

# CROSSROAD

Vol.1 No.2

July 1987

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Spear and Shield Publications

## A CASE AGAINST UNITED STATES DOMESTIC (NEO) COLONIALISM

by

Jalil Abdul Muntaqim

## Part Two

EDITOR'S NOTE: In the previous excerpt from Jalil's pamphlet (CR Vol. 1, No. 1 May 1987), the course of struggle of oppressed nations inside the political borders of the u.s. empire was outlined. It was shown that most "political prisoners of war have been imprisoned or remain in prison because of the relationship of their oppressed nations to the colonial rule of the u.s. government," while North American captured combatants were imprisoned as a result of their participation in revolutionary class war against capitalism and in solidarity with national liberation struggles.

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## INTERNATIONAL LAW ON WARS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

## AGAINST COLONIALISM AND FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE

Since the European conquest of North America, the genocidal slaughter of Native Americans, Afrikan chattel slavery, Asian involuntary servitude, and the territorial aggression against Mexican land, these oppressed nations through the centuries have fought for national liberation and the regaining of lost territory, self-determination over their lives, and independence from u.s. colonial domination. Accordingly, Article 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states:

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.
2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

In the case of Afrikans in Amerikkka, they have been deprived of their national origin by the u.s. government, named "negro" and "black" -- but not AFRIKANS, which is their national origin and heritage. Native Americans have had their various nations decimated by the genocidal actions of corralling them into federal reservations, thereby denying them a national identity. Thus it is determined that the u.s. has violated the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Such violations ensure further violations of international standards of the rights of colonized peoples, such as the International Convention on

the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Here the international court states in Article II:

...In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, such as:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

Article III further states:

The following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide.

It should also be understood that the crime of genocide is against international law in times of war and peace. The historical aspects of colonialism, as employed in the United States against oppressed nations, has been one of continued implementations of the containment, control, and in certain instances the destruction of the growth and development of a particular group. This can be more so evaluated considering the degree to which sterilization programs have been carried out in oppressed nation communities, the trafficking of drugs, constant police killings of oppressed people, and the wholesale imprisonment of Africans, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, Asians and Mexican people. The American penal system is presently comprised of 77 percent Third World people, while such people make up less than 20 percent of the total American population.

Hence U.S. colonial rule has been found to be against international law (the deprivation of national identity and genocide) which gives cause for these colonized people to wage national liberation struggle against continued colonialization. The United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples affirms:

...the inherent right of colonial people to struggle by all means at their disposal against colonial powers which suppress their aspirations for freedom and independence....

while the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights states:

All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

The inherent right of colonized peoples to secure self-determination and independence is further granted protection as "peoples" is defined by the United Nations Charter and Covenant. The traditional definitions of an ethnic group linked by a common history with requirements of common territory, religion and language, have been criticized as being "unduly harsh" due to the vicissitudes of history where there may be a loss of territory or involuntary dispersal of their populace. A more subjective view is urged which considers it essential for a people to have a present ethos or state of mind; and, a more practical definition is of a group or people entitled to self-determination's call for a nation, a people, a nationality possessing a common territory, and most often a common language who are united in a struggle for national liberation. In light of the traditional and modern definitions of a "people which is entitled to self-determination," the colonial status of oppressed nations in the united states meets all demands preserved by international law. These colonized nations have a distinct national origin, social and cultural identity that separates them from their colonizers and establishes the criteria of peoplehood. Hence the inherent dignity of the human person within a body or group is preserved and the thrust for self-determination is that a people--if it so wills--is entitled to independence from foreign domination, and may establish a sovereign state in the territory in which is constitutes a majority.

The right of self-determination for all peoples is within the spirit of customary international law as defined in the Covenants on Human Rights. Therefore, the principle of self-determination is intimately related to the development of fundamental human rights, upon which Article 2(3) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights ensures that any person(s) whose rights or freedoms have been abridged shall have an effective remedy. The violations of fundamental human rights and exercising of self-determination is based upon whether a people: (1) is governed according to the will of the people; (2) where there is an absence of internal or external domination; (3) having free pursuit of economic, social and cultural development; (4) enjoying the fundamental human rights and equality before the law; (5) the absence of discrimination based upon race, color, class, caste, creed or political conviction.

It can be easily affirmed that the united states government fails to preserve each of these five points by which Native americans, Puerto Ricans, and Afrikans in amerikkka have petitioned the United Nations for redress of said violations, charging the united states government with the practice of racist genocide and colonial domination. (See U.N. document E/CN.4/Sub.2/NGO/75, pertaining to racism and the conditions of political prisoners in u.s. penal system; also see U.N. document submitted by Native Americans--E/CN.4/Sub.2/NGO/67.) The most recent petition submitted to the Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities by the National Conference of Black Lawyers, the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, and the United Church of Christ--Commission for Racial Justice, On December 11, 1978, presented factual, historical documentation of human rights violations affecting domestic colonized peoples in the united states, especially in regards to political prisoners.

The United Nations General Assembly in Resolution 3103 (XXVIII), on December 12, 1973, emphatically reaffirmed that:

...the continuation of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations, as noted in General Assembly Resolution 2621 (XXV) of October 1970, is a crime and that colonial peoples have the inherent right to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against colonial Powers and alien domination in exercise of their right of self-determination recognized in this Charter of the United Nations.

Because the United States is member and party to the United Nations Charter (Universal Declaration of Human Rights) which is a treaty approved by the U.S. Senate on July 28, 1945, and as such is part of the supreme law of the United States (Amaya vs. Stanolind Oil and Gas Co., 158 F.2d 554, cert. denied 331 U.S. 808, 67 S. Ct. 1191, 91 L.Ed. 1828; see also Article Six of the U.S. Constitution, making all treaties a part of the "supreme law of the land"), and because case law asserts that the U.S. judicial system has no right to annul or disregard provisions of treaties upon any motion of equity, general convenience, or substantial justice as put forth in King Feature Syndicate vs. Valley Broadcasting Company, 43 F. Supp. 137, affirmed 133 F.2d 127 (CA 5, 19), violations of said treaties in continuing to hold domestic colonies against their inherent right to self-determination makes it incumbent upon these oppressed colonies to wage wars of national liberation for independence and sovereignty.

End--Part Two

...WHEN THERE IS DISCORD WITHIN THE COUNTRY, THE ARMY CANNOT BE MOBILIZED. WHEN THERE IS DISCORD IN THE ARMY, IT CANNOT TAKE THE FIELD. WHEN THERE IS A LACK OF HARMONY IN THE FIELD THE ARMY CANNOT TAKE THE OFFENSIVE. WHEN THERE IS LACK OF HARMONY IN BATTLE, THE ARMY CANNOT WIN DECISIVE VICTORY....FIRST ESTABLISH CONCORD AND THEN UNDERTAKE MATTERS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE.

Sun Tzu

## STATEMENT TO THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID

COMMEMORATING THE 27th ANNIVERSARY OF THE SHARPVILLE MASSACRE  
FRIDAY, MARCH 20, 1987  
THE EVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL DAY  
FOR THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

By H.E. Joseph Garba, Chairman  
On Behalf of the New York Citywide Coalition for  
Human Rights and Against Racist Violence

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Delegates:

I would first like to thank the SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID for the opportunity accorded the New York Citywide Coalition for Human Rights and Against Racist Violence to share our sincere expressions of solidarity to the courageous people of South Africa and Namibia in their relentless struggle against the racist apartheid regime in Pretoria. As we commemorate the 27th anniversary of the Sharpsville Massacre, that infamous day of carnage that took the lives of over 69 Africans protesting the pass laws on March 21, 1960, we feel that it is important to place that historical tragedy in the context of today's struggle against racism and racial repression.

Apartheid-Like Violence in the U.S.

Today, on the eve of the Sharpsville Massacre anniversary and, what the United Nations has declared since 1978, the INTERNATIONAL DAY FOR THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, we wish not only to denounce the vicious apartheid system imposed on South Africa and Namibia, but to draw this august body's attention to a very dangerous phenomenon--the spread of an apartheid-like unfettered racist violence in the United States, particularly in New York.

