human Catastrophe*, was a success this past Saturday April 8th. One of the

event's principal organizers was political prisoner **Mafundi Lake**. Richard Mafundi Lake has been a life-long community organizer both inside and out of prison. His activism from behind bars led the federal government (for the first time ever), to take over a state prison system. Despite being caged, Mafundi played a crucial role in organizing what was a dynamic conference. Mafundi's defense committee and the Committee for Prisoner Support in Birmingham have issued this urgent request for all concerned people to protest Mafundi's having been transferred just days before the conference. Organizers believe that the Alabama Dept. of Corrections transferred Mafundi to retaliate against him for his activist efforts and to make it impossible for him to have contact with conference participants, as had been scheduled. **CALL, WRITE, FAX TODAY!!** Demand that Mafundi be transferred back to William Donaldson Prison from Atmore. Be sure to include his prisoner number, #79972X. Send letters to: Ron Jones, Director Alabama Dept. of Corrections, 50 N Ripley St., Montgomery Alabama 36130; Cecil Atcheson, transfer dept. - same address; phone: 334-242-9400; fax: 334-242-9399. \*\*\* Also \*\*\* please send copies to Mafundi's defense committee at: PO Box 12152, Birmingham AL 35202; Letters of support can be sent to Mafundi at this address: Richard Mafundi Lake, # 79972X, 3700 Holman Unit, Atmore AL 36503 • **Appeal From the Yu Kikumura Support Committee:** Yu Kikumura is the Japanese anti-imperialist brother imprisoned after a sensationalist 1988 bust and trial in New Jersey. He was convicted of possession of explosive devices...and railroaded to 30 years in federal prison. The fed guidelines call for a maximum three year sentence, but this was ignored. As Yu faces his eighth year of incarceration, a threat of transfer from his current stay at USP Marion to the new "supermax" at Florence, CO hangs like a dark storm cloud. Please send tax-deductible contributions made payable to: GLACTS (Great Lakes Asian American Center for Theology and Strategies) and earmarking it for the Yu Kikumura Support Committee, P.O. Box 520021, Flushing NY 11352 USA • **LAST WORDS:** "You must remember this, if you black and you're rich; when push come to shove, they'll take your shit!" - *Coolio* • "The Negro now stands at the CROSSROADS of human destiny. He is at the place where he must either step forward or backward. If he goes backward he dies; if he goes forward it will be the hope of a greater life. Those of us who have developed our minds scientifically are compelled, by duty, to step out among the millions of unthinking masses and convince them of the seriousness of the age in which we live." - *Marcus Garvey*

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## **New Afrikan Creed**

1. i believe in the spirituality, humanity and genius of Black people, and in our new pursuit of these values.
2. i believe in the family and the community, and in the community as a family, and i will work to make this concept live.
3. i believe in the community as more important than the individual.
4. i believe in constant struggle for freedom, to end oppression and build a better world. i believe in collective struggle; in fashioning victory in concert with my brothers and sisters.
5. i believe that the fundamental reason our oppression continues is that We, as a people, lack the power to control our lives.
6. i believe that the fundamental way to gain that power, and end oppression, is to build a sovereign Black nation.
7. i believe that all the land in America, upon which We have lived for a long time, which We have worked and built upon, and which We have fought to stay on, is land that belongs to us as a people.
8. i believe in the Malcolm X Doctrine; that We must organize upon this land, and hold a plebiscite, to tell the world by a vote that We are free and our land independent, and that, after the vote, We must stand ready to defend ourselves, establishing the nation beyond contradiction.
9. Therefore, i pledge to struggle without cease, until We have won sovereignty. i pledge to struggle without fail until We have built a better condition than the world has yet known.
10. i will give my life, if that is necessary; i will give my time, my mind, my strength, and my wealth because this IS necessary.
11. i will follow my chosen leaders and help them.
12. i will love my brothers and sisters as myself.
13. i will steal nothing from a brother or sister, cheat no brother or sister, misuse no brother or sister, inform on no brother or sister, and spread no gossip.
14. i will keep myself clean in body, dress and speech, knowing that i am a light set on a hill, a true representative of what We are building.
15. i will be patient and uplifting with the deaf, dumb and blind, and i will seek by word and deed to heal the Black family, to bring into the Movement and into the Community mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters left by the wayside.

Now, freely and of my own will, i pledge this Creed, for the sake of freedom for my people and a better world, on pain of disgrace and banishment if i prove false. For, i am no longer deaf, dumb or blind. i am, by inspiration of the ancestors and grace of the Creator — a **New Afrikan**.