

CROSSROAD

A NEW AFRIKAN CAPTURED COMBATANT
NEWSLETTER

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NEW AFRIKAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

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

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

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

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

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



Looking At De Response By De State to Waco

Talking about WACO
Where de pigs went Wacko
Do We say okay because
dey went Wacko
in Philadelphia?

Revolutionary Greetings:

i wish to touch on a few things centered around de agents' of repression attack and response to WACO in hopes dat it will generate some scientific discussion and analysis. So far alot of what i have heard from US on de inside has been real reactionary and subjective.

Once again WE have witnessed amerikkkan "justice", amerikkka's democrazy at work. Guilty and sentenced to death before trial. Once again WE hear de lies in de mainstream, bourgeois media justifying de slaughtering of women, men, and children. Once again de apolitical and naive easy-to-deceive-media-educated common Joe or June swallows de lies of de media and unquestioningly digests the reactionary statements of politicians, clergy, etc.; those who will rubber stamp genocide, mass murder with a smile. Once again WE hear de reactionary forces of de attorney general, fascist president, and commanding pigs saying it was necessary to attack in order to save de children inside. Who saved de children from dem? Sounds like Vietnam where it was necessary to napalm and strafe de village in order to "save" it from de so-called "Dietcong".

Bourgeois media and progressive media says dat de Branch Davidians of WACO demonstrated a communal type of life, stockpiled survival supplies and arms to protect demselves from those who eventually attacked. For dey knew living an an alternative lifestyle in amerikkka, preaching a different ideology contrary and unpopular to what de fascist guardians of the "mainstream" mentality say is okay is a crime punishable by death in amerikkka. Dey were organized, dug bunkers, had generators, and could hold out for at least a year with stockpiled supplies and for a protracted period dey successfully repelled the agents' of repression attack. Dey were able to hold these agents off for eight weeks until attacked with tanks, teargassed, etc. A horrible fire resulted, killing at least 80 people, 17 to 21 of which were children. Numbers are still conflicting. De State says de occupants set de fire, survivors say de pigs with their tanks started de fire. Who do WE believe?

Let's look at his-story. Pigs/State said de Native Americans started it in Wounded Knee even though pigs sent in two sacrificial agents to initiate the gun battle while a contingent of over 100 troops hid just over de horizon.

Pigs/State said de Attica Brothers started it. George and Jonathon Jackson started it. Lloyd Shakur, de Atlanta children, Vietnamese started it. WE know who started it. These same imperialist dogs who started it from de initiative.

What i want to focus on is how a lot of brothers are comparing MOVE to WACO without really looking at de lessons. Let's look at de two. Why was de

initial response different in de two?

In the case of the MOVE commune, even though de MOVE members had been victimized by de State agents of repression and knew dat an attack was inevitable dey were not really prepared for an attack or prepared to adequately defend demselves. Even though MOVE built a bunker on de roof of its house, MOVE sources said dey had no weapons and didn't fire a shot. Even though dey was in de heart of de New Afrikan community dey had become alienated from dat community and de agents of repression were able to effectively manipulate dis contradiction and capitalize off of it. When de agents of repression attacked, pumping over 20,000 rounds into de house, den firebombing it (and the block), burning women, men, and kids alive, dey could not make it out due to enemy fire. Only Ramona and Birdie Africa were able to make it out. MOVE had no tunnels, underground bunkers, nor stockpiles of necessities, etc. Hence their preparation for an eventual confrontation was at best premature. De pigs recognized dis in conjunction with de Racism/Kolonialism involved. These imperialist forces took full advantage of dis lack of preparedness.

When WE look at WACO, these people were more dan prepared for an armed confrontation with de agents of Rome. i am sure dat de agents of repression did not foresee the use of tanks against dem. De agents were forced to recognize de fact dat these people were prepared yet WE know de could have attacked and obliterated WACO if dey wanted to just like dey eventually did. WE do not doubt/deny de fact dat racism played a huge part in de State's initial response to WACO in juxtaposition to its response to MOVE, but didn't de end result turn out de same? Men, women, and children were murdered, massacred by de State.

A lot of brothers are saying "dey should have attacked WACO from day one, dey didn't wait in Philadelphia" or "dey letting dem honkies get away with shit dey wouldn't let US get away with...". All dis may be true but de position taken is a contradiction and smacks of hypocrisy, clouding the real issue.

Do WE just support human rights for New Afrikans or all people? Do WE support State murder against those who WE say differ with US in nationality and ideology? Do WE Sanction State/imperialist fascist murder because it's some of their "own kind"? Better yet have WE become so reactionary dat WE now demand equality of fascism? Dat WE want non-discriminatory fascism?

De issue is not so much dat WACO was predominantly european, even though it was a factor. De issue is dat all people got a right to human rights. Dem people were oppressing nobody. Dem people were not oppressing other Nations, starving other Nations, invading other Nations, committing genocide against other Nations. Denying New Afrikan Independence. Our struggle and policies are not based on "race", brothers. De whole concept and categorization of different "races" was an invention of imperialism to justify its crimes against humanity. Furthermore, WACO had a diversity of Nationalities including some Black folks from Britain.

What WE should be looking at and analyzing is de fact dat de State had enough audacity to militarily attack a non-aggressive compound without fear of a massive outcry from de people and de international community. What WE



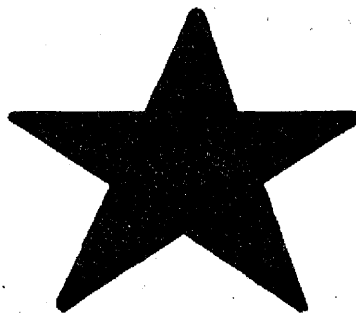
should be looking at is de methods and tactics dat de enemy utilized over these past eight weeks and learn from dem. WE should be analyzing de enemy propaganda machinery at work, its methods of cover up, etc. and develop ways to effectively counter these methods in de future. WE should be analyzing de impression dat dis attack leaves on de minds of de people. In light of de LA rebellion where armored personnel carriers (A.P.C.'s) were used along with special forces units, tanks in Vegas, etc. WE must take note of how all of this is establishing a pattern of repression which serves to desensitize de people to de magnitude and frequency of the use of high-powered force to crush disturbances within communities. Once people become immune to and no longer feel outraged to de use of tanks, A.P.C.'s, helicopters, gunships, special forces, etc. running through their communities and maintaining "law and order" - a euphemism for fascism - what will dis mean for revolutionaries and progressive organizations? Stop looking at de superficial and focus on what's real. L.A. yesterday, WACO today, Harlem tomorrow. Oppressed urban communities today, supermax prisons in every county tomorrow. Look at de stages dat are being set...WE must move to combat dis by correctly analyzing and summing up events, regardless of de nationalities or ideologies involved.

Our struggle is a struggle for humanity. We struggle to free Our Nation but WE also see things from an internationalist perspective and fight for de freedom of all oppressed people, for de destruction of imperialism as a whole. Under imperialism all Nations are oppressed as a class. When WE sanction de death of one person at de hands of de State because of their ideology, nationality, etc., We are in essence sanctioning de murder of Ourselves for surely if dey come for dem today, dey shall be kicking in our doors tomorrow.

De Branch Davidians were clearly not socialist nor communist revolutionaries, nor were dey organized to overthrow imperialism; yet all those who try to exercise their human rights, who die or sacrifice themselves in opposition to de State and are slaughtered by de State for taking such a stance should be remembered.

Freedom and Justice for all!
Amandla Ngawethu!

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Death, Punishment and Social Control

The United States of North Amerikkka has three branches of government. The executive branch is the first, the legislative branch is the second, the judicial branch is the third. The judicial system is derived from ancient Roman and medieval English law.

The United States judicial process is a repressive system to stifle dissent and to maintain the existing state of affairs under the guise of legality. This system thrives on sheer opposition. Not cooperation and reconciliation. In other words, it is an adversary court system. A system is a way you do something over and over again. There are always two or more sides in a court case where each individual is trying to prevail over the other. Somebody must win and somebody must lose, as in a contest or war. The vanquished party suffers penalties and punishments.

The masses of people in the U.S. are oppressed under various forms of social anesthesia of novocain which numbs the pain inflicted by national, state, and local government repressive laws and pre-trial detention. Jails and prisons are designed to destroy the human spirit and dignity of those incarcerated. In a sedative stupor your mental mind and physical body is wracked. The blood flows but goes unnoticed until the novocain wears off. Then you feel the pain from the repressive damage. Out of all this, you still find it hard to understand exactly how and why it happened. So you try to reason that this is not a perfect system, but you think it is the best one in the world.

Most folk are unsuspecting and naive about the true function of the judicial system. The government denies that capital punishment trials, convictions, and sentences are political, which confuses matters more. Because the judiciary is the third branch of government, how can it not be political? Politicians advance their careers on a pro-death penalty platform.

The constitutional law reads that you're supposed (deemed, in theory) to be considered innocent until proven guilty by the government. Be that as it may, in actuality, you're treated as if you're guilty until you prove your innocence; this is confusing. When the government prosecutor seeks capital punishment charges, he/she is indicating that you're guilty of such a hideous crime that it warrants the ultimate penalty. It doesn't make any sense. Where is the presumption of innocence? Capital punishment laws are used as a means of social control and political harassment, and to spread fear. It doesn't have anything to do with deterring crime.

It's not necessary for the government prosecutors to prove an accused defendant knowingly and intentionally killed anyone. All that's required is to prove the intent to commit the underlying felony, such as robbery, burglary, kidnapping, rape, arson, and so on, while armed with a deadly weapon causing serious bodily injury to another human being. If the existence of aggravating circumstance outweighs any mitigating circumstances the trial jury could find the accused defendant guilty of the underlying felony and may recommend that the accused defendant be sentenced to death.

Cases in which a person is charged with allegedly committing multiple murders, the government prosecutors have to prove beyond a reasonable



doubt what frame of mind the person was in, whether they knowingly and intentionally did it, to establish the degree of one's culpability (guilt). The appeal process is even more complicated. You have to pay money every step of the way. This money is paid for bail bond, attorney fees, travel expenses, legal research, expert witnesses, transcript charges, investigation, filing and motion fees. Appellate courts are higher courts of review. The judges presiding in these courts only look to see whether the condemned person received a fair trial.

Capital punishment or death penalty statutory laws are discriminatorily applied against defendants of minority extraction, defendants accused of killing caucasians, and impoverished defendants upon the sole grounds of race, political belief, poverty and sex. The application of capital punishment laws are arbitrary and capricious.

For example, in June 1991, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that racism may be mean and irrational, but it is not unconstitutional. In February 1993, this same court ruled that an innocent person can be executed. All that's required by the U.S. Constitution is that the defendant receive a fair trial, not a perfect one. Only the most compelling claims of innocence can justify federal court intervention to prevent an execution. But, according to the court, executing the innocent is not cruel and unusual punishment.

The judicial interpretation of the laws make open-eyed, prejudicial, distinctions between people along class, caste and racial lines. Every variety of the sufferings of exploitation are aimed at the political economy's weak and powerless through the appearance of judicial legality. The poor, uneducated, miseducated, have-nots are held under the crushing heel of oppression while the super-wealthy few private property owners, who control the government, continue to eat well, drink, and be merry, and plunder the world's resources with impunity (free from punishment).

