

# CROSSROAD

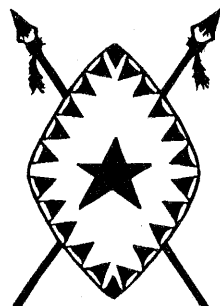
A NEW AFRIKAN CAPTURED COMBATANT  
NEWSLETTER

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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.**

## **SOUTH CENTRAL L.A.: WHAT'S GOING ON?**

**by Sanyika Shakur**

**"500 fbi agents comin' after us, license to kill, 30 mil,  
claimin' it just a drug bust..."**

**—Public Enemy**

Long before south central L.A. blew up and shouted its third world existence the street organizations ("gangs") that occupy every street here had begun secret top level meetings to try and bring some clarity to the escalating chaos that had everyone literally at every other person's throat. The rebellion, much like colonialism, only served to speed this process up. But it by no means caused the unity of the street organizations. The street organizations here, in So. Central, are primarily New Afrikan and have a twenty-four year history of development. The two base factions are the Crips and the Bloods. Within the confines of these respective groups are various chapters, units, sets and cliques. The Crips alone have 237 chapters. These chapters are divided into sets, the sets are sub-divided into streets and the streets in turn have cliques. It is thus quite safe to say the the Crips have a membership of no less than thirty thousand. The Bloods predate the Crips by a few years, but not many. In contrast to the booming membership of the Crips, the Bloods are small and locked into a defensive posture. Their membership does not exceed seventeen thousand. For there to be an adequate overstanding of this phenomenal development, We need to check the climate which the Crips and the Bloods were created in. 1969— Four years after the death of Malcolm, three years after the start of the Black Panther Party, 15 years after the beginning of the Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO). It is of interest to put it like this, for it points to the time frames in which We had prosperous development towards Revolutionary Nationalist Ideology/Culture and the time in which the oppressor had to develop counterrevolutionary techniques.

By '69 the BLM was in grave trouble, for various reasons most of us already know. It wasn't popular to speak aloud about one's intent to "Liberate Black Folks" or "Off the Pig." Because the pig was on a move trying to "save his country" and "stop the Black Communists." Because of our naive overstanding of our own power as a nation and the importing of revolutionary ideas, '69 found us split, underground, captured or dead. The amerikans closed out the year with the assassination of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. They tried to include Geronimo in this "years-end cleanup" but G was too keen and escaped with his life. The oppressor is a keen calculating visionary; he knows the power of propaganda and he is quite literally aware of the sway media can have over people. He had no problem with showing the Mighty Panthers facing down the pigs, shooting down the pigs or being "Bad." No, he had no problem whatsoever with this, 'cause the oppressor is a long term thinker, a planner. He allowed the Panthers to gather a cult following, while simultaneously portraying the Panthers as ego-tripping maniacs that want to "control the world." This latter image was for the Silent Majority. When he deemed the time right, the political pigs were unleashed and public executions became the order of the day. The

oppressor had little problem showing heroic gun battles as long as his forces were victorious. The devastation the people felt as they watched their "saviors" gunned down, blown up, chased away and turned out was mindboggling. The death toll among the Panthers reached 28. Although pigs were corrected, the media quickly moved to defuse the political intent of such actions. The revolutionaries could not compete for air time with the owners of the stations. Every aggressive act of murder or political assassination was deemed "self-defense," "justifiable homicide," or "lone assassin." While our every act of self-defense was dubbed "murder," "terrorism," or a "communist plot." We never believed We had gotten that heavy. Cats off the block spewing revolutionary rhetoric had brought the fearful beast out in the oppressor, and it cause us to either "shit or get off the pot."

Those who decided to "shit" went underground to function with the various units of the Black Liberation Army. Those who were indecisive or "...didn't believe their own spiel," were blown off the pot, while the remaining folks—The Majority—simply got off the pot altogether with, went home and became amerikans again. It was in this climate of political assassinations, misinformation, counterintelligence and disruption that the Crips and Bloods in so. cen. L.A. began.

Before the Panthers came to LA there were street organizations. In fact, Bunchy Carter and John Huggins were members of a group called the "Slausons"; notorious for rumbles and dominance, both Bunchy and John were "Warlords." But when the Panthers created an alternative to the fratricide, the warlords opted for membership in the Party. Not all members of the street orgs' fell in with the Party. Some joined the reactionary ranks of the "US" organization and continued in their original capacity as fratricidal tools of the oppressor, killing party members and disrupting real nationalist development. And others joined nothing and faded into the social structure of dependence. It's quite interesting to note that precisely when the Panthers became hunted and shown incapable of defending themselves, did street organizations regroup and resurface. In '69 these "gang members" would have been another generation of Panthers. "But," said the Bangers, "Why be a part of something that can't defend itself?" Hence the oppressor had succeeded in portraying the Panthers as a group you didn't want to be a part of.

The street organizations of the Crips and Bloods were the total antithesis of the Panthers structured 10 point program. The political pigs knew this, documented it, and as an intelligence rule, passed it on to their superiors in the FBI. The Crips and the Bloods were allowed to carry on because they summed up the success of the Counter Intelligence Program. For one of the main stipulations in the program was to prevent the Nationalists from linking with the youth. The youth running wild showed that this stipulation had been met. The Nationalists were so busy fighting one another, each vying for the vanguard position; or trying to free themselves from the u.s. injustice system that no one had time for the youth—the next generation of Panthers. So the birth of the next generation was premature, in a climate of total stress and therefore unhealthy. The development was retarded and once again it was Winter in amerika. Twenty four years of winter was broken with a preview of



things to come in the '90's. The Crips and the Bloods have opened up negotiations to stop the violence among themselves but still We have not offered them a suitable alternative to cause them (like the Panthers did) to join our ranks.

## **ON THEIR OWN**

One such effort the Crips and the Bloods made to reach at us (showing that We have been giving rearguard leadership) was the structuring of serious organizations inside the koncentration kamps in the '80s. The Crips structured their Consolidated Crip Organization (CCO) and made the name Crips into an acronym meaning: Clandestine Revolutionary Internationalist Party Soldiers, (C.R.I.P.S.). While the Bloods did likewise and began the United Blood Nation (U.B.N.). Both began as righteous efforts to make the necessary leap from criminal/colonial mentality to conscious revolutionary mentality. The leadership of these two structures were strong. In fact in CCO, after being accepted in, one had to change his/her name and get an Afrikan name. Revolutionary study groups and periods were designated, as was exercise. One had to learn kiswahili and adhere to a disciplined stucture consisting of quiet periods, alert periods, study periods and fasting periods. This was done in the restricting confines of san quentin and folsom prison kamps. Both these structures made appeals to so-called revolutionary groups for assistance and all but one had no rap for them. The CCO fell under tremendous repression when it was thought that they had corrected a pig in quentin. Being that quentin is situated by the city of oakland, the Brothas wrote to the African People's Socialist Party, who had a publication called "Burning Spear," and got no reply. And they were right across the bridge! Half a dozen other org's with publications were written, including the NOI and Final Call—all to no avail. The only org' that that recognized us was the Spear & Shield Collective and they printed a piece We wrote in CROSSROAD. We had to go to Chicago!

(See CR, vol. 1 no.3—"The Case of Hekaya Kashif and Repression At San Quentin Prison", Taliba Safidi. pg. 43-45)

Since there was little effort on anyone's part to take us serious as Revs, or supply us with any guidance as a parent org, both these structures have collapsed. In their place are two totally reactionary groupings—Blue Notes and Blood Line. So what's going on in So. Central? This is yet another effort by these courageous young street combatants to link themselves with an alternative to self-murder. Most of these cats have been in koncentration kamps and know what amerika really means—prison, so they have little fear of the oppressor. The oppressor, on the other hand, has a problem. He has given us massive doses of chemical warfare; he has shot us up, turned around and given us assault weapons to shoot ourselves with; locked us up in koncentration kamps from huntingdon to pelican bay, and still he can't stop the "gangs" of So. Central L.A. So he's dispatched his elite group of political police to L.A. in wake of the rebellion. But that was just a public display. In actuality, he sent 300 federal agents to L.A. known as "Division Five." Along with them he's sent William S. Hogan, BKA, "the GangBreaker." Hogan is fresh off the trail of the El Rukns, of Chicago, where he supposedly "Ruined their organization

singlehandedly.”(!) If We don’t work with these Brothas, the state will organize those they let live, let out or let in to work against us!

## THE REALITY

The reality is that street organizations, altho only re-action to the initial action of colonialism, are a problem inside of Our Nation. These are Our citizens running rampant in the concrete jungles of this kountry. And so it is Our responsibility to reach for ourselves, in reaching for them. It’s not as complicated as one may think. For instance, what do street organizations fight for? Turf, their hood — Land. Something to call their own. What do they have allegiance to? A Flag — thus they are patriotic to their particular “nation.” Their flag is a symbol of Independence. How do they function? The majority of them live in a socialistic type of lifestyle in the “gang”: From each according to his ability, to each according to his need. Therefore, Land, Independence and socialism can be very appealing to “Brothas off the block.” i know, cause i am a 17 year veteran of the Crips. i was a member of CCO and from there i made the necessary change. (See Monster: Autobiography of An L.A. Crip). More and more Brothas and Sistahs are beginning to see the light, but if We aren’t in the making as viable avenues of construction for them then they will resent us and quite possibly become antagonistic towards us. i don’t know about you, but its not a warming feeling to know that you are wanted by forty seven thousand irate bangers with assault weapons!

