

Issue 18: Spring 2011

# 4STRUGGLEMAG

from the hearts and minds of north american political prisoners and friends



[www.4struggle.org](http://www.4struggle.org)

4strugglemag  
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Political Prisoner Updates ● Letters ● Reviews  
Political Analysis ● Prison Resistance ● Global Struggle  
**Feature Article:** Bill Dunne on Nationalism and Planetary Revolution

## Welcome to 4strugglemag

You have just come to a dynamic and unique publication, where Truth (real and raw) speaks to power. This magazine focuses the insights and experiences of U.S. political prisoners on major issues of the day. While a lot of the writing is by political prisoners, other activists, allies, revolutionaries and insightful outside voices are included. We publish 3 issues a year and all back issues remain posted on the website (4strugglemag.org).

4strugglemag is an independent non-sectarian revolutionary voice. We are unapologetically anti-imperialist and solidly in support of progressive national liberation, especially the struggles of New African/Black, Mexicano/Chicano, Puerto Rican and Native American Nations presently controlled by U.S. imperialism. Reflecting the work and principles of political prisoners held by the United States, 4strugglemag advocates for justice, equality, freedom, socialism, protection of our Earth, human rights and peace.

www.4strugglemag.org is primarily an e-magazine, but hard copies are available (see sidebar for subscription details). We encourage readers to respond, critique and carry on discussions in the magazine. We value and encourage feedback and discussion. The address of each political prisoner is posted with his/her article so people can directly communicate with them (few political prisoners have access to the internet).

We like dialogue, but we are not going to print racist or pro-imperialist messages, so you government agents and klansmen don't bother wasting your time.

Each issue of 4strugglemag focuses on at least 3 main topics. Additional poems, graphics, essays, announcements and more are included. Unsolicited writings and graphics are accepted and welcomed. We won't guarantee printing, but we'd like to see your work. This and other correspondence should be sent via regular mail to the following address (remember it costs 75 cents to send a letter to Canada from the U.S.).

4strugglemag  
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RPO Roncesvalles Ave.  
Toronto, Ontario  
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or via email to:  
jaanlaaman@gmail.com  
Jaan Laaman, editor  
anti-imperialist political prisoner

**Moving? Don't forget to send us your new address!**

## Call for contributors

4strugglemag is looking for quality writing that contributes to critical, revolutionary thought and reflection. In particular, we are interested in the following:

**Feature articles:** In-depth, analytical articles that critically examine a particular issue, historical occurrence, political idea, or current event. If you are in need of research or writing help, don't hesitate to ask..

**Book reviews:** Is there a book you'd like to review for 4strugglemag? Let us know.

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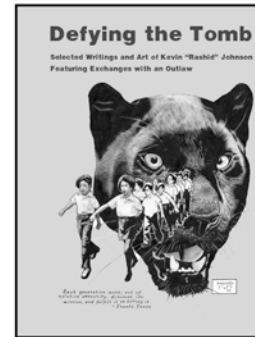
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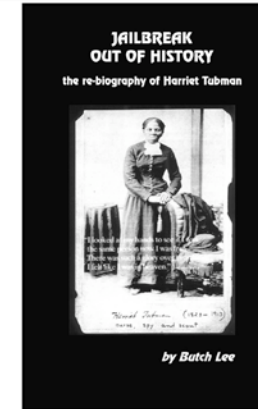
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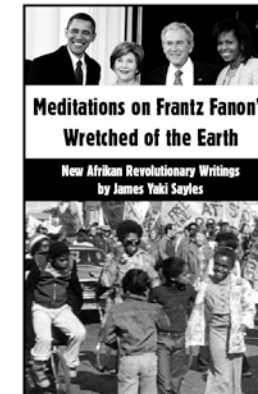
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## Review: COINTELPRO 101

BY JARED BALL  
Reprinted from www.BlackAgendaReport.com

The U.S. government's COINTELPRO assault on Black and radical political activists wasn't just a sixties episode; it was part of the continuity of oppression stretching from the European invasion of the Americas and the slave trade to this very day. American regimes are prepared to deploy COINTELPRO-like repression whenever popular movements threaten the established order. "Assassination, imprisonment, surveillance and encouraged internal strife [are] employed to forcibly dissolve these movements."

"It is an introduction to the often omitted history of the FBI's illegal wars of terror waged against the full spectrum of radical Left movements in this country."

COINTELPRO 101, the latest film release from The Freedom Archives, is nothing like the all-too-common soft, liberal documentary which tells of worse and distant horrors so as to lessen the pain or awareness of those still occurring. It is not a film that imposes a happy ending by suggesting that its subject is somehow past. It is a film that makes plain the fact that all of your problems of today, from war, to incarceration, to banking crises, joblessness and environmental catastrophe, still exist because movements to do away with them suffered and continue to suffer the greatest levels of repression from the most powerful state apparatus in world history. And worse still, as Black Panther Party veteran Kathleen Cleaver states unequivocally, unlike the official Counter Intelligence Program of previous decades, today's version is perfectly legal.

COINTELPRO 101 is just that. It is an introduction to the often omitted history of the FBI's illegal wars of terror waged against the full spectrum of radical Left movements in this country. The Counter Intelligence Program which emerged in the post-WWII era of international struggles for human rights and national liberation simply focused internally to the United States all that had been carried out against populations abroad. It turned so-called U.S. citizens in the 20th century into insurgent rebels to be dealt with as any foreign army or movement.

Assassination, imprisonment, surveillance and encouraged internal strife were employed to forcibly dissolve these movements. But, as this film so skillfully demonstrates, this all was merely an extension of a continuing state project of enslavement, genocide, theft of land, culture and humanity that pre-dates even the official declaration of U.S. nationhood.

The film's brilliance is not simply its nicely-styled aesthetic elements. They are there of course. Strong interviews, rarely seen clips, high quality audio and video production

across the board with equally strong narration from Liz De-rias. But it is the film's ability to force new confrontation with the political reality of today, as much as with the past, that truly demonstrates its value. The simple point made by Geronimo Pratt is also its strongest; that COINTELPRO made official the illegality of politics, the "criminalization of positions" represented by its targets. COINTELPRO was the political and legal descendant of its ancestors, slavery and genocide, and is now itself an ancestor to the still-implemented policies of, for instance, the Patriot Act. This central theme of the film is its most important because it forces us to put in context the current and horrific state of peace, freedom and labor movements.

"It turned so-called U.S. citizens in the 20th century into insurgent rebels to be dealt with as any foreign army or movement."

As COINTELPRO 101 makes vividly clear, "the Black misleadership class" described so often in the pages of Black Agenda Report is the result of having first destroyed the rightfully ascending Black leadership class of that time. This film helps re-establish lost cognition imposed by popular anti-histories which allow for so many to falsely assume that Obama is a natural progression from Civil Rights and Black Power movements. The film inserts stolen pages of history that result in an assumption that Native America went willingly to the reservations and then happily stayed there having never having attempted movements to protect whatever remaining autonomy they might have had.

No one who sees this film can return to conventional and now popularly re-emerging arguments over immigration or human "illegality." In fact, COINTELPRO 101 goes further than most histories of this phenomenon in reminding us of the threats posed by the Puerto Rican and Chicano independence movements. One can only imagine with a kind of hope what these discussions would sound like were they to take place in this film's context of state repression and specifically the killing of Chicano movement activists like Ricardo Falcon. Indeed, would these arguments even exist without first the assault on these movements and their representatives?

COINTELPRO 101 is the latest in an increasingly long line of collected, preserved and produced media from The Freedom Archives which seeks to appropriately tell the stories of diverse but unified efforts toward liberation. It powerfully summarizes the continued need of those in power to suppress and, in their own words, "neutralize" movements and individuals so that more acceptable replacements can be developed and promoted. For if, as the film asserts, the continued imprisonment of people like American Indian Movement activist Leonard Peltier is a "symbol" to, through discouragement, protect the state from further similar activity, then what do popular, sanctioned, elected leaders of today represent?

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Cover: Portrait of Lynne Stewart

## Issue 18 Introduction

Hey, fellow activists, Freedom fighters, friends, readers. Welcome to issue 18 (early Spring 2011) of 4strugglemag. We remain a major voice of political prisoners in the U.S.

March 8 is International Women's Day and 4sm stands in strong support of women and their struggles for justice, equality and a revolutionary future. We are proud to have Lynne Stewart on our cover, as an excellent example of a sister in the struggle. Lynne, 70 years old, a grandmother, a lawyer, a political prisoner, is a lifelong activist and fighter for justice, freedom, human rights and a new revolutionary future. Check out her article and the update on her situation.

We begin with a section on global struggle, with articles on Tunisia, Egypt, Bradley Manning—Julian Assange and WikiLeaks and more. In that section check out the article on the founding of the Brown Riders Liberation Party.

Our next section is on struggle in the U.S., with news and updates on many issues. We begin this with information on important bi-coastal anti-war rallies in April—everyone needs to check this out. We also have information from and on long held Native political prisoner Leonard Peltier. Then we have information on the Georgia state prisoners strike, the biggest prisoners strike in U.S. history, and many other issues.

The section on analysis and reviews includes an interesting interview with the rapper Testament. We also have information from and on the Jericho political prisoners movement. Bill Dunne has a major essay that continues 4sm ongoing discussion on nationalist and internationalist strategies for revolutionary struggle. People will want to check out Jared Ball's review of the film, "Cointelpro 101."

We are always interested in your thoughts and feedback, so take part in ongoing discussions and/or send us information or analysis on revolutionary questions and struggles. Everyone who can, should

try to take part in the East and West coast April 9th anti-war rallies.

We'll see you in issue 19, out in July, with a section on Black August (readers are welcomed and encouraged to send us some BA thoughts, your plans for activities, poems, etc.). We'll also have news on the 2011 Running Down the Walls, which more prisoners and folks outside should think about joining this year (RDTW is usually held in Aug. or Sept.). I want to leave all of you with the Revolutionary Spirit of the Freedom Struggle rolling out of Tunisia, Egypt and on.

Jaan Laaman, editor  
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a comrade of mine as we were putting up anti-G20 posters. They threw us in jail for almost 24 hours and charged us with 7 counts of mischief each, one for every poster they claim to have documented us putting up. We were released with conditions of "obeying the laws of Canada." When questioned by the media, the chief of police said they had reacted so strongly because they wanted us to be out on bail conditions during the G20 itself. They already had me on a list that they were going to arrest so it was a way for them to pre-emptively add another charge (breach of bail), and a way for them to try to deny me bail and keep me in jail once they arrested me the next time. On Sunday morning during the G20 I was swarmed by the "hold-up squad" who had staked out my car all night and waited for me in several unmarked vehicles. They jumped out in full tactical gear pointing automatic weapons at me. I was then charged with indictable conspiracy, indictable counseling, and masked with intent. Illogik was also violently arrested that morning at a different location. The warrants for our arrests used our stage names, and pictures from our Myspace page. We were released 3 days later on life-altering bail conditions that barred us from associating with each other, making music with each other, or having any communication at all. Luckily our charges were just stayed due to lack of evidence, and after 5 months of being unable to work on our music we are back together working on our debut album, doing tours, speaking out, and playing benefit shows.

### You've been playing gigs and speaking in support of G20 defendants. What do you want people to know about them?

I can't even count how many benefit shows I've done for G20 defendants. While me and Illogik had non-association conditions I went and did a solo tour across the entire country entitled the "Rap For Freedom" tour. The tour was both to raise funds for legal defense as well as raise more awareness about what went down during the G20 in the streets of Toronto, and the ongoing criminalization and targeting of our community. Dozens of people that I am tight friends with were thrown in jail during the G20. I am friends with everybody facing the most serious charges of conspiracy and those who are facing high-profile mischief charges. Many of these people I consider family. The G20 defendants are some of the most beautiful people I've ever met. They make this world a better place every day in the work they do as organizers, and they are a beacon of hope in what often feels like a hopeless ugly world. They continue to be an inspiration and blessing in my life.

### What's next for Test their Logik?

Test Their Logik is once again conspiring for a better world and counseling people through music. We are taking things to the next level now, and getting really serious about our art now that we know how seriously our enemies take it. We are in the studio a lot and are planning on drop-

ping our first professionally mixed, mastered, and pressed album in mid march. We are also about to launch our website testtheirlogik.com and are in the process of booking a cross-"Canada" tour from mid-march until June. We are also anxious to connect with folks in the U.S. again too so we are actively looking for help in finding legitimate professional gigs and dealing with all the related border issues. We are also looking to collaborate with other artists who share our politics as we are planning on building an anarchist hip-hop collective called "Raised Fist Collective" in order to help liberate hip-hop from the corporate industry that has kidnapped it. Hip-hop has been taken prisoner, and its time for a jail-break.

### What message would you like to send to our readers?

First off, I want to send love and solidarity to anybody reading this in a cage. My heart is with all prisoners who have been captured by the state, and thinking about you fuels the rage within those of us on the outside who work to secure your freedom and abolish prison. More broadly I want to support those of you who, like me, identify as being against prison. I know it can sometimes be a hard thing to do in a sea of reformers and liberals who push for bigger cages because of their inability to imagine a world without prison. But we must envision a world without prison and work for that to be a reality now more than ever as the state expands its capacity to incarcerate ever-larger numbers of us. Keep the struggle alive until every cage is emptied!

### Testament, Kiss Me Thru The Phone (remix)

I wanna see you, but all I can do is listen  
to your voice on this phone we're digitally kissin'  
through telephone wires til they let me outta prison  
there aint no love here it's hate and i'm missin'  
my lover and community and family and livin'  
outside of these walls and this state and this system  
it's a slave industry so fight for abolition  
I wanna kiss you for real but until then I'll be singin'

They tappin' this call and it's the only one I'm gettin'  
security culture don't let them catch you slippin'  
loose lips sink ships so stop snitchin'  
stop braggin' and stop gossipin'  
cuz you don't know who's working for the feds  
they want us all in jail or dead  
their prison industry is so widespread  
its got millions of us kissing through receivers on the side  
of our heads

I hate phones but I'll take what I can get  
They got me locked up cuz they know that I'm a threat  
to the system on which all these prisons depend  
liberate the earth greens the new red  
gotta liberate myself now I'm dreaming ahead  
to the day when I'll be free and I can see you again  
find peace.. and fall asleep in our bed  
wake up and kiss without a phone get freaky instead

## Interview with Revolutionary Rapper Testament

BY SARA FALCONER

**Tell us a bit about yourself and about Test their Logik.**

I've been rapping under the name Testament for a while now and I am a revolutionary hip-hop artist based in southern Ontario. I am also a community organizer, cuz like Dead Prez says, "It's bigger than hip-hop." Many people are now familiar with my work in the hip-hop duo, Test Their Logik.

Test Their Logik is made up of myself (Testament), and Illogik, a Toronto-based revolutionary MC and producer. We met a few years ago through mutual friends in Guelph's anarchist community who brought us there to do a show together. It was so refreshing to see our politics mirrored in each other's flows and I knew it was the start of something with real potential. We gradually started doing other shows together until our first tour where we started writing songs collaboratively as a group two years ago.

**What inspired your "Kiss Me Thru The Phone" remix?**

The remix I released of "Kiss Me Thru The Phone" was inspired by my own daily life of having prison hanging over my head as a constant threat, a cohesive force, and violent daily reality. Prison is a very real possibility in my future, and writing this song was a way for me to mentally take myself there and prepare psychologically for that eventuality. It was me putting myself in the shoes of our captive comrades in order to strengthen my resolve against prison and the world that needs them.

People I love sitting in prison fills me with pain and rage. Just the idea of prison itself is revolting enough to inspire this song. That said this song was particularly inspired by the "green scare" and earth liberation prisoners serving crazy time like Marie Mason, Eric McDavid, Daniel McGowan and others who never hurt a living being, and are in there purely because of political repression and targetting. They put everything on the line for the health of this planet and for a world free of torture and domination and have paid the ultimate price.

When the original version of this song came onto the radio I knew I had to remix it. The painful hook about kissing loved ones through phones immediately brought vivid thoughts of political prisoners and calls from prison. I began re-writing the

song immediately knowing I had to steal the soul of this pop song and make it about something real.

**You've used this song and others to reappropriate pop culture songs for revolutionary purposes. How does this work?**

I have definitely reappropriated other pop culture songs for revolutionary purposes because I hate hearing amazing beats and hooks getting constantly spoiled by mindless, selfish, egotistical, and oppressive lyrics. Reappropriating popular music is a way of salvaging the hard work and talent of the producers and give their songs meaning and power. Doing this is also very effective in spreading radical politics because folks are already familiar with the original versions and have a reference for the remixes to compare and contrast to. The practice of taking other songs and flipping them up, remixing them, and making new versions is a long-time tradition in hip-hop. So the only thing different I'm doing is making them about revolutionary politics. And even other artists like Dead Prez have been doing that for years as well.

One of the earliest tracks I did that folks got into was a remix of "This is why I'm hot" which I flipped up to "This is why I'm not" and critiqued the materialist culture we live in and the state of hip-hop. Recently, I also remixed Jay-Z and Kanye's "Run This Town" to challenge their attempt to use revolutionary black bloc imagery in their music video for a song that was classist, materialistic, sexist, homophobic and all about their lust for power. I flipped it up to call them out as well as to make the case for us runing our own towns, communities, and neighbourhoods collectively and creating conflict with forces of social control and domination such as multi-millionaires, cops, corporations, and pop icons.

**What repression did you face in the lead-up to the G8/G20 summit in Toronto this past June?**



For over a year leading up to the G20 I was under heavy surveillance. For over a year leading up to the G20 there were several undercover operatives pretending to be my friends. They infiltrated our networks and rooted themselves in our communities in order to entrap us, destroy our movements and throw us in jail. In May I was visited by CSIS agents at the airport who harassed me, my partner, and my mom. Since they were gathering intel on me, they obviously knew I wouldn't talk to them, so their reason for being there was purely intimidation. They followed us aggressively, making accusations and insinuations about my criminal behaviour. Then about two weeks before the G20 undercover cops in London swarmed me and

## Letters

Dear Editor and Staff,

I have never seen or read such a unique, dynamic, powerful magazine for activists as your incredibly well-written, beautiful challenge for revolutionary thought. I will Xerox the opening page and send to fellow activists wherever I can reach them that they become aware of this great gift to the movement. What an amazing crew of writers you must have! 4struggleMag is almost too good to be true...

The poem, "The Warrior," is magnificent. Is the author, Landi Benitez, a man or a woman? Such skill, in expressing the warrior in such an awesome way... The poem ends with strength, humility, sacrifice, and love.

I am so fortunate to have been sent 4struggleMag – by whom I do not know. I hope you have 10s of thousands of subscribers – and from around the world. I am a very elderly Asian American woman, 89 years old, who lived some 40 years in Harlem. I met Malcolm X by sheer luck at a Brooklyn courtroom years ago, and joined his group, OAU [Organization of African Unity]. Without the Black struggle in America, would there ever be a hope for a revolution in America?

Gratefully for 4struggleMag. Thank you for inspiring us.

Always, Yuri Kochiyama

4struggleMag,

I am deeply blown away by the knowledge that the 4struggleMag produces to all revolutionaries, political prisoners, as well as brothas and sistas who are searching for the truth. Revolution is a process. We must offer the people ways to override oppression and give them knowledge to make them more conscious that they (we) are the oppressed! Ninety percent of this world's population is of color (Arab, African, Mexican, Latin, etc) – the other 10 percent is what we call the "white race" (Europeans). But yet the 10 percent (white race) controls the 90 percent (color race) and has been for the last 500 years!

We need to learn to control our own existence and stop allowing ourselves to be oppressed. There is no unity amongst the 90 percent (color race). We need to learn to unite as a whole and take back control over our destiny. We need to teach young brothas and sistas at an early age what revolution is and set examples of how we as revolutionaries react to the oppression that we face daily.

I am a PIRU (Powerful Intelligent Radikal Unified Soldier) who is trying to help rebuild and re-organize the United Blood Nation and Damu nation to its original form. We are

not a gang! We are a movement, an organization of warriors who are for the struggle 100 percent and we stand for and with the people (revolutionaries) through all struggles to help fight off the oppression that comes from our true enemy! Bloods and Crips need to stand up and unite as one and rebuild our sets and organizations to become true revolutionaries and not gang bangers fighting over colors, and land that is controlled and owned by our common enemy!

I am currently on death row in Ohio. I am a political prisoner who is in the midst of uniting with the politically intelligent revolutionary unit so we as true Damus can strengthen the United Blood Nation to its true cause. I was once a young hood who helped destroy the UBN because I had no guidance or knowledge of what being a true revolutionary was. But now as a New Afrikan I dedicate my life, blood, sweat and tears for the UBN, BPP, GD, VL, BGF, UCN, and all Black revolutionaries and liberators who stand for the cause and are dedicated to organizing, networking, and rebuilding this nation as a whole.

"Control over the circumstances that surround my existence is of the first importance to me. Without this control, or with control in someone else's hands, I am forever insecure, subject at times to the whim and caprice of the man in control." – George L. Jackson

Dedicated to the United Blood Nation and to all political prisoners of the world. Stay strong, stay real through all struggles.

Eddie "Tek" Lang #532018  
Ohio State Penitentiary

In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

Brotha Jaan:

Revolutionary Salute! By way of a mutual friend, I have been blessed with the opportunity to peruse a few issues of your publication, 4struggleMag, and can appreciate the literary and political work you are engaged in. Thus, keep up the good work and continue to represent, i.e., speak truth to power. Dennis Boatwright is a friend and spiritual brother of mine, and since I have recently taken on the responsibility of editing his provocative writings, I have decided to take the liberty of introducing him and his piercing perspectives to a broader audience. In my honest opinion, he's the most prolific prisoner writer I've ever encountered—and I do not say this fictitiously! If you wish to have more of our writings, do advise and some will be posted. [See Dennis' article "Understanding the Role of Prison Intellectuals" in this issue.] Do add our names to your mailing list. We thank you in anticipation.

In solidarity & in struggle,  
Siddique Abdullah Hasan

## Tunisia Rocked, Egypt Rolled

BY JAAN LAAMAN

Revolution. Scenes of untold thousands in the streets, day after day. Protesters resisting cops and government goons. Larger marches and bigger rallies, these are all scenes the world has just observed from Tunis, Cairo, Alexandria.

Then the fall of one strong man ruler, Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali in Tunisia.

The following month, Hosni Mubarak of Egypt is gone, and the beat of struggle and revolution goes on.

The media has been full of information and images of the popular uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt. The government leaders in the U.S. and Europe have been trying to put their best face forward, their best spin, on the loss of two of their, shall we say, loyal client regimes, or puppet governments, or long and strongly backed dictators. French colonialism-imperialism was more directly backing Ben Ali in Tunisia, while U.S. imperialism was the big backer and military aid provider for Mubarak in Egypt.

