

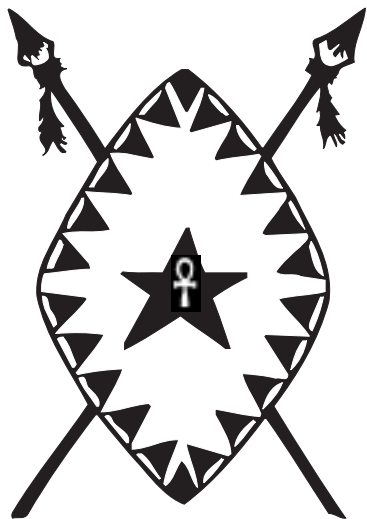
CROSSROAD

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Tenth Anniversary Issue

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Back To Basics: Notes On the Tenth Anniversary of **CROSSROAD**

Having published **CROSSROAD** for ten years is a noteworthy accomplishment — one that our Collective can take pride in, and one that should be appreciated and applauded by our supporters and by our Movement. Despite our limitations and the obstacles placed in our path, **CROSSROAD** has survived and grown during a time when other publications (and organizations) have folded.

On the other hand, We hesitate to use space in these pages to pat ourselves on the back. This is especially so because too many tasks that We'd set for ourselves have gone unfulfilled; too much of our potential remains unrealized; too much remains to be done, as We continue to struggle (primarily against our own shortcomings), to win national independence, build socialism, and help to deliver the death blow to world capitalist hegemony.

Moreover, some public discussion on the subject of **CROSSROAD**'s tenth anniversary can be a necessary part of the process of periodic review of our experience, from which We can draw lessons that can be applied to current and future tasks. We will, in this volume of CR, reprint articles from the past ten years, and discuss some of the factors relevant to the newsletters survival, and to the development of the Spear & Shield Collective.

The Spear & Shield Collective has been at the center of the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM) for the past twenty years, and some public

(continued, page 2)

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discussion of CR's survival over the past ten years (and of SSC's development over the past twenty years) would help to throw light on the experience of the entire NAIM, as well as upon some elements of the general anti-imperialist movement within U.S. borders.

The "full" story of the SSC's development has not been put to paper, and is unknown even to some of our comrades. Much of what We can say here will add to the knowledge and help broaden the understanding of our own cadres, supporters, and sympathizers.

Again, some of this discussion can take place in public, because this, too, is part of how We avoid telling lies and claiming easy victories. The Collective, through **CROSSROAD**, has helped to shape a community that needs to know more about who We are, what We think, and what We want to do. All this is part of strengthening this community, and helping to expand it and deepen its bases. We're reminded of this need when We get letters with questions on such subjects as: the origin and demise (transformation) of the New Afrikan Prisoner Organization (which We now refer to as "NAPO-#1"); the role played by "NAPO-#1" in the case of the Pontiac Brothers; what is "New Afrikan communism?"; what is the line and program of the SSC?; how does one join the SSC?; why wasn't a follow-up done for the paper on women's oppression which appeared in "Book Nine" of the POW JOURNAL?; why haven't We been more vocal about our position against homophobia?; do We support polygamy?; in view of all the changes in the U.S. over the past twenty years, why does SSC still cling to the "colonial model"?; the Puerto Rican independence movement has one organization serving its political prisoners and prisoners of war — why, after all these years, doesn't the NAIM have a single organization serving the nation's captive citizens, political prisoners, and prisoners of war? Questions like these and others remind us that the SSC should produce more writings that will express more of OUR political vision, and that the SSC should begin to provide substance for that vision through



practical activity.

So, what do We say about the ten year publication of **CROSSROAD** — the one practical activity that the SSC is best known for? What accounts for CR's survival and growth? What, if anything, has it accomplished in ten years?

CROSSROAD has no wide or solid financial base; no well-oiled mechanism for mass distribution; no corps of writers contributing to its pages; no "mass" audience; no significant support from within the NAIM — not even from most of the well-known POWs, even tho CR began with the aim of becoming the non-partisan voice and organizing vehicle for "all" New Afrikan captured combatants. The short answer is: **CROSSROAD** has survived and broadened its base because of the politics and the commitment of those who produce it, and of those who read it and support it with their \$ and their labor.

CR receives some financial support from a number of its readers and several institutions, through subscriptions, sales, and occasional donations and sustainer contributions. However, this support amounts to far less than the newsletter's yearly production and mailing costs — our comrades must dip into their own pockets to make up the difference, from issue to issue.

The largest portion of CR's paying audience is behind the walls, and most of these readers don't seem to know that CR is not a self-sustaining vehicle, and that We can't (yet) send free materials to every prisoner that requests them. Early on, nearly all prisoners writing to us would request free copies of CR and other Spear & Shield materials. (The exception to this has been the prisoners in the New Jersey kamps, who deserve special mention. Over the past twenty years (going back to the POW Journals), prisoners in New Jersey have always sent \$ with their requests for materials — the exceptions have been few and far between.) We know that some prisoners are actually too financially strapped to send even \$10 a year — but not so with EVERY prisoner. Many prisoners spend \$10 weekly on pop & popcorn, pastries and candy — and then ask us (and others) for free political literature.

Over the past two years, the number of requests for free literature has decreased, and the number of prisoners sending \$ or stamps along with their requests has increased. If this trend continues, it won't mean that our comrades won't have to continue to dip into their own pockets — but it will mean that We can then begin to use that \$ to launch other much needed projects, some of which have been on the back burner for years, waiting for the PEOPLE, and the \$, necessary to start them. Or, greater financial support from prisoners can simply mean that We can print more copies

of each issue of CR, and thus have more copies to freely distribute, on both sides of the walls.

The existence of this tendency among prisoners to make sacrifices to obtain CR — to help support CR — tells us that We are reaching more individuals that are serious about their politics, and who have unity with the politics of CR and the SSC. It tells us that the continued publication of CR would mean something to these people — and it indicates to us that there are many more people out there with whom We can share a similar unity, but from whom We've not yet heard. For us, CR is like a life-line tied to the NAIM in general, and to the politics of SSC in particular, and We don't want to cut this line, leaving people to swim in a sea of reaction, opportunism, and fantasy.

Each new prisoner added to CR's mailing list represents substantiation of the line of the SSC, and confirms for us the principles upon which the Collective bases the production of the newsletter, i.e., that CR is an organizer, both a theoretical and a practical instrument of struggle; its publication and distribution is in itself a political process of the NAIM. The responsibility is upon us to further develop the theoretical and practical forms of activity, i.e., to further develop revolutionary-nationalist and class (socialist) consciousness, and to build structures — on both sides of the walls — through which to conduct struggles around the issues of concern to the people.

Among the tasks that We've failed to fulfill, and to which We must make a renewed commitment, is to help



bring more imprisoned New Afrikans into the NAIM — and, particularly, into the ranks of the Spear & Shield Collective.

It's hard to estimate the number of CR readers outside the walls. Several hundred copies of each issue are given away on the streets and at events attended by CR distributors and SSC cadres. A fraction of that number are sold at bookstores, on the streets, and at events. CR sits on the shelves of one mid-western states' Historical Society, and takes up space in the libraries and research centers of several universities. We can only hope that We are being read at these places. It would be safe to say that just as among prisoners, each person in the outside communities that reads CR probably shares their copy with two or more people.

Just as there's been an increase of support for CR among prisoners, there's also been an increase of support among people in the outside communities, measured by increased sales through bookstores, and by increase in the number of subscriptions taken by people outside the walls. This has been especially gratifying, because one of our aims continues to be the expansion of our audience and support base in Afrikan communities.

We believe that an expansion of our support base in outside Afrikan communities must be based on our ability to address a broader range of issues, and thus, a broader audience. Ideally, We should address broader issues and audiences through vehicles other than **CROSSROAD**. That is, generally, our Movement has a shameful lack of newspapers, newsletters, specialized periodicals and audio-visual instruments that address the general New Afrikan audience, and the particular segments of that audience. We're sure that each organization within the Movement recognizes this shortcoming, as We do.

Our Collective has long understood the need for us to have more than one periodical, and to develop what We call an audio-visual capacity. For us, however, We've been hampered more by the lack of personnel than by the lack of \$. (We like to paraphrase Fidel Castro, and say that the \$ We need will come as a result of the further development of national and class (socialist) consciousness and the work done by committed people. There are people out there with more money than We have, but they've been unable to do what We've done with less. It takes more than mere \$ to develop revolutionary consciousness and to build and sustain Movement institutions.)

So, when We look to the problems of a relatively small paying audience, poor distribution, the dearth of written material contributed by sources outside the ranks of the Collective, and the lack of support from within the NAIM, We know that the solutions to these problems center on the further development and articulation of our political vision. On the other hand, our audience/supporters must understand that they too play a role in this development and its expression.

If you read CR, then you should not only support it with your \$, but you should also: 1) discuss its contents with your family, friends, associates, and comrades — with the aim of helping to develop and spread its ideas and to increase its base of political and financial support; 2) you should read CR critically and open a dialogue with us, not only on those things that you agree with, but even more, on those things that you don't agree with; 3) send us your suggestions for subjects that you feel should be addressed in the pages of CR.

For the Collective,
Seldom Seen

U.S. "Racism" Is Not A "Domestic" Issue

(Reprinted from CROSSROAD, Vol. 1, No. 1, May, 1987)

As he addressed the Organization of African Unity on July 17, 1964, El Hajj Malik El Shabazz (Malcolm X) told the world that:

If South Africa is guilty of violating the human rights of Africans here on the Mother Continent, then America is guilty of worse violations [of human rights] of the 22 million Afrikans on the American continent. And if South African racism is not a domestic issue, then American racism also is not a domestic issue.

On March 20, 1987, over 1,000 people marched to the United Nations building in New York City to signal the rising momentum of the efforts of New Afrikans and other oppressed peoples to force recognition of our struggles as "international conflicts" — struggles for human rights, self-determination, and independence from the colonial, racist oppression of the United States.

Only eight days before the march, an unidentified New Afrikan was found hanging from a tree in New York's Central Park — a recent victim of the violence that has long characterized colonialism in the U.S.

Few people doubt that the individual perpetrators of this hanging will not be brought to justice by the New York or the U.S. authorities. The recent acquittal of Stephen Sullivan, the murderer of Sister Eleanor Bumpurs; the cover-up of the murder of Michael Griffith; the exoneration of Claude Ramsey, murderer of Brother Dennis Groce — they all join the long list of frustrating attempts to obtain "justice" in U.S. courtrooms. The masses have more evidence that U.S. "remedies" have, in fact, long been exhausted, and the struggle for human rights must be taken to higher levels.

To begin with, the masses recognize with each such incident that the struggle is not merely one against "racism," but for national self-determination. Secondly, even the United Nations has stated that colonized peoples have only one realistic recourse in their attempt to resolve the problems that accompany colonialism, e.g., poor education and health care, unemployment, inadequate housing, etc. and that recourse is armed struggle.

It is within THIS context that numerous international laws and U.N. resolutions have been issued recognizing that colonized peoples and peoples struggling against colonialist-inspired racist violence have the right to use whatever means necessary — including armed force — to defend themselves and to guarantee the exercise of their right to self-determination.

Furthermore, citizens of colonized nations that are captured in the course of the struggle for self-determination, must be recognized and treated as Prisoners of War.

As We stated in the Spear & Shield February NEWS NOTES, the pages of **CROSSROAD** will not only carry information by and about POWs and Political Prisoners, but also information about colonial violence and repression as it relates to the masses in their daily struggle to survive the ravages of colonial exploitation and domination, and to develop the independence movement.

Our efforts, just as the efforts of those who marched to the U.N. on March 20th, are aimed at RE-DEFINING acts of violence against oppressed peoples inside the political borders of the U.S. empire. We aim to help intensify the numbers of marches, letters, petitions and speeches — actions of ALL forms — many of which will be directed toward the international community, and to secure their all-round support of our struggle for self-determination and independence, through people's war.