## IN SUMMARY

Let us not be swayed by amerika’s criminalization of these Brothas [& Sistahs] who have been said to be “exporting narco-terrorism” across amerika. The fact is ain’t no coca leaves grown in South Central. Ain’t no gun factories controlled by New Afrikan People, let alone Crips or Bloods. These are tools of destruction deliberately set in place by the oppressor. We have gotten hold of them as a survival tactic — its the only rope that has been thrown. Now, We as Reus, must throw another rope, one of healthy development, Socialist Construction and an Independent Ideology.

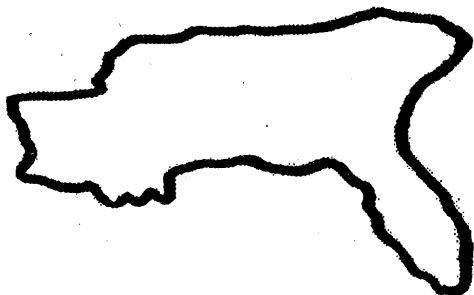
“If We are not for ourselves then who will befor us,  
if not now, then when?” — MX

Re-Build!



We are now beginning an ongoing drive to solicit financial donations and people who are willing to act as local distributors for SSP publications. Specifically, we need sustainers to provide regular donations of \$25, \$50, \$100 and more to help ensure the regular publication of **CROSSROAD** and **VITA WA WATU**, not to mention funds to aid in the survival of SSP itself. These funds will also allow us to expand the current projects we are involved with.

We are also seeking people to aid us in the distribution of our publications. This is a critical task that will enable our publications to get into the hands of more people. It is easier to print these publications than to ensure their widespread use. Our primary objective is to get people to read and discuss the ideas presented in these publications, and that can't be accomplished without a solid distribution network. We encourage anyone interested in this type of work to contact us immediately. We have many ideas on distribution, but we need your help to implement them.



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## WHAT IS NEO-COLONIALISM?

by Gregory Carey

By Neo-Colonialism I mean the practice of granting a sort of independence with the concealed intention of maintaining total control over the people who were colonized (i.e. African-Americans). Just as the continent of Africa is experiencing the era of neo-colonialism, we Africans in America are suffering from the same phenomenon. That of being controlled by neo-colonialists so that we remain totally dependent on the colonial government. We must deal with these neo-colonialists and our neo-colonial condition. Those neo-colonialists amongst us must be exposed because they are holding our race back from progressing. They are very easy to identify. They are the African-Americans that have been hand-picked by the white power structure to represent "their" interests, not ours. Any African-American politician, leader, public figure or businessperson that does not acknowledge publicly that they represent and look out for the interest of "their" people first are neo-colonialists and must not be allowed to speak for African-Americans. This practice must be stopped. We must become more aware of how neo-colonialism and neo-colonialists effect our lives. Let me know your thoughts on this subject. Write me at: Gregory Carey, #623852 P.O. Box 777, Monroe, Washington 98272. Let's wipe out neo-colonialism and let's destroy the neo-colonialists. Only then will we be able to achieve freedom, justice and equality as a people throughout the world.

Black Love,  
G.C.

P.S. Who Are The Neo-Colonialists Amongst Us?

#####



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## **From Alcatraz To Marion To Florence (part 2)**

### **4. Marion to be Replaced by Florence.**

Marion was not originally built as a control unit prison. It has thus been inadequate for the task of implementing the even tighter control of prisoners which BOP Director J. Michael Quinlan, in testimony before a Congressional subcommittee in the fall of 1989, said would constitute an improvement upon Marion's existing regimen (Lehman, 1990: 36-7). The BOP has decided to replace Marion with a control unit prison in Florence, Colorado specifically designed to achieve this goal. Scheduled to open in 1993, the prison's state-of-the-art technology will help to eliminate even the minimal levels of human contact prisoners have at Marion. It has proved very difficult to find out exact details of the new control unit prison to be built at Florence. When a Freedom of Information Act request for information on plans for Florence was submitted to the BOP, the BOP denied the request on the basis that the plans did not yet exist[7] If that is the case, then the local newspapers appear to know more about the new prison than its designers. The following information comes from such newspapers (Miniclier, 1991: A1; Henson, 1990: B1; O'Keefe, 1991; Chronis, 1990: B1; Harmon, 1991: B2; Associated Press, 1990; Ritter, 1991: 13).

The Marion replacement is one of a complex of four federal prisons being built just south of Florence. The control unit will house 550 prisoners and is designed so that one guard will be able to control the movements of numerous prisoners in several cell-blocks by way of electronic doors, cameras and audio equipment. "We'll be able to electronically open a cell door, shut it behind the inmate and move him through a series of sliding doors," according to Russ Martin, project manager for the Florence prison. Prisoners will be even more restricted than at Marion, according to the Pueblo, Colorado Chieftain: "Inmates won't have to travel nearly as far in the new Florence prison." At Marion the prisoners can at least shout to each other through their bars. At Florence, solid cell doors will make that difficult or impossible[8] and there will be no windows in the cells.

Just five miles from the prison site, in Lincoln Park, is the Cotter Corporation, a uranium milling company owned by Commonwealth Edison of Chicago, Illinois. The area surrounding the mill and nearby railroad has been extensively radioactively contaminated. Uranium tailings dumped in unlined ponds have poisoned the underground aquifer and the nearby Arkansas River. Dried radioactive dust is carried for miles by the high winds. The contamination of the water alone has caused the Lincoln Park area to be on the Environmental Protection Agency's National Priorities List since 1984 and it has been designated a Superfund site for contamination clean-up (O'Keefe, 1991: 10).

The political landscape around Florence is equally bleak. Florence is in Fremont County where more than one in ten of the work force is employed by the Colorado Department of Corrections in the nine prisons clustered around Canon City (O'Keefe, 1991: 10). Prisoners constitute more than ten percent of the population of the county (Miniclier, 1991: A1).

Florence itself is an economically devastated community of 3,000 where unemployment stands at seventeen percent and the prospect of about 1000 temporary and 750-900 new permanent jobs has proved irresistible. Ninety-seven percent of respondents to one local mail-in poll were in favor of the building of the Florence complex. The citizens raised \$160,000 to purchase the 600 acres for the site; 400 locals gathered for the ground-breaking; t-shirts bearing a map of the site were "sold out" at \$7.99; a housewarming barbecue hosted by the BOP was attended by 1000 local residents. Now, Pueblo Community College is offering criminal justice courses customized to suit the needs of the federal prison.

## **5. Proliferation of Control Units.**

The model for the new control unit at Florence is the Security Housing Unit (SHU) at Pelican Bay State Prison in California (Wilson, 1991: 2). The SHU, which opened in December 1989, was designed as the ultimate facility for the implementation of Marion-style repression. Built to hold 1,056 prisoners in near-total isolation, it is already twenty percent over capacity (Smith, 1991: 1). Prisoners are confined to their eighty square foot cells with solid steel doors for twenty-two and one half hours a day. They are allowed out only for a ninety minute "exercise" period alone in an empty concrete yard the size of three cells with twenty foot high walls and metal screens overhead. Guards open the sliding doors by remote control and use loudspeakers to direct the prisoners in and out. Prisoners moved off the cell-block for any reason are shackled and flanked by two guards wielding truncheons. Except for the sound of a door slamming or a voice on a speaker, the SHU is silent. Prison officials, not the courts, "sentence" prisoners to SHU terms (Corwin, 1990: A1). Often, confidential tips from other prisoners serve as the basis for a disciplinary hearing to determine whether to send the prisoner to the SHU, and these hearings have few safeguards of due process. Many prisoners are sent there for filing grievances or lawsuits or for otherwise opposing prison injustices (Weinstein, 1990). SHU prisoners report the use of "hog-tying" (the intertwining of handcuffs and ankle-cuffs on a prisoner), "cock-fights" in which guards double-cell enemies or otherwise allow them to attack each other, and forced cell moves using Taser stun-guns, thirty-eight millimeter gas guns and baton[9]

Conditions such as those at the SHU and Marion are replicated in state control units throughout the country. Many of these prisons feature their own innovations in controlling and dehumanizing prisoners. At a second California control unit prison at Corcoran, armed guards patrol the Plexiglas ceilings over the cells and peer in at prisoners through Plexiglas cell walls (Wilson, 1991: 2). At Colorado's Centennial Prison in Canon City, the administrative segregation unit has been expanded to include the whole prison (Foster, 1990; Ruark, 1991). A priest hired by the prison delivers communion through a small, knee-high food slot in a solid steel cell door. "If you ain't wrapped too tight, 23-hour lockdown can be enough to make you explode," says the priest. Guards are armed with "nut-guns," wide-bore guns that fire wildly caroming, acorn-sized "nuts" at prisoners from close range. "It's a miniature cannon," the priest explains. "The recommended technique is to fire at the floor so that the acorn ricochets." Prisoners hit by the nuts can be maimed. "One guy lost his eye, and since I arrived here three years ago,



an acorn took off a guy's nose and plastered it to his cheek" (Johnson, 1990: 12). A specially constructed, \$44 million control unit prison, scheduled to be opened near Canon City in early 1993, will hold 500 prisoners, with an additional 250 capacity expansion part of the prison's design (Lemons, 1991).

