

CROSSROAD

**A NEW AFRIKAN CAPTURED COMBATANT
NEWSLETTER**

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\$1.00 Prisoners

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 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.

CROSSROAD SUPPORT NETWORK PRINCIPLES AND PROGRAMS

CROSSROAD (CR) is a non-sectarian newsletter produced by and for New Afrikan Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners -- captured combatants who were and are engaged in protracted people's war against the colonial domination of the United States, for national self-determination and independence of the Republic of New Afrika.

CROSSROAD also provides a perspective on the repression of the mass movement and genocidal/colonial violence waged against the masses of New Afrikan people.

Although CR's primary focus will be on the independence struggle of New Afrikan people, We won't neglect the struggles of Native Nation, Caribbean, Puerto Rican, or North American and other Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners. The "crucial point" for CR is the common struggle against all forms of oppression inspired by U.S. and world capitalist-imperialism, and for self-determination and socialism.

CR has a strategic objective to: 1) increase awareness and active support inside of the geo-political borders of the U.S. and 2) to increase awareness and active support among the community of nations--for the release of captured combatants; and for the struggle of the Republic of New Afrika for national self-determination.

CR is not in opposition to, nor in competition with, other vehicles or organizations which serve the nation and its captured combatants. Because CR is produced by POW's, there are many things that We can't do by ourselves. However, We are confident that others will commit themselves to helping us go where We can't, and to helping us do and say what We can't, i.e., the eventual development of a **CROSSROAD** Support Network.

INTENSIFYING STRUGGLE ON TWO FRONTS

There are many things that need to be done. There are many things that We want to help do. None of these things will be easy or realized overnight.

Inside Present U.S. Borders:

- We want to increase communications between the captured, as well as assist coordination efforts made by them and on their behalf.
- We want to encourage networking by and between the families and friends of the captured.
- We want to encourage greater financial and socio-cultural movement support for the captured and their families.
- We want to lobby all relevant legal organizations on behalf of the captured (e.g., Amnesty International, National Lawyers Guild, national and state bar associations, local human rights organizations, law students, etc.)
- We want to "lobby" and initiate various campaigns on behalf of the captured, directed toward U.S. and New Afrikan media (e.g., national, state, and local associations of newspaper publishers, editors, journalists; letter and petition campaigns to the same; continuous letters to individual owners, editors, journalists, and the public forums of newspapers and magazines.)

- We want to direct similar campaigns toward unions and national, state and local associations of professionals (e.g., social workers, doctors, educators); clergy, students, politicians, etc.

- We want to make our presence felt by grassroots community organizations of all kinds.

On the International Front:

- We want to make our presence felt at the United Nations by its: Human Rights Committee, its sub-committees, and each of its individual members; the Decolonization Committee and each of its individual members; the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and each of the Individual members; the Secretary-General; all Missions to the U.N.; all embassies; and all relevant Non-Governmental Organizations and Observers.

- We want to make our presence felt among all national liberation movements.

- We want to have a consistent presence among the international media representatives and their services (print, audio, video).

In a previous issue of **CROSSROAD** (Vol. 1, No.4), Comrad-Brother Atiba Shanna made the following suggestions which We have since incorporated into our Principles and Program:

- Informing the people of the occurrence, causes and probable consequences of armed actions.

- Exposing the people to lines and theories on military matters.

- Informing the people of the general tasks confronting the New Afrikan Independence Movement and of our collective responsibilities in fulfilling them.

- Exposing the people to views and analyses on the nation's development ("History"), the promotion of revolutionary artistic culture, and the presentation of the components of revolutionary science (i.e., philosophy, political economy, etcetera).

- Generally assist in the processes of agitation, education, organization and mobilization of New Afrikan people toward the realization of national liberation revolution (i.e., independence and socialist development).

Over the years, steps have been taken in nearly all of the areas listed above by the CR collective and those who support and embrace the Program as their own. During this same period, the international and local awareness of the plight of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War held by the U.S., has grown along with its level of active support.

Even more rewarding results can be achieved if We all commit ourselves to greater collective and individual efforts on behalf of all Political Prisoners, Prisoners of War, and the struggles We've dedicated our lives to.

We plan to increase our efforts in each programmatic area. We encourage other organizations and individuals to join and to take up one or more of the programmatic objectives on their own, in coordination with CR.

For example: In September, 1987, copies of **CROSSROAD** (along with letters) were sent to over two hundred thirty (230) embassies, U.N. Missions, national liberation movements, and

locally based international human rights organizations. The letter is re-printed here in hopes that it will serve as an example for those who will write similar letters to family and friends; media representatives; community organizations; U.N. and O.A.U. member states, etc.

Revolutionary Greetings:

Enclosed are three copies of **CROSSROAD**, a captured combatant newsletter published by cadres of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. Our Movement continues a centuries-old struggle to end the colonial domination of the United States over our nation of more than twenty-five million people, and to build a socialist society.

CROSSROAD provides a voice for the growing number of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War held in the prisons of the United States. Its aim is to provide information to people, inside and outside the U.S., on these captured combatants and to secure support for them and the struggles they represent.

The United States government would quickly deny that there are Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War inside its borders. Yet, the historical character of the struggles of New Afrikan people, the people of Puerto Rico, Native Nations ("American Indians") and North Americans who have struggled in solidarity for socialism in the U.S., undermines any attempt by the U.S. government to distort or deny reality.

Moreover, the treatment of captured combatants by the U.S. and the construction of special "control units" to house captured combatants in state and federal prisons throughout the U.S., demonstrates that it doesn't view these comrades as "common criminals," but rather as members of national liberation movements in resistance to colonialism and other violations of international law.

For example, Sundiata Acoli, a former member of the Black Panther Party and a member of the Movement's armed forces, was originally captured in 1973, with Assata Shakur, and sentenced to New Jersey State Prison. He was later illegally transferred into the federal prison system, ending up in the "control unit" of the infamous Marion federal prison--although he has never been convicted on any federal charges. His transfer was clearly for **POLITICAL** reasons. The purpose of the Marion "control unit" can't be expressed any better than by Ralph Aron, a former warden of that prison: "THE PURPOSE OF THE MARION CONTROL UNIT IS TO CONTROL REVOLUTIONARY ATTITUDES IN THE PRISON AND IN SOCIETY AT LARGE."

The imprisonment of freedom fighters won't stem the tide of anti-colonial struggles inside U.S. political borders. The contradictions inherent in colonialism and capitalist exploitation will only give rise to more revolutionary "attitudes" and swell the ranks of the independence movement. Those of us in the Movement know that We have the responsibility

of struggling with our people to achieve our objectives. However, We require the assistance of the international community and human rights organizations. We know that the oppressed New Afrikan nation is a colony of the U.S., but We must struggle to secure the support of other national liberation movements, progressive states, and recognition from the U.N. of our colonial status.

We know that our captured combatants are entitled to the protection of the Geneva Convention of 1949 Relative to Prisoners of War, as well as the protection of the Additional Protocols of 1977. But, We must also struggle to secure similar recognition by the international community. We seek the release of our captured combatants; or the granting of political asylum in countries that will accept them; or their exchange for prisoners held by progressive states.

The treatment of our captured combatants is also in clear violation of several international covenants, resolutions, and the Minimum Standards of the treatment of prisoners. We also call, therefore, for an international investigation of the treatment of our captured combatants by the United States and of the conditions inside U.S. prisons.

Respectfully,
Atiba Shanna
for **CROSSROAD**

How will We meet all of our objectives? We will need involvement and financial assistance from those of you who believe in us and in what We're trying to do. Let us hear from you.

Re-Build!
Owusu Yaki Yakubu
for **CROSSROAD** and
the Spear and Shield Collective



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WHO ARE NEW AFRIKAN POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF WAR?

During the past twenty years a very active theoretical struggle has unfolded around the New Afrikan Independence Movement's stand on New Afrikan citizens held in U.S. jails and prisons. A major subject of this struggle has been the evolving definition of New Afrikan Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War.

A tendency within the Movement has recently arisen which believes it necessary to make a sharp distinction between New Afrikan and non-New Afrikan (e.g. "black") political prisoners and prisoners of war. Two reasons are put forth for making such distinctions: 1) the New Afrikan Independence Movement needs to strengthen its ideological and structural base; 2) the struggle to assert New Afrikan nationality is a form of the struggle between contending ideologies.

The Need To Assert New Afrikan Nationality

The struggle for an advanced, comprehensive and ideologically consistent political line within the New Afrikan Independence Movement is an expression of necessary theoretical debate which must occur in order that contradictions within the Movement and contradictions between the people and the oppressive state may be sharpened and resolved, and so that the Movement may hasten the realization of its goal of national independence and socialist development. Theoretical struggle is necessary because different ideas exist within the Movement -- ideas which have their basis in the class forces which exist inside the nation -- and it is thus an expression of class struggle within the nation and within the Movement.

For nearly thirty years the New Afrikan Independence Movement has led a revitalized theoretical struggle within the nation to further develop (and to make predominant), the line which asserts the strategic goal of national independence for Afrikan people inside present U.S. borders. This was not a new undertaking.

From the fifteenth century, at which time the colonial contradiction in the Western Hemisphere between Afrikan peoples and European settler-colonialists has its origins, the primary contradiction within the colonized nation has been expressed, on one side, by those who sought to regain some form of separate existence as a distinct and free people. On the other side of the contradiction are those who have sought to assimilate themselves into the U.S. as, in effect, partners in imperialist oppression and plunder.

This historic struggle between those who "want in" and those of us who "want out," is more than a mere strategic difference between sectors of a single movement: Those who pursue national independence embrace one ideology and belong to one movement, and those who oppose this movement clearly belong to another and embrace a different ideology.

The other major movement of Afrikan people inside the U.S. is most often referred to as the "black liberation movement." Whatever this movement may be about, it is not about national liberation. If it were, then it would be described in terms of the nationality of the people pursuing their existence as a nation-state independent of the U.S.

It is extremely necessary that the New Afrikan Independence Movement assert, at every opportunity, its separate (national) identity from all movements which do not seek the establishment of a sovereign and independent state for Afrikans in the U.S., because the failure to do so will impede the national liberation struggle.

