Pacifica Radio Broadcast of Talk by Geronimo ji Jaga, October 1997, in Pasadena City College Pasadena, CA

Amandala, asante, asante sanna, gracias, allegato, ah ho, thanks in every language I can remember, and thanks to the Cross Cultural Center, this is what it's all about: brothers and sisters coming together. I can't say thank you enough. And I also want to say thanks to the Elders before I try to convey these words to you, that I am not so adept at doing because, as I tell everyone, my role in the movement was not the one behind the microphone.

During the 27 years I have been inside, you have been told a lot of lies. I have always dealt with truth. I could have left prison a long time ago. I was offered big money. I could have escaped, but I told them, "you charged me with a murder I didn't do. I'm not going nowhere until you clear it up."

And, I don't care, but that woman, Mrs. Carolyn Olsen, had a life. Like so many of us, hers was used and expended. Her life was wasted by these vicious programs [cointelpro, e.g.]. I wanted the truth to come out, but I was in the hole; was put in the hole for the first 8 years [in prison]; no visits. They attacked me. All I wanted to do was expose the truth about the revolution, about everything.

I wanted to put everything on hold until it was brought out that my Mother did not raise a murderer. Don't put that on me. And that Mrs. Olsen was a very progressive person, who was a part of the anti-war movement at the time. Strangely enough, she's dead, I'm in prison. Something is not adding up. I wanted to expose that.

I didn't know about Nixon or cointelpro then. I knew something was amiss, and I knew it was something more than the viciousness of the little peons they had around the prisons and the LAPD. I knew it was more than that, but at that time we did not know that Richard Nixon and his "girl-friend" J.Edgar Hoover, had plotted to kill and destroy one of the most beautiful movements that history has ever seen. And these sick individuals were allowed to get away with it. And when it was exposed, I was in Folson prison, facing sadistic guards who were shooting us with guns, and I was surrounded with all kinds of manipulated prisoners who were trying to stab and kill us.

While this was going on, Nixon was being exposed, if you're old enough to remember, during the Watergate hearings, as a criminal. And so was J.Edgar Hoover and all the rest of his bunch. It stands to reason, if they're exposed as criminals, and they're the ones who put us in prison, then we can't both be criminals.

So I wondered, well what is really happening? But I'm in prison. We didn't have TV or radios inside then. We hardly got any mail. We hardly got any visits, back during those first 8 years I was in prison. So communications were hard coming both in and out. But it really baffled me. What is going on? This man was being exposed as one of the worst criminals that ever sat in that house [White House], and all the details of the Watergate Papers; everything that was revealed during this time; all the corruption around Vietnam [war]; all the attacks against the Black Liberation Movement and other movements, Asian Liberation movements, Mexican Liberation Movements, the Native Liberation movement — no one was left untouched. And nothing was being done [to stop the attacks.]

"Oh, he's gonna be kicked out of office," things like this were being said. It was strange. It was

funny that we went to San Quentin, and he [Nixon] went to San Clemente. It didn't add up: here is this man who is responsible for the death and destruction of so much...

So I try to encourage people to wake up, because there have been so many lies have led you down paths that, for instance, have you coming up to me 27 years later, asking me for an autograph. And I love you for your sentiment, but it tells me that you don't know who I am. I'm not a movie star. Listen, I don't mean to hurt your feelings, but this happens everywhere I go.

You got to know that I did not join the movement to sign autographs. I did not join the movement to become world renowned, or for fortune or for fame, or for money. I joined the movement to win. And that's the bottom line. It's very natural for people who are in show business, such as movie stars, to promote themselves. When you come up to them they will give you an autograph, but I want to explain this, because I don't want to hurt your feelings, because I know you're coming in good spirit, but I have to explain this to you: We are under collective discipline not to promote ourselves.

We can only promote the revolution. We do not promote ourselves. We promote principles. So please understand that a person who stays in a situation, who struggles in a situation, like Ruchel McGee, Hugo Pinell, Leonard Peltier, Sundiata Acoli, Dr. Mutulu Shakur, Marilyn Buck, Susan Rosenberg, on and on and on -- we don't care if you form committees out here and put our names on posters, saying Free this person and that person, but we didn't join the movement for this. We didn't join the movement, saying that if we get busted, we are going to turn around and sit in those prisons and criticize everybody in the country because they're not coming to our aid. We understood that we were making the sacrifices we did, and we did not expect — this is why I'm so surprised — that the people would adopt and champion these causes through our images.

With Mumia sitting up there on death row -- he understood when he joined, just like we all did, that we were likely to go to prison; that we were going to be driven underground; that we were gonna be killed; that we were going to be exiled, because we knew the nature of our enemy. And if you know anything of this enemy, you know we are playing a dangerous game, that we face a very vicious enemy.

