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

"Leaderless Resistance" in Practice: THE PHINEAS PRIESTHOOD'S CAMPAIGN OF TERROR

by Michael Novick

What connects the Oklahoma City bombing, a series of bank robberies in the Midwest to finance a white supremacy underground, the bombing of a Planned Parenthood office in Spokane, the possible jail-cell suicide of a neo-nazi turned state's witness, and the murder of a couple of gun dealers in Arkansas? The answer may be the Phineas Priesthood, the shadowy armed underground manifestation of the Christian Identity movement, putting into practice the "Leaderless Resistance" strategy of Aryan Nations spokesman Louis Beam. The Phineas story in the old testament is interpreted as showing "Yahweh"'s approval of an Israelite priest who killed two people for what the racists interpret as "race-mixing." Anti-abortion violence has been a repeated theme of the Phineas Priests. Paul Hill, who murdered Dr. John Britton and his clinic escort James Barrett, and wounded June Barrett in Florida (see TTT Vol. 7 #5) was a Phineas Priest.

Southern Poverty Law Center links the sect to such racist killers as Byron dela Beckwith, who murdered Medgar Evers in MS; John Paul Franklin, who killed 11 in interracial couples and shot civil rights leader Vernon Jordan; and members of the Order, the violence prone Aryan Nations and the White Patriot Party. SPLC reports the Phineas Priesthood logo is popular with nazi boneheads. Identity minister Mark Thomas, whose followers include bonehead killers and some of the "Midwest Bank Bandits," sports the symbol on his "church" in Pennsylvania.

Whatever the exact connections prove to be, a trail of death and violence continues to spread across the country, apparently at the hands of neo-nazis, in the wake of the deadly bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995. A few key events:

Jail Suicide?

Richard Guthrie, who admitted his guilt in 19 bank robberies that were carried out in seven states during a three-year period, and who agreed to testify against other men accused of being members of the so-called "Midwestern Bank

Bandits" -- actually a cell of the Aryan Republican Army [the bad ARA, not to be confused with Anti-Racist Action!] -- in exchange for a lesser sentence, was found dead in his jail cell in July, a supposed suicide. He had agreed to testify against his alleged accomplices, who were arrested in May in the Philadelphia area. In exchange for Guthrie's guilty pleas and cooperation, he would have gotten a 30-year federal prison sentence. Jail officials said Guthrie, who'd shown no indication he was suicidal, hanged himself with a bed

sheet. Guthrie admitted a role in holdups in Ohio, Iowa, Wisconsin, Missouri, Nebraska, Kentucky and West Virginia to raise money for the white supremacist movement. Guthrie also had been identified by law enforcement as one of four masked men in a videotape made by the ARA, which advocates killing Jews, deporting blacks and setting up a "Bible-based" nation.

In his last known interview, a 10-minute phone call with The L.A. Times the day before his death, Guthrie had said he was planning to write a book that goes "a lot more deeper" than the

robberies, about his life and the white supremacist movement. "It'll all come out," he said, according to the Times.

Guthrie was hooked in to major white supremacist figures across the country. Floyd Cochran, a former Aryan Nations spokesman who has renounced the racist movement, has said that Guthrie was a frequent visitor to the white supremacist group's headquarters in Hayden Lake, Idaho. An FBI agent filed an affidavit in Des Moines stating that Guthrie said he met co-defendant Stedeford through Pennsylvania Aryan Nations head Mark Thomas, whose nazi skinhead followers killed their own parents 2 years ago. Co-defendant McCarthy, 19, lived in a trailer on the land Thomas rented. McCarthy had also lived at Elohim City, an OK compound of believers in racist Christian Identity. Bombing suspect Tim McVeigh had called Elohim City repeatedly OK City. Many researchers suspect links between the ARA and the Phineas Priesthood, who are committed to bloody violence to enforce "god's law" and who recently have carried out a series of bombings and bank robberies in the Spokane, WA area, including an attack on a Planned Parenthood office.

Guthrie's younger brother, Nicholas, said in a phone interview from Virginia with the L.A. Times that he thought Guthrie's death was suspicious. "What bothers me is he was looking toward the future," he said. Indeed, Richard Guthrie breezily told The L.A. Times on the day before his body was found: "I got a lot to do in the next few weeks. I got a couple of grand juries to present to."

Militias vs. Aryan Nations: The Robe Calling the Hood White?

Meanwhile, Mike Vanderboegh, a militia man from Pinson, AL, has been promoting a theory linking

Elohim City, Michael Brescia (a possible participant in the ARA robberies), and the Oklahoma City bombings. He is in communication with the Wilburn family in OK City, who lost two grandchildren in the bombing. The Wilburns believe that Andreas Strassmeir, a German national, son of a former high official in the Kohl government, and either a neo-nazi, an intelligence operative, or both, knows who John Doe #2 in the bombing is. They have filed a civil suit which could be actionable if Strassmeir ever returns to the US from Germany, where he fled from Elohim City after the Oklahoma City bombing. The Wilburns have told Judy Thomas, a reporter for the Kansas City Star, that they believe Michael Brescia, of Philadelphia, PA, is John Doe #2.

James Ridgeway of the Village Voice, published a similar report. Ambrose Evans Pritchard of the London Telegraph interviewed Strassmeir in Germany and published a column with similar information, plus Strassmeir's denials (through his attorney, Kirk Lyons). Strassmeir's denials to Pritchard, however, included hypothetical remarks about an informant who might have been involved in the bombing scheme but unable to stop it from going forward.

Vanderboegh has published numerous online postings detailing these and other connections and accusations. Vanderboegh is trying to draw a separation between the militias and open neo-nazis like Kirk Lyons. He promoted a militia demonstration outside the site of the Good Ol' Boys Roundup, a gathering of ATF and other federal law enforcement agents that has been accused of racism. Ironically, the militia spokespeople who surfaced a video-tape of the Roundup last year documenting the charges of racism, were represented by none other than Kirk Lyons!

Strassmeir has told reporters he met McVeigh only once for five minutes in October 1994 at a gun show in Tulsa. Strassmeir says he has never been to Kansas, knows nothing about the bombing, and has an alibi for the weeks before the bombing. Both Strassmeir and his attorney, Kirk Lyons claim the government investigators have told them he is not a target.

According to Ridgeway of the Voice, others pursuing the case have found witnesses who have identified Strassmeir and say he appeared in central Kansas around the same time as McVeigh and Nichols. Catina Lawson, 23, who lived in Herington during 1992, told the Memphis Tennessean she remembers McVeigh at parties after her high school graduation, thinking him "kind of cute." The London Sunday Telegraph quotes Catina's mother, Connie Smith in a confidential memo to the FBI dated April 23 as saying her daughter "dated McVeigh for two years." According to the Telegraph, Lawson also knew Michael Fortier, a friend of McVeigh in prison after pleading guilty in the bomb plot.

Strassmeir says he first came to the U.S. in 1988 and returned in 1991. Vincent Petruskie, a retired air force colonel and father of an acquaintance, tried to help him get a job with the DEA, but Strassmeir told the Nashville Tennessean that nothing came of it. Strassmeir got a Tennessee driver's license using a phony address obtained through Lyons, and spent most of his time at Elohim City, where he could work for cash, because he had overstayed his visa.

Founder Robert Millar told the KC Star that Brescia, who roomed with Strassmeir, was introduced to Elohim City through Mark Thomas, the Aryan Nations leader in Pennsylvania, who apparently also introduced Guthrie to his partners in the ARA. Millar served as a Christian Identity "spiritual

counselor" to neo-nazis like Richard Wayne Snell, executed on April 19, 1995, the day of the Oklahoma City bombing for the murder of a pawnshop owner he thought was Jewish. Snell had been a leading member of the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord, a far right group in the 1980s.

Before his execution on April 19, 1995, Snell repeatedly told a prison official there was going to be an explosion the day of his execution. Snell and other white supremacist leaders had been tried but acquitted in a seditious conspiracy trial in Ft. Smith Arkansas for plans, among other things, to bomb the Alfred F. Murrah Federal building after the 1983 death of Posse Comitatus leader Gordon Kahl in a shoot-out with U.S. marshals.

In addition to theorizing a connection between Brescia, Strassmeier and the ARA hold-ups on the one hand, and Brescia, Strassmeier and Lyons and the OK City bombing on the other, Vanderboegh also includes the mysterious death of an Arkansas gun dealer and his wife and family in the stew. The bodies of William Mueller, his wife, and her 8-year old daughter were found bound and gagged in a river in Arkansas in June 1996. They had disappeared the previous January. Racist Timothy Coombs, a former housemate, is the official suspect in those killings. In July 1996 the Missouri attorney general issued a bulletin on Coombs as an armed and dangerous fugitive wanted not only for these murders but also for the shooting of a Missouri state patrolman in 1995.

Mueller sold guns and militia and "Patriot" literature at gun shows. Coombs was active in Arkansas and Missouri common courts movement linked to the militia and patriot movements. Both Mueller and Coombs knew about and are alleged to have visited Elohim City. Coombs knew

Strassmeir and Mueller. Mueller is reported to have had an argument with Strassmeir and Brescia at a gun show a month or two prior to his disappearance. Also, the alleged theft of \$50,000 in guns and gold from Mueller's home is similar to the theft of guns from an Arkansas gun collector by Timothy McVeigh, Nichols and Fortier, who have been tied to the Oklahoma City bombings. Vanderboegh weaves a conspiracy out of these murky connections, implying Mueller "knew too much." He has offered to provide a militia "witness protection program," but his intimations about the deaths of Guthrie and the Muellers seem likelier to intimidate people into silence.

Phineas Priesthood: Bank-robbers and Bombers

The bombing of a Planned Parenthood clinic in the Spokane Valley in July went beyond similar bomb and arson attacks on women's health care services and abortion providers. In addition to blasting the structure, and the emotions of the 55 men and women who work there, the bombing was apparently a distraction from a simultaneous bank robbery in Spokane, the second such bombing-and-bank robbery in a few months time in Spokane. The action did not succeed in shutting the clinic for long. But it may have brought to light a much larger conspiracy against not only women's clinics, but as part of a struggle for power by Christian Identity fascists.

Federal authorities investigating the two robberies, both preceded by diversionary bombs, said they think that the same people may be responsible. The same branch was bombed and robbed April 1 shortly after a nearby newspaper office was bombed in attacks that appeared to be the work of white supremacists.

As we were going to press, a threatening note demanding cancelation of a reward offered for information regarding the still-unsolved bombings and bank robberies. If the reward isn't rescinded, the note -- signed by a white supremacist sect -- threatens retaliation, making a biblical reference to destruction by fire. The note, sent to U.S. Bank whose branch was robbed and is offering the reward, says "Your gods are paper" and "no match for Yahweh," the Hebrew reference to God used by white supremacist followers of Christian Identity.

"Publicly rescind your bounty and declare your gods powerless or those who worship at your alter [sic] will suffer His wrath," the note said. "The reward that we have in place remains," responded a spokesperson at U.S. Bank's headquarters in Portland. The note, which appears to have been computer-generated, is being rushed to FBI behavioral scientists in Quantico, Va., for a threat assessment. The agency said it was taking the note seriously. A copy of the note -- addressed to The Spokesman-Review newspaper -- was sent through the U.S. mail. The note and the copy were mailed in small white envelopes bearing U.S. flag stamps affixed in the same sideways manner. The return address lists only "Phineas," a reference to the Phineas Priesthood. The Revised Standard Version of the King James Bible, which many of the Christian Identity adherents use, uses the spelling "Phinehas." "Phineas." The group's logo was also on notes left at the April 1 incident. Both robberies were carried out by at least four masked gunmen in paramilitary garb with assault rifles and multiple-cartridge shotguns. During the first holdup they shouted references to the Montana freemen. That holdup occurred one week after the FBI arrested a leader of the MT group.

The truth is finally coming out in the mainstream media about how the U.S. government unleashed an epidemic of crack addiction and gang warfare on African Americans. How can we use this lifting of the embargo on truth as a way to reach and mobilize people to resist the state's cynical chemical warfare/"drug war" counter-insurgency campaign?

CIA GENOCIDE AGAINST BLACK AMERICA

They said it was paranoia. For years, as Black activists stated that the U.S. government was involved in a conspiracy to flood Black communities with drugs and guns, they were ignored or ridiculed by the mainstream press. Now, a series of hard-hitting articles in the San Jose *Mercury News* by journalist Gary Webb has exposed just such a conspiracy.

Webb's story is so compelling and so well documented that federal authorities and the white-dominated media may have a hard time keeping a lid on it much longer.

What Webb reports is that right-wing Nicaraguan "Contras," working in the FDN, a terrorist counter-revolutionary organization founded, financed and controlled by the CIA, were responsible for bringing to the U.S. and wholesaling the flood of crack cocaine that began to wash over Black ghettos starting in the mid-1970's. Apparently, a U.S. military base was used as a trans-shipment point for the cocaine being brought in to L.A.

As the crack cocaine was wreaking havoc in Black communities in the U.S., the weapons and training paid for by the vast sums of money it made, were used in an illegal war against the civilian population of Nicaragua to help bring down the revolutionary Sandinista government there. Although many law enforcement agencies were aware that these Contras were the biggest crack dealers in the U.S., funneling 100 kilos of cocaine a week through Los Angeles, the federal government aggressively protected them from prosecution.

For instance, Danilo Blandon, a key figure in the enormous CIA-sponsored drug operation, has walked away with millions of dollars in cash, was excused from major drug charges, and lives as a prosperous businessman in Nicaragua. The U.S. government has even paid him \$166,000 for his supposed help in the "war on drugs." Other major dealers were also immunized from prosecution for years by the feds. This at the same time that the government locked up ordinary Black crack addicts and street dealers on prison sentences 10 times those for powder.

Webb's evidence points strongly to the involvement of CIA contacts, aircraft and U.S. military bases in the transport of the cocaine, which originated with the Cali cartel in Columbia.

Cocaine, originally too expensive to be widely used in the ghetto, was sold to L.A. Crips, Bloods, and other gangs at prices so cheap that it was almost free. Webb describes how the CIA-sponsored cocaine could be used to undersell and to drive off the market any rival sources, and spread into a national marketing network from L.A. to other cities around the country.

white rock...

Black Death



Your Tax
Dollars
At
Work

'96 3

The gangs' profits were used to purchase weapons (also supplied in large quantities by the Contras) to enforce their operations. The Contras, meanwhile, used their own profits to finance a bloody counterinsurgency war against the Nicaraguan revolution, bombing clinics and child care centers. They also purchased businesses and real estate in the U.S. and other countries.

The main Black connection for the Contras was Ricky Ross, a legendary figure known as "Freeway Rick." Ross and his partners frequently moved \$2-3 million of crack in a day. One ex-dealer told Webb about visiting one of Ross's five cookhouses in Compton, and being amazed to see huge vats of bubbling cocaine being stirred with canoe paddles. Ross was protected from prosecution for several years, but was imprisoned in 1995 as part of a DEA sting set up by his former supplier, Danilo Blandon. This may have been in retaliation for Ross's decision to testify against corrupt Los Angeles drug agents. Ross's sentencing was recently delayed as a result of the growing scandal, as his attorneys have tried to gain access to government records and documentation regarding the protection of his suppliers.

Federal authorities have refused to discuss their connection to the Contracrack pipeline, withholding documents for "security" and "privacy" reasons and evading interviews. In response to demands for investigations by Maxine Waters, the rest of the Congressional Black Caucus, Rev. Jesse Jackson, Senators Barbara Boxer and Dan Feinsten others, the government has launched only half-hearted internal probes. Attorney General Janet Reno has declared that there was "no improper activity" on the part of the

CIA -- a "non-denial" denial. CIA Director John Deutch has said that there is "no merit" to charges that the CIA was involved in drug smuggling, but that he will look into it anyhow. It's important to try to break through this whitewash and cover-up. Years ago, when the Christic Institute exposed some of the guns-for-drugs dealings of the CIA and the Contras, Pat Buchanan savagely verbally attacked and ridiculed Christic spokesperson Daniel Sheehan on Crossfire "from the right," while the "left" on the show was represented by an ex-CIA official, Tom Braden. Now it turns out that the CIA was demonstrably deeply involved, while Buchanan's old pal and political associate, Adolfo Calero, was head of the FDN, which was doing the leg work under CIA auspices. Perhaps we should ask what Buchanan knew and when he knew it.

The San Jose *Mercury News* articles are detailed and factual. They are based on a year of investigative reporting which relied on court testimony, undercover tapes, court records here and abroad and interviews with drug dealers, attorneys, CIA agents, drug researchers and police.

Yet the *Mercury News* coverage does have serious weaknesses. First, it assumes the devastation unleashed on Black communities was only an unintentional side-effect of the CIA's desire to fund the Contras. This seriously underplays the federal government's leadership and complicity in genocide against Black people. Even leaving the Contras aside, the U.S. has demonstrated its desire to attack and destabilize Black communities over and over again. The crack epidemic provided a perfect opportunity to demonize and criminalize Black youth, to destroy Black social organization and cohesion, and to promote

"warlords" to fill the vacuum left by the destruction of organizations like the Black Panther Party and the incarceration, murder or forced exile of revolutionary Black leaders like Geronimo Pratt, Mumia Abu Jamal and Assata Shakur. Crack was part of the history of attacks on the inner city Black communities, along with more "genteel" methods like red-lining and gentrification, to allow white corporate interests to take over valuable property in urban areas. Are we to believe that it is a coincidence that the CIA promoted the sale of crack in the ghetto at the same time that the feds were orchestrating the passage of draconian and discriminatory crack laws to put Black people behind bars?

Another problem with the *Mercury News* coverage is that it doesn't identify by name who in government protected the drug wholesalers, or who participated in covering up the crack-CIA connection, or who allowed U.S. military bases and contacts to be used for drug transport. Nor does it investigate ongoing federal involvement in cocaine wholesaling, now that the Contras are demobilized.

Also, the stories never clarify why the cocaine sold by the FDN was so cheap. According to Rick Ross, it was the Contras' ultra-low prices that allowed him to monopolize crack wholesaling in city after city. Danilo Blandon also fronted Ross hundreds of kilos on consignment. It's unlikely the Cartel, or the Contras, would turn down their normal profits or change normal business practices without a good reason. Did the Colombians have a deal with the CIA? Did the CIA encourage the Contras to sell the drug cheap to Black dealers? There is clearly more going on here than random "free market" decision-making.



RACISM

SEXISM

POVERTY ★ ECOLOGICAL

ILLITERACY ★ WAR

VIOLENCE ★ CHILD ABUSE

Finally, because the story concentrates -- with incontrovertible detail and therefore great effectiveness -- so much on one particular operation, it doesn't tie this up sufficiently with both the long-term and short term history of the use of drugs as chemical-biological warfare by imperialism against oppressed and colonized people. It's not only that the Christic Institute tried to tell some of this same story almost a decade ago. The history of this country and the world is replete with similar stories, based on a similar strategy, whether it's the use of alcohol and smallpox infected blankets as weapons of genocide against Native Nations to seize their land, the British sponsored Opium Wars in China, or the use of heroin in the Black community a generation or two ago in the same way crack is

being used now. In fact, there are clear and ongoing connections between the same "players" in the counter-insurgency war in Vietnam, who made the connections with the opium-poppy warlords of the Golden Triangle to flood the U.S. with heroin, and the more contemporary events, involving some of the same people and agencies, described by Webb. The point is that the John Singlaubs and Oliver Norths, the Ted Shackleys and Felix Rodriguezes are not part of some self-contained, rogue element. They are operatives of the state and the ruling elite, carrying out genocidal policies approved at the highest levels.