(Atiba Shanna)

OURS IS NOT A STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS...
THE BLACK NATION DEMANDS ITS HUMAN RIGHTS
AND SELF-DETERMINATION

Malcolm X

Is the Issue Segregation or Colonization?

Recently the U.S. national news reported that Gary, Indiana ranked number one in the U.S. as the most segregated city in the country. Now the corporate controlled/bourgeois national media will try and make this out to be something bad, and the primary issue. In fact, it is not the real issue at all. This is an attempt to mis-direct Our focus.

For New Afrikan people, amerika has always meant/represented for the vast majority of Our people segregation, subjugation and any other kind of "ation" that prevented Us as a people from attaining Our self-determination where We could control the destiny of Our lives and determine the quality of Our lives.

From the time when Our ancestors were first brought to these shores in chains and their labor exploited in the interest of white amerika/kapitalism - We have been segregated.

From the times of the Black Codes during reconstruction to the Jim Crow laws to the great migrations from the south to the northern so called promised lands - We have been segregated.

From the times of strange fruit and the terror campaigns of the klan and white city councils that terrorized Our great grandmothers and grandfathers from the south into these northern ghettos & factories - We have been segregated.

And even now when you can eat with white folk, sleep with white folk and work with white folk, We still segregated! While everybody wants you to believe that you're integrated. The issue is not segregation, but colonization.

You see the media wants Us to focus on "race" alone, but the fact of the matter is that We as a people are segregated from, denied access to and locked out of a segregated economy. A system that was created for the benefit of white people on the backs of Our ancestors. A parasitic kapitalist system that exploits and destroys human beings for the accumulation of material wealth.

We are denied access to the resources that will help Us determine the quality of Our own life. That is where the segregation/colonization come in at. Not that it ain't enough white folks staying in Gary! Why isn't it an issue for white folks that it is not enough Black folks staying in Portage, Hobart, Scherville, etc.? Because white folks ain't denied access to the resources to determine the quality of their lives! Because they are not segregated from, locked out of, the economy!

A basic definition of colonialism is "the domination/enslavement of one people, nation by another people or nation for the sole benefit of the oppressor nation/state." In this case the european enslaved Our ancestors and Us for the sole purpose of exploiting Our labor, forcing Us to build this country in which they now benefit from.

Under colonialism the dominated/subjugated people are either prevented from developing their own or controlling their own economic, political and military structure, such is usually controlled and run by the occupying forces.

Colonial domination seizes control of the dominated people's means of production for the purpose of exploiting the raw resources and labor of the dominated people. In Our case We represent a captured market where We contribute an estimated 300 billion annually to the u.s. economy. Three hundred billion that goes to strengthen the u.s. and not Our communities.

We are a domestically colonized people. The fact that We have Black faces in high places merely represents neo-colonialism (a new and higher stage of colonialism) where a privileged class/elite of the oppressed has been created and used as a buffer to maintain your oppression. Can you scream white supremacy if the person that got his/her foot on your neck looks just like you? Sure you can! Because that person is just an agent of a white supremacist/colonial system carrying out its genocidal policies and directives.

The city of Gary is a colony where the local power structure is primarily controlled by white folks who control the purse strings or by people who opportunistically serve the interest of a colonial system of government. These servants are called neo-colonials, where they lack the power or the will to serve their own

peoples interest, but instead work to strengthen and legitimize the system of domination and exploitation. Those who are good intentioned will either be squeezed out or made ineffectual by the dominant bureaucracy.

As a subjugated people in Gary you do not have the resources or control over the structure in place to govern your own lives or determine its quality.

For one there are hardly any jobs and when you do work, who do you work for? And when you get your paycheck where do you go to spend it? And what percentage of those dollars do you think goes back into your community? Who owns all the grocery stores, clothing stores, shoe stores, drug stores? So in essence you're giving your hard earned money right back to the same people & system that just worked the hell out of you. So in essence what are you really working for? Is it any different from the plantation system days of old when Our ancestors were provided with rags, salt pork and pig guts and a shack to keep them alive just so they could continue to be worked/exploited? Oh because We can buy "nice" things, its a difference? I think not. Ain't no Black folks making that designer sh—, not even Jordan!

Yet where are Our clothing and shoe factories that We own? Where are Our farms that stock Our grocery stores? Where are Our cultural and youth centers, Our institutions that We control that positively impact upon and determine the quality of Our lives or Our children lives, in Gary or any other predominantly city of color?

Who control the funding for Our schools? Who determine what Our children should learn or the quality of their text books? Do you?

Is the issue segregation or the fact We've been prevented from not only seizing control over a system that you can make work in the best interest of the residents of Gary? We have been prevented from organizing and building a more humane and an alternative system. Nevertheless that is what We must do.

We must critique, expose and challenge the local system and its puppets. We have to challenge the laws and policies of city hall that don't address Our collective needs. We have to stop sitting on Our butts crying and complaining and instead begin to mobilize and organize in Our communities to demand that people not only be more accountable to Our communities, but that Our communities be given greater control over how funds are spent, guidelines & policies are developed. And We Ourselves must be more accountable to Our communities and Our children. Especially you so called men that are beating your chest, but won't take any responsibility. What kind of men are We when We are raping, molesting and beating Our sisters? When We are terrorizing Our own communities and allowing these kids to terrorize Our people, Our elders and We won't lift a finger?

We have to demand that the issues of housing, health care, child care, jobs and the lack thereof be addressed. How many of you know who "your" alderman or womyn is? People you got to get involved! Don't come talking to Us about no segregation when Our children are dying and killing each other like flies, when Our communities look like warzones and yet the city can make it safe for Donald Trump casinos. My mother can't walk to the drug store at night for fear of being raped or robbed, but kapitalist parasites like Trump can invade the ghettos with casinos and make millions while throwing crumbs back into Our faces. We need skilled jobs!

Brothers & Sisters We have to fight for what We want. Scott King (mayor of Gary) ain't no great white hope. We have to learn to depend on Ourselves and We have to learn to start holding people accountable that proclaim to represent Our interest, especially Our own traitors who get into these positions of false power and get so caught up in these lavish lifestyles and material possession, they can't see Our babies dying & starving on the evening news or being sent into these maximum security prisons by the thousands. We are not trying to hear nothing about no integration being the solution to Our problems in Gary. We want some reparations, some allocation of the money that have been stolen from Us for centuries. This is where the real segregation is at! Let's talk about that!!

Until We begin to Ourselves, raise Our consciousness as to how and what is controlling Our lives and surroundings; Until We begin to put Our petty differences and jealousies to the side and begin to organize amongst Ourselves, in Our communities, in Our schools and churches, to take some control over Our lives

and communities; Until we stop depending on other people other than Ourselves or looking for some great white hope to save us from all Our problems - Our communities shall remain subjugated war torn impoverished disaster areas. Drugs, krime and reactionary violence shall continue to plague Our communities.

Nobody can give you your freedom, your dignity, your self-respect. Those things must be fought for and taken. The mere striving for college degrees in hopes of working for some U.S. company is not enough. What is IBM, GE and the like doing for Our communities? Not a damn thing!

The system intentionally locks the majority of us out because it furthers the govt. genocidal program of systematically destroying Us or manipulating Us into destroying Ourselves out of ignorance/mentacide.

Its no coincidence that We represent the highest of everything that can be detrimental to a people. That we have the highest HIV/AIDS infection rate, that so many of Our sistas die from breast cancer or that We have some infant mortality rates higher than 3rd world countries like Haiti. That more New Afrikan men & women are going to prison than anyone else and are staying the longest.

We don't own any gun factories. We ain't manufacturing no AK-47s, TEC-9s, or M-16s but yet they flood out communities. You don't see heads rolling at the CIA do you for pushing cocaine, but let you get caught with a \$10 rock and you got a mandatory 5 years coming! Where is the red cross for Gary? Where is the humanitarian aid relief, U.N. peacekeepers for Gary? Talking bout what the hell going on in Bosnia — We got a Bosnia right here!

Brothers & Sisters if We don't wake up and take actions it's going to be too late. Think about Our children. Your nieces & nephews. If We don't put a stop to this sh— what is it going to be like for them in another 10 or 20 years? What is going to be left?

Are We so deep in denial that We think all of these white militias and white right wing paramilitary groups are organizing for nothing? If they were to attack Us, who are you gonna call? The govt., the police? Ha - that's a joke - calling upon the same system that allows 'em to exist in the first place and whom many of them belong to anyway.

Gary is just a reflection of a larger problem. What is happening in Gary is playing out in cities and communities of color/oppressed nationals, all across this country and it is neither an accident or a coincidence.

Whatever you believe, become a part of the solution instead of remaining a part of the problem.

Free All Political Prisoners!
Re-Build!
Shaka Shakur

“We have before Us not only an opportunity, but a historic duty. It is in Our hands to join Our strength taking substance from Our diversity, honoring Our rich and varied traditions and culture, but acting together for the protection and benefit of us all.” - Kwame Nkrumah

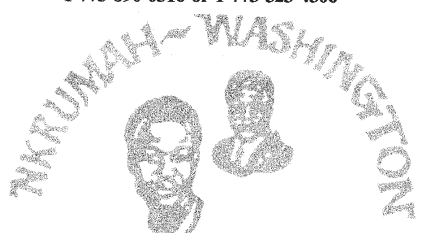
“Whether in industry, society, politics or war, it is the force of organization that tells, Hence, I can advise no better step toward racial salvation than organization among Us. We have been harassed, trampled upon, and made little of, because of Our unfortunate condition of disorganization.” - Marcus Garvey (reprinted from *The Blast!*)

**CONTINUE ON WITH THE
LANDLORD'S SCHEMING OR
DEAL WITH UJAAMA-UJIMA**

THE BEST KEPT SECRET IS . . .

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**WITHOUT ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE
POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE IS BUT AN
ILLUSION**

--KWAME NKRUMAH

The Connecting Factors Of Oppression

“The colonial subject sees koncentration kamps as instruments of repression against the colony. The kamps are used to commit Genocide, just as the conditions in the plants, the conditions in the Enemy-controlled schools, are used to commit genocide. The Colonial subject does not see and respond to the kamps in the same way as the citizens of the mother/colonial country who may find themselves imprisoned.” (1)

Pelican Bay State Prison sits on the edge of the Malarky Forest in the northernmost region of California. At first glance it is all gun towers, searchlights, and featureless gray concrete structures that resemble nuclear fallout bunkers. A koncentration kamp for america’s colonial subjects*, Pelican Bay looms large, infamous; a statement on the successful hysteria whipped up by the lock-em-up-and-throw-away-the-key rhetoric of the american political machine.

While the prison has four facilities, each labeled alphabetically (A,B,C,D), as well as a low level institution outside the main walls, it is most noted for its abominable SHU (Security Housing Unit). These units, facilities C and D, are capable of housing two thousand, two hundred and twelve captives. Labeled ‘the worst of the worst’ by the administration, the men held here are kept under what is known in California Department of Corrections lexicon as the Indeterminate SHU Program, a loosely interpreted departmental law that, once slapped on a captive, places him inside the SHU indefinitely. The administration uses this indeterminate SHU status as a dragnet, broadening its already ambivalent terminology in order to ensnare all those they have deemed agitators (another C.D.C. euphemism for political educators). Originally designed to clear the prison general populations of criminal groupings (“prison gangs”), the indeterminate SHU has been used to quiet Political Prisoners, P.O.W.’s and prisoners who litigate abuses.

Deep within the bowels of the SHU is where the maniacal scheme of its architects are witnessing their dream of quintessential stalag unfolding in a day to day routine of psychological torture, mass hysteria, and sensory deprivation. To call the conditions in this hole deplorable would be a gross understatement. With its windowless, antiseptic cells the SHU is an Orwellian Big Brother theme come to life: complete with speakers to monitor every word spoken as well as closed circuit cameras that stare stoically from every corridor. Locked in the cell for twenty three hours daily, a captive is kept in a state of constant denial of human rights:

After being placed in the SHU a New Afrikan who was diagnosed as manic depressant goes through periods of emotional mood swings, from extremely high to dangerously low, culminating in a nervous breakdown. For treatment of this control unit induced mental breakdown, the Brother is first pepper sprayed then assaulted and beaten by fire club wielding, Heavily armored guards before being dragged off to V.C.U. (Violence Country Unit).

