

CROSSROAD

A New Afrikan Captured Combatant Newsletter

Vol. II No. 2

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- Islamic Tolerance
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- Torture in Chicago
- Background on Peru's Shining Path

and much more

OPEN LETTER TO CR READERS

My Revolutionary Greetings to Crossroad and its readers who through their articles and financial help make it the important publication it is.

No doubt many of you who read this newsletter do so because revolutionary issues such as the need for a New Afrikan people's army and our colonial status, etc., are issues important to you and not generally discussed in left-wing periodicals. As a prisoner i can personally say the ability to publicly expose, vis-a-vis Crossroad, the repression which occurs here can be decisive in preventing beatings, long-term confinement in disciplinary units, and other acts of terrorism designed to isolate and kill or destroy political prisoners and prisoners of war. However, despite such admirable qualities of Crossroad i wish to raise some criticism of it in hope of contributing to Crossroad becoming a more effective revolutionary servant for oppressed nations struggling for independence within the U.S. empire.

Over the years of reading Crossroad much of what's been written appears to center on prison and problems related to waging armed struggle within the U.S. empire. While both these problems are valid and should be discussed, they are but two issues among a wide range of problems and questions created by colonialism which should also be discussed.

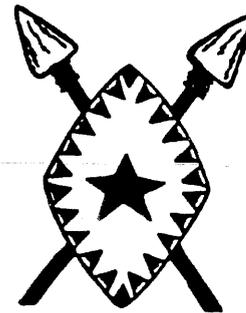
Throughout the years of being around prisoners who are conscious, one thing i've noticed is many of us tend to have a narrow approach when it comes to studying. For instance, New Afrikans who are Muslims and identify with nationalist politics (i.e., the struggle for land and independence), tend to focus just on religious material and our history. Other New Afrikans who are nationalists but have a scientific socialist persuasion tend to just read revolutionary theorists such as Lenin, Nkrumah, Ho Chi Minh, etc. This inflexible attitude towards study isn't unique to prisoners, but reflects a compartmental approach to learning which characterizes the educational system in the U.S. Aside from the fact that no one area of study can capture the totality of our colonial existence, such an approach towards learning creates comrades who aren't sufficiently developed to understand nor articulate the complexities of

our colonial reality.

Any genuine national liberation struggle must strive for legitimacy on an international level and among its own people. Hundreds of years of colonialism has created a mind-set where the colonial subject is not able to conceptualize a national existence separate from the colonizer. Alongside the creation of colonies within the empire, a propaganda machine was erected to maintain ideological acceptance among colonized peoples for the worldview of the oppressor.

"Racist" analyses which are designed to negate both our colonial existence and our challenge to it are integrated into social sciences (i.e., sociology, history, political science, etc.). We can't discredit the empire's propaganda apparatus through empty slogans and demagoguery. It's through understanding the social sciences and developing a revolutionary scientific view of how political systems function that we discredit this propaganda and reclaim the minds of our people from the clutches of imperialism.

Such is the challenge which confronts students, prisoners, workers and other supporters of Crossroad. Many conservative and left-wing economists have forecast that in the next eighteen months a major recession will occur in the U.S. which could last as long as ten years. History demonstrates to oppressed people that severe crises within empires create opportunities for oppressed people. If so, will such a recession be an opportunity for us or will our fate be concentration camps as imperialism attempts to crush the unrest in our communities that such a crisis would heighten? Let us study harder and be more flexible to make such a crisis an opportunity for independence by making publications like Crossroad a beacon whose glitter points the way through the dark colonial tunnel to independence.



Michael McCoy

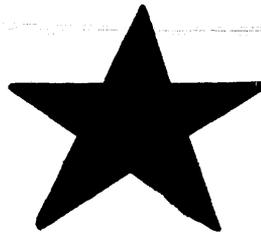
FRAZIER'S "BLACK BOURGEOISIE" IS ALIVE AND WELL

The recent political phenomenon of Jesse Jackson and his inevitable rejection by the left wing of the Euro-American ruling class, the Democratic Party, highlighted once again the illusion under which the "Black Bourgeoisie" operates and the bankruptcy of their sell-out integrationist policy. It's been more than a hundred years since the Afrikan slaves were supposedly freed and made legal citizens of the United States, but it remained a fraudulent "paper citizenship" until the Voting Rights Act of 1965 when the threat of revolution forced the rulers into making some concessions. And while the masses continued their centuries-long struggle for liberation as expressed by the Nation of Islam, the Black Panther Party and others, the "Black Bourgeoisie," philosophical heirs of those Afrikan Chiefs who sold their peoples to the European slavers, continued their strategy from the Booker T. Washington era.

In other words, as long as a few integrationist-type "negroes" are allowed to assimilate and "make it" in the dominant culture, then that's supposed to indicate that Afrikans as a whole can "make it" with their help. This strategy, coming from European-educated misleaders, has been a failure since the beginning, yet the "Black Bourgeoisie" continues to consciously mis-lead the masses with the same tired old promises. The latest being the Jesse Jackson promise that "If you vote for me, I'll set us free," as if Afrikans with less than fifteen percent of the population can control their own destiny in a political system where the majority rules.

The majority in this system are European and they will always control in their own interests. Afrikans, even assuming that one day a Jesse Jackson can become U.S. president, will never control the "racist" judicial system, the lily-white senate, the house of representatives, or any significant number of state positions. Furthermore, the Afrikan success in winning mayoral positions in many cities has not benefited the vast majority of the Afrikan population and, in fact, we have continued to be, as Malcolm X put it, the victims of America even under Afrikan mayors, Wilson Goode in Philadelphia being the prime example.

The reason for this is not readily apparent until We listen to a European commenting on the election of an Afrikan as mayor of Atlanta: "Well," said the European, "they've got the horses but we still control the wagon." In other words, while We may control a local political apparatus, they still maintain the economic power. And that power is practically total nationwide, make no mistake about it. The economic power of the Afrikan nation in the United States, estimated at 300 billion dollars a year, is for the most part wages for labor performed which is immediately returned to



Euro-American businesses, not re-circulated or invested in the Afrikan community. He who controls the money, controls the guns and it's a well-known dictum that real political power grows out of the barrel of the gun.

And so We must go beyond the surface reality of bourgeois politics and ask ourselves exactly what the Jesse Jackson phenomenon means in terms of where We are, where We are going, and maybe more importantly, what are the forces opposed to Afrikan liberation. Our history, since being kidnapped from Afrika, has been characterized first by struggle for liberation from "chattel slavery" (colonialism) and after the U.S. Civil War, liberation from "racist oppression and domination" (neo-colonialism). The idea of integrating with the slave-master (colonizer) never occurred and was of course impossible until the formal abolition of slavery when the condition of being so-called freedpeople led a certain segment of the Afrikan nation to begin to demand rights as U.S. citizens. This new demand evolving from liberation to a demand for so-called "equality" was based on the improbability of a return to an Afrika that was just beginning to be carved up by the European imperialist powers.

All societies, since the advent of surplus production, have been characterized by class struggle, and the Afrikan nation held captive by the U.S. has been no exception. An Afrikan or "black" bourgeoisie began to evolve and express an aspiration at odds with what the masses

were demanding. While the would-be Americans were demanding "equality" and integration, the masses of Afrikans were still demanding complete liberation, as the strength of the U.N.I.A. under Marcus Garvey, and the N.O.I. under Elijah Muhammad bear witness.

Jesse Jackson, despite his appeal to the masses, really expresses the aspirations of the "black" bourgeoisie; that is, assimilation and integration or put another way, the desire to be allowed to shed the Afrikan personality and become dark-skinned Europeans. By doing so the "black" bourgeoisie hopes to be able to "pass" unnoticed and share, as Americans, in the stolen wealth of America, i.e., the wealth stolen from most of the peoples of the world and those laboring and oppressed inside U.S. political borders. In the meantime, for the masses on the bottom, the situation gets more desperate, resulting in increased alienation from Euro-American culture and escape through drugs and mysticism.

It seems to me that the obvious lessons to be learned from the Jesse Jackson campaign are that white racist/colonialist America, after centuries of brutal oppression, will not allow even a "qualified" Afrikan integrationist to come too close to the U.S. presidency, even knowing that they would still "control the wagon." We must also recognize the increasing influence of the "black" bourgeoisie on the thought of the masses because their deliberate complicity in the mis-education of Afrikan people. And as long as the oppressor controls the means of education, denying Afrikan people knowledge of our history and consequently knowledge of Self, the "black" bourgeoisie will benefit from our people's ignorance and be better able to mis-lead many toward their sell-out, integrationist line as we can see by the relative success of Jesse Jackson in bringing Afrikan people into the colonialist Democratic Party. In the coming struggle, attention will have to be paid not only to the colonialist oppressor, but also to the traitorous "black" bourgeoisie.

Ajamu Chaminuka

SUMMING UP THE ELECTIONS
AND
WHAT IS TO BE DONE IN THIS PERIOD

The greatest achievement of 1988 for the people's movement was the candidacy of Jesse Jackson for president on the Democratic Party ticket. Seven million people were mobilized around a progressive program basically articulated around the "Workers Bill of Rights"--this in itself was a tremendous achievement. But there was "racist" white united front of center liberals, the stop Jesse movement, and snob-ism of Jesse by Dukakis who chose Bentson as his running mate and the allowing of Bush to use "racism" and red baiting. By failing to put up an adequate defense shows that building a progressive movement inside/outside the democratic party that has a mass trust that can galvanize the tens of millions of votes will be a protracted affair.

Many progressives who have supported Jackson agree that popular notions about the possibility of transforming the DP into a party of the people, learn through concrete experience that their apparent options for progress inside and through the DP are illusory. The attempt, the protracted struggle, to maximize the influence of the Jackson-led, progressive wing of the party, therefore, is thought to be one of those essential concrete experiences. (1)

While the election results were the lowest turnout in 40 years, among those who did vote, the results show the electorate is about evenly divided between conservative and center liberal, with Bush getting 45.3 million votes and Dukakis 41 million, Bush winning ultimately by a margin of six million votes. The election of Bush shows that race/racism is a big factor still in American politics and "racism" is well and alive. [Read: settlerism and colonialism, and bourgeois-vs-proletarian interests. Editor] Regardless of that, there are shifts which prove interesting. First is the democrats gained in both the Senate and the House of Representatives, now being the majority in both houses. The number of African-American elected officials continued to grow. The Congressional Black Caucus expanded

its ranks by one. Democrat Donald Payne, former Newark, N.J. councilman, running in a predominantly "black" district, won election to a seat vacated when 40-year veteran Representative Peter Rodino (D) retired.

In two close House contests, Mississippi incumbent Representative Mike Espy (D) won by a slim margin, increasing his share of the "white" vote in a district where African-Americans slightly outnumber "whites," and Representative Alan West (D-MO) was elected to a fourth term from a majority "white" district.

Prior to the November 8 vote, the Joint Center for Political Studies (JCPS) reported that the number of African-American elected officials increased by 2.2 percent last year--an additional 148 officials, including 54 elected to positions never before held by African-Americans.

The ten states with the largest numbers of African-American elected officials are: Mississippi (578); Louisiana (524); Georgia (458); Alabama (442); North Carolina (428); South Carolina (352); Arkansas (326); Texas (300); Illinois (443); and Michigan (316).

The number of African-American women elected to public office has tripled since 1975, according to JCPS, growing from 530 to 1625. The number of African-American municipal officials increased to 3341, including 301 mayors. The number of African-Americans elected to county office increased by 25 percent to 742, with 83 percent of that number in the South. (2) Independent politics is beginning to come into fruition in this period. Although not sanctioned by Jesse Jackson, The Rainbow Coalition, or most progressives, independent presidential candidate Dr. Lenora Fulani of the New Alliance Party received 200,000 votes. Socialist Bernard Sanders ran as an independent for the Congressional seat in Vermont, receiving 36 percent in a three-way race. Leonard McNeil, running as an independent, was elected to the City Council of San Pablo, California, and Louis Godena, a Communist Party member and candidate for Congress from Massachusetts received 28 percent of the vote.

In a number of areas the Rainbow Coalition backed local candidates and ran its own candidates, many of whom won. Other electoral

forms, like the Legislative and Electoral Action Project in Connecticut and Berkeley Citizen Action in California, continued to build on years of electoral success. (3)

What is to be done in this period?

While the Jackson campaign galvanized millions and provided a left progressive center for people to organize around, the motion to force a showdown with "racists" entrenched inside the Democratic Party has yet to come to a head. Such a showdown may be "ripe" in 1992 or it may not, time will tell. But the key question in this period is not splitting, taking over or splitting from the Democratic Party, and immediately launching a new party but rather a matter of making the National Rainbow Coalition into a real, progressive, coalition organization, in part as a means to the end of eventually creating the needed third party.

