

Journal of Anti-Racist Activism Research & Education

# TURNING THE TIDE

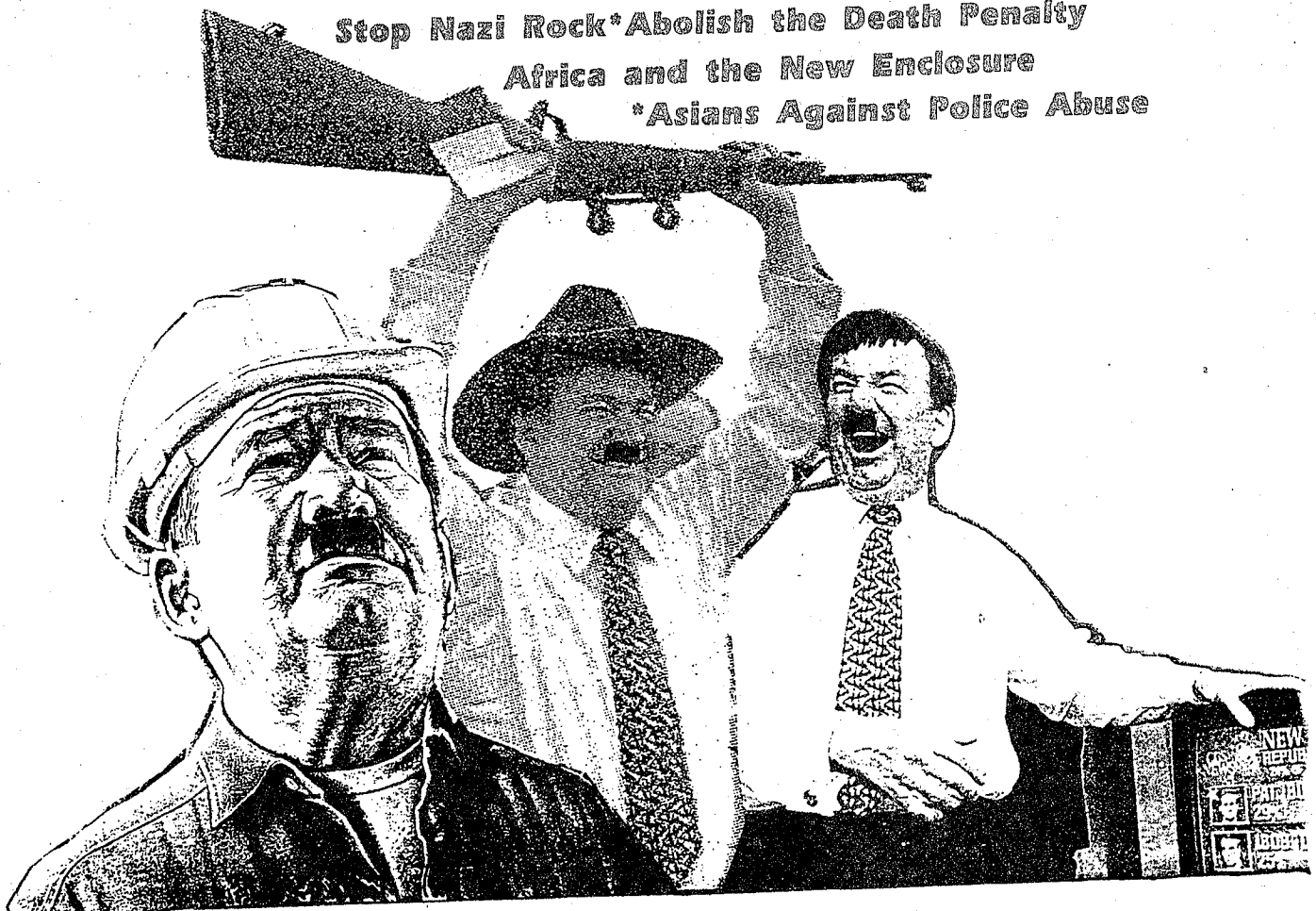
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Stop Nazi Rock\*Abolish the Death Penalty

Africa and the New Enclosure

\*Asians Against Police Abuse



# Buchanan Machoman

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# Pat Buchanan: Point Man for Fascism

By Michael Novick

Pat Buchanan got off to a fast start in a crowded field for the Republican presidential nomination. With the support of David Duke, he beat Phil Gramm in Louisiana, and parlayed that into a first place finish over Bob Dole in New Hampshire. Now, with no chance of immediate victory, he has hunkered down for the long haul of building a neo-fascist base inside and outside the G.O.P.

Buchanan has shrugged off the corporate media's scattered exposures of many of his campaign staffers' associations with white supremacists. In fact, he has turned these potshots to his advantage, as one more example of elite unfairness and proof of his "outsider" status. He simply adds them to the list of grievances and hot-button resentments that fire his campaign and attract a devoted following.

For this reason, we must get beyond name-calling. Calling Buchanan a fascist may be accurate, but it doesn't help understand how he got so far. More important, it doesn't help to stop him from getting farther. What does Buchanan's candidacy tell us about U.S. politics and society, about the media, about the nature of fascism, about the weak and opportunist state of the U.S. left? More significantly, how can anti-racist forces intervene in the political developments around Buchanan's candidacy, to advance anti-fascist and anti-racist struggle?

## WHAT IS FASCISM?

First of all, we need a clear understanding of fascism.

Fascism is an outgrowth of colonialism and empire. Specifically, fascism applies the genocidal and dictatorial methods of rule used against the colonized people, to the "internal" social, political and economic affairs of the colonizing power and the colonizing people. In the colonies, elements of the indigenous elite, along with the mass of greedy colonists, form the base for dictatorship. Their pay-off comes from the booty in land and productive enterprise which flows from the cornucopia

of colonial theft, slavery and exploitation. A similar program in the "fatherland," however, requires creating a base for dictatorship within the people who are to be victimized. To accomplish this, fascists develop the special features of the corporate state that we associate with the nazis: intense propaganda, iron organization, the incorporation of sectors of mass society into the state apparatus, under state domination and under the terms of an all-out war mobilization.

Just as Hitler denounced capitalism and communism, Buchanan may denounce the corporations and the globalists. But in reality, fascist politicians serve corporate interests, and apply the corporate model to the whole of the state and society. Fascism came to power in Germany and Italy, where the incomplete consolidation of a bourgeois empire-state domestically was thwarting ambitions for a global empire. It was a strategy for completing that consolidation domestically, and for extending it globally, by turning the state and society into a war machine.

Similarly, Buchanan is the point man today in a process of "creeping fascistization" of U.S. society. Because he has been a faithful servant of impe-

rialist interests as he sees them, and because the ruling elite feels the necessity to retain the fascist "option," Buchanan has been getting a relatively free ride, despite his complaints that everyone is ganging up on him.

What is the role of fascism in this country? The U.S. is a settler colonial society, so elements of fascism are ever present, in order to subjugate the colonized people. Racism, militarism, police state repression, domestic spying and covert operations are everywhere at hand for a demagogue like Buchanan to apply to the dominant society as they have been used against people of color. Thus, to oppose fascism, we must oppose colonialism. To expose Buchanan's demagoguery and scapegoating, we must expose the true nature of this society.

## WHITE SUPREMACY

What are the elements and bases of fascism in U.S. society, and how does Buchanan's candidacy relate to them organizationally and ideologically? First and foremost is the existence of white supremacy as both a belief system and a material, institutional reality. Buchanan has been almost unique, among "mainstream" political figures

over the past quarter century, in openly (as opposed to covertly) espousing a racial view of reality and a defense of "white interests." As a White House advisor, Buchanan urged President Nixon to oppose rather than accommodate himself to the civil rights movement. In a memo to Nixon, Buchanan suggested that "integration of blacks and whites ... is less likely to result in accommodation than it is in perpetual friction..." On another occasion, he wrote Nixon: "There is a legitimate grievance in my view of white working-class people that every time, on every issue, that the black militants loud-mouth it, we come up with more money...."

Buchanan lost his struggle in the Nixon White House for adopting open hostility towards Blacks to Pat Moynihan's strategy of "benign neglect." But he has pursued these views in his columns, his talk shows and his two national presidential campaigns. While other equally racist politicians have disciplined themselves to talk in code, Buchanan chastises that as a fatal hypocrisy which erodes white western culture. In his column, for example, Pat chided the Republican establishment for "over-reacting" to David Duke's Louisiana candidacy and his Nazi "costume". He explained his own approach to dealing with the nazi Klansman's potent electoral appeal: "Take a hard look at Duke's portfolio of winning issues and expropriate those not in conflict with GOP principles, [such as opposing] reverse discrimination against white folks." (2/25/89) White voters understand the coded racism that the other candidates speak, but some of them prefer Buchanan's more open variety. For this reason, he gets high marks in polls for "saying what he means and meaning what he says."

In his campaign, Buchanan is mainstreaming and organizing for the same racist views he has espoused in his columns.

"The War Between the States was about independence, about self-determination, about the right of a people to

break free of a government to which they could no longer give allegiance," Buchanan wrote in 1993. "How long is this endless groveling before every cry of 'racism' going to continue before the whole country collectively throws up?" he wrote in objecting to Sen. Carol Mosely Braun's blocking the granting of a patent to a Confederate battle flag pin.

Buchanan repeated these notions, along with a ringing defense of the all-male Citadel military academy, in the South Carolina primary. He opposed efforts to restrict the teaching of creationism, denounced "the false god of secular humanism" and pledged to "restore God and the Bible to its rightful place in American institutions." He has passionately defended Bob Jones University, which had its tax-exempt status stripped by the IRS in 1983 because it prohibited inter-racial dating. Buchanan declared the revocation of the tax exemption of BJU "an act of bigotry" and said that as president he would propose legislation to restore the school's tax-exempt status. He praised flying the Confederate flag over the state house, declaring at a debate that if "there is room in America for ... 'We Shall Overcome' ... there's got to be room for 'Dixie' as well."

Yet if Buchanan keeps arm's-length from David Duke, avoiding photo ops, the Republican establishment has felt no similar compunction to isolate Buchanan, even with this record of open racialism. Their denunciations of "extremism" are of his trade policy, not his racialism.

### ANTI-SEMITISM

Again, almost unique in establishment American politics, Buchanan has an openly expressed hostility toward Jews and what he perceives as Jewish interests. His racism and anti-semitism are linked. In one Nixon White House memo he wrote, "If we can give 50 Phantoms [jet fighters] to the Jews, and a multi-billion dollar welfare program for the blacks... why not help the Catho-

lics save their collapsing school system?" In a 1977 column, Buchanan wrote that Hitler was "an individual of great courage [despite his anti-Semitic and genocidal tendencies]... Hitler's success was not based on his extraordinary gifts alone. His genius was an intuitive sense of the mushiness, the character flaws, the weakness masquerading as morality that was in the hearts of the statesmen who stood in his path." Writing of "group fantasies of martyrdom," Buchanan has challenged the historical record that thousands of Jews were gassed to death by diesel exhaust at Treblinka: "Diesel engines do not emit enough carbon monoxide to kill anybody." His proof of this was a misleading article circulated by Holocaust revisionists. Buchanan's columns are in turn reprinted by the Liberty Lobby, the German American National Political Action Committee and other "holohaux" outfits.

Buchanan called for closing the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations, which prosecuted Nazi war criminals (a position promoted by leaders of the so-called Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, ex-members of the Eastern European regimes that collaborated with the nazis, who were members of Reagan's, and later Bush's "ethnic outreach" campaign staffs). He pushed President Reagan to visit Germany's Bitburg cemetery, where Nazi Waffen-SS troops were buried. According to Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR), which compiled many of the quotes from Buchanan cited here, Buchanan reportedly reminded Jewish leaders at a White House meeting that they were "Americans first" — and repeatedly scrawled the phrase "Succumbing to the pressure of the Jews" in his notebook. Buchanan was credited with crafting Ronald Reagan's line that the SS troops buried at Bitburg were "victims just as surely as the victims in the concentration camps."

More recently, Buchanan cast his opposition to the Gulf War in virtually the same terms as Tom Metzger, that it



involved in, in Guatemala, to promote the development of civilian armed patrols. These groups were armed and evangelized by U.S.

based Christian right groups, in order to supplement the repressive power of the Guatemalan dictator Efraim Rios-Montt when Congress restricted some military aid to the genocidal Guatemalan Army. Pratt's book also reported on similar efforts carried out by retired Gen. John K. Singlaub to arm and train evangelical Christian groups in the Philippines as a "counter-subversive" force under the Aquino administration.

### FOREIGN POLICY: DOMINATION, NOT ISOLATION

This also exposes the true nature of Buchanan's and Pratt's foreign policy — not isolationism, but dominationism. Pratt and Buchanan were officers of the Council on Inter-American Security, (CIS). This hard-right think tank was the author of most of Ronald Reagan's Latin American policy and repeated the favor for George Bush. The CIS has extensive ties to the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, a cult-like, anti-democratic religion which seeks political influence within the right wing movement internationally. CAUSA, a funding arm of the Moonies with big economic interests in Latin America, is one important link between the two groups. Other leading members of the CIS were Singlaub and Adolfo Calero of the Nicaraguan Contras. In addition to his efforts in the Philippines and his own involvement in the Iran-Contra affair, Singlaub is head of the former World Anti-Communist League (WACL), now re-named the World League for Freedom and Democracy. WACL was an amalgam of U.S. and European nazis and neo-nazis, Latin American death squads and Asian dictatorships.

According to anti-fascist researcher Tom Burghardt of BACORR, a close ally of Buchanan and Pratt's in

this enterprise was Anthony Bouscaren. A CIS advisor to Lt. Gen. Gordon Sumner, Jr. (USA-Ret.), chairman of the group, Bouscaren was also board member of WACL's American branch. During the 1960s, Bouscaren worked for Wycliffe Draper's Pioneer Fund, a racist organization which has bankrolled pseudo-scientific "research" which allegedly proves that blacks are genetically inferior to whites. During the 1970s, Bouscaren was a board member of the American-Chilean Council, a group which served as a public relations arm of the Pinochet death squad state. There Bouscaren worked with Ronald Docksai, the founder of the Council for Inter-American Security and with L. Francis Bouche, who would lead CIS during the 1980s.

Bouscaren published numerous articles in Roger Pearson's Journal for Social, Political and Economic Studies, after Pearson had been exposed as a Nazi by the Washington Post. (Pearson, the head of WACL and a repeated Pioneer Fund grantee, later received a plaque from Ronald Reagan.)

Bouscaren signed the "Declaration of San Salvador," as a proxy for John Singlaub. The declaration was the result of a right-wing conference held in San Salvador in 1985; it included many WACL members and focused on ways to involve civilians in anti-communist efforts. The document announced the formation of the Central American Anti-Communist Defense Accord, intended to create a combat group known as the Central American Civilian Military Alliance (CACMA), drawing on the experiences of Guatemala's notorious "Program of Assistance to Areas in Conflict" (PAAC). Inspired by the CIA's Phoenix Operation in Vietnam (which had been run by Gen. Singlaub), PAAC's "civic action" program included forced relocation of Mayan peasants into "model villages" and the creation of hated "civilian self-defense patrols." WACL, CACMA and their CIA handlers viewed these operations as a

means of generalizing and standardizing the "Guatemalan experience" throughout the region. It was this near-genocidal enterprise against the Mayan people, that served as the model, described in Pratt's book, "Armed People Victorious," for building similar "Christian militias" in the U.S. as a mechanism for applying, domestically, the mechanisms of dictatorial rule developed in the colonies.

CIS was extremely paranoid about the revolutionary potential of Latin America. The group defined Sandinista Nicaragua as "the fuse" leading to "the bomb" of Mexico. CIS was also deeply involved in counter-insurgency and political espionage efforts against the Central America solidarity and anti-intervention movements. This hostility extends to Hispanics inside the U.S.

In a paper called "Creating a Hispanic America: Nation Within a Nation?", the CIS virtually equated bilingual education and services with terrorism. "Bilingual education," it declared, "has national security implications." The paper compares the U.S. southwest to French speaking Quebec, with its potential for separatism. It sees the Mexicano and Spanish speaking population as in themselves a threat to U.S. national security and unity.

The paper also indulges in more blatant racism. It describes the Indian ancestors of Latinos as "uncivilized barbaric squatters" with "a penchant for grotesque human sacrifices, cannibalism, and kidnapping women." This is the ideology that connects Buchanan's foreign and domestic policies, and that guides English First leader Pratt in his fund-raising appeals for the English Only cause.

### ANTI-IMMIGRANT HYSTERIA

In one letter soliciting potential donors to English First, Pratt claimed, "Many immigrants these days are encouraged not to learn English. They remain stuck in a linguistic ... ghetto, living off welfare and costing

working Americans billions of tax dollars." Buchanan has embraced Pratt's anti-immigrant views, calling for a five-year freeze on all immigration. Pratt's English First group was one of two principal organizations behind the "English Only" movement, a cause to which Bob Dole has also signed on in this election year. English First promotes a race-based anti-immigrant hysteria and is, if anything, further to the right than the nexus of organizations connected to English-Only leader John Tanton (U.S. English and the Federation for American Immigration Reform), or at least more open about its rightist orientation. Gun Owners of America similarly positions itself to the right of the National Rifle Association.

The roots of U.S. English, FAIR and others of Tanton's groups, as well as those of English First, become clear when we examine the major sources of funding for the groups. Key funding for FAIR has come from the Pioneer Fund, a little known foundation dedicated to eugenics as a means of "racial betterment." Pioneer was created in 1937 to support what it called "applied eugenics in present day Germany." This was a reference to Hitler's Nazi program of forced sterilization of those judged to be "feeble-minded" or "inferior." By 1937, the violently racist, anti-semitic nature of the Nazi regime was already clear. So Pioneer's claims to support only scientific, non-racist research, is simply diversionary.

Pioneer has always been linked to the hard right in the U.S.

Directors included Rep. Frances Walter of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), and die-hard segregationist Sen.

William Eastland. In the 1970's, Pioneer funded the racist "genetics" research of William Schockley and Arthur Jensen, which purported to prove that Blacks have hereditarily lower IQ scores than whites. Jensen served on the advisory board of "Neue Anthropologie," a German neo-Nazi publication of the time.

Pioneer's support for FAIR and Tanton's other groups, which are unrelated to genetics, expose the racist thinking behind the fund. John Trevor, an officer of the Pioneer Fund, testified in Congress against repealing the racial preferences in U.S.

immigration law (enacted in the 1920's at the height of Ku Klux Klan influence and anti-immigrant organizing). Trevor warned that eliminating the preference for Northern Europeans would produce "a conglomeration of racial and ethnic elements" and "a serious cultural decline."

In addition to Tanton's groups, Pioneer also funded the work of Roger Pearson. His book "Eugenics and Race," promoted the "Aryan superiority" theories of Hans Gunther, a racial theorist acclaimed in the Third Reich. This and similar pseudo-science funded by Pioneer formed the basis for the more recent book "The Bell Curve," promoting the idea that differences in "intelligence," and in social standing, are based on genetic differences between the races. Pearson, who had a history of racist activity going back to 1956, later became a national and international leader of the World Anti-Communist League. This takes us full-circle back to Pratt's milieu. (It should be noted, incidentally, that Thomas Ellis, the head of the Pioneer Fund during the 1970's is today a presidential campaign adviser himself — but not to Buchanan. Ellis reports to Steve Forbes!)

Buchanan's anti-Latino racism extends far beyond immigrants.

In a 1/23/95 column opposing affirmative action he wrote: "How, then, can the feds justify favoring sons of Hispanics over sons of white Americans who fought in World War II or Vietnam?" Buchanan's racism blinds him to the reality that Mexicans and Puerto Ricans, colonized by the U.S. and incorporated into its armed forces, had the highest casualty rates of almost any group of soldiers in World War II, Korea and Vietnam.

## RACIST, SEXIST, ANTI-GAY

Buchanan's and Pratt's Christian-based anti-gay and anti-woman bigotry also draws them toward the fascist right. Christian Identity leader "Reverend" Pete Peters, with whom Pratt has repeatedly associated himself, is a major ideological spokesperson of Christian bigotry against gays. He wrote a book (dedicated to his "friend the Colonel," Bo Gritz, former Populist presidential candidate, called "The Death Penalty for Homosexuals, Prescribed in the Bible." Peters was found liable for violating fair election practices laws after putting money raised by his "church" into an anti-gay electoral campaign in support of a Colorado state proposition.

As in Oregon and Nevada, such anti-gay organizing has led to violence. Ruth Williams, a psychotherapist who had displayed a pro-gay rights bumper sticker on her car during the campaign, was beaten unconscious in her office. Crosses were cut in her skin and Christian slogans spraypainted on the office walls, which was ransacked. The head librarian at Colorado College, who had displayed a "Vote No on 2" placard in his yard, had his tires slashed, windows smashed a shot fired into his car. A book seller involved with the Citizens Project, a main group opposing the anti-gay initiative, had his business repeatedly vandalized.

As in Oregon, cars with pro-gay rights bumper stickers were run off the road. In one Colorado case, the driver of the other vehicle held up a sign reading "Lesbo" at the woman he had forced off I-25. Practically everyone who wrote letters to the editor of local papers opposing the anti-gay initiative received harassing, anti-gay calls, sometimes death threats.

Such violence has not led Buchanan to even moderate his anti-gay rhetoric. In a 1977 column urging a "thrashing" of gay groups, Buchanan wrote: "Homosexuality is not a civil right. Its rise almost always is accom-

...continued on p. 49 ...

**Prison labor is a hot ticket for businesses seeking cheap help,  
but is the payoff worth it?**

## **DOING TIME, 9 TO 5**

By Steven Elbow

At Oakhill Correctional Institution in rural Dane County, 17 inmates crank \$1.15 million worth of office chairs a year out of a cramped basement factory, making anywhere between 20 cents and \$1.50 per hour. The money is put toward release savings, victim restitution and court obligations such as child support. The inmates can spend what's left.

The operation is part of Badger State Industries, Wisconsin's prison industries program, which employs about 600 of Wisconsin's 10,000 inmates to produce everything from coffee cups to furniture—and, of course, license plates. Last year, Badger State earned \$1.2 million in profits on \$15.4 million in sales by peddling its products to state and local government agencies. To protect manufacturers and labor from unfair competition, Wisconsin places restrictions on the selling of prison-made goods to the private sector. But that's about to change. The new state budget includes a scheme to make prison facilities and labor available to commercial enterprises.

This, says Gov. Tommy Thompson, will help pay for the costs of housing the escalating prison population and provide prisoners with a work ethic. What Thompson didn't mention was that the legislation will embed prison industries in the private sector, which in other states has led to downward pressure on wages and to lost jobs for Joe and Jill Taxpayer. A few years ago, when the country was locked in a recession, it was unlikely that the Legislature would have even considered expanding prison industries into the private sector. Now that unemployment is at a record low, and jobs are begging for takers, lawmakers seem to be making up for lost time. Wisconsin is about to join the burgeoning market of commercialized prison industry.

