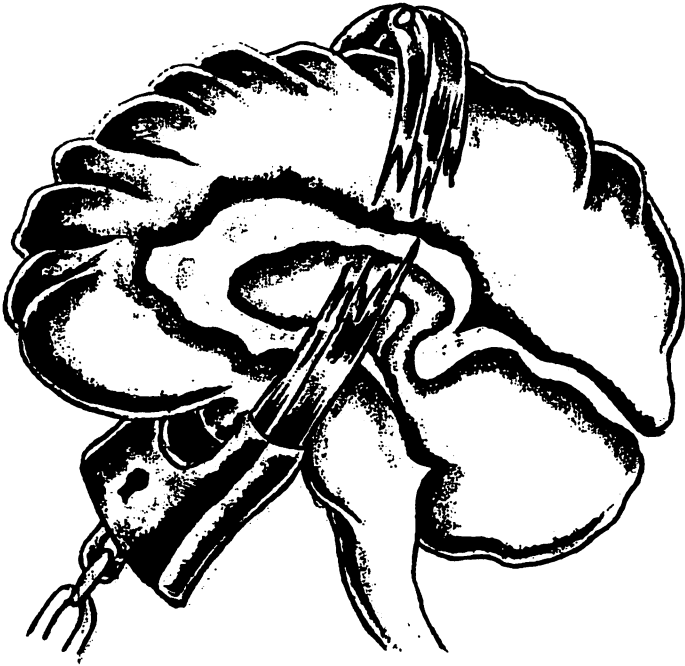


FREE YOUR MIND:

Reversing The Effects Of Prison Censorship



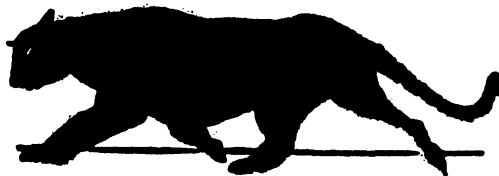
S. Muhammad Hyland

Foreword

It is common knowledge that during chattel slavery, enslaved Afrikans were forbidden to learn how to read or write, because their slave-holders were extremely fearful-and rightfully so-that these skills would facilitate rebellion, which would have disrupted the continuous flow of endless profits into their coffers.

Now, in contemporary times, on and within Afrikan neo-plantations that are the biggest prison industrial complex in the world-2.5 million-fear of rebellion still exists for the same economic reasons. And in light of the fact that the above-method to repress and ultimately thwart insurrections is no longer viable-since Afrikans have acquired the basic and fundamental skills, such as reading and writing, and have achieved the highest accolades that academia has to offer-the neo-slave-holders had to replace this antiquated method with a new system of censorship, in order to control what kind of material that comes into prisons, and thus, the minds of the captive populace.

Like their ancestors, the neo-slave-owners know all too well that revolutionary knowledge/information in the form of ideas, philosophies, perspectives, ideologies, has the potential to have a transformative effect upon the consciousness of their captives. Therefore, to prevent these prisoners of war from becoming motivated, inspired, and/or influenced to confront the system which oppresses and exploits them to the max, all said material is banned from penetrating the walls and barbedwired fences of the prisons, while simultaneously letting in a sea of irrelevant and mindless material. So as you can see, the methods have changed, but the end-goal still remains the same-preventing rebellion by controlling the minds of the masses.



Within this essay, the brother will elaborate, and give the reader(s) a clear and comprehensive perspective into the inner-workings of the system of censorship, and my hope is that many will begin to question the quality of information that they allow to enter their minds, and for those who are bold and truthful enough to conclude that their current intellectual activity lacks substance, and will not assist them in throwing off the yoke of their oppression, will begin to engage in conscious-elevating revolutionary material-which if applied correctly, will compel them to man the front line of this protracted struggle to defeat this dehumanizing and spirit-breaking, neo-plantation system: Amerika's Prison Industrial Complex!

3

Kamau Mwanza Asafo

Knowledge Is Power...

