

A Journal of Anti-Racist Activism, Research & Education

TURNING THE TIDE

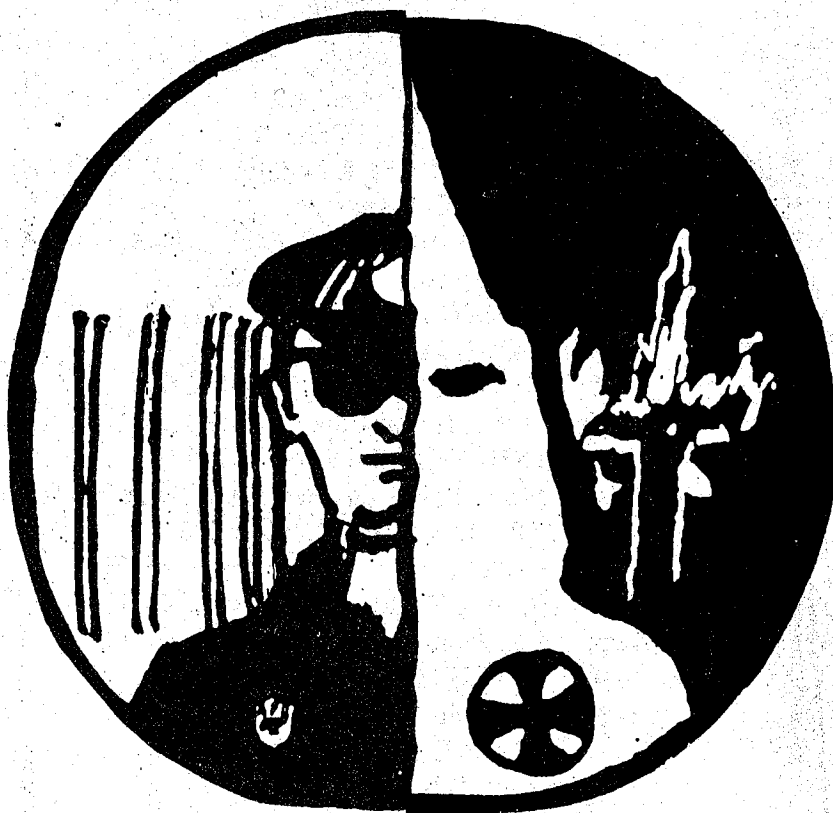
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Europe *Tahiti*Canada*Militias*Affirmative Action*Calendar

BLUE BY DAY, WHITE BY NIGHT



***POLICE AS AN OCCUPYING ARMY
PRISONS AS SLAVE LABOR CAMPS***

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Turning the Tide welcomes your letters, articles, graphics and other contributions. Electronic submissions are especially welcome, either by email to <mnovickttt@igc.ap.org> or as ASCII-text on 3.5" IBM-compatible floppy disks. We're working towards a web site and gopher address. Stay tuned!

Mumia's appeal denied

Redouble the struggle!

The transitory nature of the great initial victory won by the movement to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, with the stay of his proposed execution in August, became all too clear with the denial in September by Judge Albert Sabo of his appeal for a new trial. In L.A., at least, there was a let-up in struggle after the stay was won, just what the government wanted. We must sustain and intensify the struggle for justice in Mumia's case and for all political prisoners. We must not rest until he is free! Why does the state want so desperately to kill Mumia that they violate all their own procedural rules? Because they are deathly afraid of who Mumia is and what he represents! Like a chain, an empire is only as strong as its weakest link, and the U.S. empire, which depends on terror, intimidation and poisoning people's minds to maintain its exploitation, is totally vulnerable to someone like Mumia, who refuses to be intimidated, to stop speaking the truth, or to let them poison his mind. That's why they want to poison his body by lethal injection. But, if we live like him, WE HAVE THE POWER TO FREE MUMIA!

DENIAL NO SURPRISE

Sabo's denial of a new trial was no surprise. Despite Abu-Jamal's dedicated new legal representation and massive public support and international awareness, the hearings as conducted by Sabo on the demand for a new trial were in many ways as great a travesty of justice as the original trial itself. Sabo, the hanging judge who presided over the original case, came out of retirement to hear the appeal, and continued to act more like an additional prosecutor rather than an unbiased jurist. He refused to bar armed off-duty Philadelphia cops from filling the courtroom, demonstrating their desire to see Mumia die, saying that he felt they were there to protect him.

On July 12, Sabo refused to "recuse" (remove) himself from the case, even though his bias was clear in the original trial, and he was a life member of the Fraternal Order of Police, which is leading the campaign seeking Mumia's execution. (see sidebar).

The following rundown of the violations of Mumia's rights, and the strength of the case for a new trial that he was nonetheless able to present, is based on reports filed on-line by Jamila Levi and other staunch supporters of Mumia.

Throughout the proceedings, Sabo hamstrung the defense case and favored the prosecution. On July 14, Sabo denied a defense motion for "discovery," (the right to examine prosecution and police materials) and took a motion for a stay of execution under consideration. By originally refusing to either grant or deny the stay, he thereby tied it up in his own court, preventing higher courts from lifting the death sentence hanging over Mumia's head.

On July 18, the prosecution served subpoenas on the defense witnesses; defense attorneys had to appeal to the state Supreme Court, which granted a continuance, but stopped short of blocking the subpoenas entirely or of removing Sabo, who is able to hear cases only under a special dispensation from the Court. On July 26, a blind man was forcefully evicted from courtroom for protesting Sabo's behavior. On July 27, Sabo refused to allow testimony of three Black potential jurors in the original trial who were all excluded on peremptory challenges because of their race. On July 31, Sabo "quashed" (threw out) defense subpoenas of Governor Ridge and his administrative aides which sought to show that Ridge's signing of Mumia's death warrant was a political act designed to circumvent his appeal.

On August 1, Sabo refused to allow nurse Carol Young to testify for the defense. The next day, he refused to let the defense call as a witness a court administrator whose testimony related to the legal challenge mounted by the defense, dealing with racial disparity in death sentences. Mumia's Attorney Rachel Wolkenstein was arrested and held in jail cell for 30 minutes. Sabo again refused to hear testimony from nurse Carol Young, Attorneys Jere Krakoff and Steve Hawkins. The next scheduled witness for the defense was Robert Harkins, a cab driver who stated he saw the shooting. Sabo barred his testimony as well, declaring that "Justice is an emotional feeling!" On August 3, Mumia's attorneys filed a motion for stay of execution in the Supreme Court of PA; meanwhile Sabo refused to grant a "continuance" (postponement) in his own hearing, even though volumes of pretrial transcripts had finally been delivered only the evening before. On August 4, forensic pathologist Dr. Hayes took the stand, to testify regarding the trajectory of the bullet that entered Mumia, and the inaccurate and incomplete autopsy report on Faulkner, the dead cop. Sabo blocked major portions of the defense questioning.

TESTIMONY BLOCKED

On August 7, Sabo blocked the testimony of more defense witnesses, including Ward Churchill, a Native expert on COINTELPRO, regarding the massive FBI dossier on Mumia and campaign against Mumia, dating back to his teen years in the Black Panther Party. The Defense submitted a letter to the court, protesting Sabo's blocking of witnesses and open expressed hostility to the defense. In response, Sabo blocked still more testimony from a former police officer and a psychologist. However, facing almost certain action by higher courts and a massive international campaign, Sabo did grant a stay of execution. On August 9, Sabo denied a request to put John Lambert on the stand, who would have testified about psychological dynamics of sentencing. On August 10, William Harmon was brought in to testify from prison, called by Sabo, not the defense. Nonetheless, his unprepared testimony, which included seeing the gunman who shot Faulkner emerging from a red Malibu, made it clear that Mumia was not the shooter.

On August 11, Sabo demanded that Mumia either take the witness stand, or state that he chose to not testify. Mumia stated that he was following the advice of counsel. Sabo also again refused to allow the FBI files to be entered into the record. Sabo fined defense

attorney Len Weinglass \$1000 for contempt of court, and allowed prosecutors to cross-examine defense witness William Singletary beyond the scope of his testimony. At one point in the proceedings, Sabo declared, in response to a defense objection, "Whatever it is, overruled!"

On August 15, Sabo dismissed defense protests that there was ongoing intimidation by the police of prospective defense witnesses, and refused to order that an attorney be allowed to talk with a potential witness outside the presence of a police detective, saying, "You do that for the media - but not in here now!" Prosecutor Fisk said she assumed the defense was resting. Weinglass stated that the defense had learned of another witness and gone to his home, only to find out he would be gone until September 1st. Sabo declared, "If you can't get him before then, too bad." When Weinglass protested that other people were just now coming forward not only to the DA's office, but to the defense, Sabo said, "I can't wait until Christmas... for the time being, you're resting!"

ATTORNEYS THREATENED

Sabo threatened defense attorney Rachel Wolkenstein with contempt, jail time and a \$1000 fine for protesting outrageous police charges for evidentiary material, then got up and walked out of the courtroom. Court criers began yelling at Mumia supporters to leave the courtroom immediately as Mumia was shackled and led away. Meanwhile, the cops on the other side of the room, many wearing T-shirts calling for Mumia's execution, many others carrying guns, were not told to leave. All told, according to Weinglass, "The judge quashed more than 2/3 of our witnesses. But we showed that the first trial was ineffective. We've met all the requirements for a new trial."

And in fact, significant new, "exculpatory" evidence (tending to show Mumia's innocence) was revealed in the hearing, despite all of Sabo's efforts on behalf of the prosecution. Anthony Jackson, the attorney forced by Judge Sabo to defend Mumia in his first trial, recounted how the rulings of Judge Sabo and the withholding of evidence had made it impossible to conduct an adequate defense. Arnold Howard told how a swarm of cops had roused him out of bed on the morning Mumia was shot and arrested. Howard was a suspect in the shooting of Officer Faulkner because his driver's license was found in Faulkner's hand. Howard was threatened and questioned for hours. It turned out that Howard had

loaned his license to Kenneth Freeman, who was a friend of Mumia's brother William and who was possibly driving William's VW when it was stopped by Faulkner. Freeman was later found handcuffed and dead of an overdose! As a suspect in the shooting of Faulkner, Howard was tested to see if he had fired a gun (although Mumia was never tested!) and both Howard and Freeman were put in a lineup. These facts were kept secret from the defense in the first trial. The death of Freeman was no doubt a factor in keeping Mumia's brother, William Cook, off the stand. Cook received death threats at the time of the original trial and subsequently, and his newsstand was burned down. He went into hiding, out of Philadelphia for over a decade.

EVIDENCE OF MUMIA'S INNOCENCE

William Singletary testified that he saw another man shoot Officer Faulkner and flee the scene, and that when Mumia bent over to help Faulkner, he was shot by the cop (a story consistent with the direction of Mumia's wound). Singletary testified that police repeatedly tore up his written statements, until he changed his story and signed a false statement dictated by police. This was a key example of suppression of evidence in the original trial.

William Harmon, a Pennsylvania prison inmate, recently came forward to tell what he saw the night of Mumia's shooting and arrest. Harmon testified that there were two shooters. The first shot Faulkner in the back and escaped down the street. The second stepped out of a car and shot the wounded Faulkner in the face. (The prosecution said that Harmon should not be believed because he was a convicted pimp, hoping that the public would forget that the government's star witness in the first trial was a convicted prostitute!)

Dessie Hightower repeated his testimony given at the first trial that Faulkner was shot by a man who escaped down the street. It also came out in the hearing that Hightower was given a polygraph (lie detector) test which he passed, but those witnesses who changed their original testimony to conform to the police version were not given lie tests. This was also withheld from the defense in the first trial.

Sharon Smith, a woman who lived above the site of the incident, recounted how she became physically ill watching the police viciously kick and beat Mumia, shouting "Kill the Black Motherfucker!" She was

watching from her window the night of Mumia's arrest.

Robert Chobert was one of two witnesses among all the people originally interviewed who were called by the prosecution at Mumia's original trial. The night of Mumia's arrest, cab driver Chobert originally described someone different as the shooter. He later changed his testimony to name Mumia as the shooter. The jury was not told that he was on probation for a contract arson. It has now come out that he was driving a cab without a license, was never charged, and was allowed to continue driving a cab for ten years without a license.

Officer Gary Wakshul provided comic relief with his contradictory and "amnesiac" testimony. Officer Wakshul wrote in his official report that Mumia made no statement the night he was shot and arrested. Now Wakshul suddenly remembers that Mumia "confessed" that night, but like the other cops who suddenly remembered, he was too upset to report it until two months later! Wakshul also testified that a meeting was held between the police officers involved in the case and the prosecutor. When asked if the purpose of this meeting was to get their stories straight, Wakshul said he couldn't remember.