* * * * *

A Mexican captive who speaks little english is told by the guards to cuff up and submit to a cell search. After repeatedly stating, ‘no comprende ingles’ he is shot at point blank range with a thirty seven millimeter gas gun (a device that propels hard rubber projectiles), beaten and cell extracted. His cell is searched and nothing illegal is found.

* * * * *

A New Afrikan captive who writes constant legal writs regarding the abuse of prisoners by the guards is harassed by those same guards and then purposely isolated from other New Afrikan Captives.

Oppression is as oppression does. Heavy handed though unevenly distributed, it is a blanket that smothers Us, keeping Us in a constant state of subjugation, poverty, and depression. The violent vertical pressures from this blanket originates from capitalism-imperialism which is manifested through neo-colonialism. "For instance, chronic unemployment is violence to the lives of people. Excessive mortality is violence; so is massive homelessness. In short, all these are forms of structural violence; but because they aren't visibly bloody it's generally perceived as not violent.... Both structural and institutional violence flows from top to bottom (vertical), is sanctioned by law and considered legitimate." (2)

"We don't have to look across the world to confront neo-colonialism, since some of the most sophisticated examples are right here." (3) Pelican Bay is but only one of the many manifestations of neo-colonialism, as are all the koncentration kamps spread throughout the empire. And it is very important for Us to overstand that all the ills that plague Our communities have their origins in neo-colonialism as well. Saturating the New Afrikan nation with a colonial mentality (often called a "slave mentality"), a state of mind that has New Afrikans believing in america's claim as governors of Our lives, neo-colonialism then adds joblessness which leads to economic despair which, in some cases, leads to the criminal/colonial mentality which leads to extra legal ways of obtaining food, shelter, and clothing which leads to koncentration kamps which leads to breaking up of the Family (in any form).

The mechanical rhetoric that spills each day from the newspapers as well as the mouths of anchormen on the evening news is designed to keep the existence of neo-colonialism and its effects hidden. Force fed a discombobulated view of the issues affecting Our lives, New Afrikans' vision is constantly clouded, clouded intentionally to keep Us from making connections. Contrary to that disconnected story america pushes however, there is a firm, long, and intentional connection between that high rate of AIDS in the New Afrikan communities; that high rate of infant mortality in the New Afrikan communities; that high rate of New Afrikans held captive in the empire's koncentration kamps. That connection lies in oppression, oppression spread throughout and with deadly accuracy, set forth by monopoly capitalism. No matter what the compartmentalized statistics scream, the New Afrikan nation (as well as other neo-colonized nations in america) suffers from neo-colonialism; and this neo-colonialism produces forms of intentional destruction on all nations under america's boot. "Imperialist/[neo] colonialist oppression and exploitation are initiated and maintained through violence; the violence used to capture our people, and to consequently prevent the independent self determined development of our people. . ." And where there was once the more direct forms of colonial violence such as lynching, raping, bondage, with the neo- colonial (post 1865) We now suffer under the tide of . . ."the criminal justice system", "reverse discrimination," "urban renewal," closing of hospitals, closing of schools, etc. These modem manifestations of [neo] colonial, genocidal violence are again committed for the economic oppression and exploitation, i.e. [neo] colonial domination, imperialist/capitalist exploitation. . . ' This violence perpetrated upon the New Afrikan nation is. . ."embedded in law, explained away by specious rationale, hidden by talk of "democracy", "freedom", and "opportunity" and its very familiarity disguises its horrors!" (4)

Imperialism holds Us all captive, makes Us all prisoners to a system of monopoly capitalism. Whether in maximum security (prison) or general population (the 'hood) the inhumane treatment is the same, with the same intention, and arriving from the same source. So, just as New Afrikan women, after witnessing a Sister being beaten by an american guard, rebelled and were placed in the hole inside the Federal Medical Center Prison in Lexington, Kentucky (5), New Afrikan mothers, after witnessing their sons being arrested in a Los Angeles police pre dawn "gang" raid, are organizing other New Afrikan mothers to protest this "Sunrise Raid" that snatched up sixty New Afrikan youth (6); just as two thirds of the captives on the newly implemented chain gangs of the Alabama Department of Rehabilitation are New Afrikan, sixty percent of

the victims of police shootings in New York city are New Afrikan (New York's population is sixty-four percent american (white)) (7); just as the captives in Pelican bay's SHU, the majority of them New Afrikan and Mexican, are locked up and treated harshly by club wielding, gun toting guards, the ' residents' of the Cabrini Green Housing Projects in Chicago, the majority of them New Afrikan, Mexican, and Puerto Rican, are locked in, not allowed to exit or enter freely without special Housing Project issued identification, and kept under constant guard by soldier cops. Though the media reports these issues as separate, non connecting entities, the fact is they are not; they are all connected manifestations of neo-colonial violence. "We have to know all this so that We can correctly interpret and understand local struggles, and issues, and so We can make the proper connections between all struggles and issues in our thinking and practice." (8)

The struggle is for Land, Independence, and Socialism; this is the only goal. We must make a clear point of ridding Ourselves of the colonial mentality and replacing it with the New Afrikan revolutionary mentality. This ain't about reforming the system, it's about raising consciousness so that the steps taken toward Our liberation are firm strides toward the erection and continuation of a revolutionary culture.

Re-Build!

gaidi olugbala

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Toward Clarity on C.C.s P.P.s and P.O.W.'s; Notes from a New Afrikan P.O. W Journal Book Two (1977) Y.Y. Shanna
- (2) Fall '92 **CROSSROAD: A New Afrikan Captured Combatant Newsletter**. Tchaka Olugbala Shabazz
- (3) Settlers: The Mvthology Of the White Proletariat. J. Sakai
- (4) We Still charge Genocide; Notes from a New Afrikan P.O.W. Journal Book Five (1980)
- (5) Women in Prison Does Anybody See?; **CROSSROAD: A New Afrikan Captured Combatant Newsletter** (Jan - Mar 95)
- (6) The ROC: Mothers Reclaiming Our Children (April 95)
- (7) Black Youth in Police Crosshairs, Covert Action Information Bulletin (winter 94-95)
- (8) Reflections on the Resurgence of Student Activism. Vita Wa Watu Book Ten (April 1987)

*Colonial subjects refers to members of those nations suffering under american imperialism, i.e. New Afrikan, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Native Nations, Hawaiian, etc.

Answers to quiz in last issue

1. Provisional Government - Republic of New Afrika Cabinet (1968)

1st President - Robert Williams, 1st V. P. - Gaidi Obadele (Milton Henry), 2nd Vice President - Betty Shabazz, Minister of Information - Imari Obadele, Minister of Health & Welfare - Queen Mother Moore Minister of Education - Herman Ferguson; Minister of State & Foreign Affairs - William Grant Minister of Defense - H. Rap Brown; Minister of Culture (3) - Imamu Amiri Baraka, Maulana Karenga, & Baba Adefunmi; Minister of Justice - Joan Franklin; Minister of Finance - Raymond Willis; Special Ambassador - Muhammad Ahmed

2. Denmark Vesey's road dogs: Rolla, Batteau, Ned Bennett, Gullah Jack, Peter Poyas...

"Altogether seventy-one men, sixty-seven of them Negroes, had been convicted. Thirty-five men, all Negroes had paid with their lives for the offense of instigating revolt or adhering to the plan for it..." (source: Denmark Vesey's Revolt , John Lofton. Kent State, 1983)

3. The 'New Bethel Incident' took place in Detroit in 1969 during the 1st New Afrikan

Nation Day Celebration. (Source: A Short History of the Republic of New Afrika , 1970)

**The Target Is Always Black:
Heightened Counterinsurgency Behind the Walls of Indiana Prisons**

As We witnessed the recent arrest of over 10 New Afrikan prisoners at the Indiana State Prison, the rounding up of over 30 others and placing them in the infamous D-cellhouse (D-CH) Predator Unit, all as a prelude to the state carrying out the murder (execution) of Ziyon Yisrayah, We see the state's counterinsurgency in action.

The Target is Always Black

Historically in the state of Indiana's prison system, New Afrikan prisoners have always been the primary target for repression and brutality. If you were young and rebellious you were a prime target for isolation. If you were political and able to lead others, you were a prime target for justifiable homicide.

Prisons such as the Indiana Reformatory and Indiana State Farm, both located in the southern part of the state, have a long and rich history of viciously attacking New Afrikan prisoners and of murdering brothers and claiming they committed suicide. To read the official reports of these camps you will see that brothers have been using their heads to attack billy clubs and combat boots, have been jumping in front of bullets just for sport and sticking their legs, arms, and faces in the mouths of K-9's for fun for decades. But We know different.

All across this state We, as New Afrikan men, especially young New Afrikan men are being slammed into these control units and SHU units where mostly white rural, racist guards carry out every act of depravity that they can get away with under the cover of DOC immunity. We represent the majority being housed in these behavior modification units euphemistically called lock-up units, A/S units, predator units, etc. We represent the majority and We are staying the longest. Despite the fact that many of these brothers do not meet the criteria of these units, do not have a violent institutional history, etc., they are being subjected to intense repression and social control out of fear and an attempt to break and condition Us/them before one can even develop the desire to resist, to struggle. It's sort of like killing you in the womb.

Historically the IDOC has always been out and out brutal with varying degrees of sophistication depending on the location of the kamp (i.e. North/South).

The northern prisoncrats have always been a little more professional and clandestine in their targeting of New Afrikan prisoners and use of brutal repression, whereas the south has always been openly brutal. Hence, We see the vicious repression by gunfire of the 1969 sit-down strike at the Reformatory and the vicious beatings of New Afrikan prisoners on its Maximum Restraint Unit (which triggered an all out retaliatory strike/rebellion led by John "Balagoon" Cole and Naeem Trotter in 1985).

The DOC has always moved to undermine and prevent the developing of any kind of cultural or political base amongst New Afrikan prisoners. Political Prisoners (PP's), organizers, and New Afrikan militants have always been kept in transit from one kamp to another or buried on some isolation unit, kept out of contact with younger prisoners who might be receptive to a radical politic. Mail is subjected to censorship and the targeted prisoners basically kept under the pressure/boot of the state until he either surrenders or goes insane or gets maneuvered into a situation where they can kill him.

In contrast, white right-wing prisoners have repeatedly been allowed to organize and build, often with the assistance of the state. Many of these elements have been allowed to concentrate and develop a powerbase, often with the assistance of the state. They do not receive the same amount of repression or attention that We do. Why? Because in Indiana, the target is always Black!

A New Era

With the closing of the 80's and the opening of the 90's, We witnessed the entering of a new era within the IDOC.

A new, more youthful generation began to enter the camps, many with a NWA "Fuck the Police"

attitude and not too tolerant of overt racist attitudes by rural europeans, many having come from a hip hop culture of cultural/oppositional resistance with their own styles and customs.

With this sudden infusion, in conjunction with the ground work that the militants had been laying for years, it was easy to absorb some of these new elements. We saw a type of cultural nationalism explode onto the scene throughout the prison system. This was also a product of what was going on on the streets with a reemerging type of bourgeois narrow nationalism, with the revisionist and petty bourgeois commodification of different cultural and historic icons such as Malcolm X, etc. A type of 1990's version of the "I am Black and proud" politic that manifested inside the kamps with New Afrikan prisoners developing a new and greater appreciation for "Blackness" that was celebrated in the form of choosing to wear dreadlocks, Afrikan medallions, adopting liberated names and generally rejecting the more vulgar aspects of eurocentricity. Revolutionaries began to harness and build off some of this energy and potential, attempting to give it a harder political edge and focus. Needless to say, the state became alarmed and was able to foresee the developing potential of this new current and moved to repress it.