The key for this period is for "progressives" to run candidates against conservatives in elections that are picking weak spots in the conservative-fascist front.

Opposing these conservatives are the Jesse Jackson forces, who have forged a progressive wing within the Democratic Party for the first time in many years, and who are contending for leadership of the party. This fight led by Jesse Jackson to win greater democracy within the Democratic Party and to expand the electorate is very important. (4)

William Gallegos of Unity newspaper feels we need to build a grassroots movement around issues which will in turn be an electoral base to put progressives into office to hold them accountable once in office, and to help develop creative new solutions to the problems of our cities and states. He feels the Democratic Party offers some room for progressives to raise issues and to contend for influence; the African-American community remains the most consistent opponent to the right wing, and its struggle for greater democracy propels all progressives forward and that progressives and revolutionaries should support Jackson's struggle to win leadership in the Democratic Party with the goal of winning the White House. It is a struggle for democracy within the framework of capitalism, a struggle which has moved

forward through Jackson's 1988 campaign and one which has not exhausted all the possibilities that exist within the system.

While there is no agreement on the inside/outside of the Democratic Party approach, we must develop a synthesis of advancing the progressive movement.

Jackson 88 is establishing a massive structural framework for undertaking the immediate electoral tasks implicit in the people's upsurge. The Jackson campaign developed into close to a unprecedentedly broad coalition of labor, the African-American community, other racially and nationally oppressed peoples, farmers, peace activists, environmentalists, and other democratic forces. (5)

James Steele feels the independent initiative of the people's movement--especially labor--can influence the kind of candidate there



will be. The earlier and fuller the initiative, the better the possibility of progressive candidates winning the nomination. Priority ought to be given to setting up neighborhood-level independent voters organizations through which "progressives" can work with large numbers of voters on political and legislative questions in the post-election period. Voter registration, door-to-door canvassing, direct mailings to targeted voters, telephone banking, all contribute to this kind of structure.

The challenge will be for progressives to build a broad people's coalition in elections coming up in several major cities across the country.

Programatic: Local

We need to take the Jackson 1988 platform and set up neighborhood discussion meetings to present/study it and break it down, along with a local anti-monopoly city-wide program to build a progressive constituency inside/outside the Democratic Party around a local and national

progressive program.

Building motion around a city-wide anti-monopoly program, we can develop a city-wide progressive front through the Rainbow Coalition. The Rainbow Coalition and other democratic organizations should call for and convene a "people's" convention where all candidates for mayor and other offices (school board, councilmembers, etc.) are reviewed and questioned about their support of the city-wide anti-monopoly program. The adoption of the city-wide anti-monopoly program by the people's convention would provide a mobilizing basis for introducing "progressive" politics to the general public on the local level.

We must organize the people through mass struggles both inside and outside of the electoral process.

Jobs, Peace and Justice,
Build to Win!

Max Stanford

1/18/89

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1. Brian Guerre, "A Critique of Jesse Jackson's Strategy for Empowerment and an Alternative," The City Sun, Oct. 26-Nov.1, 1988 (p.25).
2. Barbara Day, "Blacks Make Gains But Race Big Factor in Dukakis Loss," The Guardian.
3. Danny Spector, "Independent Politics Coming Into Its Own in 1988," People's Daily World, Jan. 5, 1989 (p.15-A).
4. William Gallegos, "How Do We Build Opposition to Bush?" Unity, Nov. 14, 1988.
5. James Steele, "The Party in the 1988 Elections: Amidst a Great Democratic Upsurge,"

DRACONIAN PRISONS OPERATING IN NEW YORK STATE

In January of 1986, New York State opened Shawangunk Prison in Ulster County, New York. Shawangunk is one of the ten new prisons scheduled for completion between 1981 and 1991. Chemung and Sullivan, located in Chemung and Sullivan Counties, respectively, are two others recently opened.

These new prisons are relatively small, housing between 500 to 700 prisoners, unlike the older prisons located around the state (Attica, Greenhaven and Clinton), which all hold over 2000 prisoners. These new prisons are modern state of the art facilities, with security uppermost in mind. Most have no windows, are surrounded by three (3) barbedwired and electrified fences, mobil patrols and dogs. A whole array of hi-tech security devices including cameras and listening devices, are utilized both indoors and out. These prisons are all located in rural, all-white upstate areas and are the primary employers of the surrounding communities.

Shawangunk, referred to as New York State's Maxi-Max Prison, is located in Ulster County, 95 miles north of New York City. It holds a maximum of 540 prisoners. It contains four separate housing units. Each housing unit is broken down into two separate areas, so in total there are eight separate housing areas and eight messhalls or feeding areas. The housing areas hold 64 prisoners, and only 32 are permitted in the messhall at any one time. Each block has a small basketball-sized yard or recreation area. Doors are strategically located throughout the prison, so that access from block to block and contact among prisoners is curtailed. The doors to all cells and the strategically located corridor doors are operated electrically by guards in steel glass booths totally out of sight and movement is nil.

Rehabilitation is non-existent. Few if any meaningful skills and trades are taught. Those few that are attempted (i.e., General Education/GED, Pre GED, General Business, English as a second language) are oftentimes taught by ill-equipped and poorly trained personnel. The instructors usually reflect insensitive and racist attitudes, absenteeism among staff is rampant. Programs are started and stopped with little or no continuity. Since the prisons opening, the general library has not been staffed and operating, more than half the time. Ethnic Self-Awareness Programs/Groups (Afrikan and Hispanic) are tacitly discouraged. The prison's own state-sponsored programs such as the Grievance/Liaison Committees are dysfunctional, and in reality are a bad joke. In fact, the Liaison Committee has not existed for the past five months.

The state's first Close Supervision Unit/CSU was started here in April 1988. It was ostensibly designed for the "incorrigibles," according to its designers. Control units are primarily designed for people imprisoned for their political beliefs and activities and for prisoner leaders. Political prisoners, those prisoners who are imprisoned because of their involvement in the "Black Liberation Movement" during the 60s and 70s, are subjected to a subtle and insidious type of harassment. They are denied jobs/programs. Any and all prison

infractions lodged against them by the over 90 percent white staff usually results in further confinement in the Segregated Housing Unit/SHU, with their SHU time usually three times that normally given to other prisoners for similar infractions. In SHU prisoners are locked down 23 hours a day. They are denied contact visits and contact with each other. Clothing is limited to one pair of pants, shirt and sneakers. Toiletries are limited and only five (5) books are permitted. Visits are limited to one (1) per week. Handcuffs are placed on prisoners on all occasions outside their cells, i.e., to go to showers, recreation, visits, sick call, etc. They are oftentimes placed in this unit for months and years on end. Their mail, books and visitors are subjected to increased scrutiny and harassment. The strategy of the state is designed to discourage other prisoners from developing politically, and is an attempt to weaken the resolve and will of political prisoners and isolate them from others.

Manning Marable in his book How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America, states, "Moral suasion and plea-bargaining will not release the thousands of Black convicts in America's Penitentiaries; gradual reforms within the Criminal Justice System will not blunt the razor's edge of police brutality. Underdevelopment and the imprisonment of the Black masses will not die a natural death until the real criminals within America's powerful ruling class taste something of the bitter anguish that distorts and cripples the Black majority."

Revolution in our lifetime!

Bashir A. Hameed

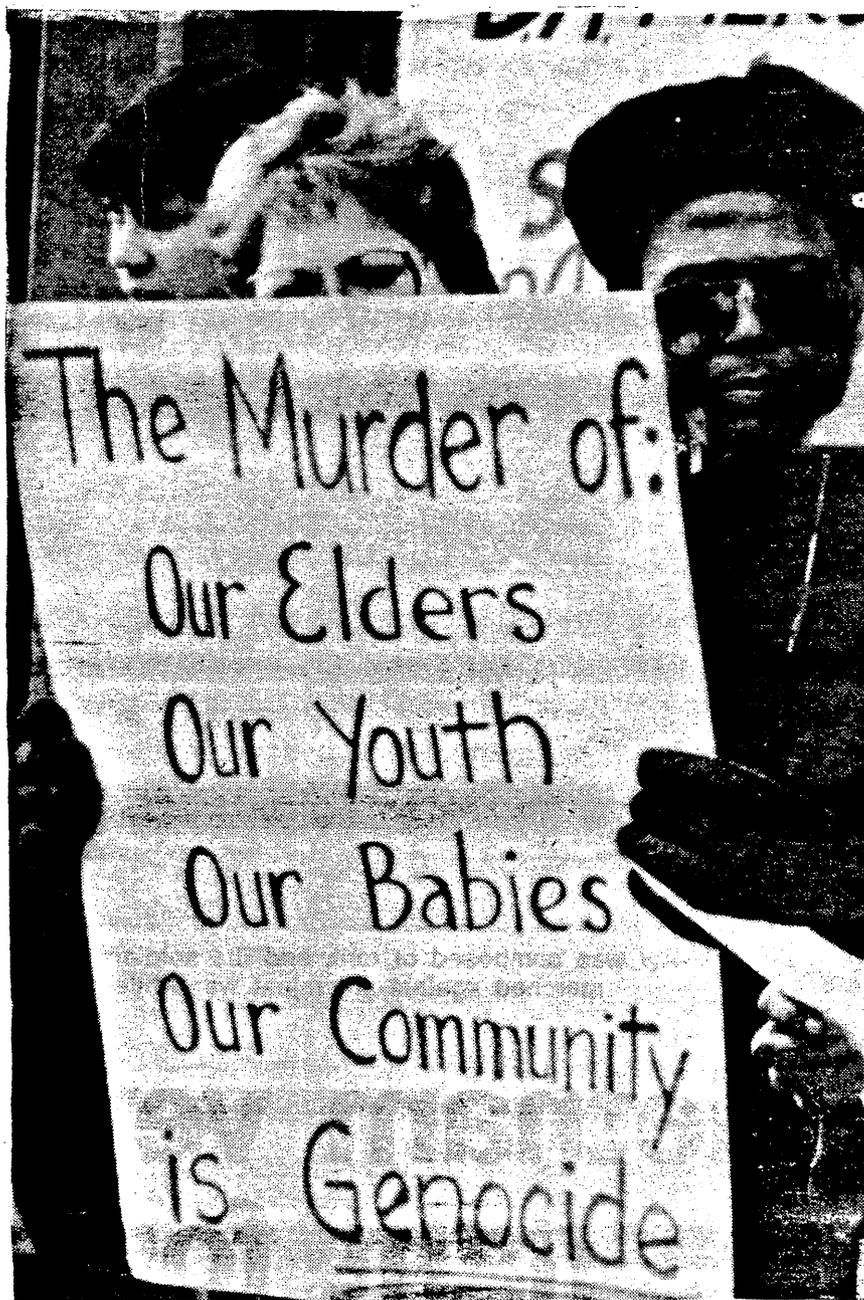
* Bro. Bashir Hameed, one of the Queens Two (see CR Vol. 1, No. 3, Sept. 1987) is presently confined in Shawangunk's Segregated Housing Unit along with seven other prisoners (Comrade Herman Bell among them), for their participation in the five month strike undertaken by prisoners in Shawangunk's Close Supervision Unit.

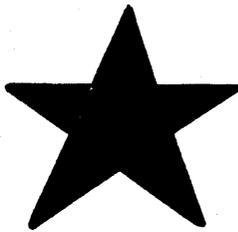
LET'S COMBAT GENOCIDE!

In October, 1988, the U.S. finally became a State Party to the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide -- nearly forty years after its unanimous adoption by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Why did it take the U.S. forty years to become a signatory to the Convention? Why did the U.S. feel that it was necessary to adopt the Convention at this time? Most significantly, why did the U.S. adopt the Convention last October while New Afrikans, Native Nations, Puerto Ricans and other oppressed nations throughout the world continue to suffer the effects of U.S. genocidal violence?

The forty year delay in the U.S. adoption of the Convention is a result of U.S. fears of being taken to task for its contemporary genocidal violence upon oppressed nations inside and outside its political borders:





When President Truman proposed adoption of the UN Genocide treaty in 1949, he was unaware that the Civil Rights Congress (CRC) was working on a petition to the UN called "We Charge Genocide --The Crime of Genocide Against the Negro People." That petition was filed at the UN by CRC's William L. Patterson in 1951. Simultaneously a delegation led by Paul Robeson presented copies to the UN Secretary General in New York. The 238-page petition lists hundreds of cases of Black victims of U.S. genocidal practices.

The CRC petition was sidetracked after the U.S. claimed it was technically inadmissible. The CRC could not continue its campaign because in 1952 it was ordered closed by New York State for refusing to turn over the names of people who had put up bail for Communist victims of the Smith Act on trial for conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the U.S. government.