U.S. imperialism has a sordid decades upon decades long record of backing dictatorial and even fascist regimes with money, arms and political support. From the Duvaliers in Haiti, Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan, Diem in South Vietnam, Somoza in Nicaragua, Suharto in Indonesia, Pinochet in Chile, the Shah in Iran, Mobutu in Zaire, etc. (if readers aren't too familiar with some of these U.S. backed dictators, doing a little study on them is worth your time; *People's History of the United States*, by Howard Zinn, is one easily available book that has information on a lot of this).

No one really knows what is to come in Egypt or Tunisia. Neither country had a major single revolutionary force and leadership that can now begin building a new revolutionary future and state. Certainly revolutionaries and activists around the world hope the people and progressive forces in Egypt and Tunisia can put together and maintain a truly revolutionary democratic system that benefits their workers, farmers, youth and nation.

In Egypt, just days after Mubarak was forced out (these words are being written in mid-February), the military committee that took over suspended the Constitution and Parliament and promised referendums and elections in 6 months if possible. It is being reported that the main forces and voices that brought this popular uprising together, are somewhat satisfied with this plan and time schedule.

Now it is essential that popular and revolutionary forces in Egypt get to work organizing their people and constructing

the plans and structures for a new government and system.

The "April 6th Youth Movement" and four other youth groups were the initial and main voices/forces that organized the first protests in Tahrir square. These youth voices and groups continue to be the force around which this uprising has coalesced. Mohamed ElBaradei, the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize winner, is a main voice in the "National Association for Change."

This broad front also has leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood in it. The Muslim Brotherhood itself, is a large force throughout Egypt. There is also a liberal protest group, "Enough: The Egyptian Movement for Change," that is active. There are many other groups and movements, including socialist and revolutionary formations, but the Egyptian uprising that forces out Mubarak and his government, was not led by any one group, other than youth and youth groups in general.

Each nation, with its own history and culture is unique. Every revolution is likewise unique, dependent on conditions, time and place. What is common and in fact often occurring, is the reality of popular uprising and revolution. It is not just something that happens in Egypt or Tunisia or South Africa or Nicaragua or Vietnam or Cuba. It's not just something that happened in the past.

Revolution, popular rising of a people who have said: "We are tired, that's enough—I'd rather fight on my feet than live on my knees." This is true change, fundamental change that removes the small power elite, the ruling class from power, and turns that power over to the majority, the working class, the farmers, the common people.

This kind of revolutionary change is possible and often necessary. It is not just something that happens somewhere else. It can happen anywhere—it can happen here in the heart of the empire, of U.S. imperialism—of the racist, classist, war mongering, war profiteering, Earth polluting, prison packing United States of America.

Youth of America, working people of America, people of conscience, do not be afraid, cynical or distracted. Tahrir square is waiting to happen in Times Square, The Loop in Chicago or South Central in LA and everywhere in between. A very popular song being heard all over Tahrir square and Cairo right now, goes like this:

First they ignore you  
Then they laugh at you  
Then they fight you  
Then you win

Like a lot of people used to say here in the U.S., 'All Power to the People.'

33) No comrade can join any other group outside of the new Black Liberation Army.

34) Always remember that bulletproof Black on Black love and unity is our number one goal to create revolution in fascist AmeriKKKa!

"Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are already dying who could be saved, that generations more will die or live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and your love in revolution. Pass on the torch. Join us, give up your life for the people." —The Great General George Jackson

BLACK RIDE OR DIE!  
BLACK POWER TO BLACK PEOPLE!  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!  
JOIN NOW!  
FREE THE LA 2!

Black Riders Liberation Party  
PO Box 8297  
Los Angeles, CA  
USA 90008

BLACKRIDERSLP@YAHOO.COM  
323.245.5320

## Inside Out: Artwork from Within U.S. Prison Walls

Beginning on May 6, 2011, Vermont Action for Political Prisoners will be hosting an art exhibit at Through the Music (2 Elliot Street) in downtown Brattleboro, Vermont.

The exhibit will display art by individuals held in captivity in prisons throughout the United States.

All of the pieces on display will be for sale. The event itself will be free and open to the public.

For more information, check out

[throughthemusic.com](http://throughthemusic.com)

[www.vermontactionforpoliticalprisoners.blogspot.com](http://www.vermontactionforpoliticalprisoners.blogspot.com)

or you can email VAPP at [vermontaction@gmail.com](mailto:vermontaction@gmail.com)

## Defying the Tomb: Book launch brings prison writings to the people

BY KAREN EMILY  
[basicsnews.ca](http://basicsnews.ca)

On January 27, Torontonians gathered to celebrate the launch of revolutionary prisoner Kevin 'Rashid' Johnson's new book. *Defying the Tomb* includes articles by Rashid, as well as the correspondence between himself and "Outlaw," another revolutionary prisoner. Rashid discusses the role of today's Black entertainment media, the current state of 'the left,' the challenges of organizing within prison, and the lessons to be learned from past struggles, including those of the original Black Panther Party.

Rashid has been held captive in Virginia's prison system for more than 20 years, 18 of which have been in solitary confinement. He first became exposed to revolutionary ideas after meeting Hanif Shabazz-Bey, a long-held political prisoner. Since then, Rashid has become a jailhouse lawyer, revolutionary artist, theorist and leader in the New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC). The NABPP seeks to organize the Black proletarian masses and urban poor, alongside other oppressed nationalities and classes. The Prison Chapter serves as the nucleus of the United Panther Movement, and its guiding mission is to turn U.S. concentration camps (prisons) into schools of liberation.

Rashid has faced violent repression from prison guards as a result of his effective prison organizing, relentless litigating against the prison regime and the threat his knowledge poses to the prison industrial complex.

The Toronto book launch was jointly organized by BASICS Community News Service and Toronto Anarchist Black Cross (ABC). The evening kicked off with a panel featuring Dr. Chris Harris (a.k.a. Wasun), Sara Falconer and Steve da Silva. The panel discussed the history and influence of the Black Panther Party and other Black revolutionary organizations; the repression faced by Rashid and the importance of supporting imprisoned revolutionaries; and the theory and practice of the NABPP-PC and its application to struggle in Canada today. A lively discussion followed, with audience members going deeper into the lessons learned from past struggles, and the extent to which those struggles can be replicated or built upon today.

Afterward, people mingled and continued the discussion, while Wasun dropped tracks from his new album, *Prison Notebooks*, and Revolutionary Love spun revolutionary tracks the rest of the night.

[rashidmod.com](http://rashidmod.com)

attain the goals, objectives, and general policies to their fullest capacities. They will always be mindful of the quality and quantity of their service, dedication and determination, and to always be willing to do what is required to bring an end to injustice, racism, police terrorism, Black on Black violent crime and global oppression.

9) Any comrade in violation of the rules must be disciplined according to the violation, and no punishment is to exceed the offense.

10) Each comrade must make an effort to teach non-members of the party suffering from lack of confidence and/or fear of the capitalist oppressor to overcome these obstacles. Educate to liberate is the motto for this purpose. To lead through the success of one's practice, leadership must be decisive; without sacrifice or participation in revolutionary activity, there is no leadership.

11) Every comrade with former "hood" or "tribal" connections should work day and night to be a positive revolutionary example to his or her homies. A comrade with street organizational ties should strive to educate their homies to the truth that it is real respect to be gained by riding on the real racist enemy instead of fighting other Black people. If possible, this comrade should work on creating a cease fire between warring street formations involved in Black on Black violence. This comrade must be extremely politically educated and militant in order to facilitate improvised ways to accomplish this important job without backsliding into Black on Black violent crime and reactionary suicide.

12) Each cadre leader may establish additional rules in their environment to enhance the harmony in their area, keeping in mind the nature of human behavior, such as maintaining respect of female comrades, and the personal relationship between comrades. All additional rules must be reported and approved by the Central Committee of the Black Riders Liberation Party.

13) All information is disseminated on a need to know basis.

14) Under no condition will there be any fighting between comrades.

15) All comrades will show respect to all Black people in word and actions.

16) All comrades should attempt to be polite and courteous to all people, regardless of race, creed, color or sexual orientation.

17) No comrade will place any material commodity above or before the Black Riders Liberation Party, the people, or the new Black liberation movement.

18) No comrade will display or have an arrogant, disdainful, belittling or chauvinistic attitude.

19) No comrade is permitted to use, produce, distribute, process, fund, or take part in the sale of heroin, cocaine (in any form), LSD, or PCP. Nor will they take any type of pill for the purpose of getting high (uppers or downers) and no comrade will distribute such pills or take part in the sale of such pills or other illegal drugs.

20) No comrade will ever appear in public intoxicated or under the influence of alcohol, or any other illegal drug.

21) No comrade shall lie about his/her position/rank to the people or another comrade.

22) No comrade will reveal Black Rider secrets to anyone.

23) No comrade will use the influence or reputation of Black Riders for his/her personal interest.

24) All cadre leaders are to set up decolonization programs/ or classes in political and physical education, first aid, karate (empty hand martial arts) weaponry, and other topics such as nutrition and horticulture, which will enable Black people to better survive, and to be able to contribute to the survival of the party.

25) All comrades are expected to take part in the established decolonization programs and classes.

26) All comrades will carry out orders given to them by their cadre leader or staff member.

27) All comrades are potential leaders and are expected to take the initiative and develop themselves to the utmost, so as to be capable of taking the initiative and providing leadership whenever it is needed.

28) All comrades will read the Black Riders Liberation Party's manual, and put to memory the rules of discipline, code of conduct, ways to combat liberalism, and points of attention as part of their everyday lives.

29) When a cadre leader is not available, comrades will vote and appoint one, on the merit of knowledge, experience, dedication, and courage. All newly elected cadre leaders must report and be approved by the Central Committee of the Black Riders Liberation Party.

30) All cadre leaders are to make available an avenue through which members can air grievances. There must exist a conscientious effort on the part of the cadre leader to resolve these grievances in a humane, patient, and sensitive manner.

31) Cadre leaders are to send dispositions of all grievances to the Central Committee for review.

32) All comrades who are imprisoned will report immediately upon release to a designated cadre leader or other instructed location.

## Tunisia: Multitude in Revolt

BY DAVID CUNNINGHAM

Reprinted from [momentofinsurrection.wordpress.com](http://momentofinsurrection.wordpress.com)

### Revolt of the multitude

The situation in Tunisia is a rupture brought into being by the militancy of the multitude. There is no party or leadership, no unions or even a class that has forced this situation – rather, it is a multitude. The multitude defined not as the people, not a mass, not as a set of individuals. It is defined as a network of singularities, where these singularities – in order not to become reduced to chaos – recognize themselves in a common that extends beyond them.

The intensity with which power is being swarmed by the multitude clearly articulates the militant position. The fact that the hole blown wide open has not been filled by oppositional political stand-ins, or suppressed by military might shows the potential flight this situation is in the process of becoming – the reproduction of the insurrectionary situation that brings into being a maximally revolutionary event that until such rupture did not exist, and in fact seemed impossible just prior ('it could never happen in Tunisia').

It was not a chance taken within a revolutionary situation, but rather a militant movement imposed upon a reality that believed itself to be impenetrable (Tunisia over the last couple days has been described by media as having been both 'the most modern African state' and consequently, 'a totalitarian police state'). This moment of insurrection is not static and can swing in any direction or reaction; the nation-state of Tunisia and the histories of those breaking free from it, outline such potentialities.

### Carthage is burning!

The product of an ancient lineage of foreign occupation, Tunisia was first colonized by the Roman Empire in 146 BC. The Arab invasion in the 7th Century lasted until 1882 when the Europeans fought it out amongst themselves for control. This concluded in French domination until 1942 when the Nazis took over who were finally ousted by a popular nationalist movement that was subsequently able to kick out the French in a campaign of armed struggle between the years of 1952-55. This ushered in the on-going reign of neo-colonialism. The

party that controlled Tunisian society and imprisoned the indigenous populations within its borders has undergone a number of name changes and even flirted with ideological deviations including mass collectivization of land and nationalization of industry, as well as support for Palestinian resistance.

The socialist facade dissolved in the toxic dumping of liberalism in the 70s – which in turn unleashed waves of mass revolt that left dozens dead in rioting which mirrors the images being transmitted from Tunisia today.

In reaction to the popular unrest a new prime minister was imposed in 1980 and implemented the apparatus of fascist control that is now being torn asunder. In a decade-long exchange of blows between the state and society – in which the state resorted to the mass imprisonment and killings – Ben Ali (last seen running for his life) was crowned under the latest party handle: the Democratic Constitution Rally. He went on to solidify his position by further negating hard fought rights and banning most oppositional parties. It is this process that returns the rupture of revolt.

### Social war against empire

The multitude that now holds the popular position is not unfamiliar with the reoccurrence of domination under the various guises of counter-revolution. The success of the revolt thus far has been its assemblage of tactics and strategy which deterritorialize the urbanism into smooth space. This in turn ensures the movement's agility in the streets, its velocity in concentration of power and dispersal of forces, its unity of mass and transmutation of attack. Conducted dually with the mobilizations of popular power has been the rearguard battles fought out with rocks, burning barricades and armed struggle. Without the communal-militarization of the social unrest, the state's military and police forces would have succeeded in putting down the upheaval as they had before on several occasions. And that crux is now the major theatre of operations – currently being conducted within the state of emergency: the armed commu-



nization of the multitude, who behind their barricades are defending their territory from the forces of command—the police, army, politicians and death squads who are at the behest of empire, in the dire attempt to ‘regain order.’

Further underlining the mode of the multitude is the reality of the total social upheaval. That society has been subsumed by capital throughout empire is met in consequence by the configurations of the multitudes revolt. A social war not isolated to any one contradiction; where all antagonisms are played out over the entire social terrain—not confined to the workplace or parliaments, and thereby unable to be institutionally mediated in isolation. The social war that is revolutionizing society in Tunisia has its equal force throughout the planetary upheavals now rupturing empire in a global civil war. In the bordering nation-state of Algeria, the rocks are hurled and barricades built with the might and subjectivity of the same multitude, which disperse along the similar lines of flight that are transversed through that region by the millions of nomadic people who have for millennia been at war.

#### Nomad War Machine

Within the fortress state of Tunisia, convoys of ‘Imazighen’ (free people) make their way through the southern lands. The Bedouin and Berbers are nomadic and have violently fought off state appropriation. ‘The war machine is that nomadic invention that in fact has war not as its primary object but as its second-order, supplementary or synthetic objective, in the sense that it is determined in such a way as to destroy the State-form and city-form with which it collides.’ As many nomads have been economically forced to migrate to the cities as wage-slaves, we can assume that the tendencies of the nomadic war machine have been re-communized there – the necessity to flee from the state, but while doing so, grabbing a weapon.

#### Exodus

It is in this exodus from the state apparatus that the Tunisian multitude-in-motion must continue. The popular power in the streets has left power in the gutter, can it be gathered and used to smash the state, or will it be re-conquered by empire now circling overhead? At the height of unrest the prisoners in many prisons across Tunisia knew how it must be done, they did not wait for the political outcome, but forced their way through the concrete walls of reality.

In one case a fire set during the prison revolt led to the mournful killing of many insurgents shot whilst fleeing the flames; in other prisons they escaped by forcefully taking control. Without being able to rely upon the forces of command, now bunked down in the street fighting – the prison guards were in no position to defend the institution and the prisoners walked out. It is our hope that they are able to return to destroy the prisons once and for all. It is our desire to do the same here.

## Egypt ‘Frees Political Prisoners’

Reprinted from english.aljazeera.net  
February 8, 2011

Thirty-four prisoners reportedly freed in move seen as part of reforms pledged by embattled government. Mubarak offered political reforms in a bid to end the protests around the country

The Egyptian government is reported to have freed 34 political prisoners, including some members of the Muslim Brotherhood, in a move seen to be part of promised reforms aimed at ending anti-government protests.

According to Al Jazeera sources, more than a thousand other prisoners were released on Wednesday after completing at least three-quarters of their sentences. And another 840 prisoners were released from the Sinai province.

“Interior Minister Mahmoud Wagdy issued an order today releasing 34 political detainees considered to be among the extremist elements, after evaluating their positions,” the state-owned Middle East News Agency (MENA) said on Tuesday.

“They showed good intentions and expressed their desire to live peaceably with society.”

The report added they had handed themselves over to the authorities after escaping from prison during several days of disorder last month. Security forces were withdrawn from the streets after failing to crush millions of protesters on January 28. Security then broke down at many prisons around the country.

During the 1990s, Egypt battled Islamist fighters who wanted to replace the government of Hosni Mubarak, the president, with an Islamic state.

#### Political detainees

Many fighters remain in jail from the time of Mubarak’s predecessor Anwar Sadat, who was assassinated by soldiers linked to an Islamist group in 1981.

According to human rights groups, it is not clear how many people are detained in Egypt for political activities, such as joining banned groups or planning or carrying out acts of violence, but they estimate them to be in thousands.

Mubarak has offered other concessions in an attempt to end ongoing protests around the country, which included the appointment of a vice-president and a new cabinet. Political reforms have also been pledged and the government said this would include freeing detainees and lifting emergency laws.

## To the Afrikan Intercommunalist Youth—To Their Fathers—We Will Now Criticize the Unjust with the Weapon!

STATEMENT FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE BLACK RIDERS LIBERATION PARTY

All Power to the People!

Revolutionary Greetings! Due to the Black revolutionary consciousness that is surging around the country, the Black Riders Liberation Party has organized a powerful nationwide prison chapter. New recruits from all over the country are setting up branches for the prison chapter in the spirit of George Jackson and his brother/alter-ego Jonathan Jackson.

Each branch is organized by state. We have received numerous requests from people on the streets around the country to set up chapters, especially on the East Coast. Also, the Northern California chapter of the Black Riders was officially opened during the struggle to seek justice for Oscar Grant with a Feed the People program amongst the rebellious masses in Oakland. We openly admit that the requirements to be a member of Black Riders requires strict discipline but we encourage others to take up the banner of freedom and bang on the system with a strong, structured revolutionary organization. There must be no other course but to fight it out. Every political and military position must be held to the last Black man and Black woman. There must be no retreat and no surrender. With our backs to the wall and believing in the justice of our cause each one of us must fight on to the end.

We call on all Black people who still believe in freedom to join us or support us with their minds, bodies, and souls. There is a great war to be won and we will win it together. The Black man and Black woman, once properly politically educated, culturally inspired, and physically trained is the greatest human fighting machine the world has ever known!



## Rules of Discipline: Guidelines of Discipline for Every Comrade in the Black Riders Liberation Party

Discipline is very necessary, if our objective is to be achieved. If revolutionary Afrikan Inter-communalists followed and adhered to strict self discipline, rules would not be necessary. So to safeguard and advance revolutionary Afrikan Intercommunalism, each comrade is responsible to him/her self and the global liberation front for maintaining and following the rules of discipline.

- 1) Each comrade is a potential leader and must at all times work toward obtaining those qualities that will make him/her the best and most efficient leader, learning when, where and how to take the initiative.
- 2) Each comrade must develop and maintain consistent study habits of the local/global political and socio-economic environment (any and all publications available: books, newspapers, and magazines that will help to give social consciousness), and all materials dealing with the science of struggle and the enemy.
- 3) Each comrade must be selfless; sharing and providing assistance to comrades with basic necessities and outside contacts if at all possible. Commendation and recognition is to be given for selfless acts. Taking undue advantage of comrades or Black people must be disciplined.
- 4) Physical fitness is a must. Each comrade must maintain an exercise program. Group practice is desirable and if possible, should be systematic and punctual for cohesive effect.
- 5) Each comrade is to refrain from psychologically abusive and egotistical behavior; such as unnecessary loud talking, bragging and etc.
- 6) No comrade is to fear constructive criticism. Constructive criticism is a critical view or remark(s) backed by evaluation, knowledge, investigation, propriety, and concern.
- 7) Among comrades there shall be no egoism, vanity, intemperance, or intolerance. We understand that there are people with different religious views, but comrades who practice Afrikan Inter-communalism will always seek to persuade others to the correctness of the Black Riders Liberation Party.
- 8) Each comrade will diligently struggle to



## About Bill Dunne

Bill Dunne is an anti-authoritarian political prisoner imprisoned for an attempted 1979 prison break from the King County Jail in Seattle, Washington. Dunne and his former codefendant, Larry Giddings, were accused by police of being “members of a small, heavily armed group of revolutionaries,” associated with the Wellspring Communion.

Based primarily in San Francisco, the Wellspring Communion, engaged in radical Leftist political outreach, merging the ideas of communism and anarchism into a single praxis. Though active mainly in the Bay area, the organization was said to have practice guerrilla training on a property in Humboldt County. According to media reports, the group – once known as the Tribal Thumb- was an offshoot of the Symbionese Liberation Army and with membership having backgrounds in “the Students for a Democratic Society, Weatherman, Black Panthers, Black Liberation Army and other guerrilla families.” Despite these accusations, none of this has ever been confirmed.

Prior to Dunne’s arrest, another accused member of the Wellspring Communion, Artie Ray Dufur (also known as Artie Ray Baker), was arrested for the murder of a border inspector that took place during a scuffle. Baker was scheduled to have his sentence hearing at the King County Courthouse on October 19, 1979. Dunne and Giddings, along with unknown individuals from a San Francisco Anarchist collective, organized a no-holds-barred attempt to free Baker.

On Sunday evening, October 14, 1979, seven inmates, including Baker, escaped from the high security jail on the 10th floor of the King County Courthouse. Using a gun smuggled into the jail, the inmates capture the guards, locked them in a holding tank and took over the jail’s central control room. Within 20 minutes, the escapees were on the street, heading for their getaway cars.

Waiting for the escapees in two separate cars were Bill Dunne and Larry Giddings. As escaped prisoners climbed into the red mustang driven by Bill Dunne, an officer spotted the men. While in pursuit, the officer opened fire, injuring Dunne in his left shoulder and killing one of the escapees. Dunne lost control of his car, crashed the car into a cement retaining wall and was arrested by the police.

While the police were detaining two escapees who had fled after the crash, the second get away car, driven by Larry Giddings, approached the scene. A brief gun battle ensued, leaving Larry Giddings and one officer wounded. As Giddings attempted to flee from the scene, his car lost traction on the wet road, colliding with two patrol cars. After regaining control of the car, Giddings drove down a street but was captured when his car was run off the road by police.

Within 45 minutes, all of escapees had been recaptured except one man, who was apprehended two days later. Dunne was charged with possession of an automatic weapon, the M-2 carbine. Giddings was charged with the attempted murder of a police officer. Both men were charged with auto theft and with aiding and abetting the escape. Charges further alleged the operation was financed by bank expropriations and facilitated by illegal acquisition of weapons, explosives, and other equipment.

