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TURNING THE TIDE

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Turning the Tide welcomes your comments and other contributions. Electronic submissions especially welcome, by email to <mnovickttt@igc.org> or as ascii-text on 3.5" IBM-compatible floppy disks.

STOP THE TERROR! WE WON'T GO BACK!

by

the Center for Democratic Renewal

Editor's note: As TTT went to press, two more Black churches in North Carolina, and a third in Alabama, were the targets of arson attacks. Government denials of a conspiracy ring hollow, just as they did during the widespread bombings of women's clinics. Federal investigators have given a harder time to Black religious leaders and congregation members over the attacks than to the racist and skinhead groups that have had proven involvement or boasted of using arson of Black churches as an initiation device. We are excerpting CDR's vital recent report:

From January 1990 through March 1996, as many as 45 African-American and interracial churches in Alabama, Tennessee, South Carolina, Louisiana, and other states were bombed, burned or defaced. The Center for Democratic Renewal (CDR), with a 17-year history monitoring far right activity, recognizes the tactics traditionally used by white supremacists to threaten and intimidate. One need only look briefly back in history to see incidents of this type of violence and their links to racist groups. For example, J.B. Stoner, long-time white supremacist also infamous for his strongly anti-gay motto, "Thank God for AIDS" — was convicted for the 1958 firebombing of a Southern black church. The current attacks on black churches in the South is also painfully reminiscent of the 1963 firebombing of a Birmingham church that claimed the lives of four young girls. The resurgence of this type of terrorism reflects the ongoing agenda of far-right groups. David Lane, neo-Nazi and Order member, best sums up the white supremacist desire to turn hatred into violence: "Act now with the fanaticism of desperation (David Lane, 14 Word Press Flyer:1996).

The following report offers information on these church bombings, burnings, and vandalism that, to date, has not been available in such a comprehensive form to the press, the public, or the religious or civil rights communities. This preliminary report exposes the connection between the white supremacy movement and acts of violence against Black Southern, rural churches. In this report, we have placed these regional acts of violence into a national context, examining the impact of white supremacy on the acceptance of intolerance

by mainstream America—an acceptance that allowed the church attacks to go largely unnoticed until now.

Historical Backdrop

In 1979, a coalition of religious, political and legal organizations called the National Anti-Klan Network (NAKN) formed to provide a national response to racially motivated violence toward Blacks, Latinos, Asian and other racial and ethnic groups.

After the murders of five anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina, the NAKN organized a massive national rally to protest Klan terrorism. On February 2, 1980, despite efforts by local police and the Klan to deter the demonstration, more than 10,000 people from across the country met in Greensboro in a show of unity and to express their utter abhorrence of the violence that white supremacists represent.

By April 1980, NAKN received word that avowed white supremacist William Church had split

from a larger Klan faction in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and created the Justice Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. He amassed a small following and quickly decided that it was time to move against "the damn niggers." Sometime during the evening of April 9, 1980, Church called a meeting of the newly formed Justice Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. At that meeting, the group plotted to go into the heart of the Black community and set aflame two eight-foot wooden crosses, a tactic traditionally used by the Klan as a symbol of terror and intimidation. After the meeting, Church, accompanied by Klansmen Tony Payne, Marshall Thrash and two other recent inductees to the group, set out. At approximately 8:00 pm, two carloads of armed Klansmen drove to Martin Luther King Boulevard. They were armed with 12-gauge shotguns, automatic weapons, and gasoline and wood to construct their crosses.

Their targets that evening were five elderly Black women: Viola Ellison, Lela Mae Evans, Opal Jackson, Katherine Johnson and Mary Tyson. These ladies were walking home along a street in Chattanooga's Black community. One of the Klansmen, Marshall Thrash, pointed his shotgun out of the window of the vehicle, aimed, shot and continued to shoot until his gun was empty. Katherine Johnson and Lela Mae Evans were hit by over 110 shotgun pellets. The Klansmen sped away, driving past the home of Fannie Crumsey. As the driver slowed, Thrash again aimed a gun and emptied it in Crumsey's direction. The pellets shattered the windows of a parked car and sent glass into Mrs. Crumsey's neck. (Much of the information about the Chattanooga case can be attributed to *Racially Motivated Violence: Litigation Strategies*,

edited by Randolph M. Scott-McLaughlin.)

Three of the Klansmen were arrested and charged with assault with intent to commit murder. NAKN, in addition to its monitoring, research and direct action campaigns to counter hate group activity, was working in partnership with the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) in an effort to develop strategies to combat Klan violence and coordinate a legal task force. This team became involved in the Chattanooga case after a call from George Key, local president of the NAACP. Key requested an investigation to determine if there were grounds for a federal lawsuit. CCR litigated the landmark case of *Crumsey v Justice Knights of the Ku Klux Klan*. They were able to obtain a \$535,000 judgment against the Justice Knights. Today, the National Anti-Klan Network is the Center for Democratic Renewal (CDR). Once again CDR and CCR, along with the National Council of Churches, the NAACP, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, are joining to form a coalition to develop strategies to counter the widespread wave of terrorism and destruction to Black churches, and other incidents of physical violence in the South.

Attacks Against Black Churches in the South

It was not until the eve of the 1996 celebration of the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., that word of the firebombing of the Inner City Church in Knoxville, Tennessee rocked the foundation of the South. We became aware that attacks on Black churches were becoming almost commonplace and that a definite trend was developing. As we maintained a close watch over the

escalating number of incidents, we learned that the general public, particularly the religious community, had little if any knowledge of the blatant attacks on Black churches. Since January 1995, these attacks seemed to be occurring at a rate of one to four every three months.

Through CDR's Southern Project, a five-state initiative that provides direct assistance to victims of racially motivated violence, staff was assigned to travel to four of the states most recently affected by the bombing, burning and vandalizing of Black churches. The tasks were to make certain our data corresponded in a concrete way with the devastation occurring to victims; meet with and provide support to the victims; and find answers to three basic questions: Who is burning Black churches in the South? What are their connections to white supremacists? What help is needed for the churches to rebuild and recover?

Since late February, CDR staff has been in communities throughout the South, and developed a preliminary response to these questions. While it's extremely important to focus on the destruction of Black churches, and pursue appropriate remedies, these incidents have occurred with some direct evidence of physical violence to African Americans. This must not go unchecked.

Who Is Bombing, Burning and Vandalizing Southern Black Churches?

Since January 1990, the CDR has worked to document those individuals who have been arrested or prosecuted for the destruction of Black churches in the South. Our records show that white male extremists between the ages of 15 and 45 have destroyed many historically

Black and interracial, family-founded churches throughout the region. Like the turbulent 1960s, those who terrorize today are night riders. In most documented cases, white men travel in groups of three to five and do their damage under the cover of darkness, during early morning hours — most often between 2 - 6:00 a.m.

In some cases where young white males have been directly linked to white supremacist groups, the acts appear to have been carried out as part of an initiation of new recruits by older Klan members.

The following cases are examples of the strong connection between church attacks and white supremacy groups:

* **In South Carolina**, Gary C. Cox, 22, and Timothy A. Welch, 23, face federal civil rights charges for setting fires that destroyed two churches. The Mount Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church in Greelyville, South Carolina burned down June 21, 1995. The Macedonia Baptist Church in Bloomville was completely demolished the next day. When arrested by Clarendon County Sheriff Hoyt Collins, Welch had in his possession a card that identified him as a member of the Christian Knights of the KKK. The Christian Knights were founded in 1985 by Virgil Griffin, who has a history of racial violence, including involvement in the 1979 Greensboro massacre. Writer Patsy Sims quotes Griffin saying, "We can do it peacefully if we can get people organized, and if not, we can do it violent" (North Carolinians Against Racist and Religious Violence).

Prior to the burning of the churches, local Klansmen held meetings and rallies less than a quarter of a mile from the Mount Zion Church site. About six months earlier, someone tacked a Klan poster to the front

door of Macedonia Baptist Church. The men reportedly set fire to hymnals and bibles to start the fires.

The two men have also been arrested in connection with the June 16 beating and stabbing of a retarded 50-year-old Black man in Berkeley County. The man was reportedly standing near his Pineville home where he lives with his wheel chair-bound mother. As he stood waiting for a bus to pick him up to take him to his job, the two Klansmen drove by and one of them reportedly shouted "There's a rigger!" They then brutally beat and stabbed the victim at least three times. He was treated at a hospital and released. During a preliminary hearing, when Welch was asked why he assaulted the victim, he stated, "Because he was Black."

* **In Columbia, Tennessee**, three white men have been convicted on federal civil rights charges for firebombing two Black churches, Friendship Missionary Baptist Church and Canaan African Methodist Episcopal Church, Sunday, June 29, 1995, the men were alleged to be drinking heavily. One of the men went searching for his daughter, who reportedly was involved in an interracial relationship. The three burned the churches to the ground because they wanted "to teach the Black race a lesson." Beer bottles filled with kerosene were used to burn crosses to set the churches on fire. Three years earlier, a federal court shut down the Invisible Empire, Knights of the KKK, including a chapter in Columbia, TN.

* **In a Mississippi** federal court, three white males were also convicted in the first church burning case brought in that court's history. On April 14, 1993, the men were charged with burning two churches in rural McComb MS, Springhill Freewill

Baptist Church and Rocky Point Missionary Baptist Church. Both churches were set afire on the anniversary of the death of Martin Luther King, Jr. The three used hymnals and artificial flowers to light the fires and shouted racial epithets.

* **In Sumter County, AL**, three white males reportedly masterminded a plot to destroy several Black churches while attending a boat party with friends. After leaving the party, the men drove down one of Sumter County's long, dark roads, passing white churches to selectively target the Buck's Chapel Church, Oak Grove Missionary Baptist Church and Pine Top Baptist. The men were prosecuted in state court for crimes motivated by hate on the basis of religion and race.

* **In Clarksville, TN**, the arson of Greater Missionary Baptist Church followed a Molotov cocktail attack on the home of a black family in the area on August 4, 1994. The device did not explode, and a note attached to the bottle said that Black people were not welcome in the neighborhood. The attempt to burn the church took place on August 5, though little damage was done. On August 13, a second family home was attacked by Molotov cocktails, and the family was left homeless after the fire burned their house to the ground. During the same time period, the building housing the Benevolent Lodge #210, a Black organization, was arsoned. Three white males, ages 15-18, were charged with civil rights violations, arson, possession of firearms, and were convicted in Federal Court for firebombing the homes and lodge. They claimed to be members of a group called the Aryan Faction.

* **And, as a final example** of the involvement of white supremacists in these attacks on Black churches, Ernest Pierce, state leader of the

Knights of the KKK, was indicted and prosecuted for the December 1991 burning of the Barren River Baptist Church in Bowling Green, Kentucky.

Responses, Rebuilding and Recovering

At least 25 white males with links to white supremacist groups or who share the beliefs of racial hatred are being arrested or prosecuted in federal courts throughout the South. However, an extremely high percentage of the 45 churches identified by CDR as targets of domestic terrorism remain unsolved.

In response to the resurgence of fire bombings and burnings, the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Fire Arms (ATF) set up four regional task forces in Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana and South Carolina. According to published reports, federal authorities have been investigating possible national and regional conspiracy links, as well as copycat crimes of isolated racism and terror. In an article appearing in Columbia, South Carolina's newspaper, *The State*, Earl Woodham, an ATF spokesman stated, "Agents are looking for a link among churches that have burned under suspicious circumstances, but haven't found any evidence of a regional conspiracy that could stand up in court."

In a February 26, 1996 article in *USA Today*, FBI deputy director Weldon Kennedy was quoted as saying, "The FBI hasn't found evidence of a national conspiracy in the latest church fires. But on a local level, fires in Louisiana and Alabama appear to be related." The results of the federal investigations in many of these fires are yet to be released. Far too many cases, 33 of the 45 church arsons, remain unsolved.

Traditionally, Black church families have been strong in their spiritual beliefs and in their determination to worship together, structure or not. As a result, the rebuilding efforts in communities throughout the four-state region have given rise to a healing power that brings people together across racial lines, intersecting denominations in local communities, hamlets and cities, throughout this country. People are working together to restore many of the churches destroyed by hatred and evil acts of intolerance. As we recognize the good being done, we also recognize the many churches isolated in rural areas that still have not received the attention or resources to rebuild. There are churches where few people have come to help. Those church families deserve our immediate attention.

Support from communities, other churches, and concerned citizens varies from place to place. Some victimized churches are receiving impressive help across-racial or denominational lines. The following examples are models of how communities, individuals, and families reach out to help when a crisis arises.

* **The churches in Boligee, Alabama** are being cleared by local community rebuilding teams. Volunteer organizing is being conducted by a Quaker group, and others are helping from the Mennonite, Catholic, Presbyterian, and Southern Baptist denominations. The SCLC held a community fundraiser, raising nearly \$6,000 to be donated to the three churches. However, even with volunteer efforts, organizational fundraising, and individual contributions, the churches each need \$80-100,000 to rebuild, and are a long way from their goal.

* **The Inner City Church** in Knox-

ville, Tennessee, has received the bulk of its help from Wisconsin, where pastor and football player Reggie White plays with the Green Bay Packers. Also in Tennessee, the Columbia Friendship Missionary Baptist Church was the recipient of a multi-racial effort to help rebuild. It was restored in a matter of weeks, with the bulk of support coming from area white churches. In contrast, the Johnson County church that was destroyed in January 1995 has not yet been rebuilt because they have not yet raised enough money.

* **St. John's Baptist Church** in Dixiana, South Carolina has been the victim of repeated severe vandalism over the years. In 1985, a multiracial community group was formed to raise money to restore the church after each attack. Over the course of the past 11 years, \$45,000 has been raised to repair the work of vandals. The community group, which includes the prosecutor, sheriff, and district attorney, was re-activated in August after the final act of terrorism which destroyed the church. Funds are still needed to rebuild.

* **The members of Sweet Home Baptist Church** in Baker, Louisiana, are so far afraid to rebuild; afraid if they do, their church will be destroyed again.

The disparity in support for each church is evident. By raising the issue to a national level, the CDR hopes every church can get the support it needs to recover from the vicious attacks. Efforts thus far must be applauded, but can only be considered a beginning.

Recommendations

We at CDR feel it's imperative to address this issue now. The increase in attacks on black churches in the South over the past year is part

Black Church Fire Bombings: January 1, 1995-March 1, 1996

- * January 13, 1995 - Macedonia Missionary Baptist Church, Crockett Co., Tenn.
- * January 13, 1995 - Johnson Grove Baptist Church, Madison Co., Tenn.
- * January 29, 1995 - Friendship Missionary Baptist Church, Columbia, Tenn.
- * January 29, 1995 - Canaan African Methodist Episcopal Church, Mount Pleasant, Tenn.
- * January 31, 1995 - Mt. Calvary Baptist Church, Bolivar, Tenn.
- * June, 1995 - St. Paul AME, Dallas, Ga.
- * June 20, 1995 - Mount Zion AME Church, Greeleyville, SC
- * June 21, 1995 - Macedonia Baptist Church, Bloomville, SC
- * October 14, 1995 - Zion Chapel AME, Sun, La.
- * December 22, 1995 - Mount Zion Baptist Church, Boligee, Al.
- * December 22, 1995 - Jerusalem Baptist Church, Boligee, Al.
- * December 31, 1995 - Salem Baptist Church, Fruitland, Tenn.
- * January 8, 1996 - Inner City Baptist Church, Knoxville, Tenn.
- * January 11, 1996 - Little Zion Baptist Church, Boligee, Al.
- * January 11, 1996 - Mount Zoar Baptist Church, Boligee, Al.
- * January 27, 1996 - Cypress Trails United Methodist Church, Spring, Tex.
- * January 27, 1996 - Resurrection Lutheran Church, Spring, Tex.
- * February 1, 1996 - Cypress Grove Baptist Church, Zachary, La.
- * February 1, 1996 - St. Paul's Free Baptist Church, Baker, La.
- * February 1, 1996 - The Sweet Home Baptist Church, Zachary, La.
- * February 1, 1996 - Thomas Chapel Benevolent Society, Zachary, La.
- * February 21, 1996 - Glorious Church of God and Christ, Richmond, Va.
- * February 29, 1996 - Liberty Baptist Church, Tyler, AL.

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of a national trend of intolerance and the willingness to use violence as a means to an end. To stop the terror, we must recognize that the more often a group or person is given free reign to carry out hate crimes unpunished, the easier it becomes for another to follow in his/her footsteps — often with an escalation in the seriousness of the crime. Lack of response feeds the illusion that violence is an acceptable behavior and will go unpunished. This makes it more likely that the acts will continue and escalate into assault and even murder. The bombings, burnings and vandalism are serious, related incidents in an overall picture of a growing threat posed by the far right in this country today to democracy and social justice.

These acts of violence need to be counted as hate crimes. In many cases, especially where there's no

racist graffiti or notes left behind, law enforcement officials do not consider these acts to be hate crimes, even though the arsonists had to drive by white churches to get to the rural Black churches. Additionally, local, state, and federal investigators need to be held accountable. It is unconscionable that the majority of these cases remain unsolved.

Church communities need to be more involved. While the National Council of Churches is in the forefront of raising this issue and planning a strategy to counter the hatred, other denominations are slower to realize that these attacks are part of a national problem, and that they cannot continue to treat each burning as an individual and unrelated incident. The national offices of each denomination need to get involved and coordinate efforts to support, rebuild, and counter the violence

against these churches. Individuals and communities can be more involved as well. Community coalitions that cross racial and class lines can work together to stop the terror. When churches and communities present a united front against hatred, the message is clear that violence will not be tolerated in their communities. Individuals and communities are encouraged to report any incidents of hate crimes to CDR as well as to take positive, pro-active steps to stop the terror in their communities. CDR's mission, to advance a diverse and just society, mandates that we not sit back and allow these types of hate comes to continue. We are committed to stopping the terror and moving forward into the 21st century, rather than going back to the days of Jim Crow, lynchings, and violent intimidation.

CENTENNIAL OLYMPICS, ATLANTA 1996:
**COUNTER-INSURGENCY
GOES FOR THE GOLD**

by
Michael Novick

Atlanta, GA is gearing up to host the 1996 Summer Olympics, on the 100th anniversary of the founding of the modern Olympic Games. Hundreds of millions of dollars are being spent by the Atlanta Committee on the Olympic Games (ACOG), by multi-national corporations, particularly the media, and by all levels of government, to finance this colossal spectacle. With the Presidential race moving into high gear this summer, the Olympics will surely be played as a celebration of "America Resurgent: standing tall and on the move!"

197 countries will participate and as many as 100 heads of state will attend, led by the host, Bill Clinton. The 1996 Atlanta Olympic Games will be one of the most widely watched events of all time. The Games represent a prime arena for conventional politics. Taking yet another page out of Ronald Reagan's book, Clinton will surely wring every ounce of political advantage he can out of the Atlanta Games, as Reagan did with the '84 L.A. Olympics. Bill, Hillary, and their daughter, as well as V.P. Al Gore and his family, plan to attend several Olympic events. \$63 million in federal funds have been provided for "anti-terrorist" security, and \$150 million more for other Olympics operations, such as transportation. In fact, the White House has been heavily involved in planning for the Olympics since before Clinton took office. The Bush regime began participating in planning the Games in September 1990, soon after Atlanta's selection as the Olympics site.

But the Games will be of international and domestic political importance, far beyond the shallow media politics of the presidential election. Faced with a massive erosion of popular support and trust for the state and the system, and a thinly disguised economic contraction that necessitates increased economic exploitation to sustain corporate profitability, the U.S. ruling elite is seizing on the Olympics as a major opportunity to get Americans rooting for the "home team, the greatest country on earth." Behind the patriotic hoopla, the Olympics logo and

the official corporate sponsors, moreover, another more ominous development is taking shape. Under the guise of providing "security against a possible terrorist threat," the government is strengthening its police state apparatus in the heart of the Black Belt south and a center of both upwardly mobile, Black neo-colonial "bourgeoisie" and downtrodden Black masses.

George Orwell, whose book "1984" entered popular consciousness to become synonymous with the police state, once wrote that "international sport is like war without the

guns." This July in Atlanta, the guns will not be absent. As more than 10,000

Olympians take the field, they will be outnumbered better than three-to-one by private and public law enforcement and counter-insurgency personnel from ACOG, local jurisdictions, the Army, Coast Guard, National Guard, CIA, FBI, Secret Service, Immigration and Naturalization Service and secret police from countless foreign countries. This ratio is even higher than that for the L.A. Olympics, which established the high security bench-

mark. The estimated security budget for all this is upwards of \$200 million. Unlike in 1984 in L.A. however, when security operations were highly publicized and promoted, the developments this year are more covert.

Enjoying tremendous prestige and respectability, with hundreds of millions watching on T.V. worldwide, the Olympics provide the perfect rationale for this mobilization of repressive power. The security preparations for the Olympics do not arise out of a momentary crisis, only to fall away when the danger has passed. They fit into the long term trend in this country and in Europe towards more repressive mechanisms of state control. The development of domestic repression is a growing pre-occupation for all the imperialist countries and their client states.