The question of national identity is uniquely important to Afrikans in the U.S., unlike most peoples who struggle for national liberation. The colonization of Afrikan peoples in the Western Hemisphere was facilitated by forms and techniques of oppression which were designed to undermine or destroy our original identities as peoples -- peoples who shared similarities with each other, and who shared differences from the peoples of the oppressive settler-colonies.

So long as We maintain our sense of similarity between ourselves and the sense of difference from the oppressor (and the sense of dignity inherent in our sense of separate identity), then We will continue to resist oppression and fight to regain our independence as a people -- a people separate and distinct from the oppressive state.

The distinct national identity of New Afrikans, when expressed by us as a group/movement/people, characterizes the fundamental contradiction which exists between our nation and the U.S. settler-imperialist state. Our form of national identification signals: 1) the actuality of our separateness; 2) our desire to be free of the culture of the U.S. and to be free of its political jurisdiction.

Conscious and Unconscious New Afrikan Citizens

The New Afrikan Independence Movement recognizes two basic classes of citizens: 1) Unconscious; 2) Conscious. The Movement recognizes three categories of New Afrikan citizens held in U.S. prisons and jails: 1) Captured Citizens (Unconscious); 2) Political Prisoners (conscious); 3) Prisoners of War (conscious).

Our stand on New Afrikan citizens held in U.S. prisons and jails rests on our understanding of the different levels of consciousness and commitment among them, and upon recognition of the different kinds of activity that they were and/or are engaged in.

The formal distinction between "Conscious" and "Unconscious" New Afrikan citizens was made -- and the importance of the distinction was emphasized -- in the first Article of the Code of Umoja, our nation's Constitution:

Article I New Afrikan Citizenship

Section 1 -- Citizenship By Birth: Each New Afrikan person born in America is a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika.

Section 2 -- Citizenship By Parentage: Any child born to a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika is a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika.

Section 3 -- Citizenship By Naturalization: Any person not otherwise a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika may become a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika by completing the procedures for naturalization as provided by the People's Center Council.

Section 4 -- Pre-Ratification Citizenship Retained: Each person who is a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika at the time of the passage of this CODE OF UMOJA is hereafter a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika.

Section 5 -- Right To Choice of Citizenship: Notwithstanding Sections 1,2,3, and 4 of Article 1, the right of any person to expressly deny or renounce his/her citizenship shall not be denied.

Section 6 -- Citizenship of Other Afrikans: Persons of Afrikan descent, wherever their original place of birth or domicile in the world, have a right to New Afrikan citizenship, as provided by the People's Center Council.

Section 7 -- Conscious Citizenship: All citizens of the Republic of New Afrika who are aware of their citizenship are conscious New Afrikan citizens. As a result of an over 300 year-old policy of force and fraud used by the United States government and the governments of the various American states against the New Afrikan nation, many citizens of the Republic of New Afrika are not aware of their human right to New Afrikan Citizenship and indeed are not aware of the

existence of the New Afrikan nation in North America. The growth of a Conscious New Afrikan citizenship is related to the success of the liberation struggle. The objective measurement of that growth shall be a consideration in the development and implementation of Provisional Government policy, programs and structure as determined by the People's Center Council.

One cannot fight for national independence if one is unaware of the very existence of the nation, i.e., if one's nationality is not New Afrikan. Unconscious citizens own no permanent allegiance to the defined objectives of New Afrikan people, and they owe no allegiance to any organ of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, e.g., the Provisional Government, the New Afrikan People's Organization, the Spear and Shield Collective, or the New Afrikan Communist Organizing Committee.

Because New Afrikans are engaged in a struggle for national independence and socialism, and because of the Movement's relative weakness at present, its aim with regard to the U.S. prison system is not to reform it. We plan to secure the release of all New Afrikan citizens from U.S. prisons -- but We will do so only as a consequence of successful national liberation revolution.

We will continue to struggle to secure the release of certain prisoners, and We will struggle to improve the treatment and the living conditions of captured citizens. However, the success of these efforts will themselves greatly depend upon our effective engagement in struggle in all spheres of the lives of the masses of New Afrikan people.

The Movement's major responsibility toward imprisoned unconscious citizens is, at this time, to promote New Afrikan consciousness, and to involve them in structured activity that will promote the further development of the Movement and its struggle for national independence.

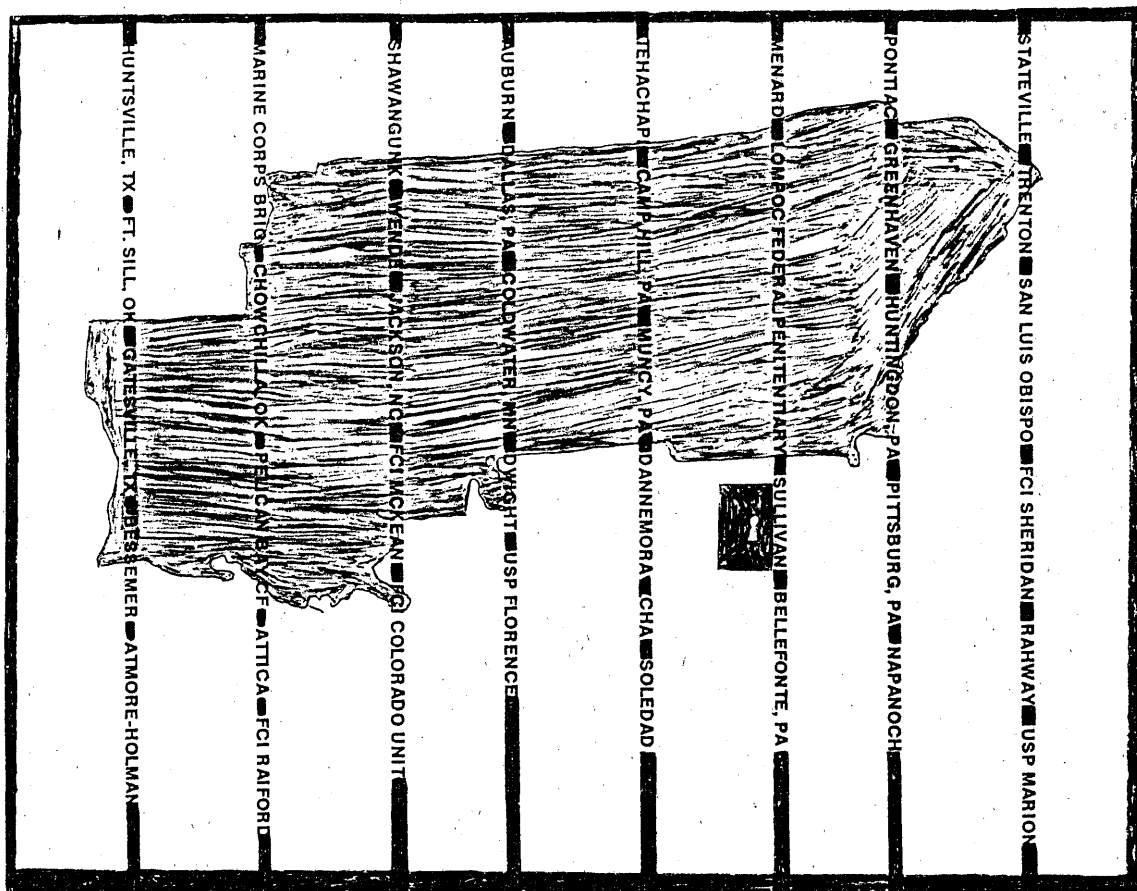
New Afrikan Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War

New Afrikans held by the U.S. as Political Prisoners and those held as Prisoners of War, are Conscious Citizens of the nation, i.e., they are conscious fighters of a people struggling against colonialism and for national self-determination and independent state power. New Afrikan Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War have sworn a general allegiance to the nation and its objectives, and sworn a particular allegiance to one of the formations of the New Afrikan Independence Movement.

The primary distinction presently drawn by the Movement between New Afrikan Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War is

that the latter are classified as the armed forces of the nation. New Afrikan Prisoners of War are armed anti-colonial combatants; they are members of structured military arms of political organizations; they are commanded by persons responsible for their subordinates; they adhere to international humanitarian law, i.e., they meet all criteria of said law, and they should be accorded Prisoner of War status and treatment by the U.S.

Owusu Yaki Yakubu
Spear and Shield Collective



ON THE RELEVANCE OF FRED HAMPTON AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

We have a bad habit of taking one day out of the year to commemorate the lives of outstanding individuals such as Fred Hampton. Very seldom do we set aside time to reflect upon the achievements of important institutions such as the Black Panther Party (BPP). We should now begin to break bad habits. This is especially necessary when we need to use the examples set by heroic individuals and ground-breaking institutions to help inspire and guide our youth, and to represent, for the entire community, certain standards of service and commitment.

Each of us have children and young adults in our families who know (or knew) little or nothing about people like James Forman, Fannie Lou Hamer, Monroe Trotter...

Each of us knows young adults who've never seen pictures of Ida B. Wells, W.E.B. DuBois, Rosa Parks...

Each of us have been asked questions regarding the deeds of individuals and organizations, the failures and accomplishments of previous stages of struggle, which further confirm the need to use the past as a weapon of struggle... (1)

The life of Fred Hampton should be used by us -- each day of the year -- to help show our youth that they can make positive contributions to the social, political, and economic development of our communities, no matter how young they are.

Fred Hampton was politically active as a fourteen-year-old high school student. Today, there are hundreds of fourteen-year olds who will be inspired to follow Fred's example -- if they are made aware of it, and shown the esteem with which the community holds his life and work.

Many of us who came of age in the 1950s and 1960s tend not to realize that the meaning of those years is largely lost to and for sizeable segments of New Afrikan youth and the masses. To the extent that many of our youth do consider these years, they look upon them as "ancient history" -- seemingly unconnected and irrelevant to their present circumstances, needs and aspirations. And, those who have a greater sense of the connections and relevance of the past to the present, are hard put to find (or rather, to be found by), the sources that will provide an interpretation of the past that's consistent with the nationalist revolutionary tradition, and with the practical efforts to build revolutionary institutions and organizations; to re-build the national revolutionary movement; to realize the independence and socialist development of the Nation. (2)

One simple way of introducing Fred and the Black Panther Party to Afrikan youth is to use the example of the Breakfast for Children program that was established by the Party. Children across the u.s. are now served breakfast and lunch in public schools only because Fred and the BPP did

it first! And, they did it for reasons not all of which are shared by the u.s. public school system -- and this, too, must be pointed out.