The Citywide Coalition that I am representing today is comprised of many activist groups and individuals that have come together to consolidate their struggle against the escalating wave of racially motivated violence directed against the African population of the United States in general, and New York in particular. Among this grouping are organizations representing a variety of political, cultural and professional opinion, including members of the African-American and Africaribbean community, Christians and Muslims, eminent attorneys, clergymen and Imams, political representatives, journalists and longtime community, human rights and anti-apartheid activists.

Many of the members of the Coalition have been stalwart supporters of the African liberation struggle in Africa since the days of colonization, but most have been particularly supportive of the struggle in southern Africa in at least the last decade. We recognize the similarities of racism in South Africa and Namibia practiced by the apartheid settler regime and that of forces of reaction and racial discrimination in the United States. Moreover, we deplore the hypocritical judgment of alleged human rights violations that the U.S. constantly charges many so-called Third World developing countries

with while at the same time ignoring and actually permitting gross violations of the human rights of its Black, Brown, Red and Yellow citizens. Thus, our efforts have been complimented and supported by members of the Latino and Asian community.

Although some individuals and organizations in the Citywide Coalition have worked for years with an active commitment to the arduous task of fighting against racism and apartheid, the group itself has gained some prominence as a valid unit in New York City since we mobilized thousands of people at various rallies, demonstrations and other protests after the December 20, 1986 Howard Beach lynch mob murder of Michael Griffith, a native of Trinidad-Tobago, and the brutal beating of his stepfather, Cedric Sandiford, a Guyanese national. Indeed, even as I speak now, across the street at the Dag Hammarskjold Plaza, hundreds of people are assembled to demand that the plight of African people [in America] be brought before the United Nations.

The international birthplaces of both Michael Griffith and Cedric Sandiford show us clearly that the pervasive Afrophobic racist climate still residing in the United States is no respecter of different points of national origin. Neither does the madness of racist violence respect generation or gender. And United Nations delegates themselves have felt the impact of racial discrimination and some physical confrontation at times in New York by racist realtors, entrepreneurs, individuals, police and political personalities.

#### American Hypocrisy and "Legal Lynchings"

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Delegates, most of us are familiar--although still shocked--by the apartheid state in South Africa and their brutal methods of repression applied to suppress the rights of self-determination of the indigenous African majority and other citizens of color. Often we are joined in our condemnation of the Pretoria regime by representatives of the United States who pontifically lecture the United Nations on the need for patience, citing the alleged resolution of similar racial attitudes in the United States over a period of time. African countries are often compared unfavorably with South Africa in human rights abuses and the United States is held up as the epitome of racial harmony and democracy. But such is not the case at all.

The racial attacks that our people have been subjected to throughout the years represent a continuous reign of terror featuring lynchings by irate mobs of white outlaws, blinded by race hatred and frustrated by their socio-economic conditions. Historically, this has been devastating to the lives of Black people since being forcibly brought to this country. Between 1889 and 1918, 29 years, the NAACP reported that 3,224 men and women had been lynched. (THIRTY YEARS OF LYNCHINGS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1889-1918, New York, 1919.) The period called "Red Summer," 1919, followed by a gradual decline in so-called "lynch law justice," still saw another 218 Black victims by 1962.

Whereas most people are appalled by the notorious beatings, torture, mutilations, hangings, shootings, burning alive of random or selected Black victims by racist whites, usually in a state of religious frenzy, the term applied to these atrocities is lynching, i.e., "any form of extrajudicial action in which corporal or capital punishment is imposed by private persons without legal authority." However, "LEGAL lynchings," e.g., where racist police assume the role of prosecutor, judge and jury and dispense what they consider "justice" by use of summary executions, are too often overlooked.

In this regard, we wish to inform the Special Committee that from 1969 to 1979, a recent ten year period, 6000 men, women and children were shot to death by police in the United States, indicating a shocking use of deadly force. As attorney C. Vernon Mason, acting as counsel to an Ad-Hoc Committee Against Police Racial Violence, reported in 1983, in the ten year period of 1973 to 1983, more directly connected to our concern, 200 so-called minorities have been killed by the police. The U.S. Justice Department was forced to admit that Black victims were forty-five percent--an outrageously disproportionate number.

#### No Redress in the U.S.

It is our opinion that past history tells us clearly that we cannot expect any redress of our grievances in the courts of the criminal justice system. The cases of Eleanor Bumpurs, Michael Stewart, Randy Evans, etc., are evidence of recent vintage. Studies conducted on the national conviction rate in police caused deaths is a mere 0.2 percent, and "Less than 1 percent of all killings by police are ruled unjustifiable by the police department even though at least 25.5 percent of the victims were found to be unarmed."

The recent killing of Nicholas "Ashanti" Bartlett on February 28, 1987, a U.S. Army veteran of Jamaican ancestry who made his living as a street vendor, is another case in point. It is alleged that Bartlett attacked a police officer with a metal pipe, was eventually surrounded by at least eight other policemen, three of whom emptied their guns at him--hitting him about ten times in the head and upper body. We are told that police reaction was within their guidelines. It is a case where many people feel they already know the conclusion.

Our people, like those in south Africa and Namibia, cannot expect protection by the police--in too many instances they are our killers. Prosecution of these and other racially motivated cases in the five boroughs of New York shows a consistency by the district attorneys to enter into bad faith prosecution at the trial. the controversial Chief Medical Examiner, Dr. Elliot Gross, is suspected of manipulating evidence to aid the police in order to defend their actions. The police commissioner, Benjamin Ward, is either helpless or not interested in protecting Black citizens but rather places a priority on responding to the notorious propertied class interests.

#### Officially Condoned Drug Trafficking

In addition, drug trafficking, which constitutes a \$50 billion industry within the United States, is an industry where the African-American and Latino communities have been racially selected to be the major users and thus victims. Even worse, drug addiction, which is recognized by authorities as a motivating factor for about 80 percent of the crimes committed in our communities and against our own people, is now being connected to not only organized crime, but in many cases to the police department itself. This activity had gotten so out of hand that a Special State Prosecutor was appointed to investigate the 77th Precinct in Brooklyn and the 106th Precinct in queens among others. In a recent incident, when a group of Muslims closed down a "crack" drug house after numerous complaints by the building's Palestinian landlord, police at the 79th Precinct in Brooklyn arrested those who closed the den of iniquity on the express orders of the "crack" dealers.



It is because of all these aforementioned reasons, along with our knowledge of historic landmark cases that have impacted negatively upon our people throughout the centuries (i.e., 1787 Constitutional Convention where African slaves were legally declared to be only 3/5 human; Dred Scott decision where Black people were said to have no rights that a white person needed to respect; Plessy vs. Ferguson, which justified "separate but equal" treatment, etc.), that we feel it necessary to turn elsewhere to get a positive and responsive hearing.

Previous Appeals to the International Community  
By Africans in the United States

Mr. Chairman, distinguished Delegates, our attempt here today to internationalize the struggle of the African people the world over is not the first time this has happened--and it certainly will not be the last. In the early part of this century Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association & African Communities League (UNIA & ACL) approached the forerunner of the United Nations, the LEAGUE OF NATIONS, in 1922, 1923, 1928 and 1931. Dr. W.E.B. DuBois made a similar appeal on behalf of the NAACP. In 1951, William L. Patterson, author of the classic "We Charge Genocide: The Crime of Government Against the Negro People," along with Paul Robeson, his co-leader in the CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS, presented this monumental work documenting the U.S. tolerance of lynching to a United Nations General Assembly in Paris and the UN Secretariat in New York.

At an Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit conference in Accra, Ghana in 1964, Malcolm X, acting as an observer speaking on behalf of his newly founded ORGANIZATION OF AFRO-AMERICAN UNITY (OAAU), submitted an appeal for independent Africa's support in "bringing our problem before the United Nations, on the grounds that the United States government is morally incapable of protecting the lives and the property of 22 million African-Americans. And on the grounds that our deteriorating plight is definitely becoming a threat to world peace."

Malcolm was crystal clear on his comparative analysis of the U.S. and South Africa. In his opinion, as he pointed out in his eight page memorandum submitted at the Accra conference:

America is worse than South Africa, because not only is America racist, but she is also deceitful and hypocritical. South Africa preaches segregation and practices segregation. She, at least, practices what she preaches. America preaches integration and practices segregation. she preaches one thing while deceitfully practicing another.