Any decent human being with a conscience would regard capital punishment laws with disgust, and stand resolutely for it's prompt abolition.

Zolo Agona Azania, #4969
Indiana State Prison, *death row*
P.O. Box 41
Michigan City, IN 46360

On Thursday May 27, 1993, the State Supreme Court of Indiana reversed judgement of the post-conviction court and remanded the case with instructions to set aside the sentence of death and to grant post-conviction relief in the form of new jury and judge sentencing hearings, or in the absence of such new hearings, the imposition of a sentence of years. The death sentence is erroneous. Zolo was convicted in court for "unarmed robbery class C felony murder." There is no such law or statute on the books in Indiana! Had Zolo received the maximum sentence for a class C felony conviction, which is 8 years, and with good time earned, he would have been discharged in 1985. To help Zolo Agona Azania's case, write to: CROSSROAD Support Network c/o Spear & Shield Collective, 3021 W. 63rd St. Chicago IL 60629.

The Expelled Tell Their Stories (reprinted from *Democratic Palestine*, No.53)

Hassan Abdulrauf is married and has eight children. He was shocked to find his own brother, who is younger than him, among the expellees.

It was after nine in the evening when my name was called over the loudspeaker in Ansar III. I was taken by surprise, since it is not usual for prisoners to be summoned after the six o'clock evening inspection. I hoped it was something good. "Bring all your stuff and come quickly," an Israeli officer told me in a strident tone. Many questions came to my mind: Would they release me? What were they going to do to me? Would they reopen the investigation of my case? It was similar to a fast-moving film that perplexed me with mounting questions, especially as I was serving a 38-month sentence of which 15 months had already passed.

I didn't know what they were saying to each other. I could only hear whispers as they kicked me along to the waiting bus. I sat in the bus, blindfolded and my hands and legs tied. "You are dangerous, Hassan," one of them said. "We convicted you 15 months ago, when you killed three soldiers in Jaffa on the anniversary of what you call Hamas. Now, you are repeating the same action by kidnapping and killing a border guard," he added. I knew then that, like before, I would be punished for something I didn't do. It was no doubt collective punishment, but what kind of punishment would it be this time? I certainly didn't expect that it would be expulsion, since I was a prisoner already and I was in prison when the kidnapping and killing of the soldier occurred.

The bus drove for many hours, stopping repeatedly to pick up others. We had nothing to eat or drink. If we asked for anything, we were beaten with the butts of the soldiers' guns. They ordered us to urinate in our clothes. It took a long time, and the weather changed dramatically, becoming very cold with the scent of snow in the air. I thought they had put the buses into a freezer. The beating I received was unbearable, like in Nazi prisons. I lost consciousness three times, and each time they poured cold water on me. When there was a respite for a few minutes, they took turns putting their rear ends up to my nose. Indeed, it is the fascism that we have heard about... When I asked for water to drink, one of the soldiers asked: "Do you believers drink just like other people, or is it God who sends angels to let you drink?" Then he proceeded to abuse God and the angels, while another soldier pressed my face against the window of the bus, injuring my lower jaw.

When the bus stopped, they removed the blindfold. I felt my eyes would pop out of my head. After a few moments I was able to see. I didn't know where I was... There were many soldiers with different appearances and speaking different languages - Hebrew and Arabic, and wearing the Lebanese flag on their chests. "Get down, animal!" I heard in Arabic. It was an officer of Lahd's army, the SLA. He pulled me by my beard, saying, "If you come back to this area, I will shoot you dead." We were an enormous crowd of people and they forced us into big trucks, 70 in each truck. I looked at the others to see if I recognized



anyone. There was an imam and a student who had come to me for help before I was imprisoned, since I was the administrative manager of the Islamic University in Gaza. "Peace be unto you," I greeted them. They returned the greeting with humiliation in their voices.

The trucks drove until arriving at the crossing point of Zamraya (separating the occupied zone from the rest of Lebanon). In the area of Marj Al Zuhour, a group of soldiers stopped us. They spoke in a kind manner but with sad words: "Go back friends; the Lebanese government is preventing your entry into our territory. Please, don't be upset. These are our orders, gentlemen," said the Lebanese officer. But when we tried to return, we found that the crossing had been closed off by the Israeli forces and the SLA who opened fire on us. Thus, we returned to this place, having the ground for our beds.

Marwan Muhamad Al Arbid works as a porter and has no connection with Hamas. He was to have married seven months ago, but each time he set the marriage date, he was arrested. He tells his story:

I didn't go to school because I was helping my father in his work. All the charges against me are groundless. The only thing I was doing was going every Friday to the holy mosque of Al Aqsa to pray. My mother always told me that whoever prays most of the time at Al Aqsa will be blessed and prosper, as if he had made the pilgrimage.

The soldiers know no mercy. They stormed our house like enraged oxen, beating me and saying: "You kidnapped the border guard. We will throw all of you out in the Negev like mice, and let the snakes and scorpions kill you." They pushed me into the patrol wagon like a sack of potatoes. Believe me, if it had not been for the fat on my body, they would have broken my bones... They were very angry when I asked for water to drink, and one of them offered me his urine. I could not see it since I was blindfolded, but the smell remained until we arrived in Marj Al Zuhour, where I vomited until I thought my stomach would come out of my mouth... God willing, I will return to my homeland since I miss my work and family.

Sheikh Hamed Al Baitwai is a well known preacher at Al Aqa Mosque; he is the head of the League of Palestine's Ullama (religious scholars), a judge of the Tulkarm court and assistant head of the charity committee. He is married and has seven children. He is not a member of Hamas, but he has fearlessly called for *Jihad* at Al Aqsa Mosque. He has been imprisoned many times and put under house arrest. The occupation authorities have even prevented him from meeting his parents who live in his native village, Baita, 10 km from his house in Nablus. On one occasion, he was imprisoned along with three of his sons for a year.

They did not respect my age or white hair. They arrested me in the evening... I collapsed under the beatings... When they took me to the military governor's building in Nablus, it was raining as if to portend the greatest dangers. I was made to stand in front of the building in the rain, blindfolded and with my hands and legs bound. "Oh God, what kind of a test is this?" I

wondered... They were insulting our religion and following up their words with beatings.

"Relax and take it easy, sheikh!" With these words, the security officer began the interrogation: "Do you, sheikh Hamed, know that there are some people who fight the State of Israel with missiles, others with pistols and still others with stones? But the danger which you and people like you represent lies in your words... Words are more effective than swords and missiles. Your preaching makes young people revolt and face our tanks without fear, especially when you tell them that God's reward for martyrdom is great. So we will silence people like you forever."

They think they can protect themselves by expelling us, but they don't know that the Palestinian people fight for the sake of God and the homeland. The people who have brought forth Izadin Al Qassam, Ghassan Kanafani, Abu Jihad and Abu Ali Iyad (Fatah leader martyred in Jordan, 1971) and others will bring forth new preachers to take our place and call for defending the homeland. Still, we believe we are going to return to the homeland in order to remain as an obstacle in the face of the terrorist Rabin, God willing.

Marj Al Zahour University

One of the expellees at Marj Zahour, Khaled Khalil Ramaed, suggested to another, Professor Abdulfatah Owaisi, that the students among the expelled take their exams and finish with their subjects. Khaled has been studying at Hebron University since 1986. The idea sounded good to Professor Owaisi, who then proposed setting up a university since among the expelled are enough students to fill up a lecture hall, and there are also sufficient professors. Professor Owaisi agreed to administer the exam for Khalid but warned him that the difficult conditions of being expelled would not be taken into consideration. If he passed, it would be registered with his university in Palestine, but also if he failed, the failure would be registered. Khalid passed, obtaining 45 out of 50 points on the exam.

The next day, the nearly 30 students among the expellees were busy digging on a hill near their camp, making something similar to a university lecture hall. They called it Marj Al Zahour University - Ibn Taemia College for expellees.

Dr. Abdulfatah Owaisi graduated from Exeter University in England and teaches at Hebron University; He has published a number of research papers on the question of Palestine. He is the father of eight children, the youngest born two days after his expulsion. He tells about the new university's curriculum:

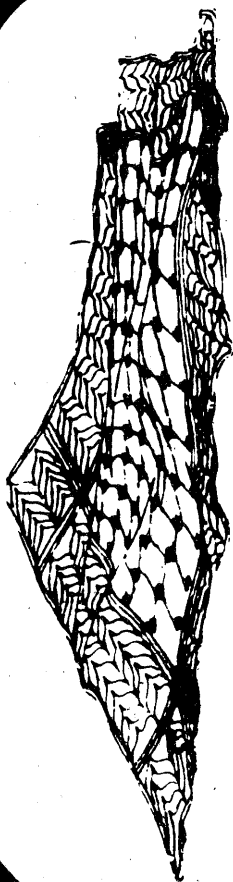
We teach the students here about the Palestinian cause, which is one of the subjects at universities in Palestine, in order to make them aware of the nature of the enemy, and what is going on around them. We will not be partial to any student, regardless of the conditions in this camp. We are engaged in a process of challenging the enemy. So whoever deserves success will have it and vice versa. We, the 17 teachers who were expelled, have decided to condense two semesters' studies into one month. There will be one lesson of



45 minutes each day. After a month, the students will sit for an exam which be open to the press. Afterwards, we will send the marks to the occupied territories to be registered in the students' files. We will prove to the world that we are determined to educate ourselves and return to our homeland, God willing.

What kind of legitimacy, democracy and humanity is this that they speak about in the advanced world, which established and continues to protect this racist entity [Israel]?... They don't know the meaning of humanity and never have good intentions towards our nation. Unfortunately, the rulers of our nation are in harmony with them in the so-called peace negotiations. I challenge Rabin to bring us to trial openly and put in prison who deserves it. But he knows that we are innocent, so he ignores the UN resolutions... Isn't it Israel which has violated international legitimacy? Did it implement Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 or withdraw from the 1967 occupied territories? Israel has violated many resolutions, protected by the US and the legitimacy of the powerful states.

We will not accept any alternative to returning to our homeland, even if this means returning to prison... The most difficult thing we face is the humiliating silence of the Arab and Islamic nation, as if condemnation and regrets would ensure the return of those expelled... We hope that they will wake up, break their silence and stop this game of "peace" negotiations.



Democratic Palestine is a quarterly magazine with analysis and commentary pertinent to the Palestinian liberation struggle, as well as developments in the Middle East and internationally.

To subscribe, send US \$32 (for eight issues) via postal money order (or if this is not possible a money or bank order) to our giro account:

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Box 30192
Damascus, Syria

Democratic Palestine no. 52 features articles on the Washington negotiations and Palestinian mass opposition to self - rule and resettlement; Palestinian political prisoners and developments in Lebanon and Yemen; as well as a comprehensive interview with Dr. George Habash on the PFLP's view of Marxism today.

Democratic Palestine is the only voice in this country of the Palestinian socialist revolutionaries who are carrying out the struggle from the refugee camps and from exile against the Zionist occupiers of their land. Brothers & Sisters here who want to understand the inside politics of the Palestinian struggle should avail themselves of this magazine and its unique information.

