

Journal of Anti-Racist Activism, Research & Education

TURNING THE TIDE

Volume 11 Number 2 Summer 1998 \$3.95/newsstands

**INSIDE THIS ISSUE: YEAR 2000 & CHRISTIAN FASCISM*ALOHA MARCH ON D.C.*
PRISONS & THE GLOBAL ECONOMY*GAY NAZIS*COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE***



**Independence for Puerto Rico Now!
Free All Puerto Rican
P.O.W.'s and Political Prisoners!**

**People Against Racist Terror*PO Box 1055*Culver City CA 90232
Tel: 310-288-5003 ISSN 1082-6491 E-mail: <part2001@usa.net>**

Turning The Tide

Journal of Anti-Racist Activism, Research & Education

Volume 11, Number 2 Summer 1998

Editor & Publisher: Michael Novick ISSN 1082-6491

People Against Racist Terror (PART) P.O. Box 1055 Culver City CA 90232

310-288-5003 E-mail: <part2001@usa.net>

Table of Contents

Build a National Civic Commission for Community Control of the Police	1
by Michael Novick	
The Prison Industrial Complex and the Global Economy	4
by Political Prisoner Linda Evans and Eve Goldberg	
US AIDS Death Halved — What About Prisoners?	9
by Rose Maddow	
100 Years is Too Much! Independence for Puerto Rico!	11
Aloha March on Washington for Hawai'ian Sovereignty	14
America's Secret Police: FBI COINTELPRO in the 1990's	16
by Noelle Hanrahan	
PART's Perspective: De-Nuclearize, De-Militarize, De-Colonize!	18
Gay Men in the National Socialist Movement	19
by David Cheater	
For More Information, Write the Political Prisoner Nearest You (poster)	22
by Meaghan O'Rourke, Resistant Strains	
Dealing with Sexism and Building Safe Movements	24
by Michael Reinsborough	
Mandatory School Uniform Policies: Laying the Groundwork for Fascism	26
by Christian Smith	
Defending the Native Liberation Movement: The Gustafsen Lake Crisis	29
by Free Wolverine Committee	
Bury My Heart At Chenalhó: A Neo-Liberal Massacre	32
by Gloria Patterson Mendez	
The Fight Against Racism and the Anarchist Analysis	35
by Otto Nomous	
Women in Prison	38
by Meg Hanson Scales	
Canadian Animal Rights Activists Targets of International Attack	39
by Gina Lynn	
Combating the Convergence of Christian Identity and the Christian Right: Year 2000	41
Poetry Corner: jeff buckley jeff buckley	43
by Thom Holcomb	
What Can I Do to Fight Racism?	44
Don't Delay! Subscribe Today	45

A Call for Pro-Active Unity: Build a National Civic Commission for Community Control of Police

by Michael Novick

The one category of serious crime which hasn't registered a steep decline in the past few years is crime by the police. Although there is no single reliable source of statistics, it's clear that the use of excessive and deadly force, as well as police corruption and misconduct, are on the increase.

Beyond the question of misconduct, however, police *conduct* in the current period is a serious political and social issue. Police forces around the country are pursuing strategies of militarization and "aggressive policing."

But in the face of this serious problem, existing community responses have tended to be reactive, piece-meal and/or localized. We tend to be hamstrung, as our rulers are not, by the fragmented nature of policing in the U.S. federal state, with more than 16,000 separate public police agencies, numerous private security forces, an alphabet soup of federal police forces, and hundreds of state and county jail and prison systems. Progressive forces are active around police and criminal justice issues in many scores of venues, but we toil often unaware of each other's efforts, victories, and hard-won lessons. There is no regularly published national voice for these campaigns that can provide evidence and analysis to arm the activists.

There are many different social sectors and political forces in motion around holding the police accountable, yet differences in political orientation or focus seem to keep us from linking up. Copwatch groups operate independently of civilian review board campaigns. Justice

committees for particular victims of police abuse may focus their organizing on one or another particular police practice, such as pepper spray, "hog-tying," or inadequate training to handle mentally disturbed individuals. There is little formal contact between people doing work around prisons and death penalty issues and those dealing with police brutality on the streets. Other activists operate out of a classical "mobilization" model, aimed at drawing the largest number of individuals to a rally, without necessarily sinking deep and permanent roots in communities in struggle, or allowing for a deep, thoroughgoing and empowering political discussion among the ranks of those being mobilized.

What is needed is a way to cohere all these efforts so that they can reinforce each other, surpass their own limitations, and help create a movement stronger and broader than simply the sum of its parts.

PART is calling on activists around the country to help build a

Elite "reform" efforts are part of the problem. Community oriented policing, for instance, was described by one advocate as the domestic equivalent of psychological operations in the military, a method to control the thinking of a population or the enemy.

The militarization and centralization of policing, within the U.S. federal system, is part of a global economic and political trend towards the undemocratic concentration of power and reliance on repression to maintain social control in a period of intensifying economic exploitation.

National Civic Commission for Community Control of the Police. Such a pro-active, coordinated effort to make police accountability one of the top issues on the national political agenda could simultaneously build on and strengthen direct action, grass-roots activism at a local level. The key elements of the proposal are:

* *Constitute a broad national commission embracing the varying tendencies of current efforts to deal with the problem.* Its mandate would be to put police abuse, brutality and corruption at the top of the political agenda in this country. This commission would include police accountability and citizen review efforts such as those represented in the National Coalition on Police Accountability; national mobilizations such as the October 22nd Coalition to Stop Police Brutality, Repression and the Criminalization of a Generation; local justice committees dealing with particular atrocities by the police; and Cop-Watch programs around the country.

* *Establish self-organized grass-roots policy advocacy groups in various cities.* These bodies can watchdog local police operations and policies, and develop a platform of community-defined policies on policing, such as the demilitarization of the police. Eventually, they could lead campaigns to institutionalize elected community control boards. The elected boards, parallel to the local elected community school boards which control public education, would not simply review occasional complaints against or abuses by the police — they would set policies and hold departments accountable for carrying them out, hire top administrators, and supervise operations. The right to vote for members of these boards should be much broader than the current limits on suffrage in the U.S. All residents over the age of 16 could vote, without regard to previous incarceration or immigration status.

* *Develop and massively distribute materials on the rights of young people (particularly of*

color), who are the most likely targets or victims of police abuse. Through work on organizing the local policy groups, young people could be directly involved in both producing and circulating these materials.

*** Promote cooperation among existing Cop-Watch street-level community vigilance projects** against police brutality, and develop new ones, by sharing "best practices" to produce a detailed organizers' manual.

*** Collect and disseminate timely research and exposures of the problem, as well as analysis of its roots and prospects for its solution.** This information can be published in a mass-audience periodical produced and distributed by the network of activists associated with the commission, as well as through "new media" such as the Internet/World Wide Web.

This proposal is already garnering interest from some of the most prominent groups and individuals dealing with this issue locally and nationally. Moving ahead to concretely establish such a commission would lay a minimum foundation for producing a serious countervailing force able to answer untrammelled abuses of authority by police forces. It can set the groundwork for self-realized, and eventually institutionalized, community processes of democratic self-governance that can counter the hollowing out of existing local representative mechanisms under the pressures of economic globalization and privatization.

The question of who watches the watchmen is as old as the Roman Empire. But in the U.S. today, it has become a particularly urgent question. Following the 1991 beating of Rodney King by LAPD officers (witnessed by almost two dozen officers from several jurisdictions and videotaped by a civilian eyewitness), progressive forces in Los Angeles and nationally missed a key opportunity. The chance slipped away then to galvanize widespread outrage into a sustained movement

that could have radically transformed the relationship between the police and the people they are supposed to serve, in the direction of community empowerment. More recently, the ugly torture last year of Haitian immigrant Abner Louima at the hands of the NYPD renewed a sense of urgency about the issue of police abuse. But in the absence of a strong, unified national initiative from progressive forces, the chance may again be lost to channel and focus outrage and disillusion into a pro-active movement that can put forward policy directives for the police, and expose and challenge the relations of oppression and exploitation in our society.

Clearly, policing is carried out in a context set by broader social, economic and political imperatives, including economic privatization, concentration and globalization. In the first Clinton campaign, and in the ongoing Clinton presidency, "100,000 new street cops" was the necessary corollary to "the end of welfare as we know it," militarization of the border with Mexico, and "free trade." But our movements cannot content themselves with challenging only the broader realities. There is a need for direct social and political struggle over the nature and accountability of policing itself.

Gaining democratic control over the police is as vital as civilian control of the military. In PART's anti-colonial analysis, this reflects the reality that police act as occupying forces and internal border guards in a system of domestic colonialism. It is this unacknowledged reality of white supremacy and empire which produces the inevitable injustices, as well as the intolerable pressures and us-against-them mentality of the police themselves. We must struggle to end the racial injustices and inequities inherent in the current system of policing in order to build concrete solidarity.

Yet this requires a pro-active movement that can do more than respond to particular atrocities or injustices. Only pro-active

organizing can move towards transforming the thinking of people who have been organized by the state and media to demand ever more draconian measures for policing and incarceration. This is the lesson of previous successes as well as failures in our movement. Van Jones of the Ella Baker Center in San Francisco, an award-winning human rights activist on police abuse issues, a leading community fighter against abuse by the SFPD, recently published a sharp self-criticism of the police accountability movement in his

city, which forced the Police Commission to fire killer cop Mark Andaya, yet failed to build the infrastructure or pro-active program to sustain and build that movement to grapple with the totality of policing. This problem is not unique to San Francisco. The movement that arose in Los Angeles after the beating of Rodney King became mired in the demand to replace the life-tenured police chief, and surrendered its ability to act independently in favor of the policy proposals of the elite Christopher Commission.



The National Civic Commission for Community Control of the Police is an attempt to address that on-going weakness.

The goals of the National Civic Commission for Community Control of the Police are:

* to establish avenues and methods of communication among existing activists against police abuse and for police accountability, and to train new organizers;

* to promote a coherent multi-faceted strategy that ties together existing efforts, including grassroots, street-level vigilance that can prevent abuse; demands and litigation for justice in particular cases of abuse; campaigns for effective community overview and review of police operations; demonstrative mobilizations against police brutality; and education directed to young people about laws and regulations governing police conduct;

* to intensify public awareness of the scope of repressive and militarized policing, as well as an understanding of the roots of the problem in current socio-economic relations, and an interest in shaping sound and well-founded popular policy initiatives for policing strategies and practices that meet community needs rather than following the dictates of corporate interests and political elites.

independent special prosecutors who can specialize in cases of police abuse. The recent refusal of N.Y. Mayor Giuliani's task force to recommend such a measure has served to once again push this issue into public discourse. It is an unfortunate reality that we can anticipate new incidents of police brutality and unwarranted, often deadly, force that will continue to demand such a remedy.

No project of this scope or ambition can succeed without the close collaboration of the many activists and organizations already dealing with aspects of this issue around the country and even internationally. This summer, on behalf of PART, I am traveling to cities around the country to promote this effort with police accountability activists, and to try to establish a concrete common work plan that could bring this effort to fruition on a national level.

The National Civic Commission for Community Control of Police can make a vital contribution towards reinvigorating democratic forces in our society in the face of the repressive tendencies and "lock 'em up and throw away the key" mentality currently governing policing. It can promote community empowerment as an antidote to the intimidation that systematic police brutality, abuse and disrespect are meant to engender.

If you want to join this effort, and support PART's other attempt to build anti-imperialist unity, please get in touch. Sign up for the e-mail distribution list of police abuse incidents, and send us reports. at <part2001@usa.net>. Subscribe to "Turning the Tide: Journal of Anti-Racist Activism, Research and Education;" four quarterly issues are \$15 to individuals or \$25 institutional, payable to PART, PO Box 1055, Culver City CA 90232; or call us at 310-288-5003.

Consult the itinerary of cities where Michael Novick will be speaking and meeting with activists over the course of July and August. and get in touch!

A key aspect of this proposal, holding it together as a national project, is a publishing effort that will include a nationally circulated print periodical focused on community control of police. The commission will collate and publicize information in a timely fashion about incidents of deadly force, brutality, custody deaths, improper chases, corruption and misconduct, and racism, sexism and sexual harassment within police and corrections departments. The research effort could include using a toll-free number and internet access, circulating independent community incident report forms, and a volunteer network of internet researchers and reporters who will exchange information from locations around the country. This network will simultaneously serve as a medium of direct communication among police abuse and accountability activists in different cities and states.

The Commission's publishing effort should also serve to draw together the "best practices" of activists around the U.S. and to publicize them as a foundation for further work. Possibilities include an organizer's manual for informed community activism around policy alternatives for policing, with models for a community assembly and eventually an elected civic board to control the police, and a Cop-watch handbook, based on the lessons of existing community vigilance patrols, that could assist in establishment new groups of this nature.

Finally, the Commission should seek to initiate campaigns at the local, state and national level for



THE PRISON INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX & THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

by Eve Goldberg and Linda Evans

Over 1.8 million people are currently behind bars in the US. This represents the highest per capita incarceration rate in the history of the world. In 1995 alone, 150 new U.S. prisons were built and filled.

This monumental commitment to lock up a sizeable percentage of the population is an integral part of the

PRISONS ARE BIG BUSINESS

Like the military-industrial complex, the prison-industrial complex is an interweaving of private business and government interests. Its twofold purpose is profit and social control. Its public rationale is the fight against crime.

Not so long ago, communism was "the enemy" and communists were demonized as a way of justifying gargantuan military expenditures. Now, fear of crime and the demonization of criminals serve a similar ideological purpose: to justify the use of tax dollars for the repression and incarceration of a growing percentage of our population. The omnipresent media blitz about serial killers, missing children, and "random violence" feeds our fear. In reality, however, most of the "criminals" we lock up are poor people who commit nonviolent crimes out of economic need. Violence occurs in less than 14% of all reported crime, and injuries occur in just 3%. In California, the top three charges for those entering prison are: possession of a controlled substance, possession of a controlled substance for sale, and robbery. Violent crimes like murder, rape, manslaughter and kidnaping don't even make the top ten.

Like fear of communism during the Cold War, fear of crime is a great sales tool for a dubious product. As with the building and maintenance of weapons and

armies, the building and maintenance of prisons are big business. Investment houses, construction companies, architects, and support services such as food, medical, transportation and furniture, all stand to profit by prison expansion. A burgeoning "specialty item" industry sells fencing, handcuffs, drug detectors, protective vests, and other security devices to prisons.

As the Cold War winds down and the Crime War heats up, defense industry giants like Westinghouse are re-tooling and lobbying Washington for their share of the domestic law enforcement market. "Night Enforcer" goggles used in the Gulf War, electronic "Hot Wire" fencing ("so hot NATO chose it for high-risk installations"), and other equipment once used by the military, are now being marketed to the criminal justice system.

Communication companies like AT&T, Sprint, and MCI are getting into the act as well — gouging prisoners with exorbitant rates for phone calls, often six times the normal long distance charge. Smaller firms like Correctional Communications Corp., dedicated solely to the prison phone business, provide computerized prison phone systems— fully equipped for systematic surveillance. They win government contracts by offering to kick back some of the profits to the government agency awarding the contract. These companies are

globalization of capital. Several strands converge — the end of the Cold War, changing relations between labor and capital on an international scale, domestic economic decline, racism, the U.S. role as policeman of the world, and growth of the international drug economy — creating a booming prison/industrial complex. And the prison/industrial complex is rapidly becoming an essential component of the U.S. economy.

reaping huge profits at the expense of prisoners and their families; prisoners are often effectively cut off from communication due to the excessive cost of phone calls.

One of the fastest growing sectors of the prison/industrial complex is private corrections companies. Investment firm Smith Barney is a part owner of a prison in Florida. American Express and General Electric have invested in private prison construction in Oklahoma and Tennessee. Correctional Corporation Of America, one of the largest private prison owners, already operates internationally, with 48 facilities in 11 states, Puerto Rico, the United Kingdom, and Australia. Under contract by government to run jails and prisons, and paid a fixed sum per prisoner, the profit motive mandates that these firms operate as cheaply and efficiently as possible. This means lower wages for staff, no unions, and fewer services for prisoners. Private contracts also mean less public scrutiny. Prison owners are raking in billions by cutting corners which harm prisoners. Substandard diets, extreme overcrowding, and abuses by poorly trained personnel have all been documented and can be expected in these institutions which are unabashedly about making money.

Prisons are also a leading rural growth industry. With traditional agriculture being pushed aside by agribusiness, many rural American

communities are facing hard times. Economically depressed areas are falling over each other to secure a prison facility of their own. Prisons are seen as a source of jobs — in construction, local vendors and prison staff— as well as a source of tax revenues. An average prison has a staff of several hundred employees and an annual payroll of several million dollars.

Like any industry, the prison economy needs raw materials. In this case the raw materials are prisoners. The prison/industrial complex can grow only if more and more people are incarcerated for longer periods — even if crime rates drop. "Three Strikes" and mandatory minimums (harsh, fixed sentences without parole) are two examples of the legal superstructure quickly being put in place to guarantee that the prison population will grow and grow and grow.

LABOR AND THE FLIGHT OF CAPITAL

The growth of the prison/industrial complex is inextricably tied to the fortunes of labor. Ever since the onset of the Reagan-Bush years in 1980, workers in the US have been under siege. Aggressive union busting, corporate deregulation, and especially the flight of capital in search of cheaper labor markets, have been crucial factors in the downward plight of American workers.

One wave of capital flight occurred in the 1970's. Manufacturing such as textiles in the Northeast moved south to South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama — non-union states where wages were low. During the 1980's, many more industries (steel, auto, etc.) closed up shop — moving on to Mexico, Brazil, or Taiwan where wages were a mere fraction of those in the U.S., and environmental, health and safety standards were much lower, allowing businesses to be "more competitive" -- that is, more profitable at the expense of both the areas abandoned and the areas entered. Most seriously hurt by these plant closures and layoffs were African-Americans and other semiskilled workers in urban centers who lost their decent paying industrial jobs.

Into the gaping economic hole left by the exodus of jobs from U.S. cities has rushed another economy: the drug economy.

THE WAR ON DRUGS

The "War on Drugs," launched by President Reagan in the mid-eighties, has been fought on interlocking international and domestic fronts.

At the international level, the war on drugs has been both a cynical cover-up of U.S. government involvement in the drug trade, as well as justification for U.S. military intervention and control in the Third World.

Over the last 50 years, the primary avowed goal of U.S. foreign policy (and the military/industrial complex) has been "to fight communism" (and protect corporate interests). To this end, the U.S. government has, with regularity, formed strategic alliances with drug dealers throughout the world. At the conclusion of World War II, the OSS (precursor to the CIA) allied itself with heroin traders on the docks of Marseille in an effort to wrest power away from communist dock workers. During the Vietnam war, the CIA aided the heroin-producing Hmong tribesmen in the Golden Triangle area. In return for

their cooperation with the U.S. government's war against the Vietnamese NLF and other national liberation forces, the CIA flew local heroin out of Southeast Asia and into America. It's no accident that heroin addiction in the U.S. rose exponentially in the 1960's.

Nor is it an accident that cocaine began to proliferate in the US during the 1980's. Central America is the strategic midpoint for air travel between Colombia and the US. The Contra War against Sandinista Nicaragua, as well as the war against the national liberation forces in El Salvador, was largely about control of this critical area. When Congress cut off financial support for the Contras, Oliver North and Bill Casey found other ways to fund the Contra re-supply operations at Reagan and Bush's behest, in part through drug dealing. Planes loaded with arms for the Contras took-off from the southern US, offloaded their weapons on private landing strips in Honduras, then loaded up with cocaine for the return trip.

A 1996 expose by Gary Webb in the San Jose *Mercury News* documented CIA involvement in a Nicaraguan drug ring which poured thousands of kilos of cocaine into L.A.'s African-American neighborhoods in the 1980's. Drug boss Danilo Blandon, now an informant for the DEA, acknowledged under oath the drugs-for-weapons deals with the CIA-sponsored Contras. US military presence in Central and Latin America has not stopped drug traffic. But it has influenced aspects of the drug trade, and is a powerful force of social control in the region. US military intervention — whether in propping up dictators or squashing peasant uprisings — now operates under cover of the righteous "war against drugs and narco-terrorism," while the real narco-terrorists and narco-dictators operate with US protection.

In Mexico, for example, US military aid supposedly earmarked for the drug war is being used to arm Mexican troops in the

southern part of the country. The drug trade, however (production, transfer, and distribution points) is all in the north. The drug war money is being used primarily to fight against the Zapatista rebels in the southern state of Chiapas who are demanding land reform and economic policy changes which are diametrically opposed to the transnational corporate agenda.

In the Colombian jungles of Cartagena de Chaira, coca has become the only viable commercial crop. In 1996, 30,000 farmers blocked roads and airstrips to prevent crop spraying from aircraft. The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), one of the oldest guerrilla organizations in Latin America, held 60 government soldiers hostage for nine months demanding that the military leave the jungle, that social services be increased, and that alternative crops be made available to farmers. And given the notorious involvement of Colombia's highest officials with the powerful drug cartels, it is not surprising that most US "drug war" military aid actually goes to fighting the guerrillas.

One result of the international war on drugs has been the internationalization of the US prison population. For the most part, it's the low level 'mules' carrying drugs into this country who are captured and incarcerated in ever-increasing numbers. At least 25% of inmates in the federal prison system today will be subject to deportation when their sentences are completed.

Here at home, the war on drugs has been a war on poor people. Particularly poor, urban, African-American men and women. It's well documented that police enforcement of the new, harsh drug laws have been focused on low-level dealers in communities of color. Arrests of African-Americans have been about five times higher than arrests of whites, although whites and African-Americans use drugs at about the same rate. And, African-Americans have been imprisoned in numbers even more

disproportionate than their relative arrest rates. It is estimated that in 1994, on any given day, one out of every 128 US adults was incarcerated, while one out of every 17 African-American adult males was incarcerated.

The differential in sentencing for powder and crack cocaine is one glaring example of institutionalized racism. About 90% of crack arrests are of African-Americans, while 75% of powder cocaine arrests are of whites. Under federal law, it takes only five grams of crack cocaine to trigger a five-year mandatory minimum sentence. But it takes 500 grams of powder cocaine — 100 times as much — to trigger this same sentence. This flagrant injustice was highlighted by a 1996 nationwide federal prison rebellion when Congress refused to enact changes in sentencing laws that would equalize penalties.

Statistics show that police repression and mass incarceration are not curbing the drug trade. Dealers are forced to move, turf is reshuffled, already vulnerable families are broken up. But the demand for drugs still exists, as do huge profits for high-level dealers in this fifty billion-dollar international industry.

From one point of view, the war on drugs could actually be seen as a pre-emptive strike. The state's repressive apparatus working overtime. Put poor people away before they get angry. Incarcerate those at the bottom, the helpless, the hopeless, before they demand change. What drugs don't damage — in terms of intact communities, the ability to take action, to organize — the war on drugs and mass imprisonment aims to destroy.

The crack down on drugs has not stopped drug use on the streets or in the prisons. But it has taken thousands of unemployed (and potentially angry and rebellious) young men and women off the streets. And it has created a mushrooming prison population.

PRISON LABOR

An American worker who once upon a time made \$8 an hour, loses his job when the company relocates to Thailand where workers are paid only \$2 a day. Unemployed, and alienated from a society indifferent to his needs, he becomes involved in the drug economy or some other outlawed means of survival. He is arrested, put in prison, and put to work. His new salary: 22 cents/hour.

From worker to unemployed to criminal to convict laborer, the cycle has come full circle. And the only victor is big business.

For private business, prison labor is like a pot of gold. No strikes. No union organizing. No unemployment insurance or workers' compensation to pay. No language or shipping problem, as in a foreign country. New leviathan prisons are being built with thousands of eerie acres of factories inside the walls. Prisoners do data entry for Chevron, make telephone reservations for TWA, raise hogs, shovel manure, make circuit boards, limousines, waterbeds, and even lingerie for Victoria's Secret. All at a fraction of the cost of "free labor."

Prisoners can be forced to work for pennies because they have no rights. Even the 14th Amendment to the Constitution which abolished slavery, excludes prisoners from its protections.

And, more and more, prisons are charging inmates for basic necessities, from medical care, to toilet paper, to use of the law library. Many states are now charging room and board. Berks County prison in PA is charging inmates \$10 per day to be there. California has similar legislation pending. So, while government cannot (yet) actually require inmates to work at private industry jobs for less than minimum wage, they are forced to by necessity.

Some prison enterprises are state run. Inmates working at UNICOR (the federal prison industry corporation) make recycled

furniture and work 40 hours a week for about \$40 per month. The Oregon Prison Industries produces a line of "Prison Blues" blue jeans. An ad in their catalogue shows a handsome prison inmate saying, "I say we should make bell-bottoms. They say I've been in here too long."

Bizarre, but true.

Prison industries are often directly competing with private industry. Small furniture manufacturers around the country complain that they are being driven out of business by UNICOR, which pays 23 cents an hour and has the inside track on government contracts. In another case, US Technologies sold its electronics plant in Austin, Texas, leaving its 150 workers unemployed. Six weeks later, the electronics plant reopened in a nearby prison.

WELCOME TO THE NEW WORLD ORDER

The proliferation of prisons in the US is one piece of a puzzle called the globalization of capital.