Even with its weaknesses, Gary Webb's expose is one of the stories of the decade, and a must-read. Reprints of the original three articles, plus background stories,

can be purchased for \$3.00 (\$2.50 for additional copies) by calling News Search at (408) 920-5999, or downloaded by computer via the Internet, along with such supporting documentation as an intelligence "finding" signed by Ronald Reagan authorizing the CIA operations involved. There is also, on a World Wide Web site which contains the articles, related news updates, background documents, a reader forum, photographs and other resources. It is at this URL: <http://www.sjmercury.com/drugs/>. The task remains for movement organizers to seize the opportunity this mainstream expose affords, both to educate ourselves and to mobilize people to anti-imperialist action. We need to build a movement to hold the real criminals and terrorists accountable for their crimes against humanity.

REFUSE THE POLITICS OF CRUELTY . . .

It's time to stand up. It's time to act. We are living in a season when mean-spirited politics and injustice ride high. With cruel and dangerous agendas dominating the election debates, our voices must and will be heard. Whether we vote or whether we don't, in big organizations or alone in small towns, as many and as one, we will not lie down for this. We say NO! to the politics of punishment, poverty, and injustice.

. . . UNLEASH A SPIRIT OF RESISTANCE

We will reach into every corner of society. We will break down the barriers among the people. We will stand with each other. We will bring into being a new spirit of resistance and new alliances. We will not allow the government to execute Mumia Abu-Jamal. Every new attack will be met with increasingly strong resistance. We will begin in October, and go forward from there to build the movement we need.

To the racists and women haters,
To the gay-bashers and welfare slashers,
To the prison builders and executioners,
We say: The future is not yours!

MAKE OCTOBER A NATIONAL MONTH OF RESISTANCE!

Oct. 7: SHOW OF SUPPORT FOR HABEAS CORPUS RIGHTS
around the opening of the Supreme Court

Oct. 11: NATIONAL GAY & LESBIAN COMING-OUT DAY

Oct. 12: COORDINADORA '96: IMMIGRANTS AND POOR MARCH, in DC at noon
[Call 212-505-0001]

**Oct. 22: NATIONAL DAY OF PROTEST TO STOP POLICE BRUTALITY,
REPRESSION AND THE CRIMINALIZATION OF A GENERATION**
[Call 212-713-5080 or 213-960-5019].

Oct. 26: NATIONAL DAY OF APPRECIATION FOR ABORTION CARE PROVIDERS

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305 Madison Avenue Suite 1156, NY, NY 10165

tel: (212) 713-5657

Web: <http://www.walrus.com/~resist/>

E-mail: <resist@walrus.com>

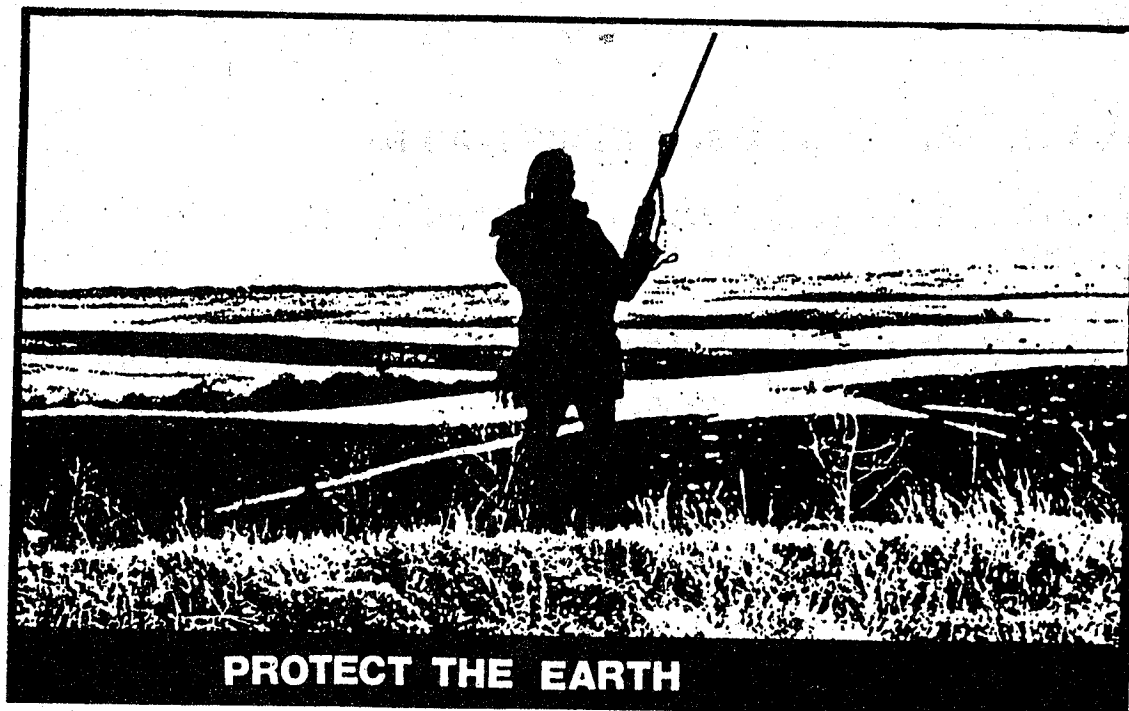
The First Nations of Canada, like other indigenous peoples throughout the Americas and the world, are struggling to defend and reclaim their sovereignty. In so doing, they confront reactionary violence from the state and the racist right.

Update on the Aazhoodenaang Enjibaaig: The Stoney Point People

by Tariq Hassan Gordon, Anti-Colonial Action Alliance

In memory of Dudley George, the Stoney Point First Nation held the 1st Annual Traditional Gathering on September 6. It was one year ago that the Ontario Provincial Police opened fire on members of the Stoney Point First Nation during a peaceful occupation of Ipperwash Provincial Park. When the OPP pulled out of the park, many people had been beaten, one person had been shot and injured, and Dudley George was fatally wounded by a bullet to the chest.

After a 10 month investigation, the Special Investigations Unit released its report in August on the shooting death of Dudley George. Out of that report, OPP officer Kenneth Dean was charged with criminal negligence causing death. Dean was second-in-command of the Tactics and Rescue Unit operation at Ipperwash Provincial Park.



The officer's first court appearance was on August 13th, 1996 at the Sarnia Provincial Court House, the same court room where 26 Stoney Point people are facing over 30 charges relating to the occupation of the park. During the court appearance, the Ontario Foundation of Individual Rights and Equality [ON-FIRE] held a rally to have the charge against the OPP officer dropped.

ON-FIRE Linked to the Mackenzie Institute

At the rally, members of ON-FIRE were passing out *The Ipperwash Protests - An Unfinished Drama*, a briefing note produced by the Mackenzie Institute. The Mackenzie Institute for the Study of Terrorism, Revolution and Propaganda is a right wing think tank founded in 1986. The Institute is linked to the Northern Foundation, the Centre for Conflict Studies, the North American Region of the World Anti-Communist League, Citizens for Foreign Aid Reform and many other far right organizations as well as the Reform Party and the Canadian Armed Forces.

John C. Thompson, the author of the briefing note has also written briefing notes on the Mohawk Warrior Society and the Oka Crisis.

In *The Legacy of Oka*, published by the Mackenzie Institute, it was suggested that the Army's involvement at Oka gave the Warrior Society a moral victory in the eyes of the public (which is seen as a bad thing). It was then recommended that the Canadian state hire, equip and train police forces with the idea of using them as a counter-insurgency force to be used for any future confrontations with First Nations.

These heavily-armed police forces would be used quickly, with no time taken for "prolonged

negotiations" (Mackenzie Institute Exposed, 1995).

The role and actions of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police during the standoff at Gustafsen Lake and the Ontario Provincial Police at Ipperwash Provincial Park last summer suggests that the recommendations of the Mackenzie Institute have been read by members of the government.

The direct link between the current president of ON-FIRE, Rick Shultz (also a member of the West Ipperwash Property Association) and the Mackenzie Institute clearly illustrates the right wing agenda of ON-FIRE. Rick Shultz is quoted extensively by John C. Thompson and described as 'the self-restrained leader of ON-FIRE, and a leading light of West Ipperwash.'

Dudley George Memorial Fund Closed

Unfortunately the actions of ON-FIRE are not the only opposition that the people of Stoney Point are currently facing. The Toronto Dominion Bank unilaterally closed the Dudley George Memorial Fund. Harry Verburg, the Bluewater Regional Manager for the Toronto Dominion Bank stated in a letter of correspondence to Marcia Simon, treasurer of the Fund, that the bank did not agree to have the TD Bank 'being a reference point' for donations.

The bank has been pressured by members of the Kettle & Stony Point band council to close the account. Kettle & Stony Point is funding a public relations officer to coopt and counter the public support for the recognition of Stoney Point First Nation, reserve # 43.

According to Marcia Simon, there are "two First Nation communities with one band council administration." This was an

externally imposed situation after the federal Canadian government appropriated the unceded territory of Stoney Point in 1942 under the War Measures Act and relocated some of the Stoney Point families to swamp land on the Kettle Point reserve (others became refugees across Ontario).

The federal government only recognizes the Kettle and Stony Point band council. They will not negotiate with the people living on Stoney Point territory. The Federal government is manipulating the divisions of the two communities and using the Kettle and Stony Point band council to undermine the position of the Stoney Point people and fight a proxy public relations war.

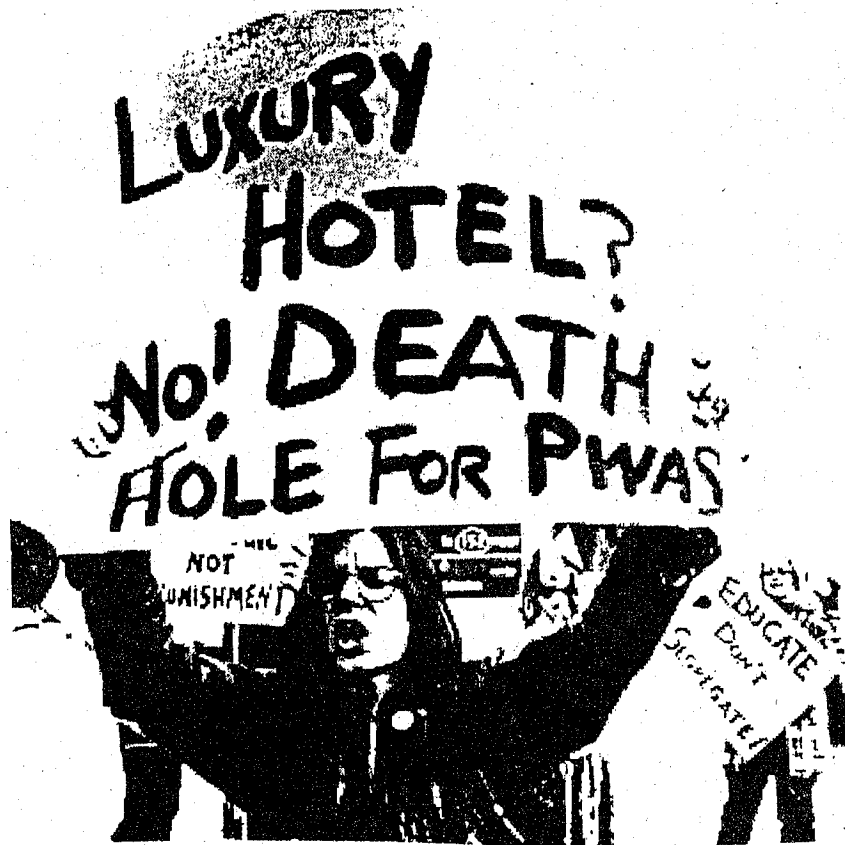
The Stoney Point people need urgent support for their struggle for self-determination. The trial date for the 26 Stoney Point members has been set for two weeks beginning October 21, 1996 in Sarnia and they are in critical need of funds for their legal expenses.

In the U.S., send donations to "Stoney Point Legal Fund" c/o Indian World, 1732221 Telegraph S. 207, Detroit, MI 48219-3143; tel: (313) 535-9728/Fax: (313) 535-7822. Income tax receipts will be issued.

For More Information Contact:

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Fax: (519) 786-6642

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Peterborough, ON K9G 2L1
Canada
email: thassan@trentu.ca



Prisoners with HIV/AIDS and other terminal illnesses face a similar fate as those prisoners on death row. Sometimes their death comes sooner. In the face of this death sentence, HIV+ prisoners are rising up.

AIDS in Prison

New Death Row for Prisoners?

by Judy Greenspan,
Director, HIV/AIDS in Prison Project, Oakland, California

A great deal has been written lately about the barbaric resurgence of the death penalty. Many states are passing laws to bring back capital punishment. Hundreds of poor people, mostly African-American, languish on death rows all across this country.

But how many people are aware of the new death row? The combination of HIV infection, poor medical care, a callous, uncaring prison administration and the day-to-day violence and stress of prison life can turn even a short prison term into a death sentence. That's the case today for most prisoners with HIV/AIDS.

In response to such conditions, over 100 prisoners living with HIV/ AIDS in the V-Wing of the HIV Unit at the California Medical Facility at Vacaville, went on both a hunger and medication strike on Sept. 3, to protest abusive treatment and unfair policies directed against prisoners in the HIV Unit.

In a telephone call to the HIV/AIDS in Prison Project, striking prisoners issued the following set of demands:

- * **Stop the harassment** by C.O. (Correctional Officer) Forsythe of African-American and gay inmates on V-Wing
- * **Transfer CO Forsythe** from the HIV Unit.
- * **Stop the destruction** of property purchased at the prison canteen and reimburse for property destroyed by CO Forsythe
- * **Allow prisoners an open line** for medical and sick call at least once a week
- * **Access to jobs** on the ranch and firehouse for Level 1 and 2 inmates, including those with HIV/AIDS
- * **Quarterly updates** on HIV/AIDS issues for Level 1 and 2 inmates in the gym
- * **Conjugal visits** with their spouses for HIV+ inmates
- * **Improve the cell ventilation** for all cells
- * **More library and yard access** for HIV+ inmates
- * **More visits by medical staff** on third watch and quicker response to medical emergencies in cells
- * **Immediate meeting** with prison administrators including the warden, chief deputy warden, associate warden, the captain and the Chief Medical Officer.

According to phone calls received from prisoner organizers, over 100 prisoners refused to go to the dining hall for breakfast and also refused their medications, and continued to strike to support the demands as we went to press. A meeting was scheduled with prison administrators to discuss these demands. A representative group of nine prisoners was to attend the meeting.

Instead, the prison administration at CMC started retaliating against the leadership of the strike almost immediately. Three organizers,

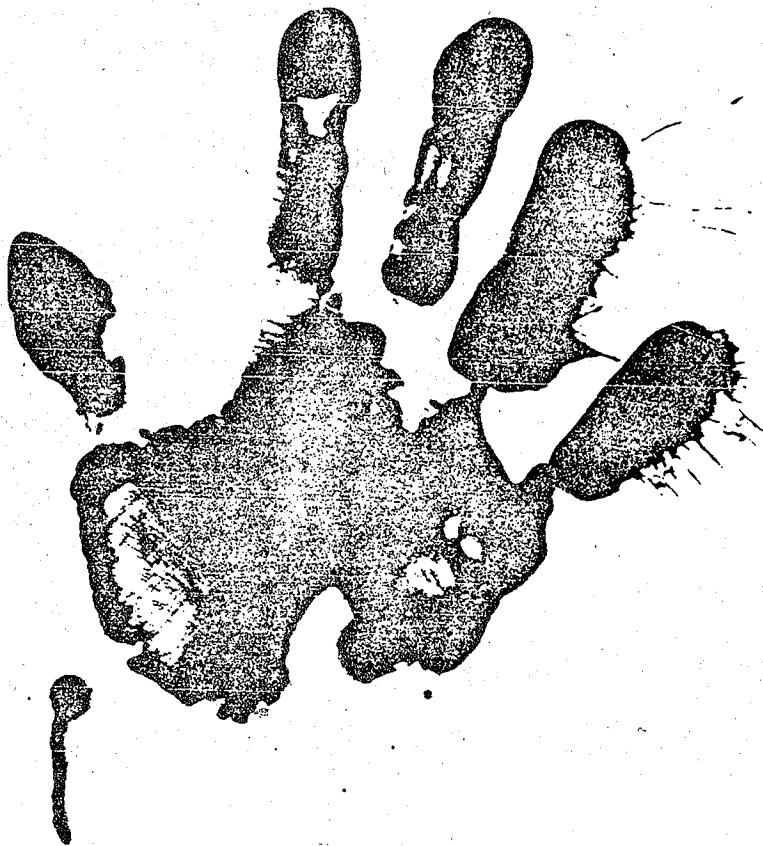
including Ezra Davis, III, were roughly grabbed and dragged to segregation (the hole). Davis had been sitting in semi-lockdown status on V Wing for several weeks because of his activism and organizing for the rights of prisoners with HIV/AIDS.

Supporters of the prisoners are

urged to call Warden Olivarez's office immediately to support the strike and demand an end to the retaliation against the prisoner strikers. For more information contact the HIV/AIDS in Prison Project, (510) 834-5656, ext. 3150.

This latest struggle by HIV+ prisoners makes it all the more

THE GOVERNMENT HAS BLOOD ON ITS HANDS



ONE AIDS DEATH EVERY HALF HOUR

urgent for those of us on the outside to learn about and take action in solidarity with that struggle. Because without concerted action, even as research and medicine improves the prognosis for people living with HIV, the outlook for prisoners in that situation will worsen!

In the era of runaway prison construction, "three strikes you're out," and the dissolution of the inmate's bill of rights, to be HIV+ in prison -- for however long you are incarcerated -- means that even if you manage to survive your imprisonment, precious years will be taken from your already shortened life. A study in New York State in 1988 proved that prisoners with HIV/AIDS live only *half as long* as a similar population out on the streets of New York City.

Prisoners with AIDS have historically done what they could to fight this death sentence. Here in California, in 1991-92, male prisoners at CMF- Vacaville organized outside supporters, and actually inspired a legislative investigation by the State Assembly Public Safety Committee. In the months following the expose of the inhumane conditions inside the HIV unit at CMF- Vacaville, a hospice was set up, a peer education program began, and pastoral care services for the dying were expanded and strengthened. At the women's prisons in both southern and central California, first at the California Institution for Women at Frontera (1990) and later at the Central California Women's Facility at Chowchilla (1993), women prisoners with HIV fought and died for peer education, compassionate release, and decent medical care. In April 1995, a major class action lawsuit charging gross medical neglect and abuse against women prisoners was filed, as a result of the activism and

advocacy of these women with HIV.

One of the major mechanisms to get prisoners with HIV off death row has been the use of the compassionate release procedure. In the late 1980s, lawyers at the Prison Law Office began to use the little known *Recall of Sentence* Statute to obtain early release for prisoners dying of AIDS-related complications. In a few instances it worked. Most times, however, the pleas for release fell on the uncaring ears of prison administrators and sentencing judges. Finally, in 1991-92, a small group of prisoners began to access what came to be known as the compassionate release procedure. However, in most cases, the men and women prisoners who themselves or whose families attempted to initiate the procedure, died before their release came through, or were dropped arbitrarily from the process along the way.