**FREE
THE
LAND!**

From Alcatraz to Marion to Florence (part 3)

7. Imprisonment as Control

On Dec. 31, 1990 there were well over 1,100,000 people behind bars in the United States, which makes the U.S. incarceration rate (the number of people per 100,000 of the population) the highest in the world at 455 (Mauer, 1992: 3). This is well above the next highest rate which was for South Africa under apartheid (311) and dwarfs rates in the Netherlands (46) and Australia (79) (Mauer, 1992: 5). The number of people in prison in the U.S. has more than doubled over the last decade and it is projected by the government that an additional 300,000 people will be incarcerated by 1995 (New Yorker, 1992: 27). Even in 1981 the situation was so bad that New York State Correction Commissioner Thomas Coughlin admitted that "the department is no longer engaged in rehabilitative and programming efforts, but is rather forced to warehouse people and concentrate on finding the next cell" (Day, 1988: 8).

These figures are even more striking when analyzed in terms of race. The incarceration rate for Black men is 3,370 per 100,000, more than seven times that for white men (Whitman, 1991). We do not have current data on the rates of incarceration for other non-white people, however through 1976-78, Indians were arrested at a rate more than ten times that of white people (U.S. Census of Population, 1976-1978)). The U.S. incarcerates Black men at a rate five times higher than South Africa does (Mauer, 1992: 1). Just as control units suppress the prison population, so prisons act in our poor, Black, Latin and Native communities. It is no exaggeration to say that hardly anyone in these communities escapes the shadow of the "criminal justice system."

The devastation can be expressed in many ways. Black people are twelve percent of the U.S. population, forty-three percent of the prison population (Wicker, 1991). Using data based on a single day in mid-1989, a study by Marc Mauer for the Sentencing Project in Washington, D.C. found that about one in four Black men in their twenties were under some kind of control by the criminal justice system and about one in twelve were actually behind bars (Mauer, 1990). In 1985, the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics published the results of a 1979 survey that sought to determine the probability that a person in the U.S. would go to prison in his/her lifetime (Langan and Greenfeld, 1985). Using the data in this report, it can be calculated that in 1979 the probability that a Black man would go to prison sometime in his life was twenty-two percent. In 1992 we can be sure that this is higher so that probably one in four Black men will go to prison in his lifetime. What must this mean for the Black community? Families suffer financially and emotionally. Whatever few jobs might have been available to Black men will be further out of reach for an "ex-con." Prisoners rejoin their communities from prisons which don't even pretend to rehabilitate and where conditions encourage violence and criminality.

Faced with the question "Why do Black people go to prison at a rate seven times higher than white people?" we can answer in three different ways. One is that Black people commit seven times as much crime and are genetically disposed to do so. The second is that Black people commit seven times as much crime and something about their disadvantaged social situation is responsible for this. The third is that Black people do not commit that much crime but the criminal justice system is racist enough to make sure they end up in prison that often.

Rejecting the first alternative, the truth must lie somewhere in between the last two answers, and, although it is impossible to determine how much



weight to give to each, one cannot escape the conclusion that U.S. society is extremely racist. If the imprisonment rate accurately reflects the crime rate, one is lead to the conclude that to effectively combat crime, poverty and racism must be eliminated (even if one is not interested in eliminating them for any other reason.)

The other alternative, that in fact Black people do not commit such a disproportionate amount of crime, is indicated by much evidence, though it is impossible to calculate the degree of the disparity. For example, the number of crimes committed is so huge that actual imprisonments only account for a small fraction of the people who perpetrate them. The crime rate is difficult to determine and the two major national sources of crime data disagree significantly on both quantity and trends. They do, however, both show that the amount of crime is very large: in 1986, between thirteen[11] and thirty-four [12] million crimes were committed. Thus from a huge pool of potential prisoners, i.e., people who have committed crimes, the criminal justice system singles out those who will go to prison. This is done mainly via policing policy. One major example that shows how racist this is, is the "War on Drugs," in which police target poor, Black neighborhoods even though the great majority of drug users are white. It is estimated by the government that by 1995, sixty-nine percent of people in prison will be drug offenders (Mauer, 1992: 7). A front page story in the Los Angeles Times said that while about eighty percent of the nation's drug users are white, the majority of those arrested for "drug crimes" are Black (Harris, 1990). Racism also explains why the 1986 Federal Anti-Drug Abuse Act equates selling five grams of crack cocaine worth about \$100 with 500 grams of powdered cocaine worth about \$50,000, both crimes drawing mandatory prison terms of five years. Black drug users often choose cheaper crack cocaine, while white drug users more often use the relatively expensive powder which is the real profit-maker for the drug trade (McPherson, 1992).

Crime is a problem that must be tackled. However, there is no evidence that high imprisonment rates are the answer to the problem of crime. Indeed, study after study shows that prisons do not deter crime (Blumstein et al., 1978; Visher, 1987: 513-543; Krajick and Gettinger, 1982) and, remarkably, we know of no research that indicates that they do. (The only slight reduction in the crime rate due to incarceration is by the incapacitation of those imprisoned, but the conclusion of the studies referenced above is that massive increases in the imprisonment rate have only a tiny effect on the crime rate.) Imprisoning large numbers of people in order to stop crime has been a spectacular and massively expensive failure. Academic research shows this and even prison officials sometimes admit to the reality of the situation. According to the Director of Corrections of Alabama, "We're on a train that has to be turned around. It doesn't make any sense to pump millions and millions into corrections and have no effect on the crime rate" (Ticer, 1989: 80).

Prisons do not reduce crime, so what do they do? They cause direct suffering to prisoners and their families. More subtly, though more significantly to our discussion, they are a major cause of the deterioration of communities of poor people and especially people of color. If one decides that the purpose of prisons cannot be to stop crime, because they do not and this has been known for many years, then one can conclude that this devastation is the real intention. The consequent suppression of active protest amongst people of color against the injustices of a society based on the maximization of profit is obviously a gain for those with a vested interest in such a society.

8. Control of Public Opinion

Control units seriously violate prisoners' rights. The facts about Marion shows that they serve to suppress dissent among the prison population. Imprisonment does not reduce crime but brutalizes entire communities. The "War on Drugs" has no effect on the problem of drug abuse but is a war on Black people. These truths never appear on our televisions or in our newspapers, even though crime and prisons are practically a media obsession. The present system of mass incarceration with the accompanying specter of more and more control units can only be maintained with at least the tacit approval of society as a whole. So it is not surprising that those of the population least likely to experience the brutality of prison are also subjected to appropriate control procedures. We have already described how the media repeat the falsehoods concerning control units. Newspaper articles often do not even bother to attribute claims to prison spokespeople but make statements such as "Florence will become the inheritor of the worst of the worst in the federal prison system " (Pueblo Chieftan, 1990: 4A) as if they were facts.

We face a constant barrage of racist anti-crime and anti-drug hysteria from the establishment. Prisoners are portrayed as incorrigible and dangerous, undeserving of even the most basic human rights. Politicians and the mainstream media never even mention, let alone intelligently discuss, underlying problems of poverty, inequality and racism. Debate is thus limited to how to manage the ever-increasing flood of prisoners, the necessity of creating such a flood being taken as given.

The reality of the role of control units is carefully hidden from public view. Most control units and other newly constructed prisons are located in isolated, economically depressed, rural areas. This serves several purposes. The ardent support of local people, who rely on the prison for desperately needed jobs, is secured and prisoners are isolated from their families and friends.

Political figures support increased imprisonment since most of them thrive on "tough-on-crime" platforms. Nor can the courts be relied upon. In *Bruscino vs. Carlson*, Marion prisoners sought compensation for the attacks which occurred during the October 1983 shakedown and relief from the ongoing conditions of the lockdown. A 1985 Magistrate's Report for this case was approved by the full U.S. District Court for Southern Illinois in 1987. The decision found that fifty prisoners who testified to beatings and other brutalities were not credible witnesses, and that only the single prisoner who testified that there were no beatings was believable (*Bruscino v. Carlson*, 1985). When the prisoners appealed the decision, the ruling of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals described conditions at Marion as "ghastly," "sordid and horrible" and "depressing in the extreme," but maintained that they were necessary for security reasons and did not violate prisoners' constitutional rights (Landis, 1988: A1).

Finally, there is no discussion of what should be considered a crime and who is to be considered a criminal. The Black drug addict who sells drugs to keep up his habit, the poor man who robs a drug store at gunpoint, the woman who kills her abusive husband: they are all sent to prison and considered dangerous.

However, the violation of safety codes by slum landlords and mine owners, embezzlement and fraud by savings and loan executives, pollution of land,



seas and atmosphere by oil and chemical company directors, the bombing of schools, hospitals and water purification plants by U.S. presidents, the aggressive marketing of cigarettes (the most deadly narcotic in the world, causing almost 200 times as many deaths as cocaine in the U.S. in 1988 according to C. Everett Koop, Reagan's surgeon general (Shalom, 1992: 15)) across the world by U.S. tobacco companies cause hugely more death, injury and impoverishment and yet are rarely punished by imprisonment. Crimes against humanity and the environment are not illegal if committed by the powerful.

9. Summary.

We have described the development of control unit prisons in the U.S. and showed how this is an attempt by prison authorities to suppress protest and dissent within the prison system. The entire prison system is an attack on oppressed people, the poor and especially people of color, rendering them less able to organize and struggle for their rights and their liberation.

Notes.

[1] The authors are members of the Committee to End the Marion Lockdown. They would like to thank all the prisoners who have provided information on control units. They welcome comments on this article as well as more information or inquiries concerning control units. Please write c/o CEML, P.O. Box 578172, Chicago, Illinois, 60657-8172.

[2] An example of how this works in practice is the case of an Ohio prisoner who was charged with "inciting to riot" for getting other prisoners at his medium security prison to sign a statement of grievances against the prison for bad conditions. The prison disciplinary committee found him guilty and recommended a punitive transfer to a control unit at another prison in Ohio. However, all transfers must be approved at Central Office in Columbus, which approval was denied since under the law, the prisoner could not be punished with such a transfer for what he had done. So the warden at his prison responded by requesting that Central Office approve an administrative transfer instead. The transfer was OK'ed without question (Reed, 1992).

[3] The following account is based on on the public report prepared by Cunningham and Susler (1984).

[4] This description was compiled through use of various sources, including: Bruscino v. Carlson (1985); Hart (1984); Gonzales (1986); Marion Penitentiary - 1985 (1985); Leyden (1986); Satchell (1987); Dickey (1990); Lassiter (1990); Isikoff (1991); Lehman (1990).

[5] For example, mail sent by the Committee to End the Marion Lockdown has been returned or "lost." In one case, then warden Gary Henman, when challenged about a lost mailing, implied that twenty-seven prison addressees had lied about not receiving it. Henman wrote, "You may want to look at their criminal/institutional records prior to putting your faith completely on their statements." (Letter from Gary Henman to Steven Whitman, Committee to End the Marion Lockdown, January 27, 1989.) Another mailing was returned because it included a general distribution leaflet for a demonstration with the phrase "Join Us."

[6] Among the "Findings of Fact" in the Magistrate's Report (Bruscino v. Carlson, 1985: 493).

[7] Letter from Wallace H. Cheney, General Counsel for the Federal Bureau of Prisons, to Jan Susler, Attorney for the People's Law Office, Chicago, IL, December 31, 1990. The entire text of the letter read: "This is in response to your request for information related to the Florence, Colorado project. The issues you enquired about have not yet been decided. Therefore, no records exist at this time pertaining to your request. I trust you you [sic] will find this information useful."