Now how to define that enemy. A lot of people in the New African communities, saying, "the white folks this, and the white folks that ..." Our enemy can not be defined by race. That's a big mistake. You gotta be careful with that. In fact, a further caution is that you better be ready to watch that brother next to you and that sister next to you, in a lot of cases. That's something that has to be worked through in every ethnic group and in every national liberation movement. It takes place throughout the world.

Movements are frequently heavily infiltrated with people who like to play cops, who like to operate from that premise of what Che Guevarra used to refer to as mechanical discipline, and get the big bucks as a mercenary, and just do anything that ole massah tell him to do, or her to do. So be very cautious about these things; very cognizant of the fact that our enemies have to be known. Some say, "Know your enemies and know yourself, and in a thousand battles you will never be defeated." You have to define your enemies accurately or else you are going to be defeated time and time again.

If someone sends their killer dogs after you, are you going to spend the rest of your life, plotting and trying to kill those killer dogs, or are you going to get at the people who train them to be killers? It's as simple as that. We have to study and become more sophisticated in our

approach to solve these problems.

And in trying to bring forth the truth after 27 years, I see all these misconceptions like "oh, he's like a movie star" and I can understand that; I don't blame you. I see some of the brothers and sisters from the '60's and I don't even recognize them. They're out here talking about selling the Black Panther Party. I just left Dallas a few days ago. Some folks in Dallas are trying to copyright the Black Panther Party so that other people can't use the name. They went to a judge and asked for an injunction; wanted to put people in jail — I mean, it blows my mind -- especially after Bunchy has died, George has died, Fred Hampton, little Mark, Fred Bennett, Carl Hampton, so many died, so many are still in prison. And these people out here are what we call Black Power pimps, doing this. And it's wrong.

And they see me coming and they hide. The dude who was doing this wouldn't come to the meeting in Dallas. But he came into the Party in about 1974, when really, there were no more Panthers as we knew it. They were all pimps and Super Fly types, and we had been infiltrated. And they were promoting Democratic Party principles, which was not the original intent of the Party, and the Party had been usurped and coopted by then. If you study your history you will learn that. So this dude wouldn't come to the meeting because he couldn't tell the truth. Hopefully that will be resolved, but this is happening all over.

Everywhere I go, I try to explain the truth as I know it. You have to understand that we joined, and we struggle today in this movement, not with the intent to be a part of the Democratic Party. We joined because we still believe today, that Africans in this country constitute the second largest African Nation in the world. Next to Nigeria. We have the wherewithall to field an entire Nation.

We have over $600 billion a year go through our Nation. We have the brain power that can surpass any other nation in the world. We have the skills. We have a common language, a common culture, and yet we still turn around and call Clinton our president. This don't seem right to us. You see, we have a right to elect our own leadership; to govern our own selves. And this is what we fought for.

Read the 10 Point Program of the Panthers; of other organizations from the '60's. It states very clearly that we called for a United Nations supervised plebiscite, to let it be known what we want; not some hand picked leaders that you impose upon us, who you tell, "oh, we want this, that..." They do not speak for us. Let us speak for ourselves. We have been calling for this for years; in this country that prides itself in democracy. Why, our demands are the epitome of democracy. A plebiscite -- and we don't want you involved in it. We want the United Nations to supervise it, because we don't trust the United States. And it's as clear as that. If they're involved in it, then I'm not going to have anything to do with it.

The referendums and the surveys we took in the '60's — if you remember, even Newsweek did one, I think in 1969, and they polled throughout the country, and it came back that 92% supported not only the Black Panther Party, but nationhood; national independence. Right after that survey, cointelpro attacks were escalated. It's a shame for us to be so large, so huge, so capable, so qualified, and we still turn around and let ole massah patrol our communities where our children are dying from their dope; send our children to their schools where they are miseducated and confused with these cultural invasions. It's a shame that we have not called for a state of emergency due to the alarming rate at which our young men and women are going to

prison. We're just sitting down here. It's a shame.

And you're going to someone else; you're going to Capitol Hill, the White House; you're going to ole massah, "oh, can I do this? Oh, can I start this program?" Ole Massah say, "Oh, sure you can do that." and he gives you a few million, and then he turns around and builds 50 prisons right behind your back. And hires your nieces and nephews to work in the prisons and to shoot us. I just left them. I just left a Crip standing up arguing with another Crip. Neither of them threw blows. Before one of them knew it, a bullet goes through his head; the whole back of his head blown out. Right down in Tehachapi prison. I was there. They didn't throw a blow. The guard that killed him was blacker than me at night. A black guard.

The same way in Soledad. You got Mexican guards killing young, beautiful, promising Mexican prisoners. It's a damn shame. They got you killing your own sons and daughters. And you sit down here and don't do nothing about it. It should be a state of emergency, that this is a form of genocide. These prisons are nothing but tools used to further this war of genocide against especially people of color. And it's a shame if you could see what they are doing to the Black and the Brown prisoners in those prisons today. It was a shame when I went in, but it ain't nothing compared to what it is today, with those young brothers coming in, confused, not knowing, meaning well, coming from a street that gave them drugs, victimized them, blamed them, when you know it's coming from Langley, Virginia.