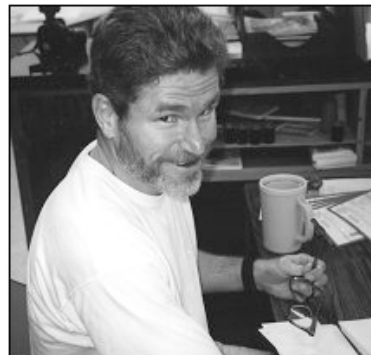
Larry Giddings was sentenced to two life sentences, plus an additional 80 years- all to run consecutively. Bill Dunne was sentenced to 80 years in federal prison, in addition to 5 to 15 years for state charges. Dunne received an additional 15 years and seven-and-a-half years of lockdown in Marion Federal Prison for his attempted self-emancipation from Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary in 1983.

In January of 1993 Larry Giddings was paroled from the sentences given to him by the State of Washington, which landed him in federal custody to serve what amounted to a 75-year term. In March of 1993 he received a “Sentence Computation Summary” stating that he would become eligible for parole in another ten years, in 2003. In August 2004, he was finally released.

Bill Dunne spent over a decade in the notorious Marion prison before transferring to USP Leavenworth. There he assisted social prisoners in both political and scholastic education.

One prisoner, Ernesto Santiago received his GED (General Education Diploma) with the help of Dunne and fellow Political Prisoner Jaan Laaman. In the summer of 2002, Dunne was then transferred to the new USP Atwater in California and was moved again to USP Big Sandy in 2006. Bill has continued to maintain his political activity organizing solidarity runs in conjunction with the ABCF’s Running Down the Walls 5K Run for Political Prisoners. He is also works on the Prisoner Committee of the Anarchist Black Cross Federation.

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## Israel’s War on Children: 1,500 Arrested in a Year

BY JONATHAN COOK

Reprinted from [www.counterpunch.org](http://www.counterpunch.org)

Israeli police have been criticised over their treatment of hundreds of Palestinian children, some as young as seven, arrested and interrogated on suspicion of stone-throwing in East Jerusalem.

In the past year, criminal investigations have been opened against more than 1,200 Palestinian minors in Jerusalem on stone-throwing charges, according to police statistics gathered by the Association of Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI). That was nearly twice the number of children arrested last year in the much larger Palestinian territory of the West Bank.

Most of the arrests have occurred in the Silwan district, close to Jerusalem’s Old City, where 350 extremist Jewish settlers have set up several heavily guarded illegal enclaves among 50,000 Palestinian residents.

Late last month, in a sign of growing anger at the arrests, a large crowd in Silwan was reported to have prevented police from arresting Adam Rishek, a seven-year-old accused of stone-throwing. His parents later filed a complaint claiming he had been beaten by the officers.

Tensions between residents and settlers have been rising steadily since the Jerusalem municipality unveiled a plan in February to demolish dozens of Palestinian homes in the Bustan neighbourhood to expand a Biblically-themed archeological park run by Elad, a settler organisation.

The plan is currently on hold following U.S. pressure on Benjamin Netanyahu, the Israeli prime minister.

Fakhri Abu Diab, a local community leader, warned that the regular clashes between Silwan’s youths and the settlers, termed a “stone intifada” by some, could trigger a full-blown Palestinian uprising.

“Our children are being sacrificed for the sake of the settlers’ goal to take over our community,” he said.

In a recent report, entitled *Unsafe Space*, ACRI concluded that, in the purge on stone-

throwing, the police were riding roughshod over children’s legal rights and leaving many minors with profound emotional traumas.

Testimonies collected by the rights groups reveal a pattern of children being arrested in late-night raids, handcuffed and interrogated for hours without either a parent or lawyer being present. In many cases, the children have reported physical violence or threats.

Last month 60 Israeli childcare and legal experts, including Yehudit Karp, a former deputy attorney-general, wrote to Mr Netanyahu condemning the police behaviour.

“Particularly troubling,” they wrote, “are testimonies of children under the age of 12, the minimal age set by the law for criminal liability, who were taken in for questioning, and who were not spared rough and abusive interrogation.”

Unlike in the West Bank, which is governed by military law, children in East Jerusalem suspected of stone-throwing are supposed to be dealt with according to Israeli criminal law.

Israel annexed East Jerusalem following the Six-Day war of 1967, in violation of international law, and its 250,000 Palestinian inhabitants are treated as permanent Israeli residents.

Minors, defined as anyone under 18, should be questioned by specially trained officers and only during daylight hours. The children must be able to consult with a lawyer



East Jerusalem: Palestinian youths throw stones at Israeli occupation forces for third day in September 2010. 18 stone throwers were arrested for committing “acts of violence.”

and a parent should be present.

Ronit Sela, a spokeswoman for the Association of Civil Rights in Israel (ACRI), said her organisation had been “shocked” at the large number of children arrested in East Jerusalem in recent months, often by units of undercover policemen.

“We have heard many testimonies from children who describe terrifying experiences of violence during both their arrest and their later interrogation.”

Muslim, 10, lives in the Bustan neighbourhood and in a house that Israeli authorities have ordered demolished. His case was included in the ACRI report, and in an interview he said he had been arrested four times this year, even though he was under the age of criminal responsibility. On the last occasion, in October, he was grabbed from the street by three plain-clothes policemen who jumped out a van.

“One of the men grabbed me from behind and started choking me. The second grabbed my shirt and tore it from the back, and the third twisted my hands behind my back and tied them with plastic cords. ‘Who threw stones?’ one of them asked me. ‘I don’t know,’ I said. He started hitting me on the head and I shouted in pain.”

Muslim was taken into custody and released six hours later. A local doctor reported that the boy had bleeding wounds to his knees and swelling on several parts of his body.

Muslim’s father, who has two sons in prison, said the boy was waking with nightmares and could no longer concentrate on his school studies. “He has been devastated by this.”

Ms Sela said arrests had risen sharply in Silwan since September, when a private security guard at a settler compound shot dead a Palestinian man, Samer Sirhan, and injured two others.

Clashes between the settlers and Silwan youths came to prominence in October when David Beeri, director of settler organisation Elad, was shown on camera driving into two boys as they threw stones at his car.

One, Amran Mansour, 12, who was thrown over the bonnet of Mr Beeri’s car, was arrested shortly afterwards in a late-night raid on his family’s home.

Also in October, nine rightwing Israeli MPs complained after stones were thrown at their minibus as they paid a solidarity visit to Beit Yonatan, a large settler-controlled house in Silwan. Israel’s courts have ordered that the house be demolished, but Jerusalem’s mayor, Nir Barkat, has refused to enforce the order.

In the wake of the attack, Yitzhak Aharonovitch, the public security minister, warned: “We will stop the stone-throwing through the use of covert and overt force, and bring back quiet.”

Last month police announced that house arrests would be used against children more regularly and financial penalties of up to \$1,400 would be imposed on parents.

B’Tselem, an Israeli human rights group, reported the case of “A.S.”, a 12-year-old taken for interrogation following an arrest at 3am.

“I sat on my knees facing the wall. Every time I moved, a man in civilian clothes hit me with his hand on my neck ... The man asked me to prostrate myself on the floor and ask his forgiveness, but I refused and told him that I do not bow to anyone but Allah. All the while, I felt intense pain in my feet and legs. I felt intense fear and I started shaking.”

In a statement B’Tselem said: “It is hard to believe that the security forces would have acted similarly against Jewish minors.”

Micky Rosenfeld, a police spokesman, denied that the police had violated the children’s rights. He added: “It is the responsibility of parents to stop this criminal behavior by their children.”

Jawad Siyam, a local community activist in Silwan, said the goal of the arrests and the increased settler activity was to “make life unbearable and push us out of the area.”

The 60 experts who wrote to Mr Netanyahu warned that the children’s abuse led to “post-traumatic stress disorders, such as nightmares, insomnia, bed-wetting, and constant fear of policemen and soldiers.” They also noted that children under extended house arrest were being denied the right to schooling.

Last year the United Nations Committee Against Torture expressed “deep concern” at Israel’s treatment of Palestinian minors, saying Israel was breaking the UN Convention on the Rights of Children, which it has signed.

Over the past 12 months, Defence for Children International has provided the UN with details of more than 100 children who claim they were physically or psychologically abused while in military custody.

*Jonathan Cook is a writer and journalist based in Nazareth, Israel. His latest books are Israel and the Clash of Civilisations: Iraq, Iran and the Plan to Remake the Middle East (Pluto Press) and Disappearing Palestine: Israel’s Experiments in Human Despair (Zed Books). His website is [jkcook.net](http://jkcook.net).*

capitalism. Most “liberated” nations are strong-man or otherwise autocratic regimes, and some have even backslid into hereditary dictatorships. Some look more fascist than progressive communist/socialist. Moreover, capitalism has learned how to penetrate “independent” nations with a neoimperialism that uses local elites instead of garrisons to administer colonial economies in its image and likeness – which is all the imperial capitalists really care about. Those local elites have an incentive to magnify and aggravate national consciousness because that makes them valuable to the neoimperialists who hold the purse strings.

Encouraging people to view their identity as something narrow and exclusive (national) first and foremost, and revolutionary only second, sets up the conditions in which we can be picked off one by one. All the nations prioritizing their own national liberation will not chisel away at imperial capital’s hegemony; the global ruling class will just sit back and wait to coopt the new bosses – or isolate them into ineffectiveness if they are sufficiently tractable – one at a time. Only occasionally will they have to send the gunboats – and they can usually do that longer and better than isolated national liberation struggles can resist. More necessary as a revolutionary strategy is a political praxis that integrates rather than segregates.

We, the people, working on proletarian revolution wherever we can most effectively do so across the globe, the same struggle in many places, is what will do the deed. Nationalism and national liberation will still have their uses. That is why I described them as obsolescent – on their way to becoming obsolete. In trying to build revolutionary consciousness, we have to start where the people are. And sometimes given conditions, time, and place will make a national liberation struggle a good tactic (as opposed to strategy). While they thus might have an occasional role, it would only incidentally be with the end of a country’s liberation and sovereignty. It will be more as part of a process in which a planetary revolutionary movement protests a G20 summit here, creates increasingly free zones of collective living and working endeavors that replace bourgeois economic relations with popular institutions there, publishes a newspaper or broadcasts elsewhere, supports militant labor struggles in another place, and, yes, liberates the territory of a nation (and maybe several) where that is the most effective and possible action for those conditions, and that time, and that place. All the elements of this movement will be there for all the others; they will not merely be a conglomerate of fellow travelers or only allies or less. But as a main thrust or strategy, nationalism’s time is done. It’s time for a planetary, socialist, democratic, popular revolution.

I heartily agree with Jaan that “[t]he struggle for the future is certainly a struggle for the working class of all nations to get rid of their own capitalist misleaders – rulers, and to establish the democratic rule of the working class and majority of people for their own common interests, in line with the similar majority common interests of people in other

countries. In order for the world to survive and thrive, this has to be our future.” I do not think, however, that the new culture of struggle where all the world’s people see themselves as class sistren and brethren with whom to relate on the basis of socialist, democratic mutual aid (as opposed to locked in cutthroat competition with other nations from which the “national” elites benefit) and in which countries are mere administrative provinces to ensure devolved power in a planetary human nation will evolve out of internally focused, separatist national struggles. History supports this conclusion: nowhere have liberated nations successfully merged into an enduring proletarian republic capable of defending itself and supporting class struggle everywhere.

Yes, people and nations must come together, but saying they first must separate and distinguish themselves into nominally equal entities is more likely to impede that coming together. If people can’t come together as proletarians, why would they as different nationalities? That is like saying there are intrinsic differences among humans that cannot be bridged and there can’t be a true coming together as a class. I reject that notion. We will certainly have caucuses, organizations, and groups within the movement to insure no individual or identifiable group is disenfranchised in the normal ebb and flow of our interactions. But to say this demonstrates inherent separateness and inability to avoid oppressive behavior is to deny the possibility of revolution.

Yes, nationalism could be a lot of things. The fact, though, is it tends to be an impediment to the unity we, the people, need. Many wars that are not for liberation or self-determination have been fought in the name of nationalism. And nowadays, the global ruling class uses nations to keep people corralled, to better exploit them and play them against the prisoners of other nations. Capital and trade derived from the working class’ labor and expropriated by the ruling class is free to move around the world virtually unimpeded, but labor – our class’ trade good and capital – is hemmed in by borders. Jaan is correct in saying that many people still identify with these nations despite the liabilities and that the world is still characterized by them. But that doesn’t make them worthy of preservation, just as feudalism and fascism are not. Revolution is about overthrowing oppressive relations, not seeking to work within them.

The dichotomy is thus: Is a revolutionary strategy – THE revolutionary strategy – diving into nationalism, and fomenting and intensifying and encouraging everyone to assume national identity as their primary identity, so the resulting many nations can then each break with imperialism and then, perhaps, capitalism as each is able? Or do we unite all the victims of imperial capital into a powerful, internationalist, proletarian, revolutionary movement that can and will abolish imperial capital and divisive nationalism in favor of a new planetary paradigm? I think the answer is apparent.

sis of that commonality to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie that afflicts us. That dictatorship already recognizes no national boundaries for its interests and uses them as instruments of divide and rule and to keep us panned in and pitted against each other. Attempts to organize on the basis of ethnic, racial, geographic, economic, whatever differences play into those uses whereas organizing for and on the basis of common vision thwarts them.

Jaan takes a moment to talk about the history and origin of nation states and how they grew in the last few hundred years out of feudalism, which, in turn, grew out of tribal relationships. People came to see themselves as members of these nation states much as they had previously seen themselves as belonging to various tribes and kingdoms and even empires. This was social evolution. Where tribal relations could no longer manage the relations of larger and more complex society, feudal relations emerged to supplant them. Testament to feudalism's efficacy at doing so in feudalism's conditions, time and place is the extent to which feudalism replaced tribalism. Many tribal people fought courageously to preserve the way of life to which they were committed and felt they could not be whole without, but tribalism did not give them the tools to win. Society continued to expand and develop and become more sophisticated under feudalism in ways to which feudalism could not adapt. Hence, bourgeois nation states based on industry and money that would manage the development pushed feudalism aside. Many knights in shining armor and loyal subjects of the realm leapt valiantly into the breach for kind and country and a way of life they thought preserved the world from darkness and chaos. But feudalism could not compete against the legions of proletarian conscripts armed with mass-produced rifles by bourgeois fat-cats with no titles or nobility but plenty of money and factories.

The fat-cats took over the nation states and manipulated their political, social, and physical boundaries through politics, economics, war, and imperialism in their own interests – not the interests of the subjects, now citizens – of the nations. The fat-cats sold the people that within those boundaries of the nation they were somehow inherently different, better, and in competition with the people without the borders. Through nation-building and maintenance, elites got people to identify with the elites and their definition of a nation's culture rather than their class sistren and brethren and their own material interests. As Jaan notes, the level of exploitation and oppression inflicted by the generally small elites that controlled – and control – virtually all of these nations varied – and varies – greatly. The ruling class in some of these nations used the identification it built with itself and the nation not only to suppress class consciousness at home, but to wage wars of aggression abroad and make themselves empires.

Colonial “subjects” naturally and rightly rebelled against imperial masters, especially when they were exploited and oppressed and relegated to permanent second class status.

Colonial masters had to maintain the mythology of imperial country superiority to get their own proletarian common fodder to do the exploiting and oppressing. But what model did the victims of colonialism have around which to organize their resistance? Nationalism! To some extent the choice was imposed on them: the conditions for anti-colonial revolution did not emerge at the same time in all colonies. So national liberation was built as the primary path to a revolutionary social change; it was more or less progressive to the extent that most of the struggles included class and socialist consciousness, and it did change the societies the imperialists had presided over in fundamental ways. Untold numbers of committed people fought and died heroically in national liberation struggles to bring self-determination and the attendant freedom to the people of the nation. Indeed, we look to many of those heroes and heroines as examples of dedication and committed praxis as we strive to put in our own work toward a revolutionary vision.

But nationalism has brought the benefits of revolutionary struggle to precious few and has not ushered in an age of proletarian solidarity. Verily, the last 65 years of national liberation have shown that nationalism is now at the spot feudalism was at the advent of the modern nation state: incapable of changing fast enough to keep up with the development of human society, and ready to give way to the next big thing. Nor does that apply only to nations that emerged through anti-colonial national struggles in recent times. Financial, industrial, and energy instability and upheaval shows social development is outstripping the system of nation states' ability to manage.

So, yes, nations have characterized the last few hundred years of human history. And, yes, the world is currently characterized by nation states. Finally, yes, people have been taught to identify with these nations as if they did not belong to the same species or class (in the political, not taxonomic, sense), as if we, the people, were not all humans, as if the real contradictions were not between two classes to each of which belong members of every nationality, as if the vision of a revolutionary, socialist, planetary, human nation were not possible.

But so what? All that does not mean we are stuck with nations and nationalism any more than the tribalists were stuck with tribalism or feudal subjects with feudalism. And just like the tribalists and feudalists lost through reliance on strategies whose time was past, if the revolutionary movement sticks to national liberation as its primary strategy, it is likely to lose, too.

That nationalism is obsolescent as a revolutionary strategy is thus manifest. Where has it resulted in revolutionary socialist government with the exception of Cuba and, possibly, Vietnam? Those two are beleaguered by capitalism and have not been able to advance the struggle. Some countries may call themselves communist or socialist, but their economies are unduly influenced or characterized by

## Let Anti-Nuclear and Human Rights Campaigner Vanunu Go Free

BY STEVEN KATSINERIS  
Victoria, Australia

“Mordechai Vanunu is a prisoner of conscience,” said Malcolm Smart, Amnesty International.

“The only way to peace is peace; the only way is non-violence. The only answer to Israeli nuclear weapons, their aggression, occupation and oppression and the wall and the refugee camps is to answer truth and a peaceful voice. When I became a spy for the world, I did it all for the people of the world. If governments do not report the truth and if the media does not report the truth, then all we can do is follow our consciences. Daniel Ellsberg did, the woman at Enron did and I did.”

### Vanunu, interview with Eileen Fleming

In 1986, Mordechai Vanunu took a courageous moral stand against nuclear weapons. Vanunu exposed Israel's secret nuclear weapons arsenal to the world after becoming disillusioned with his work as a technician at Dimona Nuclear Research Centre in Israel. The information revealed Israel had hundreds of advanced nuclear warheads (the sixth largest stockpile in the world). Under a policy of nuclear ambiguity, Israel still denies it has nuclear weapons.

His brave actions led to him being kidnapped by Israeli Mossad agents in Italy and transported back to Israel where he was charged with espionage and treason and convicted in a secret trial. Vanunu's abduction was a violation of Italian and International Law.

For this “crime” he spent 18 years in jail, with over 11 years of it in solitary confinement in a six-metre square cell under constant camera observation, conditions that Amnesty International described as, “cruel, inhuman and degrading.”

Vanunu was released from prison in 2004, but Israeli authorities imposed a strict military supervision order on him, which is renewed every six months. Under this order Vanunu is banned from meeting journalists, supporters and foreigners, can't use phones or the Internet, go near foreign embassies, ports or airports or move address without informing the police. Vanunu is also subject to continuous police surveillance, his internal movements are confined to Jerusalem and he is forbidden to leave Israel.

These Israeli restrictions deny Vanunu's rights to freedom of expression, movement and association. Amnesty Inter-

national said that as Vanunu has served his full sentence, these limitations are a breach of international law. He has been rearrested and jailed several times since 2004 for breaching these regulations.

In early August, Vanunu was released from prison after being held in solitary confinement for a further three months in central Israel. He has been sentenced to serve more time in prison for unauthorised meetings with foreign nationals, including his Norwegian girlfriend and journalists and for travelling from Jerusalem to Bethlehem to attend Christmas Eve mass. He was held under harsh and inhumane conditions, in the worst section of Ayalon prison where he was only allowed out for one hour each day to walk in the prison courtyard.

“While he was in prison, Amnesty International campaigned for Vanunu's unconditional release. Malcolm Smart, AI Middle East director stated, “Mordechai Vanunu should not be in prison, let alone be held in solitary confinement ... to return him to such conditions now is harsh and unjustified.”

Scientists say that Israeli claims that Vanunu has more secret details to reveal are ridiculous, after 24 years this is merely a pretext for continuing to punish him. In December 2009, Uzi Eilam, the former head of Israel's Atomic Energy Commission told PRESSTV that Vanunu “should be let go. I don't think he has significant knowledge to reveal (about Dimona) now.” While Vanunu has no more information to reveal about secret work at the Dimona reactor, he remains committed to disarmament and anti-nuclear campaigns.

“The Israelis have 200 atomic weapons and they accuse the Palestinians and Muslims of terrorism... The Dimona has never been inspected and Israel has never signed the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty, but all the Arab states have... The world needs to wake up and see the real terrorism is the occupation and the Palestinians have lived under that terror regime for 40 years,” Vanunu said.

Vanunu followed his conscience and has since been imprisoned and persecuted by Israel. After being released from prison, his civil, political and human rights have been grossly abused. He has served his prison time and under international law he is entitled to his liberty.

Many respected people, including Bishop Desmond Tutu, linguist and writer Noam Chomsky, peace activist Mairead Maguire, Yoko Ono and the late playwright Harold Pinter have supported his just struggle for real freedom.

Just like Nelson Mandela and Aung San Suu Kyi, Vanunu is a political prisoner living in captivity and under constant risk of further detention in prison. He is entitled to a life free of Israel's repressive rules.

I urge everyone reading this and concerned about Vanunu's plight to do whatever you can do to support Vanunu. Protest by calling for the Israeli authorities to treat him humanely and lift the unjust regulations imposed on him.

Please write letters to the newspapers to publicise his case, pass motions at union, church, student and other organizations meetings, sign petitions and raise the issue of his case at public forums. Demand that Israel respect his basic human rights and give Vanunu genuine freedom, including the freedom to travel and to leave Israel.

"Israel is not a democracy unless you are a Jew. The administration tells me I am not allowed to speak to foreigners, the media and the world. But I do because that is how I prove my true humanity to the world," Mordechai Vanunu said.

## Oscar Lopez Rivera Denied Parole

BY BEN FOX, AP

The U.S. Parole Commission said Friday it has denied a request for the early release of a Puerto Rican nationalist who was once offered clemency by President Bill Clinton.

Oscar Lopez Rivera's first bid for parole after serving nearly half of a 70-year sentence for seditious conspiracy, robbery and other charges was denied, the chairman of the commission, Isaac Fulwood, Jr., said in a statement.

The breakdown of the vote and specific reasons for denial were not released.

"We have to look at whether release would depreciate the seriousness of the offences of promote disrespect of the law, whether release would jeopardize public safety, and the specific characteristics of the offender," Fulwood said.