Since the end of the Cold War, capitalism has gone on an international business offensive. No longer impeded by an alternative nominally-socialist economy or by the threat of national liberation movements supported by the Soviet Union or China, transnational corporations see the world as their oyster. Agencies such as the World Trade Organization, World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, bolstered by agreements like NAFTA and GATT are putting more and more power into the hands of transnational corporations by putting the squeeze on national governments. The primary mechanism of control is debt. For decades, developing countries have depended on foreign loans, resulting in increasing vulnerability to the transnational corporate strategy for the global economy. Access to international credit and aid is given only if governments agree to certain conditions known as "structural adjustment."

In a nutshell, structural adjustment requires cuts in social services, privatization of state-run industry, repeal of agreements with labor about working conditions and minimum wage, conversion of multi-use farm lands into cash crop agriculture for export, and the dismantling of trade laws which protect local economies. Under structural adjustment, police and military expenditures are the only government spending that is encouraged. The sovereignty of nations is compromised when, as in the case of Vietnam, trade sanctions are threatened unless the government allows Camel cigarettes to litter the countryside with billboards, or promises to spend millions in the US-orchestrated crackdown on drugs.

The basic transnational corporate philosophy is this: the world is a single market; natural resources are to be exploited; people are consumers; anything which hinders profit is to be routed out and destroyed. The results of this philosophy in action are that while economies are growing, so is poverty, so is ecological destruction, so are sweatshops and child labor. Across the globe, wages are plummeting, indigenous people are being forced off their lands, rivers are becoming industrial dumping grounds, and forests are being obliterated. Massive regional starvation and "World Bank riots" are becoming more frequent throughout the Third World.

All over the world, more and more people are being forced into illegal activity for their own survival as traditional cultures and social structures are destroyed. Inevitably, crime and imprisonment rates are on the rise. And the US law enforcement establishment is in the forefront, domestically and internationally, in providing state-of-the-art repression.

Within the US, structural adjustment (sometimes known as either the Contract With America or Clintonomics) takes the form of welfare and social service cuts, continued massive military

spending, and skyrocketing prison spending. Walk through any poor urban neighborhood: school systems are crumbling, after-school programs, libraries, parks and drug treatment centers are closed. But you will see more police stations and more cops. Often, the only "social service" available to poor young people is jail.

The dismantling of social programs, and the growing dominance of the right-wing agenda in US politics has been made possible, at least in part, by the successful repression of the civil rights and liberation movements of the 1960's and '70's. Many of the leaders — Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, Fred Hampton, and many others — were assassinated. Others, like Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), Leonard Peltier, and Mumia Abu-Jamal, have been locked up. Over 150 political leaders from the black liberation struggle, the Puerto Rican independence movement, and other resistance efforts are still in prison. Many are serving sentences ranging from 40 to 90 or more years. Oppressed communities have been robbed of vital radical political leadership which might have led an opposition movement. We are reaping the results.

The number of people in US prisons has more than tripled in the past 17 years, from 500,000 in 1980 to 1.8 million in 1997. Today, more than five million people are behind bars, on parole, probation, or under other supervision by the criminal justice system. The state of California now spends more on prisons than on higher education, and over the past decade has built 19 prisons and only one branch university.

Add to this, the fact that increasing numbers of women are being locked up. Between 1980 and 1994, the number of women in prison increased five-fold. Many of these women are mothers, leaving future generations growing up in foster homes or on the streets.

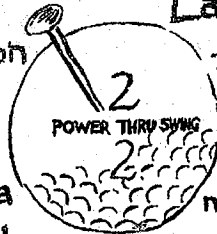
Welcome to the New World Order.

One job farmed out to prisoners is packing golf balls



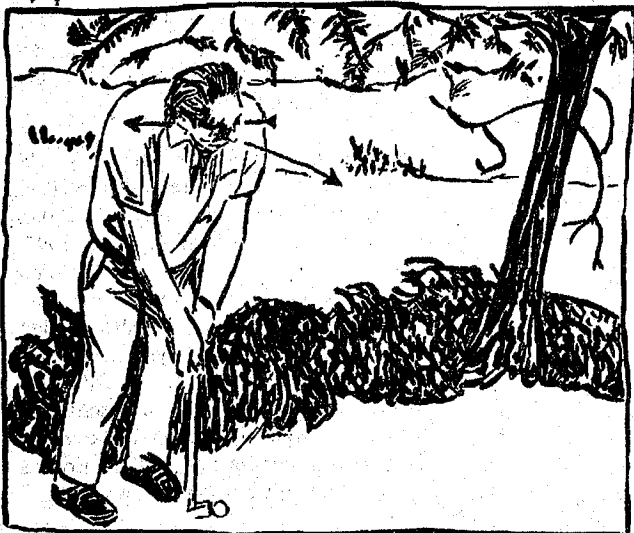
African Americans are 10% of the U.S. population
40% of U.S. prison population

Latinos are 10% of the California population, 35% of the CA prison population



There's a myth that if you drive a nail into a golf ball it will explode
How to swing a club

I am Tiger Woods



Prisoners are charged the price of weapons broken while beating them

40% of Latinos in California Prisons are foreign citizens

The job you want is waiting for you in Prison at 29¢ Per hour

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Prisons are not reducing crime. But they are fracturing already vulnerable families and communities.

Poor people of color are being locked up in grossly disproportionate numbers, primarily for non-violent crimes. But Americans do not feel safer.

As "criminals" become scapegoats for our floundering economy and our deteriorating social structure, even the pretense of rehabilitation is quickly disappearing from our penal philosophy. After all: rehabilitate for what? To go back into an economy which has no jobs? To go back into a community which has no hope? As education and other prison programs — even physical exercise — are cut back, or in most cases eliminated altogether, prisons are becoming vast, over-crowded, holding tanks. Or worse: factories behind bars.

And, prison labor is undercutting wages, something which hurts all working and poor Americans. It's a situation which can only occur because organized labor is weak, divided by racism and chauvinism, and has not kept step with organized capital.

While capital has globalized, labor has not. While the trans-nationals truly are fashioning our planet into a global market, there is still little communication or cooperation between workers around the world. Only an internationally linked labor movement can

effectively challenge the power of the transnational corporations.

There have been some wonderful, shining instances of international worker solidarity. In the early 1980's, 3M workers in South Africa walked out in support of striking 3M workers in New Jersey. Recently, longshore workers in Denmark, Spain, Sweden and several other countries closed down ports around the world in solidarity with striking Liverpool dockers. The company was forced to negotiate. When Renault closed its plant in Belgium, 100,000 demonstrated in Brussels, pressuring the French and Belgium governments to condemn the plant closure and compel its reopening.

Here in the US, there is a glimmer of hope as the AFL-CIO has voted in some new, more progressive leadership. We'll see how that shapes up, and whether the last 50 years of anti-communist, pro-establishment bread-and-butter American unionism is really a thing of the past.

What is certain is that resistance to the transnational corporate agenda is growing around the globe:

► In 1996, the people of Bougainville, a small New Guinea island, organized a secessionist rebellion, protesting the dislocations and ecological destruction caused by corporate mining on the island. When the government hired mercenaries from South Africa to train local troops in counterinsurgency warfare, the army rebelled, threw

out the mercenaries, and deposed the Prime Minister.

► A one day general strike shut down Haiti in January 1997. Strikers demanded the suspension of negotiations between the Prime Minister and the International Monetary Fund/World Bank. They protested the austerity measures imposed by the IMF and WB which would mean laying off 7,000 government workers and the privatization of the electric and telephone companies.

► In Nigeria, the Ogoni people conducted a protracted eight year struggle against Shell Oil. Acid rain, and hundreds of oil spills and gas flares were turning the once fertile countryside into a near wasteland. Their peaceful demonstrations, election boycotts, and pleas for international solidarity were met with violent government repression and the eventual execution of Ogoni writer-leader Ken Saro-Wiwa.

► In France, a month-long general strike united millions of workers who protested privatization, a government worker pay freeze, and cutbacks in social services. Telephone, airline, power, postal, education, health care and metal workers all joined together, bringing business to a standstill. The right-wing Chirac government was forced to make minor concessions before being voted out for a new 'socialist' administration.

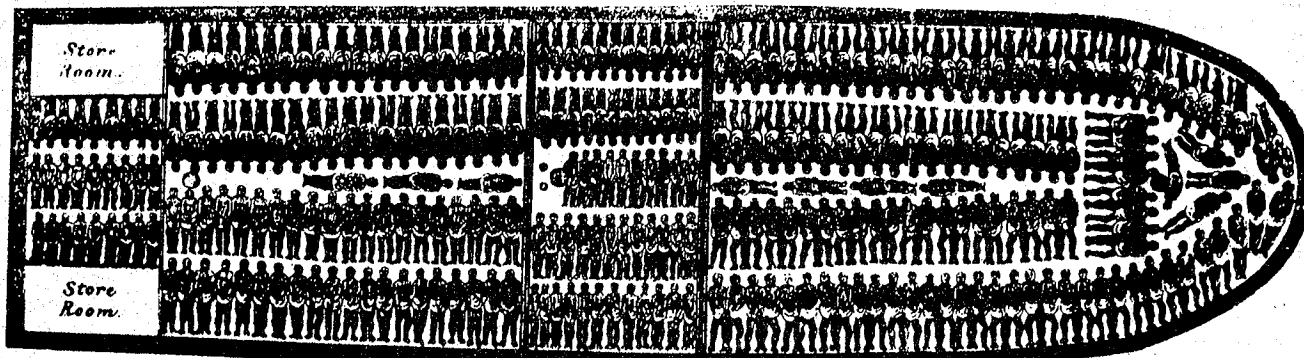
► At the Oak Park Heights Correctional Facility in Minnesota, 150 prisoners went on strike in

March 1997, demanding to be paid the minimum wage. Although they lost a litigation battle to attain this right, their strike gained attention and support from several local labor unions.

Just as the prison/industrial complex is becoming increasingly central to the growth of the US economy, prisoners are a crucial part of building effective opposition to the transnational corporate agenda. Because of their enforced invisibility, powerlessness, and isolation, it's far too common for prisoners to be left out of the equation of international solidarity. Yet, opposing the expansion of the prison/industrial complex, and supporting the rights and basic humanity of prisoners, may be the only way we can stave off the consolidation of a police state that represses us all, where you or a friend or family member may yourself end up behind bars.

Clearly, the only alternative that will match the power of global of capital is an internationalization of human solidarity. Because truly, we are all in this together.

"International solidarity is not an act of charity. It is an act of unity between allies fighting on different terrains toward the same objective. The foremost of these objectives is to aid the development of humanity to the highest level possible." — Samora Machel (1933-1986), leader of FRELIMO, and first President of Mozambique.



The lower deck of a slave ship, in a 19th century lithograph; the slaves were packed so tightly they could breathe only with difficulty, according to a doctor of the time.

Curbis-Bettmann

US AIDS Death Rates Cut in Half: What About Prisoners?

by Rachel Maddow

New classes of HIV/AIDS drugs called "protease inhibitors" and "non-nucleoside reverse transcriptase inhibitors" (NNRTIs) are more effective against HIV than any previously used drugs; death and hospitalization rates have declined dramatically where people with HIV/AIDS have had access to them.

Guidelines from the National Institutes of Health, the Department of Health and Human Services and the International AIDS Society all recommend that people with HIV/AIDS have access to a standard of care that includes combination therapy with at least three drugs, at least one of which is a protease inhibitor or an NNRTI.

Anti-HIV combination therapies work by interfering with the reproduction of virus in the body. If the amount of drugs in a person's system drops too low for too long, the virus can mutate to become resistant to the drugs. The timing of drug doses in relation to food and other drugs is an important component of whether or not drugs will be absorbed in sufficient quantities to suppress the virus. So maintaining adequate levels of the drugs often means taking lots of pills at regular and sometimes inconvenient intervals, and also eating specific types of foods or fasting for two or three periods every single day.

Not being compliant with the drugs (either in terms of missing doses or not complying with the food requirements) can lead to not having adequate levels of the drugs in your system, thereby allowing your virus to develop resistance to the them. Resistance can also develop if the drugs are prescribed in weak combinations--one drug alone, and most combinations of just two drugs are surefire recipes for drug resistance.

Also, it seems that even when the drugs are prescribed properly (i.e. in a combination of at least three drugs that you don't already have resistance to) and when you're able

to take them exactly according to schedule, sometimes they just stop working after a period of time and resistance develops despite having done everything the way you're supposed to.

What's worse, developing resistance to one drug often causes cross-resistance to a range of other similar drugs.

And yes, there is evidence that drug-resistant HIV can be transmitted to other people. (This means that a person infected with this virus would have resistance to one or more HIV drugs even though he or she had never personally taken those drugs). This has been documented mostly with regard to AZT, since this is the HIV drug that has been around the longest, and it is the drug that many people have resistance to because it was prescribed on its own for years.

The first documented case of transmission of HIV that showed resistance to more than one anti-HIV drug (what would technically constitute 'MDR-multi-drug-resistant-HIV') was published in mid-1997. This was a case of virus being transmitted that was resistant to both AZT and nevirapine (a newer drug that's not

Prisoners face several difficulties in accessing these promising new drugs: the medications are very expensive, many prisoners do not have access to competent HIV-specialist physicians, and complying with the drug protocols can be difficult in the prison setting. There have been allegations that the drugs are being prescribed and administered improperly in some US prisons, which has led to concerns that prisons are encouraging the development of strains of HIV that are resistant to the drugs. In this article, I've tried to clear up a bit of the mystery about how these drugs work, how resistant virus is developed, and what the major pitfalls are that prisons must avoid in order to administer these drugs appropriately.

a protease inhibitor, but which came on the market at around the same time as the protease drugs).

(I've listed the citations for the scientific papers on transmission of resistant virus at the end of this article. For other cites, try searching on the internet at www.aegis.com or at the National Library of Medicine on www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/Pub Med/)

I don't know of any published cases of transmitting virus that is resistant to protease inhibitors--but from the information on AZT and nevirapine, and what we know about how resistance works, it seems that it's only a matter of time. Gabriel Rotello interviewed several scientists for an article in the December 23, 1996 issue of The Nation about this prospect. Stephen Gendin speculated in the June 1997 issue of POZ Magazine that if he ends up infecting someone else, virus like his -- resistant to every drug currently on the market -- may still be a death sentence even if "normal" HIV may eventually be controllable.

Allegations have been made, particularly in regard to the Texas Dept of Corrections, that prison systems are using the drugs improperly and are therefore encouraging the development of

multi-drug resistant strains of HIV. This would be the case if any of the following are taking place:

- 1) If prisoners with HIV/AIDS are not being allowed to comply with food restrictions or if their medications are not being dispensed to them on time, every time, every single day, including weekends and holidays, regardless of staff shortages, lockdowns, and transfers between institutions;
- 2) If prisoners with HIV/AIDS are being prescribed drugs inappropriately (i.e. in anything weaker than combinations of three effective drugs they have not previously taken);
- 3) If prisons do not have access to all appropriate HIV/AIDS medications, thereby preventing doctors from prescribing combinations that include three strong drugs patients have never taken before;
- 4) If prisoners are being prescribed combinations that aren't strong enough to suppress their virus because they aren't getting frequent and accurate viral load tests (viral load tests measure the amount of virus in your blood, which gives information about how strong your drug combination needs to be);

5) If prisoners with HIV/AIDS are not being educated to know the right way to take their pills and why it's so important to do so;

6) If prisons are not allowing prisoners the means to protect themselves (condoms, bleach, clean needles) where needle-sharing and sex is unavoidably taking place and some prisoners are infected with drug-resistant strains of HIV.

There's no reason to think that MDR-HIV would be more infectious (i.e. easier to transmit to someone else) than 'normal' HIV, but there is good reason to think that it would be harder to treat, and therefore more deadly.

The difficulties of administering these drugs should not be seen as a reason not to administer them in prisons-- it can be done, but it has to be done well. HIV/AIDS care is a complicated area of medicine. On the outside, having a doctor

who's experienced in HIV/AIDS care greatly increases survival time (in one study by over 43%) for people with HIV/AIDS. Prisoners require the same expertise as people outside.

In 1995, the Bureau of Justice Statistics said US state and federal prison systems held 24,226 HIV-positive prisoners. Do they all have access to HIV/AIDS specialist infectious disease doctors? It's in everyone's interest that they do. Needless illness and death, and the rise of even-more-deadly strains of HIV may be the consequence if they do not.

Rachel Maddow
rachel.maddow@lincoln.oxford.ac.uk

Citations:

De Ronde, A., et al (1996). Transmission of drug-resistant HIV-1 in Amsterdam, The Netherlands: incidence,

persistence and relative fitness. 10th International Conference on AIDS, Vancouver, Abstract TuB2122.

Erice, A., et al (1993). Brief report: Primary infection with zidovudine-resistant human immunodeficiency virus type 1. New England Journal of Medicine 328(16): 1163-5.

Imrie, A., et al (1997). Transmission of human immunodeficiency virus type 1 resistant to nevirapine and zidovudine. Journal of Infectious Diseases 175:1502-1506.

Mayers, D.L., et al (1995). Prevalence and clinical impact of sero-conversion with AZT-resistant HIV-1 between 1988 and 1994. 2nd National Conference on Human Retroviruses and Related Infections, Washington, DC, Abstract 385.

Patey, O., et al (1995). Transmission of zidovudine resistant strains of HIV-1 during primary HIV infection. 35th Inter-science Conference on Antimicrobial Agents and Chemotherapy. San Francisco, Abstract I277.

Rubio, et al (1996). Increasing frequency of antiviral naive patients harboring 215-mutant virus during 1989-1996. 3rd International Congress on Drug Therapy in HIV infection, Birmingham, UK, Abstract OP2.4.

Wainberg, M.A., (1993). Detection of zidovudine-resistant variants of HIV-1 in genital fluids. AIDS 7(3): 433-4.

Also check out hivinsite.ucsf.edu or www.thebody.com on the Internet for general info on HIV, antiviral drugs, and resistance.

Rally for Immigrants' Rights

**Saturday, July 4, 1998
11:00 AM**

**Westwood Federal Building,
11000 Wilshire Boulevard,
Westwood (across from V.A.)**

**Sponsored by La Resistencia,
People Against Racist Terror,
and
Californians Against Three Strikes**

**for more information, call:
213-227-4678**



July 25 in Washington, DC, the Puerto Rican people and their allies and supporters will be marching on the White House to demand an end to 100 years of direct colonial rule of their archipelago nation by the US. PART calls on all anti-racists to support the just cause of Puerto Rican independence, freedom for the Puerto Rican political prisoners and prisoners of war, and an end to US government attacks on Puerto Rican independentistas in this country.

100 Years is Too Much!

Independence for Puerto Rico!

One hundred years ago, in July 1898, the US government began its military occupation and colonization of Puerto Rico. In the course of the so-called Spanish American War, the US projected its military might into the rebellious island colonies of the mordant Spanish empire, including Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines. In the guise of liberators, the US invaded Puerto Rico, which had already won autonomy from Spain after decades of pro-independence struggle. Despite a Spanish guarantee that the Puerto Ricans would have to approve any changes Spain wanted to make in its status, the US took possession of Puerto Rico as part of its treaty with Spain ending the war. Thus, Puerto Rico remains today the oldest colony in the world — directly colonized by Columbus, who began the enslavement and decimation of the indigenous Tainos, and transferred after 400 years to the US, which rules to this day.

US colonialism brought devastation to the islands of Puerto Rico, socially, economically and environmentally. The US imposed its economic

What has colonialism cost the Puerto Rican people? More than one-third of the country's population was dispersed to the US. More than 40% of Puerto Rican women of child-bearing age were sterilized — but not before being used as human guinea pigs in the development of the birth control pill. US citizenship was imposed on the Puerto Ricans so the men could be drafted into the US Army during World War I, and ever since the first World War, Puerto Ricans have had the highest rates of combat fatalities of any group in the US military.

A majority of Puerto Ricans require some form of economic assistance to survive, where prices

— all in US dollars — are higher than the US and the per capita income is less than half that of the poorest state.

But colonialism, repression and exploitation inevitably encounter resistance, and Puerto Rico has lessons to teach the world of sustaining a struggle for justice and self-determination over centuries. The Puerto Ricans resisted the arrival of the US military, fighting not for Spain but for themselves, and fought on from the hills after the Spanish surrendered.

And Puerto Rico has continued to struggle, in its homeland and in the diaspora of its people to the

system, bankrupting the local diversified agricultural economy by forcibly converting to the dollar. The US introduced its social system, creating new racist divisions in a nation created from the "jibaro," the combination of indigenous Taino, African slaves, and Spanish settlers. The largest US naval base was installed at Roosevelt Roads in Puerto Rico, aimed at controlling the Atlantic trade routes and the strategic mouth of the Caribbean. The Puerto Rican island of Vieques was converted into a naval gunnery range.

To protect these vital military resources, the Office of Naval Intelligence, the principal covert US counter-insurgency agency during the first half of the 20th Century, was given a free hand to disrupt local resistance movements. In fact, virtually every repressive agency of the US government was set up to operate directly in Puerto Rico, which the Supreme Court ruled "belongs to, but is not part of" the United States. The FBI, the CIA, military intelligence, the National Guard, all carried and carry out repressive operations in Puerto Rico aimed at the independence movement.

US, for independence. In the 1950's, the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, led by Don Pedro Albizu Campos, a Black, US-educated independentista, launched repeated struggles, including an armed insurrection which was put down by overwhelming force, including bombing raids on Puerto Rican villages by US air forces.

This period of struggle saw attacks on the US president and Congress by Nationalists, such as Lolita Lebron and Rafael Cancel Miranda, who became prisoners of war inside US prisons for almost 30 years before their release after a lengthy international campaign led by Puerto Rican independentistas

of a new generation.

Today, some of the same people involved in the struggle to free the Puerto Rican p.o.w.'s and political prisoners of that period are being held as political prisoners and prisoners of war themselves, accused of fighting for Puerto Rican independence in the ranks of such groups as the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional or FALN, which struggled for Puerto Rican independence inside the colonizing power, or the Ejercito Popular Boricua, los Macheteros, which attacked US military targets on the island.

Dylcia Pagan, Alejandrina Torres, Carlos Alberto Torres, and Oscar

Lopez Rivera are four among many Puerto Ricans who have maintained a stance as prisoners of war, freedom fighters who refuse to recognize the jurisdiction of the US, at the price of tremendous personal sacrifice in order to uphold the integrity and legitimacy of the Puerto Rican nation. Despite nearly two decades in prison, and facing long sentences only because of the political nature of their kangaroo court prosecutions, they are unyielding in their resistance.

And in fact, the Puerto Rican people generally are stepping up their resistance as the reorganization of US domination under the conditions of NAFTA and globalization intensify the exploitation of the islands, people and resources of Puerto Rico by the US government and multinational corporations. Puerto Rican guerrillas have again become active after years of silence. The Boricua Popular Army, better known as the Macheteros, claimed responsibility on April 3, 1998, for a dynamite attack that destroyed machinery related to the "Super-aqueduct" project in Puerto Rico. The clandestine group opposes the discussions under way in Washington on a plebiscite to determine Puerto Rico's relationship to the U.S.

The phony "plebiscite," to be carried out under the guns of a continues US military occupation in contravention of international law, is the US effort to impose statehood and annexation on Puerto Rico as a way to resolve the contradictions of colonialism. In written statements sent to Spanish news service EFE, the Macheteros said the attack was only the beginning of what will from now on be a line of action in defense of the Puerto Rican people. The group added that the government of Governor Pedro Rossello is acting "like a robber in the night" by continuing the construction of the "Super-aqueduct" after the Appeals Court ruled that the project is being carried out in violation of the law.

Mass struggle is also intensifying in Puerto Rico. Last October 1, a

Paro Nacional (a national work stoppage or general strike) against privatization shook Puerto Rico October 1. It shut down several government agencies including most public schools and the University of Puerto Rico, and some individually-owned private businesses closed in solidarity. Almost all activity in San Juan, the capital, was paralyzed due to the stream of cars and trucks transporting people to a rally at the Capitol building. The march completely filled all the main access routes to Old San Juan.

Almost 100,000 people gathered in the largest mobilization in the history of Puerto Rico. The Paro was supported by the three main labor federations in Puerto Rico: the Concilio General de Trabajadores (CGT), the Central Puertorriquena de Trabajadores (CPT) and the AFL-CIO unions in Puerto Rico, healing a breach that has divided Puerto Ricans since the imposition of US control, and showing that the intensified economic exploitation is beginning to unite Puerto Ricans across the barriers of pro-independence, pro-commonwealth, or pro-statehood status. The main slogan of the campaign leading to the Paro was "Al Puerto Rico no se vende!" which means both that Puerto Rico is not for sale (in opposition to the statehood governments plans to sell off and privatize the phone company and other public sector resources) and that Puerto Rico will not be bought-off or bribed, that Puerto Ricans will not sell out their national identity.

In addition to the labor and student fronts, environmental struggle has been another area where the Puerto Rican national consciousness and independence has reasserted itself with mass support. In April, NASA was forced to stop a series of experiments in Puerto Rico in the face of intense opposition. The experiments consisted of 11 rocket launches from a makeshift pad on a beach in the northern coastal town of Vega Baja. These rockets would release chemicals in various layers of the atmosphere in order to study their effects on telecommunications and radio. The

experiment, known as Coqui Two, was the object of persistent and heated protests, led by the Committee against Experiments on the Environment. (The coqui, a tree frog unique to Puerto Rico, is both an ecological emblem and a national symbol of Puerto Rico.) The Committee claimed that the chemicals released by the rockets were an environmental hazard and that the experiments were of a military, not civilian, nature.