On September 11, attorneys for Mumia and Pennsylvania made some closing arguments. Mumia's brother had come forward and expressed a desire to testify on his behalf, despite the death threats, but he failed to appear as scheduled by Sabo on the following day. Within days of the closing arguments, Sabo swiftly ruled against Mumia, although the stay of Abu-Jamal's execution remains in effect while his attorneys appeal to higher courts. The strongest chance Mumia has for overturning his conviction and winning a new trial is at the State Supreme Court level in Pennsylvania. The conservative trend on the federal courts has eroded many protections and may limit the possibility of federal relief only to the question of the death sentence, rather than the conviction as a whole. Now is the time to step up our efforts to obtain justice for Mumia!

THOUSANDS MOBILIZE

Mumia's case has radicalized and galvanized supporters throughout the world. According to reports from the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), in Volta Redonda, Brazil, over 200 workers and youth rallied for Abu-Jamal, in front of the memorial to Zumbi -- leader

of a heroic slave revolt who was murdered by the slaveocracy in Brazil 300 years ago. Initiated by Luta Metalurgica (Metalworkers Struggle) and the Municipal Workers Union, the rally drew participation from the Unified Black Movement and several other black and leftist organizations. The mayor, city council and also the bishop of Volta Redonda issued statements in defense of Abu-Jamal. There have also been demonstrations for Mumia in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. In Paris on August 9, banners demanding "Vie sauve pour Mumia Abu-Jamal!" flew over a more than 1,000-strong protest called by the French Communist Party and the CGT labor federation.

Thousands from Philadelphia and around the country came out for an emergency rally -- initiated by the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal and the National People's Campaign -- in Philadelphia on August 12, calling to "Stop the Execution! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" Organizers estimated that at its height the crowd was some 10,000 strong. The same day, protests for Mumia were held in Germany, France and Britain, in Los Angeles and San Francisco. (The L.A. Coalition to Stop the Lynching, initiated by the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement and including PART, had held a demonstration in July in L.A. and co-sponsored a march and rally on August 5 along with Refuse and Resist. PART also endorsed the August 12 rally in L.A. called by the NPC, and Michael Novick of PART spoke to the rally, which also featured Jesse Jackson and Maxine Waters.) On the other side of the globe, rallies initiated by the PDC were held in Sydney and Melbourne, Australia. Australian prime minister Robert Hawke recently sent a letter to Ridge asking for a review of the conviction and sentence.

PRISONERS STRIKE

Internationally, prisoners have played a leading role in the campaign to free Mumia. German political prisoners issued a call for solidarity with Mumia. Irish Republican Socialist prisoners of war in Long Kesh prison wrote to Gov. Ridge: "As a nation who has witnessed thousands of State murders, we understand only too well the suffering inflicted upon oppressed peoples, and we are only too well aware of State frame-ups. Stop this killing of our brother."

David Gilbert (in the name of Kuwasi Balagoon), Masai Mugmuk, Lorenzo Stone Bey, Susan Rosenberg, Luis Rosa, and Tom Manning were a few among the many U.S. political prisoners and P.O.W.'s fasting

during the month of August as part of the struggle to save Mumia. In Lewisburg, PA on August 1, 75% of the prison population boycotted lunch. On Saturday August 5, almost 300 prisoners ran a combined total of 500 miles around the prison yard for Mumia. At Indiana State Prison's Segregation Unit, the entire segregation unit fasted from August 13-15. Those that couldn't fast for medical reasons observed three days of silence and/or remained in their cells. On August 18, a day of silence was observed for Mumia and in memory of their comrade, Gregory Resnover, a politically conscious prisoner whom the state of Indiana executed in December, 1994. For more information about prisoner struggle on behalf of Mumia, contact Political Prisoners Unite - by email at <prisunity@aol.com>. Such struggles will be intensifying around the September anniversary of the 1971 Attica Rebellion and massacre. These prisoners understand the significance of a political prisoner like Mumia Abu-Jamal, not only to the struggle against the death penalty and prison injustice, but to the entire social and political struggle in this country. In many ways, we are in the bad shape we are in today because of the success of the repressive forces of the state in killing off and locking up a generation of radical leadership in the Black liberation movement and other social forces that could have shaped a better world. We need these brothers and sisters beside us! Mumia is standing up for us -- now we must stand up for him!

ACT NOW!! Send donations and support to the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 19709, Philadelphia PA, 19143, 215-476-8812.

DEMAND A NEW TRIAL!! Write to Chief Justice Robert N.C. Nix, PA Supreme Court, Widener Bldg., One South Penn Square, Philadelphia PA 19107.

Call the Equal Justice USA hotline for up-to-date information on FAX and phone numbers: 301-699-5007.



FASCIST COP RESPONSE TO MUMIA

"SALLY O'BRIEN (WBAI/Pacifica): In terms of the press coverage around your case, have you seen a change in the way that the media is looking at your case? It ebbs and flows, but there's a certain pattern to it. I'm wondering if you could speak on that.

MUMIA: To the extent that it has been not as negative or derogatory as usual, I think it's a reflection again of the power of the people. And also, the inherent bent of the bourgeois media is to appeal and sell; they want to sell newspapers to anybody. That's their objective. I'm not really impressed by the ebb and flow, because I understand their function.

For example, I was thinking as I was preparing for these sets of interviews, about a brother in Philadelphia. They've done a small article, maybe one or two, and it no longer makes news. A brother by the name of Jamil Glenn Thomas; about a month ago, he was shot to death after he and his family were stopped in Philadelphia. According to police, he came out of his car and ran, and reached for a gun. According to people who were witnesses from the community, he got out of the car and ran and was NOT armed, had his arms up like this. And what both agree to was that he was shot in the back of the head. I mean, you got to be a rare person to be threatened by someone's back, or that back has got to be a rare back. The point is that no one called for the cop to get fired. No one's calling for him to be sent to prison. The word death row is never used in conjunction with this. No one really gives a damn about Jamil Thomas's wife and children. You know, he is a non-entity. If all was, as they say it is, fair and impartial for all, and journalism is an equal reflection, then you would have front pages demanding justice for Jamil Thomas. Well, you're not going to see that. There is a reason you're not going to see that. And it is only radical journalists who will speak his name and make people remember."

This excerpt from an interview with Mumia underlines the symbiosis between the media and the police in building a reactionary front calling for the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The corporate media are an enforcement mechanism for maintaining the limits of acceptable dissent, not a mechanism for free speech and press. In response to public pressure, media that made a daily circus of the Simpson trial resisted mentioning Mumia's case and impending execution. Once the growing campaign and use of alternate media and demonstrations and internet communications forced the case into the public eye, the media responded with a well-orchestrated campaign of vilification against Mumia and dismissal of his supporters as a

new generation of mindless "radical chic" wannabes. They highlighted the lies of the widow Faulkner and the misleading "corrections" of Philadelphia D.A. Lynn Abraham. The Associated Press even took it upon itself in an unsigned editorial advisory to member newspapers to "debunk" and dismiss the points made in an advertisement on Mumia's behalf in the New York Times.

The role of the police around Mumia's case is even more reprehensible and fascist. The Fraternal Order of Police has played the point position in building a campaign to hasten Mumia's execution. Police appeared daily and massively in court, calling for Mumia's death, wearing t-shirts calling for his execution and carrying their weapons, chanting "Burn Baby Burn!" and "Adieu Abu." They appeared on TV news reports crying out "Kill Mumia!" But not only in Philadelphia, around the country, the police have played an extra-legal role in trying to suppress any dissent, any support for Mumia. In Minneapolis, demonstrators were tear-gassed; in San Francisco, mass arrests on felony arson charges were made of pro-Mumia protesters; marchers in L.A. were beaten and arrested. In New York City, a cabbie who displayed a copy of the NY Times ad about Mumia's case was ordered to remove it by a cop and ticketed.

In Philadelphia, off-duty police demonstrated outside a union hall that was the planned venue for a Mumia benefit, and in that city and several others, owners of halls that were to be used for activities were told they would be targeted for code violations and shut down. In Highland Park, NJ, a librarian at a public library that was scheduled to host an educational forum about Mumia's case, was called at her unlisted home phone and threatened if she allowed the program to go forward. The reason for the psychological warfare propaganda techniques in the press and the fascist repressive measures by the cops is clear -- they're running scared because they know we have the power to free Mumia!

From a New Afrikan Perspective...

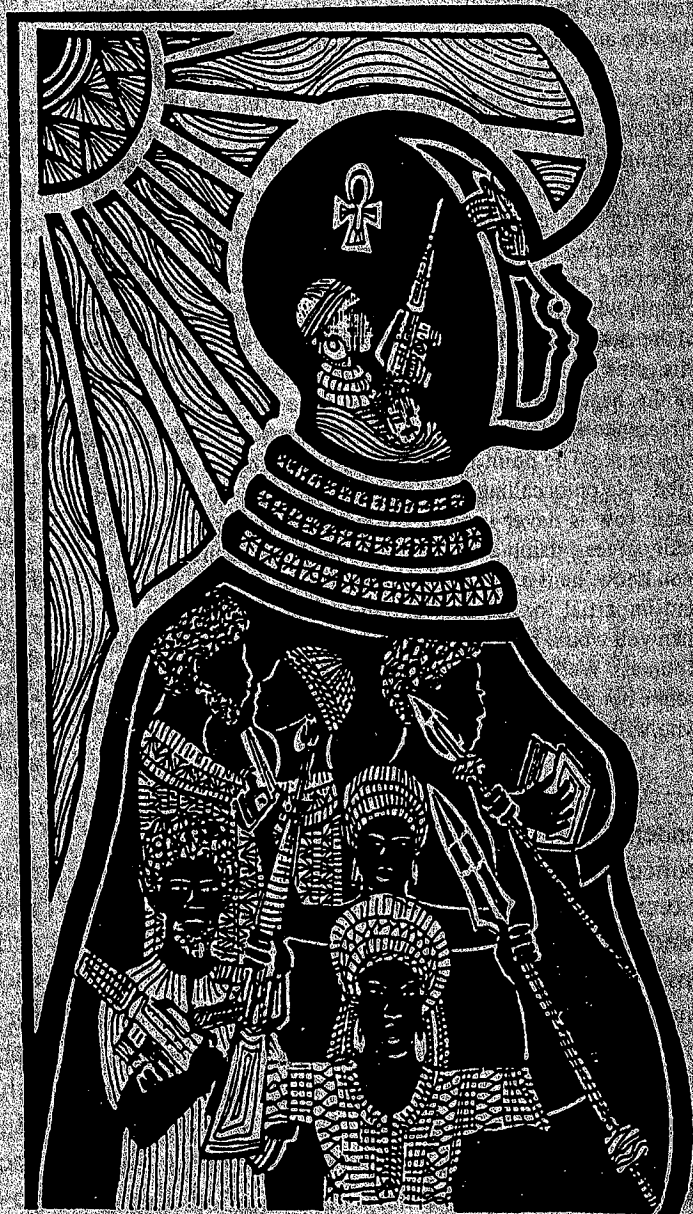
Contextualizing the Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal: Where the forest meets the trees

by Kamal Hassan,
Malcolm X Grassroots Movement

As we move into a new millennium, the government of the United States Empire is still very much confronted with a question that the framers of the U.S. constitution grappled with at white america's birth over 200 years ago: How to maintain control of its colonial possessions in North America. Fresh from a war of independence waged against their British colonizers, the "founding fathers" of these "united states" ironically decided that the permanence of their new republic was critically dependent upon their ability to deny independence and self-determination to the women, persons of color, and poor people who lived in this part of the world.

Today, the US empire's existence is still built upon the super exploitation of Native American, Chicano-Mexicano, Asian-Pacific, and New Afrikan nations. In its perpetual wars of conquest, the U.S. government and the wealthy and powerful people it serves have initiated,

supported, or condoned slavery, dispossession, colonization, and genocide across this continent and in other parts of the world. The resultant "stolen treasure" (land, labor, natural resources, etc.) is also the source of the "white skin privileges" that have been used (up to now) to bribe and pacify the white working classes, encouraging loyalty to "the system" and its leaders (hey, love it or leave it, dude). Combined with slick manipulation of the "well, at least I ain't a nigger" mindset found even among whites who have little else to be proud of, these powerful inhibitors still prevent most white folks from seeking the revolutionary redistribution of social, economic, and political power in the United States. This is true even of those "angry white males" who today claim they are "mad as hell and ain't gonna take it any more".