[8] This assumes that this aspect of the model for Florence, the Pelican Bay State Prison Security Housing Unit, is copied. See e.g. (Wilson, 1991: 2) and Corwin (1990: A1).

[9] Letter from Pelican Bay SHU prisoner Thomas Feters, to the authors, June 30, 1991. Feters writes that he was transferred to the SHU for filing a lawsuit after being injured by a guard who assaulted him while he was in physical restraints. Letter from SHU prisoner Robert Lee Davenport, to the authors, September 28, 1990. Davenport reports being hog-tied and left on his cell-floor for ten hours and witnessing other prisoners left like that for twenty hours.

[10] See, e.g., Criminal Justice Newsletter (1990); and Smith (1991), a full-page plea, masquerading as a news report, for the Illinois prison system to build its own version of Marion.

[11] "Uniform Crime Reports" in Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics - 1987}, Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989.

[12] Bureau of Justice Statistics, "National Crime Survey" in Households Touched by Crime - 1988, Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989.

CROSSROAD Needs Your Help!

In the coming year, CROSSROAD will focus upon the campaign to seek the release of New Afrikan Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War, and/or their repatriation to friendly countries. There will be an increased focus upon the increasing number of control unit prisons in the U.S. This, and more, as part of our effort to better educate and organize people in support of captured combatants. And, because We are presently engaged in the national democratic stage of the independence struggle, CR will devote more of its pages to coverage of the issues that Afrikans fight for on a daily basis, to survive, and to build structures to use in the transition from domestic neo-colonial dependency to self-determination and national independence. Be a part of this process.

Subscribe Today!



NO! WE'RE NOT AMERIKKKANS!

Is there a kkkonspiracy to label Us "Afrikan-amerikkkans"? Moreover, Our concern is whether or not there is any truth to this advertisement.

Shall We begin with these four basic questions:

- 1) What is de criteria for becoming "amerikkkkan"?
- 2) When did We become "amerikkkans"?
- 3) Is being kkkidnapped, taken kkkaptive, and forced into slave labor for "amerikkkans" de criteria for becoming "amerikkkkan"? or,
- 4) Is this de criteria for being branded de property - slaves, niggers, subHumans, 3/5 Human, mulattoes, kkkoloreds, negroes, creoles, mixed, blacks, or "amerikkkans" and whatever they see fit to call us?

Here's a good example to draw from. Have you ever heard of Zimbabwe? That's a country in Afrika that de British South Afrika Company, under Cecil Rhodes, invaded and branded "Rhodesia". Afterwards, de despicable, gold-robbing, homicidal-no!-genocidal imperialist maniacs named all de Afrikan people there, "Rhodesians". "Why?" Perhaps it was done so "Afrikan-amerikkkans" wouldn't be confused with "Afrikan-rhodesians". We're talking about an estimated figure of roughly 12 million people and about an Afrikan liberation struggle that lasted nearly a hundred years. Today de country is known as Zimbabwe and de people are known as Zimbabweans. See de point? "Rhodesia" was a part of (that) which they were struggling to become independent (of).

Moving to de core of de four questions constituting our criteria for analysis, We will find that, like de British South Afrika Company, other bourgeois european companies kkkolonized this Northern Continent and branded it "amerikkkka" - their private property! Then these pre-kkkapitalists aided and assisted by de european oppressor monarchy went to Afrika kkkidnapping and kkkapturing every Afrikan without any discrimination of sex, age, nationality, or religion. Except, that is, for de kkkolaborationist, accomodationist, and opportunist [Afrikan] who betrays Us to this imperialist economic system which is still today based on de continuation of [Afrikan] slavery.

"In fact, de veiled slavery of de wage-earners in Europe needed, for its pedestal, slavery pure and simple in de new world," said Karl Marx.

De irrefutable fact is that this practice of kkkidnapping and kkkapturing Afrikans soon became de chief business in step with the historic formation of a sector of the world's working class, de european sector mainly, which received the economic and psychological wage of turning [Afrikan] peoples into "slaves, kkkomodities, kkkapital, kkkolonies" for de profit of de bosses of kkkapitalism. This early stage of de imperialistic economic system that We know as kkkapitalism was called "De Atlantic Slave Trade". Got that? "De Atlantic Slave Trade". Don't ever forget it! We was shipped to "amerikkkka", after being ripped off of land, wealth, and culture, not as "amerikkkans", but as property, as merchandise, as kkkomodities to be sold! These same companies also murdered, slaughtered, massacred, and killed de Taino and native

peoples off this land and forced them on to shrinking slave reservations. To say this in one word, Genocide. You know what homicide is, don't you? Well, genocide is far, far worse, homicide practice on a collective level, so much worse that justice can only mean de complete, total, and absolute destruction of this genocidal economic system called kkkapitalism.

All of de so-called thirteen kkkolonies were under the control of these kkkapitalist companies; Patrick Henry, George Washington, and Benjamin Franklin to name a few of the "founding fathers" (of the amerikkkan economic genocidal slavery system) all had extensive private, ideological interests and investments in these companies. They were plotting for de continuation of genocide against de native families to steal all de rest of this land and brand it "amerikkka" as their own private property all de while many native families were hoping that after de imperialist British were defeated, everyone could then co-exist in peace. The european companies, joint ventures, kkkolonial enterprises etc. and their investors became agencies of imperialism de very second that they came into contact with de native families and with this land. That's what "amerikkka" means: imperialism. So there you have it, de criteria for becoming "amerikkkan" is imperialism. Pure and simple.

Now, that's not to be confused with "amerikkkanism", which is what people who are not the agents of imperialism, but who nonetheless call themselves "amerikkkans" actually are. They're not "amerikkkans", they are "amerikkkanisms", de product of "amerikkkans".

No! We Afrikans aren't "amerikkkans". That is a part of what We are struggling to be free of. Like de Zimbabweans, We're struggling to be free of amerikkka as they struggled to be rid of "Rhodesia"; like de Azanians are struggling to be rid of de imperialist republic of South Africa. No. We are not "amerikkkan", We are New Afrikans! We are struggling to be rid of "amerikkkan imperialism" and imperialism altogether. We're struggling to control Our children's education and to teach them that de practice of private ownership of this social world is abnormal and not to be respected or tolerated, to teach them a concrete approach to de struggle which is for some land of Our own named New Afrika, anti-imperialist land. We're struggling to teach Our children that de Emancipation Proclamation ain't shit without de land to which We are rightfully entitled: New Afrikan land! We're struggling to teach Our children that We are not de kkkriminals, that this system is kkkriminal, and that de 13th Amendment, on which rests de so-called Emancipation Proclamation, is nothing but an imperialist weapon, that de imperialist kkkongress devised to legalize a new type of slavery: penal kkkolonial slavery!

We are struggling to teach Our children that no government, no economic system, no body, no nation has a right to de-Afrikanize Us, not with 13th Amendment slavery, not with 13th Amendment death, not even with 13th Amendment freedom. We're struggling to teach Our children that there is no such thing as a "fair trial" in an imperialist court for de oppressed class. We gonna teach Our children that We're not to be oppressed as a class.

We Are A Nation! De struggle is to win Our independence as a nation! With Self-Determination!

No! We are not "amerikkkans", We are New Afrikans, a Nation born in



kkkaptivlty and struggling to be rid of "amerikkkanism", to be independent.

De answer to de second question is never, ever did We become "amerikkkans", and saying it don't make it so. Were Nat Turner, David Walker, George and Jonathon Jackson, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Jane Pittman, Dred Scott, Malcolm X, Martie Delany, Gabriel Prosser, and Bessie Smith, just to name a few of all of Us, "amerikkkans"? No! Are Sundiata Acoli, Assata Shakur, Ramona Africa, The MOVE Commune, Mark Clark and Fred Hampton, etc. "amerikkkans"? No! Like Malcolm X said, "Living in Amerikkka [current author's own spelling] don't make you no amerikkkan!"

Yes, there is a kkkonspiracy afoot to brand Us, New Afrikans, with a new kkkolonial (prisoner) name: "African-Americans". With these loud thoughts i'll close this writing.

This Northern Continent is de home of many nations, "amerikkka" is de home of none.

De New Afrikan Struggle is for land, Self-government, and socialism. In a word, Humanity!

Know that, show that.

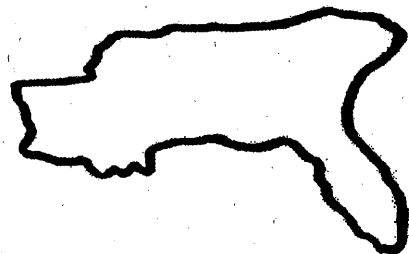
ReBuild to Win!

Free de land and

Free de World!

REPARATIONS, YES!

The National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America is striving to create a national united front for all of those groups and individuals working to achieve reparations, so that our present demand for the interest-accumulated "forty acres and a mule" will be successful. The reparations struggle may be a long one, but if We work together in an organized, consistent way, victory is certain!



N'COBRA

National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations
In America, Inc.
Post Office Box 75437
Baton Rouge, LA 70874

My name is _____

Address _____ Street/ Apt _____

Box No. _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone: Area _____ Number _____

I believe that Black People, Afrikans in America, should be compensated for the cruelty and exploitation of slavery and the racial discrimination and oppression imposed upon our people after slavery. I support the effort of N'COBRA to organize a National Movement to win reparations NOW! I hereby apply for membership.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Five -Dollar Membership Received Fee by _____
ACTION BY NATION OFFICE

Signature: _____ Date: _____

On Our Use of 'We' and 'i'

"3) i believe in the community as more important than the individual" - New Afrikan Creed

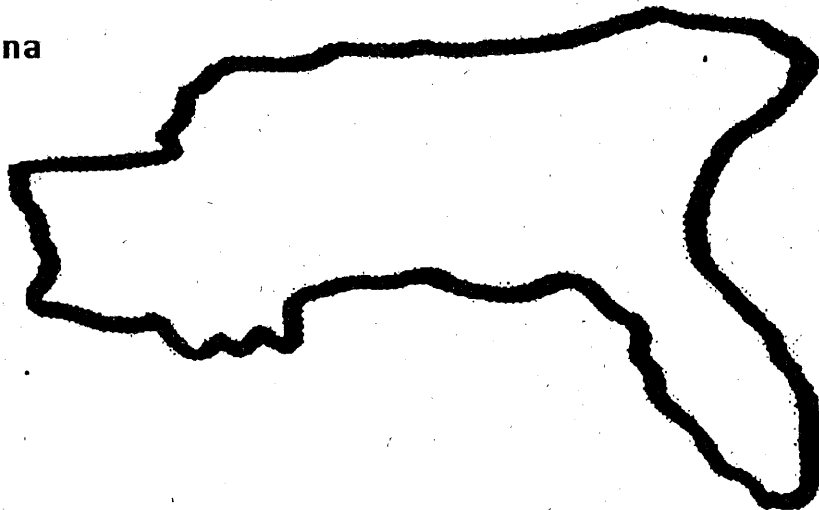
"In the following pages the pronoun "I" is not capitalized,...while the pronoun "We" is capitalized throughout. This style supports the concept that We must restore a sense of love and a unified, cooperative community amongst us. It emphasizes community over individualism" - Imari Obadele, Free The Land!