### **PONIES FOR EDDIE BAUER**

Make no mistake about it, prison industries are big business. The \$1.3 billion of sales nationwide in 1993 is expected to increase to a whopping \$8.9 billion by the year 2000, according to the Prison Industries Reform Alliance — a group that represents industries

such as furniture, textiles and electronics that have suffered from prison competition. Prison industries provide so many goods and services that most Americans have probably encountered them, whether they know it or not.

Tennessee inmates produce jeans for Kmart and JC Penney and wooden rocking ponies for trendy Eddie Bauer (list price \$80).

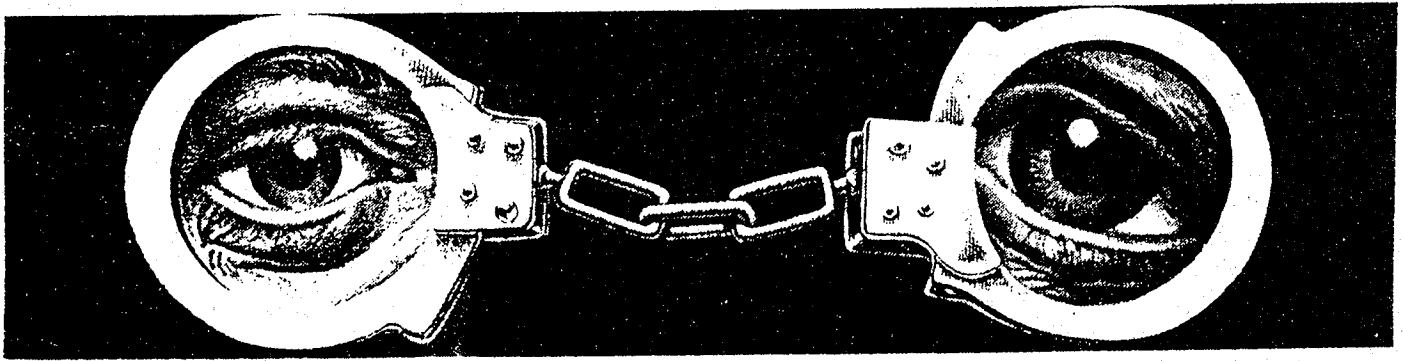
Some states produce toys, and many produce mattresses. Until last year, 150 Ohio inmates made car parts for Honda. Oregon inmates make uniforms for McDonald's. In Nevada, inmates convert luxury cars into stretch limousines. And nearly all of the programs produce furniture, the largest component of prison industries nationwide.

Inmates also book rooms for motel chains and take reservations for Trans World Airlines (yes, they do take credit card numbers — and yes, there have been embarrassing incidents).

In Kansas, they process Social Security numbers. In Iowa, they work for the Department of Tourism's Information Bureau, boosting the same state

that locked them away. A number of states, among them Iowa and Nebraska, rent their inmates out as telemarketers.

Many states, including Florida, Minnesota and Oregon, have turned over the administration of their prison industries programs to quasi-private, nonprofit agencies that more resemble diversified corporations than corrections programs. For example, UNIGROUP, Oregon's state prison industry administration, produces such familiar items as Prison Blues jeans, which are sold in nearly 500 stores nationwide. The jeans sell at prices comparable to Levis and have become a trendy export item in France, Germany, Italy and Japan, where the price can reach \$80 a pair. By the year 2000, UNIGROUP plans to employ 450 inmates in the production of \$26 million in denim clothing. The program's administrators also plan to sell furniture products under the Mill Creek brand name to 500 stores this year. Oregon has recently begun advertising its labor force and production facilities to businesses that it claims would otherwise go overseas for cheaper labor. The



state is also unique in that a constitutional amendment to put 100% of its state inmates to work was voted in by an overwhelming majority last year, giving further impetus to expansion plans.

### UNFAIR COMPETITION?

The growth of prison industries has fueled opposition from labor and business groups across the country. The AFL-CIO has been pushing for restrictions that would limit prison industries to selling to the public sector in states like Ohio, Texas, Nevada, and Florida, where state prison industries have made substantial headway into the commercial marketplace. "Prison labor is one thing," says Phil Neuenfeldt, legislative director for the Wisconsin AFL-CIO, "but prison labor that provides unfair labor to the outside world and keeps pressure on wages downward is not a good thing. When you look at what's going on around the country, like some of the inmates that are being used to assemble PC boards for Lockhart industries, that costs 150 workers their jobs down in Texas."

Other examples abound. In Ari-

zona, where a hog slaughtering plant closed down, putting United Food and Commercial workers out of work, prison industry looked suspiciously like a union-busting mechanism. The plant subsequently reopened—as a joint venture between the Arizona Department of Corrections and the state's Pork Producers Association. In Aurora, Ill., in a minimum-security arrangement, inmates have replaced an entire third shift at the local Toys R Us, stocking shelves and sweeping up.

In Utah, inmate labor has crippled the private-sector asbestos-removal industry. "We find it ironic that they are putting an industry out of business that they are purportedly training people to work in," said Steven Crawley, an attorney for the Utah Asbestos Abatement Contractors' Association, which is suing Utah Correctional Industries on the claim it has illegally taken over the industry.

### JACOBS' CONTROVERSIAL PLAN

But labor's concerns seem to be low on Gov. Thompson's agenda. Aside from the budget proposal, Thompson

has proposed separate legislation that would authorize Irwin Jacobs, a Minnesota entrepreneur who with his colleagues contributed \$40,000 to Thompson's reelection campaign (only a month after one of his companies landed a \$30 million loan from the State Investment Board), to use prison labor to repackage damaged retail goods. Corrections officials are quick to cite a statewide labor shortage to justify deals such as the Jacobs bill.

Employers are having trouble finding people to work, they point out. But Neuenfeldt shoots back: "If Jacobs wants to bring 50 jobs to Wisconsin, it would be good to open up an operation in central-city Milwaukee or somewhere else in the state where we have high unemployment." And I would think that the business community, especially small business, would have some concern over businesses set up using prison labor, because if this guy pays a dollar an hour it's pretty hard to compete with that," he adds.

If the Jacobs legislation passes as currently written, Jacobs will indeed pay inmates \$1 per hour, skirting a federal interstate commerce law that requires that prisoners working for com-

mercial ventures be paid prevailing wage. "Federal law only applies to the production or manufacturing of a product," says Steve Kronzer, director of Badger State Industries. "If they started repairing then it would be considered manufacturing, and then it would come under the federal law."

The Jacobs plan demonstrates the enthusiasm with which the Department of Corrections is expanding into the private sector — even at the expense of profits. "The whole reason for doing this thing is so the state gets money back to cover its losses for boarding these people," says Neuenfeldt. But, the labor rep says, some basic math shows that the savings would be minimal, possibly nonexistent.

The 50 inmates involved would be paid \$1 per hour for 1,950 hours. This would cost Jacobs \$97,500 a year in wages. Thus, each inmate would be paid about \$2,000 a year. Fifteen percent of that would go to the corrections system, and another 5% would go to the victim-restitution fund. The state's 15% comes to \$14,625, plus an estimated \$8,000 savings from wages the state would no longer pay the inmates who would otherwise be employed in other ventures. So the state gain would be around \$27,525. But the state would also have to pay for a supervisor, which the AFL-CIO estimates will cost \$17,800. This brings the state's take down to \$9,725. Subtract the costs of facility adjustments and security measures, and "the Jacobs bill could even be a money-losing proposition," says Neuenfeldt.

So why do it? "You have to understand the mentality that goes on within the prison industries itself," says Nick George, director of government relations for Wisconsin Manufacturers and Commerce. George served on a prison industries advisory committee that discussed the governor's budget proposals. "In prison industries, there is a mentality, and this is not unique to Wisconsin, of wanting to see their industries grow," he explains.

"They have a number of advan-

tages over private industry, and a lot of the individuals who run these prison industries have an empire-building attitude."

### GOOD FOR OFFENDERS?

As much skepticism as this attitude invites, there's a case to be made that commercialized prison work is worthwhile simply as a boon to rehabilitation. "Working is really good for offenders," says Walter Dickey, a former top state prison official who teaches corrections and criminal law at UW-Madison.

"First, they get to earn some money. Second, it's an activity, and that's good. Third, and probably most important of all, the development of work habits is essential to successfully reentering the workforce." Dickey explains: "Learning discipline, how to follow directions, how to work with others — these are really important habits. Many prisoners don't have them because they haven't worked a lot."

Badger State Industries has proven to be somewhat successful in helping inmates stay out of prison after they've served out their sentences. In one study, inmates who worked for BSI had a 15% lower recidivism rate after three years than those who hadn't. According to BSI's Kronzer, other studies have come to the same conclusion—"people who worked for prison industries tended to do better than normal."

In Wisconsin, the results are probably due largely to the fact that BSI's 10 factories hire workers and run their businesses as if they were private-sector ventures, which helps inmates gear up for similar situations they will encounter in society. Prisoners fill out applications, and are called for interviews on the basis of their work history. "We try to make it a real-life job experience," says Robert Smith, who was recruited from a furniture company to manage the chair factory at Oakhill.

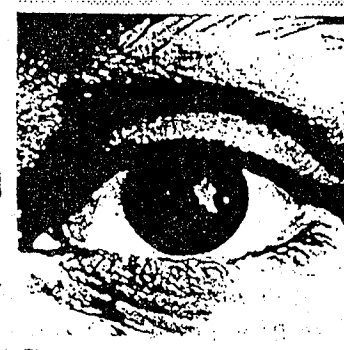
But making prison work too businesslike could be counterproductive,

says Dickey, because it results in prison industries cherry-picking the best prisoners. "Now the best employees are not necessarily the ones who need the work experience the most," he says. To maximize rehabilitation, Dickey favors running as many prisoners as possible through the jobs. "But you lose efficiency and you lose productivity when you're constantly in a state of training," Dickey says. "I guess where I come out on this one is that we should really abandon the idea that these [industries] are moneymakers."

### PRISONERS GALORE

Moneymakers or not, these programs won't be lacking for applicants. Because of recent initiatives such as "truth in sentencing," "three strikes and you're out" and limitations on parole, the growth in the prison population has been nothing short of explosive. In 1987, state and federal prisons housed 551,328 inmates. Since then that number has doubled, and by the year 2000, more than 1,700,000 inmates will be housed in the nation's state and federal correctional institutions. Wisconsin's prison population is expected to nearly double, from 8,948 inmates in 1994 to 15,846 by the year 2000, according to the Department of Corrections. And this projection does not factor in the influx of juvenile offenders into the adult prison system as the result of a new law that treats 17-year-old offenders as adults.

What to do with the expanding prison population is a perplexing problem. Consider that of the state's approximate 10,000 prisoners today, 1,500 are on "idle status," meaning they have no scheduled activity to keep them busy. But while putting prisoners to work might be a quick fix to the problem, the costs to businesses and working people hurt by the competition might prove too onerous. Even some inmates are skeptical of prison industries. "It's positive that you can make some money before you get out and stuff," says Dale Austin, an upholstery sewer at Oakhill



If you don't know that people are dying from racism, sexism, homophobia, and ecocide in America, you must have been watching network television, listening to top 40 radio and reading the U.S. daily press

**Hear nothing    Speak nothing    See nothing?    Do Something**

who is serving a 10-year sentence for burglary. "But it also takes away a lot of jobs from people on the streets."

Austin, who says he buys books on politics with the money he earns, sees a grand scheme in bringing private business into prisons. "They're gonna open up more industries and build more prisons. And the more industries you got in prisons takes away from people's jobs on the streets. And it takes away from the cost of sending businesses overseas." The object, says Austin, is to lower domestic labor costs. "They get lower labor costs right here in, like, a little Third World country," he says, referring to Oakhill.

**WORKING ON A CHAIN GANG**

Chain gangs are the latest (and oldest) prison work programs. Reinstated recently in Alabama and Arizona, shackled gangs are also under study in Florida, West Virginia ... and Wisconsin. State Sen. Scott Fitzgerald (R-Ju-neau) and State Rep.

Eugene Hahn (R-Cambria) are proposing to begin the practice in Badgerland. "Wisconsin correctional officials report that there are not enough jobs for prisoners. This legislation rem-

edies this problem," Fitzgerald said in a press release. [He refused to talk to Isthmus because of his unhappiness with a story the paper carried about his father, Dodge County Sheriff Stephen Fitzgerald, who exonerated a deputy who mistakenly shot and killed a Beaver Dam man ("They Shot Daddy," 6/30/95).] And in his own press release, Hahn said, "Alabama puts 400 of the state's inmates to work using chain gangs. That's 400 inmates who won't want to be back in prison." Hahn cited the example of John Wayne Bobbitt, who, facing jail for \$30,000 in delinquent child-support payments, said he planned to "kick back, read a couple of books and take it easy."

"We could put deadbeats like him on I-90/94 picking up trash all day," said Hahn, "and maybe they'd be on time with their payments." While putting John Bobbitt on chain-gang duty might elicit few sympathetic outcries, the efficacy of the program is not universally accepted. "What miserable stuff," says state Rep.

Tammy Baldwin, former chair of the Assembly Corrections Committee. Baldwin says that for security reasons maximum-security prisoners would not be sent on chain gangs. That leaves

medium- and minimum-security inmates, many of whom escaped maximum-security status by behaving themselves, for the work.

"There is a system of rewards, and it's there for a reason," says Baldwin. "And putting people on chain gangs when they're on medium or minimum status is the converse of rewarding good behavior."

Inmates already work cleaning up parks, painting shelters and benches and otherwise contributing to communities, says Baldwin. "The only difference with this is they're going to have to be in shackles when they do it." Although corrections officials declined comment on the proposed legislation, saying they'd rather wait until they see the actual language, Baldwin says her understanding is that they believe they can get better work out of an unshackled prisoner than a shackled one.

Nevertheless, the image of a shackled prisoner baking in the hot sun or freezing in the winter wind seems to have a nearly romantic appeal for some. Maybe Hahn, as the chair of the Assembly Committee on Tourism and Recreation, feels that highly visible chain gangs will draw tourists to China.

Welcome to Wisconsin.

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# Free The Puerto Rican Political Prisoners And Prisoners Of War!

By ProLIBERTAD

Campaign For The Freedom Of Puerto Rican Political Prisoners And Prisoners Of War

Who are the Puerto Rican political prisoners and prisoners of war?

They are workers and professionals, students and teachers, community organizers, artists, mothers and fathers of families.

And they are fighters for Puerto Rico's independence and social justice. These men and women found Puerto Rico's colonial reality intolerable and unacceptable. This situation led them to join the Puerto Rican independence movement and to confront the United States government directly. The majority of the political prisoners have spent more than a decade in federal prisons for their political activities.

During the 1970's and the beginning of the 80's, the prisoners were involved in community, union, student and political struggles in Puerto Rico and in the United States. They fought for the people's right to high quality, free education.

They worked to create community institutions such as alternative education programs, child-care centers, health centers, housing cooperatives, recreational facilities and political organizations. They participated actively in churches, student groups, unions, professional associations, committees against repression, campaigns against youth violence and drugs. In summary they challenged the U.S. political system in many ways.

Throughout their lives they suffered the Puerto Rican colonial reality and the consequences of their political and community involvement. They were fired from their jobs, kicked out of schools and universities, denied scholarships, threatened, spied on, attacked by the police and the FBI. And when they rose up and fought against these injustices they were branded as terrorists and placed in some of the worst prisons in the U.S.

## Puerto Rico's Colonial Case

Puerto Rico has been a colony for 500 years, first of Spain and then of

the United States. In 1898, at the conclusion of what is called the Spanish-American War, Spain was forced to cede the island nation to the United States pursuant to a treaty between Spain, France and the United States. No one consulted the people of Puerto Rico, in violation of a Charter of Autonomy signed by Spain and Puerto Rico which provided that the island's status could not be altered without consulting the Puerto Rican people.

The U.S. military declared martial law, installed a U.S. governor, and began a program to alter and destroy the fiber of Puerto Rico. Over the years, the U.S. destroyed Puerto Rico's agrarian economy; devalued its money; imposed citizenship on its people to facilitate drafting its men into the U.S. army to fight the U.S.'s wars; imposed the teaching of the English language and U.S. history on its students; polluted its air, land, and water; sterilized its women; and installed 21 U.S. military bases on some of the best land. This would sound outrageous and unbelievable, except that this is the very same U.S. government that exposed unsuspecting citizens to radiation, as recent reports have disclosed.

Puerto Rico's colonial reality cannot be overlooked. George Bush admitted during his presidency that Puerto Rico's people had never been consulted on their status. Even Pedro Rossello,

the colonial governor, called attention to Puerto Rico's colonial status in testimony before the United Nations in 1993.

As with any people of one nation dominated by another, there have always been Puerto Ricans who resisted the U.S. government's control of their nation's sovereignty. Their resistance, whether the mere advocacy of independence or the taking up arms against the colonizer, has been censored and criminalized, punished throughout the years by harassment, surveillance, imprisonment, and even summary execution. The examples are numerous. Some recent examples include: in 1979 two pro-independence youth were assassinated at Cerro Maravilla by the police after an undercover agent set up a trap and the Puerto Rican government participated in the cover-up that ensued; in 1987 it was discovered that the Puerto Rican police in collaboration with repressive U.S. agencies had maintained a list of so called "subversives" along with over 135,000 files on Puerto Rican citizens for strictly political reasons in clear violation of the Puerto Rican Constitution; in September 1994 an ex-member of the intelligence division of the Puerto Rican Police was arrested and accused of (along with other members of his division) kidnapping, torturing, and the assassinating the labor leader, Juan Rafael Caballero.



International law denounces colonialism as a crime and recognizes a colonized people's right to end colonialism by any means at their disposal. The United Nations recognizes that these laws apply to the case of Puerto Rico. For many years now, the United Nations' Decolonization Committee has approved resolutions recognizing the inalienable right of Puerto Rico's people to independence and self-determination.

The actions of the Puerto Rican political prisoners are comparable to those of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.

Washington and Jefferson denounced the tyranny of British control over their colonies. They fought for the principle of democracy, and gained independence. Similarly, the U.S. government recognized that Nelson Mandela's imprisonment by the South African apartheid government was unjust. Mandela was jailed for 27 years on charges of attempting to overthrow the apartheid government through violent means. Like Washington, Jefferson and Mandela before them, the Puerto Rican political prisoners are conscientious activists for freedom and justice, not criminals.

### The Arrests

In a series of arrests carried out between 1980 and 1985 around 30 people were accused of acting or conspiring to overthrow the authority of the U.S. government in Puerto Rico through force, in other words acting in favor of Puerto Rico's independence and self-determination. At the beginning of the 1980's fourteen people accused of being members of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN, its acronym in Spanish) were arrested. At the time of their arrest they declared themselves to be combatants in an anti-colonial war to liberate Puerto Rico from U.S. domination and invoked prisoner of war status. They argued that the U.S. courts and its political subdivisions did not have jurisdiction to try them as criminals and petitioned for their cases to be handed over to an international,

impartial court that would determine their status. The U.S. government did not recognize their request. Today these individuals are serving sentences of 35 to 90 years.

On August 30, 1985, hundreds of FBI agents descended on Puerto Rico and searched the houses and offices of independence supporters. Thirteen people were arrested that day, and three others later on. These people were immediately removed from Puerto Rico in military transport and moved to the United States where they were held in preventative detention, some for as long as three years, without bail being set. They were accused of conspiring to rob \$7.5 million from Wells Fargo, an action for which the clandestine group "Los Macheteros" had taken responsibility. The charges included transporting the money outside the United States and using the money to buy and distribute toys to poor Puerto Rican children. Of the accused, one was found innocent and the government dropped charges against another one. The rest of the accused were sentenced to between five and 55 years. Seven of them have already completed their sentences or are about to complete them.

### Punitive Sentences

The sentences received by these Puerto Rican patriots are excessive and punitive. The goal is to punish political activity, militancy, and affiliation. Ten of the fourteen arrested between 1980 and 1983 were sentenced to serve terms of between 55 and 90 years. The average sentence among this group is 71.6 years: 70.8 years for the men and 72.8 years for the women. These sentences are 19 times longer than the average sentence given out during the year that they were sentenced. The majority are serving the equivalent of a life sentence. Of those that were arrested as a result of the Wells Fargo case, two were sentenced to more than 50 years in prison.

Common prisoners, those who commit criminal offenses, receive sentences that are much shorter. For example, statistics from the federal court

system show that between 1966 and 1985 the average sentence for all those people found guilty of murder was 22.7 years; of rape, 12.5 years; of violation of arms laws, 12 years. Only 12.8% of all federal prisoners have sentences of more than 20 years. (1) Also the statistics show that those people with previous criminal records receive longer sentences. None of the Puerto Rican patriots in prison had a prior criminal record at the time of their arrest.

In reality, the longest time served by any prisoners in federal custody is for kidnapping: 5.3 years. (2) A study shows that those persons sentenced by state courts for serious violent crimes served between 2.5 and 4 years. Fourteen of the Puerto Rican Political Prisoners have already served between 11 and 15 years in prison. The political nature of these sentences is made evident by comparing them to the preferential treatment given to people linked to right-wing, anti-communist, or anti-abortion groups accused of violent crimes. For example in 1976 Orlando Letelier, a leader in the movement against the Pinochet dictatorship in Chile, and his assistant, were assassinated by a bomb that was placed in Letelier's car which was parked in front of his residence in Washington, D.C. The agent of the Chilean secret police who admitted to having placed the bomb was sentenced to 10 years in prison, of which he served 5 years and two months. A major in the Chilean army received a sentence of 7 years for his role in the assassination and a Cuban exile who admitted his role in the plot received a 12 year sentence.

A Ku Klux Klan Wizard, who was captured in a boat with an arsenal of arms and explosives while attempting to invade a Caribbean island with the goal of establishing a white supremacist state received a three year sentence and was freed on parole after two years. (3) Another Klan leader received a sentence of three years for possession of an arsenal and for conspiracy. This same man was later sentenced to three more years in prison for attempted murder and racial harassment

after shooting at two black men. (4)

Two women anti-abortion activists sentenced for conspiring in a series of Florida bombings including a doctor's office and a women's clinic, were put on probation and received a small fine.

Their male co-conspirators received ten years in prison and a fine for three of the explosions, and were not tried for the fourth explosion. (5) Michael Donald Bray who was found guilty of bombing ten clinics was sentenced to ten years and was set free after serving 3.7 years. (6)

### Human Rights Violations

During their imprisonment, the Puerto Rican political prisoners have been the objects of cruel treatment and degrading and inhumane conditions, because of their political beliefs. This is direct violation of international norms which prohibit discriminatory treatment of prisoners by prison personnel based on their political beliefs or opinions. [United Nations' Minimum Uniform Rules on the Treatment of Prisoners (UNSMRTP), Rule A1 6 (1)]

Federal regulations stipulate that prisoners should be put in prisons as close as possible to their homes and families.

