

Journal of Anti-Racist Activism Research & Education

TURNING THE TIDE

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**Inside This Issue: Anti-Asian Violence* Mexico
Police Brutality* Political Prisoners Speak Out**

WOMEN PRISONERS RESIST!

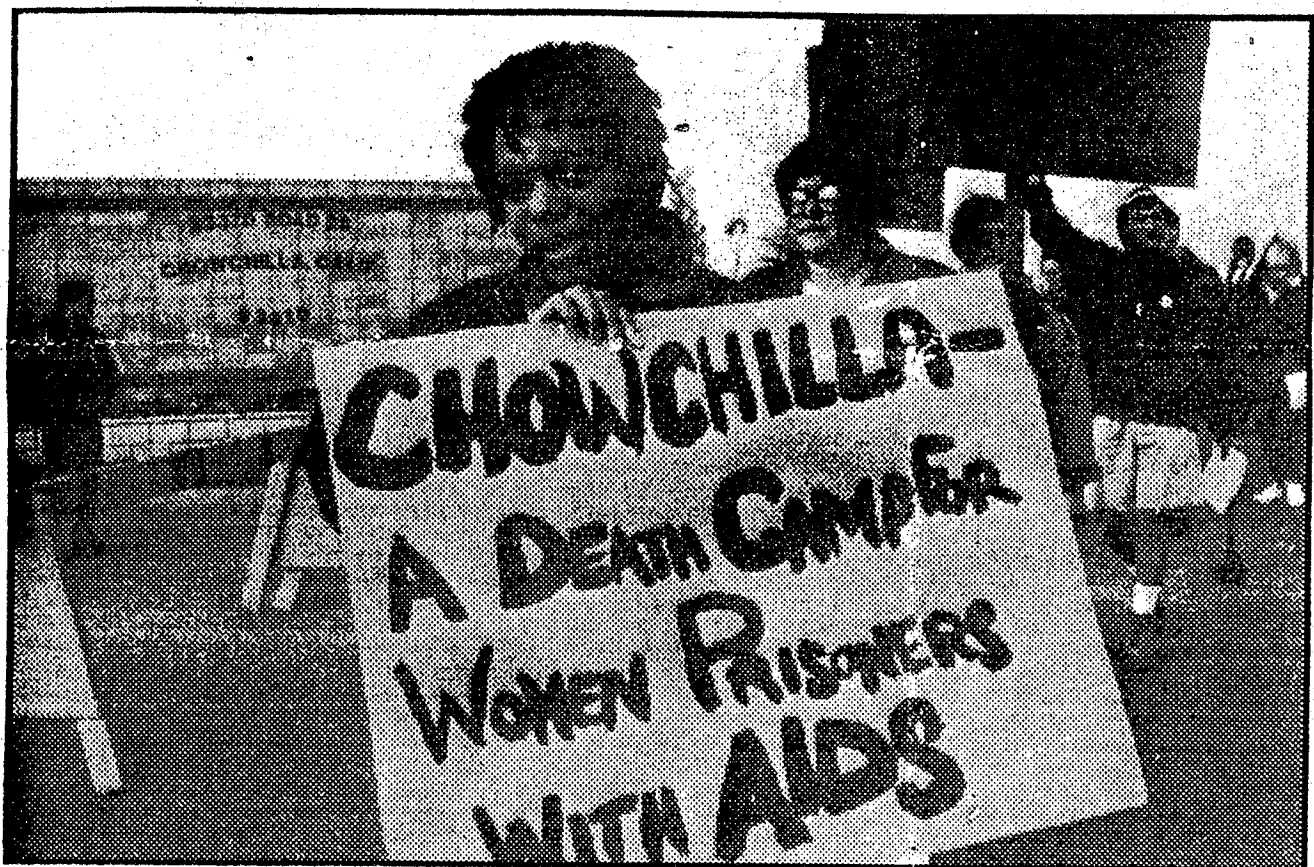


photo by: Judi Parks

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Turning the Tide welcomes your letters, articles, graphics and other contributions. Electronic submissions are especially welcome, either by email to <mnovickttt@igc.apc.org> or as ASCII-text on 3.5" IBM-compatible floppy disks. **Turning the Tide** is now available on-line through the Prison Activist Resource Center web site and gopher address on Peacenet.

Racism, Sexism and Corruption:

POLICE ABUSE WIDE-SPREAD IN L.A.

The issue of racism and sexism, and the resultant police abuse and brutality, will not go away. A sergeant in the L.A. Sheriff's Department formed an organization in November he claims is designed to protect the rights of white male officers. Sgt. Ed Kirste, a 26-year member of the force, sent a written statement to news organizations announcing the formation of the "Association of White Male Peace Officers." He said members oppose the idea that they as a class should be punished for the "real or purported transgressions" of their ancestors. "No member of this organization ever bought, owned, sold or traded a slave; none of us worked at Treblinka or Manzanar, nor sailed under Pizarro, nor rode to Wounded Knee," the statement said.

Kirste wouldn't discuss details of the group's founding or disclose how many officers are members. "I have been directly prohibited from talking about this matter while on duty," Kirste said. The Sheriff's Department said it did not sanction the group but can't legally prevent individuals from joining. Consistent with our existing policy," an LASD statement continued, "members of the Sheriff's Department can and will be disciplined for conduct which exhibits racial, gender, religious or sexual orientation bias in their official duties."

Carol Watson, a board member of the community group Police Watch, which logs complaints against police officers and sheriff's deputies, said forming the group sends out the wrong message at this time. "Any organization that sets itself up with (these) goals can only be detrimental to the community and erode public confidence in fair and equal application of the law," she told the press.

In November, the NAACP held a hearing in Los Angeles for minority residents who say they were abused or falsely arrested by aggressive police officers. The day-long hearing at the Southside Christian Palace Church in south L. A. was a first for the group. Its results will be submitted to the Justice Department, whose investigation of the LAPD was sparked by the recordings of racist remarks and boasts of brutality made by former LAPD Detective Mark A. Fuhrman which were released during the O.J. Simpson trial. Testimony at the NAACP hearing included that of Alberto Morales, who identified himself as a victim in a 1978 beating by Hollenbeck Division officers which was mentioned by Fuhrman in one of the tapes.

"I'm here to tell you that [it] really happened," Morales said.

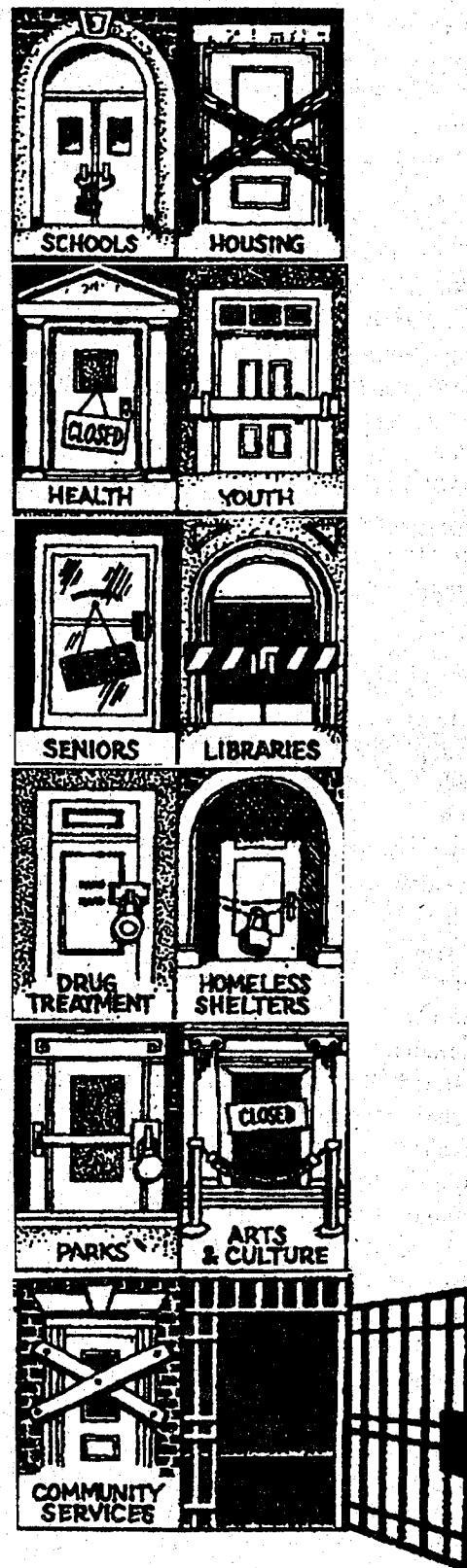
Rosa H. Roberts, 72, testified that LAPD officers mistakenly arrested her in 1993 for burglarizing her own home. During her arrest, Roberts said, "police officers pulled her hair, verbally abused her and kept her in a Van Nuys jail for hours without food before she was released. "I was so weak. I couldn't move," she said. "I tried to get them to loosen the handcuffs ... because they were too tight," Roberts said. "But one police officer told me they couldn't do that because I might run away and then they would have to shoot me." At that point in her testimony, she started to cry.

Witnesses at the hearing also identified the Santa Monica, Long Beach and Gardena police departments and Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department as civil rights offenders. Meanwhile, D.A. Garcetti has turned the criminal investigation of Fuhrman on possible perjury charges for his testimony in the Simpson trial over to state Attorney General Dan Lungren, fearing the "appearance" of a conflict of interest.

In response to a series of cases brought to public attention by the Mexican American Bar Association, MABA, which charges law enforcement bias against Chicanos, Mexicanos and Latinos, Garcetti has agreed to review tape recordings of the police questioning of anti-graffiti vigilante William Masters III and of one of his shooting victims, tagger David Hillo, which the MABA lawyers assert show a clear favoritism toward Masters (whom Garcetti refused to indict for shooting Hillo or killing another Mexicano tagger). Garcetti also agreed to a joint meeting with the MABA delegation and L.A. County Sheriff Sherman Block, whose agency has been responsible for many killings of Latino over the past few years. MABA has identified at least 18 cases they consider examples of police abuse and discrimination in the wake of Prop. 187.

Garcetti's office has decided not to prosecute LAPD Detective Andrew A. Teague for perjury for falsifying evidence in a murder case. Prosecutors said they did not have enough evidence to convict Teague, an 18-year veteran and one of the 44 so-called "problem officers" identified in the landmark 1991 Christopher Commission report on the LAPD. According to the D.A., Teague forged suspects' signatures on identification reports and then lied about it in court. But prosecutors concluded that a perjury case against Teague would be complex, and a jury was likely to find he simply had made a mistake. An internal LAPD investigation into the activities of Teague and his partner should conclude "very soon," according to the department's spokesman, Cmdr. Tim McBride.

Teague, 41, racked up 18 citizen complaints in 18 years on the force, but was promoted to Detective even after amassing further complaints after being singled out by Christopher. He had moved this year to the Van Nuys Division from the Hollenbeck Division on the Eastside. Teague xeroxed suspect's signatures, one taken from a vocational school sign-in roster, and applied them to phony confessions, then testified in court that they were legitimate. His defense is that he fabricated the document in order to interrogate another man, and then forgot that they were falsifications!



This pattern of civilian authority granting impunity to cops involved in crime is widespread. The L.A. Civil Service Commission in November ordered the reinstatement of Sheriff's Deputy Jose Belmares with four years back pay and interest amounting to over a quarter million dollars. The killing of 15-year-old David Angel Ortiz by Belmares was one of four shootings in August 1991 by deputies that resulted in an inquiry into the Sheriff's department by retired Superior Court Judge James G. Kolts. In 1992, Kolts urged many changes in the way the department handled the use of force, and Sheriff Sherman Block agreed to most of the reforms, which are still being implemented. Last year, the county agreed to pay \$600,000 to settle a civil suit brought by the Ortiz family. Now, based on the vote of a divided commission, the sheriff's decision to fire Belmares has been reversed.

The commission's three white members voted for the reinstatement and its two minority members, a Latino and an African American, voted against it. The deputy called the reinstatement order "a real morale booster" for the department's 8,000 deputies. Miguel Garcia, an attorney for the Ortiz family, said the U.S. Justice Department has never concluded its own investigation of the civil rights aspects of the Ortiz shooting. Several years ago, the Commission ordered the reinstatement of Deputy Brian Kazmierski, who was kicked off the force for burning a cross inside the county jail to intimidate Black prisoners. Upon being reinstated, Kazmierski shot and killed a Mexican national after declaring that he was "going to get himself" a Mexican. The latter killing was cited by the KKK report as an example of inadequate accountability by the D.A.'s office of law enforcement criminality; but the Kolts report never mentioned Kazmierski's earlier suspension and reinstatement for his racist acts as a jailer.

An LAPD captain was temporarily reassigned in November in the face of charges that he made sexual advances toward a female officer under his command. IAD investigators are reviewing a complaint against Capt. Bob Kurth, commander of the West Los Angeles Division, a 27-year veteran of the force, police officials confirmed. Kurth, 48, allegedly made numerous overtures toward Officer

Catherine Shuman, 33, during the last two years. Among other things, Kurth allegedly touched Shuman's thigh while in a car, complimented her figure after she returned from maternity leave and took her to lunch at a Westside hotel where he suggested they check in. A supervisor who recognized Shuman's concerns reported the situation on her behalf.

Meanwhile, the quintessential case of police racism and brutality in L.A., the beating of Rodney King, continue to make headlines. Richard Delgaudio, president of the Fairfax, VA-based Legal Affairs Council, which is sponsoring a banquet to welcome home ex-cop Laurence Powell, convicted of civil rights violations for the King beating, is protesting the effort by the city of L.A. to keep the event out of the Police Academy restaurant facility. Delgaudio said an agreement to hold the event, scheduled for Dec. 14, was breached by the Revolver and Athletic Club, located at the Police Academy, because of pressure from the City Council. City Councilman Mark Ridley-Thomas individually, and the city, are now being sued by Powell for violating his civil rights. The city owns the academy property but leases the buildings to the club, which operates the academy. The threat of council action, said Ridley-Thomas, was a factor in the club's decision not to permit the event. "It was a warning to [the club] to use good judgment, and to get this situation cleaned up, or else we would subject the whole lease to review . . . if not cancellation," Ridley-Thomas told the L.A. Times.

"The Dreyfus affair in France, the Birmingham Six and Guilford Four cases involving the Irish Republican Army in Great Britain, and the Haymarket Square bombing, Scopes, and Sam Sheppard trial in the United States are emblematic," says Bruce Fein, a constitutional lawyer who represents the Legal Affairs Council, told the L.A. Times, in comparing Powell to victims of unjust prosecutions. Oliver L. North, the former White House aide convicted of obstructing Congress, destroying National Security Council documents and accepting an illegal gratuity, was another beneficiary of Council support. His conviction was later overturned. The council was founded in 1986 by members of

Young Americans for Freedom to aid North and others snared in the Iran-Contra scandal, including then-Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and aides Elliot Abrams, Clair George and Lyn Nofziger.

"There is a direct connection between Oliver North and Larry Powell," asserts Delgaudio. "They are both victims of the left-wing element that is unfairly using political pressure to affect the courts."

Another ultra-right Washington, D.C. outfit, the Law Enforcement Legal Defense Fund, has raised funds for Powell-codefendant Stacey Koon's defense and has filed a friend of the court brief on his behalf in the U.S. Supreme Court review of the two former officers' sentences. Koon, who is also due to be released shortly from a halfway house, has a \$4 million windfall in "defense fund" money awaiting him. "We think that being a police officer and making decisions on the street that are second-guessed is the toughest job there is," said attorney David Martin, a one-time aide to Ronald Reagan who heads the fund. The Fund also briefly began fund-raising on behalf of Mark Fuhrman, until the release of his audio tapes made him too much of an embarrassment even for them.

Koon was the alleged target of a man shot and killed by a SWAT team after entering Koon's half-way house, taking several people hostage and killing one. Koon was away at the time, spending the day with his family and was not at the Re-Entry Community Corrections Center when the man burst in.

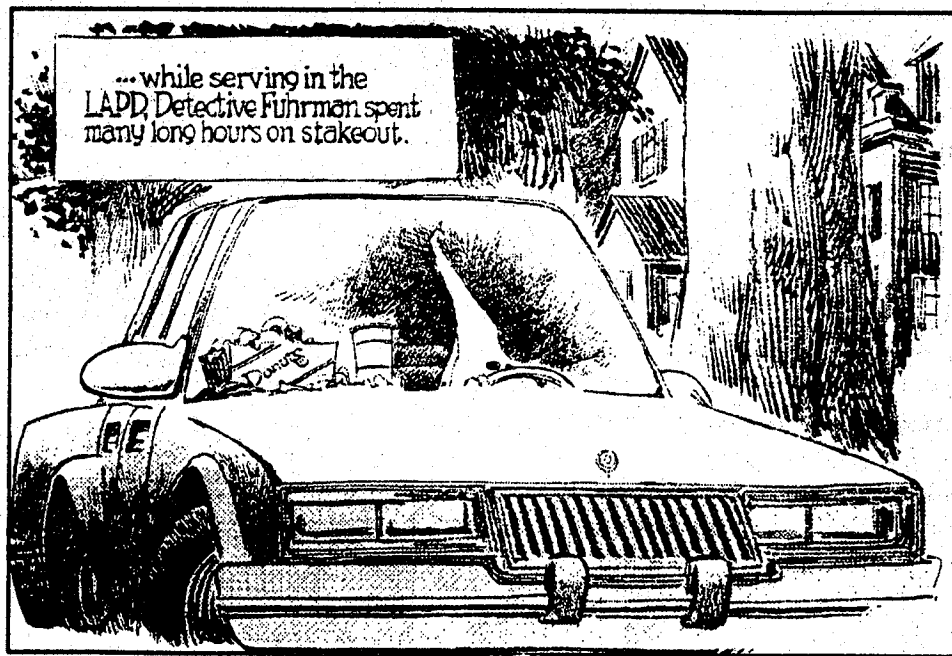
Meanwhile, in Simi Valley, where Koon and Powell were first acquitted for beating Rodney King, several scandals of police abuse have emerged recently. Simi Valley Police Officer David Steven Ming was found innocent of perjury in November in a jury trial, but still faces a Simi Valley P. D. investigation to determine whether he violated departmental regulations. Ming has been suspended with pay since June after two fellow officers accused him of lying against a criminal suspect in court.

A grand jury indicted Ming in August on one felony count of perjury. Ming, who pleaded not guilty, was accused of falsely testifying in Superior Court that he had been given permission to search the home of a Simi Valley woman in May, 1994. Based on Ming's testimony about it being a valid search, school bus driver Cheryl Kay Borjon was convicted of being under the influence of methamphetamine at the time of the search.

The question at Ming's perjury trial was not whether all of his testimony at Borjon's pretrial hearing was accurate -- he admitted it wasn't -- but whether he had intentionally lied in court. Despite testimony from four fellow police officers that contradicted Ming's version of events, and Ming's sometimes nervous demeanor on the stand, the jury acquitted him.

The Simi Valley Police Department is suffering from a series of blows. Officer Michael Cratch pleaded no contest recently to charges of running an illegal pyramid scheme. Former officer Raymond Madden, who resigned from the department last month, was also indicted in the scam. Two other officers tainted by the scandal have also resigned. Earlier in 1995, six Simi Valley officers were investigated for accepting free food, spending too much time in doughnut shops and violating time sheet rules. And slain Simi Valley Police Officer Michael Clark had four citizen's complaints filed against him when he served in the Los Angeles Police Department, necessitating a delay in the trial of Daniel Allen Tuffree for killing Clark. Superior Court Judge Allan Steele agreed to read Clark's personnel file and release any information that may be relevant to Tuffree's case. Steele told attorneys he came across the citizen's complaints while reading a background check conducted by the Simi Valley Police Department before it hired Clark. He said the report did not elaborate on the complaints, and defense attorneys said they will subpoena the Los Angeles Police Department to get details of the complaints.

The issue is widespread in departments around the southland. Charges of racism by the Beverly Hills police department have been raised in a civil rights lawsuit accusing police in the wealthy city



of harassing blacks, including handcuffing teen-agers and frequently stopping motorists. Atty. Robert Tanenbaum filed suit in federal court in Los Angeles on behalf of six black teen-agers and men he said were stopped by officers - in one case, more than 20 times - for no reason except their race. "Reasonable suspicion can not be color of skin," he said.

Meanwhile, even as disclosures of racism, sexism and brutality erode public confidence in the police, private funding for the department continues to grow. Well-connected friends in the corporate world of L.A. millionaire mayor Richard Riordan have raised enough money to install a state-of-the-art computer system and buy custom-designed software that brings time-saving technology in the biggest private gift to a law enforcement agency in the U. S., over \$15 million. For the first time in the LAPD's history, its 18 stations, four traffic divisions, Parker Center headquarters and a training academy in Westchester will be linked electronically. By using computers and specially designed software to fill out arrest reports and other labor-intensive

paperwork that up to now has been done mostly by hand, the department expects to gain at least 640,000 hours a year in policing time--the equivalent of 368 more officers on the streets.