Skin irritations were widespread in the area in the wake of NASA's Coqui One experiments in 1992. The government attributed them to jellyfish stings. Coqui Two opponents are convinced that the experiments were part of a US military program to develop new 'cyber-warfare' weapons. A NASA spokesperson told the press that the cancellation of Coqui Two was motivated solely by adverse weather conditions. But he admitted that the protests, which were carried on around the clock for 52 days, had a real effect on the scientists' morale.

NASA scientists had to go through a gauntlet of hostile protesters every time they drove in and out of the launch pad area. The demonstrators also had powerful speakers through which they blared music and protest speeches at the scientists at work. Coqui Two opponents also turned to civil disobedience to thwart the rocket launches. Members of environmentalist groups, like Friends of the Ocean and Familia Taina, (the Tainos were the indigenous people of Puerto Rico, then called Borinquen, when Columbus invaded) swam into the restricted waters in front of the launch pad, in kayaks and surf boards, every evening.

It is this type of intensifying struggle, as well as the growing opposition to the phony plebiscite and its annexationist plans for Puerto Rico, that the U.S. is seeking to derail with a new wave of repression on the island and in Puerto Rican communities in the U.S., particularly Chicago, which has been a vital center of the campaigns to free Puerto Rican POW's and political prisoners. Over

the past 25 years, Puerto Rican independence activists in Chicago have established the Puerto Rican Cultural Center (PRCC)- a strong, grassroots infrastructure of community organizations, including the Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos alternative high school, the Family Learning Center for young mothers, the Consuelo Lee Corretjer child care center, the Vida SIDA AIDS prevention project, a community garden, and the Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos community museum. PRCC activists have also joined forces with other community activists to develop a thriving corridor of local, Puerto Rican owned businesses — Paseo Boricua, impeding plans for the dispersal of the Puerto Rican population and gentrification of the area.

Under the umbrella of the PRCC, this infrastructure has engaged local Puerto Ricans in making their own history and meeting their own needs, while promoting national, anti-colonial consciousness. Moreover, this infrastructure has allowed independence activists to organize broad support from the community for other independence activists who are victims of government repression, i.e. men and women who have spent more than 15 years in prison on fraudulent charges. The FBI refers to these activists as the FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional) "terrorists".

In view of the successful organizing by Chicago-based Puerto Rican independence activists, the FBI has targeted the PRCC from 1973 through the present for COINTELPRO destabilization. The FBI has maintained intensive surveillance of PRCC activists and sought to disrupt the PRCC's work through agent provocateur activity. The FBI has even offered to pay former students of the PRCC's alternative high school to wear wire-taps and return to school.

In addition, the Feds consistently attempted to discredit the work of the PRCC by disseminating to the public the misinformation that the PRCC is essentially a "terrorist" operation run by the FALN. In

1983, the FBI raided the building of the PRCC's alternative high school, destroying much of the school's property, under the guise that the FBI was searching for evidence that would substantiate the alleged link between the PRCC and the FALN. The FBI failed to find any evidence and later issued an official apology. Unfortunately, the apology was insincere. In 1985, the alternative high school was given an "Excellence in Education" award by the Council on American Private Education (CAPE), but the award was soon withdrawn after CBS mysteriously did an "expose" that the school was an alleged recruitment base for the FALN. The FBI continues to perpetrate the FALN myth — despite the fact that there has been no concrete evidence of the FALN's existence for nearly two decades now — as a smokescreen for its efforts to destabilize the PRCC.

On February 3, 1997, the Chicago Sun Times ran a front-page attack on the PRCC, alleging that its activists had "infiltrated" Clemente Public High School and illegally utilized Chapter One funds to promote support for "FALN terrorists". A state legislative committee was appointed to investigate the alleged misuse of Chapter One funds. It proceeded to subpoena various activists for information.

During this same period, the local Puerto Rican community was being flooded by a well-funded publication-- "El Pito"-- whose central goal was to discredit the PRCC through personal and political slander.

Then the FBI began issuing subpoenas to PRCC activists in reference to a Dec. 10, 1992 bombing in Chicago that the FBI was attempting to link to the PRCC.

The net result of these three developments within the last year has been to destabilize and discredit the work of the PRCC. Though on the surface, they would seem to be disconnected incidents, in actuality they are bound together by a single person: Rafael

Marrero. Significantly, during the early 1990s, Marrero used to work for the PRCC, but eventually clashed with veteran PRCC activists for his ultra-left postures and divisive conduct. Research has revealed that Marrero displayed the same conduct while working with the independence movement in Puerto Rico before relocating to Chicago.

Marrero was the main source of information that the media utilized in their Chapter One "scandal" expose. Despite Marrero's allegations, there has been no concrete evidence presented to the public that Chapter One funds were misused. In fact, a financial audit conducted by the firm Arthur Anderson found no wrong-doing in reference to the use of Chapter One funds. Despite all of the subpoenas it issued and the information it collected, the investigative committee has been silent for approximately a year until recently when more hearings on the use of Chapter One funds at Clemente were held, two weeks before the primary in which the chair was seeking re-election.

Marrero has been on a mission for the FBI. He wore a wire while he met with former De Paul University professor Jose Solis in Puerto Rico. Marrero had attempted to entrap Solis in a Dec. 10, 1992 bombing, which Marrero himself apparently carried out, and for which the FBI has now targeted Solis. Marrero claims that he personally organized and carried out the bombing with Solis and several others, but that Jose Lopez, the executive director of the PRCC, was the "intellectual architect" of the bombing. In fact, at the time the bombing occurred, Jose Lopez condemned the act before a human rights rally as being the act of an "agent provocateur".

Marrero is also the central force behind "El Pito". In fact, the most recent issue of "El Pito" highlights a photograph of Marrero holding up an FBI badge in order to provoke and ridicule PRCC activists. In view of the FBI's

extensive history of attempting to crush movements by colonized peoples for self-determination in general and the Chicago-based Puerto Rican independence movement in particular, it is clear that this latest round of attacks and the work of Marrero are current manifestations of COINTELPRO. The FBI's involvement and manipulation of local forces appears to have reached a new level of sophistication.

Meanwhile, two young Puerto Rican activists face Grand Jury inquisitions growing out of Marrero's FBI organized campaign. Juan Marcos Vilar, national coordinator for the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners, and Ruben Rivera, a former student at DePaul University of Prof. Jose Solis Jordan were subpoenaed to appear before a Federal Grand Jury on Wednesday, May 20th, but both were rescheduled to appear on Thursday, May 28 before the Grand Jury. Neither will comply. The Grand Jury has been used before to criminalize the Puerto Rican Independence Movement. In the 1980's more than a dozen Puerto Rican and Mexican political activists were called before several federal grand juries, and all refused to testify or dignify the witch hunt. It is expected that the new subpoenaes will follow the historic principled position of non-collaboration. This could mean that the Judge could hold both of them in contempt, which could mean for both of them imprisonment for up to 15 months.

The indictment of Solis on Marrero's false testimony, the subpoenaes of Vilar and Rivera, the investigation of the Puerto Rican Cultural Center are desperate measures by the US to prop up a bankrupt colonial regime in Puerto Rico and to attempt to steamroller through the planned annexation of Puerto Rico via the phony "plebiscite" for statehood. Legislation by the House of Representatives on the status of Puerto Rico could turn Americans who acquired citizenship by virtue of their birth in Puerto Rico into "second class" citizens. The

"U.S.-Puerto Rico Political Status Act," H.R. 856, establishes a process for so-called "self-determination" for the people of Puerto Rico and gives them an opportunity to select independence, statehood or continued commonwealth status. But, according to an analysis by the American Civil Liberties Union, buried in the independence option for Puerto Rico is a dangerous new precedent: the notion that Congress can withdraw from a class of American citizens rights that they -- and all other citizens -- currently hold. The bill says that if Puerto Rico opts for independence, Americans born in Puerto Rico before independence lose the right to pass citizenship to children born abroad, and to their non-citizen spouses and siblings. It would also withdraw their rights to maintain dual citizenship - even though all of those rights are enjoyed by other Americans. In other words, build right into the bill setting up the plebiscite is a brazen form of extortion to try to control and direct the votes of the Puerto Ricans.

Annexation by the US is not decolonization. Statehood would not be the death of the Puerto Rican independence movement. The ongoing Hawai'ian and Native American sovereignty struggles, the continuing resistance of Mexican and African people inside the U.S., make clear that people colonized are ultimately indigestible by the empire, no matter how great, powerful, "legal" and irrevocable its jurisdiction may appear. Nonetheless, it is essential to struggle now to end US colonialism and domination over Puerto Rico once and for all! For a millennium without colonies! All out to Washington DC, July 25, 1998!

For more information, contact the Puerto Rican Cultural Center, 1671 N. Claremont Ave., Chicago IL 60647, or call 733-276-6706. You can also contact the National Committee to Free Puerto Rican Prisoners of War and Political Prisoners, 2607 W. Division, Chicago, IL 60622; email: prpowpp@aol.com.

On August 8, 1898 the nation of Hawai'i, which had been taken over in a U.S.-backed coup against the indigenous monarch several years before, was illegally annexed to the U.S. This annexation was illegal even under U.S. law. The US Senate refused to ratify the annexation treaty by the necessary majority required by the Constitution. The US proceeded with annexation anyway, on the basis of a joint resolution by simple majorities of the House and Senate. Now Hawai'ian activists are planning an ALOHA MARCH on Washington DC on the 100th anniversary of this expansionist crime. PART calls on all people of good will to advance the cause of sovereignty and solidarity, to begin the process of decolonization and healing.

ALOHA MARCH ON WASHINGTON

This is called the Aloha March because if we aspire to save our people, our 'aina (land), and our way of life, then whatever we do, we must do it with "aloha." We go to Washington D.C. with truth, aloha and spirituality. We strive to carry ourselves with a gentle dignity and pride which Queen Lili'uokalani would have been proud to see following in her footsteps. We honor our first hosts, the First Nations of Moku Honu, the Great Turtle Island (the North American continent), both on the journey and in Washington, D.C. We encourage those who cannot

go to D.C. to plan an event on their island to run in conjunction with the Aloha March, to highlight the same issues and to promote lokahi (unity) and solidarity among our people and those who support our cause for justice and a healthy Hawai'i Nei.

The Aloha March will take place in Washington, D.C. on August 8, 1998, from the Capitol grounds to the White House. On August 7, there will be a prior prayer vigil and gathering of the people, on the Capitol Building grounds.

BACKGROUND:

The vision for the Aloha March began many years ago, with John "Butch" Kekahu and his Uncles Charlie and Nathaniel Koani. Both uncles have since passed on, and now Butch continues the dream with the support of friends and family.

The Aloha March is born out of frustration with the system in the State of Hawai'i, frustration with fighting in the courts regarding land rights, homestead issues, sovereignty and self-determination, fighting in the state legislature, fighting with the state agencies serving Native Hawaiians, and sovereignty groups fighting the State, the military, developers, tourists and each other.

And still the struggle goes on, and on, while our kupuna die on the homestead list, die from the worst health conditions of any ethnic group in Hawai'i. There are still more of our people than any other ethnic group in the prisons, more of our people live houseless in our own homeland and thousands are driven overseas by economic factors. So the feeling coming from the family is to take the plight of Hawai'i's indigenous peoples directly to the Congress,

the President and the people of the United States.

It has been three years since the first Aloha March brochure went out, and Butch has talked to hundreds of people during that time. The specifics about the march have been an evolving process. Sometimes the feeling was that it should be mostly a spiritual journey. Sometimes it's been, "E, whatever happens, happens."

Let's just go!" Because of the mana'o we received from countless sources, we have adopted a specific plan and purpose for the Aloha March on Washington D.C. which we feel will appeal to the greatest number of Hawaiians.

PURPOSE:

Bring out the facts about the annexation of Hawai'i to the United States, on the 100th anniversary of the annexation, August 8, 1998.

Follow-up on the 1993 Apology Bill, Public Law 103-150, to highlight its "commitment to acknowledge the ramifications of the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, in order to provide a proper foundation for

reconciliation between the United States and the Native Hawaiian people;" and recognition that "... the indigenous Hawaiian people never directly relinquished their claims to their inherent sovereignty as a people or over their national lands to the United States, either through their monarchy or through a plebiscite or referendum," which was signed into law by the House, the Senate and President Clinton on November 23, 1993.

Reach out to our Kanaka Maoli (indigenous Hawai'ian people), especially on the continent, and

Build relationships and solidarity with non-Hawaiians, with an education program about the Aloha March and the issues surrounding it. Over one-third of all Hawaiians live on the continent, and it is those Hawaiians, and our supporters on the continent, that we most expect to see in the March.

Be visible as a people. Wherever we might be living and whatever we might be doing, we are a people with a homeland that we cherish and want to protect; a people with a language, a culture, and a way of living which needs to be preserved and perpetuated. We

are a people with a history of injustice which needs to be communicated and addressed. We feel that this march is not about numbers; it's about going there in the right way, the pono way, to plant seeds through our ho'okupu, mana'o, culture, spirituality and mana. We will know success by the feeling in our na'au (heart, gut), not by reading about our numbers in the newspaper. This march is just one more step in the overall movement, a chance to rally our people and supporters to 'walk the talk, with aloha.'

A people's initiative with an open forum is our focus for the Aloha March. To provide this forum and bring information to the people and the United States government is our kuleana (responsibility). The Aloha March itself has no political agenda, and although we bring the message of injustice, we leave it to our people to choose their representative(s) to negotiate the making right of these wrongs, such as the consensus building process occurring at the Ho'omalua ma Kualoa gatherings of sovereignty groups, Hawaiian organizations and na'ohana (families).

An education program begins immediately in Hawai'i and continent both. We will distribute

information about the Aloha March as well as about our issues via internet, mail, radio, phone, fax, press releases, meetings, bands on tour, home visits, word-of-mouth, etc. We will tour the islands and continent as funding allows. As part of our education program, we will redistribute the petition which was circulated throughout Hawai'i in 1898 for those who see the injustice of annexing Hawai'i without a vote of the people to add their signatures to those of some 50,000 original signatures.

CONTRIBUTIONS

The Koani Foundation operates as a non-profit unincorporated association. To make contributions which will not be tax-deductible, please send to:
KOANI FOUNDATION, PO Box 182, Kealia, HI 96751-0182; (808) 822-7643; FAX 821-8029

Money and in-kind contributions which are tax-deductible can be made to CUP/NOHO LIKE. Noho Like is conducting the educational program for the Aloha March. CUP (Communities United for

People) is a non-profit 501(c)(3) organization and is the fiscal sponsor for Noho Like. Anyone wanting to contribute who does not need that tax deduction should give directly to the Koani Foundation. All others, please make check payable to CUP/Noho Like and write "for Aloha March Education Program" on the check and send to address below: NOHO LIKE, PO Box 82053, Portland, OR 97282; (503) 230-1464.

For more information, suggestions,

kokua, to participate in the education program, join the march in DC:

Butch Kekahu or Ken Ka'imi Stokes
PO Box 182
Kealia, Kaua'i, HI 96751
Phone (808) 822-7643
Phone/fax (808) 821-2267
Toll free: 1-888-875-2233 pin 5453
Email: koanifound@hawaiian.net
Website: <http://www.hawaiian.net/~cbokauai/butch.html>

Hawaiian Sovereignty



"I, Lili'uokalani, . . . Queen, do hereby protest . . . and yield my authority until . . . the U.S. shall undo the action of its representatives"

This report was written in association with the Redwood Summer Justice Project, which pursues Judi Bari's and Darryl Cherney's civil rights case against the FBI and Oakland Police Department.

AMERICA'S SECRET POLICE: FBI COINTELPRO IN THE 1990's

By Noelle Hanrahan

On April 22, 1970, as 22 million Americans rallied across the country on the first Earth Day celebration, FBI agents in over 40 cities were ordered to spy on and infiltrate these events. Senator Edwin Muskie, himself a victim, remarked from the floor of Congress that this surveillance was "a dangerous threat to fundamental constitutional rights." The power of the environmental movement and the challenge it posed to business-as-usual made it an instant target for FBI suppression.

Twenty years later, on May 24, 1990, a shrapnel-wrapped car bomb went off under noted Earth First! activist Judi Bari's carseat, nearly killing her and injuring fellow organizer Darryl Cherney. Even more frightening to Bari, as she woke up in the hospital intensive care unit under

What could make nonviolent environmental organizers the targets of repression? Back in May 1990, Earth First! in the redwood region was gearing up for "Mississippi Summer in the California Redwoods," a bold call that would draw thousand of activists to Mendocino and Humboldt counties. Earth First!'s fierce, grassroots, pro-labor campaign of mass nonviolent civil disobedience was determined to stop corporate timber's liquidation of the old-growth forests.

Even in the face of the attempted assassination of the key organizers and a well-orchestrated FBI disinformation campaign, thousands came to Redwood Summer, bringing national attention to the destruction of the redwood forest ecosystem.

It is a testimony to the power of the movement mobilized by Judi Bari that today, eight years later, protests to save the old growth forests are more dynamic than ever.

FBI LEGACY

From the moment of its birth in 1908 as the Justice Department's "Bureau of Investigation," a key part of the FBI's mission has been to suppress political dissent. In the early years they used deportations and the career-destroying Palmer Raids to target union leaders and communists.

It is absolutely foolish to suggest that the FBI was involved in anything that would obstruct justice.

— Richard W. Held, FBI

These guys are professional liars, who have raised selective memory loss to an art form.

— Judi Bari, Earth First!

Burglary, blacklisting, infiltration, and disruption became standard operating procedure. Later, when the Supreme Court ruled that the Smith Act specifically could not be used to target communists, the FBI took it undercover, developing its "counter-intelligence" program dubbed

armed guard, was the realization that a major FBI "counter-intelligence" operation against Earth First! was underway.

Within minutes of their arrival on the scene of the blast, the FBI was falsely characterizing nonviolent environmental organizers Bari and Cherney as "terrorists". Within hours, the Oakland Police Department had arrested and detained them for transporting explosives. It was not enough that the two leaders had been physically blown up; the FBI immediately began to orchestrate a disinformation campaign designed to discredit and imprison these activists and destroy Earth First!

COINTELPRO. In the words of then-director J. Edgar Hoover, COINTELPRO was designed to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" groups whose views the FBI deemed threatening to the status quo.

RICHARD W. HELD: CONSTITUTIONAL ASSASSIN

Richard W. Held was Special Agent-in-Charge of the San Francisco FBI Office 1985-1993 during its extensive COINTELPRO operations against Earth First! Of all the COINTELPRO operatives, Richard Wallace Held's past is particularly brutal and haunting. Held began his career in 1968 in the Los Angeles office of the FBI. He quickly became the lead agent in the "racial matters" squad which focused on what the FBI called "black extremists". Just one year later he was involved in targeting Los Angeles Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji jaga (Pratt) for "neutralization." Framed for a

murder he did not commit, Geronimo spent 25 years in state prison. He was released in 1997 after a judge overturned his conviction based on prosecutorial misconduct. The key witness in the case, Julius Butler, was an informant for the FBI, LAPD, and the L.A. District Attorney's office; that information was kept secret during Geronimo's trial.

An uncanny ability to lie under oath, commonly referred to as "testi-lying," is a trademark of rogue law enforcement professionals. Under oath in a deposition for Geronimo's federal appeal, Held remarked on his relationship with Julius Butler: "I think that it may have been relevant, your honor, depending on what the contact was at the time and what else I knew, because I don't recall really knowing much about the case at all anyway."

In fact, Held was coordinating COINTELPRO operations in L.A., and Geronimo was at the top of the "Key Black Extremists" list.

Even more damning, Held was the control agent for informant Julius Butler. In 2-1/2 years, Held recorded contact and meetings with Butler 33 times. Contrast Held's repeated denials of knowledge and responsibility with the cold, hard facts, including this from a 1/28/70 memo by Held to the FBI Director: "I request Bureau approval ... to attack, expose, and ridicule the BPP...operation number one is designed to challenge the legitimacy of the authority exercised by Elmer Gerard Pratt."

After a few years in Washington, DC as a headquarters intelligence supervisor, Held was back in the field on the Pine Ridge Reservation three days after the fire fight between federal agents and the American Indian Movement (AIM) during which two FBI agents and an Indian man were killed. An FBI memo dated 7/26/75 to the Washington Bureau's Intelligence Division notes, "Supervisor Richard Wallace Held arrived at Pine Ridge, South Dakota Indian Reservation Command Post on 6/29/75, to assist in the RESMURS investigation. He was assigned three important phases of this investigation; namely, the correlation of Bureau-wide informants into the investigation; the establishment of the confidential fund; and the coordination of all intelligence information as it relates to the American Indian Movement (AIM) and the RESMURS investigations... throughout the country ..."

Held's work contributed to the framing of noted political prisoner Leonard Peltier, and to covering up the truth about the agents' deaths and the still unsolved killings of 70 AIM supporters on the Pine Ridge Reservation during the extensive FBI's operations. From 1979 until 1985, Held was Special Agent-in-Charge of the San Juan, Puerto Rico office. There he presided over a politically-oriented paramilitary campaign against the Puerto Rican Independence movement, creating files on 74,000 individuals. In his last operation in Puerto Rico, Held

led 300 FBI agents and U.S. marshals in raids all over the island, trashing office and homes and arresting scores of activists. One advocate of Puerto Rican independence said the raids made "even the desire for independence a crime." Held left Puerto Rico in 1985 to head the FBI's San Francisco, California field office.

HELD TURNS HIS SIGHTS ON EARTH FIRST!

In the year before the car bombing of Bari and Cherney, a shocking and classic political disruption campaign was conducted against Earth First! in Northern California. In the months just prior to Redwood Summer, the disruption was intense. Bari, Cherney and other Earth First! organizers received over 30 death threats from March to May, 1990. Fake Earth First! press releases were circulated in the community and to the press, falsely connecting the Earth First!ers with violence and sabotage. Local law enforcement refused to investigate the death threats, signaling their tolerance for violence against environmentalists. "If you turn up dead, Judi," Mendocino County Sheriff's Sgt. Steve Satterwhite told Bari, "then we'll investigate."

The FBI's very act of blaming Bari and Cherney for the bombing that nearly killed them, and their repeated feeding of damaging and bald-faced lies to the press about evidence in the case, are both classic components of a "counter-intelligence" campaign. The FBI's own files refer to the use of informants, yet even now the full scope of their actions remains hidden.

COINCIDENCE OR COINTELPRO?

In depositions in Bari's and Cherney's civil rights lawsuit, FBI agents repeatedly denied that there was an investigation against Earth First! in California prior to the bombing. Yet, documents at first withheld and blacked out, then later released, show that the FBI field reports written at the time of the bombing stated Bari and Cherney were "subjects of an investigation in the terrorist field."

THE ARIZONA FBI STING OPERATION

In 1988, a major FBI sting operation was launched against Earth First! in Arizona. In a cynical attempt to discredit and criminalize Earth First!, the FBI spent \$3 million and employed over 50 FBI agents, extensive wiretaps, body wires and overt entrapment in order to arrest Arizona Earth First!ers for conspiracy to down power lines.

At the heart of Operation THERMCON (short for "Thermite Conspiracy") were undercover FBI agent/provocateur Michael Fain and informant Ron Frazier, who infiltrated a group of environmental activists in Prescott. Though unsuccessful, the FBI worked long and hard to entrap these individuals into using explosives to down power lines. Apparently the FBI sought to involve Earth First! with explosives in order to create a sensational case against them. This would serve to discredit Earth First! and provide justification to conduct illegal investigations and operations against the political and First Amendment activity of the environmental movement nationwide. Busted on May 30, 1989, in the Arizona desert, four people were caught with a cutting torch attempting to disable a power transmission tower leading to a pumping station of the central Arizona project (CAP). CAP is a billion dollar pork barrel project to carry Colorado River water uphill across hundreds of miles of desert to water the lawns of Phoenix and Tucson.

"The first lesson in activism is that the person that offers to get the dynamite is always the FBI agent," joked Judi Bari.

Judi Bari laughingly called this, "the only joint FBI-Earth First! action ever to take place." Undercover FBI agents picked the target, drove the truck, and taught the activists to use an acetylene torch. The FBI paid informant Ron Frazier \$54,000 cash in exchange for implicating the Earth First!ers, and granted him immunity from prosecution for various crimes.

FBI LIES EXPOSED

It was in the context of such a massive undercover operation against Earth First! that the FBI terrorist squad responded en masse to the bombing of Bari and Cherney in May of 1990. Special Agent John Conway, who was one of the main case agents assigned to the bombing, had also handled the San Francisco FBI office's substantial field work on the Arizona "THERMCON" sting.

It is striking that after failing in a major COINTELPRO operation to tie Earth First! with explosives in Arizona, the FBI again tried to smear and defame nonviolent environmental activists as terrorists by falsely charging Bari and Cherney with transporting the bomb that was meant to kill them.

In his deposition in the Bari/Cherney lawsuit, Held insists that he was completely out of the loop and unaware of the case, even though other FBI agents contradict his testimony and have said that they briefed him on a regular basis.