At CMF-Vacaville alone, over 400 men have died of AIDS over the past ten years. There are countless, nameless women who have died at both CIW and CCWF also.

In the aftermath of a most hopeful international AIDS conference, where new treatments promising great things have been showcased, what lies ahead for prisoners with HIV/AIDS in California and across the country?

First of all, most of the newly touted drugs will not be made available to prisoners. In California, only a couple of the men's prisons are offering protease inhibitors (and probably not widely). None of the women's prisons are offering these new drugs. In fact, most of the prisons are still offering only AZT in high dosages to prisoners with low CD4 counts. After watching their fingernails turn black and fall off from AZT toxicity, most women prisoners I have spoken with refuse

to take any AIDS-related drugs. Of course, to make matters worse, the women's prisons in the central valley still have not hired an infectious disease specialist. There are no special diets or dietary considerations (except for a limited supply of *ensure*) for women prisoners with HIV/AIDS. Prisoners do not have access to any clinical drug trials in California or most states across the country.

California still stubbornly clings to the system of segregating prisoners with HIV into special units, which are located in about 10 prisons around the state. Each prison administers their unit differently and HIV/AIDS services (if there are any) vary from institution to institution. One thing is certain, this system of segregated housing drives most of the HIV+ population further and further underground. Most men and women prisoners refuse to come forward to admit their sero-positivity, even when they become symptomatic. Those who do self-identify, or who come into the system with medical records revealing their status, are forced to languish in infirmaries and special medical units of reception centers for between 6-9 months (sometimes as long as a year) waiting to be placed in overcrowded HIV units. During this waiting time, the prisoner with HIV are un-programmed and un-classified, thus earning only 1/3 sentence reductions for good time instead of the 1/2 good time that programmed prisoners earn.

Thus, prisoners with HIV, unless they aggressively file protests of their loss of good time, utilizing the grievance process which is often stacked against them, wind up doing longer and harder time than the HIV-negative population. This waiting period can be extremely stressful, especially in prisons with few or no support services for prisoners with HIV/AIDS.

Prisoners with HIV/AIDS are not eligible for participation in the family visiting program with their spouses. Most choose not to have overnight visits with any family members, because of offensive and invasive procedures and regulations promulgated by the Department of Corrections. Prisoners known to be HIV+ cannot work in the kitchen or food line (except in some HIV units).

New and harsher sentencing guidelines adversely impact on criminal defendants with HIV/AIDS. Criminal justice professionals such as judges and prosecutors (and even public defenders who allow it to happen) continue to sentence terminally ill prisoners to long prison terms that are bound to be the equivalent of a death sentence due to callous medical neglect.

Prisoner-initiated peer education programs are growing in interest among prisoners -- and shrinking in actuality due to, at best, administrative disinterest, and at worst, outright hostility. The latest National Institute of Justice update on HIV/AIDS in correctional facilities documents that there are *fewer* peer education programs today than two years ago. Here in California, the availability of peer education varies from prison to prison. However, one thing is certain -- if there is not an HIV unit in a prison, there will definitely not be a peer education program. The CDC (including many of its wardens) still has yet to grasp the importance of educating both the underground HIV positive prisoners and the uninfected, as well as those openly HIV+.

California is no closer to providing risk reduction tools to prisoners such as condoms, dental dams or clean needles. In fact, only six jurisdictions in this country allow condom distribution in prisons and jails (the Vermont and Mississippi state prison systems;

and the Philadelphia, San Francisco, New York City and Washington, D.C. jails). This figure has remained unchanged for the past six years. No prison or jail in the U.S. allows for the distribution of bleach kits or clean needles for injection drug users. Canada and Europe are light years ahead in this area.

A recent Bureau of Justice Statistics survey revealed that approximately 25% of California's HIV+ prison population has reached the stage of an AIDS diagnosis. Small wonder that so many prisoners entering the system with HIV become ill and go downhill fast. Despite two legislative attempts to reform the current compassionate release procedure, and to strengthen its medical component, the process is bogged down at every step of the way. The prison doctors and wardens are afraid to release prisoners who are dying, because of public misconceptions about criminals and crime. The CDC has to answer to the demagogic governor and the politicians and chooses its cases accordingly. And sentencing judges still don't understand the critical importance of a speedy compassionate release.

Last year, it took over six months to win the release of Peter Hatzidakis, a first-time non-violent offender who was doing a short prison term at the California Medical Facility at Vacaville (CMF-Vacaville). Hatzidakis, who had full-blown AIDS when incarcerated, suffered from active TB, (which he passed on unwittingly to his family), pneumocystis pneumonia, and other serious complications. He also had a loving family that was willing to take care of him. The doctors at CMF-Vacaville took four months to approve his compassionate release request. By the time Hatzidakis was released, he was in critical condition. He lived for only two

weeks with his family before passing away.

Prisoners with HIV/AIDS are still routinely treated more severely than other prisoners for rule infractions. Dorothy Ware, a 21-year-old African-American woman with full-blown AIDS, was sentenced to two years in the "hole" -- the prison's security housing unit -- for spitting on a guard. She was also charged for this in an outside court with attempted murder (later reduced to battery). The CDC maintains a written policy encouraging corrections officers and medical staff to charge HIV+ prisoners with attempted murder for merely spitting or biting. In the real world, the Centers for Disease Control (ironically another CDC) decided several years ago that contact with saliva is not a mode of transmission for HIV.

As bad as conditions are for men prisoners with HIV/AIDS, the care and treatment of women prisoners with HIV/AIDS (and other serious illnesses) is far worse. One year after the class action lawsuit was filed concerning the medical neglect faced by women prisoners, very little has changed. According to the prisoners' legal counsel, there is a growing intransigence on the part of the CDC to upgrade women's medical care.

Unfortunately, the shrinking AIDS movement has turned its focus away from supporting the rights of prisoners with HIV/AIDS.

It is more important than ever that issues affecting prisoners with HIV/AIDS be added to the agenda of both the AIDS service and AIDS activist communities, and of the movements to change (overturn) the criminal injustice system.

Activists on the outside, by focusing on the new death row on the inside, can make a difference and save the lives of prisoners with HIV/AIDS.

NEXT STOP ATLANTA:

Mad Measles Scientists on the Move

By Keidi Obi Awadu

It was recently revealed that a group of government and private researchers had disproportionately targeted "mostly minority" babies in Los Angeles in the late '80s and early '90s as guinea pigs for medical research with dangerous unlicensed and experimental measles vaccines. They did so without informing the predominantly Latino and Black children's parents of the experimental nature of the vaccine, or of the fact that in previous tests, in Haiti and elsewhere, it had caused death and other serious medical problems for some of the children to whom it had been administered.

Subsequently, independent researchers who have been examining the background to this controversial episode have uncovered documentation that at least one researcher from the Atlanta-based federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) participated in a similar, subsequent measles vaccine study in Atlanta beginning in February 1992, which disproportionately utilized Black babies at 6 county health clinics in the metropolitan Atlanta area.

In the aftermath of the vaccine research scandal, the Los Angeles County Coalition Against Racist Child-Experimentation (LACCARCE) has formed. This organization has vowed to push for public hearings to include all individuals and agencies which have been identified as participants in the controversial research. The experimental treatment occurred at three Kaiser Permanente hospitals in L.A. County between 1989-91. In addition, LACCARCE is also pursuing class action litigation on behalf of as many as 1192 families whose babies were injected in the experiment through the use of a deliberately fraudulent consent form.

Another important mission of the group has been to establish itself as a permanent advocacy and

watchdog group. The issue of vaccine safety and effectiveness has been increasingly called into question in recent years with significant portions of the population, including many pediatricians, refusing to vaccinate their children because of the long record of vaccine failure and serious side effects. On this point LACCARCE is distributing literature and presenting regular seminars throughout the country to parents and organizations explaining why they should challenge vaccine safety and mandatory vaccination.

As part of the group's watchdog mission, the LACCARCE has been examining documents published by the participants in the Los Angeles County measles vaccine tests. One particular CDC researcher, Dr.

Lauri E. Markowitz, (referred to in certain circles as "Mrs. Measles") has published significant articles in medical journals on the subject of measles vaccine experiments. While examining an article in the March 6, 1996, issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association (JAMA), entitled "Antibody Response to Measles-Mumps-Rubella Vaccine of Children With Mild Illness at the Time of Vaccination", LACCARCE researchers became aware of the targeting of Black babies (along with a number of poor White infants) in Atlanta, for this vaccine experiment which sought to measure not only the efficacy of MMR vaccine in sick babies but also to measure the safety level. Similar studies conducted on babies with acute

Fifteen-hundred poor Black and Latino babies in Los Angeles were subjected to experimentation with a high dosage measles vaccine. The high-dose Edmonston-Zagreb vaccine, 10-500 times the strength of the standard measles vaccine, was developed to "overwhelm" the maternal antibodies that normally prevent a measles vaccine from working on a very young baby, according to reports in the L.A. Times.

The studies were initiated in Haiti, Mexico, Senegal and Guinea-Bissau (a former Portuguese colony in Africa) in 1987, and Los Angeles was added in 1989. The experimental vaccine was targeted at Third World babies, and was given to infants as young as 4 months old. It resulted internationally in a "much higher than expected death rate," according to press reports, particularly among baby girls. According to a study in the medical journal Lancet, almost 10% of the kids in Senegal injected with the vaccine died before their second birthday. The CDC has acknowledged that in the Los Angeles "study," they violated their own informed consent regulations. Parents were neither told that the vaccine their babies were getting was experimental, nor informed of the possible side effects or potential long term risks.

illness in Haiti (1985) and Rwanda (1988) were also cited in the JAMA (Vol 275 #9). Such data makes it apparent that non-White babies are being targeted for dangerous research. A total of 386 babies from 6 county health clinics in the Atlanta area were enrolled in the study between February 1992 and April 1993. Study subjects were enrolled when their parents brought them in for "routine" vaccinations. A "designated study nurse" at each of the clinics independently made the judgment as to the severity of the child's symptoms and directed a number of children to be included in the study after obtaining "signed informed consent" from the parents. In the L.A. County experiments these consent forms are at the heart of a bitter controversy, along with the use of unlicensed and experimental vaccines with a history of high mortality in foreign trials.

Children included in the Atlanta measles vaccine trials had a range of acute illness including upper respiratory illness (33%), ear infection (11%) and diarrhea (3%). Some children had more than one illness at the time. At the time of the trial for MMR response, 96% the babies were also simultaneously vaccinated for DPT, HIB (type-B flu) and orally for polio.

In the L.A. County measles vaccine trials, study researchers reported few serious side effects, except for noting the death of one 22-month-old boy whose death was listed as unrelated to the study. These claims are proving false, as the investigation by LACCARCE researchers not connected with government agencies continues. Similarly in Atlanta, researchers downplayed the adverse events recorded within an all-too-brief two week surveillance period following injection.

The complete range of recorded adverse reactions to vaccines includes brain inflammation; neurological, psychiatric and auto-immune disorders including learning disabilities; hyperactivity, autism, asthma, otitis media, diabetes, multiple sclerosis, lupus, chronic fatigue syndrome, rheumatoid arthritis, cancer, clinical depression, sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS) and violent behavior disorders.

This record also includes more virulent cases of the very diseases which the vaccines were aimed to prevent. Many of these symptoms may not even become apparent until literally years after a single or repeat vaccine injection. Thus such claims for safety in vaccine trials as were made in Atlanta are based on

at best inadequate surveillance methodology.

The issue of experimentation on humans has been a continuing controversy throughout recent history. This becomes even more disturbing when defenseless babies are utilized as human guinea pigs, targeted mainly because they are in the so-called Third World, are of specific minority racial groups, or are poor and utilizing free government health services.

Interested individuals and organizations in the Atlanta area or any other city who are concerned that their babies may have been, or are being, used in such experimentation can contact the
**Los Angeles County Coalition
Against Racist Child-
Experimentation**
at the following telephone hotline:
(310) 403-2921.

Permission to reprint is granted.
Forward any published copies to:

**Conscious Rasta Press,
PO Box 7683,
Long Beach CA 90807-0683.**

Debate continues on the left about the nature of the militia phenomenon, whether there is an authentic anti-racist or anti-repressive stream in the movement. Here is some evidence and testimony on the ties of the militias in Indiana to Christian Right and racist forces.

Facing Off the Militias, the Klan, and the Christian Right:

Back Home Again In Indiana

by Ryan Amptmyer

The Tippecanoe County Citizens' Militia (TCCM), headed by Frank Wilkins, is an off-shoot of the Indiana Citizens' Volunteer Militia (ICVM). They swear up and down they're not racist, but I've got plenty of evidence to the contrary.

The first time the militia tried to meet in Lafayette, in early March, 1996, local militia goon Frank Wilkins was too chicken to provide his name and address on the application for a library meeting room. Therefore, the library director denied him a meeting room. When I showed up, there was a swarm of cops outside the library protecting the fascists. Someone, probably Wilkins or Kokomo militia leader Fridholm, announced that the meeting was to be held at the MCL cafeteria in West Lafayette. I followed them there, leafletting and confronting them until the management kicked them out. They held their meeting in the parking lot.

Before my better instincts told me to go home, I asked Wilkins, "If you're so concerned about the growth of the government and the police state, where were you in the '50s when they were rounding up labor leaders? Where were you in the '60s when they were persecuting anti-war activists? Where were you in the '70s when they were gunning down the Black Panthers? Where were you in the '80s when they were persecuting Central American and Mexican immigrants?" The militia man responded, "I was in school, doing my homework." I replied that I rested my case.

A few days later, Christian rightist Diana Vice sent an anonymous fax to the *Journal & Courier*, which they quickly traced to her machine. The fax threatened "direct redress of grievances" against library director Joel Robinson unless he granted meeting space to the militia. She admitted to sending the fax and to being a militia sympathizer, but not a member. However, at the first two meetings of the TCCM, they were caught red-handed distributing pro-militia articles excerpted from the *Family Times*, the local

Christian Right paper. At the fourth (May 25), Diana Vice was present. Yet the TCCM swears that they are unaffiliated with Vice and the FT, particularly when confronted with the latter's racism.

The TCCM was started with the assistance of ICVM leaders from Kokomo such as Greg Fridholm. At the second militia meeting (March 19), Pat Buchanan campaign literature was distributed, as well as a pamphlet with a one dollar bill and a two dollar bill on it. This pamphlet alleged that the two dollar bill is okay, but the one dollar bill

is a Federal Reserve Note, and therefore Rothschild Warburg counterfeit. When a Kokomo militia leader asserted the private ownership theory of the Federal Reserve, I asked who owns it. He said, "You don't know?" and I set out the bait, "No, you tell me." He and a member of the audience provided me with a classic version of the Rothschild-Warburg theory of Jewish domination of international banking.

At that same meeting, copies of the TCCM "Non-discrimination policy" were handed out. This



the murder by jail guards of Jeff Stuart, a county inmate whose spleen ruptured while in custody in May 1990, and whose cries for help went ignored by jail staff. The most solid indictment against Heath is his collaboration with the Klan in 1994.

First, Lafayette police chief Thomas Leach sent a letter to county Commissioners asking them to allow the Klan to occupy the courthouse steps (J&C Thur. Sept. 29 p.A-10). Leach said, "I think it would be a little safer if we could get them (the KKK) up high." Then, Heath said, "I'm going to place the Klan wherever I feel it's safe for all those involved... [possibly including the courthouse steps]." Heath indeed moved the Klan on to the courthouse steps, in defiance of a court order to deny them the steps unless they posted a \$100,000 insurance bond. Heath accepted full responsibility for this

decision to protect "public safety" by saving 29 Klansmen from 900 protestors.

While this reflects his view of free speech, the Take Back the Night March, hosted by Purdue Women's Studies and other feminist groups, is routinely harassed by police who hand out tickets for jaywalking and chalk marks on sidewalks, while ignoring jeers, cat-calls, and threats from misogynist observers. Furthermore, a Communist Party recruitment rally hosted by the Purdue Leftist Student Network on Oct. 29, 1995 received no offer of police protection. Nor has any Friends of Palestine march since 1968. Many Desert Slaughter protests were harassed by Students for Victory in 1991.

Dave Heath, as Sheriff in 1994 and as mayor in 1996, has molded the local police forces into a pro-fascist occupation force. When

confronted with his Klan-cuddly behavior at a Jan. 24 '96 town hall meeting, he responded that he "made the decision to move the Klan to the courthouse steps to protect public safety." I replied, "We had 900 protestors, we could have taken them." Hundreds of Heath supporters laughed and he said, "That's the sort of thing I intend to protect us from."

During the Klan rally, however, public safety was not Heath's agenda. The TV crew of the local Ch. 5 affiliate caught Klansmen stuffing pistols in their boots in an officially disarmed zone. When I stood outside the official protest area dressed in West African attire and carrying a large sign reading "Protest Police-KKK Pig pen," several Klan supporters from Boone County threatened, within earshot of mounted police, to shoot me. The cops ignored the threats.

The U.S. economic and political elite, based on NAFTA and on the rise of revolutionary insurgencies in Mexico, has determined to militarize the U.S.-Mexico border. The "debate" over immigration in the Congress is over just how harshly anti-immigrant U.S. policy should be: whether or not to carry out mass sweeps and deportations; whether or not to expel children of immigrants from school. This scapegoating is manifested as a deepening exploitation and repression of the undocumented.

Undocumented Immigrants in the U.S.: Prison Notebooks

by G. Lynn Svensson

An experience told by a young Guatemalan man symbolizes the position of undocumented persons in this country. He had crossed the border the day before. After walking for hours through the night and hiding under a bush at dawn, he had been caught by the Border Patrol. He was searched and put in a cell.

He watched officers strip a Mexican teenager who had jokingly asked them for a "hamburger," handcuff him naked to the bars of his cell, and make fun of him in front of the other prisoners. The Guatemalan man waited through that day, was given dinner, and slept in his cell that night. The next day, an officer took him from his cell and put him to work pulling weeds outside in the courtyard near a flag pole. He described working in the sun pulling weeds "under the American flag." After two hours, the officer gave him a dollar, and that afternoon returned him to Mexico.

What is the legal side of the situation of undocumented immigrants in the US? What happens to people caught by Border Patrol or INS agents? The US Bureau of Justice reports that 96% of those referred to the criminal justice system for "immigration offenses" are prosecuted and these prosecutions resulted in a conviction rate of 93% (compared to a conviction rate of 77% for non-immigration offenses) (US 1990). The average sentence is 6.1 years -- double what the average sentence for immigration offenses was ten years earlier (US 1994:459). Is this high conviction rate luck, efficiency, or is something else at work here?

In dealings with the INS, undocumented immigrants face a justice system that would be

unfamiliar to US citizens. "Aliens" can be detained for more than 10 months before being deported (U.S. General Accounting Office). Because deportation is considered a "civil" proceeding, immigrants can also be denied the right to bail (Hull 109). Undocumented immigrants are not provided a lawyer if they cannot afford one.