We're at a college now. Let's talk about some philosophy. Let's talk about indeterminism vs. determinism. Let's talk about free will vs. lack of free will. Let's talk about at what point does a person become a criminal, and at what point does society put him in a situation where he can do no other. Let's talk philosophy, if you want to get at the causes from that angle. Either way you look at it, it's wrong. Like the brother professor here just said, there are the worst criminals in the world up there [in Washington] and everybody knows it. They do not do one day behind those walls. That has to change.

We don't want to put anybody into prison. I advocate the abolition of prisons. I'm known as a prison abolitionist. I think we can create societies where there won't be a need for prisons. I think people with hearts of a Bill Papallion can exist, can multiply, and can flourish. We can get along together, we can regulate ourselves in a social and civilized way in which we won't need any prisons. I really believe that. Because I have looked into the souls of many of the brothers of all nationalities, who have come into those prisons, who didn't need to be there. They were manipulated and put in there.

Let me give you the analogy of the pool cue hitting the cue ball; the cue ball hitting the four ball; the four ball hitting the seven ball. At what point did it all begin? Are you going to blame that eight ball when it falls in the pocket? Or are you going to blame the four ball for hitting the seven ball that hit the eight ball? Or the cue stick for starting it all? So it is a concoction that deserves study. You can not study anything in isolation. When you try to do that you confuse yourself. You have become a willing servant of the powers that be, who are quickly at your side to manipulate you, "Here, what you want?" You get victimized because you did not see the connecting events that led up to this.

If I was a Rockefeller, or another rich person, and did a crime, then you have the "twinkie" defense, and they say, "oh, he ate some Twinkies" or he did thus and so, [so he gets off]. And it doesn't matter what color you are. I don't want to mention any cases, but if you got that money

you're not going to prison, and if you do, you're coming right out. 'Cause money talks.

But if a brother does not have this money, he gets condemned to death. You put him on these yards with sadistic guards who haven't even finished high school with 30-30's and manipulate the prisoners into these little arguments so that they can shoot them. That's murder. That's one of the coldest forms of murder I have ever seen in my life. See where that balcony is? They are dead-eye with those guns. And I was a sharpshooter expert in the service. That close with high-powered rifles. And you ought to see their bodies when they get through shooting them. And don't let another one be stabbing them. This is one of the ugliest things you're ever gonna see, and it's more prevalent in California prisons than anywhere else in this country.

And they put all this propaganda out and you go for it. You vote for these resolutions, and these initiatives to build more prisons, and it's not the solution. If you continue, you are creating a monster so large that you are not going to be able to control it. It is already out of control. And guess who it is going to come back on. Poor innocent people just walking down the street in the community., and this person is being let out of Pelican Bay after he's been ripped, tortured — and they do torture you — I can attest to that personally — and this prisoner is let back out onto the streets. He is mad.

He is mad because society didn't understand when he went to the store to get him a little something. And what do they do? They put him in prison for 10 years. But that is a life sentence in these Californian prisons because when he comes in they say, "oh, what is he? Oh, he's an inmate; Oh he's Nuestra Familia, Oh, he's a Black, then he's BGF; he's a Crip, he's a Blood, or he's Tong."

These brothers, most of them, they've never even heard of these things. But within 24 hours they are already signed up, and they definitely want to sign, because once they put them on those tiers, that's designated, these different things, those people that they are fighting with in those prisons are going to target them, and by then the newcomers who are naive, are the ones you hear about that got stabbed this morning, or "they hit him about 15 times, but he probably died after the 5th hit. Dead. Somebody's son. Didn't do nothing.

It happens so often, that I think people should look into it more closely; examine it and scrutinize it more closely because the old saying goes: "They come for me in the morning. They coming for you that night." So you better pay attention, because that prison-industrial complex is a monster that is out of control. And it's because these propagandists keep selling it to you, and it keeps going in that vicious cycle.

I had to talk to some brothers before I left prison. They were saying, "Man, when I get out, I'm going to get this person, that person." I ask, "Well, what did they do?" Guy says, "Well, I don't care; they just look like the guard that did this and that." Some of us would sit down and try to educate them as much as possible, but we need more of that from the older generation, because our ranks are getting thin. They put so much on us in there. I had classes in prison, up to 60 or 70 strong. The warden was going to come in there and break it up. I told them no don't leave. I'm from the old school. Make the warden go get the goon squad. Make them shoot us. Then he shoot us for <u>something</u>. Then we can start a movement. Then they back up. Then they sent me out of that prison. Because I'm going to tell them the truth. And we got to continue to do that; continually tell people what we fought for.

