

CROSSROAD

**A NEW AFRIKAN CAPTURED
COMBATANT NEWSLETTER**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTERVIEW WITH ASSATA SHAKUR 1

500 YEARS OF CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

500 YEARS OF NEW AFRIKAN RESISTANCE pg 8

INDIAN IN A FORMER LIFE 3

**THIRD WORLD WOMEN: SPECTACLES OF
OPPRESSION..... 13**

ALSO:

*** NEW AFRIKAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE**

*** LEST WE FORGET**

*** AMERIKKAN (IN)JUSTICE**

*** POETRY**

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In the following version of the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence, We have highlighted terminology that reflects changes We've made to eliminate previous male-centered language - thereby neglecting our women. The use of male-centered language supports the historic oppression of women and denies the indomitable fighting spirit of our sisters and foremothers. Though We understand that within colonial societies, the term "mankind" is generally accepted as standard (even when referring to both men and women), We feel that any implication of sexist oppression is inappropriate for revolutionaries building a New Society. Our political growth and consistent development must eliminate concepts, terminology, and practices that exclude, objectify and inhibit the necessary participation of women in our people's struggle for independence. Considering the historical context of the document, and those who signed it, sexism may not have been intended. Nevertheless, this does not diminish it's implied sexism. Therefore, We support the revisions suggested by the New Afrikan Women's Taskforce, in hopes of leaving a legacy for our children that does not speak to patriarchal domination. We support a New Afrikan Declaration of Independence that includes in its language the women of our Nation. The suggested revisions are as follows: **humankind** and **all** to replace **mankind**; **We**, **human beings**, and **each other** to replace **man**; **our** or **the** to replace **man's**; and **the** to replace **his**. Editor's Note: We would also like to propose **or her** to accompany "his natural rights;"

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 States 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



ASSATA





In the last issue of **CROSSROAD** We ran part one of An Interview With Assata Shakur conducted by Matt Meyer, of the War Resister's League, and Meg Starr, of the Free Puerto Rico Committee.* An uncompromising revolutionary, critical thinker, and a clear representation of modern-day resistance, Assata Shakur was one of the primary targets of the FBI's counter intelligence program, COINTELPRO. On May 2, 1973, Assata, Sundiata Acoli, and Zayd Malik Shakur were attacked by state troopers on the New Jersey Turnpike. The ambush led to the murder of Zayd, and the severe wounding and capture of Assata. Though Sundiata was able to escape capture at the time, he was later arrested and is currently one of our longest held *c o m b a t a n t s* (s e e **CROSSROAD**, Spring 1992). After spending six years in prison, Assata was liberated by New Afrikan and Anti-Imperialist forces in 1979. She received political asylum from the Cuban government and resides there today. Assata has documented her experiences with struggle, the u.s. government, the Black Panther Party, and "coming of age" in amerikkka, in her book *ASSATA: An Autobiography* (Lawrence Hill Books). Having survived COINTELPRO and numerous realities of amerikkka, Assata remains grounded in liberatory principles. Part two continues An Interview With Assata Shakur, We will run part three in our next issue.



Matt Meyer: You know, one of the things white folk who have been struggling against racism on both a political and personal level have confronted is contradictions or confusions about what real solidarity means. Solidarity, collaboration, oppressed movements, and then this whole concept about what intervention can mean for white folk with all that technology and all these material resources. Will you speak on the concepts of solidarity and intervention, define them and say what you think true avenues for that could be?

Assata Shakur: ok, i think one of the fundamental things needed for solidarity is respect. The respect of other people's culture, other people's ideas, and respect for self-determination. Going back to the experiences of Eastern Europe, on one hand you had Stalinists and the Stalinist model, and in some ways, some very real ways, the Soviet Union lent real help to Third World people who were struggling. In other ways they fell short of that. Many of the Eastern European countries, with the exception of those having a pardon school (having some foreign students there), really showed no true internationalism in the sense of say, a Cuba. Even though Cubans are generally a people who share what they have, Cuba is an underdeveloped country. The sense of imperialism in Cuba is



much more highly developed than in any of the European countries. That was one of the fatal errors of that process. To consider solidarity as simply going to the U.N. and voting with the Soviet Union and not much more. It did not include personal sacrifices, it did not include a much more serious commitment to the liberation of Third World people. And so you have European workers who did not really feel a sense of solidarity with workers in the Third World, but felt a material kind of envy for workers in England, France and the United States. Workers who shared those kinds of values, the "we want color tv's," and did not really perceive that the reason why the lifestyle of some workers, and i have to emphasize "some" workers, in the developed countries was at a higher level was because those countries were directly involved in imperialism. That these countries were directly involved in sucking the blood of Third World workers -- Third World people. Only a country that is involved in this kind of behavior can give some workers a higher standard of living. Solidarity in the sense of many European countries was lip service, was a few gestures, but was not a real gut self-sacrificing solidarity with Third World people. You find a situation now where you have people all throughout Eastern Europe volunteering to go live in South Africa. You have a situation where Europeans are attacking Third World people all

over Europe and Eastern Europe, too. Eastern Europe, Western Europe, there is this wave of racism that didn't just come out of nowhere. It is there because there was no real struggle raised against it. There was no real ideological process that took place on any real, in-depth level. So, solidarity meant one thing very superficial, and in addition to that, there was chauvinism. A kind of "we have the answers and all y'all savages gotta listen to us, cause we got Marx and Engels and we know all the answers. And you can make a revolution just the way we think you should make it, and you can just repeat what we say. And if you say anything different from what we say you're a revisionist."



FOR ALL THOSE WHO WERE INDIAN IN A FORMER LIFE

by Andy Smith

The New Age movement has sparked new interest in Native American traditional spirituality among white women who claim to be feminists. Indian spirituality, with its respect for nature and the interconnectedness of all things, is often presented as a panacea for all individual and global problems. Not surprisingly, many white "feminists" see the opportunity to make a great profit from this new craze. They sell sweat lodges or sacred pipe ceremonies, which promise to bring individual and global healing. Or they sell books and records that supposedly describe Indian traditional practices so that you, too, can be Indian. Lynn Andrews, author of *Medicine Woman, Jaguar Woman, et al.*, is one of many profiting from Indian spirituality these days.

On the surface, it may appear that this new craze is based on respect for Indian spirituality. In fact, the New Age movement is part of a very old story of white racism and genocide against the Indian people.

The "Indian" ways that these white, New Age "feminists" are practicing have little grounding in reality. For instance, Agnes Whistling Elk, the "medicine woman" in Lynn Andrews's works, is undoubtedly fictional. She is Cree, but she speaks Lakota and Hopi. *Medicine Woman* describes no genuine Cree practices.

True spiritual leaders do not make a profit from their teachings, whether it's through selling books, workshops, sweat lodges, or otherwise. Spiritual leaders teach the people because it is

their responsibility to pass what they have learned from their elders to the younger generations. They do not charge for their services.


Furthermore, the idea that an Indian medicine woman would instruct Lynn Andrews, a white woman, to preach the "true path" of Indian spirituality sounds more reminiscent of evangelical Christianity than traditional Indian spirituality. Indian religions are community-based, not proselytizing religions. For this reason, there is not *one* Indian religion, as many New Agers would have you believe. Indian spiritual practices reflect the needs of a particular community. Indians do not generally believe that their way is "the" way, and consequently, they have no desire to tell outsiders about their practices. Also, considering how many Indians there are who do not know the traditions, why would a medicine woman spend so much time teaching a white woman? A medicine woman would be more likely to advise a white woman to look into her *own* culture and find what is liberating in it.

However, white women seem determined *not* to look into their own cultures for sources of strength. This is puzzling, since pre-Christian European cultures are also earth-based and contain many of the same elements that white women are ostensibly looking for in Native American cultures. This phenomenon leads me to suspect that there is a more insidious motive for white "feminists" latching onto Indian spirituality.

