

# CROSSROAD

A New Afrikan Captured Combatant Newsletter

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AFRIKANS, YES. AMERICANS, NOT YET!

In the euphoria surrounding the Rev. Jesse Jackson's call for the use of the term "African-American" for people of Afrikan descent born in the United States, we those of Afrikan descent born in America are being subjected to a sleight-of-hand performance which is both breathtaking and tragic. Once more our dignity as a people and our right to the benefit of common sense, reasoned debate and the international law are being trampled by the stampeding power of the white media. The New York Times leads the way.

The debate has been cast in terms of whether we should call ourselves "Africans" at a moment when there is little substantial question about this. We are Africans in America. The real issue is whether we are "Americans". Despite the distinguished Blacks who have hastily endorsed "African-American", I among others, dissent from any judgement that we are in 1989, "Americans." I resent the massive effort to avoid debate on this the real issue.

With his usual incisiveness, Malcom X years ago expressed the invalidity of any notion that the Rule of Jus Soli-- our being born on united states soil--could make us citizens of the united states. "A cat can have kittens in the oven", said Malcom. "That doesn't make them biscuits".

In terms of international law--consistent with United Nations Resolution 1514 (1960) the declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and U.N. Resolution 2625 (1970), the declaration on principles of international law--conquering may no longer convert those whom they have conquered and colonized into Portuguese, French, British, or American citizens without the informed consent of the colonized.

It is, or should be, clear that among people in the United States who are subject to U.S. jurisdiction, only Native Americans and the New Afrikans (i.e. Afrikans in the New World, the United States) did not come here voluntarily or submit voluntarily to U.S. jurisdiction.

New Afrikans are here as a result of war and kidnapping in Afrika. Our forefathers and foremothers were cruelly transported to America in chains, under the authority of the U. S. Constitution (Article I, Section 9, paragraph 1) and then cruelly exploited under a regime that amounted to war in America. That war against us was also waged under the authority of the U.S. Constitution, the so-called "fugitive slave" provision, found in Article IV, Section 2, paragraph 3. This provision and the federal law which implemented it, placed the full power of the U.S. military and courts not just against the revolutionaries but against the least offending person the little old lady, striking out alone and bare, at night, for freedom.

Native Americans were placed under U.S. jurisdiction by war and a unilateral fiat of the U.S. Congress in 1924.

Neither New Afrikans nor Native Americans have ever been permitted in a Free and informed plebiscite, a vote of the people, to decide whether they wish to be U.S. citizens or follow some other political course. Americans assume, like all conquerors, smug in a sense of superiority, that no conquered person, Native American or New Afrikan, would ever want not to be a U.S. citizen.

The fact is, that under both international law and common sense Afrikans in America who are descendants of people held here as slaves, have no valid U.S. citizenship. Quite as important, under the 13th Amendment, (I would argue) we retain the right to choose. Our logical choices remain: (a) to go back to Afrika;

(b) to go some where other than Afrika and the United States; (c) to become U.S. citizens; or (d) to become citizens of our own nation-state, to be established on land now claimed by the United States. Certainly some of us will follow each of these courses. What is paramount, however, is that the right to choose remains our today.

Neither Jackson nor the press, nor both together, have the right to give up for the mass of our people, our right to this exercise of self-determination.

It is simply premature to call us "Americans" (meaning U.S. citizens). That determination is a right of the group and of individuals within the group. It remains for this to be decided, by an informed people, by plebiscite and registration.

Apart from the law, white and Black must also acknowledge that to be an "American" still means really, to be a white person. Foreigners tend to view Americans (i.e. U.S. citizens) as white persons and those of us who are Black as merely working for the Americans. The roots of this view of Americans as white go back, of course, to the very beginnings of the republic. John Jay, writing in Federalist No. 2 of the Federalist papers, put it this way: "with equal pleasure I have as often taken notice that Providence has been pleased to give this one connected country to one united people--a people descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, a attached to the same principles of government, very similar in their manner and customs, and who, by their joint counsels, arms, and efforts, fighting side by side through-out a long and bloody war, have nobly.

Clearly neither the Native Americans nations against which the United States was waging war or the New Afrikans who the very Constitution which John Jay was promoting, was fastening evermore tightly in bondage, were encompassed in the group for which "general liberty and "independence" had been achieved.

Americans are free, of course, to invite New Afrikans to join them as Americans, U.S. citizens, and accept the neo-imperialism and the racism of U.S. foreign and domestic policy. And some New Africans, informed and uninformed may agree to do so. But the fact is that we cannot logically or lawfully become "Americans" until and after we have given informed consent by plebiscite and registration. We are Afrikans in America. We are not yet--and some of us will never choose to be--Americans.

Imari Abubakari Obadele,  
Reprinted from The City Sun

### OUTLINE FOR COM PLAIN T TO BE PRESENTED TO TRIBUNAL

#### I. Introduction to the Complaint:

What is the context for the allegations made in the Complaint: There are more than 100 people in the prisons in the United States that have been convicted because of their political activism against the policies and practices of the United States government, desiring to have a government in the United States that directs its resources and policies to the fulfillment of the basic human needs of the masses of the people, rather than to the needs of a small percentage of the population identifiable by race and social class. The United States government has waged a campaign to imprison these political activists, often on trumped up charges of involvement in "criminal" activity, in an effort to stop their political activism and destroy the movements that they support. Many of these political activists that have been so imprisoned represent the interests of the oppressed nations of color within the United States and the world. They include Native Americans, Blacks/New Afrikans, and Puerto Ricans. A number of the political activists are white North Americans who committed themselves to fight for the liberation of the oppressed nations and/or for social, economic and political justice for all people.

As a part of its effort to destroy these movements, the United States government uses its extensive resources to capture persons involved in obviously political mobilizations, charge them with criminal rather than political offenses, and at times framing persons on fictitious charges and trying them before judges who are insensitive at best, and hostile at worse, to the political contexts with which the person accused is identified. The manner in which these political activists are treated is fraught with violations of basic human rights from the time of their initial targeting for surveillance, investigation and capture and throughout their imprisonment. The government uses its massive resources to attempt to assure that these persons will be examples for all those who dare challenge its policies and practices in order to quell dissent, and immobilize the movement to make fundamental changes in this racist and classist society.

II. The Petitioners: It has not yet been decided whether the Petitioners will be Freedom Now, the other organizations and individuals, and/or the political prisoners. It is thought that the Petitioners will be Freedom Now on behalf of the Political Prisoners.

Who are they, what is their interest. List each and briefly (4-8 lines) describe their interest in the Complaint.

III. The Statement of the Case.

A. Short history of U.S. government attacks on movements demanding fundamental changes in policy and practices (? include here repression against labor as well as national groups). Include how prisons used generally in the U.S. for people of color, especially Black. That conditions experienced by all prisoners, especially prisoners of color.

B. Counterinsurgency. e.g. Afeni Shakur and Muntu M.

C. The case for the frame-ups. e.g. Dhoruba and Geronimo

D. Persons convicted of political activism, e.g. seditious conspiracy. e.g. Puerto Rican and Ohio Seven.

E. Persons engaged in political actions but charged not as political prisoners but "common criminals."

F. Political internment

1. Preventive Detention

2. Grand Juries

G. Pre-trial Treatment

1. Denials of attorney visits

2. Isolation

3. Torture. e.g. Sekou Odinga

H. Trial Antics

1. Prosecutor misconduct

2. Judge misconduct

## I. Sentencing

Death penalty, e.g. Mumia Abu Jamal

Excessive sentences

Ignoring reasonable alternatives to Sentencing

## J. Incarceration

General Prison Conditions

Censorship

Detention

Highest Security facilities

Control Units

Privatization

Arbitrary assignments, denials of privileges, rights, and mental and physical abuse, harrassment.

IV. Violations of U.S. laws and international law. U.S. refusal to recognize political prisoner and prisoner of War status.

V. Relief Requested. Amnesty. Until amnesty is granted, the release of prisoners who would be eligible if not for their political views. To be treated under international law.

## VI. Appendices

1. Summaries of political prisoners we are including
2. Any document germane to complaint that should be attached and not simply referenced.

Structure suggestions: Two Prosecutors (a man and a woman)

Friday night: Introductions, Chairperson call Tribunal into session, state the procedural questions and define what constitutes a political prisoner under international law, ask for statements from the U.S. and the Advocate.

Draft of letter asking for financial support for Tribunal

Freedom Now is writing to solicit your participation in, and support of an International Tribunal on Political Prisoners in the United States. The Tribunal will be held on March --, --, and --, 1990 at ----- . The Tribunal will be presided over by 10 judges who have expertise in the sphere of human rights. This impartial body will be asked to determine whether the allegations are true and make findings and recommendations that will be presented to the international community, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the World Court and the U.S. government. Testimony and depositions from persons who identify themselves, or are identified by others, as political prisoners or prisoners of war, lay and expert witnesses, and other evidence will be presented to the Tribunal.