Nevertheless the Puerto Rican political prisoners have been kept far from their families and communities in the United States and/or Puerto Rico. For example, all those arrested on August 30, 1995 in Puerto Rico have had to serve their sentences in the United States despite the existence of a federal prison in Puerto Rico. Adolfo Matos is assigned to a prison in Southern California even though there is a prison very close to where his family lives in New York. Elizam Escobar has requested a transfer to a prison near to New York to be closer to his son, who lives in New York City. Although hundreds of prisoners have been assigned to prisons in the New York area, Elizam has been denied a transfer on the grounds of overcrowding. Further, the political prison-

ers have been moved around continually to different maximum security prisons without prior warning to their families and/or lawyers.

Some of the prisoners have been attacked sexually. For example, Alejandrina Torres was attacked by personnel in three different prisons. The first assault took place when she was locked in a men's unit, permitting the men to exhibit themselves in front of her. In a second incident, a male lieutenant forced her to put her head between his knees and observed while female guards tore off her clothes and left her naked. The authorities responded to complaints by putting Alejandrina in solitary confinement, prohibiting from calling her family and lawyer to denounce the abuses. She was penalized for violating prison rules, and a secret letter was written to a judge assigned to her case, giving a false version of the events. In another prison, female guards held her while a male guard inserted his fingers in her vagina and her anus during a "search". The warden who ordered the search admitted later that he did not suspect Alejandrina of having contraband, and that the search was in violation of prison rules.

Even though U.S. law stipulates that prisoners should receive medical service equal to that of the standards available to the general community, the Puerto Rican political prisoners have been denied adequate medical attention. For example, Haydee Beltran was left sterile after prison officials refused treatment for an inflammation of the pelvis for five years, ignoring episodes of drastic weight loss and severe pains in her pelvis which did not permit her to stand up.

Some of the prisoners have been locked in an underground prison with the goal of destroying them physically, psychologically, and politically. For example, Oscar Lopez, who was in a maximum security prison in Marion, IL, (and now in Florence, CO) wrote in 1993:

"I am enclosed in a cell that is 8

feet wide by 9 feet long on an average of 22 hours each day. Today while I write this letter I have been 36 hours without going out and tomorrow if they do not take us out it will have been three days without moving from this same space. In this little space I have to do everything. From eating my meals to taking care of my needs. So it is my dining room and latrine at the same time. My bed is a slab of cement.

And the whole cell is painted the same dead yellow color. From an aesthetic point of view it is as attractive as a jail for zoo animals."

In their 1987 report, the organization Amnesty International condemned the conditions at Marion saying:

"In Marion, violations of the Minimum Standard Rules [of the United Nations for the treatment of prisoners] are common. There is almost no rule in the Minimum Standard Rules that is not broken in one form or another..."

The 1990 report by the House of Representatives' Sub-committee on Courts, Intellectual Property and the Administration of Justice expresses "concern [...] about the amount of time that the prisoners spend in their cells in relative isolation and the limited opportunities for productive activity and recreation available in a highly controlled environment." And the necessity to "continue developing a more humane focus for the imprisonment of prisoners in a maximum security prison."

From 1986 to 1988 Alejandrina Torres was put in a Maximum Security Unit for women in Lexington, KY. Acknowledging the ideological character of the assignment to this unit, a federal judge stated in *Baraldini vs. Meese*:

"One thing is to place persons under greater security because they have histories of escape attempts and pose special risks for our correctional facilities. But consigning anyone to a high security unit for past political associations which they will never shed

unless forced to renounce them is a dangerous mission for this country's prison system to continue."

Amnesty International concluded in 1988 that the conditions and diet in this unit were "deliberately and gratuitously oppressive."

The UNSMRTP states clearly that prisoners should be allowed to communicate with their family and friends, including visits, and that "prison personnel should be responsible for assuring and improving [the relations of] prisoners" with their families.

Federal regulations and the U.S. Prison Board Rules repeat the same thing (28 CFR Sec.540.40). Nevertheless Oscar Lopez Rivera was not permitted any visit that involved physical contact. Some of the prisoners have to submit to a search before and after visits by their families even though they only see them through a glass window and speak to them by telephone. Some of the prisoners are restricted to visits by their immediate family members. While Alejandrina Torres was in Lexington her son-in-law and grandchildren were not included in this definition of immediate family used by the prison authorities. Carlos Alberto Torres, Haydee Torres, Ida Luz Rodriguez and Alejandrina Torres have suffered through periods from months to years where communication with anyone outside of their immediate family has been prohibited. Many requests for visits by different friends have been denied and political literature has been censored.

In the United States common prisoners are allowed to visit an immediate family member who is dying or to attend his or her funeral. This gesture of decency has been denied the Puerto Rican Political Prisoners. When Carmen Valentin's father died, she was not allowed to attend the funeral, even though her family was willing to pay all the expenses of the trip. Ricardo Jimenez' mother died without having seen him after having endured cancer for two years which prevented her from visiting him in prison.

Elizam Escobar could not visit his

father while he was sick nor was he allowed to attend his funeral.

### Join The Campaign

As responsible people, concerned with the situation in our community, in our country and in other countries in the world, we have lifted our voices to protest many problems and injustices.

The president of the United States has the constitutional power to unconditionally pardon the Puerto Rican political prisoners. The power that the Constitution gives him to pardon people who have acted or conspired against the U.S. government has been used in the past to pardon, among others, Confederate soldiers who were charged with treason during the Civil War, socialists charged with organizing armed resistance to the draft during the First World War, and the five Puerto Rican nationalists who were charged with shooting at the Blair House in Washington, DC. in 1950 and at the U.S. Congress in 1954.

The time has come for us to publicly denounce the human rights violations committed against those Puerto Ricans who have struggled for the independence of their country and to demand their unconditional amnesty. This campaign is based in principles of justice that are important to all of us:

- Self-determination is a basic right of all people;

- The sentences imposed on the Puerto Rican political prisoners are excessive and disproportionate;

- The Puerto Rican political prisoners have been the object of abusive prison conditions which have violated their human rights;

- The Puerto Rican political prisoners have served more time than is demanded of most prisoners, including those who have been charged with murder.

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# The IMF & the Debt:

## Africa and the New Enclosures

by Silvia Federici

[Ed. note: The Nigerian execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and other Ogoni-land environmental activists has drawn world-wide attention to the repression of Africans struggling against the penetration of their continent by multi-national corporations like Shell Oil. Similarly, the recent visit of Min. Louis Farrakhan to Nigeria, Zaire and other repressive African regimes has underlined the existence of African neo-colonial forces that collaborate in and reap huge rewards from the exploitation of Africa's land and people. Turning the Tide is printing here excerpts from an incisive paper that illuminates the material basis of African resistance to imperialism and neo-colonialism, as well as the intense repression of that struggle. It also underscores the continuing role of the privatization of land in the development and growth of the capitalist and imperialist system on a world scale.]

### Who Owns the Land? The African Village: A "Community of Resistance"

In most of Africa, communal claims to the land still live, for colonial domination failed to destroy (to a degree unmatched in any other part of the world) pre-existing communal relations, beginning with people's relation to the land. This is a factor bemoaned by leftist and rightist developers alike as the main reason for Africa's economic "backwardness." The Economist magazine spelled out in a "Nigeria Survey" (May 3, 1986) how crucial "the land question" is. In a section titled "The Capitalist Flaw," we read that:

with two exceptions, Kenya and Zimbabwe, (which) were both subjected to farming by white men under European laws of ownership and inheritance, practically everywhere in the African continent, customary land-use laws prevail, which recognize ancient, communal rights to the land.

This means, the Economist reports, that a prospective investor must negotiate with and pay to the community "for

each tree, for firewood rights, for the grazing of women's goats, for grandfather's grave." This is true even in countries like Nigeria, where the state nationalized all the land in 1978. To illustrate this "scandal," the survey article shows the picture of a herd of cows circulating undisturbed, side by side with a car, in the midst of a Nigerian city, cowherd and all.

Predictably, The Economist concludes that Africa's land "must be enclosed, and traditional rights of use, access and grazing extinguished," for everywhere "it is private ownership of land that has made capital work." Land expropriation, therefore, is the precondition [not only] for commercialized agriculture [but also] for a wage-dependent, disciplined proletariat.

Yet to this day at least 60 percent of the African population lives by subsistence farming, done mostly by women. Even when urbanized, many Africans expect to draw some support from the village, as the place where one may get food when on strike or unemployed, where one thinks of returning in old age, where, if one has nothing to live on, one may get some unused land to cultivate from a local chief or a plate

of soup from neighbors and kin. The village is the symbol of a communal organization of life that, though under [constant] attack, has not completely disintegrated.

Witness the responsibility those who move to the cities still have towards the community at home — a responsibility which easily turns into a burden, but serves to support many who otherwise would remain behind.

In Nigeria, for example, villages often pull together to pay the fees to send some children to school, with the expectation that once in possession of a diploma, they will in turn help people at home.

The survival of communal ties and the lack of a tradition of wage dependence have produced many consequences in African political economy. First, it has fostered a sense of entitlements with respect to the distribution of wealth in the community and by the State. Second, it is responsible for the fact that most African proletarians fail to experience capital's laws as natural laws, even though the demand for [the goods] industrial development can provide is now a general fact of social change.

Africans' resistance to capitalist discipline must be emphasized given the tendency in the U.S. to see Africans either as helpless victims of government corruption and natural disasters or as problemists of backward struggles revolving around tribal allegiances (a myth perpetrated by the Western media). In reality, from the fields to the factories, the markets and the schools, struggles are being carried on that not only are often unmatched for their combativeness by what takes place in the "First World," but are most modern in content. Their objective is not the preservation of a mythical past but the redefinition of what development means for the proletariat: access to the wealth produced [in Africa and] internationally, but not at the price capital puts on it.

Examples of the combativeness and modernity (or even "post-modernity") of African proletarians range from resistance [even] to being counted (in Nigeria the idea of a census is still a government utopia); [to] resistance to tax-collection (an occupation which often calls for bodyguards); and the resistance to land expropriation (which often turns into open warfare). Even though the land has been nationalized in Nigeria, for example, negotiations are still necessary with the local chiefs before any tract of land can be appropriated by the government, and until recently, compensation for trees and crops was paid. Finally, the resistance to waged work far exceeds, in terms of work hours lost and forms of struggle, what could be expected from a waged work-force which is at most 20 percent of the population.

The difficulty capital has had in getting African proletarians to accept capital's laws as "natural" is compounded among the new generations who have grown [up] in a period of intense [and successful] liberation struggles (Guinea Bissau in 1975, Angola and Mozambique in 1976, Zimbabwe in 1980) and who see "the West" through the eyes of Soweto. This youth, over the last decades, has made inter-

national capital despair of Africans' unwillingness to accept the imposed discipline and productivity it requires.

### The Debt Crisis as a Productive Crisis for Capital

As in other Third World areas, the [debt] crisis in Africa has unfolded through two different phases, each differentiated by more or less direct intervention of foreign governments through the role played by international agencies. There has been, in fact, a division of labor between the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB), corresponding to the requirement to deal with different levels of proletarian resistance, the key factor in the dialectic of development and repression. Phase I, roughly lasting from 1980 to 1984, was dominated by the IMF "monetarist policies." This was the phase when, as country after country defaulted on interest payments, arrangements were made with the IMF for stand-by loans in exchange for the infamous IMF conditionalities: cuts in subsidies to products and programs, wage freeze, retrenchment in public sector and massive devaluations, which in many cases virtually demonetized the economy.

But by 1984, such was the resistance to further austerity measures and so strong was the hatred for the IMF, that a new strategy had to be devised, accompanied by a change of the guard in the form of a World Bank takeover. Thus Phase II, which began in 1984, took the form of World Bank "development."

The World Bank is an old acquaintance of the African continent, where, in the post-independence period, it rushed to replace the departing colonial administrators. In the 1980s, it [was] capital's grey eminence in Africa. Hardly a plan or a deal has been made without its intervention in the capacity of lender, advisor or controller. In 1984, the World Bank announced it would raise \$1 billion to provide 50 "soft loans" to sub-Saharan nations prepared

to accept its recipe for "economic recovery" and embark on the path of economic reforms. This "special facility for Africa," — which under the name of "Structural Adjustment Program" (SAP) was the model for the Baker Plan presented at Seoul in 1985, — emerged as the vehicle for the much-hailed conversion to a free-market economy undergone by many African countries since 1985.

In most countries, the debt has escalated dramatically since their acceptance of IMF-World Bank economic "recovery" measures (e.g., the Nigerian debt rose from \$20 to \$30 billion after a SAP was introduced).

The reason for this apparently paradoxical result is simple. The debt "crisis" is determined not by the larger or smaller amount of the debt due or paid up, but by the processes activated through it: wage freezes, the collapse of any local industry not connected to foreign capital (which provides the hard currency needed for technology and capital investment), the banning of unions, the end of free education even at the primary level, the imposition of draconian laws making labor and other social struggles an act of economic sabotage, the banning of militant students' organizations, and especially the privatization of land. This function of the debt crisis is best seen perhaps in the well-financed escalation of repression in the debtor countries. The latest technological tools of repression (cars, walkie talkies, Israeli security guards) have arrived in Africa in the wake of the debt crisis. "Defense" spending is the only type of spending international agencies have not begrudged African governments, though they count every penny when it comes to health or education. "Crisis" here becomes, on capital's part, a misnomer: it is a crisis, rather, for the working class.

At the heart of the debt crisis agenda, then, is the annihilation of the old African system of reproduction of labor power and struggle based upon the village and its tenure of the commons. The aim of the IMF and the

World Bank is to make both the land and the people truly available for "work," i.e., for wages and rent [and thus sources of super-profits]. To do this, capital had to pierce the veil of its own statistical "money illusion." For, according to the statistics gathered by international agencies, most people in Africa ought to be dead, since their per capita income is far below subsistence. But they are not dead. On the contrary, Africa is one of the liveliest places on the planet.

The main reason for this contradiction is the immense subsistence [non-commodity] productivity of the African commons. The debt crisis is capital's methodical attempt to destroy this productivity of life, and substitute a productivity of surplus value.

### **New Social Struggles and "Capital" Punishment**

The debt crisis is almost a textbook case of the old-time truth that economic liberalism not only is compatible with, but at crucial times requires, social fascism. Thus the Chilean road to economic recovery is today applied to most of liberalized, structurally-adjusted Africa. The Chilean recipe has almost been learned by rote: students' organizations must be banned, unions must be intimidated and driven underground, security forces must be remodeled (usually with the help of shadowy U.S.-British-French-Israeli advisors). The new legislation is also now standard. For example, in Nigeria, Decree 20 against "economic sabotage" prohibits strikes at oil sites, under penalty of death for union organizers, and Decree 2 legalizes preventive detention for up to six months. Increasingly, capital punishment has been used as a weapon in the "war against armed robbery," the Nigerian/African equivalent of the "war against drugs" [in the U.S.]. As for the spaces left to "freedom of speech," let us just mention the case of Nigeria, where even seminars on SAP attended by Nobel Prize winners like Soyinka are nowadays met with armed police-

men at the doors.

But none of these measures [has] put an end to the resistance against the "economic recovery acts." The first major failure of IMF policies appeared in Zambia in December of 1986, a few months after the UN conference on Africa. The Zambian government, amid Kenneth Kaunda's tears, had to turn its back on the IMF following massive anti-IMF, anti-austerity riots in Northern Zambia, the heart of the copper fields.

What happened was that after another round of price increases and a further devaluation of the kwacha, people engaged in the most violent protests since independence. The government had to call in army combat units and seal off the borders. The riot was sparked by the announcement that the government was going to double the price of maize meal, as demanded by the IMF. Housewives, youth and the unemployed took to the streets, attacking warehouses where the maize was stored, and soon every other store became a target. The crowd appropriated TVs, stereos and even cars, stoned policemen, attacked government offices and burned down (in Kalulushi) the Presidential Headquarters (hence Kaunda's tears). Ten people were reportedly killed in the many days of rioting, but in the end the government had to reduce the maize prices and tell the IMF it could no longer comply.

Equally violent and continuous has been the resistance in Nigeria.

>From the earliest phase of the government's negotiations with the IMF, students, market women and workers have gone to the street protesting the end of free education, tax-certificate requirements for school children enrolled in primary schools, wage freezes, new levies, and the removal of subsidies for domestically sold petroleum.

The involvement of students in riots in Zambia and Nigeria is not unique. All over Africa, students have been at the forefront of the anti-SAP protest. Despite the fact that they are a privi-

leged minority, often being ready after graduation to compromise their political convictions for a government job, students in many African countries are now forced, by the objective conditions of IMF education-planning for Africa, to take a more radical stand. (The IMF prescribes a drastic reduction in the number of high school and college graduates in order to contain wages and reduce expectations.) Thus the IMF-inspired SAPs are the death pill of the post-independence "social contract" which promised a piece of the pie to those who had a high school or university degree. As a result, a pervasive high unemployment rate among graduates has followed the introduction of SAPs. Many university-trained engineers are lucky if they manage to drive a cab. In this context, it is not an accident that every step in the escalation of IMF-imposed economic austerity measures has been accompanied by an attack on students and students' organizations.

A good example of this sort of violent confrontation occurred on May 26, 1986. In the wake of a peaceful demonstration at Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria, Nigeria, and one week prior to the arrival of IMF-World Bank officers in Lagos, who were to check Nigeria's books and economic plans, truckloads of mobile policemen invaded the campus, shooting students and visitors at sight. The machine-gun-firing police chased the students into the dorms and into the surrounding village houses where they had tried to take refuge. More than 40 students were killed and many more were wounded.

The massacre did not stop the protests, however. In the following days, riots exploded all over the country. Students in Lagos, Ibadan and other campuses blocked the streets, attacked government buildings and prisons (excarcerating hundreds of prisoners, including some from death row), and vandalized the premises of those newspapers which had ignored the protest.

Since then, anti-SAP riots have become endemic in Nigeria, culminating in May and June of 1989 with new up-



risings in the main southern cities, Lagos, Bendel, Port-Harcourt. Once again, crowds of students, women and the unemployed jointly confronted the police and burned many government buildings to the ground. In Bendel, the prison was ransacked, hundreds of prisoners were set free, and food was confiscated in the prison pantry and later distributed to the hospitals, where patients notoriously starve unless they can provide their own food. More than 400 people reportedly were killed in Nigeria in the [same] days of China's Tiananmen Square uprising, though barely a word about the Nigerian riots and massacres could be found in the U.S. media.

Nigeria has not been alone. Anti-IMF protests have occurred in Zaire, where in December 1988 a crowd of women was machine gunned by government troops. In May, 1990, at the University in Lubumbashi, scores of

students and teachers were killed or wounded following protests on campuses around the country against the IMF-inspired policies leading to the deterioration of already abysmal physical conditions, budgetary crises, repression and corruption. In Ghana, too, student-government confrontation has been the order of the day since the implementation of the IMF deal.

Massive uprisings and insurrections are but one part of the resistance against austerity and SAP plans. A daily warfare is fought at the motor parks, against the hike of transport prices, at the "bukas," where people insist on a piece of meat in their soup without having to pay the extra price, and at the markets, where people defy government attempts to ban "illegal" (non-taxpaying) vendors. Along with this quasi-legal micro-struggle against IMF policies and their results, armed robbery, smuggling, and land-wars have exploded in re-

sponse to diminishing access to land due to SAP-inspired enclosures. These struggles have not been in vain. The recent decision at the Paris summit of the OECD (held during the bicentennial of the storming of the Bastille) to cancel a part of the African debt for those countries that implemented SAPs (up to 50 percent for the "poorest" of them) is a recognition of their power.

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*These excerpts are taken from a pamphlet produced by and available from the Red Balloon Collective, c/o Mitchel Cohen, 2652 Cropsey Ave #7H, Brooklyn NY 11214.*



# TANKAS

## A Cycle of Poems in the Electoral Season

by James Snyder

**FEAST** — the morning after  
New Hampshire (February 21)

Ham for my breakfast  
today, with fresh pineapple  
slices, in honor  
of those rich Republicans  
trying to help wealthy friends.

\*

### WHOSE LIFE?

Booed at rodeo  
in Tucson, Pat Buchanan  
crisscrosses our land  
to make women follow rules  
he believes in, period.

\*

### STILL HERE

Your friend's a widow.  
As we drive her to a plane,  
we all tell stories,  
though I grow very quiet:  
I had cancer, but lived.

\*

### CAMPAIGN SWING (February 25)

Bill Clinton flew to  
our Seattle yesterday,  
a community  
college his destination,  
working for education.

### FOR COUNTRY JOE MACDONALD & TIM O'BRIEN (February 26)

We're going in jeans  
to hear a Nam vet tonight,  
having heard Woodstock  
singers and guitars, voices  
of peace, in today's bright sun.

\*

### AGAINST GUNS AND PB

We've walked near Georgetown's  
Hilton, where Reagan was shot,  
and been to a show  
where Abe Lincoln was murdered —  
may Brady's Bill protect us.

\*

### OTHERS, BEFORE AUSCHWITZ

Tonight, I read Psalms  
again, trying to catch up.  
Lucky other men,  
like Wiesel, spent their boyhoods,  
until Hitler, on Torah.

\*

### WHY READ?

Though Arizona  
voted last night for Steve Forbes,  
who's doing his best  
not to have to pay taxes,  
Psalms still ask God for guidance.

\*

### A PROMISE (February 29)

Today, Bob Dole pledged  
that a woman, although raped  
in violent dark,  
could not have an abortion  
if he was our President.

### DAILY WORK

I've my book of poems  
in our island's library,  
have made narratives  
on lives of our Presidents  
and days of demonstrations.

\*

### OUR SURROUNDINGS

When I read my poems  
to people in a bookstore,  
pages on cancer  
surgery, I'll set contexts  
with a poem from Vietnam.

\*

### TIME

Kathie & I wed  
when war was still fought in Nam,  
longer ago now  
than the nuclear bombdrop  
on Hiroshima was then.

\*

### More of a background tanka: EVEN ABOVE THE BIBLE BELT

Country gospel's on  
TV tonight as I read  
again of Moses,  
how he parted the Red Sea  
so folks might live as they wished.