Yet, this state-sponsored repression has always been vigorously resisted by its victims. For more

than 500 years, the "despised and disinherited" have fought back. Through slave revolts, boycotts, strikes, the building of alternative institutions, dance, prayer, song, armed insurrection and urban rebellion, the battle has been joined. Over the years, individual and collective struggles by the colonized have forged a tradition of resistance to oppression in the U.S. empire that daily affects the lives of everyone who lives here. Persons like Nat Turner, Ida B. Wells Barnett, John Brown, Chief Crazy Horse, Emiliano Zapata, Jean Jacques Desallines, Malcolm X, Augusto Sandino, Anwar Pasha, Fred Hampton, William Kunstler and Mtayari Shabaka Sundiata were just a few of the builders and shapers of this sacred tradition. It is carried on today in the lives of Dr. Mutulu Shakur, the Zapatista rebels in Mexico, Assata Shakur, Nehanda Abiodun, Fidel Castro, Leonard Peltier, Adolfo Matos, Queen Mother Audley Moore, Alejandrina Torres, Marilyn Buck, Laura Whitehorn, Tim Blunk and so many others. Yes, Mr. and Mrs. America, there is a war going on, and it's right here.

Today imperial America's methods of aggression and self preservation in this battle include a policy of low-intensity warfare which utilizes the fbi, local police forces, "legal lynching", political imprisonment, and mainstream media propaganda that seeks to discredit and destroy legitimate struggles to regain the territory, resources, and human rights lost in colonial conquest. It is only in this context that we can fully understand the scandalous state behavior in Pennsylvania that could still result in the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Mumia's plight is not just due to a rise in right-wing thinking and behavior in political circles across the USA. It cannot be blamed simply on the blundering wrongheadedness of some "bad guys" in the Philadelphia police department. It is more than one racist judge in the "city of brotherly love" who has personally sentenced more "brothers" to death than any other jurist in America. It is more than the neanderthal system of justice in Pennsylvania,

which appears to be only one step up from medieval "trial by ordeal" (if you live, maybe you're innocent).

From the age of 15, when he helped to start the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party, Mumia Abu-Jamal's leadership in the Black Liberation Movement has made him a target of the repressive state agencies that seek to disrupt and neutralize this movement wherever it attempts to take root. His story is also the story of at least 100 other men and women who have been harassed, criminalized, convicted of "criminal" offenses and sentenced to long prison terms because of their political commitments and activities. Mumia's execution is intended to send a message to the rest of us who dare to fight against the brutalities of structural power in this empire.

The urgencies of this time demand that we fight in every way we can to prevent the political assassination of Mumia Abu-Jamal, and for the freedom of Geronimo ji-Jaga (Pratt) and all political prisoners and prisoners of war in U.S. jails. Their fates are inexorably linked to the struggle to bring a new world into being for the colonized nations inside the USA. As the 21st Century approaches, this struggle will only grow in significance as those in power attempt to increase their power and wealth by increasing the misery, poverty, and powerlessness of their non-white colonial captives. Many more Mumia's will stand up with "the people" to defend their rights. They too will become state targets and deserving of the support of all people who love freedom and justice.

In the long term, we must all fight for no less than the revolutionary national liberation of the all captive nations within the U.S. colonial system, the destruction of capitalism, and the reconstruction of the world around the principle of respect for the human rights of all peoples. As we struggle to destroy imperialism, we help to create the conditions whereby all of us can live in peace and harmony.

The last words on the subject of the stay, and of the scope of the movement to free Mumia Abu-Jamal should go to Mumia himself:

THE STAY

Column Written August 11, 1995
(c) 1995 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

"Justice is just an emotional feeling ..." -- Judge Albert F. Sabo, PCRA Hearing, Com. V. Abu-Jamal

In the late morning of August 7, 1995, Senior Judge Sabo surprised many in the courtroom by issuing an extended stay of execution, citing "pending appeals" in the case.

The decision seemed expected by the prosecutors, but stunned members of the defense team, whose client had 10 days 'til death, and who expected nothing from the crusty, acerbic jurist. Observers believe this was the first stay issued in the judge's career.

Questions abound -- among them, "What does it mean?"

To simplify, a stay is a judicial stop sign, and in this case, a stopped death warrant.

It should be clear, however, that the writer remains on death row, under a death sentence -- only the date has been changed.

The state of Pennsylvania still has every intention of killing me -- just not right now.

Thus, the stay is a limited victory, not just for the Jamals and the Africas, but for thousands and tens of thousands of people from every corner of the globe -- to these many, our most profound and heartfelt thanks for your militant and spirited protests. LONG LIVE JOHN AFRICA!

Although many radicals and progressives expressed joy at news of the stay, other political analysts saw it as a clever move by a clever judge, who did what higher courts would've done and, in so doing, attempted to blunt the edge off of a growing and militant anti-death penalty movement, in Philadelphia and beyond, thereby stymieing a series of planned demonstrations.

Whatever the reason, let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not "stay" one execution, but to halt them all!

DOWN WITH THE RACIST U.S. DEATH PENALTY!

In an age when South Africa, once the pariah of the international community, has abolished ALL executions as an affront to the inherent right to life, our task can not be to merely stay (or slow down) one man's execution. No! It must be to echo the world -- the European Community, Australia, South Africa, ET AL. -- in total abolition of this racist vestige of the lynching tree, all forms of state murder.

It will take the power of the people -- you -- us all -- to bring it about.

We can do it.

If you are truly committed, we WILL do it.

I know I am doing my part -- will you help me?

This stay, is but the first step, although in the right direction, in our long walk to freedom.

No matter where you live there is a support group near you; contact Concerned Family and Friends (International) (215) 476-8812.

We are growing -- thanx to you!



OUR TASK. OUR DUTY: TO BUILD!

(Column Written 8/20/95)
(c)1995 Mumia Abu-Jamal

"Revolution is not a word but an application, it is not war but peace, it does not weaken -- it strengthens; revolution does not cause separation; it generates togetherness; solidarity ain't a word, solidarity is a principle that exists despite words, and will exist when words have ceased." - John Africa, MOVE founder Long Live John Africa!

Thanks to the committed efforts of many people like yourself (yes, YOU! the reader) this movement for life and for liberty is growing, often by leaps and bounds. We all should be encouraged by this, but should also acknowledge that this is a first step, in a long walk. For those who accompanied me in that first step, I extend my hand of thanks.

This is no time to rest - but to build, to broaden, to deepen our roots in the rich soil of life; to work, not just for one man's life and liberty, but for the righteous freedom of us all.

We are all the seedlings from which a powerful movement can, and must, grow from, "Free Mumia!" to "Free all MOVE political prisoners!" to "Free all political prisoners!"

The cause of justice is not a narrow one, but an expansive one.

For those many who saw injustice in Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Abu-Jamal, I invite you to take note of Com. v. Africa, the case where nine MOVE men and women were convicted (wrongly!) of killing one cop, and all were sentenced to upwards of 100 years in prison - each!

These nine MOVE political prisoners are entering their 18th year in Pennsylvania prison hell holes - guilty of nothing - except being MOVE members, and committed disciples of legendary revolutionary, JOHN AFRICA.

Consider this: At least twelve adults were arrested

after the August 8, 1978 police assault on MOVE's home and headquarters where and when a cop was killed. Two people were released immediately when, it was discovered that they were not MOVE members and they, in terror, renounced their support of MOVE members, -- and murder charges were dropped! Only those who refused to renounce JOHN AFRICA's family were prosecuted, and ten were convicted (the tenth, Consuella Africa was released recently after serving almost fifteen years in a hell hole).

So, you naturally wonder -- "Who killed the cop?". That question was put to the late Judge Edwin S. Malmed, the trial judge in the Africa case, who, as a guest on a Philadelphia talk show, replied to that very question thusly: "I haven't the faintest idea. They were tried as a family, so I sentenced them as a family."

Indeed, the evidence shows he sentenced them for being a family - a family of revolutionaries! For Being MOVE members, a threat to the system of white power and political privilege.

For the "offense" of being revolutionary in a land of repression, the sentence - 100 years - was rendered - on innocent MOVE men and women.

Is this not an injustice?

Is this not a travesty?

Let us all demand - "Freedom for all MOVE political prisoners!"; "Freedom for the Africa family!"

Freedom for all political prisoners!

Freedom! For Sundiata Acoli! For Missai Khaben! For Prince Imari Obadele! For Adolfo Matos! For Oscar Lopez-Rivera! For Dr. Mutulu Shakur! For Leonard Peltier! For geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)! For Ray Luc Levasseur! For Susan Rosenberg! For Joelle Aubron! For Standing Deer! For Marilyn Buck! For Linda Evans! For Tim Blunk! For Tom Manning! For Dylcia Pagan! For each and for all - Freedom!

For more information on the MOVE prisoners, contact the Aug. 8 Justice for MOVE Committee at 215-387-9955.

Poetry Corner:

YOU CANNOT SILENCE ONE WHOSE DESTINY IS TO BE HEARD

Brother/Father/Grandfather/Teacher Mumia,

Listen,
Can you hear it?

It's the sound of the people,

slowly waking

A distant rumble
rising from the silence of horrors.

The world still seeming hazy,
coming from a drug-induced dream state.
But still, the passive power of complicity,
gradually becoming clear

Children, wake up!
Only we can save the people now!

We, the orphans,
Parentless children of abandon cities.
Mothers and Fathers murdered by a legacy of greed
Heroes assassinated, teachers imprisoned.

As if the revolutionary voice of the people can be
indefinitely
silenced.

We have learned adaptability from the assault

When nothing is for certain,
one learns to make to do with anything

Mumia, most adaptable of them all,
Still finding a way to speak the truth
and reach out to us
Even from the valley of the shadow of death
where he had been hidden, never to be heard from
again.

Our legacy is a path of vengeance
A vengeance of peace,
A vengeance of freedom.
We will see the lies exposed
We will see the villains fall

Though our teacher still lies in chains,
Once awakened, we will not rest

What else can we do?

Gentle teacher, Mumia
Your voice has awakened us,
though our skills are still lacking and unpracticed.

They tried to silence you because they knew your
voice could
break the spell.
The melody of truth and the drum beat of revolution
from your
words
reminding us of our power and our responsibility.

But don't they realize?
You cannot silence one whose destiny is to be heard.

Submitted by: **Sis. Marpessa**
FREE MUMIA! BOYCOTT PENNSYLVANIA!

ANTI-ABORTION TERROR

Robert Cook, a former private security guard, juvenile probation officer and US Navy sailor, was arrested recently after threatening violence against women's clinics. Cook was planning to use money he allegedly obtained from a daring and previously unsolved \$260,000 robbery of an armored car company he had worked for, to finance what he told others would be a war against abortion doctors and clinics. The hold-up he is charged with took place in Kenosha, Wisc.

Cook allegedly shifted the money to an off-shore bank account in the Cayman Islands, amassed an arsenal of weapons and ammunition kept in an Illinois storage locker, and apparently tried unsuccessfully to recruit others to join him in targeting abortion providers as well as government offices. The FBI arrested Cook on Aug. 16 for the 1994 armored car robbery after he made a specific threat to begin his anti-abortion attacks on Tuesday, Aug. 22. Cook had been questioned by police in Pensacola, Florida last January, after he reportedly warned store owners near the clinic that they "had better get bulletproof glass" and, "It's going to look like the 4th of July around here."

Public anti-abortion leaders tried to deny any connection to Cook. Patrick Mahoney, director of the Christian Defense Coalition and a former national spokesman for Operation Rescue, told the press, "There is a real concern and fear among some leaders that just talking to someone who might be involved in violence brings you into this [federal] conspiracy investigation." They called Cook a loner who traveled around the country to hot spots in the abortion battle and offered vague ideas on how to "end abortion within a year." They claim they were made uneasy by him, as a potential provocateur, and pointed him out to authorities.

Abortion-rights activists think Cook may have had more significant links to the movement's leaders. Cook attended a conference of an anti-abortion organization in St. Louis shortly before his bust, and wrote a letter to "justifiable homicide" advocate Father Trosch which appeared in a newsletter put out by the Alabama extremist this summer. Abortion-rights activists called on federal officials to investigate his ties to the public anti-abortion movement.