When white "feminists" see how white people have historically

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oppressed others and how they are coming very close to destroying the earth, they often want to disassociate themselves from their whiteness. They do this by opting to "become Indian." In this way, they can escape responsibility and accountability for white racism.

Of course, white "feminists" want to become only partly Indian. They do not want to become part of our struggles against genocide, and they do not to fight for treaty rights or an end to substance abuse or sterilization abuse. They do not want to do anything that would tarnish notions of what it means to be an Indian.

Moreover, white women want to become Indian without holding themselves accountable to Indian communities. If they did, they would have to listen to Indians telling them to stop carrying around sacred pipes, stop doing their own sweat lodges, and stop appropriating our spiritual practices. Rather, these New Agers see Indians as romanticized gurus who exist only to meet their consumerists needs. Consequently, they do not understand Indian people, or our struggles for survival, and thus they can have no genuine understanding of Indian spiritual practices.

While New Agers may think that they are escaping white racism by becoming "Indian," they are, in fact, continuing the same genocidal practices of their forefathers/foremothers. The one thing that has maintained the survival of Indian people through 500 years of colonialism, has been the spiritual bonds that keep us together.

When the colonizers saw the

strength of our spirituality, they tried to destroy Indian religions by making them illegal. They forced Indian children into white missionary schools and cut their tongues if they spoke their native languages. Sundances were made illegal and Indian participation in the Ghost Dance precipitated the Wounded Knee massacre. Our colonizers recognized that it was our spirituality that maintained our spirit of resistance and sense of community. Even today, Indians are the only people in the United States who do not have religious freedom. This was made clear when the Supreme Court recently ruled that the First Amendment does not guarantee our right to use peyote in sacred ceremonies.

Many white, New Age "feminists," such as Lynn Andrews, are continuing this practice of destroying Indian spirituality. They trivialize Native American practices so that these practices lose their spiritual force. They have the white privilege and power to make themselves heard at the expense of Native Americans (Lynn Andrews's books have sold more than all books by Native writers combined). Consumers like what many of these writers have to tell them, and do not want to be concerned with the facts presented by Native Americans. Our voices are silenced, and consequently, the younger generation of Indians who are trying to find their way back to the Old Ways become hopelessly lost in the morass of consumerist spirituality.

These practices also promote the subordination of Indian women to white women. Many white "feminists" tell us how greedy we are when we

don't share our spirituality, and that we have to tell them everything they want to know because prophecies say we must. Apparently, it is our burden to service white women's needs rather than to spend time organizing within our own communities.

The New Age movement completely trivializes the oppression we as Indian women face: that Indian women are forcibly sterilized and are tested with unsafe drugs such as Depo-Provera; that we have a life expectancy of forty-seven years; that we generally live below the poverty level and face a seventy-five percent unemployment rate. No, ignoring our realities, the New Age movement sees Indian women as cool and spiritual and, therefore, available to teach white women to be cool and spiritual.

This trivialization of our oppression is compounded by the fact that, nowadays, anyone can be an Indian if she wants to be. All that is required is that a white woman be Indian in a former life or that she take part in a sweat lodge or be mentored by a "medicine woman" or read a book by Lynn Andrews.

Since, according to this theory, anyone can now be "Indian," the term "Indian" no longer refers specifically to those groups of people who have survived five hundred years of colonization and genocide. This phenomenon furthers the goals of white supremacists to abrogate treaty rights and to take away what little we have left by promoting the idea that *some* Indians need to have their land base protected, but that even more Indians (those that are really white) have plenty of land. According to this logic, "Indians" as a whole do not need treaty rights. When everyone

becomes "Indian," it is easy to lose sight of the specificity of oppression faced by those who are Indian in this life. It is no wonder we have such a difficult time getting non-Indians to support our struggles when the New Age movement has completely disguised our oppression.

The most disturbing aspect of these racist practices is that they are promoted in the name of feminism. Sometimes, it seems that I can't open a feminist periodical without seeing ads with little medicine wheel designs promoting white "feminist" businesses. I can't seem to go to a feminist conference without the only Indian presenter being the woman who begins the conference with a ceremony. Participants feel so "spiritual" after this opening that they fail to notice the absence of Indian women in the rest of the conference, or that nobody is discussing any pressing issues in Native American communities. And I certainly can't go to a feminist bookstore without seeing Lynn Andrews's books all over the place. It seems that, while feminism is supposed to signify the empowerment of all women, it obviously does not include Indian women.

If white feminists are going to act in solidarity with their Indian sisters, they are going to have to take a stand against Indian spiritual abuse. Feminist book and record stores should stop selling these products, and feminist periodicals should stop advertizing these products. Women who call themselves feminists should denounce exploitative practices wherever they see them.

Many white feminists have claimed that Indians are not respecting "freedom of speech" by demanding

CONT ON PG 22

500 Years of Resistance 1492-1992

The Quincentennial celebration of Columbus' "discovery" of the Americas marks an important time in our history—a turning point. It is time to dispel the lingering myths and shatter the legacy of Columbus that still exists today.

Indigenous peoples and other peoples of color throughout the Americas suffer still from the pervasive notions of manifest destiny, ownership of land and greed. It is those same peoples who resist and fight those notions today, just as they have fought for the last 500 years.

On October 12, 1992, the eyes of the world will be on the Americas, particularly the U.S. Many will celebrate the 500th anniversary of this "discovery". Most of the world, however, will remember the last 500 years as a fight against genocide, racism, colonialism and political internment.

All across the U.S. and the world, people are resisting the governments call for a celebration and are remembering this year to be a year of International Solidarity with Indigenous People. As well as a year to fight for self-determination of oppressed nationalities within U.S. borders and to demand the release of all Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War.

The National Freedom Now Networks have 5 Basic Points of Unity:

1. Recognition of the sovereign rights of the Indigenous Peoples in the Americas;
 - a.) Recognition of the transnational character and struggles of the Indigenous Peoples in the Americas that transcend artificial geo-political boundaries;
 - b) Recognition of the League of Indigenous Sovereign Indian nations and the International Indian Treaty Council to assume its rightful seat in the UN General Assembly and other appropriate UN bodies.
2. Abolition and dismemberment of the US federal state and all other white supremacist empires and states in the Americas;
 - a) Recognition of the New Afrikan nation and its struggles to establish an independent New Afrikan State;
 - b) Recognition of Northern Mexico as a legitimate part of the Mexican nation and support of the struggle for the liberation and socialist reunification of Mexico;
 - c) Support for the independence of Puerto Rico;
 - d) Consultation and discussion between the Indigenous Peoples' and the oppressed nations within the US colonial empire toward developing treaties which support and guarantee self-determination and independence for all oppressed nations in the US.
3. Development of a democratic, socialist confederation of all liberated nations in the US.
4. Freedom for All Political Prisoners & Prisoners of War in North America.
5. Support of all freedom-loving and justice minded people for the above.

Freedom Now National Networks

500 YEARS OF CULTURAL IMPERIALISM 500 YEARS OF RESISTANCE!!!

The following speech was presented by Sanovia Muhammed, of the New Afrikan People's Organization, at the "Conference on Oppressed Nationalities Within the U.S." The conference was held at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana, in December, 1991.

On behalf of the New Afrikan People's Organization, i'd like to thank the organizers for inviting us here. In the spirit of our resistance to slavery, colonialism and genocide and our commitment to self-determination, i bring you revolutionary greetings from the men, women and children of the New Afrikan Nation. *Free The Land!*

There has been a lot of discussion in recent months about the fast approaching five-hundredth anniversary of the arrival of Christopher Columbus to what is now known as the Americas. Much of the focus has rightly been on exposing the tragic results of the European invasion of the Americas, on the Native nations of the Caribbean and the northern and southern American mainland. We believe that this counter hegemonic resistance must continue. However, we believe that the most effective resistance can be mounted when we place Columbus in his proper historical and cultural context. We can then examine the full impact of the 15th-century European invasion of the rest of the world.