Fearing that Blacks, Native Americans and others might make use of the genocide convention, the Senate avoided approving it for 39 years.... (1)

The U.S. fear of being taken to task before the world for its genocidal violence was--and is--justified. To understand just how justified the fear is, we only have to keep out front the definition of the word "genocide"--a word made known to the world by Mr. Rafeal Lemkin. Genocide is "physical, political, social, cultural, biological, economic and religious and moral oppression." (2) Let's repeat that: Genocide is "physical" oppression; "political" oppression; "social" oppression; "cultural, biological" oppression; genocide is economic and religious and moral oppression. Stated still another way:

Genocide is not the result of "having a few bad men in office" or the consequence of having a republican as opposed to a democratic sitting in the white house.

Genocide is a conscious, systematic policy practiced by those who rule amerikkka, carried out on all levels by both public and private political, economic,

military/police and socio-cultural institutions. Genocide is a manifestation of national oppression and super-exploitation, designed and carried out to inflict political, economic, social, cultural and biological "conditions of life" which have the ultimate aim of preventing resistance to national oppression and successful national liberation revolution. (3)

The U.S. felt it necessary to finally adopt the Genocide Convention because it needs to cover its flanks. In the late 1970s, the U.S. stepped-up its propaganda campaign to project itself as the "leader of the 'free world'" and the "defender of democracy." Yet, there can be no real democracy, in any sense of the word, without human rights. And no nation can project itself as the champion of human rights when its not a signatory to most of the international human rights treaties, e.g., the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

However, just as the U.S. sees benefits, it also sees danger; yet, it believes the former outweigh the latter -- why? Because the U.S. feels that its domestic and international "double speak" has succeeded. They believe they can ward off any charges of genocide because: 1) the victims of genocide in 1989--unlike those of 1949--are not waging a campaign to charge and to COMBAT U.S. genocidal/colonial violence; 2) the "left" citizens of the U.S., in their own liberal "opposition" to imperialism and their "support" for oppressed nations, won't see "domestic" colonialism for what it is, and won't call genocidal violence what it is. New Afrikans, Native Nations, Puerto Ricans and other oppressed nations suffer from genocidal--colonial--violence perpetrated by the U.S. But rather than call it what it is and deal with it as such, it's called "racism".

The January 5, 1989 issue of Workers World (Workers World Party), ran a story on the drop in New Afrikan life expectancy and other instances of genocidal violence, i.e., "homicide and killing in police confrontations," and the high New Afrikan infant mortality rate which,

quoting the New York Times, "continues to have adverse affects on the life expectancy of Black [New Afrikan] people."

According to the article, the U.S. National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS) reported that between 1984 and 1986 the life expectancy of New Afrikans dropped by three tenths of one percent (69.7 to 69.4) while the life expectancy of North Americans ("whites") rose by one tenth of one percent (75.3 to 75.4).

Workers World and the NCHS voiced alarm because, according to an NCHS spokesperson, these statistics reflect the only times in this century that life expectancy for New Afrikans has declined while life expectancy for North Americans has risen. (This is not true. See Note 4.) Drops in life expectancy, the article reports, are usually attributed to "natural disasters" which equally affect New Afrikans and North Americans.

To indicate the kind of "disasters" affecting New Afrikans, Workers World points to deaths by homicide and killings in police confrontation, and the gap in New Afrikan and North American infant mortality rates. The figures show for the former that since 1980, a New Afrikan is three times as likely to die a violent death as is a North American.

The 1986 New Afrikan infant mortality rate of 18.0 per 1000 live births (compared to a 8.9 rate for North Americans) is higher than that in many other oppressed nations around the world:

One of the ways a country measures its progress is to keep track of how many newborn babies live and die each year. We call nations with high infant death rates "backward." But while the U.S. leads the world in technology and military might, the infant death rates in parts of this nation are higher than in many less "developed" countries...In [Washington, D.C.] the non-white infant death rate is higher than in Cuba and Jamaica...and in parts of Baltimore 60 [New Afrikan] babies die for every 1000 born, an infant death rate higher than that of Costa Rica, Panama, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, and twice as high as in Russia. (5)

The New Afrikan Independence Movement must again initiate a campaign that will not only charge the U.S. with genocide, but one that will COMBAT the U.S. and end colonial, genocidal violence. The campaign to combat genocide should be understood as part of the comprehensive national liberation revolution.

U.S. genocidal violence is coordinated and systematic, and manifests itself on all fronts, in all areas of the lives of oppressed peoples. A united front is therefore necessary in order to successfully combat genocide. A front for the liberation of New Afrika and a New Afrikan-led "national democratic front" are necessary in order to win the nation's independence; a solidarity front of all oppressed nations and North American revolutionary forces is necessary in order to topple the oppressive state and help make the world safe for real democracy. Let all oppressors tremble at the thought....

Re-Build!

Atiba Shanna

Footnotes

1. The Guardian, October 1988.
2. William L. Patterson, We Charge Genocide (New York: International Publishers, 1970) p. 46.
3. "We Still Charge Genocide," Notes from a New Afrikan POW Journal, Book Five (Chicago: Spear and Shield Publications, 1980) p.4.
4. Previous NCHS figures show that New Afrikan life expectancy has declined at least five times in this century, and in all but one instance North American life expectancy increased at the same times. See Charts A and B following Footnotes.
5. Marian Wright Edelman, Chicago Defender, August 1984.

Chart A
Life Expectancy at Birth

<u>New Afrikans</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>North Americans</u>
63.8	1955	70.6
63.7	1960	70.8
67.1	1974	72.8
66.9	1975	73.4
68.4	1976	73.5
67.7	1977	74.1
68.5	1979	74.6
68.2	1980	74.4
69.7	1984	75.3
69.4	1985	75.3

Chart B
Infant Mortality Rates
Per 1000 Live Births

<u>New Afrikans</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>North Americans</u>
26.3	1975	14.1
24.0	1976	13.5
22.5	1980	11.0
18.2	1985	9.3
18.0	1986	8.9

* These figures are based on our analysis of NCHS annual Vital Statistics of the United States, as reported in Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1978 and 1988.

FROM THE MARIONETTE

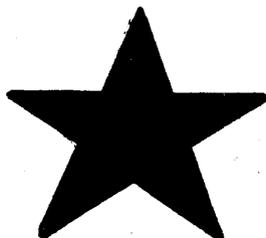
(A demonstration is planned for April 29, 1989, to be held at Marion Federal Prison in opposition to the continued "lockdown" there. The best coverage on conditions at Marion, and other insightful political analysis, is contained in the Marionette/PNS, edited by Marion prisoner Bill Dunne. To obtain the newsletter write: Bulldozer, P.O. Box 5052, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5W 1W4. For information on the April demonstration and on how you can get involved in work to end the lockdown, contact: Committee to End the Marion Lockdown, 343 S. Dearborn, Ste. 1607, Chicago, Illinois 60604 (312) 663-5046.)

* * * * *

MARION KILLS AGAIN

In the predawn silence and stillness of the dark recesses of the USP Marion hole, a prisoner was found hanged on 8/Oct/88, a suicide. According to available information, this murder by Marion-style repression was aggravated by Marion official's disregard for prisoner welfare. This prisoner was supposed to be on suicide watch, but the special attention mandated by policy in such cases was not paid. Routine count was conducted around 12 AM and the victim was found at the next check at 3 AM. He had been abandoned in a concrete sarcophagus, easy prey for whatever psycho-demons stalk the emotionally wounded in the small hours isolation when loneliness and fear loose those real predators of Marion to run rampant.

But that was not the extent of Marion's recent murders. Just one week later, on 15/Oct/88, another prisoner was pronounced dead of self-hanging at Marion hospital. Again, official dereliction was a contributing factor. According to reports, the victim died at approximately 8 AM but was not discovered until nearly 4 PM. What distinguished this administrative killing from its predecessor was that it occurred in B-block, the pre-transfer unit. There, the restriction is slightly less onerous than for most prisoners at Marion. Yet it is



still not comparable to other prisons, as bad as they are. This incident clearly illustrates that the psychological assault of Marion and its dangerous and damaging consequences do not end with movement out of the depths of the dungeon.

The reaction of the swine was predictable: cover-up and blame the prisoners. The frustration of the "heat" engendered by the deaths also translated into retaliation against prisoners. How officials prevented any mention of the first suicide in the local media remains a mystery. Speculation includes being chummy with the local coroner and transferring the body to another prison and back-dating the transfer papers in order to take the heat off the controversial Marion lockdown. After the second suicide, the pre-transfer unit was and remains lockeddown tighter than the control unit as if prisoners were somehow responsible and abusing them could undo the deed.

The work program was also closed and prisoners have been told that the closure is permanent. That is doubtful considering its propaganda value, though the transfer of two of the five work supervisors to another prison indicates that some lasting curtailment is likely. Eleven prisoners familiar with the victim were take to the hole. At first, staff tried to create the impression that the suicide was murder but apparently couldn't fabricate the requisite evidence to make that credible. Those put in the hole were eventually charged with failing to report a death and other things not related to the event. Lashing out with irrational abuse was officialdom's typical response. Though it would have been too little, too late, no effort was made to determine the impact of these deaths on other prisoners or the extent to which others might harbor suicidal tendencies.

These murders by oppression demonstrate the criminally counter-productive character of the Marion lockdown and non-program of repression. It heaps a snowstorm of stress straws on the psychological burden borne by prisoners without any constructive or justifying return. For some, it piles on the last straw that results in a detonation of destructive behavior. In the cases of these two prisoners who were so crushed by the load as to take the ultimate

step of cancelling their entire future potential, the explosion was self-destructive. It is not always so. And for every psychobreak spectacular enough to be visible in a killing, there are many less serious ones that only chance stopped short of death. Moreover, many more people are walking around with their flash points just a few straws below the surface. No one is improved by having any such straws needlessly imposed. Worse still, the Marion lockdown is five years old and is just beginning to publicly bear its rotten fruit. Unless it is stopped, its ugly harvest will continue to be reaped. (Bill Dunne, Marionette Sept-Oct 1988)

* * * * *

SUICIDE MADE SINISTER

The last Marionette reported the suicides of two prisoners driven to self-destruction by the needless oppression of USP Marion. That report explained that the Marion administration had put fifteen prisoners from the block in which the suicide occurred in hole in an attempt to make the suicide look like murder. The swine were then gradually releasing the fifteen slammed prisoners seemingly as a result of that lack. But therein lay an unjustifiable jump to conclusion. The Bureau of Prisons (BOP) doesn't need evidence to accuse or assign guilt.

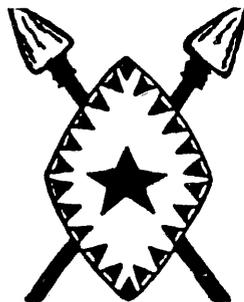
Releases of the fifteen continued until there were only four left. On 14/Nov/88, those four, Cleo Roy, John Campbell, Marty Shifflett and George Scalf, were given incident reports accusing them of participating in the killing of the suicide victim. The alleged basis for the charges was that tired old justification for every unsupportable allegation--"confidential information." No corroborating evidence was advanced in support of these supposed secret suppositions, even though the BOP is obliged to make such evidence available to those it accuses. But in this case there is no corroboration. Local media reports indicated early on that the coroner had described the death as a suicide. And Randy David,

Marion executive Assistant was reported in a local paper as saying on 24/Nov, ten days after the four were accused of murder, that staff didn't know whether or not it was a suicide.

Circumstances do corroborate the suicide conclusion, however. It is unbelievable that a tough veteran of many physical altercations--and the victim was that--could be killed in a manner that would stimulate hanging in a small cell full of hard concrete and steel edges and corners without there being some evidence obvious to at least a coroner. It is equally unbelievable that his friends would do that to him--and the accused were that. Also unbelievable is that such a thing could be done without enough commotion to attract the attention of the guards who observe Marion prisoners so closely. And the officials own actions in putting the whole block on suicide watch--half-hourly checks--immediately after discovery of the suicide belies its murder contentions.

Nor has the BOP offered any other hard evidence to support its made-in-the-dark charges, nothing like fingerprints, hair, blood, etc. that would indicate a crime, let alone any suspect(s). Indeed, the total absence of any other evidence calls into question the very basis of the BOP claims for its charges. Do confidential informant(s) really exist? They could only be desperate opportunists who saw the chance to buy their way out of Marion with the fabrication the BOP would like or who were made an offer they couldn't refuse.