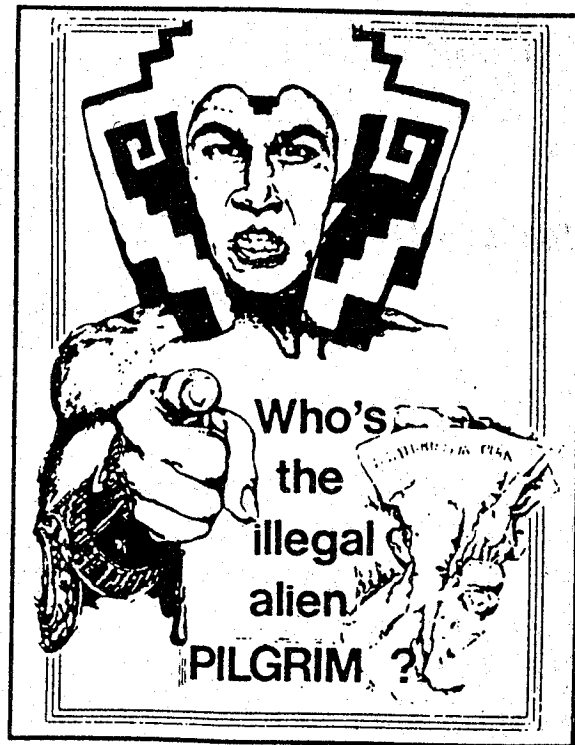
Many undocumented prisoners, especially those being held for deportation, are imprisoned in privately run prisons. These are owned by corporations who contract with the government to provide the "service." They are not government regulated.

Undocumented immigrants who have been detained in these private prisons report poor food, not enough food, blankets or warm

clothing, lack of medical treatment, beatings and humiliations.

Although the cards are clearly stacked against undocumented immigrants in the legal system, most undocumented workers never enter a courtroom nor are heard by a judge. Ninety-eight percent of the cases in 1987, for example, were handled informally (US1990:2). In these cases then and now, undocumented workers sign a document agreeing to leave the US "voluntarily." By "volunteering" to leave, the undocumented worker gives up the right to an "impartial hearing."

The Bureau of Justice explains their success in convincing immigrants to leave "voluntarily" by noting that "prehearing detention may be more burdensome than repatriation" (2).



While this type of procedure is called "voluntary", it is not voluntary by any means. Through the fear of spending months in jail awaiting a deportation hearing, likely without understanding the laws or avenues of appeal and without the advice of a lawyer, the undocumented immigrant is denied the right to a fair hearing. Moreover, Latino undocumented immigrants descriptions of their experiences are not of a "voluntary" process. They report being forced to sign the papers saying that they are "voluntarily" leaving.

From 1988 to 1990, there was a 600% increase in incarcerations of undocumented immigrants for illegal residency in the US. As of 1990, there were 120,000 undocumented "aliens" incarcerated in federal, state, and county jails at a cost of \$8.4 million a day. It is not uncommon for these prisoners to serve three years or more (Gonzalez). In 1994, over 25% of the prisoners in federal prisons were non-citizens (US 1994:558).

Addressing the anti-immigrant argument that undocumented immigrants take jobs from US citizens, the US could free undocumented prisoners, pay them the equivalent of minimum wage as a subsidy to not work, and save \$3.6 million dollars a day. Tax money and jobs are obviously not what US immigration policy really addresses.

The US government is allowing Latino immigrants to be abused and exploited by the legal system. The beating the undocumented couple received in Riverside recently was merely the public version of a multitude of private beatings, both literal and figurative, suffered by undocumented immigrants in the US.

G. Lynn Svensson is a graduate student in sociology at UCLA, and has conducted 5 years of ethnographic research with undocumented workers in Oregon and Washington DC.

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Abolish the Racist Death Penalty

HANDS OFF THE INDIANA 10!

by Shaka Shakur, 8/4/96

The domestic face of imperialism's New World Order showed itself in the wee hours of the morning of June 6, 1996 at the Indiana State Prison. From the seats of injustice, Gov. Evan Bayh, the Department of Corrections Commissioner, and prison officials sought out 10 Afrikan prisoners who were active in anti-authoritarian, anti-death penalty organizing and politics. These 10 determined men were set upon in a manner reminiscent of Nazi Germany, Chicago '68, and countless other examples of heavy booted state terrorism. Snatched from their beds, stripped naked, shackled and chained, and paraded in front of arriving employees, visitors, etc. by heavily armed guards and shipped to Indiana's infamous sensory deprivation unit - "M.C.C. - Supermax."

All of this to send a message out to anti-genocide (anti-death penalty) supporters of Zion Yisrayah (murdered by the state July 18th), that in the eyes of the state, such dissent is kriminal.

It also represented an ongoing battle for the minds of the youth filling up the prisons, in that responsible conscious and progressive Afrikan prisoners have reached out to these youth to reverse their destruction mentally and physically.

So in view of this growing tide of awareness and defiant attitude to reactionary lifestyles by these youth and others, the state have upped the ante by launching an all-out offensive, designed to intimidate, break morale and divide the ranks for anyone exhibiting a humane and anti-establishment stance or politic.

This is the reality the "Indiana 10" has been faced with, and the brutality continues. They have been given sentences in maximum security units ranging from 1 year to 5 years. The state has issued media reports stating this is an attempt to "keep the peace," but the reality is that the charges of "conspiracy to riot," "attempt to riot," and "threatening" are without

evidence or merit. In actuality evidence has been uncovered that the D.O.C. manufactured evidence with the objective of framing these 10 men.

The only threat to peace has been the jack-booted, baton-wielding mercenary kkkops carrying out murder, beatings and the like. We did not round up over 50 Afrikan prisoners in general population, some who have not had a rule violation in years, and place them in D-Cell House for so call gang affiliation. We did not torture Zion Yisrayah for 80 minutes, sticking needles in his arms, chest, neck and feet; or stand by, with clipboard in hand, recording every last gasp of

breath and twitch until he died. We did not rush to cover up such by immediately sending his body to a local funeral home to be embalmed against the wishes of his family. So you the people, the common man or womyn, you judge who is disturbing the peace!

We need your support in that We are being denied adequate food, medical care, legal material, clothing and opportunity to visit without interference of barriers or monitoring, including attorney visits. In the spirit of the "Counter-Convention to the Democratic Convention," help Us to turn up the heat on Indiana's injustice and expose the conspiracy against the Indiana 10.

We demand that:

- 1) All charges be dropped against the Indiana 10.
- 2) All 10 men be returned to general population and removed from all control and Special Housing units.
- 3) An investigation be launched into the racist rhetoric and stereotyping of Afrikan prisoners by warden Al Parke.
- 4) An investigation be launched into why Zion Yisrayah (s/n Tommie Smith) was tortured for 80 minutes before being murdered, and why the D.O.C. had his body immediately embalmed against the wishes of his family.

"All that is necessary for Evil to prevail is for man to do nothing!"
--Ziyon Yisrayah
last words
7/18/96

Intense and powerful statements by the Indiana 10 are available in a booklet for \$5, as a fundraiser for legal support and organizing work around their case.

Order the booklet from:

BCAC
P.O. Box 93312
Milwaukee WI 53203

COMRADE GEORGE LIVES!



8-21-71

Turning the Tide

Letters to P.A.R.T.

Dear Friends,

From November 13-17, the World Food Summit of the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization will take place in Rome. We decided to formulate a statement rejecting the trend to remove food security from the hands of communities, farmers and women, and to criticize the neo-liberal policy of global food trade and the genetic manipulation of food for the sake of profit.

The statement, first designed by Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies, was distributed in Leipzig. Now we want to share it world-wide through women's and other networks, and collect signatures to present at the FAO in Rome in November. Please keep us informed of your participation in this effort at one of the addresses below. We will let you know about future activities and information.

Yours sincerely,
Maria Mies
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Third World Network India
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91-11-6856795

Dear author:

I think (your piece on Pat Buchanan) is the most vomit inspiring article I have ever read. Your view of Buchanan is obviously soured because of your obvious liberal mind. Your fascist leader is sitting in the "Black House" right now. He wants government control of every aspect of American life. Look at WACO and Ruby Ridge, they are examples of judging based not on what those people may have done, but what they were thinking. Bill Clinton has proved to the people that he is a socialist in disguise. Your 'propaganda' is almost humorous to me. Listen Yom Kipper, Buchanan is here to stay.... Your kind is the only people that will be leaving. Check out Thomas Jeffersons Autobiography and Ben Franklin. "If we do not constitutionally ban these people called Jews than our chidren will curse our name" Ben Franklin

Mr. Jew Boy.... You make me sick!
SIX MILLION MORE>SIX
MILLION MORE
SIEG HEIL! SIEG HEIL! SIEG
HEIL! SIEG HEIL! SIEG HEIL!
SIEG HEIL!
88 88 88 88 88 88 88 88 88 88
88 88 88 88 88 88 88 88 88 88

Dear Friends,

On Aug. 20, FBI Director Freeh urged members of Congress to hold hearings concerning ways to limit the already restricted access federal prisoners have with their families and communities. Complaining that federal prisoners have too many rights which allow them to maintain contact with the streets, Freeh proposed that Congress find ways to limit calls, mail and visits.

While sound arguments have been made that extreme repression only serves to create more dangerous criminals and makes the problem of public safety worse and not better, our concern here is about political prisoners. Let's be very clear, political prisoners in the US are often subjected to the harshest conditions. As more restrictive and irrational policies are proposed and implemented, they will be forced on political prisoners as well as other prisoners. It's likely we will be singled out first and most harshly.

Freeh's proposals are the most recent in a series of repressive policies being proposed and implemented throughout the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP). In August, there was a two week lock-down in Leavenworth federal prison that was basically a case of guards panicking and overreacting (29 shots were fired in the yard from two towers) when two men got into a fight. Warden Page True had all the weights and weight lifting equipment removed from the institution. He also issued a memorandum detailing a new severely restricted list of what property prisoners would soon be allowed. Among many restrictions, but of special concern to political prisoners, is that books and literature will be limited to six books, six magazines, and six newspapers (not more than one week old). This includes all educational, legal, reference, spiritual and recreational reading material! Resource materials for

external education classes, (prisoner paid for college correspondence programs -- all post GED education offered by the prison was eliminated last year!) and legal cases are offered in the above 6 book/magazine limit. Even commissary items like portable radios and sweat clothes once sold in the commissary here, if not on the new list, will be confiscated. These measures come during a time when the BOP and Congress are testing the waters on how much of the gains made by prisoners throughout the last two decades can be recalled and taken back.

They are attempting to take away our visits, our phone calls, out letters and they are ready to further lock us down even while gearing up their prison factories to run 24 hours a day. They are trying to prevent us from helping ourselves educationally, legally, and spiritually. These policies will effect our loved ones, hence we need your support. We will keep struggling in here, We hope you will too.

From political prisoners in
Leavenworth Federal Prison,
**Leonard Peltier, Luis Rosa, &
Jaan Laaman**

Write to: Warden Page True, LVN
Federal Prison, Box 1000,
Leavenworth, KS 66048
Kathleen Hawke, Bureau of
Prisons, HOLC Building Room
654, 320 1st St NW, Washington,
DC 20534

Attorney General Janet Reno, Dept.
of Justice, 10th & Constitution,
Washington, DC 20530

Dear PART:

My name is Saab Lofton and I've written a scathing expose of the Nation of Islam called *A.D.* which does to them what Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* did to the meat industry a hundred years ago. It documents how Elijah Muhammad sent Malcolm X to cut a deal with the KKK in Dec. 1960, how Elijah

invited George Lincoln Rockwell and his cronies from the American Nazi Party to the Nation of Islam's 1961 and 1962 annual conventions, how Louis Farrakhan has accepted \$100 from Tom Metzger, leader of White Aryan Resistance in 1985, and many more of their dirty deeds.

In *A.D.*, I describe a near future dystopia in which a NOI-run, all-Black separate state is funded by Ford, GM, GE, and more of the same US corporations who funded Hitler. I wanted to show history repeating itself because a) folks don't know we funded Hitler, and b) folks don't know that the NOI has always been a fascist organization. Not knowing your history can cause it to repeat itself.

I can understand the desperation on the part of the Black community for any semblance of a mass movement in the absence of well-known alternatives like the Black Panthers. But there are fewer Jewish Americans than Black Americans; yet the Jews would never expect their Chomskys to work with their Kissingers. Whites would flip if Jerry Brown was consorting with David Duke. Latinos would never expect Castro to hang out with Somoza in the same way that the Black community has desperately homogenized their Jesse Jacksons and their Louis Farrakhans out of fear of divisiveness.

The reason there's an absence of alternatives like the Panthers (besides Cointelpro, which the NOI somehow managed to survive) is that the NOI are capitalists - just like those who own every major newspaper or TV network. So when those who own the media decide it's time for Black issues to be covered, do you think that Black socialists will get coverage? No, but the NOI will, and even though their anti-Semitism might be critiqued, their talk of "self-reliance" will be praised because it lets those corporations off the hook.
Sincerely, Saab Lofton

DROP THE CHARGES AGAINST ANTI-KLAN DEMONSTRATORS!

Despite what the mainstream media reported, it was the police who initiated the violence at the Ann Arbor Michigan anti-KKK rally June 22. They randomly beat, maced, and gassed protestors who did nothing illegal. Several of the eight people arrested were beaten and maced while they were already handcuffed and in police custody, offering absolutely no resistance at the time. A passerby who simply tried to inquire about the rally was maced by the police. A puppy belonging to a counter demonstrator was deliberately kicked and maced repeatedly. While a woman organizer was walking down the street, the police stopped their car, rolled down their window, and sprayed mace directly into her face. A man holding a baby was also maced.

The police did everything possible to ensure the Klan had a successful recruitment rally. Ann Arbor citizens paid tens of thousands of dollars for the police to give us hatred and brutality, while the KKK, which organizes for genocide, received amenities given to no other group.

While the City has seen fit to spend all this money to protect those who organize for racist murder, it hasn't seen fit to spend one dime to investigate the apparent police murder of a young Black man, Jamar French, who died on May 29, 1996 immediately after being released from police custody.

Ann Arbor Organizing Against the Klan (A2 OAK), a broad-based coalition of groups and individuals that mobilized for the June 22 rally is organizing in support of the following demands:

- 1. Drop all charges against those arrested.**
- 2. The KKK, Nazis, or any other fascist group should stop receiving police protection.**
- 3. Institute an independent investigation of police conduct on June 22 with the power to implement its recommendations.**
- 4. Suspend those police involved in brutalizing counter-demonstrators and passersby.**

Groups/individuals endorsing A2 OAK's demands: * Active Transformation * Anti-Fascist Defense League (Edmonton, Canada) * Ann Arbor Anti-Racist Action * Anti-Racist Action Network (ARANet) * Brown Berets, Lansing Chapter * Coalition to Stop the Execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal/Friends of MOVE (Detroit) * Culturas De Las Razas Unidas * Detroit Anti-Racist Action (ARA) * Detroit Refuse & Resist! * Free Mumia Coalition * I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World) * Judy Wraight, member Executive Board, Tool & Die Unit UAW Local 600 # * La Onda Latina * Malcolm Marts, President UAW Local 1976 # * Minneapolis A.R.A. * Minority Affairs Commission of Michigan Student Assembly * Movimiento Estudiantil Xicano De Aztlan de MSU * Peace Education Center (Lansing) * Tom Saffold, President Interfaith Council for Peace and Justice # * Trotskyist League * Welfare Rights Union of Washtenaw County * Workers World Party. #Affiliation for i.d. purposes only.

For more info, call 313.913.9538.

At the Republican and Democratic Conventions, police and security forces used a sophisticated and multi-pronged strategy to try to quash and/or trivialize dissent. Most demonstrators were confined to pits or pens. In public, Chicago Police carried out a "no arrest" policy; away from public view, they busted activists and alternative media.

2-4-6-8, No More Killings by the State!

NOT ON THE GUEST LIST

On August 27, the Not On the Guest List Coalition (NOGL) sponsored a march and demonstration against political repression and the criminal injustice system, to coincide with the Democratic National Convention (DNC). Almost two thousand people marched down Milwaukee and Ashland Avenues in Chicago on their way to the downtown site of the DNC.

Native American drummers led the procession, which took up the entire street, as massive puppets added to the pageantry and helped elevate the spirit of the crowd. Chants of "No Justice No Peace", "Free Leonard Peltier", and "Que Salgen Ya", demanding freedom for the Puerto Rican P.O.W.'s and political prisoners, and of "2,4,6,8 No more killing by the state" denouncing the death penalty and police killings, echoed off the apartment buildings. Residents of the surrounding, primarily Latino neighborhood watched, smiled and waved out their windows. This was the most exciting and energetic march in Chicago since the demonstrations against the Gulf War.

As the march approached the convention site, hundreds of police blocked the path of demonstrators. NOGL had made plans to stop the buses carrying delegates to the DNC, to drive home its message of opposition to Clinton and the Democrats "anti-crime" and "anti-terror" politics. By the sheer numbers of demonstrators, the buses were stopped for one hour. Since the police were under a "no arrest" order, at least in public, instead of arresting the demonstrators, the police diverted traffic around the demonstration.

The Democratic Party wanted a sanitized, "one big happy family" view of the national convention. They especially did not want

another 1968, when there was rampant police violence against anti-Vietnam war protesters while "the whole world was watching." Of course, this did not extend to permitting NOGL's views to be voiced inside the center. We're Not On the Guest List of the Democratic Party -- and proud of it!

Unifying Demands

Our four demands are: to free all political prisoners, to stop police brutality, to oppose the racism and classism of the criminal justice system and to abolish the death penalty. Needless to say, the Democratic Party wanted to be sure that these issues were not discussed

inside at the Democrat's party.

Despite the importance of these demands, the media and the Democratic Party tried to trivialize the demonstration and the concerns we raised. They attempted to portray the protest as entertainment for the delegates. The convention is over. However, the issues will not go away. They will become more visible as the inmate population grows and the state demand for prisons expands. The racism and classism of the criminal justice system is a civil rights issue of the nineties and beyond. A movement is growing to confront it and will continue to grow regardless of the election results.

The march was a first, exciting step in a long-term campaign. It united many groups that had not worked together before under a common banner, and connected these issues together, giving a complete view of the criminal justice system and the way in which it enforces the economic and political status quo. The Not On the Guest List Coalition has committed itself to building a movement that is capable of creating social change.

The idea for the march grew out of the William Kunstler memorial held in Chicago in Fall 1995. At the memorial, David Dellinger stated that he was going to carry out civil disobedience at the Democratic National Convention if Leonard Peltier was not set free. Chicago activists picked up on this call for action and expanded it to include all political prisoners in US jails. Over 100 women and men are incarcerated in US jails because of political struggle. They have received unjustly long prison sentences, many for crimes they did not commit.

We contacted the political prisoners and asked them for their input regarding the proposed demonstration. They responded that although they appreciated our support, we should expand our demands to include the massive incarceration of people of color. There are currently over one million people in US prisons. One out of three Black men in their twenties is either in jail or prison, on probation or on parole. The massive incarceration of people of color is destroying Black families and their communities as an entire generation is criminalized. This is no accident. The Democrats and the Republicans alike are using the concern about crime and the "War on Drugs" as a means to target youth in Black and Latino communities.

After the first meeting of the coalition, the focus was again

expanded to include opposition to police brutality. It is impossible to examine the criminal justice system without looking at the role of the police. Police brutality is blatant in African American and Latino communities, since the police target Black and Latino youth for arrest. And it is the police who manufacture evidence to "justify" the arrests, as the revelations in Philadelphia are exposing. It is the police who beat or threaten to beat people to force them to sign confessions or otherwise "cooperate". Racism within the police force becomes racism within the criminal justice system.