We believe that it is important to talk, not just about Columbus in this quincentenary, but to speak of the

European outward thrust of which Columbus was only a part. He was not the discoverer of the American continent, but was the "advance guard of white cultural and economic imperialism."

While in 1492 Columbus led the European invasion of the Americas, five years later his comrade in treachery, Vasco de Gama, under the Portuguese flag, led the invasion of Afrika, India and Asia. By 1500, Portuguese ships were raiding and destroying cities and towns along the coast of Afrika; from the kingdom of Benin, all around the Cape of Good Hope in the South, up to Ethiopia, and around to India and China.

We see the European invasion of the world as a two-pronged attack. Columbus to the West, destroying the Indigenous peoples and civilizations of the Americas, and Vasco de Gama to the East, destroying the indigenous peoples and civilizations of Afrika, India and Asia.

This, for us, is the beginning of the Afrikan Holocaust. Without a doubt, the most horrifying experiences of our ancestors. This period of European invasion, expansion and conquest; the period that disrupted and underdeveloped our motherland and her people; the period of death and destruction carried out by a people cold and calculating. The estimate of 100 million people uprooted from the continent of Afrika, millions buried in the Atlantic Ocean as a result of the brutal middle passage, and our resistance. The European invasion led to the system of slavery that we can sum up as cultural imperialism.

It is important that we take the time to look at our history, to see how we have arrived at the point where we are

NEW AFRIKAN

today; to understand the psyche of New Afrikan people so that we can, in fact, continue the resistance first exhibited by our people on the shores of Afrika.

We are a people with a history of resistance. We must look at this period of cultural imperialism and cultural resistance and the effects it had on our existence here in North America. What happened to us can only be viewed as an extreme violation of our humanity; an imposition of power, an alien worldview on our people, and the disruption in our growth and development. Violence -- physically, mentally, spiritually and economically-perpetuated and justified by our oppressors.

To celebrate the coming of Columbus is to celebrate the mass destruction and genocide of the Native American and Afrikan people, the theft of the Mexican's land and the colonization of Puerto Rico.

Our history of resistance is documented from Queen Nzinga, who fought for thirty years against the invasion of the Portuguese on the shores of Afrika, to the brave men and women who attacked their capturers on the slave ships (to the point of jumping overboard to avoid the dehumanizing situation they found themselves in), to our people here who struggled against a system that was not only designed to control our land, our wealth and our bodies, but sought to control our mind and our spirit through the stripping away of our language, our religion, our national dress and our dignity.

This type of cultural imperialism programatically appropriated and interpreted the very meaning of life in our daily experiences. The aim of which was to deny us the right to define our own existence. This is the philosophy which is not only at the root of racism and white supremacy, but is also the prime motive for sexism and male supremacy and other

ideologies of exclusion.

And now, five hundred years into the expansion of this destructive and demonic philosophy into the world beyond Europe, we, the two-thirds majority people of the world, must make some serious decisions.

We can choose to cooperate with cultural imperialism and applaud our own genocide as we celebrate the coming of Christopher. Many of our people have chosen to do this. They are the sad victims of cultural hegemony and Euro-American racist mind control.

We could also choose to mourn the terrible tragedy of our lost cultures and civilizations at the hands of cultural imperialists: choosing to dredge up feelings of remorse and guilt in white people, and getting pained apologies for the crimes of the Euro-American colonizers. The final choice available to us as colonized peoples, is the choice of resistance.

As we study our resistance we must begin to see the importance of building a strong international resistance movement of the internal and external colonies of the American Empire. An opportunity for us, once again, to build an alliance of colonized people, like the ones we forged throughout our history here.

When we look to the South, we see the home of the majority of New Afrikan peoples; the land where our people labored, fought the Night Riders and the KKK, and developed a unique cultural and national identity -- where we saw our people develop strategic alliances. (From the 1600s to the 1800s we saw the Afrikan-Native American alliance.)

In many areas our people and the Native Americans fought jointly against the Europeans, sharing a history of resistance to enslavement. Look at the Seminole Nation and their relationship to the Maroons (who developed independent states here), where power was shared.

We see the alliance between

Afrikan and Mexicans, when we fled to Mexico (which bordered Texas, Louisiana and Florida) in the 1800s seeking freedom. The Mexican people having an unfavorable relationship with Europeans, would offer us asylum, sharing both land and resources.

We must build alliances based on equity, a common history of oppression and resistance to a common enemy... We must practice the same kind of resistance we saw in our day to day existence on the plantations, including sabotage and escapes; where our people resisted through work slow downs, planned strikes, arson, attacks on whites, poisoning of white "masters," and even abortion and suicide -- denying the slaveholder profits and preventing a slave existence for our children. We saw our people unite and build an underground railroad with Harriet Tubman being one of the conductors. It has been said that this underground railroad, between 1810 and 1850, "lost the South over 100,000 slaves."

We must look at resistance through armed struggle, where we have the recorded history of over 250 revolts, with those of Gabriel and Nanny Prosser, Denmark Vessey and Nat Turner being the most notable. And further, look at the armed struggle waged by the Black Liberation Army, and the other armed units of the New Afrikan Nation.

The same kind of resistance we saw from the civil rights movement, to the resurgence of the Black power movement of the 60s, where we began to see the activism of our youth influenced by SNCC, the Black Panther Party, and our grassroots leader, Malcolm X. Where our people were no longer afraid of being Afrikan, began to reclaim our Afrikaness through the proclamation of Black pride; where we saw a burial of Eurocentric ideas and the rebirth of Afrikan centered thought and ideas. Where the college campuses were

burning with the desire for Black Studies and demanding the true history of New Afrikan people be told. There is presently, a resurgence in the schools for a curriculum of inclusion.

We must mention the repression our people have suffered as a result of resistance, and will continue to experience, as we challenge five hundred years of colonial rule. From the KKK to the U.S. government, the order of the day has been to disrupt, discredit and destroy us -- to prevent a "real Black revolution." This war strategy has been successful in a number of ways and if we do not learn from history, these forces have the potential to be successful today. At the height of our modern day resistance, the United States, through COINTELPRO, was able to set the Black Liberation Movement back, using agents to create internal struggles, violence, chemical warfare, arrests, the cold-blooded murder of our leaders, and our own adventurism.

The Pan-African movement of the 70s brought with it an international struggle where we began to put Afrika and the Caribbean on our agenda. Now, we have the new nationalism of the 90s, where the call for land and independence is back on the agenda for the New Afrikan nation. The demand for reparations is being taken up by our people. We see the need to rebuild a movement for self-determination, including the building of an independent Republic of New Afrika, in the Black belt South.

However, the climate is being reset to destroy what could be a new day of revolution here in this country. The Klan is rebuilding and moving into the infrastructure of the society, adding covert actions to their overt actions. The Hoover years are being reincarnated through the Reagan-Bush era. Aggression against the poor and struggling nations all over the world is on the rise. Indeed, the prognosis of W.E.B. DuBois, that the

problem of the 20th-century would be the color line, was correct.

The military machine is focused on people of color worldwide. White supremacy is alive and well. Unfortunately, Black conservatives who think they have "made it" and no longer identify with Black people, play into this system by being pawns in the game of keeping the masses down. Resistance can be used as a weapon to counter this assault if we organize! All we have to do is build a grassroots movement for Self-Determination.

