

Journal of Anti-Racist Action, Research and Education

# TURNING THE TIDE

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Demonstrate at Republican, Reform & Democratic Conventions



Newsday Photos / Geoffrey Mohan

## ***STOP BORDER VIGILANTES!***

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# SMASHING HATE IN NEW JERSEY

By Daryle Lamont Jenkins

When Richard Barrett announced he was bringing a white supremacist march to Morristown, NJ on the Fourth of July, it was not exactly a shock that he was coming. Over the past year and a half, white supremacists have been inching their way into the state even more forcefully than in the past, and this is just an example of those chickens coming home to roost. Barrett however has cultivated a particularly active and disturbing following in the state, and that following is not without its influence. There is also influence on the opposite side, and that influence will be seen as Barrett marches in the form of what has been called the One People's Rally.

The Town Council of Morristown played to a packed house at their public meeting on April 25. People of Morristown, including a young Barrett supporter named Jeremy Erickson, as well as residents of neighboring communities, came out to express their opinions on Barrett and his rally. A teacher, Kevin Stansbery even bought his class to speak before the council and presented letters from other students against the march.

"I personally was appalled at the ignorance that was brought forth in the council room, and thoroughly disgusted when those school children spoke," Erickson said in an email afterwards. "It was quite obvious that they had been brainwashed by the socialist school system and their Negro school teacher with a personal vendetta. They had no idea what this rally was really about."

Erickson did not speak at this meeting, however. He explained he was afraid to reveal his address (he lives with his parents) to those assembled. He describes himself as a "National Socialist through the applied teachings of Jungian psychology and Darwinian proclamation." For 6 years he says he was a 'skinhead' (which, if you know the true Jamaican origins of the skinhead culture, means he was a bonehead, a guy with a shaven head masquerading as a skinhead). He says he grew out his hair and took off his boots to become more politically active and be taken more seriously. Apparently, Barrett's march is a perfect opportunity for him.

Richard Barrett is a native of East Orange, NJ who says his family "escaped" from the "influx of immigrants" in the City. He graduated from Rutgers University but in 1966 returned his diploma to protest Professor Eugene Genovese for his opposition to the Vietnam War. He had since moved to Learned, Miss where his racist positions were freer to take shape. In 1987, while attempting to preserve the all-white status of Forsyth County, Georgia, he formed what would later become the Nationalist Movement. This organization has provided paramilitary training to neo-nazis, and has made its presence felt in a number of issues defending the far right position Barrett has been seen on talk shows like Donahue and the Morton Downey, Jr Show (he took a physical swipe at Downey on that program).

Barrett has staged a number of rallies and demonstrations, often by himself in support of white racist positions, such as in defense of Byron de la Beckwith, convicted murderer of Medgar Evers, or to support the police officers involved in the Rodney King beating in Los Angeles. His routine is to cloud the racism in his rallies in ways that claim instead to be 'nationalist' or 'patriotic'. He has made a career of suing municipalities for violating his free speech rights.

His Simi Valley march for the Rodney King cops was depicted as defending Americans against "illegal alien criminals" and supporting the cops. The Morristown

march, which is a march to praise State Police Chief Carl Williams and racial profiling, is promoted as an "Independence from Affirmative Action Day." (Barrett's rationale says Williams being fired made him a victim of affirmative action).

Barrett likes to phrase his agenda as akin to the American Revolution, and will often make analogies to that and his fight (hence, the rally at "Washington's Headquarters").

Of course, this is yet another example of how Barrett can be lost on the facts. Indeed Barrett is known for not getting his facts straight in some of the most visible areas. In the recent issue of Morristown, he refers to "Negro" Council President Timothy Jackson, although Jackson is not only white, but a direct descendent of Confederate General Stonewall Jackson!

New Jersey traditionally does not have such open displays of white supremacy as Barrett's march. Things have started to change over the past two years, enough for New York City to see its very first Ku Klux Klan rally in its history last October. White supremacist activity has gone mainstream. Take for example New Jersey Right to Life, an anti-abortion lobbying group that lost its charter with the national group because it would not commit to a platform of non-violence.

At their annual outing in April, they invited a number of openly racist speakers. Keynote speaker was writer Joseph Sobran. Sobran is a staple in intellectual white supremacist circles, promoting and defending eugenics and the notion that the Holocaust did not exist. He does not consider his beliefs to be anti-Semitic, but rather "counter-Semitic," as if there is a difference.

The One People's Rally was proposed as a cultural event and brought people from all walks of life to help put it together. The rally is not so much about countering the Nationalist Movement, but also to celebrate the multi-culturalism that has made this society great. Kicking off the rally is a band that illustrates that multi-culturalism best, the local ska band Inspector 7. This popular band has included blacks, whites, Asians and Hispanics, and many of them have been traditional skinheads. One could not have sent a more communal tone better.

Another speaker was radio talk show host Steve Malzberg, who when students protested Rutgers president Francis Lawrence five years ago, by sitting on a basketball court during a televised game, suggested that the next time police use their guns and hoses on them. That same evening Malzberg allowed a caller to give out on the air contact information for the white supremacist National Alliance, founded by William Pierce, the author of the Turner Diaries.

There was also Harold C. Turner, who organized a 1995 rally at the New Jersey State Capitol to defend racist talk-show host Bob Grant. Barrett also had a hand in putting the Right to Life event together and noted on his webpage that as they spoke, Turner and another right wing hack named Richard Pezzulo were cheered by the assembled, which included those who waved Barrett's Cross-star battle-flags.

Turner also had a short-wave radio program where he had openly defended not only racial profiling but police brutality as well; saying that it is not done enough. He has made calls to other programs as "Hal from North Bergen," and in August 1998, Turner called into Sean Hannity's WABC-AM radio talk show and said that if it weren't for the white man, that blacks "would still be swinging from the trees in Africa."

Turner has also threatened to incite people to "dispense revenge" on Federal Judge Maryanne Trump Barry and New Jersey NAACP officials and their attorneys after a fire in North Bergen claimed the lives of four people in 1998. Turner charged the NAACP with the deaths because they filed an anti-discrimination lawsuit against the local fire department. Barry was the judge who presided and imposed a hiring freeze

on the department until the matter was resolved. Yet Turner is a 'mainstream' politician. He ran for the Republican nomination for congress this year in NJ's 13th District in an attempt to unseat incumbent Bob Melendez. He was also the Campaign Chair for a rightist candidate for NJ Governor in 1997.

The one person in particular who was not heard from, and whose silence speaks volumes, is Barrett's man of the hour, former State Police Chief Carl Williams. Upon the announcement of Barrett's march, Williams allegedly declined comment, but as it became closer to the date, many residents wanted a more definite response.

Some feel that his silence is a quiet advocacy of Barrett. While it is seen as a sign that the right thing was done in firing him in the first place, his silence about Barrett's racist support is also looked upon as an insulting stance on an issue that he has placed himself in the middle of, as well as one that has stirred up such high passions.

When all is done in Morristown, and both Barrett's march and the One People's Rally are over, it will not be over for Morristown or for New Jersey. Morristown may now have to suffer through the stigma of being known as the town that hosted a racist march. The rest of New Jerseyans will have to start calling these new racists to task.