Lopez, 68, can appeal but for now he must serve until at least 2021 under federal sentencing rules, said Johanna Markind, an assistant general counsel for the commission. His lawyer, Jan Sulser, called the ruling an "irrational decision that ignores their own standards" for release. But she had not yet discussed with

her client – and wasn't even sure if he had been informed of the decision – and did yet not know if he would appeal.

"I am outraged," Sulser said from Chicaco. "I am rally upset that an agency that is part of the Department of Justice of the United States could be so unjust."

In January, a hearing examiner recommended against releasing Lopez on parole following a closed hearing at the federal prison in Terre Haute, Indiana, where he is held. Still, several members of Congress of Puerto Rican descent and many officials on the island supported his release. Puerto Rican human rights groups and others will continue a campaign seeking public support for his parole, Sulser said.

Lopez was sentenced to 55 years after his conviction in 1981 on charges that included seditious conspiracy, use of force to commit robbery and interstate transportation of firearms as a member of the ultranationalist Armed Forces of National Liberation in a struggle for independence from the U.S. for the Caribbean island. He received an additional 15 years in 1988 after he was convicted of conspiring to escape from prison in Leavenworth, Kansas.

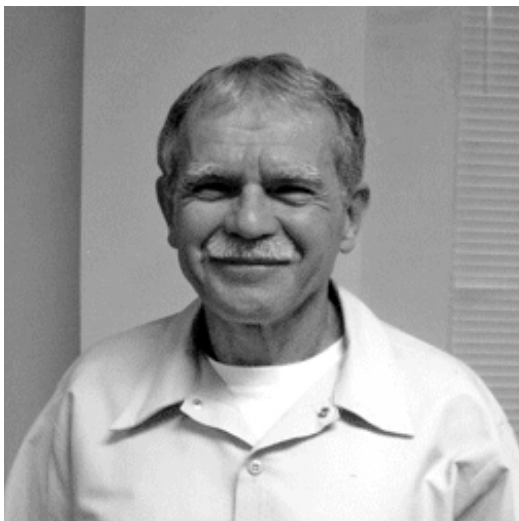
The Armed Forces of National Liberation claimed responsibility for more than 100 bombings at public and commercial buildings during the 1970s and '80s in such U.S. cities as New York, Chicago and Washington, as well as Puerto Rico. The most notorious was a bombing at New York's landmark Fraunces Tavern in 1975 that killed four people and injured more than 60 in a lunchtime crowd. Lopez was not convicted of any role in that attack.

Clinton offered in 1999 to release Lopez and 13 other Puerto Rican nationalists as part of what was at the time a

politically sensitive clemency deal. Under the deal, Lopez would have had to serve 10 more years in prison. He rejected the offer because it did not include two comrades who have since been released.

Upon his release, Lopez had intended to settle in his hometown of San Sebastian, in the northwest of the U.S. island territory.

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## Nationalism and Planetary Revolution

BY BILL DUNNE

I appreciate 4strugglemag editor Jaan Laaman's willingness to print my article, "Sri Lanka: The Lessons of Others," which included some controversial conclusions about nationalism and nationalist struggle. I also appreciate his willingness to begin some debate on certain practical and theoretical points I raised and argued. Our side of the barricade needs this discussion as living standards fall and discontent and consciousness rise, driven by the ruling class rapacity in plundering the economy into deep recession. Rising discontent and consciousness is a recipe for a resurgent revolutionary movement and action. As we accelerate down the road to revolution, however, we must be sure we have chosen the correct road and the action we lay down is the most effective possible. The ruling class has learned from the last three score and ten years of struggle against it and developed new strategies of exploitation and oppression to maintain its hegemony. We, the people, must also adopt new strategies of struggle or our new wave of resistance will merely break on a rocky shore and recede.

In "Sri Lanka: The Lessons of Others," I asked the rhetorical question, "What are revolutionaries talking about when they talk about nations?" Jaan responded that the revolutionary as well as the modern scientific definition is a people with: 1) common history/language/culture; 2) common economic relationships; 3) a common or shared land mass. Such a succinct and objective definition leaves a lot of room for interpretation and question.

How common a history is necessary for, or demands, nationhood? All humanity as well as various subdivisions thereof share a history. Italians, for example, share a history, but Italy was preceded by independent nation states whose citizens considered themselves Genoans, Venetians, etc. A generation from now, Italians may consider themselves Europeans if and as a European Union identification supplants an Italian identity, much as the Italian one supplanted the Genoan, etc. Indians are already farther down that road, having integrated many languages, cultures, and histories into one nation. Indeed, all humanity shares a common history, culture (all except a few fringers listen to music, love their children, enjoy the company of others, and grow and cook food, etc), and language (virtually all humans converse and do it in similar ways – subject, verb, object, etc). So which aspects of history/culture/language are more important, more likely to result in the anti-imperial capital revolution we all need, the smaller, more exclusive interpretations that divide us, or the larger, more inclusive interpretations that unite us?

Regarding the second part of the nation definition, common

economic relationship, again, how common is necessary to constitute or demand a nation? When speculators gambling on Wall Street can crash "national" economies on the other side of the world, or food on my prison tray in eastern Kentucky comes from India, there are pretty serious economic relationships common to virtually everyone. When even the most robust economies grow at far lower percentages than the percentage of their domestic product dependent on exports, the common relationship is extensive for everyone. And when quality of life in so many places is dependent on materials or products that cannot be produced there, the relationship is at least important to everyone involved in making that quality what it is. Conversely, competitive relations exist between nations that damage at least one side in ways that do not occur within nations. Such relationships allow nationals of one nation to accede to the exploitation and oppression of class brethren and sistren across artificial boundaries. So what about economic relationships determines where and how national lines are drawn – or even that they should be drawn?

With respect to common land mass, one more time, how common is necessary for, or demands, a nation? If there is a minority of different language/culture/history/economics sharing the same area, do its members constitute a nation? Or is the common nation different than the nations of the people who cohabit it? How is who "belongs" where determined, given human mobility? Humans today can be traced back to the Rift Valley in Africa. What does or should that say about who is entitled to be in what land nowadays? How long must people be in a place for national tenure to vest? If members of a nation leave a common area for places occupied by or claimed by (an)other nation(s), are they still the same nation – or any nation? What about the receiving nation(s)? Does "nation" mean that someone(s) born elsewhere cannot become a national of geography (and/or culture, economy, whatever) s/he prefers? Can s/he be banished for not having been born there? How about his or her children or their children? The most progressive answers to these questions require elimination of national borders for people.

These and other questions – and some of their answers playing out in the here and now – illustrate that saying what revolutionaries are talking about when talking about nations is not as easy as merely stating an objective definition. They also illustrate that we can just as easily define a human nation and a broad movement to liberate it as we can, say, a Chadian, Chinese, Canadian, etc. nation. Doing that would not require anyone to surrender his or her "national" identity, just assume a larger identity, the same as say, a German identity does not make one less a Bavarian or North-Rhine-Westphalian – or prevent the German from assuming a European identity as a member of the European Union. What defining a human nation also does is put our overwhelming commonality as humans ahead of minor differences circumstances have engendered to distinguish us. In turn, that allows us to unify the class we share on the ba-

Initiative, the following classes/groups will be created:

1. A community-based support group for those victims of former/current domestic abuse relationships, so that the success stories of former victims can be used as model examples for those current victims of domestic abuse, as I firmly believe that the first step towards solving this issue would be a willingness to talk about this issue;
2. We will have classes on how to develop proper social communication skills. The significance of good communication between domestic partners is critical, in particular when trying to address concerns with one another, as poor communication between people can be a 'trigger' in initiating domestic abuse (e.g. 'verbal abuse'). 'Good' communication skills enable people to better understand one another, thus fertilizing the seeds of harmony and happiness in a domestic relationship where people properly communicate their problems respectfully;
3. Classes on self-empowerment, as it is important to know who you are as a person, historically, politically, socially, culturally, etc. People often engage in domestic abuse or find themselves in abusive relationships because they lack a true sense of 'self-identity' as to who they are as a person. The dynamics of physical and verbal abuse are symptomatic of this truth. However, with self-empowerment, it gives you control over yourself, thus enabling one to not have to verbally/physically abuse their domestic partners in order to feel a sense of control (power);
4. Classes on self-love, as most victims and perpetrators of domestic abuse are disconnected from the spirit of their true inner selves and, as a result, they find themselves lashing out emotionally, verbally, physically, etc., thus succumbing to the tool of 'reaction' in desperate search to find their true selves in the heat of the moment. Where there is an absence of self love, this void is typically filled by emotions/feelings of low self-esteem, self-hatred, unworthiness, doubting themselves, a false sense of dependence on their domestic partner, letting others define their senses of self worth when they need to be doing this themselves, etc. These factors contribute to a person staying in an abusive relationship when they should've rid themselves of such negativity. My people, the love of self heals all wounds! With the love of self comes self respect! If a person is taught how to love themselves, they will also begin to understand the significance of self-respect, by not allowing themselves to be disrespected by their domestic partners, etc.; and
5. We will also establish rites of passage classes for purposes of confronting, negating and rejecting the barbaric mannerisms, attitudes and thought processes of our oppressors that our young New Afrikan sistas/

brothas have been emulating, as they've been forced to rely on the social institutions of imperialist amerikkka as the sole source for them to attain and learn the customary roles of what it takes to make the qualitative transition into adulthood (e.g. a New Afrikan woman/man). This is the primary contradiction as to why our young New Afrikan Black sistas/brothas remain in the quagmire of self-destruction in which these vices have become manifest in the New Afrikan Black family structure (e.g. community). We will speak to the need for us, as a people, to restore the practices of the traditional customs, values, morals and principles of our ancestors' historical teachings of 'the rites of passage,' where our fellow New Afrikan Black sistas/brothas can learn how to become responsible New Afrikan Black men/women, thus restoring and advancing the legacy of all New Afrikan Black families, while also negating the corrosive effects of domestic abuse amongst our people/communities.

Under no circumstances will we seek the assistance of any law enforcement agency as an alternative in solving/dealing with this problem. The principal reason for taking this position is this; 'It does not advance our position as a community on this matter!' Just look around. These fascist imperialists have built hundreds, if not thousand of slave kamps (prisons), but yet the statistics of domestic violence continue to climb at an alarming rate, thus not solving anything!

Additional signs of domestic abuse: Traumatic injury or sexual assault; physical symptoms related to stress; delay in seeking care of repeat visits; unexplained multiple or old injuries; reluctance to speak in front of partner; and an overtly protective or controlling partner.

This initiative is still in its early stages of development, so the following resources are needed in order to make it into a material reality: outside facilitators and coordinators; typist; those who are able to create and have access to websites; those who have access to public radio stations; P.O. box holders; photocopiers; and most importantly your committed time and energy!

One Nation, One Goal, One Purpose!!!

For more information, contact me at:

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## Bradley Manning and Julian Assange: Exposing Pentagon War Crimes and U.S. Imperialism

BY JAAN LAAMAN, EDITOR

As a voice of and venue for U.S. political prisoners, we at 4sm want to express our solidarity and firm support for accused Pentagon war crimes whistle blower pfc Bradley Manning and WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange. Both these men are in the gunights of the U.S. government, but their situations are greatly different.

Julian Assange, the leader and founder of the anti-secrecy internet organization, WikiLeaks, is living at a supporter's mansion while on bail in England. Pfc Bradley Manning is in an isolation strip cell in a segregation cell block at the Marine Corps brig at Quantico, VA. These are both very brave and worthy men.

Assange established WikiLeaks to expose the lies and secrets of governments. A couple of years ago, some of the public and some of the news media began to pay attention to WikiLeaks postings.

In 2009 Amnesty International gave WikiLeaks its media award for investigating the killing of hundreds of young men in Kenya, by government forces. Assange and WikiLeaks hit world consciousness, while simultaneously incurring the wrath of the U.S. Pentagon and government in April 2010, when WikiLeaks posted a video of a U.S. military war crime in Baghdad. It showed an Apache helicopter gunning down and killing at least 12 people, two of whom were Reuters journalists, while the pilots gloated over the carnage. Following the release of this video, WikiLeaks made public some 76,000 classified field reports from the Afghanistan occupation that documented the brutality inflicted by imperialist forces upon civilians, including by CIA-led forces operating out of bases along the Pakistan border. Then in October, WikiLeaks published nearly 400,000 field reports on the Iraq war and occupation. Not long after that, WikiLeaks published 251,287 cables sent between U.S. embassies around the world and the State Department in Washington.

U.S. imperialism cannot shut down or put back into the box, the information WikiLeaks opened up. In fact the struggle to contain WikiLeaks has the potential to bring millions of people into political consciousness and conflict with the established order. The effort to suppress the release of information on WikiLeaks by

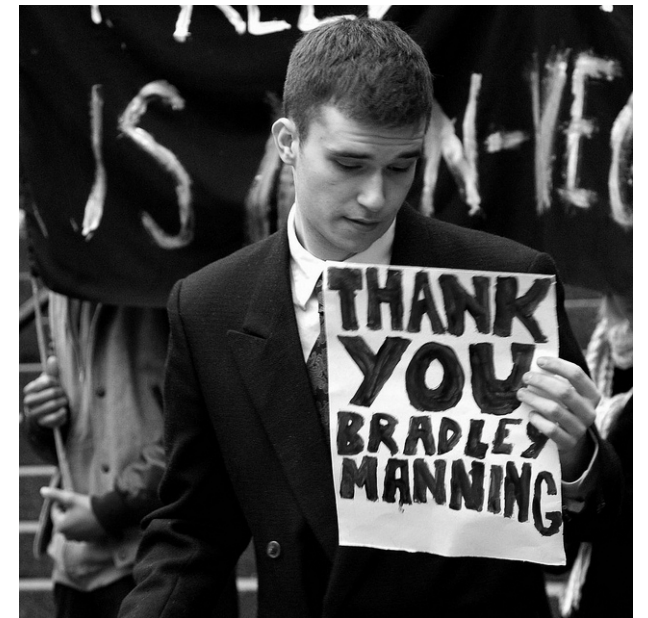
the arrest of Julian Assange and calls for his assassination or trial on terrorism charges; the imprisonment of Bradley Manning and the threats against WikiLeaks activists; along with the cancelation of its services by Amazon, PayPal, American Express, Mastercard, and U.S. and Swiss banks is radicalizing large numbers of highly skilled youth around the world.

Hundreds of thousands of cyber attacks were organized on the multinational information/banking corporations that attempted to shut WikiLeaks down. Every effort to shut WikiLeaks down has only served to spread it further and make it more widely available.

U.S. Army private Bradley Manning has been locked up since April 2010. The government and Pentagon generals are accusing him of being the person responsible for supplying WikiLeaks with all these files and documents.

Whether or not Manning is responsible for any or all of the WikiLeaks documents, he should be regarded as a hero and a fine example of a human being to all people who desire peace and justice around the world.

According to the *New York Times*, in late January, Attorney David Coombs, the lawyer for Bradley Manning, accused the military of abusing private Manning by unnecessarily placing him on suicide watch. The lawyer said that psychiatric reviews have clearly determined that Manning is not a suicide risk and should even be taken off the less restrictive "prevention of injury watch" and put on normal prisoner status at the Marine Corp jail. Instead, private Manning



was placed on the stricter suicide watch, eliminating his one hour a day of exercise and stripping him of all clothing except underwear. After more protest by his lawyer, Manning was finally taken off the suicide status.

For 10 month now Bradley Manning has been in 23 hour a day lock up. He is barred from exercising and is under constant surveillance. He is being denied many basic necessities, including even a pillow for his bed.

Outside his cell Manning is forced to wear shackles and he has very limited contact with family and friends. All visits are from behind a thick glass wall. According to David House, a computer researcher from Boston who visits Manning, he is starting to deteriorate.

On December 17, Bradley Manning turned 23 years old, sitting in that isolation cell in Virginia. This is a young man, but a very courageous and principled individual who is facing some extreme measures by the government and military to break him.

In order to have anything serious to charge Assange with, the government wants to tie Manning into a preconceived conspiracy with Assange. They need Manning to falsely testify that Assange pushed or paid him into taking the Pentagon files and then turning them over to Assange and WikiLeaks.

Julian Assange has often spoken highly of Bradley Manning, and WikiLeaks has donated \$100,000 to his defense. Many others have spoken out for young Bradley Manning as well.

Daniel Ellsberg, who gave the Pentagon Papers to the press in 1971, exposing the lies and deceit as well as many war crimes of the U.S. government in the Vietnam War, called Manning, “a courageous patriot.”

He went on to say, “I identify with him very much... He sees the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, I’d say correctly, as I saw Vietnam—as hopeless ventures that are wrong and involve a great deal of atrocities.” Even the United Nations special rapporteur on torture, Juan E. Mendez, has submitted a formal inquiry about pfc Manning’s treatment to the State Department.

Julian Assange and Bradley Manning, if he indeed was the source of the leaks, are courageous individuals who have performed a valuable and laudable service by lifting the veil of secrecy and lies of the U.S. government and Pentagon.

These men deserve our support. They need the support and solidarity of the working class, of oppressed people, of all conscious peace and freedom loving activists, individuals and organizations.”

## Brown Riders Liberation Party

BY COMRADE MEZTLI YAOTL  
Reprinted from *Turning the Tide*, 24(1) Jan-March 2011

In the spirit of the Black Panthers and the Brown Berets, a new revolutionary group for the people has been born, the Brown Riders Liberation Party. In full alliance with the Black Riders Liberation Party, we have come together to unify our Brown and Black brothers and sisters during this urgent time in which the fascist state is attacking from every corner. With the resurgence of White Nationalism and White Supremacist groups, coupled with the support of the state’s anti-migrant, antibrown stance, and unparalleled police brutality, we must come together to defeat this monster.

For centuries past and present, our people, both Brown and Black, have been viciously oppressed. They have been murdered, raped, enslaved, forcibly assimilated, lynched, and robbed of their most sacred. For centuries past and present, our people have fought and defended our own when the enemies have come to our gates. Today, more than ever before, it is essential that we fight the circumstances under which we lie. Like our revolutionary brothers and sisters before us—such as Shaka Zulu, Emiliano Zapata, Malcolm X, the Black Liberation Army, Pancho Villa, Montezuma, Comandante Ramona, and Che Guevara, and countless, nameless, faceless others—we must look past what society has offered us as reality, what society has offered us as our only choice, and come to terms with what has been placed before us. The fact stands: WE ARE AT WAR!

Our rights and dignity as human beings have been essentially denied through the advent of SB 1070 in Arizona. SB 1070 is testimony to this Nation’s objective to EXTERMINATE our people, as blatant racism is now (and has been) part of this country’s policy against the people, upon whose backs this nation was built. SB 1070 specifically calls for racial profiling, requesting that anyone suspected of being an “illegal” (Brown), show three forms of identification, proof of their citizenship (which, in this country, most times, means proof of our right to dignity).

This is the beginnings of an openly fascist state, where now you must present papers, just as Slaves back in the day had to prove their status in society. Except now, those without are not taken back to their slave masters, but held in detention camps indefinitely or transported to an unknown locale south of the border.

Backed by the Immigration Customs Enforcement and Border Control, the Minutemen, (a Neo-Nazi militia), patrols the borders while maiming, torturing and murdering all those they deem illegal aliens. This is an act of genocide

## New Afrikan Prisoners Domestic Crisis Intervention Initiative

BY KIJANA TASHIRI ASKARI

The bourgeois news media, and their insatiable appetite for sensationalizing our domestic problems, were at their best when they were addressing the phenomenon of the young New Afrikan Black sista/brotha Rihanna and Chris Brown’s (R & B singers) domestic situation. This practice speaks to the systemic flaws with the social system and institutions of kapitalism, because sensationalizing a social dilemma to the point of unscrupulous exploitation will not solve anything. And furthermore, to only suggest that a man should never hit a woman, as was discussed through-out media coverage of the New Afrikan sista/brotha Rihanna and Chris Brown’s situation, is not a concrete solution to this problem. Thus speaking to the principal reason as to why I’ve initiated the New Afrikan Domestic Crisis Intervention Initiative, to not only discuss the problem, but to also develop and offer the people concrete solutions to this problem.

We, as a people, have a sleeping monster amongst us, that we as a community have failed to properly recognize and address. And if we don’t do something about it soon, this sleeping monster will destroy the domestic fabric that holds us together as a nation of New Afrikan Black people (poor people in general). I am talking about the issue of ‘domestic violence/abuse’ that reigns prominent in our community, to the point where many people have become susceptible to the trappings of its vices without even knowing it. I am no different! But before I get off into that, allow me to first offer the people a viable explanation as to what domestic violence/abuse is:

Domestic violence is a pattern of assaultive and coercive behaviors including inflicting physical injury, psychological abuse, sexual assault, progressive social isolation, stalking, deprivation, intimidation, and threats. These behaviors are perpetrated by someone who is, was, or wishes to be involved in an intimate dating relationship with an adult or adolescent, and is aimed at establishing control by one partner over the other.

Now back to me. Prior to transforming my criminal ways of thinking into a revolutionary form of thinking, I was one of the many thousands of young Black males of the inner-city ghettos who were conditioned to believe, through the colonial social system of our oppressors, that in order for me to be considered a real man, I had to be one who verbally and physically abused the woman that I was intimately involved with. Thanks to the many illustrative examples of violence that were conveniently portrayed through your

typical cowboy and Indian Westerns and Blaxploitation movies and TV programs that we were exposed to as a community on a regular basis, there is practically not a single soul from the poor oppressed communities who hasn’t been made a victim of these, indoctrination practices. We all have a brotha, fatha, nephew, uncle, son, or cousin who has either verbally or physically abused somebody else’s sista, niece, daughter, auntie, motha, etc. in order to rectify what we perceived as being a wrong, to make it into a so-called right. Thus speaking to the interconnectedness, as to how the issue of domestic violence/abuse is a community problem and not an individual problem, here is a domestic violence fact to think about:

Domestic violence is a health issue of epidemic proportions in the United States. Research shows that an estimated 25 percent of women and 8 percent of men in the United States have been physically and/or sexually abused by an intimate partner at some point in their lives. In addition to injuries sustained by victims during violent episodes, physical and psychological abuse is linked to a number of adverse medical health effects. The immediate health consequences of domestic violence can be severe and sometimes fatal. The reported consequences are:

- Chronic pain syndromes, such as chronic pelvic pain, headaches and functional gastrointestinal disorders;
- Gynecological problems including STDs and exposure to HIV because of coerced sexual activity by the battering partner; and
- Pregnancy-related problems, such as prenatal fetal injury, complications of pregnancy presentation in labor without prenatal care.