The concept and reality of a "Rainbow Coalition" didn't originate with Jesse Jackson. Fred Hampton and the Black Panther Party built a "Rainbow Coalition" in Chicago in the 1960s -- a coalition composed of Afrikan, Latino, and white organizations (The BPP, the Young Lords, the Young Patriots, SDS). Could We use such a coalition in Chicago and throughout the u.s. today? Yes -- and the example set by Fred can help us build it.

New Afrikan people -- but especially our youth -- have no meaningful sense of the continuity of the Nation's social and revolutionary development. Those of us with the responsibility to inspire and direct such development have been negligent. We have failed to build, preserve, and pass on a movement that provides a militant, patriotic (New Afrikan) framework from which our children would acquire the proper understanding of prior contributions and stages of struggle... (3)

Fred Hampton and the Black Panther Party also set an example for our efforts to re-direct the energies of "street gangs". Alliances had been formed between the BPP and such street organizations as the Blackstone Rangers, the Disciples, the Vice Lords, and others. This alliance was very threatening to Chicago officials and to the u.s. government, and they combined their forces to undermine the alliance and to attack the Party and each of the youth organizations. (4)

The New Afrikan Independence Movement must demonstrate that the problems and future of our youth [are among] its priorities. We must work to claim the curiosity, imagination, and attention of our youth. We must begin to provide national revolutionary outlets for their energy, creativity, and intelligence, with programs that are inspired by their most immediate needs and interests... (5)

We don't have to look hard in order to find many other individuals who have qualities that should be emulated by us. The programs of the Black Panther Party (e.g., health clinics, clothing for poor people, sickle cell anemia testing) can be used not only to inspire similar programs today, but they can be used to inspire a similar sensitivity to the needs of the people, and a similar spirit of commitment to a revolutionary nationalist theoretical framework and strategic objective.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

The Spear and Shield Collective

Notes

1. "Notes on the Transition of the 'Black Liberation' Phrase, Concept and Movement," Vita Wa Watu, Bk. Eight, January, 1986, p. 13.
2. Ibid., p. 15.
3. Ibid., p. 16.
4. See: "Counter-Intelligence Against the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party," Dan Stern, Vita Wa Watu, Bk. Eleven, pp. 24-30.
5. Op. cit., p. 16.

From Alcatraz to Marion to Florence
Control Unit Prisons in the United States

by Fay Dowker and Glenn Good [1]

1. Introduction.

In this article we will trace the history of control unit prisons in the United States from their beginnings in the early 1970's to the current situation in 1992, as a means to understanding their function within the prison system. However, any theory involving prisons is ultimately a theory of the society of which they are a part. Indeed, Dostoevsky wrote that if you want to understand a society you should look inside its prisons. Thus, we have attempted to analyze the development of control unit prisons within the context of society as a whole.

The term 'control unit' was first coined at United States Penitentiary (USP) at Marion, Illinois in 1972 and has come to designate a prison or part of a prison that operates under a 'super-maximum security' regime. Control unit prisons may differ from each other in some details but all share certain defining features:

1) Prisoners in a control unit are kept in solitary confinement in tiny cells (six by eight feet is usual) for between twenty-two and twenty-three hours a day. There is no congregate dining, no congregate exercise, no work opportunities and no congregate religious services.

2) These conditions exist permanently (temporary lockdowns occur at almost every prison) and as official policy.

3) The conditions are officially justified not as punishment for prisoners but as an administrative measure. Prisoners are placed in control units in administrative moves and since there are no rules governing such moves (in contrast to punitive moves), prisoners are denied any due process and prison officials can incarcerate any prisoner in a control unit for as long as they choose, without having to give any reason. [2]

The present article is structured as follows. Sections 2 and 3 will describe the history and ongoing conditions at USP Marion, which has been the focus of control unit development and, from 1983 until now, the premier example of a control unit prison. Section 4 deals with the imminent replacement of Marion by a new, purpose-built control unit prison in Florence, Colorado. Section 5 documents the proliferation of control units, modeled on Marion, in state prison systems across the country. In Section 6 we analyze the function of control units, contrasting the official claims with the facts. In Section 7 we broaden the analysis to look at imprisonment in the United States as a whole and draw conclusions as to the true purpose of prisons. Section 8

describes the state of public opinion on issues regarding prisons and the role of the media in shaping and maintaining that opinion. Section 9 is a brief summary.

2. Early History of the Marion Control Unit.

USP Marion, located in rural southern Illinois, opened in 1963, the same year the federal prison at Alcatraz closed. Alcatraz had gained a reputation as the "end of the line," the federal system's most repressive prison. Prominent gangsters, such as Al Capone, and Robert Stroud, the famous "Bird-Man," were imprisoned there, as were celebrated political prisoners like Rafael Cancel Miranda, the Puerto Rican National Hero, and Morton Sobell, co-defendant with Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. However, the brutality of conditions at Alcatraz proved too controversial in an era when prisons were supposedly committed to the rehabilitation of prisoners.

Marion was constructed to hold 500 "adult male felons who are difficult to control," according to Congressional testimony in 1971 by George Pickett, then superintendent of Marion (Mitford, 1973: 199). Nonetheless, Alcatraz's prisoners were not transferred directly to Marion. Presumably, the BOP considered that the move might spark off significant protest and they wanted to test out the new facility before sending the most politicized prisoners there. Not until the late 1960's were some of Alcatraz's former prisoners transferred to Marion (Breed and Ward, 1984: 10). At about the same time, Marion began its transformation into the new end of the line, a true heir to Alcatraz in its barbaric treatment of prisoners.

The transformation began with the prison's implementation in 1968 of a behavior modification program called Control and Rehabilitation Effort, or CARE. Prisoners in the program were put in solitary confinement and otherwise coerced into participating in group therapy, which consisted of intense psychological "attack sessions." The purpose was to bring prisoners under the staff's control as totally as possible and turn them against other prisoners (Mitford, 1973: 134-5). 1972 marked a turning point in the program. In July, prisoners began a work stoppage to protest a guard's beating of a Mexican prisoner (Cancel Miranda, 1990). Officials confined all prisoners to their cells for six days, then put seven suspected strike leaders into segregation (solitary confinement). The strike abated briefly, then began again. Prisoners were then subjected to a mass reprisal to end the strike, with sixty men locked in segregation and enrolled in the CARE program, establishing the Control Unit. In 1973, H-Unit at Marion was officially designated the Long-Term Control Unit (Adams v. Carlson, 1973: 621-2; Anderson, 1975; Gruenberg, 1975).

The Control Unit was used to expand the CARE program to include prisoners from throughout the federal prison system whose

behavior seriously disrupted the orderly operation of an institution, according to official Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) policy (Breed and Ward, 1984: 10). This marked a return to a feature of BOP practice missing since Alcatraz's closing - the concentration in a single prison of those the BOP targeted for special punishment. Like some of the prisoners in Marion's traditional "solitary confinement" unit, the "Disciplinary Segregation Unit" (I-Unit), prisoners in the "Control Unit" were under "administrative" rather than disciplinary segregation. Officially, administrative segregation differed from disciplinary segregation in that it was not considered punishment, but rather an administrative response to the prison's purported inability to manage the prisoner by normal means (Adams v. Carlson, 1973: 606).

Prior to the establishment of the CARE program and Control Unit at Marion and similar behavior modification programs and facilities in other prisons, prison officials at least went to the trouble of setting guidelines on under what circumstances and for how long a prisoner should be subjected to solitary confinement. For example, the 1959 Manual of Standards of the American Correctional Association, noting that segregation could have a "damaging effect upon some inmates" and that "[e]xcessively long periods [in segregation] for punishment defeat their own purpose by embittering and demoralizing the inmate," recommended "a few days" of punitive segregation for most infractions, and an additional thirty to ninety days of administrative segregation in extraordinary circumstances (Adams v. Carlson, 1973: 606). Evidently intending precisely to demoralize prisoners, Marion officials ignored these guidelines for prisoners in the Control Unit. Indeed, in 1975, the General Accounting Office reported that some prisoners in the CARE program had been in the Control Unit for its entire three year existence (Gruenberg, 1975).

In 1978, the BOP added a security-level six category to its prisoner classification system, and in 1979 Marion was designated the only level six prison. That same year a BOP report contemplated turning Marion into a "closed-unit operation," and a 1981 report detailed plans to convert the entire prison into a control unit (Breed and Ward, 1984: 11, 22). Stiffer controls inspired prisoner hunger and work strikes throughout the early 1980's. The longest of these - reported to be the longest and most peaceful [strike] in U.S. prison history - began in September 1980, when the warden, Harold Miller, refused to respond to the following list of concerns, which had been presented to him the preceding month:

- (1) Allow Native Americans to practice purification rites.
- (2) Allow religious services in segregation and the Control Unit.
- (3) Allow Muslims to wear the fez and turban.
- (4) Stop the use of boxcar cells (cells having solid doors).
- (5) Stop guards from harassing and beating prisoners.
- (6) Extend visiting and make the visiting room more

comfortable.

(7) Improve medical care.

(8) Improve diet by using real meat. (Susler et al., 1984: 8)

The strike was never broken, but ended when the administration closed the prison factory in January 1981 (Lassiter, 1990: 76; Breed and Ward, 1984: 12). This extraordinary act of resistance was the result of the BOP's practice over the previous decade of sending its most dissident and politicized prisoners to Marion.