Those who are trying to angle their way into mainstream politics can no longer hide. They will be called to account. That's the way it should be. If there is anything that we can all get from the One People's Rally, it is a clear message that the battle has been joined, and racist activity, whether it is open or subdued, is going to be dealt with.

1992 Demonstration against Barrett in Simi Valley, CA.





# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Folks of PART,

I just read your editorial, "Globalization or Colonization," in the spring issue of TTT. I thought it excellent and to the point. I agree that we are witnessing a qualitative leap of capitalist production processes. A case of quantitative accumulation becoming qualitative in its global ramifications.

It's important to understand history and how it manifests in the present. And it does little good to lament (or alternatively, speak from one's 'correct' analysis) about false consciousness and illusions. Historically, we can see that it takes a qualitative jarring, one might say, to open the eyes of a broader popular sector. But that does not a revolution make.

You say it well — "the appreciation that the crisis is not susceptible to solution by reform." That's the task of all those of us who analyze and understand the world from an anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist perspective. This world view and solution is for us to pass on to a younger generation, as well as to continue to participate in struggles that are now sprouting.

The need for solidarity with the colonized and oppressed, as well as the necessity to cast off the bonds of privilege, calls us. Carry on comrades with your clear thinking.

For liberation and justice,  
Marilyn Buck, anti-imperialist political prisoner  
#00482-285, 5701 8<sup>th</sup> St. Camp Parks B, Dublin CA  
94568

Companeras/os,

We are approaching our 11<sup>th</sup> year of organizing the Tierra Amarilla Youth Leadership Institute. It has grown with each annual work brigade. In 1998, the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional Mexicano (MLNM) engaged in a project to construct the first independent Mexican University in the occupied territories. During the summer of 1998, skilled comrades from the international community worked building the foundation of the Calmecac. Subsequently, Youth Brigades from the inner cities of Colorado worked on completion of the remaining foundation and began the construction of the adobe walls.

We are asking for your support in our efforts to complete the construction. The total cost is estimated to be \$5,500. Whatever you are able to afford will be greatly appreciated. The Youth Leadership Institute is scheduled to take place in Tierra Amarilla, Nuevo Mexico on July 8-15, 2000.

The purpose of the Calmecac/Campo is to provide learning based on the reality of the Mexicano/a experience. By studying, learning and working together, we can bring about the transformation of our communities. The University/Calmecac represents a great accomplishment and a unique expression of community sacrifice and the quest for self determination. As Monica Salazar, one of the teachers, says, "The land that draws me back every year, uniting me to my people, is what has made me become a teacher. In my fourth year of attending the Brigades, I find that a week in T.A. has done more for me that my 12 years in public school and my first year at the University of Colorado. I believe that the educational system has failed, and that we must teach ourselves about our history, culture and the importance of land.

Ricardo Romero and Priscilla Falcon,  
Tierra Amarilla Youth Brigades,  
PO Box 21  
Evans CO 80620

Dear Turning the Tide:

On November 22, 1999, there was an uprising at High Desert State Prison in Susanville, CA. The Sacramento Bee published a story on it without interviewing any of the 60 prisoners charged for being allegedly involved in the incident, thanks to Gov. Davis, who like Pete Wilson, vetoed bills to reverse the CDC policy of restricting press access to prisoners. However, the CA Peace Officers Association (CPOA), the guards' organization, did not miss the chance to be interviewed, lying about the prisoners, saying "They were trying to get as much blood as they could."

Please note that there were no stabbing assaults, nor were any weapons found in the area where the uprising took place! These types of statements are part of the prevarication campaign that CPOA is waging to try to get the shooting restrictions lifted that were imposed after the Corcoran scandal. CPOA has paid most of our state public officials from the governor on down to turn their backs on the public interest when it comes to the Department of Corrections. Remember the reason for the shooting policy change — an independent panel, including two former police chiefs and a retired FBI agent, concluded that more than 24 of 31 shootings at Corcoran were unjustified!

In fact, it was the HDSP guards and the CDC officials who brought the unfortunate 11/29 situation about by refusing to answer the prisoners' repeated requests for an investigation into abuses by officers at HDSP. The CDC had known about growing tensions since last August. African American prisoners had filed appeals to no avail. Even the Bee reported that HDSP had the lowest ratio of African-American guards among the state's 33 prisons. How do I know so much about the situation? I was in Calipatria from 1993-95, and Corcoran from 1995-98, before being taken into federal custody for the investigation of officials and officers at Corcoran. After the probe, I was returned to state custody, where I have been facing reprisals for my part in requesting a federal investigation of CDC. Richard Caruso, the former guard who informed the FBI about brutality, validating our charges, received \$1.7 million on his settlement. But I and the other prisoners have not received even an apology for the abuses we suffered.

I am not writing for myself, but about the prisoners as a group. HDSP violates state law that says a prisoner should be placed in the closest possible facility to his home. As a result, MCI kicked back to CDC a \$16 million as the state's share of the long distance overcharges to prisoners and their families.

Prisoners are routinely denied necessary medical care. Please join the campaign to restore rehabilitation within the prisons. Write us at the Min. L.J. Guillory Defense Fund, PO Box 646, Newark OH 43058-0646

(Note: Subsequent to our receipt of this letter, L.J. Guillory was released from prison.)

Dear Editor:

I'm writing to inform your organization of a serious situation that has ruined the lives of future Black physicians. I am a Black medical student who is one of many victimized by a medical school. I decided to become a doctor after my brother broke his neck in a football accident and was paralyzed from the neck down. I graduated Middlebury College in Vermont with a degree in Molecular Biology. However over my first two years in medical school, I suffered repeated attempts to ruin my prospective medical career. I appealed all of these attempts and I won every time. I thought the harassment would end once it became clear that I would stand up for my rights. But I was wrong.

In my 3<sup>rd</sup> year, students rotated in different fields of medicine, such as surgery, pediatrics, etc. We take two kinds of exams — those where students see our grades and can review our exam, and those where the school tells us our score and does not allow us to review anything. I received high scores on the test I could review, but the school alleged that I failed the exam which the school does not let us see. As a result, the school has prohibited me from starting my 4<sup>th</sup> year. I have filed suit, although my attorney friend has made clear that this type of law was not his field. I am looking for a skillful attorney who can stand up to the medical school. The school lies to all Black applicants about scholarships and other matters, in order to entice them to attend so the school will be eligible for federal benefits. But statistically, this school loses more Black medical students than any other in the country. The school does not report this high attrition rate of Black students to federal funders. Immediate action against this school is justified because of the positive impact which Black physicians have on the Black community.

I am writing for assistance in stopping these discriminatory practices, as well as a referral to an attorney who could handle such a case.

Sincerely,  
Cedric Edwards, Slidell Louisiana  
(To contact Cedric, write him c/o Turning the Tide,  
PO Box 1055, Culver City CA 90232.)

mumia alive. mumia free.



Keep those cards 'n letters comin' to: PART, PO Box 1055, Culver City CA 90232. And while you're at it, *subscribe today without delay!* A one-year subscription to Turning the Tide: Journal of Anti-Racist Action, Research & Education is only \$15 for 4 quarterly issue. Help keep this grassroots voice alive and independent!