Despite the talk of economic recovery, the global economy upon which the empire depends is in perpetual and growing crisis. Colonies and neo-colonies are seeking liberation, and cracks and strains are appearing within and between the advanced industrial countries. Across Europe, popular movements are resisting suppression, and fascist threats once thought long dead have reasserted themselves with a vengeance in both eastern and western Europe, no longer divided by the cold war. In the U.S. there is a stuttering increase in progressive activity, arising in response to the reactionary thrust of mainstream politics and to the depression-level conditions faced by colonized people. The international campaign to free Mumia Abu Jamal, the resurgence of organized labor, the resistance to immigrant bashing and to the anti-affirmative-action backlash are all markers of this development. At the same time, the surprising growth of a threat of armed activity from the right, in the

form of militias, secessionist movements and the forces of a "leaderless Aryan resistance," has given the state a convenient pretext for intensifying repressive measures in the name of "anti-terrorism."

In the face of such challenges, not only the U.S. but all the western "democracies" are becoming increasingly militarized, adopting new laws to suppress dissent and prevent the growth of contradictions that could enhance anti-imperialist struggle among their populations. Last month, for example, for the first time in 13 years of Conservative rule, the British opposition Labour Party decided not to oppose the annual renewal of the so-called "Prevention of Terrorism Act." Several of the party's backbenchers, as well as the deputy leader of the Liberal Democrats, expressed dismay at the lack of proper debate over the new measures. The five-point package aimed to bring anti-terrorist laws in England into line with those in Northern Ireland. The most controversial measure is the power to stop and search pedestrians in designated areas when there is a likelihood of a terrorist attack.

The Olympics provides only one pretext for such measures in the U.S. Additional hundreds of Federal and military agents have been deployed to San Diego and Chicago, where the Republican and Democratic Party Conventions respectively are to be held in August. As tens of millions of dollars are spent on security to protect the Republican Convention, a stone's throw from the increasingly militarized border, and the Democratic Convention, fearful of a repeat of 1968, the police have begun practicing large scale riot control and containment operations against demonstrations. Police have carried out several mass arrests this past year in San Francisco, Minne-

apolis and elsewhere of protesters demanding freedom for Mumia Abu Jamal.

The Olympics, financed by monopoly corporations, will attempt to raise patriotic fervor and militaristic nationalism to a fever pitch. If the U.S. can sell Twinkies, MacDonalds, and Buicks to the huge audience watching the Games, why not sell the elimination of habeas corpus, or a crackdown on militias, too? The FBI SWAT team and the Los Angeles police anti-terrorist unit that were created for the last U.S.-based Olympics, in L.A. 1984, are still with us today. It is apparent that the police machinery being set up for the Atlanta Olympics and the Conventions will also remain with us long after the last athlete and delegate have departed from the spotlight.

FROM THE BATTLEFIELD TO THE PLAYING FIELD: A LITTLE HISTORY

The Olympic aura as a supposedly apolitical celebration of human sports endeavor is belied by its revival 100 years ago, at the turn of the last century, as a means to inculcate European and U.S. youth with a more martial spirit. The modern Games were begun by a Frenchman, Baron de Coubertin, who was concerned that French youth were neither sufficiently trained physically nor motivated politically to fight for their empire. Since then, virtually every Olympiad has been either the scene of sharp conflict, or suspended because of World War. The Soviet Union was excluded from the time of the Russian Revolution until 1952 and the Peoples Republic of China was similarly banned for decades. In 1936, Hitler used the Munich Olympics as a stage to promote Nazi racialism throughout Europe. The Games were suspended during World

War II and revived as an arena for Cold War competition.

In the Americas, the history of the Olympics is no less political. South of Los Angeles, the Mexico City Olympics of 1968 was the scene of a bloody massacre and mass repression. The revolutionary upheaval which swept through Latin America in the 1960s emerged in Mexico, causing great concern not only to the Mexican bourgeoisie but to the U.S. as well. More than five hundred Mexican students and members of the independent left — possibly as many as 2000 — were machine-gunned to death in the Tlatelolco Plaza de las Tres Culturas while demonstrating prior to the start of the Games.

That same year, Black athletes in the U. S. threatened to boycott the competition entirely in protest against the brutal repression of the Black liberation struggle going on in this country. Black Olympic medalists Tommie Lee Smith and John Carlos expressed the outrage of many, when they raised their fists in the Black power salute during the playing of the Star Spangled Banner. For this they were immediately ejected from Mexico.

In 1972, the Palestinian revolution came into the international arena by taking hostage a number of Israeli athletes who were also members of the Zionist armed forces. Israeli, German and U.S. counter-insurgency squads attacked them, precipitating a massacre. African nations boycotted the 1976 Olympics as part of the worldwide effort to isolate racist South Africa and those nations which support it. Jimmy Carter fired the opening salvo of a new cold war in 1980 by refusing to send the U.S. team to the Moscow Games. The Soviet Union returned the favor for the subsequent 1984 games in 1984.



Tommie Smith and John Carlos brought the spirit of Black Power into the 1968 Olympics.

In spite of all this, the Olympics continue to enjoy a reservoir of respectability that provides the U.S. government an unequalled opportunity to get people to swallow increased repression in the name of protecting the "integrity" of the Games.

**ATLANTA: 'NEW SOUTH'
OR
OLD CONFEDERACY?**

What is the U.S. state so concerned about protecting in Atlanta?

The city, corporate headquarters of the so-called "New South," is home to Coca-Cola, the best known brand-name in the world, and to the many tentacled operations of Ted Turner, including Cable News Network and numerous sports and entertainment franchises, as well as to other manufacturing, financial, and energy corporations. But the city is a microcosm of the contradictions of the empire, of poverty amidst plenty, and



The Lake Placid Olympic Village was built for use as a federal prison after the 1980 Winter Olympics.

is crucial to the future of Black/New Afrikan people in America.

According to the publication "Conscious Rasta Perspective" (CRP), Atlanta media mogul Turner is a dyed-in-the-wool Malthusian. His global ambitions are apparently matched only by his fear of a Black planet. In a 1991 interview with Audubon Magazine cited by CRP, Turner confessed that he spends much of his time worrying — "worrying about the population explosion,

worrying about poverty and the Third World, worrying about deforestation, worrying about the oceans..." During the same discussion, Turner announced that "there are just way too many people on the planet," and said he longed for a world in which people had "only one child" and where world population would eventually drop from the present 5 billion to only 250 or 350 million! More importantly, he told the

publication that he hoped to turn his vision into reality "through mass communications."

Asked by a reporter what how he understood the term "American cultural imperialism," CRP reports, Turner replied, "I hate it. But I'm part of it." He boasted that he "gave \$200 million away last year" for "population and environmental stuff," and explained: "The world is too crowded. That's simple enough. It's getting more crowded all the time." In November of 1995, the Atlanta Journal-Constitution reported that Turner planned to put \$350 million more into his five year old Turner Foundation on top of nearly \$150 million he had already donated. The purpose of the foundation: to give grants to "environmental and population groups."

But such plans for depopulation apparently apply only to poor people of color in the Turner scheme of things. To commemorate the 1992 "Earth Summit" in Rio de Janeiro, Turner proudly signed a pledge promising to "help save what is left of our natural world in its untouched state" and to "add no more than two children to the Earth" — only to face the embarrassing public acknowledgement that he himself already has five adult children — Beau, Rhett, Jennie, Laura Lee, and Robert Edward IV.

BLACK LIBERATION IS THE TARGET

Despite its claims to cosmopolitanism that the Olympics are meant to reinforce, Georgia still reflects its position at the center of "Dixie," the homeland of white supremacy. The Confederate stars and bars are still incorporated into the state banner. But Atlanta is also a Black capital. It is the home of the Martin Luther King Jr. shrine, the

mecca for thousands of college educated Black youth for the spring "freak-nik" weekend, the headquarters of the Center for Democratic Renewal, an anti-racist organization rooted in the civil rights movement of the '50s and '60s and the anti-klan network of the '70s and '80s, which is currently leading the national campaign to uncover the origins of, and put a stop to, the wave of church arsons, many definitely Klan-related, that have been terrorizing Black congregations across the south.

In fact, while white supremacist militia forces provide a convenient and politically palatable pretext for a security crackdown, as in the case of two Georgia militia members busted on charges of stockpiling pipe-bombs, it is in fact the forces of Black liberation and the masses of the Black community who are the true targets. But the targets are capable of counter-attacking, using the Olympics as an opportunity for a political offensive of their own against the state and white supremacy.

On July 27, amid all the Olympic hoopla, Atlanta will be the site of a national mobilization of the forces of New Afrikan/Black liberation. A rally for New Afrikan (Black People's) right to self-determination, featuring national and international leaders of the liberation struggle, will be held on that date at 5:00 p.m. at the Southwest Community Center, 1444 Lucille Ave SW, 1/2- block west of Langhorne St. in Atlanta. For more information on the rally, sponsored by the Coalition for New Afrikan Self-Determination, call 404-288-9880 or 601-354-8731.

Other voices of dissent will also be heard in Atlanta, attempting to counter the media hype and pierce the media veil on the occasion of the Games. The Atlanta Olympics Pro-

test Committee is calling for progressive alternative music acts, political hip-hoppers, radical poets and music performers of all types from around the world to come to Atlanta during the Olympics, to take part in a concert/political protest against the Olympics to be held July 19-20, 1996. The theme is "Rock Against Racism - Rap Against the State," although reggae, folk and all other forms of music are welcome. This concert is to be a political forum, according to the organizers, "to expose the commercial nature of the Olympics, the warlike nation-state basis of the competition, the police state activities of Atlanta and the United States government to prepare for the Olympics, the farce of the 1996 American elections, and the deteriorating economic and political condition of the U.S.A. and the world in general, which the Olympics is designed to cover up."

The concert is a benefit for the Foundation for Radical Social Change, a nonprofit funding organization which will dispense the proceeds to pre-designated organizations fighting racism, for human rights, prisoner support and other issues. If your music organization or band/group is interested in playing at or participating in the event, please contact the Atlanta Olympics Protest Committee c/o the Georgia Antiauthoritarian Group, Box 144, Eham, GA 30141, or call Kris Freeman at 1-770-443-9186

THE CORPORATE MEDIA: HAND IN GLOVE WITH THE NATIONAL SECURITY STATE

In preparation for the Olympics, Atlanta's bourgeoisie has established a new private downtown security organization, the so-called "A-Force", to augment the cops. Part

security operation, part public relations tool, the distinctively attired 55-member A-Force is one of several Olympics-inspired initiatives by Atlanta's corporate and civic elite to turn downtown into an attraction for tourists and suburbanites. As in other cities strapped for cash because of the state's fiscal crisis, with shrinking tax support, Atlanta's business community is taking control of services that once were considered the responsibility of government. Downtown property owners have formed a special tax district to pay for this private security.

Simultaneously, they have gotten local authorities to write laws to clear the streets of the poor and homeless, including one ordinance that makes it illegal to enter a parking lot if you do not have a vehicle in it! Using the excitement generated by the summer Games to push through the transformation of downtown has garnered wide support for even the most repressive measures.

Central to the plan's success is overcoming the perception, long cultivated by the media, that downtown and other poor and Black areas are dangerous and frightening places. Business leaders now see this propaganda created perception, which served its purpose in helping to create the booming white enclave collar counties that provide Newt Gingrich with a secure home base, as the city's No. 1 problem.

When the Atlanta daily paper reported that the city had the worst record for violent crime in recent FBI statistics, city leaders quickly forced a re-analysis of the figures and a retraction. "This is not representative of a lack of preparation for the Olympic Games," A.D. Frazier, chief operating officer of the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games (ACOG), said. "If people who come

here ... follow instructions, I think they'll be in the most secure place on earth," he told the Atlanta Journal-Constitution.

For the place and the moment, the "war on crime" hysteria fomented by the media has outlived its usefulness, an example of the contradictions in which the system finds itself. With the need to assuage those long-cultivated fears of crime in mind, business leaders pushed an "anti-loitering" ordinance through the City Council, and began lobbying for tougher laws on panhandling. They also are seeking a special court for minor crimes that they say are too often dismissed by Municipal Court judges.

The A Force is an integral part of the effort. The 55 A-Force "ambassadors," who underwent 200 hours of training, do not carry weapons, but are expected to improve the "perception of safety" through their visibility as they patrol the streets downtown. The ambassadors carry two-way radios and are trained to call for police assistance.

ACOG has mounted a massive security operation to protect the Centennial Olympics, with as many as 20,000 guards, 10,000 soldiers and thousands of agents from the FBI, CIA, secret service and Georgia state patrol staff taking part. The committee refuses to disclose the price tag for the operation. Security staff went briefly on red alert late last month when two men were arrested in central Georgia accused of making pipe bombs. Early reports said they planned to disrupt the Games, but police and security officials later denied any Olympic connection.

As was the case with the security planners for the L.A. Olympics, ACOG security chiefs have traveled to Israel to receive advice on anti-terrorist tactics. Again as in L.A.,

where police cordoned off the Black neighborhoods around Olympic venues at U.S.C. in "Operation Cul-de-Sac" (dead end), billed as the city's first foray into so-called 'community based policing,' many Olympic venues in Atlanta are close to high-crime areas and public housing projects with substantial gang activity, as well as drug-dealing and other social ills of colonization. Given this social tinder, repression must be increased to make sure that neither the vast disparities of wealth, heightened and exposed by the Games, nor the presence of political activists and alternative perspectives, ignite the potential conflagration.

In a May 14, 1996 interview with Elaine Long, editor of the 'zine "Maxine's Pages," Lt. Butch Beach of the Columbus GA P.D., who is in charge of security for Olympics-related activities in Columbus, stated, concerning demonstrators at the Games, "You really have to be careful where you allow the crowd to gather. What we've tried to do is give them a place where they can do what they want and still get the public exposure. You really can't take them and stick them off in the south forty; you have to give them an opportunity to have the message heard. That's one of the constitutional issues. It's just another one of those parts to the puzzle that has to be managed."

Managing the demonstrations, the news, and mass consciousness appears to be the key to elite planning for the Games.

Security corporations are perfecting, and profiting from, technology that will receive wider applications in police state functions long after the Games end. Researchers at Center for the Application of Science Toward Law Enforcement, or CASTLE, set

up a p.c.-based command, control, and scheduling system for the Atlanta P.D. Bob Hunter of the company says, "Most events will be concentrated in a 3-mile circle. There could be congestion ... crime and terrorism." It's based on Joint Flow and Analysis System for Transportation software, first used by the army in Desert Storm. It's funded by the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy. The Office wants the system to be readily transferable to other events that could shatter existing infrastructures -- such as a California earthquake, or perhaps a rebellion.

Symbol Technologies Inc. announced in April that it will provide scanning technology to Sensormatic Electronics, the official electronic security systems provider for the Games. PDF encoded identification badges and hand-held computers are part of the security system for more than 150,000 athletes, support staff, media and guests, using a two-dimensional bar code that encodes more than a kilobyte of information on a postage-stamp sized symbol. It can encode digital photographs, signatures and hand geometry coordinates, and can be encrypted for additional security. It has been approved as a standard by the Department of Defense and if a national ID system is put in place through current anti immigrant legislation, you can expect to see it soon in a neighborhood near you.

Michael Novick is editor of Turning the Tide and author of White Lies, White Power available from Common Courage Press. He first began to research the use of the Olympic Games by the national security state apparatus prior to the 1984 Olympic Games in L.A.

SHOWDOWN IN ROUND VALLEY

interviewed by Sara Jacobelli

On April 14, 1995, at approximately 6 pm, on the Round Valley Indian Reservation in remote Northern California, two men engaged in a shootout. Gene Britton, an Indian man, died, and Arylis Peters, an Indian man, was a suspect in that shooting. Around 10 p.m. that same evening, Deputy George Robert Davis and Deputy Dennis Miller shot at two other Indian men, believing one of them to be Arylis Peters. That shootout killed Leonard "Acorn" Peters, the suspect's brother, who was not wanted for any crime. Deputy Davis was also killed, perhaps in a burst of "friendly fire" by another deputy. Eugene "Bear" Lincoln, a Wailacki and Concow Indian, accused of killing a police officer, went on the run for his life.

Despite a \$100,000 reward and a massive police manhunt, Bear Lincoln was able to evade the authorities for four months. On August 16, 1995, he turned himself in at the San Francisco office of noted civil rights attorney J. Tony Serra, who has taken the case pro bono.

Residents of the Round Valley Reservation lived under a state of siege during this manhunt, as children and elders were threatened, warrantless searches were conducted, and illegal curfews were enacted. An activist group, Round Valley Indians for Justice, was formed, and attorney Dennis Cunningham is handling a class action lawsuit for civil rights violations against reservation residents. Sacramento attorney Carlos Alcalá is handling a wrongful death lawsuit filed by the children of Leonard Peters.

This case is yet another incident in the continuing genocide in the United States against native people. It is being compared to the incident at Pine Ridge Reservation in South

Dakota in 1975, for which Leonard Peltier, accused of killing two federal agents, is still in prison based on what his many worldwide supporters call a frame-up. Bear Lincoln's upcoming trial is expected to expose a massive cover-up and widespread corruption in Mendocino County. The mainstream press, especially the Santa Rosa

Press-Democrat and TV's "America's Most Wanted" show, slanderously portrayed Bear Lincoln as a cold blooded killer. The head of Mendocino County's Sheriff's Department, Sheriff James Tusó, an elected official, declared Bear Lincoln a "convicted felon" and "armed and dangerous" on national television.

The Lincoln and Peters families, who are trying to keep traditional Indian values, feel that the Brittons, who are more assimilated to the white, Christian culture, receive more favorable treatment from the police. Since the Lincolns are my neighbors and I heard the gun-shots on that fateful night, I interviewed Bear's mother and aunt on the Round Valley Reservation, to get their side of the story. This is the second largest reservation in California, composed of members of seven different tribes: Yuki, Wailacki, Pomo, Little Lake, Pitt River, Concow, and Nomolacki, who were all forced onto one reservation, originally Yuki territory, in the mid 1800's.

photo by Robert Rossetti



Would you introduce yourselves?

Lucille: I'm Lucille Lincoln, Bear's mother.

Lavena: And I'm Lavena Lincoln, Bear's aunty.

Can you tell me what happened on the night of April 14, 1995?

Lucille: We were going home, up to Little Valley, we just drove back into town, and we saw all kinds of cop cars down at the high school. So we drove on home, I went to bed, and the kids were up cooking hamburgers. Then they came in and yelled, "There's somebody shooting up on the ridge." So we got in the truck, me and some of my kids and grandkids, and drove away. We saw a body laying in the road, and I said,

"Look, there's Acorn!" And I rolled down my window.

Then these cops in the bushes start hollering, "Turn your fucking lights off!" Then they told me to get out of the truck and put my fucking hands up, every other word they used was dirty words. They handcuffed us and told us to get in the police car. This one cop told me to run, and I said, "I can't run, I'm crippled!" He grabbed me by the back of my coat and dragged me, and said, "Fuck the crippled, do the bunny hop then!" I fell flat on the ground, and said, "I can't get up!" He said, "I'll help you then!" And he stepped on my back and mashed me to the ground. Then this one cop said, "Let's get the kids now!" And all the kids knelt down

like they thought the cops were gonna shoot them.

Did the police search your house?

Lucille: Yes, they did. They did a lot of damage, smashing things up, throwing stuff around. They kept us away from the house for four or five days, they wouldn't let me get my clothes, or Carlos (my son) get his insulin. They wouldn't let me get back to my truck either. Oh, I forgot to tell about my granddaughter, Belle (two years old) she asked the cops, "Are you going to shoot me?" I guess because she saw Acorn laying there dead. And today she's still scared to death of cops.

Lavena: At the first Round Valley Indians for Justice meeting, the police wanted to talk to the group. We couldn't let them stay, because all the children started crying, they were so afraid. They seen all of what the cops did. And it was so unnecessary.

Lucille: And also, when we went to stay on Tabor Lane with my sister-in-law, she couldn't believe it when we walked in. She saw all the police cars go by. Then she heard all the shooting, and she said, "I thought they (the police) killed all you guys!" And she hugged and kissed each one of us, which she never does. She's not, you know, that kind of person.

Why did the police shoot Leonard "Acorn" Peters?

Lucille: They said they thought he was Arylis, his brother.

Did they look alike? Were they similar in height and weight?

Lucille: No. Arylis was much heavier.

Lavena: They were both Indians, that's all. The police were just gung-ho. They wanted to shoot somebody.

The police say Bear shot Deputy Davis. Who do you think shot him?

Lavena: Maybe this Deputy Miller, when he shot at Acorn, killed Davis by mistake. Or maybe he wanted to kill him, and found his time to do it. Davis was crazy, some say. He was known to carry an M-16 around and to drive around at night with his lights off.

The first shoot-out that night was between Arylis Peters and Gene Britton. The press has reported that there is a long running feud with the Lincoln and Peters families on one side, versus the Brittons. Is this true?