KEY QUESTIONS REMAIN

Were Judi Bari, Darryl Cherney or Earth First! subjects of an ongoing investigation in "the terrorist field" as agents claimed in FBI reports? If so, where are the files? Was this investigation authorized? Were they under FBI surveillance when they were bombed? What does the FBI know about who bombed Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney? And finally, why have they never made any attempt to catch the real bomber?

In search of answers to these questions, the Redwood Summer Justice Project will continue to expose secret FBI operations against Earth First! as we pursue the civil rights lawsuit against the FBI and the Oakland Police.

For more information, contact:

Redwood Justice Fund
PO Box 14720
Santa Rosa CA 95402
707-887-0262

PART's Perspective:

De-Nuclearize, De-Militarize, De-Colonize!

India and Pakistan recently joined the nuclear "club." This has provoked pious condemnation by the U.S. and other existing nuclear states. Meanwhile, Mordechai Vanunu languishes in Israeli custody for exposing the open secret that Israel (with apartheid South African collaboration) has long been a nuclear power.

Well-intentioned anti-nuke activists are calling for the U.S. to "set a good example" by eliminating its nuclear arsenal. But the peace movement will have little effect

The only basis of eliminating nuclear weapons (and nuclear power) is decolonization. 150 years ago, long before the cold war, the U.S. invaded and conquered Mexico. 100 years ago, before the cold war, the US invaded and occupied Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines, and annexed Hawaii.

Since the US dropped A-bombs on Japan in a hot war, it has fought five wars in Asia. US troops fought Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Iraq. It has sent troops into Lebanon, the Dominican Republic, Granada, Panama and Somalia, to name a few. It has financed bloody proxy wars and military dictatorships in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Indonesia, Iran and Chile.

Eliminating nukes will only lead to more such wars unless there is a more general demilitarization of our society. Why is this so? Social systems built on land theft, genocide, slavery and super-exploitation inevitably require massive force and terror to sustain.

This fact should be increasingly evident now with the "end of the cold war." The supposed pretext for the US nuclear arsenal and military-industrial complex is gone. Yet the US war-making machine still aims to fight "two-and-a-half wars" in distant corners of the globe. US military forces are stepping up their domestic role as well. Congress has authorized the US military to undertake a general mobilization and patrol along the US-Mexico border. US Marines have undertaken training in Chicago's subterranean tunnel system to develop their readiness for urban warfare. With no enemy in sight, NATO has expanded its armies and the countries in its orbit. Why?

NATO expansion produced some ineffectual opposition in the U.S. from the "left" and right of the political mainstream. But nobody dared to express why NATO is expanding. Nobody faced squarely why neither the US nor Russia intends to give up its nuclear arms. Europe today, as for the

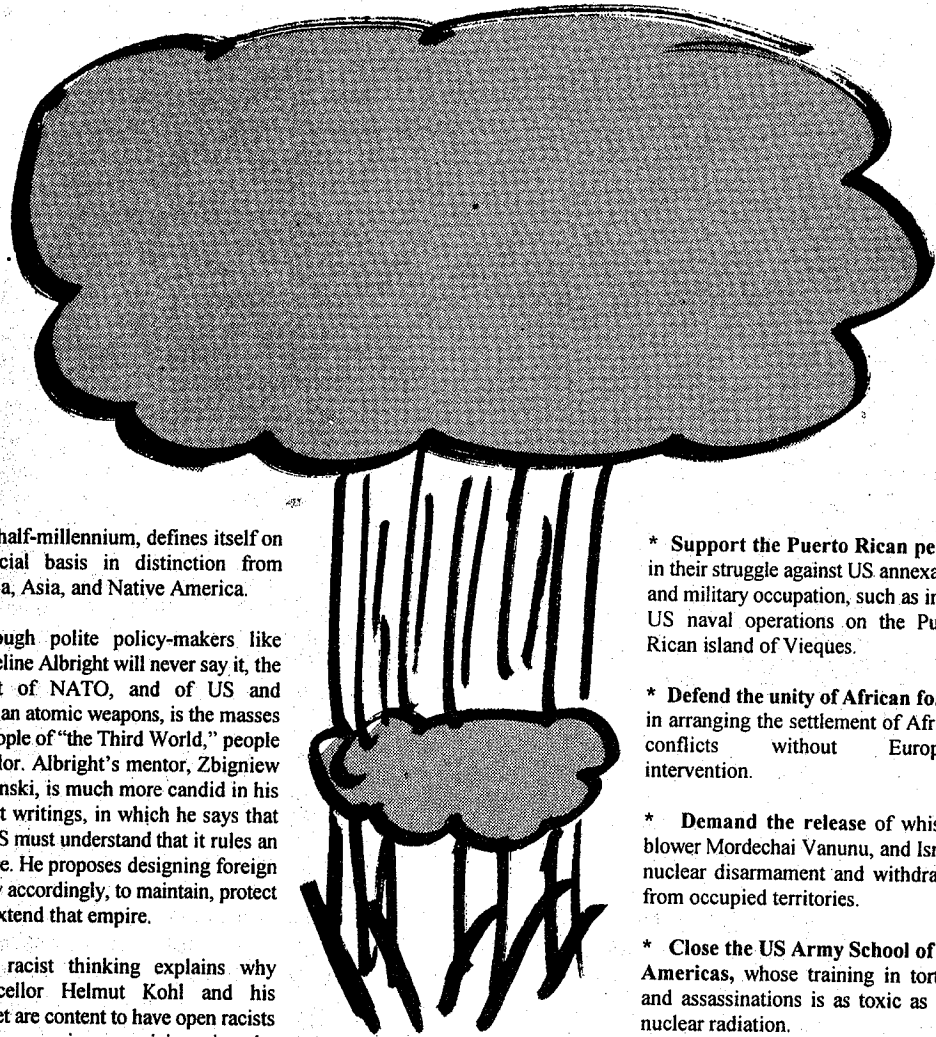
past half-millennium, defines itself on a racial basis in distinction from Africa, Asia, and Native America.

Although polite policy-makers like Madeline Albright will never say it, the target of NATO, and of US and Russian atomic weapons, is the masses of people of "the Third World," people of color. Albright's mentor, Zbigniew Brezinski, is much more candid in his recent writings, in which he says that the US must understand that it rules an empire. He proposes designing foreign policy accordingly, to maintain, protect and extend that empire.

Such racist thinking explains why Chancellor Helmut Kohl and his cabinet are content to have open racists and neo-nazis organizing in the German military. It elucidates why the Prime Minister of Australia is unwilling to direct his party to oppose the racist, anti-aborigine, anti-Asian "One Nation" Party. It explains why the Italian neo-fascists and "Northern" separatists have been part of the Italian ruling coalition. Europe and the European settler states such as the US and Australia are arming against Africa, Iran, India, China, and Meso-America. Even Turkey, long a member of NATO, has now been excluded from the E.U. ring of circling wagons.

with an appeal to morality or reason. It must first recognize, and oppose, the imperial context in which the U.S., the British, French, Israelis and Russians built and keep their bombs.

Western calls for peace will fall on deaf ears in China, Pakistan and India until we of the colonizing powers of the West take on our "own" governments and militaries. We must dismantle the imperialist system of illegitimate political, social and economic domination of the globe.



Blows Against the Empire

Unless peace forces expose and oppose these hidden racial and colonial motives, we cannot stop nuclear blackmail and military counter-insurgency. Here are several urgent priorities:

* **Take up the struggle over Ward Valley**, one of a number of areas where indigenous people, based in their sovereignty struggles, are leading the anti-nuclear resistance.

* **Support the Puerto Rican people** in their struggle against US annexation and military occupation, such as in the US naval operations on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques.

* **Defend the unity of African forces** in arranging the settlement of African conflicts without European intervention.

* **Demand the release of whistleblower Mordechai Vanunu**, and Israeli nuclear disarmament and withdrawal from occupied territories.

* **Close the US Army School of the Americas**, whose training in torture and assassinations is as toxic as any nuclear radiation.

* **And carry out this same process of decolonization and demilitarization domestically as well.**

Then the support will be cut out from under the weapons of mass terror and destruction.

Otherwise, the struggle over nuclear weapons becomes little more than a tactical one over what is the best and most practicable and flexible form of military power to ensure the survival of the empire.

GAY MEN IN THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

by David Cheater

This article is an attempt to pull together whatever historical evidence is available about homosexual men in the Nazi Party during Hitler's regime from a progressive, radical viewpoint. This piece is intended to learn from the past, not to deny the history of homosexual men in the German Nazi movement nor to suggest that there is a link between homosexuality and fascist affiliations.

A recent book called *The Pink Swastika* claims that the gay rights movement, then and now, was identical with the Nazi Party. This book denied the occurrence of a "Holocaust" against homosexuals, instead blaming the Shoah on 'Gay Radicals,' and attributing attacks on Magnus Hirschfeld and other early German gay liberationists to an internal conflict between masculine homosexuals among the nazis and more effeminate homosexuals on the left. This book was written by a man involved in the political attacks on gay and lesbian rights

Boys Scouts and Thugs: Origin of Gay Nazis

During the latter part of the 19th century, the Romantic Movement dominated music and philosophy in the educated classes of Italy and Germany, two countries whose realities lagged behind their imperial ambitions. This movement glorified the 'Natural' over the 'Civilized' and the 'Emotional' over the 'Intellectual'. One predominant theme was the expression of the 'Volksgeist', the people's spirit. But the collapse of German society in hyper-inflation and then the Depression led people to desire an escape.

This piece cannot deal with the history of lesbians in the National Socialist Party. There is little information available about female members of the Nazi Party, much less lesbians. As in most right-wing movements, women were officially outside the political discourses of the Nazi Party. Women were conceived as being 'baby-machines' for the State and for Hitler personally. It is known that during the period of the Third Reich, six women were arrested for being lesbians, despite the fact that lesbianism was not included in the German Penal code as was male homosexuality.

This rejection of painful reality for a race-based fantasy helped lay the foundation for cultural chauvinism and fascism. The use of psychology, sociology, and political science was regarded as artificial and cynical. The attempt to study human interactions on a scientific basis was regarded as non-Aryan. Composers such as Wagner and Richard Strauss created fantasies of an Nordic/Aryan culture, which preceded all non-White civilizations.

A cultural inferiority complex relative to more advanced empires became a glorification of a Utopian past which never existed. In this context attempts were made to throw off the restraints denying 'Aryans' their 'natural' expressions. Any act could be justified as being the 'Will of the Volk,' especially if it involved violence against someone who was not of the 'Volk.' Embracing irrationality as a guide to personal and group behaviour was a fundamental characteristic of Fascist ideology.

What does this have to do with

in Colorado. It ignores whichever facts do not validate the authors' present political agenda of inflaming homophobia. The B'nai Brith Jewish fraternal organization has formally listed the book as Holocaust denial literature even though one of the co-authors is an Orthodox Rabbi.

On the other hand, some gay sources like *The Nazi Extermination of Homosexuals* keep spiraling the number of gay deaths higher and higher; going from the recorded figure of 10,000 Pink triangle prisoners to over 500,000 men murdered because they were gay. One figure that I heard at a conference for lesbian and gay Jews in San Francisco was that over 5,000,000 people were murdered due to sexual orientation in this period. Such unfounded assertions do not assist us in understanding Nazism or defending gay rights. This isn't a contest as to who is the most oppressed.

Nazi gays? The most common question gays today ask about homosexuals in the Fascist movement is, 'How could they be so STUPID?' The answer is that they weren't stupid. They had been carefully trained in non-examination of the consequences of ideas. One reality is that the Nazi legal code was erratic. In many instances, laws were based on the whims of the judges. People could be sentenced for crimes that weren't on the books.

Homosexuals deeply involved in the Nazi Party believed that the laws simply did not apply to them, and in the beginning this was true. Different ideologies were warring among German homosexuals as they were in the rest of the German population, and a significant sector of German gay men were attracted to the sense of power, the false "liberation," that the Nazis offered.

German youth after World War I were strongly influenced by the formation of youth groups and a youth culture. Youth groups were established throughout Europe and later exported to North and South

America, segregated on gender and racial lines. Europeans considered these distinctions as 'Natural', backing up racist and sexist assumptions with carefully selected examples from the animal kingdom. Groups for young males to channel their aggressiveness into allegedly socially-useful forms were established; groups for young women tended to teach home-tending skills. Jews were excluded from the Aryan groups and had to establish separate societies.

The segregation of boys from girls in the pre-Nazi era, based on a misogynist glorification of the male, had predictable consequences. Any society that allows in only males will attract males who like other males. As well, whenever individuals can only socialize with the same sex, romantic and sexual entanglements will occur, especially in teenagers. Some of the adult leaders of these 'youth societies' were paedophiles. A Freudian view that sexual repression and hate of the body were responsible for all mental and social ills took root among many

of these societies during the 1920's. Many practiced nudism. Shame about the body was blamed on the 'Jewish myths' in the Bible. German and Italian paedophiles extolled the beauty of Aryan youth. This fetishizing of supposed racial characteristics was re-enforced by the biases of 'Aryan Science'-- 'scientific' racism and eugenics. Homoeroticism was intermingled in the development of the concept of Aryan male supremacy, in visual and other propaganda.

Parallel with the official youth groups came the rise of street gangs among the poorer youth of the cities. The rise of violent street youth was attributed either to 'moral laxness' in the Weimar Republic or to a reaction against the Victorian strictness of the older generation, according to the social bias of the analyst. Many of the youth joined Communist or Anarchist groups and fought for a revolution against the oppressive system that they were living under. Others had less of a political analysis and sought out scapegoats for the poverty and social chaos that they were living in. Many were searching for someone to give them answers and an identity. This they found in the Nazi Storm Troopers (the Sturm-Abteilung, SA) or Brown Shirts).

The Storm Troopers, founded on Aug. 31, 1921, provided a place for disaffected young men, including gays. Recruiting drives were held in saloons; you joined up and you got free beer for the night. The boys got their hair cut, put on brown shirts and nice shiny black boots and joined a gang that the police wouldn't touch. The boys who had been in the youth groups and the boys who had been in the gangs all graduated to the Storm Troopers. This was a heady mix. Comrades, purpose, respect, and money. And in the beginning, masculine gays were welcome. After all, the leader of the SA was the most notorious open homosexual in the Nazi Party -- Ernst Roehm.

A 'du' Friend of Hitler

German is a very formal language.

There is a formal way and a distinct familiar way to talk to someone. Germans can know each other for decades and never use first names or the familiar 'du' form of 'you' in conversation. There's even a little ritual when one passes this point, in which two friends link arms and share drinks.

Hitler only had two 'du' friends in his entire life. One was Ernst Roehm.

Ernst Roehm was likely the first Nazi. He is known to have found Hitler his first job in 1919. He and Hitler had both been wounded in WWI. Roehm was one of the few survivors of the 'Beer Hall Putsch.' While Hitler was imprisoned in 1924, Ernst Roehm built up the SA into the largest single political force in the country. By 1932, the SA was the most powerful army in Germany, with 400,000 armed men, larger than the Wehrmacht and incorporating the SS. But Ernst Roehm had two fatal flaws from the perspective of Hitler's other backers and allies.

Roehm was a socialist. He argued with Hitler over the necessity of a second revolution to fulfill National Socialism, and arguing with Hitler was not safe even for his closest friend. The other issue was that he was a fantastically indiscreet homosexual. He stocked the upper levels of the SA with handsome young gay men. He used party funds to have enormous banquets which became orgies. He had sued a hustler who had tried to blackmail him over love-letters. As a result of this suit and his disagreements with Hitler, Roehm had been sent to Bolivia for 5 years.

Ernst Roehm did not like Bolivia at all. He complained about the heat, the lack of culture and the lack of sexual partners. When Hitler called him back to Germany to settle a mutiny in the ranks of the SA, he was delighted to return. He was granted the rank of Minister without Portfolio in the parliament. Some of his supporters thought that he should have been the Minister of the Military, as Roehm was a skilled street-fighter

and organizer of street fighters. He was respected by and popular with the youth of the SA. (The majority of the SA were under the age of 21). Even his enemies acknowledged that he didn't coerce the younger men who provided him sexual favors.

But the aristocrats in the military had utter contempt for Roehm, whom they saw as vicious and oafish. His blatant sexuality was one of the points that stuck in their craw. The industrialists were worried on his insistence on a 'Second [socialist] Revolution' (the Nazis gaining political power being the first). Roehm's outspoken contempt for the officers of the military and the wealthy made him many powerful enemies. Roehm's chief rivals within the Nazi camp were in the Schutzstaffel, SS, also known as the Black Shirts. They were given primary responsibility for the concentration camps and internal security. The SS was theoretically subordinate to the SA and therefore to Roehm, but Goering, Himmler and Heydrich, the three leaders of the SS, were ambitious. (Hermann Goering was apparently a heterosexual transvestite.)

Roehm remained oblivious to the growing influence of these people on Hitler. He apparently considered the anti-Semitism of the Nazi party to be a only propaganda tool. When Roehm demanded that the Wehrmacht, the SS and the SA be united under his command, too many people got worried and one of them was his best friend, Adolf.

The SturmAbteilung

The contest between the SA and SS had no good guys. The SA was one of the most vicious gang of thugs this century. The SA originated the role of the SS in tortures, murders, beatings and genocide. The Brown shirts were the shock troops of the Nazi movement under Roehm, and they recruited among communists, socialists, petty thieves, hustlers and street kids. Any young man with a taste for violence was a potential member, unless they were Jewish. Hitler once made an

official statement "The SA is not an Institute for the moral education of genteel young ladies, but a formation of seasoned soldiers". This was said when the SA was still an asset to Hitler. The average German citizen feared and despised the SA. They extorted money from businesses and then spent it on cars, clothes and parties. This was at a time when a significant portion of the German population was near starvation.

The SA were the 'shock troops' of Fascism. In the early days they tore down the posters of their opponents and got into brawls in the bars. As their numbers swelled, they became more violent. People would be beaten on the streets with no provocation. Regular German citizens could be seized and brought to one of the SA club houses where they would be tortured sometimes to death. The first concentration camps were set up under the auspices of the SA. They were better organized than the police, and many of the judges refused to hear cases against them. The judges who tried to continue with cases were often victims themselves.

Despite his close friendship with Roehm, Hitler was not comfortable with the idea of homosexuals. As far as can be told he wasn't very comfortable with the concept of sex, although he did like the idea of lots of Aryan babies being born. He believed that homosexuality led to racial degeneracy (for that reason he permitted homosexuality among the slave populations), and was the sole cause for the fall of the Roman Empire. He, however, was a brutally practical pragmatist. As long as homosexuals were useful to the Party they were allowed. Other leaders of the Nazi party were not so pragmatic. Himmler hated gays with a passion. The Ministry of Justice made paragraph 175, the constitutional prohibition on male homosexuality, harsher and harsher. In the Weimar Republic only sodomy was outlawed. Under the Nazi regime any behavior a judge found 'peculiar' could receive a death penalty. The laws were made retroactive.

NEVER



AGAIN!

Yet no matter how homophobic the pronouncements of the rest of the Nazi Party, having a blatant homosexual like Roehm as the second in command made all the other homosexual and bisexual men feel safe. A large number of the leadership of the SA were openly homosexual. After all, the SA was above the law. The SA were the brutal arm of enforcement for the Nazi Party. They thought that they were indispensable, but they were quickly becoming an embarrassment to Hitler's establishment backers.

As the Nazi Party gained legal political power, the conservative elements in society such as the Wehrmacht (the Army) and the industrialists told Hitler and other officials that their support depended on Hitler 'doing something' about this army of thugs. Hitler had to show that the SA were under his control. The random violence against the 'average German,' vital in gaining control, had to end if the Nazi Party was to retain control.

Langemessernacht: The Night of the Long Knives

The acceptance of openly homosexual Nazis ended on Langemessernacht. The SS was

empowered to execute the leaders of the SA under the rubric of sexual perversion. On June 4, 1932, Ernst Roehm and Adolf Hitler had had their last formal meeting. It lasted for five hours and ended with them screaming at each other. For some reason Roehm thought that the meeting had gone well. He went on vacation in his native Bavaria and ordered the SA on a month-long vacation. During that month, Hitler was informed by the military, the industrialists, the Roman Catholic Church and the SS that something had to be done about the SA. Himmler, Goering and Heydrich forged a report that the SA was prepared to rebel against Hitler and set up a Gay Bolshevik state. According to reports from this time period, Hitler seemed reluctant to make the step that would destroy the man and the group that had brought him to power. But finally, the pressure convinced him that the only way that he could retain power would be to eliminate the SA.

Early in the morning of Saturday, June 30, the arrests of the SA leaders, homosexual or otherwise, started. Edmund Heines and his chauffeur were reportedly executed in the bed that they shared. Ernst Roehm was arrested and given the choice of suicide or execution. He is said to have refused and demanded that Hitler perform the killing himself. Many of the SA leaders apparently never knew why they were being executed. Several died shouting out 'Heil Hitler!' Some of the ones who were not executed said afterward that they had thought that the purge was an attempt to overthrow Hitler.

Hitler claimed afterward that 77 men died during the 'Blood Purge.' A figure of closer to 1,000 was given at the War Crimes tribunal. Higher estimates are given based on the fact that many of the SS took the opportunity to go after real and perceived enemies in the SA. This is one of the episodes of the war when the Nazis did not keep records. The SA did not ignore the liquidation of its leadership. At least 155 SS

officers were assassinated over the next two years, having notes that said "Roehm's Avengers" pinned to their shirts.

Results

This was the end of the period that it was safe to be openly homosexual or bisexual within the Nazi Party. Hitler ordered all homosexuals to leave the SA on pain of being accused of treason. The more disciplined, elite SS was appointed to the position of power that the SA had previously had. The SA was left functionally leaderless and was atomized and absorbed into the Army under the control of the Army officers. There were no more open homosexuals in the Nazi Party after this point. Members of the SS who were caught engaging in homosexual sex were executed on the spot and their deaths were not recorded. Several prominent homosexuals were able to achieve a level of safety if they were designated as necessary for morale purposes, but they were not allowed to become members of the Party. Some 5,000 members of the military were charged and sent to concentration camps but it is not recorded whether any of these were Party members (or former members of the SA).

Most of the people who were killed were not killed because they were homosexual. They were killed because they were no longer needed, and in fact it was dangerous to continued Nazi domination to let them live. A German joke of the time puts it best: Leiber Gott! If Hitler killed Roehm and his men because he just found out about Roehm's homosexuality, what is he going to do when he finds out about Dr. Goebbels's clubfoot? This was the pattern for the rest of the war as well -- many of the people who were killed for being homosexual were actually arrested for other reasons. It was just easier to secure a death sentence if the charge were sexual deviance. Of course, many of those who died for other reasons were also homosexuals; several Communists, Socialists and Jews were also gay rights activists. One prominent victim

was Herschel Grynszpan, the assassin of Ernst vom Rath.

The wholesale slaughter of people because they were 'thought' to be threats to the State and to Hitler was the point of no return for the German people. Those in the ranks of the SA, homosexuals or otherwise, found the tools they had sharpened used against them. The government had taken upon itself the arbitrary right to execute without recourse to the courts or to any existing laws. The coming Holocaust could have been stopped at this point by an uproar from the German people or from the Party itself. But since it was homosexuals who were being killed, people didn't care. This set the precedent that it was legal to kill people for their identity. European law had previously only permitted criminal charges to be laid for behavior. It was possible to be arrested and convicted for hugging a person of the same sex, appearing in the address book of someone who was arrested for being homosexual or giving someone a look that a passerby considered 'wanton.'

The liquidation of the SA also silenced the remaining "socialists" within the Nazi movement. Communists thought incorrectly that the 'Blood Purge' was a sign that the Nazis were starting to eat themselves and could simply be ignored as they self-destructed. The Wehrmacht was overjoyed that what they considered the lower class perverts in a pseudo-military were wiped out. To their chagrin, they discovered that the traditional autonomy of the Military no longer existed under the Nazi regime, and that Hitler in cementing his power by attacking his own SA, had also clinched his power over the regular army. Hitler, the Nazis and the "Thousand Year Reich" were set firmly on the path of dictatorship, genocide, military conquest, and destruction. We should not forget that some gay men, attracted to the Nazis, participated in their own destruction.

David Cheater is a gay Canadian anti-racist activist.

Dealing with Sexism & Building Safe Movements

by Michael Reinsborough

The questions I would like to throw out are: what are we doing to build movements where people feel safe to work and to struggle with each other? What has worked and what hasn't?

After the Southern California Food-not-Bombs regional conference earlier this year, several complaints about sexism arose. We in the Los Angeles chapter combined

with Whittier and some of the people from Pasadena decided we needed to have community meetings with discussion groups to deal with these issues. We've had two community meetings since then, one dealing with sexism, and another about conflict resolution. The next one is yet to be scheduled but we expect it to be sometime in September. Some of what I have to say here has developed out of those meetings.

"Who Is the Problem?" vs. Dealing with What the Problem Is

Often people (especially men) dealing with rape or sexual harassment inside a movement group focus on who the problem is instead of dealing with what the problem is. If we say HE is the problem, then the problem is NOT-ME. Scape-goating individuals only serves to hide that the overall problem is embedded in the institutions (like schools, workplaces, movies, government, etc) of amerika (& elsewhere). It hides that the problem is inside masculinity itself. It hides that the problem is often right inside leftist organizations. It's like if you complain about discrimination at work, your boss often just gets rid of the "guilty" person (because it's bad for the company's reputation) but s/he won't change anything substantive.