So as New Afrikan Black men of the community, it is time for us to step up to the plate and be healers and protectors of our community, in particular on behalf of our beautiful New Afrikan Black sistas (and women in general), who are the nurturers and primary caregivers of our future as Black people and humanity as a whole! We must be daring, willing, and courageous enough to come together as a community, to look within ourselves for that guiding light so that we can find more positive, constructive and alternative ways to deal with this problem! There are no benefits from trying to solve our domestic problems by abusing the ones that we love and hold dear to our hearts, through violence as violence won’t cure this problem! So I’m hereby initiating the New Afrikan Domestic Crisis Intervention Initiative as a vehicular tool to effectively address this problem with the community. By doing so, I am now serving notice to my beautiful New Afrikan Black sistas and other women of the community that ‘This one New Afrikan Black brotha has your back to the fullest! And that it is definitely ok for you to speak out about any current form of domestic violence/abuse that you may be experiencing now!’ I’m here for you and you can get at me about anything.

Through the New Afrikan Domestic Crisis Intervention

conditions and treatment in a political context, they will remain powerless to alter their situation. The gang mentality cannot produce viable change for prisoners. This can only come from conscious prisoners who are willing to struggle collectively.

The need for a new and radical ethos among prisoners is self-evident and long overdue. How to bring a unifying ethos into being is open for discussion and critical debate. Such debate can take place in cells, on the tiers, in yards, at school, and in work places between friends and foes. What cannot be questioned is the truth that the route from an apolitical gangster mentality to a sociopolitically conscious prisoner is only through education. This is the fundamental message to all prison writers and activists. It is why prisoners, me included, have gravitated to the writings of George Jackson, Franz Fannon, Che Guevara, Bobby Sands, Liam Mellows, Nelson Mandela, Paulo Freire, Malcolm X, and many others like them. The trajectory and/or transformation of their lives offers prisoners a new perspective from which to radically contextualize their own identity. Prisoners can tangibly and emotionally relate to the words of these authors, even though most prisoners don't view themselves through a political lens. Yet these same "apolitical" prisoners will recognize on a general level that their own existential condition can be compared to George Jackson's. It is this identification with George Jackson that makes him symbolically powerful and very much alive. And for this, he must be vilified and punished, over and over again, suppressed and chased away from anyone who dares consume his words.

The revisionist tactic by the PIC of not acknowledging that George Jackson developed a political philosophy that he lived and died for (not unlike like the Founding Fathers of the United States) makes it easy to deny the political activism and convictions of conscious prisoners. However, the confiscation of books, newspapers, and magazines with political content acknowledges the existence of politically minded prisoners. The truth is contained in the system's lie: George Jackson was not a gang member! He was a political thinker. To suspect a prisoner of gang activity because he reads Jackson's books is, therefore, also a political, certainly not a logical, move.

It is ideas that can change individuals and, so, change the world. Ideas awaken the mind, galvanize courage, and liberate people; and ideas, and ideas, are the most potent weapons against tyrants and repressive regimes. People may fear other people, but people's ideas are feared even more.

*Steve Champion is on California's Death Row at San Quentin. He is author of Dead to Deliverance: A Death Row Memoir.*

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## i cried RECIPROCITY

BY AKILI CASTLIN

i cried today for;  
Romona and Lynne –  
for Queen Mother, Adama, Afrika,  
My own mother and Moore –  
Yes i;  
“The worst of the worst”  
a validated, classified, terrorist  
“threat to the safety and security”  
(shit, the entire state!)  
housed in the short corridor,  
where even my words are  
shackled, beaten bloody with  
red stamps, black ink for hoods;  
“Pelican Bay State Prison  
D-1-Housing Unit.”  
My frankensteinesque “i love you”  
turned into propaganda for the  
prison industrial complex;  
cried for the bonafide true,  
stewart of justice and virtue.  
For Noni and her fears,  
the same ones which kept our  
mother's mother's mother's for over  
3 hundred and 90 + years  
clutching their breath,  
torn between turning black babies  
into emasculated puddles of  
spineless fear, “Good boys and girls,”  
who survive and live long lives  
or allowing them to be  
dead bodies  
at 12, 13, 14.  
Perhaps even  
elders under hatches,  
warriors all the same...  
Yet, only memories and names.  
i cried for all,  
we've lost and all  
the years –  
Then wiped my eyes,  
bared my fangs  
breathed a smoke ring  
and promised  
RECIPROCITY!!!

disguised as U.S. Patriotism, where essentially, racists are legitimized by an illegitimate state to commit mass murder on our people. We must stand up and reclaim what is ours. Genocide is an act of war!

Furthermore, everyday, a protracted war of genocide is enacted on both Black and Brown locally, in our communities. The police, AKA, THE PIGS, are the main culprits. Police brutality is rampant in our communities. The recent deaths of Manuel Jaminez, Oscar Grant, Carlos Riviera and De'Andre Brunston are a sure reminder (De'Andre Brunston, by the way, was brutally machine-gunned down in front of a house, left to die on the door steps for an hour, while THE PIGS airlifted their K-9 unit they sent to attack him, within only minutes). With these deaths, an echo was sent forth like a rolling thunder through out the community: a reminder for those that have become complacent. We are reminded that even in the present, our lives still mean nothing to them.

We are reminded that la policia isn't here to help us, to protect or serve us... and historically, they never have. They are here to protect the wealthy, the elite and capital. We are reminded that racism is not over as they continue to beat us, lynch us, killing us in cold blood, with no remorse and no accountability, even in the wake of the first Black President! We are reminded that we are just as much citizens as we were when we were trapped on the plantations picking cotton, building railroads, and getting slaughtered off by the millions trying to protect the lands that were stolen from us and that we were stolen from, all to build their empire, which has stretched around the world with the same effects! We must realize our true histories, and how our pasts are intertwined and bound by the roots, through blood, solidarity, bullet proof love and revolution.

The time has come for disunity between our people to end. The main strategy of COINTELPRO is to neutralize threats of dissidence. “Divide and conquer” is one of the most effective strategies used to disrupt resistance movements. “Divide and conquer” is what they use to maintain these towers of oppression to keep us enslaved and complacent with our oppressor, yet enraged at our brothers and sisters whom we desperately need to make revolution possible. We stay so fixated on fighting our family, that we leave ourselves vulnerable to attack from the oppressor who is left untouched and unnoticed like a mosquito on the wall waiting to spread its disease.

We stand at polarized ends listening to the lies that they spread to us about ourselves and never question the reality of things. “Illegals are stealing our jobs!” “Black people are just too lazy.” Reality is, Capitalism always creates classism, so the poor and unemployed are a symptom of an ongoing issue. “Illegals are hurting the economy by contributing nothing and leeching off of Federal Programs that our taxes pay!” When reality stands that, America purposefully neglects the poor, aid and welfare programs provided.

Even more so, many of us provide labor for wages that are only a fraction of what employed U.S. citizens would earn, saving corporations millions and boosting the U.S. economy as a consequence of our own exploitation.

“Illegals don't belong here. Go back to where you came from!” When reality is that, from the tip of North America, to the bottom of South America, we were always here, and long before any European. For instance, Amerigo Vespucci, whom America is named after, or Christopher Columbus, who “discovered” a continent already inhabited with millions of people, who neither needed or desired to be “discovered.” We were here long before Europeans set foot on this continent, let alone before they conceptualized that the earth was round and far larger than the small and incomplete world they lived in. Europeans are the real “illegal immigrants” who raped our people and stole and pillaged our lands at the taking, just to turn around about 500 years later and say “We must reclaim the Southwest. ‘THEY’ are taking over!”

The time has come to reclaim our histories, our culture, our GOD, our tongues, and our DIGNITY. We can't sit by idly and watch this world crumble and die while the greedy of this world do all that they can to remain on top and destroy all that breathes. We don't have a choice. Our future generations are depending on us, just as we have depended on our ancestors to reach this point in time.

Our ancestors did not die in vain over the middle passage and all the countless wars and battles they fought to keep our legacies, our humanity, and our spirits intact. We have an obligation to do all that we can to preserve life. You either ride or you die. Simple as that. As Zapata put it, “I would rather die on my feet, than live on my knees”. We must ride for our people, as Malcolm X said, “BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY!” That's for damn sure!

**WE RIDE FOR THE IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BROWN PEOPLE. WE RIDE BECAUSE WE BELIEVE WE CAN END POLICE BRUTALITY IN OUR BROWN COMMUNITY BY ORGANIZING BROWN SELFDEFENSE GROUPS DEDICATED TO DEFENDING OUR BROWN COMMUNITY FROM RACIST POLICE OPPRESSION AND BRUTALITY. THE 2ND AMENDMENT TO THE U.S. CONSTITUTION GIVES A RIGHT TO BEAR ARMS. WE BELIEVE THAT ALL BROWN PEOPLE SHOULD ARM THEMSELVES FOR SELF-DEFENSE THE SAME RACIST DOG THAT BIT YOU, BIT US TOO! WE MUST MASS TOGETHER TO KILL THAT RACIST DOG! ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

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## We All We Got...

BY SHAUNTERIAS TRANSOU

Black history is American history, but this is something not taught in our educational system or the Black community. Why? Because we as a people must be self-taught when it comes to this delicate matter. Black history is something we should honour, not only for the month of February, but forever. Not to take away from the great accomplishments of the pioneer, Dr. Carter G. Woodson. For those who are not familiar with this brother, he was known as the father of Black history. In 1926, he began Negro History Week and founded the first annual Black history celebration in February, which later expanded to Black History Month, which is also the month I was born into physical existence.

My beloved Black brothers and sisters, we must know where we come from to get where we are going. The mind is like a basket; you get back what has been placed inside. Knowledge comes from pain, hunger and discipline of the mind and body. What the mind can achieve because success is guaranteed to those who put forth an effort. Knowledge is power as words become a life jacket to those drowning in a sea of foolishness. I realize my purpose, which coincides with the divine path our creator has manifested. But does society know their place in the physical world? Our purpose is to uplift the people, teach the people, love the people and be that guiding light bringing them out of mental and spiritual darkness, so with that reason alone I beam with pride. We are the beautiful kings and queens of a heritage and culture that is priceless.

My beloved brothers and sisters we have come a long way from Amistad, but we still must travel through the sands of ancient Kamit (Egypt) to get to the pure water of profound knowledge and divine wisdom and spiritual understanding. I'm very proud of Barack Obama for becoming the first Afrikan American President, which took hundreds of years of Black people's pain, suffering and bloodshed. Now we as a community and society must do our part in educating ourselves, women and children, as well as cultivate our younger generation, because they are our future. I'm very confident in my people, so please do not be ashamed of your precious skin tone. Cherish and honour your Black beauty and own your individuality. We went from a minority to a majority. Learn from the past, live for today and plan for the future.

Power to not only Black people, but power to all people fighting oppression...because we all we got!!

## Important Anti-War News

BY JAAN LAAMAN, EDITOR

Tens of thousands (almost 50,000) U.S. troops still occupy Iraq; another mini surge of 1,400 Marines are being sent to Afghanistan, which follows on the heels of the 30,000 troop surge Obama sent there in 2010.

Presently there are 98,000 reported U.S. soldiers in Afghanistan, plus an even larger number of NATO troops, mercenaries and contractors. Higher U.S. casualties, more Afghan civilian deaths, a flood of U.S. tax dollars paying for all this war, death, killing and occupation.

It is time to let President Obama, the Congress, the Pentagon, the people across the United States and all around the world know we—millions of people in America—demand an end to the U.S. wars and occupations in Afghanistan and Iraq.

A new coalition has come forward—UNAC (United National Anti-War Committee) that is calling for huge bi-coastal anti-war rallies on April 9th: one rally in New York City, another in San Francisco.

Come on people, lets face it, we are tired of these wars, the death and casualties, the ongoing years long destruction of Iraq and Afghanistan, the enormous cost of the wars. We have been against these wars, yet they continue, from Republican president to Democrat president.

We've marched and protested before, yet the death and killing continue. Now, this April 9, 2011, it is time for everyone to come out in a massive, positive, determined show of humanity and let Obama, the Congress and the world know these wars must end!

The UNAC and the many groups who are part of this effort have put out lots of great slogans and calls, and you can check out much more on these and the logistics of the rallies at UNACpeace.org. The central and most important thing is that people come out, by the thousands and tens of thousands and demand an immediate end to the U.S. wars and occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan. Bring ALL U.S. troops home NOW!

Organize your family, your friends, folks at work, at school, in the neighborhood. Bring your children, your parents and grandparents. March for all us political prisoners who can only join you in spirit. Let the world know: End the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq—all U.S. troops out Now!!

## Gang Validation

BY STEVE CHAMPION  
from counterpunch.org

On July 23, 2010, my cell was searched and three boxes of my property (legal material, books, notes, and personal writings) were confiscated and turned over to Institutional Gang Investigations (I.G.I.) for possible gang validation. The reason for the action, I was told, was my possession of a Kiswahili dictionary and the book *Soledad Brother* by George Jackson. This is not the first time I have been targeted for a gang validation wherein George Jackson was the cause. In May 2007, I co-wrote an article in which we referred to Jackson as "Comrade George Jackson." It was determined by I.G.I. that the word "Comrade" constituted gang association or sympathy; therefore, I needed to be investigated (the investigation yielded nothing).

I have been in San Quentin (and on death row) for almost 28 years, and for most of this time I have had George Jackson's books in my cell. I ordered them through the prison Special Purchase Order (SPO). My cell has been searched hundreds if not thousands of times and never, not once, were George Jackson's books taken. Why now? And why the link to gang activity when it is well known that George Jackson was a member of the Black Panther Party and a political revolutionary? It is only by exposing the insidious and inscrutable use of politically charged books to label prisoners gang members, thereby criminalizing critical literacy, that we can arrive at answers. Both prisoners and prison activists need to understand how the Prison Industrial Complex (PIC) is using political and historical texts to repress prisoners.

My story is not new or unique. I've read numerous accounts from across the U.S. prison landscape, state and federal, of prisoners having books by George Jackson, Che Guevara, Chairman Mao, and others stolen from their cells, or confiscated under the false pretext of gang activity. Some prisoners have even been validated as gang members and locked away indefinitely in Security Housing Units (SHUs). And in June 2010, a ruling by a California appeals court explicitly condoned the practice in California, as follows: "Assigning an inmate to secure housing based on his possession of constitutionally protected materials linking him to a gang [does] not violate his first amendment rights."

Let's be clear. The confiscation of leftist and revolutionary books, magazines, and newspapers is not a mere First Amendment issue; failing to understand the bigger picture will just extend your stay in wonderland. Thus, I'm not going to argue a case of censorship (although one can certainly be made since none of the above authors have been ruled to be either dangerous or obscene by a court of law or the PIC). I am interested in a much broader analysis that

deconstructs the current ideology of suppression in U.S. prisons that can be traced to other interrelated post-9/11 realities, such as creation of Homeland Security and the gradual erosion of civil liberties; the prosecution of a global "war on terrorism"; the virtually unrestricted spending on and by intelligence agencies; and redefining domestic terrorism to meet the threat posed by gang violence.

Included in these realities, but in a more subtle way, is the government's fear of the possible rise of a new prison movement and radicalized prisoners. The fear of prisoners becoming political extremists and functioning as independent terrorist cells once they are released is, I believe, the main catalyst for the "unofficial" policy of censorship carried out nationwide. But such fear is unfounded and seems to be based more on paranoia than rooted in reality: How many inmates have been paroled who have participated in or been linked to a terrorist organization? Where is the evidence? Can prison administrators or the government show this happening? They cannot. The objective of this unofficial policy is fourfold:

1. To define any "in prison" political activism as gang activity.
2. To criminalize and dehumanize politically conscious prisoners, past and present, by labeling them gang members.
3. To redefine revolutionary and leftist writings as gang literature.
4. To institute countermeasures that will disrupt, inhibit, and delegitimize the emergence and growth of individuals/groups that could in any way be influenced by radical views.

Prison administrators know that if even one prisoner shuns George Jackson's books or other leftist material because he thinks he might be labeled a gang member and placed in the SHU, then the strategy of suppression is effective. Doing routine or targeted cell searches when George Jackson's books and other leftist literature are not being found (or not being found in abundance) allows prison officials to claim that the policy is effective. One prisoner's fears can potentially infect many, and the fear becomes a deadly pathogen that kills self-determination, resistance, and critical thinking. Unwittingly, a fearful prisoner becomes a tool for a COINTELPRO-like apparatus. But because they understand what is at stake, politically conscious prisoners can never become unwitting agents of a pacification operation; they understand that acquiescence would mean the struggle is lost. The price they pay for this understanding is long-term persecution in SHUs.

What also facilitates the suppression of political consciousness is the unending cycle of ethnic and sectarian violence that permeates the U.S. prison system. Violence is micromanaged to perpetuate racial hatred and division among prison groups. And let me be honest, prisoners make it easy for prison administrators to accomplish this when they fail to redress the stark contradictions between their intransigent conflicts against each other and the repressive and often brutal treatment meted out to them by the prison regime. As long as prisoners don't frame their



revolutionary literature. Jackson is still esteemed as the premier penitentiary revolutionary. He was assassinated by gun tower guards on August 21, 1971.

Space constraints prevent enumeration of the scores of other prisoners who are worthy of mention, such as Rosa Luxemburg (*The Mass Strike: The Political Party and the Trade Union*), Eldridge Cleaver (*Soul on Ice*), Leon Trotsky, and numerous others.

Prisons are insulated from society's distractions, which enables time for introspection and contemplation. This is one explanation as to why prisons have a transformative power for certain prisoners. During isolation some prisoners discover unusual abilities and untapped potentials which lay dormant inside of them. Oppressive prison conditions account for the signature militant disposition of some learned prisoners. In prison, some prisoners also sharpen their skills of observing variations of human behavior, including that of prison guards. They see the best of human behavior as well as the worst expressions of racism being exhibited by the prison staff. The torture and sadistic photos documented at Iraq's Abu Ghraib prison is not uncommon in U.S. prisons. Future leaders and thinkers are projected to emerge from prisons.

Consequently, counterintelligence measures are used to forestall this possibility. In 1994 college grants were taken away from all U.S. prisons. This measure was intended to stunt the academic growth of prisoners and inhibit the development of critical thinking. Acquiring knowledge is an expensive endeavor. Intellectually inclined prisoners need the support of society. They need funds to procure educational material such as news magazines, scholarly journals and college textbooks. Prisoners do not have access to the Internet. This restriction severely hampers their ability to do research and stay abreast of new findings and developments.

In this tumultuous post-9/11 world—a world with a shortage of capacity-backed solutions to our problems—we need input from every segment of society, including prisoners. If we overlook the insights of knowledgeable prisoners, we may in fact be ignoring the next Malcolm X.

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## Where We Are Going

BY MARILYN BUCK

For Fear Of  
Being Called

In Peru a demonstration  
against a rise in bread prices  
is stopped  
because of threats to renounce  
those who demand bread  
as terrorists  
we fear language  
an electric cattle prod  
to drive us into corners  
where we cower  
for fear of being called  
terrorists or communists or  
criminals  
why do we allow  
capitalists and congressmen  
to rob us of our language  
to intimidate us into cutting out  
our tongues  
to paralyze our movements?  
why are we more afraid  
to be called terrorists  
than to die in the dark  
leaving no one to speak for us?

\* Marilyn Buck (*Out of Control* 1998 30)

## Call to Action

April 9, 2011  
New York & San Francisco  
From the United National Antiwar Committee

WHO ARE THE WARMAKERS?

THEY are the government, corporate, and financial powers that wage war, ravage the environment and the economy and trample on our democratic rights and liberties.

WHO ARE THE PEACEMAKERS?

WE are the vast majority of humanity who want peace, a healthy planet and a society that prioritizes human needs, democracy and civil liberties for all.

The Warmakers spend trillions of dollars yearly on endless wars in pursuit of global domination and profit while murdering millions of innocent people, installing corrupt and hated governments and funding occupations that displace millions from their homelands – trampling on the right of oppressed people to self-determination.

THEY send our youth – victims of the economic draft – to fight over the very fossil fuels whose unrestrained use threatens the future of the planet while corrupt and virtually unregulated oil giants dump billions of gallons of death into our rivers and oceans.

THEY wage a fake “war on terrorism” at home – the new McCarthyism – that promotes racism and Islamophobia aimed at destroying civil liberties and democratic rights.

THEY grant repeated and untold trillions in bailouts to banks, corporations and financial institutions while breaking unions, robbing pensions, destroying jobs, foreclosing homes, de-funding education and vital social services and are once again threatening Social Security and Medicare.

THEY offer no solutions to the current crises other than more of the same.

THE PEACEMAKERS DEMAND a better world. Only a massive, united, inclusive and independent movement has the power to bring it into being.

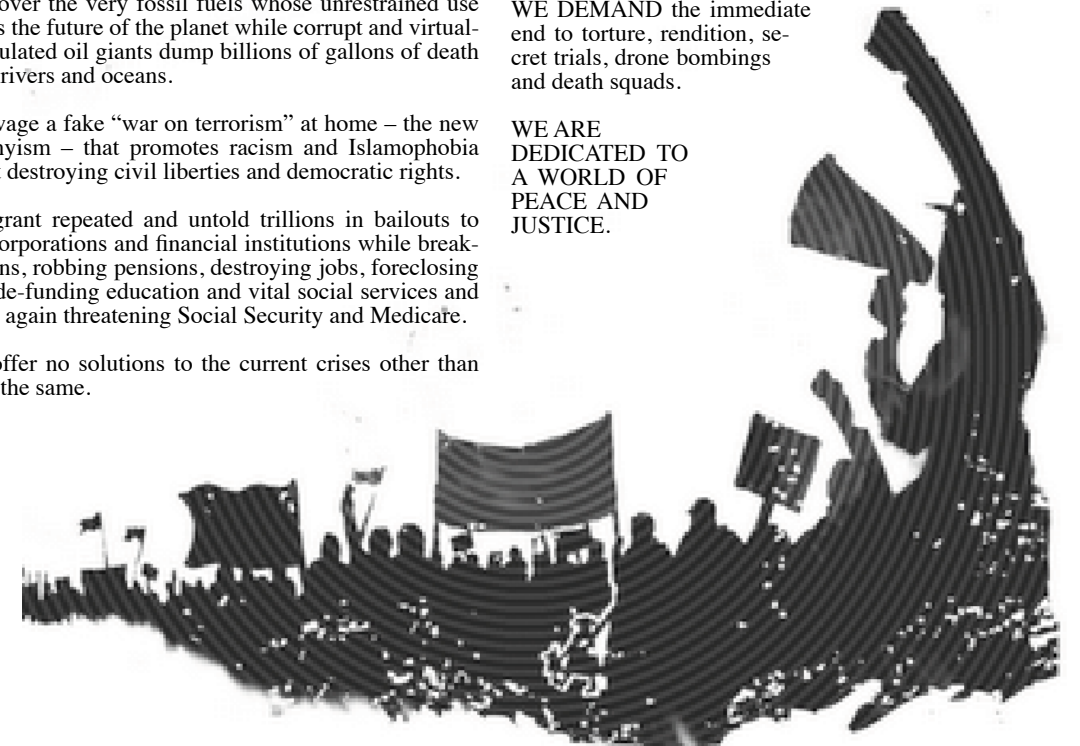
WE DEMAND Bring U.S. Troops, Mercenaries and War Contractors Home Now: Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan! End the sanctions and stop the threats of war against the people of Iran, North Korea and Yemen. No to war and plunder of the people of Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa! End U.S. Aid to Israel! End U.S. Support to the Israeli Occupation of Palestine and the Siege of Gaza!