We've come a long way for a people who were considered less than human, lazy and ignorant. A people who were branded with accepting servitude happily. A people considered inferior (none of which was true, by the way). We are a people that has withstood five hundred years of European genocide. A people that have survived the Afrikan Holocaust, the auction block, the KKK, the rape of its women, the castration and lynching of its men, and the sale and scattering of its children. We are determined to continue our legacy of resistance – a resistance that has also manifested itself culturally through the maintenance of style in our dance, song, music and language – to the maintenance of our extended families, against all odds. Without a question, this is one of the greatest testimonies of our struggle for survival.

For us, resistance has been an objective reality of our existence. To quote Lorraine Hansberry, "The history of our people dictates what can only be called revolutionary attitudes." She further concludes that the acceptance of our present condition is the only form of extremism which could discredit us, especially to our youth. Resisting our oppression has reshaped our existence, creating for us a vision of a better people and a better world, we must commit ourselves to. We have

resisted and fought and died, we must continue to resist and fight and, in fact, be prepared to die.

The ideology of white supremacy is still in power. It is kept alive by the European commitment to imperialism and the backward belief by some of our people that our salvation was/is tied into our assimilation and integration into this society. But, as Malcolm pointed out, this *"american dream is really an american nightmare."* Taking on the values, standards and goals of the oppressor, has led us to believe in our own inferiority.

After three years of alienation, there are those who will resist, and those who will succumb: the field negro and the house negro, if you will, the rebels and the wanna be's, and the revolutionaries and the integrationists. The way forward is to, once again, become Nation builders. It is to develop our youth into conscious freedom fighters, to help them organize the revolutionary fervor we hear in the raps; to channel their anger and aggressiveness so that it works in their best interests. Our task is to organize them into revolutionary forces, with one aim, the liberation of our people...

Many of these youth are children of the movement, who have an overwhelming desire for freedom; who want to see us win the war against us. The U.S. government understands the potential of youth, and represses their aspirations in numerous ways. It is no wonder this sector of our society is being miseducated in the public school system. No wonder they are being forced into the streets for their own survival because of institutionalized racism. They don't see the kind of leadership they need. They don't see the revolutionaries on their street corners talking a language they understand. They don't see us involved in day to day struggles affecting them. We must become more visible, if we intend to show

them, that it can't be about *I*, it has to be about us. I'd like to share with you a quote from the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, by Paulo Freire, which offers many theories of resistance.

"If children reared in an atmosphere of lovelessness and oppression, children whose patency has been frustrated, do not manage during their youth to take the path of rebellion, they will either drift into total indifference, alienated from the reality by the authorities and the myths the 'oppressors' have used to 'shape' them, or they may engage in forms of destructive action."

We must offer our children concrete solutions to our problems. We must build institutions for our survival. We must have programs like the New Afrikan People's Organization with the New Afrikan Panthers and New Afrikan Scouts, where they learn who their enemy is, and how to struggle. We must struggle collectively for liberation, we must continue our legacy of resistance. We must build a revolutionary culture of self-defense, self-respect and self-determination. Is it any wonder that the Black Panther Party was such an internal threat to U.S. imperialism? They had part of the answer to gang violence by mobilizing the gang members to turn their anger outward, and their skills inward, so that the community became more important than the individual.

The choice to resist is a cultural and political one. It is a weapon we must use to defend our nation. As we choose to resist, challenge and disrupt, we are looking beyond October 12, 1992. For New Afrikans the issue is more than Columbus. For us, the issue is a five-hundred year old unpaid bill on our own self-

determination. We are clear that from this point on, we are determined to reclaim our identities, our own cultures and our own national territories.

History has confirmed for us, from our own perspective and the perspectives of other oppressed Nations, that we are (and must continue to be), the architects of our own liberation. The onus is on us: all freedom loving people, the masses of oppressed people, and those committed to freedom; to be liberated by any means necessary.



THIRD WORLD W O M E N : SPECTACLES O F OPPRESSION

by Christina Garza

"No one can know all that another is. Culture denies that. The limitation of language denies that. The signifier, the object, lost in a memory, lost in colonization, but reified in my hermandad. We, the subjects, write; we, the subjects speak. But do you listen? Can you hear?"

-Emma Perez-

While standing in the check out line at Osco the other day, I decided to browse through a copy of *Glamour* magazine to pass the time. As I'm flipping through the pages, a particular article captures my attention. In the upper righthand corner is a larger than life picture of this "exotic" African woman dressed in native clothing. She, with her powerful stare, conveyed to me beauty, strength and power. But that's not what the article read.

This "poor woman" was a potential clitorrectomy victim. She was hailed for escaping the savagery of her mother Africa, and going to France (i.e. European, Western, white, civilized, better) in order to avoid being forced into having a clitorrectomy. She was the unsung heroine--who denounced the inhumanity and "backwardness" of her African nation.

The article explained the atrocities committed against African women by their male counterparts, but not once did it mention the travesties performed against African people, as a whole, by white oppressors, namely the United States. It failed to mention, as well, the

parallel problems of women here, in the United States. This type of narrow feminist critique, which mirrors white supremacy and egoism, is generally evident in the way most First World women view Third World women.

The Third World is considered a spectacle; looked at as being "backwards," and hence, "bad." By looking at it in this way, we fail to see that this attitude is a social construction of reality; constructed under the ideology seen as "Third World horror." As Rey Chow points out: *cameras capture the inhuman monster and present it to us in the "civilized" world as a spectacular sight on display... the cross cultural syndrome in which the "Third World," as the site of the "raw" material that is "monstrosity," is produced for the surplus value of spectacle, entertainment, and spiritual enrichment for the "First World."* Thus, Third World women are looked down upon as being the epitome of the oppressed; to be felt sorry for and helped.

The idea that Third World women are more oppressed than First World women is true in many respects; however, it can be distorted. Many women interpret things to affirm their supremacy. It should not be forgotten that male dominance and exploitation of women exists in the First World. Pornography, rape, incest and the like, is rampant in the First World; sometimes more so than in the Third World. First World women are looked upon by Third World women as being in the worst position, in some cases; they are astounded to see how women are degraded and disrespected in the First World.

Third World women have to deal with so many problems from day to day, such as where their next meal is going to come from, that they don't have the opportunity to act on many political issues. But the misconception is that they don't act. Contrary to what many may think, there are very strong women's organizations and movements in the Third World. Fundamental problems, as a consequence of their exploitation, overcloud and impede women's issues; problems the

easier. Thus, with the lack of time, energy and money to become politicized, the mere decision to deal with women's issues is a First World privilege.

First World privilege and white privilege must be acknowledged. Economic privilege, at the expense of the blood and sweat from the Third World, has allowed First World women the possibility to politicize their lifestyles, or at the very least, to enact them. Financial autonomy, higher education and a sense of belonging to a superior society all contribute to that possibility.

Third World women are posited against Third World men, when the analysis should be taken on a larger spectrum. The entire system must be understood, with political, social and economic variables taken into account. Cheryl Johnson-Odim agrees, *while it is true that oppression of impoverished and marginalized Euro-American women is linked to gender and class relation, that of Third World women is linked also to race relations and often imperialism. These added dimensions produce a different context in which Third World women's struggles must be understood.*

Imperialism and colonization oftentimes reduces the Third World woman's role and relegates her to a subservient, submissive role. First World women, due to their need to see things in relation to equality of rights, see them as overwhelmingly oppressed and unequal. As Chow states, *the Chinese woman (Third World woman), who is forever caught between patriarchy and imperialism, disappears as a matter of course... and the way Western feminism imposes its own interests and methodologies on those who do not inhabit the same socio-historical spaces, thus reducing the latter to a state of reified silence and otherness.*

While it is true, there is sexual inequity, I doubt Third World women would want to be equal to their men. Why would they want a fair share of their brother's oppression? The answer is not just to have sexual egalitarianism, but equal access to resources. Resources that the First World controls. According to Odim,

In underdeveloped societies, it is not just a question of internal distribution of resources, but of their generation and control; not just equal opportunity between men and women, but the creation of opportunity itself; not only the position of women in the society, but the position of the societies Third World women find themselves.