The BOP has plenty of incentive to make that offer a sweet one. Suicide by people subjected to the brutality of the Marion lockdown confirms what critics have been saying for five years about its destructive character. It reveals more clearly the intolerable load of stress heaped on prisoners by the maximum restriction mania, pressure only visible beyond the walls when it culminates in such extreme but



representative detonations. The BOP is very anxious to contain these revelations about what is doing at Marion. Responsibility for the second had to be, occurring as it did in the pre-transfer unit the BOP uses to justify the lockdown and says it is like an open prison. There, prisoners are not supposed to feel so oppressed, but the actuality contradicts the BOP lie.

Although the BOP still looks bad if killing can occur at the place where its extreme over reaction to the possibility is supposed to prevent such things, shifting responsibility for the B block suicide onto prisoners would allow it to divert attention from its own inhumanity. The BOP is submerging the first suicide--and a subsequent death--a a lot of furor over the second by contending that the second was not a suicide at all but a murder. It will undoubtedly be billed as evidence of the inherent depravity of prisoners that justifies more repression. The BOP will also contend that the event shows that as soon as the slightest slack is given to certain prisoners--prisoners that only its officials in the whole world are capable of identifying--they will go off in an orgy of murder and mayhem. The death will also likely be used as an argument for the new super-max lockdown prison the BOP is reportedly considering. Unfortunately, a lot of the uninformed and gullible will go for this big lie, the violence it does to reality notwithstanding.

Having decided upon a subterfuge to absolve themselves, officials decided to get additional mileage in their selection of scapegoats. They chose George, Marty, John and Cleo to "take the beef" as a demonstration that an attitude whose behavior is in compliance with all the rules is not sufficiently conformist. All of them are popular among and well respected by other prisoners, by their community, and have too visibly maintained their principle and refused to be broken. With these charges, the administration is telling them and all other prisoners that that consciousness is unacceptable and makes one a target even without rule violations. Though an indictment and trial would normally be unlikely in such a complete absence of evidence, anything is possible in this judicial district. Even if a trial does not occur--or even if one does and these men are acquitted--the BOP can use these charges to consign the four to the control unit administratively. That is likely to be for five

or six years, after which they could expect an indefinite period in the lockdown units of Marion.

The depravity of a bureaucracy, that will go to such unprincipled and immoral lengths to sanitize the failures of its repression, is manifest. (Bill Dunne, Marionette, Nov-Dec 1988.)

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U.S. FEARS INTERNATIONAL SCRUTINY OF ITS PRISONS

In February of this year (1988) a non-governmental U.S. group, the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and the National Union of Cuban Jurists (NUCJ) signed an agreement implementing a Joint Commission on the Conviction and Treatment of Prisoners in the United States and Cuba. Under that agreement, an IPS delegation was permitted virtually unlimited access to the Cuban prisons of its choice between February 25 and March 5, 1988. That included private interviews at randomly chosen sites in the prisons with over 120 prisoners, 40 of whom had been specifically requested; the others selected by IPS at random. The agreement provided for reciprocal visits to U.S. prisons by the NUCJ, and visas for the Cuban delegation were to be secured in advance of the IPS visit to Cuba. The Cubans, however, waived the visa requirement in reliance upon the good faith of IPS in securing the reciprocity.

Enter the U.S. State Department. In a letter dated May 12, 1988, Deputy Secretary of State John C. Whitehead informed Adrian DeWind, an IPS Trustee, chair of Americas Watch, and former chair of the New York Bar Association as well as a member of the U.S. delegation to Cuba, that visas were to be denied the four Cuban penal experts who were to comprise the Cuban delegation (Rafael Guzman, Deputy Director of Prisons; Maria Isabel Gonzales Quintana, Deputy Director of Prison Health Care; Attorney Victor Kautzman; and the Director of the Attorney General's Division for Prison Control). Whitehead cited as his rationale for denial the Immigration and Nationality Act and a Presidential Proclamation of October 1985, both of which arbitrarily deny Cuban officials entry into the U.S. The latter

proclamation was made after Cuba suspended the 1984 Immigration Agreement due to U.S. destabilization efforts via Radio Marti in Florida but has been retained despite the restoration of the Agreement in 1987.

Whitehead justified the denial with his belief "that the Cuban government would merely use such a visit to deflect attention from its own abysmal human rights situation by converting the treatment of prisoners into a bilateral problem." This from the superior of that noted champion of human rights, truth and justice in and about Latin America, Elliot Abrams. One of his co-workers, a Richard Shifter, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, also justifies the visa denial in a letter of July 11, 1988, to the New York Times. He does so not by substance but by red-baiting Cuba as totalitarian and a dictatorship and an oh-so-repressive place that has only fixed up its prisons as a propaganda ploy. His was merely irrelevant cold-warrior froth intended to divert attention from the issue of prisons and increased U.S. dialogue with Cuba.

Whitehead's excuse is so tenuous that it is silly. The numerous visits to Cuba by IPS and other interested international bodies have shown that, despite the improvements that are needed, there is no "abysmal human rights situation" from which to deflect attention. Even if there were, it should warrant more rather than less scrutiny. If the reality is so bad, comparisons would reveal it more completely and thus be something Whitehead should like.

It is that comparison, however, that the U.S. elite fears. Whitehead's fear of making prisons a bilateral issue is real. U.S. officials know that conditions in Cuba and other countries they view as ideologically impure are not as bad as their hyperbole and are better than those in some U.S. client states described as "free" and "democratic". More importantly, U.S. propaganda has been successful in vilifying prisoners and hyping its own criminal justice apparatus to the point at which public perceptions have it that U.S. prisoners are incredibly nasty and violent fiends who are being coddled in country club prisons and released too early. Any comparison would expose both false images. But it is on the basis of these images as

that the U.S. so sanctimoniously advances itself as the moral authority on human rights--as if there were no snot in its snout. In addition, the masters of the U.S. are loath to let out the secret that there is substantial overlap between conditions of confinement in the outposts of the "evil empire" and in the U.S. itself. Bilateral discussion would destroy the illusion that the worst of U.S. prisons is much better than anything in places like Cuba.

Bilateral discussion would also expose the damaging fact that whether or not worse abuses occur or have occurred here or there in recent times, progress and improvement is being made toward limiting repression and human rights violations in countries such as Cuba and the Soviet Union while the U.S.A. is regressing. Light is increasingly penetrating the Cuban Gulag. As the IPS delegation found, there is no torture or extra-judicial murder and disappearances--or even any systematic physical abuse. Though the existence of any political prisoners at all is deplorable, noted critic of the Soviet penal system Andrei Sakharov said at the time of the Moscow Summit that there are only 20 political prisoners in Soviet prisons. (Bulldozer does not go along with this assesment of Cuba and Russia. Cuba is quaranteeing their AIDS carriers. Not a very enlightened act. And any "reforms" that Russia might be offering only reflect the strength of the opposition, and the need to extract greater economic surpluses from the workers, and not the benevolence of the state.) The U.S. probably has that many (political prisoners) in USP Leavenworth alone, and many, many more scattered throughout its state and federal prisons. It is going to longer and longer sentences, poorer conditions, and confining increasingly greater numbers. Constructive programs for prisoners are being de-emphasized and destroyed. Repressive dungeon warehouses like Marion are proliferating at an alarming rate. And the community is being ever more squeezed out of corrections as security and secrecy increasingly reign to the exclusion of all else. U.S. wealth may allow it to provide physically better prisons at present than poorer countries, but the trend is in the opposite direction. This contradiction would become much more obvious if penology were made a bi-or multi-lateral and much discussed issue.

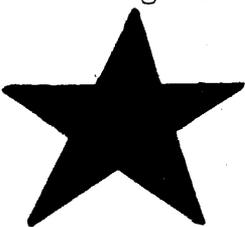
Cuba demonstrated principle as well as commitment to the goal of progress in corrections by granting unlimited access to its prisons to a delegation from a country whose ruling class has been consistently hostile to the Cuban Revolution. The IPS delegation was accorded that access in the expectation that the Joint Commission work would be facilitated by a similar reciprocal tour. Despite that expectation, the U.S. State Department in a gross display of hypocritical censorship, denied the National Union of Cuban Jurists' delegation the requisite visas. The U.S., which holds itself out as such a champion of human rights, should also hold its own handling of human rights out for scrutiny by anyone interested, reciprocity notwithstanding. (B. Dunne, Marionette, Jul-Aug 1988)

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SOVIET SELL-OUT?

On 23/Sep/88, prisoners at USP Marion were surprised to learn that the prison had been toured by a trio of Soviet officials. In the days preceding, they had been led to believe that the virtually unprecedented sprucing up of the dungeon was due to an impending visit of the Baron of the Bureau of Prisons, J. Michael Quinlan. The Soviets were from the Soviet Academy of Sciences, the Diplomatic Academy and some other bureau.

The tour occurred under circumstances that raised suspicions of ulterior motives that had little to do with a desire to see or show Marion. Of the local media, it appears that only one local TV station was informed of what was a major event for this remote area. The radio TV and newspaper outlets that have historically covered Marion were apparently ignored. The visit also came on the heels of a public exchange of letters between Soviet official Ivan Rakhmanin and Abe



Rosenthal, a New York Times editor, about human rights and a reactionary column Rosenthal wrote on the basis of a tour of Marion arranged by the Bureau of Prisons. Predictably, none of the outcry about Marion raised by Rosenthal's column saw print. The Russians also came at a time when the controversy was swirling around the U.S. State Department's denial of visas to a Cuban delegation that had arranged to tour the prison.

The Soviet officials were apparently shown only gleaming corridors largely unused by prisoners and regular living units only at a distance. They were given only one prisoner to talk to who said that there are human rights violations at Marion but that Marion prisoners are treated fairly (?). The Soviets apparently went for the public picture hook, line and sinker, including the most egregious sham, the alleged classification system. The very brief TV spot showed the Soviets smiling and nodding and acting friendly but not speaking the language very well. It spent more time saying what the Soviets supposedly said than showing them saying it.

The whole affair raises three possibilities. One is that the Soviets were tricked and deceived by set-up appearances and glib bureaucrats. The second is that the human rights issue and Marion and other western prisoners have been sold out somewhere up the line for some consideration or other. The third is that prisoncrats the world over are the same and see each other as brethren. And that they will back each other's play. Given the lack of critical comment or even discussion stemming from the visit, the balance tips toward the second. (B. Dunne, Marionette, Sept.-Oct. 1988.)

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Scenes From THE BATTLE OF ALGIERS

SCENE 17

TERRACE. KADER'S HOUSE.

OUTSIDE. NIGHT.

It is a starry night and there are few lights visible in the windows of the Casbah. In the background, there is the triumphant neon of the European city, the sea, the ships at anchor, the shining beams of a lighthouse. Kader turns around gracefully, and goes to sit on the wall of the terrace.

KADER: You could have been a spy. We had to put you to the test.

Ali looks at him sullenly.

ALI: With an unloaded pistol?

KADER: I'll explain.

Kader is a few years older than Ali, but not so tall. He is slender with a slight yet sturdy bone structure. The shape of his face is triangular, aristocratic, his lips thin, his eyes burning with hatred, but at the same time, cunning. He continues to speak in a calm tone which has an ironic touch to it.

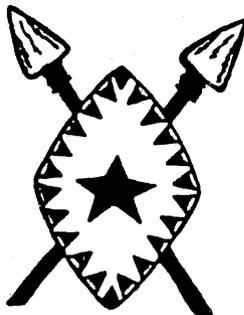
KADER: Let's suppose you were a spy. In prison, when the NLF contacts you, you pretend to support the revolution, and then the French help you to escape...

ALI: Sure. By shooting at me.

KADER: Even that could be a trick. You escape, then show up at the address which the brothers in prison gave to you, and so you are able to contact me...

ALI: I don't even know your name yet...

KADER: My name is Kader, Ali...Saari Kader...In other words, in order to join the organization, you had to undergo a test. I could have told you to murder the barman, but he's an Algerian...and the police would let you kill him, even though he is one of theirs. By obeying such an order, you still could have been a double agent. And that's why I told you to kill the French



policeman: because the French wouldn't have let you do it.
If you were with the police you wouldn't have done it.

Ali has followed Kader's logic a bit laboriously, and he is fascinated by it. But not everything is clear yet.

ALI: But I haven't shot him.

KADER (smiling): You weren't able to. But what's important is that you tried.

ALI: What's important for me is that you let me risk my life for nothing.

KADER: C'mon...you're exaggerating. The orders were to shoot him in the back.

ALI: I don't do that kind of thing.

KADER: Then don't complain.

ALI: You still haven't told me why you didn't let me kill him.

KADER: Because we aren't ready yet for the French. Before attacking, We must have safe places from which to depart and find refuge. Of course, there is the Casbah. But even the Casbah isn't safe yet. There are too many drunks, pushers, whores, addicts, spies ...people who talk too much...people who are ready to sell themselves, undecided people. We must either convince them or eliminate them. We must think of ourselves first. We must clean out the Casbah first. Only then will we be able to deal with the French. Do you understand, Ali?