In two separate incidents on October 22, 1983, two guards were killed by prisoners in the Control Unit. Although no rebellion resulted and the prisoners responsible were identified, prison officials seized the opportunity to violently repress all prisoners and implement their 1981 plans. The 'lockdown', or cell-confinement of all prisoners, was imposed on October 27, 1983. The next day, the warden declared a state of emergency. Sixty guards, including specially trained Special Operations Response Team (SORT) members, were transferred to Marion from other institutions to assist in the lockdown. In addition, eight BOP executive staff members and three senior wardens were sent to 'monitor' the procedure (Carlson, 1984). A guard at the time, David Hale, recalls how a Marion official, evidently uninhibited by the team of outside monitors, set the tone for the ensuing shakedown:

I seen them carry one inmate down the corridor with a guard on each leg and one on each arm. The assistant warden comes down the hall and grabs the inmate's testicles and starts yanking on them, saying, 'Who's doing it to who now, boy?' Well that was a signal for every guard in the place to do whatever the hell he wanted. I can't describe it to you- I never seen beatings like that. At least fifty guys got it, maybe more. (Lassiter, 1990:76)

The guards were outfitted with helmets, plastic shields, bullet-proof vests and other special gear, and their name tags were removed, making it impossible to identify guards who were involved in abuses. [3] They administered severe beatings while conducting cell shakedowns and forcing cell transfers, using fists, boots, and three-foot riot bludgeons, each with a steel ball affixed to the end. These 'rib-spreaders,' which have been part of regular equipment at the prison ever since, are designed to separate intercostal rib cartilage and inflict pain without breaking bones or leaving bruises. Prisoners were punched in the face, choked, knocked to the ground, and driven head-first into walls and metal doors. Four prisoners were beaten while in the prison hospital. In many cases, prisoners were handcuffed during the beatings.

Prisoners were subjected to illegal and excessive x-ray examination for contraband. In many cases, the guards ripped off prisoners' underclothing and conducted forced rectal searches. Several prisoners were confined to individual cells for up to

four days, handcuffed behind their backs and wearing only underwear. One prisoner testified that he was injected with an unknown drug which caused him to lose consciousness for two days.

Personal property was destroyed in the raid. Articles for religious worship, glasses and false teeth were destroyed or seized and never returned. For example, guards desecrated Alan Iron Moccasin's medicine bag and confiscated sacred articles of his Lokata religion. A minister's Koran was taken in the raids, and he was given a Bible in its place.

Prisoners were locked in their cells around the clock. Most privileges were curtailed or eliminated. Congregate religious worship was eliminated. Visits were restricted. After revelations about the beatings surfaced, attorneys were denied entry to meet with prisoner clients for a period of several days in November.

Within days, the Control Unit was expanded from its original seventy-two cells to include all 353 Marion prisoners. The entire population at Marion was collectively, severely and permanently punished in a calculated move by the BOP.

3. Ongoing Conditions of the Lockdown.

USP Marion comprises nine living units, B through I and K. Conditions vary between units. The five general population units, B through F, are located on Marion's East Corridor. Among these units, D, E and F are the most restrictive. C-Unit is slightly less restrictive than these three units and holds prisoners who are being considered for transfer to B-Unit. B-Unit is a pre-release unit with conditions similar to those in most maximum security prisons. On the North Corridor are located the prisons' four special living units. I-Unit, the Disciplinary Segregation Unit, holds prisoners from the East Corridor units who are on disciplinary or administrative segregation, and those who are being considered for transfer to H-Unit. G-Unit is similar to I-Unit and also holds prisoners in protective custody. H-Unit, or the Control Unit, holds prisoners who are on long-term administrative segregation (*Bruscino v. Carlson*, 1985: 491-2). K-Unit, or the Director's Unit, holds prisoners assigned there specifically on the order of the Director of the Bureau of Prisons (*Dickey*, 1990: 69). The following description of conditions at Marion, unless otherwise noted, applies to units D, E and F. At the end of this section we will briefly describe some of the differences between these and the remaining units.[4]

D, E and F-Unit prisoners are let out of their cells one and a half hours each day. By comparison, in the rest of the Federal prison system prisoners spend an average of thirteen hours per day out of their cells. The hour and a half of daily recreation is usually spent in the narrow hallway immediately

outside the cell. This time provides little stimulation and no real exercise opportunity. One hour of outdoor recreation in a fenced area is offered once a week in winter and three times a week in summer. The only chance prisoners have to take showers is during the exercise period.

The cell itself measures six by eight feet. Meals are taken through the bars and eaten in the cell- there is no congregate dining. Beds are concrete slabs with pads laid on top of them. At each of the four corners of the bunk is a ring so that the men can be strapped down whenever prison authorities think that it is appropriate. Jackie Leyden from National Public Radio reports that "guards have the power to chain a man spread-eagled and naked to a concrete bunk" (Leyden, 1986). Prisoners have reported being chained like that for days at a time.

No one makes any pretensions about rehabilitation. The only jobs are barber and porter. Prisoners may take correspondence courses, but only one at a time. The prison feeds educational tapes into the cells via closed circuit TV, but no instruction, discussion or group classrooms exist. There are no large-group religious services.

Prison officials tamper with letters and legal mail. While it is illegal for prison officials to look into prisoners' legal documents, they do so with impunity. Moreover, they often withhold or send back personal correspondence. [5]

Visitation rights are severely restricted and no contact visits are ever allowed. The men can never touch their children, wives or other loved ones who come to visit. Prisoners must conduct conversations through Plexiglas and over a phone, which is monitored. A guard remains present, watching and recording the entire affair. Few visitors venture so far to endure such painful conditions. Prisoners often ask loved ones not to visit while they are at Marion in order to avoid the humiliation that comes with this situation. As a result, one usually finds the visiting room virtually empty. Prisoners are allowed two ten-minute phone calls per month.

Despite the Plexiglas partition separating them from visitors, prisoners are strip-searched after every visit. Finger probes of the rectum may be conducted "whenever there is reasonable suspicion" that the prisoner is hiding contraband. [6] A general idea of what constitutes "reasonable suspicion" is given by the fact that every prisoner who leaves the prison for any reason is strip-searched and subjected to the "finger wave" on his return, despite being shackled and guarded the whole time. Whenever a prisoner is not separated from staff by bars, he is handcuffed behind his back and escorted by two guards equipped with rib-spreader bludgeons.

Only the vaguest and most arbitrary rules exist at Marion. These whimsical guidelines all revolve around pleasing the guards and

warden. The guidelines allow for disciplinary actions at Marion for trivial matters, such as failing to replace salt and pepper packets on a food tray, or hanging wet clothes to dry on the bars of a cell. In particular, no rules govern graduation of prisoners to relatively less restricted status within Marion. Prisoner promotions and demotions are officially at the discretion of the assistant warden. However, the power to veto any promotion effectively resides in every guard in the form of the despised Incident Reports, or "shots," citations for rule violations. One of the most common shots is "disobeying the direct order of a guard," which can be used to cite any "misbehavior" a guard desires. A single shot wipes out all good-conduct time a prisoner has earned, and puts the prisoner back at the beginning of "the program" that ostensibly governs the progression out of Marion to a level five prison (Leyden, 1986: 2-3)

B and C-Units are the stepping-stones to release from Marion. Prisoners in C-Unit spend slightly more time out of their cells, and are considered for transfer to B-Unit. B-Unit serves as an "honor unit," the last stage before transfer out of Marion. Here prisoners can spend all day outside their cells, eat meals in the dining room, have lockers and suffer restraints only for legal visits. They also work seven hours a day in the prisons' factory for twenty-two cents an hour, which makes the monthly labor bill for the fifty prisoners less than \$2000, during which period they produce \$250,000 worth of electrical cable for the Department of Defense (Lehman, 1990: 30). However, placement in C and B-Units is completely arbitrary. A prisoner must have one continuous year of good conduct before being considered for C-Unit, a total of eighteen continuous months of good conduct for consideration for B-Unit, and a total of two continuous years of good conduct for consideration for release to a level five prison. There is no specification of what "good conduct" is, so even without the intercession of guards and their shots, no clear system for progressing from one unit to the next exists.

At the other end of the spectrum from B and C-Units are the North Corridor Units, G, H, and I-Units. In these units, what minute breathing space exists in D, E and F-Units is further restricted. Cells contain only a toilet, sink and concrete bed. Prisoners spend only one hour a day out of their cells, are strip-searched before and after exercise periods, are allowed only one phone call per month and three showers per week, and are put in both handcuffs and leg-irons and escorted by three guards, one holding their handcuffs, when they are out of their cells. Even this level of punishment is superseded in I and H-Units' "boxcar" cells, which have solid second front doors that cut off sound and air circulation.

Despite the gradations of repression, all of Marion functions as a control unit, where the men are under constant and total control of the guards. John Campbell, a prisoner at Marion, comments, "No one belongs in an environment where he's being buried alive, where he's in a- like a tomb for the dead... And the police have total control over you, and they know they have total control, and they abuse that control frequently, either on a psychological level or a physical level." Another prisoner, Steve Layton, adds, "They try to drag up the monster in you. It eats on a person, on a person's mind." (Leyden, 1986: 2)

(part 2 in the next issue of CROSSROAD)

THE MARIONIZATION OF THE INDIANA PENAL SYSTEM

Here in Indiana the predators unit at Pendleton, the high security prison at Sullivan and the Maximum control complex at Westville, all represent the State's response to the socio-economic crisis in general and the new-type prisoner in particular.

The prison struggle that has emerged and is currently going on in Indiana is not unlike any other that has arose in the United States within the past 20 years, for it grew out of the same material and social conditions. That is, intolerable living conditions, colonial captivity, denial of human rights, racist guards, abuse and brutality and rehabilitative fraud.

The two major maximum security prisons in the State are the Reformatory at Pendleton and the main prison at Michigan City, Indiana. Pendleton Reformatory is located in a rural area and the guards and the administrative staff is predominantly white. The prisoners, on the other hand, is predominately black and the average age group is between 18-25 years old. As the name implies, the main prison is located in the heart of an urban area and like Pendleton the guards and administrative staff is also predominately white, while the prison population is predominately black with a slightly older average age-group.,

Over the years all the major incidents of rebellion have occurred at these two prisons. However, each prison has a different tempo, climate and

different degree of discontent. This is no doubt due to socio-environment factors. For instance, "out-of-cell movement" is much more controlled at Pendleton -- prisoners are virtually lockstepped to and from the recreation yard. What is more, personal TV's and radios were just recently allowed. Whereas at Michigan City, a little more mobility and privileges are extended and the population has had personal TV's and radios since the early 70's. Why, there is even an "honor" cellhouse at Michigan City?