**"Individualism as a principle setting the individual in opposition to the collective and subordinating the social interests to the personal, emerged with the appearance of private property and the division of society into classes."
- Dictionary of Philosophy, Ivan Frolou (ed.) pg. 14**

Conscious citizens of the People's Republic of New Afrika internalize and manifest the principle of unity in some very fundamental ways: We are united on our national name. We are united on a political objective of independence and state power. We are united in our claim to a contiguous landmass in what is now called the u.s.a.; And We are united on the fundamental principle of nationhood: We are patriots - the community is more important than the individual. We totally reject the western glorification and elevation of the individual at the expense of the community. Our use of 'i' and 'We' is a cultural convention which serves to reinforce this profound value. This is a beautiful thing on the written page. In fact, i have my train of thought disrupted when reading something which another conscious citizen has written with big i's and small we's all through it. We must work to turn this beautiful concept into a material reality on a daily basis. Wherever, whenever We write, We should manifest our cultural critique on Individualism.

ReBuild!

Amilcar Shanna



UPDATES

Fred Hampton, Jr. was recently convicted of aggravated arson; he was sentenced to **18 years**. His address is: (aka Alfred Johnson) #B42954
Big Muddy River Correctional Facility
PO Box 900, Ina, IL 62846

The Nebraska Board of Pardons refused to commute **Mondo Langa's** life sentence, thereby eliminating his chances for parole at this time. (See CR, Spring 1993)

Bolstered by visits this spring from Italian government officials, a renewed international campaign to release **Silvia Baraldini** to Italy is underway. Send a mailgram to the u.s. empire's attorney general, Janet

Reno by calling 1-800-888-5284 and asking for message #41 (you will be billed \$5.50-\$6.50) or fax your own message to (202) 514-5331. For more information, contact:

Release Silvia Committee
3543 18th Street, #30
San Francisco, CA 94110

Eddie Hatcher was recently moved to a medium security prison closer to his home, which allows his relatives to visit him much more easily. The *Friends of Eddie Hatcher* believe that this change was brought about partly by pressure from Eddie's supporters or the Department of Corrections and on the governor of North Carolina. For more information, contact:

Friends of Eddie Hatcher
P.O. Box 9908
Berkeley, CA 94709

Eddie's new address is: P.O. Box 700, Raeford NC 28736

Dr. Mutulu Shakur has been placed in solitary confinement at Lompoc Federal Prison. Supporters fear that Mutulu may be transferred to a "Maxi Maxi" facility, despite having an impeccable discipline record. Please call Mr. Strawhun, Assistant to Warden Swenson, USP Lompoc-- 805-735-2771 to express your desire that Mutulu be released from the hole and demand assurances be made that he won't be transferred. For more information, contact:

Malcolm X Grassroots Movement
P.O. Box 19190-A
Los Angeles, CA 90019
213-734-2302

We send "shouts out" to **Jose Rivera**, the Puerto Rican City Councilman who pushed through a resolution supporting amnesty for the 21 Puerto Rican Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War. If only We had New Afrikan (or even "Afrikan-American") legislators who would wage this kind of struggle for Our Captured Combatants!

SUPPORT CROSSROAD & THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT!

The struggle of Afrikans in the U.S. to regain their independence has always been characterized by two major trends. One trend has struggled against racial discrimination and for equal participation in U.S. society, accepting capitalist hegemony. The other trend has struggled against their national oppression by the U.S., and to establish an independent, socialist state.

The existence of these trends is a matter of historical record. Despite the efforts of the U.S. to suppress the struggle for Afrikan independence, the movement has a strong contemporary expression among all sectors of the Afrikan population, especially among Afrikan youth. For example, in 1969, a Newsweek magazine poll of Afrikans in the Northern U.S. showed that 27 percent of Afrikans under the age of thirty (and 18 percent of those over the age of thirty), wanted an independent Afrikan state. A more recent study conducted among Afrikan college students by Professor Luke Tripp showed that 34 percent of the students favored an independent Afrikan state.

CROSSROAD (CR), about to enter its fifth year of publication, is the only newsletter devoted to New Afrikan Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War. **CR** also covers theoretical issues and daily struggles in Afrikan communities. For its daily operation, as well as its goal of continued growth and improvement, **CR** depends on the help of its supporters and subscribers. Won't you fill out and mail the form below today? Please make checks or money orders payable to: **(\$10/yr)**

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Sketches of New Afrikan Nation Day, 1993

In the spirit of unity-criticism-unity, i want to offer just these few thoughts on Our recent gathering in Jackson, Mississippi to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the New Afrikan Independence Movement. It was wonderful indeed to be in the midst of young and old conscious citizens and to renew Our commitment to a common goal. However, We must always strive to be better and work to ReBuild a strong, viable, and dynamic Movement. It is in this light that i write these few lines...

In the "Strategies For Liberation" panel, presenters didn't have enough time to really delve into the subject matter with the serious attention that this topic deserves. There should have been more effort devoted to summing up the past 25 years and recent developments. We need to begin to flesh out the different aspects of the struggle that We are engaged in and place concrete tasks before the people as challenges if We are to progress.

In the panel on Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War, We should have come to agreement on resolutions which could then have been presented to the conference attendees as work to be done. "Where Do Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War Come From?" was the theme of one of the presenters, and it is right on time. We must learn how to relate to Our Captured Combatants as real people and resist the temptation to objectify them and forget that they are part of the whole. Perhaps We can begin by taking the time, in earnest, to tighten up communications with these comrades and making it a point to visit them on a regular basis. Like Fred Hampton said of Bobby Seale when he was in captivity, "You oughta come see about Bobby because Bobby came and saw about you. You oughta come see about Bobby because in 1966, when We didn't even think We were important enough to protect ourselves, Bobby and Huey got their guns and went into the community..." We got people just like that inside now, and We need to go and see about them.

The PG-RNA and MXGRM held separate meetings before the resolution session. This took some of the energy out of the session because We didn't start until Sunday afternoon; several key participants had left by then. Also, the resolution session should have been more of a focus throughout the whole conference.

i think that the youth were strong, but many of them lacked theoretical development. One of the conference attendees reminded Us of the encroaching obsolescence of Black labor, and the need to pay more attention to economic development.

We also show a tendency to focus more on external contradictions and forces outside of the NAIM, as opposed to making honest assessments of Our own PRACTICE. As a Movement, We must begin to more accurately and honestly assess the state of Our Nation, and Our role in changing Our condition.

ReBuild!



Lies, Liberals & Colonial Conquests

As i began to emerge from a self-induced trance like state of study, a necessity for concentration amid the frequent distractions here, i ran across an interesting article in the *Utne Reader*, titled:

**"Hawaii 0-0?: an independence movement stirs
in the 50th state".**

Well, the title alone drew me into the article, which, as it turns out, was but an excerpt from yet another publication out of Honolulu, called *Honolulu Weekly*. The writer described the organized march of over 10,000 Native Hawaiians in protest of the centennial anniversary of the colonial conquest of their nation by the imperialist U.S.

**"Queen Liliuokalani was forced to abdicate by U.S. diplomats
backed by 162 U.S. marines & a gunboat".**

This was January 17, 1893. Since that time, "...nearly 140,000 Native Hawaiians who make up 12% of Hawaii's population die younger, earn less, go to jail more frequently, and are more likely to be homeless than any other ethnic group in the islands".

For conscious folks, this repercussion of colonialism is symptomatic of the ill; But what we want to sum up is the striking parallels between our national oppression here in North America, and that of the Hawaiian people. National oppression is national oppression, though often smoke screens are so elaborately constructed that one needs to sift through the cosmetics to get at the truth. We have often been blown off course in our search for such truth by thinking that each case of national oppression will look exactly like the old models as such. In our case as New Afrikans, we've had to study and struggle hard to get to the truth and actuality of our national oppression. Not just have the oppressors deliberately blocked our road to sure knowledge, but traitors of our own nation have joined forces with them to mislead us into a fifth grove of colonial madness, themselves being sparsely rewarded by their masters for our destruction.

**"No one claims a sovereign Hawaiian nation can coalesce
overnight, but as sovereignty discussions continue, two
key models for a self-determining Hawaiian nation have
emerged: the nation within a nation, and complete
independence."**

The language of imperialism is very prominent here: "nation within a nation or complete independence". First and foremost, America itself is not a nation. Rather a corporate conglomerate, a business fostering nationalistic trappings for ostensive purposes only. Once the colonies that keep America economically afloat recognize their position, America will dissolve. Secondly, this "nation within a nation" language is but a dress rehearsal for neo-colonialism. Reminiscent of the self-governing bantustans in occupied Azania, or reservations here in North America. There can be no parity between oppressed and oppressor. This "nation within a nation" is the problem now. Each nation

subjugated by u.s. imperialism must conform to the mores or the oppressor. Nations become national bourgeois subsidies at the expense of their future. To overstand this, We must overstand the "most completely bourgeois 'nation' in world history". Comrade J. Sakai noted that:

"1) amerika had no feudal or communal past, but was constructed from the ground up according to the nightmare vision of the bourgeoisie. 2) amerika began its 'national' life as an oppressor nation, as a colonizer of oppressed peoples. 3) amerika not only has a capitalist ruling class, but all classes and strata of euro-amerikans are bourgeoisified, with a preoccupation for petty privileges and property ownership, the normal guiding star of the white masses. 4) amerika is so decadent that it has no proletariat of its own, but must exist parasitically on the colonial proletariat of oppressed nations and national-minorities. (Settlers, pg. 9)

This gives a bit more insight as to how amerika has grown up on our backs, and continues to ride free today. The author of the article in review himself points up the fallacy in the "nation within a nation" concept by saying:

"Under the nation-within-a-nation model, Hawaiians would be recognized by the federal government as a self-governing entity, much as Native Americans and Eskimos have been. The Hawaiian nation would have authority over the public lands taken from the kingdom in 1893 and the power to make laws, collect tax, dispense justice, enter into treaties with other nations, and perform a variety of other functions carried out by most sovereign states."

Now, i am sure the author of the above had no intention of proving our case for us, but in effect, that is what he did. "As a nation-within-a-nation," the author writes, "Hawaiians would be recognized by the federal government". The oppressor government has "recognized" the nation of Hawaii for over 100 years, which is why "nearly 140,000 native Hawaiians... die younger, earn less, go to jail more frequently, and are more likely to be homeless...". There has never been a problem in "recognizing" Hawaii as a nation. Which is to say, that it is perhaps this recognition that has egged the beast on. The arrogance of Western man would lead folks to believe that if they are not "recognized by the federal government", then they are not a 'nation within a nation'. This flies in the face of the historical/social development of nations across this planet. Most nations could care less if the West "recognized" them. If the Native Nations and the Eskimos' "self-governing entity" is indicative of the sovereignty model they want to impose on the nation of Hawaii (and believe me, it is), then the Hawaiian nationalists better brush up on their studies regarding the sordid neo-colonial relationship of these nations to the imperialist West. The point is there is no "self-governing entity" in existence concerning "Native Americans and Eskimos".