At Lebanon, Ohio, prisoners under administrative control are held in eight by six foot isolation cells. Each cell has a second door so that prisoners can be locked in the extreme back, darkened portion of the cell. A prisoner describes being leg-shackled, having his arms cuffed to a belt about his waist and being escorted by three guards whenever he is moved from his cell. Other prisoners are forbidden to speak to him (Perotti, 1991). In Missouri, the state prison at Potosi is run by Warden Paul K. Delo, a Vietnam War veteran who, by Missouri law, doubles as the states' executioner since Death Row is at Potosi. Says Delo of his secondary duties, "One of our officers had an analogy. He said it's just like at your own house. Nobody likes to take out the garbage, but somebody has to" (Uhlenbrock, 1989:1). Perhaps inspired by Delo's army experience, prison officials apply the "double-litter restraint" to recalcitrant prisoners. The prisoner's hands are cuffed behind his back, his ankles are cuffed and he is forced to lie face-down on an Army-type cot, his head turned to the side. A second cot is then tightly strapped upside-down over the prisoner and the ends are strapped shut, totally enclosing and immobilizing him. Carl Swope, a 21 year-old sentenced to seven years for credit card fraud, filed suit after being held in the restraint for three hours (Bryant, 1991: A3).

Other state control unit prisons are at Ionia, Michigan (Detroit News, 1989: B3); Southport, New York; McAlester, Oklahoma; Baltimore, Maryland; Florence, Arizona (Jacobson, 1991); Starke, Florida; Walla Walla, Washington; Westville, Indiana (Associated Press, 1991a); and Trenton, New Jersey (Page, 1991). A survey by the Federal Bureau of Prisons found that thirty-six states now operate some form of super-maximum security prison or unit within a prison (Lassiter, 1990: 80). The list continues to grow. Colorado (Lemons, 1991) and Connecticut (Cardaropoli, 1991) have control unit prisons under construction, and Indiana is building a second control unit prison at Sullivan.

Control unit technology is even trickling down to the local level. The Jefferson County Detention Center in Colorado holds each prisoner in an eighty square foot cell equipped with a concrete bed with a mattress on top, sink, toilet and concrete table. Everything from the lights to the locks on the doors is operated electronically by guards in control booths. The jail was designed to allow for a range of control measures, including nearly round-the-clock cell confinement (McGraw, 1986). New York City's Central Punitive Segregation Unit on Rikers Island holds 300 people under twenty one - twenty three hour a day lockdown with no television or radio. Most of those in the "Bing," as the unit is informally known, are detainees awaiting trial. The city plans to expand the unit to hold 900 (Raab, 1991a: 12).

Control unit prisoners have resisted the brutality they are subjected to with the means at their disposal. Prisoners at the Pelican Bay SHU flooded the federal

court with over three hundred civil rights petitions, forcing an unusual meeting between federal judges and the prison's warden to discuss prison conditions. Lawyers for the prisoners have since filed a class action lawsuit charging, among other things, that the extreme isolation violates constitutional safeguards against cruel and unusual punishment (Mintz, 1991). At Southport, New York, prisoners capped months of resistance by taking guards hostage and holding three of them for twenty-six hours until the prisoners' grievances were aired over local television (New York Times, 1991; Raab, 1991b).

Probably the most sustained resistance has occurred at the Maximum Control Complex [MCC] at Westville, Indiana, which opened in April, 1991. Sixteen of the thirty five prisoners in the MCC launched a hunger strike in September to expose conditions in the prison: twenty three and a half hour daily cell time, extremely cold temperatures, denial of mail, constant bright lighting of the cells, and severely restricted visitation. The announced minimum stay in the unit is three years. Four of the prisoners continued the strike for thirty-seven days, eating only after prison officials obtained a court order allowing them to force-feed the prisoners (Associated Press, 1991b). The hunger strikes continued intermittently. One prisoner severed off his fingertip with a razor, and a second tried unsuccessfully to do the same (South Bend Tribune, 1992). The protests garnered coverage in papers across the nation (Associated Press, 1991c; 1991d). Prison officials responded by having guards brutally beat prisoners, sometimes while they were in shackles, assigning some of the prisoners to isolation where they are clothed only in their underwear and socks, and obstructing attempts by lawyers to gain entry (Carmody, 1992).

## 6. The Function of Control Units

To understand the reasons for the spread of control units, we must determine what function they serve, what it is that they achieve. We will examine what is claimed about control units by prison officials and compare those statements with what is known.

We will analyze three specific claims repeatedly made by prison officials all over the country and reported in any media coverage of control unit issues:

- 1) Control units contain the most violent prisoners, the "worst of the worst", who have proved too violent to be held at other prisons.
- 2) Control units reduce violence at other prisons by isolating the most violent prisoners.
- 3) The reduction of violence allows security at these other prisons to be relaxed.

The first claim is the major one, on which the other two rest, so we will concentrate on it. The facts of Marion show that the claim is false. Federal prisons used to be given a security rating from one through six, one being the least secure and six being the most secure. In 1984, Marion was the only level six prison in the federal system and prisoners there were supposed to have a corresponding level



six rating. However, a 1984 report by consultants hired by a Congressional oversight committee stated that eighty percent of prisoners at Marion did not deserve that level of security (Breed and Ward, 1984). In fact, prisoners are sent to Marion for a variety of reasons and sometimes for no reason at all. For example, the U.S. District Court ordered a cap on prison population and as a result, so many prisoners convicted of felonies in the District of Columbia have been moved to Marion to relieve overcrowding that they constituted seventeen per cent of Marion's population in 1990 (Lassiter, 1990: 80). Virtually all of these prisoners are Black.

There is, however, a trend to be seen. Prisoners have been transferred to Marion for writing "too many" lawsuits, for protesting the brutality of the prison system, or for angering prison officials in some other way. In addition, among the many political prisoners who have been in Marion, American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier, Sekou Odinga, member of the Black Liberation Army, Alan Berkman, Tim Blunk and Ray Levasseuer were sent directly to Marion from court (Can't Jail The Spirit, 1989; O'Keefe, 1991) thereby disproving the claim that prisoners at Marion have been violent at other prisons.

The Prison Discipline Study initiated in 1989 by the Prisoner Rights Union of Sacramento, California, investigated the question of which prisoners were most often disciplined and how (Prison Discipline Study, 1991). The report showed that solitary confinement was the most common disciplinary action. Included in this report were testimonies by prisoners that those of them exhibiting personal integrity are singled out for brutal treatment. Respondents to the survey described this group as: "those with principles or intelligence"; "those with dignity and self-respect"; "authors of truthful articles"; "motivated self-improvers"; those "verbally expressing...[their] opinion", "wanting to be treated as a human being" and/or "reporting conditions to people on the outside." The study shows, therefore, that a practice such as sending prisoners to control units, which is based on arbitrary and subjective judgments by guards and other officials, will target prisoners who are most likely to be challenging the prison system.

In fact, the BOP's own rules for determining who gets sent to Marion are far broader than the "violent at other prisons" line given to the media. In the aforementioned "one through six" security rating system, prisoners were assigned their security rating on a number of factors: Type of Detainers, Severity of Current Offense, Projected Length of Incarceration, Types of Prior Commitments, History of Escapes or Attempts and History of Violence (Breed and Ward, 1984: 35). Although this rating system is obviously broader than the "violent" formula and open to a certain amount of interpretation, the finding that four out of five prisoners at Marion did not have the required level six rating meant the BOP had to find another, vaguer system. They have therefore revised their rules and now classify institutions as minimum, low, medium and high security. Prisoners must be "high" security to be sent to Marion, which is determined by pre-commitment factors such as severity of offense. In addition, prisoners at Marion should have a "maximum" custody rating, which is determined by post-commitment criteria such as "disciplinary record" (Dove, 1991). Having revised these rules, the BOP changed the

classification of everyone at Marion to "high-max" (Dunne, 1991).

It is admitted at the highest level that a prisoner's political beliefs are basis for assigning that prisoner to a control unit. In a letter to Congressperson Kastenmeier, the then Chair of the Congressional subcommittee that oversees the BOP, Michael Quinlan, the Director of the BOP, stated:

"A prisoner's past or present affiliation, association or membership in an organization which has been documented as being involved in acts of violence [or] attempts to disrupt ...the government of the United States ... is a factor considered in assessing the security needs of an inmate" (Quinlan, 1987).

We may ask what constitutes "association" with an organization, or what is meant by trying to "disrupt" the government. In a case brought by a prisoner in the Security Housing Unit (SHU) at the California State prison in Sacramento, Chief Justice Karlton made it clear that prisoners are sent to the SHU for reasons that have nothing to do with discipline. He noted that the plaintiff, who was challenging the prison's forbidding him to practise his Native American religion, was in the SHU for being "an associate" of a prison gang, the Mexican Mafia and that "given that [he] is in the SHU by virtue of his status rather than as punishment for a particular act, there is no apparent way for him to work his way out" (Sample v. Borg, 1987).

As a last point in our argument against the claim that Marion contains the "worst of the worst" we note that for this to be true, all or most prisoners who satisfy their criteria must be at Marion. For example, Oscar Lopez Rivera, a Puerto Rican Nationalist, is in Marion for "conspiring to escape". Since he is there, then other prisoners who "conspire to escape" should be there as well as all the prisoners who actually try to escape, as well as all the prisoners who actually do escape and are apprehended. Are they? There are prisoners at Marion who have assaulted guards (not in itself an indication of violence if the guard had been harrassing and abusing the prisoner). Are all prisoners who have assaulted guards, or even killed guards, at Marion? Obviously the answer is no.

Finally, let us address the two other claims made by officials about control units.

Prison officials claim that Marion, Pelican Bay and the other control units reduce violence in the rest of the prison system. Since we have shown that the control units do not hold the most violent prisoners, this cannot be true and there is no evidence that it has happened. Moreover, all the evidence points to the opposite being true. Most of the prisoners will, however, be released at some stage either back into the general prison population or into society. It is known that control unit conditions produce feelings of resentment and rage and mental deterioration (Korn, 1988). Prisoners will have been so deprived of human contact that it will be hard for them to cope with social situations again. The inhumanity of control units cannot reduce violence, it can only increase it. Evidence includes the high level of violence at Marion during the period before the lockdown, when controls were being tightened but not yet to the extent of completely physically incapacitating prisoners. The tighter controls certainly did not have a calming



effect on the prison. In addition, the guard deaths of 1983 occurred in the Control Unit itself.