As part of this effort, we are drafting a Complaint against the government of the United States. We maintain that despite its self-appointed role as the international guardian of human rights, and its contention that it alone does not hold political prisoners, the US government, in fact has jailed over 100 political prisoners and stands in flagrant violation of international covenants of human rights.

We further assert that, in order to crush resistance to its repressive domestic and international policies, the United States has targeted resistance leaders and activists; labeled them as criminals; tried them, often on trumped up charges; imposed unprecedented lengthy sentences upon them; and, imprisoned them often in harsh, restrictive conditions, including isolation and deprivation.

Freedom Now was launched at the United Nations on the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Its goal is to document and expose human rights violations against political prisoners in the U.S.. Representatives of Freedom Now have testified before the Bertrand Russell Tribunal in Barcelona and the Human Rights Commission in Geneva, Switzerland.

Freedom Now focuses on persons imprisoned for their thoughts and actions in pursuit of social justice and human rights--people such as Leonard Peltier, Geronimo Jijaga Pratt, Alejandrina Torres, and Katya Komisaruk. While the government calls them common criminals, these people are known and respected for their long activism in



movements for Native American sovereignty, African American liberation, Puerto Rican independence, and against racism, militarism, imperialism, women's oppression, and nuclear weapons. Freedom Now considers these activists political prisoners.

We have documentation of instances of human rights violations where these political prisoners have been subjected to physical torture, including severe beatings, burning with cigarettes, and plunging a prisoner's head in a flushing toilet. We also have documentation of sensory deprivation, including prolonged isolation; denial of medical care to prisoners with life threatening conditions such as cancer; sexual harassment and abuse of women political prisoners that includes highly intrusive vaginal and rectal finger probes by male staff; lengthy pretrial detention; and grossly excessive sentencing, for example receiving 58 years for a charge on which the sentencing guideline is 24 months.

We feel that this a particularly important time to be advocating amnesty and human rights for political prisoners in the U.S. Throughout the world, there is a groundswell of concern for human rights. This year alone, hundreds of political prisoners have received amnesty from the governments of Mexico, the Soviet Union, Cuba and others. Additionally, the U.S. government is involved in three sets of international negotiations on human rights, which will culminate in a major Human Rights Summit in Moscow in 1991.

We want you to be one of those endorsing the Complaint to be presented to the Tribunal in March 1990. Please sign the enclosed authorization to be listed as a Petitioner in the Complaint. We are asking all persons or organizations wanting to be a Petitioner, to send \$50 along with the completed card which we have enclosed. If you want to be a Petitioner but are financially unable to contribute \$50 or more, we ask that minimally, you send \$25 with the enclosed card. The money is necessary to finance the tribunal. Among other things, we must print and distribute the Complaint as well as the findings and recommendations of the judges.

The final draft of the Complaint will be sent to you within 12 weeks. If you prefer to read the final draft prior to authorizing your name as a Petitioner, please indicate that on the enclosed card. We still ask that you make a contribution now, if possible. If you decide to be a Petitioner only after reading the final document, you will not be asked to make another contribution.

We will require your signed authorization at the time of your decision before you will be listed as a Petitioner.

Thank you for your support. We look forward to your participation in this important effort.

Sincerely,

Adjoa Aiyetero, Co-Chair, NCBL and NAARPR  
and two National Advisory Board names

Freedom Now

---

I authorize my name to be listed as a Petitioner in the Complaint to be presented to the Tribunal. ....

(signature)

I would like to review the final draft of the Complaint before being listed.

.....

(

I enclose my check or money order in the amount of \$.....

WHICH WAY FOR AFRICAN-AMERICAN YOUTH?:EMPOWERMENT OR GENOCIDE

African-Americans need to understand that capitalism as an economic system is in its dying stages or descending line of development. As capitalism enters its final stages of crisis and decline, African-Americans can only expect their economic conditioning to become worse, living in a permanent state of depression or economic genocide. The economic genocide is combined with a political genocide or strategy of the U.S. capitalist class (state/government) to destroy the African-American community.

A. The political strategy of the state to destroy the African-American community

It has come to public light (78) that the U.S. federal government had a political and military strategy to destroy the African-American community. This was revealed in the Church senate committee hearings on intelligence agency's abuse against citizens. These hearings came into existence as a result of revelations of the "Watergate" conspiracy. COINTELPRO was a code name for the FBI's counter-intelligence program which concentrated mainly on the black liberation movement in the 1960's and 70's. If one studies the history of America (preceeding) every mass movement for social change African-Americans mass upsurge usually serves as a catalyst for it.

The desegregation movement of the 1950's set the stage for the Civil Rights, Black Power and Anti-War movements of the 1960's and 1970's. These movements mobilized approximately 5 million in one way or another against the policies of the U.S. government. By the mid-60's masses of African-Americans no longer believed that self determination could be achieved under capitalism and believed the U.S. government was the cause of their oppression. As one million African-Americans burst forth in a collective flame torching American cities 1964-1968, the United States government began to view African-Americans as a political and military threat. In the halls of congress, representatives were talking about the guerilla war at home while the same government waged a counter-guerilla war against the people in Vietnam.

It was at this time that the U.S. federal government instituted a program to destroy the very fiber of the African-American community. First the Johnson administration started the war on poverty program which was nothing but an, internal "pacification" program. Under the pacification program a layer of mis-leaders were created in the African-American community. Rebellious youth were given to do nothing jobs, grants or scholarships to attend white universities away from the inner city.

During this period the U.S. state attacked revolutionary black organizations using local and state authorities to jail and murder their members. Cooptation and deception of all means were used to destroy the black liberation movement. Drugs were flooded into urban African-American communities to destroy the "moral fiber" and "resistance mood" of the African-American community.

During the Reagan years 1980-1988 the African-American community was flooded with crack, cocaine and black youth were being used to sell drugs in order to keep them from participating in social action against the system. At the same time Oliver North and the National Security Council devised a plan to put 21 million African-Americans in concentration camps should the African-American community revolt during the time U.S. imperialism was oppressing in Central America (Iran-Contragate). The U.S. monopoly capitalist class concentrated the drug culture on the youth, the potential "freedom fighters" of the black liberation movement. Black youth help sustain the capitalist system as billions of dollars are laundered back into the hands of legal capitalists. It is estimated that 100 billion dollars in profits is made from the illegal trade in cocaine.

African-American youth will constitute 1/3 of the U.S. labor force in the year 2000. What to do with this excess labor force has a lot to do with the U.S. governments policy of genocide against African-American youth.

It is clear that this Administration's anti-communist goals supersede our real national interest, including stopping drugs. Also, the Iran-contra scandal has increasingly revealed the direct link between the U.S. government and the biggest drug cartels in Central America. The list of those involved in this conspiracy is quite long and shows some direct and indirect involvement with so-called heroes like Oliver North and George Bush who was then vice president. (Tyner, 1989, p.7)

From 1968 to 1978 through its counter-insurgency plan the U.S. government instituted a plan that African-American youth would never rebel again and from 1978 to the present has been waging a war of genocide against them. The most conspicuous symptoms of decadence in modern capitalist society is the uncontrolled and escalating use of narcotics by more and more people and in more dangerous forms. (Perlo, 1988, p. 189)

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( ) Jarvis Tyner, "The Drug Epidemic, Cause, Effect and Cure," Political Affairs, June 1989, p.7.

( ) Victor Perlo, "Super Profits and Crises," Modern U.S. Capitalism, (New York International Publishers, 1988) p. 189.

Though the reactionary sector of the capitalist class engages in "low intensity" wars (supporting CONTRAS), it has been decided that outright wars of imperialist aggression are too costly in finance, lost prestige and the possibility of causing an internal anti-war movement.

U.S. imperialism is in a period of economic stagnation and has no other choice but to wring more profit from its domestic multinational working-class by driving down wages, union busting, ruining the working-class regardless of race and exterminating young sectors of present and the future African-American working-class through a very sophisticated war of genocide. Subtle "hidden" genocide is the policy of the capitalist ruling class is taking to solve the industrial reserve army "unemployed" minority problem. This is why drugs are flooded to inner city youth; to eliminate them from the labor market and to eliminate "future" African-American leadership. Drug users of dirty needles help transmit AIDS in the inner-city and at the same time due to imprisonment, mis-education and the rising cost of education, young African-American males are an endangered species in higher education and the community.

If the present trends are not reversed or struggled against, African-Americans may face near - extinction during the 21st century. African-Americans, particularly youth, must build a new mass civil disobedience (resistance) movement against the rightward drift to fascism now or suffer the consequences in the future.