The oppressor government, as represented by legions of political pigs



and oil corporations control the productive forces of Alaska, where the Eskimos have been reduced to an almost mascot type of existence in their own nation. The colonization of Alaska has proven to be disastrous for the Natives, not to mention the ecosystem. This "recognition" as a "self-governing entity" does not allow for Alaska, or the Native Nations, to build a Liberation Army, or trade freely with socialist nations. Kim Il Sung could not move freely in either of these "sovereign" nations. We need but to look at the u.s. response to A.I.M. to see how "free" these nations are. Another striking point is:

"The Hawaiian nation would have authority over public lands taken from the kingdom in 1893, and the power to make laws, collect tax, dispense justice...and perform a variety of other functions carried out by most sovereign nations".

The Hawaiian nation, much like the New Afrikan nation, or the Puerto Rican nation, already have the authority over their own land. Their land, not through murder or robbery, or sneaky tricks disguised as well-meaning endeavors, but their because they were born there and inherited it from their foreparents. The problem lies in not being able, at this time, to exercise their authority over their land. But surely this will not come as a result of being "recognized by the federal government". This will only lead to another neo-colonial pig force funded by the u.s. to maintain "control" over the "sovereign nation", like the Native nations' Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The author brings our point a bit more to its apex by stating:

"For Hawaiians to create an independent nation within a nation under existing federal policy, the federal government must recognize that Hawaiians are a Native American population."

This is the language and underlying intent of arrogant imperialism, i.e. "western civilization"; the author is saying that if you are not "Amerikan Indian," "African-American," "Hawaiian-American," or some other hyphenated half hue-man/half-oppressor, then you cannot be recognized as an "independent nation within a nation." Just forget your respective cultures, philosophies, languages, national territories, and colonial circumstances and hyphenate yourselves to join in the rape and plunder of Mother Earth and other already oppressed nations, *it's the amerikan way!* Do so, however, at the very real and inevitable actuality of facing the wrath of the oppressed – We are coming.

Now, this writer, who penned the Hawaiian-oo article, is himself an amerikan settler, in Hawaii working as a journalist. He likes his job, his standing in occupied Hawaii. Why, it's safe to say that he has a "preoccupation for petty privileges and property ownership". So by swaying the readers to believe its best to accept token independence and side with the oppressor – "This land is your land, this land is my land" trip – he can perhaps maintain his standing as opposed to being removed by the owners, perhaps violently. So,

to ensure that he is an "objective writer" (which is only to straddle the barbed wire so as to place bets with both sides) he gives a small paragraph to the nationalists:

"Those who back complete independence see America as an aggressor who invaded the islands, thereby committing an act of war, and they declare the state and federal governments in Hawaii to be temporary and illegal colonial administrations. In essence, they believe that, since Hawaiian people never voluntarily gave up their sovereignty, they never truly lost it. They encourage Hawaiians not to await an act of the occupying government, but to reassert their inherent sovereignty now."

The nationalists overstand who is who, there is no mistaking this. And so do We. We also have a very real overstanding that talk is cheap. It doesn't take much to come up with some revolutionary rhetoric, to quote those who have died practicing their theories with their hands around the neck of the oppressor. Why, if all you are doing is talking, "selling wolf tickets," then chances are the oppressor will ignore you and let you live. You'll be out there shouting in the wind, bursting the veins in your neck and going hoarse against the continuing march of the oppressors' practice. If nothing else, the oppressor *practices* his theories. Our subjugation is one such result. Now what We must do is start practicing ours. In the 70's, the forerunners of those of us who now must stand and deliver, coined a term that is fitting now and will be so until our nation is free. The phrase is "It's Nation Time".

Well, sistas and brothas, ain't nothing changed since then. It still is "Nation Time" — We are the nation, now is time We put our theories for practice in motion, and materialize our inherent right to be free and independent.

All power to the People who don't fear freedom! Power to the Revolutionary Nationalist Movements across this planet!

**ReBuild!
Sanyika Shakur**



La Patria Es Una!



WHAT IS LEFT?

Comrads, Sistas & Brothers,

What is left after being victimized, dehumanized, sodomized, and brutalized by a system dat has proven dat one of its primary goals is de oppression and extinction of New Afrikan and Afrikan people?

Dis essay is directed to de Sistas & Brothas who are about to be released from de belly of de beast or who have been released and find it difficult to stay on course, to keep politics in command. Dis is to de sistas & brothas who have made a general commitment to Our New Afrikan Liberation Struggle.

Many of us who have entered dese kkkoncentration kkkamps came in as social prisoners, kaptured kkkolonials, victims of de counterinsurgency war being waged in our communities. We came in to dese kkkamps and in one manner or anotha came into consciousness, into de knowledge of our historic struggle to be free from kkkolonial imperialism. Oftentimes de immediate oppression and brutalizations We are experiencing in dese kkkamps helps to push us further into learning about Our struggle and usually We make a general commitment based on de legitimate hate and anger We feel for de enemy. Dis commitment usually only crystallizes and becomes rooted when We are able to develop a firm grasp of revolutionary theory and put dis theory into practice by applying it to concrete conditions.

Many of Us who have made a general or emotional commitment find it hard to get out and be responsible to Our struggle or keep up with de pace of Our struggle. Dis is due to many factors which i shall touch on lightly because of space:

1) One of de main factors of brothas & sistas who had made a general or emotional commitment yet who fell to de wayside once they have been released is dat dey find demselves "liberated" into a society dat dey have not really prepared demselves for; often dey find demselves isolated with no firm foundation and a pocket full of revolutionary ideas but unable to articulate dem in a manner in which de people can relate and identify. Dis is partly Our fault and partly de fault of de internal contradictions of Our struggle. We have not developed to de point where We have enough entrenched mass organizations dat are capable of absorbing dese brothas & sistas and dis potential when dey step out of dese kkkamps. Dese brothas & sistas usually step out and is surrounded by negativism and reactionariness because their foundation is not strong from de initiative and dey have no assistance, oftentimes not even from de embryonic movement.

2) Another major factor is dat brothas & sistas have made commitments based upon emotions and "National Sentiment" because of their immediate situation. Due to de oppressive conditions and harsh treatment by de enemy and de barbaric conditions, dey make an emotional leap into de struggle but their commitment is not firm and fully rooted. Once their conditions change such as once dey are on de streets and have access to a few more privileges

dat dey didn't have in de kkkoncentration kkkamps dey turn their backs on de brothas & sistas dey left behind. Reactionary decompression.

3) Another factor is dat of ideological struggle around correct and incorrect lines. Oftentimes We run into a diversity of political lines or brothas & sistas who are not sure what political line dey hold or what a line is. We must constantly without pause engage in ideological struggle around what is de correct line, what is de most progressive line for US as a NATION, which line reflects Our historical development and reality, which line advances de movement and can be applied to de objective reality and concrete conditions of de NATION today. Those of US who are conscious New Afrikans must constantly and consistently work to propagate Our line and politic to de masses to raise their New Afrikan consciousness. We must cultivate political commitments within dese brothas & sistas, commitments based on political understanding, commitments to structures, organizations etc. as opposed to mere individuals. Commitments should no longer be based upon subjective, sentimental nonsense, but upon a clear ideological understanding. When We move forward in dis manner We are able to develop and demand a higher form of consciousness within Ourselves and thereby a higher form of practice.

How do We combat de above mentioned shortcomings? How do We transcend de inadequate dual power infrastructure on de "outside" capable of sustaining commitment, de reactionary decompression dat often accompanies "release", and de inadequate ideological education on de inside? First of all, We start combating dese pitfalls within de kkkamps. We start being more active and demanding inside dese kkkamps. We start organizing and studying more. We start assigning responsibility. At dis stage a lot of Our male youth are being imprisoned. We must build structures to pull dis revolutionary potential into Our ranks. We must have ways of identifying and communicating with dese brothas and winning dem to Our struggle and in de process We should be more demanding of Ourselves, as well as dem, We should test dem, We should assign responsibility. In de words of many patriots We must truly turn dese kkkamps into training grounds for revolutionary cadre and universities of revolution. With de creation and subsequent rise of kkkontrol units to suppress prisoners developing consciousness each of Us on the "inside" must become a germ of revolutionary politics. Wherever We go We must work to spread de disease of revolutionary consciousness, New Afrikan consciousness, We must contaminate every area We set foot in with de plague of revolutionary politics until dere is left no area dat has not been infected, until dere is left no area dat is not a victim of dis epidemic. We want to so inflict de beast until its body is riddled with de cancer of revolution and We thereby arrest de functioning and development of its most vital organs. We disrupt de daily machinery by spreading infected cells. Each one reach one and teach one! This helps to defeat and combat their attempts to utilize kontrol units to target and isolate particular elements within de populace.

What is Left???

We must move from just theory alone but combine dis theory with practice whereas one will be adequately prepared when dey hit de streets. We must be



'bout establishing firm foundations, political bases inside dese kkkamps and one kkkamp linking up with another kamp, in different states, developing working relationships, developing internal and external political bases and support mechanisms. Sistas, Brothas, Comrads We must be about de art of Re-Building! This newsletter is one contribution toward that effort.

It is important for both brothas & sistas who make it out to understand their responsibility, their duty. When one of Us makes it out of dese kkkoncentration kkkamps, it is Our duty to not only reach back for other revolutionary brothas and sistas but to join Our revolutionary struggle for National Liberation, for New Afrikan Liberation, on de streets. To join de New Afrikan Independence Movement, to join Our revolutionary organizations on de streets, to build and contribute to Our struggle, especially when Our movement has come to your aid and pulled you from de clutches of de beast. It is definitely your duty and to fail to do so is opportunism in every sense of de word.

When We get out of dese kamps and fail to reach back or be active on de streets, it strikes a terrible blow to de morals and faith of all de brothas and sistas dat have been left behind. It is very similar to committing a treasonous act against Our struggle. When one who has studied, who knows de truth, whose eyes have been opened fails to reach back, there can be no excuse. For as Comrad/Brotha Maledan said, "Once one knows de truth and accepts de truth as being such dere can no longer be any excuse for her/his foolishness." Thus We must be ever mindful not to betray.

Some brothas say it is hard for dem to readapt after doing many years, others say it is hard economically, etc. We do not deny dis for it is a reality of Our struggle. Yet We recognize dat as long as de spirit of commitment burns in de heart of de human being then no obstacles is insurmountable. If de commitment is there one is going to make a way regardless of what obstacles he or she will run into.

What most of Us must realize is dat when We leave here from behind dese walls We are just going to another prison and de same conditions exist and de same forces are at work because prisons are merely a microcosm of society and Our communities in particular. For Us who enter dese kkkamps at de tender ages of 15, 16, 17, 18 years old as mere manchildren who have put in 10 to 15 years in de belly of de beast what is left other than fighting for de liberation of Our people and all oppressed people? What is left other than revolution especially if you know what time it is? Recognizing dat New Afrikan people ain't never had a life over here in de first place, We have only had existence and survival. What is left for Us who have been subjected to de madness of captivity for 10 or 15 years? Yes, some of Us want families, children etc. but should it not be in de framework of Our struggle? After experiencing dis de scars will forever remain and de anger so deep dat there can be nothing else! Anything else is either secondary to de liberation of New Afrikan people or will have to fit within de framework of such. We must take dat hate, anger, and emotionalism and rechannel it into a scientific understanding and theory of what We are dealing with here in Babylon and subsequently in de world.