South Africa is like a vicious wolf, openly hostile toward Black humanity. But America is cunning like a fox, friendly and smiling, but even more vicious and deadly than the wolf.

The wolf and the fox are both enemies of humanity, both are canine, both humiliate and mutilate their victims. Both have the same objectives, but differ only in methods. If South Africa is

guilty of violating the human rights of Africans here on the mother continent, then America is guilty of worse violations of the 22 million Africans on the American continent. And if South African racism is not a domestic issue, then American racism also is not a domestic issue.

For attempting to bring the U.S. before the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, Malcolm X--El Hajj Malik El Shabazz--was assassinated on February 21, 1965.

In November of 1979, the National Black Human Rights Committee, recalling Malcolm's initiative, held a massive demonstration at Dag Hammarskjold Plaza while a NBHRC delegation delivered a petition compiling human rights abuses against African-Americans to Ambassador Salim A. Salim of Tanzania. Today's proceedings, commemorating the INTERNATIONAL DAY FOR THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, have allowed us to continue this ongoing process.

#### Contemporary Indictments of the U.S. Government

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Delegates, the New York Citywide Coalition for Human Rights and Against Racist Violence wishes to remind you of why we, following in the tradition of our predecessors, have been forced to bring our problems to the international arena. For while we rightfully denounce South Africa and its racist so-called "defense force" for its vicious murders of African youth since the Soweto Uprising of 1976, we cannot afford to forget the growing roster of young slain victims of police violence in New York City. Names like 10 year old Clifford Glover (1973); 11 year old Ricky Bodden (1972); 14 year olds Richard Ross, Oscar Soles (1967); Claude Reese (1974); and Mackenzie Desir (1981); and 15 year olds James Powell (1964), Randy Evans (1976) and Jay Parker (1980).

When we charge South Africa with insensitive and vicious practices as it forces Africans to be removed from their humble surroundings and dwellings, brutalizing those who resist no matter how long they have lived in their homes and irrespective of the tenant's age, let us not forget to equally denounce the shotgun killing, during an eviction in the Bronx, of Mrs. Eleanor Bumpurs, a 66 year old grandmother caught up in city bureaucratic snafu that failed to give proper medical treatment and caused her rent not to be paid. Nor should we forget the slaying of 81 year old Dennis Groce, shot dead by trigger-happy policemen as Mr. Groce was about to enter his Brooklyn home.

When we expose Pretoria's use of arbitrary arrests and racist use of executions to intimidate the African majority, we must also point out that on February 18, 1987, Amnesty International stated that "The use of the death penalty in the United States appeared to be arbitrary and racially biased, clearly violating international treaties signed by the U.S. Government." According to AI, use of the death penalty in the U.S. "had become 'a horrifying lottery' in which politics, money, race and where a crime was committed could play a more decisive part in sending a defendant to the death chamber than the circumstances of the crime itself."

When we indict the neo-nazi apartheid regime for its excessive use of military power in trying to continue its repression, then we need to equally indict like-minded authorities in the U.S. who choose to literally bomb dissident groups with the mayor's blessings, or accept as normal police procedure a heavily armed 500 man New York Police and FBI Joint Terrorist Task Force making predawn raids in three boroughs simultaneously to arrest four Black men and four Black women, all known community activists whose greatest "crime" was to hold ideological positions that simply irritate certain authorities of the state and their benefactors.

In recent weeks--even days--we have seen racism raise its ugly head in the U.S. in ways very similar to that obnoxious mode of government in South Africa. African-Americans are told that they are not to be allowed at night in certain white neighborhoods. Whites in Forsyth County, Georgia, over 30,000 strong, who expelled Black people from that community in 1912--the same year that the African National Congress was founded--vow to enforce their version of the GROUP AREAS ACT. Hassidim in Crown Heights in Brooklyn firebomb a Black family's home because they want to purchase their (the Black family's) property to satisfy the growing Jewish community, being swelled by immigrants ostensibly seeking religious freedom from the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries. Black men found mysteriously hanging from trees in New York in classical old, Deep south lynching fashion; and although one's hands and feet were tied, the police claim the death was "an apparent suicide." This is the United States in 1987, not south Africa.

Under the Koch administration in New York, the same mayor who categorically denounces the United Nations as "racist," police killings have averaged 36 lives a year, a "statistical leap of 25 percent." In 1976 and 1977, at the height of the killings surrounding Soweto, New York City's finest killed 14 African-Americans; the average since then is 16 per year. As the VILLAGE VOICE of September 10, 1983 pointed out, "Ninety-eight percent of all complaints filed in the Koch years--43,283 complaints--evoked no disciplinary response, making it a vast dead letter department."

Five years after the Sharpville Massacre, on March 21, 1965, Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Non-violent Coordinating committee members were brutally beaten at the Edmund Pettus Bridge when they attempted to march from Selma to the state capitol at Montgomery, in Alabama. A few years later, when "riots" broke out in Tampa, Florida; Cincinnati, Ohio; Atlanta, Georgia; Newark, New Jersey (along with Northern, Plainfield and New Brunswick); and Detroit, Michigan, President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed a National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders to be headed by governor Otto Kerner of Illinois, to study and report back on the cause and effects of the national uprisings in the African-American communities. The U.S. Riot Commission, known popularly as the Kerner Commission, concluded that the United States was "moving toward two societies, one black, one white, separate and unequal." In other words, the U.S. was moving towards an APARTHEID arrangement.

Just as the South African government-appointed commission that was set up to investigate the causes of the Soweto Uprising found the cause to be "racial injustice and official bungling," the Kerner Commission laid bare all the social indicators that eventually lead an oppressed people to explode. The

South African Justice Petrus Cillie, the sole member of the commission, wrote that "Virtually all legislation regarding relations between races is separationist and seen by blacks and coloreds as unjust and discriminatory ...The manner in which so many whites treat blacks is of great importance. The objections do not end with the actions of officials or the police. Dissatisfactions of officials is also caused by the action of ordinary citizens in everyday situations."

#### International Revolutionary Unity

The statement is as true of the United States as it is of South Africa and Namibia. It is also true that in recent years there has been an APARTHEIDIZATION of social and political institutions in the United States. Therefore, it is also true that to resolve the racist contradictions of international white supremacist political strategies, there is a need for a revolutionary unity among progressive forces throughout the world to militantly confront racist exploitation and imperialism. In order for that to be carried out to the maximum the African-American struggle has to be intensified and strengthened. And in order for that to happen, the international community has to take a more forthright stance in supporting those who fight from within the axiomatic "belly of the beast."

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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"ANYONE WILLING TO MAKE SACRIFICES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE IN THIS COUNTRY  
IS A CANDIDATE FOR THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS."

By Tim Blunk

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following letter was part of a collection sent by prisoners in Marion to the November 1986 Conference for Education and Action on the Third Anniversary of the Marion Prison Lockdown sponsored by the CEML.

Dear Comrades,

While I can only speak for myself under these circumstances, I am sure that the Prisoners of War, other political prisoners and militant social prisoners here would join me in extending revolutionary greetings and solidarity. Since it is the work itself that is most important, I won't impede the progress of this conference with a lengthy paper. I am also limited in that I have only been here a short time and therefore cannot bring the depth of insight of those who have endured here for years, who lived through the violence of the early days of the lockdown or the psychological torture of the Control Unit. The best I can do is to put forward some suggestions to consider while you concretize your work. These suggestions are the distillation of discussions with other prisoners here and an assessment of present conditions.

The prison struggle mirrors the struggles and contradictions within society outside. Due to the enclosed environment of the maximum security prison, the effect is often one of magnifying these contradictions--both positive and negative aspects. Within the same four walls one finds the seeds of heroic rebellion and hopeless apathy; the heights of revolutionary character and the depths of human predation and sadism. Thus, the relative lull in mass resistance to U.S. imperialism and the lack of revolutionary leadership on the streets find their reflections in the prisons. As on the outside, the situation is fluid and there have been some important exceptions (e.g., Sing Sing, Oklahoma State Penitentiary, Lawton, Virginia). Yet, the high tide of prison rebellion has largely given way to a period characterized by a reassertion of control by those who run the prisons. They've studied and they've learned. Their methods now run the gamut from the traditional "hit 'em up side the head," to modern combinations of empty co-optive reforms with new repressive tools such as the Control Units ("Special Housing Units" in the state prisons) and SORT (Special Operations Response Team) riot squads that move anonymously from prison to prison.