I can't stress enough the importance of letting us speak for ourselves. And when you hear

accusations about, "he's preaching separation" you better study our history. We were the first to coalesce -- my kinfolks — with the Native American Movement. We were the first to coalesce with the Asian movement. I remember the first Mexicano, Chicano movement in the '60's, and I want to salute MECHA.

But I want to say, when I was just talking to the Mexicano brothers and sisters here, a few minutes ago, that I was very surprised to learn that you didn't know about the Brown Berets. Hard to believe. They were champions. Black Panthers — we worked very closely with the Brown Berets when the racist pigs were going into the barrios and when the pigs came to the African communities. We would work together, patrol together. You should read your history.

We had beautiful coalitions with the brothers and sisters from the Mexicano community. And I want to encourage you, if you don't know, then learn everything you can about the Brown Berets because it was a very powerful organization which some say was a carbon copy of the Black Panther Party. I've always encouraged by Brown brothers to learn that history so that you can teach your younger brothers and sisters. The Brown Berets sacrificed so much and were also targeted by cointelpro, launched by the FBI against the movement.

Operation CHAOS was the CIA's operation against the movement. So that when you study, don't forget to study CHAOS and then you will have a deeper understanding of how deep and to what lengths Nixon and those, went to in order to neutralize, to destabilize, to kill off our various movements. We like to point out that they spent more dollars to overthrow us than they did to overthrow Allende in Chile. And this government boasts about that.

I grew up in the swamps of lower Louisiana, the Atchafalaya Swamp Lands. It's part of the Mississippi delta. I was born into a tradition of Resistance. My uncle was a part of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, UNIA, started by Marcus Garvey, who was a Legionaire. He organized largely in the South. A lot of people don't know that.

And when I was born, I was born into a situation in which many of the older people in the community were Deacons. A lot was centered around the church. And the Deacons would be the ones who would protect the church from klan violence when the klan would come burn their crosses and whatnot. Preachers would be the Martin Luther Kings and the Deacons were the Malcolm Xs. They wouldn't speak. They would protect the church. You may have heard about the Deacons For Justice and other groups that came about because of that.

I was born into that. I went to a segregated high school across the track. Only 17 of us graduated. I wanted to go to Grambling and play football and chase the girls and whatnot but the Elders — The Elders — counseled us and told us, "You are the young soldiers now. We helped defend our communities and fought in World War II but we're getting old now. So you have to fill our ranks."

So they advised us to join the army and we always followed the Elders' advice. And that's how I ended up in the army. And I've always wanted to make that clear because I'm not a hypocrite. I'm a Vietnam vet. I have a lot of comrades who are Vietnam vets but I didn't join the army out of any patriotism toward the United States. I want to make that very clear. I joined because my Elders advised me to join. Me and Maxwell Bryant, Frank Francis, Tony Delco, Jesse Bradford, out of that little swamp town in lower Louisiana. We did what our Elders told us to do because they never told us wrong.

So I went and I joined, and then in a few months they had me in Santa Domingo, and then in a

few more months I'm in Vietnam. As soon as I got in the service, it didn't stop — constant warfare.

And then Martin Luther King was killed. King was like the God of the older people, and Malcolm was like our God, for the young, crazy people, OK? We liked Malcolm, but we respected the Elders. And when they said we should do what they told us to do we did it. Understand, we loved Martin Luther King and supported him, but mainly, we listened to the Elders.

When Martin Luther King was killed in April 1968, they sent out a call — the Elders — all through Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, Alabama, Georgia, Florida. This is not a secret. We can talk about this now. We were told to come home. And we came home. They used to sing, "We Shall Study War No More" -- that wasn't the hymn they were singing!

We had to defend these communities. They had killed our King. Our hope was lost. Now we had the backing of our Elders. So I did my thing. I did what I was told to do. I went throughout every ghetto, every swamp, every one horse town that they sent me to, teaching people how to defend themselves, with what I had learned from the military.

I ended up in Philadelphia, New York, Chicago. I came out here to work with a young group called the Black Panther Party. They had no idea how to defend. The police were killing them at random. They were standing up and shooting back with half loaded bullets that they had bought from a surplus store. So I took them and we had classes on how to defend themselves. And for that I was attacked.

A lot of people tell me, "You shouldn't be saying that," but that was my role. I had to build the Ministry of Defense, not only for the Black Panther Party, I had to participate in building one for the Republic of New Africa, for the Mau Mau, for the Texas Black Liberation Front, for the Alabama Liberation Front, and so many other groups in this country in the '60's. And while I wasn't behind a microphone doing it, I wasn't hiding it, either, because by law, we have a right to defend ourselves.