*(A tanka is five-line poem, a form  
developed from the 3-line haiku.)*

# Confronting Neo-Nazis in New York City

by David Michael Smith

As readers of this journal know, racist violence is not uncommon in New York City. Usually, however, the perpetrators of hate crimes against people of color are police officers or young white racist thugs in communities such as Howard Beach or Bensonhurst. Only rarely do openly fascist political groups dare to appear publicly in the five boroughs of New York City. Ku Klux Klan organizers who surfaced in Astoria, Queens in 1987 and 1988 were quickly driven out of the city by community opposition and unity against fascism. Other Far Right grouplets undoubtedly exist in the city, but they tend to maintain a low profile for the sake of their own safety.

In recent months, however, neo-Nazis have sought to establish a public presence on Staten Island, the "forgotten" borough of New York City. It may be a sign of the times that fascists now feel they can begin to openly operate in New York City's whitest and most conservative county. In late October, viciously racist, anti-Semitic, and homophobic hate literature began to appear in a few Staten Island neighborhoods. As the local newspaper, the Staten Island Advance, reported on November 5, residents were angered and disgusted when they found this literature in their mailboxes and on their car windshields.

Anti-racist activists were particularly concerned to learn that much of this literature bore the imprint of the National Alliance, an extremely dangerous neo-Nazi organization. The national leader of this group, William Pierce, is author of *The Turner Diaries*, a book which explicitly advocates fascism and global genocide against people of color and Jews. The bombing of the Oklahoma City Federal building is widely held to be based on a scenario in this book.

One local anti-racist organization called "Stand Against the Klan" decided that the distribution of hate literature by open fascists on Staten Island simply could not be tolerated. "Stand Against the Klan" has been educating people on Staten Island about the dangers posed by the Far Right for three years, and recognized the appearance of neo-Nazi literature as signaling a new stage in local fascist organizing efforts. "Stand Against the Klan" soon linked up with the new Marxist political collective, the Communist Workers Organizing Committee, of which I am a

member. We jointly decided that it was necessary to organize a demonstration against this fascist activity. We decided to call the rally for Sunday, December 10, at 2 p.m., at Clove Lakes Park on Staten Island. We chose this location because the neo-Nazis had painted racist slogans on one of the bridges in the park and because they had distributed literature in the adjacent neighborhood.

The rally was immediately endorsed by the Staten Island Council for Peace and Justice, the Staten Island Coalition for Survival, the Italo-American Fraternal Society, the Richmond County American Veterans Association, and the Richmond County Independence Party. At a planning meeting held a few days later, representatives of the Freedom Socialist Party, Radical Women, and the National Peoples Campaign endorsed the rally, too. By the time we assembled at Clove Lakes Park on the afternoon of December 10, the event had also been endorsed by the Staten Island Million Man March Coalition, the Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence, Jews for Racial and

Economic Justice, Labor Militant, Workers World Party, Love and Rage, Upfront News, and the Zappalorti Society.

We received pretty friendly responses from most people on Staten Island as we distributed our anti-fascist literature and discussed the need for strong public opposition to the neo-Nazis.

As we continued our outreach work, it became clear that some Staten Islanders and other New Yorkers would definitely turn out to support a militant demonstration against fascism. However, we did hear a lot of excuses for not participating, including from some organizations and individuals on the Left. Some people insisted that it was just too cold in mid-December to have an outdoor activity. In contrast, our view was that neither the bitterly cold weather nor the traditional winter break taken by the Left in New York should prevent us from holding the rally.

A few organizations and individuals felt that the distribution of neo-Nazi hate literature by itself did not

warrant the work involved in organizing an anti-fascist rally.

Some folks simply weren't willing to support such an event unless local hatemongers drew blood from some innocent victim or decided to host their own public rally. In contrast, we felt that the appearance of this kind of literature was a precursor to a more public fascist presence — and possibly to racist violence, as well. In our view, the situation was already dangerous enough to demand the strongest response the community could provide.

Some other organizations and individuals agreed that the appearance of fascist literature was ominous, but were afraid to become involved in the anti-fascist rally on Staten Island. It was pointed out to us that the neo-Nazis who had distributed this literature might well try to crash the demonstration or take some other provocative action. Regrettably, some folks just weren't willing to confront the racists face-to-face, if it came down to that. Rally organizers were well aware of the risks inherent in organizing anti-fascist actions. Some of us were already receiving death threats over the telephone from cowardly vermin who told us to "Remember Greensboro." Moreover, we understood that we could not rely on the local police to protect us, and that we would have to provide for our own security. But there was never any real doubt that we would proceed.

The December 10 demonstration against neo-Nazis on Staten Island turned out to be a safe, successful, and important event.

The temperature was in the low twenties, and the wind-chill made it feel twenty degrees colder. Weather conditions were literally hazardous to people's health. But over eighty people braved the piercing cold to take a stand against fascist activity in our own backyard. The participants were largely working class people from diverse racial, national, and political backgrounds. The mobilization and participation of women was very impressive.

Students from the College of

Staten Island, Brooklyn College, York College, and other local colleges also attended the rally.

Although the event was clearly organized by radical workers, the appeal for unity against fascism was broad and nonsectarian. All of us were there for the same purpose — to help end fascist activity in the borough.

As the rally began, the participants warmed up with some chants. These included: "Hey, Hey! Ho, Ho! Neo-Nazis Have to Go!" and "Asian, Black, Latino, White—Working People Must Unite!" Despite the weather, the sisters and brothers were definitely "fired up." This proved to be a very good thing indeed, because shortly after the first speaker took the microphone, six neo-Nazi thugs began to approach the rally from across the street. The young white men were wearing black jackets with Ku Klux Klan patches, giving Nazi salutes, and shouting, "White Power!" Rally participants confronted the neo-Nazis, whom police officers immediately moved to protect. Angry demonstrators pushed both the black-jacketed racists and their blue-uniformed protectors into the street. After we had driven the fascists out of the park, our security team disengaged the demonstrators from close contact with the police and reformed the rally's defense perimeter at the edge of the park's sidewalk. During the confrontation, one fascist was detained for "obstructing traffic." The other fascists left the park and were detained a few blocks away for harassing a passerby. Afterward, the cops returned to their heated vans.

The brief physical confrontation with the neo-Nazi vermin really energized the crowd. As the rally resumed, demonstrators cheered speakers from a broad range of organizations. Some speakers elaborated on the dangers posed by fascist political activities. Others discussed the kinds of collective political action required to overcome these dangers. And other speakers explained that the resurgence of fascist forces in advanced capitalist societies

is just one more powerful reason for supporting socialist revolution. Messages of solidarity were received from Reverend Timothy Mitchell of the Ebenezer Missionary Baptist Church in Queens, the United Front Against Fascism in Seattle, and Youth Against Racism in Europe, in London. The rally concluded with calls for drawing labor unions, community organizations, and "grass roots" activists into the struggle against Far Right extremism in our own city. Our demonstration against the neo-Nazi presence on Staten Island was the major news on the first page of the Staten Island Advance the next day. Although the major media largely avoided coverage of the event, reporting by the City Sun and WBAI radio also helped get the word out.

Rally organizers and participants were generally quite pleased with the event. We successfully alerted large numbers of people on Staten Island and in the metro area to the fascist presence and the imperative need for militant opposition from the community. We let the neo-Nazis know that they are not welcome on Staten Island, or anywhere else in New York! And when we flushed them out, we were able to defend our demonstration in a prudent and disciplined way. Thanks to the prior organization of security volunteers and good, solid teamwork on the spot, we were able to proceed as planned, and the neo-Nazis were detailed by the police — instead of the other way around! The friendly cooperation and mutual goodwill among organizations and individuals supporting the demonstration was heartening. It seems clear that, in the months ahead, many of us will be working together again to help turn the rising tide of reaction in this society.

For more information, call or fax:  
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# Martial Law Declared in Gary, Indiana

by Shaka Shakur

On October 1st, 1995 an elite platoon of 50 Indiana State troopers were sent into Gary by de Governor under de guise of combating kkkcrime. This platoon of occupational forces are specially trained in de art of confrontation and riot kontrol.

This particular force was 99% euro-amerikkkan with a sprinkling of neo-kolonial New Afrikans stuck out front for appearance sake.

Gary has historically been predominantly New Afrikan since de first neo-kolonial mayor Richard Gordon Hatcher rode into de mayoral office on de heels of de civil rights movement and de Black Power movement in 1967. By him playing a very active role in de civil rights movement and de fact that de national Civil Rights Democratic Convention, which was of historic proportions and brought many delegates from around de country, many of whom were a part of de Black Liberation Movement, was held in Gary and Hatcher was on de platform and he was viewed as a progressive to most New Afrikans. White flight and de flight of white capital immediately begun to take place. At de time de biggest employer of Gary natives was U.S. Inland Steel and that is what de economy centered around. As white flight continued, de larger chain stores such as J.C. Penney, Sears, Montgomery Wards etc. began to move out to de suburban areas and out to de outskirts of Gary.

Residents had to now travel to de suburbs into predominantly settler communities to shop for basic necessities. Settler communities that they could not as of yet live in without being attacked by reactionary racists who were known to burn crosses in New Afrikans' front yards and firebomb their homes. Places like Glen Park, Merrville, Shereville, Griffin, etc. was off limits to New Afrikans.

White flight continued and de flight of capital continued.

Added to this contradiction was de fact that Inland Steel begun moving parts of its operations to other parts of de country and to parts of de third world, which led to de firing and laying off of hundreds of New Afrikans, mostly men who had been working for Inland Steel for decades. Leaving these brothers & sisters with skills that no one else was utilizing at de time. With de sharpening of overall contradictions of no jobs, a vicious and reactionary neo-kolonized police force, rising pov-

erty and despair which made de conditions ripe for de drug economy to take root and rapidly flourish. Whereas before We observed a certain degree of family and community stability, families began to disintegrate and become more and more dysfunctional, which led to de dysfunctionality of de community as a whole.

Now instead of Inland Steel being de number one or principal employer it was now de ghetto rich kingpins who was feeding off of de misery of their people by structuring and consolidating a most vicious social politics around drugs and all of its reactionary by-products.

During certain eras In history We have had various kkkriminal cartels arise and attempt to monopolize this economy.

De most infamous one being de "family", which was most active during de 70's. Who were some of de most vicious and reactionary lumpens of that era, who was responsible for de death/

murdering of over a hundred New Afrikans during its reign of terror. During this era is when Gary began to be recognized as de "murder capital of amerikkka". By so many bodies being found on a regular basis and corrupt police who were also participants in de drug economy or were allied with de "family" organization seized upon de climate to also activate murderous kkkcrime sprees of New Afrikans 'til de blatant contradictions became so sharp and de fact that de "family" was growing so rapidly where it began to branch off into de unions and extort steel mill workers, forcing de feds to come in and shut down their operations. Sending many of these lumpens to state and federal penitentiaries. Many of who have since returned and reimmersed themselves back into de drug economy.

This particular dialectic has continued to play itself out with de rise of each generation. With de rise of each generation socio-economical con-

ditions has continued to produce vicious street organizations that seek to chase de "amerikkkan dream" by viciously exploiting and capitalizing off of de misery and oppression of de natives of Gary.

### Present Reality

No economy exists in Gary other than de drug economy. De local economy revolves around de drug economy. White flight and flight of capi-

tal has been maximized. As social contradictions has continued to sharpen in de heart of de city and de murder rate has continued to escalate on a annual basis, de natives have continued to seek refuge by pushing out to de suburbs and de outer limits of Gary.

De street forces and street organizations are now much younger, little better organized and armed, and even more reactionary and vicious. Gary has now taken on de L.A. concept of "gang" warfare. Whereas before various areas, sections of de city belonged to one organization such as de Black Gangster Disciples, Vice Lords, One Way etc., now de city has been broken down into sets based on what hood or block you live in/on or what ward you live in. This has contributed significantly to de internecine violence and Gary being listed consecutively as de "murder capital" of de u.s. empire. We know de white house is de murder capital of de world! De media and neo-kolonial bourgeois politicians would have Us to believe that what led to de imposition of unofficial martial law was kkkcrime and violence.

However, this is false and misleading. This vicious cycle of kkkcrime and violence has been going on as long as i have been alive. However de difference today is that parasitical euro-amerikkkan kkkcapitalists like Donald Trump want to invest in Gary, purchasing land, etc. They want to seize land/real estate.

De initial thrust of this invasion is coming in under gambling casinos, riverboat gambling etc. and de developing of an economy, i.e. hotels, restaurants, amusement parks, etc. around these casinos. In order for "white" folks to feel comfortable with investing in Gary, de restless and rebellious natives must be gotten under control.

Since January of 1995 'til October 1st a total of 25 New Afrikan womyn have been found murdered in Gary. A vast majority strangled to death. As of October 10th there has been 100 known homicides in Gary. For several months there has been a serial killer in Gary targeting New Afrikan



womyn. All of whom were strangled and left in open air places, sometimes nude or partially clad. No discrimination in age. De youngest so far to my knowledge being a mentally handicapped 15-year old and de oldest 54 years old. De local media and kkkolonial forces claimed that only 8 of de murders showed any close similarities and that only 3 or 4 out of de 8 would they be willing to attribute to de same killer. De media has kept a tight lid on and a whiteout on de fact that 25 womyn has been found murdered and most by strangulation.

After de rising cries from de public and protest for more protection and de string of these murders, a call mostly spearheaded by fearful New Afrikan womyn, and it being an election year, de neo-kolonial mayor Barnes asked Governor Bayh to send 10 state troopers to Gary. Instead de Governor sent in 50 state troopers with an additional 40 advisors, supervisors, commanders, etc. This settler governor led a parade of these occupational troops down Broadway to de great fanfare of de natives and media. You saw may poor, downtrodden Gary natives, populated mostly by New Afrikan womyn, sisters who were chanting, waving, clapping and generally welcoming this almost all euro-amerikkkan fascist occupational troops into Gary. This represented de equivalent of de u.s. 82nd airborne storm trooping its way arrogantly into Haiti and being welcomed by de native population. A clear indication that neo-kolonialism rules at this particular moment in history. These storm troopers are supposed to be in Gary for 60 days and then reviewed every 30 days thereafter. Initially de media claimed they would be there for only 30 days, but once they arrived something else was said.

To date according to de Gary Post Tribune these storm troopers have issued 937 traffic citations, 300 moving violations, 106 drunken driving arrests, 127 kkkriminal arrest and 37 felony arrests. They have also issued 1,522 warnings.

According to this same source they have identified 50 "drug houses" and are now preparing to change its focus to raiding known drug houses, locations and clamping down in high

kkkcrime areas. They have also brutalized a older New Afrikan womyn during a traffic stop and have killed a young New Afrikan man during a car pursuit. De pig ran into him head on. All of this

## Just a Refugee

Gary, Indiana is not unlike de typical refugee kamp sprawled across de landscape of some third world countries. Only instead of searching for firewood for de kamp fire, instead of lugging buckets of water to wash and cook in, We have brothas and sistas diggin in dumpsters, panhandling and pulling jack moves. Instead of being plagued by diseases such as Ebola, Malaria, Dysentery, etc., We are plagued by epidemics of AIDS, all forms of cancer, crack addiction, high blood pressure and just generally plagued by de disease of death. Death itself has now become a disease that all too many of our youth are catching.

Instead of living in tents or shanties with no running water, de majority live in urban concrete jungles, existing inside dilapidated locked down apartment buildings waiting for a disaster to happen. Rat-infested fire traps that kill so many kids and elderly people every year, especially in de winter season when folks are trying to stay warm.

Yeah a refugee kamp, brothas and sistas migrating from one part of de city to another. Some trying to scramble away from de reactionary violence of street organizations (gangs), some trying to scramble to de suburbs because they can no longer stand to be amongst their own. Some scrambling to where kapitalist commodities are sold in abundance, where all de stores and malls are, where all de critical services are. None are in de ghetto/kolony. And lastly, many are migrating towards where de drug markets are more lucrative - either they are dealers contributing to de problem or victims caught up in a white blizzard of crack cocaine and genocide.

Warlords, landlords, hospital wards and county morgues.  
Where does it end ?

Running from house to house, city to city, state to state, trying to escape de madness dat you had no power to create and yet, you have de power to collectively stop it.

Killer kkkops, mindless robots, and drugs that make babies hearts stop. Tell me, where does it end?

Sell-out politicians who only work for de morticians. Too many sisters concerned with de beautician while our kids die of malnutrition. Too many brothers chasing after that benz, instead of trying to be responsible men.

Damn! Tell me where does it end?

Trapped in a refugee kamp not unlike those in Kigali, Somalia, Ethiopia, Bosnia. Wasteland, free fire zone, no substance, no life, no harmony - only a death-affirming reality.

Trapped like rats in a maze. Starving for power and that which nurtures life, only to be denied and left to feed on self and kind. A terrordome left to explode. Brotha's and sista's got to create some liberated zones. Fear got to be conquered and a stand taken.

When does it end? When we organize ourselves and put a stop to it.  
If not now - when?

Shaka Shakur #78443  
P.O. Box 30 Pendleton, IN 46064

has taken place in less than 30 days!

This sets a dangerous precedent that is really going unchallenged by progressive or revolutionary elements. This is martial law. Instead of using de national guards they chose state troopers, thereby avoiding de political fallout that would have erupted around sending in national guards into a 1996 New Afrikan city.

De sending in of these troopers were highlighted on every nightly news network and has serious potential of establishing a precedent whereas this becomes de rule of de future for neo-kolonized oppressed communities. Sadly this contradiction is not being seriously challenged by any revolutionary orientated or focused organizations. Instead you have a movement that is spearheaded by neo-kolonial politicians and opportunistic ministers calling for these occupational troops to become a permanent fixture in de community of Gary.

#### A Call for a New Approach

De social contradictions that have been briefly detailed in this article are playing themselves out in neo-kolonized oppressed communities all across these united states. We see more and more de emergence of so-called serial killers that are targeting primarily lower class New Afrikan womyn. We have seen this in New Orleans, Chicago (Englewood), Gary and other parts of de south and east coast. Unfortunately, some of these killers are other New Afrikan men who have been deranged by white supremacy manifesting itself through neo-kolonialism, when historically serial killers have been euro amerikkkan males.

De conditions in Gary are ripe for revolutionary power to move in for agitating, educating, and organizing. For mobilizing Our people. But once again, We are M.I.A. — missing in action or a.w.o.l. Why is de New Afrikan Independence Movement so weak right now at this particular stage of Our struggle? Why are We so fragmented and sectarian? Why have We not been

able to base Ourselves as a movement within de heart of Our people and communities? This invasion of Gary represents low intensity warfare tailored to de political and economic terrain of de united states. Tailored to fit into de superstructure and psyche of folks within de borders of de u.s. whereas it becomes acceptable, it becomes tolerable. People that are serious about bringing about a revolution in this country have to begin to re-evaluate some of de methods that are being utilized to move this process forward. We have to start asking Ourselves why are We not able to reach Our youth, why de petty bourgeois elements continue to dominate de political terrain in Our communities. And more importantly, We have to question Ourselves and those amongst Us that profess to be committed to national liberation but continue to live a petty bourgeois lifestyle and petty bourgeois aspirations while shouting "Free the Land," but are afraid to jeopardize bullshit material possessions and privileges.

It is obvious that de methods of old are not working in this era of neo-kolonialism. No longer sufficient is merely passing out pamphlets and flyers and making flowery speeches and preaching at people, especially those already converted, going to suffice. No longer can We keep making excuses and justifying Our erroneous and petty bourgeois practice by saying that de people are too far gone, not interested in revolutionary politics or don't want to hear what We got to say. It has now become fashionable to blame de masses for Our being ineffective.

If We are being ineffective and unable to make inroads amongst Our people, We don't blame them for their lack of consciousness as if they are de victims, We have to question and re-examine Our politics and political practice. One of de reasons de former Black Panther Party was able to capture de imagination of Our people, especially de youth, was because not only did they have a hard appearance but more importantly they was in de hood, on de

block, canvassing de community and going down into de mud where Our people was at. Brothers like Fred Hampton and others was going into de war zones and applying de line. People got to stop being elitist and come down off of those podiums and pulpits and get down into de mud with Our people and lift them up. Just cause We political don't make Us better than those who ain't. We are still one people. We can no longer stand to try and build Our movement around individuals, no longer romanticize Our struggle.

We have to base Our politics on and Our movement within and amongst Our people, based on de objective reality and material conditions of de nation. We have to meet brothers and sisters where they are at.

De youth of today don't want to hear what might be twenty years from now, because they don't even expect to live that long.

They want changes now. We got to meet them at their level, be just as hard as they are and deal with de resolving of contradictions in a firm and politically consistent manner without alienating Our people. Klass war has to be waged both in and outside of these kamps and at every level of de national klass structure. It is very discouraging to see how reactionary opportunist and neo-kolonial forces can continue to harness and mis-direct de energy and legitimate anger of Our people. We have to come up with strategies to raise national consciousness while mobilizing Our people to struggle for national democratic rights as a means to preparing for peoples war to free de land.

Re-Build!  
Shaka Shakur,  
Spear & Shield Collective



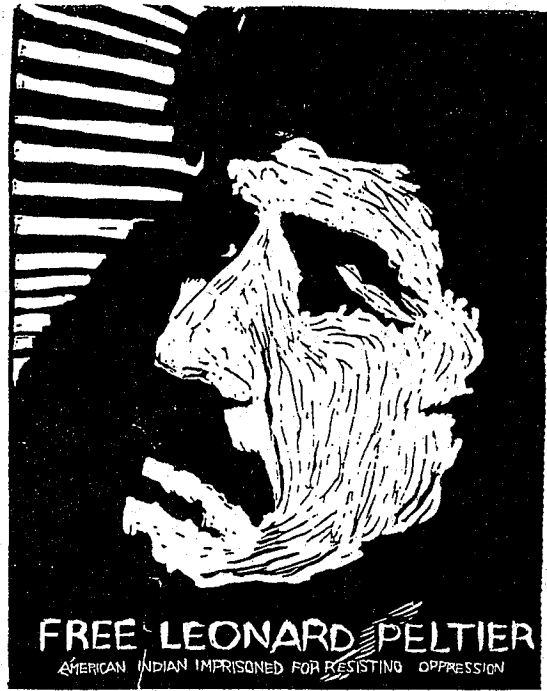
# Free Leonard Peltier

Apparently, the parole hearing officer who conducted Peltier's hearing made a positive recommendation to the National Parole Commission to release Leonard on parole without further delay.

This was based on the failure of the government to present evidence that Leonard Peltier was the person who killed the two FBI agents. A final decision from the National Commission was expected in January. The unusual delay in its decision has caused great concern from the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee and his supporters.

Please help ensure that justice is done on behalf of Leonard Peltier. Request the public release of the parole hearing officer's recommendation by the National Parole Commission and the immediate parole of Leonard Peltier. Contact the US Parole Commission at 301-492-5952, or 301-492-5821.