Federal prisoners now confront a reorganized and experienced prison system where many of the same human rights issues so bitterly fought for in the 60s and early 70s (decent food and medical care, education, meaningful contact with the family and community, decent and safe housing and living conditions) are re-emerging with greater urgency due to the economic crisis

of the state and because the feds believe they've achieved an atmosphere where they can get away with it. With the breakdown of an ever-fragile unity that had grown through the era of rebellion, prisoners' survival strategies have largely become individualized or confined to "gangs" or organized religious groups which dutifully become arms of the prison authorities or are broken up. divide and conquer has been elevated to a fine art. Racism is endemic and escalating. More than ever before, the prison populations teem with informers. The state has reassumed the initiative and any future unified action by prisoners will take place under conditions where the prison authorities defend a tremendous advantage. This is the context within which we must view the struggle at Marion.

The resistance here (and yes, it DOES exist) is defined by a geography of division and isolation that virtually is unimaginable to those who have not experienced it. With a population of 300--subdivided to where one has the possibility of direct contact with no more than 30 other prisoners; where no more than 6 ever leave their cells at a time; where all movement takes place in handcuffs with a 2-guard escort per man; where one is almost totally cut off from the outside world--the Marion prison authorities are in a position to individualize their repression. They bring to bear their own experience, supplemented by lessons gained by their counterparts in Northern Ireland, occupied Palestine, and the FRG, to fashion a program uniquely designed to "control" each and every prisoner. It can mean the Control Unit, permanent designation to Marion, denial of visits, interference with mail or forcing you to jump through the hoops of their behavior modification UNICOR program. Their goal is control. Their ideal is that we become like THEM. For the foreseeable future, the specific conditions here make it unlikely that another Attica will arise out of Marion. By this I refer to the highly politicized unity displayed by the prisoners in D-yard. Given the nature of Marion, rebellion will always remain a possibility.

Individual acts of retaliation and retribution are ongoing, especially in the Control and disciplinary Units, as all other avenues of organized mass resistance remain closed. The wardens have created the terrain upon which we are forced to resist and assert our humanity. We must understand that the lockdown has long since ceased to be an emergency measure. No doubt by design, it has metamorphosed into Bureau of Prison policy. It is acclaimed by state and federal prison administrators. It is applauded by the Reagan administration, Congress, and the press, all of whom are locked in feverish battle to determine the substance and pace of fascist law and order. The lockdown is the penultimate answer to the rebels, the POW's and political prisoners, the organizers and the angry, unforgiving men that they themselves have created and now seek to bury. In part the lockdown is a holding action until the death penalty can be instituted across the board for a range of criminal and political offenses.

Thus, it is not a matter of convincing Marion's warden to lift the lockdown, but instead it is one of attacking the state's strategy for exercising control throughout an expanding prison system. And, as we can see in the construction of the women's control unit at Lexington and the planned expansion of SHU's in New York and other states, momentum is building in this direction. The modern prison administrators are also long-range planners who are self-conscious of their role in counterinsurgency. They, too, see the potential for generalized crises within the prison system creating the conditions for insurrection. The potential leadership must be isolated and neutralized in advance.

While many of us on the inside are doing what we can, at this juncture, the burden of exposing Marion and the Control Units necessarily falls on those of you outside. You should know that all of your efforts on the prisoners' behalf are deeply appreciated. Your work directly empowers all of us fighting behind the walls. In a very real sense, you are also fighting for yourselves. Anyone willing to make sacrifices for social change in this country is a candidate for the concentration camps.

As in revolutionary movements around the world and historically here in the U.S. empire, the prisons will become a significant front. As the comrades of the Ohio 7 continue to face their trials, we should be reminded that the prison movement has produced some of the most dedicated and courageous combatants that the anti-imperialist movement in the U.S. has ever produced. The degree to which we can build effective organization now on the outside will largely shape the possibilities for this front when conditions change and contradictions ripen. The time will come when the prisoners will reciprocate with our own initiatives. One need only look to Ireland, the FRG or El Salvador for recent examples.

In this spirit, these suggestions for work are submitted:

1) We agree--the priority must be working to shut down the Control Units. We suggest that attention be given to existing and planned SHU's in the state systems, particularly in New York.

2) Let us try to internationalize the struggle by raising the issue of the Control Units and SHU's with groups such as Amnesty International, and appropriate UN and other human rights organizations. Furthermore, we should seek working relations with organizations working in other countries such as those supporting the German political prisoners, the Irish H-Blocks/Armaugh Committee, for the purposes of joint speaking tours, furthering press and media contacts, sharing propaganda, etc. The potential for learning from these comrades' experiences should not be underestimated.

3) We might consider organizing the formation of an independent national monitoring group, composed of representatives of the national liberation movements, clergy, progressive psychologists, human rights advocates, prisoners' rights lawyers, etc., to regularly investigate and report on the conditions in the Control Units, Marion and Lexington, and paying particular attention to the treatment of POW's and political prisoners.

4) The Bureau of Prisons abhors media exposure unless they initiate or control it (which unfortunately is all too often the case). We suggest the formation of a Media Project to follow up on the positive work surrounding the recently aired 2-part report on Marion which was broadcast on NPR's "All Things Considered." A video suitable for public or cable television might be considered (funding sources explored) which would focus on the Control Units, the international struggles against psychological torture, etc. Progressive and particularly international journalists should be encouraged to visit Marion and Lexington, interview the prisoners and write on the surrounding issues.

5) Discussions need to begin among the appropriate organizations and where possible facilitated among the POW's and political prisoners, over issues of common concern such as demands for political association (or repatriation).

6) Every effort should be made to incorporate the prisoners themselves in the strategic planning of campaigns, conferences, etc. We should have input into the formulation of agendas and given reports of conference results, decisions, as well as be given the opportunity to review propaganda. This should be clearly defined and not haphazard.

7) Recognizing that the struggle against the lockdown will be protracted, other human rights demands can be addressed in the interim, which will in turn highlight the injustice of the lockdown itself:

- a) Resumption of contact visits. No fingerprinting and photographing of visitors.
- b) Extension of phone privileges beyond 2 ten minute calls per month.
- c) Full religious rights; regular services for all faiths outside the unit; resumption of Native American sweat lodge ceremony.
- d) Meaningful educational program.
- e) Private attorney visiting arrangements.
- f) Increased recreation time in the yard; provision of recreational equipment within the units.
- g) Access to outside community groups.
- h) Better access to the courts to file grievances and appeals.

I hope this is helpful. Let us be rigorous in our analysis and bold in our organizing.

Shut Down The Control Units!  
Stop The Lockdown!  
Free All Political Prisoners and POW's!

Tim Blunk, USP Marion  
Northamerican Political Prisoner

(Tim Blunk is an anti-imperialist freedom fighter active in the movement for many years. He was captured along with Susan Rosenberg on November 29, 1984, in New Jersey, and later convicted on charges of weapons possession, possession of explosives, and false identification. Susan Rosenberg is now held in the infamous Lexington Control Unit.)



ON GORBACHEV, MICKEY LELAND  
AND  
SELF-DETERMINATION FOR AFRIKANS IN AMERIKKKA

By Prince Cuba

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following is an edited version of a letter sent to the NEW YORK TIMES.

\* \* \* \* \*

This is a response to your April 18 article concerning Mikhail Gorbachev's timely suggestion to visiting U.S. congressmen.

According to the article, Mr. Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union, suggested that the United States might "solve its race problems by setting up separate states for black and other minorities."

Mickey Leland (D-Texas) is reported as saying, "Mr. Gorbachev was rather uninformed about the desires and aspirations of black people in America," adding that he found the suggestion personally "offensive."

Mr. Leland is undoubtedly himself uninformed of the desires and aspirations of growing numbers of nationally oppressed peoples inside the political borders of the U.S. As a member of the U.S. government, Mr. Leland represents the status quo, not the masses of oppressed people who would welcome an independent territory on this continent, and who have a long history of struggling for just that.