Lavena: No, that makes me angry. I think the press and the government want to keep us Indians down, keep us fighting. Only a few people were involved in that fighting between the families. Bear and Acorn weren't involved at all. Bear belonged to the California Native Circle, and the Garden Society. He was involved with his horses, wanted to get the kids around here involved with horse-back riding. Acorn was busy raising his children. That makes me angry when I read about some feud, I know it bothers the Brittons too. But we say, all that killing need not have happened. Sure, Arylis and Gene got in a shootout, and Arly beat him to the draw. But he would have surrendered, had they (police) handled it different. But they came onto the reservation wanting to shoot, and here they killed Acorn, for no reason. Now his children have no father.

I heard people say there was a "Shoot to kill" order for Bear on the police radios. Was that true?

Lucille: Oh, a lot of people around here have scanners, they heard it.

Lavena: The police wanted to assassinate Bear.

Lucille: The cops wanted to kill him. I think because he was a witness, he saw them shoot Acorn.

It seems that anyone walking down that road that night, would have been shot by the police, would have been killed.

Lucille: Oh, yes. I think so. The neighbors close by, they said they never heard any warnings, like when they holler on that thing and say, "This is the police!" Or warning shots. Just a burst of automatic weapon fire.

Lavena: The police, they were just destructive. They just wanted to show what they could do. Like the Gestapo. That's pretty close to it. And now, now we can understand what the people went through at Pine Ridge, at Wounded Knee. How these things happened back there. All that they must have gone through.

Note: Approximately 10 p.m. on the evening of October 13, 1995, several weeks after this interview, Elvin "Pink" Peters, older brother of Leonard "Acorn" Peters was wounded in a drive-by shooting on the Round Valley Reservation. He suffered three gun-shot wounds to his legs. He is in stable condition. No arrests have been made.

Donations for legal costs to defend Bear may be sent to:

Bear Lincoln Defense Fund,
c/o J. Tony Serra, Pier 5,
The Embarcadero,
San Francisco CA 94111.

Sara Jacobelli and Robert Rossetti are working on a documentary about Bear Lincoln.

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Turtle Island

by Lofofora Contreras

Dawn is a native sovereignty movement on Turtle Island. As a matter of principle, we spiritually support Puerto Rican sovereignty, the territorial independence of Puerto Rico (see "Free the Puerto Rican Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War!" spring 1996 issue of *Turning the Tide*), which is currently under European colonial occupation, an occupation featured in part by neo-colonial collaboration. In this spirit, we extend our solidarity to the Puerto Rican independence movement, both its political and military wings, in and out of prison, and to the Puerto Rican people in general. As the subjects of European colonialism ourselves, we are intimate with the need to completely rid sovereign lands of the poison of colonialism in all its manifestations and the need for political and military formations and direct-action resistance to occupation.

Throughout the article there appear numerous references to the "United States." These references to the "United States" are not inclusive of Puerto Rico due, of course, to Puerto Rico's inviolable status as a sovereign land and the fact that it is a subject of European colonialism and imperialism. We, the native people indigenous to turtle Island, likewise hold inviolable the sovereignty of our motherland. Just as Puerto Rican independistas distinguish between a sovereign Puerto Rico and the colonial occupation of Puerto Rico by not deeming Puerto Rico the "United States," so do sovereign native people on Turtle Island distinguish between our sovereign lands and nations and the colonial occupation.

Our lands are "first nations," "Turtle Island," "native lands," "Aztlán." This is not "America" or the "United States." "America" is the name of a European pirate branded on indigenous people and lands of the native west by European conquerors. The "Americans" came from Europe. They have no claims here, in title or land.

We also note the statements in the article: "The president of the United States has the constitutional power..." and "The power that the Constitution gives him..." The colonial "Constitution," "Declaration of Independence," "treaties," all of these are worthless paper on sovereign native lands. They mean nothing. There is no power in them. Their power is in the occupier's

weapons, which is the tongue they speak in, which is the only tongue they hear.

These scraps of paper -- the "Constitution," "Declaration," "treaty" -- are props of colonialism, sleight-of-hand and sleight-of-tongue propaganda that is used to indoctrinate and manipulate people into perceiving the occupation as legitimate, as "legal," as having "authority," when the actual determining force is its weaponry and its willingness to kill for its weaponry and its willingness to kill for its colonial ideals. These props are merely cosmetic devices with which to manipulate people into compromising, into validating colonialism, into asking for "rights" under colonialism, the rights of slaves, and for colonial "justice,"

begging the colonist for mercy, to be enslaved "justly." To concede them is to uphold the colonization of our land, tread the sovereignty of the first nations, and put one's personal concession on the occupation of our sovereign soil, our motherland.

The question of colonialism is, for us, also a sensitive cultural issue: As people indigenous to these lands, we oppose "playing along" with the occupation as a political tactic. Natives have been playing along with the occupation for centuries. Although some continue to do this, to our detriment, they are not among our constituents nor are we among theirs. We do not approve of or endorse defeatist, collaborationist "tactics" that prolong the occupation and compromise and undermine our ter-

I was looking at the ceiling and then I saw the sky

by June Jordan.

New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1995, 98 pp., \$12.00.

Reviewed by
Laura Post

When I first began reading June Jordan's essays, then poetry, I could not believe the lyricism that she included in the former and the sharpness that she wove into the latter. I was moved, roused, inspired, disheartened, and encouraged to do my own writing and thinking. Through explorations of her own history, family, experiences, and internal dialogues, Jordan has done much to raise painful awareness of the more overt and more subtle forms of prejudice.

This slim volume, a foray into the libretto form, melds Jordan's fluidity with words and relentlessness with ideas into activity between characters on a stage. In a few brief scenes (readers obviously don't get to hear John Adams' score or witness the direction of Peter Sellars), racism, homophobia, anti-immigrantism, religious hypocrisy, ethnic pride, and police unfairness are all addressed in a whirl of interpersonal interactions comprising a very basic plot.

The highlight: When Consuelo, an undocumented immigrant mother of two from El Salvador and Dewain, a Black reformed gang leader, sing together, "How do I get / a license to live here? / How do I ask for permission to stay? / Where can I move in the world / without fear? / What is the price / and who do I pay?," their multicultural plaint echoes the difficulties that they are having as a couple, yet transcends their personalities and becomes a much larger question, the unsettling kind that Jordan likes to ask without providing any specific answer. Yet, considering this kind of question, and the question's different meanings to every character in the play, to Jordan, to ourselves, we begin to realistically approach the magnitude of the adversities facing most people in the world and which are, discouragingly, built into the system.

Unlike Jordan's essays, where her own inner musings about real-

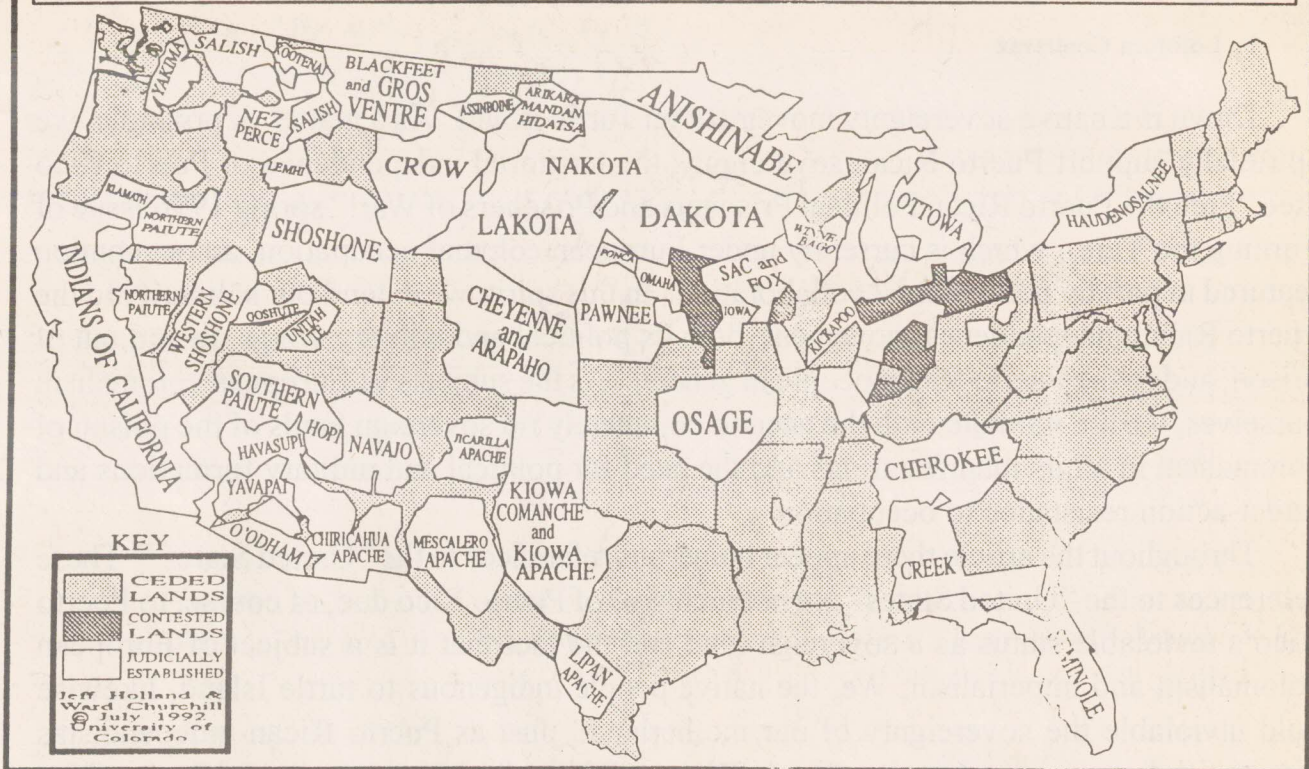
life events lead to her observations and conclusions, this play is more meandering. Unlike Jordan's poetry, where the flow is nonlinear and subtle, this work is more heavy-handed. Like both essays and poetry, however, this play offers insight and wisdom but no easy answers. Dewain can reform himself, but how can the system be reformed? Consuelo can return to her native country, but what battle will she find there, and what struggles will Dewain have if he chooses to accompany her? If you are familiar with Jordan's work, then by all means read this as an example of a writer's bold attempt to make an essay-poem-play. If you are a playwright, then you might be interested in the balanced and symmetrical development of ideas within the straightforward plot.

If you are new to Jordan, then start with something more basic of hers — this is not typical — like her books of essays *Civil Wars* or *Tech-*

nical Difficulties or her recent poetry (*Harako/Love Poems*) and then, if you like those, then try this book.

Laura Post is a left-handed, Jewish, only-child lesbian of Eastern European descent who understands and rejoices in difference, for it is through acknowledging and celebrating our uniqueness and loneliness that we can truly approach our similarities and build.

INDIAN LANDS JUDICIALLY RECOGNIZED AS UNCEDED



ritorial and cultural integrity. We don't doubt that the occupation can release the captured Independistas at any time if compelled to do so, and we certainly would like to see them leave prison, with honor. We only have deep concerns over tactics that lend themselves to colonialism on Turtle Island.

We would further comment on Prolibertad's observation: "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.... Like Washington and Jefferson...the Puerto Rican political prisoners are conscientious activists for freedom and justice, not criminals."

Washington and Jefferson were European (British) colonists and imperialists who were responsible for the theft and colonization of our land, not the "independence" of "their colonies." This is not their motherland; Europe is, Britain specifically. They had no claim of territorial independence on sovereign native land, lands of the first nation, on Turtle Island. They were murderers and robbers who hunted and robbed and exploited us all.

Jefferson was the principal author of the colonial "Declaration of Independence (translation: Declaration of colonialism and imperialism on Turtle Island"; Washington the first tyrant ("president") to formally rule the colonized land. They were racists: Each maintained slaves and supported the institution of slavery and enforced racial segregation.

They were foreign conquerors of native lands, racial supremacists, the engineers of genocide and colonialism, murderers of natives and Africans who resisted their oppression and tyranny on Turtle Island. They colonized the land -- not gained "independence" -- with a boot on the corpse of a native and holding the African in chains. They then fell out among themselves, renegading and fighting over who would rule the land.

They were not for freedom and justice. They were criminals. They were tyrants. It is because of them that Turtle Island and Puerto Rico are under foreign military occupation today, and Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, Guatanamo, the Virgin Islands, Panama, Alaska, and why so many others have suffered the irreparable pain of colonialism and imperialism

around the world at the hands of the occupation. We don't think the captured Independistas are in any way comparable to such people and actions.

The article, as presented, tends to impress that the colonial occupation of Turtle Island is legitimate, that Turtle Island is the "United States," a place where the European colonist "gained independence" and where "the president has constitutional power," instead of the sovereign motherland of the native people. The reality of the situation on Turtle Island and of the western hemisphere as a whole, and the historical perspective presented in the article, is further refracted by the absence of any reference to the European colonial occupation of Turtle Island.

The article opens history on Turtle Island with the colonists "gaining independence" on "their colonies" in the 1700's, then shifts to 1898 with a reference to Turtle Islands as the "United States." The conquest and genocide of a whole people and the usurpation and ongoing occupation of their motherland is completely bypassed and omitted, while colonialism on Turtle Island is validated and justified.

In contrast, the article opens the history of Puerto Rico 500 years ago with its colonization by Spain, elucidating not on how heroically Spanish and British imperialism and colonialism may have "gained independence" in Puerto Rico, but on the injustice of its occupation. Again, this tends to project that the European colonial occupation in the West is illegitimate only in Puerto Rico, an "island nation," but is legitimate beyond there, on Turtle Island, a vast geographic panorama of occupied territory.

A glimpse, however brief, of the anti-colonialism plight of Turtle

Island in relation to the anti-colonialism plight of Puerto Rico would have been relevant to the topic and further clarified the intricacies of British colonialism and imperialism in this hemisphere and how the forces of European expansionism have no legitimacy anywhere in the western hemisphere. Nor, we will add, do the British usurpers, whether mainland or renegade, have legitimacy in any other lands they've colonized with their weapons -- no legitimacy in Ireland and Hong Kong or on the aboriginal lands they've colonized in "Australia," "New Zealand," and others.

(Inasmuch as the administrators of the occupation today may not be British in the narrow sense, they have nevertheless inherited the legacy of the British colonialism and imperialism on Turtle Island and are Europeans holding the lands and people of Turtle Island under the lock and key of colonialism, as well as oppressing many others on Turtle Island, including their fellow Europeans.)

Lastly, the article seems to imply that having colonies is fair play as long as one "gains independence" on them. Customarily, usurpers of lands issue assorted pronouncements and declarations, of "independence" or "liberty" or of a "republic," in many cases prefixing the names of the "liberated" lands with the catch-all, cleanse-all label "new" (e.g., New Spain, New England, New Mexico, New South Wales, and others).

These are peculiar, outstanding traits and patterns of the psychology of colonialism and imperialism. These cries are textbook sleight-of-tongue promotional propaganda to mask their genocide with and with which to ornament their occupation, figurative flowers protruding from

the barrels of their killing machines. They are not unique and are part of the long-range strategy of colonialism, a social, political, and psychological probe that always traces back to its weapons and violence.

Such oversights as appear in the article are common and can be attributed to a long history of rote within the movement (all movements, including the native one), and supports colonialism to a significant degree. But being in-movement, in-opposition, we have progressed to where we are able to pinpoint colonialism more precisely and proceed to ever more carefully excise it from our thoughts, speech, and actions, from the conscious and subconscious, and from history.

We think that such movement is constructive and advances the struggle of indigenous people against colonialism, our struggle to engage and defeat colonialism on every level, to rid ourselves of colonialism internally as well as externally, to remove its shackles from our lands, bodies, and minds. This type of movement stimulates and expands our awareness, builds up our immunity to the poison of colonialism, and solidifies a common movement towards its ultimate evaporation.

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Turtle Island

ARMIES OF THE NIGHT

As TTT went to press, up to 20 so-called "Freemen" continued their armed standoff with federal agents at a 960-acre ranch they called "Justus Township," near the town of Jordan, Montana. The siege was showing signs of drawing to a climax. Several of the Freemen face charges by federal authorities for taking part in a scheme to defraud businesses and public agencies of more than \$1.8 million, and for stealing TV equipment. Freemen are also accused of threatening local officials, including a federal judge. Several of those who gravitated to the Freeman ranch were already fugitives on previous charges associated with the "We the People" scam (not connected to ex-CA Gov. Jerry Brown's operation of the same name). The Freeman's claims to be sovereign citizens, with their own government and banking system, and their rejection of the authority of the federal state are based on the "two-seed theory," a racist Christian Identity belief which holds that only whites are descended from Adam and Eve and are God's Chosen People. It teaches that Jews and non-whites are the product of a union between Eve and Satan and, therefore, inferior.

The Freemen contend that northern European whites migrated to the United States as a new promised land, so the early Constitution and government were divinely inspired. But they believe that since then Jews have corrupted the country, so present-day laws and institutions have no validity. Rev. Helen Young, a Jordan minister who has met with the Freemen, told the press that many in the group have latched on to the two-seed theory to justify an existing hatred of government. "They start out with anti-government beliefs, and Christian Identity gives them a basis for what they believe," she said.

Simultaneously, a member of a Georgia citizens' militia group was appearing in federal court on charges that he and two colleagues have been preparing for a war against federal, state and local law enforcement. According to a federal indictment,

Troy Allen Kyser, 28, a contractor from Johnson County, GA, volunteered to organize a special team that would assassinate high-ranking politicians if authorities moved against the Militia-at-Large for the Republic of Georgia. The team also was allegedly planning to steal explosives, ammunition, weapons and other military equipment from several sites including Fort Benning, Georgia, for use against a list of targets ranging from federal offices to bridges and communications towers.

Kyser turned himself in to law enforcement agents after spending weeks as a fugitive. Also called Troy Spain, he was the third suspect in a bombing conspiracy case that came to light in April, when federal agents arrested electrician Robert Edward Starr, 34, and plumber William James McCranie, 30, for conspiring to make pipe bombs. Initially, CBS reported the group was planning an

attack on this summer's Olympic Games in Atlanta, but authorities later denied the claim. Starr is founder of the self-styled 112th Regiment, Militia-at-Large for the so-called Republic of Georgia. McCranie and Kyser are believed to be members. The group is one of a number of militias in the state. An indictment issued May 15 claimed the group plotted to kill Bart McEntire, the special agent in charge of the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) in Macon.

Criminal proceedings are also proceeding against the racist "Midwestern Bank Bandits," who held up a whole series of banks to finance racist right "revolutionary" activity. Peter K. Langan, an accused member of the Bandits who claims to be a leader of an anti-government military organization, no longer wants to be known by the alias "Commander

Pedro." His attorney, Kevin Durkin, filed a pre-trial motion in U.S. District Court asking that the alias be expunged from a 12-count indictment against Langan.

Federal authorities began including the alias in court documents after the bank robbery suspect told reporters back on Jan. 18 that he was a founder and leader of the "Aryan Republican Army," a group seeking to overthrow the government. Langan, 37, was arrested after a shootout with federal agents. The gun battle erupted as agents surrounded his house. Langan was slightly wounded. Authorities later found what they described as a "recruitment videotape" for the Aryan Republican Army in the house. On the tape, a man wearing a hood discusses the goals of the army, authorities have said.

Langan has been charged with seven felonies stemming from the shootout and five other counts in connection with the robberies. Langan and a co-defendant, Richard Lee Guthrie, 37, also are suspected in the robberies of more than a dozen other Midwestern banks. Guthrie was arrested Jan. 15 in Cincinnati. A third suspected Midwestern Bank Bandit, identified as Jim Thompson, is being sought. The bank bandits taunted the FBI by mailing letters to newspapers, buying getaway cars in the names of retired FBI agents and wearing jackets with FBI insignia during some holdups.

During the same period, in Vacaville, CA, a federal labor office received a death threat and hours later, a bomb exploded in federal employee Gene Ainslie's truck, injuring him and his wife. The U.S. Department of Labor's mine and safety office received a threat from a man who called and said: "You guys are all dead. Timothy McVeigh lives

on." The caller was referring to the ex-soldier and militia sympathizer accused of last year's deadly bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building. The FBI was called in to investigate the bomb that was planted in the Chevy pickup truck of the Sacramento resident, who works at the mine office. Ainslie and his wife Rita were driving home on Interstate 80 when the couple heard a loud noise and the truck's cab began filling with smoke, according to the California Highway Patrol.

Meanwhile in southern California, Montana "freemen" associate M. Elizabeth Broderick was charged by federal prosecutors with creating phony non-profit foundations to launder money brought in by her anti-government fraud scheme. Broderick, 53, charged thousands of people up to \$200 apiece admission to seminars promoting the use of homemade checks, which she learned how to make from Freeman leaders, and which she claimed were backed by liens against the government. Federal officials, who say the checks are worthless, had arrested Broderick on fraud charges the month before. She remains in custody. Assistant U.S. Atty. Aaron Dyer told the press that Broderick and an accomplice had stashed some of the \$1.5 million in proceeds in several bogus nonprofits, using the funds to buy laptop computers, tape recorders and new cars. "Other money launderers could learn something from Broderick's operation," Dyer said.