Fax: 301-492-6694, 301-492-5525, 301-492-5307



The Leonard Peltier Defense Committee is proud to make available:

## The FBI Files

For the first time in the case of Leonard Peltier, the documentation from the FBI that shows Peltier's innocence is now available to the public. Through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) lawsuit in 1981, the FBI released thousands of their reports in the investigation of the "Resmurs" (reservation murders) case. In this comprehensive and professionally bound booklet of over 100 pages, the FBI's own documents are examined and exposed for the illegal tactics they have used against the American Indian Movement (AIM), and against Leonard Peltier in particular.

Along with this compilation of FOIA documents is an important case study of what led up to the shoot-out on June 26, 1975, various letters of support from invaluable political sources, samples of submissions to the Court of Appeals and the Parole Commission, a statement from Leonard Peltier, and most importantly, **what you can do to help free Leonard Peltier.**

Please contribute to the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee and help educate the masses by placing your order below.

-----  
Name: \_\_\_\_\_, The FBI Files: \$5.00 per booklet. (\$3.00 for orders over ten)  
City: \_\_\_\_\_  
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E-Mail: <LPDC@idir.net>

# BREAKING BLACK POLITICAL POWER

By Mumia Abu-Jamal

"The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions, yet made to her august claims, have been born of earnest struggle. The conflict has been exciting, agitating, all absorbing, and for the time being putting all other tumults to silence. It must do this or it does nothing. If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet depreciate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, or it may be both moral and physical; but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without demand. It never did, and it never will." - Frederick Douglass

There is no Black political leader in America who does not owe his/her political office to the Black protest and freedom movements of the 1950s, 60s and 70s. Not one.

It was this Southern-born, and later nationally-grown Black civil rights and Black liberation movement that provided the political pressure that gave rise to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which, quite literally, opened the door for Black politicians in the halls of Congress and in State Houses across the nation, some for the first time in a century.

Were it not for such movements, such struggles, there would've been no political power, no progress.

Those political gains were won at a prodigious and horrific cost, in pain, loss, government terrorism, impoverishment, imprisonment and death, suffered by countless known and unknown Blacks, in the North and the South.

New generations of politicians, eager to distance themselves from their meager and militant origins, played a political game as if their new-found power was a birthright, sneering at the poor, while lauding and embracing the wealthy and established, thus denigrating their very power base.

Anxious to assume the class prerogatives granted by entre into new realms of power, most politicians forgot from

whence they came. Today we see the fruits of such foolishness and shortsightedness, in the scuttling and crippling of Black political power.

In a matter of months after the Congressional Black Caucus reached a powerful and unprecedented peak of forty members, and thus a bloc to be reckoned with, White Tuesday, an overwhelmingly white and Republican resurgence, swept those apparent gains into history's garbage can, as it realigned the House.

This legislative assault was mirrored by a legal and judicial mugging, which, in the interests of white supremacy, wiped Black majority districts off the map. Georgia's 11th District, held by the brilliant and progressive young Representative Cynthia McKinney, was eliminated by judicial decree, based on a challenge to its configuration, as an unconstitutional boundary.

McKinney, responding to the U.S. Supreme Court opinion which abolished her district by a 5-4 vote, stood in front of the Lincoln Memorial in the District of Columbia, saying, "The ability of African Americans to participate in the political discourse of this land was severely curtailed in governmental bod-

ies of all levels." She likened her case to the dark, repressive line of Court precedent marked by *Dred Scott v. Sanford* (1857) and *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), a time when the Court validated white supremacy and attacked the notion of Black civil activity.

"For Georgia," explained McKinney, "the period [of the exclusion of Blacks from political office] was more than 100 years - from the service of Jefferson Long to the service of Andrew Young." Shortly after McKinney's seat was abolished, another Georgian, Stanford Bishop, found his seat eliminated.

Earlier this year, Louisiana's Cleo Fields found his district ruled unconstitutional drawn.

The war on Black life in America is waged on all levels, from those seemingly at the highest levels, to those in the lowest, a dream deferred yet again.

What is needed is Black revolutionary political power, tied not to the established, but to the will of the many, the disenfranchised.

Column Written 2/14/96

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# *A MILLION LETTERS FOR MUMIA*

Honorable Janet Reno  
Attorney General  
U.S. Department of Justice  
Washington, D.C. 20530

Dear Attorney General Reno:

I am aware that you have received thousands of messages - including from 35 congressional representatives, the N.A.A.C.P., and the National Rainbow Coalition - urging the Justice Department to intervene in the case of Mumia Abu Jamal. The call for the Justice Department to take action persisted, even after the stay of execution was granted to Mr. Abu Jamal, and became more specifically directed at asking for a comprehensive civil rights investigation.

Your response has been that while the Justice Department has the statutory authority to investigate state court proceedings, and where civil rights violations have occurred to prosecute the parties responsible for those violations, there is a five year statute of limitations in both cases -- **UNLESS THERE IS SIGNIFICANT EVIDENCE OF AN ONGOING CONSPIRACY.**

Yes, Mumia Abu Jamal's trial occurred in 1982, eight years beyond the statute of limitations. But there is indeed significant evidence of an ongoing conspiracy to deny Mr. Abu Jamal his human and civil rights and to assure that he be executed regardless of his innocence. To cite just one recent example of that conspiracy, Mumia Abu Jamal was denied his right to communicate with his attorney in confidentiality.

Confidential legal notes were duplicated and presented to the Governor of Pennsylvania, the very person who had signed Mr. Abu Jamal's death warrant June 1. Further documentation on that ongoing conspiracy will be presented to you.

I join with thousands of others, once again, to urge you to conduct a comprehensive Civil Rights investigation to examine all the ways in which there has been and **CONTINUES TO BE** a conspiracy on the part of the State of Pennsylvania, from its executive to its judicial branches, to silence Mumia Abu Jamal once and for all. In light of this conspiracy, we request that all Philadelphia police files pertaining to Mumia Abu Jamal, including those on police officer Daniel Faulkner be disclosed.

A Justice Department civil rights investigation could make a significant contribution toward guaranteeing the new trial that Mumia Abu Jamal must have.

Yours Truly, \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

All letters will be delivered to Reno by the Coalition on May 20, 1996. Send all signed letters by May 10, 1996 to the Free Mumia Abu Jamal Coalition, P.O. Box 650, NYC NY 10009. Donations urgently needed and appreciated. Any questions, please call us at: (212) 330 - 8029. email: <freemumia@igc.apc.org> WEB: <<http://www.igc.org/maj/>>

# De-Colonizing the Bio-Sphere

## The Recovery of the Commons

by Vandana Shiva

I basically feel that being able to think about the commons, and to be able to live in them, is crucial to a possibility of environmental justice. As the twentieth century draws to a close, the primary challenge facing humanity is meeting the twin objectives of ecological sustainability and social justice. The collapse of the East, symbolized so powerfully in the tearing down of the Berlin Wall, was a symbol of the failure of trying to build social justice on the foundation of state authority, control and ownership. What is needed is a continuity of the dream for justice in an era when neither the state nor the market are able to promise it.

The destruction of the commons was very essential to the creation of the industrial system, because the commons put limits on use, very strict limits. The commons owned as common property also meant that the value of that resource was only derived by participating in it. Its value was not tradable. Its book value was located in use. But part of what the Industrial Revolution needed was larger flows of raw material. Common property ownership was a block to that increased flow. Life support systems can be shared. They cannot be owned as private property.

Commons, therefore, had to be privatized and life support systems had to be turned into raw material. People's sustenance based in these commons had to be appropriated for feeding the engine of industrial progress and capital accumulation.

The enclosure of the commons, and the phrase is best known through the history of what happened in England (though it's something that happened across the world and continues to happen today) has been

repeatedly called the revolution of the rich against the poor. When the commons were enclosed in England and used for rearing sheep for wool, the peasants' cry was, "Enclosures make fat beasts and lean people." Sheep eat men, is how Sir Thomas More described that phase.

As colonialism spread that culture around the world, the story of enclosures was repeated wherever the colonizers went.

In India, the forests were the first thing that were enclosed. My own valley, that was absolutely primeval forest until 1815 when the British came in, was then rented out in huge parcels. Every local petty official in the imperial regime wrote home and brought their relatives in. So we still have areas like Jolly Grant and Smith Grant, which were grants given, a hundred acres, two hundred acres, clearcut. The valley's climate changed. They thought they'd be able to grow tea because the weather was perfect for tea. But by the time they had cleared the forests, the rainfall had changed, the temperatures had changed. They could not grow tea any more.

If one looks at what development planning over the last four decades has done, it has primarily been an enclosure of the common prescription. It could be rivers being enclosed through dams, forest areas, pastures, but the major impact of enclosures of the commons is the destruction of two economies that are rarely taken into account. In all

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[Ed. note: Vandana Shiva is an internationally-renowned physicist, biologist and environmental activist and is the director of the Center for Science, Technology and Natural Resource Policy in Dehradun, India. She is considered one of the world's leading authorities on and critics of the "Green Revolution" and has pioneered research on biodiversity and indigenous ethnoscience, and has written several books on these topics. Dr. Shiva is perhaps best known for her efforts in behalf of the Chipko anti-deforestation campaign among the

peasantry of the Himalayan foothills. She is the author of recent pieces on the UN Conference on Women in Beijing that appeared in the Nation magazine and Whole Earth review. The material for this article is excerpted from a speech she gave at Colorado College, in Colorado Springs, on September 25, 1994. A copy of the speech on tape, or a transcript is available from Alternative Radio. For information about obtaining cassette copies or transcripts of this or other programs, please write to: David Barsamian, 2129 Mapleton, Boulder, CO 80304.]

thinking about natural resources, it is assumed that there is only one economy, the market economy. But there are two other economies. [One is] the economy of nature, where essential ecological processes play their productive role out. And the fact that *oikos* is the root word for both ecology and economy should have been enough reminder that there is this other economy which we need to be constantly keeping in mind.

Very closely related to nature's economy is the people's economy, where people derive sustenance. Clean air, so that our children don't die of respiratory problems. Environments free of toxics so that one of every seven women is not getting cancer. These are very, very important parts of the economy which have been pushed aside, treated as pure externalities. But they are the very life and breath of daily living.

But where is the thinking on the commons at this point in history, after about two centuries of certain notions of failed state control, and of failed exclusive market control?

The recovery of the commons for me means recovery of the meaning of "resources" as the ability of nature to regenerate, of having value in and of itself. We therefore do need to get away from the dominant models of economic thinking. These dominant models, instead of fading out as we become more aware of the environmental costs that they have generated, are actually finding in the current ecological crisis a place for their own resurgence.

One of the prescriptions that's coming out of this thinking is to give "value" to resources. First of all, did the environmental crisis happen because value wasn't given to resources? Of course, we all agree. The industrial system treated nature as free, as available to be exploited. So they are saying the problem is

that value wasn't given to resources. So we must give it value. But very quickly you realize that the value being given is the market price [the value of their exploitability].

In the climate change discussions -- you know, the climate treaty that your government is very reluctant to sign -- they're still debating on the bio-diversity convention. As long as they can get some conditionalities hooked to it, they'll sign it.

And if the rest of the world doesn't want to listen to their bullying, they won't sign it. On the business of the buying of air, the climate change treaty is trying to work out ways of trying to deal with pollution. They have worked out these very complex ways of tradable permits, to be able to trade on your pollution quota and sell it [privatizing the air as they did the land].

But then, the normal thing would be that all of us would have equal tradeable permits. I could pollute as much as you, and that means 450 Indians [for every 100 Americans]. So we have all these economists tearing their hair apart about how to create this quota of pollution and how much you can mess up the atmosphere. And they actually came up with a figure that says that an individual's life in the E.C. and the U.S. is valued at \$1.5 million, whereas life in poor countries like China is worth \$150,000. So we are one-tenth of you when it comes to all these assignments of how much air we can breathe and how much water we can drink.

What's now being talked about is not voting rights. It's about being able to drink water and breathe air and use bio-diversity. It's about absolute, basic survival. So it is an economics of genocide. It is right away excluding the large majority of this planet's population if it happens to be poor and if it happens to be colored from entitlements to life

itself [by enclosing and putting a price tag on the air]. From something that's so fundamental to every constitution and every culture.

That is the principle built into the commons: that everyone [and the land itself] has a right to survival.

The most important enclosure that is taking place right now is the enclosure of both bio-diversity as well as diverse systems of knowledge related to bio-diversity. The land, the forests, the rivers, the oceans, the atmosphere, have all been eroded and polluted in one way or the other and in fact colonized. Capital now is looking out for new colonies to keep going. It must keep accumulating to survive. It's the only thing that behaves like a cancer cell, it must keep multiplying just to stay in place. The rest of us can stay in place by just staying in place. [laughter]

What are these new colonies that need to be opened up? These new colonies are, in my view, the interior spaces of the bodies of anything living: women, plants and animals. The invasion and takeover of land as colonies was made possible through the technology of the gunboat. The invasion and takeover of life, of organisms, as the new colonies, is being made possible through the technology of genetic engineering and the legal framework of intellectual property rights and patents. The "enclosure" [and privatization] of living, self-organizing, self-renewing systems is based on putting boundaries, either legal or technological, on the free organization and free reproduction of life in the form of micro-organisms, plants, animals, humans.

This ultimate enclosure restricts free access to bio-diversity and knowledge of its properties, particularly [alienating it from] the original custodians and innovators, communities that have protected diversity long enough for us to today

know that a certain plant is good for blood pressure or clotting a wound or cancer, whatever. Or that certain seeds are terrific for droughts or cold or saline water or very good for dealing with pests.

The metaphor of piracy [coming from the west and] underlying the intellectual property law debate reverses the true role of giver and receiver. Third World communities of farmers and herbalists, and I would include in that communities like the ones around here, who are also custodians and protectors of biodiversity, who are the source of the bio-diverse wealth on which our food and health care systems are based, are suddenly taking on the role of pirates [while the corporation that have expropriated this knowledge and even those genes for private profit are cast as the victims of piracy].

Usually I find that it's American citizens who know least about how your country functions globally. One of the things that your trade laws equipped themselves with in 1988 is the 301 Amendment, Super 301 and Special 301. We are far more familiar with it than you are because it's never applied to you. It's applied to any country that is not creating investment opportunities for U.S. corporations. It was used about two years ago to force the location of a nylon 66 plant of Du Pont, which had been put aside here because of its pollution, into the [Indian] state of Goa, a very beautiful state. The people had said no. The local government had said no. The Ministry of Environment at the federal level had said no. But we got a visit from your trade representatives. They said, We treat you with less threat on 301 if by tomorrow we get a signal that you'll allow Du Pont in. And sure enough, the next day that signal was there. For about a month, the 301 threat was withdrawn.

The "Special 301" is a clause related particularly to intellectual property rights. What it requires is that every country in the world adopt intellectual property right legislation of the kind in force in the U.S. The U.S. is the only country in the world that from 1981 onwards started to treat life forms as products of human minds. So you got the first patent on life, with the bacteria that Allen Chakravarty had engineered for General Electric. Since then in the U.S. you've had patents for mice, cows, pigs, 180 animals standing in queue at patent offices.

Even your Commerce Department has patents for cell lines of indigenous communities across the world. A Panamanian Indian woman's cell line was collected and found to be resistant to leukemia. She was infected with leukemia but she wasn't dying. Your Commerce Department has a patent on her cell line. It has patents on cell lines from tribes in the Solomon Islands, from Papua New Guinea and there is a huge human genome diversity project which is right now collecting blood and skin samples from across the world, all eventually to feed into the pharmaceutical industry.

There is a brilliant case of a wonderful tree we have used in India for centuries. My mother used to put the leaves of it in our clothes, our silks and woollens so they don't get eaten. The tree is called neem. Its scientific name is *azadirachta indica*. Its seeds have been used for extracting an oil that's then used as a pesticide. It's brilliant. It controls all kinds of pests, and doesn't kill them, actually. I've been corrected by a friend who said, Don't call this "pesticide." It doesn't kill. It just numbs the bugs. They can't do any damage. So it's very non-violent pest control.

We've been using it for centuries.

Every home, every village, the medicine for agriculture. Then last year I saw, in one of the biotechnology journals, a news item that the first patent given for biopesticide and the first use of biopesticides innovated by an American. This American happened to be a person called Tony Larson from Madison. He was a timber merchant. The reason he had come to India was as part of his timber dealing. He found that women put grain with neem leaves. He realized something was up. Being a good entrepreneur, he visited every place where they did anything on neem. He went to every lab where they worked on neem as pesticide, picked up all the scientific background and came here and put in an application in a patent office and bought a patent claim. As an inventor of something that another culture has known and used for centuries. And it's doable [under your law]. It's possible.

The thing that's not possible [under your law] is, there's no way we can challenge it. There's no system in the U.S. patent clause that can allow an original community to come up and say: Hey, we knew this all along. It's been common knowledge. This is real piracy.

Larson's and many other patents have now been bought up a company that many of you who were in the environmental movement should be familiar with, W.R. Grace, which polluted water in Massachusetts. Killed two or three children, that water pollution. Grace has not merely taken patents out on neem. It has a broad species patent on soybean. Any genetic modification in soybean, anyone, anywhere in the world, pays royalty rights to Grace. On cotton, a broad patent on any modification of cotton. A broad patent on embryo transfer, animal reproduction, always immediately applied to human reproduction.

Recovery of the commons in this period, when life itself is being colonized and privatized, involves more than anything else keeping life free. Seshu Reddy, when we were fighting the monopolization of the seed, said, "Monopoly is not life. Only in sharing there is life." In India we have over the past two years built up a massive movement on these issues, not merely as issues of global economy, not merely as issues of North-South inequality, but as issues of the very fundamentals of the ethics related to life. We call it the seed satyagraha, following the Gandhian tradition of peaceful non-cooperation with unjust laws and regimes. Saying no to unjust laws has become for us as important as it was then.

And in that period of the first independence movement, we had a tremendous inspiration from Gandhi, in terms of his picking up a very small symbol of building freedom: the spinning wheel. He dug out the spinning wheel. It had fallen into disuse because we were being dumped with textiles from England. He found a woman in Gujarat who could still spin, and he got her to start teaching the freedom fighters how to spin. He said: The spinning wheel is a totally dead artifact. But in the hands of millions of people, it's probably the only source of power to change the unjust order in which we live, [to achieve decolonization]. If Gandhi could use the tiny spinning wheel to reclaim the commons, reclaim people's capacity, then maybe in that little seed that's available across the world in people's farms, in cultures as diverse as the seeds they protect, maybe that seed is the mobilizing metaphor as well as the material for dealing with keeping life free in the period of life's colonization.

For this I very often derive a lot of inspiration from a very touching

Palestinian poem with which I'd like to conclude. It's called "The Seedkeepers."

Burn our land.

Burn our dreams.

Pour acid on our songs.

Cover with sawdust the blood of our massacred people.

Muffle with your technology

The screams of all that is free, wild and indigenous.

Destroy our grass and soil.

Raze to the ground every farm and every village

our ancestors had built.

Every tree, every home, every book, every law

and all equity and harmony.

Flatten with your bombs every valley.

Erase with your edicts our past, our literature,

our metaphor.

Denude the forests and the earth till no insect, no bird, no word can find a place to hide.

Do that and more.

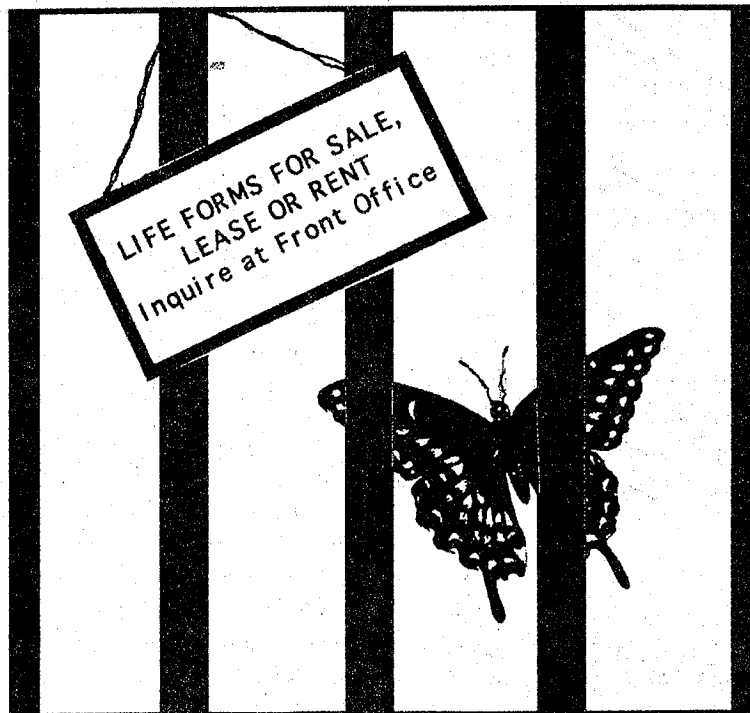
I do not fear your tyranny.

I do not despair ever.

For I guard one seed, a little live seed,

that I shall safeguard and plant again.

Thank you. [applause]





# A Call to Action

## Shut Down the Control Units!

In December, 1994, activists from across the United States, from a dozen states and two dozen cities, met in Philadelphia and founded the National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons. A year later, at our second meeting, the Campaign issued a call to action for Spring of 1996. We believe:

Control Unit prisons are barbaric. No human being should be caged in a cell nearly 24 hours a day and denied all human contact for years on end. It is clear that the purpose of Control Units is to destroy, both physically and psychologically, not to facilitate growth or improvement;

Political prisoners and other dissidents are especially targeted for incarceration in control units, the purpose being to dehumanize and criminalize them, and separate them from other prisoners and the movements they represent;

Control Unit prisons are part of the insane imprisonment binge which portrays every problem as the fault of the individual rather than the result of a perverted social structure and which proposes that most of these problems can be solved by putting people away in cages for longer and longer periods of time;

U.S. society's imprisonment binge and the proliferation of Control Units are essential components of U.S. racism.

We believe that these components exist not because they are "errors" or misguided attempts to control crime. Rather, they exist not to control crime but to attempt to control the democratic impulses of people of color within the borders of the U.S.

Understanding these issues, we must organize and act; educate and agitate. With this in mind, the National Campaign is calling for coordinated activities all across the U.S. and Canada at the end of April and the beginning of May, 1996. The goal is to

hold as many programs and demonstrations as possible at almost the same time. Areas already involved in the planning are Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Boulder, Gary, Newark, New York, Philadelphia and San Francisco. Several regions are holding hearings on control units and imprisonment. Some areas are planning hearings or an educational program to be followed by a demonstration or some other activity such as an educational picket or a delegation. Others are planning only an educational program or only an activity.

We hope that many more will join the effort. We believe that if we raise our voices against these barbaric control unit prisons, against the racist imprisonment binge, against the incarceration of millions of young people, that together we will be heard. Together we can organize, through practical activity, a network of people that will challenge the dehumanizing U.S. society, and that will move towards the construction of a human society in its place. Please join us.