From the 17th century to the present, oppressed Afrikan nationals in America have fought for self-determination on land of their own. There are recorded instances of slave rebellions which had the aim of establishing separate and independent nations. For instance, the rebellion led by Nat Turner had the objective of establishing a black republic in Virginia. So-called runaway slaves gathered in significant numbers in what were called "maroon societies" throughout the ante bellum south. After the war between the Union and the Confederacy, Union troops, sometimes in league with former Confederate citizens, had to resort to arms to disperse all-black settlements throughout the south, to re-take the "40 acres" promised and claimed by Afrikans who wanted land of their own. After being driven from this land, many tens of thousands of Afrikans sought new land, new all-black settlements, in territories to the west.

In the 20th century, the "Back to Africa" movement was influenced by the desire and aspiration of Afrikans in amerikkka for separate territory, as was the Movement for the Establishment of a 49th State, and the Nation of Islam.

The struggle of Afrikans in amerikkka to regain their national independence reached the highest point yet in 1968. In March of that year, over 500 representatives of all class, political and religious strata of Afrikans in amerikkka met to establish a PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT for the oppressed Afrikan nation. They named the nation the REPUBLIC OF NEW AFRIKA, and signed a DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE from amerikkka, pledging to FREE THE LAND--the designated National Territory (present u.s. controlled states of Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Mississippi).

All the above contained within them the common thread of self-determination, a political status recognized in international law, with the attendant right to engage in armed struggle for its attainment (Tinoco, 18 Am. J. Int'l. L. 147 (1924)).

Self-determination can best be defined as a sovereignty exercised on a territory occupied by a national entity; the right of that political body to the administration of its society; its own legal authority in the power of taxation, police, and legal affairs; its own economic independence, directly affecting its control of food, shelter, and clothing. Without land or a government of its own, no national entity can obtain freedom, justice, or equality.

However, the claims of no people, according to established policy and usage, are respected by any other nation, unless and until, they are represented in a national capacity.

Mr. Gorbachev's suggestions, as Soviet policies, can find their origin in Lenin's "Draft theses on the National-Colonial Question," presented in 1920 to the Second Congress of the Communist International. They were later echoed by Stalin (MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION), where he defined a nation as "a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture."

After a constitutional endorsement of human slavery, the annexation of Mexican land (in the present south-western U.S.), the Ostend Manifesto, and the imprisonment, exile, or murder of countless pro-nationalist spokesmen, the various subject national minorities occupy de facto, separate territories referred to in the U.S. as "ghettos," and in South Africa as "townships."

National territories DO exist--self-determination does not. The Puerto Rican nation occupies its own geographical area; it does not enjoy self-determination. Its highest court may be over-ruled by the lowest federal court of the U.S.

The "national question" will be answered by either reform or revolution. Does Mr. Leland speak for reform, revolution, or reaction? Does the NEW YORK TIMES consider him an expert on the subject at hand, and recognize him as a spokesman for the Afrikan and Puerto Rican people who struggle for independence of their territories?

Does this congressman from Texas dare to contradict the historical record made by the masses, and individuals like Pap Singleton, Marcus Garvey, Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X?

Is a plebiscite or referendum proposed to support the statements, reported by you as facts, concerning the actual desires and aspirations of Afrikans in amerikkka?

Prince Cuba  
Sullivan Prison  
Fallsberg, New York

## THE TASKS OF THE NEW AFRIKAN REVOLUTIONARY PRISONER

By Haroon

### Introduction

The Amerikkkan ruling class, its governmental allies, cronies and henchmen, and an ever expanding segment of the Amerikkkan middle and working classes have rejected and overcome the New Deal/Great Society/Welfare State strategies of social organization and control.

The captive black nation is suffering devastating attacks on its economic and social well-being, government supported survival mechanisms and legal protections. The progressive and revolutionary upsurges of the 60s were undermined and crushed with far-reaching effects. After a decade of impotent manouverings by most of its activists, and long years of imprisonment for many others, the latent revolutionary nationalist desires of the colonized masses are in a state of lethargy only periodically interrupted by fits of rioting, marching, voting and issue-oriented mass campaigns that are systematically defeated due to a lack of all-round strategy and organizations capable of defending and sustaining themselves against governmental and reactionary attacks.

We, the New Afrikan revolutionary prisoners who have nothing to look forward to but long years of enforced idleness, coupled with programs designed to destroy our bodies, minds and spirits--designed to render us incapable of any future assistance to our people--have the historical duty of casting aside all fear, selfishness, and individualism, and dedicating our energies, talents, goods and lives, to constructing the fighting arm of the colonized masses, to wage war on our enemies and oppressors--till victory or death!

### Objective

To recruit, organize, train and field, the nucleus of a revolutionary nationalist political/military organization, dedicated to the establishment of a New Afrikan nation.

### The Four Wheels of our Freedom Machine

Our grand strategy will encompass four strategic arenas that have proven to be necessary components of our past efforts to check and overcome our enemies--even when used in an uncoordinated manner. Henceforth, these arms will be used in a combined, expanded, and coordinated fashion. They are:

- 1) The Mass Front
- 2) The Legal Front
- 3) The Clandestine Front
- 4) The Core Group

THE MASS FRONT is by far the most important of the four. The type of struggle that we must wage cannot be properly mounted or sustained without organizing and relying on the masses of prisoners, families, and supporters at every stage.

These masses desire a better life, and their inability to obtain it through "normal" channels is what shapes, defines and sustains our political decisions to use revolutionary violence to overcome all obstacles. The masses will provide the human and material resources to win this struggle.

THE LEGAL FRONT is a strategic area only after it's fully understood that we've resolved to obtain our objective by any means, and the law and its application is never a decisive arena in our plans. It is but an expendable resource that will only last until our enemies adjust to our expanded, aggressive activities in that area.

Used in this manner, we will be able to attack, defend and tie up an expanded portion of our enemies' resources and personnel.

THE CLANDESTINE FRONT is our extraordinary force that will serve to ultimately help us realize our objective. It is an accepted maxim that you must engage your enemies with ordinary forces, but to obtain success you must supplement these with extraordinary forces.

The masses and our legal apparatus will serve as our ordinary forces. They attack and engage the enemy on a broad front. The clandestine forces--at the proper moment--strike at our enemies' vital strategic and exposed areas, making victory possible. Only by building a powerful clandestine arm will we have the means to achieve our objective.

THE CORE GROUP is the New Afrikan revolutionary prisoners, organized along revolutionary nationalist party lines, and functioning clandestinely among the other prisoners, families, and supporters. Initially these groups should form themselves and operate locally. As conditions permit, they should consolidate on the regional and national levels.

The core group is the spark plug, driving motor and nervous system of our machinery. The core group will contain the most committed, knowledgeable and tested individuals. Without this element, the political desires of the masses turn in circles of despair, confusion and misdirected rage.

The core group identifies and defines latent desires among the masses in order to help formulate programs to give vent to these desires, thereby involving the masses in the liberation process. The core group is able to persevere during periods of despair based on their advanced ideas and acquired experience. These advanced ideas and acquired experiences allow the core group to guide the masses around many pitfalls of our struggle.

These two groups--the core group and the masses--interact with each other and influence each other, support and defend each other, strengthen and prepare each other for future stages of struggle.

#### The Mass Front In Action

There are three primary areas we will concentrate our mass front activities in:

- 1) Among the prisoners.

- 2) Among their families, friends and acquaintances.
- 3) Among the oppressed masses in the outside communities.

Our mass front activities among the prisoners are the most important. Our objective in this area is to change the relationship of forces between us and the prison administration by gaining effective control of as many areas of prison life as possible. This control will allow us to more effectively recruit, organize and train our forces. It is also a necessary step in our eventual liberation. That is the core group's objective and line on the mass front among the prisoners. We must effectively teach our core group cadre to use the two line approach.

The core group's line has already been made clear, but we can only approach the most advanced elements among the prisoners with that line. Therefore, we must have a more generalized line to approach the masses of prisoners with. The masses of prisoners consciously desire more freedom on varied levels within the prison setting. (Subconsciously, this is a manifestation of the desire to be liberated entirely from the prison environment.

The task of the core group is to gradually move them from their desires for partial change to a need for more radical change and eventually total liberation from the prison environment. This will be accomplished by adopting their particular reformist objectives until transcended by our teaching, guidance and the shortcomings of their desired ends. Take their ideas, refine and organize them into workable programs, then struggle alongside them for the implementation of these programs. This is the MASS LINE on this front among the prisoners.