Police Department officials estimate the new technology will save almost \$134 million in improved efficiency. The 22-member executive committee, most of whom have made substantial contributions, reads like a list of who's who among major corporations and charitable foundations. Among the biggest contributions were the Ahmanson Foundation's \$3 million, the \$1.5 million from Blue Cross of California, and the almost \$1.2 million in computers and other equipment from Compaq Computer Corp. Orange County-based Fluor Corp. gave an undisclosed amount, while Coca-Cola ran an in-store promotion donating a percentage of each purchase. The Ralph's/Food 4 Less Foundation gave nearly \$700,000, while the wealthy mayor's own Riordan Foundation put up \$300,000. Private funding has also made possible several police sub-stations in the downtown and Wilshire business districts.

Cops Target Asian Americans

[For the past two years, Asian-American civil rights and legal groups across the country have been documenting a disturbing rise in racist violence and open prejudice directed against Asian and Pacific Islanders in this country. In the New York area, a great deal of this violence has, disturbingly, been perpetrated by law enforcement. The following report is excerpted from the CAAAV Voice, newsletter of the Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence, 191 E. 3rd St., NY 10009; tel: 212-473-6485.]

On October 10, a delegation of concerned Asian, African American and Latino leaders met with Zachary Carter, U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of New York, to demand justice in the killing of 16-year-old Yong Xin Huang by NYPD Officer Steve Mizrahi. In May 1995, despite compelling eyewitness accounts and medical evidence, the Brooklyn D.A. failed to indict Mizrahi for Huang's murder. On March 24, the honor student had been playing with friends when Mizrahi shot him point-blank in the back of the head. Hundreds of people had petitioned for the cop's immediate suspension and prosecution.

After the D.A.'s failure to act, CAAAV organized a demonstration of over 300 outside his office. A delegation attempted a letter from the community to the D.A.'s office, but police were summoned to forcibly eject the group. CAAAV organized an ad hoc committee to continue the campaign for justice for Yong Xin Huang. On July 16, the day before he would have been 17, more than 300 people gathered for a memorial service at P.S. 124 in Chinatown. Family and classmates shared their memories of the slain youth and read poetry dedicated to him. After the service, his family led a procession to Columbus Park. The day ended with a speak-out at Confucius Plaza, where leaders from the Asian, African American and Latino communities denounced police brutality and inaction by District Attorneys. [New York City incorporates 5 counties and has five different D.A.'s. —ed.] The justice committee eventually collected over 10,000 signatures on petitions presented to the U.S. Attorney demanding a federal civil rights investigation and prosecution of Officer Mizrahi for Yong Xin's death.

In July, Saleem Osman, the coordinator of CAAAV's Lease Drivers Coalition, won an "Adjournment in Contemplation of Dismissal" on assault charges that had been brought against him the previous year, when he himself was brutally beaten and arrested by police after he came to the aid of another cabdriver. Osman had been facing a possible four year prison sentence, and Manhattan D.A. Robert Morgenthau had refused to drop the charges for over a year. Mounting public pressure before the court date, including a rally and press conference on the steps of the Criminal Court attended by over 150 people, led the D.A. not to pursue the unjust prosecution. CAAAV believes the long delay, and the D.A.'s unprecedented demand for an apology before dismissing, were face-saving measures for the NYPD, meant

to discourage community organizers from opposing police brutality, which expose the D.A.'s complicity with the police. Osman has filed a civil suit against the NYPD for brutality.

In July, four plainclothes police officers assaulted an Asian man on the Canal Street subway station. Wrongfully accusing him of not paying the fare, Officer Michael Arnette and three others ordered him into a small room in the station, where they beat him and called him a "Chinese shit," CAAAV reports. He was then taken to the 5th Precinct, where he was held 5 hours and given a summons for "resisting arrest." CAAV is currently assisting him to file for crime victims compensation to cover his medical costs from the incident.



Protestors organized by the Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence and the Congress for Puerto Rican Rights block the Manhattan Bridge to protest police brutality as part of a day of coordinated actions in New York City April 25.

In May, a Pakistani livery driver in Manhattan was punched repeatedly and knocked unconscious by Officer Fitzpatrick of the 6th Precinct. He was then falsely charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. The driver suffered loss of hearing in one ear from the beating, and two loose teeth. As a result of CAAAV's canvassing of the area for witnesses, and meeting with the precinct, all charges against the driver were dropped. He has filed a civil suit against the city. CAAAV and the Asian American Legal Defense and Education Fund are also assisting another Pakistani livery driver in Brooklyn in filing suit against two white officers who harassed and physically assaulted him. The advocates have won the dismissal of tickets the cops wrote on the man for false violations.

In Jersey City, NJ, across the river from NY, police officer John Chiusolo, who had been the earlier target of protest for his beating of a Filipino couple, was suspended from the force and arrested for murder and official misconduct last May after fatally beating Julio Tarquino, a Bolivian immigrant visiting from Florida. The officer intervened in an argument that began when Tarquino had objected to racial slurs by two other men; Chiusolo beat and arrested the man, who died of his head injuries. In a 1988 incident, Chiusolo had attacked Rudolfo and Minerva Rodriguez of the Philippines in their Jersey City home. Mr. Rodriguez, a professional cartoonist, suffered the separation of both his shoulders and nerve damage in his wrist, but Chiusolo had been cleared of all brutality charges in that incident.

In response to these and many other cases, the CAAAV has initiated the Coalition Against Police Brutality. The organizations joining with CAAAV are the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, Streetwatch, which works with the homeless, and Harlem Defenders. All four groups have had experience and success in holding the criminal justice system accountable to their constituent communities. Currently, the coalition is working on two projects -- a campaign to hold a congressional hearing on police corruption and brutality, and a research project on the NYPD.

[CAAAV is involved in campaigns to fight racial violence and police brutality; organizing Asian immigrant cab drivers to challenge the racist and exploitative taxi industry; empowering Asian immigrant women workers in garment and other marginalized industries; and developing youth leadership in low-income and refugee Asian communities. The Lease Drivers Coalition they work with has produced a magazine for South Asian cab drivers, "Peela/Paiya," in English, Urdu and Bengali. Memberships in CAAAV, which include the quarterly "Voice," from which information for this article was excerpted, is \$25 a year from CAAAV, 191 E 3rd, NY 10009. —ed.]



Unity is Strength

Lease Drivers Coalition
United Friends Organization
Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence

Black Woman Beaten by White Security Guards in Massachusetts Hospital

Reprinted from *In Other Words*,
Cape Codders Against Racism

On the night of July 1, a black woman visiting her AIDS-patient sister at the Cape Cod Hospital emergency room was struck, roughed up, knocked down, and handcuffed by two white hospital security guards--an episode that set off a storm of protest among civil rights and AIDS activists.

The case has called into serious question the functioning of hospital security and of the emergency room, and has brought to a boil the long-simmering controversy over how the hospital deals--or doesn't deal--with AIDS patients.

It also suggests that racism was a precipitating factor.

The issues in the case have led to an investigation of the hospital by the Office for Civil Rights of the Boston regional office of the U. S. Department of Health and Human Services.

The story got page-one coverage in the Cape Cod Times on July 14, after assault charges were filed.

Rhonda Brooks of South Yarmouth went to the hospital after her sister, Brenda Soares, was taken there by ambulance, suffering from severe AIDS-related symptoms. Ms. Brooks waited in the reception area for some 45 minutes for word of her sister's condition, then entered the treatment section, where she found Ms. Soares lying on a gurney, shivering and in pain. Ms. Soares had been x-rayed but was otherwise untreated, and no one had responded to her plea for a blanket.

After some time, a nurse practitioner came by and said Ms. Soares would not be admitted as a patient, but would be sent home with a prescription for pain and for cough syrup.

Ms. Brooks phoned for a taxi, and was told one would arrive in 20 minutes. She returned to her sister's bedside to wait for the prescription. When word came that the taxi had arrived, Ms. Brooks still had not been given the prescription. She asked a nurse about it. The nurse spoke to her rudely, and ordered her to go to the reception area. Ms. Brooks said she would leave with her sister when she had the prescription. The nurse shouted at her to get out. Ms. Brooks refused to leave, and remained to comfort her ailing sister.

SECURITY GUARDS ARRIVE

The first security guard to arrive, Edward Clough, interrupted Ms. Brooks's attempt to explain her presence, shouting at her in rage and ordering her out. He struck her on the shoulder from behind, Ms. Brooks said, then threw her against a wall and grabbed her arm, twisting it behind her back. She said the second guard, John Dorr, came up and grabbed her by the other arm. She was lifted up and forced toward the doors to the reception area, and was propelled through the doorway.

At this point, Ms. Brooks, frightened and angry, turned and hit Clough in the face. Both guards charged at her, she said. She was thrown to the floor, where, she said, "I was being hit on the back either by fists or knees or both. I could not see. My face was pressed to the floor."

A man of color, a visitor waiting in the reception area, warned the guards not to hit Ms. Brooks. They desisted, and pulled her to her feet. When she asked them to retrieve her pocketbook and its contents, which had scattered on the floor, Dorr responded with a barrage of obscenities, and called her a "bitch."

The guards took her to the ambulance entrance where Barnstable police had been summoned. After a brief investigation, the responding officer made Clough remove the handcuffs, saying he had no reason to arrest Ms. Brooks.

Hospital workers witnessing the episode have confirmed Ms. Brooks' account, saying she did nothing to provoke the violence of the security guards.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION?

Members of Cape Codders Against Racism have raised the question of racial discrimination, asking whether the security guards would have behaved toward a white woman as they behaved toward Ms. Brooks.

On July 2--only some 12 hours after she had been told she would not be admitted as a patient and was sent home--Ms. Soares again had to be rushed to the hospital by ambulance because of the seriousness of her condition.

The examining physician refused to admit her as a patient, however. When he remarked at one point that the only way she could be admitted would be if she refused to leave, Ms. Soares at once said she would refuse to leave. The physician wheeled and angrily stalked out of the room. Another doctor came in later to sign her in as a patient.

The health-care issue was quickly taken up by AIDS groups, whose spokespersons said

the episode was indicative of the hospital's shortcomings in dealing with HIV/AIDS patients.

They sent a letter to Philip Johnston, regional director of the U. S. Department of Health and Human Services, saying that the Brooks-Soares case "appears to be part of a pattern of, at best, neglect, and at worst, outright hostility at Cape Cod Hospital toward people living with HIV/AIDS.... It is clear that action must be taken to seriously address its lack of service to the HIV/AIDS community."

The letter was signed by Len Stewart of the Provincetown AIDS Support Group, Scott Penn of Outer Cape Health Services, John Perry Ryan of ACT UP/Provincetown, Victor D'Lugin of Outer Cape Consumer Advisory Board, and Jimmy Rann of Provincetown Positive/People with AIDS Coalition.

At the request of Health and Human Services officials, the Cape AIDS-health groups and Cape Codders Against documentation on the AIDS and racial discrimination issues to the Boston office. Subsequently a three-member HHS team came to the Cape to meet with representatives of the local groups. Soon thereafter an official investigation of the hospital was begun.

The security guards were arraigned September 14 on assault and battery charges brought by Ms. Brooks. Clough filed a countercharge against Ms. Brooks, whose arraignment also was September 14.



UNNERVED BY THE BLATANT DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THEM, WHITE MALES BEGIN FORMING SUPPORT GROUPS, IN CORPORATE BOARDROOMS ACROSS THE COUNTRY.

Unemployed Council Organizer L.A. Black Activist Charged with "Terrorism"

by
Camilla Cracchiolo

Deacon Alexander is an African American man and long-time community activist in Los Angeles. This summer, he was arrested and charged with terrorism in connection with the labor organizing efforts of the Los Angeles Unemployed Council. He and other members of the group have been visiting contractors in South Central Los Angeles and trying to get them to hire African American workers at union wages at construction sites in the area. Charging Alexander with terrorism for this fundamental, grass-roots, bread and butter economic organizing is very alarming and represents the latest application of the law to repress any political activity. It's a measure of how, despite the L.A. City Council's repeated declaration that the city is a "racism-free" zone, racism continues to be as fundamental to the "re-building" of L.A. as it was to the city's original development.

After nearly three months in jail, during which he became ill from lack of proper medical treatment in the jail, Deacon Alexander was freed on \$100,000 bail on Sept. 25. With \$75,000 in cash raised in L.A. and New York, and \$100,000 in individual property collateral, Deacon is now free to work in the community on his own defense, and to help continue the Council's work. However, three other members of the the L.A. Unemployed Council have been jailed on highly questionable charges. The most recently arrested activists are Derrick Jeff, Mark Jackson and Deshawn Edmond.

Alexander's bail, originally set at \$185,000, was reduced after several prominent community figures stepped forward in his behalf. These were Congress member Maxine Waters, L.A. School Board member Barbara Boudreaux, Judge Vaino Spencer and community activist Danny Bakewell. Those participating in Alexander's defense come from a variety of organizations including the Free Geronimo Pratt Committee, the L.A. 4+ committee, Mothers R.O.C. (Reclaiming Our Children), and the Los Angeles Committee of Correspondence.

Lennox Hinds, past president of the National Conference of Black Lawyers has joined the defense team for Alexander. Meanwhile, motions to drop the terrorism charges and for Alexander to act as co-counsel with his attorneys have been denied.

The defense committee is trying to raise \$25,000 to cover court costs, legal services and defense expenses. Your help and support continue to be needed. Donations can be sent to address at the top of this article.

Most important, Deacon Alexander and the other folks from the Unemployed Council need our support at the trial. The next court date is Tuesday, Jan 23, 1996 at 8:30 AM in Dept. 130 of the Los Angeles Criminal Courts Bldg. on Temple and Spring. Please be there!

For more information call: 213-232-8316 or
write to: S. Deacon Alexander Defense Committee
3870 Crenshaw Blvd. Box 776
Los Angeles, CA 90008

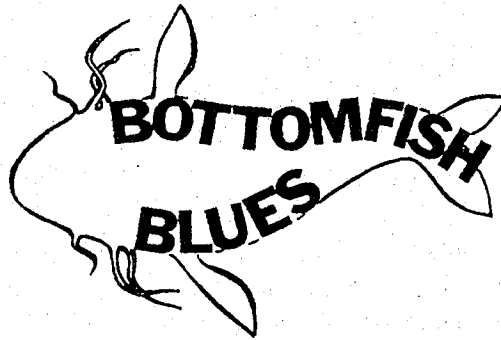


Book Review:

BOTTOMFISH BLUES: THE COMING OF BLACK GENOCIDE and Other Essays

by Mary Barfoot
1993. New York
Vagabond Press
\$10.95 (pb)

Reviewed by
Oreja



Considering that U.S. imperialism is an enthusiastic sponsor of genocide, and that the history of this country is solidly rooted in genocidal practices, it's striking how little attention this subject receives even among those who consider themselves anti-racists and anti-imperialists. Genocide in our midst is the ultimate "dirty little secret" — the undigestible reality that threatens to destroy all our pleasant illusions about peaceful change and "multicultural" democracy.

True, it's common to express horror about genocide in Rwanda, or Guatemala, or Bosnia. Many on the left correctly argue that the U.S. bears significant responsibility in these instances, and should be held accountable. Hitler's Germany is studied and restudied as an object lesson, so that "it can't happen here." But in the back of our minds we know that it has happened here — it is happening here. The land that European Americans live on was seized through genocide. The wealth of this country is substantially based on genocide. And the current attacks on African Americans represent a dangerous intensification of genocide — a genocide that Paul Robeson and other activists raised before the UN as early as 1951.

It is convenient for white Americans to stay in denial about home-grown genocide, because confronting genocide calls into question the legitimacy of white society, white territory and white culture. It casts white people in the role of Hitler's "good Germans," who pretended not to know and didn't want to know about the fate of the Roma and Jews. But it is not just white people who are in denial about genocide. A reality this brutal is hard for everyone to look at. It violates our fragile sense of normality. Jews in Germany of all political persuasions were unable to come to grips with the Holocaust until it was too late. Here in the U.S., the term "genocide" — even when utilized — can assume a rhetorical or formalistic character, unconnected to everyday politics.

The Coming of Black Genocide is a tough-minded attempt to break through the wall of denial, and to place Black genocide at the center of radical politics. Easy to read stylistically, it is actually an almost unbearable book, because it holds up a mirror to the brutal destruction of African Americans as a people, and to the complicity of so many of us in that ongoing process. But it is also a flawed book. Overly conspiratorial in its analysis and burdened at times with sectarianism, it will not appeal to casual readers.

But for radical feminists, for those who support African American independence, for anyone committed to destroying white supremacy, The Coming of

Black Genocide can be literally liberating, as it strips away layers of economic wishful thinking, exposing what the real human stakes are in the struggle for freedom. It reframes left-wing debate about national oppression in the U.S., pushing us to fully acknowledge that imperialism builds up, uses, and violently discards whole populations and peoples in its parasitic quest for profit. That millions of "ordinary" people take part in this process on various levels to further their interests. And that today, in a period of turmoil and rapid transformation, the "unthinkable" endgame may be at hand for the Black nation.

Mary Barfoot views white women as a pivotal force that could help shift the balance in the war between African Americans and imperialism. Her book does not simply describe Black genocide, therefore, but also bores in on the need for white radical feminists to know where the battle lines are drawn and to totally repudiate the goal of equality for white women with white men inside a genocidal system.

The Coming of Black Genocide is a series of essays reprinted from Bottomfish Blues, "an underground Amazon publication that has appeared anonymously and episodically in NYC since 1986." The first essay, "Kill the Kids First: The Coming of Black Genocide," takes up fully half of the book. Here is where Barfoot builds her most comprehensive case against Black genocide, describing the conditioning of white America to view Black people as criminals, the isolation and institutionalization of Black children, a historical decision for genocide reached by the ruling class during the 60's in the wake of immense Black uprisings, the strategies and mechanics of genocide, and imperialism's plans for Black and white women within the genocidal process. She details the use of drugs, urban redevelopment, social programs and cultural demonization to attack African American communities. Particularly important to this analysis is Barfoot's attack on "integration" as a means of dispersing Black people into "scattered individuals and reservation inmates isolated as alien refugees in a white society." She argues that initiatives for "housing integration" were a smokescreen for physically destroying concentrations of Black people near white power centers. (What the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, appointed by President Lyndon Johnson in 1967, called "spatial de-concentration.")

Looking at the striking changes in Black class structure, which cause the Black working class to shrink while both the "under-class" and the middle class grow, she points to "a political-military campaign...masked as integration."

Educated Black people are encouraged to distance themselves from the Black grass-roots as much as possible, while the Black underclass is being encouraged to die as much as possible

Barfoot maintains that white women "live the contradiction of having white privileges without white power." Noting the impetus given to women's liberation by the Black movement in the 60's, she castigates both mainstream and radical white feminists for abandoning their historical responsibilities.

If the just-starting women's liberation movement had survived it would have divided white society, and would have seriously endangered the plans for Black Genocide. Born out of the sparks from Black Liberation, with its own revolutionary pulse, women's liberation...might have sabotaged the machinery of genocide

Instead, she says, the power structure "neutralized women's liberation by smothering it under the neutra-sweet' women's movement for white equality."

Radical feminists believed in the unity of white women just as much as their liberal sisters did. While sisterhood demands the dis-unity of white women.

Women's liberation was lost because feminists wanted to separate somewhat from white men while still dining at the same long table. Jane didn't want to share Dick's bed (and certainly didn't want to pick up after him), but she was hooked on the goodies in Dick's house. Jane wanted to be Dick's favorite sister, with a little room of her own in his big white house.

But, as Barfoot puts it, "with Dick's goodies comes Dick." White women who struggle only for equality with white men leave patriarchy firmly in control, complete with violence against women.

Like Black Genocide, male violence against women can only be stopped with a 9mm, with political-military methods....But the women's movement for white equality can't lift a finger to stop male violence, because it wants to join the patriarchy as junior partners, not abolish it. There is no way to have "career advancement" while risking your life to end oppression.

Other essays in the book flesh out Barfoot's description of black Genocide: "Bit of History," which draws parallels with genocide against Native Americans; "The Martinique is Koch's Genocide," which discusses the destruction of housing in the Black communities of New York and the creation of "Afrikan-american reservations" in welfare hotels and projects; "AIDS and Black Genocide." Other essays keep genocide in mind while discussing violence against women and the need for armed self-defense as a response. ("War Against Women," "U.S. Certified Violence," "Lou Lou and the Cops.") One particularly fascinating article is a report on "Rote Zora," an underground women's army in Germany which has targeted traders who "import" Third World women for the sexual use of German men, as well as fascists and tormentors of immigrants. This piece reveals a great deal about what kind of armed movement Barfoot would like to see in the U.S. The essay "Integration" revisits the theme of integration as a mechanism of Black genocide, concentrating on relations between white and Third World women.