Authorities claim Broderick generated 8,000 bogus checks for \$800 million, distributed to those who attended the seminars. Most of the checks, or "comptroller warrants," as she called them, were rejected by banks, but about \$200,000 worth were erroneously accepted by financial institutions and even the

IRS, federal officials say. Broderick, born in Canada and previously charged with several pyramid schemes and fraudulent gold dealing, says she has renounced her U.S. citizenship and is beyond the jurisdiction of the federal courts. She claims to be a member of the so-called "patriot movement," which holds that the government has declared war on its citizens.

Prosecutors contend Broderick and four co-defendants learned the scheme from LeRoy Schweitzer, 56, a leader of the Montana Freemen, whose arrest set off the stand-off in Montana. Broderick and her co-defendants allegedly earned more than \$300,000 per month from the seminars. The other defendants are Adolf Karl Hoch of Loma Linda, his daughter, Laura Marie Hoey of Moreno Valley, Barry Switzer of Santa Clarita and Julian Cheney. Cheney is also charged with obstruction of justice. Broderick was also charged with 45 counts of grand theft and commodity and security fraud by the Republican CA state attorney general, Dan Lungren. Special agents with the attorney general's office said Broderick's charges stem from a gold "Ponzi" scheme (an illegal pyramid in which the pay-off to early investors comes from later investors who are left holding the bag) out of offices in Los Angeles and Orange counties.

Radical antigovernment protesters have also papered Orange County government with bogus checks in recent weeks, apparently trying to pay their property taxes with "freemen" type warrants. Orange County Treasurer-Tax Collector John Moorlach said that his office has received at least two dozen so-called comptroller warrants, which the senders claim are the equivalent of personal checks backed



by the U.S. Treasury. "I'll take cash, personal checks or money orders, but not these," Moorchach said. "I can't take these to a bank. It's 'thanks, but no thanks.'" "The OC group of about 90 "patriots", drew the attention of investigators after its leaders recently notified a Municipal Judge that they planned to conduct a "common law court session" to determine whether he has the right to sit as a judge. The group, calling itself "Our One Supreme Court," has also gathered information on nine other local judges.

In addition, a Ventura County man, Timothy Paul Kootenay, 35, of Thousand Oaks, was arrested on Easter Sunday at a remote Bible Camp in Montana during the time frame of the Freeman stand-off, and was extradited back to California. The case against Kootenay was part of a larger Ventura County investigation also involving millions of dollars of bogus checks. Kootenay is suspected of stockpiling firearms

bought with the fictitious comptroller warrants. After briefly threatening a hunger strike and refusing to plead or accept legal representation, Kootenay eventually agreed to accept a court-appointed attorney in the case. Freeman doctrine calls for refusing to accept the jurisdiction or authority of courts, or legal representation by attorneys who consider themselves officers of the court. This is one reason the Montana freemen have been so intransigent.

The criminal and fraud involvements of the Freeman and their various adherents, as well as their propensity to present new demands in negotiations when their old ones are met, has provoked some splits in the "patriot" movement and among white supremacists. Numerous of the mediators brought in, including ex-Green Beret Bo Gritz and CO state senator Charles Duke, have come out publicly as supportive of the FBI and harshly critical of the Freeman. Some

of this, however, may be a successful attempt, with the apparent support of the federal agents, for leading "Patriot" figures to cast themselves as moderates or centrists compared to the Freeman, when in fact they espouse equally objectionable Christian Identity views.

On the other hand, members of the Eastern Oregon Militia say they are prepared to declare war on the U.S. military if the Freeman stand-off in Montana turns violent. "There are no civilian targets," Walt Hassey, who describes himself as legal adviser to the militia, told the press. "The direct targets are going to be military targets." The FBI issued a nationwide alert April 23 to law enforcement agencies, warning of a militia "war plan."

"If they do another Waco situation, period, it's a declaration of war," Hassey said. "If they storm in there in Jordan and slaughter those people, there will be retribution."

Repression of Politically Active Prisoners Has Become Indiana D.O.C. Policy at all Costs

By Akono Jahi (Rev. Albert Jackson),
Indiana Prisoner

It has gotten to the point where those of us who have made a conscious decision to live righteously and live our lives fighting for justice and human rights for all human beings have become the major targets for repression in the D.O.C.

Nothing is more important beyond security than repressing imprisoned activists — not gang activity, not drug smuggling; nothing has become more important to the institution than the nefarious mission to break the wills and spirit of those of us who dare to stand and live as respectable human beings, as opposed to becoming institutionalized and broken and trapped in the vicious cycle of recidivism, that we may forever be a part of this new stage of neo-colonial repression and exploitation (slavery) that the prison system has become.

I refuse to lie back and watch those who are invested with so called authority do all kinds of wickedness towards myself and those who are living righteously. Especially when it can be proven through documented facts that they are going against even their own policies to do whatever however they can to undermine any progressive outlooks. Any politics, programs, that one might find outside the repressive atmosphere, in order to contribute something to making a difference in this world and improving the human qualities of ones own life — spiritually, politically, educationally, etc. — the D.O.C. is flat out against it, unless one has surrendered one's complete being to the enslavement, institutionalization, dehumanization, demoralization, and the vicious cycle of self-destruction and defeatism.

The D.O.C. is playing a vicious game of genocide with the lives of human beings. And to even qualify for most political offices these days, the best theme for a campaign is prison repression and harder anti-crime bills. But when will the people realize who is committing the real crimes? No one running for office these days is committed to the best interests of the people; only with a position and a name for themselves. Few are concerned, but what can they do in a system which is so anti-humanity — concerned more with locking people up than with changing the inhumane conditions which created the criminals in the first place? America is founded on a history of vicious crimes against humanity but so many want to forget that and not understand how it has created all that exists in terms of contradiction today.

The state of Indiana has for too long been out of the serious line of

political fire. For too long they have been hidden in these old klan backwoods demonstrating a white state capital political monopoly and hanging African people. The "new age" lynching is incarceration with throw-away-the-key policies. The parole board has been releasing those who have murdered while incarcerated, and at the same time denying release, because of their politics, to prisoners who have committed no further crimes. It's time that the people come together and help us expose this wicked klan run state and its officials to the world. The state of Indiana is getting away with murder.

I am calling for support to first expose what is happening with the D.O.C. in regards to how they are targeting progressive politically active human beings in attempt to destroy us and any amount of humanity that we possess. I am asking that anyone concerned write letters in support of an investigation of the

D.O.C., the administrations of the Indiana State Reformatory and the State Prison at Michigan City, about the brutal repression and targeting of politically progressive prisoners, especially New Africans. I am hopeful that from this campaign we might be able to raise an organizational consistency in dealing with the corrupt officials of this state from the top, down, and create a pressure that will give the people an upper hand to deal with what is taking place. As this is established we may be able to clog the court system with, personal case, community, prisoner/family litigation about how this state, its agencies and the D.O.C is being run. During this election time is a good time to start.

Please write letters in support of an investigation of the brutal repression of politically active prisoners in the Indiana Dept. of Corrections. And call for a meeting with the D.O.C. with outside people who are concerned and demand that we sub-

mit the names of the prisoners to be interviewed so that no hand picked D.O.C. prisoner agents will be allowed to help them lie out of this. We have all the documented evidence we need to show the truth of Racist Repression and corruption. This campaign needs to be as large as possible to make the difference — please copy this info and spread it far and wide as you possibly can! Write to:

Indiana State Representative
Dr. Vernon G. Smith
P. O. Box M622
Gary, IN 46401

WLTH radio
3669 Broadway
Gary, IN 46409

Indianapolis Recorder
Attn: News Editor
2901 N. Tacoma Ave.
Indianapolis, IN 46218

Indiana Civil Liberties Union
1032 E. Washington St.
Indianapolis, IN 46202-3952

NAACP
4805 Mt. Hope Drive
Baltimore, MD 21215

Please list as Prisoner to contact

Rev. Albert Jackson #30312
Indiana State Reformatory
P.O. Box 30
Pendleton, IN 46064

P.S.:

I have contributed to a book whose purpose is to build a publishing network for politically active and progressive prisoners. A nonprofit organization, the Sojourner Truth Farm School, has allowed me to bring my proposal into their school's



program as a division of the school in its effort to promote human growth, awareness, and self-sufficiency.

This division has been incorporated as a network of politically active prisoners and outside supporters who work as a team to self-publish the books of prison writers and to promote and sell these books and other prison art through progressive media of the movement. Part of the proceeds from the sales of these products will go to the overall development of the school and publishing network, and the rest will go to the prisoner who creates the material, that they might be able to help themselves better financially.

All prisoners will maintain the rights to their material and, if offered a better publishing deal, they would be free to advance their work, but would be asked to support the network that we may continue to publish as many other prisoners as possible and as we can afford to. We desire to make this network a strong tool in the struggle and hope that with strong support that it will eventually become an institution of publishing for the politically active and progressive prison artist.

For more information, contact:
Dr. Dorothy Blake Fardan
c/o Sojourner Truth Farm School
P.O. Box 311
Poolesville, MD 20837

ENVIRONMENTAL RACISM

by
Mark Antony Rossi

Urban blight is all too familiar here in America and abroad — spacious cement wastelands deprived of dignity abound. Cruel deposits of a nation's hatred and fear — are we truly shocked over the violence and depravity that usually emerge? I doubt it; urban zones are the places where moneymen make their millions and scoot out at great speed to the "safe" regions, the outskirts, where tracts of conformist lawns make hearts hard and minds soft.

If the dumping of every conceivable profanity, pornography and psychedelic weren't enough, a new substance, over the last decade, has invaded the land of the dispossessed poor: environmental waste products.

Not a week passes after a lot is razed, before the vacancy is filled with barrels of chemical sludge. Exposed to harsh elements out in the open air, barrels rust and leak poisons into the soil and air. Poor children lacking functional playgrounds make vacant lots their theme parks. The smaller ones engage in street theater with discarded action figures, the larger ones assemble crews to play a game of stickball. All romp in lots covered with industrial goo left by manufacturers unconcerned with the effects. Wealthy industrialists shower their children with expensive gifts as the offspring of the hated masses cough up blood at an ill-equipped free clinic.

It's fair to say this crime has unconscious connections to depopulation, not unlike wholesale genocides of the past. Urban city governments rarely comment or act upon these discoveries, for their locations are always in parts of the city for which the governing elite care little. Babies are born deformed, children grow dependent on anti-asthma sprays, toxic levels decrease the land value even further. Entire tracts of land are cleansed of life or liberty so petro-chemical giants can profit and directly subsidize the middle class monsters who spit at the poor and laugh at their "inferiority" while basking in clean homes and safe lands.

Who has taken up the fight to stop this massacre? Well, you can rule out most traditional environmental groups. Only a few have recently begun to investigate this urban evil. And only after home-grown urban environmental groups formed and pressed city government and environmental groups to take the matter seriously. Local solidarity is the best force to focus justice on this evil. Urban citizens should not be surprised by traditional environmental groups' hesitation. Their minority membership is often worse than that of the chemical industry. The time is now to stop believing civil rights stop at the color line. Desegregating water fountains is an act of futility, if the water is deadly.

"Developing Fascism And How To Fight It"

A two video-tape set of a series of presentations last October at the Midwest Radical Scholars and Activists Conference in Chicago at Loyola University. Tapes feature presentations on both the historical development and nature of fascism, lessons from the resistance to European fascism in the pre-war and wartime period, and lessons from the current anti-fascist struggles, including speakers from the Autonomous Zone, the Emergency Clinic Defense Committee, and Michael Novick of PART. One tape is 115 minutes, the other 90 minutes long. Available only as a set, for \$32.

For more information, contact the Chicago Revolutionary Network, c/o Perry Sanders, 836-1 Whrightwood; Chicago IL 60614.

by Miguel Sanchez, IWW

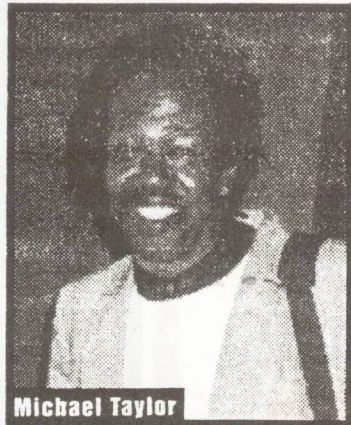
Michael Anthony Taylor was found at 68th and Victory the morning of April 23; hands bound behind his back, Drano forced down his throat and shot 17 times. He was found within walking distance of the homeless drop-in center he'd been fired or quit from. Michael was filing a complaint with the State Labor Commission against them. He was also investigating what he called "poverty pimps", federally funded homeless service providers ripping off both the feds and the homeless.

But Michael was murdered in the line of duty as a journalist. He was organizing a micro-powered radio station ("pirate radio") that would represent the voice-less in Los Angeles. The station was to cross communities and air various political and social views not heard on mainstream media. Michael by the time of his death included the Pacifica Radio Network as part of the mainstream media. In Los Angeles, KPFK is the local Pacifica station and though Michael had interned at KPFK and fought hard to get his stories on the air, he'd been censored and made unwelcome at the station.

Michael was murdered in the line of duty. He had split from some associates on the micro-power project because of their desire to mimic the corporate mainstream formula, with advertising and investment returns of 10 percent. He knew the FCC would really pay attention to an unlicensed, illegal radio station making a profit. But more importantly, he didn't want investors controlling the programming in order to recoup their investment. Michael wanted free speech not freemarket.

These former associates didn't have access to the equipment needed to operate a pirate radio station. Michael had the connection to the equipment. When Michael split with them, they wanted access to it, even threatened to steal it if they had to. Michael, concerned for the safety of those with the equipment refused to provide the information. They then threatened him.

Michael Anthony Taylor was a radio programmer, a journalist and a revolutionary activist. His work was pivotal in uniting Los Angeles' support of Mumia Abu-Jamal. He was the only journalist in L.A. covering Mumia consistently and honestly. Often he had to fight to



get his information about Mumia aired on KPFK. He was told he had to provide a balanced view. His response was that the rest of the media was providing the other side of the story, no one was telling Mumia's story. Michael would go to rallies, demonstrations, and teach-ins about Mumia. He was not paid to report the news nor to speak.

Michael was hard working, devoted, and tireless in his efforts to wake people up. He persisted in spite of himself, barely surviving on GR and food stamps. He often suffered from a tooth ache he was unable to care for, and his car was rapidly approaching a

dangerous state of disrepair. At these demonstrations, Michael would try to encourage people to get involved at any level they were able. He would say all they had to do was to provide a little time or money. If everyone provided an hour or two a month, our collective accomplishments would be amazing.

Michael was not a super hero. He suffered and had the same desires as any other human being. He never thought of himself as above anyone else. He hoped for the day that he would be able to provide for his grandchildren and to be able to do nice things for his girlfriend. He enjoyed meeting people from different cultures and wanted to be able to travel.

I feel that anytime anyone discusses the tragedy of Michael Taylor that the need for alternative media must be addressed. The need for unity, justice and liberation must be uttered in the same breath. I hope that these issues are carried on by the energy, spirit, and love left by Michael in all who were fortunate enough to have known him and that we make it contagious.

Amor y solidaridad,
Educate, organize, emancipate!
[\[http://www.iww.org/\]](http://www.iww.org/)

Una Lucha Sin Fronteras:

THE CONSEQUENCES OF NAFTA

Time has rendered a verdict on the controversy over NAFTA, the so-called North American Free Trade Agreement (in Mexico the *TLC*, *Tratado de Libre Comercio*); the treaty, negotiated by George Bush and pushed through Congress by Bill Clinton, that has united the U.S., Canada and Mexico in a single economic bloc and juridical entity. Those who claimed it would boost the Mexican economy and thereby provide vast new markets for U.S. industry, while relieving the pressure driving tens of thousands of Mexican workers across the border, have been proven fundamentally and categorically wrong. NAFTA has deepened the neo-liberal domination of Mexico by the U.S., creating new forms of direct colonial rule and penetration, super-profits for U.S. multinational corporations, and necessitating U.S. Treasury guarantees to Wall Street financiers to prop up Mexico's shaky debt structure. At the same time it has devastated the Mexican economy and driven the masses of Mexican peasants and workers into virtual starvation, and the middle class into debt peonage. But while the pressure to enter the U.S. has intensified because of NAFTA, the treaty has provided the U.S. economic and political elite with the possibility to launch an unprecedented crackdown on "illegal" immigration, allowing the system to scapegoat undocumented workers for the Treaty's ill effects on this side of the border, while simultaneously using them as an excuse for draconian "anti-terrorist" measures and methods of labor discipline and control that will adversely affect all working people in the U.S.

The two-pronged nature of this attack, and its effects on both sides of the militarily imposed and defended border between the U.S. and Mexico are becoming increasingly clear.

The Democrats under Clinton, Feinstein and Boxer are trying to outdo the Republicans in various repressive immigrant bashing measures. As TTT goes to press, Congress is considering in conference an onerous new law on immigration, whose house version was adopted by an overwhelming bipartisan vote while incorporating some of the worst provisions of California's Proposition 187, such as allowing states to exclude undocumented children from the schools. A demonstration was scheduled in L.A. for Thursday June 13 at the federal building to oppose this law and defend immigrants' human rights. A new pledge of non-compliance is also being developed by

Turning The Tide

teachers and others who might be incorporated into the state's immigrant repression apparatus under this measure.

Meanwhile, the most extreme racist right forces are smelling blood on this issue. Following the beating of several undocumented immigrants in L.A. by Riverside County sheriff deputies, who took over a pursuit by the INS, groups involved in the Buchanan campaign, Ross Perot's United We Stand America, FAIR and the John Birch Society held a pro-cop, anti-immigrant at the L.A. Federal Building, followed a couple of weeks later by an even larger rally organized by the openly racist "American Spring" organization that has held swastika-bedecked rallies at the border and physically attacked immigrants. The group is led by long-time Harbor-area nazi Joe Fields, who was the main spokesman at the rally, with

racist justifications for opposing immigration.

In Mexico, meanwhile, the state has ok'ed unprecedented joint action with the US Army to defend the neocolonial authority of the PRI. Clinton's defense secretary, William Perry, is now deploying forces on this side of the border to reinforce the INS in its control operations and shipping armaments and supplies across the border to beef up the Mexican Army in its repressive operations against the Zapatistas and the threat they pose to the "profitability" of NAFTA. Dozens of Huey helicopters developed for Vietnam have been provided to Mexico, allegedly for anti-drug operations but in fact to deal with the revolutionary threat.

Only through solidarity with the undocumented, the Zapatistas and the Mexican people on both sides of the border can NAFTA be reversed!

Summer 1996

Putting it in Context

by Askhari

member of the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement

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See, We all know that PP/POW work is difficult, cuz if it was easy it would have been done already. Plus, the work We, in the malcolm x grassroots movement, do around political prisoners and prisoners can be frustrating because it is almost impossible to track our progress; either they are free or they are not; and they are not, although this does not mean We are not making some progress. Anyway, i wanted to share my take on this whole thing...

i believe i was first introduced to our operational definition of a political prisoner about ten years ago. Until then, i considered all prisoners political, and justified my position by saying that the usa empire had no right to lock any of my brothas and sistas down, particularly since We never consented to be citizens of this empire anyway. While this is true, my position was slightly underdeveloped and naive.

So, dig, i fought for the liberation of PP/POW on GP (general principle). i kinda got down seriously with the PP/POW struggle because i felt like i owed our freedom fighters something for the sacrifices they made in the name of the People. i romanticized people like Assata Shakur, Geronimo Pratt, Jalil Muntaquin and Herman Bell, hoping they really did do the things they were accused of. i gave our freedom fighters mad props for not

checking their backbone at the door, and for attempting to slay this multi-headed imperialist dragon. But, yeah, so i don't mind telling you, that in the context of the struggle, our struggle, i didn't really think this whole PP/POW thing was a big deal (can you imagine that?)

Well, i am delighted to report that i have evolved since then. i began to develop relationships with

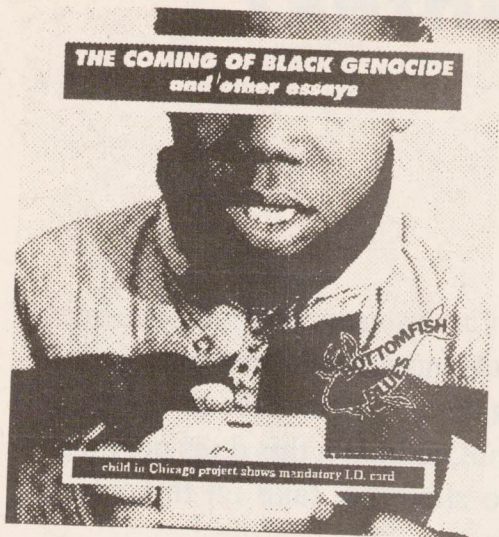
many of our freedom fighters, and it finally struck me. They are everyday people... so i got to thinking deeply and decided i had to develop a political ideology around PP/POW. i had to put our political prisoners in the context of our struggle for freedom and land. I could not, in good conscious, continue to ignore the implications of political imprisonment.

i mean Sundiata gives good conversation; i think Sekou Odinga is crazy cool and well as thoughtful and Mutulu, well, 'Tulu, has a geniusly great sense of humor. In addition, he has been a very dear and sincere friend to me. But i don't want them out because when i say "Free the Land" Mutulu says, only half jokingly, "Free the Man" or because Sekou worries about offending me in asking questions about my spirituality, or so Sundiata won't have to

chain smoke his way through the day. i don't even want them liberated because of some sacred sense of revenge.. There is something inherently selfish in my desire to see Jalil, Jihad, Sundiata, Sekou, Mutulu and the rest of our freedom fighters on this side of the wall; i do work around political prisoners for a more personal and self-centered reason now. And no, i don't have a love jones for Sekou or Mutulu or anything like that, but, see, i do recognize that, there, but for the grace of God, Allah or whatever, goes me. Dig?