When Cook was arrested by federal agents in Ill. in the neighborhood where he kept a storage locker full of weapons and ammunition, he was found with \$11,000 on him, several changes of clothes, food and water, and an AR-15 assault rifle in his vehicle. The St. Louis police intelligence division had followed Cook while he was in town for the conference staged

by the American Coalition of Life Activists, and arrested him on minor traffic violations. At the time of his arrest, he stated his occupation as "revolutionary," and told police that he couldn't go to abortion clinics because he couldn't control his actions. Capt. Harry Hegger, commander of the intelligence division, confirmed that Cook did attend some meetings during the St. Louis conference.

"Whether this is a conspiracy or not, this guy was out there for a long time, making it clear he was going to kill providers and wasn't shy about it," added Nancy Koshin-Kintigh, field director of the national clinic access project for the Feminist Majority. "There are a lot of unanswered questions." An affidavit filed in the Eastern U.S. District Court revealed that Cook had planned to say goodbye to his children, who lived with his ex-wife. Cook allegedly told friends in Portland, Ore., that he would kill an abortion doctor by Aug. 22 and vowed that he would rather die than be caught, the affidavit stated. The affidavit said Cook rarely paid child support until after the robbery, and when he did pay, it was all in cash.

Since the robbery, Cook also paid more than \$8,000 in cash for two cars, spent \$1,500 on copies of his writings and donated at least \$160 to an anti-abortion group, according to the affidavit. FBI officials said he did not appear to be working at the time. Cook also set up a

voice-mail service to help him recruit abortion opponents to join his cause, FBI officials said. And on several occasions, Cook allegedly told friends that he was waging a war against abortion.

Cook's is not the only case of renewed antiabortion violence. According to BACORR, after a "lull" in acts of anti-abortion terror, there have been 3 separate arson attacks within a week. The media have maintained a wall of silence around these attacks. A St. Petersburg, Florida clinic that was hit by arson early in August was hit again later in the month. The first fire destroyed the clinic's waiting room and reception area and caused extensive smoke damage; although that fire has not been linked to any suspects, investigators have ruled out the possibility of it being an accident. The second fire started near an examination room, and was described as "ruining the building." The fire occurred on the first night since the previous incident on which a guard was not posted at the clinic overnight. The cause has not yet been determined, but a dog assigned to the fire and rescue squad detected an accelerant, and arson is suspected.

In a third arson attack, the Grants Pass OR Planned Parenthood clinic remained open after two stacks of computer paper were set on fire at the front door. The clinic has been picketed by abortion opponents since it opened in 1983, but this is the first time it has been damaged, according to its director, Renee Kraft. The fire damaged a doormat and scorched the door. The fire was reported at 5:30 a.m. A fireman was able to stamp out the doormat that was smoldering from the burning paper.

On August 17, two men, one of whom allegedly pantomimed shooting employees of a women's health clinic in Jackson [Mississippi], were sued by the Justice Department under the federal clinic access law. The civil suit marks the 18th time the Justice Department has used the one year-old law known as the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act (FACE). In a complaint filed in U.S. District Court in Jackson, the Justice Department accused Charles Roy McMillan of threatening and intimidating employees on two separate occasions at the Jackson Women's Health Organization (JWHO) in May 1995. It claims that McMillan allegedly told several employees entering JWHO that they looked like birds waiting to be shot, and then pantomimed shooting them. In another case, McMillan offered to pay someone to burn down the building housing the clinic.

The complaint, according to a Justice department statement, also alleged that McMillan and another unidentified man obstructed access to the New Women's Medical Center (NWMC) in Jackson in the fall of 1994. It claims that their efforts to block access caused the escort of one patient to drive her car into the clinic's entrance gate. Under FACE, the Justice Department can prosecute people who use force, threat of force or physical obstruction to block health clinics or harm health care providers or patients. The suit seeks a court order prohibiting McMillan from threatening JWHO employees and coming close enough to the clinic to carry out the threats. It also seeks to prohibit both men from obstructing access to the NWMC or coming within 15 feet of the entrance driveway. Finally, it asks McMillan to compensate the driver of the damaged vehicle, pay damages to JWHO employees, and pay civil penalties to the U.S. treasury.

McMillan is the director of the Pro-Life Action Group in Jackson, MS and a friend and associate of anti-abortion assassin, Paul J. Hill. McMillan was a signer of the "Defensive Action" manifesto and believes that killing abortion providers is "justifiable homicide" and "doing the Lord's work." Less than a month after the Pensacola murders in July 1994, McMillan and the American Coalition of Life Activists (ACLA) descended on Jackson, MS. The ACLA's avowed purpose was to force Dr. Joseph Booker, a black ob-gyn and sole abortion provider in the entire state of Mississippi at the time) from his medical speciality. McMillan is an associate of Daniel Ware, a notorious Rescue America thug from Houston, TX. Ware was arrested in Pensacola in early 1994 with a car load of ammunition and several weapons. Ware vowed to "take out" as many "baby-killers" as he could in a "Beirut-style massacre." Busted and tried, he was found NOT GUILTY!

In another recent incident, Randall Terry of Operation Rescue sent a fax to the prestigious New England Journal of Medicine railing against a study which could enable women to have abortions without surgery. *Body Politic* reports Terry just received a "Champion of Liberty" award from the militia-associated US Taxpayers Party. Speakers at the dinner to award Terry included Orange County's arch-conservative, anti-gay Rep. Bob Dornan, Joe Sobran, a paleo-conservative considered guilty of anti-semitism even by his fellows at the National Review, and Larry Pratt, head of Gun Owners of America and English First.

The Criminal Justice System

by
David Gilbert

Reviews of

"America Behind Bars: The International Uses of Incarceration, 1992-93" by Marc Mauer.
Washington DC: The Sentencing Project, September 1994.

"ACLU Final Analysis of Major Civil Liberties Abuses in the Crime Bill" by Nkechi Taifa.
New York: ACLU, September 1994.

"Crime and Prisons" by the Prison Law Project of the National Lawyers' Guild.
San Francisco: NLG, Fall 1994.

There is a dangerous and disturbing trend at the core of recent electoral campaigning -- the shameless scapegoating, based in racism, of those with the least power in society: prisoners, welfare mothers and and children, and immigrants. This approach, when fully developed, is a defining characteristic of fascism. People who believe in decency and democracy need to analyze this surging offensive in order to be able to mobilize against it.

The lead wave in this rising tide has been the attack on "crime" and prisoners. The extent and often random nature of violence constitute a real worry for many citizens, and the despised in this case have often (but not always) done something wrong. At the same time, this concern has been subject to rank manipulation. From 1992 to 1993, the actual crime rate remained much the same, but media coverage of crime doubled. U.S. popular opinion followed suit. In mid 1992, a NY Times/CBS News poll (NYT 5/10/94) showed less than 2 percent of respondents considered crime to be the country's most important problem; but by April 1994, crime became the number one choice for most important problem (24 percent of respondents), eclipsing both health care and the economy.

David Gilbert is a North American anti-imperialist political prisoner serving a long sentence for armed political actions in solidarity with the Black liberation struggle. This was excerpted from a longer piece which originally appeared in Dec. 1994 in *Downtown*, which regularly publishes Gilbert.

The political climate is fraught with the particular danger that civil liberties vital to all will be sacrificed on the altar of this cultivated hysteria. Ironically, an improvement at the bottom layers of the economy would do far more to reduce crime than all the punitive and costly measures that have flowed from the change in focus. For there is a monumental fraud at the heart of the current anti-crime campaign: Harsher sentences and more lock-ups are fool's gold; they have already been tried and proven to be dismal failures at reducing crime.

Over the past 20 years, the U.S. has gone on an unprecedented binge of incarceration, quadrupling the number of people in prison, along with a vengeful return to the death penalty. Yet this approach hasn't brought any noticeable improvement. The politicians whose main 1994 selling point was "it's time for a change," are serving up the same sorry soup. Meanwhile, anyone in public life offering even a hint of another approach -- for example, Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders suggestion for a study about decriminalizing drugs -- has been howled off the public stage. Lesser known people with experience with experience in alternatives to incarceration that

really work, can't get a hearing at all.

Three reports published last year bring some needed elements of rationality and some relevant and significant data into the discussion of criminal justice.

"America Behind Bars: The International Uses of Incarceration, 1992-93," by Marc Mauer, was issued by The Sentencing Project, the most authoritative source for international data on incarceration. On a typical day in 1993, he reports, the U.S. had about 1.3 million people behind bars. The maintenance costs alone -- even without considering the expense of prison construction -- are about \$26.8 billion a year. The prison population doubled from 1980 to 1991. Contrary to the common misperception, this was not due mainly to rising violence. Eighty-four percent of the increase in new sentences was for non-violent crimes (drug, property and public order offenses).

[In fact according to the latest Justice Department figures, a record 5.1 million Americans were either behind bars or on probation or parole at the end of 1994. The total number under some kind of correctional supervision amounted to almost 2.7 percent of the nation's entire adult population. Nearly three out of four were being supervised in the community on probation or parole rather than in cells, according to the department's Bureau of Justice Statistics. Since 1980, the number of people in prison or jail or on probation or parole has almost tripled. It's noteworthy that probation and parole are provided disproportionately to whites compared to the general prison population. Almost 60% of adult probationers were white, 32% Black; more than half of adults on parole were white and again 32 percent were black.]

The current U.S. incarceration rate of more than 519 per 100,000 people (surpassed among major countries only by Russia after its post-socialist economic breakdown) is five to eight times the rate

of other industrialized countries. The stark difference seems to be driven by the U.S. penchant for longer sentences. (From inside prison, I have to wonder whether subjecting so many young men to such dehumanizing conditions for drug and property offenses is a significant factor in promoting subsequent violence.)

As to why some countries are more punitive than others, Mauer cites research that suggests the greater a society's tolerance of inequality, the more extreme its scale of punishment. In other words, the more pronounced the polarization of wealth and status, the more severe the penalties for those deemed to be criminals.

The incarceration rate for all African Americans is 1,947 per 100,000, more than six times the rate for whites. (Mauer doesn't give breakdowns by income level, which is also relevant.) Black males in the U.S. are imprisoned at more than four times the rate that Black males were under the apartheid regime in South Africa -- more than 3800 versus fewer than 900 per 100,000. One in four young Black men is under some sort of control by the criminal justice system, including probation and parole, and the 583,000 Black men behind bars outnumber the 537,000 enrolled in higher education.

Yet this massive racially skewed imprisonment has surprisingly little impact on curbing crime. "America Behind Bars" lists a few reasons: only a small percentage of crimes are reported, and many of those aren't solved; there is a "replacement effect," especially with drugs, as new sellers emerge to fill the economic slots vacated by those arrested; crimes are independently and heavily influenced by demographics -- the number of males in the 15-18 year old group.

"The ACLU Final Analysis of Major Civil Liberties Abuses in the Crime Bill" by Nkechi Taifa, was issued the same day Clinton signed that federal bill into law. The report mentions that ACLU lobbying succeeded in modifying some of

its most harmful provisions. Nevertheless, the final result is deemed "a civil liberties nightmare come true."

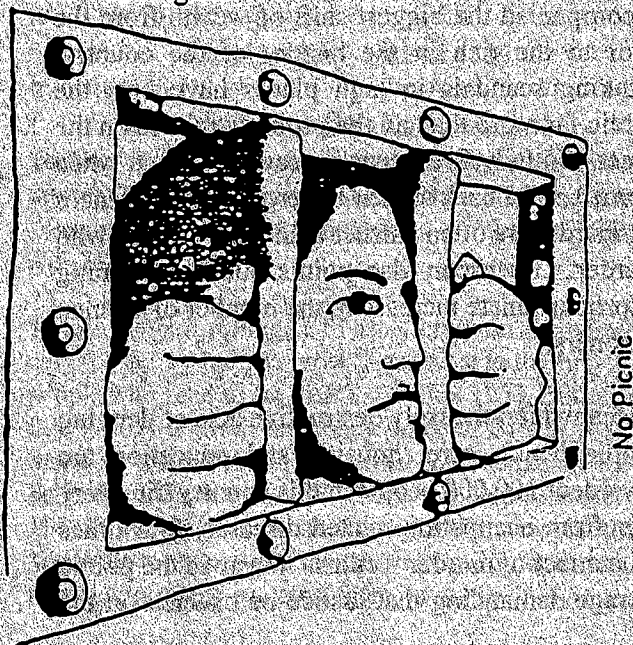
Here are some of the more troubling new measures: sentences are increased up to 10 years if certain crimes are committed by a member of a "gang" (defined so broadly it could apply to political groups accused of anti-government violence); Juveniles as young as 13 can be charged as adults; non-permanent resident aliens convicted of aggravated felonies are to be deported without a hearing, violating "due process" guarantees; and material support for so called "terrorist" activities has been criminalized. (Experience shows the government is subjective and political in which violent actions it labels "terrorist.")