#### B. Alienation of African-American youth

In the present period two generations of African-American youth have grown up under the aura of defeat, internal strife, confusion and division in the black liberation movement. This has lead to an alienation of African-American people. Also growing up under the purposeful lie that "things are getting better" and "the struggle is over, blacks are achieving integration", African-American youth who for the most part are lost as to their "social purpose".

African-American youth in particular and African-American people in general are facing a serious crisis in this period. African-American youth have lost a sense of mission and historical vision of living to improve the condition of racial advancement until we can achieve liberation. The old saying you are either part of the problem or part of the solution rings more true today. As much as 46% of the adult African-American male population is not in the labor force.

In 1960, 75% of all African-American males were employed. In 1984 only 54% of all African-American males were employed. Though African-American men represent 5.8% of the total U.S. population, African-American men make up about 43% of the

prison population of 750,000. There are more African-American males 16-24 years of age in prison than in college. The African-American male high school drop out rate is high as 60 to 70%. The majority of all African-American prisoners have less than an 11th grade education. In 1980, one of five African-American male teenagers was unable to read at the fourth grade level which disqualifies them from entry level jobs, apprenticeship programs or military service. But few are talking about quality education or African-American studies in the Jr. high and high schools to motivate these "hard core" inner city African-American males to learn to read.

Data from the Washington-based Children's Defense Fund show black males 20 to 24 years of age who had not graduated from high school had near earnings of only \$2,825 in 1984, compared to \$7,674 for young white males who had not completed high school. (Simms, 1988, p.7)

African-American youth particularly young African-American males are "cracking out" and dropping out of high school when in another five years a undergraduate college degree will be the basic requirement for an entry level job.

Black college graduates' real incomes, adjusted for inflation jumped 6.5 percent between 1973 and 1986. During the same thirteen year period, black high school graduates lost 44% of their real earning power, young black males with college degrees have unemployment rates of 6 to 8 percent; young black males who drop out of high school have jobless rates of 33 percent and above. (Marable, 1988, p.9)

African-American youth through their dis-orientation are helping the capitalist system in their own genocide. African-American youth represent one fifth of the youth population but they account for close to one third of the juvenile arrests for felony offenses. Young African-American males in particular are dying from AIDS by heterosexual intravenous drug users which make up 1/3 of the AIDS cases and black on black crime usually stemming from the drug traffic. Homicide is the leading cause of death among young African-American males. A young African-American male has a 1 in 21 chance of being murdered before he reaches the age of 21, primarily by a gun fired by another African-American male. (Gibbs, 1988, Plain Dealer)

This shows us we still hate ourselves and are helping our oppressors in the genocide (extermination) of our own people just when liberation is in sight. African-American youth need to start a resistance movement in our community against

drugs that are flooded into our community by the white racist U.S. ruling class.

In order to fight against the trend of genocide as a governmental policy and self destruction due to mis-education and media psychological genocide, African-American youth need to adopt a "liberation philosophy" and begin to demand reparations, repayment for the crimes committed against us. The African-American revolution was not over at the end of the sixties; the real revolution, the socialist revolution to change the entire economic system where everybody has a fair share is just beginning. African-American youth whose unemployment rates range from 40% to 60% three times higher than in 1960, need to be in the vanguard for socialist revolution, national liberation and self determination in America. The unemployment rate for African-American teenagers was 34.7% in 1987, and the rate for African-Americans between the ages of 20 and 24 was 21.8%. These compared with rates of 14.4% for white teens and 8.0% for whites in their early 20's.

Only one-quarter of all black teenagers 16 to 19 of age had jobs for some period during 1987, compared with nearly one-half of all white teenagers. About 1.4 million or just over one-half of black youth aged 20 to 24 were employed at some time in the year, while three-quarters of the whites in that age group held jobs.

BLS data also reveal that nearly two-thirds of black teenage males did not work at all during 1986, compared to only one-third of white teenage males and one-half of Hispanic teenage males. And close to one-quarter of black males between the ages of 20 and 24 were jobless the entire year; while less than one-tenth of white males in that age group reported not working... (Simms, op. crt., p.6)

But everything is not just centered around young African-American males. A greater percentage of African-American teenage females drop out of high school due to pregnancy, on a nationwide basis, than African-American females who graduate from college in the same year.

In the descending line of development of capitalism (declining) the U.S. capitalists must find ways to reduce the industrial reserve army because many white's will begin to join the ranks of the under or unemployed; the homeless, "working poor" or so-called "underclass". This is more true that forecasts estimate that in the year 2000 African Americans will constitute more than 17% of the American labor force. Also African-Americans and Chicano's will constitute 30% of the U.S. population. So

in the descending line of development of capitalism, the U.S. ruling class has initiated a policy of genocide which is concentrated on African-American youth, the future generations and leadership of Black America.

In the next 12 years it is estimated there will be a 38% growth in opportunities for technicians and related support workers while executive administrative and managerial categories are expected to grow by 29% and jobs in professional categories are expected to expand by only 19%. This shows that the real projected job growth rate will be in jobs requiring 1 to 6 years of college education. African-American youth stay in school.

At the same time fewer African-American high school graduates, many due to the high cost of a college education are not entering college. In 1986 African-Americans were 13.8% of the high school graduates while they were only 9.4% of college freshmen. As of 1988 only one-quarter of African-American high school graduates 18 to 24 years of age are in college compared to over a third of white high school graduates and the gap between African American and white college entrants is now larger than it has been in 20 years. The situation is still more critical for African-American males. In 1976, 34% of all African-American high school graduates entered college immediately; by 1985 the figure had declined to 26%.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, there are 769,000 African-American women age 25-54 with four or more years of college but only 633,000 men in this age group with comparable education. From 1989 to 1984 the total number of African-American women in college declined only slightly from 539,059 to 529,089. But the figure for African-American males declined by 25,300 down to 368,089. The current ratio of African-American males to females in the nation's colleges is 30 males to every 70 females.

African-American youth reaching adolescence (13-18) face a cultural crisis. Living in the inner city in which they experience a dual reality or develop a dual consciousness; one of a black sub (street) culture and the other an Anglo-American capitalist (establishment) culture, African-American youth often develop a rebelliousness to what they consider authority. Alienated to the educational process they engage in anti-social acts. Unlike the youth of the 1960's and 1970's who participated in the political civil rights and black power movements to bring structural change to their communities for the betterment of all African-American people; African-American youth of today do not channel their frustration and anger in a positive way and display it in individual acts of social anarchy. Inner city adolescents are under strong peer pressure to socialize in the sub (street) culture which is viewed as anti-establishment. The objective reality of high unemployment among African-American men in the African-American community which is relegating many unskilled labor into a permanent underclass; serves to induce



city youth with a negative attitude toward personal achievement in the Anglo-American capitalist society and develops within them a low self-esteem. This coupled with the alcohol/drug street culture and anti-establishment figures such as the lumpen drug pushers, prostitutes, stick up men, hustlers, pimps, African-American youth see everyday having money makes them successful images in the minds of youth. This becomes a strong deterrent, in the minds of African-American youth towards striving for working class status or to become part of the proletariat in capitalist America.

Much of the alienation towards working class socialization expresses itself in the organization of African-American youth gangs. Gangs provide self-esteem for its participants and are the center of anti-social and anti working class acts. Almost every African-American community has gangs. Gangs develop because African-American youth have little if any labor mobility in a racist capitalist system. African-American youth have no room for expression. They have no image of manhood or womanhood that they can identify with. African-American youth unconsciously know that they are not part of white capitalist world. In the street culture, the gang represents organization, identity and power for African-American youth. Living in a racist society they get very little opportunity to experience these things. The feeling of belonging, being part of something "together" is a big part of the gang. This sense of identity (jackets, caps, etc.) leads to the organization of a gang and from the gang's strength (size, fighting ability, protection of its members, turf) and influence (alliance's with other gangs) come its power. For African-American youth, especially boys, gangs are the thing to do in the African-American community that can give them a sense of power. This comes from the feeling of being powerless over one's destiny. This is why so many African-American youth can be organized into drug gangs. Gangs need to be re-oriented. Instead of fighting and killing their brothers and sisters, they must be trained to fight the racist capitalist system. They can be developed to become part of an African-American liberation organization.

In the descending line of development of capitalism because of the lumpenization (criminalization) of a large sector of African-American youth many have turned to black on black crime. This element must be re-educated or they will be used in the future to further implement capitalism's policy of "self destruct" genocide.

African-American youth need to be taught that when they use and sell drugs they are collaborating "selling-out-cooperative" with the U.S. capitalist ruling class plan of genocide against the African-American nation. Therefore a drug pusher is your local C.I.A. agent (CONTRA - counter-revolutionary) who is destroying the freedom movement. Only by becoming part of the solution, struggling for our self determination, democracy and liberation will African-American youth be their own liberators.