This is what WE mean by dedication, sistas & brothas, this is what We need

and must have. Enough dedication and determination to win. De opportunity dat some of Us get to slip out of de belly of de beast We must use to slay de beast, to tear de beast's house down. To make preparations to kill de very system dat produced de beast in de first place. In order to do dis We mustn't turn Our backs on Our own brothas & sistas...We must build bases, structures, and firm foundations. To do anything contrary and profess to be conscious is to go over to de other side and dis We shall not tolerate!

Amandla Ngawethu!
Power to de People!
Free All Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War!

Shaka Shakur

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LEST WE FORGET

June

- 1 Congress abolishes 'trade' in enslaved Afrikans, 1807
- Sojourner Truth begins her abolition work, 1843
- Settlers riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma; Afrikan Blood Brotherhood members help Afrikan community defend themselves-- 21 whites, 60 Afrikans die, 1921
- 2 Harriet Tubman leads guerrilla raid; 750 Afrikans freed as a result, 1863
- Samoury Toure' dies in French prison, 1900
- 4 Mohonk Conference convened by settler-imperialists to deal with the "Negro Question" (shades of "The Crisis of Democracy" 3/4 of a century later), 1890
- Detroit BPP office raided, 1969
- 5 POW escapes from prison in Jackson, MI by helicopter, 1975
- 6 Malawi and Madagascar gain independence, 1964
- Denice Harris, 22, shot by Atlanta, GA soldier-cops, 1945
- 7 Alexander Pushkin born, 1799
- Chicago BPP office raided, 1969
- 8 Lottie Kinsey acquitted by an all-white jury for killing a settler who attacked her in Walterboro, South Carolina, 1938
- 9 Edward Honeycutt executed in Louisiana on frame-up "rape" charge, 1951
- 10 Death of Marcus Garvey in London, 1940
- Death of Jack Johnson in Raleigh, North Carolina, 1946
- British imperialists riot against Afrikans in Cardiff, Wales, 1976
- 11 Revolutionary Angola places 13 British and amerikkkan mercenaries on trial for war crimes, 1976
- Joseph Young, 22, dies in cell fire after Stateville guards refuse to open cell door or extinguish fire, 1977
- 12 Richard Brown and his cousin, James Taylor, killed in Harlem, N.Y. by soldier-cops, 1949
- Medgar Evers assassinated in Jackson, MS 1963
- 13 Joseph "Joe Dell" Waddell murdered in prison by guards, Raleigh, NC, 1972
- Walter Rodney assassinated in Guyana, 1980
- 14 Antonio Maceo, an Afrikan revolutionary in Cuba, born 1845
- Ernesto 'Che' Guevara, born 1928
- Arthur Miller, Black organizer in Brooklyn, killed by 15 pigs, 1978
- 15 Sacramento and San Diego BPP offices raided, 1969
- Victor Rhodes, 16, beaten and nearly lynched by 50+ Hasidic vigilantes, 1978
- 16 Portuguese settler-colonialists massacre over 600 Mozambicans during peaceful demonstration, 1960
- Soweto Massacre in Azania; Hector Peterson, 13, first to fall, 1976
- 17 Dessie Woods and Cheryl Todd defend themselves from white attacker in GA, subsequently sentenced to 22 and 5 years respectively, 1975
- 18 37 Afrikans hanged for participation in Denmark Vesey Revolt, 1822
- 3,000 Boston students boycott public schools in protest of segregation, 1963
- 21 Marcus Garvey sentenced to five years in prison, 1923
- 25 Capture of Bob Forbee, leader of Maroons in Virginia, 1825
- Mozambique Independence Day, in celebration of FRELIMO's founding, 1972
- 26 Francisco "Acapulco" Lelio leads a mass breakout of Mexicano and Indigenous from San Quentin Prison; 40 escaped, 10 killed or wounded, 1859
- 28 David Walker murdered and found on doorstep, 1830
- Afrikans on the Amistad revolt, 1839
- 29 VA governor reports white attack on Maroons in Blue Ridge Mountains, 1729
- 30 Dred Scott case begins in St. Louis court, 1847

July

- 1 White riot in East St. Louis, IL; 200 Afrikans killed, 1917**
- 2 Denmark Vesey hanged, 1822**
 - Afrikans take over Amistad, 1839
 - Birth of Patrice Lumumba, 1925
 - *Attica July Manifesto* sent to Oswald by prisoners, 1971
- 3 Algeria gains its independence, 1962**
- 4 Enslaved Afrikan executed in Boston for setting fire to owner's house, 1723**
- 5 Cape Verde Islands gain independence from Portugal, 1975**
- 8 Discovery of conspiracy amongst enslaved Afrikans to establish their own government in North Carolina, 1775**
 - Hamburg Massacre in South Carolina, 1876
- 9 Three Afrikans executed for attacking Virginia slave patrol, 1792**
- 10 Mary McLeod Bethune born in Meyersville South Carolina, 1875**
- 11 Afrikan hung by Kentucky mob, 1868**
 - Niagara Movement organized, 1905
 - American Indian Movement (AIM) organized, 1968
- 12 Afrikan 'fugitive' community attacked by Whites in South Carolina, 1819**
 - Rebellion in Newark leaves 26 dead, 1967
- 13 "New York Draft Riots"; numerous Afrikans murdered, hanged from lamp posts, homes burned, etc., 1863**
- 14 Willie Milton shot in back by Brooklyn police, 1948**
- 16 Birth of Ida B. Wells, 1862**
 - Assata Shakur, born 1947
- 17 Harlem riot, 1964**
- 18 Watts revolt, 1964**
- 19 Several armed Maroons captured and hanged in Jacksonboro, SC 1822**
- 20 Frantz Fanon born, 1925**
 - UN troops enter Kongo, 1960
- 21 Albert Luthuli, ANC President, killed in 1967**
- 22 Rebellion at Pontiac prison, Illinois: 3 guards killed, 1978**
- 23 Detroit Rebellion; 43 Afrikans murdered by police, 1967**
 - Ahmed Evans arrested for ambush and killing of police in Cleveland, 1968
- 24 Riot in New Orleans which kills several Afrikans; over 30 homes and schools burned, 1900**
- 27 Ft. Blocont attacked by u.s. troops; 300 Afrikans, 20 Indians captured, 1816**
 - Chicago "Red Summer" riot; 15 whites and 23 Afrikans dead, 1919
- 28 Carl Hampton, founder/chairman of People's Party in Houston, TX murdered by pigs, 1970**
- 30 New Orleans riot kills more than 35 Afrikans; over 100 wounded, 1866**



August

1 1st UNIA Convention - New York, 1920

3 2,000 Afrikans attend Conference of Afrikan People (CAP), 1970

6 Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party founded, 1964

7 Jonathan Jackson, William Christmas and James McClain killed in liberation attempt at Marin County courthouse, 1970

8 Hiller Red Hayes, 50, dies of "heart attack" in Marion Control Unit, 1977

- Napanoch prison rebellion, 1977

- Pre-dawn raid by Philadelphia police against MOVE, 1978

10 Rebellion in Cincinnati; 1,000 Afrikans leave for Canada, 1829

- Prisoners at Tombs stage rebellion, 1970

13 New Afrikan soldiers raid Brownsville, TX in retaliation for insults, 1906

14 Lincoln meets with Black representatives and urges emigration to Afrika or Central America, 1862

15 Slave conspiracy discovered in Charlestown, SC -- 1730

- Shady Grove Baptist Church burned in Leesburg, GA, 1962

16 San Quentin strike to end indeterminate sentences, 1971

17 Birth of Marcus Garvey, 1887

- Omaha policeman trips booby trap; Mondo Langa (s/n David Rice) framed and convicted, sentenced to life, 1970

18 RNA capitol attacked by f.b.i. and Jackson, MS police, 1971

21 Assassination of George Jackson; 3 guards and 2 prisoners killed, 1971

22 Haitian Revolution begins, 1791

- Henry Highland Garnet, calls for slave revolt and general strike, 1843

23 Whites and Black soldiers of the 24th Infantry Regiment battle in Houston, TX; 2 Blacks and 17 whites killed; 13 Blacks later hanged, 1917

25 fbi circulates memo detailing plans to "disrupt" BLM groups, 1967

26 16 Afrikans taken from a Tennessee jail by hooded men and shot, 1874

27 W.E.B. DuBois dies in Ghana, 1963

- March on Washington, 1963 (Malcolm X called it a "farce")

- Kwame Nkrumah dies in Conakry, Guinea 1971

28 Emmett Till, 14, kidnapped and lynched in Money, Mississippi, 1955

29 Philly policeman killed. BPP office raided; occupants forced to strip naked in street. Fred Burton convicted and sentenced to life, 1970

30 Gabriel Prosser and 40,000 Afrikans rendezvous for revolt and establishment of a Black state, but are unable to attack for tactical reasons, 1800

- Major General John C. Fremont issues proclamation freeing slaves of Missouri rebels; Lincoln nullifies it, 1861

- More than 60 New Afrikans slain in Coushatta, Louisiana, 1874

31 Nat Turner leads revolt of enslaved Afrikans in Virginia, 1831

Norplant: Is It Just A New Form Of Birth Control Or A Genocidal Tool?

By Judith Scully

(Reprinted from the CCBL Newsletter, March 1993)

Norplant is surgically implanted under the skin of a woman's upper arm. It contains the synthetic hormone, progestin, which inhibits ovulation and thickens the cervical mucous to prevent pregnancy. It serves as a form of temporary sterilization for a period of five years and has to be surgically removed. Although five year studies show no life-threatening adverse effects on women, the long-term safety of Norplant (beyond 5 years) has not been determined. Nor has any study been conducted which would indicate the effects of Norplant on the children women bear after using this drug. Similarly, no studies regarding the effects of Norplant on teenage women have been conducted. This is particularly alarming in view of the fact that Norplant is being cited as the panacea for teen pregnancy and is already being distributed free of cost at Lawrence Paquin School, a Baltimore inner city high school for pregnant teens.

Since Norplant provides absolutely no protection against sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), it presents much higher health risks than barrier forms of birth control such as condoms, diaphragms, and cervical caps. Younger Norplant users are more likely to believe that this form of birth control not only reduces the risk of pregnancy, but the risk of contracting AIDS and other STDs as well. A study conducted in Texas at the Norplant Clinic at Francis Scott Key Medical Center, for example, found that 48% of all women who had used condoms prior to having Norplant inserted stopped using condoms after the Norplant surgery. Given this alarming statistic, it is clear that Norplant users must be provided with appropriate information regarding the need to prevent STDs. This crucial information is not included in Norplant counseling.

Information about the side effects, risks, and contraindications of Norplant, must be made available so that women can make informed and intelligent decisions about their reproductive health. Conditions which make Norplant an unhealthy choice for some women must be publicized. These conditions include liver disease, smoking, high blood pressure, depression, diabetes, migraines, and high cholesterol, to name a few. Similarly, women who are prone to keloid formation or thick permanent scarring should not use Norplant since it is surgically inserted and likely to cause keloids. Keloid formation, in addition to being a cosmetic problem, could make surgical removal of Norplant more difficult.