Everything is relative but, generally speaking, the atmosphere at Michigan City is easy-going and most of the prisoners have a laid back apathetic attitude concerning the social struggle in general and the prison struggle in particular. Simply put, they just want to do their time. However, the kamp is infested with venal informers and petty intrigue. Although it isn't a particularly violent and racist charged atmosphere like San Quentin or Soledade, there is nevertheless virtually no interracial solidarity. An undercurrent of historical racial suspicion fosters a stand-offish attitude among black and whites toward each other. Moreover, the white prisoners tend to occupy most of the best and/or strategic jobs in the prison and a lot of them seem to have a "live and let live" rapport with the administration. Over the years whatever militant and/or protect activity that has been

mounted has be organized and spearheaded by blacks.

Although there are plenty of informers at Pendleton and the general population isn't sufficiently political or oriented towards prison struggle, it nevertheless, is still by far the most progressive and rebellious of the two. Even interracial solidarity is stronger. Recently, new additional facilities, i.e., dorms and cages, were constructed at Pendleton, initially to accommodate over crowdedness, but ulteriorly, the authorities have also used it as a kind of "honor" kamp to induce conformity. In any event, the most militant sector of both prison population are to be found on the lockup units, which tends to be always predominantly black. Also, at both prisons the guards are brutal cowards and some are fractionalized into several racist gangs, i.e, Klan, Sons of Light, Neo-Nazi & Masons, usually headed by a high ranking, Major, Captain, Lieutenant, officials. The following are just a few egregious cases of the behavior against prisoners in recent years:

* **September 26, 1969,** 2 prisoners were killed and 46 others were gunned down at Pendleton, on the recreation yard during a peaceful protest.

* **January/March 1980,** a white prisoner at Pendleton on a lockup unit (MRU) was shot pointblank in the face with a stun gun by Major

Franklin, blinding him for life.

* **October 1983,** in the aftermath of a cellhouse takeover at Pendleton, a black prisoner, Ricky J. M a c o n , " d i e d " mysteriously of "medical neglect."

* **Spring 1984,** a black prisoner, Tony Williams, was ruthlessly beaten by several guards on the lockup unit recreation pad at Pendleton.

* **April 1985,** a black prison, Vito, was heavily maced in the face, causing his skin to peel red by discoloration.

* **September 1985,** at the Indiana State Farm, a black prisoner, Meritt, had his front teeth kicked out by the "goon squad."

* **May 1992,** a white prisoner was shot dead by a sharpshooter during a hostage situation at Pendleton.

Concerning political harvest and/or conscious raising via media exposure, over the years, there has been three incidents of major importance and they occurred in 1980, 1985 and 1991.

In **April 1980,** on a lockup unit at Michigan City, 9 prisoners staged a takeover capturing several guards and prison personnel. This move was precipitated by guards who had manhandled and pushed a

handcuffed prisoner down a flight of stairs earlier that week. In an effort to politicize and expose the incident, the prisoners drew up a list of grievance, notified the press and entered negotiations with top officials for the Department of Corrections ("DOC"). With respect to the demands, for hours, the authorities were adamant and unyielding, so as the tension of the stalemate mounted, the State Police were dispatched. Once at the prison, they were mobilized to surround the lockup unit in full riot-gear with guns at the ready. Finally, after 15 hours the authorities issued an ultimatum for the release of the hostages. So, understanding the history of their vicious nature and having played the drama out to the brink, under the threat of a bloodbath the prisoners released the remaining hostages. Managing only to secure an agreement that the authorities would deal with the list of grievance seriously in the immediate weeks. However, in the aftermath of this, for the most part, the authorities reneged and didn't make a genuine good faith effort to correct any of the grievances. Therefore, there were no material gains, the gains were mostly intangible, i.e., the general public were made aware of the condition: a few prisoners in the general population were sufficiently impress; and, through this experience some of the men who actually took the hostages began to develop political personalities.

In February 1985, at Pendleton, prisoners on The Maximum Restraint Unit ("MRU") launched a protest, i.e., refusing to come out of cells, due to the unreasonable and unnecessary daily early morning shakedowns. In response to this a "goon-squad" was dispatched to the unit and in the process of enforcing their will they stomped, kicked and clubbed a Black Muslim prisoner. The beating was so vicious and brutal till they covered his head with a towel in order to prevent onlookers from seeing the bloody mess, as they carried him away to the infirmary. It is believed that he (Lockmar) was singled out first because several weeks prior to this he was picked up for the stabbing of a white guard. In any case, amidst this mayhem and chaos some of the prisoners from the unit yelled distress calls to passing prisoners, and shortly thereafter several brother-comrades of the victim kicked in the Captain's Office, adjacent to the unit, and commenced to stabbing the guards. Several were critically wounded. As a strategic move these men then proceeded to a cellhouse taking the guards hostage therein, as self-protection. After barricading themselves they then contacted the press and entered in negotiations with the authorities. The main issue of course was the history of brutality at the prison. After 17 hours an agreement was reached, the prisoners were to release the hostages and submit a list of cases to be investigated by

the U.S. Justice Department. The Feds did interview the cases but they didn't pursue the prosecution of any of them.

However, this move had a dynamic effect on the black community, the prison population and prison authorities. For instance, the move met with a favorable response within some sectors in the black community because a few ministers and local activists expressed concern and solidarity. Most of the youth readily identified with it because the guards were perceived as the same kind of police that were harassing, brutalizing and killing them in the neighborhood. As for the prisoners, their moral and political consciousness was heightened tremendously. For it was mass therapy at its best. Because the move itself attacked the very core of the psychology of fear that is inherent in the oppressed-oppressor dialectic. Simply put, the act demonstrated, in concrete terms, that they were vulnerable and could bleed too. Yes, that day, for a moment, the emperor had no cloths. Lastly, the move set the guards and administrators back on their heels because never within the history of this penal system had they witnessed such a bold and righteous act of retaliation. Thus, in order to regain some moral ground, to discredit and depoliticize the event, in the eyes of the general public, they entered into a collusion with the media and began to characterize the prisoners as gang members. In any event,

as much as this was an overall political victory, comrades John Cole and Christopher Trotter paid a heavy cost because both drew long additional prison terms. So as Sundiata Acoli would say, "this time it's up to us, that is, the revolution will have to parole them."

In 1986, a top official from the Department of Correction ("DOC") made a statement in the Indianapolis Star appealing to civic leaders, legislators, the press and the general public to forebear while it clamp down on the prisoner population at Pendleton. He also announced that the DOC had now identified approximately 200 individuals as the prime "troublemakers" throughout the penal system, and that within six months they would have every thing under control. The temporary plan was to expand by converting a cellhouse into a maximum lockup unit, and the long-range plan was to build a new maximum control complex. Thus, in April 1991, the newly constructed Maximum Control Complex ("MCC") at Westville, Indiana was officially opened. Gradually, prisoners were brought in from across the state and by September 1991 the population was approximately 50 men. Due to the authorities rigid policy of "isolation and punishment" prisoners had also by this time accumulated a list of grievance -- from constitutional to human rights violations. So by mid-September 13 men launched a hunger strike to protest and expose the conditions at the

prison and to the surprise of everyone it mushroomed to the point of reaching an international audience. This was one of the longest hunger strikes (not only in the Indiana penal system but, indeed, in the history of the "Prison Movement" in the U.S. After 37 days the authorities were forced to get a Court Order to force-feed the 4 remaining hunger strikers.

What has been gained? Well, (1) it was a complete success in terms of media exposure; (2) Civil Rights lawyers have filed a Class Action Suite; (3) organizational contacts were forged; (4) political convictions were strengthened and (5) the authorities had to modify their policy and concede a few concessions. For the sake of greater clarity, we do not intend to glamorize and magnify these events or give the impression that the situations in all these kamps are promising or rosy. To the contrary, the truth of the matter is we don't believe that it will ever become completely humane because it isn't in the nature of the colonial state machinery to be humane. What is more, prisons are apart of the total socio-environment. We view the problems of prisons as an inherent contradiction that cannot be adequately resolved in isolation from the overall social problems of Amerikkka. Prisons are just one of many fronts. So we are all locked into an unavoidable conflict - a process of attrition, with no way out except through social involvement.

As was mentioned above, the most militant sector in this penal system is to be found on the lockup-units etc. Consequently, they have become breeding grounds for would be revolutionaries. In effect this means things have "changed in their opposite." These unites and complexes were originally designed to break men, instead they have now become revolutionary schools that are transforming men. Presently, the major ideological currents that are flowing here are: (1) Islam (i.e., NOI, IRNA, Moorish Science); (2) Pan-Afrikanism (APSP) and (3) New Afrikan Communism. However, having recognized this we have also come to recognize a contradiction in the neophyte transformed lumpen. This is to say, while in prison they tend to exemplify beautiful revolutionary qualities, they articulate the politics of struggle clearly, write lucid essays, display firm political convictions and are ready to "get down" at a moment's notice, but once they are released they seem to flounder and are unwilling or unable to make the transition from the small state (prison environment) to the larger stage (society). Simply put, in the words of Zayd Malik Shakur, "they are unable to take the step from the realm of theory into practice." Also a similar contradiction exist within the prison too. While on lock-up units some brothers exemplify revolutionary qualities but once they hit open population the too tend to deviate and waver.

So we have witnessed this vacillations and outright betrayals occurring inside and outside. What is more, we have tried to identify and psychoanalyze this individuals and although there is an objective pattern in their behavior due to the unpredictability of human nature it is difficult to create a single profile of identification. For the point is loyalty and betrayal is a dialectical entity. In other words, these opposites are interconnected and interdependent. Each is the condition of existence for the other. There exists an unavoidable, uneasing conflict and struggle between the two; a continuous penetration of these aspects within the human soul (character), the particular aspect is controlling at any given time or will ultimately prevail depends upon the circumstances, conditions and level of consciousness, especially the mental factor or the "moral grit" as Dr. Dubois would say.