In the middle of *Black Genocide* is a short, brilliant essay that is worth the price of the book all by itself. "Lords and Warlords (and us)" takes off from the highly publicized "wildings" rapes in Central Park in 1989, launching into a breathtaking depiction of "warlordism" as the dominant new social form in much of the world and the U.S.

Warlordism is a society without any real civil government, a chaos where gangs and armies of armed men not only have a free run but are the only true authority. It's what you see in much of the Third World, say in Beirut or Colombia — or, increasingly, in New Afrika. Warlordism is created in the social vacuum when an oppressed people have thrown off colonialism or made direct colonial rule impossible, but do not yet have national liberation and effective self-rule. It is a natural form for neo-colonialism.

White settler amerikka can no longer patrol and control the daily activity of millions of New Afrikans. It gets harder and harder for them to police the giant New Afrikan cities (can you see a few dozen klanners or skinheads trying to intimidate folks—would they last five minutes?). Posses and drug gangs are our backyard equivalents of Jonas Savimbi and UNITA.

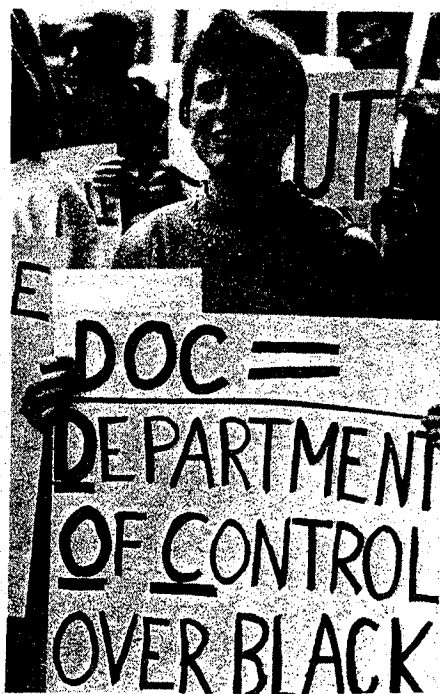
For Barfoot, the Central Park rapes were

where one blind group crashed into the other at our unfenced but very real inner border. Our sister of patriarchy, working off her nervous high from wall street deals, her walkman turned up, didn't see she was in any trouble. She ran into some junior warlords in basic training, who also didn't see that they were in trouble.

Barfoot characterizes the rapes as an intersection where "the chaotic warlord culture that the captive New Afrikan nation has been plunged into" impinged on the consciousness of those living in the white bubble. The biggest victims of this culture overall are not white women, but African American women and children.

Black Genocide is hard to critique, because it comes at you from all different directions at once. History, theory, polemics, current events, poignant stories, rants, ironic asides, withering sarcasm — all converge to construct an overall framework, a political gestalt. It can seem churlish to pick on the subsidiary points — especially when the main message needs to be heard so badly.

For instance, Barfoot's contention that a ruling-class decision was made to promote Black genocide for counter-insurgency reasons in 1968 is not well supported. She relies mostly on anecdotal and circumstantial evidence plus a keen appreciation of the importance of the Black movement in the 60's. Dramatizing the ruling class and its machinations, Barfoot sometimes turns imperial parasitism into a big plot. Yet her description of how genocide works on the ground is so clear, and rings so true, that one is tempted to let the issue slide. Who cares how genocide started, it's here, isn't it?



It does matter, though, if we hope to gain a clear view of the enemy. Black insurrection has always struck fear into settler society. Genocide has always been a strong aspect of white America's relationship to Black people — right from day one. (Robeson and other Black radicals pointed those facts out forty-five years ago.) It is crucial to understand why genocide appears to have now become the dominant aspect — now, when the Black movement poses less of a direct threat to the imperialists than during previous generations.

Since Barfoot's counter-insurgency explanation is so one-sided, *Black Genocide* is occasionally forced to allude to other time lines and other causes for genocide — the desire to profit from urban redevelopment, for instance, or imperialism's decreased reliance on Black labor and white settlers. Barfoot touches on the latter when she speaks of Black people "who can't be trusted as servants and who are no longer needed in factories. Afrikan-american labor is being replaced by even cheaper labor from Mexico, El Salvador, Haiti and many other countries." Yet this key observation remains peripheral to her theory, which heavily stresses political-military factors.

Another weakness of the book is how it relates Black genocide to other forms of national oppression

within the U.S. Early in *Black Genocide*, Barfoot talks about Black and Puerto Rican children warehoused in New York welfare hotels, but as she explains the connection between this atrocity and Black genocide, the Puerto Rican kids tend to drop out of the picture. Native American genocide is treated too much as a lesson from the past and not enough as a current reality (a reality important for its strategic, as well as historical, relationship to the Black movement). Similarly, the book doesn't examine the extent to which Puerto Ricans, Mexicanos/Chicanos, Southeast Asians, Pacific Islanders and other oppressed nationalities face the same attacks as African Americans — warlordism, criminalization, urban removal, institutionalization, homelessness, destruction of social services, new class divisions, etc. If all these nationalities are subject to accelerated genocide, Barfoot's political framework seemingly needs modification. If not, the uniqueness of the Black crisis needs to be brought forward more explicitly.

Black Genocide situates itself squarely within the "Thanks, I needed that" school of political discourse. It falls into what Mao Tse-tung used to call the "ruthless blows and merciless struggle" style of ideological debate, above all in its criticisms of white feminists. This sometimes-sectarian approach is more suited to firming up the ranks of the already-convinced than to taking advantage of contradictions in white society. Barfoot makes a strong case that Black genocide is the central fact of U.S. politics today. In that case, the job of white activists is to mobilize every possible positive factor among white people to help stop the process. Reductively flattening out the political landscape into a choice between being a guerrilla or being a parasitic tool of the patriarchy is unlikely to accomplish that.

None of which should discourage readers serious about understanding and fighting genocide. Beneath the occasional harshness of *Black Genocide* is a righteous anger at the white power structure, coupled with a determination not to allow radical feminism, one of the brightest hopes for white anti-imperialism, to be quietly undermined by white supremacy. Few white readers, female or male, will be able to claim that Barfoot's acerbic criticisms are irrelevant to their own lives. Our egos aren't the issue here, the issue is Black genocide. And Barfoot's book is an original and potent weapon against it.

Confronting the Irrepressible Contradictions of Imperialism:

Solidarity with the Zapatista Struggle!

by Michael Novick

As the Zapatista insurgency and the NAFTA "free trade" pact near their second anniversary, Mexico's political and economic crisis is deepening. The U.S. continues to intensify re-colonization, the direct integration of Mexico into its economic system, so this crisis will inevitably have intense repercussions for the empire as a whole. Rumors of a military coup, and of a virtual civil war within the ranks of the ruling party, have great currency; while the country's currency drops to new lows and its foreign debt climbs to new highs. Yet the strategy of economic "liberalization" prescribed by the IMF, the World Bank, and the Clinton administration proceeds undeterred by repeated failures or popular opposition. This has necessitated increased repression, and increased U.S. intervention.

What has NAFTA delivered to the Mexican people? Capital flows and foreign investment have failed to generate the increased, better job opportunities that were promised, prices have not fallen internally and even the permanent access of Mexican goods into the other North American economies hasn't been established. Industrial production in Mexico itself fell 7% in real terms during the first seven months of 1995 compared to 1994, according to Mexico's Treasury Department, the greatest economic contraction in the last 12 years. The construction index, which is considered to be a reliable economic indicator because of its impact on the rest of the economy, fell by 32% in the month of July with respect to the same month in 1994.

During the first eight months of the Zedillo administration, non-performing loans to state and municipal governments grew by 856% in real terms, due to increased interest rates and the devaluation of the peso. According to a study by *El Financiero*, numerous municipal governments are on the brink of bankruptcy, even after refinancing their loans with the banks. According to the Finance Ministry, non-performing loans to local govCongress to drastically reform and partially privatize the Mexican Social Security Institute (IMSS). The initiative was drafted by a Commission put together by Zedillo, which included business and official labor leaders. However, the leader of the National IMSS Workers Union, Antonio Rosado Garcia, was noticeably absent from the ceremony announcing the plan, because the union doesn't sup-

port it. In general, the plan seeks to avoid the "imminent financial collapse" of IMSS, by separating the health care component from the pension/retirement fund and privatizing the latter. A goal of the program is to increase domestic savings. It intends to do this through a combination of pension funds and Individual Retirement Accounts (IRAs).

If this sounds suspiciously like the Republicans' plans for Medicare and Medicaid in this country, that should not be surprising. Developments in Mexico mirror or foretell developments in this country. The IMF prescription for the "third world" is being applied with equal vigor in the "advanced industrial countries." Similar measures in France have already been greeted with a virtual general strike. Akin to a recent Republican attack on national parks and forests in this country, the Mexican government has been forced

by austerity to privatize public environmental preserves and the park system in their country. The Zedillo administration has sent a proposal to the Mexican Congress to create a new "rapid response" agency to propose high level solutions to political and social problems. The agency, which would be called the National Security Council (*Consena*), would be patterned after its U.S. namesake as a coordinating body for the national security state. It would include the Secretaries of Government, National Defense, Navy, Communication and Transport, the Attorney General and state governors, serving under the direction of the President.

To start, the *Consena* would have 300 agents, including one or two "rapid reaction operative cells" of 30 elite agents that could be sent to any area of the country -- the Oliver Norths of Mexico. According to the Mexican newspaper *El Financiero*, the proposal assigns as priority tasks for the new agency fighting organized crime (especially drug trafficking) and "the control of social movements". The drug war is a skimpy pretext indeed in Mexico, where government and police complicity in drug trafficking is the source of daily disclosure of ever greater embarrassments. It is of course and exclusively the social movements which are the true target. The measure dovetails with a plan to use the military for domestic policing functions and to increase federal control and authority over state law enforcement and other functions.

In addition to a visit to the U.S. by Mexican President Zedillo, the U.S. Secretaries of Defense and the Treasury, William Perry and Robert Rubin, and Attorney General General Janet Reno, have all travelled to Mexico and/or met with their Mexican counterparts in recent months. The U.S. and Mexican governments have agreed to form a binational commission on military cooperation, which will include the Secretaries of State and Defense of both countries. The commission will make proposals regarding cooperation in the areas of training, transfers of military equipment, and fighting drug smuggling. The Mexican representatives reportedly received instructions from President Zedillo that "no U.S. military personnel is to operate in national territory." Despite this ban, U.S. military assistance, weapons and transportation and road-building equipment have been flooding into Mexico, particularly for use in Chiapas,

where more than 60% of the Mexican army is now stationed in an attempt to encircle the Zapatistas and to militarily dominate their popular base.

The reason for the U.S. involvement is clear. In addition to the vital "national security" interest the U.S. has Mexican "stability," it is U.S. corporate interests we have principally benefitted from the adoption of NAFTA. The U.S. Commerce Department recently released a report on Emerging Markets, in which it talks of how the latest privatization boom in Mexico as a result of the crisis, "will offer immediate export and investment opportunities for U.S. firms." The report lists the Mexican companies up for sale, including 22 ports, 58 airports, 26 thousand kilometers of railroads, 61 petro-chemical plants, distribution systems for natural gas, highways, telephone and satellite systems. The 500-page report did not mention the Mexican economic crisis once, except to recommend that companies look at the Mexican market "in a strategic way, seeing the long term. Even though the lack of certainty has created risks, it has also created alternatives."

The same study noted that 60% of government paper not held by the Bank of Mexico is held by foreigners; 27% of the Bolsa, the Mexican stock market, is controlled by foreign investors; and \$31 billion, or 62% of the total of \$50 billion dollars of foreign investment in Mexico, comes from the United States.

Subcommander Marcos of the EZLN (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional) attributes to Pres. Zedillo a whole counter-insurgency strategy conditioned by "the lack of willingness to deploy an alternative strategy to the one he was forced to follow by the U.S. Government," in an interview published in the Mexican press. According to Marcos, the government's insistence on modifying the legal rules for the exploitation of the subsoil, has a direct relationship with Chiapas' oil fields. The largest surface oil stratum on earth is located in Valle Amador, under the "ejido" of Pichucalco, inside the Lacandon jungle, 40 kilometers from the EZLN's base area. "A study [of the oil deposits] was conducted by the North Americans in 1985-86 and they kept it secret. It is very high quality oil, and very inexpensive to exploit, because it is under your fingertips. You can practically

smell the gas. Salinas' government knew that when it started in 1988, he and the North Americans, and no one else," Marcos explains.

In Marcos' opinion, "Zedillo's awkwardness provoked the economic crisis explosion 20 days after he took office." Clinton's financial help had a condition: "Here is the money but I want the oil. You have a guerrilla [front] there. Get rid of it for me," that was the transaction, according to Marcos.

The general counterinsurgency plan inevitably leads to the physical elimination of the Chiapanecan Indigenous communities. "Neoliberalism has decided to promote a process of re-conquest of the land," declares Marcos.

"Of course: the land conquest is not going to follow the pattern of the Spanish conquest. It is going to follow the process of the conquest of the American West. It implies the physical, cultural, and historical annihilation of the peasantry."

In this scheme, the Subcommander foresees the proliferation of U.S.-trained para-military commandos until State terrorism takes over. The EZLN, he announces, is decided to resist.

"We already are with a people who resisted the most powerful military might of its time: Spain. These people have the experience of having faced under extremely poor conditions, under the worst conditions in military terms, Spain, and then England, France, Germany. All the great military powers that were coming in. When you face someone who is more powerful, you don't necessarily have to fight with him. You can resist against him, looking for a means to weaken him," Marcos explained in his Mexican press interview.

Marcos maintains that Zapatismo is a strong military force, in spite of the fact they have questioned the fact that it has not fought in battle since January 12, 1994. But he reiterates: "To survive under these circumstances, without losses, with a 60,000-man army against you, we know, as soldiers, that it is a success. But we are not bragging about it, because otherwise we may be accused of being militaristic." He explains: "A regular army which does not win,

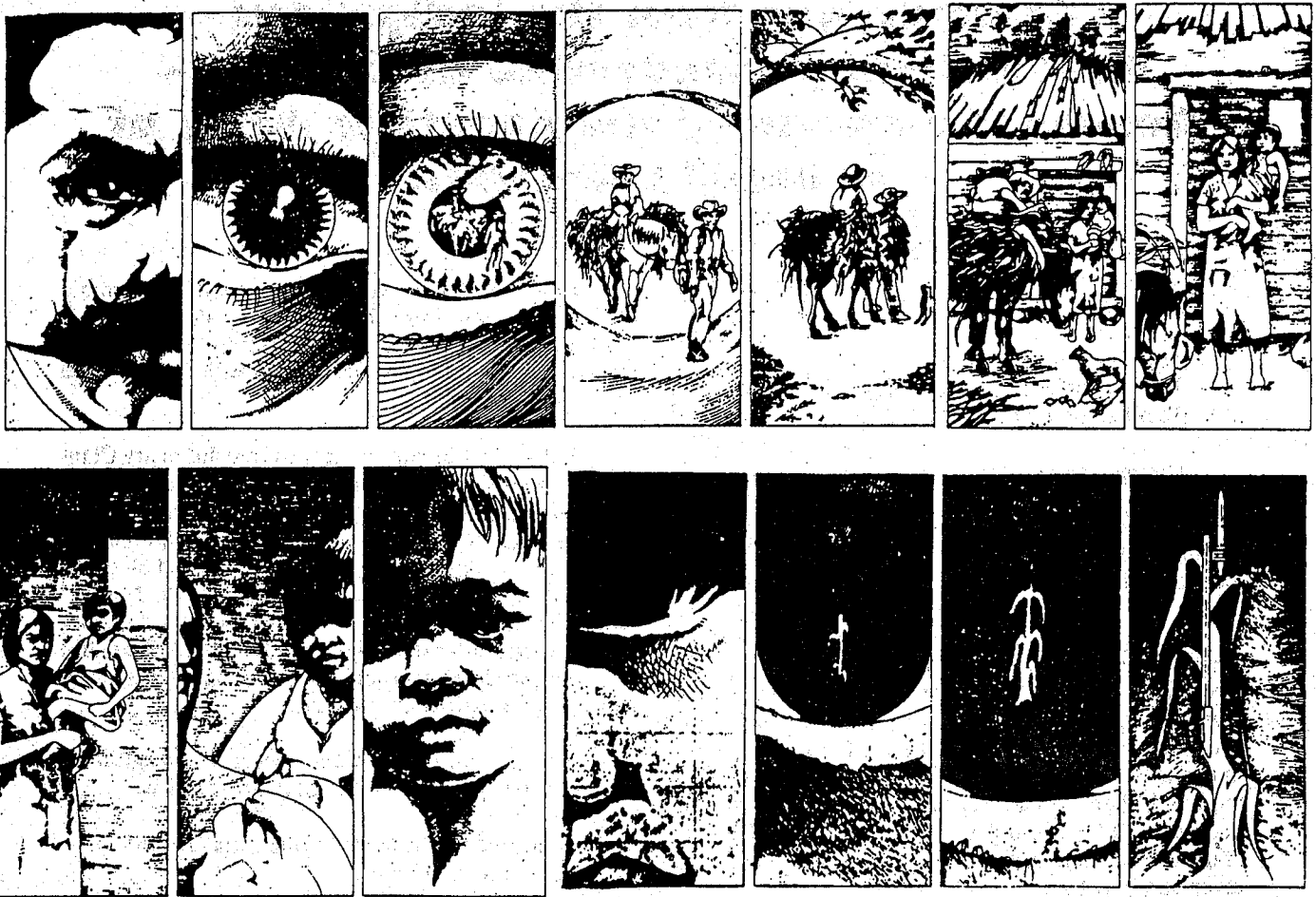
loses; a guerrilla which does not lose, wins. That was said by Henry Kissinger, not Che Guevara."

Again, in practical terms, what does this U.S.-imposed "counter-insurgency" mean in the EZLN's base area in Chiapas and elsewhere in Mexico?

The Democratic State Assembly of the People of Chiapas reported that state police officers together with the Army have undertaken seven violent actions to expel members from the land. These "seven violent expulsions have led to 631 persons being arrested, 44 of whom are still imprisoned, 9 have disappeared, 7 were seriously wounded, and one member has died. 150 houses were destroyed in the village of San Francisco La Aurora, municipality of Frontera Comalapa, and a great amount of the people's possessions was stolen in different villages".

During October, women's groups denounced the use of rape as a means of repression in the low intensity war being carried out in Chiapas. Since the cease fire of January 1994 between the EZLN and the Federal Army, more than fifty cases of women's violations have been reported. Three cases have received special attention. On June 4, 1994, three Tzeltal Indian women, ages 16, 18 and 20, were raped by soldiers in Altamirano. The three young women were travelling with their mother to San Cristobal in order to sell their goods. As they tried to cross the military barrier, they were separated from their mother and taken to a room near the military camp. There they were raped and beaten by several soldiers. The investigation of this notorious case has been suspended.

On October 4, 1995, three nurses belonging to a vaccination brigade in Tenlesostetic, 50 Km to the north of San Andres Larrainzar, were gang raped by fifty masked and armed men. The victims were threatened that they would lose their jobs if they reported this aggression. One of them received a fractured pelvis and another suffered nine heart attacks. On October 26, 1995, activist Cecilia Rodriguez, EZLN representative in the US, was raped by four strongly armed men in the Montebello Lakes tourist site. Her aggressors appeared to know her as they threatened her to keep silent, saying "You know how things are in Chiapas". Rodriguez reported the rape to the US Embassy in Mexico City, but viceconsul Nicholas



Manring told her that it was useless to report the violation as "in Mexico nobody is ever judged". Rodriguez says that she is the victim of a low intensity war accepted and possibly promoted by the US government. "I am a victim of a state of social deterioration where no one enjoys security or peace. A situation where the state resorts to murder, terror, conspiracy, even rape in order to solve its own differences." The EZLN issued a communique in November denouncing the rape of Rodriguez and promising to bring the perpetrators to justice themselves; Subcommander Marcos sent a personal letter to the U.S. representative of the EZLN, paying tribute to her sacrifices in their struggle.

But such measures are not being taken only in Chiapas, because the political and economic crisis is spreading throughout Mexico. The Tabasco police in November expelled a group of peasants who were blocking the highway between Villahermosa and Escarcega as part of the 'Day of Struggle for Democ-

racy and for Peace with Justice and Dignity'. During this action 76 men, 26 women and 10 children were arrested, the policemen shot in the air and used tear gas; several persons were wounded. In Guerrero, in the last six months, 21 members of the Peasant Organization of the Southern Sierra (OCSS) were murdered and one has disappeared. Five more have been arrested through a legal process which shows many irregularities. Many more have fled from the state because of the existence of judicial orders of arrest against them. Javier Mujica, director of the Center for the Promotion and Defence of Human Rights in Acapulco, states that a "dirty war" is being implemented in the mountains and coast of Guerrero against independent organizations. For the last six months, Mixtec peasants of the poorest region of Oaxaca have occupied the city hall of Tlacoachistlahuaca, a small town located between the mountains and the coast. In this time, nine of them have been murdered and violence against political opponents is being promoted by authorities related to the PRI.