Because African-American youth have not been taught in school or home of the struggles African-Americans as a people had to go through to get even where they are now they are easy victims to street culture.

C. The social psychology of African-American youth

In the last 25 years the African-American community has suffered from a serious breakdown in its social fiber, the increase in single headed households, mental illness, hypertension, AIDS, drug abuse and teenage pregnancy. Coupled with this is a 50% drop out rate of African-American teenagers from the public school system and an increase in teenage males homicides - basically - black on black murder rate from the ages of 14 to 35. What is the cause of this increased alienation and self destructive behavior?

The slogan of "we're going to make it if we try", has been replaced with "do your own thing". The ideological front often negelected by black leadership is one of psychological and cultural imperialism which the state has intensified in the last ten years.

Along with the philosophy of "pessimism and cynicism" that is rampant in the African-American community; the state has increased its propagation of the "fetish of the commodity" or acquiring capitalist goods through a mass youth "fad" culture where having brand name goods are symbols of achievement of manhood and womanhood and become the new value system.

Psychological (media) imperialism is perpetrated on inner city poverty bound citizens now described as the urban underclass. This propaganda against the so-called underclass helps develop a low level of self esteem, a superficial worship of the rich (watching soap opera's all day) and a sub culture which fosters the "fetish of being successful in capitalist America", wearing brand name jeans, \$100 tennis shoes and "O-Geeing" (gold chains).

The commercialization of young children through T.V. programs and youth (under 19) is a form of "psychological genocide" aimed at making "commercial cannon farther" out of the minds of inner city young people. This psychological genocide (war) must be resisted by developing a productive youth movement that is based on scientific reality. A counter-culture that is rooted on science will address social reality and apply to social need to survive in, succeed in and transform the capitalist system even if it takes years to do so.

Because inner city youth are faced with the social reality now, of living in a deplorable under developed environment (inner city) while being surrounded by an affluent suburbia, living the contradictions of the urban poor in capitalist America, their philosophy has become one of cynicism and "commodity accumulation" (new car, gold chains, new clothes, fast life style).

Among today's children, one in four is poor, one in seven is at risk of dropping out of school, and one in five is at risk of becoming a teen parent.

Because the U.S. public educational system never responded to the cries for "relevancy" by inner city youth in the 60's and 70's and still propagates a racist imperialist Euro-centric education, inner city youth have come alienated from it and their literacy rate has rapidly declined.

For many states the drop-out rate for non-white high school students exceeds 50 percent. Across the United States 3,800 teenagers drop out of school every day... (Marable, 1989, p. 6)

Inner city young females respond to this "lack of self relevancy" by dropping out of school, having babies, ending up living off of substance, becoming wards of the state, decreasing the potentialities of their offsprings' success, trapped in poverty. Inner city males drop out of school for a full-time "job" without benefits working in the drug market for international crime (CIA narco-imperialism).

Due to the increased alienation and drug abuse many young adults become "socially dis-oriented" and are classified as mentally ill. Mental illness will increase in the descending line of development of capitalism unless the social philosophy of the African-American community no longer propagates social myth (false race and class consciousness), deals with social reality (the national liberation movement must become a struggle for socialism if it is to be successful) and deals with social needs of developing a positive African-American personality and moral code based on African-American pride, respect and dignity. African-American people need to be taught of the many African-American mass movements, struggles, personalities, achievements, many thousands who died trying to better the condition of African-Americans. While our heritage goes back to the glorious civilizations of ancient and middle ages Africa, we must be proud of being an African-American people.

D. African-American youth need to realize their power

African-American youth have power they don't realize. African-American youth between the ages of 10 and 25 for the most part are the mobile strata of the African-American working class. What does this mean? For the majority of black youth they have not obtained permanent full-time jobs during these ages and many are still living with their parents or still in school. Therefore they have more mobility than the average brothers or sisters who is bogged down with raising a family, paying rent or mortgage. African-American youth can use these years allowing

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( ) Manning Marable, "The Uneducated Underclass," Across the Color Line, The Vindicator, May 10 - 24, 1989: Volume 19, Number 8, p. 6.

them mobility to nurture of "revolutionary fervor" and to be the catalyst for stimulating new forms of mass action and organization in the black liberation movement.

This can be seen from the history of the 1960's and early 70's when black youth were active shock troops on the front lines of the civil rights and black power movements. Revolutionary organizations like SNCC (Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee), RAM (Revolutionary Action Movement), Black Panther Party and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (LRBW) all had young people as the core of their leadership membership. It is this power of being a mobile catalyst in the black liberation movement that make an African-American socialist youth movement so important to our people's future. While African-American's are inferior in physical number it is our mass action advancing towards a people's democracy that stimulates all other sectors of American society to move in a progressive direction. In this sense, the African-American people are the weak link or achilles heel domestically for the U.S. capitalist class not so much militarily but more so politically, culturally and economically by the mass trends African-American can set for the American working class.

Why should African-Americans concentrate on organizing black community youth?

Mahdi in 1962 stated in his "On Mobilization of the Black Community,"

the organizing of black working class youth should be the primary concern for the black revolutionist because the black working class has the sustained resentment, wrath and frustration toward the present social order, that if properly channeled can revolutionize New Afrika....." Within the black working class the youth constitute the most militant and radical element.

Also African-American youth constitute over one half of the population of New Africa. If a African-American revolutionist talk about the black masses he is talking about African-American youth. As civil rights demonstrations have shown black youth are the potential vanguard for the coming socialist revolution. African-American working class youth are forced to be vanguard of the African-American revolution in the following ways.

1. They are the most displaced element of the black community from the capitalist system. In other words, the system cannot supply balck youth with jobs, a place, etc. It forces them to be mobile forces. When any society forces any element of its population to become a displaced mobile force, that force has great potential for becoming revolutionary.

2. The contradictions of the system are more crystalized in black youth than any other element of the black community. This is due to the historical period that black youth are growing up in. The internal conflict exposing the contradictions of the system, involving them emotionally and physically in conflict with the system, has had more effect on this generation than any other.
3. African-American youth have not been effectively "brain-washed" yet. Being of the ages of rapid growth of the mind and not firmly embedded they are the element in the black community more prone for social change. An example of this can be seen by the role black youth played in the revolution of 1967/68.

What can we accomplish by organizing African-American community and African-American college youth? We can accomplish:

1. The formation of a African-American Liberation Organization that is capable of waging a successful campaign against the capitalist system.
2. Create, ferment and establish necessary conditions for a mass movement towards advanced democracy.
3. The organization of a base for mass support of socialist revolutionaries.
4. The organization of a political socialist cadre that is capable of conducting a scientific mass struggle from generation to generation.

We can create the ferment, prepare the atmosphere and conditions for revolution by creating a nationwide movement of revolutionary action. In order to be successful this movement would have to be political in nature, well coordinated and well organized. The black revolutionary socialist student movement's role would be to organize such a movement and act as its political vanguard. When referring to political vanguard we mean to interpret for the masses the nature of the system, why and the nature of such a movement.. Therefore the African-American Student Movement's main purpose is to show black youth that the only way to survive in life is to create a revolution in this country.

Such a movement should be geared to causing eventual dislocation of the catalyst system. The purpose of such a movement will be a "national strike". The African-American socialist student movement's role in such a movement would be to organize a nationwide student walkout. Junior high and high school youth would lead the walkout supported by black college youth, which would be in support of a black industrial workers strike.

The African-American student organization should produce a weekly black student newsletter or newspaper to interpret events and affairs for the black student. It must call African-American students to action and educate them about their historical destiny. The historical destiny of the African-American

student is to unite with African street youth to confront and overthrow the monopoly capitalist class. The historical role of the African-American student, who would constitute the petty bourgeois class; but because of the racist nature of white America, cannot allow them to obtain power as a class and develop itself, is to destroy the racist capitalist system. The African-American student represents the final stage of New Africa's development as an oppressed nation. Similarities can be seen between Afro-America and other oppressed peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. We can see in all these countries that the potential petty bourgeoisie of the oppressed developed a revolutionary consciousness. So be it in the racist U.S.A. It took the field slave approximately a hundred years to produce a generation that was capable of becoming petty bourgeois. Because this generation can't enter into its position of being petty bourgeois in the system, being oppressed, constantly attacked for just being black, leaves them only one alternative; revolution.

The form of the movement of a new type; one built on collective leadership whose ideology is scientific socialism should be to resist United States racist policies both home and abroad and to organize a African-American liberation organization inside the racist U.S.A. to wage a protracted mass political struggle for self determination and reparations.

The first objective of a anti-imperialist African-American student movement:

The first objective of a anti-imperialist new African-American student movement should be to challenge the bourgeois values and aspirations of the African American student. The African-American student movement must provide Africans with an alternative, which would be world socialist revolution/national liberation of New Africa, the end of exploitation of man by man and the re-establishment of the humane society with universal order.