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# THE LIEBMAN REPORT: BROKEN DEATH MACHINES

Column Written 6/19/2000 by Mumia Abu-Jamal, M.A.  
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"..No longer shall I tinker with the machinery of death." -

--Late Justice Harry Blackmun, *Supreme Court, in Callins v. Collins (1994)*

In death penalty circles, the name James Liebman is not a strange, or unknown one. Judges know the name, as do defense lawyers. Prosecutors know it too, and so do guys on Death Row. They know because Liebman is half of the duo who wrote the definitive work on the American death penalty, examining laws, statutes and cases. J.S.Liebman and Randy Hertz are both law professors (the former, from Columbia U., the latter, from NYU) who have co-authored *Federal Habeas Corpus Practice and Procedure*, 3rd ed., a 2-volume,

Liebman describes a system that is virtually designed to fail. In published reports, Liebman has stated, "American capital sentences are persistently and systematically fraught with serious error. Indeed, capital trials produce so many mistakes that it takes three judicial inspections to catch them, leaving grave doubt whether we do catch them all." The Liebman report, titled "A Broken System: Error Rates in Capital Cases," documents a system that

is rotten at its roots. The vast majority of capital cases begin with the court appointment of a lawyer, as most folks who face the state's ultimate punishment are too poor to afford an attorney.

Those who are court-appointed tend to be the worst crop of lawyers, those who, because they are sole practitioners or from small firms, have the least resources, or are cronies for the judge. Many are under intense economic

1,979-page monster-piece on the Writ. But it is not this work which has caused the cascade of interviews of Liebman in recent weeks.

Liebman and his assistants have published an in-depth report on their study of the American practice of capital punishment from 1973 to 1995, and have learned that America has a "broken system," which is "fraught with error." Liebman studied 5,760 convictions where people were sentenced to death. Of that number, 68% were thrown out on appeal, most because of incompetent, poor lawyering. Other reasons for reversals were prosecutorial misconduct, falsified confessions, crooked cops, and errors by judges.

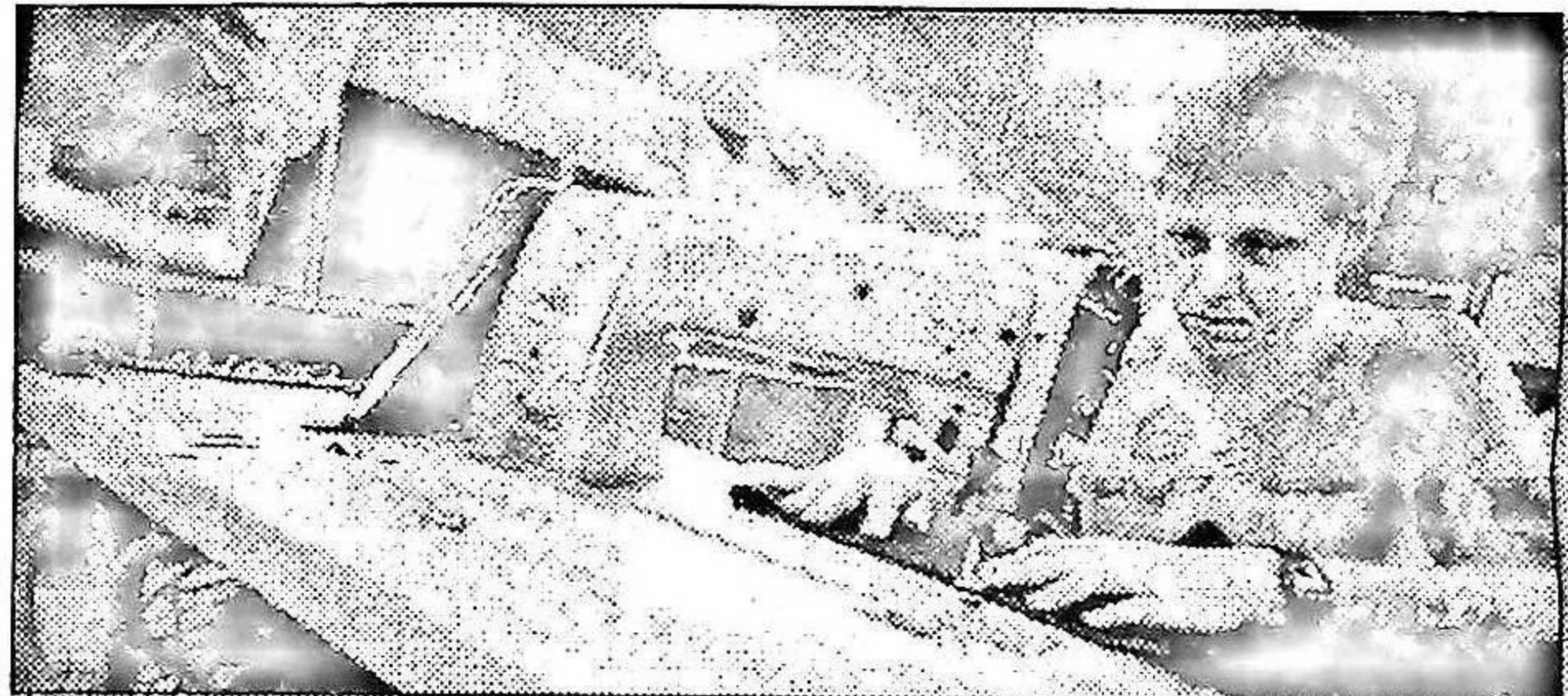
pressure to please the judge (who both appoints and pays them), by rushing cases through the process. Not surprisingly, bad lawyering, by those who have been described as "egregiously incompetent," accounts for an astonishingly high 37% of reversals. The obvious solution to such a statistical nightmare is the appointment of able, fully resourced, and committed lawyers-at the beginning-at trial!

What Liebman, and his co-authors Jeffrey Fagan and Valerie West, have shown us is a broken system.

This report is available at: [www.columbia.edu/cu/news/00/06/la\\_wstudy.html](http://www.columbia.edu/cu/news/00/06/la_wstudy.html). or call: Laura Burstein at (202) 822-5200.

(C) MAJ 2000

Death Row prisoner in Texas sews uniforms in a prison factory. The Death Row workplace was recently shut for security reasons.



Ken Light / Special to MSNBC

## Conspiracy of Interests:

### Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State

by Laurence M. Hauptman.

Syracuse University Press, publishers, 1999.

A Review by B.G.

From "The People," January 2000

This new book by historian Laurence M. Hauptman describes the development of exploitative capitalism in the early American Republic, specifically in New York State. The exponents of this budding capitalism were the state transportation interests and the land companies. Its leaders were such Founding Fathers of the republic as Philip Schuyler, revolutionary war general and, after the revolution, U.S. senator from New York, and Robert Morris, known as the financier of the revolution. They had a host of zealous supporters, eager to dispossess the Indians of the Iroquois Confederacy, who occupied the entire area west of the Mohawk River and the frontier post of Fort Stanwix (now the city of Rome, N.Y.).