Although all New Afrikans in this country are in danger, as a member or supporter of the malcolm x grassroots movement (ergo, a member or supporter of social change), you and i have placed ourselves in the direct path of the tortuous tornado North Americans affectionately refer to as Amerikkka. For whatever

BOTTOMFISH BLUES: THE COMING OF BLACK GENOCIDE



"Bottomfish Blues is an underground Amazon publication that has appeared anonymously and episodically in NYC since 1986. Its two main themes radically challenge white women's complicity in both the on-going Black Genocide and the patriarchy's war against women."

1993. Paperback. 124 pages. \$10.95
(\$6.00 for prisoners)

Cooperative Distribution
Service
P.O. Box 77452
National Capitol Station
Washington, D.C. 20013



reason, and i can't seem to figure out what it is, many North Americans believe they have a legal and moral right/responsibility to oppress us. Those who do not actively believe this still benefit from our oppression, so that makes all of them beneficiaries of our non-activism, which leads them to desire and positively reinforce our non-activism. I know that was a run-on sentence, but are you still with me?

If you are still with me, then you understand that the reverse is also true. They punish us for our activism. When We become active and write letters, and make phone calls, and sit-in and take out, and boycott, and take it to the streets, and have fiery freedom summers, We interrupt their benefits.

And check it out, even though they pretend they abhor the welfare

system, Amerikkka is the biggest damn welfare system in the world (i mean they got four hundred plus years of our free labor, and got "free" land and well, i don't need to go on — let me get back to the point i was trying to make, which was...) When We stand in masse and shout (with meaning) Black Power, or Power to the People, or Free Huey, or No Justice/No Peace and Free the Land! We are subject to false arrest, harassment, and imprisonment. We are subject to unjust and inhumane incarceration simply because We have chosen to exercise our basic self-determining rights; because We are dedicated to cutting through the rope around our necks; because We have decided this hypocrisy of a democracy has to be put on pause. And they, the usa imperialists, mean to stop us.

If you do not believe that the usa means to stop our movement,

then ask yourself why they are closing schools, hospitals, community centers, libraries, homeless shelters, parks, drug treatment centers and museums, yet they are always building more and more prisons. The empire is building prisons in direct response to our social protest movements. They need to have the space available, so they can lock us down when We stand up. So, check it out... if We don't support PP/POWs today right now, tomorrow it will be me in a maximum security prison for no sufficient reason, or YOU...

Now, i truly don't mean to water this down and reduce it to a statement of "do this for them, so someone will do it for you," cuz i have chosen to fight this fight not just for myself, but for my children, for your children, and most of all, for our movement.

See, any revolutionary movement which fails to support its captured comrades is doomed to fail, because there exists no sense of loyalty or allegiance to principle.

If i cannot trust us to fight for Jihad and Jalil- then how can i trust us to fight for me or our other sistas or brothas if we get locked down for our day to day struggle(s)? All revolutions face resistance. We have to stick with our comrades through these difficult times and more importantly continue the fight. We have to honor the legacy of struggle our ancestors left us. If we, as a movement fail to do work around political prisoners and prisoners of war, then soon there will be none of us left. This imprisonment thing is not personal. The usa empire does not have something specific against Mumia, Sundiata, or Sekou personally... they have something against all of us. They want us to get scared and run back to work for their multimillion dollar corporations, wearing hundred dollar tennis shoes. They want us to spend five years paying for their overpriced cars driving to their stores to buy super stereophonic televisions instead of multimedia computers. They want us to sell our revolutionary songs to Nike and sell out by supporting non-sensical sanctions against Cuba.

They want us to watch newscasts where the top story is not about a Black woman who was beat down by a state trooper in South Carolina, but about George Burns' death (and that ain't news, the man was one hundred years old!) They want us to read the television guide instead of Revolutionary Suicide; they want us to watch cable television all night long, drink Bud Light, and smoke cigarettes. Amerikkka wants us to

vote for their ganstas who are rapping to us at least until after the election in November... they want us to tell our friends about the party down the street, but they criminalize the Black Panther Party. The usa empire wants us to do anything, but act against oppression. The act of political imprisonment is meant to stop me and you from doing what We do, which is organize and it is intended to stop our children and their children from following in our footsteps. (We are Amerikkka's social security. Our oppression secures their social order.)

But see, they didn't envision the malcolm x grassroots movement. They didn't know that We would organize the people around this issue and they didn't count on us being so passionate and intelligently directed by the New Afrikan People's Organization. They thought they could scare us into submissiveness, but they can't.

As our sista Assata said, We have nothing to lose, by fighting but our chains.

Listen, they all in the same gang. Our enemies are the same, just with different names and faces; but they represent the same ideology of global white supremacy, rape, kidnapping, castration, and genocide. Support our freedom fighters with your entire being. Every direct action We engage in to liberate our freedom fighters is an action closer to freedom of speech and action. Don't believe the hype, we don't have free speech or free action. We ain't free. Marvin Gaye told us that in the 60s; The Last Poets told us in the 70s; and KRS told us in the 80s, but in the 90s he is sellin' The Last Poets to Nike so the revolution can be

televised. We ain't free. Don't believe this stuff about you free if you think you are. If you believe that, then you get out there in the streets with your free thoughts and start protesting because you want human rights or an end to genocide, or health care of employment, so you can feed your family. Then you will see how free you really are. Your thinkin' you free don't make you free. Movements and Revolutions make you free. You need a movement behind you, a movement willing to work towards a revolution that demands unconditional freedom.

Our PP/POWs ain't free, but neither are you or i. Anything we get in this country, we have to take and we have to take it by any means necessary and we have to take it together. As Sweet Honey In the Rock sings, "we who believe in freedom cannot rest." So struggle around the issue of political prisoners in the same way and with the same passion with which we organize around anything else. See, We only want a Nation and they will never get us all!

Oh! Let me just say a quick word about social prisoners. We have to offer them our support as well. We all know there is no real rehabilitation in the prison system.

And check it out, inside the prisons, behind those almost insurmountable walls, is an army waiting to happen; some of the brothas and sistas just need our direction and support. Lest We forget that our ideological father, Malcolm X became highly politicized while in prison.

Okay, that is enough. Free the Land and all Political Prisoners!

Letters to PART

Criminology 101

Criminology 101 is more than just a theory, it is a hypothesis manifested by the socio-political/economic realities of our situation as a people from an ourstorical and New Afrikan perspective. It would provide our New Afrikan people with both the theoretical and practical means to effectively combat and resist the U.S. racist empire endeavors to criminalize New Afrikan people and our communities. This effort to criminalize the New Afrikan and our community presents a very disturbing question:

Why the criminalization of both our people and community become a top political priority of this white political structure? In my opinion, we as a people have neglected to examine the above question, for our response to their effort does not correspond with the seriousness of this racist campaign. Clearly overstanding our ourstorical relationship with the enemy empire would facility our capacity to comprehensively embrace the true intent and expression of this campaign to criminalize every aspect of New Afrikan life!

The white settlers of North Amerikkka had developed a set of racially motivated hypotheses to find moral logic in the justification for slavery and the Amerikkkan system of Apartheid (Jim Crow). That same sense of logic is even more prevalent in today's society, but before we explore the present, a brief examination of its historical implications is a prerequisite towards the overstanding of its present application(s). First of all, it is important to note that these hypotheses are rooted in the mythology of white supremacy.

Prior to the invasion of our motha-land, the law and social norm was being developed in the U.S. to morally justify what was to come for our ancestors. Our ancestors were first considered uncivilized, then stripped of their human identity, reduced to mere property. This was the language that morally, in the minds of people both in Europe and Amerikkka, justified the enslavement of our ancestors; then the enactment of laws which had entitled the white man the right to own such property (human life). This hypothesis was used to justify slavery: Our ancestors were viewed as non-humans, and as long as our ancestors were perceived as such, white Amerikkka for the most part were desensitized to their ill-treatment!

The hypothesis that was employed to guarantee our oppression into the late 18th and early 19th centuries was a direct by-product of the first white supremacist mythological hypothesis. The only change that had occurred was that we went from being non-human to 3/5 human, but there was a whole new set of laws to validate our 3/5 status.

We had no rights that the white man was entitled to respect or acknowledge, and this was the logic to justify the implementation of the Amerikkkan system of apartheid. Though officially the U.S. apartheid was defeated in the '50s and '60s, we all know this to be pure b.s. We as a people are still victims of institutionalized and systematic discrimination. You can't name one Amerikkkan institution where we are not discriminated against, from education to employment, on every level of this society.

The same social realities had characterized Jim Crow. The only difference now: The signs are down and the laws have been rephrased, disguised to perpetrate a fraud. And if you don't believe me, look at the crack-cocaine law. That's clearly a Jim Crow law, but for the most part, white Amerikkka has found moral logic in the overt injustice against our people!

We have reached the third stage of our oppression in Amerikkka, but now the hypotheses have been identified as "The Bell Curve"; i.e., the criminalization of our people and community. Proponents of "The Bell Curve" contend that there exists a gene which predisposes New Afrikan (Black) people to criminal behavior. This contention set the stage for the facilitation of racist, repressive, and draconian laws, laws specifically designed to justify and further our oppression as a people.

What is even more disturbing is the fact that the federal government (before the public criticism and protest) was contemplating funding research under "The Bell Curve" auspices...the study of this phantom gene! Their willingness to fund such a program is a clear indication of the U.S. government's complicity in this conspiracy to criminalize our people and community!

(Note: This was only a brief introduction to a pamphlet I just completed titled "Criminology 101.")

Abdul Olugbala Shakur
Re-build!

In the name of Allah (God) the Most Gracious, Most Merciful

May 1, 1996

Dear Editor:

I am an activist, adolescent youth worker, student, and writer. I have read *Turning the Tide* for several years now and have agreed with the uncompromising stand the publication takes against racism. I have also thoroughly appreciated the fact this is one of the few publications with the courage to denounce the mistreatment and oppression of Palestinians by Israelis, and police misconduct. However, I feel compelled to make a couple of comments regarding other issues.

In regards to the term "anti-semitism", World Book Encyclopedia reports, "The term is inaccurate, because the word Semites properly refers to persons who speak Semitic languages, and includes Arabs and other peoples." If we are to get to the root of our problems by dealing with them realistically and effectively then we must use terminology which is accurate. As such the term "homophobia" must be dropped, for it is also inaccurate. As a Muslim I unapologetically believe homosexuality is a sin. I do not engage nor do I condone it out of fear of displeasing Allah (God) ... not homosexuals.

Likewise, there is a common practice of labeling anyone who states they believe homosexuality is harmful behavior as a "gay basher". This is also unjust. I do not and will not refer to homosexuals by using derogatory terms. When I taught at a Muslim school, we scolded students if they used such language. I can say I believe it is wrong and harmful for a person to smoke cigarettes. This does not mean I would support or encourage someone to take the smoker into an alley and beat them. In other words, I can unequivocally say I believe your behavior is wrong and harmful to you and society and it does not mean I condone violent means of "stopping" you.

Turning the Tide is identified as a "Journal of Anti-racist Activism, Research and Education". If this is true, than it would be wise to only publish articles which focus on the issue of racist

discrimination. Otherwise, you are in danger of spreading yourself too thin and getting off track.

The One God is Absolute. When you take the absolute out of the equation, no amount of calculation will result in a correct answer. The present day women's movement is not so much a revolutionary social movement, but rather has become a blatantly partisan political movement which has little to do with addressing the actual needs and issues concerning women. Present day avowed feminists would have you believe to struggle for women is to support legalized abortion, explicit sex education in schools, distribution of birth control in schools (including the controversial Norplant), and propagation of lesbianism as a healthy lifestyle choice. A classic case in point was the YWCA (Young Women's Christian Association) announcement they were speaking on behalf of their members in supporting legalized abortion.

True sexual liberation is not found in lesbianism, promiscuity, serial monogamy, or any form of premarital sex. It is found in the loving, holy home of marriage. This is a revolutionary idea. Women must be cognizant of the old adage, "If you can get the milk free why buy the cow?" Marriage is a sacred, Blessed union of the souls and bodies of a man and a woman which benefits the society at large. If women sincerely want committed relationships, productive lifestyles, and pleasurable sexual relationships they must be willing to commit themselves to chastity outside of marriage. The fact is, if large numbers of American women remained chaste until marriage it would result in a veritable social revolution of immeasurable proportions not to mention the unemployment of many mental health professionals.

Sincerely,
Amatullah Bahria
Newton, Ia. 50208

Dear Amatullah:

We took the liberty of incorporating part of the longer article you sent along with this letter into the letter for

reasons of space, and will reply briefly. Readers who would like to communicate with you can write to you care of TTT and we will forward their letters.

Regarding "anti-Semitism," we sometimes use the term, particularly to include anti-Arab prejudice; other times we talk about anti-Jewish bigotry. In common parlance, it is taken to mean anti-Jewish, and although we have some objections, based on the people who use the term to exceptionalize bigotry against Jews from all other forms of racism and oppression (much like people who use the term "Holocaust" to isolate the Nazis' genocidal attack on European Jewry from all other forms and instances of genocide), we don't see the point of dropping it entirely. We have some objections to the term "homophobia," because it seems to reduce what is a deep rooted social, political and cultural phenomenon to an individual psychological disorder. Again, it is a widely used short-hand for anti-gay bigotry, whether justified on religious or other grounds. You are entitled to your religious interpretation that homosexuality is a sin, but not to impose those views on others, or to object to social policies which accord people of any sexual orientation the right to live freely and to their fullest loving capacity, with equal recognition and respect and no need to hide for fear of ostracism.

While sexual license, as you point out has more to do with women's oppression and exploitation than liberation, neither the voluntary nor the enforced chastity of any number of women have in the past nor are likely in the future to attain the liberation of women. Rather, women's solidarity, based on and in the international solidarity of the oppressed and exploited against all forms of oppression and exploitation, is the answer.

Finally, as to your urging that TTT devote itself exclusively to the topic of racism, we consider that too narrow by far. The strength of TTT has been that it situates both racism and the anti-racist struggle in the whole system of imperialism and the necessity to oppose and defeat that system. We appreciate your input, however, and your own serious commitment; thanks for the feedback.

Separatism vs. Revolutionary Socialism

by James H. Holiday (Doc)

I have read some of your recent articles regarding separatism, and the contributions of the Black Nationalist Coalition by the New African Liberation Front, Shaka, and a couple of others with no affiliation given who wrote pieces. The N.A.L.F. presented the separatist concept in its "Principles of Unity," point 1, "Land": "The primary objective of the N.A.L.F. is self-determination through a national liberation struggle for land [territory within the historic southeastern Black Belt], independence and reparations..."

It should be made clear here in my opening that I agree whole-heartedly with the need for the N.A.L.F. and its platform except its separatist and cultural nationalist Black Nation objectives. The platform otherwise has a solid revolutionary aim and objectives. All of the following is a personal opinion and my questions are presented in the line of ideological struggle as I attempt to find the way.

My politics have developed around and within the legitimate recognition of the right to self-determination of Black people and all people in the U.S., and out of that grew the further recognition that the factual socio-racial economic exclusions, exploitation, and forced separation of our communities within the U.S. Empire/Nation made our struggle become one for national liberation, but directed at a form of socialist revolutionary dismantling of U.S. imperialism. The nationalism bespoke of a consciousness inclusive of the necessity to mobilize against racism and concepts of white supremacy. This is tied to and part of the people's movement against class/capitalist existing orders. Class struggle as such recognizes that the primary enemy and contradictions are in capitalism, the culture it has fostered, and its dependency on exploitation for profit to survive. This dialectic does not overlook the role racism has played, nor the concepts of white supremacy.

What I intend to bring forth is: Is this separatist movement as a political platform somehow in and of

itself going to connect the problems of class/mass mobilization and dismantlement of the Empire? Can nationalism based on racial separation in the U.S. produce a movement where racism, sexism, class exploitation, and social injustice is claimed as the enemy, where self-determination from the level of the individual to the collective can be believed in by all people and fought for? If so, then it's a mass movement, all people inclusive.

We know that national independence as such has not always produced that ideal better society, however good the beginnings appeared to the colonized. In may liberated African nations, we see a Black regime, usually bourgeoisie, take the rings of power and merely replace the settlers as the ruling class and exploiters. Those movements were not defined and directed to produce otherwise. Not just because a few bad people took power, but because fundamental contradictions went uncorrected. Land and national independence are not synonymous with self-determination for a people Revolutionary class struggle is, and

it is dependent on and recognizes the need to build a new consciousness among the masses. In the case of the U.S., this means an all people progressive movement with an intent and program to win over the masses, and through that process is how we develop a new and different people.

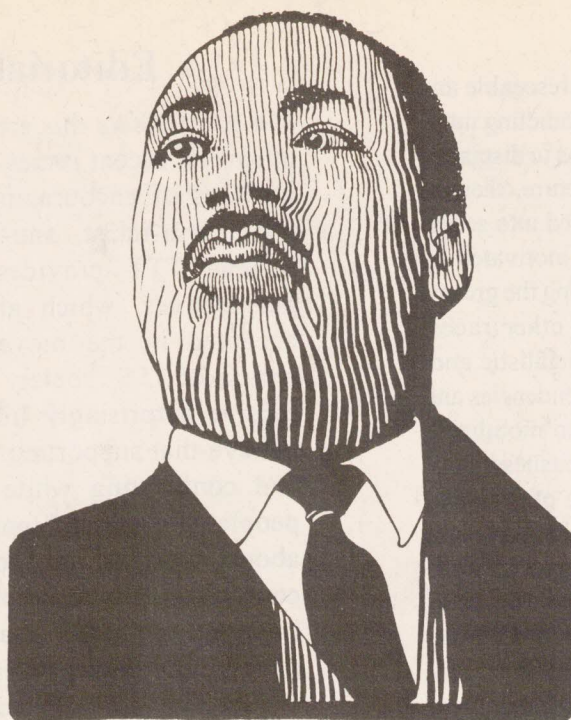
I recognize the U.S. as an imperialist nation, multi-racial, with all of its races of people willing or unwilling contributors to its wealth and power. That wealth and its power belong to all the nation's people, as does the land and its potentials, excluding its colonial possessions, of course.

The U.S. imperial nation empire is unique to all times past and present. From the time of its inception as a colony from England, it has gone through several qualitative transformations. The settler who all but exterminated the indigenous Indian, brought in African slave labor, fought a war of independence against its mother-land, developed its agrarian-based economy into industrial capitalism, survived civil war and consolidated its elite capitalist democracy against internal opposition

has now emerged as a factual historically-defined empire nation. The settler nation no longer exists. This is the Empire.

As desperate as the situation is and as frustrating as our struggle against the twin evils of capitalism and racism has been, it does not lend itself to as simple a solution as separation implies. Not even as reparations. It is not that I do not see the step-by-step development of this solution and the hoped-for mobilization of forces to be applied in its theory. I accept and see violent conflict in the struggle for liberation. However, my acceptance and vision is of it unfolding a bit differently than for a stretch of land. I am of the belief that the struggle for Black liberation is entwined with a revolutionary class struggle, where history places the most oppressed and desperate Black/masses to be a vanguard against this system of capitalism and its racist symptoms. Further, our natural allies run on the order of the women's movement in general; Mexicans and Latinos as a rising force, with other racial groups; as well as a not-so-content white working and middle class. (Note the rising populist movement, now slanting right, but could and should have been drawn left, if not for the weaknesses in our movement direction and ties into the masses.)

If we bite into the oppressive strength of mass media propaganda and the attitudes with which it programs people, we can never gather these diverse groups into political alliances and unified forces against the Empire. We must have political definitions and directions that interpret this reality. Race as an issue is a product and symptom of European and U.S. capitalism and their historical development. While recognizing it to be a live and kicking symptom/



condition, it is not an indestructible contradiction.

To say or see this whole issue otherwise would be rejecting the historical lesson shown by such persons as M.L.K., an integrationist and humanist who inspired people around the world in the belief people were capable of love and brother/sisterhood. George L. Jackson believed in the people's revolution that would "leave a world that is liberated from trash, pollution, racism, nation-state, nation-state wars and armies, from pomp, bigotry, parochialism, a thousand different brands of untruth, and licentious, usurious economics..."