That short, but potent statement is often overused, devaluing it's meaning. Terrorism isn't the only way to control an entire population. At one point in time, it may have been needed, but, once firmly established, the terrorists survive off of their reputation for brutality. The repression and terrorism of Amerikan fascism has been successful up to this point. The violent assault on our leadership has set us back tremendously, leaving those of the next generation confused as to what role-if any-they play in the contemporary struggle. Unfortunately, many of those who seek clarification, do so from behind the walls of Amerikan neo-plantations, after having also fallen victim to the same governmental repression, terrorism, and tricks.

Today is the dawning of a new day, and a new attitude has begun to envelope the imprisoned masses. A new belief-same as the old belief-that the system must be no less than uprooted and destroyed: revolution. If not, we will be destroyed and consumed by capitalism's non-stop quest for accumulation. But the first step into revolutionary consciousness is to attack the psychological complexes which have been keeping us from revolution in the first place. In other words:

defeating our fears. When this stage is complete, we can work on enhancing our political awareness, and methods of revolution.

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Prison plantations are a superabundant source of revolutionary potential. And with all that's taking place across Amerika and around the world, prison administrators-still living off of their violent reputation-realize that political consciousness is rising amongst the captive population, which is why the administration is doing all it can to quell a potential "awakening". They know that this "awakening" can and will, only lead to one thing: revolution.

In order to actualize the above, it is imperative for the captive populace to stop engaging in meaningless and irrelevant intellectual activities, and begin to immerse themselves in material of substance, which if applied correctly, has the capacity to transform their criminal mentality into a revolutionary mentality.

The phenomenon which is, for obvious reasons, being down-played throughout the prison industrial complex in Amerika, is censorship. The "top dawgs" have decided to monitor all incoming publications, and forbid all revolutionary material. Anything that teaches discipline, unity, education, self-determination, family, community, and yes, forced physical liberation. Anything that teaches the methods of resistance. We see it happening all across the country. Everyday, another book is placed on the institution's restricted list.

Censorship is one of the first steps in attempting to control our growth and potential. When the enemy attempts to interdict the flow of revolutionary material, they are really attempting to destroy any revolutionary desire that may exist amongst the oppressed.

Through time, these restrictions create an educational void. This void is filled through the prison library's never-ending stock of useless information-the street novels, car mags, get rich quick books, smut novels. This "harmless", "non-threatening" material is steadily forced upon us, and is a direct path to miseducation: an attack upon the foundation of any potential revolution. Briefly, our oppressor/enemy has

two primary objectives:

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- 1) To quell any potential revolution by eliminating revolutionary influences;
- 2) To "re-educate" (miseducate)-redirect revolutionary potential

These objectives have many components. We'll focus on those related to prison censorship. Analyzing lessons from two of our most experienced and beloved comrades-George Jackson, and Russell Maroon Shoats-we can better understand our enemy-and ourselves-and plot a course of action thusly. Let's take a look at George Jackson's statement on the "prestige" of power:

"Prestige bars any serious attack on power. Do people attack a thing they consider with awe? With a sense of legitimacy?...We can stop the debate; prestige must be destroyed. People must see the 'venerable' institution and the 'omnipotent' administration actually under physical attack..." (1)

It is my contention that we can apply this attack on prestige, not just physically, but mentally, first and foremost. To understand what I'm getting at, allow a short analysis.

As a consequence of our captivity, we have been subjected to the indoctrination of certain philosophies, created with the specific intent to make us needy. Many of them have their roots in the Afrikan slave trade. There is no question that one of the methods used to keep Afrikan slaves obedient, was to make her/him fear the oppressor. These slaves "learned" how to fear the hand of their "masters", as they would fear the hand of god (and there is no dispute concerning religion's role our collective passivity and fear of rebellion). As a result, an inferiority complex developed among most slaves, and was nurtured to maturity; the aim being to trick these slaves into taking on the role as "child", while looking upon the "master" as "parent". The psycho-social relationship between the "parent" and "child" is, and has always been very clear. Therefore, those tricked into taking on the role as "child", will

understandably regard the people s/he accepts, as a "parent", with nothing short of awe, fear...and prestige! Just look at the way you regarded your parents when you were young!

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Since prisons are a form of social-control-akin to slavery-it only makes sense for the administrators of this inhumane system to implement psycho-social programs similar to those which were so effective under comparable psychological circumstances only a few generations ago.