This type of activity will organize and mobilize the prisoners. It will open up new areas of freedom and make available more human and material resources for the core group to integrate into the liberation struggle.

This reformist activity will eventually reach a point where the prison administration will have to attempt to curtail it for security and monetary reasons. The administrators will not be blind to organized efforts among the prisoner masses not controlled by them or trusted snitches or lackeys. They will therefore try to infiltrate, turn or suppress any effective leadership in this area. Consequently, it will be necessary to keep involvement of known core group activists at a minimum, until enough momentum is generated to make the hindering of these cadres' activities too risky for the administrators to attempt without bringing down the wrath of the prisoner masses.

Once the prison administrators do attempt to curtail any of these activities, the core group will have opportunities to increase its recruitment of these suppressed segments for more radical activities. The various Jaycee, Lifer, Alcoholic Anonymous and other prison organizations and intramural, inter-institutional sports teams, as well as the various religious groups and associations, are masses that we must have a presence in. Mass front activities that can be developed and integrated into our liberation strategies are too numerous and varied to forsee. Mass front cadre must develop a keen sense for identifying latent desires for change among the prisoners, and ways to develop and utilize this energy for liberation.

Our mass activities among the relatives, friends and acquaintances of prisoners will basically evolve out of and depend on the above mentioned activities among the masses of prisoners. We will encourage and stimulate the desires of the prisoners and their loved ones for more contact with, and more support from each other. Prisoners have a lot of time, talent and energy that can be utilized to create, staff and run programs designed to support this outside segment.

Any such programs instituted must serve as reciprocating instruments so that the prisoners will derive a measure of support from those who they serve. Eventually this outside segment will be a fertile ground for our clandestine cadre to recruit among.

Our mass activities among the oppressed masses in the wider community is similar to that mentioned above. To be effective in this area will require that we identify and take on causes in the wider community that may not have any direct bearing on prisoners.

This work will bear fruit when we call upon those we've supported to help us with our particular struggles. This type of activity will also provide us with opportunities for some good public relations exposure for some of our concerns.

#### The Legal Front In Action

There are four primary areas that our legal front activities will be concentrated in:

- 1) Original criminal convictions.
- 2) New charges gotten while in prison.
- 3) Civil cases.
- 4) Criminal prosecution of prison personnel.

In dealing with original criminal convictions it must always be remembered that our grand strategy calls for fielding a political-military organization that has a large percentage of individuals who have very little likelihood of leaving prison through the court system, for many, many years, if at all. Our efforts in relation to these individuals' original convictions will be mainly of a tactical nature. To enhance our communications and to probe for weaknesses that may be exploited to liberate small numbers of prisoners. There will be situations where through the research of a cadre's legal documents it will be discovered that some combination of legal and monetary efforts will suffice to liberate these cadre through the court system. In such situations the cadres' case will be handled accordingly.

New charges gotten while in prison by the core group cadre and selected supporters will be pursued for the reasons mentioned above, as well as to aggressively combat the prison administration's attempt to constrict our activities by the threat or utilization of criminal court actions.

For cadre with long sentences, criminal court actions provide another opportunity to pursue our objective. For cadre who are not serving long sentences, care must be taken to prevent them from picking up new criminal court cases. The more control we develop inside the prisons, and the more legal expertise we pick up, the easier it will be to beat this type of criminal court case.

The filing of civil cases--federal and state--will be used to force the prison administrations away from a given attack against any of our cadres or supporters. If used aggressively, it will put the administrators on the defensive, giving us a degree of leverage until which time the case is finally litigated.

Criminal prosecutions of prison personnel is a powerful weapon that if used properly and aggressively will effectively put the weight of the law enforcement and judiciary apparatus at our disposal. It is not easy to get one part of the criminal justice system to enforce laws against another. However, it can be done--with devastating ramifications among the ranks of their system. All of which will allow us to maintain the initiative, and provide us with various avenues to manouver along.

Cadre functioning in this area must make themselves knowledgeable of federal, state, county, municipal, township and other local laws, ordnances, regulatory agency and commission rules and regulations, as they effect any area of our present or future activities.

The point of departure in this arena is the absolute mastery of prison rules and regulations. All of the above must be taken out of the anarchic framework that it is presently used by most prisoners and used more selectively to pursue and accomplish a specific tactical or strategic objective. It is necessary that we be on the lookout for any weakening of our grand strategy by becoming too dependent on any of the above mentioned legal activities.

#### The Clandestine Front In Action

The clandestine front in each prison will move to institute our presence in any area that can be captured, controlled or forced to further our objectives whenever this is feasible and cannot be done by any other means.

The clandestine front will refrain from any uncoordinated attacks against the prison administration or other prisoners. They will serve as our internal security and disciplinary agency. They will protect all cadre, with special emphasis being put on leadership personnel. Ultimately, the clandestine arm will be charged with the responsibility of organizing and leading the liberation of all captured elements.

#### The Core Group In Action

Presently potential core group elements are individuals who have years of acquired knowledge, experience and have been tested on many occasions. We have in them a potentially trusted, stable and capable leadership and nucleus. In order to accomplish our tasks it will be necessary to greatly expand this core group. This expansion will present certain problems and risks.

Our past experience shows that our enemies will attempt to identify, neutralize or destroy our leadership before a stable second and third line of qualified leaders can be prepared to take their places; or, destroy the entire organization before this can take effect.

In trying to accomplish the above, the enemy will launch attacks against any identifiable less experienced cadre as readily as they attack the more experienced cadre. This is mainly because the more experienced cadre have proven themselves capable of surviving and turning the weaknesses of the enemy against himself.

The main tactic used against the more experienced cadre is isolation from the struggle and struggle elements. This weakness can be effectively overcome by expanding and sophisticating our communications system. This will leave the core groups most vulnerable to attack among the less experienced and newer cadre. Therefore, our task in this area will be to expand these ranks while giving them adequate direction, and time to acquire the necessary knowledge and seasoning required to survive and advance the struggle.

Towards that end, the primary criteria for any central planning, coordinating and other main leadership positions must be a cadre's past and contemporary record of understanding and applying the science of revolution to our immediate national conditions.

On the lower levels of leadership, this criteria will apply--if less stringently. All new cadres must undergo a training and probationary period before they can become full and accepted core group members. If it can be established that a new cadre is exceptionally qualified in his grasp of theory, though he may be lacking in past experience, such cadre can be considered for a position of responsibility after clearing security checks and being tested for loyalty.

Core group members must study all of the administration-sanctioned groups and activities in each prison. Programs must then be established to gain influence or control of as many of these areas as possible. Certain prison activities are of such a volatile nature that each local leadership must pick special individuals to operate in these areas under their direct supervision and control. Core group members must closely study the functioning of their institutions and develop ways to insinuate themselves into strategic jobs and housing areas. Failing this, they must attempt to put trusted, sympathetic or controlled individuals in these positions. Particular attention must be shown to gaining access to the day to day communications between prison personnel.

### Conclusion

We must eradicate the guerrilla mentality when it comes to organizing and struggling in a unified and coordinated manner. We must organize in the above manner so that we can pool our talents, resources and energies to overcome past weaknesses and achieve our objective of carrying the struggle of our people to a higher level.

Unity & Struggle

Haroon



IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE BENEFICENT, THE MERCIFUL  
STATEMENT TO THE APRIL 5th FREEDOM FIGHTERS TRIBUTE SPONSORED BY THE  
QUEENS 2 COMMUNITY SUPPORT COALITION

Dhoruba Al-Mujahid

I extend sincerest greetings and solidarity to all who are gathered today at this tribute to Freedom Fighters and Political Prisoners.

I would like to take this opportunity to candidly express a few thoughts on this occasion about support for the captive Freedom fighters. I fervently hope that my words are taken seriously and accepted in the spirit of fraternity in which they are offered.

First, I would like to point out, in general, that the overall effort to free Political Prisoners must rely on broad grass roots support. Broad grass roots support is a question of principled coalition politics in our community. In pursuit of support for Freedom fighters and Political Prisoners, we must realize that the issue is a moral issue for our community and its struggles. Consequently, the moral issue of Political Prisoners cannot be sacrificed on the altar of political expediency.