Communique from the Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee— General Command of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation

November 17, 1995

To the people of Mexico:
To the peoples and governments of the world:
To all civilian and military Zapatistas:

Brothers and sisters:

Today, November 17, 1995, marks twelve years since the birth of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation, in the mountains of the Mexican southeast.

Product of the historic aspiration of the original inhabitants of the Mexican land to find Democracy, Liberty and Justice, which are the rights of all human beings, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation is an organization of Mexicans, who are for the most part also indigenous, and who struggle so that everyone has Shelter, Land, Work, Bread, Health, Education, Liberty, Justice, Independence and Peace. During these twelve years of life we have committed many errors, but we have never given up being better.

There is, in us, as in Our Great Mexican Nation, indigenous blood and mestizo blood. We are proud of both, and we aspire to be part of all of the races that have dignity. The country that we want, we want for all Mexicans and not only for the indigenous. The Democracy, Liberty and Justice that we want, we want for all Mexicans and not only for the indigenous.

We do not want to separate ourselves from the Mexican nation; we want to be part of it, we want to be accepted as equals, as persons with dignity, as human beings.

We, the Zapatistas, want everything for everyone, and nothing for ourselves. For us, everyone—with arms and without, with or without notoriety, indigenous or not indigenous, who makes our dream of a better country their dream — are Zapatistas.

In these twelve years many Zapatistas have fallen.

Men, Women, Children and Elderly have died and have returned to walk in our steps.

From far away, since the time without time, comes the word of our voices. To be able to walk towards tomorrow, we have to turn to our yesterday. To talk, we must be quiet, to walk we must remain still. To laugh, we cry. To live, we die.

In the voice of our Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee — General Command of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation, we congratulate all of the companeros and companeras who make up the base of support; we congratulate the militia troops and all of the combatants, in honor of those who gave us the Motherland, who are called Insurgents. Today, twelve years since having started to walk the long road to a New Free, Just and Democratic Motherland, we again say that we will continue on behalf of all Mexicans.

Here we are brothers and sisters, the dead of always. Dying again, but this time in order to live.

To the health of all Zapatista brothers and sisters!
To the health of all Mexicans!
May the dead of forever live!
Long live the Insurgents!
Long live the Zapatista Army of National Liberation!

Democracy! Liberty! Justice!

From the Mountains of the Mexican southeast.

The Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee
General Command, Zapatista Army of National Liberation
Mexico, November 1995

Translated by Cindy Arnold, National Center for Democracy, Liberty and Justice

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THIS LAND DRENCHED WITH BLOOD: THE U.S. AS A SETTLER STATE

by Carmen M. Pomares

[Editor's note: Carmen is a 14 year old student in Los Angeles. She wrote this paper for her class in History and English (a combined class). Printed here are excerpts from her paper.]

In recent years, many people have become very upset about what they call a so-called "invasion" or destructive "flood" of illegal immigrants into the U.S. These angry people, mostly of European descent, claim that the "American way of life" is now threatened by too many immigrants. Led by politicians like Pete Wilson, who once had his own low-wage, undocumented maid, they conveniently forget that their forefathers were once unwelcome invaders themselves, flooding throughout this land and destroying whatever and whomever stood in their way. They ignore the fact that their comfortable way of life has been built on the almost complete destruction of the native people, and *their* way of life, who lived in North America before the Europeans. What we now so proudly call "America" is actually an immoral settler state, just like Israel and South Africa.

A settler state is created when outsiders invade an area and subjugate the native population. One example of a settler state is South Africa, where Dutch and, later, English colonists invaded and took over the land of the indigenous people. The native people were then forced to become the servants and slaves of the conquerors. Another example of a settler state is Israel, which was created when large numbers of Jewish people immigrated to Palestine after World War II. When the Palestinian people objected to Jewish people moving in and taking over their land, fighting broke out. The Israelis won and stayed. The Palestinian people were forced off their land and their rights were taken away. Settler states can be called immoral because they are based on violating the basic human rights of the native people who were there first. The United States meets the above criteria and thus is an immoral settler state like South Africa and Israel.

One reason most people don't realize the U.S. is a settler state is because we have been mistaught about Native American culture before Columbus and what has happened to the Native Americans since the coming of the Europeans. In 1900, Teddy Roosevelt wrote, "The settler and pioneer have at bottom had justice on their side; this great continent could not have been kept as nothing but a game preserve for squalid savages." Many people still do not realize that the Native Americans were not uncivilized "savages," but were instead people who developed very complex cultures and trade relations. Recent proof of this can be found in the following excerpt, dated 1987, from a work by three eminent historians:

For thousands of centuries in which human races were evolving, forming communities, and building the beginnings of national

civilizations in Africa, Asia and Europe, the continents we know as the Americas stood empty of mankind and its works.

It is estimated that there were more people in the Western Hemisphere at the time of Columbus than there were in all of Europe. While there is still much disagreement as to the exact number of Native Americans living in North America north of Mexico in 1492, the evidence suggests there were probably 15 to 18 million people, or about 1.4 people per square kilometer.

The hundreds of tribes populating North America often had very complex and sophisticated cultures. For example, the League of the Iroquois united five important Indian nations, the Mohawk,

Onondaga, Seneca, Oneida, and Cayuga. Each of these nations governed its own territory through a council of elected delegates called sachems.

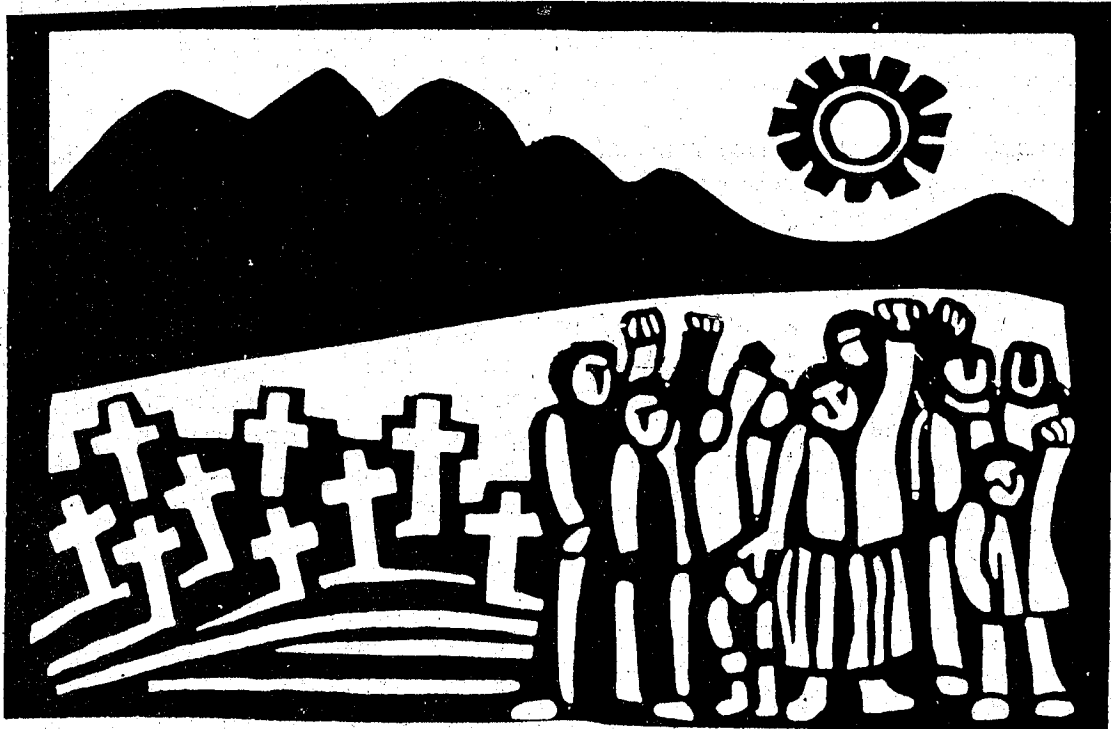
Some say that the first person to suggest a union of the thirteen English colonies into a federation was the Iroquois chief, Canassatego, in 1744. He complained that it was hard for the Indians to deal with the many different colonial governments with their different policies. He suggested that the colonists do as his people had done and form a union like the League of the Iroquois. Benjamin Franklin agreed and often suggested that the new American government follow the same form as the League. So we can see that the "savage" Indians practiced a sophisticated form of democracy exceeding the vague notions of "democracy" held by the European settlers.

Land was "dirt cheap" for European settlers. In Virginia, one hundred acres could be bought for just ten shillings. An acre of the best land in Pennsylvania cost only a day's wage for a carpenter. To justify this grabbing of land from the Native Americans, according to J. Sakai, "the early English settlers depicted America as empty--'a howling wilderness,' 'unsettled,' 'sparsely populated.'" America "was 'spacious' and 'sparsely populated' only because the European invaders destroyed whole civilizations and

killed millions of Native Americans." Of the estimated 15 million native people in North America in 1492, only about 200,000 to 300,000 were left by the year 1900.

A key element of the taking of the land was the subjugation of the native people. During the first fifty years of English settlement of the Carolinas, the main cash export item was Indian slaves. From 1704 to 1710, 12,000 Indian slaves were sold out of Charleston to the West Indies. Because it was difficult to keep Indians as slaves in their own land, it was common to send Indians captured in New England to be slaves in the South and vice versa. But Indian insurrections proved so violent and disruptive that all the New England colonies decided to forbid the bringing in of any more Indian slaves.

Another way the European settlers took Indian land was through treaties. 371 treaties were made with Indians between 1776 and 1871. Treaties were often used when the Indians were still too strong for the settlers to overcome through war or when the settlers wanted to avoid the inconvenience of war or wait until the settlers were stronger. Most of the treaties were eventually broken by the settlers.



The Treaty of 1868 offers an illustrative case history of the settlers' use of treaties as a device for taking Indians' land. This treaty between the U.S. government and the Sioux Indians "gave" the Black Hills to the Sioux. At the time, the government thought the Black Hills were barren and worthless, but the Sioux called the hills Paha Sapa and considered them sacred. The treaty said, "No white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy any portion of the territory, or without the consent of the Indians to pass through the same." However, in 1872, white miners began looking for gold in the Black Hills. Without asking the Indians' permission, the government sent General Custer to verify the existence of gold in the Black Hills and to determine the threat posed by the Indians to white prospectors. Custer reported that gold filled the hills "from the grass roots down." Soon, many miners invaded the Black Hills looking for gold. The Sioux protested strongly to the U.S. government, which responded by calling for new treaty talks for the Sioux to sell the Black Hills to the U.S. Most Sioux opposed this, and Sioux leaders refused to sell the Black Hills. Congress then decided to force the Indians to accept a certain amount of money as "a fair equivalent of the value of the hills," whether the Indians agreed or not.

"Indian Removal" acts were another way the European settlers took Native American land. The forced marches of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, Seminole, Shawnee, Miami, Ottawa, Huron, Delaware, and many other tribes to Indian Territory in the 1830s and after opened much land to European settlement.

The reservations that the Indians were forcibly removed to usually had the worst land and a climate and ecology different from what the Indians were used to. They could not hunt and farm as they had before. Many Indians starved to death and many others died of disease after becoming weak from not having enough food. Many Indians turned to alcohol to deal with their despair. Later, many Indians left the horrible conditions of the reservations to go to the cities where they hoped they might be able to find some way to make a living.

Many Indians fought against being confined on the reservations. For example, in 1875 some Sioux,

led by Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse, refused to stay on the reservations because they were not big enough to have enough animals to hunt for food. The Indian agent wrote to Washington that troops should be sent "in the winter, the sooner the better, and *whip* them into subjection." On February 7, 1876, government troops began moving against the Indians. Many battles followed, including at Little Big Horn, where General Custer died.

To solve the "problem" of the few remaining Indians living on the small scraps of land called reservations, the government decided that all Indians should be forced to adopt the white culture. Christian missionaries were allowed to establish missions on the reservations to convert the Indians to Christianity. Indian religious practices, such as the Sun Dance, were banned. Indian children were forced to go to boarding schools where they were beaten and punished for using their native languages.

In summary, the U.S. was not empty when the Europeans came. In some ways the Native Americans were more civilized than the European settlers. For example, the Iroquois knew more about democracy than the European settlers. The Europeans were so desperate and hungry for land that they would do anything to get it, including lying, cheating, and killing. The only reason the United States exists is because almost all of the Indians were killed and their land stolen. In some ways the history of the U.S. is even worse than that of South Africa and Israel. The settlers of South Africa and Israel took the land of the people who were living there and made them second class citizens, but the U.S. is built on the blood of almost fifteen million Native Americans.

Today Native Americans are still struggling to survive. They are fighting to regain the land promised to them by treaties. They are trying to save their sacred places from logging, mining, and condominiums. They are fighting for water rights taken from them by farmers and ranchers. We should support them in these efforts and demand that our government do what is right for a change.

NOTE: The teacher gave this paper an "A+," but went through and systematically made one correction -- changing the tense of all references to the U.S. as currently being a settler state into having been one only in the past.



Federal prisoners rebel nationwide - media whiteout in effect!!

Congress Votes Down Changing Crack Laws Prisoners Rebel

What's it all about? - What can be done?

In February, the US Sentencing Commission recommended that sentencing for crack cocaine, which sends predominantly Black and Latino people to prison, to be changed. At the end of October, the US Congress voted down changing the laws for first time crack offenders by a margin of 332 to 89. With over 500 recommendations approved, this is the first time that Congress over-ruled the Sentencing Commission's recommendation. President Clinton then immediately signed this bill (Senate Bill 1245) into law. Meanwhile, the US Supreme Court has ruled that it will hear an appeal of a case involving allegations that Los Angeles prosecutors selectively prosecuted Blacks on crack cocaine trafficking charges.

Currently 5 grams of crack which has a street value of \$225 gets a mandatory 5 year sentence. By comparison, 500 grams of powder cocaine, which has a street value of \$50,000 gets a maximum of 5 years in prison or as low as probation. This means that those arrested and convicted of crack possession get a 100% higher sentence than those convicted of powder cocaine possession.

14,000 of 90,000 federal prisoners are serving time under the crack laws; 88.3% are Black, 7.1% are Latino and 4.1% are white.

The Sentencing Project recently came out with statistics stating that 1 out of 3 Black men in the US are under some form of judicial restriction: jail, prison, probation or parole. In Washington D.C, the statistics is 46% - almost 1 out of 2 and in Baltimore, the statistic is even higher at 52% - 1 out of every 2 Black men. In New York State 91% of the prison population comes from 7 boroughs in New York City; these boroughs are predominately Black, Latino and poor. A New York state study done by the Drug Enforcement Agency, found that 71% of the people who use drugs and 56% who sell drugs are from white, middle class. Yet, 91% of people who are in prison for drug related crimes are Black and Latino (41% Latino, 50% black). Even the government's own statistics show the racist inequality of the crack laws.

What Happened in the Prisons

Immediately following Congress' voting down

changes to the crack laws prisoners at 5 federal prisons rebelled. Following the first rebellions, the Bureau of Prisons instituted an entire system lock-down: This is the first time the BOP has ever done this. Here is a listing of the prisons and any information that could be compiled about what happened there and what we know of their status now:

1. Talledega, AL

This was the first prison to rebel. 12 prisoners and guards were injured. One of the fire fighters at the scene told CNN "It was like a war zone. There were gunshots going off and some explosions going and you had helicopters overhead."

2. Terminal Island, CA

No real information.

3. Lompoc, CA

There have been many unconfirmed rumors. The most concerning is that there was a hostage taken. It is assumed that it is still locked-down.

4. McKean, PA

October 24 - Prisoners seized and controlled 4 cell blocks where over 300 prisoners are caged for over 7 hrs. Fires were lit, appliances were destroyed and furniture tossed out windows. It is assumed that they are still locked-down.

5. Allenwood, PA

Prisoners refused to return to their cells. This occurred in the FCI. The maximum security prison was being slowly lifted off of lock-down and was returning to normal.

6. Lewisburg, PA

October 24 - several prisoners refused to lock-in in one of the lower security units. The riot squad tear gassed, cuffed and dragged out the entire unit, two floors of an adjacent unit and anyone caught on videotape in windows. They proceeded to clear out another housing unit, strip the cells of mattresses, shelves, desks, anything wooden and create a segregation unit.

They have begun to cut food slots in the door, presumably to make this into a permanent seg unit. The entire prison was locked-down.

November 1 - housing units were being let out to have hot meals and yard time one at a time and the lock-down was slowly being lifted. After the evening meal several units planned to go on a work strike the following day.

There has been no contact with Lewisburg since then. They are on total lock-down. No personal phone calls or visits, no legal calls unless there is a court date within 2 weeks and legal visits are restricted to W,T,F 12-2.

7. Leavenworth, KS

There was a fire in the library of the maximum security prison. All of the guards from the LVC were working 12 hour shifts. As of November 2 they were still locked-down but visits were allowed.

8. Pekin, IL

This is a woman's prison. There is not much information available about what happened.

9. Dublin, CA

October 23, the women were forced to go to work after being locked-down in BOP wide lock-down. The prisoners became angry and began boycotting meals.

Monday night several trash cans were set on fire. Within 1/2 hour all the prisoners were again locked into their cells. An investigation was begun and women were sent to the hole. Paul Laird, Ex. Assistant to the Warden issued a statement on November 1: In part it said: "There was a general lock down to restrict movement on October 20. On October 23, two trash cans were set afire. People were charged with a number of incidents including refusal to leave areas, refusal to go to their rooms, 'insolence' and 'arson.'"

10. Memphis, TN

Over 50 prisoners and guards were treated for smoke inhalation and \$5 million damage

11. El Reno, OK

No real information

12. Greenville, IL

No real information

13. Mariana, FL

Rumors are that they are locked-down because of a work strike.

14. Atlanta, GA

No information on rebellion. They apparently went on a work strike and the prison is completely locked-down: rumors have ranged from 3 weeks to 6 months.

15. Raybrook, NY

Rumor was that they used stun guns to put down whatever happened in the prison.

16. Fairton, NJ

No real information.

17. Springfield, IL

No real information.

18. Florence, CO

Report in local paper of fires in the medium security prison.

MEDIA WHITE-OUT OF PRISON UPRISINGS

There has been almost a total black out by the BOP on what is happening at the prisons. Most information is coming through visits and telephone calls.

There is a startling lack of almost any coverage in the

media. And, even more frightening is the lack of concern and knowledge within the left and progressive movements. It is imperative that we know what happens inside of the prisons and that we are able to get the information out. We need to demand that the media cover what is going on and WHY these prisons are rebelling. Enclosed is a list of contacts that do prison work. It is important that we have accurate accountings of what happened in each prison. And even more so, it is important that we communicate and share information with each other.

If you have any information on other prisons or what had been happening in the ones we already have listed, please contact us so that we can update the information.

Mary Taylor

Political Prisoners Unite
272 Hutton St. #21
Jersey City, NJ 07307
(201) 420-9434
prisunity@aol.com

Other Contacts:

Bonnie Kerness, AFSC
972 Broad St. 6th FL.
Newark, NJ
201-643-3192

Arm The Spirit
PO Box 6326 Station A
Toronto, Ontario
Canada M5W1P7
ats@etext.org

Prison Activist Resource
Center
PO Box 3201
Berkeley, CA 94703
516-845-8813
prisondesk@igc.apc.org

Rocky Mountain Peace
Center
1523 6th Street
Boulder, Co 80302
303-444-6523

Committee To End the
Marion Lockdown
PO Box 578172
Chicago, IL 60657

Things To Do:

Write President Bill Clinton,
White House, 1600
Pennsylvania Ave,
Washington, D.C. 20500
202-456-1414 fax 202-456-2883

Call your local congress persons to find out how and why they voted the way they did.

Write Janet Reno
Attorney General,
U.S. Department of Justice
Main Justice Building
Room 5111,
10th and Constitutional Ave,
Washington, D.C. 20530
202-514-2000 fax 202-514-0468

Write Kathleen Hawk
Director Federal Bureau of
Prisons
320 1st Street, NW,
Washington, D.C. 20534
202-307-3250 fax 202-514-6878

Call the nearest federal prison near you and find out what has happened there.

Contact your local media for unbiased coverage, write letters to the editors, etc.

Talk to people about the rebellions, the crack laws, the fact that over 1 million people are in prison in the US!

In this case, the defense had sufficient resources to uncover the racism not only of Mark Fuhrman, but of the LAPD and the prosecutors, all of whom covered for Fuhrman. And it came out on national TV - again. Just seeing one small instance of the state having to take a loss for that racism was cause for celebration. The demos by Black people in L.A. demanding exposure of the Fuhrman tapes showed how much of a live issue LAPD racism continues to be in the Black community. Well, for once, the pigs didn't get away clean.