A number of provisions change the rules of evidence, and undercut the presumption of innocence for those accused of sexual offenses. The community needs protection from the damage done by sexual predators; but there is a problem with provisions that will lead to more convictions of innocent defendants. Already, when retrospective DNA tests of men convicted of rape have been conducted, 1/3 were proven innocent. Once installed in this arena, the encroachment on civil liberties may be expanded to other areas. Also, these sensationalistic measures directed at the "sinister stranger" divert resources from the

core problem: the majority of sexual abuse is perpetrated by family, friends and acquaintances.

The law also eliminated Pell grants that funded college education for prisoners -- the program with the most striking positive results in reducing subsequent crime. Studies have shown the average 50-70 percent recidivism (repeat offense) rate can be reduced to 15-30% through higher education while incarcerated.

The new law also includes the greatest expansion ever of the federal death penalty, to more than 50 offenses, including many crimes that do not involve murder. Yet extensive evidence shows that executions, though morally and financially costly, offer no deterrence. Death penalty states averaged 7.5 homicides per 100,000 population during the '80's, while states without capital punishment averaged 7.4. The Racial Justice Act was eliminated from the bill, despite undeniable data that the death penalty is applied in an extremely discriminatory way based on the race of the victim and offender, and there is a similar gross disparity based on income level. There is also a federal "3 strikes" provision, and a "truth in sentencing" section which makes aid to the states contingent on their ensuring that



convicts do longer time, and that violent offenders serve at least 85% of their sentences. The law also makes it harder for prisoners to sue for 8th amendment violations (cruel and unusual punishment), and strips away court jurisdiction over such conditions.

The National Lawyers' Guild offers more in the way of political analysis in their "**Crimes and Prisons**" compendium. This collection comprises essays written over the past few years, and unfortunately, the NLG doesn't date them. Steve Whitman's two articles are particularly incisive in exposing racism underlying the criminal justice system. For example, Black people are 4X more likely than white people to be arrested for drugs, even though the two groups use illegal drugs at about the same rate. Whitman goes deeper by raising the devastating impact of incarceration on the Black community as a whole. "[V]irtually all experts agree," he writes, that prisons cause people to become more embedded in a life of crime. ... [P]risoners rejoin their communities from prisons ... where conditions encourage violence and criminality."

Luke Hiken's piece underscores that the increase in incarceration over the past 20 years has accompanied the biggest shift of wealth from the poor to the rich in the history of the country. Banking scandals in high places have cost the public far more than all the property crimes on the street. As Judy Greenspan's essay points out, when women strike back at their batterers, their sentences for murder are often harsher than those of men who murder. Greenspan also points out the alarming disproportionate increase in the number of women prisoners.

Meanwhile, the truly destructive acts of denying people health care, housing and education are rewarded! 100,000 people in this country die every year from occupation-related diseases, four times the number of murder victims. Where is the public outrage demanding that justice be exacted on the

industry and agribusiness executives responsible? What about drug trafficking by U.S. intelligence agencies, or the government's unwillingness to enforce laws against lead pollution?

As useful as the 3 studies are, none tries to present an overview of the causes and cures for crime. None delves into the prevailing values and culture of capitalist society. None mentions how the shortcomings of the "War on Poverty" -- designed to coopt people rather than empower them -- has provided grist for the mill of right wing attacks on "social programs." The direction for real solutions lies not in the expansion of bureaucracy, but in more power and resources for the oppressed communities themselves.

Finally, none of these short papers takes on the formidable task of formulating an alternative strategy for effective action against crime. That job would have to start at the foundation: the dearth of positive alternatives for inner-city youths; the resources poured into the military, police, prisons, and debt service to the rich, rather than applied to education, jobs and low-cost housing. Society would have to be awakened to the fact that any serious anti-crime program would have to apply the strictest standards and enforcement on those with the most power and prestige, not the least.

However, taken together, these reports do provide illuminating critiques of the current political juggernaut, which -- while counter productive to its professed goal of stopping crime -- in fact works brilliantly to make "criminals" into scapegoats for a failing economy. As Whitman put it in the NLG collection:

"In reality, the war on crime and the war on drugs have been wars on Black and Latino people. The main purpose ... has not been to fight crime ... but to distract us from fighting against the conditions in society which ... perpetuate crime -- racism, sexism, poverty, homelessness and despair."

THE STORY OF SHAKA SHAKUR

Shaka Shakur was born in 1966 in the Black community of Gary, Indiana. At the age of 16, after being turned away from over-crowded drug treatment programs, he was arrested for shooting a white man in a white neighborhood. It was his first offense, but he was tried as an adult, charged with robbery and sentenced to 30 years in prison. At the trial, the victim testified that Shaka Shakur did not actually try to rob him. This was ignored. The judge also refused to allow any evidence that the defendant was under the influence of drugs.

While incarcerated, Shaka Shakur became politically conscious, joining the New Afrikan independence struggle and speaking out strongly against the "organized KKKrime" of the state, and especially the brutal and racist prison system.

As a result of his efforts to educate, politicize and organize fellow prisoners, he has spent years in solitary confinement, and was subjected to a long stay at the notorious Maximum Control Complex at Westville, Indiana. This prison is known for the use of sensory deprivation, illegal censorship and mail tampering, "refrigerated" cells kept at temperatures as low as 46 degrees, contaminated water, punitive withholding of health care and the use of psychotropic drugs, sexual harassment and torture, including the practice of spraying prisoners with fire hoses and chemical agents while they are strapped down.

M.C.C. Westville has been the subject of heated complaints and legal action by church groups, Amnesty International, the ACLU and many others. Amnesty International's 1992 letter to the Commissioner of the Indiana Department of Corrections marked the first time in history that the organization had condemned a state prison, and only the third time it had condemned any prison in the United States. (The other two were the federal control unit prisons at Marion, Illinois and Lexington, Kentucky.)

Shaka Shakur has become a respected leader in inmate struggles, such as a dramatic hunger strike at Westville in 1991. One of the longest such strikes in U.S. prison history, it led to a peaceful show of solidarity by virtually the entire population of 1,600 prisoners at the Indiana Reformatory. While the Reformatory was locked down, the 16 hunger strikers continued with incredible fortitude. In the end, the hunger strike lasted 37 days. Four of Shaka Shakur's fellow strikers, the last

hold-outs, were brutally force-fed.

After a series of protests and lawsuits, Shaka Shakur was transferred out of Westville to the Indiana State Prison in Michigan City. He is fighting for a new trial, which could result in his release. Although at least ten other identical cases have been reversed on appeal, so far the Indiana judicial system has refused to do the same with Shaka Shakur's illegal conviction.

"Whatever your nationality, whatever your gender, open your eyes. Discover your inner-self and who you are. Declare war on that which would destroy the humanity and human spirit of the world."

--Shaka Shakur #28443
Indiana State Prison
P.O. Box 41
Michigan City, Indiana 46361

Freedom for Shaka Shakur!

Turning the Tide encourages contributions to the Shaka Shakur Defense Committee at P.O. Box 565, Madison, Wisconsin 53701. Their telephone number is (608) 255-2139.

To get the ball rolling, TTT is offering an incredible color poster by Indiana artist Diana Kast to the first 20 people who send us (at PART, PO Box 1990, Burbank CA 91507) a check or money order of \$10 or more made out to the Defense Committee. (All donations will be forwarded immediately.) The poster, approximately 19" X 25" in size, is a searing indictment of the Westville torture pit and the other control units, as well as a call to struggle against them.

RACIST ORGANIZING & VIOLENCE IN THE L.A. AREA

SAN DIEGO -- White Aryan Resistance (WAR) has established a new toll-free number. Call 1-800-923-1813 toll free from a pay phone. Not only do you get to waste their money, due to the toll free nature of the call, but you get to leave a message at the end telling them off. In theory, if enough people call in a month they could be bankrupted. Meanwhile WAR has also gone on-line. And WAR spokesman **Wyatt Kaldenberg**, an ex-leftist who is one of **Metzger's** few lieutenants who hasn't (yet) finked out to the state has been busy on the Internet and white supremacist BBS's. In one recent message, he said "The more Whites understand how oppressive this fucking nation is becoming under the Jews; the more it will lead to men like **Bob Mathews**, **Gordon Kahl**, **Tim McVeigh**.... literature is good for making the system over react. 300 pieces of literature won't make a difference, but the fact the Jews show their ugliness will lead to their graves. ZOG is making it where no one supports them. This will lead to people planting other things than literature."

Kaldenberg has also proposed a massive **COINTELPRO**-type operation by white supremacists at the Republican convention scheduled for San Diego next summer. "I want to put out a group of four page newspapers to be put out on the street. The Republicans will have their convention in San Diego next Aug. They will be playing the race card to con the masses into backing their dead horse. If the Left doesn't show up in numbers at this event, they are dead. We need to encourage the scum to come. I want to put out anti-Affirmative Action, anti-Mexican, pro-187, stuff. A four pager explaining the history of the Jew Black conflict would be good to hand out in Watts or Black areas of San Diego. If we play our cards right, we can use the Republicans to really crystalize the issue."

He continues: "I can write up a Spanish newspaper to hand out to wets or even go to TJ and give them the true story of the racist history of California. California was founded on anti-Mexican racism. Both Whites and non-Whites should be made to know this. We need to take racism out of the closet. We need to prove to White America that they must defend their racist history or be run over by the colored hordes. We can make Aug 1996 a wonderful month if we start today. I believe we have to hit the enemy with every weapon we can."

SAN GABRIEL VALLEY -- Neo-nazi **Lyndon LaRouche's** organization has gotten onto cable TV in a number of cities with its show "**The LaRouche Connection**." The show airs in E. San Fernando on Ch. 25 and in W. San Fernando on cable Ch. 27. It's on Lancaster/Palmdale's Ch. 3, cable Ch. 56 in Pasadena, on King VideoCable, and Ch. 20 in the Santa Clarita/Tujunga area. Cable systems in San Diego and in Santa Ana and elsewhere in Orange County are also running the tapes.

PASADENA -- Police are searching for whoever smashed 11 historic stained-glass windows at Holliston Avenue United Methodist Church in Pasadena in July. Damage was estimated at \$15,000 by building administrator Wendy Kendall. Church officials don't know of a motive for the vandalism, but Pasadena has been the scene of recent racist organizing by the **Aryan Nations**. There have been two cross-burning incidents this year, one directed against the rabbi of a local synagogue. The city is planning an October conference to counter hate group activity, and the local NPR affiliate, KPCC at Pasadena City College is conducting a series of radio town meetings.

SAN FERNANDO VALLEY -- 25 inmates were hurt in August in racial brawls that broke out at the Pitchess jail complex in Castaic. Seven were taken to hospitals with serious injuries, according to sheriff's deputies. Deputies used verbal commands and three "stingball" grenades--which hurl shrapnel of hard rubber pellets -- to break up one brawl after five minutes, and recovered jail-made knives and pieces of glass. A few minutes after 1 p.m., the second fight broke out. Ten inmates were injured. The brawls were the latest in a string of dozens of such fights.

NORTHRIDGE -- A congregation that dwindled to 10 members is complaining that cash-needy Baptist administrators are selling its church building to a group of Hindus that the Baptist protesters refer to as "a pagan cult." Valley View Baptist Church on Roscoe Boulevard "has been sold out from under us," pastor Arthur B. Houk said. Prithvi Raj Singh, president of the Artesia-based Federation of Hindu Temples and Associations, took issue with the labels. "It's unfortunate that some people still use words like 'pagan' to describe another religion," he said.

LOS ANGELES -- A man accused of racially harassing his neighbors was ordered to move out of his Los Feliz-area condominium after he pleaded no contest to spitting on another condo owner. Municipal Judge Ron Schoenberg gave **Dale Joseph Dreyer**, 51, 3 months to move out of his condo unit. Dreyer was also sentenced to three months in jail. The sentence stemmed from an incident on June 5, when Dreyer began mocking two women who were speaking to each other in Armenian from their respective condo balconies, said Deputy City Atty. Dan Lowenthal. He then spit on one of the women, Sirarpi Kalaydgian, 55, and brushed up against her shoulder, Lowenthal said. Kalaydgian, who called police, and several other neighbors obtained a restraining order against Dreyer to require him to stay five feet away from them.