WE DEMAND trillions for jobs, education, social services, an end to all foreclosures, quality single-payer healthcare for all, a massive conversion to sustainable and planet-saving energy systems and public transportation and reparations to the victims of U.S. terror at home and abroad.

WE DEMAND an end to FBI raids on antiwar, social justice, and international solidarity activists, an end to the racist persecution and prosecutions that ravage Muslim communities, an end to police terror in Black, Latino and Native American communities, full rights and legality for immigrants and an end to all efforts to repress and punish Wikileaks and its contributors and founders.

WE DEMAND the immediate end to torture, rendition, secret trials, drone bombings and death squads.

WE ARE  
DEDICATED TO  
A WORLD OF  
PEACE AND  
JUSTICE.



## Subpoenas

BY LYNNE STEWART

I began my career as a political movement lawyer. The government was rounding up the last of the die hard militants, many of whom had been underground, and prosecuting them as a part of the pincer movement.

They also subpoenaed anyone with any tangential relationship to those who had been arrested. I am talking about their daters, their lovers, their teachers, their religious leaders, their estranged relatives, those who had attended meetings, rallies etc.

All of these activities centered upon an expropriation in suburban NY of a Brinks armored truck and the people who were arrested then and later. Their purpose?? To intimidate that branch of the movement that could be counted on to support militancy and troll for even the most insignificant crumbs of information that might be fitted together to enmesh suspects.

What happened? Most people who had been taped by the government lawyered up with movement lawyers, guided in part by the legal work of Bob Boyle and Guild lawyers who had written legal representation before Grand juries which remains the standard on what to do and when to do it. A person subpoenaed is in the unenviable position of having only the vaguest idea of what the government may want, and is faced ultimately with the choice of testifying against comrades or spending long months in jail.

They may even face a possibility of being indicted for contempt and facing a sentence that is completely up to a judge. In the face of this challenge in that day, I can only say that most people chose not to testify and to wait out the government. They gave up an existence as they were living it—jobs, relationships, and all that constitutes daily life, and they went to jail. And they stayed in jail for many months and they didn't give in.

Now we are in another era—one that was not born from the euphoria and idealism of the 60s, and the government is once again arresting, subpoenaing, and tormenting movement people, hop-

ing they will become informants. And the reaction of the movement? We resist.

We stand strong with the resisters who elect not to become part of the same prosecution team that has terrorized the world. Now the so-called Department of Justice [ha!] has decided to focus on support groups of the world's peoples and also on eco-terrorism. Why? Because they can! It sends a message to the people that it's dangerous, don't join, don't resist. That message must once again be shouted down, first by the resisters who will go to jail, and second by us, the movement who must support them by always filling those cold marble courtrooms to show our solidarity, and by speaking out so that their sacrifice is constantly remembered.

Our principle of non-collaboration has so far proved robust. There has been no wavering. Our support must continue to convince everyone involved that these are issues of principle. There can be no compromise. Resisters must be defended to the utmost of our strength and abilities.

Lynne Stewart #53504-054  
FMC Carswell  
P.O. Box 27137  
Fort Worth, TX 76127

Radical human rights attorney Lynne Stewart has been falsely accused of helping terrorists. On Tuesday, April 9, 2002, she was arrested and agents searched her Manhattan office for documents. She was arraigned before Manhattan federal Judge John Koeltl. This is an obvious attempt by the U.S. government to silence dissent, curtail vigorous defense lawyers, and install fear in those who would fight against the U.S. government's racism, seek to help Arabs and Muslims being prosecuted for free speech and defend the rights of all oppressed people.

Lynne received a 28-month sentence in October 2006. Her lawyers appealed, and she was out on bail until November 17, 2009, when her bail was revoked after the Second Circuit ruled on her and the government's appeals.

In December, Lynne was transferred to Carswell Federal Medical Center. We encourage you to send her cards and letters.

lynnewestewart.org



## Understanding the Role of Prisoner Intellectuals

BY DENNIS S. BOATWRIGHT

Lingering inside a mismanaged, overcrowded prison system—and quietly floating atop a raging sea of unharnessed violence and wholesale despair—lives a shining group of prisoners who manage to keep the fire of their sanity, dignity and intellectual dexterity glowing despite living in corrupt institutions that nourish, glamorize and facilitate dark tendencies.

The existence of these unique individuals is largely unknown by society. Their voices are muted and maliciously misrepresented by lawmakers and status quo media outlets, whose political survival and television ratings significantly depend upon making dreadful perceptions of prisoners seem like reality. Tough—on-crime rhetoric is amplified to rescue endangered re-election bids. The resulting pattern reveals itself as an endless passing of redundant crime bills and a surge in television crime shows, such as *Prison Break* and *Juvis*. U.S. politicians portray sympathy. This is a winning strategy: As long as the crime rate is above zero, theoretically, tougher legislation is warranted.

Forgotten in this hype are scores of reformed and self-taught prisoners. These brilliant prisoners possess extraordinary intellectual capabilities that are beneficial to society. Many demonstrate that they are willing and capable of participating in scholarly discourses. The fact that they exist should not surprise those familiar with the history of resistance.

The social environment of prisons produces one of the world's most perplexing paradoxes: They house dangerous and chronic lawbreakers, yet they also produce great thinkers who are models of strength and integrity. Throughout history prisoners have played an important role in advancing the parameters in the social sciences. Important papers and political treatises were written by authors held in dungeons or solitary confinement. Some of their work continues to inspire millions and influence the direction of academic discussion today. One of these convicts is Antonio Gramsci.

Antonio Gramsci is regarded by many as the most influential Marxist thinker of the twentieth century. He was jailed in 1926 for his political activities in Italy, during the authoritarian rule of Mussolini, the Fascist premier of Italy [1922-43]. While in prison, Gramsci wrote *Prison Notebooks*, a collection of notes and essays. His work has become very influential in the study of international political economy, and he is credited with originating the concept of the "organic intellectual." According to Gramsci, only by achieving cultural hegemony could progressives move into

the stage of socioeconomic revolution. Gramsci believed that dominant ideologies become embedded in society, to the extent that they begin to be considered unquestioned common sense. What's more remarkable about Gramsci is that he wrote without access to books, and also in code, in order to circumvent the prison censor. Gramsci remained in prison for 11 years, until his untimely death.

Great thinkers and leaders often tower higher in death than in life. Sayyid Qutb may be counted among them. Sayyid Qutb is considered the ideological grandfather of modern Islamic militancy. Throughout his life he delivered fiery speeches and wrote scathing articles and essays condemning the oppression of Muslims in general, and the atrocities and human rights abuses perpetuated by the Egyptian government in particular. Accused of trying to assassinate Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, in October 1954, Qutb was thrown into prison and tortured. While in prison, he continued his political activities, effectively converting Egyptian jails into universities of radical Islamic thought. Before his execution in 1966, Qutb managed to smuggle out the manuscript of his monumental book, *Milestones*, chapter by chapter. Senior intelligence officials begrudgingly confide that Qutb's life and works continue to rally today's resistance activities in Iraq and in the broader Middle East.

Most educated African-American prisoners boast that George Jackson had a profound impact on their decision to take corrective steps toward rehabilitation. Jackson was sent to prison for a petty robbery that netted less than a hundred dollars. During his incarceration he spent most of his time reading and "chopping it up" (raising the sociopolitical awareness) with his fellow convicts, which earned him the ire of prison authorities. In his own words:

"For the first four years I studied nothing but economics and military ideas. I met Black guerrillas, George "Big Jake" Lewis and James Carr, W.L. Nolen, Bill Christmas, Terry Gibson and many, many others. We attempted to transform the Black criminal mentality into a Black revolutionary mentality. As a result, each of us has been subjected to years of the most vicious violence by the state."

Jackson and two other prisoners—John Clutchette and Fleeta Drumgo—were charged with the murder of a white prison guard, John Mills, that happened just moments after another white prison guard, O.G. Miller, was exonerated on January 13, 1970, for the racist shooting death of three Black prisoners—Cleveland Edwards, Alvin Miller and W.L. Nolen—at Soledad State Prison. While in solitary confinement, Jackson authored *Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson* and *Blood in My Eye*. Jackson's plight attracted international attention and his writings exposed the cruel anatomy of the Prison Industrial Complex. *Blood in My Eye* is regarded as the convict's version of Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*. Both books have been canonized and admitted into the pantheon of

## On Political Prisoner Release Strategy

BY MALIKI SHAKUR LATINE

Efforts and steps are now being taken to seek clemency/ amnesty for PPs by the Jericho Movement. Concerning this, I recently received a notice from Jericho's National Secretary, wherein, it was expressed that Jericho was taking initiatives to prepare, perfect and to submit petitions on behalf of both Federal and State courts. However, in my reply letter to him I had expressed my position and view that the petitions should forego the courts and be sent and directed to the oval office of Obama's presidency. This is because ever since Dhoruba's appeal, eventual release and lawsuit victory, which involved Cointelpro and the u.s. governments' direct involvement therewith, all the necessary documented proof/evidence that would underline the demand for clemency/amnesty is already a matter of Congressional record and, therefore, no new or further inquiry into the question is needed nor is it necessary. What remains, in light of former president Clinton granting clemency/amnesty to about 12 FALN members, is for president Obama to receive our petition for clemency/amnesty and for him to respond with a yes or no answer to our petition. Any presumption in thinking that there is a further need (or continued need) to petition the Courts or State governors, is not only vain and a waste of precious time, but it is not even strategically sound from a moral or political premise. Furthermore, I am very much aware of what it means to petition the president, as well as what it would mean were the president to say no to our petition. But who's to say that the president will not say yes to our petition for clemency/ amnesty?

My question to Jericho and all organizations for that matter is: "Have we become doubtful concerning the legitimacy (spiritually, morally, politically, socially, and historically) of our struggle? Have we become complacent in our separatist attitudes and organizational separatist agendas? And, are we fearful that an answer of no by the president to our petition would demand that our national movement take our struggle to a much higher level and phase of achieving liberation, namely perhaps, a level and phase that would demand the ultimate sacrifice?" Now how many of us is truly prepared and willing to embark upon this endeavor, the ultimate and inevitable test of will!?!

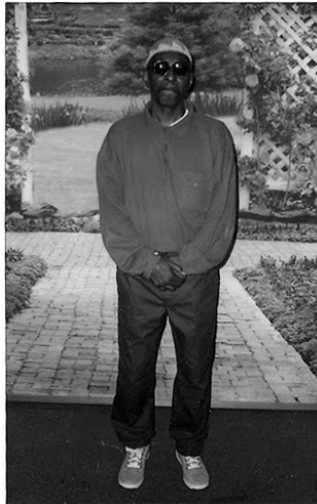
In analysis of what is said (or called into question above, is not a desire to engage our opponent militarily on a whim, or more importantly, reminding everyone is what should have been learned from the advice given by Sun Tzu (the Chinese General of 500 BC), namely, "The supreme art of war is to subdue the enemy (opponent) without fighting." In light of current conditions to which we face, how are we to adhere to this principle and achieve our objective goal

(of winning the release of PPs) by petitioning the president, without the risk of being confronted with the choice of raising the stakes or outright dissolving as a credible movement were the president to deny the petition? How is political victory to be achieved in light of the questions being raised herein?

Politically, we are given an example (although in a limited sense) with respects to how the u.s. managed to politically defeat the former USSR back in the 1980s. Remember? FIRST, the u.s. had launched an unprecedented military arms race/build-up that was directed against the USSR, while knowing that, in turn, the USSR would be compelled (however much in vain) to take up the challenge accordingly with its own build-up. As history would later prove that then president Reagan knew, all the time, that the USSR would take up the challenge and risk exhausting its economic resources in the process; SECONDLY, he knew that with his "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI), he would trump anything that the USSR could ever hope to include in its military arsenal; THIRDLY, that defeat in the arms race/build-up translated into defeat militarily for the USSR; FOURTHLY, that this defeat had to be acknowledged "publicly" and then translated into a "political victory" (i.e. hence, "to the victor goes the spoils") and this was achieved; FIFTHLY, with president Reagan's historic victory declaration, namely: "Mr. Gorbachev (or Russia's then President), tear down those walls!" (or tear down those infamous walls that symbolized the "Iron Curtain"). Such was the process of the u.s. subduing the USSR without fighting or using a bullet! Thus, we too can achieve victory if we analyze and study history and current conditions correctly, positively and universally. Hence the saying goes: "Dare to struggle, dare to win!"

I would like you to share this with others, hold discussions on what is being emphasized herein. And I am looking forward to receiving feedback from everyone who would like to make any comments on what is being offered herein, to wit, sincere advice toward self-determination and victory (Insha Allah).

Maliki Shakur Latine  
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## Anti-war Leader Slams FBI Infiltration of Peace Movement

BY JESS SUNDIN

Reprinted from [www.fightbacknews.org](http://www.fightbacknews.org)

Fight Back News Service is circulating the following statement made by Jess Sundin, of the Twin Cities based Anti-War Committee and the Committee to Stop FBI Repression, at a January 12 press conference on FBI infiltration of the peace movement. Sundin is one of the original 14 activists who was issued a subpoena during the FBI raids of Sept. 24, 2010. She was also one of the principal organizers of the 30,000 strong anti-war march at the Republican National Convention in 2008.

The press conference exposed the role of an undercover cop, going by the name of "Karen Sullivan," who entered the anti war movement shortly before the 2008 Republican National Convention.

To date, 23 international solidarity and anti-war activists have been subpoenaed to appear in front of a grand jury in Chicago. Protests are being planned in cities across the U.S. for Jan. 25, the date that Palestine solidarity activists have been called to appear in front of the Grand Jury.

### Statement by Jess Sundin at Jan 12 Press Conference

We are here today to express outrage that our democratic rights have been violated by a government operation of spying, infiltration and disruption of our anti-war movement, which was carried out over the course of at least two and half years.

In April 2008, law enforcement officer Karen Sullivan, joined the Anti-War Committee. In 2008, we were involved in organizing the anti-war marches on the first and last days of the Republican National Convention in St. Paul. At that time, there was a massive security operation here which included the infiltration of the RNC Welcoming Committee. We now have it confirmed that in this same time period, we too became the subject of government investigation. The difference is that our spy made herself comfortable and decided to stay awhile, posing as a fellow anti-war activist and pretending to befriend us.

For two and a half years, Officer Sullivan participated, sometimes even serving as chairperson, in weekly AWC meetings where everyone present has a say in the decisions the committee makes. Officer Sullivan had a key to this office, a key which was later used by the FBI on September 24th, to enter and search our office, seizing our

computers, financial records and other materials. For the last year or so, she assisted with the bookkeeping, and had unimpeded access to our financial records. On several occasions, Officer Sullivan gave public speeches on behalf of the AWC, including on Colombia and Palestine. Some of these speeches can be found on our website to this day. My point here is that Officer Sullivan had full-access to all the work of the Anti-War Committee – to our membership lists, our finances, our decision-making and anything else she wanted to know about us.

Even after two and a half years of this full access, there are no charges against anyone. Instead, nearly two dozen people are being dragged through an intimidating grand jury process, a fishing expedition. If there were truly criminal activity happening here, Agent Sullivan would have known all about it. The only crimes committed here were the abuses of our rights carried out by Karen Sullivan herself.

Unfortunately, Officer Sullivan took a special interest in the Anti-War Committee's coalition work. She represented our committee at meetings of the Iraq Peace Action Coalition and the Coalition for Palestinian Rights. She also represented us in national venues—the Latin America Solidarity Coalition, at the School of the Americas Watch protests, and at the U.S. Social Forum in Detroit last summer. About a year ago, she also joined Freedom Road Socialist Organization, which is talked about by the government in this case, in a manner reminiscent of the McCarthy era political witch hunts.

The government has no right to spy on the Anti-War Committee, or the many organizations we work with. Officer Sullivan's actions reflect only the latest example of FBI surveillance of progressive movements in this country. These kinds of actions were described in the October 2010 Inspector General report, which documents efforts to spy on peace movement groups like the Anti-War Committee.

These actions make a mockery of our democratic rights, as outlined in the Constitution – the rights to freedom of speech, freedom of dissent, and freedom of association. Officer Sullivan went beyond simple surveillance, to become an active participant in the work of the AWC, to the point of disrupting it.

When I speak of disruption, I am referring to an August 2009 solidarity delegation to Palestine. This delegation was a fact-finding mission, where participants were to witness the conditions for Palestinians living under U.S.-backed occupation, and to express our solidarity in a person-to-person way. Officer Sullivan made public her plans to join this delegation, she helped to promote it and fund-raise for it here in our community. At the same time, she was secretly working to sabotage the trip entirely. Through her work, reports were passed onto Israeli authorities, who then barred entry to the two Minneapolis women traveling

with Karen Sullivan. Her action, on behalf of the U.S. government, deprived these women of their rights to travel, association and dissent. The government was wrong to disrupt our important and legal work against U.S. aid to Israel.

It has become apparent to us that this delegation, and some of the fundraising work done to support it, is of great concern to the U.S. attorney's office in Chicago. In order to help fund the travel of the three women from Minneapolis – including Officer Sullivan – and to send a token symbol of solidarity to the Palestinian people, a series of fundraisers were organized. We were very open about our work to support the Union of Palestinian Women's Committees, which is an NGO registered with the Palestinian Authority, and which is not illegal under Israeli or international law.

The Union of Palestinian Women's Committees works for women's equality. Their activities include support for women refugees and women political prisoners, and providing basic social services for women, including several child care centers. These women are right to be working for justice in Palestine, and there is no reason we should be criminalized for supporting them. However, that is exactly what has happened.

On September 24th, federal agents burst into our homes and turned our lives upside down. The community, fellow activists, co-workers, friends and family have all rallied around us. In fact, people we never met, from across the country have stood by us, to defend our right to engage in anti-war and international solidarity activism.

But one person disappeared entirely—a person we thought was a fellow activist and who had claimed to be our friend: Karen Sullivan. This woman not only worked with us in the Anti-War Committee and other groups, she involved herself in our personal lives. Getting to know our children, joining in birthday celebrations, paying visits on our families when someone's sick.

In conversations with the U.S. Attorney's office in Chicago, it has become clear that everything we thought we knew about Karen Sullivan was a lie. She was never a friend, or a person of conscience helping us to work for peace with justice.

Instead she was a law enforcement officer, working to surveil us, our friends and our organizations. She was working to disrupt our political organizing. This is more than a story of personal betrayal, but one of political repression. It sickens me that on the word of this liar, the government came into our homes, seized our property, and launched a grand jury witch hunt that has snared not only those that knew Karen Sullivan, but now so many other good people from here

to Chicago. On the word of this liar, the FBI has questioned our colleagues across the country—from North Carolina, Wisconsin, Arizona and California.

Rather than crumble under this pressure, our movement is responding with strength and unity. We will stand together behind every woman and man that Patrick Fitzgerald tries to haul before his grand jury. On January 25th, when nine Palestinians and Palestine solidarity activists are called before the grand jury in Chicago, people will be protesting at Federal Buildings and FBI offices across the country.

We, the anti-war and international solidarity activists being targeted by Fitzgerald, have the support of every progressive movement in this country – from trade unionists to the immigrants' rights movement, from students to people of faith, and everyone in between. Opposing war is no crime. International solidarity is not a crime. We are not alone, we have done nothing wrong and we will not be afraid.

## True Lies

BY THOMAS BENNETT

They call it disobeying authority  
I declare it being a man of integrity  
They call it cold blood murder to kill my fellow man  
Then declare it just to kill me 2 make me understand  
They call them illegal aliens and immigrants  
then celebrate when they invaded this land and conquered it.  
Police shoot me they call it split second judgement in attempt of self-defence  
I shoot they declare assault with deadly with murderous intent  
They say earn ya money by working hard on your job  
then declare it "paying taxes" when they come and rob  
I ride kill and steal for them I'm an honorable soldier of the army  
I ride kill my enemies I'm a criminal and menace to society.  
I call it subjecting us to legal slavery and oppression  
They declare it to be a department of correction  
They say go home get a job and be a law abiding citizen  
Then deny employment cause of convictions that stick with you long as you live.  
They call it home of the brave, land of the free,  
statistics declare it has highest rate of captivity

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28681 USA

## Jericho Amnesty Movement to Free All Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War

BY JIHAD ABDULMUMIT  
Jericho Chairperson

Jericho started in 1998 from the inspiration and thoughts of Political Prisoner Jalil Abdul Muntaqim, along with the planning and strategizing of Brother Herman Ferguson and the late Sister Safiya Bukhari.

Over the last 12 years Jericho has supported political prisoners and POWs in the United States, and has consistently worked towards their liberation through legal redress on their cases, petitioning for commutation and amnesty, educating the community, and building a viable movement to call for their freedom. Jericho continues to stand in unity with other like-minded people and organizations to educate the people of the United States and elsewhere of the existence of these political prisoners and to call for their immediate release.

Everyone dedicated and committed to this cause understands the reality at ground zero; that the United States government and its sovereign states do not recognize nor acknowledge the fact that these women and men are, in fact, political prisoners. This denial is a conscious act designed to erase the pages of revolutionary struggle against racist oppression, political repression, economic exploitation, and social degradation of entire races and classes of people from the minds of the people. It is to even deny the very existence of these conditions. It is to criminalize the humanitarians, the liberators, the community activists, the educators, the organizers, and all those who have ever stood forthrightly against injustice and who have championed freedom and the right to self-determination.

In 2011, Jericho's initiatives will focus on:

1. Educating the people to understand the importance of building a holistic movement to not only free the political prisoners from the national liberation movements and struggles of the 60s and 70s; but also, to realize the need to prevent modern day gov-

ernment and police repression and laws that invariably lead to more and more political incarcerations. These laws and repressive practices come under the names of Homeland Security, the war against terrorism, the Patriot Act, FBI spying and entrapment, and a host of laws directed at undermining Constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and association, protection from discrimination and persecution, and the right to peaceful protest.