Keeping along those lines, many of us suffer greatly from this complex throughout the prison system here in Amerika. Our collective consciousness is like that of a child when it comes to how we carry out our relationship with our captors. Consequently, we view our oppressors-the prison administration, officers, etc.-as parent. We have "learned" to be helpless, needy. Through our complex, we associate this mental and physical "prestige" with the oppressor. It is this "prestige"-of the mental variety-that must be attacked first, and exposed as what it truly is: vulnerable.

To do this, we must first awaken the oppressed masses to the truth that our enemy is in no way superior to us, physically or mentally-but mentally first. After all, before you can do, you must first know. When we begin to challenge the "wisdom" of the oppressor's decision-making with personally developed and refined strategies of our own, through challenging each other's ideas, thoughts, and conclusions, and a thorough analysis of similar historical events, the enemy's shield of "prestige"-previously considered impenetrable-will be exposed as weak. We will then be free to question the circumstances of our predicament, and challenge the framework of our learned-complexes. Since throughout this paper, we will be paying a lot of attention to, and psychoanalyzing our own actions, reactions, and complexes, which resulted from our confinement, and the administration's restrictions on revolutionary educational material, I think we should first attempt to psychoanalyze some of the actions, reactions, and complexes of the administration.

The two objectives mentioned earlier (others exist of course, but we're speaking from a "boots on the ground" perspective; the most basic element: dealing

directly with the daily operations on the inside) are executed in an attempt to maintain the secure and orderly operation of the facility.

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Now, naturally, human beings will have a problem with being caged in like animals, and before you know it, they will start to demand their freedom. After a while, they will attempt to use force. Administrators realize this, which is why there is such an emphasis on security. After the segregation of natural leaders, the administration's next step in controlling any remaining revolutionary potential, is to eliminate any residual revolutionary stimuli. Since that stimuli is most likely in the form of literature, the institutional restrictions are levied.

Now let's take a look at the objectives mentioned earlier:

- 1) To quell any potential revolutions by eliminating revolutionary influences.

This objective has many components. We'll go over the most important ones, so as not to become redundant.

A) The segregation of natural leaders:

"In order to produce marked changes of behavior and/or attitude, it is necessary to weaken, undermine or remove the supports to the old patterns of behavior and the old attitudes. Because most of the supports are face-to-face confirmation of present behavior and attitudes, which are provided by those with whom close emotional ties exist, it is often necessary to break those emotional ties. This can be done either by removing them physically and preventing any communication with those whom he cares about, or by proving to him that those whom he respects aren't worthy of it and, indeed, should be actively mistrusted."(2)

The best, most capable influences are obviously those with actual experience. Those who have actually put the work in. These natural leaders have been locked away in some of the most nefarious control-units, for decades. We've all heard the saying, "out of sight, out of mind", and with our leaders now out of sight,

we risk forgetting them, and what they've been fighting for all along-out of mind. And it's set up like that with a specific intent to rinse our mentalities of any revolutionary aspirations. The same way that our enslaved ancestors were forced to "forget" almost everything of their true culture and identity.

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3) To place restrictions on revolutionary publications;

This is the heart of our issue. No court has ever ruled that the writings of George Jackson, Che Guevara, Mao Zedong, etc., promotes insurrection, or presents a threat to national security. However, "prison review committees" consistently "find" "threatening" passages in the writings of these-and other-political revolutionaries. These writings are instantly placed on the institution's restricted list.

But if the institution is really "omnipotent", why feel the need to restrict revolutionary political material in the first place? Why not restrict weight rooms, and punching bags-after all, they seem more of a threat than a book? Here's why: because the mind is the most potent weapon in existence. The politicized mind is the most dangerous weapon in existence!

It's just like a game of chess. Every action has a reaction, and every move is made for a specific reason. When we examine the measures put in place by the administration, we realize that their actions are simply reactions to the reservoir of revolutionary potential inside of their prisons. Still, due to the censorship of revolutionary political literature, we can-rightfully-assume that this kind of literature-in capable hands-poses a veritable threat to the establishment's interests.