On the Negro college campuses the African-American student movement should attempt to develop power and influence among students. Being underground in nature much influence can be gained through the movement's weekly publication and constant saturation of the campuses with revolutionary material. Next would be the organization of discussion groups on campus. The campus structure should be seen and studied as a duplicate of the oppressors system. The Negro college being an instrument of the state, plays a reactionary role in relation to revolution and its structure should be seen as such. Being revolutionaries we must utilize all positive factors that may exist though student government; should be the key target for the movement. The student government, though usually having little power, especially on Negro campuses, is still the official center of student activity. Gaining control of student government should be the key target for the movement. The student government is still the official center of student activity. By gaining control of student

government and fighting for student rights, the movement's influence can develop and grow. The second primary target should be the freshman and sophomore classes. The freshman and sophomore classes usually aren't so imbedded with bourgeois values and freakism, and can be influenced easier than the junior and seniors who are concerned with surviving and just graduating. Senior students interest usually become more tied to the system since they are concerned with making it on the job market. The purpose of this is to build a permanent revolutionary machine on campus.

Finally, attempt to gain influence and control over the sororities and fraternities. Fraternities and sororities are very hard to crack, because their values are usually caught up into the "hip society". Discussion groups should be established both formal and informal. Orientation towards the end of the school year should be given as to what projects and groups the African-American student can work with in his community. The New African-American Student Movement would operate differently in different areas. In urban communities, the black student movement's main concern would be the organization of black ghetto youth. This can be done through "liberation schools, black history clubs, black tutorial projects, athletic clubs and protective associations, etc." Black history programs should be established to instill pride and to combat the daily brainwashing by the oppressor. For New Student Groups located on a "Negro" college campus main concern will be to utilize and transform the "hip society". Why? Because from the hip society comes a generation of freaks. If we control the hip society it will produce revolutionary black scientific socialists instead of freaks. What is the hip society?

### The Hip Society

The hip society is a result of conditioning and of the frustrated hope that the American dream is true. The hip society transcends all class barriers among blacks and has its own social values, and norms. The hip society is developed from frustration of not being able to do anything about one's condition and act as a release from daily pressures. The hip society is built around the concept of manhood and womanhood. This concept of manhood and womanhood comes from feeling a lack of security, identity and alienation. The man who can make the most women dress the best and maintain his "cool" is considered among his peers to be a hero. The woman who can jilt a cat and not mean nothing to her, get the most noses open and climbs the ladder with prestige men is supposed to be into something. The women rather, (girls) play, but usually they are looking for a husband...

The hip society is a hedonistic society... it is built on extreme pleasure seeking in order to forget about the reality of contradiction, the black student must face. By constantly

challenging the values of the hip society and replacing them with the values of an revolutionary society, the contradictions of the system will be forced to crystalize. The African student movement's key role in agitation on the Negro campus is to educate the African-American student to his historical role and destiny.

What is the historical role of the African-American student?

The historical role of the African-American student is to develop into the revolutionary intelligentsia capable of leading New Africa to true liberation. Why? A social revolution cannot develop until all means of legal protest has been exhausted and the image and faith in bourgeois democracy is destroyed. It was only until New Africa could develop a generation capable of being on top in the system by standards set forth by the system, could the contradictions of the system polarize. In other words, we now have a whole generation with doctorates, master and bachelor degrees who are qualified for the highest positions in government, industry, advertising, banking, etc.... but usually must settle for teaching jobs because of the color of their skin. It was not until this happened that the system could provide black youth with only one alternative, national liberation through socialist revolution.

The nature of a African-American/Scientific Socialist Student Movement Cadres:

The role of the black student movement would be to politicalize black community youth. Political education should be a major goal of its program coordinating with the movement of revolutionary action.

In order for an African-American student movement to be effective, its members must be well read in revolutionary socialist literature. They should know the nature of the class, race and classless societies, imperialism, capitalism, racism, fascism and the nature of the international revolution. If you don't know the nature of the enemy, you stand less chance of defeating him. Only an organization of black youth that understands this can be part of the vanguard of the socialist revolution. For such an organization will have the responsibility of thousands, millions of lives in their hands.

E. Identify with past African-American student movements

It is important for African-American students to identify with past African-American student movements particularly the 1960's. The present reality is the results of what was accomplished and we failed to grasp. In the words of African revolutionary Amical Cabral, the struggle continues from generation to generation. The mantel for aggressive revolutionary activity usually ranges from 15 to 35. These are the generations that



have the vitality of youth. Of the several weaknesses of the student movements of the 60's was the failure to build a mass cadre African-American organization that had a serious youth section. We failed to recruit and train revolutionary successors 8 to 15. As we became older so did the movement and organizations. The other thing the student movement failed to clearly grasp and educate people around was objective and how to achieve the objective. For a certain period the objective was civil (national democratic) rights but how to achieve it was not clear. The objective in this period must be clear, "economic democracy" which can only be achieved through socialism.

Another weakness was limited vision. When I say limited vision we felt self determination was right around the corner. We failed to have the concept of protracted struggle. Organizing the masses is a tremendous undertaking and requires great patience and strategy. The development of national consciousness is a long and difficult process depending on the traditions and stages of social development of peoples. The development of class consciousness seems to be just as long a process. The previous student movement failed to project a vision for working for the forecoming generations.

...the strategy of revolution requires the escalation of demands and actions, stage by stage, in conflict with the enemy, utilizing the whip of the counter-revolution to deepen the conflict and to drive the revolution forward, without stopping at the most extreme actions required to win. (Boggs, 1970, p. 114)

The other aspect which was a severe weakness on the part of progressives was the question of independent and continuous finances. Social movements have used various means of obtaining finances to function. What has been consistent is the drive to establish an independent political economy for the different movements. Every movement striving for power must have its own economic power base; its own means of sustaining itself; political economy.

#### F. African-American youth taking control of their destiny

African-American youth being 10 million strong need to become part of the vanguard activists of the black liberation movement. African-American youth should resurrect the slogan of "Academic Excellence and Social Responsibility". The drive of African-American youth should be to excell in science and

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( ) E. Franklin Frazier, "Race and Cultural Contacts", In the Modern World.

( ) James Boggs, "Racism and the Class Struggle", New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970, p. 114.

mathematics and to re-educate themselves in the social sciences, to adopt an African-American responsible life style and to build a non-compromising "no-sell out", scientific activist leadership.

African-American youth should reactivate the African-American struggle for democracy and self determination by starting mass demonstrations mass movement for reparations on the 30th anniversary of the Sit-in movement, February 1, 1990. Demanding that the U.S. government pay African-Americans at least 4 trillion for back pay. Youth should demand "Homes for the Homeless, the passing of the Jesse Gray Housing Bill, the allocation of pension funds to rebuild the inner cities, proportional political economy representation of African-Americans in every level of government and jobs according to their population numbers, "end to economic inequality; that a section be written into the U.S. constitution that every citizen be guaranteed the right to a job, a worker's Bill of Rights, a 32-hour week with 40 hours pay, the practice of racism be made a felony and the right of all citizens to a free university education.

G. Our oppressors blame the victims instead of the system

The capitalist media is blaming the drug traffic, crime associated with it on African-American youth and unemployed now called the underclass. The system has been blaming the victims, the poor of America, rather than blaming the capitalist class. The only alternative African-American youth have at this time in trying for more equalitarian system is helping to work with progressive wing of the democratic party and building an independent socialist people's party.

## BLACK AMERICA AND THE DEATH PENALTY

In 1972, the United States Supreme Court decided that the death penalty was unconstitutional because it discriminated against minorities, and because it constituted cruel and unusual punishment. At that time, about 75% of those on all death rows in America were Black. Three years later, that same court said the death penalty could be used as long as it was applied equally. Now we have another death penalty. This time about 60% of all those on death rows are Black, and 90% of them were sentenced for murdering whites. What happened is that the percentage of Blacks receiving a death sentence decreased in comparison with whites, but the focus of the death penalty changed to the color of one's victim. At the same time fewer than 5% of all Blacks that kill Blacks ever receive the death penalty. So the death penalty has become a penalty of race, "the race penalty".

If a person is poor and of color, he is very likely to receive the death penalty. Ninety-nine percent of all Blacks that receive it are poor. For the same cases and circumstances, a white person will receive from ten years to life imprisonment. A state spends an average of ten thousand dollars per day to prosecute a death penalty case. That same state will give a court appointed attorney a total of five hundred dollars to defend a person facing a death sentence. This is designed to get a conviction whether a person is guilty or innocent. Instead of being innocent until being proven guilty by the state, the person bears the burden to prove his innocence, and he has five hundred dollars while the state will spend whatever it takes to get a conviction. So along with being the race penalty, the death penalty becomes "the economic penalty".