Besides land speculator Robert Morris, there were the Holland Land Co., the Phelps-Gorham and the Ogden Land companies, all of whom would

The Senecas in the far western region of what is now New York State lost even more of their land as the result of the manipulations of the various land company agents. The most notorious and corrupt of the land negotiations and "treaties" took place in this area from the Treaty of Big Tree in 1797 to the "treaty" of 1826, which separated most of Seneca lands from them. The 1826 proceedings were rank with bribery and payoffs to the federal commissioner present and to some of the Seneca leaders. This "treaty" was never ratified by the U.S. Senate and so should have been considered invalid. Instead, it was used to dispossess the Senecas of a huge amount of land base, leaving them with a total of 86,887 acres for the

largest tribe in the Iroquois Confederacy. This type of fraud was later perpetrated at the notorious Treaty of Buffalo Creek in 1838, further drastically reducing Seneca land holdings, including the confiscation of their largest reservation.

This practice of steady separation of the Iroquois from their land in return for the paltry payments that would temporarily ease their poverty gave these early capitalists the land they coveted to enrich themselves. Western New York was now opened up to the building of turnpikes and canals, notably the Erie Canal and its branch canals, and later the railroad. A flood of white settlers eager to buy house plots from the land

eventually dispossess the Iroquois by fraud, bribery, fomenting of Indian factionalism, use of liquor and illegal purchases.

At the end of the American Revolution, "the Iroquois were weakened and split," as Hauptman points out. Most of the Iroquois had supported the British, who abandoned them after the war. Most of the Tuscaroras and Oneidas had supported the Americans, who now preyed upon them to obtain their lands. The Oneidas, nearly destitute and still suffering from the burning of their main village by the British-allied Iroquois during the war, were the first to feel the blow of the ax from the land and canal company interests and from New York State politicians to sell large areas of their country in exchange for pittance payments that would provide only temporary relief to them.

companies was followed by the emergence of a whole string of new towns and cities, giving further impetus to capitalistic enterprise. The coming of the railroad to the southern tier of New York was quickly followed by a large number of white squatters moving onto the Allegany Seneca Reservation and the establishment of towns within Indian lands, all without the permission of the Senecas.

These developments enriched many but overwhelmed the Iroquois and further intensified Indian poverty. Most of the Oneidas migrated to Wisconsin and Canada in search of peace and a new life. New York State politicians actively pressed all Iroquois to move out of the

state and go west, but with only minimal success. New York State today still has the largest Indian population east of the Mississippi River. And the Iroquois still regard the state as their oppressor.

Hauptman's research is wide ranging and impeccable, and his narrative style is most readable as it reveals the methods used to dispossess one population in favor of another. The book is highly recommended reading.

Access *The People* on-line by using the Socialist Labor Party gopher on the Internet at [gopher://gopher.slp.org](http://gopher.slp.org): 7019. Access our web page at <http://www.slp.org>



# SisterPhyre 2000

## Hip-Hop Women Get Together

SisterPhyre 2000 is truly the definitive event for women in hip-hop. Where else in the world can you go and in a 4-day period get emceeing tips from one of the flyest emcees to ever bless a mic - MC Lyte; DJing lessons from the legendary DJ Jazzy Joyce of Hot 97 in NYC; Kick it with some of the brightest minds in hip-hop like Kierna Mayo founding editor of honey magazine and the Poetess of 92.3 the Beat in L.A.; Catch a show with the hottest female acts in the industry and on the underground (Bahamadia, MEDUSA, Bashiba Earth, the Anomalies, etc.); network with hundreds of women who love hip-hop culture as much as you do, and openly discuss some of those "hot" issues you and your girlfriends stay talking about around the house? (What's the deal with brothers nowadays? How bad is it to use Bitch as a term of endearment? Are groupies for real?!?)

And did we mention that you can bring your kids and drop them off in our on-site childcare center while you get a relaxing massage, manicure, pedicure, or facial in our mini-spa. After all you will need to relax after you get all worked up from your hip-hop aerobic workout with "Big Lez", choreographer and former host of BET's rapcity....

Come on, do I have to go on or are you just going to go to the [www.sisterphyre.com](http://www.sisterphyre.com) website and check us out?

Okay Ladies... THE TIME IS NOW!!!  
Registration has officially begun for  
**SisterPhyre 2000:**  
**First Annual Gathering**  
**of Women in Hip-Hop**  
**August 23-27, 2000**  
**Atlanta Airport Hilton & Tower**  
**Atlanta, GA**

Pre-registration ends July 23rd and so does the early bird discount!! If you register before then, the rate is \$55 per person and \$45 for (verifiable) students. Groups of 6 or more

registering together also get a 10% discount during pre-registration. For your convenience, there are 3 ways to register-via the internet, fax, or snail mail.

For more information, check out our website at [www.sisterphyre.com](http://www.sisterphyre.com); you can fill out the on-line form, or fax it to: 1-877-SIS-PHYRE (1-877-747-7497),

Or mail to: SisterPhyre 2000-Registration c/o Asantewaa, Inc. P.O. Box 112, Montgomery, AL 36106-0112

I KNOW I will see you in August. if you miss it you won't know what everyone is talking about until next year. Come and be a part of history. Just make sure you register before the 23rd.

peace and blessings  
tarana burke, gathering coordinator

p.s. don't hesitate to pass this information on; the more the merrier. If you need a specific question answered get back at me at [burketaranaj@hotmail.com](mailto:burketaranaj@hotmail.com)

## SHAKA SANKOFA LIVES! END THE RACIST DEATH PENALTY!

### A Call for Non-Violent Direct Action Against the Criminal Injustice System at the Republican National Convention, Philadelphia, PA, August 1, 2000

A new movement is being born. In Seattle we shut down the WTO. In New York we rose up against police terror in communities of color. In Washington, DC we stood up to the IMF and World Bank. In California we fought the mass incarceration of our youth under Proposition 21.

This summer we will again use our bodies and voices to confront the system. While U.S.-dominated institutions like the WTO, the IMF, and World Bank wage war on the global poor, a parallel war is

The Republican and Democratic parties are both in the pockets of the corporate elite. The major corporations that profit from the policies of the WTO, IMF, and World Bank are the same corporations that oppress and exploit poor and working class people of all colors in the U.S. They are the same corporations that dominate the political process in the U.S. The Democratic and Republican national conventions try to hide this reality of corporate control behind a mask of democratic participation. Behind this mask the reality is brutal. As giant corporations move production abroad, the poorest laborers in this country have become expendable.

Just as the policies of the IMF are backed up by U.S. military power, the attack on poor people and people of color in the United States depends on state repression in the form of police terror and of the prison warehousing of a huge percentage of poor people, particularly youth of color. Immigrants and refugees are similarly targeted and held in wretched detention centers. This easily exploited source of labor is transforming American's prisons into its

worst sweatshops. Mandatory minimum sentences established under the guise of the "war on drugs" have turned prison construction into a growth industry while funding for schools is slashed year after year. The criminal justice system is a daily insult to democracy. Prisons silence thousands of voices from the most oppressed communities in the country. Dozens of political prisoners-like Native American leader Leonard Peltier and the Puerto Rican independentistas still behind bars-are locked up for the crime of standing up to injustice.