If in fact these "capable hands" didn't exist on the inside, the so-called "threat" would be sterile, and there would be no need to place the restrictions in question. The fact that these restrictions are imposed, is proof that the enemy acknowledges the fact that leaders exist who can properly channel this energy into a formidable revolutionary threat. And it's also proof that the administration acknowledges the fact that the imprisoned masses possess this

revolutionary potential. Consequently, it is in the institution's best interest to stop this threat from ever materializing. Hence, the next stage in the assault on our growth:

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2) To reeducate-redirect revolutionary potential;

With the restrictions on revolutionary political material firmly in place, over time, an educational void is left in it's wake. It is now up to the enemy to provide a replacement curriculum in order to fill that new void. From this point on, every piece of information distributed to the captive population, by the "venerable institution", will be deliberately "harmless" and miseducational.

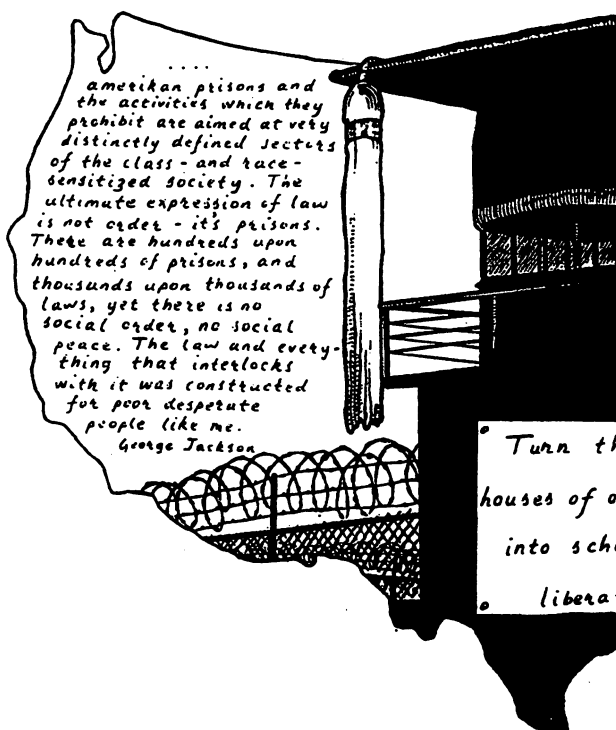
Prison libraries are filled with such material. You can find a book on almost any topic, as long as it has nothing to do with the kind of education that will set our minds free. There's an abundance of novels, filled with violence, smut, racist content, and many other forms of non-sense. These items aren't restricted. However, revolutionary material-which doesn't contain any of these criminal behaviors-is. What's the difference between the two? Of course, one group is fiction, and the other isn't, but it's not that simple. Fiction is for entertainment. We learn to lean on them; daily engaging in this false reality, to the point where it becomes addictive. How many of us can't wait to get back to our cells so we can "finish our book"? Our own little private escapist sanctuary. Our coping mechanism. The effects are more profound in the "hole", where we have all day to "keep our minds off of things", due to the stressful environment. There we spend the majority of our time indoctrinating ourselves! When the book is finished, you're right back where you started. You've gained nothing, and wasted a bunch of time in the process.

On the other hand, the administration has gained. The more we waste time engaging in fiction, the more the institution can remain secure in the fact that we pose no serious threat to the system.

Now, back to "prestige". Earlier, we identified the assault on our intellect. We admit that this "prestige" is what's been holding us back. But when we

delve into the reasoning behind the institutional restrictions of revolutionary political material, the system's vulnerability is exposed.

If this "venerable" institution is really "omnipotent", nothing of any magnitude could/should pose a serious threat to it's existence. So, the obvious conclusion is that if an actual, serious threat is produced-and proven to be just that-the captive population will have no choice but to lower



their regard for it, and from this point forward, view it-and any of it's past "accomplishments"-as fraudulent. By placing these restrictions, the institution is admitting their fear of these consequences. And the "omnipotent" should have no reason to fear mere mortals!

This should open all of our eyes to the degree of revolutionary potential on neo-plantations across

Amerika. And by restricting this material, the administration has indirectly acknowledged that there are those capable of teaching and learning within these walls.

Putting all of this together, we see that revolutionary political educational material, along with those who are willing to teach-and learn-it, and lead by it's example, is the recipe for the revolutionary struggle within these prison walls, that will help to accomplish two things: our unconditional liberation-both physically and mentally; and the



complete and total destruction of the neo-plantation/concentration camp experiment in Amerika.