To build up to this campaign, the National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons is holding "Hearings on control unit prisons in the Northeast" on Saturday, April 27, 1996 from 10 am to 4:30 p.m. at the Meeting House at the Friends Center, 150 Cherry Street, in Philadelphia, PA 19102. While the specific conditions in these sensory deprivation control unit prisons may vary, the goal of these units is to disable activist prisoners through spiritual, psychological and/or physical breakdown by means of long-term isolation.

Come, listen to and participate in live testimony from family members of control unit prisoners, ex-prisoners, lawyers,

activists, tapes and written testimony from control unit

prisoners. See the International Art and Writings Against the Death Penalty Art Exhibit. Come listen to political rap artists and see videos about control units.

Contact the following people for further information:

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## APRIL 20 MARCH IN TRENTON, NJ STOP EXECUTIONS

Campus and community groups throughout New Jersey are organizing buses to "1000 Voices Against the NJ Death Penalty." Groups in New York, Philadelphia, Connecticut and Delaware are getting on board as what started out as a state-wide march is building into a regional outpouring of opposition to the death penalty. Participants come from varied backgrounds including religious, traditional liberal groups, the Mumia movement, Black nationalist and radical groups, left groups, even "pro-life" groups. The event promises to be TRULY HISTORIC.

Help make history and take a bold step to turn New Jersey and this nation around on the death penalty and related issues.

Massive participation on April 20 can help raise the issue of opposition to the death penalty to an issue of national prominence.

Protestors will convene at the NJ State Prison in Trenton, where NJ's death row prisoners are incarcerated. The State of NJ plans to begin executing prisoners by lethal injection soon, as if that were more "humane" than the use of poison gas or electrocution.

Opposition to the death penalty has many motivations: Some say it's an act of violence and state murder. Some point to the racism of the death penalty. Some say that due to inequities in the justice system, an irreversible punishment like the death penalty assures that innocent people will be killed. Others point to political uses of the death penalty, as in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal or Ben Saro-Wiwa in Nigeria. At Temple University, a regional conference of the movement to gain the freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal is scheduled for the end of March.

Details are to be announced. The topics of workshops at the conference will be Mumia, police brutality AND the death penalty. And a decision was made to use the conference to build the April 20, 1996 "1000 voices against the death penalty" march and rally.

For example, Black defendants in New Jersey are 10 times more likely than white defendants to be sentenced to death, according to statistics compiled by experts working for the state Supreme Court. The disparity in the imposition of the death penalty has more to do with the biases of New Jerseyans called for jury duty than the conduct of prosecutors and judges, the experts concluded. "If the message was that prosecutors were discriminating, you could do something about it," Lawrence S. Lustberg, an attorney for the Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers of New Jersey, told The Record of Hackensack for yesterday's editions. "But the fact that juries seem to be discriminating is much more troubling. There is not much you can do about that until society changes in a very fundamental way."

The experts analyzed 341 murder cases since 1982 in which a defendant faced the death penalty. The study found that when most other factors were equalized, a black person was 10 times more likely than a white person to be sentenced to death. Public defenders hope the research will convince the Supreme Court that New Jersey's 1982 death penalty law violates the state Constitution. The state Supreme Court promised in 1992 to take "corrective measures" if racial bias was found in the administration of the death penalty. "For somebody who has been fighting against the death penalty in New Jersey for 13 years, it seems like it's almost too good to be true," said Assistant Public Defender Dale Jones, who leads the state-paid lawyers who fight death sentences.

Yet even as officials worried about bias in the death penalty, an as-

semblyman proposed a law that would limit the appeals of death-row inmates. Assemblyman George Geist, R-Goucester Township, introduced a bill Friday that would bar appeals after the state Supreme Court has upheld the conviction and sentence of a competent inmate.

April 20, 1996 promises to be a historic day indeed for New Jersey. On that day, we will send a loud and clear message that there is a very substantial constituency that is committed to fighting to end the NJ death penalty. By mobilizing over 1000 demonstrators to raise our voices loud and clear, and by sending a resounding NO! to the NJ death penalty, we will send a wake up call to NJ's politicians who apparently think that NJ people are behind the direction in which they are taking this state with regard to the death penalty and other related issues.

Stop the NJ executions before they start. Join us on April 20, 1996. Stand up and be counted with "1000 Voices Against the NJ Death Penalty."

For NJ Coal. Against the Death Penalty:  
 Bob Witaneck, NJ-SPEAKOUT  
 Trevor Phillips,  
 One Hundred Black Men, Rutgers  
 Steve Earley,  
 Amnesty International, Rutgers  
 Nathan Raymond,  
 Eugene Debs Society, Drew  
 Ashley Engler, Amnesty International,  
 Drew University  
 (Organizations for ID purposes)

NJ Coalition Against the Death Penalty  
 2 Washington Place,  
 Newark, NJ 07102  
 (201) 642-2086 Fax: (908) 281-7873  
 E-Mail: <bwitaneck@igc.apc.org>

# ABOLISH THE RACIST DEATH PENALTY FREE MUMIA!!!

## DEMAND

### A NEW TRIAL:

Gov. Ridge (717) 787-2500 or (717) 783-1198 voice  
 (717) 787-3369 or (717) 783-1936 fax

Write: Governor Tom Ridge  
 Main Capitol Building  
 Harrisburg, PA 17130



# **Nazis in the Military: Khaki by Day, White by Night!**

Recent atrocities of racist violence have forced the U.S. and Canadian military to take at least cosmetic steps against organized white supremacist groups inside the ranks. At Fort Bragg, North Carolina, after nazi skinhead paratroopers killed two Black people in a racially-motivated act of random violence and racist terror, nine 82nd Airborne Division soldiers face disciplinary proceedings and could be kicked out of the military for their alleged racist activities. Thirteen other soldiers at Fort Bragg identified as being involved in skinhead groups received lesser punishments, such as written reprimands and being barred from re-enlisting. Two quit the Army, and another was being removed for unrelated misconduct.

"The initial investigation is over," said Maj. Rivers Johnson, an 82nd spokesman. "Now that the educational programs are in place, they're on the lookout for any behavior that would indicate extremist activities." Of the nine, three -- including accused killers James Burmeister II and Malcolm Wright Jr., -- also face first-degree murder or conspiracy charges in civilian court in the Dec. 8 deaths of Jackie Burden and Michael James. Police say the three were looking for black people to harass when they picked out Burden and James at random and shot them execution-style. A fourth racist soldier faces a court-martial following an unrelated but apparently racially-motivated shooting incident with another paratrooper last April. Five of these 13 soldiers are apparently Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice (SHARPskins).

In attempting to suppress racial and political "extremism" in the 82nd Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, Army commanders have ordered soldiers to remove all flags from the barracks, including the American flag. They said some soldiers had been flying Nazi and Confederate flags which were disrupting the base and no exception was made for the American flag. Esquire magazine photographed a gang of military boneheads under a swastika flag, prompting renewed calls for action.

The Army's moves smack more of a cover-up than a solution. A three-month state NAACP investigation of soldiers and white supremacy has concluded that the military has serious race-related problems. The 18-page report lists 12 recommendations, such as establishing military-base liaisons to the NAACP and requiring periodic diversity and sensitivity training for military personnel. The NAACP report gathered

information from five North Carolina towns with military bases -- Fayetteville, Cherry Point, Goldsboro, Elizabeth City and Jacksonville. Fort Bragg did not participate.

Meanwhile, the Canadian military is dealing with similar problems, some of them linked to the 82nd Airborne. It was recently revealed in the Montreal Gazette that members of the Heritage Front and of the Northern Hammerskins met with members of the Canadian reserves in the mess hall of the Maisonneuve Regiment in Montreal, last December 30th. Three top members of the HF in Quebec were present: Adam Guerbuez, Brent Klauser and Adam Harris. At least three members of the Hammerskins were also there: Brant Smith, Len Langilles and Chris Jewer. (The article claims that Jewer and Langilles have since left the group due to a factional dispute). The article went on to say that another

Hammerskin, Sacha Clouatre (age 20), applied to join the Maisonneuve Regiment early last year.

According to Major Marc Rouleau, the neo-nazis were invited to the mess hall by one of two reservists who were dismissed from the regiment a couple of weeks later as a result of their involvement in far-right politics (on paper at least, there is "zero tolerance" for racists in the Canadian Armed Forces). The military has refused to name these two men, referring to them simply as "Malcolm" and "Yannick".

The article goes on to talk about how, in the wake of the Oklahoma bombing, people are worried about the armed forces in Canada being infiltrated by members of far-right organizations. But Canadian Defense Minister David Collenette is described as rejecting "the notion that ultra-right organizations are targeting the armed forces."

Brent Klauser is the 19-year-old who first registered the Heritage Front's Quebec branch as a business in July 1993, listing his Laval home as the group's headquarters. He is also described as being a former member of White Power Canada. When Hour Magazine (a local free weekly entertainment newspaper) ran a story on Klauser and the Front almost two years ago, they also mentioned that he was good friends with Jean-Sebastien Lapierre, leader of Laval's tiny Ku Klux Klan cell.

(White Power Canada was a bonehead group active in Montreal until late 1992/early 1993. Its members were involved in several high-profile racist incidents, including initiating a race riot in the Hochelaga Maisonneuve area, which forced Somali immigrants to move out from the neighbourhood under police protection. WPC was also closely associated to the boneheads who murdered Yves Lalonde, a gay man, in November 1992 in Angrignon Park. The murderers had attended WPC meetings; they were also in touch with Gary Lauck's NSDAP-AO.)

There was another article in the same edition of the Gazette, "Secretive skinheads have links to militias." Here the Northern Hammerskins are described as an anglophone group consisting mainly of 18- to 21-year-olds. The cops are quoted as saying that the fascist movement is dead in Quebec, and the only reason the Hammerskins are still around is because they're English, and thus receive backing from outside the province.

Over the past several years there have been numerous incidents of members of the Canadian armed forces being revealed to have ties with the far-right. When these links are between simple soldiers and roughneck guttersnipe fascists waving swastikas, the soldier usually gets disciplined and/or kicked out of the Forces. When the links are between officers and suit-and-tie fascists no one even blinks. There is a concerted effort on the part of the Canadian far-right to win friends among the police and armed forces, but it's premature to talk of widespread cooperatiuon between the two groups.

Nonetheless, organized racists within the military continue to do damage. For example, recently, five years after a man was beaten to death for being in a park frequented by gays, four skinheads -- including a former soldier who served in the notorious Canadian Airborne Regiment in Somalia which carried out racist executions of Somali civilians -- have been charged with murder. Inspector Tom Légee of the Winnipeg police service, in announcing the charges, said: "It was gay-bashing. We believe the crime is hate-motivated."

Human rights groups say the charges raise still more serious questions that must be answered by the Somalia inquiry -- questions as to how much the military knew, and what it was prepared to do, about avowed hate-mongers in its midst in the late 1980's and 1990's.

Among the nazi-skins charged in the brutal killing is former

Airborne corporal Matthew McKay, 25. McKay came into the public spotlight in 1990 when a Winnipeg newspaper carried a photograph of him making a Nazi salute and wearing a Hitler t-shirt. The photograph was taken while he was a member of the 2nd Battalion Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, stationed in Winnipeg. "The Defence Department must come clean on what they knew about McKay since that photo came out," said Hal Joffe, chairman of the community relations committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress. Mr. Joffe noted that McKay later joined the 2 Commando unit of the Canadian Airborne Regiment on a tour of duty to Somalia, where at least four Somalis were killed by members of the Airborne. McKay gained further notoriety after telling Global TV that Airborne soldiers set a trap for the Somali teen-ager, Shidane Arone, who was beaten and tortured to death by Airborne soldiers.

McKay was never charged with any criminal activity in Somalia. But he and a co-defendant in the gay bashing homicide, James Russel Lisik, 22, were involuntarily discharged from the Canadian Forces last year. Lisik was a member of a Winnipeg army reserve unit, The Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders. He was arrested in Penticton, BC.

Human-rights observers in Canada say the behavior of some members of 2 Commando in Somalia can be traced to joint training exercises with the U.S. 82nd Airborne at Fort Bragg, in

the 1980s. Fort Bragg is of course also the home the "Special Forces Underground," a quasi-clandestine group inside the Green Berets, whose propaganda was found in the apartment of one of the Airborne nazi-skins accused in the double murder.

Meanwhile, law enforcement continues as another target for racist organizers and militias. Members of the so-called "NJ Militia" handed out leaflets at 20 Union County police buildings recently, urging cops to ignore, and not to enforce, NJ's ban on assault weapons. The law requires gun owner to turn in semi-automatic weapons that are now banned. The flier stated "Stop the Killing! End the Police State! A trumped up firearms offense was the pretext that the FBI and BATF used to perpetuate the largest non-military mass murder in our history: the killing of more than 80 men, women and children in Waco, Texas ... We don't need a repeat in NJ."

In Virginia, the National Association of Chiefs of Police (NACOP) is asking for a congressional investigation of suspicious relationships between the U.S. Marshal's Service, the not-for-profit U.S. Marshal's Foundation and a citizens' militia, Armed Response Group U.S. (ARGUS). Among the allegations cited in an extensive report provided this week to all members of Congress is a pattern of misuse of federal funds by marshals involved with the private foundation, including, as testified to last year before U.S. District Court Judge Royce C. Lamberth, the commingling of at least

\$680,000 "and possible millions of dollars" between the public and private entities.

Additionally, the ARGUS militia, which apparently continues to exist in Northern Virginia's Loudoun County, also has operated its private organization from offices of K. Michael Moore, at that time director of the U.S. Marshal's Service. ARGUS was formed to obtain military equipment under the control of civilians but stored at federal installations. Apparently they obtained vast quantities of surplus U.S. military equipment through their link with the Marshal's Service.

Superiors often turn a blind eye to racism in the ranks of law enforcement. Kenneth Ruff, a black ex-trooper who proved in court that the New Jersey State Police created a hostile work environment because of racist harassment by other troopers, recently essentially lost a discrimination lawsuit despite testifying that he had experienced five racial incidents during his four years on the force, including two racist fliers at the Flemington barracks and two more fliers and a vandalized uniform at the Newark barracks from 1987 to 1991.

Seven active duty black troopers and one other black ex-trooper gave corroborating testimony about what they saw as racist comments and fliers at the Newark, Flemington, Sussex and Netcong barracks and retribution and mysterious loss of equipment when they questioned the incidents. Ruff and the troopers maintain superiors took little or no

action to stem the racism. Ruff sought damages from the State Police for creating a hostile work environment.

The jury found that the N.J. State Police were guilty of making Ruff endure a hostile work environment between 1987 and 1991, but the trooper was not granted a nickel in damages! "I don't know how they could find a hostile work environment and not offer damages. I find it absolutely incredible. What can I say?" said Ruff's counsel, Jack Frost of Plainfield. Because the State Police were found guilty of allowing a hostile work environment in Ruff's case, the state must pay Frost what he estimated will be \$50,000 to \$100,000 in legal fees, but the plaintiff got nothing. Asked how the jury viewed testimony by black ex-trooper Anthony Reed, now the Newark sanitation director, that he saw up to 150 posters of Assata Shakur, altered to appear as Ruff in drag, papering the walls of the Newark barracks in 1990, a juror said the panel disregarded the allegation because only Reed said it happened.

In another New Jersey trial involving racing among state troopers, 4 lawyers representing 19 minority defendants charged with drug and weapons offenses are asking for evidence to be suppressed in a Gloucester County courthouse, charging that the NJ State Police unconstitutionally targeted Blacks and Latinos. The suspects were arrested between 1988 and 1991, between Exits 1 and 3 on the NJ Turnpike. Gloucester County public defender





# Euro Anti-Racism Calendar

This calendar and contact list of anti-racist and anti-fascist activities in Europe in the coming months was obtained from "UNITED." You can contact them for a more complete listing

Spring 1996

"Anti-Fascist Conference North-Rhine-Westphalia" - in Essen (D) Themes: networking of anti-fascist groups, situation for democratic opposition after the elections of May 95.

Contact: Antifaschistische Nachrichten,  
c/o GNN-Verlag, Postfach 260226, D-50515 Koln,  
phone +49-221-211658, fax +49-221-215373,  
e-mail: <GNN-KOELN@LINK-S.zer.sub.de>

April 1996

"Criminalization of the Anti-Fascist Resistance"  
Anti-Fascist Week in Goettingen (D)  
Organised by Autonome Antifa (M), actions, concerts  
and a demo contact: Autonome Antifa (M),  
c/o Buchladen Rote Strasse 10, D-37073 Gottingen,  
phone +49-551-394569, fax +49-551-394564,  
e-mail: <aam@paxo.nadir.org>

UNITED, Postbus 413, NL-1000 AK Amsterdam, phone +31-20-6834778, fax +31-20-6834582, e-mail: <united@antenna.nl>

May 1996

"Removing Racist Graffiti-Campaign" - in Helsinki and Lohja (SF) contact: Finnish Antifa Coalition,

Kalevankatu 1, SF-08100 Lohja,  
e-mail: <hraita@sockom.helsinki.fi>

June 16, 1996 "International Refugee Day"

Around this day dozens of activities will be organized by many refugee support organizations taking part in the UNITED Refugee Campaign.

Themes: European-wide asylum policy, deportation and detention, deaths through Fortress Europe. Coordinated by UNITED for Intercultural Action,

Postbus 413, NL-1000 AK Amsterdam,  
phone +31-20-6834778, fax +31-20-6834582,  
e-mail: <united@antenna.nl>

November 9, 1996

"Commemoration of the Kristallnacht - International Day Against Fascism and Antisemitism"

Joint campaign of anti-fascist, anti-racist, human rights and Jewish organizations both inside and outside the UNITED network.

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## The Antifascist Web

It is a group of Antifascist Web Pages throughout the Internet (WWW). It contains information about the historical background of fascism, the actual situation of fascism throughout the world, reports of Antifascist actions that took place and links to other related pages. The visitors are asked to put a graphical link in the upper right corner of their homepage to let the world know they're antifascists and to show there's Antifascist resistance everywhere, even on the Internet.

I'm asking you to support the Antifascist Web: I'd like you to send me a report about fascism in your country (if requested, it can be anonymously). In it should be a brief description of the fascist parties and why they're fascist, the percent of votes (or, even better a history of the party) how many people voted, by which organizations or industries it's supported, crimes committed by the fascists, influence on common politics, etc. Please, make The Antifascist Web known on the Internet.

Additionally I'm asking you to send me your reports of remarkable Antifascist actions undertaken in the history of

your country, texts concerning future actions or recent Antifascist actions you organized or witnessed, or anything you think is relevant and should be added.

And of course: have a look for yourself!

Surf to The Antifascist Web: discover reports of Antifascist actions around the world, use links to other Antifascist related Web pages and read about the history of fascism and the Antifascist struggle!

E-mail your reports to The Antifascist Web:  
hiworld@dds.nl

The Antifascist Web can be found at the following locations (URL's): The Netherlands:

<http://huizen.dds.nl/~hiworld>  
Philadelphia (East-USA):  
<http://www.serve.com/Antifasc>  
Beverly Hills (West-USA):  
<http://www.geopages.com/CapitolHill/1131/>

# Nazis, Settlers, and Free Speech Beheading the Bearer of Bad Tidings

by Yud Hershkovits

The April interview of Professor Moshe Zimmerman in the Jerusalem weekly *Yerushalayim* caused a widely publicized scandal.

Head of the faculty of German studies at Hebrew University and recognized as a world-wide authority in German history, Zimmerman asserted that there is a similarity between the militant children of Hebron settlers and the Hitler Youth.

He warned in the interview that if we do not speak out against the atrocities happening here today, the potential [fascist] monster in every one of us can grow.

Today, he said, there is already a Nazi-like sector in Israeli society: "Look at the [Jewish] children in Hebron, they are exactly like the Hitler Youth. They are repeatedly told from birth that Arabs are bad, that everyone is against us. They are being brainwashed to become paranoids of a 'higher race'. [In our society,] there is a dangerous tendency towards tolerance of this group."

Zimmerman's statements threw his colleagues at the university into an uproar; the academic community was bitterly divided. The debate, however, was not over the statements themselves, but rather over whether Zimmerman should be expelled from the university for making them.

Shortly after the interview was published, sixty right-wing professors at the Hebrew University petitioned to oust Zimmerman from his position, claiming that when it comes to Nazism, there are limits to freedom of speech. As for the left-wing professors, many of them hastened to the session of the University Senate to denounce the petition in the interests of free speech. But in discussing the Holocaust, Zimmerman had violated a very sensitive taboo; even the liberal professors could not bring themselves to address the actual issues raised in his interview. The minute that his ouster was removed from the agenda, their social responsibility ended; no debate of his actual statements took place. Only one journalist, Haim Bar'am, from the rival Jerusalem weekly *Kol Ha'ir* dared

to defend the substance of Zimmerman's remarks.

In the daily press, Zimmerman was attacked by *Ha'Aretz* journalist Dan Margalit, who was careful to portray himself as a pragmatic liberal. "I do not think that the university needs to oust Zimmerman from its ranks," he wrote, "but not because Zimmerman is an important scholar." Margalit's reason for allowing Zimmerman to remain was in order to deny the man additional ammunition for his mistaken comparisons. Instead, Margalit generously proposed ostracizing him - not to interview him, not to speak to him, not to come to his lectures, not to invite him to conventions; in other words, to stifle him intellectually.

Margalit claimed that Zimmerman had no right to "bear witness" on issues of the Holocaust because of his connections with German mainstream scholars. He hinted that because Zimmerman receives money from German institutions, he has an interest in proving that Nazism is both marginal to German society and a potentially universal phenomenon. According to

Margalit, this makes Zimmerman's research unreliable from the standpoint of intellectual honesty, and thus, irrelevant for the Israeli public.

On the issue of academic integrity, however, the question remains whether it is intellectually honest to reject an academic outright because his historical comparison (whether accurate, mistaken, or partially true) is threatening or objectionable.

In his response Margalit articulated the principal thesis behind the broader public attack on Zimmerman: because Nazism is such an exceptional and beastly occurrence, any comparison between Israeli and Nazi phenomena is impossible and must be avoided at all costs. Of course, the problem only exists when Jews are compared with Nazis; Israeli politicians over the years have often compared Palestinian and other Arab leaders to Nazis without being accused of historical misrepresentation.

The reaction to Zimmerman and the assumption behind it contains two rather frightening elements, firstly, the alarming implication that the potential



MANCHESTER Guardian cartoonist Bill Papas visited the Golan Heights shortly after the 1967 war and produced this drawing of Quneitra villagers being searched by Israeli soldiers.