Many white people have been saying the verdict was the result of the defense turning the trail into one "about race." That strikes me as disingenuous, because every trail in this country is "about race" -- only it's always from the white (and white supremacist) point of view. White people saying O.J. got off easy because the defense "used" the issue of racism seems pretty outrageous, given the huge numbers of Black, Puerto Rican, Mexicano, and Native American people in prison as a result of a criminal system really based on race.

A lot of white people seem to be unhappy about the verdict because they think Black people are making O.J. -- a wife-beater -- into a hero. My reaction to that is a couple of things. I don't think O.J. the man is being made the hero, so much as O.J. the acquitted defendant. I don't think lionizing him now means people think wife-beating is OK, although we know that lots of men of all nationalities do think that. I think the fact that domestic violence isn't going to be dealt with within the context of the O.J. case is one more example of how racism distorts things so that no issue can be adequately dealt with once the context is set by white supremacy.

I also don't think white people get to critique and judge Black people's response to the verdict this way, because part of that response is the result of too many years without anything to celebrate, too many police beatings and killings without any outcry from beyond the Black community, too many empty promises of change while in reality everything is going backward.

And I think we progressive whites bear some responsibility for the isolation of the Black community in a reactionary period. After the Rodney King beating, the Simi Valley verdicts and the L.A. rebellion, it was clear that racism was the central issue dividing people in this country. Nothing new, but

brought into focus a little more sharply than usual. After a week or a month or so of anti-racist demos and forums by progressive and radical white groups, what happened? From what I could see, not much: no national organization, or campaign, or action or series of actions against racism and white supremacy; no new formations of anti-racist white people organizing support for Black communities in cities around the U.S. Not much of anything other than business as usual. Yet the Simi Valley verdicts said to Black people: You still have no rights a white man is bound to respect. Why didn't that mean that progressive whites needed to adjust our work to make fighting racism and supporting Black people's struggle a central focus?

So here we are -- same city, one year later -- and every single civil and human right of Black people is more under attack than when the video camera captured the beating of Rodney King. In this context, and in the absence of mass revolutionary activity in any part of the U.S. population, the O.J. verdict gave me, as an anti-racist, something to celebrate.

The response of Black people to the O.J. verdict also tells me again what the L.A. rebellion already did: That if white radicals don't make fighting racism and white supremacy an explicit, central part of our political work, no work that we do will succeed in advancing any struggle for justice, for humanity.

Laura Whitehorn
Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Political Prisoner
FCI Dublin, CA



THE PRISON INDUSTRY

by Al Cunningham, San Quentin

WANT TO GET RICH? - BUILD A PRISON

(More prisoners - less higher education)

With a prison population of 1.4 million, the U.S. can well be defined as an industrialized world leader in incarcerations. And with the present day politicians so quick to jump on the bandwagon of "tough on crime" issues, we would be well in our rights to investigate this industry and understand the economics behind it. When you consider the billions and billions of dollars being spent in constructing prisons to warehouse these prisoners, then you can well understand why, in reality, there is nothing being done about really preventing crime on the streets. The real crime is in the prison industry.

THE BIRTH OF A FALSE ECONOMY

Between 1982 and 1992, \$14 billion went into prison expenditures annually for prisons. California spends more for prisons than it does for its universities. Why? Because prisons make more money. There was a time when rural areas fought to prevent prison building in their towns and cities. But now they compete to have prisons in their towns and cities, as such prisons bring thousands of jobs. USA Today reported that in 1992 more than 523,000 full-time employees worked in prisons. With a growth of jobs like this, the prison system is ensured to continue to grow even if the crime rate does not.

In the last 15 years, the number of inmates in California prisons has increased from 23,511 to 216,140 and the state has built 20 new prisons, the largest prison construction program in the nation's history, said Franklin Zimring, Director of the Earl Warren Legal Institute at Berkeley.

POLITICAL FRANKENSTEIN

Geoffrey Long, the chief consultant to the State Assembly's Budget Committee, says California will spend more on prisons this year alone than for its two university system, the University of California and the California State Universities.

This in itself gives proof to the real values of our politicians. They are more concerned with incarcerating our children than educating them. And why not, it's a \$31 billion flourishing business. And with this latest call for "Three Strikes, You're Out," private companies like AT&T, GE, and American Express are cashing in with investments in the prison industry. These companies that build and manage prison facilities are making billions of dollars annually, while incarceration rates continue to climb, the quality of inmate care and rehabilitation declines, and taxpayers increasingly foot the bill. There are even

firms being established to broker prisoners between systems that are experiencing over-crowding and those which have empty cells.

EXPANSION, EXPANSION AND MONEY

According to Craig Brown, the undersecretary of the Youth and Adult Correctional Agency, the three strikes law will necessitate 15 more prisons by the year 2000 at a cost of \$4.5 billion just to stay at the current 182 percent of capacity.

A Rand Corporation study has projected that if the three strikes law is fully implemented, by the year 2002, the Department of Corrections will consume 18 percent of the state's budget, with only 1 percent left for universities. The new law mandates a prison sentence of 25 years to life for third-time offenders.

COMMERCIALIZATION OF A NEW CASH COW

Prisons have become a valuable commodity, and the government is doing all it can to get more. It definitely seems to be the policy.

The clash between spending for prisons and education is taking place in many states around the nation.

At the rate in which the prison industry is growing, it will not only equal that of our students not enrolled in U.S. colleges and universities, but will surpass the entire population of New York City - currently about 7.3 million.

No other industrialized country on this planet incarcerates its population at such a staggering rate.

The politicians think that's what the public wants, but the public doesn't understand the fiscal price tag that is hidden, which is less higher education and, ultimately, a less highly trained work force.

As we begin to see more and more laws being constructed to guarantee that jails and prisons are filled to capacity, we also see more and more privatization of prisons. And most of these contracts are awarded on a per-prisoner, per-day basis and encourage incarceration rather than rehabilitation.

In an amendment sponsored by Senator Jesse Helms and passed without debate by both houses of Congress, the bill seeks to limit the power of federal courts to impose remedies in prison overcrowding suits where constitutional violations result. "A federal court shall not hold prison or jail crowding unconstitutional under the 8th Amendment," regardless of if it causes the infliction of cruel and unusual punishment of inmates. They don't care how full the jails and prisons get, as each prisoner has a price on his or her head, and that price puts a steak on their tables each day.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

"Clearly, as a vehicle for providing for the safety of its citizens, the explosive growth of California's prison system has been an expensive failure," Mark Koetting and Vincent Schiraldi said in their report in "Singapore West: The Incarceration of 200,000 Californians."

As our state stubbornly shovels tax dollars into a failed correctional gulag, violent crime defiantly rises. Since the early 1980's, the state has spent about \$5 billion on "the largest prison building program in the United States," yet the total crime rate and the violent crime rate are both higher now than they were in 1983, before all this prison construction started.

The three strikes mentality is the largest indicator of foolish public policy regarding crime control. The "Three Strikes" law gives the appearance of toughness on crime, but it will do nothing more than bankrupt the state without seriously reducing crime, and it will eventually go far beyond the estimated 50 more prisons by the year 2000.

Where will this money come from? In a sense, it will come from the steep annual fee increases that students in the University of California and California State University systems will face each year over the next decade. That's because allocations for higher education come from the remaining 10 to 15 percent of the state budget that's unprotected. The other 85 to 90 percent is locked up under constitutional and statutory mandates.

TODAY'S DREAM - TOMORROW'S NIGHTMARE

According to the Legislative Analyst's office, three strikes will require at least 15--and maybe as many as 38--new prisons over the next five years.

State funds will steadily be yanked from universities to build these prisons so that no money will be left for higher education by 2002, according to the Rand Corporation. And the backfill will be fees. Student fees will build those prisons.

Since we are mortgaging our future, who are we catching in the three-strikes net? Petty thieves and minor drug offenders. Over 70 percent of those getting 25 years to life sentences are not charged in their third offense with a serious or violent felony.

Petty theft is stealing something that has less than \$400 in value. Like a piece of pizza. Pretty smart use of scarce state tax dollars, huh?

So where do you want your kid? In one of the latest technological prisons or in a decreasing higher educational system? If you do not say something soon, the choice will not be yours to make.

by: Al Cunningham
P.O. Box E-22600
San Quentin, CA 94974



Zionist Terror Turns on Itself

The killing of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzchak Rabin by a Jewish rightist has apparently produced a backlash against Zionist terror that five decades of war and colonialism did not manage to induce. "Israel has lost its innocence," mourners proclaimed to the press, in a glaring testimonial that once again, none are so blind as those who will not see. The cold-blooded murder of Rabin is contemptible, and to be condemned. But it is certainly also a case of "the chickens coming home to roost," as Malcolm X said of the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Israeli leaders had been gloating only days before about the killing of an Arab leader in Malta, presumably by the Mossad. Israel's willful "innocence" has been purchased at the cost of many deaths and much suffering, by Jews and Arabs alike, at the hands of zionism and imperialism.

Revelations have now come out about the possible role of a leader of the Israeli far-right, whose followers are the alleged assassin and his co-conspirators, as an agent-provocateur for the Shin-Bet, the domestic secret service. These serve to deepen our understanding of the connection between the repressive power of the Zionist state, even under Labor governments, and the racism and reaction of Jewish fundamentalism and settlerism. The contradictions that have emerged between the Kahanist far-right and the Labor-led government, which has opted for a neo-colonial solution to the Palestinian "problem," are a manifestation of the difficulty involved in returning the genie to the bottle, after decades of cultivating a mentality that Jews have a god-given right to use any bloody means necessary to conquer and defend Israel.

The extent to which this mentality has infected the zionist left and progressive Jews is evident in the blatant, if unconscious, arrogance and racism of the statement "Jews don't kill Jews," that was made repeatedly by commentators and "men on the street" in the wake of the murder of Rabin. The clear sub-text of such a statement is the unblushing declaration that Jews only (and apparently, justifiably) kill Palestinians, Arabs, and other non-Jews. Beyond such unconscious self-incrimination, the statement is patently false and self-deluding. Jews have held themselves to no higher standard of morality in dealing with co-religionists (or other members of the human family) than have members of any other religion, generally speaking, in Israel, the U.S. or elsewhere.

Quite simply, some Jews oppress and exploit other Jews. During the period of the holocaust, Zionists and members of the Judenrat collaborated in various ways with the Nazi exterminators. Jews have participated in organized crime; Kahane's JDL and Kach organizations have routinely targeted those

whom they consider "self-hating" Jews for violence; the Israeli state was long willing to criminalize any Jew who dared even to speak with Palestinian leadership. Israel still holds as a political prisoner Mordechai Vanunu, an Israeli Jew who dared to expose that state's nuclear weapons program. The rival Irgun and Palmach militias of the early settler-Zionist right and left often fought each other.

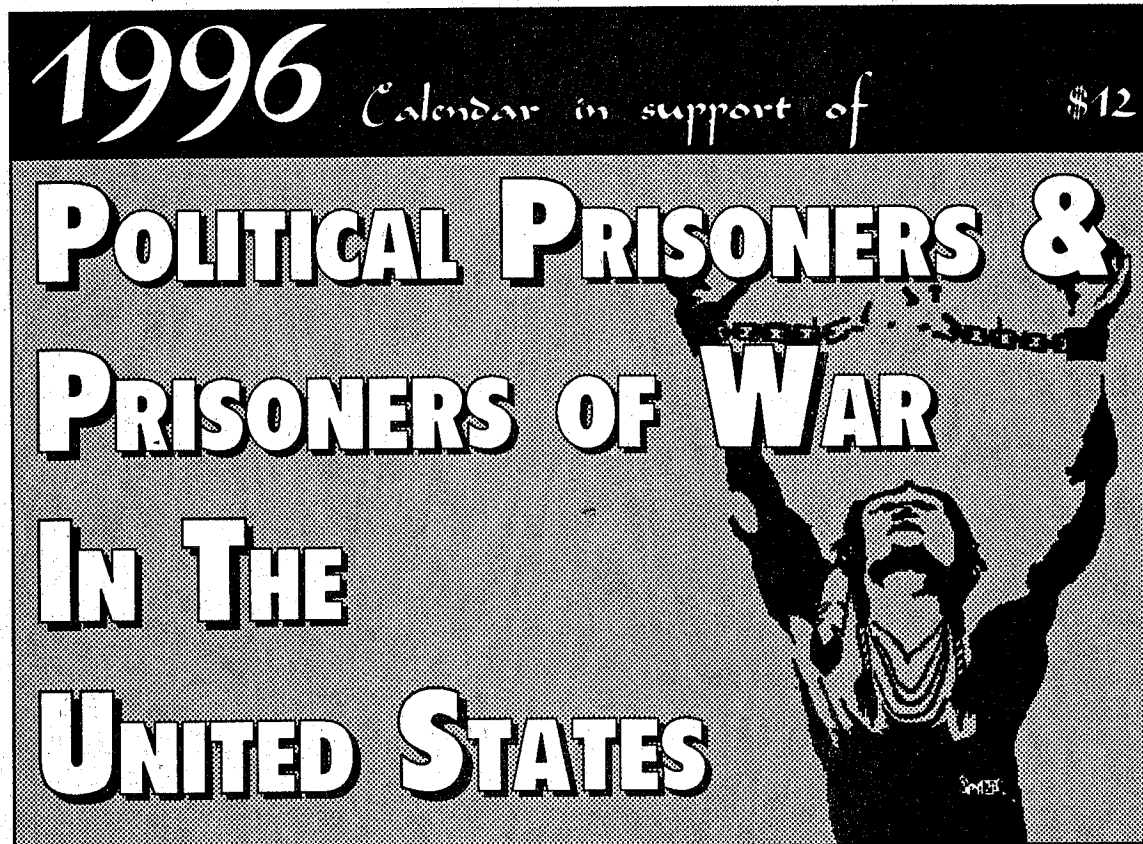
It should be no surprise that there are divisions sharp enough among Jews to provoke some racist and reactionary elements to start killing leading Jewish political figures. The only question is whether enough Jews will wake up to the fact that, in a self-critical way, such divisions must actually be sharpened, not ameliorated. Jews will find security from murder and oppression only by uniting on an anti-imperialist basis with Palestinians and other oppressed people, even -- or especially -- if that means opposing some other Jews and the zionist state apparatus. In every sphere, in this country as much as Israel, ending colonialism and empire requires breaking down the reactionary

solidarity that locks people into unity and identity with and as oppressors, in favor of a reciprocal solidarity with the most oppressed through participation in the struggle for liberation. The only basis for Jewish liberation is decolonization and Palestinian self-determination. The only basis for human liberation is demolishing imperialism.

This same issue is immediately on the agenda here in the U.S. The attitudes expressed by Israelis about the Rabin assassination mirror the myopic "it can't happen here" reaction to the Oklahoma City bombing. The history of the settlement, political con-

solidation and expansion of the U.S. is a history of terror; we should not be surprised when American born-and-bred terrorists target those they view as domestic enemies, or use terror to advance their political goals within this country.

What's more, in the middle east as elsewhere throughout the world, the U.S. regime is one of the mainstays of reaction and state terror, in both its Zionist and Arab reactionary varieties. People in this country opposed to the Rabin assassination or the Oklahoma City bombing must equally oppose the suppression of the Palestinian Intifada, or the MOVE bombing.



Featuring:

Sundiata Acoli	Sekou Odinga
Jaan Laaman	Laura Whitehorn
Herman Bell	Dr. Mutulu Shakur
Carmen Valentin	Janine Africa
Jalil Muntaquin	Ojore N. Lutalo
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Jewish Fundamentalism and Its Role in Israeli Domestic and Foreign Policy

(A review of a talk at MIT November 3, 1994, by Professors Noam Chomsky and Israel Shahak)
by Arthur Whitman

Rarely does an audience have an opportunity to hear a Jewish Human Rights Activist from Israel speak so forthrightly on issues fundamental to the survival of democratic traditions to the Western World. But to have MIT Professor Noam Chomsky on the same platform with Professor Israel Shahak was a stimulating intellectual "high," indeed. Fortunately, the statements of these two life-long defenders of Human Rights around the world were captured for all to see and hear on audio and videotape by Radio Free Maine*. The tapes are available to all concerned with Peace and with the human side of Middle East news by calling or faxing 207/622-6629.

Professors Shahak and Chomsky have engaged in mutually fruitful correspondence for 25 years. This, however, was the first occasion for Chomsky to hear his colleague speak. In his introduction, Professor Chomsky focuses on the *United States' Role in the Middle East*, (which he characterizes as enormous), and in answers to questions later in the program, he gives ample evidence of his command of detail and his quick, "steel-trap" mind. Israel, he says, is not our 51st state, it is much more; there is not state in the union that even comes close to receiving the level of funding which our congress and the federal government, on behalf of the American taxpayer, sends to Israel, a very wealthy country, each year.

In an overview of what is happening in Israel today, Professor Chomsky sees not the end of colonialism, but the onset, as one Russian Jewish writer wrote, of a Bantustan-type control of the Palestinian population as they are segregated into areas of limited self-government, much in the pattern promulgated by "White" apartheid governments for the "Blacks" of South Africa. The confiscation of Arab land for housing for "Jews only" in Jerusalem, the continuing proliferation of Jewish settler communities on the West Bank, on the Golan and in Gaza, all financed by the American taxpayer, are daily reminders of this policy so contrary to principles of western democracy.

Professor Shahak picks up some of these themes and sees policy toward Palestinians in Israel and in the occupied areas as essentially racist in character. He tells several stories to illustrate his point:

The Palestinian Colonel in the Israeli Army (that may be a new thought for many readers) who cannot benefit from the confiscated land because he is not a Jew. He couldn't even rent such property.

The settler aiming his gun at a Palestinian under the law cannot be disarmed until after he shoots the Palestinian.

The Palestinian prisoner, if he has killed or injured a fellow Palestinian, is released to kill and maim once again, while if he has Jewish blood on hands, Israel refuses to release him.

The only weakness of the tapes is that the questions are not clearly recorded, nor are they always repeated by the speaker. In the question period, Professor Shahak makes a telling comment on Fiddler on the Roof, the musical based on the book by the Jewish writer Sholem Aleichem. Professor Shahak sees Jewish tradition as standing in contradiction to democratic society, as indeed did the author Aleichem in his incessant ridicule of Jewish tradition in many of his writings. In Hollywood style, of course, the musical has turned the issue on its head and the playwrights would have us, the audience, revel in Jewish tradition. Aside from the entertaining music of this "hit," the writer of this review has long viewed it as a clever bit of propaganda for the Jewish nationalist cause which has been so costly in human lives.

Jewish people can and do joke about the duplicity of Jewish Fundamentalism and this deception that beguiles the gentile world. To illustrate, Professor Shahak retells the well-known Jewish joke:

Some Jews don't believe God exists,
but they do believe that God gave them the land.

Unfortunately, we have fundamentalists of other faiths and those in Washington, too, who do not see, or do not want to see, the deadly implications of this duplicity, this joke on the world. It is not a joke most thoughtful readers can laugh at.

Professors Shahak and Chomsky both deplore the fact that Americans and many in the Western World have been too quick to abandon their own democratic traditions and to embrace this virulent Jewish Fundamentalism (Zionism) that has brought so much misery to the people of the Middle East for the last half century.

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(Arthur Whitman is a life-time student of the Middle East, having worked with educational and medical institutions in Turkey and Lebanon for 35 years. Formerly Executive Director of the World Affairs Council of Maine, he is now retired.)



Noam Chomsky and Israel Shahak

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***Rabbi Meier Kahane, Zionist-fascist
founder of the Jewish Defense League
in the US and KACH Party in Israel***

New Afrikan Liberation Front Is Launched

After two years of negotiation, representatives of several political prisoner defense committees, women's groups, labor organizations, human rights groups and community-based formations met in Atlanta, Georgia, on August 18-19, 1995, to hammer out a set of working principles and agendas to unite the various Black nationalist political tendencies within the U.S.

The New Afrikan Liberation Front (NALF) is in many respects the response to the political demand made by such celebrated Republic of New Afrika, Black Panther Party, and Black Liberation Army prisoners of war as Dr. Mutulu Shakur, Sekou Odinga, Geronimo Pratt and Jalil Muntaqin. These freedom fighters called for the formation of an umbrella organization which could coordinate the varied political activities of the constituent bodies in what is often referred to as the Black nationalist community.

"The objective of the NALF is to politically engage and organize the nationalist community into an effective foil to both Black liberal and Black conservative political leadership today," explained Herman Ferguson, a founding member and head of the Administrative Unit of the NALF. "We stand as a fighting political alternative to both the Jesse Jacksons and the Clarence Thomases, who we feel mislead and betray the political aspirations of oppressed Black people in this country," Ferguson said.