The claim that control units allow security to be loosened at other prisons is also invalidated because of the truth about which prisoners go there. And again, there is no evidence that the situation in other prisons has improved. Furthermore, Marion has been the model for the numerous state control units. A delegation of the U.S. House Subcommittee on Courts, Intellectual Property and the Administration of Justice which visited Marion in May, 1990, cited the need to "develop a more humane approach to the incarceration of the maximum-security prison population. This is particularly true because the Federal Bureau of Prisons serves as a model for state prisons and for other countries in the world." (Lassiter, 1990: 80) Incredibly, similarity to Marion is now a defense against suits brought to contest inhuman conditions at other prisons (Reed, 1992). The existence of Marion has not improved conditions at other prisons; its example has dragged them downwards toward greater brutality.

Having disposed of the official claims regarding the purpose of control units, we turn to the true function. Ironically, this was clearly stated by Ralph Arons, a former warden at Marion, who testified in federal court:

"The purpose of the Marion Control Unit is to control revolutionary attitudes in the prison system and in the society at large" (Whitman, 1988: 25).

(Notice "revolutionary attitudes" not "actions.")

This is born out by the large number of political prisoners who are, or have been at Marion and by the Prison Discipline Study. That control of dissent, protest and liberation movements is the true purpose of control units is also shown by history, most especially the history of the early seventies. In September 1971, the prisoners at the state prison at Attica in upstate New York rebelled against the inhuman and racist regime there, declaring their solidarity with all oppressed people and demanding their rights. The rebellion, and the consequent brutal murder of thirty-nine prisoners and hostages by New York State Troopers, under the orders of Governor Nelson Rockefeller, rocked the nation. The whole prison system was at boiling point. Despite the recommendations of the official report into the Attica rebellion that prison conditions be humanized, the response of the New York Department of Corrections was to plan a control unit in which to isolate prisoners such as those who lead the rebellion (Kaufman, 1971). It was never built, due to resistance led by Martin Sostre, a Puerto Rican prisoner who had run a radical bookshop, groups supporting Puerto Rican political prisoners and POW's and a defense group headed by Angela Davis (Buhle et al., 1990). Even corrections experts judged the planned prison to be too brutal and to be counterproductive to the purported purpose of violence control (Tomasson, 1971). However, not long after, in 1972, the Control Unit at Marion was initiated.

Starting in the early seventies, around the time of the opening of the Control Unit at Marion and the Attica rebellion, the prison population in the U.S. started

to increase rapidly. Concurrently, there has been an increase in the proportion of prisoners who are people of color. We will document these developments in the next section but mention them here since they lead us to interpret the proliferation of control units in the United States as an attempt to suppress the increased likelihood of protests and dissent.

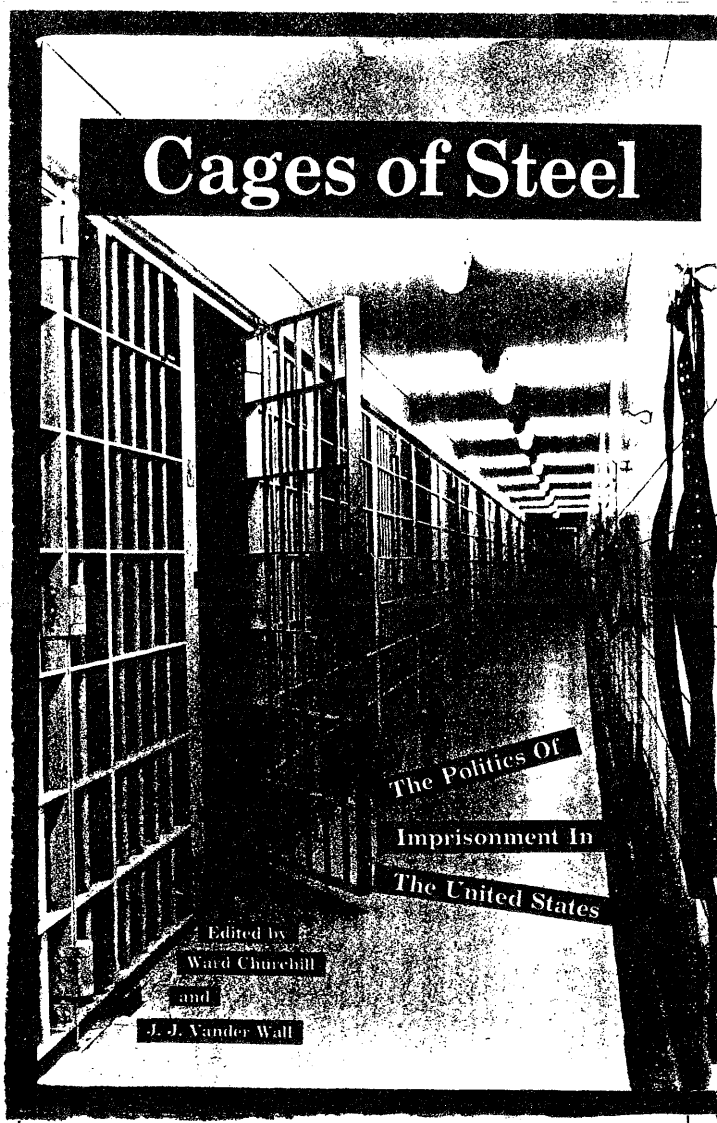
The final installment in "From Alcatraz to Marion" will appear  
in the Summer '93 issue of **CROSSROAD**



**Check This Out:**

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301-699-0193 (fax)

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Jackson and Geronimo ji Jaga, as  
well as contributions from Puerto  
Rican *independentistas*, AIM activ-  
ists, anti-imperialists and other  
New Afrikan Independence  
Movement captured combatants.





From de  
"Genocidal Chamber"

*I Cried*

I cried today  
real tears of frustration  
de cry of confinement  
not of self!  
but a people-  
whom held hostage-  
certainly body 'n soul

In de physical sense- held 24 hours a day-  
but as I stand-challenging my jailors-  
I know this challenge is not only with them-  
but with de whole racist system  
for all de pain-suffering we're enduring-  
I cried today-

for yet a better day-not thinking of self!  
only a whole suffering people

As if we were in a bottle-  
we pull each other back-  
not letting each other get ahead-  
de truth!

we just refuse to face-  
a design of the capitalist stake!  
When will we as a suffering people-  
realize that!

It's positive 'n negative of course-  
no in between-also love 'n hatred-  
de weak 'n de strong

I cried today-  
why is that we continue to be-  
mis-lead!

refusing to accept-our own way-  
we are de people-  
with hearts as big as life

I cried today-  
we're accepting de weak-  
not our own strength-  
as de land's in confusion-  
not in this body 'n soul-

I know what it will take-  
while others cling to a lie!

I cried today-not of self!  
but of a whole oppressed race...

simama lazima sisi pamoja  
Kataza Taifa  
Keeping de negritude alive!

## LETTER

Dear Brothas & Sistas:

Ruchell Cinque Magee is the longest held Political Prisoner held in this kountry; he has been locked down for 29 years. Ruchell has been in solitary confinement since 1978. An innocent man has had 29 years of his life taken away from him, because he struggled on behalf of his people.

Ruchell was found **NOT GUILTY** of the charge of violating P.C. 209 (kidnapping for purpose of extortion). On charges of P.C. 207 (simple kidnapping), the jury favored conviction by a vote of 11 to 1. At this point, Ruchell should have been released or retried. **NEITHER HAPPENED!!**

Brothas and Sistas, amerikkka's judicial system is designed to work against us, and keep us enslaved. For those of us who **boldly** stand up and speak against this racist, fascist, and imperialist dictatorship we are living under in this kountry, these **BRUTES** will incarcerate you or straight up **kill** you.

Because our dear Brotha Ruchell, and many other Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War **DARED TO STRUGGLE**, they were/are punished for that. Brothas and Sistas, lets network and organize our people, and educate them about our **FREEDOM FIGHTERS** held in these koncentration camps, here in amerikkka. Let us demand the release of our **NELSON MANDELAS!!!!!!!!!!!!!!**

Please write our dear brotha Ruchell and assist him in any manner you can. Write to him at: Ruchell Cinque Magee, #A92059, Box 7500 2C-2-23, Crescent City, CA 95531

**FIGHT TO WIN, HOTE P**

Shiriki Unganisha  
SAFC Spokesperson

## *Locked Up for More Than Two Decades, Former Panthers Denied Parole*

Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen Langa (previously known as "David Rice") appeared before the Nebraska Board of Parole on March 5th (1992) for an "Offender Board Review". He was subsequently notified that the Board of Parole had met in executive session and had decided to take no action other than to defer his case to a March, 1993 "Offender Board Review". This notification cited as the reason for the inaction:

"Your continued correctional treatment, medical care, or vocational training, or other training in the facility will substantially enhance your capacity to lead a law abiding life when released at a later date."

The above "reason" was actually one of several listed on what is essentially a form letter sent by Nebraska's Board of Parole to prisoners who have appeared before it. "Reasons" are simply checked off on the form as applicable in a given case. Mondo and Ed Poindexter have been in prison since April of 1971, following trial and conviction of a first-degree murder charge in connection with the bombing death of a member of the Omaha Police Department. They have been in jail on the charge since August of 1970. At the time of their arrests, Mondo was Deputy Minister of Information of the Omaha chapter of the National Committee to Combat Fascism, the organizing arm of the local Black Panther Party. Ed was Deputy Chairman of the chapter. Ed has been doing time in Minnesota since transferring from the Nebraska institution about twelve years ago in order to get academic training not available to him in the Nebraska penal system.