Ed. Note: The recent wave of suicide terror bombings in Israel by forces linked to the military wing of Hamas, drives home the necessity for breaking with imperialism in order to break out of the cycle of violence and collective retribution. As PART has repeatedly declared, it is racist and anti-semitic to hold all Jews collectively responsible for the evils of the Zionist state or of individual settlers, and equally racist and anti-semitic to hold all Arabs or Palestinians collectively responsible for the crimes or atrocities of particular organizations or individuals. What we are all collectively responsible for is to fight for a future based on liberation, justice and equality. --MN

for Nazism is racially inherent in everyone except Jews.

Secondly, and perhaps more upsetting, is the process by which extremist settlers in Hebron, considered by even the hard core settlers to be trouble-makers, came to be defended by mainstream liberals. The academic milieu's treatment of Zimmerman effectively said to the Hebron settlers: "We differ about how Zionism should be practiced in our time, but we are your brothers - so much so that we will invoke the pretext of historical inaccuracy to defend you whenever you are attacked."

The incensed intellectuals eagerly transformed Hebron settlers, more fanatical than any others in their anti-

semitic hatred of the Arabs, into the victims of a "worse crime" than their own actions: historical juxtaposition of Jews with Nazis.

This phenomenon only demonstrates Zimmerman's second point regarding the society's eagerness to forgive this extremist group; instead of confronting the possibility of fascism within its own society, the public opted to behold the bearer of bad tidings.

"History is a glance at the past for the sake of the present and future. From here stems the need for comparison and a critical approach ... Whoever has knowledge of Nazi Germany cannot close his eyes before similar phenomena (or their beginnings) in

present-day Germany, Israel or anywhere else" (Prof. Zimmerman, Yerushalayim, April 28, 1995).

It was only natural to expect that settlers would protest Zimmerman's comparison of their children to Hitler Youth. The public outcry led by media people, journalists, and Zimmerman's own colleagues in the Hebrew University, however, would seem to indicate that when the choice lies between challenging the taboo of the Holocaust or ostracizing a scholar, blindly boycotting an intellectual is the preferred option.

Translated from Hebrew by staff of CHALLENGE No. 32 Jul-Aug. 1995

# Criminalization Of German Antifascists

by

Autonome Antifa (M)

The largest trial against anti-fascists in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany is scheduled to begin in Lueneburg on August 14th, 1996. Seventeen anti-fascist activists are charged with violating Paragraph 129, building a criminal organization, a reference to the Autonome Antifa (M) from Goettingen, Lower Saxony. This trial will determine whether the Autonome Antifa (M) is a criminal organization. According to the highest federal court, the group "poses a threat to public safety and order" by organizing demonstrations and actions against neo-fascists. The charges focus on 7 coalition demonstrations between 1991 and 1994. Each was attended by several thousand people of diverse political backgrounds; they helped to prevent the spread of fascism in the region.

The trials will have severe consequences not just for the individual defendants and for the politics of the Autonome Antifa (M), but also for the entire left in Germany. It is a test case, an attempt to make anti-fascist politics impossible. If the state is successful with this anti-Antifa trial, every other legally organized anti-fascist group will be a potential target for repression; grass-roots politics and the right to demonstrate would be restricted. Even groups like Greenpeace would be vulnerable to criminalization as a "criminal organization."

Meanwhile, fascists on the street continue to spread their terror, setting fire bombs and murdering. The New Right and old Nazis keep their propaganda machine running, spreading fascist lies in universities, in government-sponsored institutes, and on-line. The German police is in the international press again because an Amnesty International report says that the German police are racist, documenting police beatings of foreigners. Yet the justice and police departments on the state and federal levels are fine-tuning their instruments to repress leftist organizations. Antifascist work is being fought with all means by the justice and police departments. Joachim Bloch, director of the interior secret service (Bundesamt fuer Verfassungsschutz), stated in 1990 that anti-fascism is a means to defame the Federal Republic of Germany, and that "a free democracy is not an anti-fascist democracy".

The investigations and trial show the extreme lengths to which the state is willing to go to criminalize anti-fascists. The court has already scheduled 131 trial dates in just the first year of the trial. The state attorney has introduced 115 ring-binders full of evidence, and they intend to handle each piece. Because the charges are based on Paragraph 129, each defendant has to take two lawyers. The court is having trouble finding a building large enough for the 17 defendants, 34 lawyers, witnesses, and court personnel. The original trial date, set for May 8th (ironically the 51th anniversary of the liberation from Nazi-fascism) was postponed so that a riding stable could be rebuilt into a courtroom. This plan was blocked in late January when the Justice Department denied the 300,000 Deutsch Marks (DM) in funding necessary to install a heating system.

Five years of investigations by the state police in Lower Saxony are the background for the trials. A special force was formed in which up to 28 police officers were employed.

Observations of group meetings and individuals were carried out over months, sometimes for 24 hours a day. In just 7 months, 13,929 telephone calls were taped and transcribed. One-hundred-forty-three people were thoroughly checked out for being potential members in the Autonome Antifa (M). Police searched the homes, workplaces, and relatives' homes of 17 people in July 1994, hoping to destroy the infrastructure of the Autonome Antifa (M). Archives, personal items, and computers worth tens of thousands of DM were confiscated.

When the investigations began, the talk was of 52 attacks between 1981 and 1991 for which the Autonome Antifa (M) was supposedly respon-

sible. In the meantime, the state attorney has been forced to admit that the Autonome Antifa (M) has nothing to do with the attacks. The accusation was just the means to an ends: to justify the immense investigations to the public and to delegitimize anti-fascist politics in the eyes of large parts of the population.

It is not the 17 antifascists who belong in the defendants chair, but rather politicians who feign sympathy for the victims of racist and fascist violence, while at the same time aiding and abetting the development of the extreme right in Germany.

Two anti-fascists from Goettingen will be visiting North America in April to give presentations on the background and current situation of the repression of the Autonome Antifa (M). They are interested in meeting individuals and groups who would like to help with solidarity work on the international level. Especially needed are international trial watchers and donations for the legal costs.

Autonome Antifa (M)  
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 Rote Strasse 10  
 D-37073 Goettingen  
 Phone: +49 551 394569  
 Fax: +49 551 394564  
 E-mail: aam@paxo.nadir.org  
 WWW:

<http://www.nadir.org/Gruppen/aam/>

[Note: As an act of solidarity, Arm The Spirit would like to help organize a tour for these comrades. If you're interested in getting involved please contact us at: <ats@etext.org>. This tour can be organized in a variety of ways; whether it's a speaking event, arranging a radio interview, a fundraising benefit or just a meeting with local activists - all are important. If you can arrange something in your city or region, then please contact us as soon as possible. This is very important, as we need to find out how much travelling will be required and if there are enough resources and money

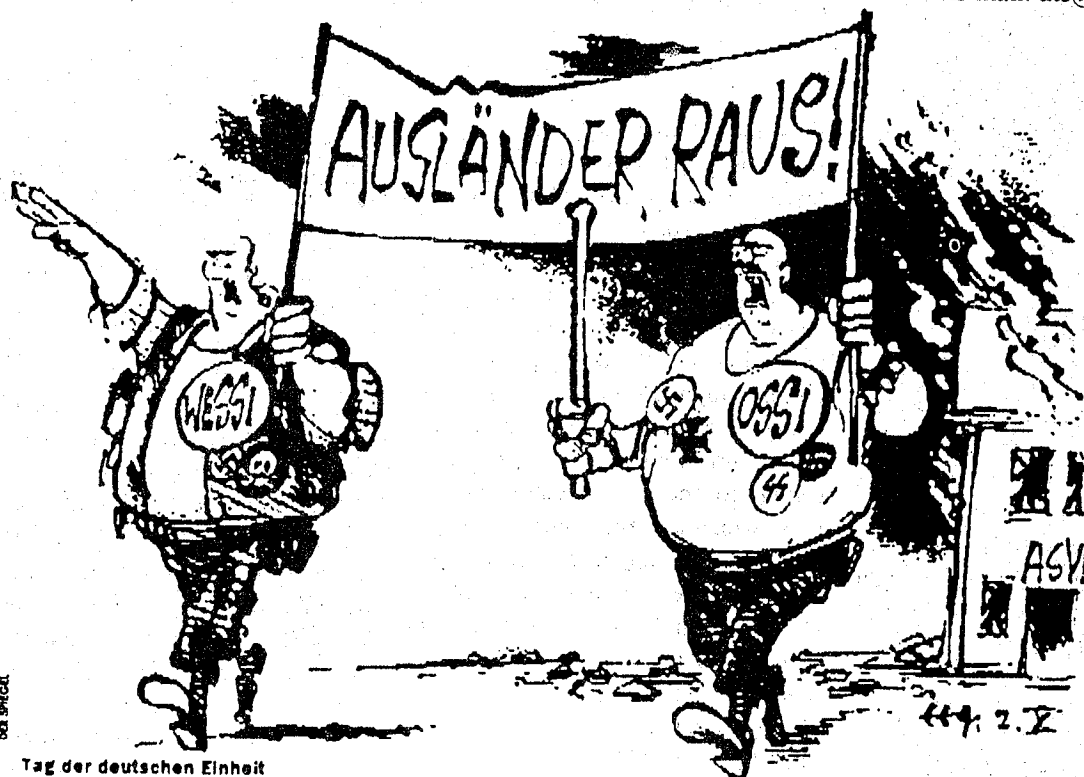
available to organize a multi-city tour - which would start on the east coast of the U.S. Also the German comrades will have to decide for long and how far they will be travelling during the month they are here in North America. If you need more information contact Arm The Spirit or contact Autonome Antifa (M) by e-mail, fax or post. Arm The Spirit, February 10, 1996]

Arm The Spirit is an autonomist/anti-imperialist collective based in Toronto, Canada. Our focus includes a wide variety of

material, including political prisoners, national liberation struggles, armed communist resistance, anti-fascism, the fight against patriarchy, and more. We regularly publish our writings, research, and translation materials in our magazine and bulletins called Arm The Spirit.

For more information, contact:

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Das Spiegel  
 Tag der deutschen Einheit

Western and Eastern Germans (Wessis and Ossis) carry banner demanding 'Foreigners Out!' Caption reads, 'German Unity Day.'

# New Afrikan Prisoner Speaks

Revolutionary Greetings,

I am a New Afrikan politically conscious prisoner being held kaptive in one of Indiana's most racist and repressive koncentration kamps known as the "Indiana Youth Center." Don't be taken in by the name of this racist institution because it is truly not reflective of the degrading existence which is a never ending reality for those being held kaptive there.

Currently I am being held isolated from prisoners in regular population and made a target of state repression because of my revolutionary ideals and my selective efforts to raise awareness and expose the atrocities to which we are being subjected to on a daily basis at the hands of the administrative officials.

The cycle of violence, brutality, and degradation aimed at prisoners is not a new issue. However, what is changing is the Administrative Officials' justifications for these harsh and brutal tactics and the consequences we now have to suffer for exposing their injustices. As an organizer, I have worked with many revolutionary elements while I was held kaptive in several other repressive prisons in Indiana. And we have been successful in establishing structures designed to generate a revolutionary consciousness and inspire progressive activity. Now because of the growing receptivity amongst the victims of this whole oppressive process, I have been targeted by Administrative Officials and these have been the results:

On November 1, 1995 after leaving a visit with a progressive advocate who works with prisoners to expose the harshness of prison existence and who also monitors and works to abolish control units, I was escorted by two prison guards to see investigators Collins and Novak where they soon questioned me about my prison activity and accused me of being a leader. After refusing to answer their questions, I was handcuffed by the two prison guards present and informed that I was being locked up on administrative hold pending transfer to a more secure prison because I was a threat to the safety and security of their institution and that there exists a possible threat to my safety. How-

ever, when I challenged this and demanded that they produce some evidence of me being a threat to the safety and security of their institution and further demanded to see evidence of an alleged threat to my safety, the administration refused to respond and has not produced anything to support either claim.

Then on November 2, 1995 while on lockup pending this transfer, the two investigators, Collins and Novack, went through my personal property and confiscated approximately 40-50 books dealing with Afrikan history, politics, and the establishment of New Afrikan revolutionary movements. No initial justification was given for seizing this property and when I requested to send it home, I was told that it was sent to their Central Office for careful review. Since then, investigators Collins and Novak have stopped my incoming and outgoing mail and have confiscated several book sent in to me through the mail as subversive material. And this cycle of harassment continues today. I am seeking the support of all who read this article and am requesting that you write letters of protest to the below listed

people and demand an end to this blatant harassment and demand that I be given back my books and be returned to population.

Write to:

Christopher Meloy  
Superintendent of I.Y.C.  
727 Moon Road  
Plainfield, IN 46168

Christian DeBruyn  
Commissioners Office  
302 W. Washington, Room E334  
Indianapolis, IN 46204

If we are going to be successful in overcoming a lot of the obstacles which we are constantly confronted with, we are going to have to start forming united fronts and establish bases of support through which we can collectively support each other and combat enemy aggression. For more information, please contact me personally at:

Talib Becktemba, #852597,  
727 Moon Road,  
Plainfield, IN 46168  
Moving forward!

From: The Anarchives <tao@presence.lglobal.com>

To: A-Infos <a-infos@lglobal.com>

**MULTATIONALS MOVING IN:**

## **IMPRISONING WOMEN IN AUSTRALIA**

Kentucky Fried Chicken helps finance the Corrections Corporation of Australia, subsidiary of the multinational Corrections Corporation of America, to build and control the first private prison against women in the world (outside of the United States of America.)

Fairlea women's prison (a state government run prison in the centrally located suburb of Fairfield, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia) may be closed in June 1996, and the women there shunted 27 kilometers out of the city to the newly multinational-built Metropolitan Women's 'Correctional' Centre, a new private prison, at Deer Park. A primary reason for the move is so the government can sell the valuable real estate of Fairlea Prison.

Corrections Corporation of Australia got the land for the new facility at Deer Park cheaply from the former owners, Defence Industries of Australia. The site is known to be contaminated by rocket fuel and other military contaminants.

Some problems with this situation are:

1. It will create difficulties for visiting imprisoned women, since public transport will ensure an entire day is required for many visitors to get to and from the prison. Most women in prison are mothers and the length of time on public transport will make it very difficult for their young children to visit.

2. Private prisons, being commercial enterprises, are not subject to freedom of information laws (because of commercial confidentiality clauses in freedom of information legislation.) This means that it will be very difficult for people outside of prison to know what is happening inside, and public accountability for the abuses routinely inflicted on imprisoned women will be reduced even more.

3. Multinational corporations controlling prisons in Australia will be able to exert influence on state governments law and order policies. Since the private prisons are profit motivated, this influence will likely act to increase imprisonment rates and length of sentences. More prisoners equal more money for the multinationals (especially when imprisoned people are used as a virtually unpaid, totally controlled labour force for prison industries.) These corporations are also already acting to control what the mass media says about them, by suing newspapers critical of them.

4. The entry of multinationals into control of Australian (and other countries') prisons gives a very effective tool for Big-Brother, New-World-Order type control of Australian populations, and can be construed as an ominous sign for our future.

The Women and Imprisonment Group, People's Justice Alliance, Justice Action and the Coalition Against Police Violence have called a rally at Fairlea Prison on Sunday May 19, 12 noon to 4 pm, to surround the prison, see the wall, and think about the women on the other side. For more information, call KAREN TAYLOR ON at 03 9417 6984 or 03 9754 5181 or CATHERINE GOW 03 9376 6366. The aim of this action is to draw attention to what is going on in prison (eg. the constant sexual degradation of strip 'searches' and urine tests, denial of the human rights of children to contact visits with their mothers, and to highlight that the women in Fairlea prison will be the first to be transported into a private multinational run prison in Australia. Remember women in prison are quite literally dying for your support.



**A Position Paper on the "Million Man March"**  
**A CALL TO END THE OPPRESSION OF**  
**WOMEN and ADVANCE THE BLACK**  
**LIBERATION MOVEMENT**  
**A Black Liberation Movement Perspective**

Prepared by

Ajamu Baraka, Ashaki Binta, Angela Brown, Thandisizwe Chimurenga, Thandabantu Iverson, Kwame-Osagyefo  
Kalimara, Kamaria Muntu, Askia M. Tour and Jackie Ward; September 1995

Atlanta Committee for Black Liberation

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[Note: The following is an excerpt from the full-length paper.]

## **INTRODUCTION**

We are Black women and men struggling for our political, social, spiritual, cultural, and economic liberation. We stand together in this critical moment of unprecedented dangers because we recognize the need for an inclusive, well-organized social and political movement which can transform the lives and conditions of our people.

Throughout this country, our people are confronting the intensifying attacks of this oppressive system. By our many varied acts of resistance and a multitude of diverse voices, we assert the need for positive action that will achieve lasting justice and peace. Our people's enthusiastic response to the call for a "Million Man March" is an undeniable expression of this deeply felt sentiment.

We are gravely concerned however, that current planning and mobilization for the "Million Man March" reflects neither the full range of our people's conditions and needs, nor the full range of our contributions to the historic struggle for our human rights. This struggle in its most empowering periods has continually been grounded in our resistance to multiple oppressions -- oppression as a Nation of captured people of Afrikan descent, oppression and exploitation as a working class people, oppression of Black women because they are women, oppression due to sexual orientation, etc. -- that we as a people have experienced.

Black women and men have all suffered a terrible holocaust. Not all those stolen from Afrika survived even the middle passage. Not all survived the brutalities of slavery. Not all survived "100 years of lynchings," the "race riots" of the early 20th century, the many migrations out of the South to northern urban areas, or the Civil Rights and Black Power movements. But we are here, millions strong, women, men, and youth. Yet our similar sufferings have not been identical in form and consequence, and our prospects for a better life remain the work of many different hands.

One of the many oppressions that we have suffered as a people has not been given the full examination and

exploration that it requires. That oppression is the system of patriarchy. As a system of oppression patriarchy often goes unacknowledged and unnamed. Patriarchy grants men special privileges in society simply because they are men. As a system, it justifies its existence as the "God-given" right of men to rule the world, the country, the community, and the home. Women are essentially "owned" and controlled, much like private property, while being economically, politically and socially exploited in the home, the workplace and the community. It is our belief that the call for a "Million Man March" at

best ignores, and at worst denies, this crucial aspect of the total oppression of our people.

We believe that the "Million Man March" should be supported. However, because of this and other key concerns many of us have, we also feel that it requires a careful analysis of the problems it poses. This position paper is one contribution to the ongoing discussions of the issues posed by the March. We offer a view of the strengths and weaknesses of the "Call" for the March as we understand it.

### The "Million Man March": Strengths and Weaknesses

The groundswell of support for the "idea" of a "Million Man March" is indeed indicative of our people's desire for action and change. Black people suffer from multiple oppressions in this society which hit us all at once and characterize our daily existence. With the current crisis in US society, these oppressions have intensified and become more devastating. Therefore, the Call for a "Million Man March," inasmuch as it is a reflection of our people's desire for solutions, is correct and should be supported. The platform of the "Million Man March," however, must be critically analyzed.

#### Strengths

We support the concept of a March by Black men to dramatize the conditions of our people and lay plans for concerted action to achieve peace, justice, basic human rights and self-determination for our people, all of our people -- women, men and children.

The call for incarcerated Black women and men to reconcile differences with one another, to

abstain from any sport or play, and to "turn away from the pursuit of evil and strive from this day forward to be upright" is a righteous call that we support wholeheartedly.

The call for reconciliation in the entire Black Nation, along with the call for Black men to become involved in their families and find solutions to the crises plaguing our communities, is correct.

The call for the unity of the Black Nation, regardless of income, religion, ideology, or neighborhood is important. The renewed call for Black self-reliance, for Black people alone to financially support something in their own interest as opposed to seeking white financial backing, is an important and necessary direction for our people.

And the time-honored call for a "Day of Absence" -- a day when all Black people refuse to go to work, school, shop or "appear" outside of our communities -- is indeed a politically significant, spiritually strong and correct position worthy of our support in this day and time.

#### Weaknesses

Unfortunately, there are crucial weaknesses to this movement, weaknesses that simply cannot be ignored and that could be dangerous to our very survival as a Nation if we allow them to go unchecked.

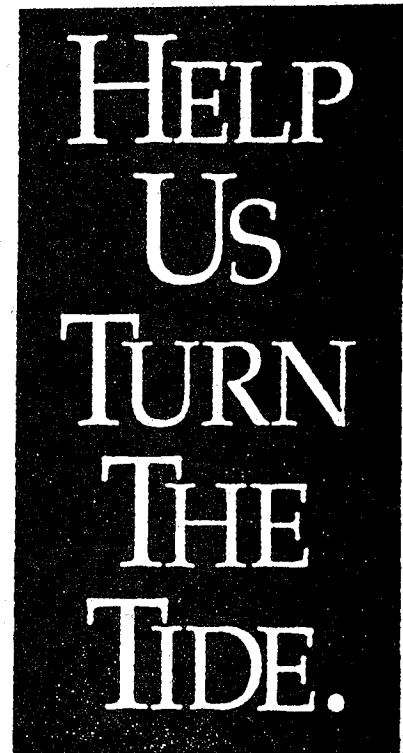
After careful analysis of the platform proposed by the Nation of Islam and its National Representative Minister Louis Farrakhan as stated in speeches, interviews and essays published in the Final Call newspaper, we are deeply disturbed by the strong patriarchal thrust of the "Million Man March"; a thrust that would have the world -- and all of us -- believe that only "the Black man" has caught hell in North America, and that only "the Black man" can set things straight.

We are deeply disturbed by the absence of a thorough political and economic solution, in addition to the

spiritual call put forth by the Call for a "Million Man March," to the continued attacks on our Human Rights and the oppression of our Nation by the government of the United States of America.

We are deeply disturbed by the pronouncements of this "Million Man March" that have a chilling similarity in tone to conservative, right-wing, christian white males -- a group of people who have historically been opposed to human rights for, self-determination for, and the very existence of, Black people.

Lastly, we are deeply disturbed by the ultimate reliance on "divine intervention" that the March implies will solve the crises plaguing the Black Nation.



HELP  
US  
TURN  
THE  
TIDE.

**SUBSCRIBE**

## **Resist Racist Violence Stop Nazi Music!**

Neo-nazi organizing and violence continue to plague the southland, and activists are gearing up to counter it with a campaign focused on stopping the distribution of nazi-propaganda music in the form of white power rock. People Against Racist Terror is joining a coalition including folks from Food Not Bombs and the Southern California Anti-Fascist Action Network, to alert the community of the negative consequences of nazi rock, which is being sold in a number of music stores around the region, as well by mail order nationally. The coalition is developing a campaign that will take the message of opposition to racist violence and nazi rock to Long Beach, Huntington Beach and eventually other cities around the region, including San Bernardino, where the problem of nazi-bonehead gangs is also acute.