One political prisoner, Mumia Abu-Jamal, is a former Black Panther and an award-winning journalist who exposed the racism and brutality of the Philadelphia Police department. Brutalized by the police and denied a fair trial, Mumia has spent 18 years on Pennsylvania's death row. His case is in its most critical phase and demands our presence in the streets of Philadelphia. Now. Like the thousands of other prisoners on death row who face execution under the racist death penalty,

waged daily on the poor and people of color in the U.S. by a criminal justice system that enforces racial and economic injustice. It is time for the different currents in this movement to stand together against this system of criminal injustice and for real democracy. Democrats and Republicans alike have demonstrated their commitment to this state violence and repression. This August we are calling for direct action at the Republican National Convention to confront the U.S. criminal justice system, and we are supporting similar actions at the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles.

Mumia's case illustrates the barbarity of this system. Bill Clinton's signing of the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act and George W. Bush's presiding over a record number of executions indicate the responsibility of both the Democrats and Republicans for these policies.

This summer we have a historic opportunity to bring the energy that has been building for the past year to a collective fight, long overdue in this country, for democracy and human rights. We must build a powerful and sustainable alliance of all people devoted to global and domestic economic, racial, and environmental justice. Come to the Republican National Conventions to take a stand and say:

**Free Mumia Abu Jamal**  
**and All Political Prisoners**  
**Abolish**  
**the Prison Industrial Complex**  
**Abolish the Death Penalty**  
**Stop Police Violence**  
**Power to Our Communities, End**  
**the Corporate War on the Poor**

#### August 1 Direct Action Coalition

Endorsers (list in formation): Brecht Forum, Boston DAN, Campaign to End the Death Penalty, Center for Campus Organizing, Coalition for the Human Rights of Immigrants, Coalition Against Anti Asian Violence, Committee In Solidarity with the Peoples of El Salvador, Direct Action Network -- NYC, Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition, Graduate Student Employees Union/ CWA Local 1180, 180 Movement for Democracy and Education, Pennsylvania Abolitionists, Philadelphia Direct Action Group, Student Liberation Action Movement, US Tibet Committee, War Resisters League, Youth Peace.

For more information call  
(212) 629-1775.

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URL: [www.freemumia.com](http://www.freemumia.com)



# Anti-Olympics Alliance Protests Racism & Repression in Sydney 2000

by  
Kim Maree <kymba75@hotmail.com>

The Anti-Olympics Alliance is a newly formed activist group made of community, student and progressive forces, such as Rent-watchers, the Indigenous Student Network, Justice Action and many others. The Alliance works in conjunction and solidarity with Indigenous groups and organizations, such as the Metropolitan Land Council and is active in organizing protests (for more details see below) and events to highlight the negative impact of the Olympic Games, as well as racism and social injustice in Sydney and Australia.

Some of the issues the Alliance is seeking to highlight are:

For the Redfern Koori Community, the Olympics means forced relocation.

Indigenous Australians are still the most socially and economically disadvantaged section of the Australian community, with Indigenous adults dying 20 years younger than other Australians, and a child mortality rate 3 times higher than non-Indigenous children.

While the New South Wales (N. S. W.) government has spent over \$2 and half billion on the Olympics, there has been massive cuts to public hospital,

## Opening Ceremony Protest in Support of Indigenous Rights

The primary focus of the Alliance is to organize for the demonstration which will take place on the opening day of the 2000 Olympics - Friday, September 15, 2000, in support of Indigenous rights and social justice issues affecting all Australians.

The Alliance invites all interested parties — community groups, unions, social justice and progressive organizations, churches and student organizations — to get involved, either by attending our meeting and helping to organize the demonstration, commit a contingent to participate in the demonstration, and/or by making a donation of resources or financial assistance to the Alliance. The September 15 demonstration is being organized separately, but in consultation and solidarity with Indigenous groups — with the logistics of the action being decided in conjunction with Indigenous groups.

A second focus of the Alliance is to build other anti-Olympic related events in the lead up to September 15. This will provide an opportunity to coordinate with other groups and to publicize the September 15 actions, as well as highlight other social justice issues related to the Olympics. These include violation of civil liberties as a result of increased police and Olympic security powers which restrict freedom of movement and the right to protest, the prioritization of Olympic spending over on public housing, health and education.

For more information on how to become involved with the Alliance and/or to register your interest in attending the September 15 rally and march please reply by email to: kymba75@hotmail.com. You can also get on an Olympics discussion group join by sending an email to Olympic-link-subscribe@egroups.com. Please note the 'Olympic-link' egroup is an information network for people who want to be informed of Olympic related events and as such is used by a wide variety of groups and individuals, including the Anti-Olympic Alliance. Remember that any protests will take place in the context of the tremendously enhanced police powers enacted in the run-up to the Sydney Olympics.

Check out these sites as well Anti-Olympic Alliance: <http://www.cat.org.au/aoa>  
Indigenous Protest 2000  
<http://138.25.138.9/protest2000/>

## New Sydney Olympics 2000 Police Powers and YOU

New Olympics related laws give incredibly wide powers to police and 'authorized officers' (potentially untrained and unqualified volunteers). These new powers and new offenses, created by law last November and reaffirmed in May 2000, are in addition to those powers police already have. Here is a quick run down of the laws, directed towards people who are involved in expression of dissent.

Here is a bit of background from the UTS Community Law and Legal Research Center. The Sydney Olympics will be a huge international event; it is a huge multinational industry, culminating in 2 weeks of sporting events. There will be loads of media; the BBC alone is bringing 4 jumbo jets of journalists and equipment. Security plans have been in place since before the bid by Sydney to the International Olympics Committee; in fact, one of the reasons why Sydney got dumped with the Olympics is that security prospects looked good. Australia does not have a history of terrorism or political violence. Yet Olympic security has cost the New South Wales police alone \$174 million. The security measures are international, with daily communication with major security agencies across the world, and have been a long time in the planning.

As far back as 1997, Victorian Deputy Police Commissioner Graham Sinclair admitted extensive surveillance of community groups — not just so-called 'extremist' groups, but also innocuous organizations, in a crackdown before the Sydney 2000 Olympics, "as extremists often shelter in moderate organizations." He made it clear that any groups that threatened public order or could be involved in politically motivated violence would warrant police attention. Although the N.S.W. Police did not admit to similar surveillance, this is certainly the case. For example, in 1999, the J18 demonstration organizing collective were subject to covert surveillance, and undercover police were sent to attend meetings at Emu cafe in Enmore.

## Who will be policing the Olympics?

Security for Sydney 2000 is massive. Of 13,600 N.S.W. Police, at least 5000 will be deployed for the Olympics, 4500-4900 private security guards (this may balloon to 10,000-12,000 which is apparently a more realistic estimation), volunteers (numbers

public education, childcare and social welfare spending. Government priorities are for increasing profits to big business, increasing the divide between rich and poor.

There are 30,000 homeless people in the greater Sydney area per night, a number that will be exacerbated by the Olympics. Sydney has a 9-year waiting list for public housing.