Why not get to the root of the problem? Many First World women can't do that because that would mean acknowledging that they too contribute to the oppression of Third World women. This means they would have to understand, as Odim states, *internally orchestrated exploitation bears on the oppression of women in the Third World, as much as patriarchy does in their societies.*

First World feminists have the paternalistic attitude that they are going to save Third World women from their oppression. They will protect and show them the way. To be protected, women of color must go under what white women depict them to be; under their definition of feminism and what it means to be a woman. By affirming that women of color are silenced by their men, and therefore must be helped out, white women perpetuate women of color's special victim status.

The Third World does not need the First World, the white knight in shining armor, to save or protect them. Third World women must be allowed to solve their own problems and define their realities. They must be allowed to speak, but they must also be listened to. "The First World," says Russo, "must learn to listen to the anger of women of color, and be similarly outraged."

They are not weak, meek, passive women. They know what to do, and how to win, but at their own game, and by their rules. They can't deny that they are oppressed, more than most white women; however, their oppression and the resistance to it, must be seen in its own context.

Third World women have not had a voice in history. They have been spoken about, written about, spoken at, but rarely

are they spoken with or listened to. They have been told their problems and given solutions. They have been criticized and pitied.

Third World feminists are now creating a feminism, defining a comprehensive and inclusive ideology and movement that incorporates, yet transcends gender-specificity. They are defining a feminist theory that is acceptable and relevant to Third World women, who do not only suffer from patriarchy, but also the consequences of white supremacy, imperialism, and economic exploitation.

Their needs are being articulated through the construction of relevant theory that goes beyond the mere criticism of First World women. Third World women can no longer be spectacles of oppression for First World feminists.



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Since 1492**

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There's this kind of totally arrogant refusal to listen to anybody else, to learn from the experiences of anybody else, to appreciate the struggle or the culture of anybody else. And i'm not absolutizing because there was some effort in the socialist block to struggle against racist ideas, to struggle against Euro-centricity, but it was not adequate in dealing with the reality of the Third World. And you had people, from Che Guevera to Nkrumah, who were completely ignored. i mean, nobody studied what Fidel was saying and Fidel made critical remarks about what was happening in Europe dating back to 1968 or before. But nobody listened. He was like, "our boy in Havana" -- the revolutionary with the gun rather than anyone who had any ideological input into the world revolutionary movement. The same thing happened all over the world, whether it was with Ho Chi Minh or whoever. The ideological contributions were minimized. Therefore, the doubts and the problems raised in reference to the Third World were minimized. No real solutions, in terms of how do Third World countries free themselves were looked at. *(Not just from the national bourgeoisie, but how do they develop? How do they free themselves from an international system of imperialism, which is much stronger than the national bourgeoisie?)* So, it was just this kind of chauvinistic outlook that the white Left all over the world has been historically guilty of; must take the weight for; and must try to rectify by studying, listening, and learning from Third World people.



They must recognize that logically, the most oppressed people must have a leadership role in any revolutionary process. i mean, that is logical, that is historically valid, and i think that is historically necessary. i don't know if i answered your question.

MM: You did. Intervention?

AS: Intervention can take place, armed intervention, ideological... Intervention is a broad term. If you talk about intervention in terms of the role of the white Left in the United States -- if that's the context we're using...

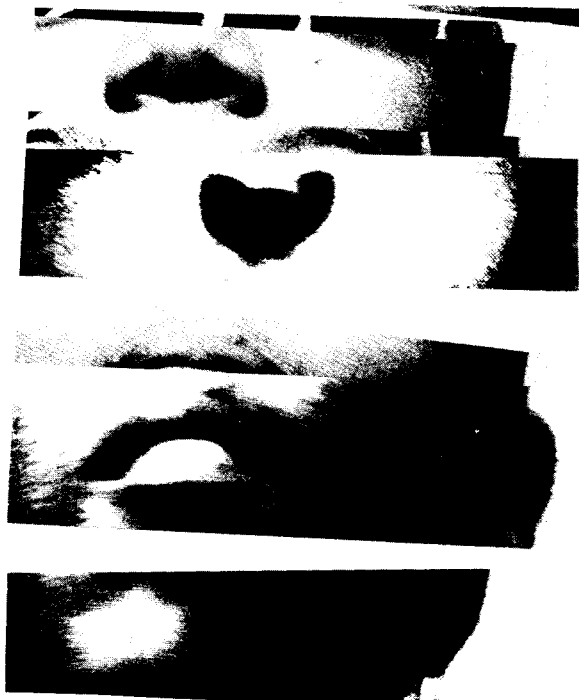
MM: Yeah. Absolutely.

AS: What people really have to think about is the work, and the content of that work. And if the content of the work is anti-racist, anti-arrogant, anti-imperialist, then i think that's the important part. i think the most important thing is to commit to an ideology and workstyle that's not arrogant and is anti-imperialist, anti-racist, anti-sexist, etc., etc., etc.

Meg Starr: Speaking of anti-sexist, we have a couple of questions related to women. How were you empowered as a woman -- a woman leader in the movement -- and what things did you find empowering for yourself? What were some of your experiences with the Black movement? And here in Cuba, how have you seen women involved in those movements?

AS: Well actually, to tell you the truth, i don't feel *em-pow-ered*. i feel that i'm a woman who struggles in a society that is sexist, in a movement that is sexist, and that that is an ongoing struggle. i feel that any leadership role that i have played, or may play in the future, has to do with the work i do and the historical role i will play (do play, hopefully). i tend to believe leadership should depend on one's ability, one's work. Period. And that too often people, men and women, are hung up on the leadership question. i think we

should be more hung up on the work question. What is the quality of my work? But, i think in terms of the women question, women need to be struggled with; to be respected as equals, to be respected as human beings. Women need to struggle to eliminate any phase, *all* phases, of sexism in the movement and in the society as a whole. i don't think that you can eliminate sexism without eliminating, again, the roots of sexism; without building institutions that permit men and women to have non-sexist relationships. At this time, women are in a hell of a fix. The whole world is experiencing a crisis between men and women. The old way of relationships, the old division of work: men working in the field, women working in the home, is no longer valid. That is no longer real. Men and women have to find new ways to deal with each other that are not based on "me cookin' and you doin' whatever you do in the street." i mean there's no economic basis for those old relationships. The reality of the modern world is that men and women both have to work in most societies because of economic necessity; because of the objective conditions. Therefore, there must be new relationships between men and women based on equality. And that's gonna be a struggle because men are not going to give up those privileges without a fight. And right now men are privileged. Women have to struggle to take away those privileges, and say "i'm not gonna

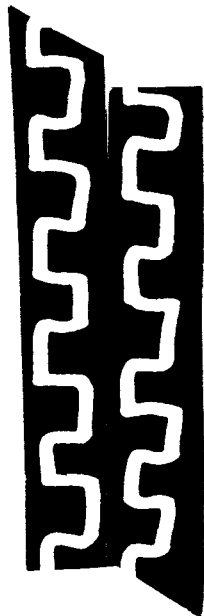


For G, 3-24-91, Lexington


*My tears flow, rusty
with a pain as old as flint,
anger old as fire.
Don't try to tell me
that slavery is past.
This sister died
torn from her own children,
locked away from her family,
hidden from her friends,
outcast among outcasts.
In chains she died.
Yes, she too. Another
chained death.
Another chained AIDS death.
Shackled to pain.
Shackled to loneliness,
For the terrible crime
of ruining her own life
with drugs.
With her life she touched mine.*