In the state of Nebraska, persons doing life sentences on first-degree murder convictions may not be paroled until such time as their life terms are commuted by the Board of Pardons to a specific number of years. Though Mondo and Ed have served more than two decades in prison, it is reported that at least twelve men in Nebraska who were sentenced to life imprisonment on first-degree murder convictions and were sentenced after the former Panther leaders have had their sentences commuted to a specific number of years and have been subsequently paroled. At least six of these men are, like Mondo and Ed, of African descent.

From at least as early as the mid-seventies, the Nebraska Board of Parole has had a policy requiring that persons doing life sentences on first-degree murder convictions do at least 15 years before they would be considered for recommendation to the Board of Pardons (consisting of the Governor, Attorney General and Secretary of State) for commutation of sentence. However, within days after Mondo appeared before the Board of Parole in March of 1987, this policy was altered, requiring that persons doing life sentences for first-degree murder, in connection with the killing of law enforcement personnel, do at least 20 years before any such consideration. (*Omaha World Herald*, 3/13/87, p. 50)

Interestingly, Mondo and Ed's appearances before the board in 1987 marked their serving 15 full calendar years in prison. At that time they should have been eligible for consideration for a recommendation by the Board of Parole for commutation of sentence by the Board of Pardons.

Mondo and Ed have consistently maintained they were falsely tried and convicted and that the trial and convictions were politically motivated and designed to silence a dissident voice. Like many politically active groups of the 1960's, government forces were determined to destroy the N.C.C.F. and other groups deemed radical by destroying the leadership. While there has been no national media interest in the plight of these political prisoners, Channel 4 in London has produced a documentary on this case which can be obtained from the Freedom and Justice Legal Defense Fund. Numerous groups and individuals have either supported the contention that Mondo and Ed are U.S. political prisoners or called upon the courts to, at least, grant them a new trial — Angela Davis, Daniel Berrigan, Manning Marable, Amnesty International, and others. Their experiences with the Nebraska Board of Parole suggests that those forces that have worked together to make Mondo and Ed political prisoners have been joined by another force - the Board of Parole - to keep them political prisoners.

Members of the Freedom & Justice Legal Defense Fund, Mondo/Poindexter Committee and other citizens urge you to contact the Nebraska Parole Board and express your concerns about their parole status. The address and phone number of the Parole Board is as follows:

**NEBRASKA PAROLE BOARD**  
P.O. BOX 94754  
LINCOLN, NEBRASKA 68509  
or call 402-471-2156

Write To:  
The Freedom and Justice Legal  
Defense Fund  
Mondo - Poindexter Committee  
P.O. Box 11121  
Omaha, NE 68111  
402-341-0412



## RESISTANCE AT F.M.C. LEXINGTON, AUGUST 1992

On August 12-14, the first sustained act of resistance by women prisoners in the u.s. federal prison system in 20 years took place.

### HERE'S WHAT HAPPENED:

On Wednesday night, August 12, there was an argument between two prisoners in the central yard area ("Central Park") at about 8:30. It was over quickly, and everyone was walking away, towards the housing units, because we have to be inside at 9:00. A lieutenant came running to see what had happened — pulling on his black leather gloves. He yelled, "Hey, you Stop!" When no one stopped, he grabbed the first Black woman he saw, lifted her in the air, and body-slammed her to the ground. Other women yelled at him that she wasn't even involved in the argument, but he kept on attacking her — putting his knee in the back of her neck and smashing her face to the pavement. He pulled her hands behind her back, cuffed her, dragged her to her feet, and another guard took her to the lieutenant's office.

This was witnessed by about 100 women. They were all very upset by it, and they gathered to talk to the Captain. At 9:00, all but about 15 returned to their housing units, after being assured that the beaten woman would be released back into general population, and that a thorough investigation would be undertaken.

But on Thursday morning, it turned out that the woman had not been released, and that some of the women who had witnessed the incident had been put in the hole ("segregation") as well. And, despite the promise of an investigation, by 3:00 pm prisoners were told that the investigation was completed, and no further statements would be taken.

This was not the first instance of physical brutality at Lexington — nor, certainly, of racism. The male guards have been putting their hands on us more and more — both in frequent pat searches, and whenever they want us to move, or to stop, or whatever. This particular lieutenant had threatened several women with brutality. The normally high level of racism had also recently heightened, following the L.A. verdict and the uprisings there. Several Black women who had complained of prejudice had been put in the hole for "inciting to riot."

But this time, it all struck a nerve. On Thursday, word travelled: don't go in at 4:00pm (the major daily "standing count" throughout the Bureau of Prisons). Stay out in Central Park and demand that the women be released from the hole — and the lieutenant suspended.

At 3:50 pm, when the hourly "movement" began, the scene in Central Park was tense and exciting. Usually, it's rush hour — 1,900 women, in the largest women's prison in the world, rushing to the units to try to get a few things done before the 4:00 count. On this Thursday, instead, it was like gridlock: everyone moved slowly, if at all, waiting to see what would happen.

At 4:00, an announcement ordered us all to go inside for count. Many did, but 90 of us stayed out, and moved into the center of the Park. We sang Bob Marley's "Get Up, Stand Up," and chanted "Stop Police Brutality," "We Want Justice," "Let Them Out of Seg," and "Figueroa [the lieutenant] Must Go." Ringed by guards — including a Special Operations Response Team (S.O.R.T.) team in full regalia — we demanded to speak to the Captain. While we demonstrated, we heard shouts of support from the windows of the housing units, and at least two "all available officers" codes to different units — meaning that the women who had returned to the units for count were doing some kind of support actions, too.

We had to shout the Captain down, when he finally came to talk to us, because he was telling too many lies. Finally he said that the lieutenant would be back to work on Monday, and we all knew there was no point in further discussion. We were hand-cuffed and escorted to seg — most of us being

taken to the old High Security Unit, which has been out of use almost entirely since the BOP was forced to close it in 1988. Seven women to a cell, no blankets, no water — it was payback time.

The next day, 12 of us were taken out and chained up on a bus to Marianna, Florida (the new women's high security unit). As each of us was taken out of the prison, the whole place was locked down. But it was midday, so there were over 100 women in Central Park on their lunch breaks. As each of us was escorted through the Park, we were cheered — loudly, enthusiastically, joyfully — by everyone there.

I've since learned that while we were in transit to Marianna, a smaller group of women repeated the action in Central Park at 4:00 on Friday. There were also quite a few small fires set in various housing units during the night. And a number of women were shipped out to Pleasanton after we 12 were shipped here to Marianna.

It was the first active resistance in a federal women's prison in the u.s. in 20 years.

### WHAT IT FELT LIKE:

For a few bright moments, we felt free. As we moved into Central Park, defying the daily, grinding regulations and control of prison life, we were liberated from the fear that holds prisoners in check. We had the power of justice on our side — and in our eyes as we looked at one another.

The most common thing you hear people say at Lexington is "If the men [prisoners — the place used to be co-ed] were here, the police wouldn't get away with this. Women don't stick together, so the prison can put anything they want on us."

But we proved that that's not true. The racism and brutality that go down every day just didn't go down on this day. We'd had enough, and we trusted and respected ourselves and one another enough to stand up together. The demonstration was international -- inspired primarily by Jamaican, Haitian, and African American women, it was joined by Latina women and some white women as well. It was clear, for once, that if the police could continue to attack Black women (as they do every day — for example, at any given time the hole holds more Black women than any other nationality), then no one would be safe.

Anger is a constant reality in prison, and the entire prison system is designed to ensure that that anger is turned inwards, to destroy one's own self-respect and humanity, instead of being turned outwards towards the system and the oppressors. It took courage to resist all that, in the context of the total control, abuse and disrespect of women that constitutes women's prison. We had to trust one another, that we would not be standing out there alone. As we looked around at one another, we knew that our demonstration was a victory, no matter what punishment might follow. A small flame of power, sisterhood, and dignity had been rekindled. (August 1992)

-Laura Whitehorn, #22432-037  
anti-imperialist political prisoner  
FCI Marianna, Shawnee Unit  
P.O. Box 7006  
Marianna, FL 32446-7006

### PRISON LEGAL NEWS

The *Prison Legal News* is a monthly newsletter published by Washington state prisoners Ed Mead and Paul Wright. *PLN* reports on court decisions to help prisoners vindicate their human rights, both inside and outside of the government's judicial system. The paper is aimed at the more politically advanced social prisoners and their friends and loved ones on the outside. The newsletter's goal is to assist prisoners and their supporters in organizing themselves to have a voice, and be a progressive force in developing a public policy debate around the issue of crime and punishment. An annual subscription to *PLN* is \$10.00 a year for those with an income, but any donation (either money or stamps) will be sufficient for those without any money. Institutional subscriptions (law libraries, etc.) are \$25.00 per year.

Make checks or money orders payable to Prison Legal News, P.O. Box 1684, Lake Worth, FL 33460.



## Black Genocide

Black Genocide is the most important thing in our lives, but We don't want to face it. Nothing—We repeat, nothing—should be as important to each of us personally as Black Genocide. But is it? From the cover of “Ebony” to the shouts of hip-hop artists, “Black Genocide” is in as a phrase, a protesting image of maximum danger. But We as a people still aren't dealing with it. Although it's come crashing into our lives like some M-1 tank smashing its way through your family home, room by room.