It is estimated that there will be in excess of 50,000 police and security forces used at the Olympics, including over 30,000 security guards, 4000 Australian military (the same size of the Australian force sent to East Timor), as well as American and Israeli intelligence and security forces.

The N.S.W. government has passed laws making Sydney and N.S.W. an "Olympic police state" with these laws designed to curtail and stop legitimate protest and dissent. Under these new laws, "authorized officers" with little security training can use force to remove you, without giving a reason or producing identification (unless requested), can issue a \$200 on the spot fine and search your property and bags without reason.

unconfirmed), hundreds of Federal Police acting as 'close protection officers' for VIPs and diplomats, the Defense Force, and intelligence officers. N.S.W. Police are not allowed to take leave during the Olympics, training has been canceled, and court cases requiring police witnesses are to be held over for the duration of the Games. Despite this, numbers are apparently still tight, recent newspaper articles state that Chubb security, (who will be providing security for the Games) have been seeking new recruits through family and friends of existing security guards. They have also stated they will rehire retired workers and train up administrative staff! Some retired police will volunteer to work in country stations in non-operational roles during the games.

## Overview of the Olympics laws

In the last few years heaps of legislation has been passed regulating behavior in public space, and giving police further powers to intervene in public space, some of which are permanent. They culminate in the Olympic (de)Arrangements Act, passed in April 2000. This Act allows the Minister to make an order to define areas other than Homebush Bay area to come under the special laws. Any other Olympic venues or adjacent areas — that is, pretty much all of Sydney — may come under these laws.

## What do the Olympics laws do?

These laws create new offenses, and give police, 'authorized officers' (who may be volunteers), and 'rangers' new powers. Generally laws give police only powers to intervene in public space, but these laws

In Olympic Sydney, it is against the law to protest! You are now REQUIRED to seek authorization for public assemblies. It is an offense to 'conduct or participate in any public assembly in a public area' if the assembly has not been authorized by the Sydney Harbor Foreshore Authority. If you get permission, it may be conditional. And 'free speech' activities are outlawed!

The Olympics laws make illegal many activities that may happen in a demonstration. In the areas covered, it is now against the law to use a loudspeaker or broadcasting equipment or to hand out leaflets or to display any kind of message unless it's directly on your clothes (such as a t-shirt) or your vehicle (such as a bumper sticker). In the Sydney Harbor Foreshore areas, on top of this, you cannot put up anything like a sign, climb any structures or trees, skate, or use facilities for sleeping overnight!

In 'sports-grounds,' officers do not even need to ask you to leave before using force to remove you, i.e. if you are annoying or inconvenient, officers may use force to remove you without asking you to leave, without giving you any reason why you should leave, and without a warning. Under the Act, any area in Sydney could be declared to be a 'sports-ground', even Town Hall Square. The Olympics laws also give the authorities the power to close off public spaces under their control. You may be refused entry if these areas if the Authority decides to limit the number of people in the area or if it has closed off a space.

For more info and help: Legal Aid Help line: 1800 806 913, TTY 1800 243 434

who have no training or qualifications.





# LAND IS THE BASIS OF BLACK PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE IN AFRICA

by  
Lesego Sechaba Mogotsi, AZAPO Publicity Director <lesegomo@hotmail.com>

Land has always been the basis of the Black people's struggle in Africa. When Black people finally decided to take up arms against the settler colonial minority regime, it was precisely because of that reason, nothing less or more. apartheid and I strongly feel that if the need should arise again in this country for the black people to engage in the arm struggle to re-conquer the land which is rightfully theirs, I will be the first one to volunteer.

During the dark apartheid days black people were forcefully removed from their land and driven deliberately to the barren homelands. They were subjected to ruthless apartheid system brutality and many children, men and women became victims. They were treated as foreigners in their own land of birth by the same European settlers who are making noise today.

I generally grew-up as a non-violent person and the only "violent" methods that I openly supported was the arm struggle during our struggle against

I obviously do not support the killing and murdering of innocent people and white farmers in the neighbouring Zimbabwe, but the brutality that our own Black brothers and sisters that are subjected to in some of the white farms in this country, makes me to think otherwise. The Zimbabwean settlement as it is correctly documented, states it clearly that the former colonial master, Britain; would be responsible for the re-settlement of the black Zimbabwean by providing the Zimbabwean government with money to buy back the illegally occupied land in Zimbabwe by the minority whites and give it back to the black majority.

In South Africa, my homeland, there is also an agreement similar to the Zimbabwean one. White farmers would sell their land to Thabo Mbeki's government then President Thabo Mbeki's government through one of his creation; Land Commission, would then be responsible for resettlement. This is a typical black liberal arrangement and it only benefits the minority nation, whites. If they were not willing to sell or give up the land that they have illegally occupied since 1652, poor black South Africans would remain landless for centuries even worse off than the Zimbabweans.

The Zimbabwean recent land crisis should be a good lesson to people like DP's Tony Leon, because people like him came to Africa uninvited with Dromedaris, Reiger and Goode-Hope; they surely did not bring any land with them. In fact, all white people in this country are our guests and the black majority is their hosts. There is no single white South African who can rightfully claim any piece of this land, including those who belong to the African National Congress. They all constitute part of the European settlers.

The similarities between us and the Zimbabwean are very classical, we are both former British colonies, however, in our case Britain did not promise us any pounds to back the land back from the white farmers; now where is the poor President Thabo Mbeki's government going to get millions of rands to buy land from white farmers and give it back to the rightful

owners, blacks. In fact, I do not understand why the black people must buy the land, which rightful belong to them, from the people who occupied it many years ago through aggression, without any compensation. This does not make any logic at all, surely you need not to be an academic to understand this. When your car is stolen and later on recovered by the police, surely you do not expect them to sell it back to you; as if it was never your car before it was stolen. The logic demands that you go to the police station and produce your identity and ownership certificates, then you car is all yours again.

Indeed, there are couples of white farmers who can produce the ownership certificates, which relates to their supposedly legal occupation; but the fact of the matter is that those certificates were issued by the illegitimate settler minority regime. Perhaps the logical thing for the white farmers in Zimbabwe and in this country to do is to ask Britain to compensate them. I am personally prepared to support them (whites) if they want to sue Britain for land compensation, because "NO MAKANJANI"; the national land question still needs to be addressed in this country as a matter of urgency if we do not want to witness the situation similar to that of Zimbabwe.

Our Zimbabwean black brothers and sisters are more brilliant than the black South

Africans, they occupy arable and fertile land, while the South African; generally referred to as squatters occupy a small piece of land and jam-pack themselves as sardines under severe, unbearable and inhuman conditions.

Most of us from the black consciousness school of thought honestly believe that independence or sovereignty of any nation, primarily depends on the ownership of the land by the black majority. Blacks in this country only have political power, but the most critical component of power, which includes land, economic power; is in the hands of the tiny minority.