*With her death she leaves all of us
to stop these crimes
and heal these wounds
Until our tears no longer need serve
as ammunition.*


Laura Whitehorn




18



deal with oppression. i'm not going to deal with working two jobs, one in the home and one in the street. That's crazy." The only human way that people can relate is as equals. That has an aesthetic, that has a beauty, which no other kind of relationship can offer. The stereotypical cartoon-type relationships people see repeatedly on television and at the movies, and read about in books; that kind of stereotypical, narrow, relationship is an impoverished relationship. The only way people can have rich relationships is to have relationships where exploitation is absent. And the only way exploitation is absent is when people say, "well, we'll change this." Women have to be at the vanguard of that process, at the head of that process, because we are the most victimized. And men have to work too! i mean, it's a two-way street. Sexism is something that people must work at. In terms of African-American women and men, our situation is one of oppression -- serious oppression. The only kind of sane relationships we can have are relationships of partners, partnerships in struggle. Any human relationship, any human relationship with any kind of beauty, has to involve changing the definition of what relationships are, and change the reality of what we're dealing with in the context of the United States. So, we need to form a new aesthetic on how we relate to each other. We need to go to a





new dimension in how we relate to each other out of necessity. Out of pure necessity. Because if we don't, we will be systematically wiped out. That's the reality. And the women question, the issue of the oppression of women, is key to the oppression of our people as a whole. No kind of movement can be built with a sexist model, because that model is destructive to us as a people, it's destructive in all senses. In our movement, the issue of women is even more important. And the issue of struggling against sexism is even more important because we need a model of family, we need a model of relationships, of organizations that is anti-sexist. We need that just on pure survival.

MM: Base those thoughts on Cuba, regarding those questions, any models from Cuba?

AS: i think Cuba has done a lot in terms of creating institutions that form the material base for sexism to be totally abolished. In terms of child-care centers, in terms of laws that protect women's rights, in terms of laws that protect children's rights, in terms of the family code that all men are supposed to adhere to when they get married, etc. However, there's a lot of machismo that exists in Cuban society. The family code exists, but many men just ignore it. The people who must be at the forefront of this struggle are women. You can't

look at Cuba through the eyes of the United States. In the beginning of the revolution, i mean, it was a big struggle for the FMC, the Federation of Cuban Women, just to have women work outside of the home. They had to wage a tremendous struggle because the situation was one where many families could just not conceive of women doing anything but working inside of the home. They had to almost start from scratch. They couldn't talk about equality in the beginning between women and men, or women and men sharing the household chores. They had to first talk about men helping women because that was the only way in which it could be conceived. You cannot leap and step, just make drastic changes that the people don't understand cause the people are what it's about. So they had to go from one step to the next step to the next step, and now men are able to talk about sharing work. They're able to talk about total equality between men and women. But that was, and is, a process. One that *still* needs a whole lot of work. But, in terms of the government, and in terms of the revolution's commitment to the equality of women and women's participation, i think Fidel has demanded that the number of women in leadership, reflect the population of women in the country -- that women play an important role in all aspects of the society and in the leadership of the society. But again, that's a process. And again, it's still

something that men struggle against and still try to frustrate.

MM: We want to hear a little about how the crisis in socialism has affected Cuba and some of the tasks for solidarity in terms of North Americans and people in the U.S.

AS: Well, at the present time, there are virtually very few socialist countries left. As you know, most of Cuba's trade was with the Soviet Union and with the Eastern European countries. In terms of Cuba, the changes economically have meant the majority of the Eastern European countries have not honored any, or most, of the contract agreements, and economic treaties, that they had with Cuba. So the goods that Cuba was expecting, were planning on, never arrived, haven't arrived, etc. In terms of the Soviet Union, some goods have arrived, but the number is around thirty percent of what was promised; what was agreed on. In different instances thirty percent, or less, has arrived. The Soviet Union (what was the Soviet Union. Now we're dealing with the Commonwealth of whatever) is so unstable that it changes daily, so Cuba cannot really depend on the Soviet Union for anything at this moment. There's an extreme shortage of fuel, wheat, rice, beans ... everything that Cuba needs right now is in shortage. So Cuba's in an extremely difficult situation, between a rock and a hard place.

On one hand, Cuba is still suffering the effects of the U.S. blockade economic embargo, etc. On the other hand, there's a kind of unofficial blockade by the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries. Whether that's intentional or unintentional, the result is very real. The reality is that Cuba is, in effect, suffering a double blockade; suffering all kinds of political attacks by the United States -- in the media etc. -- constantly. So now, more than any other time in Cuba's history, it's important to support Cuba. This is a crucial time economically, and because of the ideological changes that have swept the world, Cuba cannot be uninfluenced by this. So politically, it is a very sensitive time for Cuba. It's a time where Cuba's analyzing its history to rid itself of the mistakes inherited from Europe and the Soviet Union and trying to outline its own path. This is a very difficult thing for an underdeveloped country to do, especially a country that is suffering the kind of blockade that Cuba is suffering. Right now, Cuba needs people too; it needs all the solidarity that it can get. It needs people who have appreciated the revolution, who have appreciated the achievements of the revolution, to come out and actively organize on a whatever level; to help the revolution to sustain itself, and to go on to a higher level and struggle within the United States to overturn the blockade. There was never any logical reason for the blockade, but even the

pretenses are no longer valid. Not at all. No one can be duped at this point into saying that Cuba is a satellite of the Soviet Union. Nobody can be duped any more into saying that Cuba is a strategic military launching point for the Soviet planes or whatever. If anybody might have been duped in the past, all of that is completely exposed and pure fiction. So there is no reason for the blockade to be maintained. People in the United States have to point this out and struggle around the issue that Cuba has a right to self-determination. People who believe in self-determination (whether they believe in socialism or not), who believe that a country has the right to determine what kind of government it has and what kind of system it wants, have to struggle to lift the blockade. The blockade is there for one reason, and one reason only, to prevent Cuban people from determining their own destiny. I think this has to be a focus of the movement, the Left or anybody else concerned about self-determination and people's right to freedom, liberty and justice for all.

* Please note: This interview was received as a transcribed copy and has been slightly edited for clarity. It is not verbatim text.



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that whites stop promoting and selling books that exploit Indian spirituality. However, promotion of this material is destroying freedom of speech for Native Americans by ensuring that our voices will never be heard. Furthermore, feminists already make choices about what they will promote. I haven't seen many books by right-wing fundamentalist women sold in feminist bookstores, since feminists recognize that these books are oppressive to women. It is not a radical move to ask that white women extend their feminists concerns to include Indian women. The issue is not censorship; the issue is racism. Feminists must make a choice; will they respect Indian political and spiritual autonomy or will they promote materials that are fundamentally racist under the guise of "freedom of speech"?

Unfortunately, our requests that white feminists stop the exploitation usually fall on deaf ears. For instance, in one story I heard, a group of Indian women confronted Lynn Andrews about the inaccuracies in her writings at one of her presentations. The white women there told the Indian women that they did not know what they were talking about, and the reason they knew that Lynn Andrews was right is because they were all reincarnated Indians! At another event, I heard that a white woman was consoling Lynn Andrews about that nasty confrontation, and Lynn Andrews replied: That's okay; it was just a bunch of drunk Indians at the park. Alas, racism and profit-making always seem to get in the way of solidarity between white and Indian women.

However, white feminists should

know that as long as they take part in Indian spiritual abuse, either by being consumers of it or by refusing to take a stand on it, Indian women will consider white "feminists" to be nothing more than agents in the genocide of our people.

Our spirituality is not for sale.