Some people say that dealing with sexism diverts the limited energy of movement groups from our primary focus (homelessness, racism, etc.). This question recognizes that all organizations must focus on something in order to accomplish anything. As much as we would like to do everything we can't. However, in order to do anything, we must also have safe space in which

to work. When the environment is hostile to women, emotionally or physically dangerous, this undermines their participation or forces them to leave entirely. At that point, our movements are in the process of ceasing to function. Women are half the population. Without women, it's not just that we'll take twice as long to accomplish our goals, nothing will be accomplished at all because we won't be a movement. There isn't enough time NOT to deal with the problem.

It is also important to remember that

we do have finite resources and only so much time. We should resist the temptation to say, "stop everything until we deal with this sexism problem!", or racism problem, or homophobia, etc. As an organization, we have goals and a purpose, day to day tasks that must be accomplished. To deal with the problem *exclusively* and not deal with anything else would disrupt what we're working to do. We need to figure how to deal with these problems while we are doing our work. So people need to feel safe both in raising struggles and in responding to struggles that are raised.

Competing Issues

Racism, sexism, and homophobia are three concerns we hear a lot about. There are lots of other prejudices based on appearance, education, religion, class background (which side of the tracks you were born on), ethnicity, age, etc. etc. It sucks but when these issues come up, some one may say, "We can't deal with your problem because my problem is more important." There are also people with theories that say one problem is the central issue and others are just symptoms. Getting into arguments about who's more oppressed won't solve anything. Of course sometimes the conflict is bullshit; for example, when women confront the men in the organization about sexism and the men all of a sudden become concerned about racism and say "We don't have time to deal with your issue. And y'know what else, we think you're very racist for bringing up other issues when really you should be dealing with racism."

Other times the conflict is more genuine. There are real issues to be talked about and limited energy with which to deal with them. Because it is

perceived that the organization will only devote limited time to dealing with these problems, different groups who do not feel safe for different reasons can get into conflict with one another while the dominant group that does feel safe is not challenged to be part of changing the situation. I would like to know how people deal with this unfortunately fairly common situation. Where is the belief coming from that "We-only-have-so-much-safety-to-go-around?" We have to shut this "zero-sum" idea down and work in solidarity with one another to share and solve our problems.

How Men Change

In my experience, changing a group or an organization takes a long time, requires a lot of work and requires patience. Here are three steps that I have seen be effective in organizations that I have been in.

1. Education: By talking about what sexism is and what kind of behavior isn't respectful, a group can develop some common understandings. Different people will have different beliefs. When everyone knows where each other is coming from, it is clearer what constitutes a violation of trust. Education isn't just for men. Many women do not understand what feminism is, either. They have sexist beliefs and attitudes. The point of laying out boundaries is to clearly let men know what is right and wrong. Challenging a man on something that he doesn't realize is wrong is not as likely to be successful.

2. Accountability: After talking about what sexism is, it's still going to be necessary to call men (or women) on their shit when it happens. A discussion about sexism means men understand in their head what sexism

is. It doesn't mean that we are going to understand what it is in our behavior. Knowing in our head what something is and why it is wrong is not the same as recognizing in our behavior what something is and choosing to stop. It's like juggling. I could explain to you how to juggle and you could listen to me and understand but you'd still have to practice before you could do it. Calling men on their shit can be done by other men but women are going to be the best at this. Women play an important role by communicating with men and defending their own boundaries. Really, this is how men change.

3. We have to take anti-sexist action :

As we are challenged on our shit we change. We become aware of what actions and attitudes violate boundaries and we choose not to do them. But this isn't really enough. Men (and women) have to take conscious action against sexism to change ourselves. Getting involved is different from agreeing but staying home. Anti-sexist action can be as simple as supporting women friends, going to a march for women's rights, or being quiet and letting a woman talk; or it can be as much as working to change an organization or putting yourself on the line for clinic defense and women's reproductive freedom. There may be some ingenious women who can figure out how to encourage men to do this. But ultimately this one is probably up to us. If you're not part of the solution then you're still part of the problem.

Language and Sexism

How we speak indicates how we think, and how we think indicates what possible actions we are likely to be involved in. Sexist language suggests

that we don't know any better or don't care. It can also be insulting in and of itself. But usually, the problem is when we are not aware of our language, then we probably also aren't thinking about our actions.

For example, if we call women "girls," but we call men "men," this indicates that we often think of women as younger and less capable than men, and suggests that we are more likely to ignore their ideas and not listen to what they say. Just because someone doesn't use sexist language doesn't mean they aren't sexist. (White supremacists, Nazis, etc. quickly learn not to say "nigger" in front of the TV camera because then they look bad to the public. That doesn't mean they aren't thinking the same thing as always.) By itself, asking people to change their language is not a solution (but it might be a good start when the person is being insulting and offensive). In my own experience, being asked to not say "girl" was very difficult for me. When it was explained why to me, I agreed that this seemed reasonable; however I never listened to myself and said "girl" all the time. I had to start listening to myself and following how I was thinking very carefully and eventually I gained more power over how I speak and what I believe. Also, understanding why words or phrases might be considered offensive was part of my education about what sexism, racism, and other prejudices really are.

I'm not suggesting that we censor ourselves or eliminate certain words, but I am suggesting we examine comprehensively how we speak and think and how that affects the world around us. If you want to develop this capability then carefully study what language might be considered sexist and why, and try not to use those terms for a month. This requires a lot of discipline. Then go back to speaking "normally" but incorporate what you have learned about yourself into the

way you speak. There is no such thing as a sexist word. The meaning of a word does not come from the dictionary but instead comes from the situation in which it is spoken. Even the word "cunt" has been used in feminist poetry to defend and create safe space for women. Likewise someone can speak without any controversial words and be quite insulting and sexist.

Another point to note, particularly for organizations that work from the bottom of the economic pyramid, talking about language is more of a middle income thing to do. Women that have a house and a car and a job are concerned not to be disrespected or marginalized by the speech of another person. Women who don't have a house or a vehicle or employment are more likely to be concerned about issues such as physical safety or access to food. If we live on the streets, whether we're a man or woman or another gender type, sexist language is often the least of our concerns. Someone who talks a lot about language will only be indicating to us that they either don't know or don't care what our real concerns are.

Some Strategy Notes

Pick your battles carefully. In most grassroots organizations we're all volunteers and our only authority is that we work hard and are respectful. We can't just tell people to do things and think that they will do them. If we take someone seriously, we hope to be taken seriously ourselves. If we are disrespectful and drag our own personal bullshit into how we act, then we shouldn't be surprised when people do not take us seriously. Think about it. Also, pick important issues to draw the line on. If you draw the line everywhere, no one will take you seriously, and the line will have been drawn nowhere.

It is important to confront some actions (or statements) very directly and publicly, exactly when they happen. This is the most effective way to deal with sexist bullshit. Tiptoeing around and trying to subtly hint after the fact that something might have been wrong is ineffective and does not create an environment where people feel safe or can get things done. On the other hand, men need to know that we also benefit from feminism and a nurturing safe environment. We need to know there is a safe place in which to consider the new ideas that we are being challenged with and that we will have time to do so. Demonizing "white males" or criticizing someone without giving them an opportunity to change will only encourage resistance. Men also have grievances that need to be taken seriously.

How Many Books about Feminism have you Read?

The first step that men and women need to take to deal with sexism is to read books and educate ourselves about feminism. Here are a few books and their authors that you might be able to find. Ask your friends about others.

1. *Backlash*; by Susan Faludi. This is only a few years old and gives a really good picture of what women are up against in contemporary "post-feminist" American society.

2. *For Men against Sexism: a Book of Readings*; edited by Jon Snodgrass, Times Change Press, Albion, CA 95410. 1977 This was a useful book for me because I wanted to read what other men had to say about sexism. Perhaps that's bullshit but I didn't feel like I would relate as easily to what women had to say. It's worth noting that what the men write in these essays they originally learned from women, through their writing and talking.

3. *Uprooting Racism: How White People Can Work for Racial Justice*; by Paul Kivel, New Society Publishers, Philadelphia, PA 19143. 1995 This is a great book! It is written in plain, easy to understand English, and it doesn't try to sound all radical but also it doesn't compromise on justice. I learned a lot from reading this book.

Effective Organization of the Community

Does your group communicate well? Does every member have a phone list? How often does the whole group meet and talk together? How long will it take for information to circulate throughout the group? If you use e-mail, who's on the list? (Is it mostly men or are there also women?) Will you give the information on the e-mail list to other people in your group? How long will it take them to get this information and will there be an actual discussion about it? How often do our friends not on the internet benefit because we give them information from the list? Will people in the group have an active discussion about these issues or will they just get a synopsis? The answers to these questions and others indicate how effective your group is. The more you are organized, prepared, and communicate well, the more successful we can be in building movements where it's safe to struggle.

There's much more to say about building safe movements and fighting sexism, etc. What I've written is just the tip of the iceberg. I am open to discussing these ideas with people and improving, correcting or developing them further.

Free food, free speech, free the land, and most of all free yourself from the cop inside your own head.

Michael Reinsborough is a member of *Food Not Bombs*, and a frequent contributor to *Turning the Tide*.

"TURNING THE TIDE" On Tour!

This summer, Michael Novick, editor of *Turning the Tide* and founding member of **People Against Racist Terror (PART)** will be traveling cross-country. Michael, author of *White Lies White Power: The Fight Against White Supremacy and Reactionary Violence*, will be on the road from mid-July until the end of August. He will be meeting with other activists involved in countering police abuse, and developing national contacts for the **!Crack the CIA!** Coalition in Los Angeles.

He will also be meeting with Anti-Racist Action chapters in several cities. The itinerary includes Albuquerque and Tierra Amarilla, NM; Oklahoma City, OK; Memphis, TN; Birmingham, AL; Atlanta, GA; Washington, DC from July 23-25; New York, NY, July 26-31; Toronto ON, August 1; Cleveland, OH; Chicago IL and Milwaukee WI, Aug. 3 — 13; Minneapolis, MN; North Dakota; Montana; Vancouver, BC; Seattle, WA; Portland, OR; Oakland, CA and returning to L.A. on August 24. If you'd like to set up an event or meeting, call the PART hotline at 310-288-5003. (PART will be off-line while Michael's away, so e-mail won't work).

Mandatory School Uniform Policies: Laying the Groundwork for Fascism

by Christian Smith

Fascism and freedom lie on a continuum. We do not suddenly find ourselves in a fascist state. This is something that we create over time as we favor authoritarianism over freedom.

If a fascist party seizes power one day, the process leading up to that event slowly created the conditions for it. The society prepared itself to receive and support the fascists. Put another way, the fascist program resonated in the hearts, minds and bodies of the people of that society.

A society moving towards fascism fills its spaces with authoritarian thought and practice as it banishes freedom from these very spaces.

In the last few years, school districts throughout the country have forced their students to wear school uniforms. The New York City schools recently adopted a school uniform policy. The Long Beach School District (Cohen, 1996) in California imposed uniforms on all grade levels, K-12. The school district in Los Angeles (LAUSD) endorses school uniforms but allows its schools to go mandatory or voluntary. One of my daughters goes to a mandatory uniform junior high campus -- Walter Reed Middle School. I am an elected member of the L.E.A.R.N. Council that runs the school. For two years, I've been fighting the uniform policy. My only support is from the students, who vote against the policy. Some parents oppose it but obey it. They watch me from a distance, seemingly afraid to contradict the school.

Uniform proponents tell us that we need school uniforms to decrease behavior problems, curb violence, level class differences, discourage theft, stop gangs, and improve the appearance of the campus. School uniforms are held up as the only appropriate wear for serious students who are at school to learn. Bill Clinton visited the Long Beach Schools in 1996 and praised

them for instilling discipline through the use of uniforms. Some school leaders who are more honest even admit that the uniforms prepare students for uniforms in the corporate world.

I would like to focus on the mechanism through which dress codes and mandatory school uniform policies lay the physical, emotional and social groundwork for fascism, whether or not they are so intended. Through mandated uniforms, students are alienated from control over their own bodies. They are robbed of a primary task of adolescence --

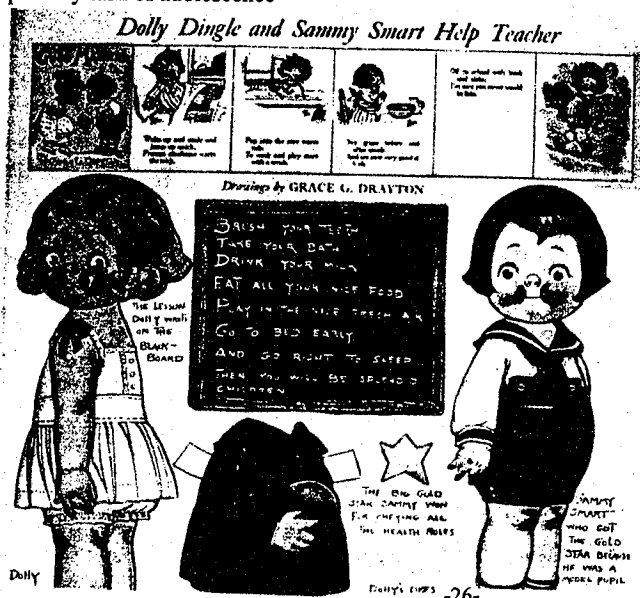
identity building. Their identity is subsumed by the institution -- the school. They are denied their individual rights of expression and forced to obey. The radical threat of adolescents in a process of personal transformation and its potential for social transformation is removed from the society. The youth's sensuality as expressed through clothing and body is eradicated. The result is a passive, obedient, alienated student body following the directives of a school administration that has siphoned its power from the surrendering youths.

Alienation of the Body

The central mechanism of this alienation is to separate people from self-determination over their bodies. This is necessary in a capitalist society, which requires workers to sell their capacity to work (labor power) to the boss. That labor power including mental labor is the capacity of a living human body. Since accumulation of capital is the driving force of capitalist society, the worker's body is exploited for all its ability to create. The worker's physical needs and comforts are in direct contradiction to the ever increasing demands of the profit makers. A worker who is alienated from her body allows her body to be exploited. She becomes a cog in the machine.

Our society trains people from early in life to be alienated from their physical needs and desires in order to make this exploitation possible. Don H. Johnson, a Marxist-influenced bodyworker, writes (1983):

"Schools are primarily designed to train docile citizens and workers. Small, highly mobile children are made to sit in rigid desks for hours without significant movement. Bodily patterns of fatigue, hunger



and excitement are brought into alignment with the externally determined rhythms of the school day."

Another step in making school children docile is to control what they wear on their body. For example, at my daughter's school, the uniform is blue slacks or shorts and a white shirt with buttons. The shirt must be worn tucked in. Whether the kid is comfortable with his shirt tucked in or not is irrelevant. He no longer has a say in his comfort

Identity and Self-determination

Control over the development of the youth's identity is also turned over to the rulers. According to child psychology theorist Erik Erickson (1963), children go through developmental stages. The adolescent stage he calls identity vs. role confusion. The main psycho-social task of adolescents is to explore their identity. They do this by exploring different ways of thinking, feeling, behaving, and dressing. The attention that children give to what they wear is not frivolous; it's an important part of their development. According to Erickson, adolescents (ages 11 or 12 - 19) are concerned with how they will appear in the eyes of others as compared to how they feel they are. They use this comparison to build their identity. Teens try on different identities, e.g., favoring hard rock one month and switching to rap the next, wearing grunge clothes for a while and then switching to hip hop baggy pants. Adolescents "play the role of the other" and use "costume...as a magical instrument." (Stone, 1962)

Adolescents explore wearing the clothing that other kids wear. They may appear cliquish in their choice of clothing, as if the group they belong to has its own uniform policy. Then they change groups and start to wear different clothing. They experiment with their own styles within their group. They might belong to no group and dress as they like. Teens may also explore dressing like an adult instead of a child. Mandatory



uniform policies deprive children and teenagers of this important psychological work. If they do not successfully explore their identity in adolescence, they will not be ready to be mature adults.

The students are forced, through the uniforms, to identify with those in power. What is a natural and fluid process of exploration in dress styles and self development becomes a rigid identification with the institutional dress style. School uniforms give the message that the kids belong to the school. To force all the teenagers to dress alike is to mold their look into the look of the institution. This takes away their individuality and raises the institution to a place more important than the individual students. The student is subsumed or alienated by the school.

This psychological state of alienation by an institution is exactly the psychological process of fascism (Wilhelm Reich, 1970). In fascism, people become secondary to the state. Fascism comes from the Latin root *fascis*, which means "bundle". In this case the individual is bundled by the institution and loses his/her individuality in the process. This is done to allow the institution,

which is run by the people in power, to rule as it pleases, since the people who are ruled are subsumed by and even identify with this institution. Teenagers are particularly vulnerable to this manipulation since they are in the process of developing their identity. This is why Hitler made sure he organized the youth in Germany. Fanon (1967) described the process by which dependent colonial people come to identify with their oppressors. The rulers strip the people of their identity and supplant it with the identity of the master. The exploited wear the mask of the oppressor. School uniforms are a literal manifestation of the mask of the oppressor. Obedience of the students is based on a forced identification with the rulers.

Rights and Obedience

The most common argument against uniforms is that of individual rights. Forcing students to dress in school uniforms robs the students of their rights over their body and their expression. Ira Glasser, Executive Director of the ACLU, told the Seattle Times (1996) that "school uniforms fly in the face of the values this country was built on, a country of thinking

individuals who can question authority." Pro-uniform adults argue that we need to do something about violence amongst youths and that if some individual rights of children get trampled in the process that's just the price we all have to pay to achieve security and order. In the name of "security," the state and business sectors take away our rights one by one. The process is so slow that people may not notice.

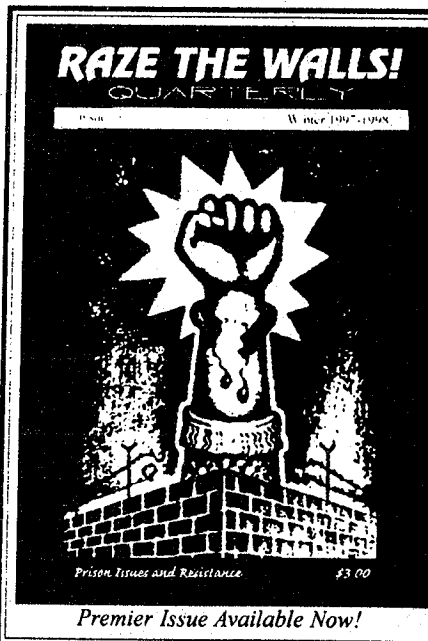
First, schools enforce a dress code on students. Certain clothing is prohibited. Other clothing is controlled. For example at my daughter's junior high, shorts are not to be worn either shorter than two inches above the knee (too revealing) or longer than two inches below the knee (too much like gang attire). Flannel shirts are outlawed (gang attire). Once students get used to obeying a moderate dress code, they are then handed a more severe school uniform code. The steps from dress code to uniform code are small, "logical," and tolerable.

"Attitude" Counts

Over time, the administration can take steps towards stripping the students of all their rights, including their right to think and feel for themselves. In my 12 year old daughter's physical education class, 25% of her grade is determined by her "attitude." The teacher can force the students to be happy and smile as they perform the exercises she tells them to while dressed up in their uniforms. No one even questions why the teacher has the right to control her student's emotions. If my daughter has menstrual cramps and a bad mood one day, she is docked points for not conforming to the proper attitude. Control of dress. Control of emotions. Is control of thoughts next?

Fear of Adolescents

One of the assumptions of the pro-uniform argument is that learning is the primary task of students in school and that uniforms help students stay on that task. From the educator's point of view, it would be nice if this was so.



Raze the Walls! Quarterly is a new publication published by Raze the Walls! Georgia. Our mission with this project is to publish writings by and about prisoners and prisons, as well as articles covering revolutionary theory and activity from an anti-authoritarian class-struggle perspective.

Due to the costs involved with printing, we are forced to apply the following rates:

FREE-WORLD PERSONS

One year subscriptions: \$10.00

Single Issues: \$3.00

Bulk Quantities (10 or more) for distribution: \$1.50 each

PRISONERS

We are trying to keep copies for prisoners as cheap as possible, but ask that you send *at least* one dollar in stamps to receive a copy. Free-world people are asked to send donations to help cover the cost of sending issues to prisoners.

RAZE THE WALLS!

2351 College Station Rd. #523

Athens, GA 30605 USA

Cash or money order made out to "Mike Mann" only, please.

Students could sit attentively in class sponging up the lessons. In reality, once students reach adolescence, they are excruciatingly socially conscious. They are anxious much of the time. According to Sibley (1995), adolescents exist in a liminal zone between adult and child. They are not yet adults, yet they are no longer children. They are in the process of change. Their hormones, bodies, sexuality, consciousness and allegiances are all in a state of flux. Consequently, their primary task is not rote learning, but identity building. They are in a narrow passage between childhood and adulthood and they put most of their attention into crossing this passage. Middle school is the beginning of the adolescent passage.

possibility of freedom that their process be protected. I will go so far as to say that the identity explorations of teenagers hold the keys to how our society will explore its collective identity. Through this exploration, society - the social ensemble of relations between all people -- can find its liberating identity and move away from its fascist identity.

Suppression of Sensuality

School uniforms are designed to take sensuality out of the schools. Adults try to prohibit children from wearing "revealing" clothing. Parents, administrators and teachers attempt to eradicate children's sensuality and sexuality from the schools. Only the armored and veiled sexuality of the administration's power is permitted. The adults, in their propaganda, link violence, drugs and sex as if they are the same thing. They say that they need mandatory school uniform policies to get rid of sex, drugs and violence among the students. Yet, research in developmental neurology (Harlow, 1958, 1963, Prescott, 1990) and anthropology (Mead, 1963, Prescott, 1991) have found that sensuality and sexuality oppose violence. Societies that are more sexually free and pleasure-based are also less violent, whereas sexually repressive societies are more violence-prone.

Further, one of the basic tenets of Reich's famous *Mass Psychology*

of Fascism (1970) is that sexually repressed, physically armored people seek an outside source to direct them. They are alienated from their own desire. Since desire threatens the armor of their body and consciousness, they fear it and disown it. Disembodied desire then attaches to an authoritarian leader. The person experiences their sexual desire as the power of the leader. The fascist society brims with the harnessed sexual energy of its victims/participants.

Their Power Comes From Our Obedience

Supporters of school uniforms assert that kids who wear uniforms will be ready to "dress for success" in the corporate world. Corporations demand obedience from their workers so they can make more money by exploiting them. Corporate dress is an attempt to subsume the individual to the institution. As long as the ruled go along with the program of the rulers they support the system. They shore up the very culture that is forcing them to be slaves. A master cannot rule without the cooperation of the people he rules. It is this process -- the process of cooperating with authority -- that is being ingrained in students through the school uniform policies. Whether the teachers are oppressors or nice people is irrelevant. The issue is that they are creating an obedient populace that is ripe for exploitation. They are robbing the youth of the only

weapon they have against fascism -- their self-determination.

To destroy the foundations of fascism -- to rip it out from its roots we must encourage independent critical thought by the youth. We must allow our youth to develop their identity on their terms. Leave the kids to dress as they like. Let them be themselves. This is one step to developing a strong enough self to say no to fascism. Students in schools can defeat the mandatory school uniform polices by refusing to cooperate. Well-organized student strikes in which they wear forbidden clothing will show the administration that they have no power over student bodies. Through conscious disobedience, the youth can learn the valuable task of repulsing fascism. They can hone up their liberating consciousness and lead us away from the destructive grasp of fascism.

References are available from the author. Christian Smith is a radical therapist and social activist. He works at the Radical Therapy Center in North Hollywood, California. Christian has three daughters, ages 15, 12 and 8 (in 1998). He is a member of the LEARN Council at Walter Reed Middle School in North Hollywood. You can reach him at (818)982-7977 or through E-mail at radic@primenet.com.

"This province is nothing less than an outlaw state. A settler, colonial regime practicing big-gun diplomacy to suppress and oppress the original inhabitants of this territory in nothing less than a state of apartheid against the Original People ... We decided to draw the line in the sand ... The government's response was to develop military and police operations known as 'Operation Wallaby' from the military perspective, and 'Operation Iron Horse' from the RCMP perspective. These operational plans were nothing less than sophisticated COINTELPRO-type tactics to create disruption, and to carry out the discrediting and the planned neutralization of the leaders of the Indigenous opposition."

- Mohawk Warrior John Splitting the Sky Hill (Dacajewiah),
one of the 1995 Gustafsen Lake Defenders,
and a veteran of the 1971 Attica Prison Rebellion

Defending the Native Liberation Movement: THE 1995 GUSTAFSEN LAKE CRISIS

by the Free Wolverine Campaign, 4/98

In 1995, the USA and Canada invaded the 'Gustafsen Lake' territory of the Shuswap Indians in British Columbia, Canada, in an attempt to eliminate the Native Liberation Movement in North America. This invasion was led by Canada's national police force (called the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, or RCMP) and included the US FBI; Canada's secret police (called the Canadian Secret Intelligence Services, or CSIS); the Canadian military forces;

armed, white fascists; and a massive media "smear and disinformation campaign" that was coordinated by the RCMP.