2. Building unity amongst other people and organizations striving in the same cause
3. Mobilizing people to stand up for their Constitutional rights.
4. Mobilizing people to call for the freedom of all political prisoners
5. Calling for renewed Congressional hearings on the impact and effects of the FBI's Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) to prove how conditions were created and police actions carried out to falsely accuse and imprison so many of the political prisoners
6. Conducting a People's Tribunal in November in Washington charging the United States government and its sovereign states with human rights violations, to wit: the continued incarceration of dozens of women and men for political reasons
7. Submitting federal and state amnesty petitions for many of the political prisoners

We invite people unfamiliar with Jericho to reference our web site at [thejerichomovement.com](http://thejerichomovement.com) to learn more about Jericho and what can be done to help.

Unity and struggle!



## The Scott Sisters' "Debt to Society" and the New Jim Crow

BY JAMES RIDGEWAY  
Reprinted from solitarywatch.com

Jamie and Gladys Scott walked out of prison on January 7 into the free world. The sisters were convicted, on dubious grounds, of an \$11 armed robbery, and sentenced to life in prison. Both sisters lost 17 years of their lives behind bars before Mississippi Governor Haley Barbour suspended the remainder of their draconian sentences; Jamie also forfeited her health, and is now suffering from end-stage renal disease. Yet the sisters' "debt to society" is still far from paid.

First and foremost, the conditions of their release stipulate that Gladys Scott must give Jamie Scott a kidney. From the very beginning of this medical scandal, in which Jamie's health was further compromised by inadequate prison health care, Gladys offered her kidney for transplant to her sister. For the governor to mandate this donation is both unprecedented and unconscionable. As others have pointed out, releasing Jamie Scott before she has this costly life-saving surgery could also stand to save the state a considerable amount of money; a donation from her sister could save even more, and is apparently part of the price of their freedom.

At the same time, the Scott sisters will have to pay out money to maintain their freedom. Rather than pardoning Jamie and Gladys, Barbour suspended their sentences. According to Nancy Lockhart, a legal advocate who played an instrumental role in the sisters' release, each will have to pay \$52 a month for the administration of their parole in Florida, where their mother lives and where they plan to reside. Since they were serving life sentences, that means \$624 a year for the rest of their lives. Both women are now in their thirties; if they live 40 more years, each will have paid the state \$24,960. Of course, Jamie, in particular, will be lucky to live so long.

The consequence of failing to pay the fees charged for parole or probation can be a return to prison. As the Southern Center for Human Rights has documented, such fees are part of a larger system that adds up to what are in effect modern-day debtor's prisons:

Contrary to what many people may believe, there are debtors' prisons throughout the United

States where people are imprisoned because they are too poor to pay fines and fees.

The United States Supreme Court in *Bearden v. Georgia*, 461 U.S. 660 (1983), held that courts cannot imprison a person for failure to pay a criminal fine unless the failure to pay was "willful." However, this constitutional commandment is often ignored.

Courts impose substantial fines as punishment for petty crimes as well as more serious ones. Besides the fines, the courts are assessing more and more fees to help meet the costs of the ever-increasing size of the criminal justice system: fees for ankle bracelets for monitoring; fees for anger management classes; for drug tests, for crime victims' funds, for crime laboratories, for court clerks, for legal representation, for various retirement funds, and for private probation companies that do nothing more than collect a check once a month.

People who cannot afford the total amount assessed may be allowed to pay in monthly installments, but in many jurisdictions those payments must be accompanied by fees to a private probation company that collects them. A typical fee is \$40 per month. People who lose their jobs or encounter unexpected family hardships and are unable to maintain payments may be jailed without any inquiry into their ability to pay or the willfulness of their failure to pay.

This system of imprisonment-by-poverty in turn fits into what author Michelle Alexander, among others, have called "The New Jim Crow"—an America in which mass incarceration has become the new means of wielding control over poor African Americans.



The Scott sisters – Jamie at left and Gladys – speak to the press and jubilant supporters after their release Friday from 17 years in prison.

## Message from Leonard Peltier

From [www.workers.org](http://www.workers.org)

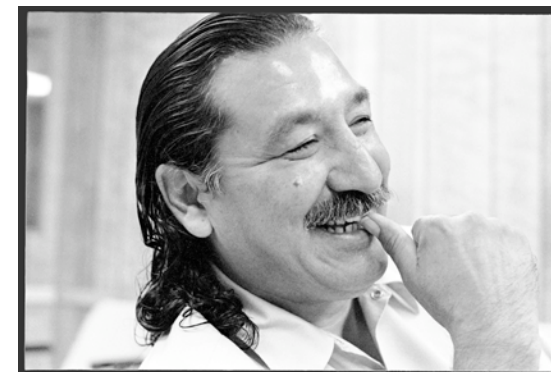
Following are excerpts from a statement made by Native political prisoner Leonard Peltier to the 41st National Day of Mourning in Plymouth, Mass., on Nov. 25.

Another year has gone by since the last time we gathered like this. I say we, because although I am not there with you in body, my spirit certainly is. We have coined this day, a day of mourning, as opposed to a day of thanksgiving. It's a shame that thanksgiving is relegated to only one day. Mourning is something that relates to unhappy circumstances that have taken place.

This very day is ours. Tomorrow hasn't happened yet and is uncertain. I don't like to dwell on the mourning aspects of life but instead on what we can do to prevent those unhappy and sometimes terrible times in our history. The union organizer, Joe Hill, was framed by the copper mine owners to be executed. He said what really needs to be said upon his death: "Don't mourn, organize." Those are my sentiments.

There are many things that happened in the past that can be prevented in the future. There are losses that can be regained. However, we must organize to do it. Dark moments come and go in all our lifetimes. And there are those in political office, who will try to turn your head away from the obvious truths. They will lie to you about what they believe. ...

Our Sacred Black Hills of South Dakota, sacred to many tribes, have the faces of many of our oppressors carved on them. The place of vision seeking, Bear Butte in South Dakota, sacred to us for millennia, has a bar built at the foot of it and there is talk of having helicopter flights around it to attract tourism. There is even talk of drilling



for oil and gas.

Every time I write a statement, I think of what I would say if this was the last time I spoke. The thing that comes to mind is in some of our sacred ceremonies, and that is thoughts of our relationships with the ones we love and the Creator of all life. ... If you can hold the person you love, walk on green grass, or touch a tree, be thankful. If you can breathe air that didn't come through a ventilation system, or through a window with bars, be thankful. If you can stand in an open field, and look up at the heavens, be thankful.

No one appreciates the simple things as much as a man or woman locked away. I have not for a moment forgotten the needs of my people and the atrocities committed against them or the circumstances that all the poor and impoverished face in this world at the hands of those who take more than they need and exploit for gain the futures of our children.

I wrestle with what to say to you and words are sometimes so inadequate. So if you are free today, un-imprisoned, be thankful. May you find joy in doing what is right and righting what is wrong and seek to be the best example of what a human should be in our lifetime.

In the Spirit of those we mourn, those who gave their lives and those whose lives were taken from them.

In the Spirit of Crazy Horse, who gave his life for what was right and tried to right what was wrong.

Your Brother,  
Leonard Peltier  
# 89637-132  
USP Lewisburg  
PO BOX 1000  
Lewisburg PA  
USA 17837

## Demand Leonard Peltier's Immediate Transfer to the Mayo Clinic!

The Leonard Peltier Defense Offense Committee urgently calls upon all supporters to consistently and constantly contact USP Lewisburg to demand Leonard Peltier be immediately transferred to the Mayo Clinic for a full medical evaluation and appropriate treatment. As many of you know, Leonard has exhibited symptoms of prostate cancer for over a year. After months of pressure by attorneys, Leonard underwent blood tests in June of 2010. Those results were not made available until early November 2010.

A biopsy was indicated which was ordered by a physician and approved by the prison. However, the biopsy has not been performed. The delay in testing, diagnosis, and treatment is unacceptable and constitutes medical neglect.

Please, in contacting USP Lewisburg, refrain from speaking out of anger. Your outrage, disgust and frustration can and should be expressed in a respectful yet forceful manner.

To be clear, we still need to keep the pressure on the White House, so keep making those calls and writing those letters to President Obama.

Contacts:

The White House

President Barack Obama  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, DC 20500

Comment Line: 202-456-1111  
Switchboard: 202-456-1414  
Fax: 202-456-2461

Web Form: [www.whitehouse.gov/contact](http://www.whitehouse.gov/contact)

Bureau of Prisons (Be certain to always reference "Leonard Peltier #89637-132 when contacting the BOP)

Warden Bledsoe  
USP Lewisburg  
U.S. Penitentiary  
2400 Robert F. Miller Drive  
Lewisburg, PA 17837

Phone: 570-523-1251  
Fax: 570-522-7745

E-mail address: [LEW/EXECASSISTANT@BOP.GOV](mailto:LEW/EXECASSISTANT@BOP.GOV)

BOP may start blocking e-mail addresses and phone numbers, so you may want to use several different e-mail addresses and phone numbers to make your point.

FREE LEONARD PELTIER!

Thank you for all you do on Leonard's behalf.

Launched into cyberspace by the  
Leonard Peltier Defense Offense Committee  
PO Box 7488, Fargo, ND 58106  
(701) 235-2206 (Phone)  
Web: [www.whoisleonardpeltier.info](http://www.whoisleonardpeltier.info)  
E-mail: [contact@whoisleonardpeltier.info](mailto:contact@whoisleonardpeltier.info)

## The Trial of Land Defender, John Graham

Graham maintains his innocence despite a guilty verdict. He now faces life in prison.

Reprinted from [vancouver.mediacoop.ca](http://vancouver.mediacoop.ca)

On January 24, John Graham was sentenced to "life in prison." without parole.

On December 10 a South Dakota jury found John Graham guilty of felony murder in the death of American Indian Movement (AIM) member Anna Mae Aquash. John Graham, a Tutchone native originally from the Yukon, continues to maintain his innocence. Aquash was murdered in the 1970s in an execution-style killing in South Dakota. Graham has said that she was his friend and comrade.

In 2004, Arlo Looking Cloud was convicted of murder for aiding in the murder of Aquash. He received a life sentence with a chance of parole in 2013. Earlier this year, Richard Marshall was acquitted on the charge of supplying the gun that killed Aquash. Looking Cloud testified against both Marshall and Graham at trial. Thelma Rios plead guilty in November of this year to charges of aiding and abetting, for which she received five years of probation and no jail time.

At trial, the state alleged that John Graham took Aquash from Denver against her will and ultimately killed her in the hills of South Dakota. The government claimed the motive for the murder was that AIM believed Aquash to be an informant who had knowledge of sensitive information.

The jury acquitted Graham of premeditated murder: the first-degree charge. Nevertheless, the lesser charge of second degree felony murder carries a sentence of life in prison.

Aquash was a Mi'kmaq from Nova Scotia and was well-known as a skilled organizer and warrior with AIM. In 1975, she said she had been targeted and threatened with death by the FBI. Her body was found on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in February 1976. The original autopsy report, made by an FBI-contracted coroner, stated her cause of death as "exposure" and made no record of the bloody bullet-wound in the back of her head. The FBI removed her hands for purposes of identification in Washington as they claimed the body was unidentifiable. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) buried Aquash as a Jane Doe.

When the hands were identified as those of Anna Mae Aquash, AIM attorneys requested a second autopsy by an independent coroner. The new coroner Gary Peterson, testified at Graham's trial that he had indeed noticed the entrance wound and an object (the bullet) lodged in her head

500 beds, despite the fact that a small Secure Housing Unit at Lucasville had never been full. But the 1990s were the decade of the supermax. So men who were charged with minor offences found themselves locked up in Youngstown on "Level 5 security," meaning that they were held for 23 hours a day in a cell no bigger than a city parking space. The steel-doored cells and even the recreation areas where they spent an hour a day were built in such a way as to ensure that they would never have contact with another living being—human, animal, or plant. "Outdoor recreation" was in a cement-walled enclosure that was only outdoor if you consider that the roof is a steel grille. Hundreds of men have come and gone since 1998. Only four, the three hunger strikers and Namir Mateen, remain locked up in perpetual isolation.

A case is underway in the Middle District Court of Louisiana that is likely to judge this kind of treatment as a violation of the eighth amendment prohibitions on cruel and unusual punishment. It may be that the Ohio authorities see the handwriting on the wall and they want to improve the conditions of Ohio's supermax before they are forced to do so by another court ruling, like the *Wilkinson vs Austin* case of 2005 in which the U.S. Supreme Court forced them to improve conditions in the supermax.

One of the holdings of the Supreme Court instructed the Ohio authorities to follow Fifth Amendment provision on due process. In 2000, two years after the supermax opened, they began giving annual reviews to the death-sentenced Lucasville prisoners. But the reviews are not meaningful. One of the reviews even concluded, "You were admitted to OSP in May of 1998. We are of the opinion that your placement offense is so severe that you should remain at the OSP permanently or for many years regardless of your behavior while confined at the OSP." Thus, the four have been condemned to de facto permanent isolation.

This lack of meaningful review, as well as the continued lack of human contact despite the agreement that ended the Youngstown hunger strike, might yet be the focus of litigation not just in Ohio but in other supermaxes around the United States, such as California's notorious "Secure Housing Unit" at Pelican Bay State Prison.

The conditions of supermax are a running sore on the U.S. human rights record, a sort of elephant in the room that few people want to talk about. Yet there is a growing sentiment among experts and policymakers against extreme isolation, both because of its cost but also due to the judgment that it is a form of torture.

And it is these conditions of extreme isolation, without hope of ever touching a fellow human apart from a prison guard, that drove these men to the ultimate protest of hunger strike. As Bomani Shakur wrote in a statement that announced his hunger strike, none of the men wanted to die. But in such conditions of isolation, and in the absence of

any way of proving to the authorities that they were not a security risk if allowed to mix with other prisoners or have semi-contact visits, depriving themselves of food was the only non-violent means of protest that remained for them.

**What Now?**

For the Lucasville Five, the main attention turns now to their wrongful convictions and to the death penalty itself. Ohio is the only state in the U.S. that executed more men in 2010 than in 2009. And it is second only to Texas in its rate of executions. For the past two years, the state has attempted to execute one man a month, although that attempt has been slowed by botched executions and by some surprising grants of clemency by former governor Ted Strickland. One can only hope that moves away from the use of the death penalty in states like New Mexico and, most recently, Illinois are the beginning of a more general move to do away with this backward policy.

The hunger strikers expressed their hopes, to relatives and other visitors, that the energy that built up around supporting their recent protest could now be turned toward getting them off their death sentences and allowing them to prove their innocence. Ironically, the improved conditions that they won through hunger strike could help in this regard. Among their demands—increased time outside of their cells, semi-contact visits, and equal access to commissary—was the demand that they be allowed to access legal databases like other death-sentenced prisoners, so that they could work toward their appeals.

For now, this is most important to Bomani Shakur. In a shocking recent decision, a district court judge affirmed the recommendation of the magistrate against his petition for habeas corpus without any discussion of the merits of the judgment. Shakur believes that the judge made this seemingly rash judgment in retaliation for his role in the hunger strike. Whether he has reason to believe this or not, he and his counsel now have to turn to the Federal Court of Appeals for the 6th Circuit.

In real terms, what might have been a further process of five years to execution now seems to have been shortened to perhaps three. The U.S. judicial system is strongly biased against appeal, even in most egregious cases of injustice. So the Lucasville Five now have a hard case to argue. It is a case where public opinion and social movement may have more impact than the law, just as public pressure seems to have played a decisive role in winning a successful end to the hunger strike after such a short period.

Bomani Shakur told Alice and Staughton Lynd that the denial of his habeas petition by the district court makes him more determined and focused on what he needs to do in the next few years. Activists and supporters in Ohio and beyond will be asked to find the same kind of focus.

## A Welcome Prison Victory at Youngstown

BY DENNIS O'HEARN  
Reprinted from [mrzine.monthlyreview.org](http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org)

Three death-sentenced men went on hunger strike in Ohio State Penitentiary on January 3 to win the same rights as others on death row in the state. On Saturday January 15, the twelfth day of their protest, a crowd of supporters gathered in the parking lot by the tiny evangelical church at the entrance to the prison on the outskirts of Youngstown. They ranged from the elderly and religious to human rights supporters to members of various left groups. They were expecting to participate in the first of a series of events in coming weeks to support the men on their road to force-feeding, or even possible death. Things did not turn out as expected. For once, this was for the better.

The day's events began when a small delegation made up of the hunger strikers' relatives and friends (Keith Lamar's Uncle Dwight, Siddique Hasan's friend Brother Abdul, and Alice Lynd for Jason Robb), went up to the prison through the snow and ice to deliver an Open Letter addressed to OSP Warden David Bobby and Ohio's state prison officials. The letter, which supported the demands of the hunger strikers, was signed by more than 1,200 people including the famous (Noam Chomsky), human-rights-leaning legal experts from Ohio and around the world, prominent academics and writers, and ordinary retired teachers and religious ministers. It was Saturday, so Warden Bobby was not there to meet the delegation, but he'd been aware of their coming and left someone at the front desk to take the letter.

Hopeful word of a settlement of the hunger strike had been circulating among a few friends and activists for two days. It was definitively confirmed that morning when visitors to Jason Robb received a copy of a written agreement from Warden Bobby (see below) outlining a settlement that provided practically all of their demands, despite his insistence at the beginning of the strike that he would not give in to duress.

Although the hunger strikers told me that they were optimistic from the very beginning, there were grounds to expect a harder battle. Bomani Shakur (Keith Lamar) described an incident with the Deputy Warden at the beginning of his protest.

"You know, LaMar, a human being can only go so long without food," he chided Shakur.

"Yeah, I know," replied Bomani, "but according to the state of Ohio I'm not human, so I don't have to worry about that!"

Nonetheless, Warden Bobby and his deputies had been meeting with the hunger strikers for some days and they agreed that they would end their protest upon receipt of the warden's letter. Friends and relatives who came to visit Siddique Hasan and Keith Lamar (aka Bomani Shakur) told visiting friends and relatives similar details about the end of the strike. Both men said that they had resumed eating.

Shakur told one of his friends that he'd "just been eating hot-dogs." She replied that it was crazy to eat such things on an empty stomach. Bomani just laughed and said, "but I was hungry, man!"

The delegation returned to the crowd and began the rally. The surprise was revealed to all. The hunger strike was over.

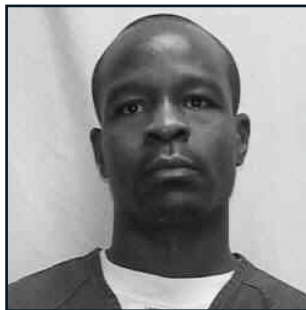
Jason Robb's victory statement was relayed to the crowd. He wanted to thank everybody for their support, for without it the men would have won nothing. But now, he said, it was time to shift the focus to the fact that five men, including the three hunger strikers, are awaiting execution for things they did not do.

"The energy around our protest went viral," he told Alice and Staughton Lynd on a prison visit. "This time around the fight was for better prison conditions. Now we begin fighting for our lives."

### Why a Hunger Strike?

The "Lucasville Five" includes the three hunger strikers plus Namir Mateen, who did not join the hunger strike due to medical complications, and George Skatzes, who was transferred out of isolation at OSP after he was diagnosed with chronic depression. All five are awaiting execution for a variety of charges, mostly complicity in the murders of prisoners and a guard during the Lucasville prison uprising of 1993. In a case that resembles that of the Angola 3 in Louisiana, they have been held in solitary isolation for 23 hours a day for more than 17 years, since the evening the uprising ended. This is despite the fact that three of them helped negotiate a settlement of the uprising that undoubtedly saved lives, and despite a promise within the agreement that there would be no retribution against any of the prisoners.

The Ohio prison authorities went back on their word. They not only put the five men in isolation but they built the supermax prison at Youngstown to hold them that way in perpetuity. Having built the prison, they had to fill



Bomani Shakur (Keith Lamar), one of the Lucasville hunger strikers

through a cursory examination.

The time from 1973-1976 on Pine Ridge is referred to by many as "the reign of terror." A paramilitary squad known as the Guardians of the Oglala Nation (GOONs), operated on Pine Ridge and were organized by the BIA. The GOONs were notorious for targeting traditional Lakotas and AIM members by shooting up homes, running people off roads and outright murder. According to former GOON, Duane Brewer, the group was given ammunition and intelligence by the FBI themselves.

On March 11 1976, before the results of Anna Mae's second autopsy were known, an article entitled "FBI denies AIM implication that Aquash was informant" appeared in the *Rapid City Journal*, despite the fact that AIM never publicly made any such allegation. Already the FBI had begun to redirect blame away from themselves and spin a story to target AIM and discredit indigenous resistance.

"If you start with the premise that we are just as inclined to break the law as to honour it...then no case we put together has any credibility," said FBI Special Agent John Sennett during the 2001 FBI campaign against clemency for imprisoned AIM member Leonard Peltier.

In the South Dakota courtroom this month, the audience was directed not to exhibit any symbols of support or disagreement at any time during session. Judge Jack Delaney also said that reactive facial expressions would be grounds for removal from court for the duration of trial.

Said trial was riddled with inconsistencies. Witnesses contradicted one another, stating that Aquash's hands were tied in front, behind or not at all when she was "kidnapped" from a house in Denver.

The murder having taken place 35 years ago, many contradictions in testimony were explained away as a problem of degraded memory. The entire case rested on verbal testimony without a shred of material evidence.

Witness Darlene Ecoffey (previously Kamook Banks), wife of Robert Ecoffey (the lead investigator of Aquash's murder and superintendent of the BIA on Pine Ridge), and ex-wife of AIM leader Dennis Banks, had worked with the FBI for at least a decade. She is known to have worn a wire and interviewed various AIM supporters. As in the Looking Cloud trial, Ecoffey again testified that Leonard Peltier told Anna Mae and herself that he had executed the two FBI agents in the 1975 "shoot-out at Oglala." Leonard Peltier is currently serving two consecutive life sentences for the death of the two FBI agents. He has always maintained his innocence despite his parole being contingent on an admission of guilt.

"Kamook's testimony was like being stabbed in the heart while simultaneously being told your sister just died,"

said Leonard Peltier about Ecoffey's similar testimony at Looking Cloud's 2004 trial. "Of all the fabrications that the government has used to keep me imprisoned, this one hurt so deeply."

Witness Angie Janis said she was at the house in Denver when Anna Mae was "kidnapped." Janis works as a secretary at the Pine Ridge BIA. Her boss is Robert Ecoffey, bringing into question her motives for testifying. Darlene Ecoffey admitted that she had been paid over \$40,000 by the FBI for her work as an informant. Testimony was also heard from FBI and BIA agents including the notorious FBI agent William Wood.

The defense rested its case on December 7 without calling a single witness. Twice, defense lawyer John Murphy asked Judge Jack Delaney to dismiss the charges against Graham, arguing that prosecutors had not proven enough of their case. Delaney disagreed and denied the motion.