A new classification system came into play that reclassified a lot of the old timers that had been in over 10 or 15 years, moved them out from behind the walls into medium security kamps or kiddie kamps, while a lot of the youth were now being brought straight behind the walls. As this shift continued to play out, the state began to implement a lot of new repressive rules and countermeasures to restrict and control prisoner movement, limit out-of-cell time, and roll back some of the gains and privileges that prisoners had historically enjoyed. The state was met with hardly any form or organized resistance or struggle. The newer prisoners were unfamiliar with the history of the kamp and therefore had no inkling of what was at stake, while the veterans had been placed in motion across the state.

So while the state quietly lay the groundwork for the pillars of the intense repression it carries out today, they rushed to prematurely open their first supermax-control unit. Even before it was completely finished and the rolls of razor wire were put into place, political prisoners and politically active prisoners from all over the state were being kidnapped and placed inside this new state-of-the-art torture chamber.

MCC Backlash: A Leap in the Movement

As prisoners were kidnapped from all over the state and placed inside this new high-tech dungeon and subjected to some of the most vicious and brutal physical and psychological torture i had heretofore witnessed, brothers prepared for a protracted battle with the state.

The state of Indiana intended to use MCC like a way-station to break uppity slaves. We were to be used as the first wave of laboratory rats to see how We responded to the refrigerated cells, sensory deprivation and social isolation, how We would respond to being fire-hosed and chained naked to steel beds while almost being completely cut off from society. Most of the prisoners initially subjected to this program were deemed as the leadership or influential within the larger prison system and it was felt that if these PP's or rebels could be made an example out of or be delegitimized in the eyes of younger or less hardened prisoners, it would serve to undermine these PP's power and influence. So everything possible was thrown at these brothers with the intent of breaking their spirits. Once again, New Afrikans represented the majority and the youth represented a huge percentage of this majority.

This attempt by the state backfired and instead actually served to strengthen and consolidate some aspects of the prison movement behind the walls.

With the initial organizing of the hunger strikes by Shaka Shakur in September, 1991 that were set to coincide with the commemoration of the Attica rebellion, it set the stage and tone for the resistance at MCC. This hunger strike caught the prisoncrats completely off guard and was the longest collective strike by prisoners in US history (37 days) and was ended by force feeding per court order. The strike was carried over into that phase by New Afrikans Hannibal Kenyatta, Aaron "Cab" Isby, Kataza Taifa and two north amerikans, Bill Sampley and Paul Komyatti.

These strikes and the propaganda around them not only served to place Indiana prison resistance on

the political map and mobilize outside political activists and human rights activists, it also helped to inspire and mobilize politically active prisoners throughout the state.

As the state, through its media, tried to use the horror stories coming out of MCC to intimidate and terrorize other prisoners in other kamps, it backfired in part.

During the first hunger strike over 500 prisoners in the Indiana Reformatory of all nationalities staged a solidarity march out on the yard in support of MCC hunger strikers. This was unprecedented and so frightened the DOC that the kamp was immediately placed on lockdown for a year while suspected leaders and PP's were shipped all over the gate.

During this same period the Indiana State Prison experienced an organized protest and fast by New Afrikan prisoners in support of the hunger strikers. Many brothers wrote articles, contacted media, etc. on Our behalf. ISP eventually would be locked down under the guise of stopping the increasing rise of prisoner on prisoner violence.

The hunger strikes represented a turning point as it allowed inside activists to make contact with outside movements and cultivate principled working relationships. The strikes also had a ripple effect upon the entire DOC system.

MCC's response to such resistance was to become even more brutal and reactionary, such being spearheaded by ultra-reactionary former warden Charles Wright. His confrontational style with both prisoners and civilians only helped to fan the flames of struggle and resistance to MCC torture. The more We were frozen, fire-hosed and beaten, the harder We struggled. Such struggle led to the protest at the MCC gates by outside activists led by "The Committee to End the Marion Lockdown." It led to Kataza Taifa cutting off the tip of his finger and trying to mail it to the ACLU in protest of conditions at MCC. It led to MCC being condemned by Amnesty International for the torture of its prisoners, the first state prison in the history of the US to be condemned by an international human rights organization. This all led to the filing of a class action lawsuit by the Indiana Civil Liberties Union (ICLU) against IDOC for conditions at MCC which led to a b.s. settlement which brought about mostly cosmetic changes.

During the struggles i helped to organize (with outside activists) the newsletter "Human Rights Held Hostage" (HRHH). This newsletter would become the voice of oppressed prisoners principally in Indiana. HRHH became the CNN of the Indiana DOC and a peaceful organizing tool for political activists to work with. HRHH helped to raise the consciousnesses of hundreds of other prisoners, helped to inspire the new generation of revolutionary theoreticians on this front, and served as an inside and outside tool for networking. HRHH helped to blaze a trail that heretofore had yet to be blazed on such a wide scale in Indiana. The state eventually moved to ban it, but was forced to retreat from its initial position.

So while on one hand MCC served to damage many prisoners mentally and physically, it did not serve the purpose for which it was intended and instead of controlling and crushing revolutionary ideals and attitudes, it only served to help produce them.

Instead of a breaking station, for many it became a boot kamp training where revolutionary skills and theory were sharpened. Such skills ultimately being taken back to the masses of other prisoners throughout the system.

The ultimate slap in the face came with the settlement of the class action suit and the DOC being forced to change its entry criteria and transfer many of its prisoners back to general population throughout the system.

Within two days of the first batch of prisoners being released from MCC, a Latino brother in this batch stabbed a neo-kolonial (uncle tom / traitor) kop that had a history of jumping on prisoners and had in fact jumped this Latino brother several years earlier. This kop was stabbed 13 times and it sent shockwaves throughout the entire system. The DOC immediately rounded up all newly released MCC prisoners and placed them on administrative segregation units out of fear. The DOC now reaped what it had sowed with the brutalization of its prisoners.

The DOC had to regroup and moved to develop a kinder gentler genocidal program at MCC, ultimately demoting and removing its reactionary warden, C. Wright, while simultaneously completing the

construction of the SHU (Security Housing Unit) in the southern part of the state at Wabash valley. This second control unit would be even more vicious and brutal than MCC initially was.

Counterinsurgency Behind the Walls

Indiana has never been very tolerant of any kind of organized cultural or political expression in its prisons unless they had co-opted the structure, knew that the structure were paper tigers or incapable of becoming a threat. So when more politically mature organized resistance and political expression began to manifest the state immediately moved to try and isolate and crush it.

After the initial spurts of solidarity shown towards MCC prisoners, a multitude of prisoners from all over the state and entire disciplinary seg. units were swept up and sent to MCC on “temporary status” under the guise of the units they left being renovated. Often this temporary status would mean being housed at MCC for a minimum of 2 years. This was a way for the DOC to subject hundreds of prisoners to the MCC program who did not meet the entry criteria for MCC by classifying them as “temporary.”

During the lock-downs that followed the show of solidarity the DOC moved to turn G-CH at the reformatory and D-CH at the State Prison (ISP) into “predator units,” i.e. mind control units, where a slew of behavioral modification experiments would be thrown at the prisoners housed in these units. Supposedly the only prisoners that would be housed in these units would be those with violent histories, that preyed on other prisoners, etc. But, as always, the most politically developed and active or leadership were sent to the predator unit regardless of how clean their record was. All potential threats were sent to the predator unit (except those who either willingly worked with the state or the state could use for its own purpose).

These units were/are in essence mini-control units minus one or two features and usually hold over 300 prisoners. However, these 300 prisoners are divided into several groups. The small group isolation approach is used, but when one group creates a problem or whatever, the entire 300 are punished. This is designed to try to manipulate prisoners into policing one another.

Within these units you are under intensive management of movement/control. Kept mainly on total lock-down status for the slightest incident and denied access to any and all educational/vocational programs. You are kept on idle status and the only way you can get a job, etc. is if you are reclassified out of that cell house.

With the opening of these units the DOC organized a “Gang Task Force” at the central office with a special section for “Black Militant and Revolutionary Groups.” With this came the appointing of a “gang” coordinator at every institution who was/is responsible for gathering intelligence on these so-called groups and profiling these individuals with the data/info being sent to the central office task force. Most, if not all, of these “gang” coordinators are white males who ain’t got a clue as to what’s happening in the ghetto or Our culture. It appears that the primary focus of this task force is on left-wing and New Afrikan elements. As always the target is always Black!

Across the state, New Afrikan cultural expression is being criminalized just as it is in the larger society. If it does not conform to eurocentric christian models it is deemed illegal and to be attacked.

These so-called gang coordinators, who zero-in primarily on the youth, are snatching photographs, secretly making copies of photos, seizing entire photo albums, etc. and confiscating such under the guise of being “gang” related. The phrase “gang related” has come to be a catch all. These photos are being used to substantiate gang ties, expose networks, affiliations, etc. Several PP’s and POW’s who have photos of cultural events, demos, etc., have had photos snatched [for being] gang related. How can a rural settler distinguish between hip hop and a hard-core banger?

Various prisoners are being tagged for monitoring where incoming materials are documented. The type of reading material a prisoner receives, his correspondence with outside groups, etc. All of this intelligence goes into a central file. And a psychological profile is developed based on such. This information is then used against various PP’s and others when they go in front of parole boards, petition for clemency, etc.

There have been instances where comrades, e.g. Talib Becktemba, have had entire political libraries confiscated (over 50 books) and sent to the central office for being gang related! Where a book such as Black

Panthers Speak was seized for being gang related!

We see the state now moving to restrict the reading material We can receive. Coming out with tighter restrictions on the size of books We can receive, how many books we can now have at a time, etc., while simultaneously allowing white supremacists a free reign on incoming materials. The focus on the left, on the political is an attempt to dry up the source of the consciousness and political expression manifesting behind the walls.

At ISP the administration has even issued “non-official” orders to not-send political, religious or history books to prisoners on lock-up. Ofc. Gast, who is in the property room has refused to send prisoners housed on lock-up any books out of their property, other than a bible. And if you have both a Holy Bible and a Quran, she will send the bible.

Counterinsurgency has gone high-tech at ISP. Inside amerika’s prison colonies the information highway and new technology have led to greater and more concentrated forms of repression and counter-surveillance.

After a kop was stabbed to death in D-CH in December, 1994, the state decided to use D -CH as a case study for the rest of the state. D-CH was already listed as a so-called predator unit, but after the kop’s correction, they took it to a higher level.

Prisoners housed in D-CH are the only prisoners in the entire state in non-lock down status, who are not allowed 3 hot meals a day; prisoners in general and PP’s in particular at ISP are under a heightened form of surveillance, but this surveillance becomes more intense and concentrated if you live in D-CH.

Snitches are frequently sent into D-CH who have been active in other parts of the kamp to gather intelligence on various prisoners. Prisoners at ISP are now wearing wires, secretly taking pictures for the administration, hiding small cameras inside “their” cells, passing out marked money while setting up drug buys, setting up dirty kops with marked money, wires, etc.

Some of these same agents are being used to follow PP’s and record who they associate with and their daily activities or discourse over the tiers. Video cameras are now openly displayed in the towers out at recreation.

ISP now has a new kitchen equipped with speakers (reversible), hidden directional microphones and cameras. Being in this kitchen is like being in a fish bowl. As veteran kops stand around the kitchen, keen attention is paid to who you sit with, eat with, etc. Your movement is intensely monitored and documented. And if you are a known politically active prisoner you are given even more scrutiny.

Any attempt by New Afrikan prisoners to engage in collective activity is monitored by the administration. While New Afrikans would routinely hold cultural, political or religious classes out at the gym those in attendance would be immediately recorded and sent to the warden and investigator. Such was the only evidence to support the charges against many of the 10 brothers that were arrested and charged with conspiracy; they were told that they were observed meeting out at recreation! White prisoners can group up, meet, etc. without fear of monitoring or attack.