The death penalty exists in every southern state in the United States and in most bordering states, and at least 60% of all Blacks live in southern states. The death penalty is sought by prosecutors, 98% of whom are white. Blacks are sentenced by judges, 98% of whom are white. These prosecutors and judges prosecute and sentence Blacks to death at a rate of 90% for killing whites. At the same time they sentence Blacks to death for killing Blacks at a rate of only 5%. This encourages Blacks to perpetrate violence against each other. History suggests supports the fact that Blacks in America have forgiven whites for the crimes of murder, rape, robbery, the denial of rights guaranteed by the Constitution, and the greatest crime committed against a people known to mankind--slavery. The death penalty is the most telling proof that some white Americans are vengeful and unforgiving and demand the death penalty at every turn. Unfortunately, many of those unforgiving whites are prosecutors and judges. Along with its being a

penalty of race and penalty of economics, the death penalty is also a "penalty of revenge".

It is time that Blacks, Whites, Asians, and Brown and Red people of America work to eliminate this form of genocide. It is sanctioned by state governments and even supported by some of those who suffer from the disease of ignorance. They are unaware of the facts that shape and influence all that we do and think. At the same time, it is not all our fault. The media and the racists have reached out and recruited Blacks that suffered as victims of crimes or members of their families. The media have sought out whites who have suffered and made them "celebrity crime victims", yet the media have ignored "Black on Black" crime victims. The media have successfully divided Blacks on the question, "Are you for or against the death penalty?". Likewise, the media have sought out poor whites who are sentenced to death to impress upon the public the notion that equality exists in the application of the death penalty, yet the whites are poor and convicted of killing whites. As a result of these efforts, 70% of all Americans "say" that they support the death penalty. Up until 1976, 70% of all Blacks opposed the death penalty. Surely Blacks have not had a total change of heart on something that has victimized them for 400 years--racism. We have to realize, if there were no Blacks and poor people in America the death penalty would not exist.

We beg all Black and other Americans to consider what we have said, to look around, to consider where we as a race people came from, to look at where we are, and then look where the death penalty is taking us. We have to ask ourselves, "Can we exist with this death penalty?" Can we Blacks recognize the truth that we are allowed to kill each other and receive a slap on the wrist and sometimes go unpunished altogether? We have to ask ourselves, "Are there two justice systems in America, one white and the other Black and poor?" It's time that we stop the madness. We must demand an explanation as to why we're sentenced to death for killing whites and not Blacks. We must challenge racist America to stop murdering in the name of racism. We cannot afford to wait. We must stop the murder of Blacks because of a history of indifference.

How can we challenge the Peoples Republic of China to adhere to democratic ways and to stop the death penalty there when we are not concerned about it in a democracy? How can we support the students in Beijing in their fight for basic rights when we ignore civil and human rights at home? Are we so hypocritical that we can't challenge a president who asks China to stop the death penalty there while he campaigned for an additional death penalty here? Are we afraid to want

democracy at home and abroad? Are we afraid to live by the words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere?"

We focus on Blacks because we have suffered as much or more than anyone because of racism. We focus on Blacks because we are more divided. We focus on Blacks because we have been letured to and advised by whites to do everything, but probably the most important thing is to "love each other". It reaches every corner of America. We are commended by some whites when we as Blacks turn our backs on fellow Blacks. We are encouraged and told that the only way to succeed is to leave the Black communities and accept white culture. We are told by whites, if we beat the odds, we shouldn't look back, when we should "reach back". If we beat the odds, we are encouraged to be the exceptional, when only the grace of God and luck will allow only a few to become the very best in a racist society.

We are the victims of the greatest psychological game ever perpetrated against a people. We are destined to fail simply because of the mind set in America, "if it <sup>A/NT</sup>white, it ain't right". We must awaken from this psychological sleep and roar to be free in mind and spirit. We've been asleep too long. We cry out to our people and to caring Americans. Allow every voice to be heard on the issue of the death penalty. Consider, weigh it, look at where you stand. Examine your conscience. We are sure that you will reach the right decision. Define genocide in your mind. Then look at the facts that are clear all over America. Look at the evidence of the worst examples of racism that this world has known. You won't be surprised that they easily compare with what's going on right here in the United States of America. That's the purpose of this writing--to introduce you to the very thing that we have lived right here on Alabama's Death Row for the past twelve years. We must fight and not wait until it hits home, until it touches a family member or a loved one. We must learn to love mankind.

From these walls and bars of Death Row, we remain a cry in the wilderness, hoping and praying that somebody hears our plea, accepts it, and loves us, even from afar.

In Struggle We Remain,

The Brothers of Alabama's Death Row

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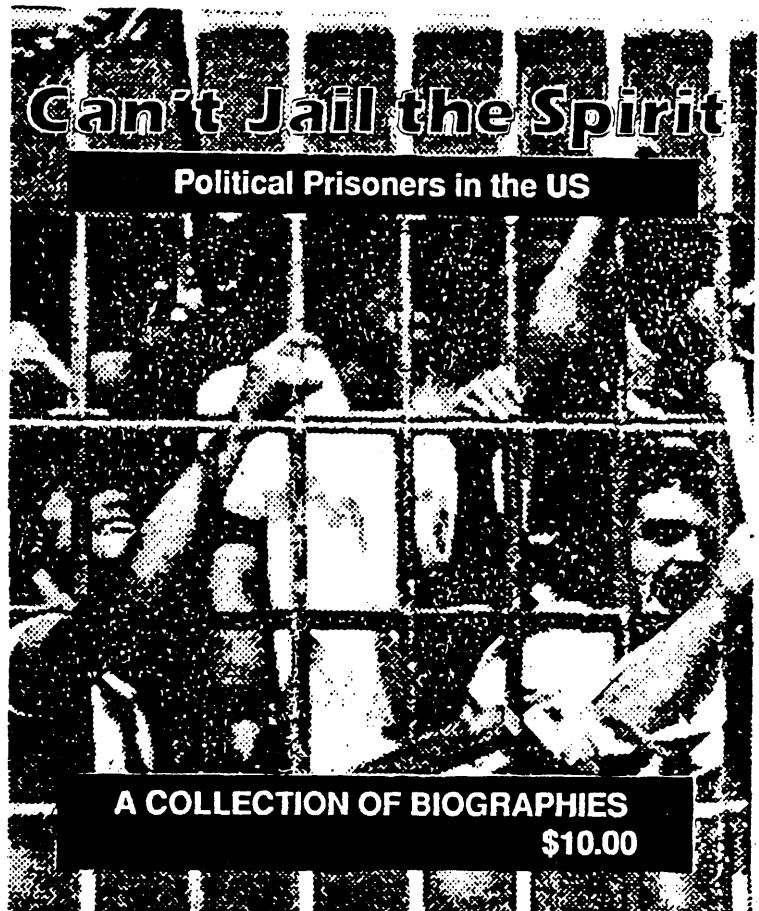
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### ON SELF ESTEEM

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Few things within human existence is as important; and yet, as easily overlooked, ignored and abused as individual self esteem (self worth).

Having its seat in the very core of all human beings, each person has their own definition. What does it mean to you? a job? Money? Car? House? Acceptance by others? Love for Humanity?.

Do you find yourself always seeking "greener pastures"? or are you always seeking out the company of those whom are just as miserable (if not more so ) as you may be?.

Whatever a person's particular definition of self-esteem is, one thing is clear: take away (or deny) that person's object/ideal of their self worth and you've practically destroyed that person's reason for living.

There's an experience that comes to mind of a prison porter who used to be the "laughing stock" of his cell unit. For a period of time, (before he became a porter) the antics of this individual scrounge bumpkin had been the talk of his peers as a result of his habitual abuse of intoxicating substances (drugs/alcohol) which on more than one occasion got him into hot water with the likes of fellow cohabitants and prison staff as well.

Then, thru an unusual set of circumstances, his overall attitude was dramatically changed from a pathetic, whining inmate to a sober conscientious individual who even managed to transform a once shoddy appearance - thru the attention he received and responsibility he was entrusted with by simply being given a porter's job - for the sanitary upkeep of that particular section unit. In short, he had began to feel better about himself on the surface, because he was given the impression of being needed by others.

Everyone has an ego (even the so-called "untouchables") and that's not a bad thing at all - when it's kept within reasonable limits. The same thing applies with ambition. The problem comes in when someone seeks to feed either one or both - at the expense of someone else.

There are many ways to kill a living soul. Just look at the addicts, the homeless, the so-called "failures and misfits" of a competitive, ruthless and selfishly greedy capitalist society.