Ali doesn't answer.

Kader has come down from the wall and looks toward the Casbah.

Ali too looks toward the Casbah, immersed in the night.

ALI: And how many are We?

KADER: Not enough.

* * * * *

SCENE 18

AREAS OF CASBAH UNDERWORLD.

OUTSIDE/INSIDE. DAY.

MARCH 1956.

A warm spring wind, large white clouds. At the western edge of the Casbah, from the Upper to Lower Casbah, the street of the Algerian underworld descends to the brothel quarter.

SPEAKER: "National Liberation Front, bulletin number 24. Brothers of the Casbah! The colonial administration is responsible not only for our people's great misery, but also for the degrading vices of many of our brothers who have forgotten their own dignity..."

Shady bars of gamblers and opium smokers, shops filled with tourist trinkets, merchants, fences, pimps, children with adult faces, ghastly old women, and young girls, whores standing in the doorways of their houses. The girls having their faces uncovered have put scarves on their heads, knotted at the nape.

SPEAKER: "Corruption and brutality have always been the most dangerous weapons of colonialism. The National Liberation Front calls all the people to struggle for their own physical and moral redemption--indispensable conditions for the reconquest of independence. Therefore beginning today, the clandestine authority of the NLF prohibits the following activities:

gambling; the sale and usage of all types of drugs;
the sale and usage of alcoholic beverages
prostitution and its solicitation

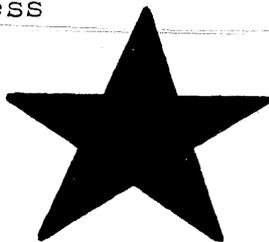
Transgressors will be punished. Habitual transgressors will be punished by death."

SCENE 24

BROTHEL. INSIDE. DAY.

Ali has entered a brothel. It is morning and there are few clients. The whores are Algerian and European. Some of them are pretty.

The madam is an Algerian, dressed in European clothes. She is about forty, heavily made up. When she spots Ali, she interrupts her usual profess



rupts her usual professional chant. She seems curious, yet glad.

MADAM (shouting): Ali la Pointe!

She stops herself, already sorry for having spoken so quickly and imprudently. Ali doesn't answer her, but approaches with a steady and serious glance.

MADAM(changing tone): Haven't seen you around for some time. I thought you were still in prison.

Ali leans against the counter, never once taking his eyes off her.

ALI: Is Hacene le Bonois here?

MADAM: No. He left early this morning. You know how it is with the boss...

ALI: I want to see him. If he shows up, tell him that I'm around.

Ali moves away from the counter and turns. He leaves without a word. The woman tries to understand what has happened, and follows him with a worried glance.

SCENE 25

SMALL STREET. HACENE. OUTSIDE.

DAY.

HACENE: Ali, my son...Where have you been hiding?

Ali turns suddenly, then pulls back so that his back is against the wall of the alley.

ALI (in sharp voice): Don't move!

Then he glances at the others.

ALI: Hands still.

The others are three young Algerians, Hacene's bodyguards. Hacene le Bonois is tall with short legs out of proportion with his enormous chest. He is somewhat corpulent. He has a wide face, a cheerful and self-confident expression. His clothing is a strange combination of Algerian and European which does not, however, appear ridiculous, but imposing. At Ali's remark, his expression changes, becomes amazed and baffled. But at the same time, his eyes give away the brain's attempt to find an explanation and a solution.

HACENE (astonished): You know I never carry weapons...

Ali keeps his arms and hands hidden under his djellabah.

ALI: I know.

Hacene laughs warmly, and stretches out his hands which are enormous, thick and rough.

HACENE: You afraid of these...?

ALI: Don't move, Hacene.

HACENE: Why are you afraid? We've always been friends. One might even say that I brought you up ... Isn't it true, Ali?

ALI: It's true.

HACENE: What's happened to you?

ALI: The NLF has condemned you to death.

Hacene is stunned. He speaks aloud his thoughts in a soft voice.

HACENE: Ah, so it's come to this...

Then he bursts into loud laughter, and seems to turn to the three guards at his back.

HACENE: I'm dying of laughter! Ha...ha...ha...

Ali doesn't speak. He continues to stare at Hacene. Hacene suddenly stops laughing. His tone of voice changes, becomes brusque and hurried.

HACENE: How much are they paying you?

ALI: They're not paying me anything. They've already warned you twice; this is the last warning. Decide.

HACENE: What...What must I decide?

ALI: You've got to change occupations, Hacene. Right away!

Hacene makes a gesture as if to emphasize what he is going to say.

HACENE (with irony): Okay, you convince me.

Then suddenly, unexpectedly, he lets out a ...shrill scream, like fencers who before plunging their swords, try to frighten their adversaries.

Simultaneously, he hurls himself forward, head lowered and arms outstretched. Ali steps aside and releases a blast of machine-gun fire. Hacene falls flat on his face. There is movement. Some passersby approach. The three boys try to escape.

ALI (shouting): Stop!

The battel of the machine gun is visible through the opening in his djellabah. Ali's voice is quivering angrily:

ALI: Look at him well! Now nobody can do whatever he wants in the Casbah. Not even Hacene...least of all you three pieces of shit! Go away now...go away and spread the word...Go on!

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RAIDS ON CHICAGO PUBLIC HOUSING

(The following "Fact Sheet" is taken from a leaflet distributed in Chicago neighborhoods in December, 1988. The commentary following the "Fact Sheet" was written by CR staff. The most recent raid upon the Chicago Housing projects took place on February 3, 1989, in Rockwell Gardens.)

FACT SHEET:

RAIDS ON CHA PUBLIC HOUSING BY
CHICAGO HOUSING AUTHORITY/CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT

Since Sept. 20, the Chicago Housing Authority in conjunction with the Chicago Police Department has conducted raids on four buildings in three public housing projects. The alleged purpose of these raids is to uproot gangs and drugs from public housing, but this fact sheet will demonstrate that this crackdown has meant a massive violation of the rights of people in public housing. CHA head Vincent Lane has promised to raid up to 100 other buildings in public housing.

Chronology of the Raids

* Rockwell Gardens, 2417 W. Adams, Sept. 20, 1988. Two CHA managers backed up by 60 police staged an assault that netted one arrest for possession of a weapon. About 100 of the 138 units in the building are occupied. A mass wedding of women whose live-in friends were not on the lease occurred after the raid. The CHA and other donors paid for limousines, tuxedos, brides' dresses, flowers, gifts, an overnight stay in a motel, etc.

* Prairie Courts Annex to the Harold Ickes Homes, 2822 S. Calumet, a 208-unit building, Dec. 2, 1988. Nineteen persons arrested, 13 on criminal charges of trespass (because they couldn't show identification proving that they lived in the apartments), six charged with gun and drug violations. Fourteen children picked up for truancy.

* Cabrini-Green, 1015-1017 N. Larabee, a 10-story building with 140 units, 41% vacant, raided on Dec. 6. Massive show of force is assembled of 150 CHA personnel and cops. All seven arrests are for criminal trespassing.

* Cabrini-Green, 500 W. Oak St., Dec. 8. Of the 200 or so apartments in the 19-story building, about half are vacant. Seventy-five cops raid the building. Seven people are arrested, including a CHA janitor charged with theft for illegally renting out a vacant apartment for \$50 per month. Six people are charged with criminal trespass.

Basic Modus Operandi

-- CHA and Chicago police surround and seal off the building, generally between 9 and 10 AM. Armed cops, sometimes with dogs, are posted on all floors to prevent anyone from escaping from the building.

-- A door-to-door warrantless search of all apartments follows. The nature of the searches varies from a walk-through to rifling through cabinets and drawers and closets. For apartments where people are asleep, don't answer the door or are not home, pass keys are used to gain access. Some residents' reports of forced entry need further confirmation.

-- Anyone who cannot show proper identification to prove they are on the lease is forced to leave, including boyfriends, relatives and friends. Starting with the raid on Prairie Courts, charges of criminal trespass were brought against these people.

-- Residents are taken to a makeshift headquarters where they are photographed and issued ID cards. Every child seven years of age and older must carry ID to gain entry to the building. At Rockwell Gardens, all residents were also subjected without explanation to a retina scan which records the blood vessels in the eye. This high-tech form of identification is said to be more accurate than fingerprints.

-- Entrances to all locked down buildings have been secured with steel gates where armed security guards control access.

-- A 9:00 PM curfew was initially imposed at Rockwell; after an outcry it was changed to midnight to 9:00 AM. Midnight curfews have been imposed at all locked down buildings. No visitors, friends, relatives, or boyfriends can stay past midnight and no residents will be admitted to their own apartment after midnight.

-- All visitors must sign in and out and show ID at the security desk. Tenants must come downstairs to the security desk to admit their visitor. At Rockwell one man told the Chicago Tribune that security guards came and ejected him from his girlfriend's apartment when he had not left the building by midnight.

-- A 72-hour (3 day) ban on all visitors was imposed at Prairie Courts and Cabrini-Green buildings.

-- Vincent Lane has said that background checks will be conducted on all tenants in the locked down buildings. Anyone who has a criminal record or complaints of "anti-social behavior" on file with the CHA may be evicted.

-- Lane has promised to institute surprise "housekeeping inspections." Anyone who does not meet the CHA's standards can be evicted.

* * * * *

There are many things that We can say about the CHA raids. However, We are conscious New Afrikans and, despite being behind the walls of prisons, We continue an active involvement in the struggle to liberate the nation and to build a socialist society. Therefore, no matter what We say about the raids, We always return to basic questions concerning our movement's need and ability to become the legitimate representative of Afrikan people who, consciously or not, require realization of these same goals.

Obviously, the Chicago Housing Authority is not the legitimate representative of the Afrikans living in the raided buildings. One question then, for us, concerns the means that our movement must use in order to truly serve the interests of Afrikans throughout Chicago and elsewhere.

One of the means that We use involves our manner of study and preparation, and another involves the way We carry on dialogue with other prisoners who may return to the communities outside the walls and become consciously active. When We study, We learn facts and We ask questions about those facts. For example, if it was a fact that the Algerian NLF issued a communique such as that on page 31 of this issue, how did it acquire its image of legitimacy among the Algerian masses?

To find only parts of the answer, We'd have to look beyond the NLF itself. We'd have to learn something about the prior years of practice, the years of educating and serving the people on the part of those organizations that formed the NLF. Before there was an NLF for the people to know, they knew only those organizations that had served the separate and varied interests of particular classes, groups and strata of the people. The NLF represented a unity that had not previously existed--a unity not merely of the represented organizations, but through those organizations a unity of the Algerian people that had not previously existed. But before such unity comes much work.

Our own movement needs ever greater unity; it will be the result of the work We put into creating it. And, the creativity must manifest itself above all in the cadres who work with/among/for the people ...in the "Casbah."

We also impress upon ourselves that being a cadre, or a "freedom fighter," involves much more than being able to pull off expropriations or to challenge the colonialist state's "first line of defense."

For our part, one of the things We say is: If the NAIM is really on its job, most or all potential cadres will not be given the chance to perform armed actions until they've proven themselves on the toughest battlefield there is: the "mass front."

Bloods shouldn't be allowed to "pick up the gun" until they've proven how well they can organize a service that will, say, pick up the elderly from their homes, take them to cash their checks, to see the doctor, or to attend a meeting on some issue facing them and the



rest of the community. You won't be trusted with the task of gathering or using intelligence for the movement until you win the trust of the people in the neighborhood. Performing such services and winning the trust of the people in such ways, are necessary if the NAIM is to come to be the authority upon which the masses seek out to help solve daily problems. It makes little sense to shout "Free The Land!" if We can't "free" a few square blocks or square miles in cities, towns or counties where New Afrikan and other oppressed peoples are a majority of the population.

Re-Build!

For the CR Staff,
Atiba Shanna

* * * * *

TO DESCRIBE A REVOLUTION ONE DOESN'T HAVE
TO DESCRIBE ARMED ACTIONS. THESE ARE
INEVITABLE, BUT WHAT DEFINES AND DECIDES
ANY REVOLUTION IS THE SOCIAL STRUGGLES OF
THE MASSES SUPPORTED BY ARMED ACTION.

Frantz Fanon, A Dying Colonialism

COME HELP US PLANT THESE SEEDS

The clouds of knowledge have burst, and the hard ground has been sprinkled with truth, softening the earth so its footprints can be seen, and the reality of spring finally made absolute, therefore come help us plant these seeds.

Bring education, dedication, and sacrifice, for they are the sunlight, air, and water, these seeds required to flourish, so if you are able and willing come help us plant these seeds.