Such surveillance has made it difficult for revolutionaries to go undetected when organizing and have forced many to retreat altogether. The DOC has made the conditions in D CH in particular so brutal and repressive that it has become a common practice to send young newly arriving prisoners to D-CH in an attempt to condition them and force them to seek relief from such a brutal reality by trying to endear themselves to the state.

The Murder of Ziyon Yisrayah

With the 1996 Memorial Day protest of approximately 150 prisoners in the kitchen by eating in silence, the state went on a witch hunt and moved to implement its hidden agenda by using this incident.

The new warden Al Parke, a southern cracker from Kentucky, made it known upon his arrival to ISP that he planned to tighten up what he called “security” and create a safer environment. Safer for whom?

After this initial protest that caught the prisoncrats off-guard, and the intercepting of a note by a comrade that showed connected activity going on around the state’s planned murder of Ziyon, the state

arrested 10 New Afrikans and shipped them to the infamous MCC, charging them with “conspiracy to riot,” locked down the entire kamp and began to arrest New Afrikans all over the kamp placing many under investigations while kidnapping many, many more and placing them into D-CH while releasing right-wing prisoners and known Aryan Brotherhoods. Over 30 New Afrikans were slammed into D-CH and told they were “gang affiliated,” the same catch-all label used to criminalize New Afrikan youth in society.

A new classification system was implemented that created “honor housing.” The administration has moved to implement a class system amongst Us that will have prisoners scrambling to fight for its class “privilege” interest. In this context, class is not predicated on economics or relationship to the means of production, but based on privilege and collaboration with the state for those privileges.

While these “honor zones” were created, strategic hamlets of repression were also created with part of C-CH being turned into complete idle and restrictive movement, and D-CH being repressed even further.

The warden moved to ban all personal typewriters and word processors. A new state law went into effect making it a felony to be caught with a homemade weapon or using a knife against another person. Included in this law were chemicals that “can be” used as a weapon. The law is so vague that it allows the state to set up PP’s and POWs who are getting ready to be released by planting a knife. If found guilty you can be sentenced to another 20 years.

The warden moved to implement new rules for those who test positive for drug use mandating that one cannot have contact visits for 5 years if their urine is dirty or they get caught with drugs. Despite the fact that a vast majority of guards are known to bring in drugs, if you get caught with a joint, your family is punished even though there is no evidence proving that you trafficked through the visiting room. This is really a move to implement non-contact visits for the entire population.

The warden has moved to milk this “conspiracy” for it’s worth. Given the fact that the administration intercepted an un-solicited, reactionary, and inflammatory letter from former Black Panther Militia Commander Mmoja Ajabu that was sent to Shaka Shakur, the state was able to push its response and repression to higher levels. The state had three basic objectives:

1) Mmoja Ajabu is a highly controversial figure having been involved in several high profile confrontations/struggles with the state forces. Having several trials pending this was an opportunity to neutralize him by possibly getting him off the streets (which they succeeded in doing less than 90 days later) and criminalizing revolutionary prisoners behind the walls.

Earlier this year his son Kofi Ajabu had just been convicted in a very public and high profile trial where three white teenagers were executed in an alleged drug deal gone wrong. This case was made even more infamous when Mmoja was charged with threatening armed retaliation against the judge, prosecutor and families if his son was given the death penalty and killed for something he didn’t do.

So the interception of Mmoja’s letter gave the state further opportunity to try to taint his character and justify further attacks against him. The state moved to revoke his appeal bond on one of his convictions as soon as knowledge of the letter hit the papers. It further gave the state the opportunity to criminalize and delegitimize the Black Panther Militia, whose members are often armed in public, in the eyes of the masses, and show an inside/outside linkage.

2) It allowed the state to try and portray Zion as a dangerous kop killer linked to radical prisoners, in an attempt to isolate his supporters and death penalty opponents. A week before Zion’s first execution date the warden had the audacity to go to Zion and tell him that it was a group of prisoners who planned to cause a disturbance and that he - the warden - planned to make a lot of positive changes in the kamp and even though he - Zion - would not be here to see them, he was asking Zion to use his power to call off these prisoners. The nerve! Murdering ass bastard had a lot of nerve. Zion’s response was - I do? I got that kind of power?

The feds were brought in on this situation and on the night of Zion’s murder, the DOC SWAT/SERT team, local police and state police were on tactical alert at the prison under the guise of fearing a reaction by prisoners. The state tried to intimidate his supporters and opponents of the death penalty by using heavy handed tactics and constantly repeating in the media that they had uncovered plans by a group of prisoners

to take over the prison and disrupt the scheduled execution. No such plans were ever made public. But such propaganda helped to set the stage and justify the repression to come. The state even installed two federal agents among the witnesses on the night of the murder.

3) It allowed the warden/DOC to target revolutionary and militant New Afrikan prisoners. It gave them the opportunity and “justification” to target all New Afrikan leadership, both lumpen and political for isolation in D-CH. It allowed the warden to get approval and funding for a lot of security programs that previously he could not get off the ground. And it allowed the DOC to try and make examples out of revolutionaries and communicate to the masses of other prisoners that if they try to organize or engage in political activity, they would be crushed. The state moved to terrorize back into passivity New Afrikan prisoners, especially the youth, their objective being to curtail and reverse the anti-death penalty organizing that various political prisoners had been responsible for.

After the initial sweeps, the state constructed a gun tower inside D-CH, installed several gates and fences that prevent any physical contact with staff and create a dangerous safety hazard for prisoners. If you are stabbed or a major fire happens, etc., there is no way you can be gotten to. A control booth, a metal detector, and no less than 40 TV cameras have been installed all over the cellhouse to keep everyone under constant surveillance while in or out of the cells. Prisoners are now forced to remain under high powered floodlights mounted on the walls 24-7.

D-CH now represents the tightest and most repressive cellhouse in the state. The fascist warden has indicated that he plans to implement most, if not all, of these repressive features in all the cellhouses and that he plans to install cameras all over the institution, including the lock-up units.

We see the classic hard-line and pacification approach. While repressing certain sectors of the population, the warden/DOC is moving to pacify other areas and elements with greater privileges or at least the promise of such. D-CH will be used as a model for the rest of the state, just as Marion was used as a model for the rest of the empire.

Right-Wing Prisoners Used as a Counterweight to the Rise of New Afrikan Militancy

Historically, Indiana has always used white supremacists to attack New Afrikan prisoners or to prevent the political organizing of New Afrikan prisoners.

The DOC has a general policy of allowing the average white prisoner to enjoy his white skin privilege as a form of pacification and control. This privilege usually is manifested in getting the best jobs, most strategic positions in the kamps, etc. A particular prisoner may not be as out and out racist as he is opportunistic, but such opportunism usually helps to support and strengthen those who are racist.

Moreso in the south than in the north, the state has used white supremacists to stab and kill New Afrikan prisoners. This was most prevalent at the Reformatory, especially on the lock up units where it was common practice for racist pigs to provide weapons to white prisoners, and common practice for New Afrikan prisoners' doors to accidentally pop open while several right-wingers were waiting to stab him. A lot of these attacks were mostly against young non-political New Afrikans who didn't have the “juice” or connections to retaliate. While some political prisoners such as Balagoon have been targeted for murder by the administration, it has been commonly known throughout the system that if a PP is ever attacked an all out war will be declared which they could not win.

In the last several years a new and disturbing trend has been noted within the IDOC and one must question where it is leading. While the DOC was kidnapping mostly New Afrikans and placing them in the newly opened MCC and SHU, they were allowing the right-wing prisoners to recruit and build. Hardly any white supremacist prisoners were sent to MCC while Our leadership was primarily targeted. If progressive or revolutionary leadership was not moved, then most of the strength was kept on administrative segregation units for years on end and kept isolated from large numbers of New Afrikan prisoners. While New Afrikan and Latino prisoners were being labeled and branded as gang leaders/members and isolated, Neo-nazis and Skinheads were given and installed in positions of power.

At ISP We have witnessed over recent years an influx of young white prisoners who are being absorbed immediately into white power networks. Some of these elements are not out and out racist, but move

in this direction for protection and out of fear. But more and more these elements are becoming grounded in white supremacist ideology, becoming bolder in engaging in armed confrontations with New Afrikans, boldly flying their colors and symbols and quietly organizing. More and more we see Skinheads congregating and where it used to be Skinheads were afraid to go baldheaded they now do so with pride and boldness. The DOC has helped to create this climate by encouraging racist attacks on New Afrikans and outright rewarding blatant racist conduct.

In the last 8 years there have been 3 white on New Afrikan murders, 1 New Afrikan on white murder and 1 New Afrikan on New Afrikan.

In the New Afrikan on white case, the New Afrikan prisoners received no less than 20 more years. In the New Afrikan on New Afrikan case - less than 10 years (of course they will reward such conduct when we kill each other). In one of the white on New Afrikan cases, no charges were filed at all and the white prisoner was allowed to go home less than a year later! In the second case, outside charges were filed, but the prisoner was ultimately allowed to go home 2 years later with no action ever taken on murder charges! In the other case where a New Afrikan was brutally slaughtered by approximately 4 to 5 white prisoners they were allowed to plea bargain for under 10 years!

Now this is not to advocate that the state should charge and bank these prisoners, but it is to show how the courts, in complicity with the DOC, send the signal to white prisoners that it is okay to kill New Afrikan prisoners, that they need not fear serious repercussions. At least not from the state.

White supremacists are allowed to group up, concentrate themselves in various areas, organize without fear of administrative reprisal. We are seeing more and more of this.

A lot of the white youth that are being absorbed into this culture of white supremacy are a little different from their predecessors and a little more adventuristic, especially when under the influence of drugs or alcohol. Whereas previously older racists had a clearer sense of danger and the understanding that if you don't f—k with Us, We won't f—k with you. The new, younger racist who is not combat seasoned but dangerous nevertheless, is more ready to engage in violence against New Afrikans and easier to be manipulated by older cowards into carrying out an armed attack.

Within the last year there have been several instances of known right-wing prisoners getting busted with quantities of gasoline and being slapped on the wrist by the disciplinary committee. It was even commonly known in A-CH that Lt. Scott was transporting gallons of gas to white supremacists and that it was being stockpiled. And no brothers took action on it. Brothers, who do you think the shit was for?! Must it take one of us being burned alive while locked in a cage like the brother Johnny Hodge?

It was not surprising that the warden Al Parke stated during the lockdown that he is focusing on "Black Gangs and Revolutionary Leadership" and as he stated such and was rounding up New Afrikans all over the kamp, he was releasing white supremacists from D-CH, lock-up units and other areas and concentrating them in various housing units.

Over the years the IDOC has moved to allow white supremacists to create an internal infrastructure in which to: carry out their operations, gain the monopoly of various aspects of the underground economy, help facilitate their communications, etc., be placed in strategic jobs that help facilitate the making of and distribution of top of the line weapons, etc.

In some housing units they have been allowed to take over entire tiers, whereas New Afrikans, be they "gang" members or political, would never be allowed to concentrate amongst themselves which would give them a controlled space/territory and kill zone in case of an emergency.

The state uses these elements to try and keep New Afrikan prisoners in general and New Afrikan militancy in particular in check. There are many older white Supremacists who profess to be anti-administration, but in actuality are opportunistic and collaborate with the administration so that certain privileges may be enjoyed while harnessing and misdirecting the energy of younger right-wing prisoners.

These same elements promote violence against New Afrikan prisoners while acting in solidarity with agents of the state. For example, recently Dawn MacMillan, case manager in A-CH, was cursed out by a New Afrikan. This womyn was case manager at MCC prior to coming to ISP and helped to structure the MCC program and was responsible for the torturing and abusing of hundreds of prisoners at MCC. She is a young white settler who often uses her femininity to manipulate prisoners.

After she was cursed out, a right-wing prisoner attempted to retaliate by storming into a young brother's assigned cell to assault him only it was the wrong cell and due to the alertness of other brothers, this racist was immediately dispatched to the outside hospital.