So why is John Graham being targeted and why do many believe that he is innocent?

Anna Mae Aquash, Leonard Peltier and John Graham all consistently refused to falsely testify on behalf of the State. In return, Anna Mae was threatened with her life by the FBI. In an affidavit, Leonard Peltier said he was offered his freedom in exchange for false testimony against John Graham. Graham himself said that agents visited him four times in the Yukon, trying to get him to sign false statements implicating AIM leadership in the death of Anna Mae. When Graham refused the FBI said that he would face the charges instead.

"(The FBI) offered me my freedom and money if I'd testify the way they wanted," said Aquash when she was arrested in 1975. "I have those two choices now. I chose my kind of freedom, not their kind, even if I have to die."

John Graham also chose this kind of freedom, for which he now faces life in prison. It has been suggested that prosecutors may proceed to charge some former AIM leaders with ordering the Aquash murder.

This trial has brought no real resolution. If anything the truth shown here is that state still aims to disrupt resistance movements and those who dare to struggle are at odds with the goals of the state. Although the imprisonment of John Graham is a tragedy, his refusal to frame others is also an inspiration to those who continue to resist the destruction of the land and native ways of life.

In Graham's own words, "I am a warrior. I was a warrior when I first went to South Dakota and I'll be a warrior this time when I have to go to South Dakota." (from his 2007 extradition from Vancouver to South Dakota)

Visit [grahamdefense.org](http://grahamdefense.org) for updates.

## J18 Update: Roger Clement Sentenced to 3 Years, 6 Months, 15 Days in Prison

BY OTTAWA MOVEMENT DEFENSE

Ottawa Movement Defense is outraged and saddened by the 3 year and 6 month sentence handed down to Roger Clement on December 7. Roger had previously pleaded guilty to arson in the May 18 firebombing attack on a local Royal Bank of Canada branch, as well as smashing windows and ATMs at a different branch in February.

We are dismayed that this property-related offense was judged so harshly by the court, given that both the defense and Crown attorneys acknowledged Roger took great care to eliminate any possible injury to innocent people. We are left wondering when RBC executives will be made to face equivalent jail time for their own crimes against indigenous communities and the environment.

But we are also inspired by Roger's strength of character during a grueling court process. Even when offered the chance to apologize for his role in the firebombing, Roger refused to do so, even though his liberty was on the line. In typical Roger fashion, he chose to simply apologize for the inconvenience he had caused his friends and family, and for the fact that the money spent on incarcerating him wasn't being spent on more useful projects.

Roger is a good friend to many of us in Ottawa and will be dearly missed while he is behind bars. We know Roger as a trusted friend and community organizer, dedicated to social justice and committed to affecting positive change around him. Over the years, he has been involved with many local groups fighting the good fight against war, poverty and injustice around the world.



Though the court part of this ordeal is over, the work is nowhere near done. It is crucial now to make sure that Roger knows we on the outside still care about him. Please continue writing and visiting him during his time in prison.

### Donate to the legal defense fund

Cheques can be made out to 'Ottawa Movement Defense' and mailed to the mailing address below.

Ottawa Movement Defense is a legal and political support committee for the June 18th Defendants. We take direction from the June 18th defendants. Our support activities include coordinating visits, fundraising towards legal and support costs, informing friends and supporters of the court proceedings, etc. We do not provide legal advice to the defendants. Currently, we are not making any statements to the media.

Email: [ottawamovementdefense@gmail.com](mailto:ottawamovementdefense@gmail.com)

Ottawa Movement Defense  
207 Bank Street  
Suite 453  
Ottawa, ON  
K2P 2N2 Canada

### Roger Clement's New Mailing Address

Feb. 24 2011

Roger Clement has been transferred from the Millhaven Assessment Unit to the Pittsburg Institution in Joyceville, Ontario.

Pittsburg is a minimum security facility located just north of Kingston and housing about 250 inmates. For more info on Pittsburgh, visit [www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/facilit/institut-profiles/pittsburgh-eng.shtml](http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/text/facilit/institut-profiles/pittsburgh-eng.shtml)

Roger appreciates receiving mail from the outside. While he can't always reply to every bit of correspondence, having access to letters and other reading material really helps him cope with his time in prison.

His new address is:

Joseph Roger Clement (FPS-420268X)  
Pittsburgh Institution  
Highway 15, No. 3766  
PO Box 4510  
Kingston, Ontario  
K7L 5E5

For more information about the J18 or Ottawa Movement Defense, get in touch with us at [ottawamovementdefense@gmail.com](mailto:ottawamovementdefense@gmail.com).

prisons across the United States. Basic conditions necessary for health and survival are poor if not totally lacking: inadequate medical care; overcrowding; poor food; no pay or pennies an hour for prisons jobs, including working for private corporations behind prison walls; guard brutality; little educational or job training; huge sentences; limited visiting, prisons hundred or thousands of miles away from the prisoners home areas, etc., etc., etc. This is the continuing reality of prisoners in the U.S. This harsh situation will get worse, as prison budgets are cut, while the number of men, women and children being locked up continues to rise or at least remains as high as ever. More prisoners struggle, including well organized united efforts will increase. Of course divisions based on race, geographical location, street organizations, religions, age, etc., also continue to exist and these are used by prison officials to keep convicts divided and more easily controlled. So we will not doubt also see acts of frustration and prisoner on prisoner violence. It is up to all convicts, all solid prisoners, to act in their common self interest, to act for the good of all and our families, to unite and stand up for justice and human rights. Lets also keep in mind, that the more informed, conscious and united we are before any crisis, will determine how strong we are during the struggle and what the outcome will be—if we will be successful to any degree. As we all know, and as our history informs us, prison struggle is real struggle—it is no joke. There is always a price to pay, for even small reforms. Prisoners get killed, get brutalized, get more time, get sent to control units, but that is the price some of us might have to pay to advance the rights and life conditions for all who follow.

One important and positive development of the Georgia prisoners strike was the support and solidarity they received from outside groups and people. This was also an important feature of the massive prison struggles of the 1970s and early 80s. Outside awareness and support is very important and should be developed by prisoners. Likewise, outside groups should make and maintain contacts with people inside. As solid as outside support can and should be, the initiative and actions must come from inside, from prisoners, united and strong. There is more to reflect on all this, on the Georgia prisoners strike and prison struggle in general. 4sm will print more information and discussion on all this, so send us your thoughts.

For more information on the Georgia prisoners: Elaine Brown, a former chairperson of the original Black Panther Party, has helped establish a coalition to support the prisoners: [facebook.com/pages/concerned-coalition-to-respect-prisoners-rights](http://facebook.com/pages/concerned-coalition-to-respect-prisoners-rights)

There is also an online petition in solidarity with the prisoners' demands at: [petitiononline.com/wagesnow/petition.html](http://petitiononline.com/wagesnow/petition.html). Visit [iacenter.org](http://iacenter.org) for more information and to sign the petition.

## Still no News of 37 Missing Georgia Prison Strikers

BY EUGENE THOMAS

Reprinted from the SF Bayview newspaper  
February 19, 2011

We still haven't heard of who and where are those 37 Georgia prisoners who were labeled the leaders and organizers of the sit-down strike that began Dec. 9. But we do know that there are some prisoners from Smith State Prison here being harassed for participating in the protest. I haven't been able to get to the lock-down unit where they are being held.

Reidsville, where we are, is hiding some of those brothers. This place has a history of hiding people, as they did Imam Jamil A. Al-Amin before transferring him to federal prison in Florence, Colorado.

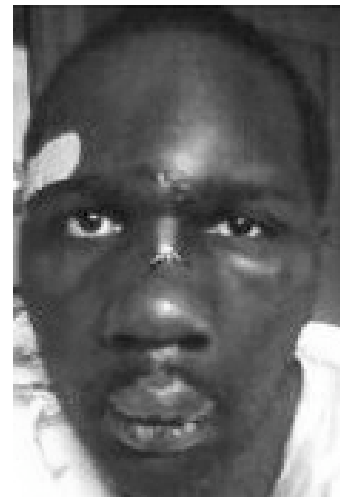
Along with that, we have a situation here where three young brothers, including my old cellmate, are being held for murder and robbery of an older white prisoner, who occupied the bunk I slept in after I was put in the "hole."

These folks have been just holding these young brothers. They haven't indicted neither one of them, haven't fingerprinted either of them, aren't giving them their proper segregation hearing—just holding them in lockup.

It's an interesting story, especially in light of everything taking place in Georgia now and with this place being a massive lockdown facility. They've been in the "hole" now five months. I call them the "Reidsville 3."

In retaliation for organizing the Georgia prison strike, Miguel Jackson was pepper sprayed, handcuffed and beaten with hammers, resulting in a fractured nose and 50 stitches to his face, and guards tried to throw him over the railing from the second floor, his wife said.

— Photo courtesy of  
*The Final Call*





## Georgia Prisoners Struggle

BY JAAN LAAMAN

The biggest prisoner protest in U.S. history took place from December 9-16, 2010, in the Georgia state prison system. It is likely most 4sm readers have heard, at least some news from CNN, the NY Times and other sources on this strike of Georgia's state prisoners. Here is a round up of some of the specific information and a few thoughts on the significance of this struggle for all prisoners.

The historic Georgia prisoners strike that lasted from December 9-16, and involved as many as 10 prisons, was the biggest prisoner protest in the history of the United States. Thousands of men from Georgia state prisons at Augusta, Baldwin, Hancock, Hays, Macon, Smith and Telfair (and there may have been other prisons involved), initiated and maintained a united work strike for one week. Their list of demands were:

- A living wage for work
- Educational opportunities
- Decent health care
- An end to cruel and unusual punishment
- Decent living conditions
- Nutritional meals
- Vocational and self-improvement opportunities
- Access to families
- Just parole decisions

Thousands upon thousands of prisoners stayed in their cells on Dec. 9, and refused to come out and work. They



launched a traditional, powerful, peaceful and legitimate labor action—a workers' strike. This strike was the united action of Black, white, Latino, Asian, Muslim, Rastafarian, Native, Christian, and other groups of prisoners.

This was a carefully planned, united and well executed strike. The prisoners had a unified plan of action agreed to by the leadership within the prison society. This leadership was diffused and publicly unidentified, which prevented the immediate removal of all the spokesmen and leaders. When the strike began, the leaders issued the following call: "No more slavery. Injustice in one place is injustice to all. Inform your family to support our cause. Lock down for Liberty."

The corporate news media largely ignored this strike, but there was some reporting of prisoners using contraband cell phones to communicate and coordinate the protest between the different prisons. Also, there were reports that prisoner spokesmen were contacting and informing the media about this strike. They were also reported to be calling community and revolutionary activist organizations and leaders about what was going on behind the walls. Alternative media, such as Amy Goodman and Democracy Now, Hard Knock Radio and the Black Agenda Report were providing extensive coverage day by day. The Left press, papers, zines and online provided extensive coverage of the strike and its aftermath.

Solidarity demonstrations have taken place in many cities including Detroit, Oakland CA, Richmond VA, Denver, Raleigh NC, and New York City. On December 17, representatives of the "Concerned Coalition to Protect Prisoners Rights," met with the Georgia Department of Corrections to press for action on the strikers demands. The Coalition is made up of the NAACP, the Nation of Islam, and other community organizations. The Coalition reported no positive results from the meeting but pledged to continue their support for the strikers' demands.

Since December, reports have surfaced about harsh repression, beatings, destruction of property and middle of the night transfers of suspected leaders taking place in all the state prisons in Georgia. No doubt all this is happening, for this is the usual response that prison bosses take when prisoners unite, stand up and call for justice and human rights. There are almost 2 1/2 million men, women and children in

## Out of Jail

BY ALEX HUNDERT

From [toronto.mediacoop.ca](http://toronto.mediacoop.ca)

(Updated on January 26: I was released from jail on January 24)

After nearly five months in jail, I will finally be walking out of the Toronto West Detention Centre having taken a plea bargain with the Crown.

The deal required that I plead guilty to a single count of "breach recognizance" stemming from a single presentation amongst many presentations at the September 17 event at Ryerson University titled "Strengthening Our Resolve: Movement Building and Ongoing Resistance to the G20 Agenda."

The plea was in exchange for having the breach of bail coming from an almost identical event at Wilfrid Laurier University dropped, along with two counts of breaching my probation (which is left over from an older charge in Cayuga resulting from a blockade in Cayuga) dropped. They have also stopped the proceedings to collect a hundred and twenty thousand dollars from my sureties. More importantly, I finally got a new bail, including being able to post to the internet, having no curfew, and being able to leave the house with designates. This allows me to once again be a contributing member of my community and to the movements I am a part of.

Some people will be quick to judge this as a "sell out," as exchanging a platform to fight for a potentially meaningful victory in court for my personal freedom. That possibility has haunted me. But I do sincerely believe that position to be a hasty and narrow judgment.

As it stood, I found out that my trial date for the breach was moved from January 31 to March. Regardless of the outcome of the breach trial, I would still not be released until a separate bail hearing to be held in April at the earliest. At that point, I would have been in jail for over seven months with no reasonable prospects of even being released on bail given the pending allegations of "intimidation of a justice participant" and the original conspiracy charges.

To remain behind bars would have been the obvious choice, even if a hard decision. Previously in October, I had made the decision to refuse my bail which included a media gag and punitive non associations. Staying in jail this time around would also have been relatively easy because I had been doing just fine in there. But at the same time, I was a serious drain on those who have done such wonders in supporting me, helping me stay strong and to feel connected to community. Incarceration is a weapon designed to affect the communities that people are a part

of; to suck resources, energy and emotion out of them and not just the individuals held in dungeons.

And while being willing to sacrifice oneself might be noble in theory and sometimes the only right decision to make, in this circumstance I feel it is far more important to be in my community, contributing, giving back, fulfilling my responsibilities. This is who I want to be in the movement right now—a participant, not a symbol.

And what would the point even have been, if I had sat in the cage until after we were able to get our victory in court? The truth is, the only point that can ever be proven in a court is that the courts are a legitimate source of authority in our lives. I would like to deny them that power.

We could have fought them, on their own battle ground, and tried to establish that the OPP's and the Crown's position that what took place on the Ryerson and WLU campuses did not constitute "public demonstrations." I've had a long time to think about it, and I realized that I don't really care how panel discussions are classified by the courts. What I care about is that we are able to defend the spaces in which those free discussions take place and that we do not depend on the state to provide them for us. That defense happens every day, with our unity in the streets, and in those spaces themselves, not in a courtroom.

And if we had won the trial it would merely have established that I had not breached my bail conditions on those particular days. It would not establish that the cops and the Crown would never be able to treat another campus-based discussion as a "public demonstration." The fight is not whether a panel discussion is a public demonstration, the fight is over the existence of such a bail condition itself and it will hopefully be found "unconstitutional" as a result of a challenge that has been put forward by one of my co-accused.

For those who do prioritize such legal victories, I actually think that we have come closer to establishing that such discussions are not to be legally defined as demonstrations



than we would have by winning at trial. The charges for the Laurier event were dropped, and I only pled guilty for one part of the event at Ryerson as contravening my bail condition not to participate in a public demonstration.

In the statement of facts agreed upon at court during the plea hearing, what was specifically defined as constituting a breach was just a single presentation by three Indigenous women at Ryerson. They used props, and the opening line included the statement, "I am not here today as a panelist." In such a twisted world that wants to hold people in jails and put on shows in courtrooms to argue over such semantics, I can accept that such a presentation, in a room full of nearly three hundred people, might need to constitute a "public demonstration." Nothing in my plea suggests that there was anything "unlawful" about that presentation, just that under this regime, it counts as a "public demonstration."

I would like to add though, that I whole-heartedly support every word that those women had to say that night. The content was both poignant and necessary, and also perfectly in line with panel discussions. By no means in itself did the content of the presentation constitute a public demonstration. It was not the Indigenous language, nor the possession of traditional eagle feathers; it was merely the use of plastic handcuffs as props. These props served to demonstrate the ways in which Indigenous people's participation in academic, activist, and broader society has been handcuffed by racist and colonial practices and structures. Also far too often, Indigenous people find themselves in literal handcuffs as a result of the patterns in this legal system, especially pre-trial incarcerations, over-prosecutions, and unjust convictions. I thank those women for making that presentation that night, and if it makes me "guilty," again, so be it. Nyaweh, miigwetch to them.

I would like to write a new narrative, one other than the tired and damaging narrative of martyrdom whereby one isolated person sits in a jail cell becoming a symbol against injustice. We need to tell a new story—one that does not insist on suffering from those committed to our movements. While this is often necessary, we also need a discourse that speaks to us about commitment as meaning that we are actually part of the daily struggles that strive to build communities and networks that can sustain our visions for better lives and for spaces where real freedom and safety are possible. This is the type of story that I want to be telling.

I don't think that people should be any less outraged now that I am out of jail. The injustice of the system has been laid bare again like so many times before. It is the inherent functioning of an explicitly oppressive system that is designed to perpetuate power and propagate its own order, especially against targeted communities including Indigenous people, people of colour, poor people, queer and trans people. This system cannot be vindicated by courtroom victories. Be outraged and let's struggle on our own terms.

## Byron Sonne: Behind Bars Since the G20 Summit

Reprinted from freebyron.org

Byron Sonne is a security consultant and citizen journalist. On June 22, 2010, he was arrested in his home in Forest Hill, Toronto in relation to the G20 Summit. He is still being detained in jail after being denied bail on October 1, 2010.

Byron Sonne was arrested June 22, 2010 in his home in the Forest Hill neighborhood of Toronto. Byron's wife Kristen was arrested on: June 24, 2010 All charges against Kristen were dismissed at the start of the preliminary inquiry. The list of charges against Byron were: possession of explosives for an unlawful purpose; possession of dangerous weapons; intimidation of a justice system participant by threat; intimidation of a justice system participant by watch and beset; mischief; and attempted mischief.

Byron's bail decision was read on July 20. He was denied bail. On Feb. 22, 2011, all but the explosives charge were dismissed. An addition charge requested by the crown of "counseling the commission of an indictable offence" was granted. This is fantastic news for Byron. Under Canadian law, the threshold for allowing a charge to go to trial is quite low, something referred to as "The Sheppard Test." Despite this low threshold, only the two remaining charges met the test.

Bail was not requested at this stage and as such, no decision on bail was made. A bail application will be made in the near future. Please note; The publication ban is still in effect. The reasons for the decisions are protected, as is all evidence and arguments made in the preliminary inquiry.

There will be a short hearing on March 30, time to be determined, to choose a date for the next steps. This will be open to the public, but it will be a procedural step and likely will only be ~5 minutes. Once any more information is known it will be posted here.

As you can imagine, being stuck in prison waiting for trial for over half a year is incredibly boring, especially over the holiday season! One of the best things you can do is to write him a letter or send post-cards. He enjoys being penpals with anybody, even if you never knew Byron before.

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## The G20 Legal Defence Fund Needs Your Help!

The G20 Legal Defence Fund needs donations to support those arrested at the G20. You can support the detainees' legal costs and help alleviate some of the other costs of navigating the court system, and help us keep organizing. The fund will be distributing the funds to those with the most need, prioritizing those still in custody on serious charges.

From June 25-27, elites from the world's most powerful economies met in Huntsville and Toronto to draft policies to further exploit the environment and people, bolstering the systems that sustain colonialism, wars and displacement. Tens of thousands of people mobilized in a historic weeklong convergence in opposition to these policies. Daily demonstrations highlighted struggles for Indigenous sovereignty; environmental justice; migrant justice; an end to war and occupation; community control over resources; gender justice; and queer and disability rights.

Over \$1.2 billion was spent on security, the most in G20 summit history, which paid for a dizzying array of weaponry and nearly 20,000 police—plus a security fence that turned Toronto into a fortress to host a select few and a police state to terrorize the rest of us.

Nearly 1,000 people, protesters and bystanders alike, were detained—the largest mass arrests in Canadian history. They were held for long periods in makeshift cages in deplorable conditions, most without timely access to legal counsel. Many had been simply caught up in massive police sweeps of public areas. Others were woken at gunpoint while sleeping. Others were picked up at their homes. Some of those arrested are still in custody. Fifteen face serious charges. Many of these are long-time community organizers.

We need to support all of those arrested during the G20 summit. We must continue to mobilize and build greater solidarity among our communities. An important part of this will be supporting our courageous allies still in detention.

To donate via PayPal go to: [g20.torontomobilize.org](http://g20.torontomobilize.org)

Cheques (payable to OPIRG York, with 'G20 legal defence' on the subject line) can be mailed to:

Toronto Community Mobilization Network  
360A Bloor Street W  
PO Box 68557  
Toronto, ON M5S 1X0

## Former Anarchist POW Ojore Lutalo settles lawsuit for unlawful Amtrak arrest

Reprinted from the *Denver Post*

The city of La Junta's insurance carrier will pay an undisclosed amount to Ojore Lutalo, a New Jersey passenger on an Amtrak train who was wrongly jailed after another passenger mistook his phone conversation for terrorist threats. Lutalo filed suit in U.S. District Court in Denver against the city of La Junta, Police Chief Todd Quick and Sgt. Shawn Mobley, claiming Mobley lied in an arrest affidavit to justify the charge against him.

The terms of the settlement say the city does not admit liability and that the amount of money paid to Lutalo is to remain confidential. Bill Jackson, La Junta's assistant city manager, said Monday the city does not have to publicly disclose the amount because it was paid by the city's insurance company and not the taxpayers. Lutalo was offered \$20,000 early on in the suit, but declined to settle for that amount, said his attorney, Francisco Martinez. The city has also agreed to submit a letter to authorities in New Jersey and Colorado that says Lutalo's arrest was based on misinformation.

On Jan. 26, 2010, Lutalo was arrested on suspicion of endangering public transportation while headed home to New Jersey after attending the Anarchist Book Fair in Los Angeles. Amtrak called the La Junta police after a conductor said a Missouri couple on board thought they overheard Lutalo making statements about bombing the train and al-Qaeda.

But other passengers sitting near Lutalo told police they didn't hear him say anything threatening, Lutalo said in his lawsuit. La Junta police did not include those statements in their reports and arrest papers. The lawsuit also says Mobley filed a report that says Lutalo was born in Nigeria even though he is an American born in New Jersey.

The district attorney declined to file a case against Lutalo, citing a lack of evidence, but Lutalo was in custody for three days. The incident occurred shortly after the Nigerian bomber attempted a terrorist attack on an airplane Christmas Day 2009, and Martinez believes the hysteria surrounding that case led to Lutalo's arrest.

"He ran into this perfect storm," Martinez said.

Lutalo already had notoriety because he spent 28 years in prison for getting into a police shootout in 1975 and another shooting with a citizen in 1981. While in prison, he pushed for reforms that led to his release in August 2009.