It would also be rejecting the more radical elements of groups like B.P.P., whose philosophy was ultimately integrationist with revolutionary intentions and all people's inclusiveness. These examples were not separatist, yet were able to appeal to and inspire the masses across racial and class lines. That inspiration had revolutionary class potential. That is why M.L.K. and George Jackson were assassinated and the COINTELPRO program was initiated.

It is not U.S. racism that threatens and attacks Cuba's right to self-determination 90 miles off these shores. It is U.S. imperialism, maybe even part pathological notions of white supremacist right to dominate. But more so, it is an ideological affront to U.S. capitalist legitimacy that creates the attack frenzy against relatively weak Cuba. The only reason there has been a full military invasion of Cuba in modern day times is the wider international upheaval that would cause. Haven't Manuel Noriega's arrest and the invasions of Panama, Grenada, and Nicaragua only recently demonstrated what a nation's borders mean to U.S. imperialism? The U.S. does not respect existing sovereignty.

Are we thinking to become some sort of collaborating nation, client state, or puppet regime to U.S. imperialism when we think about attempting to build a nation within the southeastern Black Belt? Of course not. But no other type nation could exist without the dismantling of the U.S.'s superstructure. And if we can succeed in doing that, why not full revolutionary overthrow?

Editorial Response

If the above is foreseeable and our efforts create contradicting internal forces so powerful as to dismantle the Empire's superstructure, then the determination to proceed into secession would have to be motivated by beliefs in separation being the greater good for Blacks and other races. That conclusion has racialistic and/or cultural nationalist tendencies and is counter-productive to mobilizing class allies and consciousness.

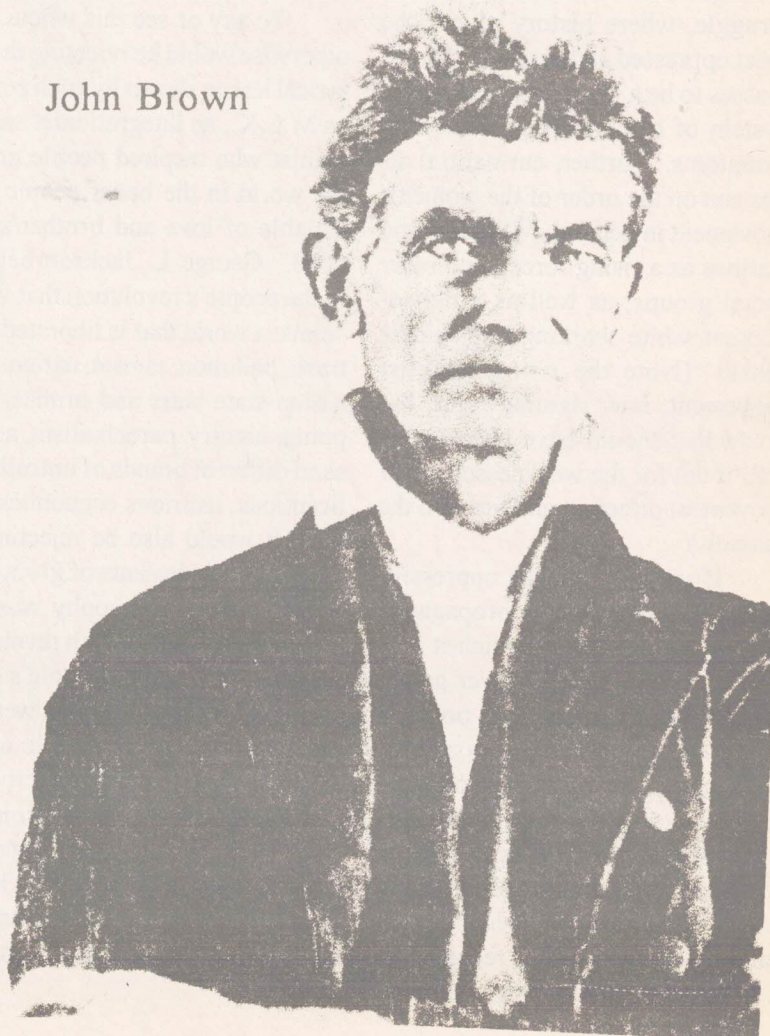
I am not unaware of the institutionalized racism now prevalent in every aspect of the socio-political functioning in America and the complacent acceptance it enjoys among the descendants of former slave holders. But like the conditioned reflexes of the oppressed mentality, the complacent acceptance of racism and the conditioning from which it derives can and must be at the centers of revolutionary attack and part of any other serious long-term political agenda. Revolution occurs only when the conditions are right and revolutionary leadership is broad-based connected with the masses of people. We must build toward that readiness.

As for culture being used as a weapon, it is generally true for the reactionary as it has been in colonial situations. We need a revolutionary cultural concept that expresses 21st century technology, its socio-economic realities and facts of the world community. We do not need constricted conservatism that promote an us-against-them race consciousness. That is not suitable to lead a more human/egalitarian society and culture.

James H. Holiday
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We are printing this article, a response to material in several recent issues of *Turning the Tide*, in the interests of encouraging dialogue and discussion about anti-racist, anti-imperialist strategy. We believe TTT provides some very challenging perspectives, which are not necessarily widely accepted in the movement, about the colonial nature of U.S. society to this very day, yet we receive surprisingly little feedback. We do not believe that supporting pro-independence politics, and confronting white supremacy among white people, are about "separatism;" for us, they are about applying to today's realities, the actual content of a revolutionary class analysis: anti-imperialism. There are class divisions within nations, and there are real national divisions within classes that can only be overcome by challenging the cultural, political and economic underpinnings of both oppression and privilege. --MN

John Brown



The Dominican Republic Today

by Ruben Garcia

The Clinton administration keeps troops in Haiti for two main reasons: first of all, to continue to prepare the ground for northamerican companies to establish themselves in Haiti and take advantage of semi-slave Haitian labor; second, to invade the Dominican Republic, which shares the same island with Haiti, if the people there rise up in arms in the coming months.

In May, the Dominican populace gathered at the polls to elect the President of the Republic. For more than a quarter of a century the government of Dr. Joaquin Balaguer has used rigged elections to help it maintain power. In the 1994 elections, Balaguer declared himself the victor despite widespread certainty that massive fraud had been committed. According to both the Dominican public and international organizations, the real winner of that election was Dr. Jose Francisco Pena Gomez, the candidate of the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano (the Dominican Revolutionary Party) in alliance with various left-wing organizations gathered together in the "Concertacion Democratica" — the Democratic Front. In the indecisive outcome of the balloting in May of this year, Pena Gomez came in first, with more than 40% of the vote, but short of the absolute majority required, thus requiring a run-off, and leaving the situation unresolved and potentially unstable from the U.S. government's point of view.

The pro-democracy forces carried their alliance into the elections. They united on the need for constitutional, social and economic reforms. For example, they advocate the modification of Law 55 of the Constitution of 1966, in order to restrict the extraordinary powers now in the hands of the presidency. Among the many social reforms proposed is the creation of the office of "Secretary of State for Women" for the purpose of "eliminating inequality and promoting the role of women in national life." The alliance calls for a raise in the minimum wage and in pensions.

Opinion surveys taken by both domestic and international pollsters

pointed to overwhelming support for Pena Gomez. This is not what was recorded at the polls in May. But what is clear is that the Dominican people are not disposed to tolerate another electoral fraud. Everything points to the conclusion that the coming runoff elections will be extremely critical for the social stability of the country. In all corners of the Dominican

Republic people are saying that if the electoral results aren't respected this time, "revolution is imminent." Meanwhile the possibility of military action by the U.S. Marines already in place in Haiti looms in the background.

The northamerican people will have the final word on whether or not the military will be permitted to intervene to defend the interests of the big U.S. corporations. If they allow it to happen, it will be the third invasion in this century.

SOME HISTORY

The Dominican Republic takes up two thirds of the island of Hispaniola; the northeast side comprises the Republic of Haiti. Early in the century, several attempts at revolution against tyranny resulted in the invasion by U.S. Marines in 1916 under the pretext of "restoring order" and collecting on the international debt. Dominicans responded

with a nationwide guerrilla movement that lasted eight years. The U.S. waged a major national and international propaganda campaign against the guerrillas, accusing them of being common bandits. This attempt to demoralize the patriotic forces, who were fighting for the re-establishment of the republic without foreign intervention, was accompanied by the modernization of the Dominican Army and the creation of a national police force.

During the battle to bury all armed resistance in the Republic, a previously unknown personality appeared on the national stage. This young man, a simple guard at one of the central sugar refineries in San Cristobal, was named Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina. Trujillo sent a letter to the military chief of the U.S. Marines in Santo Domingo, in which, among other things, he asked to be named second-in-command of the recently created national police force. A month later, Trujillo received a message asking him to appear at an interview; in 1918 he became a police sub-official.

Proving himself by aggressively fighting the "bandits," Trujillo rose rapidly through the ranks. With the backing of the U.S., he began to create a group of officials loyal to himself. By the time the marines were ready to pull out of the country in 1924, he was a brigadier general in the Dominican Army. In 1930, with Washington's full support, he was ready to make his move: a coup against the constitutional president Horacio Vasquez. This military takeover was the beginning of what came to be known as the "Trujillo era," marked by mass killings and assassinations of not just opponents of the regime, but their whole families. People trembled at the mention of his name; it was said that "In the heav-

ens there is God, on Earth, Trujillo." The dictator's relatives had a free hand enriching themselves. One of these, the current president Joaquin Balaguer, was responsible for writing the dictatorship's most repressive laws.

A number of separate movements arose to combat Trujillo. In the end, however, plot after plot was discovered by the powerful military intelligence service, known as the SIM. This included attempts to overthrow the dictatorship from abroad, such as the so-called Cayo Confite at the end of the forties, and another heroic attempt on June 14, 1959. The regime seemed unmovable.

Nevertheless, four brave sisters of the Mirabel family, along with their husbands, organized yet another effort. Called the Clandestine June 14th Movement in honor of the previous rebels, it spread like wildfire. The response of the dictatorship was to order the assassination of three of the sisters, whose family was prominent in the northern part of the country. With popular resistance at a boiling point, this action antagonized even Trujillo's former sponsors and allies. The dictatorship had become a problem for them. The Catholic Church, the CIA, the whole international community, even some of his own generals, began to repudiate Trujillo's crimes. In May, 1961, as he went out to visit one of his concubines, the dictator was met in the street by a group from the armed forces, among them generals with ties to the CIA, who gunned him down. Thus died the "omnipotent" Dominican dictator—killed by his own friends.

Many Dominicans hoped that "the death of the dog would stop the rabies." The people organized massively to uproot all vestiges of the dictatorship. We exiled members of

Trujillo's family, including Balaguer. Some members of the feared SIM were executed, and the murderers of the Mirabal sisters were brought to trial. The workers' and peasants' movements came out of clandestinity. So did the June 14 Movement, led by Manuel Aurelio Tavarez Justo, the husband of the martyred Minerva Mirabel. Political parties flourished. Exiled professor Juan Bosch returned to the Dominican Republic, bringing with him the Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD), whose program was widely popular.

From the time of Trujillo's death in May 1961 and on into 1962, the popular organizations continued to fight for their immediate demands: free and democratic elections, the right to form labor unions, student and peasant organizations, tribunals to bring criminals who had served the dictator to justice, the return of anti-Trujillo exiles, and, conversely, the exile of those most closely allied with him. The elections of 1962 were celebrated by the people in the streets as a symbol of the death of tyranny. Juan Bosch and the PRD won the first free elections in thirty years by a landslide.

Dominicans sometimes say that "food doesn't last long in a poor person's house." The politicians in Washington didn't like the political-economic program of Juan Bosch, and one again started scheming with the military and Dominican business interests to push aside the constitution and the president elected by the people. On September 23, 1963, seven months after taking office, Juan Bosch became an exile again in the wake of a military coup directed by the CIA. This event opened the eyes of many Dominicans. They realized that even though the dog was dead, the rabies hadn't stopped, because the rabies was in Washington.



“Manolo” Tavares of the June 14 Movement had promised earlier on: “We know where to find the steepest Dominican mountains, and that’s where we’re going if they don’t respect the will of our people.” As soon as the coup became known, he and a group of guerrillas did just that, despite the heavy odds. Completely surrounded by the armed forces, they fought until they ran out of food and munitions. Washington maneuvered to prepare the ground for the return of Balaguer, while the Pentagon infiltrated and manipulated popular organizations, doing their best to help U.S. corporations control the gold, silver and bauxite mines, the production of sugar cane, trade in consumer goods, and access to low-wage labor. Despite the virtual defeat of the guerrilla struggle, the people continued to fight for the return of Bosch and against the “Triumvirate” imposed by the coup. Widespread agitation for the return of Bosch and the

’63 constitution continued in the streets: the Triumvirate’s supporters had little authority or power.

The morning of April 24, 1965, people woke up just like as any other day. At dawn, market women were already at work, some buying, some selling. Newspaper-vendors, shoeshiners, public and private workers, bus drivers, peasants — all intent on their tasks — crowded the avenues in an industrious swarm. For some days now, the hearts of Dominicans had been beating faster. Lively discussions and arguments were happening everywhere. Everybody was protesting, even including a growing group within the military. So began another day, with one important exception. On this day, at dawn, a group of soldiers from Ozama Fort had risen up against the government, demanding, among other things, the return of Juan Bosch and the ’63 constitution.

Hearing about the uprising, Colonel Francisco Augusto Caamano Deno, who had been relaxing at his father’s country house, immediately decided it was time to act. Still dressed in civilian clothes, the man who would come to be the commander of the rebellion was wearing a white jacket and a straw hat when he presented himself at the home where the mutineers were gathered. At this historic meeting, a decision was reached to arm the Dominican people to overthrow the Triumvirate’s military command, which was headquartered to the east of the capital at the San Isidro military base, under the leadership of Elias Wessin y Wessin. So began the combat of April 25, 26 and 27.

It appeared that the Dominican Revolution was triumphing over the regime’s top military. Santo Domingo was captured by the revolutionary forces. Commandos moved

freely around the capital. The rebels elected a provisional president, and started planning how to bring Juan Bosch back. But it didn't take long for Washington to demonstrate that in Latin America one shouldn't even breathe without the explicit permission of the White House. On April 28, Lyndon Johnson ordered the landing of 42,000 Marines. Working class youth from both sides—northamericans against Dominicans—shed their blood in Santo Domingo. The Marines established a military corridor giving them access to various strategic areas and to San Isidro, where the Triumvirate's military top brass had been holed up.

After months of confrontation, negotiations began between the U.S. and the Dominican revolutionaries. These resulted in a provisional government, and a date for new elections. As a diplomatic agreement, Colonel Augusto Caamano Deno was exiled to Spain. Meanwhile, Balaguer, the U.S.'s political pupil, was flown back to the Dominican Republic straight from Washington, D.C. After the disaster of the April uprising, with more than five thousand young Dominicans dead from the conflict, with the highest leaders of the revolution in exile, with intimidation by a band of terrorists organized by the CIA and with the most blatant electoral fraud in the country's history, Balaguer "won" the elections. For the next twelve years he brought back the barbarities of the 1950's. Bodies of young people appeared all over the republic, many leaders of peoples' organizations were deported, and many more were imprisoned with no more excuse than that they opposed the government.

THE "ZONAS FRANCAS INDUSTRIALES"

It is important to understand that at the root of the northamerican invasion was a desire to keep open the doors for foreign capital, especially U.S. capital. Of special importance are the industrial free trade zones, which have been operating in the Dominican Republic since 1955. These zones make up a complex which is organized exclusively around the export of industrial goods. Law 299 of 1968 established an updated set of incentives for attracting foreign investment. The first main incentive is a tax-free status for primary materials and machinery used in the manufacture of products. The second is reduction of corporate income taxes: 75% reduction for the first five years and 50% thereafter. Another key incentive, not written into the law, is the low cost of labor, especially the labor of the women and children employed in these factories. Workers in the free trade zones aren't protected by Dominican labor laws, which provide at least some weak mechanisms for demanding minimum wages, social security and severance benefits. In the zonas francas, workers literally have to ask permission one half hour ahead of time to use the bathroom.

Of the more than 300,000 Dominicans who work in the industrial free trade zones, more than 80% are women. The annual weekly pay is what a minimum wage worker in the U.S. earns in a day. The pace of production is unbearable — it is not unusual for older workers to be beaten by their supervisor for being unable to perform an assignment. The capitalists deduct social security pay from the workers' wages, but frequently refuse to pass the money

along to the government. Consequently, when a worker becomes unemployed, she is not eligible for benefits.

1965 AGAIN?

The political spirit and the economic situation of the Dominican people today is very much like that of April, 1965. Actually, conditions are worse in many ways. The ripoff of Dominican human and natural resources is intensified by the present conditions in the zonas francas. Forty percent of the population is unemployed or under-employed, often dependent on the assistance of a family member working outside the country. The slums in the big cities are engulfed by peasants fleeing the conditions of the countryside. Rural life today is like committing suicide: for most there are no schools, no local roads, no hospitals, no running water, no electricity and no land to farm. Many prefer living in the city and dying little by little. At least in the slums, water is not so far away, electricity is not unheard of, and sometimes by sheer luck it is possible to acquire food. Meanwhile, one single northamerican Fortune 500 company sits on three million [tareas] of land, a big part of which it uses for several golf courses for its executives.

The people of the Dominican Republic: desperate and angry, demanding survival and freedom. The government: at the service of Washington. U.S. troops next door in Haiti. Doesn't this have a familiar ring? And can't the people of the United States do anything to help break this vicious cycle?

Ruben Garcia is a Dominican-Puerto Rican member of People Against Racist Terror.

Another Senseless (Hate) Crime

By Mai Pham,
UCLA Asian Pacific Coalition

Tragedy befell the Vietnamese community on Jan. 29, 1996, when Thien Minh Ly, a 24-year old Vietnamese man and former graduate of UCLA, was murdered while roller-blading at his hometown Tustin high school tennis court. Ly was found lying in a pool of blood the following morning by a janitor, maimed by an massive number of stab wounds to various parts of his body, as well as slashing wounds to his throat.

In the immediate aftermath of his death, friends, family, and acquaintances could not fathom the senselessness of the crime that ended Ly's life. All who knew him remembered him with love, respect, and admiration. A man of exemplary integrity, intelligence, confidence and spirit, Ly embodied the model Vietnamese American. He was a dutiful and loving son to his parents, a beloved older brother to his younger siblings, and a friend that one could always count on in times of need. He was an academic in endless pursuit of knowledge: at UCLA, he obtained both an English and a Biology degree in four years, had just completed a Master's in Physiology and Biophysics at Georgetown, and was contemplating the study of law just before his death. While at UCLA, Thien was a leader: he wholeheartedly dedicated himself to the UCLA Vietnamese Students' Association (VSA) as VSA's Culture Night Director, VSA's newsletter editor, and finally, at the height of his VSA involvement, as VSA President from '92-'93.

Hundreds attended the candle-light vigil held for him the same week he was murdered. An article about his death hangs in the UCLA English counseling office. Flowers from all over the Vietnamese community overflowed the mortuary during his viewing and funeral. Tears flowed endlessly for Thien; his was a loss mourned by all.

It was not until March 2, 1996 that the mystery surrounding Ly's murder ended. That day, police arrested Gunner Lindberg, 21, and Dominic Christopher, 17, after discovering a letter that Lindberg had written to a former prison inmate in

New Mexico. The letter contained graphic details about the murder, as well as the writer's apparent insouciance about the whole incident.

Sandwiched between birthday plans, news about a friend's baby, and talk about the need for a new tattoo, was this boastful account of what had happened on the night of Jan 29:

"Oh, I killed a jap a while ago I stabbed him to Death at Tustin High school I walked up to him Dominic was with me and I seen this guy Roller blading and i had a knife. We walk in the tennis court where he was I walked up to him. Dominic was

right there I walked right up to him and he was scared I looked at him and said 'Oh I thought I knew you' and he got happy that he wasn't gona get jumped. then I hit him...

"I pulled the knife out a butcher knife and he said 'no' then I put the knife to his throught and asked him Do you have a car And he grabed my hand that I had the knife in and looked at me, trying to get a discription of me so I stomped on his head 3 times and each time said 'Stop looking at me' then he was kinda knocked out Dazed then I stabbed him in the side about 7 or 8 times he rolled over a little so I stabbed his

back out 18 or 19 times then he layed flat and I slit one side of his throught on his jugular vain. Oh, the sounds the guy was making were like Uhhh. then Dominic said 'do it again ' and I said 'I already Did. Dude. "Ya, Do it again' so I cut his other juggular vain, and Dominic said "Kill him Do it again' and I said 'he's already Dead' Dominic Said 'Stab him in the heart' So I stabbed him about 20 or 21 times in the heart....

"Then I wanted to go back and look, so we Did and he was dieing just then taking in some bloody gasps of air so I nided his face with my shoe a few times, then i told Dominic to kick him, so he kicked the f— out of his face and he still has blood on his Shoes all over... then I ditched the knife, after whiping it clean onto the side of the 5 freeway... here's the clippings from the newspaper we were on all the channels." (LA. Times, Orange County, "Grisly Account of Ly Killing Believed Penned by Suspect," 3/7/96)

Since the time of arrest, both parties have confessed their part in the murder. The original arraignment date was set for March 22, 1996 for Lindberg, but was pushed back to April 19, 1996. Likewise, Christopher's arraignment has been pushed back twice. It's not yet known whether Christopher will be tried as an adult.