Because We don't know how to stop this invader, because We don't even know its blueprint or its program, too many of us are thinking of it as little as possible. Like, it's so big a problem that it's not our problem, if you know what We mean. This is the intelligence test that is only graded life or death. The first thing is to learn about it. “Know your enemy” is the oldest rule of battle. That's why Malcolm was such a strong student of world history, and taught out of that knowledge in every speech.

This Black Genocide didn't just come out of nowhere. amerikkka as a nation has always considered Black Genocide as an option. This nation has always held it in reserve as a final solution if We got too free.

We do not mean merely that whites, because of their racism, are addicted to killing New Afrikans. That's 100% true, but putting everything on bigotry is too conveniently liberal and diffused a way of getting to the problem. The truth is that the euro-amerikkkan ruling class, operating as a capitalist conspiracy with the approval of its people, has for 400 years evolved standby plans & tactics for the mass destruction of New Afrikan people. At various times in our history, these conspiratorial plans have been partially implemented as needed. For any one of us not to know this is like a Jew wandering hopefully around skinheadland Germany but not knowing a single thing about nazism or the holocaust.

Is a u.s.. genocidal conspiracy that has gone on for centuries too wild an idea in this season of Civil Rights and Integration? The ruling class is promoting Martin Luther King, Jr. Day like it was a cereal, trying to assure us how much they respect us and all that. But, say, how did Martin Luther King, Jr. get killed?

Here are some facts, starting with the testimony not of anyone militant but of a complete uncle tom, Robert Parker. Parker was u.s. president Lyndon Johnson's chauffeur and long-time servant. As Johnson's “boy” (Johnson always called him “boy” or “nigger”) and patronage employee, Parker became the first Black maitre'd of the u.s. senate dining room. In his autobiography, Robert Parker writes of being given a free ticket to attend the \$500 a plate Democratic National Committee dinner at the Washington Hilton on April 4, 1968. Unexpectedly, before the food was even served, u.s. vice-president Hubert Humphrey came to the mike:

“Now, ladies...ladies and gentlemen, please, could I please have your attention!”

“Humphrey wasn't wearing his happy Hubert smile that could melt ice at a hundred feet. The room finally hushed.

“We have just received news over the wire that Dr. King—Martin Luther King—has been shot in Memphis, and we think he's dead!”

**"The crowd gasped and began buzzing quietly as if it were in a funeral home. Humphrey left the podium but returned a few moments later.**

**"We have been informed that Dr. King is dead," he said. "Mrs. King has left Georgia for Memphis. We have also been informed that the president will not be joining us. The dinner has been canceled."**

**"It was another of those moments in life that I'll never forget. Four or five hundred Democrats greeted the news of Dr. King's murder with undisguised pleasure. Some smiled. Some shook each other's hand. Some actually clapped. A few said 'hurray.' I heard comments like, 'It's about time. I knew it would happen. It's been long in coming.'**

**"I thought of a New Years Eve party. All we needed were streamers, horns, and funny hats. I was ready to vomit, but I shouldn't have been so shocked. Hatred for Dr. King had mounted on the Hill with each of his marches..."**

**[SOURCE: ROBERT PARKER. Capitol Hill In Black and White. Dodd, Mead & Co. 1986. p 215]**

**Many of the most powerful euro-amerikkkan liberal politicians and their wealthy backers, the Democratic Party leadership that had passed the Civil Rights act and would fly to Dr. King's funeral as VIP mourners, were actually jubilant at his assassination. "It's about time," they said. They'd been waiting for it. Now, this is what an uncle tom insider swears to, not a revolutionary like us. Supposedly, Dr. King had been killed by a "lone assassin," a no-name redneck criminal just out of state prison, who was caught long weeks later in England with three professionally forged passports and \$15,000 in cash (and having spent many thousands of dollars already in his escape). Who hired him and supplied his i.d. and plenty of money? The u.s. dept. of "justice" says it was nobody. Complete the last piece of the puzzle yourself.**

**Killing real New Afrikan leaders (as opposed to those beat leaders supplied for us—like television celebrities, politicians, and sports stars) was intended to paralyze us, leave us directionless as a people so the Black Genocide could get up. Like the earlier assassination of Malcolm X, this wasn't about killing a man but about killing a people. About conspiratorial plans, strategy, and tactics.**

**From the very start of the u.s.a. as a nation, its leaders have been secretly discussing Black Genocide. It's a known historical fact that the u.s. president Thomas Jefferson, a Virginia slaveowner, was worried that New Afrikans would eventually rise up and seize the Land they had worked and populated. "A revolution of the wheel of fortune" between oppressors and oppressed, "an exchange of situation is among possible events..." he wrote.**

**His secret contingency plan to keep all adult New Afrikans even more tightly enslaved so as to keep up the white suburban way of life, while slaughtering off all New Afrikan children by rounding them up and dumping them in the Caribbean (millions of our children abandoned on poverty-stricken islands would not survive,**



of course). "The old stock (the u.s. president referred to us as he would his horses and cows) would die off in the ordinary course of nature...until its final disappearance," president Jefferson coldly wrote. Jefferson added that this contingency plan to do Black Genocide was "blessed" by his god.

Even president Abe Lincoln, the so-called Great Emancipator, had secret contingency plans to deal with us. All over the Deep South We were starting to take over. This was in the wake of the Civil War, which had finally been decided by a gigantic South-wide strike by millions of enslaved New Afrikans that collapsed the Confederate economy (it is still the largest labor strike in u.s. history). The Black Belt South was our Nation, after all: We had created its economy, We were its workers, We were most of the population, and now, We were the armed local militias and the local officeholders. There was a heavy fear amongst the capitalist ruling class of Black Revolution. Our great historian W.E.B. DuBois wrote of that decisive moment:

"There was continual fear of insurrection in the Black Belt. This vague fear increased toward Christmas, 1866. The Negroes were disappointed because of the delayed division of lands. There was a natural desire to get possession of firearms, and all through the summer and fall, they were acquiring shotguns, muskets, and pistols, in great quantities."

Lincoln decided that We couldn't be re-conquered and re-colonized unless they first disarmed us, and, in particular, stabbed in the back those New Afrikan soldiers who had fought in the Union army to end our enslavement. He secretly wrote to his generals:

"I can hardly believe that the South and North can live in peace unless we get rid of the Negroes whom we have armed and disciplined and who have fought with us, I believe to the amount of 150,000 men. I believe it would be better to export them all..."

Many thousands of New Afrikan soldiers in the South were disarmed, demobilized, and then killed. No one is allowed to make hollywood movies about it, but it's true. Other all-Black regiments were sent out West to spend years safely distant from New Afrika. Far from where our people were being terrorized, raped, and killed by the klan and the u.s. army. Out West the "buffalo soldiers" were allowed to spend their lives killing Indigenous peoples for the euro-amerikkkan settlers (not as amerikkkan soldiers, let us be clear, but as mercenaries *surviving* by working for the amerikkkans).

These are but a few examples, and We could easily fill an encyclopedia with this story. If this is the kind of thing that We can know by examining the public record, the public history, how much more do you think is secret?

Let's make it plain: A nation that has always conspired about doing genocide to us cannot be our nation. This is the message. Way back in nazi days there were too many Jews over there who just couldn't believe that "their" nation, their beloved Germany, would harm them. They believed that with their voting rights,

their war medals and civil service jobs, that they were Germans, too. But they failed the IQ test. Germany wasn't their nation, after all. The gas chambers proved that. We all know brothers and sisters who think just like that, who don't want to wake up from their "American dream."

The children are telling us all to wake up, and they're sounding the alarm. That's why so many of them have taken Malcolm as their hero. In Washington, D.C., a newspaper story caught a telling moment at Spingarn high:

"On Tuesday, students at Spingarn were slumped in their auditorium seats during the program on Malcolm X. Some looked bored, others dozed.

"They were supposed to be watching television clips of Malcolm X. But the acoustics were bad, and the television picture was grainy.

"Then, a 14-year-old took the microphone. In seconds, the students were sitting up straight, spellbound by her fiery words, delivered in the Malcolm X style.

"How many of you know four persons who have graduated high school and are making \$50,000 a year legally?' she asked. No hands went up. 'How many of you know four black brothers or sisters who have died or gone to jail?' Almost every arm in the auditorium shot up.

"Wake up, black children,' the girl yelled, her voice booming. 'Do you care that We are all dying? To me, Brother Malcolm is saying that it's about time that We as African Americans get angry and let them know We will not stand for it anymore...Malcolm X's message is the only thing that can help us take back what America has stolen."

"The auditorium filled with thunderous applause."  
[SOURCE: Washington Post, Nov. 19, 1992]

What, then, was Malcolm X's message? That We need the Land, a Nation and a territory of our own. That's why he insisted on calling himself a Nationalist, because he believed that amerikkka was not our nation and We could only free ourselves by building a Nation of our own.

## **FREE THE LAND!**

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This is the first in a series of articles, editorials, letters and interviews investigating Black Genocide. We need you to be a part of this, to send us your questions, opinions and experiences. We cannot promise to print everything sent us (for reasons of space), but every one is a contribution to our collective understanding.