And we knew our national laws, back then, real well. And we know it more so today. So in the process of teaching — you heard about the shootouts here in Los Angeles, and in New Orleans and Seattle — sure, I went there and I told them, "I take responsibility for those brothers and sisters defending themselves, because they were following my orders." In every court of the Land, everything we did, I take responsibility for. Don't give me no credit, but I'm the one who put them out there, who trained them to do that. Don't put them in jail. I told them, "If you think there's a law being violated, then attack me." Okay, they came at me. We went to trial. We were acquitted. The jurors said no, the police were wrong, because we were basing our defense on laws that they couldn't deal with.

So what do they do? First they come with the Tate-LaBlanca murders. Y'all know Charles Manson. Charlie wasn't first arrested for that; I was. They took me down to Newton Street in Los Angeles, and tried to scare me and whatnot, and I don't know what they're talking about, because they would do this kind of thing so often. But someone had written, "Off the pig" in the blood of the victims on the wall, so automatically all the Panthers did it. So they came and arrested me for the Tate-LaBlanca murders. A few weeks later they arrested Charlie and those.

Then they came for us with another murder and that didn't stick. Criminalization process. So here comes the Olsen murder. That didn't even stick. If Johnny Cochran was here — he is more

eloquent than I am — he could tell you in more detail than I can — Stuart Hanlon, who has been with me all those years — that even at that trial, with the FBI putting an informant agent in the jail with me, an informant agent in Johnny Cochran's office, an informant agent on the jury, and an informant agent who said I did the murder on the stand — this makes 4 paid agents — and I could continue with some lesser ones — 4 paid agents — to convict me of this murder, they still almost lost the case.

So they spent a lot of money doing these things. And they did this type of stuff all throughout the country, targeting certain individuals who they wanted to kill. They shot at me. I got bullet holes all through me. That didn't work neither. So this worked for them — framing.

And after that comes the denigration, the slander, the lies and the deceit that people usually go for because they got high powered media machines that tell you that this guy is the quintessence of evil, that he was out for the destruction of all white people, that he wanted to kill all the Indians. And people began to believe this, and this becomes another type of prison.

They say, when war begins, truth is the first casualty, and that's very true. So you have to take everything with a grain of salt that you hear, about those days and also about today. Be very careful, when you hear rumors and gossip about someone who is on your side of the fence, and someone is talking about them. Be very careful about that, because that is a common way in which government forces operate among us to cause those divisions. We have to struggle to keep that unity, what we solidified in the '60's.

You have heard of the Weather Underground. But do you know that you still have members still in prison? You have Marilyn Buck. I can't talk enough about Marilyn. She's one of my heros. You've heard of Assata Shakur. But you've never heard of Marilyn Buck, who is charged with 77 years, to life, in prison, which she is serving right now, for breaking Assata Shakur out of prison. You just don't hear about Marilyn Buck and Dr. Mutulu Shakur, who were convicted for breaking her out of prison.

You hear of Angela Davis, but you never hear of Ruchel McGee, who if it hadn't been for his case, you never would have had an Angela Davis. So I'm not trying to take anything from anyone but I'm just trying to let you know that there's always more to it than what you see. So you need to struggle to see beneath the surface.

I talked to Bobby Seale the other day, and David Hilliard, and I said to him, "Bobby, I saw you one night, saw you and Tom Hayden, and you were at the Democratic Convention, reminiscing about the 1968 convention, and a reporter asked you some questions. And you were talking like how the whole Black Panther Party was a part of the Democratic Party." Bobby says, "Oh, Geronimo, man, you just come out of the pen, and you're no man to..."

I said, "Look Bobby, shut up." I told him, "You shut up, man." Now Bobby is my brother. That is why I can tell you what I told him. And I love Bobby. Bobby, Huey and them, they were victimized like no other — by these dogs. And if you could exist like they existed, under such victimization ... Why they spend millions of dollars victimizing those brothers in those various circumstances. That's why I say, don't be too quick to criticize them until you understand the whole picture. But I can do it.

And I told him, "Bobby, don't let me hear you say that no more, man; not after all these brothers done died." Bobby says, "Oh, gee, I ain't gonna ..." you know. Now Bobby's my Elder. Bobby knows that we accept the constructive criticism. That's what it was all about. Nobody's

above criticism. You know, we weren't a part of no Democratic Party

In the '60's, we were this close to having a plebiscite, to having referendums jumping off, where our Nation could finally speak once and for all, and say what it wanted, without all of these henchmen. They had all these old Negroes who were appointed by ole massah, speaking for us. See -- let us speak for ourselves. That's what we were fighting for.

If the plebiscite had come back and the vote showed that it was opting for a theocracy, then I'm sorry. That's what the mandate says. I'm not for a theocracy, but I would stand by it if that's what the majority of votes said.

If it comes back for integration, but like I said before, I don't think it will, because integration has had 30 years of trial, and we've learned that's not going to work, but if it comes back like that, we are going to fight to protect it, because that is the voice of our people.