Another negative tendency of the neophyte transformed lumpen is though they basically have good intentions, they nevertheless are adventurous and romanticist at hear who see "miracles flowing from the gun, while they shun, shirk or belittle day-to-day political work among the masses. However, in spite of these negative tendencies we hold the Fanonian perspective, that is to say, the lumpen shouldn't be glorified or romanticized as inherently

revolutionary. In fact, as a class, the lumpen is reactionary but they can become a progressive force if the revolutionaries are able to transform their mentality and integrate them into programs of concrete struggle.

In summation, for those of you who are "searching for a scientific road" we urge you to read and study, form prison collectives, political cells, forge principle links with other similar forces and to start building an infrastructure because if history is any indication of the future, there will be a social upheaval soon. It is going to erupt in this country that only a prepared and mobilized people will withstand and carry on to victory.

"The function of a social structure is to set up institutions to serve people's needs. A society that drives its members to desperate solutions is a non-viable society, a society to be replaced."

Ah bites the hand that feeds me.

Tchaka Olugbala Shabazz
Maximum control Complex
Westville, Indiana

Suggested Reading:

The Long Dream, Richard Wright
Omni American, Albert Murray
Mao Tse Tung
Dialectic Its Laws and Categories, Ira Gollobin
Black Boy, Richard Wright
1985 Oversight Hearing on

Marion, 94th Congressional
Records
Spring Came Early, Zayd Malik
Shakur
New Afrikan Theoretical
Journals, Atiba Shanna
Towards the African
Revolution, Frantz
Fanon
Essay, Richard Wright



IN THE SPIRIT OF FRED HAMPTON AND MARK CLARK:

CARRY ON THE TRADITION OF RESISTANCE

(Revised; originally published in Notes From A New Afrikan POW Journal, Book Seven, 1980.)

So when you select heroes about which [Afrikan] people ought to be taught, let them be [Afrikan] heroes who have died fighting for the benefit of [Afrikan] people.

Malcolm X

December 4, 1992 will mark twenty-three years since local agents of the U.S. imperialist state (Chicago police, under the direction of the FBI), launched a pre-dawn search-and-destroy attack upon an apartment at 2337 West Monroe Street, Chicago, assassinated Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, and wounded four other members of the Black Panther Party (BPP).

Immediately after the attack, the U.S. and its assassins stood behind a fabricated story, trying to conceal their real motives and methods. They claimed that illegally purchased weapons were in the apartment. There were weapons in the apartment, but all of them had been legally purchased -- a fact known to the assassins, their having been so informed by their paid agent provocateur, William O'Neal.

If the assassins knew that there was no legal justification for their mission, then why did they launch it? They did so because Fred Hampton and the Black Panther Party were leading forces -- and thus major targets -- in the revolutionary war between the U.S. and Afrikans inside its borders who struggle for national self-determination.

Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were murdered as they slept because they carried on a tradition of resistance to their people's oppression; they worked each day to awaken and to organize Afrikan people, and to build bonds of solidarity with other oppressed peoples, in a common struggle against U.S. settler-colonialism and international capitalist-imperialism, and to build a socialist society.

The [Afrikan] youth and moderates must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teaching, they will be dead revolutionaries.

FBI Internal Memo, 1968

At the time of his assassination, Fred Hampton was twenty-one years of age, and sat as Chairman of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party. Chairman Fred, as he was affectionately and respectfully called, began his political activism as a fourteen-year-old high school student in Maywood, Illinois, where he organized a youth chapter of the NAACP.

Like most Afrikan youth of the time, Fred was influenced by the growing revolutionary movement of Afrikan and other oppressed peoples throughout the U.S. in the late 1960's. Fred's consciousness and practice reflected his political shift to the left, so much so that he drew the attention of the repressive forces even before he joined the BPP, and the FBI itself began to monitor his activity in 1967. Shortly thereafter, Fred, Bobby Rush and several others organized the Chicago chapter of the BPP, which soon

grew into an organization that influenced oppressed communities not only in the city, but throughout the state and the entire U.S.:

They began to negotiate with Chicago street gangs, such as the Blackstone Rangers, Disciples, and Vice Lords, attempting to convince them to give up their violent "gangbanging," and to focus instead on the true enemy -- the government and the police. They built the original Rainbow Coalition which united the Panthers, the Puerto Rican Young Lords Organization, the Young Patriots, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and, for a time, certain [Afrikan] street gangs.

They opened a Breakfast for Children Program, first at the Better Boys Foundation, then later at several other locations in the city, and fed hundreds of hungry young children before they went to school. Fred was spreading the message throughout the city, constantly speaking at colleges and high schools and meeting with a wide range of leaders and organizations. He led by example, starting his day at six in the morning at the Breakfast Program, and would never ask someone to do something he would not do, from selling the Panther newspaper to defending the Panther office from police attack.

At the same time, the FBI, both nationally and locally, was increasing its efforts to, in its words, "neutralize the Panther Party and destroy what it stands for."

(December 4th Committee, Fred Hampton 20th Commemoration, pp.2-3)

The moment imperialism arrived and colonialism arrived, it made us leave our history and enter another history.

Amilcar Cabral

The activities of the BPP took place within the context of the national democratic stage of the revolutionary struggle of Afrikans in the U.S. to regain the independence that We lost more than three hundred years ago.

When our foreparents were forcible uprooted from their societies on the Afrikan continent and brought to the "New World," We began our history as a new people -- a colonized people -- who began a tradition of struggle to resist colonialism and to regain our independence as a new nation in the world.

Afrikan men and women from different parts of the continent who had spoken different languages, now found themselves chained together and in need of a common tongue. Peoples who had previously worn different dress, expressing different cultures, now found themselves sharing the experience of a unique form of colonialism, wherein the colonial subjects were transported from their homelands to lands being conquered by the colonial powers. Not only was a new people -- a new, oppressed nation -- being formed; early bonds of solidarity were also being formed between ourselves and the peoples of the Native Nations who were also being subjugated by the settlers:

The first settlement within the present borders of the United States to contain [Afrikan] slaves was the victim of the first slave revolt. A Spanish colonizer, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, in the summer of 1526, founded a town near the mouth of the Pedee river in what is now South Carolina. The community consisted of five hundred Spaniards and one hundred [Afrikan] slaves. Trouble soon beset the colony. Illness caused numerous deaths, carrying off in October, Ayllon himself. The [Native Nations] grew more hostile and dangerous. Finally, probably in November, the [Afrikans] rebelled, killed several [colonizers], and escaped to the [Native Nations]. This was a fatal blow and the remaining colonists -- but one hundred and fifty souls -- returned to Haiti in December, 1526.

Just as We resisted and fought to regain our independence, the colonizers sought to repress our resistance, to kill our warriors and leaders, to disrupt the independence movement:

The system of slavery demanded a special police force and such a force was made possible and unusually effective by the presence of the poor whites...First of all, it gave him work and some authority as overseer, slave driver, and member of the patrol system. But above and beyond this, it fed his vanity because it associated him with the masters...He never regarded himself as a laborer, or as part of any labor movement...The system was held stable and intact by the poor white...Gradually the whole white South became an armed and commissioned camp to keep [Afrikans] in slavery and to kill the [Afrikan] rebel.
(W.E.B. DuBois, Black Reconstruction in America, p.12.)

When fourteen agents of the U.S. imperialist state attacked the BPP and assassinated Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, they were carrying on a tradition of their own, with the help of William O'Neal, who must also be seen as carrying on a particular tradition -- that of a traitor:

On September 13, 1663, a favorite slave of a Mr. John Smith of Gloucester County, Virginia, betrayed an extensive conspiracy of [Afrikan] slaves...An unknown number of the rebels was executed. The day of the betrayal was set aside by the colonists as one of thanksgiving and prayer to a merciful god who had saved them from extermination. The traitor was given his freedom and 5,000 lbs. of tobacco.

They gave William O'Neal a \$300.00 bonus.

Throughout our long struggle to regain independence as a people, We have developed many forms of resistance. And, all forms of resistance are recognized as threats to oppressive power, and they receive attention from repressive forces in overt and covert forms, and in all spheres of social life.

Heavyweight boxing champion Jack Johnson resisted oppression both inside and outside of the ring. He was a symbol of the ability of Afrikan people to resist the social hegemony of the oppressive state, and to defeat the state in its own arena. When Jack Johnson was forced out of the U.S., he stood then on an international level as a more threatening symbol of

resistance to U.S. oppression. The U.S. attacked him (and through him, they attacked all Afrikans), outside the ring by using their press and their law as weapons (e.g., the FBI/Dept. Of Justice). They attacked him inside the ring by employing a "Great White Hope."

What would today be called counterinsurgency tactics were also employed against Marcus Garvey and the U.N.I.A. Planting infiltrators and seeking informers and traitors inside the U.N.I.A.; using so-called leaders of other Afrikan organizations to attack Garvey and to undermine the influence of the U.N.I.A., were methods used by the U.S. in the war waged by Afrikans to resist oppression and to establish our independence. Again, the U.S. Department of Justice was used as a major weapon to make Marcus Garvey, the freedom fighter, appear as a criminal in the eyes of Afrikan people, and to influence the decline of the mass movement then being led by the U.N.I.A.

Paul Robeson was the subject of U.S. government surveillance and repression from at least 1943 to 1967. This activity (e.g., physical surveillance, wiretaps, house buggings and mail interceptions), was conducted by the FBI, the CIA, the intelligence divisions of the U.S. Army and Navy, as well as the intelligence services of other colonial powers.

When the U.S. took steps to prevent Paul Robeson from speaking and singing in the U.S., and denied him a passport with which to travel abroad on behalf of his people, these actions were in response to Robeson's growing stature as an active participant in the struggle of Afrikan peoples to resist the cultural hegemony of U.S. and other colonial powers, and to regain independence. And, "...if large numbers of [Afrikans] in America had difficulty grasping the ultimate significance of Robeson's cultural explorations, colonial and racist leaders abroad and in the United States did not." (Sterling Stuckey, Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundations of Black America, p.337.)