However, before we get too high off of our idealism, the question arises: even if we do have these teachers, learners, and leaders, how can we take advantage of this revolutionary material, when the administration has barred any and all of it from entering the prisons? I will attempt to answer that question in the following paragraphs.

"...If the threat to power is truly revolutionary, and the first step into revolutionary consciousness taken with a forceful attack upon prestige, we must anticipate reaction, accept repression's terror, and meet it with a counter-terror of our own. The gravedigger needs a bodyguard to protect him at his work, else the the grave may be his own."(3)

In the first part of this discussion, it was made clear that the "venerable" institution and "omnipotent" administration is vulnerable, and can no longer be associated with any level of fear or prestige. With this fear in decline, we are now in a better position to combat our psychological inferiority complex. It is now incumbent upon teachers and leaders to seize this opportunity and work to reverse those complexes amongst the people, while at the same time working to fill the new void that will have been created due to the collapse of our previous corrupted mentality.

Experts on revolutionary struggle exist on every neoplantation in Amerika. In almost every circumstance, these leaders are locked away in control-units, separated from the general population for the sole purpose of containing their influence. However their example can be followed through their writings and through those who have first-hand experience of being around them. Armed with this knowledge, we can work to develop our revolutionary conscious.

Those of you who are, or have been around our fallen leaders, you have an obligation to teach those who show a willingness to learn. You too can write papers, talk in the yards, gyms, and on the blocks. With the restrictions on revolutionary material in place, you are the gateway to this type of education for countless individuals.

For those of you who are in possession of revolutionary material that is on the restricted list, measures must be put in place to protect and preserve

it. This material should be put to memory as soon as possible. Comrades who are more advanced in their political and revolutionary thinking should come together to compare thoughts and strategies. We all have to stay in constant motion. We all must do all in our power to teach and empower those who share our common goal. If you are in possession of books on the restricted list, make copies of those books. If you have copies, make more. But just like any other secret on the plantation, the informants will working double-time to expose what you're doing. This is why it is so important to put this knowledge to memory-like those hundreds of rap lyrics we've learned to memorize over the years. These principles will serve as our foundation, and we can begin to create our own methods of struggle.

13

While the original vanguard elements are likely trapped inside of control-units, we must continue to use them as our example and motivation. However, a carbon-copy of their agenda would be counter-productive, as comrade George explains: "There can be nothing dogmatic about revolutionary theory. It is to be born out of each popular struggle. Each popular struggle must be analyzed historically to discover new ideas."(4)

This doesn't mean that the methods of the previous vanguard are to be discarded. It's exactly the opposite. We must analyze those methods, and also the establishment's reaction to them; adopt what can still be effectively applied, while at the same time integrating new ideas and methods. Lenin reinforces this concept:

"New forms of struggle, unknown to the participants of the given period, inevitably arise as the given social situation changes; the coming crisis will introduce new forms of struggle that we are now unable to foresee."(5)

So as the given social situation changes, so too do the circumstances, and so too must the methods of the people. As we analyze the methods of the previous generation, we are actually building off of their foundation and continuing their legacy-while at the same time putting our mark on history for future

generations to analyze. But as comrade George teaches: "In order to develop revolutionary consciousness, we must learn how revolutionary consciousness can be raised to the highest point by stimuli from the vanguard elements."(6) Therefore, our new vanguard-directly influenced and educated by the previous vanguard-must now make the efforts to use their stimuli to it's highest potential. Those who refuse to do so, are cancers, and should be dealt with accordingly.

14

Methods Of Organization

We can agree that the ultimate objective is the same to us all: unconditional liberation-which can only come through the destruction of the neo-plantation system, not only in Amerika, but around the world. After that, differences of opinion, ideas, theories, and methods of leadership, should not only be welcomed, but also encouraged. In our attempt to make the revolutionary threat truly effective, we can't allow the administration to be in a position to take out our leadership, due it being centralized. That, in effect, would kill the movement.