Right-wing elements immediately mobilized and went into an attack/defensive formation blocking exit/entry

routes to several tiers trapping several younger New Afrikan comrades on these tiers. Courage and the fact that they were armed prevented these brothers from being harmed.

Dawn MacMillan later came out in an interview in a local paper saying that she did not fear working behind the walls, that she felt like a mother to many of these prisoners and that many of the prisoners would protect her. How sickening! But these are the games that these people play with Our lives and no doubt she was aware of the previous armed conflicts.

These right—wing elements prove their loyalty to the state and are rewarded with the best jobs, allowed to control a part of the drug economy, gambling, etc. In the event of a riot or something they will undoubtedly move against Us and therefore should not be underestimated.

They cannot be trusted and as contradictions continue to sharpen and these elements become stronger and more confident they will not hesitate to assassinate some of Us for the state. It's not without precedent.

Cain't Stop - Won't Stop!! Tightening It Up

This is no time to retreat, but a time to pause to reflect, re-examine and re-emerge stronger. Repression brings about resistance or surrender. i/We ain't doing no surrendering. People writing in here talking 'bout be cool, just keep the faith. What the hell do that mean in the middle of a damn war? Like George said - people must not believe their own spiel about the state of fascism or something. Ain't none of Us trying to stay here, but We are trying to survive and not die or be tortured like beasts. As the state passes new laws now making us pay a \$120.00 filing fee when We file a lawsuit and then takes Our good time when we lose; as Habeus Corpus is attacked and we are now told We can't appeal to the higher court; as the state continues to build and open more of these torture chamber control unit prisons to destroy us mentally, you tell me what the f—k are We supposed to do? Lay down and die?! Hope the state takes some kind of mercy on Us while the movements on the streets remain weak, fragmented and sectarian? Where people who supposed to be revolutionary is set tripping and ain't even speaking to each other? Naw i think not. We gone keep pushing forward.

Brothers, a lot of the old methods of organizing, educating, politicizing, etc. can no longer be utilized as the enemy has developed Counter-measures. We have to become more professional and skilled in Our efforts to rise above the madness We find Ourselves in, more clandestine and quiet .

Its clear the repression has a political focus. The warden says they are now going to start charging Us for writing political articles such as these. What do they fear?

A lot of Our work, organizing classes, etc. will have to now be one-on-one or one-on-two, if your reality allows it; the passing of books etc. kept clandestine as they now stop and frisk Us if they observe the other being passed something to read. All of the ways that We know the enemy is using to gather intelligence, We should move to frustrate by changing Our methods; learn other languages and codes, curtail some over the tier debates/exchanges, keep some relationships secretive and quietly rebuild. The state cannot attack what it can't see. How can a sniper shoot a target it can't see?

Take greater responsibility for networking with outside organizations (political, legal, etc). Write articles, essays etc. Let people on the streets know what is happening behind these walls. Bring them into Our world so that they can know better how to help Us instead of trying to dictate to Us how We should confront Our reality.

If Our books are being taken, then those who are capable should start writing essays and position papers on various subjects and circulating them for discussions. These people cannot stop Us from elevating Our consciousness, from transforming Ourselves, or from developing or fielding cadre unless We allow them to.

*"If We must die, let it not be like hogs
Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
Making their mock at our accursed lot.
If We must die, O let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain, then even the monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honor us though dead!
O kinsmen! We must meet the common foe!
Though far outnumbered let us show us brave,
And for their thousand blows deal one deathblow!
What though before us lies the open grave?
Like men We'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!"*

- Claude McKay (1891-1948)

“Cuba Is Us”

The next Venceremos Brigade contingent will travel to Cuba in July 1997, concurrently with the World Festival of Youth, to be held this year in Cuba. If you or your organization can help support this year's contingent, please send a contribution to the national office, at P.O. Box 7071, Oakland, CA 94601, or to the Chicago Regional office, P.O. Box 10607, Chicago, IL 60610; 312-458-9615.

Venceremos Brigade**WHO ARE WE ?**

The Venceremos Brigade was the first organized expression of solidarity with the Cuban people by a new generation of young activists in the United States. Within 10 years of its revolution, Cuba had already undergone numerous US military attacks and was suffering an ongoing economic blockade. Here, our own struggles for liberation as people of color, women and working people, combined with the mass movement to end the war in Vietnam, led us to the defense of all peoples' rights to self-determination. The US government's refusal to respect these rights of humanity, through its repression at home and imperialist interventions abroad, had to be challenged. Following extensive discussions here and in Cuba, the first working contingent of the Venceremos (We shall overcome) Brigade was organized in 1969 to provide both material and political support to the Cuban people and their revolution. Then, like now, a range of political movements and individuals were represented in the Brigade. All share the common principles of justice and activism.

WHAT ARE OUR GOALS?

As activists and human beings young and old in this world, we have a responsibility to learn from, teach, and act on the lessons of the Cuban Revolution. As we struggle here for accessible schools, hospitals and government - and against racism and sexism - we recognize Cuba's victories in these areas. In their efforts to create a revolutionary society - one in which individuals' development is encouraged for the benefit of the society as a whole - the Cuban people and their government have proven their commitment to all peoples' advancement. Time after time, Cuba has responded to the needs of oppressed people throughout the world by sending doctors, teachers, and soldiers when necessary. As the political and economic war is continuously intensified by our country's government, the role of the Venceremos Brigade has become all the more crucial. Our task is both to educate and mobilize our people to address the needs of Cuba and all people for fundamental human rights.

WHY DO WE WORK ?

Work provides real results for the Cuban economy and the basis for genuine connections between brigadistas and the Cuban people. Building schools, hospitals and cutting cane year after year for over a quarter of a century, the Venceremos Brigade has made it clear that we support Cuba's revolution as the Cubans define it. We meet with the social, political and economic institutions of the Cuban people on a solid foundation of trust. We continue to struggle for justice together.

MAKE THE CONNECTIONS

The Venceremos Brigade makes a point of working in our own communities as well as in Cuba. If you or your organization would like:

- to schedule a speaking engagement
- to schedule an interactive classroom visit
- help with a specific project or event
- more detailed information about Cuba or the VB
- applications for our next contingent
- to volunteer time, money, or material aid for Cuba

Please call (415) 267-0606 to locate the closest Brigade chapter to you.

We look forward to hearing from you!



OPEN LETTER TO CR READERS

(reprinted from CROSSROAD, Vol. 2 #2, April 1989)

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

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

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

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

Any genuine national liberation struggle must strive for legitimacy on an international level and among its own people. Hundreds of years of colonialism has created a mind-set where the colonial subject is not able to conceptualize a national existence separate from the colonizer. Alongside the creation of colonies within the empire, a propaganda machine was erected to maintain ideological acceptance among colonized peoples for the worldview of the oppressor. "Racist" analyses which are designed to negate both our colonial existence and our challenge to it are integrated into social sciences (i.e., sociology, history, political science, etc.). We can't discredit the empire's propaganda apparatus through empty slogans and demagoguery. It's through understanding the social sciences and developing a revolutionary scientific view of how political systems function that we discredit this propaganda and reclaim the minds of our people from the clutches of imperialism.

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

KC Black Liberation Radio!

Hotep Sista & Brothas:

Our story will never be told unless we tell it, therefore, we (S.T.A.C.) will bring black liberation radio (blr) to Kansas City by June/97. We have been quoted a price of \$584.90 including shipping & handling for a 40 watt transmitter, power supply to run the antenna & the antenna. We will order the equipment the 2nd week in March, we are soliciting donations (monetary) & equipment. Anyone wishing to make a monetary donation should make check or money order out to: s.t.a.c./shiriki unganisha p.o. box 320441, Kansas City, MO 64132, & call 816-333-9814, fax 816-23-0540.

We will always need 90 minute tapes, we do need a VCR (nuthin fancy). We already have mics; mixing board; CD player, tape deck, turntable, etc., not saying that we don't want more. We traveled to Decatur, IL to see how Napoleon & Mildred had theirs setup and to get the information as to where to order the equipment. Sistas & Brothas, it's really simple, we are going to put on audio tape, step by step how we set KCBLR up & anyone wishing this information we will mail it to you & assist in starting your blr.

We best start ordering this equipment now, before we won't be able to get it.

Any assistance, will be greatly appreciated, any comments & questions please feel free to ask.

Struggle,
sista shiriki

P.S. - As We go to press, the pioneering founders of Decatur BLR, Napoleon Williams & Mildred Jones, have been arrested! Please call 217-423-9997 for more info, or contact sista shiriki.

CASH & GENOCIDE

The True Story of Japanese-American Reparations
(Reprinted from **CROSSROAD**, Vol. 2 #2, April 1989)

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

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

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

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

Two African-American reporters for *The Sun*, Sandra Crockett and Jerry Bemby, put forward another theory: that reparations is due to Japanese Americans' superior political power. In their column "\$1.7 Million and a Mule," the two reporters incorrectly calculate that the Japanese-Americans will get "restitution that amounts to \$6,666.00 for each year of suffering....At the going government rate of \$6,666.00 per year, and calculating it from the arrival of the first slaves in the early 1600s to the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863...black Americans are due \$1.7 million each."(3)

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

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

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

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

Just to clear away some fantasies: This bill doesn't mean that every Japanese American won the lottery or that our community is being compensated for suffering and loss of human rights. What it means is simply that those survivors of the WWII concentration camps still alive today (about ten percent of our people) will be repaid for our property losses back then.

In 1942 we were ordered to sell all our land, businesses, farms, houses and household goods before

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

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

The Full Story

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

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

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

To get the workers needed to hunt the seals and process their pelts, the Czars forced hundreds of indigenous families from the larger Aleutian Islands to move to the Pribilofs to be imperial serfs. Serfs were the bottom class in pre-socialist Russian society. While they could not be bought and sold as chattel slaves were in the U.S., serfs were still a class of slaves. The property of wealthy masters to whom they owed life-long obedience and labor, serfs lived without wages or rights. On the Pribilofs, the Aleut slaves were given Russian names and converted to the Russian Orthodox faith. The islands became slave plantations.

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

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

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

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

four Pribilof Aleuts had died from malnutrition and exposure.(8)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

there were 15,000 Aleuts. Now there are 3,000 to 1.5 million seals. It's the Aleut people who are the endangered species."(11)

The New Afrikan Equation

It isn't that Japanese-Americans don't justly deserve reparations. We do, and this \$20,000 is tiny in terms of what we suffered, but that has nothing to do with why the U.S. ruling class is doing this. In 1979 the first congressional bill was introduced to give cash reparations to U.S. civilian internment survivors. It's sponsor, Rep. Mike Lowry (D-Wash.), proposed giving each Aleut and Japanese-American survivor \$15,000 plus \$15 for each day imprisoned. His bill was instantly unpopular with the white nation. There was the usual moaning from the brain-dead white majority (Lowry got calls demanding "Why are we paying the people who attacked us at Pearl Harbor?"), from candidate Ron Reagan and the G.O.P.

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

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

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

Within that settler debate on Japanese-American reparations loomed the much larger issue of america's unresolved war with its New Afrikan colony. It was for this reason that the U.S. ruling class decided on not merely Japanese-American reparations, but for a final round of public settlements of "all other" human rights and territorial claims against the empire. If need be, the ruling class was going to shove reparations and cash settlements of treaty claims down the throats of its racist white citizenry.

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

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

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

Last October, the European Parliament passed a French motion to condemn the U.S. for this inhuman practice. That's a special embarrassment for America, since among the 12 nations of the European

Parliament are America's closest NATO allies. Even after the U.S. State Department got the U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to confirm their denial, that this rumor was without any factual basis, the story still spreads and spreads. Washington cannot stop it, because the people of the world believe that this is exactly what "J.R. Ewing" would do.(15)

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

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

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

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

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

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

What about New Afrika?

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

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

“statehood or independence” plebiscite. America ain’t offering New Afrika any choices or plebiscites, though, because the empire has a different solution on the way.