Fred Hampton was assassinated by the same forces that attacked W.E.B. DuBois, as he, too, carried on the tradition of resistance. DuBois' mail was intercepted, his attempts to speak on Afrikan college campuses were undermined, and he, like Garvey, was criminalized when he and others were indicted by the U.S. as "agents of a foreign government." DuBois was an agent in the service of Afrikan people, in our struggle for self-government.

Following on the heels of the attacks against Robeson and DuBois, the U.S. began to focus attacks upon Martin Luther King, Jr., and the civil rights movement, and upon the Nation of Islam and the independence movement.

Fred Hampton and Martin Luther King, Jr. both carried on the tradition of resistance. By the spring of 1968, King was no longer dreaming. The harsh reality of U.S. reactionary violence inside its borders and throughout the world had led King to an ever-more radical anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist stand. Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated because he was not only resisting U.S. oppression; he was potentially the most threatening example of a mass movement's transition from mere resistance, to struggle for revolutionary nationalist state power.

As early as 1960, the FBI started a comprehensive counter-intelligence program originating in Chicago, designed to disrupt and neutralize the Nation of Islam. Although the bulk of files are still secret, released documents reveal that one of the primary purposes of the program was to exacerbate the tensions between Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad, and these activities

either directly or indirectly led to the assassination of Malcolm X in 1965...

As the civil rights movement moved to the north, and urban ghetto uprisings punctuated [Afrikan] people's demands for national liberation, the FBI greatly expanded their counter-intelligence programs against the [Afrikan] movement and its leadership. (Counter-Intelligence: A Documentary Look at America's Secret Police.)

On August 25, 1967, the Director of the FBI (who operated under the authority of the U.S. Attorney General, who in turn operated under the authority of the President of the United States), issued a Memo establishing as additional counter-intelligence program, designated as "Black Nationalist-Hate Groups: Internal Security."

The Memo was circulated to twenty-three Field Offices, which were instructed to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, or otherwise neutralize" the activities of Afrikan nationalist organizations, "their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters...The activities of all such groups of intelligence interest to this Bureau must be followed on a continuous basis so we will be in a position to promptly take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and to inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant."

The Memo further instructed FBI agents to prevent the consolidation of, and recruitment by, Afrikan nationalist forces, and to "exploit through counter-intelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups and where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing [Afrikan] nationalist organizations."

FBI agents were also encouraged to disrupt and neutralize groups "through the cooperation of established local news media contacts or through such contact with sources available to the Seat of Government, in every instance careful attention must be given to the proposal to insure the targeted group is disrupted, ridiculed, or discredited through the publicity and not merely publicized."

In February, 1968, the FBI issued another Memo, to "expand the Counter-intelligence Program designed to neutralize militant black nationalist groups from 23 to 41 field divisions so as to cover the great majority of black nationalist activity" in the U.S. The Memo emphasized the U.S. need: to prevent the coalition of nationalist groups; to prevent the rise of leadership which might unify and electrify the movement; to "prevent these nationalists from gaining respectability and prevent the growth of these groups" among Afrikan youth.

Also listed again were the names of the organizations and individuals that were to receive particular attention under this program: SNCC, Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown; SCLC and Martin Luther King, Jr.; RAM and Max Stanford; the Deacons for Defense and Justice; CORE; the NOI and Elijah Muhammad. It should be noted that there is no mention of the Black Panther Party and its leadership in these memos. The particular concern with which the U.S. held the BPP is seen by the FBI's creation of a separate file and counterinsurgency program targeting the party.

Two years after it was organized in October, 1966, the BPP had thirty-eight chapters throughout the U.S., an approximate membership of 4,000, and became the major target of the U.S. government's domestic counter-revolutionary thrust, largely because of the effectiveness of the

BPP's mass-based revolutionary democratic program.

The purpose of the Marion Control Unit is to control revolutionary attitudes in the prison system and in the society at large.

Ralph Aron, former Warden, Marion Federal Penitentiary

The U.S. attack upon the BPP and other organizations saw many activists killed and maimed; some were driven into exile, and some were driven mad. Many activists were driven into the jails and prisons of the U.S., charged as common criminals, although their alleged offenses were well-crafted fabrications, their real "offenses" being that they were armed (or unarmed) political combatants who fought for the national independence of Afrikan people.

We've seen that the U.S. has a record of bringing criminal charges against Afrikan freedom fighters, as they did against Jack Johnson, Marcus Garvey, Paul Robeson and W.E.B. DuBois. Many activists imprisoned by the U.S. in the 1960's and 1970's remain in U.S. prisons, and are now struggling for recognition as Political Prisoners and as Prisoners of War -- status to which they have a legitimate claim under international law as it applies to peoples struggling against colonial and racist regimes, e.g., Afrikans inside the U.S. who struggle against its oppression and for their self-determination as a distinct people.

As the statement by former Marion penitentiary warden Ralph Aron indicates, U.S. prisons are being used to house political prisoners and prisoners of war, in the U.S. government's attempt to suppress revolutionary "attitudes" on both sides of prison walls.

What is common knowledge to Ralph Aron and other servants and supporters of the U.S., must become common knowledge to Afrikan and other oppressed peoples, and to progressive peoples throughout the world: Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War continue to be held by the U.S. not merely for their alleged past "crimes," but because of their potential for contributing to the future development of revolutionary power. Captured combatants represent a threat to the U.S. because the contradiction between it and oppressed peoples remains unresolved. We must embody the legacy of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark; We must carry on the tradition of resistance, and continue to pursue national independence.

ReBuild!



LEST WE FORGET

November

- 1-Afrikan Free School established in New York, 1787
- 2-Three slaves (statebuilders) found guilty of conspiracy to rebel in Va., 1722
 - Assata Shakur liberated from prison, 1979
- 3-Felix Moumie, co-founder of the Union of Peoples of Cameroon (UPC), murdered in 1960
 - UN condemns U.S. invasion of Grenada, 1983
- 5-Art Tatum dies, Los Angeles, 1956
 - 5,000 New Afrikans march on the U.N. in Human Rights demonstration, 1979
- 6-Roland Price, 20, shot 25 times by 6 police in Rochester, n.y., 1947
- 7-Abolitionist lynched in Alton, Illinois by a pro-slavery mob, 1837
 - Afrikans on slave trader "Creole" overpower crew and sail to Bahamas, 1841
 - Afrika's "last colony", Namibia, holds elections in 1989
- 8-Chicago voters defeat Ed Hanrahan, the most visible symbol of the murder of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, 1972
- 9-Maroons, attack plantations and capture weapons in a Virginia county, 1691
 - Malcolm X delivers "Message to the Grassroots" in Detroit, 1963
- 10-Britain offers 'freedom' to enslaved Afrikans joining their army, 1775
 - Riot in Wilmington, N.C. leaves 8 Afrikans dead, 1898
- 11-Nat Turner hanged in Jerusalem, Virginia, 1831
 - Whites in Rhodesia proclaim independence from Britain, 1965
 - Angolan independence day
- 13-Liberty Party, the 1st anti-slavery political party, organized in Warsaw, New York--1839
 - Spurgeon "Jake" Winters murdered by Chicago pigs; 4 killed, 7 wounded, 1969
- 14-Afrikan taken from jail by a lynch mob, 1867
 - Twyman Fred Myers, 23, member of the Black Liberation Army, ambushed by f.b.i. and n.y. police; sixth BLA member killed in this fashion, 1973
- 15-Hannibal crosses Alps, 218 B.C.E.
 - "Scramble for Afrika" organized at international conference in Berlin, 1884
- 16-W.C. Handy, composer and musician, born 1873
 - Dahomey defeat French, 1892
 - 2 New Afrikan students murdered, 1 wounded by police at Southern U., La. 1972
- 17-Afrikans win major battle against Dutch in Brazil, 1636
- 19-Keita of Mali, overthrown in 1968
- 20-Five Afrikans executed for killing two slave traders and escaping, 1829
- 22-Violence against Afrikan labor in Thibodeaux, Louisiana; 30 Afrikans dead, hundreds wounded, 1887
 - Nation of Islam established, 1930
 - Guinean masses defeat Portuguese invasion, 1970
 - ZANU launches guerilla war in Zimbabwe, 1972
- 23-2 Afrikans killed, 1 wounded as 2 whites terrorize community in N.C., 1947
 - Nkrumah and Toure unite countries; Keita of Mali joins later, 1958
- 24-1st Colored Peoples Convention held in South Carolina, 1865
 - Mobutu installed in the Kongo, 1965
- 26-Sojourner Truth dies in Battle Creek, Michigan, 1883
- 27-Rosa Lee Ingram and her sons Wallace and Sammie sentenced to life imprisonment for self-defense slaying of attempted rapist, 1947
- 28-Death of Richard Wright in Paris, 1960
- 29-A thoroughly whipped French army limps out of Haiti, 1803
 - Five of an original 77 slaves who overpowered and killed 5 white slave traders while being transported South, executed, 1826
 - Adam Clayton Powell and Thurgood Marshall born, 1908
 - UN decides to partition Palestine, 1947
- 30-Shirley Chisholm, 1st New Afrikan woman in Congress, born 1924
 - South Afrikan troops invade Luanda, Angola--1981