In Russell Maroon Shoats' excellent thesis, "The Dragon And The Hydra: A Historical Study Of Organizational Methods", he used, as an example to support a decentralized movement, the continuous resistance of Afrikan and Amerindian peoples in Suriname. He breaks down how, even though these enslaved Afrikans had come from many different backgrounds-a tactic commonly used by slave owners to promote disunity-and had many differences otherwise, they still shared a common goal: freedom from enslavement. Historically, these Afrikans and Amerindians-who would later go on to become known as Maroons-practiced decentralized methods of resistance, but were united-centralized-through their common goal.

" It must be recalled that the Suriname Afrikans were from many different backgrounds, so when they would come together as Maroons, that would have to be factored in. They had to organize using democratic methods, and the glue that held them together was

their collective focus on defeating their enslavers' attempts to control them. THAT centralized their efforts..."(7)

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Not all the slaves were on board with this, "but as a general rule, individuals and small groups of slaves would flee the plantations to join the Maroons, and on occasions, large conspiracies were organized that saw the enslaved workers preparing the groundwork for Maroon guerillas to raid plantations and liberate scores at a time."(8)

Of course we aren't on this level yet, but this example is proof that differences among the leadership is not necessarily a bad thing. As Maroon explains: "This example exhibits decisions arrived at by truly democratic means, and then carried out in a centralized manner, all by otherwise decentralized groups."(9)

Following a revolutionary principle-historical analysis-Maroon compared the methods of a decentralized movement in Suriname-almost four hundred years ago-to what the Bolsheviks attempted under Lenin during the Russian revolution of 1917. This is a perfect example of analyzing a popular struggle historically to discover new ideas. From the inside of one of Amerika's worst control-units, Maroon is leading by example, and giving us the tools needed to progress in our revolutionary efforts.

Though the Bolsheviks succeeded in destroying the system, their newly-installed government soon turned a brutal dictatorship under Stalin. Without getting ahead of ourselves, these are still tragic mistakes that must be discussed and analyzed in order to avoid following the same path.

The last argument in Maroon's thesis, favoring decentralized leadership, is maybe the most compelling:

"It's clear that today's center of gravity, the aspects on which all else is dependent and rests, is the shared (global) consciousness of the multitudes of the earth's workers and oppressed people, that their lives are daily becoming more and more intolerable,

hence, solidifying them ideologically around the necessity for revolutionary change (like our earlier Maroons were solidified around the need to escape), and the ability of these multitudes to communicate with each other and share ideas and methods about the best ways to proceed towards that goal."(10) 16

Clearly this can be applied to the environment and circumstances that we find ourselves presently victim of. Though the examples above are all in relation to the physical aspects of revolution, they can also be applied to the pre-textual aspects of physical revolution-educating the populace, and building a collective revolutionary conscious through beating the "restricted list", and raising revolutionary stimuli to it's highest potential.

In essence, leadership can take on all sorts of styles and methods. As long as the common goal is the same-revolutionary change. But at the same time, under certain circumstances, democratic decision-making can take place. And those decisions should be carried out in a centralized manner. All by otherwise decentralized groups. History has proven time and again that this method is the most effective.

If those truly dedicated to revolutionary change accept their role as the new vanguard of the movement, the results will be obvious. While not everybody will follow suit-some may have to be forced-the collective attitude of the masses will have begun to show a profound change in thinking and approach. Every step we take from this point should be taken with the understanding that the system is powerless against us if we stand united in our goal of destroying it through revolution. The "prestige" of power-of the "omnipotent" administration-has already been destroyed by this point. The psychological pressures of the oppressor no longer holds us in awe of it's power. This mental grip will have been broken with the destruction of "prestige".

Although we have-by this point-circumvented the institutional restrictions on revolutionary political material, we still must take advantage of the institutional grievance system, and the-outside-legal system, in order to challenge these restrictions. But not in an attempt to transfer our fight to the court

room. This would render our previous gains moot. Civil-rights advocates of past generations did this, and now admit that this can be blamed for their lack of success during that period. Especially when it involved issues that affected those inside of Amerika's gulags.