This month-long offensive by the North American Police-State was Canada's most expensive domestic military operation, and its largest armed forces land battle since the Korean War.

The Native people, and their non-Native supporters, that were under attack during this invasion of un-surrendered Indian land mounted an armed defense of their sovereign territory in an effort to resist this genocidal, colonial aggression against the Native Liberation Movement. Despite the fascist repression, the spirit of resistance of Indian people remains strong.

THE NATIVE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

While there are a variety of opinions within the Native Liberation Movement, some general goals that it includes are:

(1) To ensure that the SOVEREIGNTY of Native Nations is respected in both word and action. Native sovereignty can be defined as the Natural right of Native peoples, INDIGENOUS TO THEIR LANDS, to govern themselves as they see fit on those lands as independent nations. This

includes the right to SELF-DETERMINATION within the territorial boundaries of their respective lands.

(2) To ensure the sovereign right of Native Nations to armed SELF-DEFENSE of their territories and their people. Native nations can only exist without the interference from outsiders - whether these outsiders be foreign governments and militaries (such as the USA and Canada), multi-national corporations, academic 'researchers' (such as anthropologists or archaeologists), 'new-agers,' or hostile individuals.

(3) To reinstall the TRADITIONAL GOVERNMENTS of Native Nations. This necessarily includes the removal of the puppet-governments known as tribal/band councils that have been forcibly installed by the colonial regimes of the USA and Canada.

(4) To free all Native POLITICAL PRISONERS and PRISONERS OF WAR who are held in colonial cages because of their resistance against the imperial powers that violate Native sovereignty.

These goals of the Native Liberation Movement to assert Native jurisdiction in North America represent a direct threat to the USA and Canada in the maintenance of their colonial presence on this continent.

TREATIES

In the continuing 500-year European invasion of North America, much Indian land has been stolen with the use of treaties. A treaty is an INTERNATIONAL agreement made between SOVEREIGN NATIONS. In making treaties with Native Nations, the USA and Canada have readily admitted, at least on paper, that Indians are in fact sovereign peoples. Yet Natives continue to be referred to as

"tribes," (which are NOT nations) and their land and resources continue to be colonized as the imperialists continue to violate all treaty agreements ever made with Indian people.

As Sitting Bull of the Lakota Nation had pointed out in the late-1880's, "What treaty that the whites have kept has the red man broken? Not one. What treaty that the whites ever made with us red men have they kept? Not one." It is clear from the history of treaty-making with the USA and Canada, that treaties in no way stop the theft of Indian land, or the violation of Native sovereignty.

UNCEDDED INDIAN LAND

However, not all of the land in North America has been conceded treaty to the imperialists. In Canada for example, more than NINETY PERCENT of the land mass of British Columbia has NEVER been surrendered (ceded)

by Native people through treaties. The resources of these territories, as well as the land itself, are what the USA and Canada are currently attempting to steal from the 26 sovereign Native Nations of 'British Columbia.'

THE 1995 'GUSTAFSEN LAKE CRISIS'

In 1989, Shuswap spiritual leaders and elders decided that their annual Sundance ceremony would take place in the 'Gustafsen Lake' territory of the Shuswap Nation. Gustafsen Lake is known as Ts'peten (pronounced 'Chuh-pet-tin') by the Shuswap people. It is sacred burial ground, and has never been ceded nor lost in a war.

In this same year, James Cattle Company claimed that it owned the sacred grounds at Gustafsen Lake. Yet the huge company **COULD NOT PROVIDE PROOF OF OWNERSHIP.**

Wolverine, a Shuswap national, and traditional elder, peacefully attempted to have Shuswap sovereignty respected. In 1991, he took the case of stolen, unceded Indian land to the International Court in The Hague in the Netherlands. James Cattle Company still claimed ownership of the land at Gustafsen Lake.

In 1992, and again in 1993, Wolverine took the case of stolen, unceded Indian land to the United Nations. James Cattle Company still claimed ownership of the land at Gustafsen Lake.

In the summer of 1995, during the Sundance ceremony at Gustafsen Lake, twelve armed racists from the James Cattle Company attempted to forcefully evict the Indians. With rifles, they threatened to kill the Sundancers. One of them snapped a bullwhip and said, "This is a good day to string up some red niggers." Another one told the Natives that James Cattle Company "intended to burn the council lodge" and that "the Royal Canadian Mounted Police are planning an invasion of the camp."

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, in alliance with the US FBI, were in fact planning a massive invasion of the Shuswap Nation. It was coordinated as early as January of 1995, and was a deliberate attempt by the North American Police-State to eliminate the Native Liberation Movement. The colonial assault had the objective of eliminating all resistance to the land-theft being carried out by multi-nationals. In order to fuel the latest North American "economic recovery," the land and resources of the Native Nations in British Columbia had to be stolen. Therefore, Native resistance had to be "neutralized."

The Sundancers - who became known as the "Ts'peten Defenders" and "Gustafsen Lake Defenders" - prepared an armed defense against an RCMP invasion of sovereign Shuswap territory.

THE NORTH AMERICAN POLICE-STATE OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE GUSTAFSEN LAKE DEFENDERS

During the colonial assault on the Native Liberation Movement, which lasted from August 19 to September 17, 1995:

- More than 77,000 rounds of ammunition were fired at the Defenders.

- The entire invasion was videotaped (only 50 hours of footage have been released!) by the RCMP to train the police for future armed attacks on Native people.

- Canada Prime Minister Jean Chretien authorized the use of 'APC' tanks to invade Ts'peten.

- British Columbia Attorney General Ujjal Dosanjh gave orders to massacre the Defenders.

- The RCMP used C4 plastic explosive land-mines to blow up a red pick-up truck, carrying two unarmed Defenders.

- Armed fascists served as a back-up military force that could be used if the RCMP were brought

under a critical public eye.

- At the height of the invasion, the media were ordered to report only the RCMP's version of events for "security reasons."

- US FBI officers (Reimer and Camphouse) were specially flown in an RCMP helicopter to Gustafsen Lake BEFORE the siege.

- A specialist in torture techniques was involved (Dr. Mike Webster). He teaches at the Justice Institute in Vancouver, British Columbia and at an FBI facility in the USA where they do "special" training in counterinsurgency warfare techniques for Latin America. Webster was present in Peru when the Tupac Amaru (MRTA) guerrillas were all murdered! And he was present at the massacre at Waco, Texas!

SUPPORT FOR THE DEFENDERS

Much support was given to the Defenders. Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, for example, on August 29, 1995, sent a letter to BC Attorney General Ujjal Dosanjh. In part it read "I write to urge you to pursue nonviolent means of addressing the issues raised by the present confrontation between traditional Shuswap Indians and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police near Gustafsen Lake. There is no justification for the use of force, or for conduct by law enforcement that might provoke violence ... The peaceful resolution of this crisis is largely in your hands."

Additional letters of support were received from the Head of the Delegation of the Swedish Green Party; an Australia-based Native media group called Brisbane Indigenous Media Association; the International Indian Treaty Council; and the Native people of the Sinixt (Arrow Lakes) Nation, also located in British Columbia. In their support letter, The Sinixt Nation correctly pointed out that "The police officials, the news media, politicians and non-Aboriginal organizations tend to work as a group against the

Aboriginal peoples who dispute land title and take a defensive stance calling for investigation of title and call for justice."

The most militant support came from the Haudenosaunee, also known as the Iroquois Confederacy of Native Nations, which includes the Mohawk Nation, Oneida Nation, Onandaga Nation, Cayuga Nation, Seneca Nation, and Tuscarora Nation. The Mohawks, only five years before Gustafsen Lake, had waged a successful military defense of their burial grounds against the very same Canadian regime. In what became known as "The 1990 Oka Crisis," the Mohawk Nation forced Canada to respect Native sovereignty, and withdraw from Mohawk territory.

The September 7, 1995 letter from the Haudenosaunee read in part: "Any further violence committed against our sovereign Turtle Island [North America] Brothers and Sisters of the Shuswap Nation, at Gustafsen Lake, British Columbia ... will be answered in kind ... we advise you that we will not stand idly by while you continue to brutalize our people. ... For the civilized record: First comes truth. Then comes justice. Then comes the mutually nourishing strength that leads to a living law and order. Only in a brutally repressive fascist state does law and order stand alone - like police state tanks and bullets."

This international support however did not force Canada to respect Shuswap sovereignty. The invasion lasted until September 17, 1995 when the Defenders, following the advice of their Medicine Man, voluntarily walked out of their camp. Miraculously, during the entire battle, not a single person was killed!

Wolverine was immediately arrested. He has been a political prisoner since September 29, 1995.

The North American Police-State was unable to lay any charges against Splitting the Sky. The Mohawk Warrior's covert role on the outside of the camp is what

kept him from the clutches of the colonizer.

THE (SO-CALLED) TRIAL OF THE GUSTAFSEN LAKE DEFENDERS

The two-year-long kangaroo-court trial that followed resulted in the July 30, 1997 convictions of thirteen of the Defenders. During the trial, one of the Defenders was beaten in the court-room; the brake lines on the cars of some of the Defenders were cut; the Defenders' choice of eminent Native-rights lawyer Dr. Bruce Clark was disallowed; the non-Native Dr. Bruce Clark himself was for some time imprisoned, then threatened with murder by the RCMP. He was disbarred from the Canadian 'just-us' system and forced to flee from the colonial country; the judge in this so-called trial did not allow the Defenders to argue that the Shuswap Nation was sovereign and that Canada had 'no jurisdiction' on unceded Indian land. The only defense that was allowed was a CRIMINAL defense! Canada showed itself to 'honor' sovereignty in name only.

In preparation for their trial, the Defenders had agreed to argue that Canada had 'no jurisdiction' on unceded Indian land. Because of Police-State pressure, this unity was not maintained. Some accepted money to betray their sisters and brothers. And, in the face of threats of long prison terms, as well as death threats by

the police, others became aggressively hostile to former comrades.

Of the thirteen captured Defenders, those that did maintain the 'no jurisdiction' position were Wolverine, now serving an eight year prison sentence; James 'O.J.' Pitawanakwat, an Odawa/Anishinabe Warrior now serving a four year prison sentence; and Flo Sampson, a Shuswap elder, who has already completed a six month sentence, during which she was required to wear an electronic monitoring device around her leg.

In December 1997, Wolverine and OJ won an appeal which they will argue using the 'no jurisdiction' argument. It is expected that their case will be heard by in the summer of 1998.

THE CONTINUING RESISTANCE OF THE NATIVE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The expanded COINTELPRO-type tactics now being used by the North American police-state against the Native Liberation Movement have failed to eliminate the resistance of the Indigenous people of this continent. The Mohawk Nation continues its fight against the multi-national food giant Archer Daniels Midland, which is attempting to exploit not only Mohawk labor, but sovereign

Mohawk land. The Lubicon Lake Cree Nation continues its resistance to the multi-national timber giant Daishowa, which is stealing resources and poisoning the water and air of this Native Nation. The Stoney Point Nation continues its battle to have its sovereignty respected following the 1995 RCMP assassination of one of its warriors, Dudley George, and the 1998 imprisonment of another warrior, Warren George.

The Indian people of the San Carlos Apache Nation are currently involved in a serious struggle with their tribal council puppet-government to exercise their sovereignty. The Lakota Nation continues its battle to free one of its warriors, Leonard Peltier. The Mi'kmaq Nation continues to fight Mobil Oil Canada for violating territorial boundaries. The Innu Nation is still battling against mining giant Voisey's Bay Nickel Company in order to stop the rape of land in their territory.

From behind prison walls, Wolverine carries on his fight for Native liberation. At the March 27, 1998 Jericho '98 rally in Washington DC, a statement from Wolverine was read. In part, he said: "You can see for yourself that genocide is still alive and well - here in Canada ... We, the indigenous people of the province of British Columbia never, at any time, ceded, released, nor

surrendered our land ... Be strong. Don't let those bastards grind you down. The sun always rises."

FREE WOLVERINE! FREE OJ PITAWANAKWAT! FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS AND POWs!

For more information, contact: THE FREE WOLVERINE CAMPAIGN

SPOKESPEOPLE:

Splitting the Sky 604-820-7633
Bill Lightbown 604-251-4949
SEATTLE OFFICE
Phone 206-233-7982
Email <tspeten@aol.com>

Website:
<<http://kafka.uvic.ca/~vipirg/SISIS/FWC/main.html>>

Write to the Prisoners:

WOLVERINE (a/k/a Jones William Ignace)
Political Prisoner
RRAC Matsqui
P.O. Box 4000
Abbotsford, B.C. V2S 5X8
CANADA

OJ (a/k/a James Pitawanakwat)
Political Prisoner
Mission Institution
P.O. Box 60
Mission, B.C. V2V 4L8
CANADA

RESISTANT STRAINS MAXIMUM SECURITY DEMOCRACY

The phenomenal graphics in this issue of Turning the Tide — the political prisoners poster on the center spread by Meghan O'Rourke, and the "prisoners packing golf supplies" illustration by Dale Wittig in the article by political prisoner Linda Evans and her partner Eve Goldberg — are courtesy of the Resistant Strains graphics group. The images are part of a set, a baker's dozen of beautifully conceived and executed 24 X 36 inch political posters, focused on the crime of punishment in America.

The posters are available for purchase and use by activists, from resistant strains, box 153b, Glover VT 05839. They come in a set of 13, twelve original and striking full size, colorful posters on glossy, heavy paper and one historical poster reminding Black people in Boston that the police had been deputized as slave catchers. For more information, please contact resistant strains at the above address, or call or fax 802-525-8853; email: <baseline@igc.org>.

Bury My Heart At Chenalhó: A Neo-liberal Massacre

by Gloria Patterson Mendez

Most of us who live in the modern world can't allow ourselves to cry about every instance of suffering, death, and injury that is recounted in a TV news brief. We would go insane. But once in a while, something happens that cuts through the daily routine, the cynicism, the despair, the inertia. It opens our hearts and makes it impossible to carry on as usual. Here in Mexico, there is consternation, mourning, and indignation over the December 22, 1997 massacre at Acteal, Chenalhó in the state of Chiapas.

The eyewitness reports relayed to us by conscientious and courageous journalists have left us

In the days after the massacre, we see pictures of thousands of new refugees driven from their homes; of determined women armed with sticks confronting federal troops, blocking entrance to their communities in town after town; of men throwing rocks at state police; of thousands of people demonstrating against the massacre; of demonstrators in Chiapas fired on by Special Forces of the State Security Police.

The people who were killed were all indigenous people, Tzotziles. They were part of the Las Abejas independent community (not controlled by the PRI) founded in 1992 for the purposes of working for peaceful change. Some of their members were Zapatista sympathizers. They had been forced off of their land at Quextic in November by paramilitary groups and were living in a temporary encampment at Acteal. All of the people were unarmed.

At 10:30 AM on December 22, at least 60 heavily-armed men dispersed in the hills opened fire on the 350 men, women and children who were praying in a small clearing between two cotton fields. Some people ran into the adjacent church when the shooting started. The majority of those who died were shot in the back — 9 men, 21 women, 15 children, and one baby. The attackers, wearing hoods, dark uniforms, and red bandannas, then came into the clearing to finish off those who did not die immediately, mutilating bodies with machetes. The killing went on for approximately six

hours. Some people sought refuge in a cave and were killed there. Two or three people who did not die remained silent, covered by the bodies of their fallen companions. After dark, they made their way to San Cristobal and gave their testimonies to the National Human Rights Commission. Many people were able to escape by running away through the underbrush or through the mud of the adjacent river bed. Footprints, trampled ferns and bloodstains show that some people were chased into the ravine and slain there.

The day before the massacre, bishops Samuel Ruiz Garcia and Raul Vera Lopez (both of whom were targets of an attempted ambush by the paramilitary group Paz y Justicia on Nov. 4, 1997) had informed Chiapas Secretary of State Homero Tovilla of the possibility of an attack against indigenous communities in Chenalhó. In a Communique issued December 26, 1997, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) said that minutes before the attack, members of the Zapatista base of support saw the trucks of the attackers and warned people in the community. About 15 people were able to escape. Other people didn't see why they had anything to fear since they done anything wrong, and they kneeled to pray for peace. This is when they were attacked. The Zapatista supporters informed the state police of the gunshots they had heard, but the State Police did nothing. They then informed the National Commission of

with images that can't be erased — a woman holding the blood-stained rebozo of her dead child; babies crawling over their dead mothers; a sobbing man who saw his whole family murdered; mothers, babies and small children rolling and scrambling down a hill in the mad rush to escape the slaughter; unborn babies ripped from their mothers' wombs and dashed on the ground or held on high in triumph.

Then we have the images of the Christmas Day funeral--the 45 coffins, the white chrysanthemums, the tears, the demands for justice, the silence, the serenity, and the dignity.

Mediation (CONAI) of the attack.

Gonzalo Ituarte, member of CONAI and representative of the diocese at San Cristobal de las Casas, received word of the attack around noon and notified the state authorities. He called again in the afternoon. Throughout the massacre, not a single officer of the state police arrived to stop it. According to a report by a representative of a non-governmental organization (NGO), the state police were present during the attack at a distance of 200 meters, but did nothing to intervene. Other eyewitnesses said the state police installed themselves in the schoolhouse and occasionally fired their guns into the air. After dark, they took charge of "cleaning up" the area, picking up the bodies at 4:00 AM, under the supervision of the former Attorney General of Chiapas and the Secretary of State. Normal investigative measures, such as crime scene photos and preserving the area of the massacre, were not followed.

Although this area is one of the most heavily occupied by the Mexican army, no troops came to stop the massacre. A few hours before the attack, the radio transmitter of the Red Cross was stolen. These details indicate that the massacre was the result of high level planning.

Jorge Madrazo, Attorney General of Mexico, and other government officials announced that the deaths were the result of squabbles between communities, families and religious

groups. Serious religious and political conflicts do exist. Since Aug. 1995, well-publicized conflicts have resulted in arson, kidnaping, murder and thousands being driven from their land. But to attribute the massacre to intercommunal differences is to perpetuate the real problem and deliberately mislead the public. "For God's sake," responded Bishop Raul Vera, "the violence in Acteal and other communities is a grave responsibility of the state and federal governments! Chiapas is a national problem, and if the whole country doesn't react (to the massacre), we're going to see the multiplication of these groups that act with unbelievable impunity." Vera charges that the government is doing nothing to stop the genocide.

According to a communique sent by the EZLN and signed by Subcomandante Marcos on Dec. 23, 1997, "the direct responsibility for these bloody deeds falls on Zedillo ... and the Secretary of State, who gave the green light two years ago to the counter-insurgency project presented by the [Mexican] army. This project aims to convert the Zapatista war into a conflict between indigenous groups motivated by religious, political or ethnic differences. ... To achieve this, they [are] financing arms ... and giving military training (directed by officials of the federal army) to indigenous people recruited by the PRI. To allow enough time for these death squads to be prepared, the government designed a parallel strategy of simulated dialog, which consists of carrying on

negotiations without the slightest intention of complying with the accords and of increasing the military presence in the Zapatista areas."

Mexican Defense Department documents drawn up in 1994 and published in *El Proceso*, Jan. 4, 1998, outline the counter-insurgency strategy of the Mexican Army. Consistent with this type of warfare first used by the U.S. Army in Vietnam, the first objective is "to break the relation of support that exists between the people and the transgressors of the law," the EZLN. Military intelligence would "secretly organize certain sectors of the civilian population, including ranchers, small property owners, and individuals characterized by a high sense of patriotism," — read loyalty to the government — "who will be used to support our operations." Under the counter-insurgency plan, Army instructors should "give training and support to self defense groups and other para-military organizations... In case [they] don't exist, it is necessary to create them." Other government objectives include "elimination of urban commandos and disintegration or control of mass organizations."

The Mexican Army in turn has received U.S. military training in counter-insurgency, as well as helicopters and other military equipment from the U.S., a fact Bill Clinton failed to mention when he expressed his crocodile condolences for the massacre (and simultaneously his support for President Zedillo, its author). General Mario Renán Castillo Fernández, commander of the 7th Military Region, was trained at Fort Bragg, North Carolina at the Training Center for Psychological Warfare for Special Operations and Special Forces. Military advisers in counter-insurgency have also been sent to Mexico by Argentina, Guatemala, Israel and Panama. A common terror tactic of the Guatemalan special forces was used in the Chenalhó massacre: opening mother's wombs with machetes, ripping out unborn babies, and holding them up like trophies.

The counter-insurgency strategy does not exist only on paper but in practice. The use of para-military groups is well-documented. In Chiapas, there are at least eight, among them Paz y Justicia, Máscara Roja, Movimiento Indígena Revolucionario Anti-Zapatista, Los Chinchulines (Those Who've Got Guts), and Los Degolladores (The Cut-throats). Since the colonial period, it's been common for large land-owners to use groups called "guardias blancas" against the peasants. Now this type of vigilante group is likely to receive

federal and state funds; most of the members are PRI militants, and they have a military structure complete with training camps. [There have also been reports of similar para-military groups active in Oaxaca and Guerrero, especially in areas of guerrilla activity by the People's Revolutionary Army (EPR).] Their arms are obtained, according to the EZLN, from the federal army, judicial police, and the Public Security Police of the State of Chiapas. In December, *La Jornada* published an agreement between the Chiapas state government and Paz y Justicia, awarding the para-military group 4,600,000 pesos. The "witness of honor" to the agreement was General Mario Castillo, U.S.-trained commander of the 7th Military Region.

The EZLN says the attack was approved by the state and federal governments in pursuit of this strategy, and their responsibility goes far beyond "negligence." Public officials have tried to make these charges appear paranoid, and to give the impression that the situation is 'under control.' Jacinto Arias Cruz, PRI municipal president of four communities in Chenalhó, accused of by the EZLN of planning the murders, has been arrested, and the appointed governor has been replaced. Zedillo made a radio statement calling for a thorough investigation, and made some shifts in his cabinet. Despite the personnel changes, the government pursues the same line, calling for "dialogue," even though it has refused to implement the San Andrés Larráinzar accords, proposed by a legislative group and approved by the Zapatistas two years ago. They continue to equate armed mercenaries and thugs with a social movement founded to win the basic human rights of indigenous people and to participate in the transformation to democracy and social justice in the country as a whole.

This government campaign, calling for the disarming of the para-militaries (whom they armed themselves) and the Zapatistas, makes clearer the long-term purposes of the massacre it organized, beyond simply terrorizing the indigenous communities. The massacre has served as a pretext for further militarization. At least 6,000 more federal troops have been brought into Chiapas since the massacre, supposedly to "protect" the people from further abuses. This is a classic protection racket; one member of the gang of thugs breaks windows and beats you up, and the other gang members present themselves to provide "security" for a fee. The Zapatistas have always rejected the army's "giveaways" and protested the army's

presence, not only because of the threat of military extermination, but because of the adverse impact of the army on the social fabric of the indigenous communities, including rape, drugs, alcohol, prostitution and the occupation of Zapatista land under the guise of "peace-keeping."

Since the massacre, the troops have gone into villages repeatedly, especially those of EZLN sympathizers, looking for arms. Cursor searches have been carried out in towns which are the base of the para-military groups, which are not the real target of this operation. One such incursion, at Yalchilptic, was blocked by women and children armed with sticks, and this demonstration of courage and determination has since been manifest in several other Zapatista communities. In the refugee camp of X'oyep in Chenalhó, women confronted soldiers and prevented them from installing a military camp at a spring which was the camp's only water supply. When the army tried again, there was a four-hour stand-off. In a surprise move, the women, backed up by men and children, surrounded the soldiers. With shouts and pushing, they gradually tightened their circle. Finally the army sent in militarized anti-riot police and a helicopter to rescue the soldiers.

Both the massacres and the militarization have been going on since 1994. In Chiapas alone, there were already 30,000 federal police and 207 checkpoints even before the latest increase. There were several smaller attacks and killings building up the Chenalhó massacre, a strategy of tension similar to that carried out by right wing terror groups eager to justify state repression. Outside of Chiapas, similar measures are carried out under the pretext of stopping the drug trade. Travelers in Oaxaca and Guerrero are often stopped, searched and questioned by soldiers or judicial police. Soldiers have raided villages, and suspected members or supporters of the EPR have been dragged from their homes in the middle of the night, sometimes executed or disappeared. The militarization is not limited to rural areas. In Mexico City, the police were put under military control by the last administration, and troops took the place of police in several areas of the capital while the police were sent to Military Camp #1, notorious as the site of torture of political prisoners, for training. The new mayor, Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, has promised to reverse the situation. In a situation characterized by increasing impoverishment of the people, high crime rates, and social discontent, there are two basic

tendencies — towards demands for social and democratic change by some sectors of the people, and towards fascism and repression by the entrenched authorities.

The massacre at Chenalhó was a drastic increase in repression in the country, an escalation in the government's counter-insurgency strategy. The use of mass terror against an entire indigenous community is a clear message that those who engage in popular resistance will meet the cruelest of deaths. It is an effort to isolate guerrilla forces, destroy their base of support and prevent the spread of a social movement that threatens the established power structure and the designs of neo-liberal policy-makers, to increase "austerity" and exploitation in order to sustain their profits. The mass murder at Chenalhó stands out in part because so many of the victims were children and babies. The sheer terror of the methods use against the defenseless is an affront against humanity.