FOUNTAIN VALLEY -- Racist flyers were found inside packages of food in two supermarkets. One flyer was inside a box of Cracker Jacks at a Hughes Market. The other was in a box of Lady Lee crackers at a Lucky store, according to Lt. Bob Mosley. Store officials pulled both products from the shelves. Judy Decker, a spokeswoman for Lucky Stores thought flyers were from the same person who is believed to have been planting similar ones for more than two years in grocery stores, school lockers and other places. Over the past 2-1/2 years, about eight flyers have turned up in Southern California Lucky stores, Decker said. The flyers have been found in boxes with enough room to slide a piece of paper through the top.

ELYSIAN VALLEY, BURBANK -- Virginia de la Torre found a hate message in Aug. tucked inside a frozen chicken dinner. Robert Kennedy, a Long Beach lawyer representing the California Grocers Association says that since 1992, there have been more than 800 incidents of hate messages found inside products sold in stores in Ventura, Los Angeles and Orange counties. "You name the store, you name the product, and they've been hit," he said. "The slurs are against Jews and blacks and Hispanics. It's an ongoing problem." A Los Angeles Superior Court judge issued an injunction against **Allan Eric Carlson** of Glendale, prohibiting him from putting such pamphlets into packages in any of the 1,100 stores in the three-county area that are members of the grocers association. Carlson had been arrested and is on probation for two similar incidents; in one he vandalized notebooks and books with WAR stickers and stamps; in a second, he assaulted a school custodian after being caught stuffing flyers into student lockers in Simi Valley. He denies involvement in the

latest incidents, but said people offended could see much worse directed against the white race on TV every night. Police are investigating the wide dissemination of the racist propaganda, which they say appears to be inserted into unsealed products.

The pamphlet received by De La Torre included a number for radio station **KROQ-FM** (106.7), based in Burbank. Station manager Trip Reeb said the station's number has been included on a least a dozen racist pamphlets inserted into food products over the last six months. Recently, a number of racist flyers depicting an interracial couple and references to Nicole Brown Simpson were also found in packaged foods at a Burbank market. Over the last month, four customers of the Vons market on Pass Avenue have reported finding 4-by-6-inch flyers in various products after they took their groceries home. Other vitriolic flyers have been found in mailboxes in Thousand Oaks.

ANAHEIM -- Promoter Ray Angulo of the Tribal Trek, a gay pride celebration scheduled at The Pond in Anaheim alleged that the city and Disney, owners of the Mighty Ducks hockey team, which plays at the venue, pressured The Pond into sharply hiking rental fees and imposing unreasonable restrictions on the gay party, forcing it to move. Brad Mayne, general manager of The Pond, denied the accusations, as did the Mighty Ducks. "It's ridiculous," Mayne told the LA Times. "We are not censors. We are managers of a facility that is used by a community. And if they want to do something that's not illegal, the facility is available for use."

LONG BEACH -- "Bo" Gritz, Bob Fletcher, Larry Pratt, Jack McLamb, Mark Koernke and other stalwarts of the militia movement and Christian Identity descended on the city of Long Beach in August for a so-called Preparedness Expo, a touring show of survivalists, alternative medicine, and gun enthusiasts that has been one of the main venues for popularizing racist, anti-semitic and conspiratorialist thinking outside the ranks of the hard-core. Gritz will be returning to this area, probably to the Beverly Garland Hotel in North Hollywood for at least part of his activity, in early December for the 10th and presumably final round of his S.P.I.K.E. training. Those who have successfully completed the training on video or in person will be awarded their green berets. A counter-demonstration is planned.

BLUE BY DAY, WHITE BY NIGHT

The blatant white and male supremacist expressions and actions of LAPD Detective Mark Fuhrman, which mesmerized the country and embarrassed the L.A.P.D. and D.A. in the Simpson trial, cannot be brushed off as simply the aberrant or exaggerated beliefs of one bad apple. First of all, Fuhrman clearly put his beliefs into practice. His accounts of brutality on the tapes correspond with recorded incidents of racist police abuse complaints against him. Mexicanos he brutalized in 1978, who filed complaints against him and identified him at the time, with no response from the L.A.P.D., have come forward again. An assistant D.A. has reported that Fuhrman allegedly committed an act of anti-semitic vandalism against a fellow cop who married a Jewish woman, and carried nazi memorabilia. Neighbors report that in his youth, he repeatedly harassed the only Black family in the area where he grew up.

But beyond Fuhrman himself, across the country, a recent series of brutal attacks by police on community gatherings of Black, Latino and Asian people has exposed the institutionalized nature of police racism. Simultaneously, extensive evidence of organized police criminality has emerged in Philadelphia, Los Angeles, New Orleans, and other cities, including not only planting evidence, forgery, and racial and sexual harassment, but even murder. Finally, continuing anecdotal evidence has emerged of organized white supremacist involvement and sympathies of law enforcement personnel, ranging from the Good Ol' Boys Roundup of various federal and local cops to the audio-taped comments of Fuhrman in the high-profile O.J. Simpson case.

These cases make clear that racism, sexism, and brutality are systemic problems in policing in the U.S., because the police in this country were designed to act as an occupying army, enforcing the class and racial oppression of a colonial system. These atrocities are not exceptions, but manifestations of the rule that the police function primarily as enforcers of inequality and exploitation, and to feed people into the prisons. They underline the immediate and urgent need for a national campaign to end police impunity and enforce police accountability; to purge law enforcement ranks of all racists; and to exert effective community control over these agencies of occupation and repression. Only such a radical democratic reform, such as proposed by the Black Panther Party in the 1970's, can even begin to address the true scope of this problem.

A brief look at just this summer's developments make

it clear that the problem is national in scope. In New York this summer, cops in Queens brawled with Black church-goers in a melee outside a Pentacostal revival that left 36 people injured, including six officers. Seven people were arrested in the brawl at a tent next to the Universal Calvary Church, where more than 600 people had gathered for the revival. A retired cop, Clifford Warsop, 44, invaded the service to look for his estranged wife, who had obtained an order of protection against him. According to the church pastor, Emmanuel Osei-Acheampong, Warsop was wielding a gun and was kicked out of the service. Ushers wrestled the gun away from him, then held him until police arrived. When Warsop pointed out to responding officers a man leaving the service as one of his attackers, police tried to arrest the man, provoking a new brawl in which 95 cops eventually took part. Some of the beatings were caught on video.

In a similar incident in Philadelphia, cops storm-trooped in on the largest Black church in the city, Zion Baptist Church, earlier this summer. Police in force raided the church during a wedding, interrupting the service and arresting the groom, who was wanted for missing a court appearance. This invasion was also captured on video-tape. Rev. Joseph Patterson told radio station WBAI in NY that "the police went in during the ceremony, started pushing and shoving ... They were walking on the pews in the Church. And when they got outside, a larger scene was caused by the police and the way that they had gone into the church, in gear, in their uniforms, to apprehend a person who was wanted by the police. They tried to say that we were against them arresting this fellow. That was not the case. The case

was that they violated the sanctity of the Church."

Meanwhile, in Austin TX, a police mob was acquitted of battery against a black woman and her kids in August, as the statute of limitations for administrative discipline ran out six months after a police riot on Cedar Avenue in East Austin, in which innocent black women and children were beaten by cops. On February 11, Ira Bedford had called 911 to ask the police for help. He had tossed out a gang member carrying a gun from a chaperoned Valentine's Day party on the east side of Austin (a black neighborhood). He wanted an officer to "ride through" the neighborhood, just to make sure things were okay. "I've got a lot of kids here and we're not going to have anything going on," he can be heard saying on the police tape. Within a half-hour, 68 cops -- more than a third of the police officers on duty in Austin that night -- showed up and closed off the street, attacking the party-goers. At least 14 people were maced, beaten, and had guns pulled on them by police. Bedford was hit on his thigh with a night stick, his wife suffered a broken tailbone, and his teenage son and daughter were maced. Three chaperones were arrested. Two officers were treated at the hospital for mace; one of those, according to an eyewitness, was a black officer in uniform who was maced by another officer. U.S. Justice Department investigators ruled in August that nobody's rights were violated.

In a similar Los Angeles incident, however, a court awarded \$15.9 million dollars in damages over the summer to members of a Samoan family who had been brutally beaten at a family gathering by sheriff's deputies. The Jury foreman reported that the jurors wanted to send a message to the Sheriff's Department that the agency was responsible for the brutality by maintaining a code of silence among fellow officers that went all the way up to elected Sheriff Sherman Block, who had spoken out in support of the deputies in the case. David Dole was awarded the top individual judgment -- \$3.8 million -- after suffering a skull fracture and brain damage at the hands of the police. His brother Tafi Dole, who had been awarded compensatory damages of \$170,000, died of heart and kidney problems shortly after learning of the jury's verdict. The incident involved a law enforcement attack on a bridal shower at their father Arthur Dole's home in 1989. After receiving several calls that people were fighting in the street outside the home, dozens of sheriff's deputies showed up in riot-gear, and clubbed and kicked unresisting men and women, some as they lay handcuffed on the ground. Like the Rodney King

beating, the sheriff's assault was captured on videotape. Deputies arrested 34 people, but most of the charges were dropped, and a jury acquitted David Dole and three others of riot and assault charges.

This summer in L.A., Officer Michael Falvo shot and killed a 14-year old Mexican youth in the E. L.A. barrio of Boyle Heights, provoking several nights of rebellion. Mayor Riordan declared a state of emergency. Falvo was one of the "problem" cops, with a long history of abuse and complaints, identified by the 1991 Christopher Commission after the beating of Rodney King. His killing of Jose Antonio Gutierrez, who was shot six times in the back and side, was justified by former L.A.P.D. chief Darryl Gates. Gates had restored Falvo to the force on suspension when, after the Christopher Commission disclosures, Falvo was involved in yet another instance of abuse, and an internal police disciplinary board had recommended he be fired from the department.

Falvo's impunity is a measure of the top-to-bottom nature of the problem. The community, already angered at the police and prosecutor's handling of the killing earlier this year of another Mexican youth by vigilante William Masters, who shot two Chicanos for "tagging" (spray-painting) a freeway underpass and got charged only with carrying a weapon, understood this clearly when they rose up in three nights of rebellion after the killing, and they have persisted in organizing for justice for the murdered youth, rallying at the police commission and elsewhere.

Meanwhile, beyond the question of lying to cover up their own brutality, evidence has emerged in departments around the country of perjury and falsification of evidence to make cases. The most notorious situation is certainly the tape recorded reminiscences of Fuhrman, who told his screen-writer confidante of instances of cover-ups and manufacturing evidence. But other, less well-publicized cases show the same pattern. Det. Andrew Teague, an 18-year LAPD veteran who was among the 44 "problem officers" identified in the landmark 1991 Christopher Commission report, was recently ordered to turn in his gun and stay home from work for falsifying evidence. Teague admitting forging two defendants' signatures on documents in a murder investigation, and then lying about it under oath in court.

The L.A. district attorney's office is reviewing 3-400 cases handled by Teague since 1982 to determine

whether any must be reopened or dropped because of potential evidence tampering. A second 18-year veteran, Det. Charles Markel, also was suspended, for saying nothing. He worked with Teague on seven "gang" cases where the falsifications took place. Two were dropped, and prosecutors are trying to figure out how to pursue five other cases without Teague's phony evidence. A third cop, Det. Ray Doyle, who resigned to avoid Internal Affairs questioning, is facing a grand jury indictment for a separate incident of forging a judge's signature on a warrant, and presumably his other cases will also be reviewed.

Teague, one of 33 "problem officers" (identified by the Christopher Commission more than 4 years ago) who are still on the LAPD, has accumulated 18 citizen complaints. In the four years since being singled out by the Commission, Teague was the subject of two more complaints, yet he got promoted to detective. Yet another L.A. cop is under arrest for soliciting a bribe from a domestic abuse suspect and suspected of murder himself! Doyle, Teague and Falvo operated out of the Hollenbeck Division on the city's mostly Mexican east side, as did Fuhrman in 1978, when he took part in a bloody beating of residents and a cover up described in his tapes. Despite all these police crimes, the Clinton administration just awarded a massive federal grant to L.A. to hire 648 more cops!