17

Taking our fight totally to the courts would change the entire nature of our struggle, and limit our chances of success. We can't agree to fight our enemies on **their** terms, instead of our own. "Instead of a moral crusade", as Michelle Alexander puts it, we run the risk of turning the movement into "an almost purely legal crusade." (11)

Some of the elements of previous revolutionary movements also fell into this and other traps set by the enemy, allowing themselves to be tricked by what Maroon refers to as "the separation from the most advanced elements; indoctrination in reliance on passive approaches; co-option; and raw fear." (12)

Of all these tricks, prison administrators-likely experts in psychology-have found the most success in using "raw fear" to dominate the consciousness of otherwise rebellious captives-threats, beatings, cell extractions, pepper spray, the "hole", and even murder-therefore controlling the actions of these rebellious captives as well. All of these activities are taking place on the neo-plantations for a specific purpose: to create an imaginary thing; a psychological thing: "**PRESTIGE**" of power.

Right back to where we started!!!

We've learned from comrade George that, like anything else, "power" has a growth process. (13) It starts at infancy, goes through maturity, and finally meets decline. The tactics mentioned above, are "power" in it's mature stage of life: brute force. They are applied to instill the raw fear that Maroon is speaking of. And it's result is "prestige"-which is actually "power" living off of it's laurels. Or more to the point, "power" in decline!

When this "prestige" is attacked, "power" reverts back to it's mature stage-all out violence. This is what we've been preparing for the whole time that "power"

has been drifting. A battle against a force-physical or mental. A battle of attrition. If "power" is successful, "prestige" will be restored, and so too will our previously defeated psychological complexes that prevented us from challenging them in the first place.

18

Supposing that our threat to "power" is truly revolutionary, and that our revolutionary consciousness wages a forceful attack on "prestige", and we anticipate reaction, and accept terror's repression. Are we prepared to meet it with a counter-terror of our own?

So far, our accomplishments have-up until this point-been revolutionary, but they have only been so on a psychological level, and are only the precursor to what we've been preparing for-physical revolution. After all, only physical actions can bring about a physical destruction to a physically destructive institution that is physically-and mentally-destroying us!

Conclusion

The bottom line is simple. The institutional restrictions on revolutionary political material are in place for a reason: to keep us from learning how to go about securing our freedom, and destroying the system responsible for our lack of success in Amerika. What Maroon pointed out is very true. The glue that will hold us together is in our belief that revolutionary change is necessary in order to survive, and that because the multitudes of oppressed people cross color boundaries, those seeking revolution must rely on the unity of all oppressed people-regardless of racial, ethnic, or religious differences.

The institutional restrictions should give us an incentive to communicate, and share ideas, methods, and strategies. But before we can do any of that, we have to force ourselves free of the mental restraints. And we can only do this by attacking those restraints with common sense, because the same format we applied in destroying psychological "prestige", can be applied

in destroying physical "prestige"-since they are truly one and the same.

19

What's the point in being a politically conscious prisoner, if you refuse your obligation to teach and/or lead, allowing the legacy of those who came before us to die?!

Amerika is approaching it's limits-economically, politically, and militarily. Attention must be brought to this system of social control, known as the Prison Industrial Complex. Political prisoners have to be freed so they can take their rightful places in our communities.

As for us...we are the new vanguard. The responsibility is on us to push this thing through. Those who came before us have sacrificed their freedom and their lives. Don't call yourself a revolutionary if you aren't ready and willing to do the same.

This issue-prison censorship-isn't exclusive to any particular county or state. With the repressive tactics of D.O.C.s across the nation being elevated to unprecedented levels, and conditions on the inside becoming more unbearable, the collective temperature of the captive populace is steadily rising to a quiet boil, and political consciousness is spreading throughout prisons across Amerika. It is becoming more appealing to the masses, and because of that, the "omnipotent" administration's insecurities are being put on full display.

This paper is intended to spark not only dialogue, but action as well-even if you disagree. With George's help ridding ourselves of the complexes that deter our progress, and Maroon's blueprint on organizational methods, a framework is created. A structure is put in place with more than enough room for the modifications applicable to contemporary forms of struggle. As much as it is the responsibility of our past leaders to share their experiences and knowledge with us, it is our responsibility to seek their input and build on the foundation that they laid for us.

This moment is not to be intellectualized. It is to be seized!

"Liberation does not come as a gift from anybody; it is seized by the masses with their own hands. And by seizing it, they themselves are transformed; confidence in their own strength soars, and they turn their energy and their experience to the task of building, governing, and deciding their own lives for themselves."(14)

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