The final goal - to abolish the death penalty - was added shortly after the killing of Zion Yisrayah, a former member of the Black Panther Party, by the state of Indiana. Zion was falsely convicted of killing a police officer. No clear evidence existed that he killed the officer. Zion could not afford a defense team. He was black, the officer was white. Zion was convicted and sentenced to death.

This is often the case. Though most murder victims are Black, the majority of homicides that have resulted in the death penalty involved white victims. The death penalty discriminates against people of color.

In a case that further highlights the disparity of justice, a white, off-duty police officer shot and killed an unarmed Black homeless man last year in Chicago. The officer is now free on bond. Another example of the inequity of criminal "justice" is the comparatively lenient treatment meted out to white collar criminals, such as those involved in the Savings and Loan scandal. These primarily white men stole millions if not billions of dollars and served little if any jail time. Clearly race and class play an instrumental role in determining who gets targeted

for arrest, who gets prosecuted and what the sentence will be.

The Not On the Guest List Coalition formed to challenge the racism and classism of the criminal justice system. It formed at a time when much of the white population in the U.S. wishes to believe that racism is dead or no longer a serious problem. Affirmative action is under attack and single mothers on welfare are being blamed for the moral decline of this country. Since we are convinced that racism is still a major problem in the U.S., we are focusing on one of the major institutions that enforces white supremacy, the criminal justice system.

The march was a tremendous success. The response we have received as a result of the call for action and the march on the Democratic Convention has been inspiring. People want to work with NOGL. At our initial meetings, people could sit around a small table. As the work progressed, the meetings grew as did our space requirements. At the first Chicago based meeting following the demonstration more than 25 organizers came. Everyone was excited by the success of the demonstration and wants to continue the work.

One reason for the success of the organization are its well-thought-out politics. People from across the country have written and expressed a desire to be involved. People traveled from all over the U.S. and Canada to participate in the demonstration. Many people feel very deeply about these issues.

Racism, sexism and capitalism demand that huge sectors of society be denied equal access to jobs, education and respect. To end these problems, we focus on the need to radically change the economic, political and social system in which we all live. Short of fundamental change, there are

specific demands that can be realized. As we work on specific goals to change the criminal justice system, we can change the attitudes and values that permit the system as a whole to exist.

We feel that we accomplished what we set out to do in the short term. Presently over 65 organizations have endorsed the call for action. Working relationships have been established with other organizations dealing with criminal justice issues. In the future, we plan to maintain good communications with many groups and figure out ways in which we can mutually support each other's activities. We hope that by working with these other organizations, a more coordinated, cohesive movement can be established. It is through strong coordinated action that we can create the momentum for change.

Strengths and Weaknesses

As we move forward there are lessons that we can learn from our work. Gender issues come immediately to mind. Gender equality must be more than a mumbled phrase or lip service. Most of the key coalition activists were women. Yet on the day of the march and demonstration, men took the spotlight. In national meetings, men are always eager to offer an opinion. Yet when it comes time to take on tasks, they often sit in the back and forget how to raise their hands. Male chauvinism must be struggled against. Women must be recognized as leaders both internally and in public. Men must take on their fair share of the work.

In our evaluation of the demonstration, we also commented on the fact that the media coverage after the demonstration was a disappointment. For months prior to the action, we had received a lot of media coverage. Many in the group felt that media would be

equally interested in the demonstration itself and that we would receive favorable attention. Chicago's major papers chose to focus their coverage of the demonstration by showing a flag burning incident that occurred at the end of the demonstration rather than the huge march and rally. Most of the media underestimated the size of the march. One outlet stated that as few as two hundred people were at the protest. Of course, it's important to always keep in mind that the media is not on our side. We can't measure our success by their coverage. We cannot rely on them and need to build and support alternative media.

We had some debate as to whether taking over the entire street is effective. On the one hand, it's very energizing and exciting and empowers everyone in the march. But, it cuts down on contact with people. For example, the police closed the roads well before the demonstration arrived, so that motorists didn't see the march.

Lastly, the planned civil disobedience did not happen successfully. The police were under orders not to make arrests. Their strategy was to let us have the streets and to re-route traffic around the demonstration. The group was not ready for such a response and was not able to respond quickly to the situation. It gave the media one way to make us look unorganized. We could have claimed victory in that we totally shut down the street leading to the convention. The newspapers were quick to point out that we were unable to get arrested no matter what we tried, and used that to make us look foolish. In the future it may not be to our benefit to announce to the media our intentions of organizing civil disobedience. When planning civil disobedience, the use of affinity groups as organizing blocks may allow for a quicker, more mobile response to changing situations.

In closing this report, we want to invite other organizations and individuals to join the Not on the Guest List Coalition. The need to act is great. The response so far has been extremely positive. We can be contacted at 2048 W. Division, Chicago, IL 60622; tel: 312-278-6706

Police Repression Behind the Scenes

Police activity was a lot different at other, less public venues of dissent during the DNC. A few months ago it would have been illegal and embarrassing for the Chicago police to have several officers force their way inside of a media van full of videographers without a warrant while just ten feet from the front of a march of several hundred people, as they did to the clearly marked Counter Media van at the front of the Cash the Check Black-led civil rights protest march on the DNC. But now a warrant is not needed because the police don't need a warrant when they "suspect" a bomb.

Perhaps they thought the bomb was in the 35mm film cameras from which officers ripped the film out, exposing to light the images of them entering the van. They fell upon similar suspicions the very next day when they pulled over another Counter Media vehicle for "failure to use a turn signal." The videographer and driver were told that the vehicle, which contained several individuals' video equipment and personal belongings, was going to the FBI to make sure it didn't have "a bomb".

By "bomb" did they mean the video tapes showing the illegal entry into our van the day before? Or the video of the arrest of yet another of our videographers at an abortion clinic during an Operation Rescue/Clinic Defense action? By "bomb" could they be talking about the video tape of several young

black man from Henry Horner Homes, the housing project directly adjacent to the United Center where the DNC was taking place, rapping to us about the harassment by law enforcement prior to the convention: "They told us, there's *always* evidence. Even when there isn't evidence, there's *always* evidence."

But what damage we did is done: our footage was edited and uplinked to public access and public TV stations all over the country. Meantime we're still trying to deal with the damage the police did. The young black men that appeared on our TV show were arrested a few hours after they were interviewed in a sweep that all other media will tell you didn't happen -- because they weren't there. We still haven't got the minivan or any of it's contents back. Charges are still pending against six of our camera people and as of today, we are still getting reports of individuals identified as involved with Counter Media being harassed and threatened by law enforcement. Many tapes were destroyed and cameras were purposefully broken as they were confiscated.

If all of this sounds deeply disturbing, perhaps you should take a breath before you read on. On the last day of the DNC, members of an anti-nuclear group who had been driving around a truck that has a mock-up cask showing how nuclear waste is transported were also arrested. Organizers of the Festival of Life, a week long free speech event taking place in two of Chicago's lakeside parks, were arrested in arrests that took place away from the crowds. The state's attorney is planning to prosecute them for trumped up federal offenses that carry up to two years in jail.

Just as the President's prime-time brouhaha began Thursday evening, one of the most disturbing events of all took place. Having assured

themselves that no cameras were around, several police officers burst, warrantless, into one of the buildings leased for use to the Active Resistance conference.

Active Resistance had been host to over 700 activists from throughout North America and Europe who came to Chicago to attend workshops and discussion groups on issues ranging from community organizing to alternative economics. Several participants report that when they demanded a warrant they were told, "We don't need a warrant, we believe you're conspiring against the U.S. Government." Police then proceeded to another property leased to AR, which was successfully evacuated prior to the officers' arrival. Two people were hospitalized for pepper-spray injuries. Without a warrant and without arrests at either location, the police were able to successfully turn people from all over the world, terrified and without their belongings, out into the night streets and still maintain deniability that the raid even took place at all.

Yesterday's Chicago Tribune reports the police claim that the raid was a stunt caballed between Active Resistance organizers and Counter Media volunteers. Considering that the 23 arrests we know of are spread among such a variety of groups (not including the Horner arrests), easily involving over 1500+ individuals, it remains to be seen how law enforcement intends to maintain deniability of the many violations that have taken place over the past few weeks.

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310-288-5003
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Across the country, anti-gay violence is showing stark increases in frequency and level. Hate-motivated killings of lesbians and gay men have been making headlines in every region of the country in recent months.

Silence is Death!

DEADLY ANTI-GAY VIOLENCE ON THE INCREASE

In the Northwest and California, Robert James Acremant, 27, who confessed to killing a Visalia, CA gay man and two Oregon lesbian activists, told The Stockton CA *Record* newspaper that he murdered them out of hatred for homosexuals. He told the newspaper in a telephone interview from a Medford, Oregon jail that childhood sexual abuse spurred in him a deep-seated homophobia. Acremant, who also wrote the newspaper a graphic, three-page letter, said he shot Scott George, 23, in October 1995, after the Visalia man made a pass at him after a night of bar hopping. Acremant, whose father lives in Stockton, had moved to Medford with his mother after killing George. He said he then plotted to kill Roxanne Ellis and Michelle Abdill after Ellis showed him an apartment in Medford. The two women he killed, well-known gay rights activists involved in the fight against the anti-gay ballot measures promoted by the Oregon Citizens' Alliance, were found murdered last December, bound and gagged with duct tape in the bed of Ellis' pickup. There was at the time widespread fear that the killings had been anti-gay political assassinations, but Acremant had originally denied that the killings were hate crimes.

Acremant had quit a steady job to market a computer program, but was running out of money and had lost his girlfriend when he met with Roxanne Ellis. On Dec. 4, Ellis, 53, was showing Acremant an apartment when he bound her with duct tape and demanded she write him a check. When she refused, he lured her lover, Michelle Abdill, 42, to the apartment and bound her as well. The couple was forced into the back of Abdill's pickup truck, where he shot them each in the head with a .25-caliber pistol.

Acremant's mother turned him in, when she recognized her son in a police sketch. At first, Acremant told detectives that although their homosexuality made it easier to kill them, he only wanted money. But from jail Acremant wrote an Aug. 8 letter to his hometown newspaper saying he invented the robbery motive because he was nervous about how other jail inmates would react. "Now I just don't care what people think, including the jury," Acremant wrote The Record. "They can kill me for all I care. I've never

liked life anyway." Acremant's letter said he decided to kill the couple, who were partners in a property management business, when he surmised Ellis was a lesbian.

In Texas, a neo-nazi from Montana, a member of a group known as the German Peace Corps, was convicted of killing a man outside a bar because the victim was gay. Daniel Christopher Bean was found guilty of murder in the Jan. 4 stabbing death of Frederick Mangione, 46.

Bean, 19, and his 21-year-old half-brother, Ron Gauthier, had told bar patrons earlier that they intended to attack a gay person and boasted about the deed later to a police officer, according to testimony at the trial. Witnesses suggested that the two men, both described as German Peace Corps members by police, seemed to think people would approve of what they did, or at least would not care because the victim was gay. A Deputy Sheriff, T.A. Navarre, happened to be near the bar when the two men ran by him on foot. Believing they were curfew violators, he stopped them and asked why one had blood on his hand. "We just (obscurity) a fag real good," Bean replied, according to trial testimony. Gauthier hasn't been tried yet. This is only one in a string of homophobic terror-killings that have taken place in Texas in the last three years. Some fear that at least some of the other deaths are related, the acts of an anti-gay serial killer.

In Woodward, Oklahoma, near Tulsa, two men were arrested on first-degree murder charges in August for a beating death motivated by anti-gay sentiments. Albert Joel Bixler, in his early 30s, was beaten to death with a car tire jack and dumped in a trash bin, according to the Woodward County district attorney's office. Murder charges were filed against Shannon Lee Jones, 23, and Mark Jones, 30, who are unrelated. Two women, who were staying in an apartment at the complex where the body was dumped, told authorities that the Joneses stated they had "just killed that queer." Tammy Lee Parnell, 37, of Woodward. Parnell was charged as an accessory after the fact. Another witness who was staying in Parnell's apartment, Marlinda Speight, told authorities that Parnell let in a man named Shannon who was covered with

blood, according to the affidavit. Parnell then let the man take a shower and change into clean clothes. The man then said, "The queer s--- of a b---- got what he deserved," Speight said in the affidavit.

Also targeted for violence have been trans-gendered individuals. Mexican cross-dressers were victims of a series of murders last year in San Diego. In San Francisco, the Human Rights Commission has formed a Transgender Community Task Force, to oppose increasing violence against transsexuals and cross-dressers. The protest group Transexual Menace now counts 46 chapters nationwide, some of which are called Transgender Menace. The movement's coalescence has gained impetus from the Internet, with its ability to connect safely isolated people.

But Dr. Barbara Warren of the Gender Identity Project at New York City's Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center says "the fundamental building block of the whole movement is the willingness of transgender folk to put themselves out there and be visible" at no small risk to their personal safety. A major rallying point for transgendered people is the frequency with which they are attacked and even killed. "I know so many people who've suffered from vilification in their daily lives just because people have heard they're transsexual," said James Green, a female-to-male transsexual and head of FtM International. "As soon as the fact is known, they're just targets, and people are still being murdered."

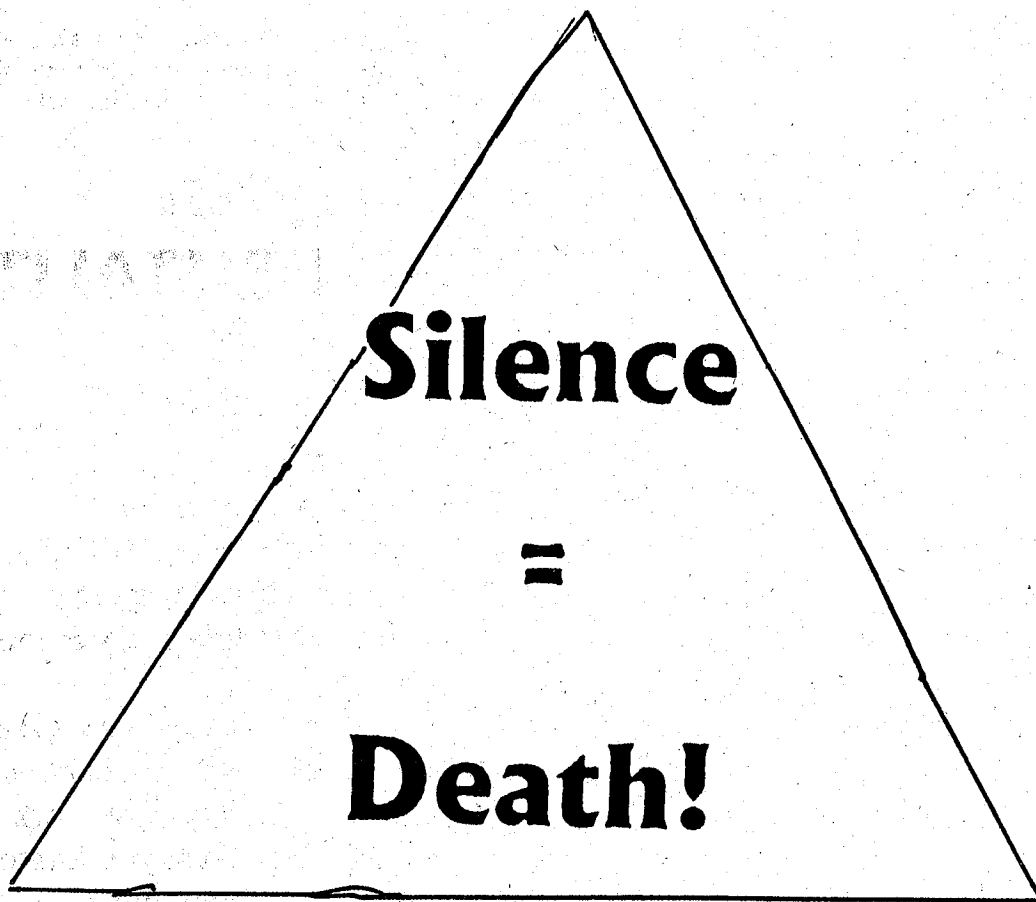
Since last year, Transexual Menace has been organizing vigils after the killing of trans-sexuals. In May 1995 they protested outside the Lincoln, Neb., courthouse where

the rapist and killer of a young woman named Teena Brandon, was coming to trial. The cross-dressing-victim had been living as a man known as Brandon Teena. TM has since marked the deaths of several other trans-sexual women who were killed by men they dated. The next will come Sept. 16 in Lawrence, Mass., where Deborah Forte, a transsexual, was killed.

Gender PAC, an advocacy group in D.C., is lobbying to have crimes against trans-gendered people included in the Hate Crimes Statistics Act, which lets the Justice Department track crimes based on race, religion, ethnicity and sexual orientation. These crimes don't fall under the sexual orientation category because transgender people are of different orientations; for example, some male-to-female transsexuals are lesbians, while others are straight.

Nancy Nangeroni, a 42-year-old computer designer educated at MIT, found she could not get a job if she volunteered that she was a male-to-female transsexual, but had no problem if she kept silent. Nangeroni is not only open about her identity but also runs *Gender Talk*, a radio talk show every Wednesday evening on WMBR-FM, a Boston station. "There's a widespread discontent with gender roles," she said, "and trans-genderism is trying to speak to that in a compassionate way, speaking only liberation and not doctrine." Nangeroni is helping arrange a courthouse vigil for a male-to-female transsexual slain in the Boston area.

Meanwhile, the violence in the streets is a mirror to the anti-gay attacks in the courts, the legislatures and by so-called Christian Right and Christian Identity pastors and politicians. An appeals court in Florida ruled against a lesbian mother in August in a custody case. Mary Ward was



trying to regain custody of her daughter from her ex-husband, a man who murdered his first wife. A judge had removed 12-year-old Cassey Ward from her mother a year ago, saying he wanted to give Cassey a chance to live in "a non-lesbian world." But the appeals court ruled he had based his decision on the child's best interests -- not Mary Ward's sexual orientation. Charlene Carres, a lawyer for Mary Ward, said she was disappointed in the ruling, and would appeal, probably to the state Supreme Court. While the G.O.P. convention in San Diego in August made great efforts to present itself as inclusive, it did not even bother to pretend not to be resolutely anti-gay. Clinton's "don't ask, don't tell" policy has led to a continuing witch-hunt against gays in the military.

Congress has approved a ban on federal recognition of same sex marital partners and an authorization for the states to violate the Constitutional requirement that each state validate the legal compacts of the others by refusing to recognize same sex marriages performed in other states. Simultaneously, the Senate rejected a proposal to ban job discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

It is this legal and political discrimination and dehumanization, heightened by the hateful rhetoric of the "Christian" Identity and radical right, that finds its fullest expression in the gay bashings and killings. Christian Identity "minister" Pete Peters has authored and widely circulated a pamphlet

called "The Death Penalty for Homosexuals: Prescribed in the Bible." Christian Reconstructionists like Rushdoony preach that Biblical law, such as the stoning of homosexuals, must become state policy.

Ex-Green Beret "Bo" Gritz has claimed that natural calamities and disasters, such as hurricanes and quakes, are closely correlated with Gay Pride marches and rallies, and are a sign of the displeasure of "Yahweh" that Christians are allowing such iniquities to continue. Defense of gay rights must be based on opposition to both the oppressive churches and the oppressive state.