Again, the problem is not limited to L.A. In Philadelphia, Betty Patterson, a 54-year-old grandmother who cleaned other people's floors and clothes to keep her family together and now delivers newspapers before dawn with her grandson, was framed by corrupt police officers and spent 3 years in prison in the early 1990's after being falsely convicted of selling crack cocaine. She is one of possibly hundreds of victims of criminal cops who rode roughshod over her poor Black North Philadelphia neighborhood, beating, robbing, lying and planting phony evidence, according to Federal and local prosecutors.

At least 1400 drug-related cases are expected to come under review, and the scandal could cost the city millions of dollars in lawsuits. Prosecutors and defense lawyers also say they expect several murder convictions to be reviewed or thrown out as a result of the scandal. The indicted Philadelphia officers were assigned to the 39th District (the same area where the horde of officers invaded the church), but roamed through North Philadelphia. "[Patterson] went to jail for 3 years for something she was completely innocent of," said Lynne

Abraham, the Philadelphia D. A. "This whole thing has made me physically ill. This is the ultimate betrayal of the public trust and ... justifies people's suspicions of the police." (Abraham refuses to draw the conclusion that a similar frame-up took place in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal.)

So far, six officers have pleaded guilty in Federal Court. Nearly 50 drug cases they were involved in, including Mrs. Patterson's, have been overturned by the courts and the District Attorney's office. Hundreds more could also be thrown out. Sgt. Thomas DeGiovanni, Officers John Baird, Steven Brown, Louis Maier and James Ryan, and former officer Thomas Ryan, 38, who is on disability, are scheduled for sentencing in October. Facing severe punishments, the cops are finally breaking their code of silence, ratting out their fellow officers in hopes of leniency. There are reports that more officers will be charged soon.

Indictments are expected to include two supervisors who once worked in the 39th, two officers in the 25th District, and seven more officers - four from the 39th and three from the Highway Patrol. The first of hundreds of lawsuits was filed by three victims of the Philly police recently. Their lawyer stated that an estimated 5,000 others were falsely arrested or abused by Philadelphia police. The suit was filed in federal court as a class action on behalf of anyone who has been falsely arrested, robbed, beaten or denied due process of law by police in the 39th and the 1st Districts. Defendants include the city, the Mayor, the Police Commissioner, former Philadelphia Police Commissioner Willie Williams, now chief of the L.A.P.D., the six former 39th District officers who have pleaded guilty, more than 20 named and unnamed officers from the 1st District, and the commander of the Internal Affairs unit. The allegations include racketeering, excessive force, false arrest and other constitutional violations.

"Thousands of Philadelphians have been beaten, arrested, imprisoned and had their civil and constitutional rights violated," the suit states. Aaron Holbrook, 21, states in his suit that he was beaten, stomped and knocked unconscious by 21 police officers in the 1st Police District. He also claims that police inside the 1st District Station urinated on him and threw away his clothing. He suffered bruises, mental anguish, internal and external bleeding. Saul Williams, 18, says he was beaten by five 1st District officers on August 11. The district attorney's office was warned about this

pattern of activity by public defenders and private attorneys for at least five years without altering their practices.

KILLER COPS

Some of the most egregious disclosures of police criminality recently have come in New York City and in New Orleans. In NY's Harlem precinct, a ring of 33 drug-dealing cops was uncovered. One ex-cop was recently sentenced to a year in prison for extortion, for taking payoffs from pushers. The chief of detectives in Brooklyn and the NYC police commissioner are being sued for sexual harassment, along with half a dozen Queens detectives, by a female lieutenant and a woman detective who were subjected to a rumor campaign of being lesbians and given involuntary transfers. And in New Orleans, police have been found guilty of numerous crimes in the past several months. One New Orleans cop apparently arranged the contract killing of a woman who had brought a complaint against him. Another is under suspicion for two murders of Black women which authorities believe are part of a string of more than 20 such serial killings which had gone virtually uninvestigated, because the victims were poor Black women, often prostitutes. Since 1992, more than 30 cops have been arrested in New Orleans, four of them for murder. In Chicago, federal agents are seeking a cop involved with a multi-million dollar narcotics ring. In New Jersey, an ex-cop from Teaneck whose killing of a Latino teen set off rioting last year, and an ex-INS agent who was disciplined for violating the rights of Latino shopkeepers in Manhattan (but pardoned by Bush just before he left office) have hooked up to work on a magazine called "Wanted" directed at law enforcement personnel. The ex-INS agent now runs an agency devoted to defending cops who get in trouble with the law.

Similar problems are common in the southeast. In Loudon County, VA, the sheriff is under investigation for diverting county resources and armored vehicles to a private para-military security force called ARGUS. Sheriff Isom is a vice-president of ARGUS, and one of his deputies moonlights as an officer for the group, set up by a local millionaire. It has also obtained surplus military equipment, storage space at a military base, and staffing from the Federal Protective Service, one of whose employees is ARGUS's training director. In Prince William County, outside Washington D.C., the NAACP has charged the Dumfries police with racist brutality after Rev. George Walker was beaten with

batons and maced outside his home in August by seven police, when he tried to talk to them about a traffic stop they were carrying out. The highest ranking cop at the University of the District of Columbia has been found liable for the second time in 8 years of sexual harassment of female officers under his command. In nearby Prince Georges County, the FBI arrested 5 white cops this summer for the beating of a Black suspect in a cop killing who was later exonerated. That incident, along with the ostracism of a Black officer who testified against three other white officers who were sent to prison for beating a handcuffed burglary suspect, has increased tensions between white and Black cops on the force.

COPS AND THE KLAN

We must seize the opportunity provided also by recent disclosures of FBI criminality, such as at Ruby Ridge, and the evidence of blatant white supremacist beliefs and networks, such as the Good Ol' Boys Roundup, where videotapes apparently taken by a Florida cop attendee, an advocate of David Duke's National Association for the Advancement of White People, showed racist signs and t-shirts with such logos as Martin Luther King in cross-hairs. The tapes were released to the media by a member of the Gadsden Militia seeking to embarrass the ATF -- definitely a case of "a plague on both your houses," as the militia man was represented by Kirk Lyons, the principal legal adviser to the Klan and the Aryan Nations. Lyons has raised funds for Tom Metzger's defense and heads the white supremacist group CAUSE (Canada Australia Unites States South Africa Europe -- the "homelands" of the white race). In another recent disclosure, two Texas Rangers were disciplined, after they were overheard by a neighbor referring in a threatening way to the only Black female member of the agency with racially and sexually derogatory slurs. The role of numerous sheriffs and law enforcement personnel in supporting the anti-democratic militia movement, and the efforts of organized racist groupings to win adherents among active-duty police must also be opposed. Jack McLamb's Christian Identity influenced "Police Against the New World Order," which spreads the anti-semitic teachings of Eustace Mullins, is a good case in point.

The problems of police racism, brutality and criminality are mainly being taken up in a piece-meal and localized fashion. In New York, they're viewed in

the mainstream media cynically as a manifestation of endemic corruption; in Philadelphia as an embarrassment that unfortunately gives credence to the charges of a frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal; in L.A. as a sideshow in the circus of the O.J. Simpson trial. In fact, the problems and their solution are global, because policing in this country has always been rooted in the economic and relations of white supremacy, colonialism, and capitalism.

The widespread and ugly nature of these cases of cop criminality and racism provide an unparalleled opportunity for a national campaign to challenge police impunity, and to establish community control of the police so as to insure police accountability. Fortunately, the National Coalition on Police Accountability (N-COPA) is holding its national conference on October 27-29 in Chicago IL. This is

a tremendous opportunity for activists and concerned people from around the country to gather, share their experiences and lessons from local struggles, and map out a national strategy for bringing this issue to the forefront of political struggle and debate in this country. The conference is being coordinated with a Tribunal on Police Misconduct the day before, convened by the National Black Police Association and co-sponsored by N-COPA. Tribunal testimony and judge's findings will be delivered to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. For more information on the Tribunal, contact Ron Hampton, 202-986-2070. N-COPA is a project of Citizens Alert, 59 E. Van Buren #2418, Chicago IL 60605; tel. 312-663-5392.



COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE

The first police departments were established post-Civil War, when the abolition of slavery and the development of industrialization meant there were massive laboring populations that could no longer be disciplined by the slave-owner or individual task-master, but had to be supervised, as an industrial army, by a wellarmed institutionalized force. The police grew out of the slave posses that tracked runaway slaves, the militias that met Native resistance with force of arms, the rangers who enforced U.S. control of Mexicans in the captured territories. They were augmented by the private armies of the steel, oil, coal and railroad magnates, the robber barons. As they have been pro-fessionalized, militarized and centralized increasingly in this century, their ranks filled in recent years by veterans of Vietnam and Desert Storm, this has not served to overturn or transform this history of colonialism, but to deepen the cops' role as an occupying army, complete with HUEYs, armored personnel carriers, and high-tech weapons.

This is the reality that defines the efforts of the most well-meaning officers; the soil that nurtures the racism and corruption of the worst. This is the reality that impels the us-against-them, mentality of cops, that produces the code of silence which allows racist offenders to go unpunished, in fact promoted for their crimes. Officers truly concerned about being improperly "lumped" with the Fuhrmans need to break ranks with the reactionary solidarity of silence that enables the racists; more, they need to break with the mission of upholding laws that propagate injustice. Of course, there have been some changes with the hiring of more women and minority officers -- that's one of the main reasons for the attack on affirmative action regulations which mandated such hiring -- but without fundamental changes, such officers are simply old wine in new bottles.

Without fundamental change, cosmetic reforms serve to deepen the problem, as the Christopher Commission did in L.A. Exposing the racism and sexism of police operations by releasing the text of mobile digital transmissions of L.A. cops on their squad car consoles, the Commission did little more than clean up the language and tighten the supervision of the transmissions, so there's no paper trail. The underlying problems the transmissions reflect are untouched. Thirty-four of the 44 "problem officers" the Commission identified are still on the force; because the problem is not individual, it is institutionalized.

And what of the recommendation for community-based policing as the solution? In fact, it's part of the problem. Bush's Weed and Seed program and Clinton's Crime Bill, adopted this as a mechanism for placing some social service programs under the control of the Justice Department and local police agencies, as a carrot to offer while strengthening

the stick. In the May 1995 issue of "Law and Order," a trade journal for the police, a leading proponent of community based policing explains what it's really about: "The military calls changing an enemy's or a population's thoughts 'Psychological Operations' or 'PSYOPS.' Community Oriented Policing does the same thing." In other words, it is not the antidote to the militarization of the police, but a manifestation of it; a neo-colonial mechanism to maintain control over a colonized population or "enemy."

And this should not be surprising, given the history of Christopher in particular, and the economic interests and backgrounds of most of his commissioners. Christopher was vice-chair of the 1965 commission headed by former CIA chief John McCone that tried to shape a counter-insurgency response to the Watts Rebellion. In Johnson's Justice Department, he was involved in the suppression of the Black rebellions in Chicago and Detroit in 1968 after the assassination of Martin Luther King, coordinating the use of the Army in domestic war against the rebels. He approved the use of military intelligence against anti-war protesters at the 1968 Democratic convention. In Carter's state department, according to researcher Fara Mansoor, he approved secret briefings to Khomeini as an anti-communist fall-back in case the Shah toppled. Now, he wants to fashion a repressive neo-colonial solution to the "problem" of the Palestinians. His proposals in L.A. grew out of this pattern of elite guidelines for "enlightened" repression.

But if the Christopher proposals are not the answer, what is? The Black Panther Party put forward a proposal in the 70's, resurrected in the 90's in L.A., and derailed by the Christopher report. That program is community control of the police. As put forward by the Coalition Against Police Abuse in L.A., the plan has two key components: elected commissioners from each community being policed, able to hire and fire administrators and hold officers accountable; and a special prosecutor, designated to deal exclusively with issues of police criminality and brutality. The latter is essential because district attorneys can't bring police criminals to justice because of the symbiotic dependency between cops and prosecutors.

"Community Oriented Policing" in fact creates false communities that are centered on the policing function; "Community Control of Police," perhaps including the break-up of bureaucratically centralized departments into many smaller, community-run departments whose officers must live in the communities they patrol, would empower real communities of oppressed people. It would not overturn all the relations of racial and economic exploitation that govern our society; but it is a radical democratic reform that would strengthen the forces of liberation and circumscribe the forces of repression.

REACTIONARY FORCES

CHRISTIAN IDENTITY

This racist theology preaches that whites are the true Israel, America is their promised land; that non-whites are "sub-human, and that Jews are Satanic.