This is because moral commitment is the basis of political struggle--at least it should be. And, a community's level of political struggle is reflective of its moral obligation to itself, and its perception of the true moral nature of the racist system that oppresses it. The same racist system that dominates our community life is the same system that has imprisoned Freedom Fighters...that maintains Political Prisoners under the disguise of "criminal justice." Consequently, support for Political Prisoners is a form of community self-defense and political integrity.

Second, the plight of black Political Prisoners in the United States is at best a marginal community concern. This sad situation is not the fault of the media or other outside forces. It is the fault of people in our own ranks.

For over fourteen years the plight of Political Prisoners has degenerated into more of an expression of so-called "radical" politics rather than ascending to a universal moral principle of political grass roots organization across ideological differences.

For a long time personal prejudices, individual and sectarian agendas, have determined the nature and quality of community support for Political Prisoners. By and large, the community is ignorant of the existence of political cases and Political Prisoners. This was partly due to the fact that many small groups, organizations, and individuals, each had their particular "favorite" Political Prisoner or captive Freedom fighter whom they supported almost to the exclusion of the moral relationship of all Political Prisoners to the community.

This resulted in incoherent strategies which were subject to fitful stops and starts according to the repression of the State, and often led to less than beneficial utilization of resources and manpower. At one point the multitude of defense committees could not even agree on what to call captured and imprisoned Freedom Fighters, let alone a strategy of political support. Indeed, some people even mistakenly place the issue of Political Prisoners in the category of "criminal justice system racism" and deal with it from there.

It is not surprising, therefore, that all historical efforts to broaden support for Political Prisoners have essentially failed. In truth, a divided and biased approach to Political Prisoners can never successfully advance the cause of captive Freedom Fighters in the United States.

We must realize in principle, and implement in daily practice, the simple concept that the moral strength of our community's struggle for liberation is measured in part by its effort and commitment to freeing its Freedom Fighters --on every level of political struggle in which it is engaged. This principle holds true in South Africa as it does right here in the United States.

We need a unified voice to speak in behalf of our Freedom Fighters. A coherent strategy of struggle which deals with the legal realities of Political Prisoners on the one hand, and that embraces grass roots coalition politics on the other.

Finally, I'd like to add that many of us who have anguished in these prisons for ten or fifteen years have advanced in our personal, spiritual, and political development as human beings. It is not a coincidence that many Political Prisoners are Muslims and have come into the consciousness of the unity of our struggle with all of humanity's struggle against oppression and tyranny of men and systems of man.

Without respect for our humanity there can be little respect for the nature of sacrifice, and ultimately, little respect for the truth. When a person touches the ultimate truth he realizes that there is nothing which is not himself.

Surely the value of sacrifice is in willingness.

FREE THE QUEENS TWO!

AS SALAAM ALAIKUM,  
Dhoruba Al-Mujahid

For information and offers  
of support for Bashir Hameed  
and Abdul Majid (the Queens 2)  
write to:

Queens 2 Community Support Coalition  
P.O. Box 1354  
Brooklyn, NY 11247

For information and offers  
of support for Dhoruba Al-  
Mujahid, write to:

Islamic Coalition for Justice  
4819 13th Avenue, Ste. 208  
Brooklyn, NY 11219

TRIBUTE TO NEW AFRIKAN FREEDOM FIGHTER  
KUWASI BALAGOON

By Nuriddin Abdur Rashid

As the Regan administration continues to lash out its hardline position on "terrorist activity" abroad, a new awakening is developing within the politically conscious American. Once again and through the unravelling of the latest Whitehouse scandle, we're in focus with the true CONTRA-dictions of the administration's double-dealing spirit on "terrorism." However, the U.S. arms sales to Iran, military intelligence gathered from U.S. spy satellites given to Iraq, and open support for the Contras in Nicaragua should come as no surprise. After all, imperialist America, the forefather of Apartheid, has an extensive history of government chicanery. In fact, the contemporary mind should find it quite conceivable when learning that right here on American soil there are hundreds of Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War, warehoused across the country in federal and state prisons.

The Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War now held in America are Native American: Leonard Peltier and Rits Silk Nauni; Irish prisoners: Joseph P. Doherty and William Quinn; Northamerican prisoners: Marilyn Buck, Kathy Boudin, David Gilbert, Laura Whitehorn, Susan Rosenberg, Alan Berkman; Puerto Rican prisoners: Alejandrina Torres, Oscar Lopez-Rivera, Luz Maria Berrios, Julie A. Veras y Delgadillo, Alicia Rodriquez, Carlos Alberto Torres; New Afrikan/"Black" prisoners: Sekou Odinga, Bisher Hameed, Abdul Majid, Geronimo Pratt, Herman Bell, Mutulu Shakur, Jalil Abdul Muntaqim, Sundiata Acoli. All of these are just a few of the many men and women deceptively held by federal and state agencies. Men and women who have openly declared their political status before the U.S. courts, and who are subsequently denied their rights under the Geneva Accords and the United Nations' Additional Protocols which govern humanitarian conventions on the treatment of Prisoners of War.

The question must be raised: Why are these prisoners subjected to U.S. deception? Who is responsible for the deceptive proceedings handed down by the judicial and political system in their illegal labelling of these men and women as "criminals," as "defendants"? Why are they handled with ultra-security measures and confined to "maxi-maxi" prisons if they're not considered political? And, most importantly, why has the American public been deprived of these facts?

In the words of anti-imperialist David Gilbert, presently serving an astronomical prison term for his participation in the October 20, 1981 clandestine maneuver involving a Brinks armored car and subsequent shootout with police enforcers, "A political prisoner is anyone whose incarceration is a result of his or her actions taken, or positions espoused, on behalf of a political cause--specifically a political cause on behalf of the oppressed and downtrodden in society and against the powers that be." As for the

Prisoners of War, Gilbert goes on to say, "These are the captured freedom fighters from the Black, the Puerto Rican, and the Native American struggles. They consciously fought against the oppression of their people; they fulfill the obligation (recognized by international law) to oppose racist and colonial regimes. Indeed, they are soldiers in just struggles for national liberation. These include POWs from the Black Liberation Army (BLA) and the Puerto Rican Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN), among others."

The overwhelming racist mentality, trickling from the brows of U.S. strategists into our society would have the average American believe that revolutionary actions are the fruits of "foreign influence". We're injected with images of televised revolution abroad while the war (presently and for the most part clandestine) within U.S. borders is publically smothered and classified under "domestic" and "criminal" problems. With techniques of this nature, political prisoners and prisoners of war, held within the U.S. will not receive effective public attention nor any form of legal recognition. Without necessary legal protection, they will live and die behind the grim prison wall. A victory for the U.S. strategist.

Needless to say, such deception, for example, has already persuaded many Americans to condone and even commend the Reagan night bombing of Libya and to openly frown and even condemn the actions of a U.S. based group known as the OHIO 7, accused of bombings directed at corporate support of Apartheid and military intervention in Central America. These brave political prisoners-- Ray Levasseur, Pat Gros, Barbara Curzi, Jaan Lamaan, Carol Manning, Thomas Manning, and Richard Williams--like all others are labelled "defendants" and treated like "criminals". On the one hand, many applaud "U.S. Terrorism" while on the other, they abandon the rights of home-grown freedom fighters and other politically active people. Has the art of deception, caused these people to blindly support the degradation of political prisoners and prisoners of war? Prisoners who have fought and continue to fight against oppressive and racist regimes?

Once the awakening of the politically conscious American is firmly rooted, there will no longer be any blind support for the deception of U.S. strategist in their degradation of political prisoners and prisoners of war. Only then will they receive their just support and legal rights. Only then will they live under humane conditions and publically acknowledged as legitimate combatants of political, economical and social conditions.

IN MEMORY OF NEW AFRICAN FREEDOM FIGHTER  
KUWASI BALAGOON

DEC. 22, 1946 - - - DEC. 13, 1986

Nuriddin Abdur Rashid  
s/n Ferdinand Frilando  
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Briefs and Updates 18/9Geronimo Pratt

The California Board of Prison Terms denied parole to Comard-Brother Geronimo Pratt on May 5, 1987. Geronimo has served 17 years in prison for a murder he didn't commit, after having been framed by the U.S.government, through the FBI.