In the US correctly so, the majority white nation are in charge of the affirmative action there, to affirm our black brothers and sisters who became citizens of US out of their own will, they went to US as part of the slave trade during those years. However, strangely enough, here at home we expect the white minority nation to affirm the black majority in this country, this is ridiculous. Every time the government want to build schools, clinics, houses, factories and so on; they must humble themselves before the white minority and beg for more land. This should not be allowed to continue it is absolutely nonsense. NO LAND! NO INDEPENDENCE — NO LAND! NO SOVEREIGNTY!

In conclusion, I would like to urge President Thabo Mbeki's government to pass an Act in parliament which will make

it easier for the black majority to get their land back, if we do not want to go the Zimbabwean route. Alternatively, his government must convince the white farmers to willingly relinquish their "land rights" to the state, which is unlikely under normal circumstances, so that the land Commission can at least have something to do. Now the land commission remains one of the toothless bulldogs in this country, they are subjected to the order of the day; they cannot do anything beyond the forceful removal claims. They must stop fooling the landless black majority as if they got more powers than the President's office, in fact they should be disbanded because they could hardly redistribute the land which is illegally occupied by the white farmers. They are just wasting the taxpayer money because most of them drive flashy cars and stay in potch houses while the majority remains landless. This is my sober minded position as one of the black consciousness adherent and I surely do not owe any one apology for my position on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

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## RESPONSE TO THE SUPREME COURT DECISION ON DALE VS BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

by  
Scouting For All

June 28, 2000

The Court clearly states that the BSA is a private organization. They have the right to discriminate against any person they want to as a private organization. So the Boy Scouts of America have finally been "outed." Since they are a private organization, they are not entitled to any government support. So, until such time as the BSA changes their policy of bigotry and discrimination against gays, we are calling for the following actions

That all public entities supported by taxpayer revenues, "including police and fire departments and public schools," revoke the special support and privileges heretofore extended to the Boy Scouts of America, That the Congress, which represents all the people, revoke the Congressional Charter of the Boys Scouts of America, and That the President of the United States, who represents all Americans, resign as the Honorary President of the Boy Scouts of America.

We call upon all supporters to join us in a National Day of Protest at the headquarters of the Boy Scouts of America in Irving, Texas, at a date to be set soon. During this National Day of Protest, for those who are unable to join us at the BSA headquarters we are asking that you protest in front of your local council. For further information and to join us in this National Day of Protest please

contact *Scouting For All* at [info@scoutingforall.org](mailto:info@scoutingforall.org) or call 707-778-0564.

We are asking Scout Leaders and Scouts across the country to take a stand with us. As Steven Cozza, Eagle Scout says, "How can a boy scout live with himself while his fellow gay scouts are being hurt. They are told they are no good and have to hide out of fear of being kicked out." You can take a stand by having your troop write an anti-discrimination statement including sexual orientation and sending it to the Boy Scouts of America's national headquarters. As Steven says we must not turn our backs on our gay friends and fellow scouts

*Scouting For All* is appealing to supporters for financial support. *Scouting For All* is a 501C-3 non-profit charitable organization, so all donations are tax deductible. We count on your financial support to help us carry on with our educational and advocacy campaign reaching out to both gay and straight youth in our effort to get the Boy Scouts of America to rescind its harmful practice of discrimination against gay youth and adults. Together We Stand and Together We Can Make A Difference on the side of Human Rights



## PART'S PERSPECTIVE:

# **STRIKE BACK AGAINST THE EMPIRE!**

The contest for who will be elected emperor to succeed Bill Clinton is on. There are life and death issues facing people in the United States and around the world. There is a fierce struggle emerging about the future of this country and the planet. But you wouldn't know it from the presidential campaigns or candidacies of Republican Gov. George W. Bush or Democratic V.P. Albert Gore.

Bush, like Gore, supports NAFTA and the WTO. Gore, like Bush, supports the death penalty and the militarization of police. Both parties support US-financed counter-insurgency war in Colombia. Both candidates back making NATO into an aggressive military alliance, projecting Euro-American armed might into southwest Asia. Neither will restore the 'social safety net' or defend the rights of immigrant workers. They disagree slightly but politely about how swiftly to eliminate the deficit or how many and

### **WHO PAYS THE PIPER, CALLS THE TUNE**

The Democratic and Republican Parties exist to organize a mass base of consent for the policies of the rulers. The two parties alike dance to the tune of their corporate masters. That tune calls for privatization of every public resource. It demands the ever-increasing exploitation of working people, the planet, and even the biological basis of life itself. That dance requires ever-larger applications of force and coercion, whether through police, prisons, border control, the military, or the counter-insurgency operations of covert agencies. The corporate media further define and enforce careful limits to 'dissent.' Similar dynamics are at play in Canada and "Fortress Europe."

And so people's struggles are emerging where they must — in the streets. This means that for the first time in a generation, there is the possibility of a true mass movement in this country, an opening towards a revolutionary transformation of consciousness on a vast scale. But to ignite and sustain that change requires a break with the empire. We must begin to define the 'wedge issues' of liberation — the points that will begin to split people away from the rulers, their parties, and the pro-imperialist consensus.

For far too long, 'wedge issues' have been the effective tools of the rulers and the reactionaries, dividing oppressed and working people against each other along lines of nationality, race, gender or sexual orientation. We must overcome those divisions, not by ignoring or denying them, but by building conscious solidarity. We must recognize that privilege and oppression grow out of the same soil, and that for each of us and all of us, ending our oppression means recognizing and abandoning the privileges that ensnare us.

### **THE NEED FOR UNITY AND SOLIDARITY AGAINST THE EMPIRE**

What are the bases of a program that can pull together the campaigns and issues that have begun to galvanize this new generation of opposition into a full-fledged and sustained resistance to the empire? PART has for some time been putting forward five banners for our movement, and is raising them again, this time in the context of the demonstrations that are coming up at Republican, Democratic and Reform Party conventions.

#### **DE-COLONIZATION**

**Self-determination for all oppressed people**  
Respect Native treaty rights  
Independence for Puerto Rico  
Recognize Hawaiian Sovereignty  
Reparations for the descendants of Africans forcibly enslaved  
End the domination of the Mexican people on both sides of the border  
Amnesty for all political prisoners and prisoners of war in the U.S.  
World-wide Jubilee forgiveness of debt  
Repeal NAFTA, block the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, and end the WTO

#### **DEMOCRATIZATION**

**Community control of police and of education —**  
End police impunity!  
Restore the civic rights of convicts  
Protect labor organizing and workplace rights, including the right to strike  
Freedom of speech and conscience  
End media monopoly  
Amnesty for the undocumented  
Replace corporate domination with cooperative economics

which taxes to cut. The two are so similar because they represent only an ever-narrowing divergence in tactics for maintaining and extending the U.S. empire

Why is there such a studied disregard of real issues? Why do the major parties refuse to even recognize, let alone absorb, opposition to mass incarceration, corporate globalization, or militarism? It is a strategic response to that opposition by the rulers, in a period in which the system is less capable of tolerating any dissent. Despite the 'record economic growth' they brag about, and the vast increase in wealth for the wealthy, the rulers know how fragile the current economic and political system has become. Their profits depend on super-exploitation and the denial of democratic rights in every corner of their global empire, including inside the US itself.