People need to feel wanted; needed or at least accepted. It's simply a functional part of their nature; and when they don't have this fulfillment (on a consistent basis) they have a tendency to "feed upon themselves" thru either a collection or exchange of self destructive pursuits.

As suggested earlier, there are many "killers" whom have never fired a shot, inflicted a stab wound, or swung a blunt instrument. Yet they have done more to bring about the suffering and misery of many than whole legions of armed soldiers in heated war. And, it's that type of psychological repression and oppression (thru deliberate breakdown of someone's self esteem) which lays the course in the constant national and "class" struggle which has existed since the beginning of recorded history (perhaps even before).

As it were, whenever a particular ruling class assumed a certain measure of control over the doings and dealings of their lesser privileged counterparts - the lines of distinction were clearly drawn without it actually being verbally expressed.

And there are many ways to do this: economically, politically, socially, culturally, (and if necessary) militarily. In other words, someone has to be "superior" at the expense of someone being "inferior".

So, is it possible to live in an essentially "classless" society? Yes and No. It's basically understood that with any group of people - successfully living/working in harmony - there must be directional leadership. Not to mention the different levels of individual talent and their related importance.

However, despite these differences, there can be harmony when proper initiative is taken (by followers and leadership alike) to see that each individual (regardless of their peculiar skills) is made to feel appreciated for their particular contribution to the over-all community function - rather than the current policy of "use and discard".

But the bottom line of it all, ultimately begins (and ends) with the individual. For if you don't tend to like yourself - it's doubly hard to like someone else: whom are in search of the same kind of fulfillment as you.



That's why it's so important to think positively of one's self. Thru personal heritage and history; accomplishments (great and small); even appearance.

And once self esteem (self worth) is established, it must be encouraged in others - whom will encourage others: which brings about the required harmony that must exist within the confines of any prosperous and humane society.

We must change our attitudes of traditional materialism and self centeredness to that of a dialectical (scientific) materialism interacting with traditional communalism (community values) before we can realistically set our sights on a brighter future (which is everyone's birthright).

Service unto others is service unto self but, you must first begin with self before you can serve others. And this begins with a reasonably healthy self esteem (idea of self worth).

You are important in dialectical relation to the means of production and the division of labor.

**REBUILD TO WIN !!!**

Boanerges Pili

s/n James Harris

#9581

Death Row

Indiana State Prison

P.O. Box 41

Michigan City,

Indiana 46360

### Dialectical Materialism

Dialectical Materialism is a philosophy. A philosophy is a world outlook.

Dialectical Materialism teaches a person how to think, analyze and solve problems. It is a scientific way of investigation and research to learn the truth of something.

Everything we learn are perceived and conceived through our sense organs such as; hearing, sight, smell, touch, and taste. The messages perceived and conceived through our sense organs are transmitted to our brains. This is how we learn.

Dialectical comes from the Greek word "dialigo," which means to "reason, discuss or debate." When you look at something from a dialectical point of view you examine it from every possible angle that you can think of. You look deep inside of things to see what it is about, and how it works.

Everything goes through a process of growth and development. The development of a person, place or thing takes place through the unity and struggle of opposites; a series of steps or stages in a process or course of action, leading up to the next. The development of society is very similar to the development of nature. While something is coming into being, something is dying away.

Material comes from the Latin word "materia," which means "matter". Matter is anything that has weight and occupies space. The food we eat and the air (oxygen) we breathe, and so on, is matter.

Dialectical Materialism is the study of the contradictions within the very essence of things.

What appear to be one thing can in fact be something else. For example, what appear to be white milk could be white paint; or if a man appear to be bald-headed could have his hair cut real short, but if one would look closely one will see short stubs of hair. Another case in point, one could be bald on the top of their head and have hair on the sides and back. In a case like that the man is in the process of going bald-headed.

Dialectical Materialism recognizes that all things go through a process of growth and development. As previously noted, while something is coming into being something is dying away. Everything has an opposite (contradiction). Nothing exist without an opposite. A contradiction is the opposite of something.

Dialectical Materialism is a philosophical way of life. There is a solution (answer) to every problem (question). Dialectical Materialism also studies the laws of the objective (material) world and how to take the proper action to bring about its revolutionary transformation.

Knowledge is power! The more you know the more you are able to do!

**Rebuild To Win!**

**Free The Land!**

**By: Z.A.A.**

**YOU CAN KILL A REVOLUTIONARY,  
BUT YOU CANNOT KILL REVOLUTION**

November 13th and December 4th mark the 20th anniversary of the deaths of three freedom fighters and members of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther party. On November 13th 1969 Spurgeon " Jake" Winters was shot 37 times as he lay wounded in the 5800 block of King Dr. on Chicago's southside. Jake Winters and Lance Bell were surrounded and attacked by a platoon of Chicago policemen on the corner of 58th and Galumet. When the smoke and dust cleared and settled two police officers had been slain and seven more were wounded. In their mad mindless retreat from the scene Jake and Lance were able to slip through the police lines which allegedly had them surrounded and pinned down inside an abandoned building where they had taken refuge. Lance was captured one block away but Jake was murdered on the next block over as the police angry and enraged over their casualty count, pumped round after round into Jake's body.

On December 4th 1969, 14 Chicago police officers assigned to the states attorneys office staged a pre-dawn raid at the behest of the F.B.I. on the apartment of Fred Hampton, Deputy Chairman of the Illinois Chap. B.P.P.. The so-called pretext that the police used as the rationale for the raid was a so-called search for illegal weapons. However, the police using automatic weapons and semi-automatic weapons blasted their way into the apartment and assassinated Fred and Mark in their sleep.

Jake, Mark, and Fred were all killed in the undeclared war that the oppressor nation has waged against New Afrikans since we first came here as colonial subjects. These young Black men were all part of the New Afrikan Nation's long struggle for freedom, self-determination, independence, and socialism. Their deaths were a result of the governments attempt to destroy the Black Panther Party which was founded in Oakland, California in October 1966 and grew by leaps and bounds during the years 1968 and 1969. The significance of the Black Panther Party in our struggle for national liberation is that the party despite glaring shortcomings was a leading formation that won the hearts and minds of New Afrikans and advanced and elevated the consciousness of our people. The B.P.P. was an organized formation with a ten point platform, a free breakfast and free health care center. That's the reason the F.B.I. targeted it for destruction. Despite the attacks from the forces of the oppressor nation the reason for the demise and decline of the B.P.P. were it's own internal contradictions.

Chairman Fred who was an articulate speaker, use to exclaim, that "you can kill a revolutionary, but you can't kill the revolution. Jake, Mark, and Fred were murdered but the New Afrikan liberation movement is still alive and will continue to final victoroy. Some people seeing the demise of this or that organizational form have prematurely proclaimed that the struggle is over. Our struggle to liberate our nation may be at a low ebb but it is not by any means over because the contradiction that exists between the oppressor nation and our oppressed nation has not been resolved. Our struggle encompasses our total history of resistance since the european invasion of our homeland and our subsequent diaspora. Our struggle didn't begin or end with the demise of organizations like the B.P., N.C.C., RAM-A.P.P.. All of these groups made contributions that were significant to our movement for independence and socialism but they were only a part of a long history of resistance.

Jake, Mark, and Fred's deaths were all significant because they all died fighting for the freedom of New Afrikan people. The 20th anniversary of the deaths of these three comrades should be celebrated and observed. However, the biggest honor we can bestow upon the memories of these revolutionaries is to continue to struggle and organize in an uncompromising manner for freedom and national liberation. Let's all make a concerted effort to move and advance the struggle forward by learning from past errors and mistakes. It is not enough to merely pay empty verbiage and praise upon all our fallen comrades who have made the supreme sacrifice in our long struggle and resistance. We have to continue their/our work towards independence and socialism. So that we can continue to proclaim, that, **YOU CAN KILL A REVOLUTIONARY, BUT YOU CANNOT KILL THE REVOLUTION.**

REBUILD,

ABDUL SHANNA

"THE NEED FOR AND ROLE OF A PARTY"

"...The existence of a political vanguard precedes the existence of any of the other elements of a truly revolutionary culture."

We aren't gonna take up space here as if we're engaged in a debate over the need for a party. For us, the need is a foregone conclusion. At the moment we're concerned with increasing our understanding of the concept and role of the party, so that we can begin in earnest to build it, to link it with the people, to use it to secure national independence and the construction of socialism.

However, while not debating the question, some attention must be given to the matter of "need". We can't fully comprehend what a party is, what it does, why, and how it fulfills its role, without touching "the need for" the party.

It could be argued that the need for a party would be proven best by simply taking a look at the state of the nation and of the New African Independence Movement; the conditions of the people should be convincing arguments for the need for a party. However, if we were to make such an argument, we'd need more than "objective reality" to support it, because we need an "ideal," i.e., scientific abstractions of the character of the party and how it would affect the present reality, how it would be used to help consciously shape the future. Those who already say they need a party can do so because they have some idea as to what a party is and what it's capable of accomplishing. On this basis, we can look at the present state of the movement and contrast the ideal with the

present reality.