The NALF coalesced around the slogan, "Black Power, Land and Independence." As such, each constituent member of the Front is committed to attaining "self-determination for the descendants of enslaved Africans -- whom the Front denotes as 'New Afrikans' -- and international recognition of the New Afrikan nation's right to sovereignty and political independence."

The NALF will initiate its coordinated activities by launching a nation-wide campaign to pressure the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) to open congressional investigations and hearings on the role of the FBI and other police agencies in the assault on the Black Power Movement during the 1960s and '70s. Under the FBI's COINTELPRO (counter-intelligence program), hundreds of Black activists across the U.S. were murdered, jailed, or driven into political exile. COINTELPRO was a coordinated government cam-

paign to destroy the Black nationalist movement. The NALF seeks internationally-recognized prisoner of war (POW) status for the scores of activists who still remain behind bars today. It also demands amnesty for these unjustly imprisoned Black men and women.

"Given the congressional attention given to the FBI's botched raid on the white supremacist encampment of Randy Weaver -- the government granted a \$3 million out-of-court settlement for the killing of Weaver's wife and son -- Black legislators would be remiss in remaining silent about similar government atrocities which were and continue to be deliberately carried out against Black activists," said Ferguson.

The NALF recently sent a representative to the Beijing, China International Women's Conference as part of its ongoing campaign to internationalize the struggle of Black people in the U.S. and to expose the systematic human rights abuses perpetrated against Black people here today. Likewise the NALF has put its case before the United Nations and human rights conferences in Europe and Africa.

The New Afrikan Liberation Front says that it is optimistic about the outcome of its ongoing activities. Explained Ferguson, "Many people believed that Eastern Europe would remain under Soviet domination forever. But in the space of only a few years, nobody even thinks about the Soviet Union anymore.

It's gone ... That tells us something. For just as the U.S. had dominated New Afrikans, Indians, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, Hawaiians, and others for centuries, it doesn't have to be that way forever."

Ferguson added that "if we work hard and take care of the day-to-day needs of New Afrikans, while fighting for a revolutionary nationalist political agenda, then we can win. There will be freedom for the New Afrikan nation."

Principles of Unity of the New Afrikan Liberation Front

1. Land

The primary objective of the NALF is self-determination through a national liberation struggle for land (territory within the historic southeastern Black Belt), independence and reparations.

2. Who is the enemy?

For over 400 years, our nation has been enslaved, first by the European settlers in North America, and currently we are colonized by the political descendants of those settlers, represented by the government of the United States of America. We are united in fighting for the destruction of imperialism and white supremacy, the twin evils of our national oppression which is forced on our Nation by the U.S. imperialist State.

3. Self-defense/Armed Struggle

We recognize the right to self-defense, as well as the right to armed struggle for self-determination.

4. Political Prisoners/POWs/Exiles

We seek amnesty for prisoners of war, political prisoners, and exiles as a non-negotiable self-determination demand.

5. Social liberation

The fight against racial, sexist, class, and all forms of social oppression is fundamental to New Afrikan/Black self-determination.

6. Unity and autonomy of organizations - methods of resolving contradictions

We accept the leadership and discipline of the NALF as determined by a consensus of its membership organizations. The ideological integrity and au-



Dr. Mutulu Shakur

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tonomy of each organization within the NALF is mutually respected. We will practice constructive criticism and self-criticism for the purpose of resolving contradictions and internal differences.

7. A New Afrikan Consciousness Movement

We recognize that culture is a weapon of resistance. In that light we are committed to building a movement to develop the national consciousness and culture of the New Afrikan people.

8. Our cultural symbols

We recognize the Red, Black and Green flag, the New Afrikan creed, the New Afrikan Declaration of Independence and the Code of Umoja as the unifying historical and cultural symbols of our New Afrikan Liberation Front and our independence movement.

Scape-goating Immigrants, Jews, Gays:

REACTIONARY MILITIAS MOBILIZE

On September 22, 1995, Dean Compton of Shingletown, CA, self-proclaimed leader of the National Alliance of Christian Militia, NACM, ordered a "call-up" of 250,000 militia-men, including 23,000 from California, to assemble along the Mexican border to prevent illegal immigration and drug entry into the United States. This linking of the militia movement to anti-immigrant hysteria, and open mobilization as a supplement to repressive state power, should surprise no-one.

In June, 1995, under the headline "ATTENTION: CHRISTIANS NEEDED to DO BATTLE WITH SATAN!!!!" the following message was posted to a militia discussion group on the Internet:

"If you have considered the possibility of becoming a combatant in the war between good and evil (physical and spiritual), then you should be aware that there are others of the same mind... GOD is all and we are here to serve HIS needs!

"The National Alliance of Christian Militia (NACM) is forming in all 50 states and is looking for a few good servants. If you are willing to become all that you can be, and you have an inkling of the evil nature of the NEW WORLD ORDER, get involved with others who are willing to serve. NACM publishes a monthly newsletter, provides up-to-date information on tactical and strategic concepts, legal status of citizens, sources for materials, etc.

If you aren't a Christian... don't bother until you are!"

The post asked for a \$2.95 donation and gave an address in Shingletown, CA. Now the "Christian Militia" are [*sic*: NACM treats "Militia" as a plural --ed.] threatening to take action not against the government or the New World Order, but against immigrant workers.

Compton says: "We will turn all plain illegal immigrants over to the INS; drug dealers/couriers found with drugs on them will be shot on the spot." He further claims NAFTA has abrogated vehicle inspections for drugs at the border and that drug traffic has doubled. He says that the federal

U.S. government will not use its assets to prevent this; in fact he maintains that this drug flow is what the government wants.

Compton has set a deadline of February 1 for the government to respond to the NACM action by sealing off the border itself; otherwise, he says, the militia will do it for them. He directs all militia members to arm themselves only with legal weapons and to assemble to protect the national sovereignty. He refers to the "Citizens Unorganized Militia" subject by law to 24 hour callup by the governor. [The California governor HAS NOT issued a callup.] Compton says that he has been threatened by the federal government but that "the line is now drawn. We will overrule the federal judges until they again honor the United States Constitution."

Compton's call was repeatedly aired on ABC talk-radio's KSFO (560) in the Bay Area -- on "The Savage Nation." He has since begun to make public appearances and speak to the press about his plan.

On November 16 at 7:30 p.m., he appeared in Reseda in the San Fernando Valley, at the right-wing Granada Forum, speaking on "Operation:

Protect America," and protecting "the sovereign national borders of the United States from illegal immigration and invasion by foreign forces." The Granada Forum is a meeting place for assorted Birchers, Spotlight-supporters and militia sympathizers, and has featured Bo Gritz, State Sen. Don Rogers, and numerous other figures tied to the Christian Identity and Christian Patriot movements.

Compton, a real estate salesman and ex-restaurateur, wears a black cowboy hat and a cross hanging from his neck on a chain. He claims that NACM has affiliates in 14 states and would join with a "National Alliance of United States Militia" to marshal the needed units. He says he is seeking the cooperation of law enforcement and legislative officials to carry out his plan, which he estimates will cost \$150 million. Like other militia advocates, he claims the "Unorganized Militia" is identical to "the people" (or at least what he terms the able-bodied males), and claims that 22,000 citizen militia members, "or as many more as are necessary," will mobilize every 150 feet "along the southern Sovereign border of California/Mexico" in order to perfect a defense against what he calls "a foreign invasion." He says they will mobilize under the Governor, the county sheriff, the Border Patrol, "or under our own authority if need be."

In the document introducing his "Operation: Protect America," Compton evidences the state citizenship and state sovereignty ideology common to many of the militia groups. "Concurrently [with California]," he writes, "the state Republics of Arizona, New Mexico and Texas will provide a proportional strength of citizen militia members" to seal off their borders, in the "event that our government employees do not see fit to carry out their duties under the Constitution of this Union and the due process of Popular Vote, as evidenced by Proposition 187 recently enacted within the state Republic of California." Compton, incidentally, calls on the Mexican government to shut their "Sovereign Border" to all "illegal exit" of "any items or persons from their country into these United States."

Compton calls on the Unorganized Militia to be at "DEFCON level 2" by Feb. 1, which he describes as "ready for deployment ... physically and spiritually."

The link between the militia movement and the Prop. 187 forces is sure to grow in the wake of the federal court ruling throwing out most of the measure as unconstitutional. Last year, Bettye Hammond, the northern California leader of the Prop. 187 campaign, became the California coordinator for the so-called Refounding Amendment, a militia-sponsored "11th Amendment" to the Constitution, that would wipe out everything after the first 10 amendments of the Bill of Rights, and reconstitute the U.S. as a confederacy of sovereign state republics. In the process it would wipe such elemental democratic reforms as popular election of senators, citizenship for those of African descent, and the extension of the right to vote to Blacks and women.

As militia activity continues to grow in southern California, proposals like Compton's to seal the border make it clear that despite occasional libertarian or anti-governmental rhetoric, the militias are rooted in xenophobia, white supremacy, and project themselves as an adjunct to repressive state power, not an opponent or antidote to it. The racism and anti-semitism is becoming increasingly naked (see article on anti-abortion terror elsewhere in this issue). For example, Joe Fields, a long-time neo-nazi from the Harbor area, who helped to organize the L.A. area appearance of Mark from Michigan with the Morongo Militia in the Palm Springs area, is currently touring the U.S. southeast with German-Canadian Holocaust revisionist Ernst Zundel for his cable TV show. Fields and Zundel had several appearances scheduled in Mississippi and Alabama, apparently walking with white "Nationalist" Richard Barrett, who trains nazi-skinheads at a Mississippi compound. In L.A., Fields, who is planning a run for Congress on the American Independent ticket next year, works closely with Daniel Johnson, author of the so-called Pace Amendment, which would expel all non-"Aryans" from the U.S. Fields has led annual

"American Spring at the Mexican Border" demonstrations for the last several years, at which Confederate flag waving nazi boneheads in swastika armbands have physically assaulted Mexicanos.

The passage of time has made clear that militia claims that they are the target of a massive campaign of state repression, and that the Oklahoma City bombing was a pretext for such a massive crackdown, carried out by the government (or the Japanese or Israelis) is without foundation. Analysts like Alexander Cockburn, who claim to see in the militias the U.S. equivalent of the Zapatista insurgency, clearly need to rethink their position. The militias more and more clearly are the equivalents of the "white guards," para-military groups that operate in Chiapas to defend the interests of the land-owners and attack the indigenous campesinos -- the polar opposite of the EZLN. Larry Pratt, militia founder who consciously modeled the U.S. groups on the experience of armed Christian "Civil Patrols" in Guatemala, (which reinforced the Guatemalan army's efforts to suppress "subversion" and indigenous resistance), has now declared his support, and that of Gun Owners of America, for the "America First" campaign of proto-fascist Pat Buchanan.

It is vital to oppose both state repression and militia racism and vigilanteism. The only sure antidote to both is resolute opposition to imperialism and colonialism. Otherwise these forces will continue to exploit hot-button issues to build their fascist front. In Colorado, for example, Kevin Tebedo, leader of the anti-gay Colorado for Family Values (CFV), (associated with "mainstream" Christian rightist James Dobson's Focus On the Family); Colorado State Senator, Charles Duke, a leader of the quasi-racist "Refounding Amendment" movement; and "former" Posse Comitatus leader and virulent anti-Semite, Eugene Schroeder have united to oppose "government dictatorship." This may indicate that further "mainstreaming" by "white nationalists" and clerical-fascist theocrats is moving full-speed ahead, and that they are using so-called "Patriot" venues to do so.

- 40 -

A Denver Post investigation earlier this year of state Sen. Duke's official phone logs found that he is in routine contact with practically all the most extremist militia groups in the nation, including the ones in Idaho and Montana. Shortly after the Oklahoma City bombing, Duke asked about 100 "patriots" assembled at the Colorado State Capitol Building whether any of them had trouble seeing justification in the bombing. None replied affirmatively.

In early June, Schroeder helped assemble a grand jury in Wichita, Kan., which ruled that the president's ability to pass emergency law is illegal and a threat to the freedoms of the people of the United States. After the Wichita meeting, Schroeder decided to convene common law juries on a state-by-state basis, noting that local government bodies also issue emergency orders that bypass appropriate governmental proceedings. Colorado was the first to hold such an event. Schroeder joined Duke and Tebedo in presenting evidence to the "jury" of 100 people at a local inn.

In his testimony, Duke cited ways that Congress is abusing its power, including the recently considered House Resolution 666 that allows federal police agents to engage in warrantless searches if they have a reasonable belief that felony activity is occurring. "You have to wonder how a body can pass a law with a title like that," Duke noted, evoking chuckles from the audience. Tebedo was recruited to cite examples of how Gov. Roy Romer has acted beyond his powers, and said the government's "dictatorial powers" have adversely affected the family unit. "It's clear that the homosexual lobby wants the family redefined," Tebedo said. "What stops Romer from declaring under the emergency war act that polygamy and homosexuality are protected?"

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Blessed Are The Poor

by Astoria Red

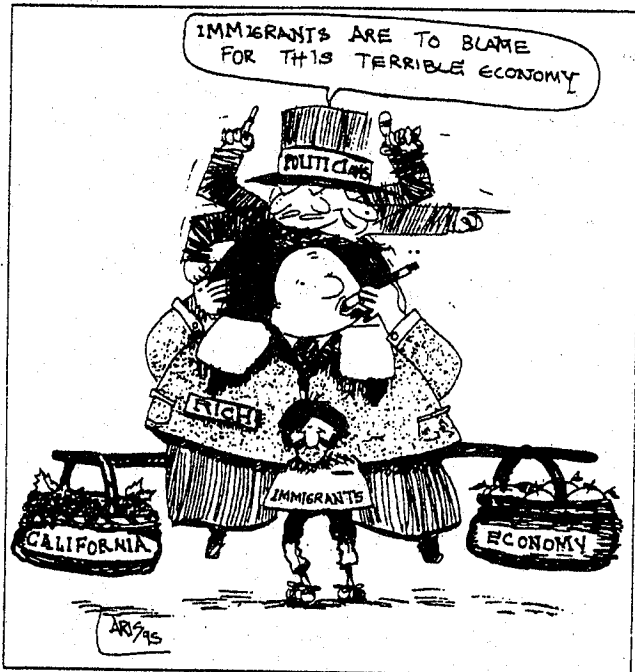
When Jesus Christ comes back
will he wear \$1000 suits
& drive a BMW

When Jesus comes back
will he dine with dictators & millionaires
in mansions of mahogany and gold

When Jesus comes back
will he be poor & brown again
maybe even female this time

When Jesus comes back
will he wash the feet of can collectors & hookers
as they stand in soup kitchen lines

When Jesus comes back
will you be shouting "Praise the Lord"
& looking for a needle's eye to jump through



America Behind Bars

by Wendell "Blaque Prince" Caldwell

Whoever said that nothing is free,
Go on lying to yourself -
Don't repeat such tales to me.
Go to City Hall on any given day,
and you will witness judges
just giving time away!

America has plantations across the land,
slave labor prison camps
built to exploit the Black man.
Politicians manipulate pawns for economic gain;
the Crime Bill is biased -
therefore its message is plain.

Legislators should fight conditions which instigate
crime
and give the homeless jobs,
not force them to do time.
The President should combat poverty in the U.S.A.
but is more concerned with foreigners
ten thousand miles away.

Watching cops on TV, I can't believe my eyes:
the Klan is fooling Africans
with another clever disguise.
The police don't protect us —
they oppress us.
Wake up! Demand justice!

The responsibility to stand up is your own,
before they pluck you, too,
and make a prison your home.

RESIST ANTI-ABORTION TERROR!

Cheryl Richardson, an anti-abortion activist, refused to testify under a grant of immunity in November before a federal grand jury investigating whether there is a conspiracy behind abortion clinic violence, and was sent to jail for contempt of court. Four men, including three other abortion opponents, John Stetzer of Williamsburg, Va., John Witte of Houston, and Clifford Gannett of Operation Rescue in Bowie, Md., did testify before the grand jury in suburban Alexandria, Va., according to the Christian Defense Coalition. The coalition, an anti-abortion group, protested against the grand jury outside the courthouse.

While we are unrelenting in our opposition to anti-abortion terror, PART condemns this use of the grand jury as an instrument of political repression and defends the essential right to silence and conscience of anyone who refuses to testify in such a star chamber proceeding. The use of "immunity" in such cases, far from offering a constitutional protection, is the way the government gets around Fifth Amendment guarantees. Historically, the grand jury has been used as an inquisitorial tool to launch witch-hunts against the Black liberation, Puerto Rican independence and gay rights movements, as well as against anti-racist activists. Its use cannot and must be supported against the anti-abortion movement either.

A Justice Department official, who refused to be named, told the press that Richardson was held in contempt of court and jailed by U.S. District Judge Leonie Brinkema when she announced her intention to refuse to testify. She had been granted immunity because she initially refused to answer questions last March about her former fiance, anti-abortion activist Andrew Cabot of New Hampshire. Cabot, a frequently arrested abortion protester, called John C. Salvi "a hero" after Salvi was charged with killing two women and wounding five other people in shootings last December at two suburban Boston abortion clinics and shooting into a Norfolk, Va., clinic shortly thereafter. "This is going to be, hopefully, the beginning of the war, and we'll win because we're right, and we'll once again have godly laws in our land," Cabot said after the Boston and Norfolk shootings.

Richardson herself is a regular protester at the Gynecare clinic in Severna Park, Md., and has been arrested at clinic blockades sponsored by Operation Rescue in Buffalo, N.Y., in the spring of 1992 and in Wichita, Kan., in 1991. As is standard in previous attempts to use the grand jury as a tool of political intimidation, Richardson can be held in jail until she testifies or until the end of

the grand jury's term, now set for March 26. In the case of Puerto Rican independentistas and Chicano-Mexicano activists subpoenaed in the 1970s, some were re-subpoenaed and reimprisoned by new grand jury panels immediately upon their release.

Grand Jury rules prevent the person being interrogated from having a lawyer present, and the use of so-called "conditional immunity" means that someone who is forced to testify could still be indicted themselves by the same grand jury. The extensive use of the grand juries to target communities and political activists in the '70s and '80s was broken up by a solid wall of silence maintained by dozens of subpoenaees, who served long sentences for civil contempt rather than collaborate with government witch-hunts. This principle must be upheld whether the target is anti-abortion activists or the lesbian community, because if we do not have "the right to remain silent," we have no rights at all.

We must not and cannot rely on state repression to combat anti-abortion and anti-women terror. But we clearly need to organize to defend ourselves, to expose and isolate the terrorists, and to build a

base of support for reproductive rights as part of the struggle for building a new society. Because neo-nazi forces are unrelenting in their attack on those rights are part of building their new reich.

Convicted terrorist, Michael Bray, a prominent figure within the Defensive Action network, is the author of *A Time to Kill*, a book which favorably treats anti-abortion bombers as justified. In Andrew Burnett's *Life Advocate*, Bray recently recommended the racist BOHICA Concepts as a source for the Army of God manual, according to Tom Burghardt of BACORR.

Bray also wrote, "As the son of a career naval officer -- a U.S. Naval Academy graduate, and as one who was appointed as a midshipman to Annapolis -- I am blessed with military friends!

"Now, our military has much better literature on violence ... Some of my friends in the service were sharing with me about a great little manual produced by the Department of the Army entitled *Sniper Training and Employment* (TC 23-14, June 1989). I am short on shelf space so I traded my copy of *The Army of God Manual* for [it].

"And it is uplifting! There are some exciting concepts such as stated under "Mission":

"The importance of the sniper cannot be measured simply by the number of casualties he inflicts upon the enemy. Realization of the sniper's presence instills fear in the enemy troop elements and influences their decisions and actions."

"This is very encouraging. The U.S. Army manual advises that even without anyone actually taking sniper-like action against targets (abortionists, for example), the very presence of sniper-minded people serves to instill fear in those who take it upon themselves to slaughter babies. The fact that 3% of the population believes that lethal action against abortionists is justifiable (according to a CNN poll taken in August 1994) probably "instills fear" enough to influence the potential targets to make life-preserving decisions....

"The U.S. Army manual further states:

"The sniper must be capable of calmly and deliberately killing targets that may not pose an immediate threat to him. It is much easier to kill in self-defense or in defense of others than it is to kill without apparent provocation. The sniper must not be susceptible to emotions such as anxiety or remorse."

"There isn't too much I can say about the emotional state of the Army's snipers. I really don't know any personally. It certainly must be a lonely job. But it seems there are a lot of cold-hearted American citizens out there, which means that the potential for snipers to be operative might be higher than one might think. Once again, this bodes well for the salvation of abortionists."

Such advocacy has been and is being put into practice. On November 8th, Dr. Hugh Short, an abortion provider at a hospital in Hamilton Ontario, in Canada, was shot and injured. His arm bone was shattered and he cannot perform surgery any more. It's possible, of course, that this had nothing to do with the doctor's practice. On the other hand, it's also possible that another attempted murder has gone unnoticed.