Other side effects associated with Norplant include headaches, mood changes, and excessive weight gain. In addition, 70% of known users experience irregular bleeding, which is also a sign of cervical cancer – one of the leading causes of cancer among African American women. If irregular bleeding is treated lightly, and attributed solely to Norplant, there is a risk of missed or delayed diagnosis of cancer possibly leading to death. To insure that Norplant providers inform women of the side effects, risks and disadvantages of Norplant, informed consent laws will have to be



enacted. These laws should require that women have regular gynecological checkups while using Norplant.

Although the health risks associated with Norplant are disturbing, a more disturbing aspect of Norplant is the manner in which it is being marketed. As early as 1991, Louisiana State Representative and self-acknowledged Ku Klux Klan member David Duke touted the advantages of Norplant as a means to diminish the African American population. He publicly stated that sterilizing welfare recipients, African Americans, criminals and the mentally handicapped would be a convenient way to "purify" America's racial stock. He later introduced legislation that would provide financial "incentives" to women on welfare who "agreed" to be temporarily sterilized through Norplant implants.

Unfortunately, David Duke was not alone in thinking of Norplant as an instrument of eugenics. For example, just two days after Norplant received FDA approval, the Philadelphia Enquirer published an editorial urging readers to think about using Norplant as "a tool in the fight against African-American poverty". What the writer meant was that Norplant could be used as a means of decreasing the African American population.

Since its approval by the FDA, politicians and the media have primarily focused on Norplant's ability to:

- o Decrease the number of children born to women receiving AFDC benefits;
 - o Serve as a sterilizer of women who are addicted to drugs, and women who are accused of child abuse;
 - o Decrease the number of teenage pregnancies among women of color
- California, Florida, Kansas, Ohio, South Carolina, and Texas have already attempted either legislatively or judicially to force women convicted of drug offenses and child abuse to have Norplant implanted as a condition of probation or parole. Laws that require women convicted of child abuse and narcotic offenses to be temporarily sterilized with Norplant are coercive and punitive but fail to address the serious problems of drug abuse, child neglect and poverty. Imprisoning women and/or sterilizing women, does NOT prevent or cure drug addiction.

Similarly, Kansas, Louisiana, and Tennessee have considered bills that would pay AFDC mothers a bonus or "incentives" to get Norplant inserted. According to United States law, using "incentives" to encourage women to use contraceptives in other countries is illegal; yet incentives are being offered by state legislatures in this country for only one contraceptive — Norplant — to one class of women — poor, single mothers on welfare.

Such initiatives also presuppose a stereotypical image of "the welfare mother", an image based on myths about race, welfare, and poverty. They also depend on the misconception that the average welfare family is too large. Contrary to this popular myth, however, studies have shown that women receiving AFDC have one-fourth the number of babies compared to those who do not receive AFDC (Ellwood, D.; Poor Support, New York: Basic Books, 1988); and that the average size of the family of women on welfare is 1.8, almost identical to the national average family size.

At present, all 50 states and the District of Columbia have approved plans for the funding of Norplant under Medicaid. In addition, Wyeth-Ayerst, the U.S. manufacturer of Norplant, has established a grant program to provide Norplant at no charge to low-income women who are not covered by Medicaid or other forms of insurance coverage.

Norplant ranges in cost from \$350 to \$500 for the implant and another \$30 to \$405 for removal depending on the circumstances. For women who have private insurance, more than 400 insurance plans and 35 of the largest HMO's presently provide for payment of Norplant. But what happens if a woman has Norplant inserted under her health insurance and then loses her health benefits? If she wants to have Norplant removed due to excessive weight gain and/or severe headaches and she does not have the money for the removal process, she has no choice but to suffer through the Norplant side effects until she has enough money to have the inserts removed! Similarly, women who use Medicaid to have Norplant inserted may find that some states do not provide Medicaid coverage to have Norplant removed. Legislation is needed in order to insure that Norplant will be removed upon demand regardless of the woman's economic resources.

The laws that offer financial incentives to women on Public Aid who "agree" to use Norplant imply that the solution to poverty in this country will be found by sacrificing the reproductive rights of poor women and allowing them to have children only when the government feels that it is appropriate.

Under the International Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide and the Genocide Convention Implementation Act passed by the U.S. Congress in November 1988, any measure intended to prevent birth within a racial group constitutes genocide. Much of the Norplant legislation is designed to eliminate "African American poverty". Clearly, this legislation will have a disproportionate effect on the African American population. We recognize this legislation to be a thin veil for population control by a colonial power. Should we not charge these states with GENOCIDE?

The Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers (CCBL) will be working with the NARAL Choice Action Network to build an educational and legislative campaign to address the needs of women who are most likely to be the targets of Norplant. We will not allow Genocide to take its slow and deliberate course. Instead we will work to ensure that African American women are offered safe choices in contraceptives and are made aware not only of the health risks involved with the use of Norplant but the social and political implications as well.

Judith Scully is a member of the *Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers*.



Today the United States government holds in its custody many Puerto Rican women and men, criminalising them for having fought for the independence of their country. Like George Washington in his day, they are anti-colonial combatants. Washington's contemporary, Thomas Paine, defended in Common Sense the choice to take up arms against the British colonizer: "It is the violence which is done and threatened to our persons; the destruction of our property by an armed force; the invasion of our country by fire and sword, which conscientiously qualifies the use of arms..." They are like Nelson Mandela in our day, who told the court when faced with life in prison for his role in a conspiracy to use force to overthrow the apartheid regime,

"A time comes in the life of any nation, where there remains only two choices - submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all the means in our power in defense of our people, our future, our freedom."

And also like Mandela, they are serving the equivalent of life in prison.

Most of the prisoners are convicted of seditious conspiracy and related charges—conspiring to use force against the lawful authority of the United States over Puerto Rico. While U.S. courts determined that they violated domestic law, other forums and tribunals have determined that they acted pursuant to international law, which provides that colonialism is a crime, and which protects and encourages the legitimate fight to eradicate colonialism. Others are convicted of conspiring to take U.S. government insured money for use in their struggle for self-determination.

The United States claims a proud history as a defender of human rights across the globe. The continued incarceration of these men and women stands in stark contrast to this claimed role. Furthermore:

- * Ten of the prisoners are serving terms of 55 to 90 years, sentences which are 19 times longer than the average sentence for all offenses in the year they were sentenced;

- * Their disproportionate sentences punish them for who they are—anti-colonial combatants—rather than for what they did;

- * Most have already served 10 and 13 years in prison, far longer than the average person convicted of murder serves;

- * They acted out of political motivation, not for personal gain.

- * Many have been held in the most maximum security prisons under restrictive conditions which even Amnesty International has condemned.

Finally, U.S. history offers rich precedent for their release. U.S. presidents have throughout history exercised the constitutional power of pardon to release people who acted or conspired to act against the government, including Confederate soldiers who had taken up arms in the Civil War and were convicted of treason, socialists convicted of organizing armed resistance to

conscription for World War I, and Puerto Rican Nationalists who fired on Blair House in 1950 and on U.S. Congress in 1954.

People in Puerto Rico and the U.S. have established Ofensiva 92, a campaign to win the prisoners' immediate and unconditional release. The campaign is reaching new people and forums, including the New York City Council, which recently passed a resolution asking the Secretary General of the United Nations to call on the U.S. president to release the prisoners. Mayor David Dinkins has publicly announced his support for the resolution and the prisoners release. Municipal councils in Puerto Rico have followed suit. Many influential civic and religious organizations have done likewise, including the United Church of Christ and the National Lawyers Guild. This year, Ofensiva will submit to the U.S. president a formal application for their release. In support of this application, the campaign is collecting letters directed to President Bill Clinton, as well as resolutions from organizations.

Add your voice to the thousands who have already expressed their opinion to the president. Let him know that it was not enough for the U.S. to pressure South Africa to release Nelson Mandela, but that the U.S. must apply such standards within its own borders and its own prisons to its own Mandelas. We urge you to write letters to President Clinton asking him to grant these women and men immediate and unconditional release.



Amnesty for Puerto Rican Political Prisoners & POW's



Given virtual life sentences, the Puerto Rican Political Prisoners and POW's have already served over 13 years in prison, subjected to sexual, psychological and physical abuse at the hands of their jailers. One of the harshest examples of this abuse is Oscar Lopez Rivera, imprisoned at the infamous Marion Control Unit Prison. He lives in a 6'x8' cell 22.5 hours a day. Oscar has not touched, kissed or embraced his family and loved ones for over seven years. It is time to expose the myth that the US holds no political prisoners and demand that it follow in the footsteps of other countries in releasing its political prisoners.

What You Can Do!

- contact the National Committee
- send form letters to Attorney General Reno and President Clinton
- pass resolutions in religious, business and civic organizations
- write personal letters to President Clinton
- organize delegations to visit your elected officials
- contribute financially
- create your own ideas



For More Information:

In Puerto Rico:

*Ofensiva '92 Apartado Postal 20190
Río Piedras, Puerto Rico 00928*

In the U.S.:

*National Committee to Free Puerto Rican
Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War
1112 N. California
Chicago, Illinois 60622*

voice - 312-278-0885 • fax - 312-342-6609



NEW AFRIKAN CREED

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

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



SUPPORT **CROSSROAD!** AND THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT



The struggle of Afrikans in the U.S. to regain their independence has always been characterized by two major trends. One trend has struggled against racial discrimination and for equal participation in U.S. society, accepting capitalist hegemony. The other trend has struggled against their national oppression by the U.S., and to establish an independent, socialist state.

The existence of these trends is a matter of historical record. Despite the efforts of the U.S. to suppress the struggle for Afrikan independence, the movement has a strong contemporary expression among all sectors of the Afrikan population, especially among Afrikan youth. For example, in 1969, a Newsweek magazine poll of Afrikans in the Northern U.S. showed that 27 percent of Afrikans under the age of thirty (and 18 percent of those over the age of thirty), wanted an independent Afrikan state. A more recent study conducted among Afrikan college students by Professor Luke Tripp showed that 34 percent of the students favored an independent Afrikan state.

There are hundreds of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War in U.S. prisons, many of them are New Afrikans who were, in the terms of international laws of war, captured in the course of their conduct of armed and unarmed political struggle against a racist colonial regime: The United States.

CROSSROAD (CR), about to enter its fifth year of publication, is the only newsletter devoted to New Afrikan Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War. **CR** also covers theoretical issues and daily struggles in Afrikan communities. For its daily operation, as well as its goal of continued growth and improvement, **CR** depends on the help of its supporters and subscribers.

In the coming year, **CROSSROAD** will focus upon the campaign to seek the release of New Afrikan Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War, and/or their repatriation to friendly countries. There will be an increased focus upon the increasing number of control unit prisons in the U.S. This, and more, as part of our effort to better educate and organize people in support of captured combatants. And, because We are presently engaged in the national democratic stage of the independence struggle, **CR** will devote more of its pages to coverage of the issues that Afrikans fight for on a daily basis, to survive, and to build structures to use in the transition from domestic neo-colonial dependency to self-determination and national independence. Be a part of this process. Below, is a partial list of things that you can do.

Complete and mail this form. Make checks and money orders payable to: Spear and Shield Publications. Mail to: **CROSSROAD**, c/o Spear and Shield Publications, 1340 W. Irving Park Road, Suite 108, Chicago, Illinois 60613, USA.

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