Freedom, hope, and dreams of a brighter future, are the crops We soon will reap. We will cultivate it with discipline, prune it with truth, from the leaves to the branches, all the way to the root.

Come help us plant these seeds, that will bloom into a tree big enough to fulfill all our needs, leaves large enough to grant us shade from the harmful rays of racism, branches strong enough to sit us above the confusion of self-hate, and roots firmly planted in the wisdom of our foreparents.

Through diligence and vigilance We will crush all the weeds of ignorance, treachery, and hypocrisy. It's fruits will nourish us with a sense of pride and unity and offer us true democracy. So if such thought consoles you, come help us plant these seeds.

SEEDS-cont.

Within its bark is medicine for poverty,
a laxative for spiritual darkness, and
when brought to a boil, the froth from the
top will be resistance to oppression.

Our vision will cause it to resemble a walnut tree,
our staunchness will cause it to appear as an
oak tree, and our love will cause it to be
called the olive tree.

Hanif Shabazz-Bey

SUNDIATA ACOLI AND SEKOU ODINGA
TARGETS OF LEAVENWORTH REPRESSION

New Afrikan POWs Sundiata Acoli and Sekou Odinga (along with three other prisoners whose names We don't yet have), have been held in punitive detention at Leavenworth Federal Prison since January 4, 1989.

The Leavenworth authorities claim to be investigating a "rumor" or a "hunch" that the comrades were planning an escape. (It may also be that they want Sundiata and Sekou to be among the first prisoners to occupy the new 240-man lock-up unit now under construction at Leavenworth and scheduled to open soon.)

With the bringing of these "conspiracy" charges, it seems that federal authorities may be planning to railroad Sundiata and Sekou similar to the way they railroaded POWs Kojo Bomani Sababu and Oscar Lopez Rivera. Kojo and Oscar, both now at Marion Prison, were held at Leavenworth when charged with conspiracy to escape and tried, largely on evidence supplied by a paid government informant.

We'll pass on information as it becomes available.

Biographies on both Sundiata and Sekou are included in the new book, Can't Jail The Spirit (see Check These Out in this issue).

PERUVIAN GUERRILLAS TRANSFORM PRISON
INTO SHOWCASE OF GOALS

(This article reprinted from The Washington Post, Nov. 27, 1988.)

LIMA--The Peruvian prison known as Canto Grande offers the same images of squalor and despair seen in so many other Latin American penal institutions. An inmate, with apparent mental problems, wanders aimlessly, hauling a filthy foam-rubber mattress, limping from a festering sore on his leg. The stench of urine is overwhelming. Food consists of an unrecognizable thin, gray gruel that guards bring around at odd hours.

But in Canto Grande there are two islands of discipline, organization and fastidious cleanliness: the men's and women's pavilions that house members of the Shining Path guerrilla insurgency.

Shining Path is one of the most peculiar revolutionary groups in the world, highly secretive and dedicated to a Maoist philosophy. It controls large areas of the countryside, has forced the authorities to turn other parts into armed camps and, by all estimations, is getting stronger every day.

The government uses Canto Grande, designed as a maximum security prison, as one of its major sites for keeping Shining Path prisoners. The guerrillas, in turn, have turned their parts of the prison into a kind of showcase for their dedication to what they call the world's "most advanced revolution," a demonstration of the kind of society they say they want to create in Peru.

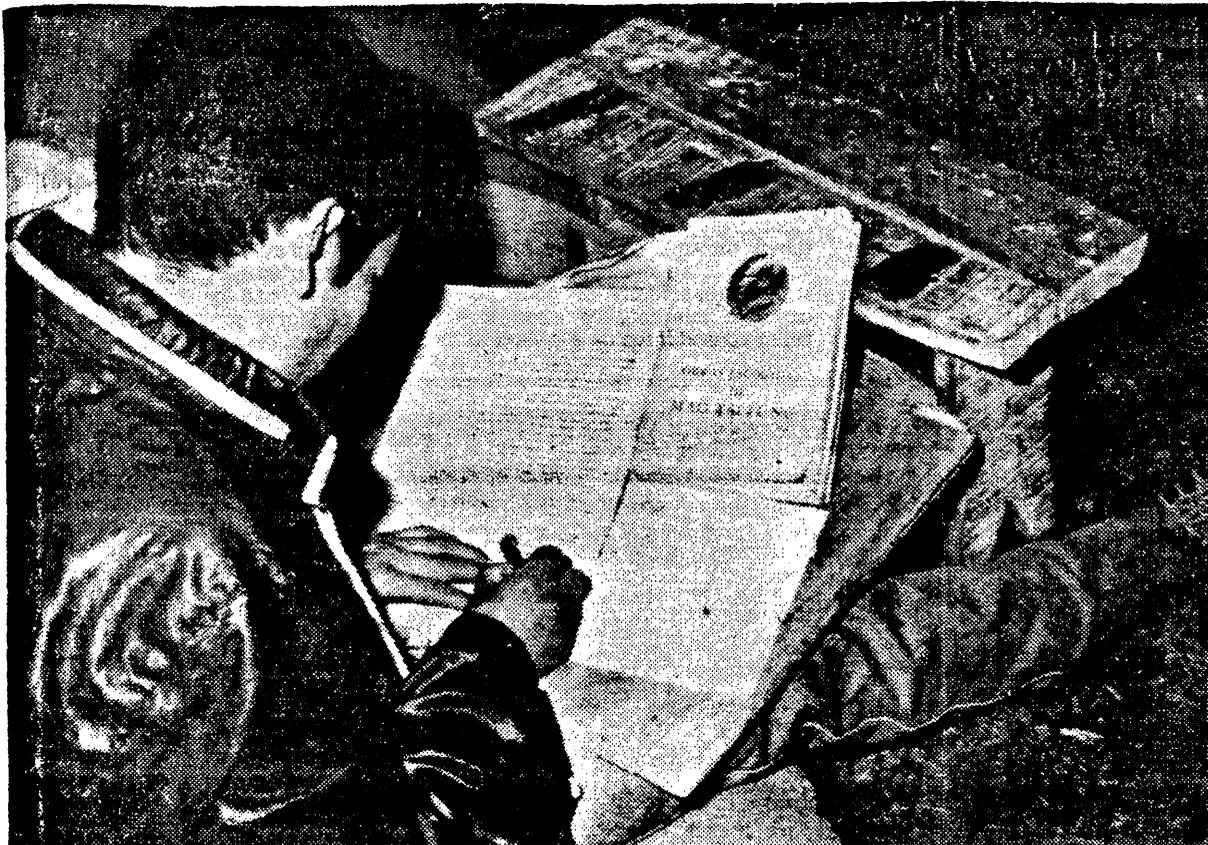
Visitors to the men's pavilion are greeted by an honor guard holding aloft red hammer-and-sickle flags like swords at a military wedding. The filth and smell of the central courtyard disappear. Here everyone is neatly dressed in spanking-clean clothes, is well-shaven and polite.

Two spokesmen appear and sit down to discuss the revolution and the "parallel state" being built in the hills. One waves his

hand, and minutes later little biscuit sandwiches and steaming coffee appear.

It is an official visiting day, and the men have moved some of their beds outside into the pavilion's exercise yard so that friends and relatives have a comfortable place to sit. To provide a cooling shade from the sunshine, they have strung a canopy of decorated fabric strips across part of the yard. Painted revolutionary slogans and murals cover the walls.

The men prepare their own food on a homemade electric stove fabricated from four hot plates. To make it work they had to divert power from other parts of the building and wire it all together using transformers and fuses. Upstairs at the end of a corridor they have established a library, complete with a catalog system. There is also a cell dedicated to medical supplies.



The New York Times/Concha Cubero

A Shining Path guerrilla studying the works of Mao Zedong in Lurigancho Prison and, below, members of the Shining Path movement at a meeting in the prison's "political wing."

One of Shining Path's main complaints about the prison is its near-total lack of medical care. The inmate on duty explained that dental care is non-existent. He said there are nearly 400 untreated cavities among the 137 men in the pavilion. They are petitioning for tooth-pulling tools.

Other inmates have complained about the Shining Path's habit of rising before daybreak for calisthenics. The guerrillas try to keep their keepers off guard--sometimes they greet them with presents and kind words of solidarity, other times with fierce, bitter resistance.

The women's pavilion, housing 69 inmates, is, if possible, even cleaner and better-organized. On the wall beside each cell is a foil cup with a paper rose inside. There are also fresh flowers and a few potted plants.

On visiting days, the women play basketball in their exercise yard, where the walls, like those in the men's pavilion, are covered by slogans and murals. Then they prepare a big, common meal. One recent Sunday it consisted of pasta shells with a curry-like sauce.

One of the female prisoners is Renate Hehr, a German who has been in Canto Grande for two years. Like the others, she is imprisoned for terrorist activity.

"When I first came to Peru I thought that there was nothing here, that it was dirty, that nothing ever worked," she said. "That's all true. But at the same time, we're creating a new man in the most advanced revolution in the world. Everyone will see when we take power.

"We're already building a new state in the countryside. The big center of reaction is Lima. But Lima is about ready. It's beginning to move."

Another inmate, one of the designated spokeswomen, bristles when Shining Path is referred to as a movement.

"We are not a movement," she said. "This is very important. We are an armed revolution, the most advanced revolution in the world. It is a scientific revolution. We have taken the progression of communist thought--the thought of Marx, Lenin, Mao and President

Gonzalo. Our revolution is right. Therefore, we cannot lose."

"Gonzalo" is the nom de guerre of Abimael Guzman, founder and guru of Shining Path. He taught that Mao Tse-tung raised communism to its highest point so far during his years at the helm in China. Guzman said that his ideas raise it to the next, and final, level.

Guzman has not been seen, at least by outsiders, for years. Many people doubt he is even still alive, though a pro-Shining Path newspaper, now shut down, recently ran a lengthy interview that purported to quote him extensively on the current political situation in Peru.

Another inmate in Canto Grande is Osman Morote, widely believed to be a high-ranking Shining Path official, almost certainly among the top five. Morote, arrested earlier this year and considered a prize catch by the government, is kept in solitary confinement and is not allowed to mix with the other Shining Path prisoners.

It is a bizarre, sealed world that the Shining Path prisoners have created inside Canto Grande. They are hungry for news from outside but do not speak of release--they deem that unlikely. They talk about their jailers, their complaints and their plans, as they toil and organize with supreme confidence that one day they will run Peru.

* * * * *

TO FULFILL THE MANDATE

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

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

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

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

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

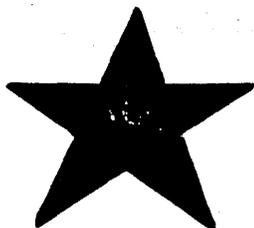
(Not enough people know even this much about the Provisional Government and the nation it represents, and an argument could be made that much of the reason for this lies in the failure of the PG to keep the mandate in mind over the years, and to keep in mind its basic composition as a front--a pre-independence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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

Re-Build!

Atiba Shanna

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

CASH & GENOCIDETHE TRUE STORY OF JAPANESE-AMERICAN REPARATIONS

How did Japanese-Americans get over \$3 billion in reparations from the U.S.A.? What's behind this surprising act "to right a grave wrong," as none other than Ronald Reagan called it last August? (1)

Japanese-American reparations is as much about New Afrika and the indigenous nations--particularly the Pribilof Aleuts, as shown extensively below--as it is about Japanese. Even more so. When right-wing president Reagan signed the reparations act into law on August 10, 1988, many New Afrikans saw it as a precedent that morally must be extended to them. But what the U.S. empire is doing now is more about preparations than reparations, i.e., preparing their empire to do New Afrikan genocide, covering up and legitimizing the genocide they've already done to the Native Nations.

"The Japanese people were just awarded \$20,000 each for America's mistreatment of them, for putting them in camps during World War II," Queen Mother Audley Moore reminded the gathering at her 90th birthday celebration in Harlem last summer. She raised the obvious question: "When will our elected officials, our people in Congress, begin to demand reparations for the almost irreparable damage that slavery did to our people? When will We get paid for the 18 hours a day, 7 days a week labor that We were forced to do for free during slavery?" (2)

Some people are naturally expressing resentment at Japanese-Americans for somehow getting preferential treatment. Writing for The Final Call, Sept. 16, 1988, J. Wayne Tukes asks: "Why should African-American tax dollars be used to compensate others?...?" Tukes sees a conspiracy, with Japan behind it all: "What kind of pressure is Japan placing on the American government/business to extract a public and financial apology at this time? Is it because of the position Japan holds in the current world economy?"