Christian Militia leader and self-proclaimed prophet Ray Lampley, his wife, and John Dare Baird were arrested in Vernon, Okla., in November on federal charges of conspiracy to manufacture and possess explosives. Authorities said the targets of the alleged plotters included abortion clinics, welfare offices and gay bars, as well as the Houston office of the Anti-Defamation League, the Southern Poverty Law Center in Alabama. Lampley leads the Universal Church of God in Hanna, OK, and told the Associated Press that he is the leader of the Oklahoma Constitutional Militia, also based in Hanna.

Lampley has been a visitor to Elohim City, an encampment on the Oklahoma-Arkansas border associated with the racist and anti-Semitic "Christian Identity" doctrine. Elohim City was called at least twice by Oklahoma City bombing suspect Tim McVeigh. The complaint against Lampley alleges that he said he wanted to test a bomb on a large rock near the Elohim City

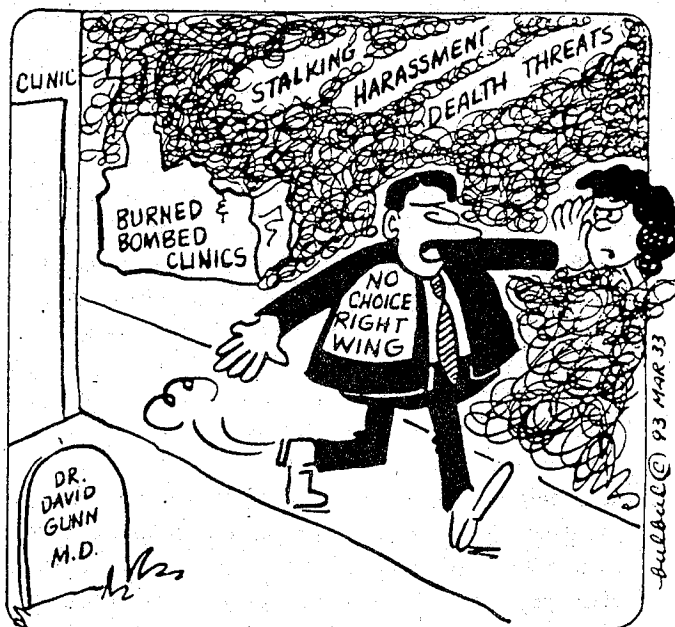
encampment. Lampley allegedly tried to construct a bomb the day before his arrest, and bomb-making materials were reportedly recovered from his home.

Larry Wayne Crow, a fourth suspect in the bomb plot, surrendered in New Mexico and was quickly moved to Muskogee, Okla., where he was booked into federal custody and held without bail. Crow is a retired commercial pilot who flew the Clintons while working for Tyson Foods in Arkansas in the 1980s. According to the Associated Press, Crow, who lives south of Albuquerque in Mountainair, allegedly told members of the Tri-States Militia in South Dakota in August that he and the other defendants wanted to blow up five buildings "to create problems for the government. One is not enough. ... God won't be mad at us if we drop five buildings," Crow is alleged to have said. "He will probably reward us."

Shortly before his arrest, Lampley posted the following message to the Internet:

"War on American soil is God's last choice to correct a Nation in rebellion against His own Government ... as I watched the evening news tonight, IT FINALLY HIT ME. This Nation is not about to repent! "Therefore will I be unto Ephraim, (the United States of America), as a moth, and to the house of Judah as rottenness" ... [Judah is] not speaking to the Edomite Jews. They are used as a tool to destroy this nation and they have done it well! Furthermore, I realized that this Nation has become a nation of perverts, crooks, whiners, and cry babies. The vast majority of people never give Yahweh the credit for anything and they certainly do not intend to submit to Him without force of arms.

"While there are many, many good men and women of all races in this Nation, the percentage of evil far outweighs the efforts of those who would have Yahweh stave off the coming destruction. To you few, Yahweh says: "Prepare your selves for battle, prepare for war with the beast of Revelation 13, get ready, sell your coat



WE'RE HERE TO RESCUE AMERICA !!

HELP US TURN THE TIDE.

SUBSCRIBE

and buy guns, powder, bullets, and food. Get ready to fight the final battle for the control of the whole world. Your redemption is near."

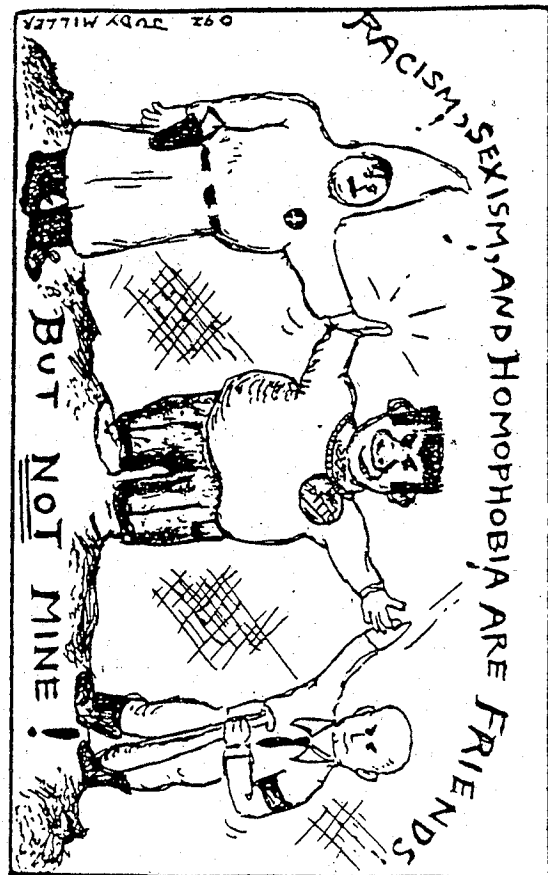
Following up on a report in the last issue of TTT regarding threats made by anti-abortion activist Roy McMillan, on Nov. 22, U.S. District Judge Henry T. Wingate ordered that no abortion protester come within 25 feet of the property of Jackson Women's Health Organization in Jackson, Mississippi. Wingate issued his ruling in a civil lawsuit filed by the U.S. Department of Justice against Jackson abortion protester Roy McMillan, but he extended the order to cover any other abortion protester. He also prohibited protesters from using force or threats of force to interfere with or intimidate employees or patients, damaging the clinic, or engaging in any conduct that would violate the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act. Wingate said McMillan or any protester can be arrested and fined for violating the court order. According to testimony at the trial, McMillan had solicited people to burn down the clinic.

Meanwhile Don Treshman's Rescue America says it has obtained a list of 500 women who had abortions at a women's clinic in Baltimore, and will contact them all by mail. "We're going to remind them there's healing in the Lord. We're going to suggest they call their priest or rabbi or ministers. And we're going to offer them the services of qualified counselors to get over what they've done," Treshman told The (Baltimore) Sun. According to the the (Philadelphia)Inquirer, his group had assembled the list of 500 names by combing through one clinic's trash. He would not identify the clinic.

Abortion-rights activists said any letter-writing campaign might be grounds for a lawsuit. "If a woman were damaged by this information and (Rescue America) obtained it improperly, then we would help the woman go after them for damages," Roger Evans, director of litigation for Planned Parenthood told the AP. In a recent Michigan case, clinic clients sued abortion opponents who went through trash and then publicized the women's names. Rescue America was ordered last year to pay \$355,000 in damages

and Treshman was ordered to pay \$155,000 for abortion protests staged in Houston. The family of Dr. David Gunn, slain outside a Pensacola, Fla., abortion clinic in 1993, has also sued Rescue America, claiming its activities in Pensacola, where the local leader is "ex" Klansman John Burt, led to Gunn's murder.

In October, anti-abortion militia leader Matt Trehwella conducted a Unite Nations flag-burning in Milwaukee. The event drew about 200 people, including members of Missionaries To the Pre-born, the Free Militia of Wisconsin, and families active in clinic pickets. Many of the participants wore combat-style fatigues.



Letters to PART

Dear PART:

Are white people rioting? Perhaps not in the conventional way, but I think that is what we saw with Proposition 187, what we're about to see with the attack on affirmative action, and what we are seeing with much of the reaction to the O.J. verdict. White folks aren't going to burn the place down because they own it. We still riot, "through the system"!!

We've heard the statistics over and over. Most white people were convinced from the start that O.J. was guilty and most black people thought he'd been set up. Ellen Goodman (P.D. 10/5/95) calls it an **APARTHEID OF PERCEPTION**--an insightful phrase. The image I couldn't get out of my head is the old parable of the blind people feeling the elephant, each describing it from their own truth depending on where they were feeling. And all were sincere.

So do we get it yet? Except for the hopeless, pitiful bigots among us, most of us would like to get on with overcoming both racism and sexism, but the pain keeps getting in the way. So does the perceived lack of being heard. Based on our history and life experiences, it's a given that the divisions and distrust exist. So how do we collectively get to the overcoming?

As a white woman, I need to address the white community, and especially white women. Over a year ago, as some in the feminist community were picketing O.J.'s hearing, I thought of Emmitt Till and other scapegoats from the past and hoped that my sisters had not forgotten that the **BEAST** consists of sex, race, and class attitudes, all of which are in the mix together and need to be fought in a holistic manner, not dealt with as separate issues.

Of course we are outraged at seeing the bloody, battered pictures of Nicole, which reminds us of every other woman, including ourselves, that has ever been the recipient of a man's verbal or physical abuse! But tell me honestly, do you experience the same level of outrage when the carnage is racially induced? If so, I sure haven't see it. It's been my experience that to most good white folks, racism is simply invisible--like air--and not even thought about except when it's so rudely shoved in your face via TV or newspapers.

For example: Why were white folks so surprised at the revelations on the Mark Fuhrman tapes? People

of color have known about that stuff forever, and Rodney King was just an everyday occurrence that got videotaped. Why did so many white folks assume that there would be rioting in the streets if the verdict went against O.J.? And why were there assumptions that a mostly black jury could not bring in a just verdict?

Both these assumptions were wrong, as well as insulting. All anyone has to do is read or reread the **KERNER REPORT** from 1968. It's all laid out in there for anyone with willing eyes to see. White racism is institutionalized in this country, always has been and always will be, until white folks do something about it. The first step is understanding it, the next step is exposing it as loud as you can, and the last step is resisting it and overcoming it. In Sonoma County, it isn't the sheets and hoods kind of racism. It's just deadly indifference and lack of exposure to thoughts and feelings outside of one's own circle of other white folks.

We've all got a role in the solution in this racism/sexism/classism/homophobic bag we're in, but when it comes to racism, it's the whites who have to shake out their attitudes for a good examination. I'm hearing some pretty reactionary stuff coming out of some otherwise progressive mouths, especially in the woman's community. The last thing we need is for the victims to be blaming each other!

—Mary Moore

WORKING WITH PART

Dear Mr. Novick:

I met you when you recently visited NYC at Verso Books. You might recall my telling of KKK-skinhead-neo-nazi organizing going on in my area, Staten Island. I'm enclosing some of the literature that together is something of a record of this frightening situation.

I was impressed by the amount of coverage Turning the Tide's Summer 1995 issue devotes to various compelling discussions of a number of facets of the current rise of neo-fascism. In plain language, I learned a great deal from it even after I'd done what I thought was extensive research in this field.

A friend of mine who already subscribes to TTT indicated to me that your commitment to extensive coverage of the fascist threat is not just a current theme, but has been a serious one long before the media rush surrounding the Oklahoma bombing.

I was greatly moved and inspired by the combination of research and activism People Against Racist Terror embodies. I myself am a teacher who is, or strives to be, an active anti-fascist. My present ability to commit myself more fully to this and other struggles, such as Mumia's, has been marred by a prolonged period of unemployment and underemployment, which I will not dwell on here. Nevertheless, perhaps I might be able to collaborate in some modest way with PART through distribution of the TTT and your book and the book on Mumia.

I will write you again soon. There are differences we might have on various questions, yet I am looking for allies in the anti-fascist struggle who know what they're doing, and you and PART obviously do. Though I'd like to get this out sooner rather than later, I'll be mailing you a collection of material that I've put together. I am for now enclosing something that just came up and which I'll be participating in tomorrow.

Free Mumia
Gary Phaneuf

OHIO-7

Dear PART:

On October 1, NBC's Sunday Night Movie was titled "in the Line of Duty: The Hunt for Justice." It was billed as the "true story" of the decade-long government hunt for a group of anti-imperialist political fugitives who, when finally captured in 1984 and 1985, were called the Ohio-7. This as a pro-FBI/police/government movie that contained many misrepresentations and one very dangerous, outright lie. It had no input or collaboration from any of the Ohio-7. In fact, we weren't even aware that this movie existed until it was aired.

Besides casting the revolutionary fugitives in a negative light, while the government was portrayed heroically, a totally fabricated element was included. Richard Williams, one of the Ohio-7, was shown as cooperating and providing information to the FBI. This is absolutely false. In one scene, as Richard is being transported by the FBI and New Jersey State Police, they threaten to kill him and, as the scene ends, he is seen as agreeing to talk. This never happened. No defendant in any of the Ohio-7 state and federal trials, including Richard Williams, ever was a government witness or in any way worked with the government against the Ohio-7.

Richard Williams was convicted in Brooklyn federal court for conspiracy and bombing and later in New Jersey state court for shooting a State Trooper. He received double life from New Jersey and 45 years from the federal case. Richard, like three other Ohio-7 political prisoners, has been in prison for about 11 years. He has no release date.

Richard is, and has been for years, a committed left activist, a political prisoner, a stand-up convict, and my friend. This slanderous lie has the stink of the FBI Cointelpro on it. It is designed to cause mental anguish as well as physical attack. This is a very serious move against our brother. Because of the nature of this government lie, I am releasing this statement immediately and ask that it be disseminated as widely as possible. I am one of the Ohio-7 and I feel confident that I speak for all the Ohio-7 when I denounce this government lie against Richard Williams.

Jaen Laaman
Ohio-7 political prisoner (#10372-016)
P.O. Box 1000
Leavenworth, KS 66048

P.S. I did not see this movie. By what I have heard described, it sounds like it contained many other misrepresentations designed to portray us and our part in the Freedom Struggle in an ugly and distorted light.



THE 'EINBLICK' TRIAL:

NOTES FROM THE NAZI UNDERGROUND

Two years have passed since the first series of letter bombings in Austria. Nazi cadre Franz Radl, Peter Binder, and Alexander Wolfert were investigated. The trial against the three men started this summer. But what does the scene which surrounds these figures look like?

This question has become more significant lately, following the series of bans and state maneuvers against national-socialist (NS) groups over the past few months. Are we dealing with so-called brown terrorist cells, such as the NSDAP/AO, or with something different? In fact, the reality is not so one-dimensional.

The NSDAP "Foreign & Formative Organization"

Radl, Binder, and Wolfert came out of the 'Volkstreuen Ausserparlamentarischen Opposition' (VAPO - Loyal to the People Extra-Parliamentary Opposition), the Austrian wing of the 'Gesinnungsgemeinschaft der Neuen Front' (GdNF - Followers of the New Front). This, in turn, is an elemental part of the NSDAP/AO. Hidden behind the NSDAP/AO is a largely clandestine network of neo-nazi groups. The important thing to keep in mind about this ominous association is their label 'AO'. This stands for both "Foreign Organization" (Auslands Organisation) as well as "Formative Organization" (Aufbau Organisation). This requires some differentiation. The "Foreign Organization" is primarily responsible for propaganda work, whose content in Germany is illegal because it "displays symbols which violate the Constitution".

Gary "Rex" Lauck of Lincoln, Nebraska in the USA is all too often presented as the 'Führer' of the NSDAP/AO. True, he coordinates the overseas activities, so the title "propaganda manager" would be more fitting for Lauck.

But the actual leadership of the NSDAP/AO is to be found within the "Formative Organization". This is the network of neo-nazi groups and mini-parties which extend all throughout Germany and Austria as well. It would take too long to list all of these NS-groups. But this network has shown itself in public on such occasions as the Rudolph Hess Memorial March.

Such displays of NS-nostalgia are a type of game, a form of nazi activity at the level of public exposure. Under the motto of "We're still here!" such actions internally are designed to give the activists a sense of strength, while externally seeking to grab attention by being a provocation. Like we said, a type of game.

Another more important function of such activities is to build up cadre and to train committed nazi activists. Possible commandos for one of the many needs of the network. One variation is coordinated terror, something

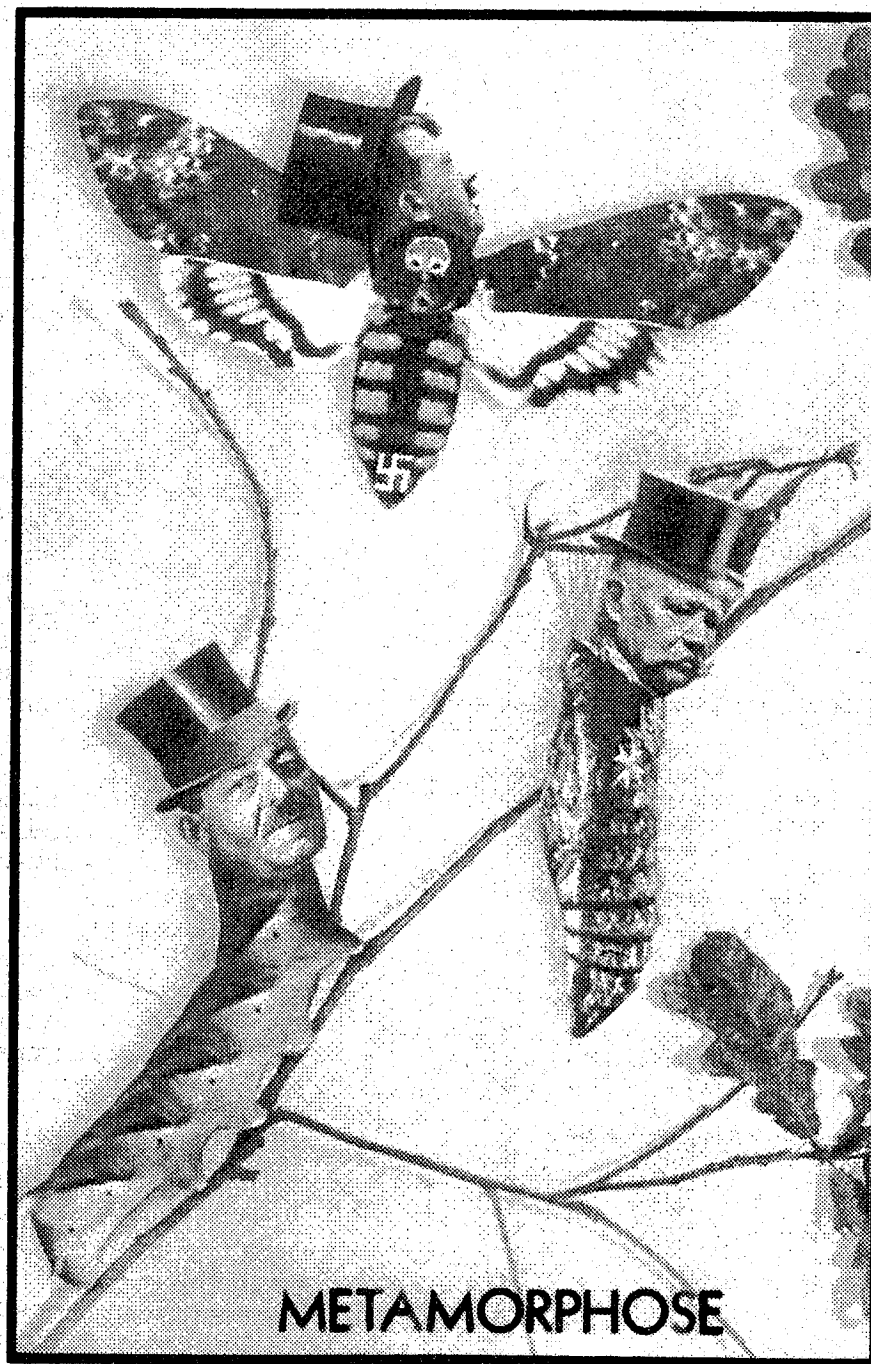
which is by no means a new phenomenon, and which recently spurred a series of bans against neo-fascist organizations. Terrorism is always an integral part of fascist conceptions.

So now we come to the series of letter bombings carried out by Radl, Binder, and Wolfert of the VAPO. This complex allows us to take a look at the mechanisms and ways of functioning within the neo-nazi terrorist "underground".

Ingo And The Terrorists

At least since 1991, neo-nazis have been hard at work creating a new generation of cadre, whose tasks have been to plan and carry out targeted attacks. In one interview ['News' Nr. 48/1994], Ingo Hasselbach, former head of the 'Nationalen Alternative' (NA - National Alternative), stated that training sessions for building bombs were carried out in 1991 and 1992. Some Austrian VAPO cadre took part in these sessions. These training sessions were conducted in a bunker near Halbe which Berlin GdNF leader Arnulf Priem provided. Peter Binder was also among those who took part.