Across the country, police violence and the criminalization of people of color, youth, women and the poor is a growing problem. As the economic system intensifies its exploitation to maintain corporate super-profits, the state is intensifying its repression not only of dissent, but of anyone who is oppressed or exploited. The time has come to fight back!

International Day of Action, October 22: **STOP POLICE ABUSE AND BRUTALITY**

by Keith McHenry and Melinda Stoddard, Food Not Bombs

Instead of protecting the public, police departments around the country are waging a campaign of violence and intimidation against the people in our communities. Five years ago, we watched the televised beating of Rodney King. Today we see Riverside sheriffs brutally beating Mexican immigrants, again caught on videotape. In cities across the country, police kill unarmed people every month, yet the officers are rarely disciplined.

In New Orleans and Philadelphia, police were caught fabricating evidence and filing false reports in thousands of cases. In New York recently, undercover cops shot an unarmed Black man 15 times. In another incident, an off duty New York City cop pulled his gun to protect his racist friend who was beating a Black youth into a coma. The Mark Fuhrman tapes gave us a glimpse of how widespread police murders, frame-ups and extortions are. INS (immigration) agents have been caught murdering and raping immigrants on the border between Mexico and the US.



BASTA YA!

This is too much! The US locks up a higher percentage of its people than any other country in the world. Mumia Abu Jamal faces execution: Geronimo Pratt, Leonard Peltier and others have spent decades in prison for their political activity.

Today over 35% of young Black men are caught up in the criminal justice system. Jails are being built instead of schools and hospitals, and politicians are promising to put more cops on the street and pass more fascist laws to put more people in jail. But who will protect us from the system?

Who will protect the people being routinely brutalized for being the "wrong color" or being homeless or poor? Who will protect the people being hunted by La Migra for the crime of trying to find work? Who will protect our youth who are jacked up, arrested and worse by cops for how they look or dress? Who will protect us from the abuse of power and political repression that has been sanctioned by the new Federal crime bill and "anti-terrorist" laws?

IT IS UP TO US TO STOP THE EPIDEMIC OF POLICE ABUSE AND VIOLENCE!

The fact that thousands took to the streets across the country after the Rodney King verdicts, in response to the Riverside (CA) beating, and in individual cases across the country, is a sign of

hope. But we must unite still stronger. This fall, as politicians push anti-crime propaganda and laws and anti-civil rights measures, we can strike a note of truth if we raise our voices loud enough and bring into the streets a message that cannot be ignored.

On October 22, we are calling on people of all races and backgrounds to stand up and say that we will no longer put up with this.

On October 22, we are calling for people across the country to wear black in protest and in memory of the many people that have been brutalized and murdered by the police! We are calling for people to participate in demonstrations, teach-ins, candlelight vigils, and other forms of protest across the country on this day, because we know that the brutality will continue unless we demand that it stop. Join us in making this day a powerful reality!

October 22 is the anniversary of the arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti. These two anarchist immigrants and labor organizers were framed on October, 22, 1925 for the murder of a payroll guard.

Even though the person who actually killed the guard confessed, and called for Sacco and Vanzetti's lives to be spared, the State of Massachusetts executed them anyway because of their political ideas. This is very similar to the current case of Mumia Abu Jamal.

We are encouraging each community to organize local events and protests.

For instance, San Francisco Food Not Bombs recently held a vigil every weekday morning outside the police headquarters when political prisoner Robert Norse Kahn was in jail for feeding the hungry.

The impact was inspiring. We were able to connect with people from every part of San Francisco who had any interaction with the police.

Quebec City Food Not Bombs has been attending protests against police repression almost every Saturday outside the parliament building.

These kind of actions might be something you could do in your community. Some groups are planning student walk outs, other communities are planning to hold marches and teach-ins.

For more information contact:

San Francisco Bay Area:
510-464-4563;

New York: 212-713-5084;

L.A.: 213-713-5084;

New Haven CT: 203-498-8185

STOP POLICE BRUTALITY, REPRESSION, AND THE CRIMINALIZATION OF A GENERATION!

Bad politics have had disastrous consequences for leftists and anti-fascists in Quebec. The World Antifascist League, a group that started when punks and skins responded in kind to a violent neo-nazi attack seven years ago, has proven itself to be a dangerous and irresponsible force within the anti-racist movement.

"ANTI-RACISTS" IN THE SERVICE OF THE STATE

by A Canadian Correspondent

On the night of June 23, the St-Jean Baptiste Day celebration, a crowd of 3,000 people exploded in anger in Quebec City. It was the largest riot in over thirty years. When the tally was almost done, the newspapers announce the cleanup will cost over two million dollars. Yet the real damage was not so much economic as political.

Thousands of people were willing and able to fight the police for hours on end. They smashed and looted stores, hotels and other tourist traps. They attacked and took over for several hours the National Assembly where the provincial government meets and looted its library, leaving several smoldering fires as the riot police moved in.

That this happened in the Brave New Quebec of Lucien Bouchard and the PQ (Parti Quebecois) means a lot more than \$2,000,000 in broken windows. Quebec society is the victim of an unholy consensus between sections of big business, trade union leaders, community groups and the State, as exemplified by the PQ's summit on social cuts which was held in Quebec City earlier this year. Leaders of the "left" agreed to accept massive cuts in social spending on condition that these were meted out over a two-year period.

A certain nationalist ideology facilitated this obscene display of class collaboration as it was repeated again and again that the belt-tightening was being forced on Quebec by the Federal Canadian government. For some it was an obvious truth that if only the Quebec nationalists had won last year's referendum on separation, Quebec would have become a social democratic beacon in a neo-liberal North America. Meanwhile, these same "left nationalists" have worked hard to

make sure that those most affected by the social spending cuts not engage in anything resembling a real left-wing fightback.

The list of groups left out of this consensus reflects those with the least to gain from the PQ's "soft" neo-liberalism. In the Montreal area, hospital closings have disproportionately targetted anglophone and immigrant communities. Seniors and welfare recipients are being hard-hit by a medical uninsurance scheme whereby they will be forced to pay

\$800 a year for medicine which has been paid for by the State up to now. Young adults are suffering high unemployment and cuts to student loans as well as welfare. Meanwhile many teens see their economic prospects shrinking alongside the welfare state. Chances are that they will soon swell the already high poverty rates throughout Quebec: 22% in Montreal, 20% in Trois Rivières and Sherbrooke, 19% in Quebec City.

Even as the marketplace is being freed from State regulation, real people are increasingly being constrained by the heavy hand of the law. This is especially true of immigrant youth, punks and street kids. There is a hysteria around teen-age violence and there is much talk of a gamut of new "anti-gang squads".

Prior to St-Jean Baptiste night, there'd been riots in Quebec City and Montreal. Both were sparked by police harrassment of teenagers, especially punks. In Montreal a hundred or so teenagers smashed up stores, but in Quebec City close to 1000 young people engaged in a running battle with police who used tear gas and pepper spray on everyone they could catch.

It was well known that something was going to happen June 23. There was no conspiracy, no plans, but tension was near the boiling point and it was an obvious time to let off steam. What no one expected was the degree of anger of the rioters and the support they would receive from the other St-Jean Baptiste revellers. The police were over-powered, and all the water cannons (acquired after the riot earlier this year), billy clubs and tear gas they could muster were unable to stop the inevitable.

As is their nature, the powers that be were quick to produce scape-goats. At first it was Quebec Police Chief Normand Bergeron who insisted that an unnamed "far-right group" had organized, instigated and led the riots. In his words, the order had been given to destroy Quebec City and masses of (would you believe fascist?) young people had obeyed. A local crime tabloid disagreed; according to Photo Police, it was the CIA that had orchestrated the riots as part of a U.S. plot to ruin Quebec's tourism industry!

But the most damaging and irresponsible accusations were to come from Alain Dufour, president

of the World Antifascist League, and Peter Vorias (a WAL researcher), who held a press conference to announce that the police were on the wrong track. According to Dufour and Vorias, it was *anarchists* who were responsible for the St-Jean Baptiste riot!

Dufour stated the riot was "a deliberate act of young anarchists who reject authority. They knew exactly what they were doing." (1) He went on to specify that the pillage of Quebec City was organized by an anarchist collective called Demanarchie." (2)

Demanarchie is a three year old anarchist newspaper, mainly distributed by street corner sales in Montreal and Quebec City. Its most recent issue had expressed "unconditional support" for the people who had participated in the riots earlier that year, and had been critical of certain Montreal punks who had issued a public apology to store-owners. While Demanarchie members have been active in organizing against the extreme right as well as the government budget cutbacks, they have also been outspoken critics of the nationalist and reformist left that chooses to work with the PQ.

Dufour's statements were quickly seized upon by the police. The next day 20 cops with reporters in tow raided the home of Food Not Bombs members in Quebec City. FNB is an international anarchist anti-poverty organization that distributes free vegetarian food to homeless people; in Quebec City it shares a p.o. box with that city's Demanarchie chapter.

While the FNB activists had been five hours away during the Quebec City riot, and so couldn't be charged with that, the police managed to find a few dried up marijuana plants. Three FNB members were arrested and charged with growing pot. The Crown Prosecutor requested that bail be

denied, as, in his own words "they distribute literature that incite people to commit criminal acts... this has nothing to do with freedom of speech. I demand that they be held by reason of their lifestyle." (3) The judge agreed, and added that in his opinion the marijuana plants were part of a plot "to dope the population to better be able to control them." (4)

The three activists pleaded guilty to the drug charges; two of them received one month sentences and the third received a three month sentence.

A day after the raid on FNB, Nicholas Lefevre-Legault, a Demanarchie activist, was arrested for selling the paper at the popular youth hangout where both riots started. He was held for 24 hours, interrogated about his political activities at 3 in the morning, and released without any charges. The police made copies of his keys, searched his apartment, and seized his computer, Demanarchie's mailing list and correspondence.

Two days later, police raided the home of Charles Rainville, a member of Demanarchie's Montreal chapter. As with Lefevre-Legault, his computer and political literature was seized. He was not arrested and no charges have been laid.

Following this unexpected crackdown, communists and anarchists in Montreal came together and formed an ad hoc committee against political repression. A rally was organized, and an open letter drafted. A press conference condemning the World Antifascist League was also held (see below).

Two or three hundred people attended the rally, and Demanarchie was openly sold, which seems to indicate that the police are not quite ready to arrest everyone they can connect to the newspaper. A boisterous speak-out followed, where young people from

Montreal's Berri Square spoke out against the police harassment that they live with every day. As if to prove this point, the cops moved in and arrested a Demanarchie member after this demonstration, on trumped up charges of violating his parole conditions (he was one of several people arrested at last year's antifascist demonstration against Human Life International).

When over a hundred people marched to the cop-shop where he was being held, and staged an impromptu sit in, the police caved in and released him!

Although no more Demanarchie members have been arrested or charged, the situation remains scary. The government is investigating the riots, and Lefevre-Legault has been visited by Quebec Provincial Police officers wanting to know who else is a member of Demanarchie. They been asking for information on a long list of left-wing activists.

The World Antifascist League (WAL, or LAM, as its French acronym is known) was founded in 1989 when punks and skinheads spontaneously resisted a neo-nazi attack outside a show where the anarchist band Berurier Noir was playing. Despite such promising origins, WAL never had any fixed political analysis beyond "nazis and racists are bad", and even the "racists" part of that equation was always interpreted selectively, as the group would later prove to be highly vigilant when it came to anti-French bigots but at times incredibly lax when it came to Quebec nationalist bigots.

This lack of an analysis of what role fascism plays and what kind of organization will be able to stop it facilitated the creation of a top-down hierarchy within the organization. Alain Dufour was the league's president, and his own personal analysis had a fatal influence on the group's positive potential.

Dufour believed that the far-left and the far-right had a lot in common. He also felt street violence and confrontation were not good ways to combat the right. Under his leadership the WAL jettisoned its street base, and disassociated itself from those who continued to physically confront fascists. Pretty soon the group landed the first of many government grants.

The WAL jealously guarded "its" antifascist terrain. When a rival group, the Canadian Centre against Racism and Prejudice, was formed, it sparked an all-out turf-war. The fanatical sectarianism, which had both sides claiming that the others were "objectively" the same as the nazis, kept Montreal's anti-fascist movement divided and confused. The one event that both groups participated in, a march against nazis that took place in 1990, serves as a good example of the WAL's approach.

While around 100 people showed up at this march, forty or fifty nazis also showed up, giving the Hitler salute and shouting racist slogans. Embarrassingly enough, the police were needed to protect the anti-racists. Then Michel Larocque, the leader of Longitude 74 (the Montreal chapter of the Ku Klux Klan) was spotted amongst the anti-racists taking photographs. The Klansman was jumped and his film confiscated by anti-racists. Larocque pressed charges against Martin Theriault of the CCRP and left-wing activist Andre Query, and the WAL started acting very peculiar. Offering absolutely no support to the accused, the league released a press statement disassociating itself from "all forms of violence."

While Query and Theriault were acquitted, their legal costs topped \$5000. A support committee was formed (with no help from the WAL) which sent out letters

soliciting funds from anti-racist organizations. At that point, the WAL seems to have actively attempted to sabotage fund-raising efforts. Nic Pouliot, the WAL's research director, telephoned Daniel Levitas, formerly of the Center for Democratic Renewal, and told him that, as the trial was over, he shouldn't bother contributing to the support group. Then, three days prior to an August 14 benefit concert for the support group (a benefit that had been announced in June), the WAL called a public meeting against racism for the same date.(5)

The first indication that WAL was more than just a sectarian faction came in 1992. Just as Spike Lee's movie Malcolm X was coming out, WAL released a research document entitled "The Malcolm X Movement amongst young Blacks." (6) While the document made distinctions between the anti-Semitism of the Nation of Islam and the anti-racist Afrocentrism of local Black community groups like A.K.A.X., the question on many people's minds was, what business was it of theirs? While many among us do believe that the NOI does qualify as a far-right group, the document was essentially an exploration of Black Nationalist sentiment. The document's introduction explained that the group had received many calls from white people claiming to have been stabbed or beaten up by Blacks wearing Malcolm X regalia (baseball caps, T-shirts, etc.), and the WAL intended to examine this as another version of racism.(7) In the entire document, no State repression of Blacks in the US or Canada was mentioned, despite the fact that resources on these subjects were made available to WAL. In short, the "anti-fascists" had produced an overview of the radical Black milieu from a criminological point of view.

That same year, in an interview with a pacifist magazine, Dufour spelled out WAL's perspective on the Montreal police. When asked his opinion of the cops, Dufour answered that there were problems, but there were also good cops; he even gave the example of a "good cop" who wanted to join the WAL! When asked if there was systematic discrimination by police, Dufour said no, adding that "there are progressive police officers who give an opportunity for us to sensitize people in that milieu. The WAL is there to sensitize them and even to help train them if they want." (8)

In 1993 the situation continued to clarify itself. A local newspaper called the Montreal Mirror reported allegations that WAL research-director Nicholas Pouliot had tipped off the cops that an anti-racist activist was planning on going to a neo-nazi gathering to beat some of them up (a highly unlikely plan). While Pouliot denied that he had done any such thing, he explained that "I would do it if I knew of a case of direct confrontation. We don't exactly have time to track left-wing groups but if I had the manpower and resources I would." Referring to the issue of "political correctness" on university campuses, he claimed that "It's frightening and I consider it to be the same as fascism." (9)

Following these remarks Pouliot apparently left the WAL, but the group's anti-leftism continued unabated. In a letter to another community newspaper, WAL explained that when "communists choose to support organizations such as the Shining Path (Peru) and use the same methods such as terrorism, we will take a stand." (10) Shortly after, Radio-Canada reported that WAL had shared information with both CSIS and the Quebec Provincial Police's intelligence unit. (11)

While these revelations led many independent anti-racists to distance themselves from the league, it was still assumed at the time that these meetings were about nazis. The WAL explicitly denied sharing information on the left with the State. However, in a recent rant by Pouliot, the former research director admitted his work at WAL "included working with police to stop a number of criminal activities. Although most of it was dealing with radical right wing groups, once in a while we dealt with those peace loving rock throwing anarchists (hahahaha)." (12)

The summer of 1993 saw a large scale mobilization of the Montreal left against a concert organized by the neo-Nazi Heritage Front in the suburb of Vaudreuil and against the presence of members of the French National Front at a government conference in September. WAL activists not only steered clear of this grassroots mobilization, but went so far as to publicly denounce it as being "controlled by Marxists." (13) At the demonstration against the National Front, where over 4000 people took to the streets (the largest anti-fascist demonstration in recent Montreal history), Pouliot was spotted taking photos of the anti-racist protesters. (14)

If the demo against the National Front was to mark an unprecedented success in anti-fascist organizing in Montreal, local radicals were to outdo themselves two years later. That's when a Coalition of many of the same groups united with local feminist organizations and organized a spectacular 5000-strong demonstration against the far-right Catholic organization Human Life International. Again, the WAL was completely absent.

The WAL remained practically non-existent until 1995. Then, following a series of racist statements from Quebec nationalist

leaders during the 1995 referendum campaign, the WAL came out of hiding. While condemning the more odious expressions of racism on the part of the nationalists, the league also made sure to criticize as "racist" those who took these statements to be real threats. It should be noted that Dufour himself has worked for the PQ, being the press attache of Raymond Perreault during the 1994 provincial elections (Perreault is now Minister of Public Security).

Alain Dufour and the World Antifascist League are usually not the kind of people who need to be exposed to radicals across North America. Yet their role in setting up Demanarchie for the police makes it obvious that all antifascists must be alerted as to their true nature. "Progressive" organizations that work with the police, and send the real radicals to jail, or underground, are a threat to all left-wing activists. Anti-fascist organizations must burn their bridges with the WAL and its ilk, and develop a strategy to fight the right that steers well clear of the State and its allies.

(1) La Presse 25-6-96

(2) Le Soleil 26-6-96

(3) Le Soleil 6-7-96

(4) Le Soleil 28-6-96

(5) "The Nature of the World Anti-Fascist League", Research Group on the Far-Right and Its Allies, Montreal 1996.

(6) "Malcolm X: le mouvement chez les jeunes noirs", LAM 1992

(7) Ibid., page 3.

(8) "Pas de tolerance pour l'intolerance", Option Paix etc 1992

(9) Quoted in "La LAM en eaux troubles", Socialisme Maintenant juin-juillet 1993; see also Nick Pouliot's letter to the Montreal Mirror, September 23rd, 1993.

(10) Letter to Voir newspaper, May 23rd, 1993.

(11) "La LAM en eaux troubles", loc cit.

(12) Letter from Nic Pouliot, July 3rd 1996.

(13) "LAM Snubs Anti-Racist Coalition", Montreal Mirror September 9th, 1993.

(14) "Antifascism in Canada", page 34, Antifa Forum.

Spanish Political Prisoners Under Repressive Conditions

by Edwin Cortes, Puerto Rican Prisoner of War

On January 19, 1996 the political prisoners from the Communist Party of Spain (reconstituted) [PCE (r)] and the October 1st Anti-fascist Revolutionary Group (GRAPO), initiated a hunger strike demanding regroupment and the immediate release of terminally ill prisoners and those who have already served their sentences.

The political prisoners of these two organizations were grouped together - the men in Soria and the women in Carabanchel - before November 30, 1989, when the repressive Spanish government transferred all the political prisoners to prisons far away from their homes. Since the arbitrary transfers, the prisoners have been held in isolation units, incommunicado for 23 hours a day, denied correspondence and reading material; visits have been a hardship on their families; etc. We should note that the Puerto Rican political prisoners have been subjected to these same conditions in the gulags of America.