**ReBuild!**





## LEST WE FORGET

### March

- 31 500 Black Nationalists from throughout the u.s. met in Detroit; issued a Declaration of Independence for the Black Nation: The Republic of New Afrika (RNA); designated the 5 states of La., Miss., Ala., Ga., S. Car. as the subjugated National Territory; created basic law and formed a Provisional Government, with officials elected in Convention under a mandate to "Free the Land."
- 1 British sign peace treaty with Jamaican Maroons, 1739  
-Puerto Rican Nationalists Lolita Lebron, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Irvin Flores and Andres Figueroa Cordero make armed assault on u.s. congress, 1954  
4 f.b.i. memo issued to "prevent the coalition of militant Black Nationalist groups", 1968  
-Mugabe wins elections, becomes 1st President of Independent Zimbabwe, 1980  
5 BPP sponsors Day of Solidarity dedicated to "Freedom for all Political Prisoners, 1971  
6 u.s. supreme court rules in Dred Scott case that Afrikans are not u.s. citizens, 1857  
-Ghana becomes an independent nation, 1957  
7 Martin Luther King, Jr. leads march from Selma, Alabama. 1965  
8 Harriet Tubman organizes underground railroad, 1820  
9 Ralph Featherstone and Che Payne killed by bomb planted in their car, outside Maryland courthouse where Rap Brown was to stand trial, 1970  
-Hanafi siege, Washington D.C., 1977  
10 Death of Harriet Tubman, revolutionary abolitionist and guerrilla, 1913  
-u.s. census reports Afrikans moving out of the northeast and into the National Territory in record numbers, 1978  
11 White settler mob attacks Afrikan workers in New Orleans, 1895  
12 Death of Charlie "Yardbird" Parker, 1955  
13 IFA cadre, Tommy Yukeena Dotson, beaten to death by guards, Holman prison. One guard killed, another wounded in the struggle, 1974  
-Marion, IL prisoners begin hunger strike, 1978  
14 North Carolina Prisoners Union founded, 1973  
16 FREEDOM'S JOURNAL 1st newspaper by Afrikans in the u.s., begins in N.Y., 1827  
-My Lai massacre, 567 Vietnamese murdered, 1968  
17 "Carrollton Massacre" in Mississippi — 20 Afrikans killed, 1866  
-Zimbabwe day, commemorating 1896 attack on Ft. Mhondoro  
-Herbert Chitepo assassinated in Lusaka, Zambia, 1975  
18 "Great Negro Plot" discovered in N.Y.; Afrikans planned to set city afire and kill all whites. 18 Afrikans hanged and 71 shipped to Caribbean, 1741  
19 Harlem revolt, 1935  
-Evian Accords end fighting of Nationalists in Algeria, 1962  
20 Ethiopia defeats Italy at the Battle of Adowa, 1896  
21 Virginia Lt. governor issues a proclamation to prevent assemblage of enslaved Afrikans for fear of conspiracy to rebel, 1709  
-An Afrikan runaway community in North Carolina attacked by a band of slave catchers, 1811  
-Martin R. Delany and others send off group of Afrikans repatriating to Liberia, 1878  
-Sharpeville Massacre in Azania, 1960  
23 Walter Rodney, author of How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, born 1942  
24 Virginia court reveals conspiracy of Afrikans and Indians to escape slavery, 1709

25 3 prisoners break legs to protest slave labor in Texas prison, 1940  
 -All white jury returns guilty verdict against Comrade-Sister Assata Shakur; she receives life sentence, 1977  
 27 Sarah Vaughn, born Newark, N.J., 1924  
 -Ike Madden, 27, killed by Birmingham, AL police for 'resisting arrest', 1948  
 28 Republic of New Afrika capitol consecrated, Hinds County, MS, 1971  
 -Three Mile Island Nuclear plant failure, 1979  
 29 John Johnson, 50, killed by Birmingham, AL police for 'resisting arrest', 1948  
 31 Birth of Jack Johnson, Galveston, TX, 1871

## April

2 N.Y. BPP "21" arrested on conspiracy charges, 1969  
 -Attica Brother Dalou Asaki (Mariano Gonzalez) killed, and Jomo Joka Omowale (Eric Thompson) wounded and captured by N.Y. police, 1978  
 3 Death of Carter G. Woodson, pioneer Afrikan historian, Washington, D.C., 1950  
 4 Assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. in Memphis, TN, 1968  
 -Edward Kennedy "Duke" Ellington born, Washington, D.C. 1899  
 -South African Defense Forces (SADF) defeated at Cuito Canavale by Angolan, Cuban, and SWAPO forces, 1988  
 5 Birth of Robert Smalls, Reconstruction congressman from S.C., 1839  
 6 Mexico imposes decree to limit the growing number of Anglos (vanguard of white settlers) in Texas, 1830  
 -First of Scottsboro trials begin, Scottsboro, AL, 1931  
 -Pan-Afrikanist Congress of Azania founded, 1959  
 -Lil Bobby Hutton murdered, 1968  
 7 Coromantees Revolt in N.Y.; seized guns, swords and hatchets and began setting fires and killing slavemasters. Kwako, one of the leaders, and twenty others were broken on the wheel and burnt at a slow fire, 1712  
 -Afrikans revolt in Maryland, 1817  
 -Vietnamese kick ass at Dien Bien Phu, 1954  
 9 Birth of Paul Robeson, 1898  
 -CORE sends first group of freedom riders through south, 1947  
 -Menachem Begin leads Israeli massacre of Palestinians in village of Deir Yassin, 1949  
 -Jury finds soledad guards and administration liable for deaths of W.L. Nolen, 25; Alvin Miller, 23; and Cleveland Edwards, 20., 1975  
 12 Free Afrikan Society organized by Absolom Jones and Richard Allen, 1787  
 14 Boukman calls forth the "Irritated Genie" of Haiti, Revolution begins, 1791  
 - Robert Mugabe born, 1922  
 -Two-day strike by prisoners, Huntsville, TX, 1955  
 15 Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organized, Shaw University campus, 1960  
 17 BLA "New Haven Three" Hodari Diallo, Ashanti, and Tarik "Gunnies" Haskins invade the Tombs in N.Y. to liberate POWs, 1974  
 18 Andrew Jackson suppresses Afrikans and Indians at Suwanee, ending first Seminole War, 1818  
 - Bandung Conference opens in Indonesia, 1955  
 19 Almas Shaw is the third Afrikan victim in 3 weeks of Birmingham Police, 1948  
 -South West Afrika People's Organization (SWAPO) founded, 1960  
 21 Ohio prison fire kills 335 prisoners, 1919



- 22 Governor Monroe of Virginia, expressed "fears of a Negro Insurrection" to Thomas Jefferson, 1800
- Ireland's Easter Rebellion, 1973
- 25 Portuguese army defeated by PAIGC, FRELIMO, and MPLA, 1974
- "Bub" Dale Shelton, organizer in Black community of Pittsburgh, Pa., arrested on frame-up charges of conspiracy, 1978
- 26 BPP office in Des Moines, Iowa, bombed, 1969
- Frank X. Moore, IFA member, killed by officials in Escambia County Jail, AL, 1975
- 27 Toussaint L'Ouverture dies in Paris prison, 1803
- Kwame Nkrumah, 1st President of Ghana, died 1972
- 28 Chimurenga (War of Liberation) Day, commemorating all Zimbabwean Freedom Fighters, who have sacrificed their lives in the struggle
- Muhammad Ali stripped of title, 1967
- 30 Liberation of Saigon, 1975

## May

- 1 Birth of Gabriel Prosser, 1775
- Confederate Congress passed resolution branding Afrikan troops and officers in Union Army as criminals, dooming them to death or slavery if captured, 1863
- Beginning of Memphis riots, 46 Afrikans and 2 whites killed; 90 homes burned, along with 12 schools and 4 churches, 1866
- Afro-American Student Movement (ASM) organized at Fisk; it called the First National Afro-American Student Conference at Nashville, 1964
- Strike at McAlester prison, Oklahoma, 1970
- Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) formed, 1978
- 2 Zayd Malik Shakur (s/n James Coston) killed by state police on New Jersey Turnpike; Assata Shakur wounded and Sundiata Acoli captured, 1973
- 3 Willie Johnson, 58, killed by GA police for "looking suspiciously at a house", 1949
- Afrikan students take over building at Northwestern U., 1968
- 4 Prisoners at Alcatraz battle u.s. marines, 1946
- May Noyes, 23, pregnant mother of 3, shot by crazed whites, Camp Hill, AL, 1947
- 5 Slaves escape from S.C. jail and join with others to begin a small scale guerrilla war, 1738
- 6 Birth of Martin R. Delany, Charlestown, VA, 1812
- 7 u.s. invades and colonizes Panama, 1813
- 8 Willie McGee electrocuted in MS on frame-up "rape" charge, 1951
- 9 John Brown born, 1800
- 34 Afrikans join John Brown at Chatham Convention, 1858
- General David Hunter issues proclamation freeing slaves in GA, FL and SC; Lincoln revokes it, 1862
- 10 Musa Abdul Mu' Mir (William Paterson) burned to death in his cell at Green Haven, NY kamp, 1978
- 11 Bob Marley, Pan-Afrikanist reggae musician, died 1981
- 12 Ben Brown died from police bullets near Jackson State, 1967
- 13 MOVE bombing in Philadelphia, 1985
- 14 Freedom Riders' bus bombed and burned in AL, 1961
- Two Afrikan students killed by police at Jackson State College, MS, 1970
- 15 International Day of Solidarity with Palestine
- 177 enslaved Afrikans sentenced to sale and removal from Virginia for conspiring to revolt, 1723