But Chenalhó is not the first massacre we have seen in Mexico, in either colonial or modern times. The world was shaken by the killing of students at Tlatelolco, the Plaza de las Tres Culturas, in October 1968. In July 1980, the Mexican Army, attacked the village of Wolochan in Chiapas, killing twelve Tzeltales. On June 28, 1995, a truckload of campesino activists was ambushed by state police in Aguas Blancas, Guerrero. All of these massacres are efforts to put down resistance, to use mass terror to eradicate social problems without solving them, to maintain power at all costs, and to create trouble-free environments for capital investment.

What the fascist mind does not comprehend is that, although it may be possible to instill fear in people's hearts, or to put an end to particular organizations or movements, new forms of struggle will inevitably emerge as long as people find their conditions unbearable and their survival threatened by the social and economic order. After Tlatelolco, fear curtailed large-scale expressions of dissent for years, but resistance was channeled into the guerrilla movements of the 1970's. After Wolochan, the weakened campesino groups whose seasoned leaders had been slain came together to seek new ways to defend themselves and to organize in secret — and on November 17, 1983, the EZLN was born in clandestinity. In the aftermath of Aguas Blancas, campesino groups have continued to demand justice, and on the one-year anniversary of the massacre, the EPR

made its first public appearance. All those who love freedom must turn the massacre at Chenalhó from a means of advancing the government's counter-insurgency strategy, into a rallying cry for strengthening the breadth, depth and commitment of the resistance.

Such massacres are not unique to neo-liberalism. As we ask ourselves what diabolical monsters could plan and carry out this carnage, our minds go back to the peasants murdered at Panzos in Guatemala; to Vietnamese villagers bayoneted at My Lai; to the prisoners fired upon at Attica; to South African school-children slaughtered at Sharpville; to the citizens of Guernica made victims to fascist experiments in saturation bombing; to the Sioux murdered by the U.S. Army at Wounded Knee. There, at the end of the last century, disarmed indigenous people, over half of them women and children, were slaughtered because the ruling powers of European descent wanted all their land, "from sea to shining sea." They were building an empire, and the Native Americans who fought bravely against the theft of their land, their lives and their freedom stood in the way of capital's need to expand or die. To overcome indigenous resistance, the U.S. government determined it was necessary to wage all-out war against them.

Now, at the end of the 20th Century, the world's rulers have adopted similarly ruthless neo-liberal policies in order to shore up the power and profits of the imperialist system, a system that has failed utterly to provide a decent life for the world's people — a system that in fact requires their impoverishment. All efforts to soften its brunt with welfare state programs (more common

in the rich nations than the poor) have been abandoned. When people have not accepted their role in the new global scheme of things, as the Zapatistas have not accepted the extinction of indigenous people, government leaders have resorted to tried and true terror tactics, now swifter and more efficient, to allow for the expansion of finance capital.

What is the economic program that requires such massacres to impose and enforce? State terror was indispensable to the initiation of neo-liberal measures in Chile in 1973. Economist Milton Friedman and the "Chicago Boys" couldn't use a democracy for their experiment. They chose the brutal dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet because people would never have accepted the "shock treatment" of their own free will. Privatization, deregulation, declining wages, repression of labor unions, elimination of social guarantees, and opening markets and investment to international competition, developed in Chile, have all become part of the dominant international socio-economic model for the "developed" as well as the "developing" countries. And the result has been an unprecedented concentration of wealth in a few hands and a corresponding impoverishment of the masses of people. The crisis has been greatest in the Third World nations, with an increase in poverty, lower wages, increased exploitation, currency devaluation, massive growth of child labor, and tighter controls on migration. While finance capital is free to do whatever it wants and go wherever it wants on the face of the earth, the boundaries are only for the people.

The first public appearance of the

EZLN in 1994 coincided with the initiation of NAFTA and promises by then-president Salinas that, with the opening of markets and continuous economic growth, Mexico would soon be entering the "First World." The expectations of many Mexicans were fueled by the technocrats' diagnosis of progress, based on promising but illusory macro-economic statistics. The illusion was destroyed by the focus of national and international attention on Chiapas and the suffering and daily death of indigenous people. The disillusion deepened with currency devaluation, U.S. economic and military domination, and the destruction of the middle class.

Neoliberalism in Mexico did not begin with NAFTA. In the 1980's, leaders accepted the need for "structural adjustments" at the expense of the people's welfare. As in other parts of the world, the main result has been a vast concentration of wealth. In 1994, Forbes magazine reported that 24 Mexicans figured among the world's richest individuals, with combined personal fortunes of over 44 billion dollars. This is equal to the earnings of 35.5 million Mexicans, 40% of the population, in a year. It is more than the government spends on health, education and all social programs. While more than 1,000 children a day die of malnutrition in Mexico, the economy here is a dream come true for investors in the Mexican stock market. In 1997, their investments brought them a 52% return, substantially higher than the 28% return for all of Latin America. Neither the poverty of the Mexican masses nor the suffering at Chenalhó was an issue for the stock market, which remained stable until the repercussions of the Asian crisis brought a downswing. But business

leaders threatened a loss of foreign investment if the popular demand to dissolve the state government of Chiapas were met.

Neoliberalism for Chiapas and the rural areas of the country was rooted in the derogation of Article 27 of the federal constitution under Salinas de Gortari, which took away the guarantee of "ejidal" (community) land rights and cleared the way for the sale of these lands to national and international agribusiness, mineral and petroleum companies. The plans for exploitation of this wealth will allow the traditional oligarchy of Chiapas and of Mexico to amass greater wealth, but indigenous people will only be allowed to live as henchmen or slaves. Those who want to live with dignity, to defend their traditional rights, are dispensable.

The globalization that everyone talks about does not include the rights of indigenous people to survive, to have living conditions fit for human beings, or to contribute their age-old wisdom to the global consciousness. The neo-liberal solution to the "Indian problem" is not new, it is genocide. The struggle of the Zapatista movement for the human rights that should be accorded to everyone has been met with mass terror. Chenalhó does not write the final chapter in the struggle of a people, however. It signals a new phase of the war, a war whose strategies are charted and whose repercussions are felt far beyond the boundaries of Chiapas. This is a war that will affect the nature and quality of life on Earth in the next century. And the outcome does not depend alone on what the Zapatistas do next. It depends very much on the response of all the people of Mexico and the world.



THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM AND THE ANARCHIST ANALYSIS

by Otto Nomous

Anarchism vs. Marxism

This is a response to Heather Martin and Noah de Lissovoy's article entitled, "The Fight Against Racism and The Socialist Answer," in the Winter-Spring 1998 issue of Turning the Tide, which was itself a response to Michael Novick's article entitled, "Anti-Colonial Analysis and Strategy," in the Fall 1997 issue of TTT, as well as to offer an anarchist perspective in the anti-racist movement.

I agree that an anti-racist journal could only benefit

ANARCHISM 101

The word "anarchy" (from two ancient Greek words an and arke) literally means "without a ruler," or more generally, "without authority." The Greek words "anarchos" and "anarchia" meant "having no government - being without a government." Anarchism is a socio-economic and political theory within which individuals freely cooperate as equals, or to quote Kropotkin, "the no-government system of socialism...." It is "the philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary." (Emma Goldman)

Rather than being purely anti-government or anti-state, anarchism is primarily a movement against hierarchy. This is because hierarchy is the organizational structure that embodies authority. Since the state is the "highest" form of hierarchy, anarchists are, by definition, anti-state; but this is not a sufficient definition of anarchism. This means that real anarchists are opposed to all forms of hierarchical authority — be that state, church, patriarchy — as not

only unnecessary but as inherently detrimental to the maximization of human potential.

So anarchism is a socio-economic and political theory, but it is not an ideology. The difference is very important. Basically, theory means you have ideas; an ideology means ideas have you. Anarchism is a body of ideas, but they are flexible, in a constant state of evolution and flux, and open to modification in light of new data. As society changes and develops, so does anarchism. An ideology, in contrast, is a set of "fixed" ideas which people believe dogmatically, usually ignoring reality or "changing" it so as to fit with the ideology, which is (by definition) correct.

All such "fixed" ideas are the source of tyranny and contradiction, leading to attempts to make everyone fit into a rigid social order. This will be true regardless of the ideology in question - Leninism, "Libertarianism," or whatever - all will have the same effect: the destruction of real individuals in the name of a doctrine, a doctrine that usually serves the interest of some ruling elite.

It is very difficult for Marxists to

from further discussions and clarifying any misconceptions on these matters, such as the ones evident in Heather and Noah's article. In their article, Heather and Noah call for a "vigorous ideological debate" by attempting to provide a "socialist" answer to the fight against racism, and to criticize anarchism, of which they seem to lack any real understanding.

Perhaps I should begin by briefly explaining what anarchism is in the first place, since it appears that such an exposition is seriously needed.

make an objective criticism of anarchism as such, because by its nature it undermines all the suppositions basic to Marxism. If Marxism and Leninism, its variant which emerged during the Russian revolution, is held out to be the working class philosophy and the proletariat cannot owe its emancipation to anyone but the Communist party, it is hard to go back on it and say that the working class is not yet ready to dispense with authority over it.

Anarchism developed in constant opposition to the ideas of Marxism, social democracy and Leninism. Long before Lenin rose to power, Mikhail Bakunin warned the followers of Marx against the "Red bureaucracy" that would institute "the worst of all despotic governments" if Marx's state-socialist ideas were ever implemented. The recent political changes in Eastern Europe have shown us that the Marxist experiment with centrally imposed, authoritarian state socialism has been a tragic failure in both economic and human terms. That the era of Marxist-Communism has ended is beyond dispute. Despite this, a significant sector of the organized left appears unable to reject a narrow and outdated Marxist dogma. The

Marxist-Communist states have produced environmental destruction at least equal to that of the western capitalist states and have certainly failed to guarantee human liberty and individual self-determination. If we are to convince the people of the desirability of non-exploitative and non-capitalist social relationships, in order to secure human freedom and environmental survival, we must develop a language and a program that draws upon socialist traditions other than that of Marxist-Communism. Social anarchism is prominent amongst these alternative traditions of revolutionary social organization and reconstruction.

It is certainly very interesting to have Heather and Noah explain to us what anarchists believe. They generously tell us that "the anarchist analysis (of racism) does not really address the question: why does the state institutionalize oppression?" They use obscure quotes, from the writings of Malatesta and Bakunin, out of context and incorporate them into their misinformed understanding of anarchism which somehow has to do with "a personal and moral" analysis of oppression, "rather than a historical and political one." They also tell us that the anarchist

view, "hardly different from the bourgeois reformist one," relies on "an anti-racist affect that depends on a projection onto racists of an unanalyzed evil," and "an instinct deep inside each individual (which) is itself a bourgeois impulse."

One thing I have noticed whenever Marxists attempt to criticize anarchism is that instead of engaging in anything relevant, they often resort to throwing around labels such as 'petty bourgeois.' Heather and Noah do the same by using a loose variation of this like "simple bourgeois guilt or petty rhetoric of anti-authority." The term 'petty bourgeois' was indeed what Marx referred to anarchists as, but which had a different meaning in the nineteenth century.

He justifiably claimed that these 'petty bourgeoisie' were not as disciplined as the then factory workers (he despised farm workers) and said that when they were forced into industry they did not faithfully follow the line laid down by a disciplined party from outside the class, but were independent of mind and troublesome to organization imposed from above, their frustration often leading to violence. This claim is echoed by Marxists nowadays, when the term 'petty bourgeois' means something utterly different - solicitors and chartered accountants - and thus makes Marx's quite sensible analysis sound utterly ridiculous.

Furthermore, I'm not even sure anymore whether Heather and Noah even understand what Marxism is really all about from reading their article, because they insist that "sooner or later... one is led to the state's function as protector and regulator of a mode of production that encompasses it and goes beyond it."

Regardless, as Michael pointed out in his response to them, Marxism claims that its goal is the elimination of the state. However, its practical thrust is statist. In Marxist theory, the elimination of the state is to take place not in the present or near future, but at some indefinite point down the road.

Moreover, it is not something that is consciously accomplished. The state is not dismantled. It "withers" away automatically. In the meantime, the chief strategic tasks of Marxists are centered on the state. Along with focusing the workers' attention on the political arena under capitalism, Marxists urge them to seize state power, smash the capitalist state and build a new one in its place. While the proclaimed goal of Marxism is the elimination of the state, Marxists concentrate their efforts on establishing one.

Behind all its liberatory claims, Marxism is ultimately a totalitarian credo, with the state as the chief vehicle for the implementation of its program, in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Marx and Engels wrote comparatively little about the dictatorship of the proletariat. They believed that it was only possible to discern the outlines of the proletarian states and communist societies of the future and that their precise characteristics would emerge in practice. This did not prevent them from insisting that certain aspects of the dictatorship of the proletariat, such as that it was to be based on nationalized property, were essential, nor from asserting that the road to freedom lay only through such a dictatorship. As Bakunin wrote in 1872, "(Marx's) economic ideal is the State as sole owner of the land and of all kinds of capital, cultivating the land under the management of State engineers, and controlling all industrial and commercial associations with State capital." ('Letter to the Internationalists of the Romagna')

A state, even one that is supposed to be proletarian, is inherently a centralized, hierarchical apparatus, based on authoritarian structures and processes and staffed by functionaries trained to work in such hierarchies. The idea that the working class can construct a state that is not really a state, or a state that is not "a state in the proper sense of the word," (Engels, Critique of the Gotha program) that is somehow merely an expression of its general political

supremacy, is absurd. The dictatorship of the proletariat exists only in theory. It is incapable of realization in practice, and all attempts to create it have led and will continue to lead not to dictatorships OF the proletariat but to dictatorships OVER the proletariat.

Socialism

Anarchists are socialists. Historically, there have been three major forms of socialism: Libertarian socialism (Anarchism), Authoritarian socialism (Marxist Communism), and Democratic socialism (electoral social democracy). Libertarian socialism, libertarian communism, and anarchism are virtually interchangeable. Many social anarchists like Proudhon and Bakunin proclaimed themselves "socialists." They did so because the word "socialist" was originally defined to include "all those who believed in the individual's right to possess what he or she produced." (Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed, no.34)

As the individualist anarchist Joseph A. Labadie puts it (echoing both Tucker and Bakunin): "it is said that Anarchism is not socialism. This is a mistake. Anarchism is voluntary Socialism. There are two kinds of Socialism, archistic and anarchistic, authoritarian and libertarian, state and free. Indeed, every proposition for social betterment is either to increase or decrease the powers of external wills and forces over the individual. As they increase they are archistic; as they decrease they are anarchistic." (Anarchism: What It Is and What It Is Not)

All anarchists are anti-capitalists, and it is agreed that capitalism is to be opposed and that an anarchist Society must, by definition, be based on associated, not wage, labor. Only associated labor will "decrease the powers of external will and forces over the individual" during working hours and such self-management of work by those who do it is the core ideal of real socialism. However, today, as is the case with Heather and Noah's article, "socialism"

almost always refers to state socialism, a system that all anarchists have opposed as a denial of freedom and genuine socialist ideals. Instead of "central planning," anarchists advocate free association and co-operation between individuals, workplaces and communities and so oppose state "socialism" as a form of state capitalism, with no socialist content whatever.

Racism, Capitalism, and Anarchism: The American Context

Despite all the myths about anarchism that have been spewed out, it does not change the fact that anarchism has a real history, in which all forms of oppressive ideologies, such as racism, have been analyzed and fought against based on their historical, political, social, and economic origins. Since racism is institutionalized throughout society, racial oppression is commonplace.

Anarchists believe that the primary cause of racist attitudes is the need for ideologies that justify domination and exploitation, which are inherent in hierarchy - in other words, "theories" that "justify" and "explain" oppression and injustice.

Elites need some way to justify their superior social and economic positions. Since the social system is obviously unfair and elitist, attention must be distracted to other, less inconvenient, "facts," such as alleged superiority based on biology or "nature." Therefore, doctrines of racial superiority are inevitable in hierarchical, class-stratified societies.

From an economic standpoint, racism is associated with the exploitation of cheap labor at home and imperialism abroad. Anarchists have always noted that racism plays a powerful role in dividing the working class. The ideology of race is used to justify imperialism, wars, and the racial division of labor. Racism promotes nationalism on the basis of ethnic identity, which only strengthens enthusiasm for participation in national armies.

Racism/Nationalism begins with the development of capitalist society.

Nationalism played a key role in the development of capital during the last period of European feudalism and was fostered by the emerging capitalist class. As capitalism developed and primary resources were depleted (e.g. land, timber, ores, etc.), competition between these new nation-states began. This led to a new and unprecedented era of imperialism and colonialism which was effected in order to gain more primary capital. These new colonial powers used xenophobia and religious bigotry to justify long and terrible wars for riches. Xenophobia was also used to excuse the exploitation and systematic genocide of colonized peoples as cheap and expendable sources of labor. As the subordination of foreign nations proceed by force, it appears to the dominant nation that it owes its mastery to is special natural qualities, in other words to its "racial" characteristics. Thus imperialists have frequently appealed to the Social Darwinian doctrine of "Survival of the

Fittest" to give their racism a basis in "nature."

Conclusion

From an anarchist standpoint, oppression based on race will remain forever intractable under capitalism or, indeed, under any economic system based on domination and exploitation. While individual member of "minorities" may prosper, racism as a justification for inequality is too useful a tool for elites to discard. By using the results of racism (e.g. poverty) as a justification for racist ideology, criticism of the status quo can, yet again, be replaced by nonsense about "nature" and "biology." The long-term solution is obvious: dismantle capitalism and the hierarchical, economically class-stratified society with which it is bound up.

By getting rid of capitalist oppression and exploitation and its consequent imperialism and poverty, we will also eliminate the need for ideologies of racial superiority used to justify the oppression of one group by

another or to divide and weaken the working class. As part of that process, anarchists encourage and support all sections of the population to stand up for their humanity and individuality by resisting racist activity and challenging such views in their everyday lives.

everywhere. Also, the anti-racist movement needs allies in its battle against the racist capitalist class, not the usual liberal or phony radical support, but genuine revolutionary working class support and solidarity, otherwise called mutual aid by anarchists.

The type of organization needed in the anti-racist movement must be a mass organization working to unite all workers in common class struggle. The cooperation of and solidarity of all workers is essential for full social revolution, not just its privileged white sector. For instance, an existing organization like Anti-Racist Action should be given a higher priority by our anarchist movement. Every city and town should have ARA-type collectives, and every existing anarchist federation should have internal

working groups that do work around racism and police brutality.

Finally, despite our differences, I believe that the help of all is needed in fighting racism, and I would like to suggest some reading materials for Heather and Noah, and anyone else who has not been exposed to the real understanding of anarchism and its analysis of racism. Some really excellent introductions to anarchism include ABC of Anarchism by Alexander Berkman, and Anarchy in Action by Colin Ward. I also recommend the pamphlet, How the Rich Invented Racism by Scott which has been distributed for free by the class war anarchists of Insurgency Culture Collective. (PO Box 712191, L.A., CA 90071)

Contributor Notes:

Otto Nomous loves Food Not Bombs, Anti-Racist Action, Anarchist Black Cross, Insurgency Culture Collective, Industrial Workers of the World, and Black Star Collective [and I'm pretty sure he at least likes People Against Racist Terror --ed.]

**HAPPY
RED**

**BIRTHDAY
EMMA**



**"Resistance to
tyranny is man's highest ideal."**

WOMEN IN PRISON

by Meg Henson Scales

Women have become the hidden victims of the state's zeal for incarceration, as the total number of California prisoners surged past the 100,000 mark in April, 1991, and has continued to climb throughout the decade. California now has the unenviable distinction of having the most women prisoners in the nation, as well as the world's largest women's prison.

Since 1980, the number of women imprisoned in the US has tripled. Now, on any given day, over 90,000 women are incarcerated in us jails and prisons. In 1992, there were 50,493 women incarcerated in federal and state prisons. Amazingly, the rate of women's imprisonment grew from 6 per 100,000 in 1925 to 37 per 100,000 in 1992. The rate of imprisonment in California is approximately 45 per 100,000 women.

According to the May 1994 issue report of Women's Economic Agenda Project

Eleven things you should know about women in prison in the US:

1. There are over 90,000 women in prison in the us today. The majority are in prison for economic crimes. The most typical convictions resulting in imprisonment for women are property crimes, such as check forgery and illegal credit card use. 80% of women in prison report incomes of less than \$2,000 per year in the year before their arrest, and 92% report incomes under \$10,000.

2. Of the women convicted of violent crimes, the vast majority were convicted for defending themselves or their children from abuse. In California alone there are 600 women in prison for killing their abusers in self-defense. Average prison terms are twice as long for killing husbands as for killing wives.

3. 54% of women in prison are women of color.

4. Ninety percent of women in prison are single mothers. They lose contact with their children, sometimes forever. There are 167,000 children in the us whose mothers are incarcerated.

5. The average age of women in prison is 29, and 58% have not finished high school.

6. Racism and economic discrimination are inextricably linked to sexism in our culture, creating severe inequalities in the court system and the prison system. For example, Black women are twice as likely to be convicted of murder for killing their abusive husbands



than are white women. Black women, on average, receive longer jail time and higher fines than do white women for the same crimes.

7. 25% of political prisoners in the US are women.

8. The number of women in prison has increased 138% in the last ten years. This is partly due to the worsening of economic conditions for women, and also due to the increase in arrest rates due to the "war on crime" and "war on drugs".

9. Women prisoners spend on average 17 hours a day in their cells, with one hour outside for exercise. Compare to men prisoners, who spend, on average, 15 hours a day in their cells, with 1.5 hours outside.

10. The Women's High Security Unit at Lexington, KY, was closed in 1988 because of a national and international human rights campaign. The prison kept the women in years of isolation in subterranean cells, conducted daily strip searches, allowed extreme sleep deprivation practices, and as policy,

condoned a complete denial of privacy, including male guards watching the showers, and an intense campaign of sexual abuse.

11. The late Senator Hart estimated that the annual cost of corporate crime was between \$174-231 billion dollars, while the economic cost of "street crimes" (e.g. burglary and robbery) was \$3-4 billion. We must look at why the state focuses on enforcing laws which penalize the types of actions take by poor and working class men and women while systematically ignoring the more destructive white-collar crimes.

Some Related Web Sites:

<http://www.igc.org/justice/ccwp/>

<http://www.lightlink.com/heurich/prisoners.html>

<http://sun.soci.niu.edu/~critcrim/prisons/prisons.html>

Meg Henson Scales

<dharlem@pipeline.com

<http://www.pipeline.com/~hensonscales>

Canadian Animal Rights Activists Targets of International Attack

by Gina Lynn

Darren Thurston and David Barbarash are Canadian activists who have spent time in prison for illegal direct action taken on behalf of animals suffering institutionalized abuse. As a result of their history with the Animal Liberation Front, they have been the subjects of intense harassment by government agencies for the past 3 years, and they have now been arrested and charged with "sending a dangerous thing through the mail." For years, they have undergone intense police scrutiny, including foot, vehicle and aerial surveillance; monitoring devices have been placed in both their vehicles and homes; thousands of email, fax and voice communications have been intercepted by police; and vast amounts of their property and files have been seized in raids. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) even surreptitiously seized my truck (I am Darren's partner) under false pretenses in order to plant a bug.

The RCMP had named Darren and David as the prime targets in their investigation of four mail bombs sent to racists and a geneticist in 1995, and of

The RCMP brought charges against both men in relation to the "Justice Dept." actions, as well as a couple of additional counts resulting from the raids. One year had passed since their property was seized.

In the meantime, the unscrupulous Canadian federal agents had unveiled an arsenal of dirty tricks in their attempt to destroy these freedom fighters. Last summer, in order to justify the raids, the government launched a media smear campaign by making the information used to obtain the search warrants available to a reporter who could be counted on to paint a picture of non-violent activists as "violent terrorists," which will surely taint a potential jury pool in the event of a trial. The headlines read, "Stalked by Eco-Bombers." Barry Clausen, an infiltrator and provocateur in the

environmental movement, was interviewed on the radio about the case as a self-appointed "expert on domestic terrorism." Following that media onslaught (not the first in the government's overall media disinformation campaign), a gag order was sought and successfully obtained in court by lawyers for Darren and David. After the charges were filed in late March 1998, the media attack began anew. Now both the Vancouver Sun and Province will be brought to court to answer to contempt charges for violating the gag ruling.

International Scope of the Campaign Against Darren and David

The National Security Investigative Section (NSIS) and the Canadian Security and Intelligence Service (CSIS) have

razor blade booby trap letters sent to 27 guide outfitters in 1995-96. The mail bombs were claimed by the "Militant Direct Action Task Force" and the razor blade letters by the "Justice Department."

On March 20, 1997, almost immediately after listening devices were found in and removed from my truck and the apartment Darren and I were living in, the RCMP executed five search warrants on the homes of Darren and David, as well as other places where some of their belongings were stored. Tons of property were seized under the pretext that it might be relevant to their investigation. Since then, the Crown (Canadian government) has successfully applied several times to keep the seized property. We have opposed their applications and, over time, had a few items returned.