If it comes back for Nationhood, and that is what I really believe it will come back as, from what I understand, from knowing my Nation.... Then all those all those Crips; all those Bloods, all those Vice Lords in Chicago — I've been traveling — they come at me, saying, "Gee, man, a Nation? ..." and I tell them that now all of them could be legitimatized. They would have a job. We have a Nation to build now.

If you give that to them, then I might hear, "well, what you talking about? You talking about a separate Nation? Where's it going to be at? You hear about the 13 states?"

I say, "Look, don't go for that! That is a common tactic in opposing. Every Nation in the whole world has struggled to determine its own destiny." A big old Nation such as us; big old rich, powerful Nation as us... Don't go for that.

We tell them that wherever that Nation is going to be, it is going to be decided on that plebiscite. I can't answer it as an individual. You can't answer it. Only the people, collectively can answer that. We put it to a plebiscite vote. You understand that?

Because a lot of people can't understand all of us going to Georgia, Louisiana, like the 13 states again. All of those concepts were good ideologically, and were understood during their day, but they were by no means the final solution. The solution is arrived at by the people's vote, not what I say, but what the people say. That is the epitome of democracy. And if we deny that, then that will be anti-democratic. Then we have a right to fight against that.

Now, we further advocate these concepts and these ideas because we know this is the only way we can safely arrive at the answer to reparations. Because the way it is now, no one is going to release any reparations to us because we are too divided as a Nation. Who are they going to let it go to? Like I said before, if they let it go to ole Jesse Jackson, then Minister Farrakhan may be hurt, and if they let it go to SCLC, then the NAACP may be hurt. So what are we gonna do? We have been advocating for years that this be put on the ballot. So that we can put into reality our national treasury.

And if it's a mandate vote that says that we want Ashaki to be our treasurer, she is going to be our treasurer; the money is going to flow through what she organizes, and it's going to serve what it's supposed to, like our 400 years of free labor. It's going to serve to build this Nation. The only way we can arrive at this is through a plebiscite. There are a lot of other suggestions, but the main one is, let's get together and take it. This becomes the common idea, everywhere I go.

And I remind them, back in the '60's, we were highly trained. We could have taken over the

White House. We could have shot at every President they had. We have actually never shot at a President. We could have gone to Capitol Hill and done all of that, but because our Elders told us "No," we had to listen. We didn't want to but we did. We had to listen to the wisdom of the Elders. The wisdom of the Elders tells us today that you do not go get a gun and do it like that. You have to go this route, because in this route, everybody in the Nation has the right to express what he or she desires. For the first time since our ancestors were so-called emancipated after slavery.

And that's a point I want to touch on briefly, because we hear a lot about Frederick Douglass, and Frederick Douglass is very important to our history, but Frederick advised the nation wrong when he advised them to opt for assimilation, when the majority of the newly freed slaves were already organizing their own independent, self-reliant, autonomous situation. He was confused, and he was getting very old. We studied this very close, okay? And so we're trying to straighten this out now. We have to straighten it out.

Another example is Nat Turner. Nat Turner should never be heralded as one of our heros. A lot of people don't know that. Nat Turner was a zonked out preacher, who had gotten up on a very elaborate scheme to overthrow that part of the slavocracy around the dismal swamps. He went outside and said he saw something up in the sky, went and started killing a bunch of people and some babies. And he caused some brothers and some sisters who organized that great conspiracy to be exposed. Now why do we extol Nat Turner? Because we don't go deep enough into our history.

You don't know about Ice Water Jack, the maroon; half Black, half Cherokee. Like Christmas Maddox, half Black and half Native. The maroons, who all through our history have given militant resistance. We never hear about that because we let someone else write our history. You see, we got to write our own history. We have to bring forth the truth on the things that we use to base our historical struggle on.

That's why I fight so hard to make people understand that my name is not Pratt. My name is ji Jaga, because I understand the importance of a historical personality. People who have their history intact, they don't seem to understand this that much. But people who have this bifurcated, this schizophrenic situation; not knowing who they are -- a Washington or a Brown, vs. a Nkrumnah ... What I'm trying to say is that people are culturally confused, but once you regain your historical personality, you notice you don't find this in people because they have that oneness. So we struggle to tell people about this.

We believe that names carry spirit; de nomo. That's why our names were taken. They say, "Now you're not Kunte Kinte; you're Toby." We have to understand that so we can regain our historical personalities and move forward into the 21st century as a free and independent Nation, governed by ourselves. We have a continuity with these people now in power. We don't want to overthrow government. We have never sought to overthrow the United States government.

I was charged with seditious conspiracy when I was busted in Dallas. They charged Eldridge, they charged David and so many others. And we're not trying to overthrow no United States government. All we're trying to do is build our own. And we want to be left alone while doing that.