On November 30, 1989 the political prisoners initiated a hunger strike for 435 days demanding regroupment. The hunger strike caused the death of Jose Manuel Sevillano Martin and irreversible mental and health problems to others. The present hunger strike demands the release of these terminally ill prisoners such as Juan Manuel Perez Hernandez, who has an irreversible senility and Milagros Caballero Carbonell who suffers from a neurologic sickness. There are many other examples.

In accordance with Article 15 of the Spanish Constitution: "all Spanish nationals have the right to life and physical and moral integrity and in no case could they be submitted to torture nor inhumane or degrading sentences or treatment."

The PCE(r) and GRAPO political prisoners facing death at the hands of their jailers should be immediately released. The other PCE(r) and GRAPO political prisoners who are struggling for land for the peasants; justice for the workers, miners and students; and, for social change in the repressive and fascist state of Spain should be immediately regrouped into one or two prisons (one for men and another for women).

I appeal to all progressive and peace loving people to denounce the horrendous treatment of PCE(r) and GRAPO political prisoners and to demand the release of those terminally ill prisoners. Your swift action is important in order to prevent another loss of life and more terminally ill prisoners.

Join the campaign! "Inside or Outside - Resistance"

Call or write to: the Spanish Embassy, 2700 15th Street, Washington, D.C 20009 USA

REUNIFICATION!

**Translated by: Edwin Cortes,
Puerto Rican Prisoner of War**

The political prisoners of the Communist Party of Spain (reconstituted) [PCE(r)] and the October 1st Anti-Fascist Resistance Group (GRAPO) initiated a hunger strike on January 19, 1996, although some of them began the hunger strike ten days before that date.

The deteriorating health of the majority of these imprisoned comrades, many of whom suffer from serious illnesses, led the Party to advise against the extremes of a hunger strike. To undertake this battle with their delicate health implies a tremendous sacrifice, thus exhausting beforehand other possibilities of struggle - such as diverse partial hunger strikes - until reaching the limit through which the only possibility would have been the unleashing of this generalized and frontal battle.

Through this hunger strike the political prisoners demand reunification and the immediate freedom of the gravely ill prisoners and those who have completed their sentences. Their struggle for these elementary demands is clear evidence that the politics of imprisonment make a mockery of the most basic human rights, except when applied to the assassins of the Felipe Gonzalez group and other "great personalities." (Ed. note -- Gonzales is the former Socialist Prime Minister who has responsibility for for recently exposed death squad activities by police in a "dirty war" against the Spanish left, as well for a regime riddled with corruption.)

The political prisoners are imprisoned in reinforced concrete

boxes, submitted to all sorts of humiliations and oppression, isolated 100 to 1000 kilometers from their families and friends, incommunicado ... All this "with the objective of eradicating their ideas, forcing repentance and confrontation with their organizations. It has been demonstrated time after time that the so-called "reinsertion" has resulted in a boisterous failure for the government. But the government refuses to recognize this and dedicates itself with a fury in its ultimate attempt of "repentance" and extermination, reaffirming its nazi-fascist methods.

This prolonged situation has forced the imprisoned comrades to carry out numerous denunciations, protests and hunger strikes among which stand out the November, 1989 hunger strike that lasted 435 days. The government submitted the PCE(r) and GRAPO political prisoners to torture with forced feeding, spread-eagled to the bed with chains which prolonged their agony and eventually led to the death of comrade JOSE MANUEL SEVILLANO and irreversible illnesses to many others.

There have been dozens of assassinations of revolutionaries, tortures and dispersion, the garbage contacts and the precarious employment, "beatings," savage reconversions the beatings and detention of workers who struggle in defense of the right to work and thousandss of other examples that respond to the one politic carried out by the 'Felipista' mafia who have been given the task to defend at all costs -- even death -- the interest of monopoly and financial capital. Towards this end they have

reinforced all the instruments of repression that permit the control and exploitation of the popular classes.

The political prisoners form part of the vanguard in the struggle against the exploitation and oppression of its people. They have, been repressed in prison for combating the permanence of fascism and for being the most conscious and advanced persons of the RESISTANCE which the masses have offered against the true terrorism of the state, the only terrorism which has existed in the Spanish state. At this moment, with the initiation of the hunger strike, the political prisoners convert themselves as the focal point against the Felipista misdeeds. Their cause is the worker's cause.

The politics of incarceration is another link in the chain of the state's dirty war and continued crimes. Can anyone believe that while revolutionaries were assassinated and tortured in the streets, it would have been enough to have the political prisoners held in a niche? Without a doubt, the communist and independentists incarcerated in the prisons of the state, in the bloody hands of the Felipista mafia have been the propitiatory victims upon which state terrorism has unleashed its fury, with greater cruelty.

Meanwhile, no denunciations, not even a word from the collaborators of the dirty war, GAL, the Anguita reformist and other domesticated "leftists." They are soaked to their eyebrows in gravy or grease begging for the crumbs of the system, sharing the crisis and fascist plans.

Considering this situation, we affirm that those who don't make this struggle their own nor support the political prisoners' demands towards total amnesty, cannot be considered even minimally democratic.

This is the moment to change one's mind and support the political prisoners, uniting inside and outside the prison all the democratic, revolutionary and anti-fascist forces, denouncing and combating the politics of extermination which Felipe has imposed upon the prisoners, and winning the stated demands.

We call upon the working people and all the democratic organizations to collaborate in this struggle with the Party and the Association of Family and Friends of the Political Prisoners or to initiate any type of action to end the prison abuses.

INSIDE AND OUTSIDE: RESISTANCE!

**Towards the unification of all
PCE(r) and GRAPO Political
Prisoners!**

**Towards the re-unification by
nationality of all independentist
prisoners!**

**Immediate freedom for all
insubmissive prisoners!**

**Freedom for all!
Freedom for Social and Political
Prisoners with grave illnesses!
Freedom for all prisoners with
completed sentences!**

Communist Party of Spain
(reconstituted)
January 23, 1996

My Greetings to You!

I am a 42-year-old mother of three children and live in the Netherlands. I have also lived several places in this world and I feel all people as one human race. My contact with prisoners in different states of the U.S.A. has taught me that people who live in better circumstances than they, must do something to let people know that there are no monsters in prisons, but our neighbours, family-members and/or friends. I mean, we only can stop something if we talk open and honest about it. So I write, and believe that words

can change a lot. I mean, they are the best "weapons" the human race has, to fight for peace, freedom and better lives for everybody.

Please send me a copy if you publish it.

With a kind smile,

Marion Wollersheim
The Netherlands
Europe, August 1996

CARLOS

Hi, That's me, Carlos, 24,
For six years a prisoner in Texas
They brought me to this place
To become a better person

I did my best, tried to learn,
Seeing that as a door to freedom,
But all I got for doing my best
is Level Two in the new system

THAT MEANS:
THEY TOOK OUR RADIOS,
TYPEWRITERS,
MIRRORS,
CUPS...
AND --
LOOK AT MY FEET:
EVEN OUR SHOES.

So, I am sitting here
Quite a while
Without a radio,
Typewriter,
Cup,
or shoes,
But I don't get to be a better person
I ONLY GOT COLD FEET!

But I hear Emiliano Zapata
Who said:
**IT IS BETTER TO DIE ON
OUR FEET
-- THAN TO LIVE ON OUR
KNEES!"**

Telling me
To say to all our brothers:

"Also without shoes are we
still on our feet!"

MARION WOLLERSHEIM
(written for my friend in Texas!)

"PUSH" - A Novel by Sapphire

reviewed by Sandra Pianin

Some readers earnestly seek out book reviews and follow the writer's opinion on whether or not to read a book. Other readers follow their own "sixth sense" and make their own choices. I have followed both methods with some success.

I decided to read Sapphire's new novel, PUSH after a barrage of criticism began on our local Pacifica station, WBAI. I am acquainted with Sapphire's performance poetry. I had also participated in a poetry workshop co-facilitated by her and sponsored by the New York Public Library last summer.

The character and main voice of this novel is Claireece Precious Jones, a teen-ager growing up in Harlem in the 1990's. Claireece wants to be known as Precious. Precious becomes pregnant with her second child. Precious was just 12 years old when this happened the first time she became pregnant with her father's child. She has sat in public school classrooms for her whole life and has not learned to read or write.

This is the world that Precious lives every day of her life. A world that lets her know she is an outcast because she is tall and fat and has bold African features. She lives with her mother in a Harlem apartment dominated by food. Particularly food that is cheap and offers a quick "fix." Precious is told that an alternative school exists. She goes there and meets the teacher and doors to the rest of her life open up.

PUSH is a story of hope and reality. Precious meets young women who are suffering the abuses of American society in the 90's. These young women are Latina and African American. Some of them are heterosexual and others are gay. It is with their support and affection that she grows to be a care-giver to her young son, Abdul. The interfacing she does with the teacher of the class, Ms. Rain, changes her life in ways only Precious can express. The reader grows, too, reading Precious' Poems and journal writing.

When we are thinking that everything that might happen to Precious has occurred, we learn that she is HIV positive. To Precious,

this is a death sentence. She wonders why she has had to experience such horrible things. This is the final straw and she begins a period of self pity. She is asked to reconcile with her mother, but realizes her mother still blames her for "stealing her man" -- the father who incested Precious, and was in turn the father of her two children.

There is more to PUSH than Precious Jones' story. If there is still anything redeeming in life in the 1990's, it is the power of education. Sapphire reaffirms this over and over in PUSH.

I still believe in the old saying that you will know where you are going if you know where you came from. Sapphire has related a story of young women learning to deal with life, harsh and brutal. Yet, a life brimming with hope when we join hands and learn from each other. This is an important first novel from Sapphire. It speaks with an honest and clear voice, very important in this day and age when lies are spoken as truth by those in positions of authority.

Dramatic changes are taking place in the global system of empire. as a result, the social position and composition of "white" society is changing, as is the political stance of the capitalist parties in all the imperialist countries. This three-sided symposium considers the implications of these developments.

Time of Decision for White America

by David Stock

Remember when one average person's pay could support a whole family? When a college education meant you could get a good job? When you could look forward to a decent retirement at 65 or less? When you could afford a real vacation every year? Well, if you can remember these things, or if your parents can, then you're probably "white" like me. Most people in the world never had any of these things, including millions of African Americans, Native Americans and Latinos here in the U.S.A.

For a long time, "white" Americans were the envied ones, the privileged, the pampered. Still are, in most ways. Sure, there have always been class divisions within White America, but on a world scale, White America has been in a class by itself.

But something's changing, isn't it? Something just isn't the same. White America may still get treated better than most other populations. White skin still brings privileges. But it's not so absolute any more. These multinational conglomerates aren't playing by the old rules. All that stuff we were promised in the New Deal? It's off. For one thing, we're being pushed into competition with other labor forces in the world. Not just factory workers, either, but engineers and nurses and technicians. Some of our bosses are Japanese and German and Mexican and English. We take orders from non-"white" generals and judges. Our kids get lousier education and fewer social services than in other parts of the industrialized world. Our health care is going down the toilet. Our parks are falling apart. Job security? Don't make me laugh. Pollution is drifting and flowing into our neighborhoods. Our streets are unsafe.

see "DECISION," p. 43

Old British Socialism and the "new" Labour Party

by Leo Whitaker

There's an old argument on the Left that to deny the Right victory, we must be "flexible," court public opinion of the moment, and choose the slightly more left of the two major parties in the US, that is, the Democrats. The same argument has been advanced for the Labour Party in Great Britain: support the lesser of the two evils. But in both cases, look how far progressives have retreated, from the New Deal in the US and the Beveridge Plan in Britain, the Labour Party blueprint for the welfare state. We kept giving ground in both countries, until all that remains of the old agenda is nostalgic rhetoric with less and less substance.

As a delegate to the California Democratic state convention last spring, I recall listening to a featured speaker, invited by party officials from the right of center Democratic Leadership Council. He made a point of knocking the party's New Deal heritage. Clinton warned delegates to empathize with white males who may be disadvantaged by affirmative action. There was no address by a trade unionist or by anyone from the liberal grass-roots club movement, the CDC. It used to be that politicians in the United States would run in terror from the "S" word (socialism); now it's the "L" word (liberal). Are things different in Britain? Hardly.

This morning I picked up a copy of *The Guardian*, a paper with a fine reputation. The headline read:

THE END OF THE WELFARE STATE

see "Labour," p. 43

Imperialism in a State of Permanent Crisis

by Michael Novick

It's undeniable that the old social contract that cemented the empire has become increasingly frayed. This is providing opportunities for both revolutionary and reactionary forces to organize and mobilize, but so far the reactionaries seem to have the upper hand. The right has ballooned to fill a tremendous vacuum on the left, caused by defeatism, demoralization and denial. The left clings to old illusions and outworn economism just at the moment when the times cry out for fresh thinking and action.

In the past five years, corporate profits have reached record highs, having increased by 50%, almost 10% a year; while the economy has 'grown' by 2.5% annually. The other 7.5% is quite obviously coming out of not just the sweat but the blood and lives of exploited and oppressed people, not only in the U.S. but throughout the global empire.

By all rights, such blatant exploitation and immiseration -- the driving down of working people into destitution and misery, the destruction of the most minimal social support mechanisms and public amenities, the reintroduction of slavery on a massive scale through "work-fare" and prison labor -- should have generated a tidal wave of resistance, an outcry of rage at the injustice and inhumanity that would have made the '60s look like a Sunday school picnic. Instead, civil rights, labor, feminist, environmental and gay leaders are dutifully signing on for "four more years" while figuratively holding their noses. They better squeeze their fingers pretty tight, because this shit stinks!

A few brave "radicals" are lining up to support Ralph Nader's white bread consumerism, or to truck up

a "labor party" on the galloping ghost of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. But neither Rader nor Labor has anything to say about abortion, gay rights, the militarization of the border, or the criminalization of Black youth, and neither has a program to deal with the domestic or international war machine and counter-insurgency apparatus.

How did we get into this sorry state -- and more important, how do we get out of it?

First of all is the durability and persistence of white supremacy, as a fundamental material basis for the growth of reaction in the middle class (the Christian Coalition) as well as for what Marx termed the "bourgeoisification" of the proletariat, rank class collaboration and identification with the oppressor among "white" working people. Even with stagnant and falling wages, disintegration of families under the pressures of economic survival, grim economic prospects for even college educated youth, and the prospect of the bankruptcy of the social security retirement system, lower middle class and working "whites" have looked around the country and the world -- at the genocidal destruction of Black communities and mass imprisonment of Black youth; at the debt peonage of Latin America and Africa and child labor in Asia; at the new sweatshops of immigrant women -- and, rather than rising up to say, No More! -- have decided that they know which side their bread is buttered on.

At the same time, neo-colonialism has had deadly effects on the struggles of oppressed people, not just "Black faces in high places" like Tom Bradley or Colin Powell, but the cultivation of a substantial sector of well-educated and well-to-do people of color whose economic well-being is no longer connected to the mass of their people but to the corporate power structure and the state.

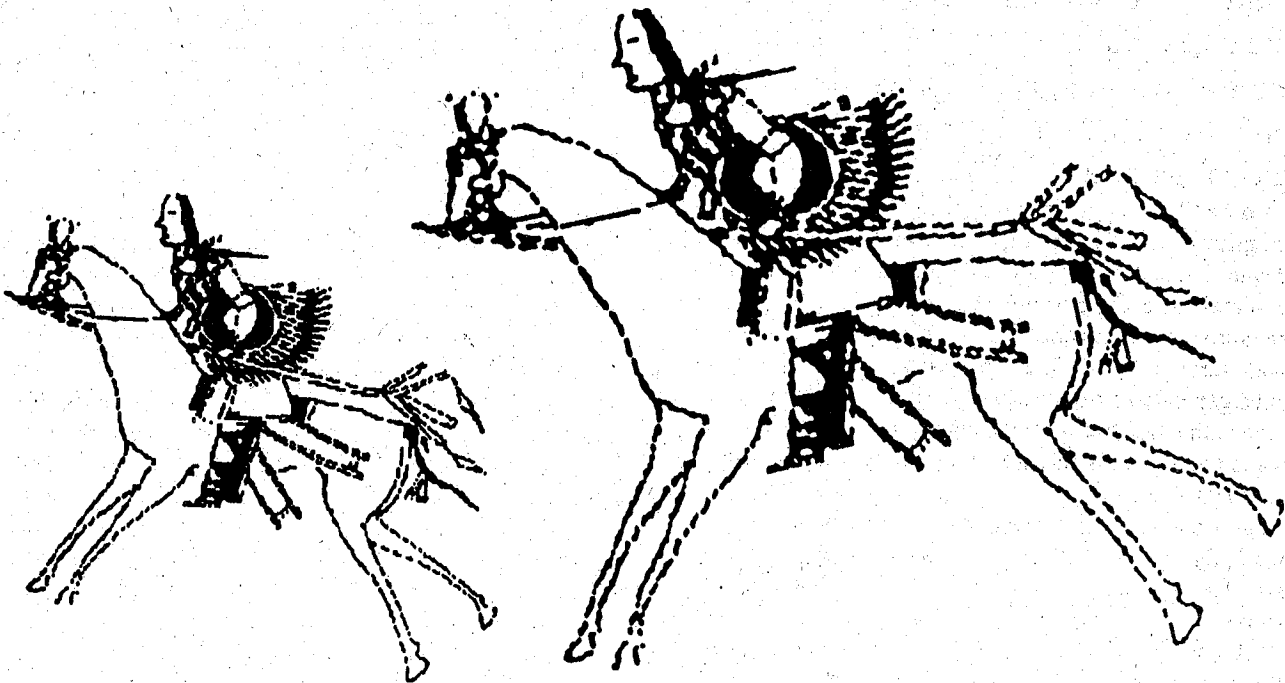
If there is to be a fresh left today, a liberatory movement worthy of the name, it must come predominantly from the young, who can see the failings of this system with clearer eyes and still react with passion and desire to overcome and to do better. But such a fresh left must be informed by the hard lessons of previous failures, and preserve the authentic gains of previous hard-won victories. Such victories are primarily in the social sphere, outside the purview of the state -- in the development of solidarity relations; in the growth of a consciousness of the need for liberation and the intolerability of oppression in any form; in the understanding of the necessity for anti-authoritarian organizations and relations; in the recognition of the simultaneity of the struggle for women's liberation and gay liberation with any authentically revolutionary economic and political transformation.

We need to understand that there is a dialectic between privilege and oppression; that for "white" people, the oppression and exploitation we experience and abhor, grows from the soil that sustains and is sustained by the privileges we find so hard to let go. Unless we understand this, and how it operates in the "white" working class -- as well as among the oppressed and exploited in general -- we will never break the grip of reformism or the hold of the Democratic Party. It's not enough to proclaim that there's no difference between the the two parties of capital, or to call them the Republicrats. There is a difference, and capital needs them both as mass parties to sustain its rule. There is a difference between a party whose mass activist base is the Christian Coalition, and one whose mass activist base is public sector employees and "minorities." We need to convince significant numbers that accepting that difference and collaborating with the system on its basis is ultimately genocidal *and* suicidal.