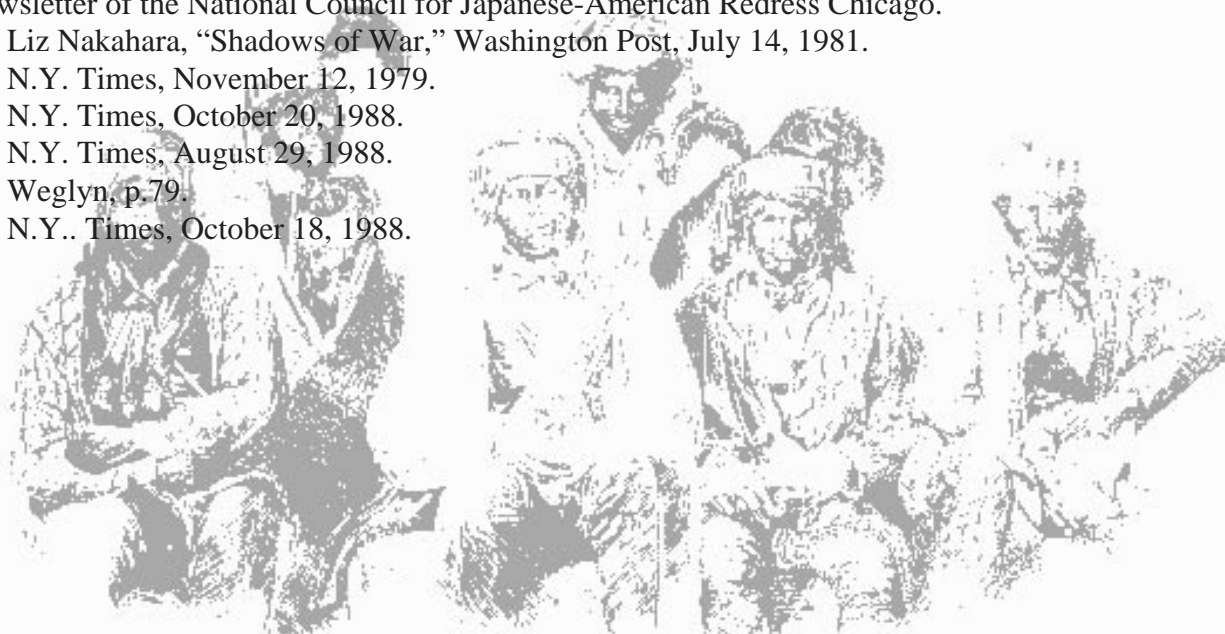
Until 1988, committing genocide wasn’t a felony, not even a misdemeanor, in the U.S. It’s no coincidence that after stalling for 40 years, the U.S. senate finally completed ratifying the international genocide treaty at the same session that approved Pribilof Aleut and Japanese-American reparations.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

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

D.K. Matsui

Footnotes

1. Chicago Tribune, August 11, 1988.
2. N.Y. Amsterdam News, August 6, 1988.
3. The Sun, August 16, 1988.
4. Michi Weglyn, Years of Infamy New York: 1976), p.274.
5. Alaska Daily News, August 5, 1988.
6. N.Y. Times, June 27, 1981.
7. Christian Science Monitor, September 22, 1981.
8. Ibid.
9. N.Y. Times, June 27, 1981.
10. Los Angeles Times, August 5, 1988.
11. N.Y. Times, June 27, 1981.
12. Full description of how Japanese-American congressmen opposed the Lowry Bill can be found in the Newsletter of the National Council for Japanese-American Redress Chicago.
13. Liz Nakahara, “Shadows of War,” Washington Post, July 14, 1981.
14. N.Y. Times, November 12, 1979.
15. N.Y. Times, October 20, 1988.
16. N.Y. Times, August 29, 1988.
17. Weglyn, p.79.
18. N.Y.. Times, October 18, 1988.



PNS Pulls Back from U.S. Prison Coverage

January 15, 1997

Greetings:

It is with deep regret that Prison News Service is announcing that we are having to pull back from our commitment to the American prison struggle. We've been doing this work in one form or another since 1980. Our own political and personal growth, has been intimately connected to our comrades and friends locked down in American dungeons. But we can not keep up with the massive volume of mail that we get from American prisoners, nor can we continue to pay for the more than 3,000 free subs that we were sending across the border.

The paper will continue as is, but with a primarily Canadian focus. It will provide good radical journalism covering Justice-related issues in Canada from a grassroots perspective. We realize that as a specifically Canadian paper, it may not appeal as much to you. But the political and social issues are similar enough in both countries that hopefully you will find it interesting and useful. The recent riots and disturbances in jails and prisons across the country show how timely and necessary this work is. We want to expand our coverage to include immigration and refugee detention centres. We will continue to make coverage of the First Nations' struggle a top priority, to reflect the crucial importance of that struggle within Canada. Because of the mounting level of resistance and repression in Ontario particularly, we feel that we need to put our limited resources closer to home.

Subs will remain \$10.00 for five issues. (American prisoner subs will be \$3. or ten stamps.) If you wish to continue to receive the paper, please send a check or money order (made out to PSC Publishers) to the address above. We need help to spread the word about Prison News Service. So please tell friends, comrades or whoever might be interested in struggles within Canada.

Thanks for your support in the past. And to all those doing prisoner support work -luck, love and strength. The American prison struggle will remain closely intertwined with our own, one we keep always inside our hearts.

Prison News Service
P.O. Box 5502, Stn A
Toronto, Ont M 5W 1 W4
pns@pathcom.com

JERICHO '98**Amnesty and Freedom for
All Political Prisoners****WHAT IS JERICHO '98?**

The Vision of Jericho '98 is derived from that old spiritual which said, " Joshua fought the battle of Jericho, Jericho, Jericho; Joshua fought the battle of Jericho and the walls came tumbling down ". The United States' Government has consistently denied the existence of political prisoners in this country. We believe that a concerted and organized effort over the next 14 months will effectively eradicate the United States' ability to deny the existence of these brothers and sisters and set the stage for Amnesty and Freedom for All U.S. held Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War.

Our political prisoners and prisoners of war have been languishing in U.S. prisons for decades while we wage ineffective and disorganized campaigns to secure their freedom. It is time to forge a single issue campaign of international significance. An international mobilization is necessary for our various groups to measure our strengths and to consolidate our energy, resources, and capacity to organize nationally.

HOW DO WE SEE IT HAPPENING?

Over the next 14 months we will organize on the local level, where ever we are, raising the issue of freedom for our political prisoners and prisoners of war. We will go where ever we have to, to church, to schools, to bars, to meetings etc., bringing the information to the forefront on the fact that political prisoners exist in this country. We will call in to talk shows, put out posters, buttons, booklets, etc. raising the issue and simultaneously organizing for the march on the White House during Spring Break '98.

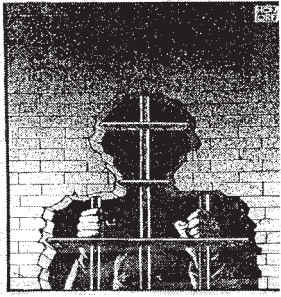
WHAT MUST BE DONE FIRST?

Form a local organizing group in your area. Wherever you are, form a local organizing group. We must organize where we are, first locally, then regionally, then nationally. Have meetings with your friends and associates and determine how you can help. Call (212) 928-4349 ext.2 and leave a message telling us how you can help build Jericho '98. We will update the information on this line as it develops.

**ORGANIZE TO MOBILIZE FOR SPRING BREAK
FOR****U.S. POLITICAL PRISONERS****For more information on how you can help contact**

PG-RNA - Embassy New York • P O Box 330476 •
Brooklyn, NY 11233-0476 or
NALF • P O Box 340084 • Jamaica, NY 11434

Youth Institute On Prisons, Racism and Society



Are you a young activist working on prison issues—freedom for political prisoners, shutting down control units, fighting for the rights of women in prison, ending the criminalization of youth, combatting AIDS in prison, eliminating the death penalty? Are you interested in working on campaigns like these? Are you between the ages of 18 and 22? If the answer is yes, we would like to invite you to Chicago for two weeks in July, 1997, for a Youth Institute on Prisons, Racism, and Society. We have an exciting program designed to help young activists develop the knowledge-base and skills for radical prison activism.

What is the Youth Institute?

The Youth Institute will run from July 7 to July 20, and is being organized by the Chicago section of the National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons (NCSCUP). As one of thirty participants from around the country, you will develop an understanding of crime, prisons, and racism through readings, discussions, and presentations. Simultaneously, you will gain the skills necessary to organize and participate in campaigns to change the current “criminal” “justice” system. By addressing both these needs, the Youth Institute will help you and other young activists become more knowledgeable and experienced. Emphasis will be placed on developing models of community and campus organizing.

Planned activities at the Youth Institute include presentations and roundtable discussions; step-by-step, how-to workshops; and visits to area prisons, as part of a protest, a visiting delegation, or both.

Mornings will be devoted to guest speakers and discussions on topics such as control units, the death penalty, women in prison, prisons and racism, political prisoners, and the economics of imprisonment, among others. These discussions will draw heavily from readings as well as the experiences of speakers and participants.

Afternoons will focus on the mechanics of prison activism, including hands-on workshops on desktop publishing, the creation and distribution of press releases and leaflets, and other skills. These skills will be put to use as participants develop and carry out a demonstration toward the end of the Youth Institute. This final project will be student-directed with the assistance of the staff of the Youth Institute, and will draw together the different experiences the two weeks offered.

The Staff of the Youth Institute

The Chicago section of the National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons includes activists with decades of organizing experience in Puerto Rican, New Afrikan, and white communities. The Youth Institute Director, Nancy Kurshan, a founding member of the Committee to End the Marion Lockdown, has decades of experience working on issues of racism and imprisonment. Her writings on the topic of women’s imprisonment have been published widely.

Nuts and Bolts

The Youth Institute will take place at the Puerto Rican Cultural Center (PRCC) in central Chicago. The PRCC has been a hub of prison activism for over twenty years, and houses a small alternative high school. Participants in the Youth Institute will reside for the two weeks with staff and with other activists in Chicago. Participation in the Youth Institute will be free of charge, and room and board (two meals daily) will be provided. Stipends will be available to cover portions of travel costs, as well as to assist working youth in participating by compensating for income lost during participation. These stipends will be awarded on a cash-available basis to students demonstrating need.

How to Apply

There is no standard application form for the Youth Institute. To participate, please write a letter of application, containing your name and contact information, and describing your previous experience, the source of your interest in prison activism, what you hope to get out of the Youth Institute, and your future plans. Your letter should be no longer than three pages. Also, if you need financial assistance, please describe your situation and your needs in an additional page. We encourage early application: letters should be received no later than June 2, 1997 for priority consideration, and students will be notified within one week of this deadline whether they have been accepted. After June 2, applications will be considered only on a space-available basis.

We hope you will join us in July as we continue the struggle to change the “criminal” “justice” system, on the road to bringing about a more just and free society.

Youth Institute on Prisons, Racism, and Society
c/o Committee to End the Marion Lockdown
POB 578172, Chicago, IL 60657-8172
773-472-1549 (phone) 773-342-6609 (fax)



Food Project Proposal**by Herman Bell**

Herman Bell is a U.S. political prisoner and former Black Panther who has been imprisoned for the past 23-1/2 years for his courageous participation in the Black Liberation Movement. Herman, like so many other political prisoners, has continued his activism despite decades behind bars. The following proposal details one of his latest projects:

The political and economic system that bends our lives to its will, that worsens our predicament relentlessly, benefits the rich not the poor. We know we must resist. However, we must have a plan.

I have friends in Athens, Maine who have rural skills. They produce most of their own fresh food for consumption, which includes winter canned goods and stored root crops, and they would like to help others to tap into this strategy for food production. Last year they delivered a half-ton of organically grown food to the MOVE organization of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Just as the new prison industrial complex is being used to control people of color, the NY3 (that's me, Nuh, and Jalil) are a high-priority example of the system's intentions to quash efforts towards self-help in the inner-city neighborhoods. The criminalization of individuals who have ventured to liberate the Afrikan-American community through programs of self-help must not be forgotten. Just as important, the aim of this food program is to help the people help themselves. We wish to introduce food production to as many people as we can, and invite them to come to Maine and learn to grow their own food.