Binder is considered to be somewhat of a weapons freak. When police later searched his home, large quantities of weapons were found.



**"German Natural History" by John Heartfield:
Hitler as the natural outgrowth of bourgeois
politicians Ebert and Von Hindenburg**

Among the things confiscated were pistols, machine guns, hand grenades, and even a functioning bazooka which was used to decorate the living room. It's no surprise then, if we are to believe Hasselbach, that Binder

took part in bomb production in Berlin as early as 1990. He was always busy trying to get his hands on explosive materials. In 1992, he mixed nitroglycerin at Wolfert's house, since Wolfert was away in Croatia serving as a "fighter". During the 1993 letter bomb attacks, nitroglycerin was one of the explosive substances which was used.

In conjunction with weapons and explosives exercises which were conducted in the regions surrounding Berlin, particularly in the area near the town of Konigs-Wusterhausen, Bendix Wendt appeared on the scene. In nazi circles, Wendt is known as "Dr. Vanda". He's a member of the nazi rock club 'Die Vandalen' (The Vandals) and, according to Hasselbach, one the trainers at the theoretical level. In addition to this, Wendt also spent his time acquiring weapons from World War II and refurbishing them. He and a man named Jorg Schimanek also planned to give bomb courses. Schimanek is also a leading figure in the VAPO. His main task was to organize weapons exercises and right-wing

exercise drills. He was also the VAPO's "provincial leader" in Lower Austria.

And what was Ingo Hasselbach's role in all of this prior to his media-hyped "defection" from the nazi movement? It's not possible to say just how involved he was in terror training. But during his time as a GdNF leading cadre he was responsible for publishing 'Denkzettel' (Lessons). In addition to all the usual racist and

fascist platitudes, he also reprinted excerpts from the book 'Werewolf-Winke für Jagdeinheiten' (Werewolf Tips for Hunting Units). This publication is an exact blueprint for paramilitary operations. "The arms of a hunting unit must be light...In the hunting group, some of the hunters are equipped with light machine guns, the rest have carbines. Pistols and daggers are also useful. Hand grenades are a must. According to the task at hand, explosives may also be taken along."

The series of attacks in Austria are ample proof that nazis are in a position to make use of their knowledge in the field of terrorism and to aim it pointedly at the present political situation. So why are the nazi "underground structures" so hard for the state authorities to detect? It's not as if there aren't plenty of little Hasselbachs in the NS-scene. Were They All Just "Acting Alone"?

In November 1993, the public seemed shocked when the nazis published 'Einblick' (Insight). The press called it a "death list" of political opponents whom the neo-nazis wanted to eliminate. According to its publishers, there are means available to punish "leftist criminals", the "red front", and the "anarcho-mob" [preface to 'Einblick']. Threats were issued against more than 250 people, whose names, addresses, and phone numbers were published. The spectrum varied from Social Democrat politicians to anti-fascist activists. Several people received death threats following the release of the publication.

The federal police investigated the matter as the formation of a criminal organization, but not much came of this. They only turned up enough evidence for charges of intimidation and insult. There didn't say anything about an organized structure. Of the eight people who were initially charged in the matter, all were known functionaries or members of the NS-scene. Their links, contacts, and relationships to one another had been known for years. And yet, after all their investigation, the authorities said they could not uncover an organizational structure.

In the end, four people were charged. Karin Maier from Russelsheim was accused of editing and distributing 'Einblick'. But she was only charged as an accessory. The one who printed the booklet was Erhard Hefendahl from Rodach. He, too, was only charged as an accessory. So then there were two, Stefan

Cumic, former GdNF city leader in Mainz, and Norman Kempken, who now lives in Nurnberg. But to bring charges relating to an "organization", the law stipulates that three persons are required. So, this automatically ruled out charges of forming a "criminal organization". What's Behind The 'Einblick'

Following the publication of 'Einblick', Michael Petri and Sascha Chavez-Ramos from Mainz were arrested. Both were members of the GdNF and the now-banned 'Deutschen Alternative' (DA - German Alternative). Today, Petri is the head of the DA's successor organization, the 'Deutsche Nationalisten' (German Nationalists). The second person, Chavez-Ramos, is now in court on charges of continuing to organize the DA after it was banned. Together, both men operated the 'Nationale Infotelefon' (NIT - National Info-Telephone) in Mainz. The NIT called for people to collect addresses and other data for 'Einblick'. A few hours after they were arrested, both men were set free.

At this stage, everything could have ended, since the investigations up to that point had been concentrated on those two men. It was only after anti-fascist researchers in the alternative educational institute 'Anne-Seghers' exposed Stephan Cumic, one of the editors of 'Einblick'. Then the ball started rolling. Cumic was arrested and he blew the whistle on a few others. As a result of Cumic's statements to police, raids were carried out across the country and eight people were under investigation. In addition to those already mentioned above were computer graphics expert Kai Dalek from Oberrodach, printer Erhard Hefendahl from neighboring Rodach, as well as Norman Wolfgang Kempken from Russelsheim.

The idea for 'Einblick' supposedly came from Cumic. In various publications, such as the GdNF organ 'Neue Front' (New Front), he advertised in the summer of 1992 for help on the project. He was advised in the project by Christian Worch, a leading GdNF cadre from Hamburg. But no investigations against Worch, one of the primary persons behind the anti-antifa, were ever opened in connection with the 'Einblick' affair.

Eventually, Cumic was joined in his work on 'Einblick' by Norman Kempken. Kempken, who had been active in nazi groups for more than ten years, ones like the 'Taunus Front'

which rose from the ashes of the 'Nationalistischen Front' (NF - Nationalist Front), eventually took control of the 'Einblick' project. He wrote the foreword, designed the publication on his computer, and did the final layout.

In order to stick to Worch's advice of secrecy, Cumic and Kempken sought a contact address outside of Germany. Eventually, Cumic turned to Gary "Rex" Lauck, coordinator of the NSDAP/AO in Lincoln, Nebraska in the USA. With Lauck's assistance, 'Einblick' was eventually given a PO Box in Denmark which belonged to the DNSB [the Danish National Socialist Movement; the branch of the NSDAP/AO in Denmark]. With the anti-antifa project now on solid ground, the booklet could finally be printed. This was done by NSDAP/AO activist Erhard Hefendehl. The 64-year-old owner of the Odal Printing Press publishes his own pamphlet 'Der Scheinwerfer' (Searchlight) and is a member of the 'Wiking Jugend' (Viking Youth).

"It cannot be the task of the court to make up for insufficient investigations..." declared the judge. During the trial in Gross-Gerau, the state prosecutor, Dr. Kobler, didn't seem to be interested in examining the group of people who were responsible for 'Einblick'. He was more concerned with solidifying the "state's monopoly on violence". The preliminary results of the trial: Kempken must serve 2 years in prison. Cumic got 1 year of probation. Hefendehl was fined. Karin Mayer must perform 100 hours of community service.

Who's in charge of the GdNF?

"Mr. Cumic, do you know Kai Dalek?" With this question during the trial, one of the attorneys suddenly made Kempken and Hefendehl cringe, and Cumic froze up. "Mr. Cumic, is Kai Dalek in charge of the GdNF?"

It was like the beginning of a bad mystery novel. Despite all of the questions which went unanswered during the 'Einblick' trial, Cumic's statements did shed some light on the most important figures behind the GdNF. There is more talk now about Kai "Herta" Dalek from Oberrodach, a community neighboring the Ober-Franken town of Kronach.

In his own words, Dalek is a "GdNF organizer". In his role as organizer, he is therefore responsible for a series of central activities within the NS-scene. According to Cumic, he was involved in the production of a pamphlet entitled 'Nationaler Aaktivist' (National Activist), a pre-cursor to 'Einblick'. The group of people surrounding Dalek built up lots of experience in anti-antifa activities. After 1990, Gunther Kusawe from Kronach and Gerhard Schultz from Lichtenfeld did Dalek's bidding as the heads of the 'Antikommunistisches Aktionsbündnis' (Anti-Communist Action Union). This has been an integral part of anti-antifa activities in the Franken region since 1993. The contact address for this group is the Aschaffenburg PO Box of the FAP (one of the most significant neo-nazi groups in Germany). The focal points of Franken anti-antifa activity are Nurnberg, Erlangen, Bayreuth, Hof, Bamberg, Aschaffenburg, and the eastern Rhine-Main region.

Dalek has been a leading GdNF figure since at least 1990. Whereas Christian Worch has been largely responsible for public work, Dalek has been active behind the scenes. As the regional leader for Franken, he purchased a house near Kronach and converted it into a schooling center. As part of the 'Deutschen Freundeskreis' (German Friendship Circle), a network of neo-nazi groups in the Franken region, Dalek is active at the leadership level in the 'Frankenrat' (Franken Council). This is the "collective" leadership body for the NS-spectrum in Franken.

Dalek has often propagated the use of modern communications technology. For example, he is one of the operators of the nazi BBS called the 'Thule Netz', and he also set up a similar system in Kronach called the 'Kraftwerk Box'. Computer mailboxes are one of the most important means of communication within the neo-nazi scene, used for such activities as coordinating marches or anti-antifa activities. A publication called 'Thule' is also produced and distributed by Dalek on the Net. In short, Kai Dalek is one of the primary motors behind the GdNF, especially following the sentencing of Christian Worch to 2 years in prison. Dalek will certainly be taking over Worch's role within the GdNF in the immediate future. (Translated by Arm The Spirit from the Bavarian anti-fascist publication 'Rabaz'.)

An East-West Partnership Project Coordinated by UNITED "COOPERATION AGAINST NATIONALISM":

Skinheads attacking Roma in Bratislava, nationalists selling propaganda openly on the streets of Moscow, wars in former Yugoslavia, human rights abused in Hungarian detention camps for refugees... Everywhere we can see the rise of nationalism, racism and fascism in the ex-communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE). Anti-nationalist and human rights NGOs in the region are working hard to ensure that such extremist tendencies do not endanger the fragile democracies that have replaced the communist regimes. But they face many difficulties, such as no money, lack of contacts with each other, few practical skills, needing assistance from more experienced campaigners in Western Europe, and poor public awareness of the problems in society. How can we all work together to improve the situation in this important region of Europe?

UNITED for Intercultural Action combines 340 organisations from 38 European countries into the biggest European network against nationalism, racism, fascism, and in support of migrants and refugees.

Since it was founded in 1992, UNITED has grown to become the biggest anti-racist network in Europe, and has developed successful strategies for practical networking and cooperation. However, in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), such processes are not yet fully established. UNITED has often been asked by anti-nationalist, human rights and anti-racist organisations in CEE for help. Our project, "Cooperation Against Nationalism" will help them become practically independent in a way which will complement their political independence and improve their day to day working abilities. How will we do this? - We will oversee the transfer of specific practical skills and know-how such as anti-discrimination work, fundraising, media skills and E-mail and computer skills using both western and eastern experts; - We will offer the opportunity to exchange experiences on an east-east and east-west basis, through meetings, at conferences, and by participation in the networking process; - We will improve the level of communications in CEE by E-mail and conventional methods, on both an east-east and east-west basis; - We will encourage a strong level of cooperation and networking among organisations in CEE; - We will try to give such organisations the confidence to raise their level of working, apply for funding and start their own projects. What will happen?

-Conferences

Three general conferences are planned, to take

place as follows: Prague, 14-18 February 1996, "Break the Blocks" Strasbourg, 8-14 October 1996 (foreseen), "Cooperation against Nationalism" Bratislava, 7-13 January 1997 (foreseen) - title to be announced. The conferences will bring eastern and western activists together, so they can make contacts, exchange experiences, learn from each other, and find practical ways to work against nationalism. There will be general workshops and discussions on important subjects of interest, plus some training and information workshops. Up to four guest experts will also attend to provide a high level input of information and practical skills. There will be around 75 places available. UNITED will send out invitations to the conferences, and details will be published in the Calendar of Internationalism. If you wish to participate, please nominate as soon as possible on behalf of your organisation. We will contact you one month before the conference takes place to inform you if your nomination has been successful.

-Training Sessions

There will be four training sessions, which will take place as follows: E-mail - Prague 9-11 February 1996 Anti-Discrimination Work - Budapest 11-13 May 1996 Communication Skills - Romania, 28-30 June 1996 Fundraising - Prague 19-21 September 1996 Preference will be given to participants from anti-nationalist, anti-racist and human rights

organisations based in the partner countries. UNITED and the project partners, after wide consultation, will contact participants directly to offer a place at the training sessions, depending on the country where the training session will take place. Or, if you wish, you may contact the project partner of the relevant country directly if you are interested in participating. There will be a minimum of 25 places for (mostly national) participants at each training session. Each invited organisation will be able to send one participant who will be expected to pass on the training to other members of their organisation. Further information about the dates and subjects of the training sessions can be found in UNITED's Calendar of Internationalism.

-Research and Information

The project will undertake research to compile a more comprehensive Directory of Internationalism which will include more concrete contact details of human rights, anti-nationalist and anti-racist organisations in CEE. The expanded Directory will be published in January 1997 and will have wide distribution in the target countries, as well as in Western Europe. UNITED will also expand the bimonthly Calendar of Internationalism to include more details of activities taking place in the region. There will be a series of study trips to Belarus, Moldavia, Poland, Bulgaria, Slovenia and Slovakia to carry out this work. We will also publish a series of information leaflets on the subjects covered in the training sessions, to enable all organisations in CEE to have access to the information and skills offered. Publication of each leaflet will take place within a few months of each training session. These leaflets will be translated and widely distributed in CEE. The leaflets will also be available in English. We need your help!

- Please add UNITED to your mailing list, if you have not already done so. Send us your materials - no matter what language! - Send us NGO addresses and meetings for inclusion in the Directory and Calendar, so we can improve the information flow. And if you are looking for a project partner in western Europe, or vice-versa, your addresses will help UNITED to put you in touch with potential partners!

- Can you assist actively with the study trips? Please contact us!

- Do you have information on funding which is available for projects in CEE? Please inform us, so we can spread this information more widely.

- Are you based in Western Europe? Send us your contacts in CEE so that we can involve them in the project.

Want to know more? If you have any questions concerning the project "Cooperation Against Nationalism", please contact Louise Bernstein at the UNITED office in Amsterdam, or one of our project partners.

UNITED for Intercultural Action

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This project is supported by the European Union's Phare and Tacis Democracy Programme.

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The magazine you're reading is designed as a cultural and ideological weapon in the hands of the growing movements for political and economic justice and liberation, for fundamental social change. In the culture wars forced upon by the proponents of reaction, it's a weapon against the forces of bigotry, repression and exploitation that are shadowing the horizon in the U.S. and globally. But it would be firing blanks without your involvement and support.

We think *Turning the Tide* is improving with every issue. Our new magazine format makes this journal of anti-racist activism, research and education, of debate and analysis, more readable, more durable, more useful to activists and organizers. But we cannot sustain this resource without your help.

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But, if you want to see another issue of *Turning the Tide*, you must subscribe (or renew) now!

A one-year individual sub in the US is \$15; outside the US, \$25 in US funds. Institutional subscriptions are also \$25 a year. Supporting members at the \$50 annual rate will receive a copy of *White Lies White Power*, a 350 page compendium of research and analysis of the racist right by T.T.T. editor Michael Novick, and new PART research reports as they become available. Just clip the coupon below and send it with cash, money order or check to:

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Defend the Lives of Women in Prison!

On April 4, 1995, women incarcerated at two California prisons -- Central California Women's Facility in Chowchilla and California Institution for Women at Frontera -- filed suit against the State of California. They demanded an immediate improvement to the life-threatening medical care given to all women prisoners in the state.

The following women are included in the suit:

- A woman with sickle cell anemia, heart problems, pulmonary hypertension, and asthma whose medication and treatment is constantly being interrupted and delayed;
- A woman who was denied medication for blood clots in her legs and now needs to have her foot amputated;
- A woman with HIV who developed meningitis which was not diagnosed until she went into a coma;
- A woman who needs crutches or a cane in order to walk but who has been provided with neither;
- A 68-year-old woman with asthma and heart problems who was placed in a locked room for 12 hours without oxygen, medication, or treatment.

THE LIST GOES ON AND ON!!!

Over the last few years, women have suffered painfully and some have died needlessly due to the State of California's total indifference to the medical needs of women prisoners.

Women whose first language is not English — primarily Latinas/Mexicanas — get even worse care because:

There are few bilingual personnel who can be called on for medical emergencies and who can understand women's descriptions of symptoms and medical histories;

Women have no confidentiality when non-medical personnel and/or other prisoners are asked to translate for them;

Women are not properly informed of their diagnoses, provided instructions for the proper use of medication, or provided appropriate follow-up treatment.

These factors result in a disproportionate number of preventable deaths among Latinas!

The California Coalition for Women Prisoners is a community organization which is outraged about the conditions that women prisoners face. Please join us to support their fight for adequate medical care.

Despite the class action lawsuit filed on behalf of all women prisoners in California state prisons, the basic medical needs of these women are still not being met. In fact, conditions have actually worsened.

This spring, Valley State Prison for Women, opened up right across the street from Chowchilla prison with a fully operational Security Housing Unit (SHU) and no medical facilities. Valley State promises to be even more abusive and oppressive than the Central California Women's Facility in Chowchilla, the world's largest women's prison.

Women prisoners need your support more than ever. Demonstrate on International Women's Day, 1996, against medical neglect and inhumane SHU conditions for women prisoners. Help spread the word by telling your friends and co-workers, and getting your organization to endorse the demonstration.

For more information, contact:
California Coalition for Women Prisoners
Post Office Box 14844
San Francisco, CA 94114
415/255-8350; 510/834-5657, Ext. 3150
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Response to the O.J. Simpson Verdict

by Laura Whitehorn

Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Political Prisoner

I'm increasingly bothered by what I hear of the response by many progressive and radical white people to the O.J. verdict. When one friend told me I was the first white person she'd heard wholeheartedly celebrate the verdict, I decided to try to write something.

It doesn't need saying that there's a vast divide between how white people and Black people see the verdict. Every news outlet has been reporting that. To me, the question is why anti-racist whites don't feel the verdict is cause for celebration -- not, of course, a perfect outcome of a perfect situation, not a revolutionary victory, or even a major one like Dhorubia's release; but definitely a cause for celebration. That's how I reacted to it, and here's why.

First, for once, a Black defendant was able to balance out the supposed scales of "justice," out-experting the prosecution and showing how shoddy and phony is the evidence that almost always succeeds in putting Black defendants away in prison.

O.J. could do this because, unlike any other Black defendant in a criminal case, he had the money to pay for a real defense. The prosecution was beating because they could not prove O.J. guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. Isn't that how trials are supposed to work? Well, for once, it did. In the process, it was exposed how blatantly unjust and unbalance the legal system is, because it was so clear that without the money, O.J. would have been convicted like every other Black defendant in the U.S. courts.

I think one reason I was so happy when the verdict was read was because it was a big defeat for the prosecution. The prosecutors have never been anything but the enemy of Black people, as well as all leftist political defendants, so why should anyone be anything but happy to see them lose a big case?

Even for those who think O.J. was really guilty, I'm uncomfortable with the idea that progressives or radicals could feel sorry that the U.S. imperialist state is losing out on the chance to punish another Black man. But I think the central issue of my viewpoint here is what we each assume about O.J.'s guilt or innocence. The hugest gap between white and Black perception, as reported in all the media (and in my limited experience too), is over this question. Some white radicals I've talked to feel he's guilty because he beat Nicole. To me, that seems like quite a leap, especially given the particular circumstances of the murder. A few people have said they're upset with the verdict because sexism and spousal abuse never

got dealt with. Those issues anger me as well. But this trial wasn't for sexism; it was for murder. Only a prior assumption of O.J.'s guilt would mean that the trial should have been a forum on domestic violence against women.

More, I think a big issue is that to white people, including radicals and anti-racists, the idea of O.J. being framed by the police is hard to accept, while to Black people, it makes complete sense. If you think it likely that a Black man who married -- and beat -- a white woman (and who was a financial success) could be set up for a murder by racist cops, then that explains some particularly big holes in the prosecution's evidence and case. If you think the cops aren't likely to do that to a famous man like O.J., then all the oddities in the evidence can be interpreted as casual errors that don't prove anything.

But what I wonder is this: How can radical whites be skeptical of the possibility of a racist frame-up after all the years of COINTELPRO, all the cases of railroaded Black defendants we've seen (and worked on defense committees for), all the study we've done of the sickness deep in the heart and soul that racism breeds in whites like Mark Fuhrman -- who recoils at the very idea of interracial couples. Haven't we believed our own rhetoric? Have we lost sight of -- and touch with -- the heat of the fires that burn around all questions of race in this white supremacist country?