Was there a racial motivation behind the crime? White supremacist paraphernalia were found at Lindberg's and Christopher's home. Lindberg carelessly referred to Ly as a "jap" in the letter he wrote to his friend. Yet Lindberg staunchly denies a racial motive. The Tustin police, too, seem reluctant to publicize the racial implications of the crime. For instance, the Tustin Weekly omitted

the words "I killed a jap" in their rendition of

Lindberg's letter (Tustin Weekly, "Graphic death scene details described," 3/8/96). Furthermore, both the Tustin Weekly and the L.A. Times have stated that the police attribute robbery as the motive for Ly's murder.

In light of the information in the letter, the inference that can be drawn is obvious. Racial motivation undoubtedly played a part in the murder. For how could Gunner Lindberg and Dominic Christopher so easily, blithely, and violently kill Thien Minh Ly if they respected him as a human being? They "stomped" on him with about as much thought as they would step on an ant. They listened to his cries of pain and torture with sadistic delight. They continually attacked him when he was already helpless, in fact dying, and then, to add further insult to the injury, Christopher kicked Ly's bleeding face. To the two murderers, Thien was nothing but a "jap," a sub-human organism whose life they had a right to take.

[Note: Prosecutors did belatedly add hate crime charges to the counts against the two perpetrators. — ed.]

But what did Thien mean to those who loved him; how did they feel? They are heart-broken, bereft, angry that his death was caused by an unnecessary, random act of violence. And what about the Vietnamese community? News about Ly's murder and the ensuing arrest of his two assailants have horrified and enraged the Vietnamese community in Orange county, so much so that the Vietnamese Community of Orange County (VNCOC), a non-profit human and social services group, and

various other organizations throughout Orange county, joined under the name of the Thien Minh Ly Ad Hoc Committee. Their purpose is to ensure that the murderers receive just punishment for taking Ly's life.

A candlelight vigil was held April 6, 1996 by the Council of Asian Pacific Americans of Orange County to raise awareness about violence against Asian-Americans; one of the people honored was Thien Minh Ly.

We must preserve Thien Minh Ly's name in order to remind others that no one is safe in the U.S while ignorance and racial hate run rampant. We must strive to become more aware of the dangers facing Asain-Americans in present day American society and educate others that all our cultures are beautiful. We must cry out that a tragedy such as this could happen, and work to teach everyone to respect all of humanity.

You can voice your opinions and state your outrage by writing to any of the following people:

-Mayor Jim Potts,
300 Centennial Way,
Tustin, CA 92680

-W. Douglas Franks,
Chief of Police,
300 Centennial Way,
Tustin, CA 92680

-Editor, Tustin Weekly,
181 El Camino Real, Ste. #A,
Tustin 92680

We would also like to establish a memorial scholarship fund in honor of Thien Minh Ly. For details and info, direct your email to Maister@UCLA.edu.

THE NEO-CONFEDERATE MOVEMENT

By Emil Greenhalgh Prague

“For [those] courageous enough to defend Southern history (especially our War for Independence) as it really was ... [i]t is little wonder that the US, which officially reveres Lincoln, is in the deplorable state it is now in. The United States now has a president who wants to free the gays, lesbians, transvestites, and all other sexual perverts, and let them in our military, schools, and public offices ... I personally have had enough of this! I only fly the politically incorrect Stars and Bars from my flagpole.” (letter to the editor of the Southern Partisan (SP), 2nd Quarter 1993).

This is representative of neo-Confederate thinking. The historical ideas of this movement on the Civil War, (which the letter-writer refers to as our War for [Southern] Independence), on Reconstruction, and on the original American Revolution serve to integrate a political and cultural belief system. It is important to understand this belief system, because it has increasingly come to dominate “mainstream” conservatism; first, through the neo-Confederate identifications and connections of particular conservative leaders like Phil Gramm and Pat Buchanan, and second and more broadly, by the neo-Confederate sources of modern conservative thinking. The Confederacy is not a peripheral issue for many conservatives, but a core binding element of their political beliefs.

Essentially neo-Confederates believe that through the Civil War, Lincoln was able to expand the power of the federal government beyond constitutional limits, and that the ideal of states' rights was defeated with the Confederacy. They trace what they see as the ills of modern society to this defeat, and pose the resurrection of the Confederacy as the solution.

In this view, big government, integration, gay rights, civil rights, feminism, taxes, FDR, and other issues can be viewed as the result of the Republic jumping the tracks during the Civil War and being out of control. The neo-Confederates seek to capitalize on discontent over these issues to promote their once “Lost Cause” — the Confederacy. The movement is national, not limited to the old Confederacy, and neo-Confederate organizations are opening up chapters across the country. The neo-

Confederates hope to go from success in the Congressional elections of 1994 to victory in the presidential election of 1996 or 2000, and thereafter to reshape the entire state apparatus according to their thinking. The neo-Confederates focus on ideological and historical questions, such as, “What caused the Civil War?” This serves to maintain the Confederate pantheon and the “Lost Cause” as supporting elements in their world view, which they hope to make the dominant mass ideology for governance in a U.S. more to their liking. Barring that they hold out a new secession as a serious option.

The Southern Partisan (SP) is a leading neo-Confederate magazine. For example, the issue from which the lead quote was taken also has a cover article, “Boy Heroes of the Confederacy.” The subscription coupons show a Confederate army with the 2nd National

Confederate flag, designed to express the idea of white supremacy. A full page subscription ad has a picture of Robert E. Lee and his personal Confederate flag. Many of the articles focus on the Confederacy and remembrance activities.

But SP is not a publication of the politically marginal. On its masthead we find listed as Senior Advisor, Pat Buchanan, who has a regular column aptly called, “Dividing Line.” Others listed are Boyd Cathey, assistant to the late Russell Kirk, and Andrew Lytle, one of the original Southern Agrarians. Its list of Advisors and Contributors include: David Funderbunk, newly elected member of Congress from the 2nd District in North Carolina; J.O. Tate of the National Review, Paul Gottfried, a Senior Contributing editor of the Moonie publication “World & I” and a prominent conservative writer;

Charles Goolsby, a policy official of the quasi-governmental Voice of America. Finally, there is the recently deceased Russell Kirk, who had been a Senior Advisor and contributor since 1981.

Kirk, who was a resident of Mecosta, Michigan, is perhaps the most prominent American conservative in the 20th Century. Kirk has one of the largest single entries for himself (and about a dozen separate entries for his books) in the "Dictionary of American Conservatism." His biographical entry states that Kirk "is credited with having given form and direction to the New Conservative of the post World War II decades." Countless conservative books have either a preface, forward or article written by Kirk. He wrote for William F. Buckley's National Review for a quarter-century.

Many other major conservatives write for SP. Samuel Francis, who had a regular column in the Washington Times until he was canned for public remarks too embarrassingly racist even for the Moonies, and who is published in numerous conservative publications, has a regular SP column. Senator Trent Lott of Mississippi (likely successor to Bob Dole as majority leader), a spokesman for Sons of Confederate Veteran (SCV) on its recruitment video, writes to explain how the Republican party is the party of Jefferson Davis. Jesse Helms, Phil Gramm, Dick Armey, Pat Buchanan, who discussed how he is a partisan of his Confederate heritage, Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson, Phyllis Schlafley of the anti-ERA, anti-abortion Eagle Forum, Rev. Donald Wildmon, president of the American Family Association, (AFA), and Wes Pruden, editor of the Moonie Washington Times have all appeared in the SP.

A Texas variant of the SP is the Texas Republic (TR), published in Dallas, TX. It shares many writers and themes with the SP. The TR editor, Bill Murchison, a notoriously homophobic columnist with the Dallas Morning News, and writer for the Wall Street Journal and National Review, and SP is interviewed in the 1st Quarter 1994 SP. In the interview, Murchison, states

he has concluded from his conversations with Texas governor George W. Bush, that he is an authentic conservative. Murchison also avers that Texas is a southern state with a Confederate heritage, specifically rejecting Lyndon B. Johnson's idea that there is a "distinction ... between Texas and the South."

Murchison discusses the concept of Texas values, which was the campaign slogan of Gov. George Bush, as deriving from that historical heritage. As Murchison states, "We've needed a magazine that respected and spoke to the traditional values of Texans." Murchison also states, "I was one of those Southerners who grew up thinking the South had won." A copy of the TR was placed on every chair at the Texas State Republican convention in 1994. Tom Paukens, State Chairman of the Republican party, was a founding contributor and has been interviewed in the TR. Representative Dick Armey is a contributor to TR and the subject of several articles. A recent issue has an extensive cover article supporting Phil Gramm. The masthead is a who's who of conservative Republicans in Texas: Tex Lezar, John J. Dwyer (religious right publisher), Jim Wright (senior editor at the Dallas Morning News), and Thomas H. Landess. Indeed, Dallas is a major focal point of neo-Confederate activity.

Another major neo-Confederate organization is the Council of Conservative Citizens (CofCC) headquartered in St. Louis, MO. It has many chapters outside the traditional south, including California, Arizona, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. It has new chapters opening up all the time. The CofCC is a thoroughly neo-Confederate organization. Its membership brochure has a map of the United States with all the former slave states and Illinois shaded in. As it states in its brochure, its goal is "preserving our honored TRADITIONS, fighting efforts to destroy America's heritage (efforts like the NAACP's attempt to tear down the Confederate flag in the South." Its

logo, until a couple of years ago, was an American flag crossed with a Confederate flag with a shield bearing a cross in front. With rallies and protests, CofCC defends Confederate symbols, with extensive coverage in the Citizen Informer, its publication. Chapters of the Sons of Confederate Veterans regularly contribute articles and advertisements to it.

At its 1993 convention it had a Southern Heritage salute. Michael Andrew Grissom, author of "Southern by the Grace of God," "The Last Rebel Yell," and "When the South Was Southern"—the second is unbelievably racist, and the last book shows Klan robes as valued southern heritage—a leading neo-Confederate writer, was an honored speaker. In a survey of its membership in 1994, 96.9% said no to the question "Should Confederate flags, statues, memorials and other Southern heritage symbols be removed?" The issue was considered important to 82% of its readers. The CofCC is not marginal, either. Rep. Hancock of Missouri writes for the Citizen Informer. Tennessee Gov. Sundquist has also contributed an article, and Gov. Fordice of Mississippi is very involved with the CofCC. Buchanan, Joseph Sobran, Samuel Francis, and Trent Lott have regular columns in the Citizen Informer.

Jared Taylor, author of "Paved With Good Intentions," is strongly associated with CofCC and contributed an article to the Citizen Informer that was originally published in his local Sons of Confederate Veterans camp newsletter. Taylor is a leading purveyor of neo-Confederate propaganda over the Internet. Taylor, head of American Renaissance is a leading purveyor of neo-Confederate propaganda over the Internet, and a leading proponent of making white supremacist views respectable and "scholarly."

The Citizen Informer focuses on the issue of race and is hostile to African Americans. It opposes every civil rights law ever passed. It vigorously supported apartheid in South Africa and is unrelentingly hostile to Nelson Mandela. A couple of examples of their

attitudes in the Winter 1994 issue are: an ad titled "WHITE PRIDE ... with hard work" by an accountant living in North Texas; a column by Robert B. Patterson which reads, "A major factor in the monopoly by black athletes of our major sports is that many white potential athletes refuse to enter a sport that is dominated by blacks and to live in [the] close personal and intimate contact with blacks that is required on athletic teams."

Other smaller neo-Confederate organizations express attitudes that are similarly or even more outspokenly white supremacist. The Rockford Institute in Rockford, Illinois, outside Chicago, and the Ludwig von Mises Institute (LvM) in Auburn, Alabama, are two conservative institutes which can be labeled as neo-Confederate. The Ludwig von Mises institute publishes *The Free Market* and is concerned primarily with "Austrian" economics and fears "statism." In its newsletter can be seen many of the writers of the *Southern Partisan* and other neo-Confederate publications. Though at first glance it might not seem neo-Confederate because Confederate symbols are missing, there is more than just overlap in membership with other neo-Confederate organizations and activities. It is a part of the new wave of secessionist thinking.

The Ludwig von Mises, in 1994, in Atlanta, the topic for its annual symposium was "The Costs of War." The neo-Confederate nature is revealed by the topics of some of the speeches as follows: Thomas Fleming, *Chronicles*, "Rethinking Lincoln"; Richard Gamble, George Mason University, "Did the South Have to Fight?"; Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr., Ludwig von Mises Institute, "Two Just wars: 1776 and 1861" (meaning the South's secessionist fight); Murray N. Rothbard, Univ. of Nevada, Las Vegas, "Protectionism, War and the Southern Tradition"; Jeffrey A. Tucker, Ludwig van Mises Institute, "War, Reconstruction, and the End of the Old Republic"; Clyde Wilson, Univ. of South Carolina, "Secessionism vs. Imperialism."

April 7-9, 1995, the Institute held a symposium on "Secession, State, and Economy" in Charleston, South Carolina. Speakers included former member of Congress Ron Paul (who just won the Republican nomination as a "populist" in Texas over the party backed Democrat-turncoat Congressional incumbent). Its flyer states:

"Secession! From Staten Island to Quebec, Scotland to California, Chechnya to Texas, secession is in the air. ... What better place to meet? Charleston — hotbed of America's two great secessions ... That's what the 10th Amendment movement is really all about [counter] to the centralizing of Lincoln, Wilson, FDR, and LBJ - not to speak of other presidential betrayers of the Constitution ... [T]hen adjourn for an optional lunch with Ron Paul on the "once and future Republic of Texas."

Thomas Fleming was the founding editor of *Southern Partisan* and is now the editor of *Chronicles*, a publication of the Rockford Institute, in Rockford, Illinois. *Chronicles* is a home for the new secession movement, the Southern League. The name is based on, and the concept derived from the Italian secessionist movement, the Northern League (*Lega Norda*, which entered a coalition government with the Italian neo-fascists). The idea of secession is an ongoing theme in *Chronicles* and a subject of increasing attention. The Feb. 1993 issue cover theme is, "The Days of Empire - Come and Gone?" Thomas Fleming again has an article about the Northern League subtitled, "Lessons from Lombardia." He openly advocates a division of the United States of America, writing: "There are only two alternatives for this continental empire that has never been a real nation: either we find the means to decentralize decision-making and restore authority to the old institutions of family and town and country (and even state), or else we lapse into a multifaceted civil war of blacks against Hispanics against whites against blacks against Jews ... It is too late for a man on horseback leading a militia of popu-

list rednecks. There aren't enough rednecks to go around..."

Much neo-Confederate thinking appears in fact to be coming to fruition in the militia movement. "Saving our Constitution from the New World Order," by Joseph Strumph, is the book on which the 10th Amendment movement is based. The movement has been promoted by Colorado State Senator Charles Duke, an ally of the so-called Patriot and militia movements, and by California State Senator Don Rogers, a close associate of the white supremacist Christian Identity movement, who, it was recently disclosed, attempted to renounce his US citizenship and declare himself a sovereign 'white citizen' in a tax dispute with the IRS. Distributed by the Committee of the 50 States, which has members and chapters across the nation, the Strumph book advocates secession of all 50 states.

ANTI-GAY, ANTI-LESBIAN

The neo-Confederates give considerable time and thought to attacking and demeaning gays and lesbians. At the 1994 Southern League convention, Southern League President Hill, after calling Camp Sister Spirit in Ovett, MS, an invasion of the south, jokes that the camp is appropriately a pig farm since it is run by lesbians. They are supportive of violence against gays and lesbians.

Concerning a murder of a gay man in Dallas, where the judge stated that he considered the sexual orientation of the victim in his lenient sentencing of the murderer, they wrote: "For a while it looked as if the city limits of San Francisco extended all the way to Dallas, but in the end everything turned out all right. A Special Master's Report cleared Judge Jack Hampton of bias, and Texas is Texas after all. You may recall that Judge Hampton, in determining a murder sentence, had suggested that he'd taken into consideration the fact that the victims were homosexuals soliciting sex, and therefore like prostitutes. The local 'gay rights' activists went into a mad tarantella, demanding that Judge Hampton be removed, sliced into tiny pieces, and fed

to the gerbils. So an investigation was conducted and Judge Hampton was acquitted of the charge of bias — which led to more demonstrations, more foot stamping, and more threats. Indeed the local leadership has warned Judge Hampton that they will retaliate at the next election. What do you bet that Judge Hampton is returned to the bench by a whopping majority next time he runs?" (SP, 4th Qtr. 1989) [note: Hampton was later defeated at the polls and no longer has a judicial career.]

RACIST TERROR

Not surprisingly, neo-Confederates are opposed to all hate crimes legislation, not only regarding gays. Samuel Francis in the 2nd Quarter SP has an article calling the 1993 Supreme Court decision to uphold the hate crime law of Wisconsin a "Dangerous Legacy."

The Heritage Preservation Association (HPA), the leading organization in defending the Georgia state flag (which incorporates the Confederate banner), is opposed to hate crimes laws. New members receive a flyer which states that HPA members receive a 20% discount on the book, "Crying Wolf: Hate Crimes Hoaxes in America," by Laird Wilcox. The flyer states, "... and the responsibility of special interest groups and the media in perpetuating the myth of a massive wave of hate crimes against minorities."

CHRISTIAN RIGHTISTS

One other development should be noted. In the Jan. 1993, SH, Kay Moxley Black has a long article in SP arguing that the Confederate Battle flag is not just a national symbol, but a Christian symbol, since it is based on the Cross of St. Andrew. Thus the Confederate flag is a sacred Christian Right symbol. The theme over and over in neo-Confederate writing is that the Confederacy was and is an Orthodox Christian nation and the Confederate army was a Christian army. The idea that the Civil War was a religious conflict is also frequently mentioned. The neo-Confederate movement is a religious right movement.

WHITE SUPREMACY

But the neo-Confederates are also unblushingly white supremacist and generally anti-democratic in their world view. They hold distinctly anti-immigrant, and anti-Hispanic views.

"...In the latter half of the 19th century, the tides of immigration turned negative: were characterized by the losers of political history, such as the Italians and the Irish, by the dull spirited and pagan, such as the Scandinavians (they were the very last to be baptized by Charlemagne's sword, and it never really took) and by peoples to whom the tenets of our republic were altogether alien, such as the hieratic Jews...Negroes, Asians and Orientals (is Japan the exception?); Hispanics, Latins, and Eastern Europeans have no temperament for democracy, never had, and probably never will ... As the frontier experience slips into the irrecoverable past, ceasing to instruct the national character, and as the genetic racial pool in the United States from which the democratic government originally derived is dissipated in successive tides of immigration, our country is being overwhelmed (SP, Summer 1984, Buckley Reid, in "Camp of the Saints.")

The neo-Confederate campaign against African Americans is too extensive to even begin to detail. They are against any and all civil rights laws. They are against Martin Luther King Day, and slander campaigns are started against many African American leaders. The neo-Confederates strongly supported South African apartheid in both the SP and the Citizen Informer of the Council of Conservative Citizens. An article in the July-Aug. 1994 issue of Confederate Veteran, titled, "Home is the Sailor," shows how the pro-Apartheid South Africans and neo-Confederates regard each other as kindred movements. There was a Confederate sailor buried in South Africa. In the last few weeks of the old Boer regime, SCV in cooperation with the government, had his body disinterred, and sent back to the US. A picture shows the South African Naval Honor guard and a SCV

official at a send off ceremony in Capetown "with full military honors."

ROLE OF WOMEN

Women in the neo-Confederate movement are largely in charge of monument caretaking and promoting the "Lost Cause" mythology. They are in either the United Daughters of the Confederacy or the newly created SCV auxiliary Confederate Rose. When a Confederate myth or monument or symbol is threatened, their job is to effloresce romantic myths and apologetics before legislators. However, they should not be dismissed as "little old ladies." The management of cultural symbols and the historical consciousness of a community does not require heavy lifting. They provide the foundation by which everything else in the neo-Confederate movement is made possible. They are shrewd and have a long record of getting their way from the state and Federal governments and major corporations.

There are few women in leadership positions in the CofCC, none in the SP, perhaps one or two elsewhere in the neo-Confederate movements. The neo-Confederates are not sympathetic to feminism of any type. As militant heterosexuals they do or plan to live with women. They do not focus on women's issues, though in passing, when writing on other subjects, mention will be made.

THE KLAN AND THE NEO-CONFEDERATES

The neo-Confederates make a great deal of the fact that they supposedly don't approve of the KKK and the Klan's use of the Confederate flag. However, they are somewhat contradictory on this. The Confederate Veteran, the Citizen Informer, Confederate Embassy News of the Confederate Memorial Hall in Washington D.C. and SP gave overwhelming approval of the book, "Southern By the Grace of God," by Michael Grissom. In this book the KKK in both the 19th and 20th century is strongly praised and a lynching is described as an example of community strength in the South. The UDC also promoted this book in their maga-

zine. Grissom is a prominent member of the Heritage Preservation Association. The SP also had articles denouncing criticism of David Duke, former Klansman and nearly elected governor of Louisiana in 1989. The SP asserted that he represented the true feelings of "ordinary" people.