When you come into our communities, and you put the drugs in there, and arrest our brothers and sisters for selling the drugs you put in there, then put them in prison for selling the drugs you

put in there, then you expect me to say, "Oh, you're my leader?" I mean, this is absurd. This is almost the year 2000, and it's absurd, it's a shame.

You know, I don't know if you studied, but what's called colonialism, and now it's called neo-colonialism .... You got Black this and Black that, but like Malcolm said, the plantation is still being run the same. Why? Because you are a part of that system that by its very nature is designed to exploit and to kill you off. And if you don't know that by now, that means you don't care; you have been tainted by that discipline Che taught us about [mechanical discipline].

See, the other discipline is conscious discipline, where you are in your heart. You can tell a person, "I don't want no million dollars. I don't want no bunches of women. I don't want no long cars, collections of fine clothes. I want freedom!" That's what you want. I want freedom. I don't want my name on no TV. I don't want my name in a book. I WANT FREEDOM FOR THIS NATION, SO THAT WE CAN TAKE OUR PLACE AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD, to lead not only Africa out of what it's going through, but the rest of the world out of what it's going through. We can be at the forefront, at the vanguard, because we survived slavery. That's a big thing.

We are very audacious. We are very resilient. We can govern ourselves. Keep that in your mind. Think in that national context. We can govern ourselves and we can be examples. You think once that vote comes back for national independence, that there are going to be any more drugs in the community? Huh? Were there any drugs in the communities in the '60's? You better ask somebody who at that time was in New York, Watts, Fillmore, South Side. You better ask somebody. We didn't have that. You're not going to put that on our little beautiful children. You're not going to kill our kids off. You see, we can police ourselves. We can govern ourselves. Keep that in the forefront of your mind.

I been talking to John Conyers, with the NCOBRA, the group that set out to get the reparations. And they all keep running into these brick walls. And they're going to continue, until we come together and get that national treasury together by the vote. So lets talk about that plebiscite. And let's refer back to the voter registration drives of the early '60's, and late '50's, when Brown vs. Bd. of Education said we can vote now. So we can now have an educated ballot, but this time we do it on an international scale. Quebec recently just did a plebiscite. Puerto Rico has been trying to get one for years. Hawaii is doing it. And if you don't want one Nation in the South, vote for a Nation in place!

The Palestinians voted to get a Nation where they are at; want to declare a Nation in place. We can go for dual citizenship. That is what they don't want you to know about. You can go for dual citizenship next. And then all kind of doors are going to open to you, from the International Monetary Fund, to the local banking allowances that you will be qualified for. These things we have to study.

And we have to tell our people to quit being second fiddle. We don't need nobody outside of ourselves to call themselves our leader anymore. We have to get serious about this plebiscite and we have to get this referendum done as soon as possible. Because if we don't, all these crazy wild fools — I love 'em — throughout these communities, are going to go more crazy and you're going to have more innocent people dead; going to have more beautiful young brothers and sisters dead, and in prisons. Now, I'm talking about all poor and oppressed communities. All I'm saying is let the people speak for themselves.

And if you think I'm crazy, I want to see you after that first referendum comes back. I just want to make clear that every struggling nation has a right to struggle, has a duty to struggle. And if we don't struggle, then old pimping Sam is going to do it for you. And you can't complain. Because on an international level, using the Geneva Accords and the Helsinki Accords, that are called the Protocalls of 1977 ... Study those. We not only have a right, but we have a duty to struggle.