Another way to make or to support an argument on the need for a party is to use the lessons of the past experience. We can look to previous stages and periods of struggle and focus on the role of conscious, organized formations, i.e., weigh the gains achieved by those formations against what was or wasn't achieved by the unconscious and unorganized masses. In this way we'd see the advantages in having and organized vanguard. We'd also focus on how the conscious and organized formations were able to accomplish their goals (i.e., their thought, organizational structure, and manner of practice), why and how internal factors contributed to their ability or inability to accomplish their goals, and why practically all past formations were short-lived.

Let's make a few quick points on what a party is and why we need one, then move to other quick points on certain elements of the party-building process, as seen from our perspective.

A revolutionary party is the ideal organizational form for representing and realizing the interests of revolutionary classes and oppressed nations seeking independence and socialism. With some qualification, Lenin can be quoted on this point:

"In a society based upon class divisions, the struggle between the hostile classes is bound, at a certain stage of its development, to become a political struggle. The most purposeful, most comprehensive and specific expression of the political struggle of classes is the struggle of parties."

We mention the need for qualifying the above (the need for some re-orientation) because New Afrikans aren't merely conducting struggle in our own society, i.e. the haves against the have nots, or the New

Afrikan proletariat aga inst the New Afrikan bourgeoisie. Ours is primarily a struggle between our society and another--the u. s. of a. Although we'll discuss "class" in greater detail, here we must say that "class divisions" exist inside our own society **INDEPENDENTLY** of those inside the u. s. of a. Moreover, "class divisions" actually characterize the contradiction between New Afrika and the united states, i.e., we stand to each other as hostile classes"--groups with opposing interests--though generally considered as oppressed, and oppressor, nations.

As we've said before, when it was suggested to us that imperialist oppression is "class oppression manifesting itself on a national"--under imperialism, entire nations become "classes", and the people of the oppressed nation carry on a common battle against the oppressor nation.

From this perspective, the struggle between oppressed and oppressor nations is, from the very beginning, a "political" struggle, i.e., a struggle between two social formations with qualitatively distinct sets of political-economic interests, even though the interests of the oppressed nation are suppressed and distorted (thus, the oppressed, nations struggle to free the process of it's development).....

Nevertheless, whether the form of oppression is colonial or neo-colonial (i.e., where, under the latter, distorted and suppressed formation of classes exist), the nation requires a purposeful, comprehensive organization to properly conduct its struggle against the empire and against the suppressed but harmful bourgeois presence within it's own social structure.

The party is the ideal organizational form for representing and realizing the interests of the nation and the vanguard class, because it differs fundamentally in its character from all other forms of organizations used by the masses. Other forms of people's organization generally concentrate on single issues or fields of social activity (e.g., defense committees, educational, housing, or health care organizations, labor unions, youth organizations, etc.).

The New Afrikan vanguard party, however, is responsible for serving the needs of all the people; it must demonstrate it's leadership in ALL areas of social life by leading and coordinating all mass organizations, by articulating the national interests and those of the revolutionary and progressive class forces, and by showing the best ways to realize these



interests. For example, the best way to end colonial violence is to liberate the nation--not by asking the oppressor to appoint a special prosecutor or to integrate the police force. By pursuing the latter courses we're in fact, as Malcolm would say, trying to crawl back on the plantation, rather than struggle for genuine national liberation. And, even though the best way to end colonial violence is a long range goal, it's one that we must keep out front as we struggle from day-to-day; this keeps us from getting diverted, it's how we raise consciousness and help the people learn from their own experiences, since the lessons don't just fall from the sky.

The party is the highest expression of the revolutionary consciousness of the nation and of it's vanguard class, and a graphic example of their willingness and their ability to organize, i.e., the party IS the people, and when it organizes, it becomes a manifestation of the people's self-consciousness and self-organization.

The organized vanguard party also becomes a manifestation of the unity of the immense and varied resource of the people, i.e., the composition of the party includes representatives of all the nations classes and strata, all seeking to satisfy their particular and general interests. The unified and active party demonstrates the people skill in coordinating and executing complex and diverse forms of struggle in all spheres of social life.

The party is the ideal people's instrument for seizing and securing state (political) power. In the struggle against the u. s. empire, in the New Afrikan struggle for national independence and socialist development, we must forge weapons that are capable of helping us satisfy our needs. We need to end the domination of the nation by an oppressive settler-colonial state, and to establish a new independent state power of our own. The revolutionary party is the instrument most suited for the accomplishment of this task:

...What few people realize is that until 1917 Lenin rarely addressed himself to a mass audience, either in writing or speaking, nor appeared on the public platform. Instead, he concentrated his extraordinary abilities and energies on the task which he had concluded was decisive to the success of the Russian Revolution; the building of an apparatus of dedicated, disciplined revolutionists to lead the masses in the struggle for power.

For the revolutionary movements developing today in every country,

the great contribution of Lenin was the clarity with which he put forward and acted upon his fundamental convictions regarding the vanguard party: 1) that the purpose of a revolutionary party is to take absolute power in order to revolutionize the economic and social system as the only way of resolving fundamental popular grievances; 2) that it is absolutely essential to build a revolutionary vanguard party if you are not just playing with the phrase; and 3) that a revolutionary party can only be built by a) unceasing ideological struggle, b) strict discipline, c) organized activity of every member, and merciless self-criticism.

An understanding that the party has this purpose-- the creation of independent state power--is something that members and cadres must have from the very beginning. **Sharing this understanding with the masses is a fundamental task of the party**, because without it the struggle for "democratic rights" can be easily mistaken as the goal, i.e., National liberation becomes mere "liberation"--a euphemism for integration and neo-colonialism.

It can even be stated another way: the full and genuine attainment of "democratic rights"... for people's of oppressed nations, is totally unrealizable so long as the nation is dominated by capital-imperialism. And, in its struggle to free itself from imperialist domination, the nation uses the struggle for "democratic rights" to arouse and unite all those who are genuinely opposed to imperialism, while also isolating and 'paralyzing' all those who are not to imperialism. And this is accomplished thru the ideological and organizational leadership of the New Afrikan working class, in alliance with other revolutionary and progressive forces.

The struggle to realize the "democratic revolution" demands that we be aware at all times of the nature of each class force and of the class nature of the "democratic revolution" in general, which is bourgeois in character, and expressed by the fact that inside the nation there are those who are both incapable and unwilling to abandon capitalism, even though they are compelled by the strength of the revolution to feign a nationalist attitude.

In the struggle for national independence, i.e., independent state power, the party is an instrument of the people used to help them become **CONSCIOUS** of themselves as an **OPPRESSED NATION**, and to **organize and struggle AS A NATION**. The party is also an instrument of the vanguard class, used to help it become more conscious of its responsibilities for the short and long term realization of the interests of the entire nation.

We need a party because the national liberation struggle can't be regenerated in a spontaneous manner, nor can it maintain its continuity without the structure and coordinated activity of a revolutionary party.

Relatedly, this role of the party can't be performed until the conscious and committed section of the people that will become the party, abandon what Lenin called "aristocratic anarchism", i.e., ideological confusion and organizational segmentation or "tribalism". In this respect, Lenin characterization of the party as 'the sum total of diversified organizations' can be instructive. Rather than continuing to exist as a dis-united or loose federation of "circles," "collectives," or "tribes" linked by little more than a system of general beliefs (e.g., the need for armed struggle), the truly serious unite on the basis of ideological clarity and organizational discipline and division of labor.

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BOOK12

- October 2, 1800: Birth of Nat Turner
- October 8, : Day of the heroic guerilla commemorating the death in 1967 of "Che" Guevara.
- October 15, 1966: Black Panther Party organized.
- October 16, 1859: John Brown attacks Harper's Ferry. Va.
- October 18, 1969: BPP member Walter Toure Pope murdered by L.A. police.
- November 4, 1969: Carlos Marighella ambushed and killed by Brazilian police
- November 4, 1970: Folsom Manifesto and 19-day strike
- November 4, 1970: Rebellion at Auburn prison, N.Y.
- November 13, 1969: BPP member Spurgeon "Jake" Winters murdered by Chicago police, 2 police killed and 7 wounded.
- November 14, 1973: Twyman Fred Myers, B.L.A. member ambushed and killed by F.B.I. and N.Y. police.
- December 4, 1969: Fred Hampton and Mark Clark assassinated in pre-dawn raid with F.B.I. complicity.
- December 8, 1969: Los Angeles police as part of program to destroy BPP raid their head-quarters at 4:30 am. with helicopters and armored cars.

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