A series of articles in 1993-94 best illustrates the relationship of the neo-Confederate movement to the Klan. In the city of Vidor, in East Texas, the KKK had kept public housing segregated through a campaign of intimidation, with the helpful inaction of the local public housing authority. It got national attention. Henry Cisneros, then U.S. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) took vigorous action and integrated the public housing in Vidor. The town had a long history of using violence to keep blacks out. In the May/June 1993 issue of Texas Republic, Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr. has an article titled, "The Assault on Vidor," where Cisneros's actions are denounced as an attack on freedom.

The neo-Confederates don't directly endorse the Klan; they don't have to. Like the southern Dixiecrat senators who filibustered and blocked proposed Federal anti-lynching legislation decade after decade in the name of states rights, they strive to block any effective action against the Klan in the name of individual liberty. Neither the Klan nor the neo-Confederates need to have any discussion to coordinate their activities, since they both know exactly their roles. The neo-Confederates can even act shocked and piously condemn the Klan, yet make sure nothing is done about them.

OPPOSING DEMOCRACY

The neo-Confederates' policy of division of the American public, setting it against itself, serves their ultimate purpose. That purpose is to terminate the American democratic experience. John C. Calhoun, the 19th century Southerner and paternalist, is their hero. Indeed, they are part of a political faction that can trace itself all the way back to Calhoun and his fellow anti-democratic paternalists and

slavocrats.

The neo-Confederates are hostile to American democracy. The following are a few examples: "The Declaration of Independence was a clever work of war propaganda, never intended to be taken seriously at home ... the Declaration is a form of Orwellian Doublethink." (from the header box of the article).

"To modernists, the Declaration of Independence sounds like what America is all about, because it sounds exactly like what a Parisian liberal would have written. It was intended to. The Declaration of Independence, written under particular historic conditions, contains at least two deliberate lies. ...Lie II: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal ...' It was in their language [referring to Lafayette and others] that the vacuous phrase was written. The Declaration's signers would have been insulted by the idea that they actually believed the egalitarian nonsense in the Declaration" (From an article denouncing the Declaration of Independence by Robert W. Whitaker, SP, Summer 1983).

SUMMARY

The U.S. faces a dangerous, bigoted adversary. Though they are very hostile to gays, to minorities, their other target is the great majority of whites whom they hope to subordinate based on their lack of Anglo-Saxonism, or their class status. This adversary is fundamentally opposed to the American democratic republic, and its progress toward greater freedom and democracy.

They have worked continuously over the decades, because they understand the great political and social power in controlling historical memory. They know the house rests on the foundation you don't see. They have progressed because they have faced little opposition. By reshaping popular perceptions of history, the neo-Confederates are shaping the present and future.

The neo-Confederates have also been able to go forward since they have not had their real views brought to light. With this article I hope to present their

true views and alert a broader public. Gays and many other groups need to realize that the Confederate symbols, holidays, monuments, are a threat to them also, not just to African Americans. The neo-Confederates are not only racist, they are anti-democratic also. We need to come together with other groups to defend ourselves and defend our Republic by opposing the "Lost Cause." The Confederacy no longer needs to secede, it is eating up our nation from the inside and threatens to swallow it all. Black abolitionist Frederick Douglass warned that honoring the Confederacy would present a danger in the future to the nation, and his prophecy has come true.

POST SCRIPT

This essay was written March 1995. Since then much has happened: The links of the neo-Confederates to the Christian Reconstructionist and to the Militia movements have become steadily more apparent. Also, many leading Republicans after the 1994 Congressional elections are much less shy about appearing in the Neo-Confederate press. Neo-Confederate student chapters have organized on Southern campuses, and at the University of Alabama are campaigning against the gay and black groups on that campus. "... and it marched with a Confederate battle flag onto a campus quadrangle to erase messages written in chalk by gay and Lesbian students." (Nov. 10 1995 Chronicle of Higher Education.) It is more important than ever to expose and oppose the polite academic "scholarship" that paves the way for these developments. If we heard about a German historical revisionist movement that proclaimed the destruction of the Third Reich an unparalleled historical tragedy, or that waved the swastika flag over rallies (or amusement parks or the Bavarian state capitol) we would recognize immediately its fascist character. We can not blind ourselves to the equivalent movement growing in the soil of US history.

Signs of the Times

Revolutionary Greetings:

This is an open letter to the people, revolutionary community, subscribers, and everyone that has taken conscious steps to re-educate yourselves and to use that change to transform others. My struggles have been many, and in the past six years, I've been actively transforming the colonial mentality into a revolutionary mentality. The political climate here in Indiana has been on the rise where nation building and revolutionary structure has begun to take its natural flow.

On December 8, 1994, at the Indiana State Prison, the state of Indiana and its racist terrorists and agents of repression murdered by electrocution a dear comrade, Gregory Resnover (Ajamu). Prior to that vicious act of colonial terror, the pig police had violated/brutalized two New Afrikan brothers at the prison's predator unit d-cell house. For so long, the kkkolonial agents and slave neo-colonialists have waged brutal attacks on the progressive elements. Those of us who declared our independence from this racist terror became targets. Political classes and political libraries were available to brothers who wanted to transform.

On December 13, 1994, in the evening at ISP, a neo-colonialist was stabbed and killed. The agents of repression moved in and assessed the situation, and they snatched me up in an attempt to interrogate me, with no success. Prison investigators and State police pig Torres threatened me and promised to make the charge stick. They transferred me to the maximum control complex, where they charged me with this murder on January 31, 1995.

Shortly after I was charged with this trumped-up charge, 17 pigs resigned from their jobs, they picketed the prison for safer conditions, and others called for the death penalty for the accused (me). Such actions taken against the State, such as the murder of this pig, is a real sign of the times, where the shoe is now on the other foot, and the essence of the double-edge sword's reality set in for many. Whoever it was that



made the contribution to the people deserves to be honored/respected.

Being that I've been involved in a lot of clandestine activity, the State felt it would be easy to frame me and make it stick due to my recent stances against the State. But I am innocent of the charges and will continue to declare my stance on this. However, I have accepted my commitment as a revolutionary and the consequences that come with the title.

The State has a cold blooded history of setting up the people in attempts to silence them or stagnate the movement, especially when the people are being effective. The State and its agents have in their attempts to disconnect the movement and create divisions bad-jacketed, slandered, libeled, character assassinated me in their attempts to destroy me. I forever refuse to be stagnated and silenced. They have failed so far in destroying me.

My trial for murder begins on July 8, 1996, at which time we are hoping to have the whole case dismissed. In that attempt, my freedom committee and I have managed to get some fantastic pamphlets published: one called "I Cry Freedom" and the other is "The Story that Must be Told." Both speak of the case and prison conditions, have poetry and graphics, and will be advertised very soon in our revolutionary resources and papers.

My stay here at the maximum control complex has been an eventful one. Their racist anger towards me surfaces on a daily basis. My cell area is ransacked at least twice a day, papers are taken, photographs destroyed.

I've filed two civil law suits against the State in this kkkontrol unit. The water is contaminated and the food is terrible when ones like myself only eats chicken, turkey, and fish. I've organized a legal front here along with the collective ideas of the comrades. It's called National Prisoners Legal Front., a formation geared toward heightening the legal and political consciousness, as well as revolutionary thought. We will need the collective support of the people, as I do, in doing battle against these trumped-up charges of murder of the neo-colonialist.

To each of you that has shown your support in my cause/call for support (asante-sana), thank all of you. Anyone wanting to learn more of this case, you can reach me at the address below. From the belly of M.C.C's beast, my struggle continues.

**Uhuru-sasa Politics in command!
Free Da Land!**

Brother Khalfani Khaldun

#874304

P.O. Box 557

Westville, Indiana 46391

or

BCAC

P.O. Box 93312

Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53203

A LOON'S CRY

by
James Nordlund

Another quarter million celebrate women against violence
Against women, children, elderly as participating was a self lost
To life, in D.C.; the humanity bringing it back.

For, hearing between the lines gleaned without its communication,
The ability of Democrats to meet futures' need for societal
Elemental individual and group thought change, is nil.

These women, most under 30, held the knowledge that the issues
Before them were all linked by a need for a deeper appreciation
Of people's common humanity; the reality that this direction's
Evolution necessitates the attention and participation of all;
So it won't be laid by the wayside.

For the contract on Americas' agenda was only thought feasible
Because of Democrats' recent history of separate issue organizing
Missing integrally the fundamental realism that even in politics,
There is no separation.

Participating in all issues, is, for me, one issue —
A choice of two directions — which are:
abundance, life, creation and existence,
or scarcity, death, destruction, and extinction.

There, knowing, when a woman's beaten down every nine seconds,
It's our humanity which is murdered, i reveled in feeling that
So many women will it not.
Here now, i feel as always, we'll bring their will to fruition —
For, it is so in reality, that this must be.

Palm Sunday
4-9-95

The Cops and the Klan Go Hand in Hand: **BLUE BY DAY, WHITE BY NIGHT**

In the latest disclosure of organized white supremacist involvement in law enforcement and correctional agencies, the New Jersey state Department of Corrections has suspended a senior officer who recruited members for the Ku Klux Klan while on the job at Bayside State Prison in South Jersey. Wayne Keller, 45, was suspended without pay from his \$48,600-a-year job. The department plans to dismiss Keller pending a hearing, a spokesperson said. The recruitment violates department policy against soliciting members for any organization, officials said. "You're not permitted to solicit," said Patricia Mulcahy, a corrections spokeswoman. "It could be for Mother Teresa or the Girl Scouts. It just so happens that he was recruiting for the Ku Klux Klan." The KKK once had thousands of members in South Jersey, has been hurt by dissension among four rival factions, but apparently is recruiting again as part of an upswing in open racist activity in the northeast. A rally in the area in the '30s drew more than 6,000 Klansmen who staged a four-hour parade stretching five miles. Keller was also charged with a weapons offense and could face criminal charges, McHugh said. He was also charged with having improper contact with an inmate stemming from a transaction with the inmate. Corrections officials began investigating after Keller was allegedly involved in a domestic incident earlier this month. Police found a stun gun, an unauthorized weapon, he said. A probe was launched, and witnesses told authorities about the Klan recruiting at the prison. Authorities are denying he had any success in recruiting guards to the KKK's ranks.

In a similar disclosure, it appears that the National Rifle Association, which supports the sale of military-style assault weapons and armor-piercing "cop killer" bullets, counts several of the largest police departments in southeastern Pennsylvania among its dues-paying members.

Many police chiefs said they had to balance the organization's stand on what can be life-or-death issues for police officers against the firearms training that the NRA provides economically and often. The dues run from \$15 to \$100 yearly and are almost entirely taxpayer-supported.

"For the longest while, it was one of the only organizations that you could get a range officer's certification shy of the military," Upper Merionet Police Chief Edward Stauch Jr., told the Philadelphia Inquirer, explaining that every department is required to have state-certified range instructors who can instruct other officers in

firearms.

In NY, investigators continued to hunt for more suspects, in a violent, racially charged confrontation outside a club on Long Island in which a white New York City police officer is accused of beating a young black man into a coma.

The officer, Det. Constantine Chronis, 34, has been charged with assault, for repeatedly beating Shane Daniels, 21, in the head with a steel anti-theft device known as "The Club" while three companions, including at least one brandishing a gun, held witnesses at bay.

In southern California, a federal judge dismissed a US civil rights lawsuit against the city of Torrance P.D. for racial bias in hiring and promotions. The force which is overwhelmingly white argued that their testing was not intentionally discriminatory against Blacks and Latinos.

Five years after the Christopher Commission, in a white-wash report, nonetheless provided documentation of both organized and generalized racism and sexism at the LAPD, the department continues to stonewall efforts at civilian control. After a critical review reported insufficient adoption of Christopher's reforms, it came out the LAPD had withheld 150 secret dismissals of charges against cops.

Meanwhile a new world-wide web site has been set up by Red & Anarchist SkinHeads (RASH) to take reports of police brutality and Klan involvement. Reach them at:

<http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/1751/kkkops.html>

TTT editor Michael Novick's book, *White Lies White Power*, (see ad in this issue) has several chapters devoted to police racism in the service of elite interests and organized white supremacist involvement of cops.

We need our brother beside us...

FREE MUMIA ABU JAMAL!

Exciting, major legal developments have been breaking around the struggle to stop the lynching and free Mumia Abu Jamal, the former Black Panther, radical journalist, and supporter of the MOVE organization who has been on death row in Pennsylvania, framed up for the killing of a Philadelphia cop, for over a decade. There have also been advances in the connected struggle to win justice for MOVE, (victim of a murderous bombing that took the lives of 11 members, including many children, and of many other vicious acts of repression including long prison sentences for many other MOVE members).

A major prosecution witness against Mumia in the original trial, Veronica Jones, was tracked down by the defense team and gave a sworn deposition retracting her testimony during the trial and reaffirming her original statement to the police, given immediately after the shooting, that she had seen the gunman running away from the scene. Ms. Jones admitted that she had lied on the witness stand, denying that she even gave the original (true) statement, under pressure from police and prosecutors, who had arrested her on unrelated but serious charges prior to her appearance as a witness at Mumia's trial, and agreed to drop those charges if she would cooperate. Her new statement under oath has been filed with previous documents as part of Mumia's defense motions to the Pennsylvania state Supreme Court.

Mumia's attorneys are also seeking to have one of the justices of the state Supreme Court recuse himself (declare himself as having a conflict in this particular case and remove himself from voting on Mumia's petition to the court) because he was the District Attorney for the city of Philadelphia during Mumia's earlier appeals.

Also, almost daily revelations continue to come out about the corrupt practices of many in the Philadelphia P.D., including routine frame-ups and planting of evidence. One recent disclosure was that several corrupt officers targeted for a sting operation by Internal Affairs several years ago, in order to build a solid case of their venality and criminal activity, were transferred by the then-police

chief of Philly, Willie Williams, just before the painstakingly planned sting could be carried out. Despite charges in Philadelphia that Williams knowingly extricated the criminal cops from the sting by the transfer, which dashed months of work, hardly a word of the controversy has appeared in the press in Southern California, where Williams is now the top cop in L.A.

In Mumia's civil suit, brought in Pittsburgh against the warden at his death row prison who opened and photocopied Mumia's personal and legal mail, a federal magistrate has advised that Mumia's civil rights were violated and that prison authorities should be enjoined from copying his mail. The warden had turned over copies of Mumia's defense strategy to PA Gov. Ridge, who proceeded to sign a death

warrant just before Mumia's attorneys were to enter an appeal for a new trial. The magistrate's recommendation was inconsistent, proposing that the prison be allowed to read the mail, and upholding some prison punishments of Mumia for getting his book, *Live from Death Row*, published, but the federal judges hearing the case have not yet made a final ruling based on the magistrate's recommendation.

Ramona Africa, the sole adult survivor of the Philly PD bombing of MOVE, is currently in the midst of a federal civil rights case she brought to prove the injustice of the state's actions.

DEMONSTRATE JULY 4TH IN PHILADELPHIA: Intl. Conc. Family and Friends of Mumia Abu Jamal; 215-476-8812.

Letter from Sundiata Acoli

Dear Gretchen,

Got your letter(s) and they always give me a great lift. I haven't written lately cause I've been busy. Thanks for writing Socialist Party USA comrades urging them to contribute to my psych fund. The details of the psych evaluation is:

One reason the N.J. parole board used to justify giving me a 20-year hit was that they said I had been imprisoned for 20 years and had never taken psych counseling. Never mind that all during those 20 years they never requested that I take psych counseling, nor was there ever a time that I needed psych counseling. Also, immediately before my parole hearing, they requested that the USP Leavenworth psychologist send them a psyche profile on me. He gave me a battery of psych tests, etc., and even he said I passed with flying colors in the report sent to the parole board.

Nevertheless, the parole board denied my parole and used the fact that I had never had psych counseling during my 20 years imprisonment to justify giving me a 20-year hit so that I would have time to take long-term psych counseling by the time I come up for parole again. The whole thing was just a blatant ruse to justify the excessive 20-year hit they gave me.

To counteract their argument, my attorneys have contacted an independent outside psychiatrist to examine me and work up his own report, which will be filed as "expert testimony" in my parole appeal. The psychiatrist will charge \$3,000 for his "psych evaluation" of me.

Much love, struggle,
Sundiata

Appeal for Support

Dear Comrades

I am contacting each one of our members (Socialist Party PA) and other comrades in hopes of raising the \$3,000 it will take to have Sundiata's psych evaluation. I have visited Sundiata twice, since he is only three and a half hours away from my home. We have been corresponding for years. Sundiata has been in prison for over 22 years. His parole came up recently and they hit him with 20 more years.

Please mail money to:

Susan Burnett
6 Rae La
Norwalk CT 06850

Write to Sundiata

Sundiata Acoli *39794-066
P.O. Box 3000
U.S.P Allenwood
White Deer, PA 17887.

Let Susan know about yourself, how you learned about Sundiata; if at all possible, drop Sundiata a line.

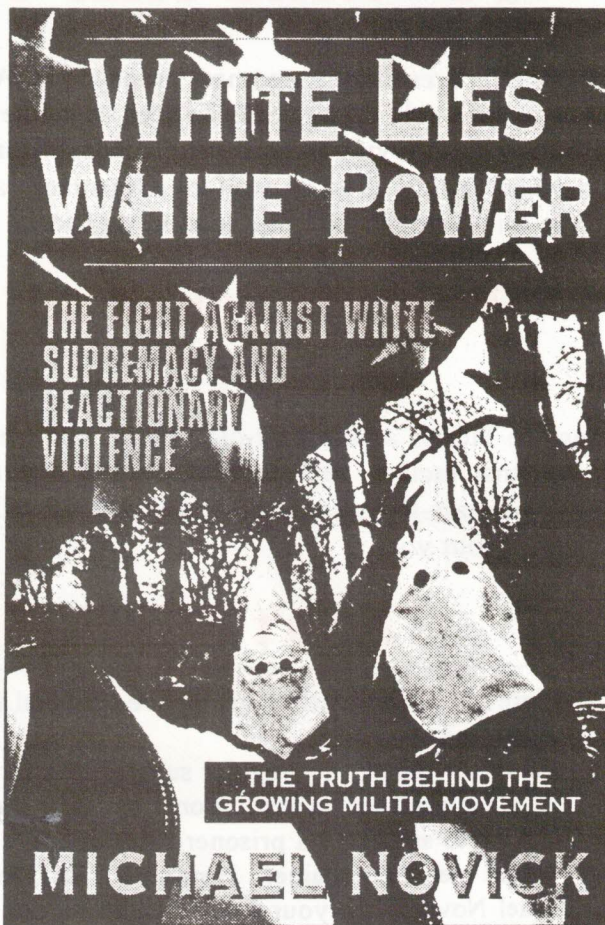
Sincerely, struggle,
Gretchen Ney Jaugier

NEW FROM COMMON COURAGE PRESS

The Truth Behind the Growing Militia Movement

This powerful book explores the lasting power of racism in daily life. Novick places most of the blame on the political and economic systems that the U.S. has firmly in place. While racist groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan, can attract attention (and new adherents) by making easy scapegoats of certain peoples, Novick argues it would be wrong to think of such groups as representing a "fringe". They exist precisely because they reflect feelings deeply held by the society and the state. Governments often create racist policies because the nations they represent "grew up in the context of racially justified conquest and colonialism." Indeed, the policies often are not even viewed as racist. Likewise, Novick contends that our society is based on a strong foundation of racism. He offers a number of solutions to these problems, though Novick's own fine job of exploring the depths of racist thought and action in this country may give few any hope for change.

—American Library Association *Booklist*



This solution-oriented work uses all the "c" words that have receded in institutional analysis—capitalism, colonialism, cooptation. Hard-hitting, insightful, refreshing.

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A PART book

People Against Racist Terror

THE NAZIS, THE KLAN, AND THE MILITIAS ARE ON THE MARCH 24/7 TO "TAKE THIS COUNTRY BACK!"

The Internet is drenched in neo-nazi propaganda. A Black church is being burned down in the South at a rate of one a week, a rate not even seen at the height of Klan terror against the civil rights movement. The Democrats are trying to outflank the Republicans on the right by attacking immigrants, prisoners and poor women and children on welfare. Organized racists believe that through a campaign of terror, they can drive this country down the road to reaction.

What are you doing to move it forward?

Turning the Tide is a nine-year-old journal that has consistently taken an uncompromising, non-partisan stance against racism, sexism, homophobia and all forms of bigotry and exploitation. We are an independent grass-roots voice of reason and radicalism. We believe we merit your support, but we can't continue without you!

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- I want to subsidize a prisoner subscription. Here's a donation of \$_____.
- Count me as a sustainer. Here's \$50. Send me TTT, *White Lies White Power* by TTT editor Michael Novick, and your new research reports as they come out.

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