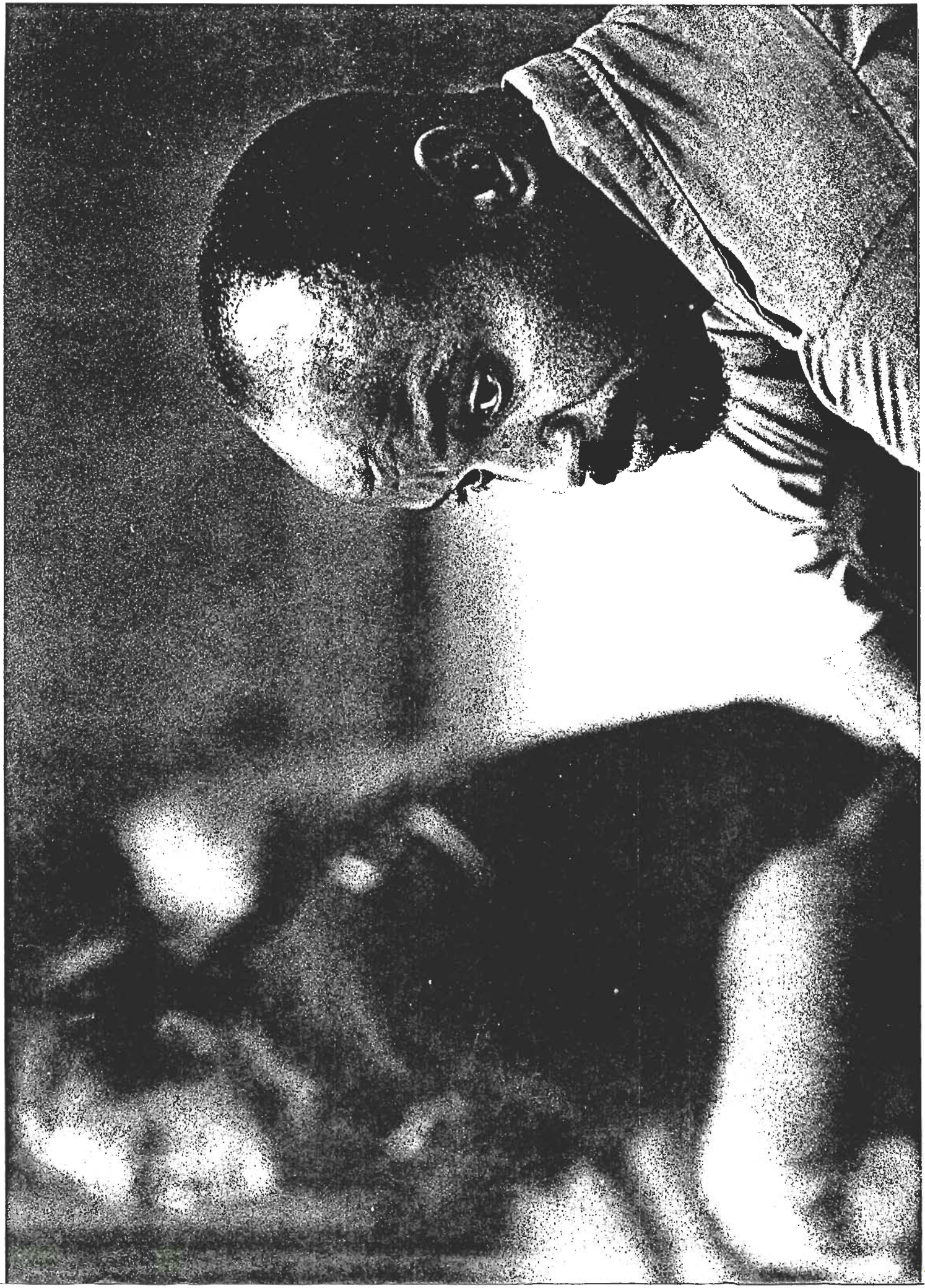
As big as this nation is, we have a duty, and we're not the only ones; we have a duty to struggle. All people, Mexicano, Native, all people who are struggling to be free. And I encourage you to continue — this is a beautiful example, the Cross-Cultural Center -- of what we must do to come together as one, to fight against that kind of thing we have been dealing with all our lives. If we don't come together, we're not going to win. I can tell you that right now. We have to come together.

Before you can have internationalism, you have to first have nationalism. Then we can interact as a Nation, with national dignity. When they used to call me Elmer Pratt, I used to get disrespected all the time. But I don't get disrespected no more, because people go, "Oh, that man knows who he is." It's the same way with a Nation

You keep calling yourselves Americans, and you don't even know who Amerigo Vespucci was. If you did, you would never call yourself an American again. Amerigo Vespucci was one of the most despicable characters I've ever studied in history. He used to run dope from Portugal to Spain, on the Iberian Peninsula. It's right there in the archives in Barcelona, Spain. We studied this extensively. He used to run laudanum -- that's what they used to call it -- from the poppy seed. And it was rumored that they used to take it themselves. That was why they didn't care who they were selling to. So I'm telling you all, every time you call yourself an American, you're giving tribute to an Italian drug smuggler. And I don't have nothing against Italians, but I just want you to know that.

We are not that. We are Africans, we are Native, we are Apache, we are whoever we say we are, because we have to define our reality. We are no longer "Toby." We are what we say we are. And you're going to respect it.

In the '60's, you wanted to call us Colored and Negroes. We came together and said we are tired of that. We're going to define ourselves. We are back! The first time we did this, some people said, "oh no we're colored, we're nigger," etc. Now everybody's Black. Then we went through this process of study, and found that not one nation in the world refers to themselves with an adjective. Black is an adjective. So we studied some more. We were doing what we had been criticizing people for all our lives. Subconsciously, we were avoiding the fact that we are Africans. And we have to face the fact and be proud of the fact that we are Africans. And to distinguish ourselves from our Mother Country, we call ourselves New Africans now.

People criticize sometimes, saying, "oh, no it's just like the Black Power movement," when we were trying to bring in the term, Black. In a few years, you're going to hear everybody calling themselves New Africans.

We have to qualify for that plebiscite. We have to get that plebiscite off the ground. You just watch how quick we are going to be at the forefront of the world, and leading the Nations of the world down the path of what we're all about. And that's love.