*Writing poetry
in prison
is easy,
Because every minute is full of heartache
And everyone knows
heartache
is good
for poetry.*

*Women torn from their children
Women dying of cancer, dying of AIDS
without their families, without
their friends*

*Women whose lives have been destroyed
by rich white men
who have never known
a minute of heartache*

*Every minute is full of heartache
And everyone knows
that heartache
is good for poetry.*

Laura Whitehorn


lest We Forget

MAY

- 1 AZAPO (Azanian People's Organization) formed, 1978
- 3 Afrikan students take over building at Northwestern Univ., 1968
- 4 Four students killed at Kent State, 1970
South Afrikan mercenaries murder 700 in Angola, 1978
- 5 Ethiopia guerillas recapture Addis Ababa from Italians, 1941
- 6 Martin Robison Delany born, 1812
- 7 U.S. invades and colonizes Panama, 1813
- 8 Chicago Seven Black Panther indictments dropped, 1970
- 9 John Brown born, 1800
34 Afrikans join John Brown at Chatham Convention, 1858
- 10 South Afrikan Student Organization founded, 1969
Polisario founded for independence in Western Sahara, 1973
- 11 Bob Marley, Pan-Afrikanist reggae musician died, 1981
- 12 Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, born, 1928
- 13 MOVE bombing in Philadelphia, 1985
- 14 Slavery abolished in Brazil, replaced by forced labor, 1888
- 15 Two Afrikan students killed, 14 injured, Jackson State, 1970
- 19 Malcolm X born, 1925
(NAPO) New Afrikan People's Organization founded, 1984
- 21 Selma to Montgomery march, 1965
- 22 UPC in Cameroon fights French army, 1955
- 25 Moroccan government overthrown by Spain, 1926
- 26 Alexander Pushkin born, 1799
Denmark Vesey and 9000 Afrikans betrayed planning revolt, 1822
- 28 Sojourner Truth speaks at Women's Rights Convention, 1851
Afrikan hung by mob, 1868
- 29 Maurice Bishop born, 1944
Poor People's Campaign begins, 1968
- 30 Two Afrikans burned at stake, NYC, following confessions of conspiracy. 29 other Afrikans and four whites executed, 1741
Authorities arrest two Vesey co-conspirators, with aid of negroes given annual pensions, 1822
First law outlawing KKK enacted, 1870. Rescinded 6 years later
FLN begins armed struggle in Algeria, 1954
- 31 Oklahoma racists kill 50 Afrikans, burn over 1000 homes; put 4000 Afrikans in prison camps, 1921

JUNE

- 1 Congress abolishes slave "trade," 1807
"Red Summer" begins, 1919
- 2 Samoury Toure dies in French prison, 1900
- 4 Mohonk Conference convened by white elitists to deal with the "negro question," 1890
- 6 Malawi independence, 1964
Madagascar independence, 1964
- 7 An Afrikan in Virginia issues a call to rebel, 1802
An anonymous slave informer writes a white man, 1802

- 
- 10 *Marcus Garvey dies in London, 1940*
Anti-Afrikan riots in Cardiff, Wales, 1976
 - 11 *Revolutionary Angola places 13 British and American mercenaries on trial for war crimes, 1976*
 - 12 *Medgar Evers assassinated, 1963*
 - 13 *Afrikan living in Niagara, Canada prepare to fight if U.S. attacks, 1813*
Walter Rodney assassinated in Guyana, 1980
 - 14 *Antonio Maceo, an Afrikan revolutionary in Cuba, born 1845*
Che Guevara born, 1928
 - 15 *N'COBRA (National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America) continues historic Reparations demand, 1990*
 - 16 *U.S. explodes first Atomic bomb, 1945*
Portuguese massacre 600 in Mozambique, people begin guerilla war that lasts 16 years, 1960
Soweto massacre in Azania (South Afrika), 1976
 - 17 *SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) calls for "Black Power," 1966*
 - 18 *CIA invades and overthrows Guatemalan government, 1954*
 - 19 *Unsuccessful assassination attempt on leaders of Grenada Revolution, 1980*
 - 20 *10,000 Afrikans in Azania strike against multinational corporations, 1980*
 - 21 *Marcus Garvey sentenced to five years in prison, 1923*
Afrikans rebel in Detroit -- 40 people killed, 1943
 - 23 *An Afrikan army, led by Queen Mother Yaa Asantewa, forces British troops to retreat from Kumasi, Ghana, 1900*
Sixth Pan-Afrikan Congress held in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, 1974
 - 24 *Six young Afrikan women arrested and beaten by police in Harlesden, London, 1976*
 - 25 *Mozambique independence; Samora Machel elected president, 1975*
 - 26 *Black Star Line organized by UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association) under the leadership of the Honorable Marcus Garvey, 1919*
ANC and other groups ratify "Freedom Charter," 1955
 - 27 *Djibouti independence, 1977*
 - 28 *Amistad slave ship revolt led by Joseph Cinque, 1839*

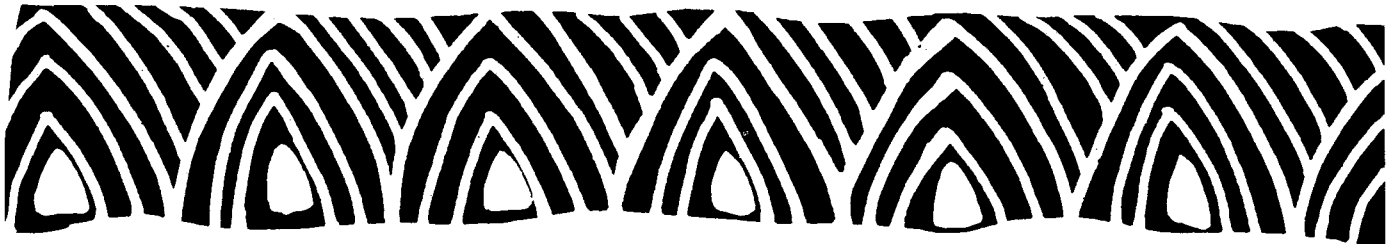
JULY

- 1 *Somalia independence, 1960*
Rwanda independence, 1962
Algerian people vote 99.7% for independence from France, 1962
- 2 *Amistad taken over, 1839*
Enslaved Afrikans revolt in St. Croix; force governor to declare all slaves in Danish West Indies free, 1848
- 3 *Vermont becomes 1st state to abolish slavery, 1777*
- 4 *France invades and colonizes Algeria, 1890*
Nation of Islam founded by Master Farad Muhammed, 1930
Four European and U.S. mercenaries executed in Angola, 1976
- 5 *Algerian independence, 1962*
Cape Verde Islands independence, 1975
- 6 *Malawi independence, 1964*
Comoro Islands become independent, 1975
- 7 *TANU begins independence campaign in Tanganyika (Tanzania), 1954*
- 11 *Afrikan hung by Kentucky mob, 1868*
"Niagara Movement" organized, 1905





- AIM (American Indian Movement) founded, 1968
- 12 Afrikan "fugitive" community attacked by whites (S. Carolina), 1819
 - Police brutality in Newark sparks revolt, 1967
 - Sao Tome and Principe become independent, 1975
 - 16 Ida B. Wells born, 1862
 - Assata Shakur, New Afrikan Freedom Fighter, born 1947
 - 17 British invade New Zealand, crush Maori uprising, 1683
 - 18 Nelson Mandela born, 1918
 - Watts revolt, 1964
 - 19 Sandinista revolution succeeds, 1979
 - 20 Frantz Fanon (Wretched of the Earth) born, 1925
 - U.N. troops enter Kongo, 1960
 - 21 Albert Luthuli, ANC President, killed 1967
 - 22 600 free Maroons immigrate to Halifax from Jamaica, 1796
 - 24 Garvey begins organizing UNIA in Jamaica, 1914
 - 25 Syphilis experiments at Tuskegee unveiled, 1972
 - 26 Liberian independence, 1847
 - Nasser nationalizes the Suez Canal, 1956
 - Plebiscite to choose a Black mayor in Chicago, 1982
 - 27 U.S. invades and colonizes Haiti, 1915
 - Afrikan workers revolt against British colonial rule in Barbados, 1937
 - 28 10,000 Afrikans march in silence down 5th Avenue as they protest racism, 1917
 - 29 First National Conference of Colored Women, 1895



CROSSROAD now seeks articles, book reviews, information, poetry, and commentary for future issues. Subject matter including, but not limited to: women, gay and lesbian issues, health, arts, and prison issues is desired. Perspectives on New Afrikan Independence and other Independence Movements are strongly encouraged. Please submit materials typed and double-spaced, or legibly hand-written.