The first demonstration in the campaign is planned for Saturday, April 27 at 1:00 p.m. outside the Vinyl Solution record store at 406 Ximeno Avenue, near Fourth Street, in Long Beach. The Vinyl Solution mini-chain -- whose name is clearly a play on words for "Final Solution," the nazi plan for genocide against the Jews during World War II -- has been repeatedly approached by anti-racist musicians and bands as well as other concerned people to drop their sale of neo-nazi "white power" rock music albums. But they have refused to do so, talking about freedom of speech. Commercializing the advocacy of genocide for profit, and selling music designed to promote race war, however, goes beyond free speech. The coalition wants to bring this message to community residents and potential shoppers at Vinyl Solution, that it is vitally important to take a stand against nazi organizing, which has already led to racist violence; left unchecked, it will lead to more.

The second demonstration in the campaign is scheduled for Saturday, May 25, at 1:00 p.m., outside the Vinyl Solution record store in Huntington Beach, at 18822 Beach Boulevard near Constantine. Huntington Beach was the scene recently of a bloody and nearly-fatal nazi bonehead attack, and has a strong presence of nazi-skins who seek to intimidate people in the youth scene in the beach community. Several nazi boneheads were arrested for the near-fatal stabbing of a Native American man in Huntington Beach earlier this year. Shannon Martin, 23, of Huntington Beach, was charged with conspiracy and being an accessory to the crime, after he allegedly retrieved a hunting knife from a bush near a lifeguard tower where the assault occurred. Erik Anderson, 20, a self-described klansman, allegedly stabbed the victim dozens of times. A 17-year-old boy also was held in the stabbing.

Almost unbelievably, the 20-year-old victim, who is believed to have been attacked because of his dark skin, has survived the vicious assault that inflicted dozens of stab wounds on him, and which the bonehead stabber slashed one of his neo-nazi buddies in the eye.

The victim and his mother have received an outpouring of support from community organizations that united to oppose racist violence in the area.

Anderson was charged with attempted murder and being an accessory. Both were charged with conspiring to violate the victim's civil rights. Anderson's bail was set at \$250,000 and Martin's at \$100,000. Moments before the attack, police said, Anderson encountered the victim and asked if he believed in white power. Anderson had moved to Bakersfield and lived there about a year before moving back home to Huntington Beach just after Christmas, his father said.

While the city and County of Los Angeles have both passed ordinances criminalizing the inserting of racist pamphlets into food, the Glendale man whose involvement in distributing racist messages at Southland supermarkets precipitated the passage of the laws, is languishing in jail after backing out of a plea bargain on charges that he had upped the ante of his crimes and vandalized expensive cars in a Newport Beach neighborhood.

Allan Eric Carlson, 31, was arrested last year on suspicion of shooting out the

windows of about 30 cars, mostly Mercedes Benzes and BMWs, in the Eastbluff section of Newport Beach. He is also suspected of vandalizing 48 other cars in the area earlier this month, police said. A pellet gun believed used in the vandalism was found in his car, authorities said.

Carlson is being held on \$20,000 bail in Orange County Jail, charged with misdemeanor vandalism and misdemeanor possession of brass knuckles, each of which carries a maximum punishment of one year in jail, Deputy Dist. Atty. Jack Sullens said. Newport Beach police say the investigation is continuing. Last year, Carlson was arrested on assault charges for punching a janitor who tried to stop him from placing racist leaflets into student lockers at a Simi Valley high school.

These crimes cry out for concerned people to act to build solidarity and counter neo-nazi propagandizing and efforts to foment race war. The coalition will meet prior to the actions to paint banners and plan outreach. Get involved now! Call PART's hotline, 310-288-5003, or write to Southern California Anti-Fascist Action, PO Box 71219, L.A. CA 90071.

# Pat Buchanan: Point Man for Fascism

# Buchanan

# Machoman

...continued from page 5

panied, as in the Weimar Republic, with a decay of society and a collapse of its basic cinder block, the family." On AIDS, Buchanan wrote in 1983: "The poor homosexuals — they have declared war upon nature, and now nature is extracting an awful retribution (AIDS)." Buchanan wrote in 1990: "With 80,000 dead of AIDS, our promiscuous homosexuals appear literally hell-bent on Satanism and suicide." In his 1992 campaign against George Bush, he declared: "AIDS is nature's retribution for violating the laws of nature." (Seattle Times, 7/31/93)

Buchanan uses these scapegoating attacks in fund-raising aimed at those who fear gays, or illegal immigrants, or abortion rights. There's "a bloody assault" on the GOP's stand against abortion, and "liberals in our party are already demanding the addition of a homosexual rights plank in the next Republican platform," Buchanan stated in one direct-mail fund-raising appeal, which the candidate often writes himself, along with the text for his ads and commercials. Another letter decried "the social radicals and gay rights activists who wish to indoctrinate America's children in 'positive attitudes' toward homosexuality, using as propaganda tools, books for first-graders like 'Daddy's Roommate' and 'Heather Has Two Mommies.'" An-

other letter accused Dole and Gramm of "undermining the use of English as America's unifying national language" by voting to "use your tax dollars to print ballots in Spanish."

H. Dustin Fillmore, 64, an attorney in Fort Worth, Texas, gave \$500 to Buchanan last month. He was one of more than a dozen Buchanan donors who previously contributed to former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke's Senate or presidential bids, a computer analysis of Federal Election Commission records showed, according to the press. "I think he believes in what he says, and the things that he's excited about I am," Fillmore said of Buchanan, citing the candidate's stands against abortion, gays in the military and illegal immigration. As for his past support of Duke, Fillmore said: "I agreed with some of his ideas, reducing the size of government and returning rights and responsibilities to the people."

Abortion is another area where Buchanan's view have mirrored those of neo-Nazi Tom Metzger. In his column, he favorably quoted Rev. Paul Marx, a clerical-fascist inclined Catholic anti-choice leader, that Muslim Turkish doctors in Germany were aborting German women at a feverish pace in order to finance their own burgeoning families. This line, that abortion (and contraception) represent cul-

tural suicide for the Western nations, is quite close to Metzger's slogan that "abortion is white genocide." In a syndicated column in 1983, Buchanan wrote: "Rail as they will about 'discrimination,' women are simply not endowed by nature with the same measures of single-minded ambition and the will to succeed in the fiercely competitive world of Western capitalism."

In another example of the supportive treatment Buchanan gets from the mainstream media, when he gave his rabble-rousing "cultural and religious war" speech at the 1992 Republican convention that re-nominated George Bush, Buchanan was analyzed for ABC-TV by anti-abortion Eagle Forum leader Phyllis Schlafly.

Schlafly, like Buchanan, is a great admirer of Chilean strongman Augusto Pinochet, and has written that Christian women in the U.S. need to emulate the Christian women of Chile and Brazil (who each led movements to overthrow their elected presidents, and supported the subsequent brutal military dictatorships.)

## OTHER FASCIST STAFFERS AND BACKERS

Almost none of this decades-long unanimity of purpose in a fascist enterprise between Buchanan and Pratt

was mentioned in the media when Pratt's associations with the Aryan Nations were disclosed (not by the media but by a small liberal research group). Moreover, Pratt is not the only fascist-oriented campaign and personal associate Buchanan has attached himself to.

Immediately after Pratt's suspension, a Florida chair for Buchanan's campaign, Susan Lamb, was terminated after her simultaneous position as local leader of David Duke's National Association for the Advancement of White People became known.

Another top-level adviser to Buchanan, Samuel Francis, was recently fired by the Moonie-owned Washington Times. Francis had used the Bible in his Times column to show that slavery and racism were not sins (a view shared by Pratt as well, in his denunciation of liberation theology in "Armed People Victorious"). In the conservative journal "Chronicles," Francis has urged the prohibition of immigration from "countries or cultures that are incompatible with and indigestible to the Euro-American cultural core" of the U.S. Buchanan himself proclaimed that he would rather see a million Englishmen enter the U.S. "than a million Zulus," claiming this was a cultural and not a racial preference.

Buchanan campaigner William Carter was state chairman for David Duke's 1992 presidential campaign in South Carolina. Carter was removed from Buchanan's state steering committee, after being questioned about his ties to Duke, by Dan Griffith, state director of Buchanan's campaign. Carter is chairman of the South Carolina Council of Conservative Citizens, a group he describes as "slightly to the right of Buchanan." The group is best known in South Carolina for organizing rallies in support of flying the Confederate flag atop the Statehouse.

The New York Times reported that three of Buchanan's Louisiana delegates have ties to Duke. Vincent Bruno of Kenner, La., an adviser from Duke's 1991 campaign for Louisiana governor,

was elected as a Buchanan delegate to the Republican National Convention during Louisiana's GOP presidential caucus Feb. 6. Bruno and Duke described Bruno as a minor figure in the former Ku Klux Klan imperial wizard's 1991 bid for governor. "I sort of acted like a liaison with the religious right," said Bruno, 49. "Mr. Duke, at the time I supported him, stated he wasn't opposed to black people, he wasn't opposed to Jewish people. I took him at his word."

Another Buchanan friend, John Lofton, was also too far out for even the arch-conservative Moonie-owned Washington Times. Lofton was fired because, as he puts it, his editors 'got sick of my Christian witness and my incessant Bible quoting.' After he left, he charged that the Times was staffed by 'homosexuals, adulterers and fornicators.' Last year the Buchanan campaign retained Lofton as a \$1,500-a-month consultant to direct a letter-writing campaign to plant pro-Buchanan, anti-Dole letters in local papers (a job Buchanan himself did in the Nixon White House).

Top Buchanan campaign official Michael Farris was forced to apologize and disavow any knowledge of what he was getting himself into when he was disclosed to have participated in the "White Rose" dinner in Virginia that was called by the justifiable homicide wing of the anti-abortion movement and honored convicted provider and escort murderer Paul Hill. Farris is also representing Michael New, a soldier convicted of insubordination for refusing to participate in U.N. peace-keeping operations. New, whose case has become a cause celebre for the Liberty Lobby and in "Patriot" circles, has been championed by Buchanan himself on his campaign World-Wide Web site. New's father is running a "populist" campaign for Congress with the backing of the Liberty Lobby.

Openly racist and fascist forces that have chafed at their consignment to the fringes of official political discourse in the U.S. have seized on the

Buchanan candidacy as unparalleled opportunity to reach a broader audience and to attain new respectability. David Duke himself backed Buchanan in the Louisiana primary victory over Phil Gramm that sent his stock soaring. Buchanan accepted the endorsement, saying "He's endorsing me, I'm not endorsing him." Buchanan has also been the favorite of the Liberty Lobby's Willis Carto, who promotes Buchanan as a "populist" and supported him in 1992 and again this year. Carto's "Spotlight" weekly newspaper, which gives Buchanan constant favorable coverage, is considered the most influential voice of anti-Semitism in the U.S. Carto is both a Holocaust revisionist and a supporter of the forced repatriation of Blacks to Africa. The magazine of the Populist Party, whose past candidates for president have included Duke and Bo Gritz, also calls Buchanan "the only major Republican who speaks out on behalf of America's huge bloc of populists and nationalists."

The New York Times reports that the Tri-States Militia and First Texas Rangers Militia were backing Buchanan. "A majority of the people within our organizations are for Pat," said Russell Smith of Tri-States. "My wife and I are working hard for him.

We're educating people, talking to people, passing out fliers.

Any place we see people, any place we strike up a conversation.

At gun rallies. At gun shows. And we're getting a pretty good reception." Campaign officials studiously avoid questions about Buchanan's support among militia organizations. Repeated requests this week to Buchanan's national campaign headquarters for clarification of his position toward militia groups went unanswered. "I cannot comment on the record about this," said Kevin B. Forbes, a chief Buchanan spokesman, when he was asked for comment on the issue by the Times.

But while Buchanan has tried to remain silent, militia members themselves have been quite vocal in expressing their feelings. "Pat's general plat-

form is absolutely verbatim with those things that we've been talking about," said Bob Fletcher, a former Montana Militia leader who is preparing to set up a radio and television program in West Los Angeles. "Everything he says, it looks like I wrote it for his platform," said Fletcher.

Similar views and rhetoric were on display at a convention this past week in Wichita, Kan., put on by a political action group called CURE: the Constitutionally Unified Republic for Everyone. The group includes Patriots, America-Firsters and Constitutionists, as well as militia members serving as delegates and bodyguards. The convention selected Georgia businessman Charles E. Collins as its candidate for president. But the conventioners and their candidate are trying to figure out how to join swords with the Buchanan campaign, according to the NY Times. "We've had a lot of discussions with Pat," Collins said in an interview during the convention. "We're pretty close. Our platforms are identical. And we would push to form a coalition with Pat to run as a team to change the country."

Evan Mechem, once governor of Arizona until he was impeached on tax-related charges, and a co-founder of CURE, also praised Buchanan. Buchanan's candidacy is "what America is all about," he said. "Let the electorate decide whether he is an extremist." Neo-Nazi Don Black, who took over the KKK from his associate David Duke, and once went to prison for participating in a mercenary attempt to take the island of Dominica with other white supremacists, backs Buchanan on his Stormfront site on the world-wide web. "I first noticed Buchanan in 1982, when he described the black riots in Washington, D.C. which followed an aborted Klan demonstration I had originally organized. Though some Klansmen still showed up, the march was cancelled. The real story was the aftermath, which the national media portrayed as righteous indignation to Klan 'hatred.' Buchanan,

however, told the truth, [when he wrote in his column] 'When it comes to hatred, to violence, to racism, the Knights of the KKK can't hold a candle to the thuggish and criminal elements in the black community in Washington, D.C.'"

## DICTATORSHIP

Buchanan is an ideal horse for these neo-fascists to ride because he himself has opposed what he calls the "democratist temptation, the worship of democracy as a form of governance." Buchanan wrote in his *From the Right* newsletter, in the Spring 1990 issue: "Like all idolatries, democratism substitutes a false god for the real, a love of process for a love of country." In a January, 1991 column, Buchanan suggested that "quasi-dictatorial rule" might be the solution to the problems of big municipalities and the federal fiscal crisis: "If the people are corrupt, the more democracy, the worse the government." (Washington Times, 1/9/91) He has written disparagingly of the "one man, one vote Earl Warren system." In his memoir, "Right From the Beginning," Buchanan calls Spanish dictator Francisco Franco a "Catholic savior." He has referred in his column to Franco and Chile's Gen. Pinochet, as "soldier-patriots." In his memoir, Buchanan reported that his FBI files, which he had obtained, included a letter from the American Nazi Party on their letterhead, thanking him for his participation and his efforts to help realize the Fuhrer's dream. Buchanan claimed this letter was simply a prank.

## WHITHER BUCHANAN?

"The Pat Buchanan Movement," as he has begun to refer to his campaign, has an unclear future. Pat may bolt the Republican Party after the convention and try a third party bid, or he may bide his time. But in or out of the Republican party, he has clearly established an abiding, and threatening, political presence. How do we respond to it?

Buchanan is not a fluke, nor is he categorically distinct from other establishment political figures. We cannot block Buchanan or fascism by supporting Bob Dole or Bill Clinton.

Indeed, an important way to both blunt Buchanan's appeal, and to expose the true nature of the system that is raising Buchanan up, is to point out the commonalities of Buchanan and the rest. Bob Dole has highlighted his support of English Only. Steve Forbes has a former Pioneer Fund official on his staff. White supremacist Richard Barrett's Nationalist Party held a rally on the steps of the New Hampshire capitol to thank the state for refusing to adopt the Martin Luther King Day holiday, yet the governor of New Hampshire is Dole's national campaign chair.

Lamar Alexander called for establishing a fifth branch of the U.S. military to patrol the border.

We need to counter scapegoating with solidarity. Many on the left are casting covetous and opportunist eyes on Buchanan's success in injecting supposedly anti-corporate "populism" into the electoral campaign. Anti-racists cannot emulate Buchanan.

We need to concretely expose the demagogic and hypocritical nature of his "economic populism." Buchanan is just like the militias, which claim to oppose the 'new world order' and 'globalism' while putting forward a program of environmental deregulation, social service cuts, and untrammled exploitation of public and private land that dovetails precisely with the neoliberal policies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. We need to expose the whole seamy underbelly of the "democratic state" that Buchanan's more forthrightly anti-democratic politics has brought to light. We need to illuminate the terrible consequences of fascism, and current existence of fascist-like conditions in the prisons and on the streets. Only in this way can we make the empire pay a political price for unleashing a proto-fascist like Buchanan.

# Asians Against Police Abuse

by Dan Tsang

## Fact Sheet: Police Mug Files on People of Color

The Alliance Working for Asian Rights and Empowerment was formed in September, 1993 as a grassroots, community support and advocacy group for Asians and Pacific Islanders in Orange County. It is the successor group to the Fountain Valley Youth Alliance, which fought against Asian mug files in Fountain Valley.

Fueled by anti-immigrant sentiment and gang hysteria, in cities all over California, including Garden Grove, Fountain Valley, Westminster, Huntington Beach, Orange, Fullerton, Anaheim, and Los Alamitos, and across the U.S., police are stopping young Asians and other people of color and/or taking their photos, just because of their age, color, and hip-hop clothing.

\* In the summer of 1992, eight Asian youths having a barbecue at Heisler Park in Laguna Beach are rounded up by police and individually and collectively photographed, just because of an earlier, unrelated incident involving some other Asians in the park.

\* In January 1993, police raid the Kanshige family residence in Fountain Valley, looking for son Mark, having misidentified him as a attempted murder suspect from a photo dossier. Police handcuff parents and children, forcing them outdoors while ransacking the house for evidence they could not find. After spending six months in jail, Mark is found innocent by a jury.

\* In July 1993, Garden Grove police illegally detain and photograph three Southeast Asian girls waiting by a pay phone for a call. The girls have on baggy pants. Two are honor students. Police accuse them of being gang members. Two of the girls tell their story on KUCI's Freedom of Voice show.

\* Also in July 1993, California League of United Latin American Citizens calls on the U.S. Civil Rights Commission to investigate racism in Orange County, including the mug file issue.

\* In November 1993, in a case (People v. Rodriguez) involving a Latino, a state appellate court in California rules such detentions and photography to be unconstitutional. However, police refuse to obey the ruling, insisting that the practice catches criminals.

\* In December 1993, with the help of the ACLU, a civil complaint is filed against the Garden Grove Police Department for its mugfile practices.

\* In June 1994 AWARE holds its first Copwatch Forum attended by almost two hundred community members (and several police officers in plain clothes) in Little Saigon. At the session, AWARE distributes "Know Your Rights" cards.

\* In the fall of 1994, AWARE's college student members form a chapter at Orange Coast College in Costa Mesa. AWARE members and supporters later demonstrate outside Orange County Court House in support of Tu Anh Tran, a college student shot in the back but charged with a friend's murder. In January, 1995, Tu Anh Tran is released in a plea bargain, and AWARE holds a press conference to celebrate his freedom.

\* In March, 1995, Tsang's notes and photos are subpoenaed by the defense during the civil trial for damages sought by Loc Minh Truong, the victim of a vicious gaybashing incident in Laguna Beach. Tsang successfully fights off the subpoena.

\* In July 1995, the Orange County Register details harassment of Asian youth in South Orange County and quotes AWARE's JoAnn Kanshige.

\* In Fall, 1995, AWARE takes a leading role in organizing a county-wide Asian Pacific American coalition.

\* Although only 22.5% of Westminster is Asian or Pacific Islander, of all 716 suspected gang-bangers detained for 'field interviews' in Westminster under the TARGET program since 1992, 72% (519) have been Asian. 21% (151) were Latino. Only 6% (46) were white or "others", even though Westminster is 69.8% white.

\* In 1992, 41 of 188 reported hate crimes and incidents in Orange County targeted Asians or Pacific Islanders.

\* A 1993 Westminster police manual, "Asian Gangs in Little Saigon," written by detective Mark Nye, warns against Asian girl gangs. It says groups of Asian girls who "dress up" and don't wear "gang attire" are really in "disguise." To find out their true gang affiliation, police are advised to check their cars to see if they are "gang related vehicles." Also, police are advised to act with caution since Asian girls can be mistaken for boys.

\* At least fifteen complaints by Asian youth have been lodged against the Fountain Valley Police Department for unlawful detention and photography.

\* San Jose: Ted Nguyen spends three months in jail for a crime he did not commit after being misidentified from a Asian mug book. Vietnamese American community mobilizes and forces the police to abolish the mug book.

\* Philadelphia: Photo sweeps targeting Asian Americans, especially Southeast Asians, outrage the Asian American and civil liberties communities. Under pressure, the police agree to stop any photographing or detaining of people unless it is in connection with a specific criminal investigation. Pennsylvania has a state law barring retention of non-arrest photos of minors.

What You Can Do:

Join AWARE and Work Together To Stop Police Abuse. Call or fax AWARE at (714) 597-9766 or write to AWARE, PO Box 28977, Santa Ana CA 92799-8977. E-mail <dtsang@uci.edu.>

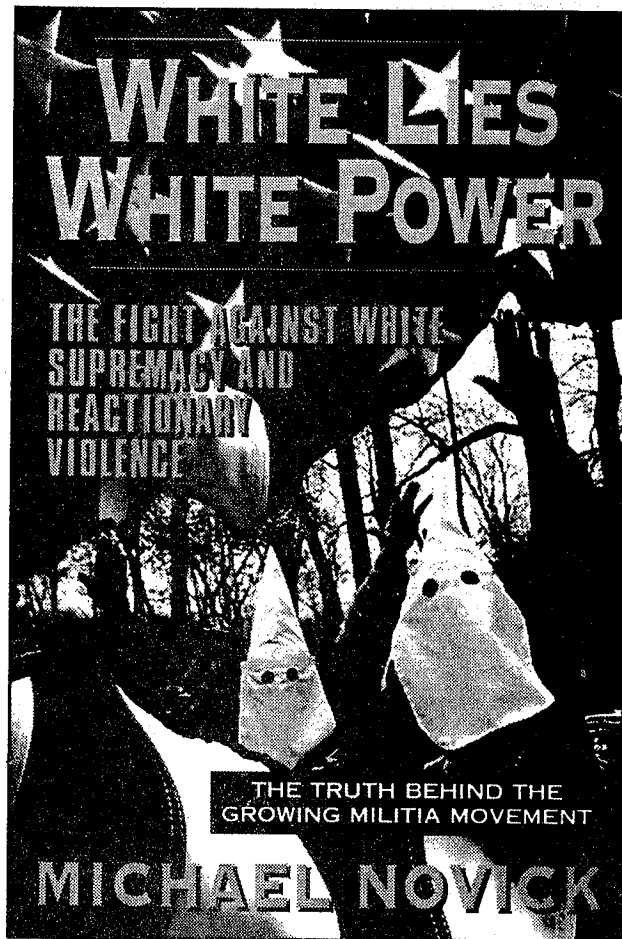


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