Two African-American reporters for The Sun, Sandra Crockett and Jerry Bemby, put forward another theory: That reparations is due to Japanese Americans' superior political power. In their column "\$1.7 Million and a Mule," the two reporters incorrectly calculate that the

Japanese-Americans will get "restitution that amounts to \$6,666.00 for each year of suffering....At the going government rate of \$6,666.00 per year, and calculating it from the arrival of the first slaves in the early 1600s to the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863...black Americans are due \$1.7 million each." (3)

After telling their readers that "a lot of black Americans were probably appalled" at the U.S. giving reparations to Japanese-Americans, Crockett and Bemby say that Japanese-Americans' apparent power should be an example to black politicians: "Japanese-American lobbyists pushed hard to get the bill passed and did an admirable job. So it's time that the members of the Congressional Black Caucus begin pushing...."

These kind of theories sound plausible, but they aren't even close to true. To sum up what really happened:

Japanese-American politicians didn't fight for us to get reparations. Nor was there any mass movement or struggle or lobbying for it until the U.S. government gave the go-ahead. Japanese-American reparations first came into legislation as part of a bill by a white congressman to compensate for the genocide of the Pribilof Aleut indigenous people. Japan, which doesn't consider Japanese-Americans to be Japanese...couldn't care less and wasn't involved at all.

Japanese-American congressmen were against cash reparations at first, until the U.S. ruling class decided that it needed this and told them to jump in and take the credit for it. That's a matter of record. The bill covers up U.S. genocide against the Aleut peoples, and U.S. plans for new genocide against New Afrika. It's about nothing but genocide, coming and going.

Just to clear away some fantasies: This bill doesn't mean that every Japanese American won the lottery or that our community is

American Notes



Restitution: Japanese arriving at a relocation camp, 1942

being compensated for suffering and loss of human rights. What it means is simply that those survivors of the WWII concentration camps still alive today (about ten percent of our people) will be repaid for our property losses back then.

In 1942 we were ordered to sell all our land, businesses, farms, houses and household goods before we boarded the trains to the camps. White settler vultures, knowing we had no bargaining position, bought up everything we had for nickels and dimes. A new car was worth maybe \$50 that day, a home maybe \$300 or \$500. Many whites just went down to the courthouse and said that a Japanese had sold them their farm, and were given title as new owners. All legal to this day.

Our going to concentration camps was a big holiday to nearby white settlers, a close-out sale. After the War the U.S. government itself assessed our direct property losses at \$400 million in 1940 dollars (many billions in today's inflated dollars). The Evacuation Claims Act after the War only compensated us for those losses at 8 percent or 8¢ for every dollar we lost. So, in effect, this reparations act only repays the property losses of 48 years ago, and only for those 60,000 individuals still alive on the day Ronald Reagan signed the bill. And by the terms of the act, repayment will be stretched out over a ten year period or more, with the dying getting their's first. (4)

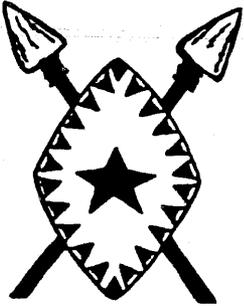
The Full Story

Played down in the news about Japanese-American reparations was the section of the act giving an estimated 400 Pribilof Aleuts \$12,500 each. The reparations act established that the Pribilof Aleuts deserve less compensation than Japanese-Americans because their WWII imprisonment was supposedly justified. This is where the real story begins. (5)

Most people never heard of the Pribilof Aleuts before this, and if the U.S. has its way never will know about them. They are an indigenous people (who do not like being called "Indians"), living on a desolate chain of islands in the Bering Sea between the U.S.S.R. and Alaska. Until the year 1966 they were the last remaining slaves in

the U.S.A.

When the expansionist U.S.A. purchased Alaska from the Russian empire right after the U.S. civil war, in 1867, the Pribilof Aleuts were just considered part of the property being sold. For the Pribilof islands, uninhabited by humans before their "discovery" by the Russian explorer Gerasim Pribilof in 1786, are home to 1.5 million seals. The great seal colony, valuable because of their fur, became an imperial business owned by the Russian Czars.



To get the workers needed to hunt the seals and process their pelts, the Czars forced hundreds of indigenous families from the larger Aleutian Islands to move to the Pribilofs to be imperial serfs. Serfs were the bottom class in pre-socialist Russian society.

While they could not be bought and sold as chattel slaves were in the U.S., serfs were still a class of slaves. The property of wealthy masters to whom they owed life-long obedience and labor, serfs lived without wages or rights. On the Pribilofs, the Aleut slaves were given Russian names and converted to the Russian Orthodox faith. The islands became slave plantations.

To the Pribilof Aleuts, the change of Euro-capitalist owners in 1867 changed nothing in their own lives. For their seal hunt became a profitable U.S. government monopoly, and they became slaves of the U.S.A. From 1867 to 1966, everything and everyone on the Pribilof Islands was owned by the U.S. government. Although the Bering Sea is rich in fish, the Pribilof Aleuts were forbidden to fish or work for themselves!

Their food and housing was doled out or withheld as punishment by the white slave-owners from the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. Their only work was the annual seal harvest, while they survived the rest of the year by running up their debt at the U.S. government-owned store. Federal agents tightly controlled travel to and from the islands. Outsiders who might raise political questions were kept out. (6)

In 1942 this tight little slave colony was interrupted by World War II. Japanese military forces captured the Aleutian Islands of Attu and Kiska in June 1942. Hundreds of Aleuts fled to the mainland. U.S. military authorities decided to remove the remaining slaves, since their communities were needed as military camps and the fur trade was suspended anyway. Then, too, the U.S. didn't entirely trust their slaves. (7)

Ordered by soldiers to board military transports with only what they could carry in their arms, 881 Pribilof Aleuts were relocated to old, unused buildings at abandoned Alaskan mines and canneries. Survivors remember that they were dumped without blankets or even food, forced to live in derelict wooden barracks that had only gaping holes where windows and doors used to be. After two Alaskan winters, one out of every four Pribilof Aleuts had died from malnutrition and exposure. (8)

Another surprise gift from America awaited them in 1945 when they were returned to the Pribilofs. Everything was gone. GIs had burglarized their communities, stealing all the religious icons from the churches and taking "souvenirs" from the homes. Everything that the GIs didn't want or couldn't take--native boats, homes, churches, clothing and dishes--had been smashed. Appeals to the U.S. for emergency compensation brought a response from the U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, who authorized \$10,000 compensation--not \$10,000 for each person or each family, but for the entire community--about \$12 each. Labor and life with the seal harvest began again on America's arctic slave plantation.

The first change came only in the 1960s, as the world anti-colonial revolution was pressing the U.S. empire to reform. A political candidate for the Alaskan state legislature tried to visit the Pribilofs, but was denied permission to speak with the Pribilof Aleut slaves by their white overseers. It was a local scandal, since America always pats itself on the back for allegedly abolishing slavery before in 1963.

So in the 1966 Fur Seal Act, a U.S. senate amendment gave the Pribilof Aleuts the right to travel freely and speak to whom ever they wished for the first time in their colonial history. The U.S. government was still their only employer, and still owned the islands and all the physical property on them, however. It wasn't until 1978 that the Pribilof Aleuts were finally given the right to vote, to have their own local government, and to own their own homes. Finally, they have reached the level of New Afrikans and Puerto Ricans. (9)

The 1988 reparations act, in addition to paying Aleut survivors \$12,500 each, gives the Pribilof Aleut communities \$5 million as tardy reimbursement for the WWII burglary by U.S. troops as well as \$1.4 million as compensation for destruction of religious property. The Aleut people get another \$15 million to finally settle and make permanent their involuntary exclusion from Attu Island in the Aleutians. Attu was taken for a U.S. naval base and is now forbidden to native people as a U.S. government "wildlife sanctuary." (10)

This reparations act is serving genocide, both coming and going. The act gives Aleuts money in return for finalizing U.S. ownership of their islands and natural resources. It even justifies their WWII removal and internment. It is important to America right now to make everything look nice, to pay small amounts of cash to supposedly settle all the old human rights injustices. Because the U.S. is quietly wiping out the Aleut people. They don't want Aleut labor anymore and, in fact, the possibility of Aleut claims to control their islands and the rich sea-bed around them is seen as a problem for America, a problem for which America has a "Final Solution."

U.S. military planners have always seen the Pribilofs and Aleutians as the stepping stones for invaders to the "soft underbelly" of the South Alaskan coast. Their doctrine calls for maintaining strategic control of these colonial islands as a military barrier against the Russians. That is why they've never permitted the Aleuts to return to Attu Island. Their worst-case nightmare would be for native people to demand sovereignty and kick the U.S. military out.

Pribilof Aleut poverty (there is 80 percent unemployment) is "made in the U.S.A." With one of the world's richest fishing areas, with large seal herds for food, oil and fur, the Pribilofs can easily support an Aleut population of only 750. But being U.S. citizens, being part of the U.S., means that all those resources are owned by the U.S. empire. The reparations act, in appearing to right old injustices, in setting the seal on U.S. ownership of the fur seal trade and fishing rights, is legalizing the decline of Aleut population.

To help break up Pribilof Aleut communities, the U.S. government has even suggested ending the fur seal hunt, supposedly out of respect for animal rights. The seal hunt isn't so profitable anymore, anyway. Once the Aleuts gained certain rights in the 1960s and 1970s, and started demanding things like electricity, medical care and wages, the profits went away. It wasn't seals that were the origin of profits, it turns out, but owning whole villages of slave women, children and men.

Aleuts are still forbidden by U.S. law from hunting seals for themselves, since the government says that its treaty with Japan and Canada forces it to own the fur seal trade (Canada and Japan are 15% each minority partners). To the Aleuts this is the final irony. In 1911 there were 300,000 seals on the Pribilofs, but now there are 1.5 million (25,000 are killed each year). While Aleuts go hungry and their numbers shrink. One Aleut leader said: "If we didn't have the fur harvest, we on the Pribilofs wouldn't have anything. Once there were 15,000 Aleuts. Now there are 3,000 to 1.5 million seals. It's the Aleut people who are the endangered species." (11)

The New Afrikan Equation

It isn't that Japanese-Americans don't justly deserve reparations. We do, and this \$20,000 is tiny in terms of what we suffered, but that has nothing to do with why the U.S. ruling class is doing this. In 1979 the first congressional bill was introduced to give cash reparations to U.S. civilian internment survivors. Its sponsor, Rep. Mike Lowry (D-Wash.), proposed giving each Aleut and Japanese-American survivor \$15,000 plus \$15 for each day imprisoned. His bill was in-

stantly unpopular with the white nation. There was the usual moaning from the brain-dead white majority (Lowry got calls demanding "Why are we paying the people who attacked us at Pearl Harbor?"), from candidate Ron Reagan and the G.O.P.

Japanese-American congressmen, like Norman Mineta (D-CA), who are put into congress to represent white interests, were the loudest in their opposition to the Lowry bill. We watched the strange sight of the biggest Japanese-American politicians, such as U.S. senator Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii), attacking the idea of Japanese-American reparations while New Afrikan congressmen like Ron Dellums (D-CA) were fighting for it. (12)

U.S. senator Inouye, who was never imprisoned himself, argued that giving the rest of us money would dishonor the memory of our noble suffering: "You can't put a price tag on it. Putting a price tag on it would cheapen the whole thing." (13)

Intelligent settler opposition to reparations wasn't really concerned about Japanese-Americans one way or the other, but was afraid that a bad example was being set for New Afrikans! Samuel Rabinove, the director of anti-discrimination programs for the American Jewish Committee, warned against Japanese-American reparations in this way: "If \$25,000 restitution were to be paid for each of the 120,000 Japanese Americans incarcerated, what would be a fair and reasonable sum for each of the 25 million black Americans who are descended from slaves and who have suffered the most grievous injustice since Emancipation? What would be a fair and reasonable sum for each of the one million American Indians living today for the virtual genocide perpetrated on their peoples? Any attempts to quantify appropriate reparations for blacks and Indians simply boggle the mind and quickly become political impossibilities. A special reparations payment for one group but not for the others is difficult to rationalize." (14)

Within that settler debate on Japanese-American reparations loomed the much larger issue of america's unresolved war with its New Afrikan colony. It was for this reason that the U.S. ruling

class decided on not merely Japanese-American reparations, but for a final round of public settlements of "all other" human rights and territorial claims against the empire. If need be, the ruling class was going to shove reparations and cash settlements of treaty claims down the throats of its racist white citizenry.