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AMERIKKAN INJUSTICE

Recently, We watched as amerikkans reacted with "outrage" and "shock" to yet another instance of amerikkka at its finest. The case of Rodney King and its subsequent actions: from the systematic nonchalance of the kourt, to the impassioned fury of the people, to the manipulative conduct of the media; caused a "whose who" of bourgeoisie nationalists, distressed liberals, handkerchief-headed apologists and bible-totin' crackers to claim another fifteen minutes of civil libertarian fame and provide explanations (based on years of academic study or years of marchin' and singin') for "why y'all act the way y'all do." Their insights and interpretations fueled more cocktail hour chatter, bus stop testifying, and award-winning documentaries -- inspired more grants, artworks, and social service programs -- than the last time amerikkka decided to ponder the "negro question." Well, never being the kind to back-up from the concerns of the people, We too, had a response to amerikkkan (in)justice. The following is a statement prepared by Spear and Shield Publications, the Black Panther Newspaper Committee, Malcolm X Grassroots Movement (Chicago Chapter):

To paraphrase H. Rap Brown, "Violence is as amerikkkan as apple pie and mother's day."

Those who were shocked and amazed by the verdict in the Rodney King case are either naive, do not have a clear historical sense of amerikkka's mistreatment towards those of Afrikan descent, or do not

understand the function of the "system."

For to understand the system, this colonial empire that not only profits through capitalist exploitation, but also through racist and sexist exploitation, is to understand that there is no justice in amerikkka. To render shock, surprise, or any other such reaction to amerikkkan injustice is to ignore or obliterate the reality this system was founded on; the reality of the amerikkkan dream--which is, in fact, our worst nightmare. Why should a system which was built on theft, murder, rape and land squatting; a system which thrives and nurtures itself from the continuous malicious and heinous genocide of "Third World" people throughout the diaspora, why should such a system give less than two shits about our rights/our justice?

Yes, the system did work--from the beginning process of getting a change of venue from L.A. to Simi Valley, CA, to the conscious plot to effectively eliminate Afrikans born in amerikkka from the jury, to having the trial held in a community of retired police.

We don't have to intellectualize or be super-analytical to come to the conclusion that a racist, fascist system is not only responsible for the victimization of Rodney King, but for four hundred years of oppression of people of color. The question becomes what are We going to do?

The praying, singing, marching, begging, and voting has, at best, only produced illusionary visions of power. Our answer is not new. Harriet Tubman, Nat Turner, Nanny Prosser, Marcus Garvey, the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X, Black Panther Party, and

THE NEW AFRIKAN INDEPENDENCE

Movement, have addressed this issue: Self-Reliance, Self-Determination, and Revolutionary Struggle.

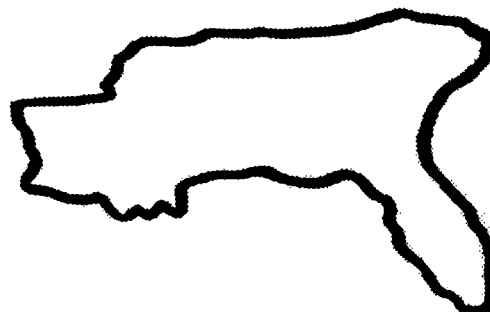
Brother Malcolm X, over twenty-five years ago said when this country does not protect the people from racism, then it is our right and duty as human beings to defend ourselves.

We find it hypocritical that some profess concern over Rodney King, yet have done nothing to help liberate, or otherwise support, our captured combatants and political prisoners; many of whom still languish in the koncentration kamps of the amerikkkan settler state. A people who cannot or will not support their freedom fighters can only expect many more Rodney Kings. We must not look to the departments of injustice, the u.s. government, or anyone else... We must be our own liberators.

Organize, Organize!

"A Black man [woman, child] has no rights that a white man is bound to respect."

**- Supreme Court
Justice Roger B. Taney**



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**PEER ADVOCACY, WOMEN,
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Crossroad

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Dear Brothers and Sisters:

We would like to take this opportunity to introduce you to the Blue Crescent International (BCI). The BCI is a Humanitarian, multi-national, volunteer, non-governmental organizational, dedicated to helping the poor, needy and powerless.

The BCI is the first international humanitarian, non-governmental organization to be based in Africa, but founded and headed by an African American. Presently, we are looking for African-American volunteers who would be interested in working for a humanitarian organization helping others as well as helping themselves. The BCI need African-Americans for directorship positions and support staff to work in our "Project Hope" Programs, we have assignments for many African countries.

We have enclosed a list of available job opportunities, please inform the brothers and sisters of our need. Please note: that any applicant should send us a brief resumé with a passport photograph by Registered Mail.

We would also like to hear from Assata Shakur, we are concerned; and we would be available as distributor for your publication. Please add us to your mailing list.

We would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,
I am your Sister,

Al-Hajia Sharlima B. Hasan
Directrice Général

The International Blue Crescent

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NOTICE
OF
EMPLOYMENT

Objective: Employment Opportunities

The Blue Crescent International is a humanitarian, non-governmental charitable organization seeking African Americans Applicants for the following:

1. Agricultural Farming Director
2. Aquacultural Farming Director
3. Regional Director
4. Orphanage Director
5. Program Coordinator Director
6. Public Relations Director
7. Teachers (Retiree or Ex-Teachers)
8. Medical Personnel
9. Architects
10. Printers
11. Enterprise and Investment Counselors
12. Accountants (Bookkeepers)

All Applicants should send Brief Resume with current passport photograph (2) and include FATHER's name and birthplace by Registered Mail to:

Elise Diop (co)
Administrative Secretary
The Blue Crescent International
"Project Hope"
B. P. 3675
Dakar
Rep. du Sénégal
AFRICA

Business investments needed in Agricultural and light Manufacturing.

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;***

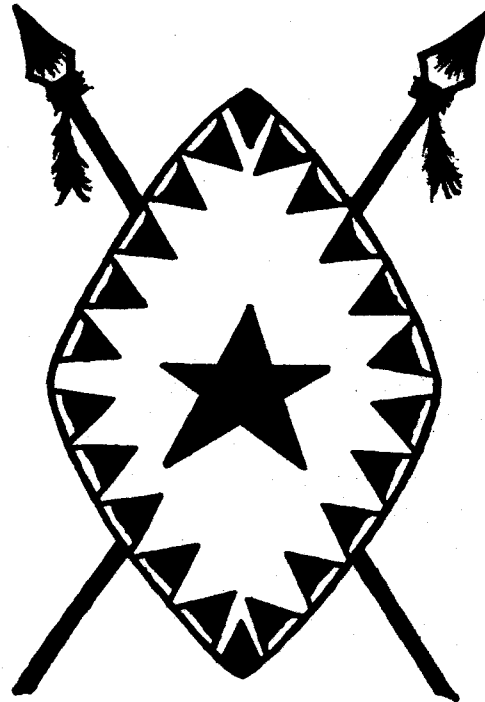
● ***To assure equality of rights for the sexes;***

● ***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.***



SPEAR & SHIELD

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.