On March 19, 1998 the feds had to make a choice whether to fight in B.C. Supreme Court to continue to keep it all, which they probably would have lost, or to bring criminal charges. They chose the latter.

both contacted and visited dozens of people (some numerous times) across Canada, probably the United States, and also England to question friends and associates of Darren and David. They have attempted to coerce activists to turn against their peers by making up ridiculous stories that would get anyone else sued for defamation. On June 16, 1997, Warren Leigh Ryan, head investigator on the case, sank to new lows in his twisted attempt to destroy the lives of Darren, David and anyone close to them. He came to our apartment and told me that Darren had killed my dog - my precious Whiskey, who died the day after the raid on our home while I was in California - and that they have it on tape (um, yeah, Darren spent two years in prison for freeing cats from a lab, but he beats dogs whatever). Ryan was clearly trying to get me to turn

against Darren and make statements, as he insisted that I come down to Headquarters to listen to the tape for my "own benefit." Shortly after this visit, our lawyer attempted to get a copy of this tape but, since it obviously doesn't exist, it was never made available.

In September, 1997, I was kicked out of Canada because of my "criminal" record back home in California (for protest-related trespassing). I guess when Leigh's sick little story didn't succeed in splitting me from Darren, they decided to take a more brutal measure: remove me from the picture. In October, Darren attempted to visit England where he was supposed to testify in the GandALF trial, as mandated and approved by the court, but was denied entry. Reportedly, the RCMP told British authorities

there that he had outstanding weapons charges, which is ridiculous as he has never had any weapons related violations nor did he have, at that point, any outstanding charges at all.

On January 28 of this year, Darren was visiting me in California and was arrested at gunpoint by at least 15 thugs from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), FBI and the Anaheim Police Department. After being searched, he was immediately taken to the Public Library, where they had a command post set up and about 20 more federal agents in suits waiting for him. There, he was shackled and taken in a car caravan to L.A. to be processed as an "undesirable alien." Darren was held in custody for about 2 weeks without bail based on his "criminal" convictions in Canada (freeing cats from a lab and burning meat trucks 5 years ago). During his deportation hearing, the DA said that he was being

investigated by the FBI as a "threat to national security," but she wasn't sure why. That wasn't good enough for the judge, who issued him a "voluntary departure order," which is not as bad as the deportation we had feared would be ordered. Darren was escorted by INS officers to a plane bound for Canada, with no opportunity for goodbyes, on February 7th. We are now not allowed in each others' countries.

Latest arrests and charges

David was arrested on March 27, 1998 on a warrant sworn out on the one year anniversary of the raids, and spent 23 hours in jail awaiting paperwork that should have taken no longer than a few hours. Darren arrived back in Vancouver and turned himself in a couple days later. They are jointly charged with 27 counts of "sending an explosive or dangerous thing in the mail." David is additionally charged with

"possession of an explosive substance" and "possession of a prohibited weapon" (a stun gun). Darren is additionally charged with "impersonation." No charges have been filed against them in connection with the mail bombs. Both have been released on their own recognizance with strict conditions -- they are not allowed to leave British Columbia, they had to surrender their passports, are not allowed to have contact with each other and must report to RCMP headquarters once a week. Any violation means being sent back to jail to face a harder bail hearing, and they can also be sued for \$10,000.

David will be proceeding, on April 16 in B.C. Supreme Court, with a motion to quash the original search warrants that resulted in the seizures. The increasingly uphill battle just got a little steeper. But Darren and David are not your everyday activists -- they are lifelong soldiers, they are tough,

and they will march on and overcome whatever ordeal is put before them. That is just one of the many qualities that makes them special to those who know and love them and invaluable as advocates for the animals and the environment.

Please support our fellow warriors during this most trying time. Send letters of support and donations for their legal defense (earmarked "for Darren and David") to:

North American A.L.F. Supporters Group
 Box 69597, 5845 Yonge St.,
 Willowdale, Ontario,
 M2M 4K3
 CANADA

Gina Lynn (Darren's partner) is an environmental and animal rights activist in her own right and can be reached at:
 <glynn@envirolink.org>

THE CHILLING 2 HR DOCUMENTARY ON THE SECRET WAR IN AMERICA

ALL POWER

TO THE PEOPLE!

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND BEYOND



"The Truth!"
 -PHILIP AGEE-EX CIA OFFICER

"The 1960s as reported by a gifted radical journalist of color"
 -EMORY HOLMES-LA TIMES

"All Power to the People is a must see film for anyone interested in the actual history of the African American National Movement during the 60's and 70's ..."
 -L. WILLIAMS - WORKING PEOPLE'S NEWS

WITH: MUMIA · GERONIMO · SHAKUR · PELTIER ·

NAME _____
 ADDRESS _____
 CITY _____
 STATE/ZIP _____
 PHONE/FAX _____

Please make check or money for \$29.95 (US) payable to:

ELECTRONIC NEWS GROUP
 P.O. Box 86208
 Los Angeles, CA
 90086-0208

SOLIDARITY SUMMER FESTIVAL
July 16-21

**Animal Rights-Anti-racism
 Feminism-Anarchism-food
 Book Fair-DIY records-art
 demonstrations, and more!**

For more info: SASE to:
Beyond the Wall of Injustice
 PO Box 6188
 Fullerton CA 92834

Gino 213-343-1924
 Celene 714-836-7414
 email: Comrade J@aol.com

Combating the Continuing Convergence of Christian Identity and the Christian Right:

YEAR 2000

On June 10, 1998, the Subcommittee on Financial Services and Technology of the Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee held a hearing on disclosing The Year 2000 problem. They took testimony from Dr. Edward Yardeni, the Chief Economist and a managing director of Deutsche Bank Securities, a global investment banking firm. He is one of the world's experts on the potential consequences of anticipated computer and embedded microprocessor failures because of using a 2-digit date code that will fail to comprehend the difference between 2000 and 1900. The ruling elite and the racist, reactionary right are aware of this problem, and making their plans. The general public, and most of the left, seem blissfully unaware of the dangers less than 18 months away.

"The biggest risks confronting investors," Yardeni testified, "are not the costs of fixing [the] Y2K [problem] in 1998 and 1999, but the much greater costs of business disruptions, malfunctions, and outright failures in 2000 [if it is not fixed]. It is precisely this vitally important information that is missing in every one of the [corporate] reports I

What is the extent of the Y2K problem? William E. Kennard, the FCC chair, told Congress his biggest concerns included: Radios for police, fire, and other emergency services could fail due to Year 2000 problems. Wireless systems could fail, just when they might be needed as backup to wireline. The Emergency Broadcast could fail, exactly when it is not a test.

Kathleen Hirning, the chief information officer of the Federal Energy Commission, told Congress that Both the gas and oil industries use Supervisory Control and Data Acquisition systems (embedded microcomputers) to

acquire information from remote sections of pipeline, and to control the flow of fuel at remote locations by using computers linked to satellite and telephone communication systems. All these systems are vulnerable to the Y2K glitch. Oil drilling relies on rigs which are rife with embedded processors, some of which have date dependencies, many of which are underground or worse, underwater (in other words, hard to locate, test, or fix).

The Senate hearings indicate an acceptance that there will be power outages, and the only questions remaining now are where, and for how long? Will it

read." In November, Senator Bennett (R-Utah), the chair of the subcommittee, introduced the CRASH (Computer Remediation and Shareholder) Protection Act to require the Securities and Exchange Commission to force corporations to disclose the costs and dangers of non-compliance. The bill has not yet passed, the SEC has not yet issued binding regulations, and the vast majority of the biggest corporations, according to Yardeni, have disclosed almost nothing.

"Digital Equipment, in one paragraph on the subject, notes that some internal computers are not Y2K compliant, but should be ready in time," Yardeni testified. "However, there is no discussion at all about the computers [Digital] sold ... to others[, for example] the huge installed base of Digital's VMS systems. These minicomputers are widely used in manufacturing, government, distribution, chemical, publishing, pharmaceutical, and automotive industries. Motorola mentions Y2K in one sentence in its annual report only.... There is no mention whatsoever of the extent of Y2K compliance for products Motorola has been selling."

be a brownout or blackout, will it pull down other parts of the power grid? Obviously the economy doesn't function for long if we don't have power. People may not live long if we don't have water. Testing has already shown the problem is extensive. When Chrysler set the computerized time one of its plants to December 31, 1999, the factory security system attempted to lock everyone out of the plant. When one midwestern city did the same to its water treatment plant, it spilled a massive, poisonous quantity of chemicals, which the testers were able to divert before it reached the water supply.

-41-

According to activist Karen Nyhus, who has been looking into the issue from a progressive perspective, what "Y2K" is about is this kind of infrastructure failure, either from systems that shut down or from systems that start to contain or process corrupt, inaccurate data; the latter being less dramatic but more insidious. It will also soon be about public perception and panic, which is what the government and businesses seem to be trying to avoid by playing ostrich. Think banks, says Karen, and people withdrawing their money before January 1, 2000: recent US surveys say those who know about the problem plan to do so. The

financial system with a global liquidity of 1 or 2% — most bank 'holdings' are debt and assets, not cash — can't sustain this kind of run on the bank, which would be similar to that during the Great Depression.

Is there a plan, asks Karen, for ensuring continuity of services in hospitals, welfare, banks, utilities — gas, electricity, water — and if these things fail, what do we do as progressives? State and local government are themselves way behind. The feds are focusing on national security (the Defense Department is way behind on fixing its systems and is gearing up to defend against 'cyber warfare'; the Russians are even further and the concern is to avoid false military alerts, new Chernobyls, screens gone black on monitoring systems, etc. The US and Russia are cooperating on this but it will still be enormously complicated to ensure no false alarms

The right is starting to deal with Year 2000 in a public way. Gary North, a right-wing Christian analyst, thinks martial law will be declared by January 15, 2000 at the latest. Investigators say Alan Monte Pilon and James McVean, construction workers and apparent militia members who disappeared after killing one cop and wounding several others in southwest Colorado, armed themselves for the violent conflict they believed would follow a millennium "meltdown." According to Sheriff Jerry Martin of Dolores County, CO, "They all talked about the end of the world. They even had their own name for it -- Vampire 2000." Vampire Killer 2000 is a book circulated by militia supporter Jack McLamb, an Arizona ex-cop associated with "Bo" Gritz and the racist Christian Identity movement. To prepare themselves, Pilon and Mason ordered guns, studied U.S. Army tactics in Soldier of Fortune magazine and practiced war games in the desert with a secret paramilitary organization called the Four Corners Patriots.

In the year 2000, many militia groups predict the banking industry will collapse, food stocks

will shrink and the government will federalize state law enforcement. They believe the world will be divided into those who succumb and those who survive. Increasingly, these political fears of the militia groups are encountering and combining with millennialists among Christian fundamentalists and Christian Identity preachers who believe the year 2000 roughly corresponds with the Armageddon forecast in the bible. For the Christian Patriots and Christian Identity groups, the attendant battle between god and satan, good and evil, for dominion over the earth, will take on the cast of a race war. Christian Identity teaches that whites are the true chosen people, Jews are the spawn of Satan and people of color, mud people, are pre-Adamic or sub-human creations. Leaders of the sect have met with Pilon's militia group.

Jim Thorsen, a Christian Identity preacher from a small town near Albuquerque, N.M. allegedly met with the New Mexico Militia and the Four Corners Patriots, according to the Southern Poverty Law Center. SPLC says Thorsen perceives the year 2000 as the battle of the children of light -- whites -- vs. Jews, whom he considers the forces of darkness. If 2000 ushers in a computer meltdown, some survivalists believe they will be the new patriots, the born-again Minutemen of the Revolution. Like Pilon, they have stockpiled food, dug hidden bunkers and armed themselves for war. Just how prepared this faction is to kill and then take cover became all too clear after the shootout in Cortez, Gregory Meacham, FBI special agent in charge told the press.

After reportedly killing Cortez police Officer Dale Claxton, wounding two sheriff's deputies and firing at scores of pursuing police cruisers, Pilon, McVean and Mason disappeared into the desert wilderness, eluding the best trackers of the federal government, National Guard and Navajo Nation police. The Kehoe brothers, two Aryan Nation associated bank robbers who had a similar

YEAR 2000 YEAR 2000

shootout with Ohio cops, also disappeared in the Utah deserts, before finally being captured months later.

Eric Rudolph, wanted for the bombing of a Birmingham AL clinic, and suspected in a series of bombings in Atlanta, including attacks on a clinic and a gay bar, as well as the Olympic Centennial Park bombing which took another life, also disappeared into the wilds of North Carolina after becoming a suspect. Rudolph represents the same growing mixture of Christian Identity and Christian Right. He lived for a time in a survivalist community associated with white supremacist Nord Davis, and later at a Christian Identity compound of Dan Gayman, who preaches the same line that Jews falsely claim to be the chosen people but are actually from "Satan's seed," generated when the serpent impregnated Eve! But Rudolph carried out his anti-gay and anti-abortion bombings, filled with shrapnel and designed to kill, in the name of the Army of God, the Christian fundamentalist-associated anti-abortion underground.

If anti-racist forces are to impede this growing convergence, in which the racist ranks of Christian Identity, once a mere handful around the country have mushroomed into the tens of thousands of adherents, we must begin to address the realities that breed the militias and the "Patriots" paranoid and hateful fears. If we are going to smash the racist scapegoating that leads to

atrocities like the Jasper Texas lynching by several Aryan Brotherhood members, we have to identify the real enemy, the corporate ruling elite and the repressive forces of the state. And if we are to survive the year 2000 in position to provide progressive, liberatory leadership in a situation that is bound to worsen the economic, social and environmental conditions for people who are already hurting when the economy is supposedly booming, we need to prepare ourselves and build the networks of solidarity and of rooted, organized communities that will be needed to sustain resistance.

On the practical level, NetAction, a progressive computer information exchange project recommends some of the following resources for learning about the problem and charting some solutions for computers and systems you're involved with directly:

"Year 2000 Solutions for Dummies," by IDG books. Like the other 'dummies' books, it's written clearly, simply, and with practical step-by-steps. Deals with everything from desktop PCs to mainframes.

The Small Business Administration has a good model plan for year 2000 compliance, with an overview of steps and narrative describing each step in detail: <<http://www.sba.gov/y2k/>>.

The San Francisco Bay Area Year 2000 users' group. Composed mostly of technology managers in large companies, this group nonetheless provides product guidance, speakers, and opportunities to network and learn from others.

See: <<http://www.sf2000.com/>>.

For those who want more background on this issue, Judi Clark of NetAction recommends two articles by David Isenberg, which are on the web at:

<http://www.isen.com/archives/980510.html>
and
<http://www.isen.com/archives/980515.html>

jeff buckley jeff buckley

for heather dobbins

And in the 4th watch of the night he came to them,
walking on the water. And
when the disciples saw him walking on the sea, they were
frightened, saying
"It is a ghost!" and they cried out for fear. --Matthew
14:25-26

how did the water feel
after he finished walking
and stepped off

the water knowing it was over
that it'd only be able to remember &
read about it in the cheap dailies
and on over priced reams of rice paper
tossed overboard in pursuit of
ishmael or island or isthmus

at 3 a.m.
the street looks like something
that almost belongs to the people

jeff put
the bottle down
next to his radio

he left his boots on

in memphis the river is muddy and red
and after midnight it is queer and blue

come 4 a.m.
an ash-cobalt haze
rises up off the river
and spreads like whipped
margarine across the city

they rush eastward to get away
but jr. only has three strings
and one last swig of bourbon

and artist paint
with the grease from smoked pig,

the blue dirty grit of an hourly wage

and the left over
blood used
to print the
newspaper

poet poet me a hand gun
poet poet me some freedom
poet poet me some freedom and some pay
from my paycheck and let me work one less day

and now plantation owners
own fast food joints
and wal-marts

and tony has gone to dream with the wonder bread-
he has nightmares
and daniel has gone to the gone that is gone he is gone
and I wonder about the water-
and what it feels-
and how it spreads blue
so smoothly (to heal
like an aspirin
or poppy tea)

through the city that spreads
like an amoeba trying to get away from itself
or just get away for the weekend
or just get away for a little golf
or just get away with a little extra
or just get away for the day
or just get away with it all

face down eyes open eye ball to eye ball with the cat fish
that never dies
and the: I just need a little more...

sometimes a swim in the river is like winning the lottery

jeff buckley jeff buckley
don't swim with your boots on

by Thom Holcomb

Thom is a poet and activist with Memphis Against Racism
in Tennessee.

WHAT CAN I DO TO FIGHT RACISM?

Today, a new wind is blowing. Young people everywhere are getting together to take the future in their hands, to try to shape a better world. Yet even as we try to solve the problems that are weighing on us, we have questions. How can we learn from the mistakes of the past? If racism is "old," how come there is still so much racism? What can we do to solve this problem once and for all?

First of all, we need to recognize the depths of the problem. **Racism is not just prejudice, ignorance or hatred— racism is in the institutions of big business and government.** If people of good will are going to make a difference, we have to realize just what we're taking on. We face not only the organized hate groups,

WHAT IS RACISM?

Racism is Black men in Harlem having shorter life expectancies than men in Bangladesh. Racism is Mexican immigrants — with or without documents— being targeted for denial of health, education and social benefits that are a human right. Racism is the cops stopping every Asian teen in baggy pants to take "gang i.d." photos. Racism is California spending more on prisons than higher education, running 40% of young Black men through the criminal justice system, continuing to exploit and defile the sacred lands of Native people.

Racism is the principal strength of anti-gay, anti-woman, anti-immigrant, anti-worker, anti-environment, and anti-poor-people politics in this country.

The system couldn't last a day without racism. Racism is the principal obstacle to building relations of solidarity and respect and getting something done about all the other problems we face.

Racism is rooted in the on-going history of 500 years of colonialism and empire that still shape our country and our world.

BUT RACISM AND IMPERIALISM -- LIKE ANY CHAINS -- ARE ONLY AS STRONG AS THEIR WEAKEST LINK!!!

And the weak link in the chain is human consciousness, solidarity, and love — which takes the form of resistance in the face of repression. That's why the system is so afraid of people like Geronimo ji-Jaga (Pratt) and Mumia Abu-Jamal, former Black Panthers who were

framed up and locked down behind prison walls, yet never surrendered, unyielding in their love for people and unwilling to compromise with oppression.

TO FIGHT RACISM, BUILD SOLIDARITY!

Join the struggle to free all political prisoners and P.O.W.'s locked down in the U.S. for their involvement in liberation struggles. Expose and resist police brutality, racism and abuse! Support affirmative action — but more important, support self-determination by oppressed people shaping their own destinies! Fighting racism means resisting all oppression and all illegitimate authority — opposing sexism and homophobia — protecting the planet and all life from corporate greed — supplanting exploitation with cooperative economic relationships.

People Against Racist Terror (PART) is a 10-year-old grassroots organization committed to resisting all forms of racism, sexism, imperialism and oppression.

In the last decade, PART has taken on the struggle against racism in the streets, in education, and in the corporate elite and government power structure. PART has been involved in campaigns against police brutality, against the racist economic privilege and exclusivity of L.A.'s country club elite, against the role of the CIA and other government agencies in the distribution of cocaine and other drugs, while they simultaneously used the pretext of a phony war on drugs to criminalize a generation of Black and Latino youth. PART has been involved in clinic defense,

the neo-nazis, bone-heads and white supremacists, but also the power structure, the big corporate interests that benefit from racism— **and the acceptance of the status quo even among people who receive at best minor benefits from it.** Racism is and has been a problem not only on the right wing, but also on the left.

To end racism, we need to break with the indifference to suffering that this system tries to drum into people.

We need to act on the basis that the lives of all people in all countries are as important, as valuable, as the lives of the rich white men who run this country.

opposition to gay bashing, the struggle to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty. PART has been central in exposing the links between the Christian right, many militia groups and organized white supremacist forces. We have struggled for Puerto Rican Independence, Native American land rights and Hawaiian sovereignty. For 10 years, we have published **TURNING THE TIDE: Journal of Anti-racist Activism, Research and Education**, a grass-roots voice printed and distributed without corporate funding, non-profit grants, or partisan subsidies. **By depending entirely and exclusively on our readers and members, we are able to speak out independently, without fear or compromise, against all forms of racism and oppression.**

We invite you to join us. Help free Mumia and Alejandrina Torres as we have freed Geronimo and Norma Jean Croy. Help break the reactionary solidarity that unites people with our own oppressors and create the revolutionary solidarity that can reshape and heal the world.

Mobilize Against Organized Racists!

History shows that the system has always used organized racist groups like the Ku Klux Klan and the nazis as the shock troops for state repression and terror. White supremacist militias may claim they oppose the government, but they just want to get the reins of power in their own hands. Nazi boneheads, clinic bombers, anti-semites, gay bashers, anti-immigrant mobilizers want to divide and conquer on the backs of scapegoats, and through race war

or religious crusades, they want to seize power over the rest of us. They must be exposed and opposed at every opportunity, and prevented from consolidating a base for fascism, whether through Klan rallies, Aryan Fests or racist rock concerts.

Organize Against the Police State!

Not only is it impossible to rely on the police or the FBI to deal with this problem — local and federal law enforcement as presently constituted are part of the problem! Organized white supremacist groups exist in the ranks of cops, prison guards, and the military. But more important, the institutional role of the police is to defend the system of racism and colonialism — to protect and serve the empire! We must oppose the colonial system of criminal injustice — the railroad that criminalizes Black and Latino young people, locks them up and throws away the key. We must abolish the racist death penalty. We must defend and communicate with the freedom fighters who are locked down inside U.S. concentration camps.

Support Self-Determination and De-Colonization!

We must enter the new millennium by putting an end to colonization and the violation of people's sovereignty through conquest and military occupation. Without mental, spiritual, cultural and physical de-colonization, neither our society nor this planet can survive.

We must struggle for the recognition of the independence of Puerto Rico, the sovereignty of Native Nations, the Hawaiians, the

Palestinians, and all people whose land and freedom have been stolen by the expanding empire. We must build the unity and solidarity of peoples across the current militarily imposed borders.

Fight Sexism and Heterosexism!

We must end the oppression of women, the interference by the Church or the State in women's right to choose and to control their own body, and the violation through homophobia of everyone's right to live, love and be loved without fear

or oppression. We need to defend the rights of the disabled, historically among the first victims of nazism. We need to fight for the rights of children.

End All Oppression! Free the Land! Defend the Earth!

Capitalism — the private ownership of land and expropriation of labor — is the source of most of the social and environmental ills that are plaguing the planet and human society. Only through non-exploitative, ecologically-sound

economic organization, and non-hierarchical, anti-colonial political organization, where nature is a part of us, not a resource to be exploited, where peoples are sovereign over their own cultures, and where labor is controlled by the laborers for the general good, can we build a sustainable future.

If this program makes sense to you — if it gives you hope of a better world — join us and make it happen!

If you don't like the history of genocide we've inherited, let's go out and make some history of our own!

Be PART of the solution!

People Against Racist Terror
PO Box 1055
Culver City CA 90232

310.288.5003

part2001@usa.net

DON'T DELAY! SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

Turning the Tide: Journal of Anti-Racist Activism, Research & Education is now in its eleventh year of publication as an independent, grass-roots voice against racism, sexism, and all forms of oppression, and for justice, solidarity, liberation and planetary survival. *TTT* espouses a unique, non-sectarian point of view, anti-imperialist, pro-feminist, anti-authoritarian, without dogmatism or tired rhetoric. We rely entirely on you, the reader, to sustain this non-partisan, non-denominational publication.

TTT receives no subsidies from political parties, no grants from multi-national or non-profit corporations, no government money. *TTT* has no obligations except to the truth, and to you, the readers. The bulk of its print run is distributed free of charge to anti-racist activists, prisoners, and concerned individuals. We have no sugar daddies — we depend on the free will donations of our readers, and the support of those who choose to subscribe. Like listener sponsored radio, you can probably get *TTT* free if you want to — but for *TTT* to be there for you with its uncompromising coverage and insightful analysis, you must be there for *TTT*!

[] Here's \$15. Enter my subscription for four quarterly issues beginning with Volume 11 # _____

[] Here's an extra \$10. Subsidize the subscription of a prisoner.

[] I want to be a sustainer! Here's \$50. [] Send me a copy of "*White Lies White Power*" by *TTT* editor Michael Novick, a 350 pp. study of organized white supremacist groups, and their ties to other reactionary movements and the state.

Name: _____

Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip+4: _____

Telephone: _____ E-mail: _____

Cash, check or postal money order payable to: PART, PO Box 1055, Culver City CA 90232

P.A.R.T.
P.O. Box 1055
Culver City CA 90232-1055

Bulk Rate
U.S. Postage Paid
Culver City CA
Permit No. 140

Address Service Requested

JOIN THE
CAR CARAVAN
FOR
PRISONERS'
HUMAN
RIGHTS

Take a Stand Against:

- Prison shootings and guard brutality
- Maximum security lockdown prisons
- Medical neglect, torture and abuse
- Rape and sexual harassment
- The expansion of private prisons
- Three strike laws
- The growth of prisons at the expense of jobs, housing and education
- The death penalty
- INS deportations, raids, and conditions in detention facilities
- The attack on family visits, media access and other rights
- The growing incarceration of women

Saturday, October 17

Northridge California to Target Chowhilla Women's Prisons
8:00 Statewide Rally at Corcoran State Prison

Initiated by California Prison Focus and the California Coalition for Women Prisoners
For more information call 510.655.2931