This policy was advanced, step by step, even during the reactionary Reagan years, precisely because "human rights" is a ruling class strategy! When reparations finally came up for a vote in 1988, the way had been arranged behind the scenes. Rep. Lowry had withdrawn his name, so that the bill could be reintroduced as the work of the Japanese-American congressmen who had at first opposed it. The Republican Party joined the Democrats on this. While a fogged-in Ronald Reagan kept wondering why people wanted reparations, and threatened to veto the bill, his white house chief of staff, Howard Baker, and vice-president Bush supported reparations. It sailed through the senate by 69 votes for to 27 against, and Reagan obediently signed it into law.

America needs to look like it has clean hands on colonialism, has to have final settlements on territorial claims. Because human rights is a world issue now. People around the world already know that the U.S.A. is a center of injustice and violence-for-profit.

Look at how the U.S. government has been unable to kill the rumors that Americans are adopting Latin American infants to use as organ donors for their white children. This charge was first made by the wife of the president of Honduras, a pro-U.S. death squad pretending to be a nation. Since then it has appeared, despite U.S. protests, in hundreds of newspapers in Asia, Afrika and all over the world.

Last October, the European Parliament passed a French motion to condemn the U.S. for this inhuman practice. That's a special embarrassment for America, since among the 12 nations of the European Parliament are America's closest NATO allies. Even after the U.S. State Department got the U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to confirm their denial, that this rumor was without any factual basis, the story still spreads and spreads. Washington cannot stop it, be-

cause the people of the world believe that this is exactly what "J.R. Ewing" would do. (15)

The U.S. ruling class needs human rights settlements to help America keep its stolen territory. The world balance of power is shifting. Large empires like the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. are declining faster and faster, and small oppressed nations within them are kicking to be independent. If that's obviously true for Estonia and Armenia and Tibet and Northern Ireland, why isn't it going to be true for Hawaii and Atzlan and New Afrika, too?

Now the U.S. ruling class wants its government to spread some cash around. They want to get peoples' voluntary-looking consent to U.S. government ownership of Third World land and natural resources. This policy led to the historic 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. Without voluntary agreement by the 80,000 Inuit, Aleut and other natives of Alaska, who are the true owners, the U.S. couldn't safely invest billions to develop the huge Alaskan oil fields.

Just imagine what a small Inuit (whites call them "Eskimos" but that isn't their name) liberation army, with sticks of dynamite, could do to the lonely crude oil pipelines snaking their unguarded way across the arctic tundra. In return for recognizing U.S. sovereignty over their lands and resources, the 80,000 native people got \$1 billion, got to set up 13 regional economic development corporations, and got back 44 million acres of arctic territory for themselves (until white people discover something else valuable there).

"Let's Make A Deal!" is the hottest neo-colonial operation going in the U.S. Every year there are more cash settlements. Last August, the 1,400 member Puyallup "tribe" whose 1873 reservation included what later became the city of Tacoma, Washington, accepted \$162 million and 900 acres of forest and waterfront land to settle their claim to the city. (16) Ironically, when the U.S. army first rounded up the Japanese-Americans in Seattle in 1942, it named its temporary internment camp after the Native peoples--"Puyallup Assembly Center." (17)

There are cases now where the U.S. government is forcing cash on reluctant Native Nations ("Indians"). In California, the U.S. govern-

ment is urging Yurok peoples to accept \$15,000 each in return for renouncing all rights to their reservation. In the Black Hills of South Dakota, a sacred Sioux religious and cultural area that U.S. corporations want to rip up for uranium and other minerals, the U.S. congress has voted the Lakota Nation \$1.5 billion as a final settlement. But the struggle goes on, because the Lakota have officially refused the money--they want their land and sovereignty, instead. Did you ever think you'd see the day when white people were trying to force an indigenous nation to take \$1.5 billion?

This is why the U.S. ruling class didn't blink an eyelash at the \$3-4 billion that Japanese-American reparations will eventually cost. (To save face for Republicans, the Act appropriates only \$1.25 billion. That sum is put in a trust and invested, with the interest paid out each year for ten years or more, LIMITED TO \$500 million in any one year. Total payout will be well over \$3 billion.) Billy Joe Blob, white neanderthal, scratches his head and can't believe that "colored people" are getting all this money. But the U.S. ruling class knows what it's doing.

What about New Afrika?

The struggle for New Afrikan reparations is coming. In fact, last November 25, people watching the Morton Downey, Jr. television talk show was a free-for-all on the topic of New Afrikan reparations, with guests including reparations organizers and New Afrikan independent presidential candidate Lenora Fulani. The ruling class is stalling for now, saying that civil rights has settled all New Afrikan human rights claims. Japanese-Americans get \$3 billion-plus, the Puyallup get \$162 million, and New Afrikans get Jesse--a low-calorie substitute.

Don't forget: reparations are part of the preparations. All these settlements recognizing U.S. sovereignty, all these cash deals showing good-hearted uncle sam trying to right old human rights abuses, are setting a scene. They are encircling New Afrika, trying to isolate New Afrika internationally. Why, even former presidents Ford and Carter have said that the U.S. might have to offer Puerto Ricans a showdown "statehood or independence" plebiscite. America

ain't offering new Afrika any choices or plebiscites, though, because the empire has a different solution on the way.

Until 1988, committing genocide wasn't a felony, not even a misdemeanor, in the U.S. It's no coincidence that after stalling for 40 years, the U.S. senate finally completed ratifying the international genocide treaty at the same session that approved Pribilof Aleut and Japanese-American reparations. For the first time genocide is a federal crime. We know why the white nation never wanted genocide to be illegal. They put nazis and Japanese warlords on trial for doing genocide, but were very careful never to make it a crime inside the U.S.--until now, when they feel safely shielded by their human rights and reparations offensive.

On December 9, 1948, the U.N. General Assembly had passed the pact outlawing genocide, and 97 nations had ratified the treaty. Not the U.S. however, where the genocide treaty was frozen in the U.S. senate for 40 years. Why? New Afrika, of course!! After the treaty was finally enacted into U.S. law last summer, the N.Y. Times admitted: "Senate racists fought it out of fear that Blacks might use it." Behind the story of Japanese-American reparations and settlements of human rights claims, is the unresolved war between America and New Afrika: Independence or Genocide. (18)

D.K. Matsui

Footnotes

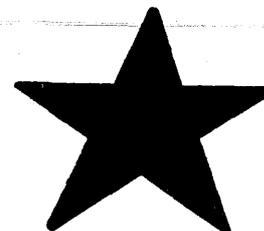
1. Chicago Tribune, August 11, 1988.
2. N.Y. Amsterdam News, August 6, 1988.
3. The Sun, August 16, 1988.
4. Michi Weglyn, Years of Infamy (New York: 1976), p.274.
5. Alaska Daily News, August 5, 1988.
6. N.Y. Times, June 27, 1981.
7. Christian Science Monitor, September 22, 1981.
8. Ibid.
9. N.Y. Times, June 27, 1981.

10. Los Angeles Times, August 5, 1988.
11. N.Y. Times, June 27, 1981.
12. Full description of how Japanese-American congressmen opposed the Lowry Bill can be found in the Newsletter of the National Council for Japanese-American Redress (Chicago).
13. Liz Nakahara, "Shadows of War," Washington Post, July 14, 1981.
14. N.Y. Times, November 12, 1979.
15. N.Y. Times, October 20, 1988.
16. N.Y. Times, August 29, 1988.
17. Weglyn, p.79.
18. N.Y. Times, October 18, 1988.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
ON
EXTREMISM, CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM

On Extremism: "The question is not whether we will be extremists but what kind of extremists we will be. Will we be extremists for the preservation of injustice, or will we be extremists for the cause of justice?"

On Capitalism: "We are called upon to help the discouraged beggars in life's marketplace. But one day we must come to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring. It means that questions must be raised. You see, my friends, when you deal with this, you begin to ask the question, 'Who owns the oil?' You begin to ask the question, 'Who owns the iron ore?'"



"...The movement must address itself to the question of restructuring the whole of American society. There are forty million poor people here. And one day we must ask the question, 'Why are there forty million poor people in America?' And when you begin to ask that question, you are raising questions about the economic system, about a broader distribution of wealth. When you ask that question, you begin to question the capitalistic economy."

On Imperialism: "A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth. With righteous indignation, it will look across the seas and see individual capitalists of the West investing huge sums of money in Asia, Africa and South America, only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries, and say: 'This is not just.' It will look at our alliance with the landed gentry of Latin America and say: 'This is not just.'"

King, cont.

"...This need to maintain social stability for our investments accounts for counter-revolutionary action of American forces in Guatemala. It tells of why American helicopters are being used against guerrillas in Columbia and why American napalm and Green Beret forces have already been active against rebels in Peru."

* * * * *



"Our war is not a war of conquest, it is a war of revolutionary liberation. We fight not only in self-defense but to free, unite and reconstruct" —Kwame Nkrumah

LEST WE FORGET *APRIL

1, 1950: Dr. Charles R. Drew, "Father of the Blood Bank," died in Burlington, N.C.

3, 1950: Carter G. Woodson, pioneer historian and scholar, died in Washington, D. C.

**DR. CHARLES R. DREW**

4, 1899: Master musician and composer Edward "Duke" Ellington born.

4, 1968: Martin Luther King, Jr. assassinated in Memphis, TN.

5, 1856: Booker T. Washington born.

6, 1968: Lil' Bobby James Hutton, born April 25, 1950; first person to join the Black Panther Party, assassinated this day.

Dr. Carter G. Woodson

7, 1743: Birth of Toussaint L'Ouverture "Liberator of Haiti"

9, 1898: Birth of Paul Robeson, actor, singer, activist.

10, 1975: Singer Josephine Baker died in Paris, France.

15, 1960: SNCC organized at Shaw Univ.

16, 1966: ZANU begins armed struggle in Zimbabwe.

17, 1971: Death of Sam Napier, Circulation Manager of the BPP, who constantly intoned "Circulate to Educate to Liberate"



- 17, 1962: Cuba crushes the U.S. "Bay of Pigs" invasion.
- 17, 1980: Zimbabwe became an independent nation.
- 18, 1955: International conference of the leaders of "third world" nations held in Bandung, Indonesia.
- 19, 1960: Namibian Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) founded.
- 24, 1955: Non-Aligned Movement founded.
- 25, 1918: Singer Ella Fitzgerald born.
- 27, 1972: Kwame Nkrumah, first president of modern Ghana and revolutionary Pan-African socialist, died in Conakry, Guinea.
- 30, 1975: "Great Spring Victory" of the Vietnamese people liberates the South and reunites the country.



Paul Robeson



Martin Luther King, Jr.

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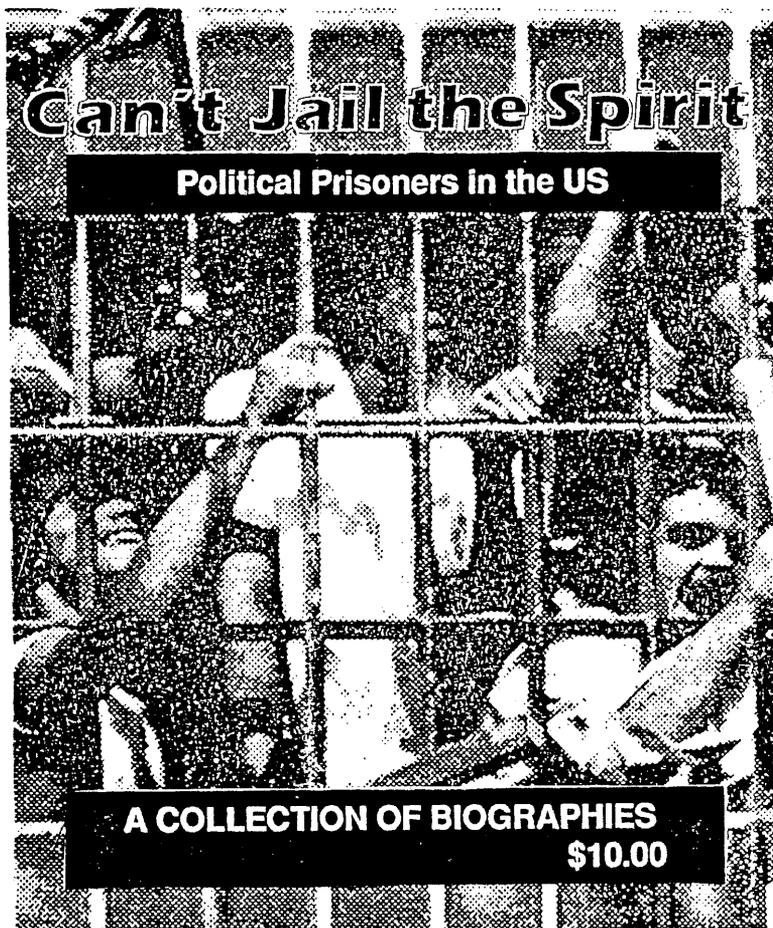
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