Our immediate need for this year's project includes a used, heavy-duty vehicle capable of transporting a ton of food. Over the long term, the needed vehicle must be capable of transporting people from NYC to Maine. So we're in need of \$5,000 for the expense of buying, registering, insuring, and operating this vehicle; for the cost of seed, fertilizer, tilling tools, mulch, etc.; and to primitively house and feed people willing to come to Maine to learn the skills of food production. This should include at least two groups during the growing season. My friends will also need to travel to Harlem to participate in the organizing sessions.

The program is do-able, and once primitive sleeping arrangements are fixed up on the place and everything is running smoothly, we can then arrange to have at least two, maybe three groups of children from the city to rotate up to Maine for the summer, which affords them the opportunity to be out of the city, where they can learn to grow food and have the run of the place. For this alone, the project is worth it.

In my view, this is a practical way to get people involved with helping themselves; it's a way for people in our targeted neighborhoods to get to know, trust, and work with each other. The food project will simply be the focal point; it's a way for people to naturally come together, and political education/group discussions will be encouraged.

Here's my suggestion: Ask your friends and neighbors for donations so that it won't be a strain on anyone. Select one or two persons to take responsibility for the collected donations. Keep a record of all funds. Send the funds via postal money order to:

Carol Dove
RFD 1
Box 6025
Athens, Maine 04912

The parties selected to collect and disburse the donations will receive periodic updates so that everybody who donates to this project will learn for themselves what a great thing they've done. Also, if you wish to keep me apprised of the progress of donations in your area, write me as follows:

Herman Bell, #79C-0262, Great Meadows C.F., Box 51, Comstock, NY 12821

Thank you very much! — Herman Bell

Remembering Malcolm X's Organization of Afro-American Unity

i remember in a tune the Last Poets saying, "We love to hear Malcolm rap, but We didn't love Malcolm." In other words We did not appreciate Malcolm enough to put his words into practice; he taught and obviously We did not learn from him personally or organizationally. Malcolm was a master teacher and taught Us many lessons, his greatest lesson to Us was that "Land is the true basis of Freedom and Independence."

As a Revolutionary Nationalist Malcolm came to realize that Our struggle was for an independent Land base. During Malcolm's time he did not identify where Our National Land was, Our Land identification was formulated by the Republik of New Afrika in 1968; Our Land, the National Territory for the Black Nation, consists of Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana.

Although Malcolm did not identify the National Territory, he once responded to the Land question posed to him by cultural nationalist Donald Warden who asked him where the new Nation would be and he said, **"It is right here, in the community, and in every Black community in America."** Malcolm's answer was a reflection of the initial stage of the National Liberation process.

Malcolm's view of Nationalism was based on Community-as-Nation; the political necessity of building New Afrikan autonomous regions. These autonomous areas would represent mini-Nation states that were self-determined. For Malcolm self-determination was not only the ABC's of Nationalism, it was our human right. Malcolm saw the Black Nation emerging out of the human rights struggles of the New Afrikan masses. A sovereign Nation State being the highest expression of political self-determination.

In order for Malcolm to initiate the human rights struggle for self-determination he had to have an organizational instrument. Malcolm responded by creating the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). The OAAU reflected the need to take the New Afrikan struggle beyond the need to take the New Afrikan struggle beyond the limits of civil rights and messianic Black nationalism. Moreover the OAAU was the outcome of various discussions Malcolm had with progressive and revolutionary nationalists forces in this kountry and in Afrika.

The OAAU was structured as a United Front instrument that would struggle against neo-kolonialism (political oppression, economic exploitation, and social degradation); the OAAU would also be an instrument that would create self-government by building parallel institutions. These institutions would develop out of the OAAU's main committees: Social, Political, Economic, Cultural, Educational, Youth, Publications, and Self-Defense. The OAAU committees would represent government departments-in-formation contesting neo-kolonial structures. Most importantly these OAAU committees would unite the national and democratic elements (refer to Comrad Yaki's piece in CROSSROAD, Vol. 7#4 on this subject.)

In order for the OAAU to be an effective instrument Malcolm understood the New Afrikan masses had to organized block-by-block to build communities-as-Nation. Malcolm knew it was abstract to talk to the New Afrikan masses about controlling an independent Nation-state, when the New Afrikan masses knew they didn't control the neighborhoods they lived in; as he stated: **"Once We can control our own communities now, then perhaps We will later be able to control our own country, control our own nation, and govern ourselves and in some way have control over our own destiny."**

For Malcolm, the New Afrikan masses were the force of self-determination and national liberation; their support and cooperation would be the key to the success of the OAAU. Malcolm knew the New Afrikan masses could transform themselves only through their own experiences; this is the only way in which the masses can achieve a collective consciousness, a collective will, a collective capacity, and a collective confidence; as he stated: **"i, for one, believe if you give people a thorough understanding of what it is that confronts them, and the basic causes that produce it, they'll create their own program; and when the people create a program, you get action."**

As We celebrate Comrad Malcolm's birthday this month, May 19th, let Us not only reflect on His bold leadership and uncompromising ideological legacy, let Us review Malcolm's organizational legacy. Although Malcolm's Organization of Afro-American Unity was only in existence for 8 months when he was assassinated, the OAAU published a newsletter, *The Blacklash*, created a Liberation School, established an Information and Press Bureau in Ghana, allowed New Afrikan women to have leadership roles, and most of all developed a progressive model for building a United Front.

Our love for Comrad Malcolm will be expressed everytime We work among the New Afrikan masses, and everytime We organize the New Afrikan masses in our neighborhoods for self-determination the OAAU lives.

Remembering Malcolm to Win,
Cinque Kofi Kinaya

(reprinted from *New Afrikan Community Bulletin*, May 1997; NIS & G Publishing, 654 Franklin Rd., Pontiac, MI 48341-subscriptions: \$5/year)

Where Are We Headed?

(Reprinted from CROSSROAD, Vol. 2 #1, September 1988)

Because the majority of the peoples of the world are in fact proletarians, and because of their awareness of this fact, along with their sheer numerical superiority and common class oppression internationally, they are increasingly taking up arms in advanced struggles towards unseating their common oppressor, with which We are completely out of step here in the U.S. territory, despite our own overwhelming numerical superiority as proletarians in general. In point of fact, We have not even reached the most basic stages of an advanced armed liberation struggle, despite all of the chest thumping and rhetoric substantial numbers of New Afrikans are famous for perpetrating under this pretext.

Moreover, except for our counterrevolutionary "Black Liberation Movement" here in the U.S. territory, New Afrikan revolutionaries are not even organized, less more ready for an advanced armed revolution! As a matter of fact, We are so disorganized that We do not even have an effective system of communications between or among our own various advanced political groups, parties or collectives. Even worse yet, which is the main purpose and reason for this brief missive, our own comrades will not even consistently support or cooperate with the existing fledgling political organs (e.g., CROSSROAD and VITA WA WATU) We do have, and which are struggling desperately to remain operational as well as function effectively as communication and vital information disbursement organs for our functioning or captive comrades in these wretched U.S. gulags.

If We are serious about revolution, advanced communications are a precondition and must be established, supported and used by us, since We are the people for whose benefit they exist in the first place. Because, moreover, whether or not We understand this, an advanced enemy cannot be beaten in his own territory without superior, advanced communications. In Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala or nowhere else in the West, do armed operations come off effectively without a constant and consistent flow of current working data coming into the field of operations.

Is it not because of this very same critical deficiency that most of our courageous BLA comrades are unnecessarily being held captive today? Yes. And had We practiced this thru out our liberation struggles, which We still stupidly refuse to do even today, as even a cursory examination of the records would reveal to even a pack of blind fools, many of these people would be alive, as well. For without current working data in the field of operations, how do you control, defuse or minimize a rapidly deteriorating situation? For example, had We informed ourselves and practiced this prior to that aborted Upstate urban operation, its probable success could have been more reasonably assured.

Enlarging on this point, only thru our own political organs can sound P.E. material be formulated with which to devise sound strategies and tactics for successful field operations. For instance, since the enemy functions on simple probability estimating in suppressing this type of urban operation, the probability of his own strength and weakness can be similarly estimated and dealt with by an advanced comrade in the field.

By evaluating the facts with which they were working and on which the probable success of their own counteroffensive depended, We can demonstrate the simplicity of this for each other. New Afrikans were involved. Automatic weapons were indicated. New Afrikans with automated weapons had not previously been known to function in advanced urban operations Upstate. An extremely volatile situation erupted. Immediate flight became necessary.

With this knowledge, utilizing their own advanced communications network to maximum efficiency, the enemy simply estimated the probable direction of flight would be toward a large urban center. Therefore, the pursuit and containment efforts would, and did, logically center Downstate. Using this simple system of deductive reasoning, a Downstate operation was thrown together, eventually proving itself to be both correct and successful, with the capture and securing of vital identification data on numerous other freely functioning comrades that would inevitably lead to their capture or deaths, as well.

However, had there been advanced P.E. material utilized during the planning of such an operation,

New Jersey could have been chosen as the preferred exit in an aborted situation, since this particular Upstate local borders New Jersey, with an access route abutting the then field of operations! Since the regrettable error was not calculated into the plans of operations for contingency purposes, which common sense would have dictated, probable alternative locations to “go to ground” had not been worked out in advance. Therefore, New Jersey was the probable haven for our comrades in the initial instance. Lastly, where do We go if things go wrong, and how do We get there are the priorities in any advanced urban operation, and must be tried and worked out accordingly.

So this, among numerous other reasons which are simply beyond the scope of this simple communiqué, is one of the main reasons why We need and must support our own political organs. We must learn to write and communicate our own practical knowledge, ideas and expertise to each other toward building an advanced armed revolutionary organization thru our political organs. In point of fact, this is, indeed, the whole concept and purpose behind this sophisticated level of communications. We need and therefore must supply ourselves with a constant, consistent flow of advanced working data. Whether for political support or for practical application during advanced urban field operations, there must be communications thru some written medium.

In summation, for whatever reasons that We are not doing this, We must make substantial contributions of one kind or another toward supporting and sustaining our own political organs. Somebody, whether in these wretched gulags or out there in minimum security, must have something to say about our own struggle, or have some vital information, useful knowledge or ideas he or she wishes to share with or impart to another comrade. We are famous for talking, but seldom if ever do We take the time to transmit our own words into writing for some useful purpose toward realizing our own revolutionary mandate.

Again, lest We forget, We need to remind ourselves that We are talking about seizing territory from a major advanced industrial nation, for which We have no precedent, since there has never been a revolution of this magnitude in any advanced industrialized nation at any time in history. Therefore, wherever We are headed, it will take more than our own chest thumping and worn out revolutionary slogans to get us there.

Sangre en mi ojo,
James Blood Miller
P.O.W. #00124-054
P.O. Box 1000



ReBuild!

**Political
Prisoners &
Prisoners Of
War
In The
United
States**

Though the United States government denies their existence, there are now over a hundred political prisoners and prisoners of war imprisoned in federal and state prisons throughout the United States, among them dozens of sisters and brothers of Afrikan descent who, in the words of Dr. Mutulu Shakur, "dared to uphold the spirit and principles of Malcolm X with their lives and freedom." The following is a list of Afrikan-American and **New Afrikan Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War** in the United States. Join the campaign for their release. Write and visit them!

Mumia Abu-Jamal
#AM-8335; SCI Green
1040 E. Roy Furman
Hwy,
Waynesburg, PA.
15370

Mutulu Shakur
#83205-012;
USP Atlanta
P.O. Box 1000
McDonough Blvd.
Atlanta, GA 30319

Herman Bell;
#79-C-0262
P.O. Box 51
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