On December 8, 1969, over 300 police staged a ground and air assault on the Black Panther Party Los Angeles headquarters. This attack was launched just four days after the pre-dawn raid by police and the FBI upon BPP members in Chicago, which left a sleeping Fred Hampton and Mark Clark dead.

However, the L.A. attack was unsuccessful, being held off by Geronimo, who was their Deputy Minister of Defense, and 17 other prepared Party members. After this failure to assassinate Geronimo as they had Fred and Mark, the U.S.government, through the FBI, set up a special "Pratt Task Force", with the aim of "neutralizing" Geronimo. Consequently, he was charged in 1970 with the murder of a woman in Santa Monica, California, largely on testimony of an FBI informant.

Although subsequent investigation by G's defense team has shown that even FBI logs of wire taps prove G. was in Oakland at the time of the Santa Monica killing, U.S.courts have so far refused to render "justice".

A recent Unity article quotes one of Geronimo's supporters as saying, "By denying Geronimo's right to freedom, the parole board furthers the efforts of the war waged by Hoover and the FBI (and the U.S.government) against the Black Liberation Movement. Geronimo is a prisoner of that war and, as such, is building a case for the United Nations."

You are urged to contact:

Committee to Free Geronimo Pratt  
220 9th Street  
San Francisco, CA 94103  
415-431-1297

Linda Evans

Northamerican revolutionary and anti-imperialist Linda Evans was recently sentenced to 40 years in a New Orleans, La. federal court. She had been charged with possessing false I.D. and illegally buying weapons.

Comrade Evans was earlier convicted and sentenced in New York for harboring Comrade Marilyn Buck, another Northamerican revolutionary and anti-imperialist, who was then a fugitive after escaping from a West Virginia prison.

Marilyn herself is now facing trial along with New Afrikan POW Mutulu Shakur, both charged with the 1981 Brinks expropriation, and assistance in the liberation of Comrad-Sister Assata Shakur from a N.J.prison in 1979.

Alan Berkman

Convicted of conspiracy to possess explosives, weapons, and false I.D., Northamerican revolutionary and anti-imperialist Alan Berkman was sentenced recently to 10 years in prison by a Philadelphia federal court.

\* \* \* \* For more information on Linda, Alan, and Marilyn, contact:

Cmte. to Fight Repression  
P.O.Box 1435 Cathedral Station  
New York, N.Y. 10025

For more information on Mutulu Shakur, contact:

NAPO  
P.O.Box 2348  
New Yotk, N.Y. 10027

-or-

Cmte. to Free Dr.Mutulu Shakur  
P.O.Box 3171  
Manhattanville Station  
New York, N.Y. 10027

Maliki S.Latine

New Afrikan POW M.S.Latine had assault charges against him dropped by the Warsaw County District Attorney. The charges stemmed from an attack upon Maliki in October, 1985, by Attica prison guards. Maliki has been in solitary confinement since that time, and is seeking legal assistance in the filing of a civil damages suit (damage to his eye in the assault upon him) . Anyone willing to provide such assistance should contact:

Maliki S Latine  
#81 A 4469  
Wende Road, P.O.Box 1187  
Alden, N.Y. 14004-1187

Chris King & the Ohio 7

As a result of fighting for and winning a change of venue, New Afrikan POW Chris King and the Ohio 7 (Northamerican revolutionaries and anti-imperialist fighters) will soon begin trial in Springfield, Massachusetts rather than Boston. The eight comrades face charges of "seditious conspiracy," i.e., attempting to overthrow the U.S. government by force.

The Ohio 7--Barbara Curzi-Laaman, Jaan Laaman, Tom Manning, Carol Manning, Ray Lvasseur, Richard Williams, and Patricia Gros--were sentenced in N.Y. to 45-98 years terms in May 1986, for a series of bombings by the United Freedom Front against corporate and military targets, in solidarity with the New Afrikan, Azanian and Central American liberation struggles.

On Feb.18, 1987, Tom Manning was also sentenced to life imprisonment by a New Jersey court for the self-defense shooting of a state trooper in 1981. Richard Williams, Manning's co-defendant, in that case, got a hung jury, and the state says they'll retry him after the Mass. trial, although the jury in question accepted the evidence that he wasn't even at the scene of the 1981 shooting.

Contact: Ohio 7 Defense Cmte., P.O.Box 520 Cathedral Station  
NY, NY 10025

Lolo Azania (s/n Rufus Averhart)

Comrad-Brother Lolo Azania, sentenced to death by electrocution in 1982 for the alleged killing of a Gary police officer during a bank robbery, is now awaiting a ruling from the Indiana courts on his post-sentence petition.

Comrad Azania was arrested on August 11, 1981, and framed on the murder charge, although there were no witnesses to the shooting, and a paraffin test taken shortly after his arrest showed that he hadn't fired a gun. He believes the frame-up was "Because of my political, conscious, humanistic activism on behalf of the downtrodden."

Informing the sentencing court that it had no jurisdiction over him because of the historical reality that he is a conscious New Afrikan citizen, Comrad Azania has no other choice--at present--at present--but to exhaust the so-called "remedies" allegedly available to him in the colonial court.

The direct appeal of the death sentence was denied by the Indiana Supreme Court on October 29, 1984. On September 23, 1985, Azania filed a post-conviction petition in Allen County, Indiana Circuit Court.

On August 21, 1986, during a hearing on that Petition, the prosecutor called Azania to be a witness against himself. Asserting the U.S. constitutional "privilege" against self-incrimination, the Petition was dismissed by the judge, who claimed that Comrad Azania had no Fifth Amendment rights!

This ruling was later overruled by the state Supreme Court, and the Petition was re-instated. The last hearing was held May 18, 1987.

Comrad Azania's family has organized the Equal Justice Committee, P.O. Box 4079, Gary, Indiana 46404, to help raise funds for his defense. He's presently represented by two Indiana Public Defenders, Rhoda R. Lang-Sharp and Linda Rodriguez-Torrent, 309 W. Washington St., Ste.501, Indianapolis, In. 46204.

Brother Azania has received support from:

Bro. Al Saladin, Blisschords Communications Network  
P.O.Box 53435, Chicago IL 60656

RNA-PG Minister of Justice Nheehi Taifa  
P.O.Box 90604, Washington D.C. 20090-0604

Sis. Lydia Curtis  
Black Seeds  
1217 - 17th St. NE , Washinton,D.C. 20002

To offer your assistance or to find out how you can help, contact either the above, or write to Bro. Azania:

Bro. Lolo Azania (s/n Rufus Averhart)  
#4969  
In. S.P. - Death Row  
P.O.Box 41  
Michigan City, IN 46360

KOJO SABABU & OSCAR LOPEZ-RIVERA

Both remain prisoners in administrative segregation in Chicago's MCC after 10 months behind steel front doors without fresh air and exercise. They were transferred to Chicago from Marion Prison to stand trial together with 2 Chicago independentistas and 2 North Americans (currently fugitives) for an alleged 1985 escape attempt at Leavenworth Prison. The trial is scheduled to start Sept. 9th.

Recently the trial judge dismissed Sababu's habeas challenging the oppressive conditions because Sababu had not filed the BP-10 which MCC personnel had refused to give him. For further insult and cruelty, after approving his marriage, the MCC refused to sign the forms necessary to obtain the marriage license after Sababu's fiance had travelled over 800 miles to visit him and get married, and further refused to allow her to visit more than 1 hour per day. Oscar Lopez, meanwhile, over his objections, was whisked to Springfield, Mo. for an alleged physical examination by a specialist, but the Bureau of Prisons returned him when they were forced to acknowledge no such specialist was available at Springfield.

Letters to protest the conditions under which Kojo and Oscar are suffering should be sent to:

Warden O.C. Jenkins  
MCC-Chicago  
71 W. Van Buren  
Chicago, IL 60605

Letters to Kojo and Oscar should be sent to:

Kojo Bomani Sababu  
s/n Grailing Brown  
#39384-066  
MCC  
71 W. Van Buren  
Chicago, Il. 60605

Oscar Lopez-Rivera  
#87651-024  
MCC  
71 W. Van Buren  
Chicago, Il. 60605



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