Bill Clinton is no "disappointment." He did exactly what he promised four years ago. He passed NAFTA and GATT, he added 100,000 cops on the streets, he ended welfare as we know it -- and *only* a Democrat could have done it! On Clinton's watch, the border has been militarized to an unprecedented extent. During his administration, the prison and jail population has reached a record high (even as crime rates have fallen) not only in absolute numbers but at per capita rates double what they were a little over a decade ago.

Under his prodding, previously unacceptable inroads have been made into civil liberties won, not under the New Deal, but the Magna Charta! And *only* a Democrat could have done it.

The time is now for a fundamental break, not only with the two-party system, but with the system of imperialism and white supremacy. The anti-imperialist movement of 100 years ago, which opposed the U.S. conquest of Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Phillipines, based their opposition on the idea that an overseas empire was incompatible with a continental republic, and so of course they were unsuccessful, because they failed to see that the continental republic was already an empire, thus allowing imperialism to get a new lease on life. The women's movement of the '60s had a slogan "This time we're going all the way!" But like every other progressive social movement in this country that did not consciously break with imperialism and white supremacy, it failed to reach its goal. Much of the greying "New Left" did not abandon their ideals -- but they sold out anyway, without abandoning them. That's the point. Non-profit corporations are still corporations; business unions are still businesses. These cannot be the social base for an authentic left. "America Needs a Raise" is a slogan of this dead past of collaboration with imperialism, throttling the upsurge of new, youthful, transformative struggle. The people in this empire called America need a fresh start, and a new birth of freedom.



"LABOUR," continued:

The accompanying article began: "Britain's two main political parties yesterday declared an end to the welfare state as it has been known for 50 years, foreshadowing a new and looser compact between the individual and the enabling government."

The *Guardian* continued: "As the Conservatives published plans for people to use private insurance and pensions to pay for care in old age, Labour set out the first details of a new welfare state in which private insurance would play a growing role."

[Old age pensioners who could look to nursing home care in extreme old age as part of their social security benefits now will have to pony up \$15,000 lump sum payment for private insurance. This is prohibitively expensive for most people over here.]

"Chris Smith, Labour's shadow social security secretary said; 'Surely it is time to get away from the sterile battle lines of public and private and, instead, to look at how the two can best work together in the interest of the citizen -- and in the interests of all citizens, at that.'"

"Contemptuously dismissing 'the old statist left,' according to the *Guardian*, Mr. Smith said: 'The principle must surely be that the state acts as guarantor of all provision, the regulator of all provision -- and the administrator of some.'"

The *Guardian* article went on to state, "The coincidence of the Labour and Tory pronouncements marks a decisive and irreversible shift in the role of the welfare state."

In 1942 William Beveridge, later Lord Beveridge, issued a report which was to be the Labour Party's cradle to the grave social insurance program for every British citizen; hailed around the world by democratic socialists as a program to emulate in their countries. It stood for the certainty of state protection through public social insurance at all times of vulnerability - particularly unemployment, ill-health and old age.

What is this old socialist to do? I could hope Labour is lying. Promising anything to get elected and then ditching all this conservative pap after they are in. But unfortunately, I don't think that is the case. New Labour and Tony Blair reminds me of Bill Clinton and the centrist Democratic Leadership Council. You know what they say you find in the middle of the road. Yellow stripes and dead armadillos.

Over here a new party is being formed called Socialist Labour. It is made up of unreconstructed Labourites who want to advance the traditional Labour Party agenda, rather than the Blair party that is dumping the "S" word. Standby for updates.

"DECISION," continued

This is truly a time of decision for White America. Because the world is shifting beneath our feet, and if we make the wrong move, or no move at all, our children and our children's children are going to pay the price for a long time to come.

But how are we going to figure out what to do if we don't even know who we are? If we're still hooked on those white populist illusions?

White America was encouraged, was built up and protected by powerful economic and political forces for many generations because it played a key role in American super-profitability. "White" squatters were the mass shock troops in the conquest and occupation of the continent. "White" overseers, nightriders and labor aristocrats made the full exploitation of Africans possible. A loyal "white" home base fought for and cheered on U.S. imperialism as "our" capitalists colonized and sucked the lifeblood out of peoples all over the world.

White America's role evolved with American capitalism. When territorial conquest and slavery began to give ground to large-scale industry in the nineteenth century, the category of "whiteness" went through some major identity crises. First came the upheavals of the Civil War and Reconstruction, when the slave plantation system was replaced with Jim Crow and new types of labor stratification. Then there were the disruptions caused by waves of European immigrants flowing into the factories. These workers were not part of the original "white" settler deal--and in general they were not considered "white," either. At first the capitalists used these people as part of the real proletariat, oppressing them for their labor. This, like Reconstruction before it, was a period of massive class struggle -- turbulent times, when the role of "modernized" White America was up for grabs. The potential for working class unity between Europeans and Africans and other oppressed nationalities reached an all-time high, and was reflected in the emergence of combative socialist and communist organizations and some large-scale multinational labor struggles.

It took years and, eventually, the genius of Franklin Roosevelt and his corporate backers to recast White America into a shape suitable for a rising, 20th century imperialist power. In a process that coopted and blunted the struggles of European immigrants, millions of them were incorporated into "white" society and separated from their potential non-"white" allies. This was accomplished though state toleration of "white" trade unionism, large-scale "Americanization" campaigns and a web of social services including the

>over

famous "social safety net" of social security, workers' compensation, welfare and unemployment insurance.

This new "white" status was cemented into place during and after World War II, when masses of "white" troops returned to the prospect of home ownership, college education and union-wage jobs.

The New Deal was exactly that -- a deal for European Americans, lifting most of them out of the proletariat in return for their enthusiastic participation in the rise of American imperialism and consumer society. At the expense, of course, of colonized people across the ocean or on the other side of the railroad tracks....

This is the familiar White America most of us of a certain age remember. The one that chattered smugly about "freedom" and "democracy" and bought all those houses and color TVs while the heel of U.S. imperialism bore down on the necks of colonized peoples inside and outside this country. The one that put "America -- Love It Or Leave It" and "Kick Their Ass And Take Their Gas" bumper stickers on its shiny cars while the death squads raped and tortured in Latin America and death rained from the skies on Vietnamese and Iraqi civilians; while Black and Puerto Rican and Native American radicals were gunned down in the street and in their beds; while bloody CIA military coups and imperialist wars of oppression killed more people than Hitler ever dreamed of.

No, we were not all that bad as individuals. But even "white" resisters, "white" leftists, were usually part of the New Deal. We fought to "improve" it, to "broaden" it, but how often did we challenge its basic assumptions? Where did we think the goodies were coming from? Was it really that "white" people worked harder, struggled harder or were more militant so we won things from the capitalists that others couldn't? Did we really imagine that our rapacious parasitic use of the world's resources could possibly be extended to all the oppressed, who were subsidizing our lifestyle? Or was our "threat" of unity with the oppressed only a bargaining chip to make sure the capitalists kept the New Deal in place?

Well, it's getting to be kind of academic now. The New Deal is on its way out. Imperialism has metastasized to a whole new level, and White America is becoming increasingly vulnerable. Joining everybody else, in other words. World corporate players use rapidly shifting populations of workers and consumers with less and less regard for borders or long-term social contracts. They're learning to exploit on new terrain -- post-modern terrain of neo-colonial warlords and capital mobility. They still use "white" supremacy as a tactic, but it's just one arrow in their quiver now.

Think about this, for starters. Black labor used to be absolutely central to U.S. capitalism. Today Black

labor is being marginalized by globalization. So why should the imperialists keep shoveling out good money to maintain the kind of white supremacist labor caste system represented by New Deal unionism? How humiliatingly small "white" labor looks without sponsorship from the state, without Black labor's back to ride!

Nope, it turns out that the "white"-dominated labor movement and the "white" left as a whole, don't have a clue. In fact, the militias and other far-right "white nationalists" have a lot more on the ball. That's right. Despicable as their politics are, they are more in touch with reality than the "white" left.

They are clear on how NAFTA, GATT, immigration and the whole process of globalization is endangering their way of life, because they are more realistic about how "white" privilege actually works. They know that White America is in trouble, which the left is in denial about. And they know who they are. They want "white" domination back, straight up. They advocate returning to a time when "white" people had their own state and their own labor aristocracy and could socially dominate others at will; when African Americans and other oppressed peoples had no legal rights and posed no competition.

There's no reverse button for history, of course. White America will never be what it was in its "good old days." But it has to be admitted that at least these "white" nationalists have a chance to be players in our inevitably chaotic future. Even as the old, familiar U.S. deconstructs, we may see "white" warlords controlling some territory, able to cut some deals for their people within the New World Order, like the Bosnian Serbs do.

So how about the rest of us? How about those of us who repudiate our roots in genocide and reject the patriarchy and homophobia of White America? Those of us who aspire to stand with the oppressed in opposition to imperialism? Plus those of us who are just drifting along, hoping for the best? Will we keep clinging to our liberal illusions about some universal New Deal, where everyone on the globe will live like White America in its heyday? (As if the earth could possibly bear the weight of that.) Will we cling to our mythology until we find ourselves -- unprepared, unorganized victims -- in the middle of some horrendous social chaos, pushed around by forces we don't even understand, let alone control?

White America is a specialized population, maintained in privilege, that's starting to outlive its usefulness to imperialism. That, sisters and brothers, is our reality, and must be our starting point as we look for anti-imperialist alternatives, as we enter our own time of decision. -- *David Stock is a dock-worker and member of the editorial staff of Turning the Tide.*

On July 28, 1996, 22 Nigerians, in Germany to seek asylum, went into a Lutheran Church to ask for church sanctuary since in most cases their requests for political asylum are rejected, and the Nigerians were about to be transported to Bonn to the Nigerian Embassy for deportation back to Nigeria. As such a deportation is a death sentence for these political refugees, they went into the church as one safe place to be free from persecution by the German authorities. This interview was conducted by NEWSLETTER: The International Communication Project; ed. Bernd Schneider, printed in Hannover, August 1996, published by Foundation for International Communication (FIC).

Stop the Deportations!

Nigerians on Hunger Strike in Germany

Interview with Joachim Opara, who entered on a hunger strike on August 1, 1996 in the refuge of the church of the Gerhard-Uhlhorn Community in Linden, Germany. This interview was conducted July 31, less than 24 hours before the hunger strike began. Opara is one of the Nigerians who are to be deported. He spoke with Robert Mitchell.

NEWSLETTER: Could you provide us with a brief summary of the events which have led to a situation in which you feel it necessary to sacrifice your lives in a hunger strike?

Joachim Opara: Back in Nigeria, I was active in student politics. The political struggles didn't begin here in Germany. I've always held a belief in emancipation of the people. I've always held the belief that the people have a right to universal freedom. And I've always abhorred any injustice, in any way it manifests itself. Even as a youth I had a conflict with those forces who stand in opposition to the fulfilment of human rights. So, the activities in which we were engaged in Nigeria were anti-governmental, in the sense that the ruling government in Nigeria is not a democratically elected government. We are fighting against an illegal dictatorship in Nigeria.

Sometimes, engaging in activities of oppositional politics leads to a situation whereby the danger to your life forces you to flee your country and to seek political asylum outside of your homeland. We fled to Germany because we once strongly believed that the society and institutions here were humane. But what we've experienced here is a different thing altogether. As I said, our struggles did not begin here in Germany. I am not here in pursuit of fun or pleasure. We are certainly not in Germany for economic reasons. If we were, we wouldn't have gone to the drastic measure of asking the protection of the Evangelical church from the German government. We haven't been able to convince the German government that Nigeria is deep in a crisis of political persecutions and human rights violations.

The pressures by the dictatorial regime in Nigeria has got to the point where no open political opposition to the government exists any longer. Any opposition politics still existing in Nigeria has been forced to go underground. And the government security forces will continue to threaten them. Therefore, the only effective opposition to the Abacha regime has to be organized by those outside of Nigeria.

Right now the German government is attempting to forcibly deport 10 Nigerians. What then will be the fate of other Nigerians if the German government succeeds in their maneuvers? These 10 are all members of the Nigerian Association of Niedersachsen, an effective political organization in opposition to the brutal Abacha regime. Any thinking person, who has read and made themselves

aware of the situation currently existing in Nigeria, must understand what will happen if these 10 Nigerians are allowed to be forcibly repatriated. They will either be declared to have gone "missing", or perhaps they will just be killed outright. The other possibility is that they will be tortured to the point where they lose their sense of humanity. To the point where their sanity will be lost and they will become as animals.

The 10 Nigerians have come to me as their co-ordinator and spokesman, and if I do not make their case public as quickly as possible these people will surely lose their lives. This would mean that my struggle as a human rights activist will have been totally defeated. Therefore, we have been left with no possibilities, other than to seek refuge here in the house of God.

NL: Obviously, your appeals for asylum in Germany were based on your experiences of political persecutions and human rights violations by the Abacha government in Nigeria. The German government is denying these asylum appeals on the grounds that Nigerians are economic refugees. Could you please clarify for us, the dangers faced by the Nigerians who are being forcibly deported?

J.O.: Yes, that is a very interesting question. You can see for yourself that if we were economic refugees, do you think we would have been able to mobilize ourselves to this point? If we are to be considered as economic refugees then we have no business entering into politics. I personally have had several opportunities to work illegally here in Germany, but I have refused these opportunities. I have my reasons for this. I hold strongly to my beliefs. If I were here for economic reasons I certainly would not have come to Germany. For one, the people and institutions here have been hostile to us. They have not been very friendly.

Nigeria is a country filled with opportunities to become rich. It is a fact that I would have made far more money in Nigeria than I could ever earn in this country. If I begin a job as a personal assistant to a government minister in Nigeria, overnight I could become a millionaire. But I did not seek that.

Making a fortune has never been my primary objective. In Nigeria, all that you have to do is acquiesce to the government and sing praises to the Abacha government and you are guaranteed to become rich. For every contract awarded in Nigeria, as special assistant you receive at least 2-5% of that contract. The money awarded in these contract involved runs into millions of dollars. Already, I could have been a millionaire several times over. So, the issue of calling us economic refugees is completely absurd.

Currently, there are over 80,000 Germans working in Nigeria. They work in the oil industry. They work in the steel industry. They work in the mineral, gold and precious stones excavating industries. Nigeria is not a country which is poor in natural resources. Many of these Germans are working illegally in Nigeria, without legal documents and papers. What are these Germans doing in our country? We are aware that this situation continues. And the German authorities have the nerve to call us economic refugees! It is these Germans, who are working illegally in Africa, who are the economic refugees and not we, who have faced political persecutions and who have been forced to flee here in pursuit of protection from political injustice.

So, the dangers we face on being forcibly deported to Nigeria is instant death. There are no trials or judgements. We will just be killed outright. After the plane repatriating us lands, we will be put into chains, driven away and then executed. When they attempt to put on the face of legitimacy, then they will claim that we attempted to escape and had to be shot in the back. Once someone is dead, then they are dead.

NL: At the seminar (held recently in Hanover, Germany and featuring Prof. Julius Ihonvere as guest

speaker, which was concerned with political persecutions and human rights abuses being committed in Nigeria), it was suggested by a member of the audience that the German government has paid unscrupulous Nigerians to testify against their own people. This was in concerns to tribal origins, basically the continued political persecution by the regime against members of the Ogoni tribe. First, how many of you currently facing deportation are Ogonis? And secondly, what has been your experience in testimony provided by the German authorities against petitions for political asylum made specifically by Ogoni tribe members who face even greater retributions by the Abacha government?

J.O.: Yes, that is a very important question. When we examine the Ogoni issue we have to look at it from two angles: There are those Ogoni who are willing to work for the Abacha government and there are those Ogoni who continue to oppose the Abacha government. All of them are active in the movement for the survival of the Ogoni people. So, if someone claims that this person is not a member of the Ogoni tribe, they must be very certain. And if you claim that this person is a member of the Ogoni tribe, you must also be very careful. Those who work in the government under Mosop (the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People), have every right to claim that they are Mosop and that they are Ogonis. There is no legitimate way to deny them that fact. Therefore, the issue is not one of identifying who is who. The issue at stake is one of a collective struggle. The Ogoni question is representative of a larger problem existing today in Nigeria, and that is the question of suffering, persecution and deprivation.

The Ogoni cannot fight for their case alone. The Ibos tried it and they failed. The Ogonis are trying to do what the Ibos tried to do in 1967. So, the issue is not one of tribal origins, but has to be seen in the context of the suffering for the whole of the Nigerian people and the fact that we are living under a military dictatorship. When we are able to overthrow the Abacha regime, the Ogoni will have the right to claim their tribal lands.

NL: If the German decision to forcibly deport you leads you to lay down your lives in a hunger strike, what do you hope might be accomplished through your protests?

J.O.: Yes, if the German government attempts to forcibly remove us, as they have said that they will do, then I have informed them that this hunger strike is then inevitable. Of course everyone understands what happens to somebody who is on hunger strike. I am prepared to lay down my life and die for what I believe. Maybe this will not help other Nigerians in their appeals for asylum, but at least the impression that many in the world hold of Germany as a nationalistic and racist state will have been confirmed. I'm not sure whether the German government understands what it is doing. They have a heavy stigma attached to their reputation because of Germany's past. Isn't it about time that they attempted to clear this stigma? It bears repeating, that the money that the German government claims that they will have to pay out to care for political refugees who seek asylum within their borders cannot be compared to the amount of money being earned by Germans working illegally in Nigeria. 80% of the contracts held by foreign firms operating in Nigeria go to Germans. This is on record.

NL: How can the international community best put pressure on the Abacha government to institutionalize democratic reforms, and end their tortuous reign of power?

J.O.: Yesterday, I had a telephone interview with the BBC in London. I made it clear to them that what we are currently witnessing here in Germany is different than what the government here professes to be. I am sure that by the time that this information is broadcast world-wide, there will be further awareness within the world community as to the truth of the matter. Our contacts in the US are working incredibly hard for a humane resolution to this crisis. We are in the process of internationalizing this issue. Communications from the US, Canada, England and South Africa are now coming into Germany expressing the world's dissatisfaction with the actions being taken by the German government. This will hopefully be enough to force the German authorities to reconsider.

NL: How much has the role of Shell Oil Corporation and other corporate interests, which are currently operating in Nigeria, contributed to the political persecutions and the human rights violations occurring in Nigeria?

J.O.: This is glaring problem in Nigeria today. The Shell Oil Corporation is to be held directly responsible for the genocide which is occurring in Ogoni land. Over 2000 Ogonis have been murdered to date. Over 1000 Ogonis have been forced to seek refuge in Benin in constant fear because Benin is very dependent on the Nigerian government. Abacha can amass troops very quickly in order to threaten those Ogonis who have been forced to flee to Benin. Shell Oil Corporation is only interested in their economic hold on the Nigerian state. Shell Oil knows that

oil is the bedrock of the Nigerian economy.

Therefore, if the western governments impose oil sanctions on Nigeria, then the military dictatorship in Nigeria will have no other option than to pack up their bags and leave. If the western governments would impose oil sanctions for just 3 months, then they will see that the Abacha government will freeze. The military would lose its grip on power. Shell Oil Corporation has contributed greatly to the environmental damage and the genocide occurring in Nigeria today. Shell Oil can be held directly responsible for the death of Kenneth Saro-Wiwa. At this moment there is a military occupation of Ogoni land. As a journalist, you dare not to enter into Ogoni land. It is a no-go area for members of the free press.

NL: We thank you for this interview and wish the for a humane resolution to this crisis.

These are excerpts from a much longer interview. For the full text please write to:

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