December

- 1-Zululands annexed by South Afrika, 1897
- Rosa Parks refuses to give up her bus seat, 1955
- 2-John Brown and others hanged, 1859
- 4-Malcolm X delivers "God's Judgement of White America"; was to be his last speech while in the Nation of Islam, 1963
- Fred Hampton and Mark Clark murdered by Chicago police and f.b.i., 1969
- 5-National Council of Negro Women founded, 1935
- Beginning of Montgomery, Alabama Bus Boycott, 1955
- Nkrumah Convenes All-Afrikan Peoples Conference, 1958
- 6-Frantz Fanon died 1961
- 7-35 New Afrikan killed in Vicksburg, Miss. riot, 1874
- Maceo dies in battle, 1896
- Libya nationalizes British Petroleum Oil Fields, 1971
- 8-L.A. police, raid BPP headquarters @4:30am w/helicopters & armored cars, 1969
- 9-Tanzania independence, 1961
- Mark Joseph, 18, beaten to death by guards at Stateville prison, 1975
- 10-MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) founded, 1956
- 11-Windhoek Massacre, 13 Namibians killed during protest of Bantustans, 1959
- 12-Arrest of over 700 launches the Albany Movement, 1961
- Kenyan independence, 1963
- 14-A New Afrikan kills two white kidnappers in Pennsylvania, 1820
- UN General Assembly adopts a 'Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples', 1960
- 15-Sitting Bull assassinated, 1890
- 16-ANC founds Umkhonto We Sizwe, after 50 years of non-violent resistance, 1961
- 17-a 23 yr old New Afrikan killed by off-duty Dallas policeman because he "didn't take his hands out of his pockets fast enough", 1947
- ZAPU formed in Zimbabwe, 1961
- 18-Carter G. Woodson (The Mis-Education of the Negro) born, 1875
- Steve Biko born 1946
- U.S. army invades Panama (again!), 1989
- 20-European settlers defeated by Basuto people at Berea Mountains, Azania, 1852
- Assata Shakur and Ronald Myers acquitted in n.y. supreme court of robbery and kidnapping (bar & drug dealer), 1975
- 21-Victory for the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, 1979
- 23-Henry Highland Garnett born, 1815
- Cheikh Anta Diop (The Cultural Unity of Black Africa; The Afrikan Origin of Civilization; Black Afrika: The Economic and Cultural Basis For a Federated State; Civilization or Barbarism?) born 1923
- 24-Libya Independence, 1951
- 25-John Horse, Afrikan co-chief of Seminoles with Alligator Sam and Wild Cat, defeated by u.s. troops at Battle of Okeechobee, 1837
- Charles Caldwell, an ex-slave and the 1st New Afrikan to kill a white in Mississippi in self-defense and be acquitted; was on this day shot to death by a white gang in 1875
- 26-Jack Johnson defeats Tommy Burns and becomes world heavyweight champ, 1908
- 29-Amy Jacques-Garvey born, 1896
- Death of Fletcher Henderson, N.Y.C., 1952

January

- 1-Haitian Independence, 1789
 - Organized anti-slavery work by New Afrikans begins, 1808
 - New Afrikan rebellion in Harlem, 1943
 - PAIGC begins armed struggle in Guinea-Bissau, attack Portuguese troops, 1963
- 2-Batista overthrown in Cuba, 1959
 - San Quentin prison strike, 1973
- 4-Columbus returns to Europe with captives from the Western Hemisphere, 1495
 - C.D.R. James (The Black Jacobins) born, 1901
 - SNCC worker Sammy Younge, Jr. murdered in Tuskegee, Alabama, 1966
- 5-Ohio is the first of the Northern states to pass Black laws, 1804
- 6-12,000 Azanian workers strike Anglo-American's Vail Reefs Gold mine, 1975
- 7-First 'Scottsboro Boys' trial, 1931
 - Mark Essex, 23, is killed atop New Orleans hotel after killing six and wounding fifteen, 1973
- 8-New Afrikan revolt led by Charles DeLauder in Louisiana, 1811
 - ANC (Afrikan National Congress) of Azania (South Afrika) founded, 1912
- 9-Martial Law declared in Louisiana, 1811
- 10-New Afrikan revolt in Louisiana Crushed--many decapitated, 1811
- 12-Southern Christian Leadership Conference formed, 1957
- 13-South Afrikan troops invade and occupy Namibia, 1915
 - Workers declare general strike in Kenya, 1947
 - W.L. Nolen, Cleveland Edwards and Alvin "Jugs" Miller killed by guard at Soledad Prison (California), 1970
- 14-Sundiata Acoli, New Afrikan Prisoner of War, born 1937 in Decatur, Texas
 - Agreement signed ending 14 years of armed struggle in Angola, 1975
- 15-Gamal A. Nasser of Egypt, born 1918
 - Martin Luther King Jr., born 1929
- 16-Two New Afrikans hanged for "conspiracy to rebel", 1801
- 17-Patrice Lumumba (Prime Minister of Kongo) murdered in 1961
- 18-Rebellion in Atmore Prison (Ala.), leader is killed on way to hospital, 1974
- 19-One police killed and two wounded as Black freedom fighters seize a Brooklyn, N.Y. sporting goods store, 1973
 - Andaliwa Clark murdered in Trenton State Prison, 1976
- 20-Amilcar Cabral assassinated by Portuguese agents, 1973
- 22-Afrikan Methodist Episcopal church founded, 1816
 - Zulus defeat the British in the Battle of Isandhlwana, 1879
- 23-Bolivia and u.s. sign treaty to exchange prisoners, 1978
- 24-Martin R. Delany, died 1885
 - police and f.b.i. prevent Fred Hampton from appearing on tv talk show, 1969
- 25-Sojourner Truth speaks at the 1st Black Womens Rights Convention, 1851
 - Day of Solidarity with the struggle of the Arab People
- 26-Mahdi defeat British and recapture Khartoum, 1885
 - Prisoners Union formed in Stillwater, Minnesota, 1974
- 30-Bambatta massacre--3000 Africans murdered by British troops in South Afrika, 1906
 - Ghandi assassinated, 1948
 - Local colonialists describe plan of 200 slaves to capture capitol and establish their own government, 1739
- 31-13th amendment to Constitution "abolishing" slavery, 1865
 - Vietnam vets begin hearings on u.s. war crimes in Vietnam, 1971

February

- 1-Birth of Charles Lenox Remond, Revolutionary Abolitionist, 1810
 - Birth of Langston Hughes, writer/poet, 1902
 - 4 N.Carolina A&T students launch student movement(sit-ins) in the u.s., 1960
- 2-Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, born 1834
 - Martinsville 7 electrocuted for alleged rape they couldn't have done, 1951
 - Dessie Woods and Cheryl Todd convicted for defending themselves against a white rapist, 1976
- 3-Over 464,000 Black and Puerto Rican students boycott n.y.c. schools, 1964
 - Eduardo Mondlane (President of FRELIMO in Mozambique) assassinated, 1969
- 4-MPLA begins armed struggle in Angola with attack on central prison, 1969
- 5-Maruwa Saunyama Chiri "mysteriously" killed in n.y. subway, 1974
- 6-SNCC launches "Jail, No Bail" movement in Rock Hill, S.C., 1961
- 8-Honorable Marcus Garvey enters federal prison in Atlanta, 1925
 - Green Haven Prisoners Union formed, 1972
- 9-Ashanti army whips British at Assin Nyankumasi, 1873
 - Sekou Toure' (1st President of Guinea) born, 1922
 - pvt. Nathaniel Johnson machine-gunned by military police at u.s. military prison, Gransville, Wis, 1946
 - police kill 4 and wound 50 black students, Orangeburg, S.C., 1968
- 10-Paul Cuffe and others protest 'taxation without representation', 1780
 - Leontyne Price, world famous mezzo soprano, born, 1927
- 11-Azanian freedom fighter Nelson Mandela, released after 27 year imprisonment, 1990
- 12-Two Afrikans executed for conspiracy to rebel in Brunswick, Va., 1802
 - 63 peaceful hunger strikers shot in Raiford, Fla. prison, 1971
- 13-Quebec ends slavery, 1800
 - U.S. invades Hawaii, 1874
- 14-Henry Sylvester Williams, born 1869
- 15-First Spanish colonists arrive at Santa Fe, 1599
 - Afrikans liberate a 'fugitive' slave from Boston courtroom, 1851
- 16-San Quentin hunger strike, 1968
 - Black Liberation Army amphibious assault on Riker's Island, 1975
- 17-Willie Earle taken by mob from jail at Pickens, S.C. and lynched, 1946
 - Huey P. Newton, founder Black Panther Party for Self Defense, born 1942
- 18-Quakers make 1st formal protests in U.S. against slavery, 1688
 - George Waddel shot in the back by Brooklyn police in his own home, 1949
- 19-1st Pan-Afrikan Congress held in London, organized by H.S.Williams, 1900
 - Pan-Afrikan Congress meets in Paris, 1919
- 21-Malcolm X, a New Afrikan freedom fighter, assassinated in Harlem, 1965
- 22-Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott leaders arrested, 1956
- 23-W.E.B. Dubois born, 1868
 - Afrikans in Dahomey launch attack to recapture town ofCottonous, 1890
- 24-Military coup deposes Kwame Nkrumah, 1st President of Ghana, 1966
- 25-Law is passed offering rewards for Native scalps, 1745
 - Seminoles and Afrikans shipped from Tampa Bay, Fla. to the West, 1839
 - Comrade Fred Ahmed Evans, 46, dies of cancer in Cleveland Hospital, while serving life sentence for 1968 guerrilla ambush, 1978
- 26-Hayes-Tilden Compromise, 1877
 - Sobukwe, founder of the Pan-Afrikanist Congress of Azania, dies 1978
- 27-Roy Cyril Brooks pulled from bus and killed by police in Gretna, La. after arguing with white bus driver, 1948
 - Wounded Knee occupied by Oglala Sioux, 1973
- 28-Two prisoners killed by police in their Columbia, Tenn. jail cells, 1946

Political Prisoner and Prisoner of War

UPDATES

Stating that, "We believe America is an illegitimate country founded on genocide, kidnapping, rape, theft, oppression and racism," a movement is growing among prisoners in New York state to renounce U.S. citizenship and demand repatriation to "some African country". For more information and/or to offer support, contact:

Attorney Joan Gibbs
Center for Constitutional Rights
666 Broadway, 7th floor
New York, NY 10003

Kojo Bomani Sababu has been transferred (again!) to USP Leavenworth.

A Brief History Of The New Afrikan Prison Struggle



by Sundiata Acoli

\$3

Sundiata Acoli Freedom Campaign
P.O. Box 5538, Manhattanville Station
Harlem, NY 10027 (.60 for prisoners)

Letters

Dear Friend,

We are writing to ask your cooperation in Democratic Palestine's current advertising campaign.

The crisis in the Palestinian arena has had negative political and economic consequences, both of which have affected our work. Accordingly, we need to increase our subscriptions as a way to alleviate our financial difficulties. Even more important is the need to spread progressive analysis and information about the Palestinian struggle, particularly as Palestinian national and political rights are under attack as part of the current "peace process".

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Sincerely,
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**Free All
New Afrikan
Political Prisoners
and
Prisoners of War!**

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**.