ARYAN NATIONS

Headquartered in an Idaho paramilitary compound this racist group has spread nation-wide as the militia movement has grown. More than 30 militias now use a surveillance system promoted by the Aryan Nations to spy on their "enemies."

SCRIPTURES FOR AMERICA

Pete Peters' "Bible Study" group hosts annual retreats for leader of the racist Christian Identity movement, and was a recruiting ground for the bloody "Order conspiracy, along with the Aryan Nations.

Pete Peters

Principal "theologian" of Christian Identity helped finance Bo Gritz autobiography and initiate the national militia movement.

JUBILEE

The leading Christian Identity group in California has brought together Louis Beam of the KKK and Aryan Nations, neo-nazi Joe Fields, State Senator Don Rogers and Christian Reconstructionist John Quade to promote "state sovereignty."

Joe Fields

A neo-nazi now active in the militia movement in southern CA, Fields has been associated with Tom Metzger, David Duke, Richard Barrett and Willis Carto. He was once a swastika-wearing member of the nazi party and has run as the ALP candidate in two recent L.A. elections.

CHRISTIAN PATRIOTS

This movement often overlaps with Christian Identity. Christian Patriot Defense League founder Jack Mohr is a close ally of Pete Peters. These tax protesters also call themselves Constitutionalist and provide a big base of support for the militias. They believe that the only true citizens are those whose citizenship predates the 14th amendment (essentially, white male property owners). The militias have popularized this view through support for the Organic Constitution (original articles plus the Bill of Rights only).

John Trochmann

This leader of the Militia of Montana and his family have connections to the Aryan Nations.

The currents that coalesced into the militia movement arose from three principal sources, the openly racist, anti-semitic Christian Identity movement, the conspiratorialist, paranoid Christian Patriot movement, which incorporates a tacitly white supremacist ideology of "Constitutionalism", and the theocratic, repressive anti-gay and anti-woman Christian Reconstructionist and Christian Right forces. To these fascist elements were added a more mass base drawn from "wise use" anti-environmental forces and Second Amendment groups opposed to gun control. Shortly after the Ruby Ridge stand-off between the FBI and white supremacist Randy Weaver, a meeting convened in Estes Park Colorado by Christian Identity "pastor" Pete Peters drew more than 150 participants,

LINK UP IN MILITIAS

GUN OWNERS OF AMERICA

Pratt's group is a national fundraising organization and lobby to the right of the NRA. A supporter and originator of the militias, GOA provided funds to help elect several pro-militia Congress-members in 1994.

Larry Pratt

Former adviser to the Reagan and Bush administrations on Latin America, Pratt is a bridge between the old right, the Christian reconstructionist, and racist, neo-nazi forces. His book, "Armed People Victorious" details the use of reactionary militias in Guatemala and the Philippines to enhance the repressive reach of the army and the state.

ENGLISH FIRST

Another of Pratt's operations, again to the right even of US English, has ties to some of the most reactionary forces in the anti-immigrant movement

S.P.I.K.E.

Specially Prepared Individuals for Key Events is Bo Gritz's attempt to provide Green Beret training and national paramilitary organization into "A-teams" for the Christian patriots.

Bo Gritz

Ex-Green Beret, one-time running mate for David Duke and former Populist Party presidential candidate is conducting paramilitary training at 10 locations around the country.

FREE MILITIA: WISCONSIN

Led by Matt Trehwella, this state militia is one that got organized principally as an anti-abortion force. Militia forces in Wisconsin have also been in the forefront of opposition to native sovereignty and treaty rights.

CHRISTIAN RIGHT

Ranging from Pat Robertson's Christian Coalition, committed to whatever cosmetic changes are necessary to play in the big leagues of the political mainstream, through other big national organizations like Focus on the Family, this movement has provided a conduit for anti-semitic and clerical fascist views into the dominant political agenda. Many local, smaller groups, particularly devoted to anti-gay and anti-abortion causes, have developed close ties with militias and with openly racist groups.

U.S. TAXPAYERS PARTY

Promoting a third party convention in San Diego after the Republicans meet there, this pro-militia group is virulently anti-abortion. Used the CA ballot line of the racist American Independent Party initiated by George Wallace.

mostly from the racist right. At this gathering, Christian Reconstructionist Larry Pratt proposed the formation of militias as a direct action armed formation to defend gun rights, based on the model of armed Christian evangelical forces that had fought insurgencies in the Philippines and Guatemala. Pratt enjoyed solid connections and credentials with the mainstream Reagan right, and heads up both Gun Owners of America (to the right of the NRA) and English First (an anti-immigrant group to the right of US English). His militia proposal carried the day, and shortly thereafter, in the wake of the Clinton election, the Brady Bill and the Waco tragedy, the militias took off as a national phenomenon.

CALENDAR OF UPCOMING EVENTS

SEPTEMBER

Friday 9/22 7:30 p.m. Michael Novick of PART, author of *White Lies White Power*, speaks and signs copies at Modern Times Books, San Francisco (415-282-9246)

Saturday 9/23 11 a.m.-1:00 pm Michael Novick speaks and signs copies at Key Bookshop, 1800 Telegraph, Oakland (510-444-2915)

Saturday 9/23 7:00 p.m. The Rise of the Right and the Threat of Fascism; speakers at the forum include Michael Novick of PART, Tom Burghardt of BACORR, Richard Marquez, immigrant rights activist, and Luma Nichol of UFAF; at The Women's Building, 3543 18th St, San Francisco; sponsored by BACOF (415-789-8165)

Wednesday 9/27 6:00 p.m. Michael Novick of PART speaks at a dinner meeting of the San Fernando Valley chapter of the Democratic Socialists of America, at the International House of Pancakes, 6429 Van Nuys Blvd., L.A. (818-242-5482)

Saturday, 9/30 7:30 p.m. Michael Novick of PART speaks at Rock and Rap Against racism show at George Washington Community Center, 250 E. Cypress St. in Anaheim. With bands: Autonomy, THC, Armistice and Chapel; Riot Grrrl, performance art and more.

OCTOBER

Tuesday, 10/3 - Saturday 10/7 Ramona Africa tour in L.A. under auspices of L.A. Coalition to Stop the Lynching of Mumia Abu-Jamal. For more info, call the Mumia Information Network, 213-980-7889.

Friday, 10/13 - Sunday, 10/15 Midwest Anti-Fascist Network Conference, Columbus OH (Michael Novick of PART, author of *White Lies White Power* will be speaking at the conference and at Nickleby's Books in Columbus)

Friday, 10/13 - Sunday, 10/15 Northwest Coalition Against Malicious Harassment, Washington State, annual northwest conference, featuring Chip Berlet, Lenny Zeskind, and many other noted researchers and activists)

Friday, 10/13 - Sunday, 10/15 California Association of Human Rights Organizations (CAHRO) annual conference in San Francisco; focus on human relations (408-299-2206)

Friday, 10/13 - Sunday, 10/15 City of Pasadena conference against Hate Crimes, at Doubletree Hotel on Garfield Ave. in Pasadena near City Hall. Michael Gray of PART will be conducting a workshop on links between militias and hate groups.

Saturday, 10/21 9:30 am - 2:30 pm Teach-In for Mumia Abu Jamal and Political Prisoners, Against the Death Penalty; at Holman United Methodist Church, 3320 W. Adams near Arlington in L.A.. Sponsored by the Coalition to Stop the Lynching of Mumia Abu-Jamal (213-734-2302).

Friday, 10/27 - Sunday, 10/29 Midwest Radical Scholars and Activists Conference on the Rise of The Right, at Loyola U. in Chicago IL (Michael Novick of PART, author of *White Lies White Power* will speak as part of a forum on fighting fascism). (312-384-8827)

Friday, 10/27 - Sunday, 10/29 National Coalition on Police Accountability (N-COPA) Conference
International Conference Center, 4750 N. Sheridan Rd., Chicago IL (Preceded
Thursday 10/26 by the National Black Police Association's Tribunal on Police Misconduct) (312-663-5392)

NOVEMBER

Thursday 11/2 7:30 pm Valley Thursday Night Forum, Sepulveda Unitarian Universalist Society,
9550 Haskell Ave, North Hills; Michael Novick of PART, author of *White Lies White Power*,
will speak on organized white supremacist involvement in law enforcement, and on combatting police racism,
sexism, brutality and criminality. (818-762-9032)

Saturday, 11/12 Michael Novick of PART, speaks and signs copies of *White Lies White Power* at
Diesel Books in North Oakland.

Tuesday, 11/21 (tentative) The Multi-Cultural Collaborative and The Institute for the Study of the
Religious Right plan an L.A. conference on Fighting the Right (213-748-2105)

Additional events are in the process of development. If you would like a speaker or slide-show from PART, or
want to arrange a book-signing activity for Michael Novick, author of *White Lies White Power*, call PART at
310-288-5003. We are particularly interested in setting up radio and TV appearances connected to the themes in
the book: white supremacist involvement in anti-abortion, anti-gay, and other reactionary movements; police
racism; the centrality of racism and colonialism to life in the U.S.; and exposing the militias' phony opposition to
government repression and economic globalism.

For more information, write to People Against Racist Terror, (PART), at
P.O. Box 1990, Burbank CA 91507, or call the PART hotline, 310-288-5003. E-mail:
<mnovickttt@igc.apc.org>

RESPONSIBILITY

by James Snyder

It was a couple years since Martin Luther King
was murdered in Memphis. What signs had
mourners
carried? LUCIDITY NOT LUNACY.
In Jackson, even before our Freedom Summer,

Medgar Evers, and NAACP field
secretary, was gunned down one night
when getting out of his car at home. Soon after,
folksongs filled our airwaves about Medgar,

all calling our citizens together
after the high-powered gunfire. Now, at

Jackson
State University, troopers
sprayed 300 shots. Two coeds in

dormitory windows, mere onlookers, were
killed.

Dick Nixon, responsible for so many deaths,
spoke to Jackson State's president:
"Look, what are we going to do to get

more respect ... from our young people?" Our
President,
Dick Nixon, was responsible for so much death.

WHITE YOUTH ORGANIZING TO OPPOSE RACISM

"Where the really sincere whites have got to start 'proving' of themselves is not among black victims, but out on the battle lines of where America's racism really is - and that's in their own home communities; America's racism is among their own fellow whites. That's where the sincere whites who really mean to accomplish something have got to work."

-- Malcolm X

My name is Heather Martin. I am a 17 year old white female. I am interested in forming a type of organization, involving whites, that would be a step in alleviating the problem of racism in America. It's an idea that has been presented in the autobiography of Malcolm X. Since the first time I read the book one quote stuck in my head that I would like to share with you.

"I tell sincere white people, 'Work in conjunction with us -- each of us working among our own kind.' Let sincere white individuals find all other white people they can who feel as they do -- and let them form their own all-white groups to work trying to convert other white people who are thinking and acting so racist. Let sincere whites go and teach non-violence to white people."

This is what the organization would be based on. However, not only would I like for us to work on our own white identities in and among our own communities and families, but I would additionally like us to participate politically in the fight against racism, forming coalitions with groups with the same goal.

I would like to share some information with you so that you may understand my obligation to ask for your help in forming this organization. None of these following statements are meant to put down any one race or group but meant just to point out a cycle of racist incidents throughout American history.

* 70% of youth arrested are white - but only 35% of those in custody. This means only half of whites arrested are held in custody. [FBI Annual Crime Report]

* 69% of California's prisoners are African and Indigenous peoples (including Latinos).

* There are more crack addicts among the white middle class than in any other segment of the population. [Dr. Arnold Washington, Director of New York Treatment Centers]

* 80% of America's drug abusers are white and only 14% are black.

* White women have the highest percentage of cocaine pregnancies. [Children's Defense fund]

* 2/3rds of America's welfare recipients are white.

* It was merely 45 years ago that President Truman began his Federal Employee Loyalty Oath program (Executive Order 9835) to enforce employee loyalty to the U.S. government, involving anti-communist mania. This, and many other hysterical events, led to the attack on Hollywood and a blacklisting which kept many people from working in the U.S. again. This may not seem related to racism but it shows how those who threaten or are presumed to be a threat to the status quo are denied their basic rights.

* The test required for admission to all Universities of California, California State schools, and other universities, the SAT, originated from racist IQ tests directed at unwanted immigrants. The government's intent was to arrange a test that all immigrants would fail, therefore giving the government the power to deny them citizenship. An example of one question showed three women; one White, one Black, and one Latina. The test taker had to say which one was the most beautiful. The white woman was the correct answer.