- Donald "Cinque" DeFreeze and other S.L.A. members murdered and burned by LA police, 1974
- 18 Namibian Heroes Day, commemorating the death in battle of Tobias Hainyih, first commander-in-chief of Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), the SWAPO military wing
- 19 Ho Chi Minh born, 1890
- El Hajj Malik El Shabazz (Malcolm X) born, 1925
- New Afrikan People's Organization founded, 1984
- 20 Toussaint L'Ouverture born, 1743
- 21 Selma to Montgomery march, 1965
- 22 Two unarmed Afrikan soldiers killed by military police at French army camp for allegedly talking to French women employed there, 1945
- 23 Afrikan prisoner beaten to death in Georgia by guards after refusing to work in snake-infested ditch, 1948
- 24 11-day strike at prison, Lucasville, Ohio, 1973
- Barbara Oswald, 43, killed in attempt to liberate prisoners from Marion, IL federal penitentiary, 1978
- 25 Organization of African Unity formed, 1963
- Afrikan Liberation Day
- 26 Fred Hampton arrested and charged with stealing and distributing ice cream, 1969
- 27 Afrikan workers, led by RAM, attacked by whites on school construction site in Philadelphia while demanding jobs for Afrikan construction workers, 1963
- 28 Sojourner Truth speaks at Women's Rights Convention, 1851
- 29 Maurice Bishop born, 1944
- Poor People's Campaign, which MLK intended to participate in, begins 1968
- 30 Two Afrikans burned at stake in N.Y. following confessions of conspiracy; 29 other Afrikans and 4 whites executed, 1741
- House negro betrays Denmark Vesey and 9,000 enslaved Afrikans in Charleston, SC; 37 hanged, 131 Afrikans, 4 whites arrested, 1822 — negroes subsequently received annual pensions from settlers
- 1st law to outlaw kkk enacted, 1870 — rescinded 6 years later
- FLN begins armed struggle in Algeria, 1954
- 31 Oklahoma settlers kill 50 Afrikans, burn over 1,000 homes; put 4,000 Afrikans in prison camps, 1921
- Attack on Lod Airport; 100 wounded, 25 dead. (Japanese Red Army), 1972
- Fred Burton, Joseph Bowen charged with stabbing of warden and deputy, Holmesburg, Pa., 1973

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## UPDATES

**Bro. Zolo Agona Azania will file his last appeal (on the state level) in the Supreme Court of Indiana on March 22, 1993. (See CR, VOL.4 #2)**

**Bro. Sundiata Acoli appeared before the parole board before we went to press, however letters should still be sent to: New Jersey State Parole Board, CN-862, Trenton, New Jersey 08625. Copies of letters, along with *contributions* should be sent to SAFC, 972 Broad St, 6th flr, Newark, NJ 07102. Send letters as soon as possible! Demand that Sundiata be released!**



## VITA WA WATU

(More Notes from a New Afrikan P.O.W. Journal)

BOOK EIGHT

January 1986

(5 1/2" x 8 1/2" booklet)

5 1/2" x 8 1/2" booklet



## **THE SPEAR AND SHIELD COLLECTIVE: AN INTRODUCTION**

**The Spear and Shield Collective is a cadre organization, founded by a nucleus of New Afrikans who inherit, guard, and continue the tradition of revolutionary nationalist and communist activity for the realization of national liberation revolution. We regard the organization not as a source of privileges, but as one of sacrifices; We place priority on the quality of our members, and not on the number of them.**

### **Basic Principles**

**The Collective believes that Afrikan people in the U.S. constitute a nation which is subjugated and exploited by the U.S. empire. Together with other organized forces of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, the Collective struggles to achieve the complete independence of the nation, and to end all forms of oppression and exploitation in the new socialist society that We are building.**

**Upholding and promoting genuine revolutionary patriotism and opposing all forms of petty-bourgeois nationalism, the Collective strengthens itself and grows in the course of struggle against opportunist lines, whether of the right or of the left. Our cadres promote principled unity and not splits in the ranks of the nation's patriotic forces. We are open and aboveboard in all dealings, and We don't engage in intrigues and conspiracies. Our cadres must be good at distinguishing contradictions among the people from those between the people and our enemies, and must learn to correctly handle each kind. The sincere practice of criticism and self-criticism is a fundamental principle of the Collective, and a guarantee of success in all of its endeavors.**

**The Collective upholds and promotes Pan-Afrikanism. It firmly unites in solidarity with other oppressed nations and peoples, and with genuine revolutionary parties and organizations the world over, and fights together with them to oppose and overthrow capitalism and imperialism and to establish relations of solidarity on the basis of respect for national independence and sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit.**

**The lines and policies of the Spear and Shield Collective are developed to reflect the will and legitimate needs of New Afrikan people. The Collective must respect and develop the people's right to collective mastery, deeply mingle with and stay close to the masses, caring for their lives, and propagandize, educate, and motivate them to fulfill their responsibilities to the nation and its struggle for land, independence, and socialism.**

**The Collective must pay attention to organize its activities through the masses and to build and consolidate revolutionary mass organizations of all kinds (e.g., labor, women, youth, students, artists and other professionals), and to build:**

- 1) a front for the liberation of New Afrika;**
- 2) a national democratic front;**
- 3) a solidarity front.**

**The Collective must encourage the activity and initiative of mass organizations in educating, motivating and organizing the masses to implement the Collective's line and to actively participate in building and practicing collective mastery.**

**The Collective regards the constant building and consolidation of its organi-**

zation and the strengthening of its leadership as decisive tasks for the revolutionary cause. Cadres must strive to make the organization stable and strong, especially in the political, ideological and organizational fields. Ideological and organizational work must be closely combined with each other. Members must proceed in their work from the organization's political lines and tasks, and guarantee that these lines and tasks are correctly defined, thoroughly understood, and completely implemented. The Collective must – through the revolutionary movement of the masses and through the building of the masses' collective mastery – proceed with building the organization and organize the participation of the masses in building the organization, the movement, and actively participating in the fight for land, independence, and socialism. Attention must especially be given to improving both the quality and the capabilities of cadres, to assigning cadres in accordance with their capabilities and with the requirements of the tasks; to properly foster and coordinate the activity of cadres, and to link the improvement of cadres' quality with that of local Committees, Basic Units, and with the strengthening of leading organs and the consolidation of the organization at each level and in each Committee and Unit.

For its own sake, and because of the historic and continuing relationship between the oppression and exploitation of women, and the rise and perpetuation of class exploitation, capitalism and colonialism, the Spear and Shield Collective places special emphasis upon opposing all forms of gender-based oppression, and upon upholding and promoting the full emancipation of women and their rightful participation in the collective mastery of society.

### **The National Democratic Program**

The Spear and Shield Collective believes that independence can be won only on the basis of a comprehensive national revolutionary democratic program – a program arising from the needs and aspirations of the masses as they struggle for improvement of their immediate livelihood, and for eventual control of our society's social and productive relations. There is no need for us to try to impose a program upon the masses. Our tasks are: 1) to join the people in their struggles, and 2) to help them raise and consolidate national and revolutionary consciousness.

Go to the people  
Live among them  
Learn from them  
Love them  
Serve them  
Plan with them  
Start with what they know  
Build on what they have.

**Kwame Nkrumah**

**For more information contact:**

**Spear & Shield Collective  
3021 West 63rd Street  
Chicago, Illinois 60629**



According to the International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Abimael Guzman (IEC), Guzman's lawyer, Dr. Alfredo Crespo was arrested and tried in a secret military tribunal on the charge of "treason". Guzman is alleged to be the chairman of the Communist Party of Peru ("Shining Path"). Sources in Peru have indicated that Crespo was convicted and received a life sentence. Two other members of the Association of Democratic Lawyers (ADL) were also arrested and faced the same charges. Fujimori has officially banned the ADL and supporters of Guzman haven't seen him since October, 1992. The newsweekly, Si' said in a recent issue that Guzman would be imprisoned in an underground 6 1/2' by 13' concrete cell in the naval base of Lima's Port of Callao. For more information, contact:

IEC c/o Committee To Support the Revolution In Peru, P.O. Box 1246,  
Berkeley, CA 94701  
415-252-5786; 415-252-7414 (fax)

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In Chicago, Police Terrorist Jon Burge was fired by the Police Review Board; However, his co-terrorists John Yucaitis and Patrick O'Hara were allowed to return to their jobs! Burge will collect his pension, and the local media and the local administration have yet to address the growing evidence of systematic torture by others in the Chicago P.D. The African American Defense Committee, the New Afrikan People's Organization, Coalition to Commemorate Malcolm X, Generation X, Alliance of Black Men, One Mind, One Nation, Simba Na Malaika Wachanga and Spear & Shield have mounted a petition drive to have these terrorists criminally indicted.

Write for more information.

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Brother Imari Obadele's House of Songhay-Commission for Positive Education and Sister Nkechi Taifa's House of Songhay II continue to publish literature by and for the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Sister Nkechi's latest is a children's primer, The Adventures of Kojo and Ama (\$12.95). Brother Imari, along with Kwame Afah, Chokwe Lumumba, and Ahmed Obafemi, have published A Brief History of Black Struggle In America (\$10), focusing on Black armed struggle in the u.s. A revised third edition of Reparations, Yes! (\$8) is also available.

Write to:

House of Songhay  
Commission For Positive Education  
P.O. Box 75437  
Baton Rouge, LA 70874  
504-355-1156

and

House of Songhay II  
P.O. Box 91144  
Washington, D.C. 20090-1144

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The National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA) will hold its fourth annual conference in Baton Rouge, Louisiana on June 11-13, contact Ms. Johnita Scott Obadele for more information: PO Box 75437, Baton Rouge, LA 70874 (504-355-1156)

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Now that you've read this issue of **CROSSROAD** from cover to cover, how 'bout takin' out a subscription or two...

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We hope you can forgive us for not having the articles We promised (see Winter '92), but We dug into the piece on education and realized that the crisis is quite profound (!) with many complex aspects--in short, We're workin' on it.

**ReBuild!**

## **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 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.**