#### **DE-MILITARIZATION**

**End all secret wars and covert operations**  
Dismantle the National Security Council, the CIA, the FBI, the School Of the Americas, and all agencies of international repression  
Ban all nuclear power, nuclear weapons, and weapons of mass destruction in the US  
Demobilize U.S. troops and bases around the world.  
End all military aid to regions of conflict

#### **DE-CRIMINALIZATION**

**Provide alternatives to incarceration, for restorative justice**  
Abolish the death penalty  
Community controlled treatment and rehabilitation of non-violent drug offenders  
Decriminalize consensual sexual activity and use of intoxicants  
End prison privatization, control units and the exploitation of prison labor

#### **DEFEND HUMAN RIGHTS AND ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE**

**Health care, child care, housing, food, education and employment are human rights**  
Support a woman's right to abortion and to control her own body  
Reverse deforestation and global warming  
End reliance on fossil fuels  
Decolonize the Bio-sphere: Ban the privatization of seeds, life forms, and the human genome.

We need to unite to set the agenda for the "new millennium" on the basis of realizing the goals of a society free of colonialism and exploitation. We urge everyone to come out and protest about any and all these issues at the Conventions, and we urge you to take the opportunity such protests give us to build anti-imperialist unity and conscious solidarity. We must not fail to seize a historical window of opportunity to transcend the barriers of racism, sexism and colonialism that have divided us and allowed our oppressors to maintain their rule.

#### **BUILD COMMUNITIES OF RESISTANCE**

The convention protests provide a moment in which we can converge our efforts on an uncompromising basis, with the potential for a tremendous effect on the consciousness of poor and oppressed people and on the balance of power on a global level between the forces of oppression and those of liberation.

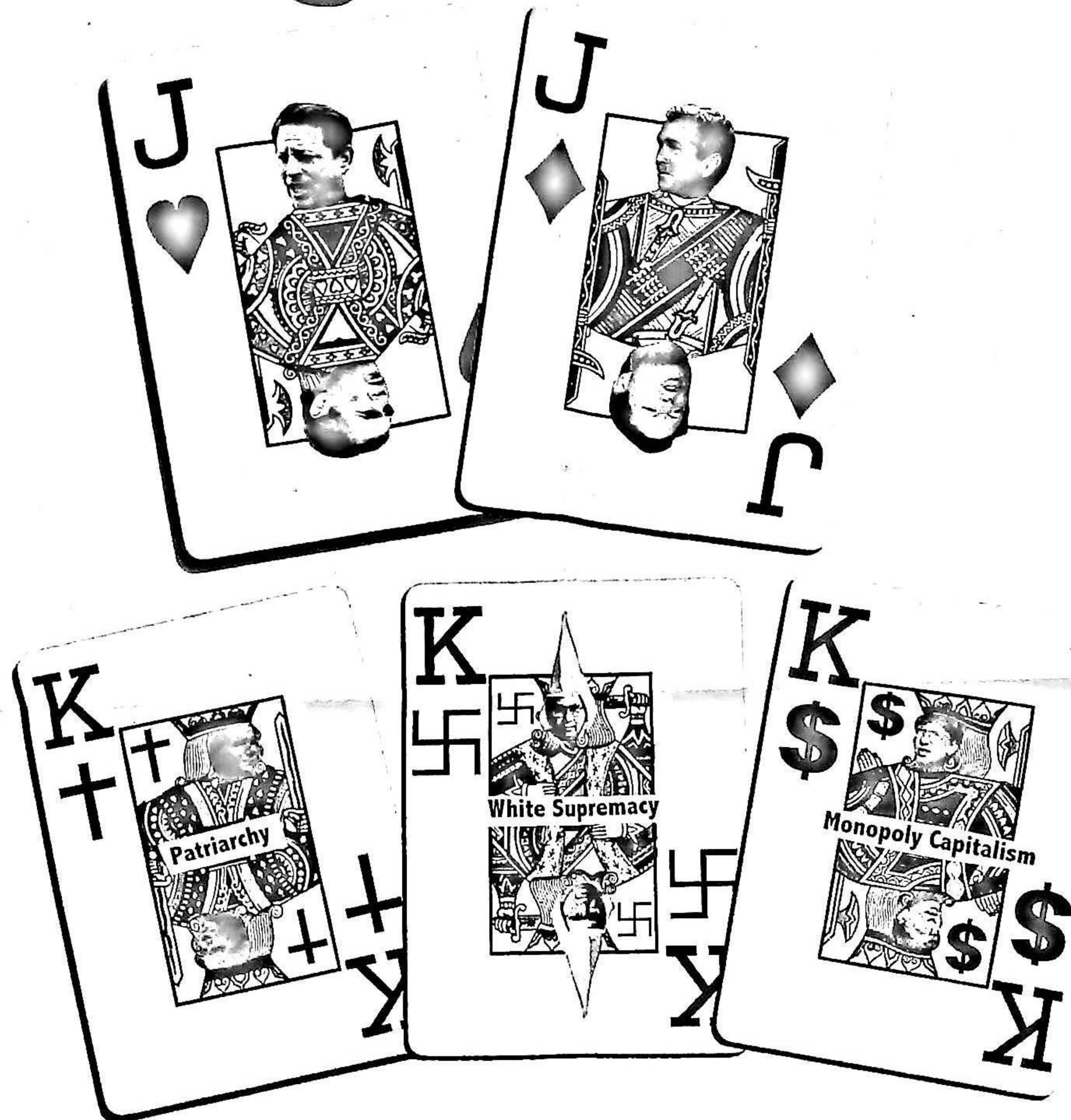
Mobilizations to Philadelphia and Los Angeles are important, but they are not ends in themselves. A protest may last a day or a week, but our struggle must continue from one generation to the next. Our task is to use the opportunity the convention protests provide us to build enduring alliances of principle, not opportunism. We must deepen our critique of the system of empire and our own place within it.

We need to use these demonstrations to create something longer-lasting and deeper-rooted. We need communities of resistance that can weather the repression the system will throw at us. Within our neighborhoods, workplaces, kinship and affinity groups, we must counter the divisiveness inherent in an empire based on white supremacy, patriarchy and capitalism. By creating conscious anti-imperialist solidarity and practice, we lay the basis for trust, unity, and a better world tomorrow.

**People Against Racist Terror (PART)**  
**PO Box 1055, Culver City CA 90232**  
**310-495-0299/part2001@usa.net**



# The Deck is Stacked - Fight Back!



## A Pair of Jackals + 3 of a Kind = A Fascist Full House

Bush and Gore are just figureheads for the real rulers and the system of oppression and exploitation that gives a few great wealth and power at the expense of the many. We don't want a new deal, a new lease on life for that system that's killing us and the planet — we say "No Deal!"

**DEMONSTRATE AT THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION IN  
PHILADELPHIA PA JULY 30-AUG. 1**

**DEMONSTRATE AT BUCHANAN'S REFORM PARTY  
CONVENTION IN LONG BEACH CA, AUGUST 12<sup>TH</sup>**

**DEMONSTRATE AT THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN LOS  
ANGELES CA, AUGUST 13-17<sup>TH</sup>**



# Combat the Colonial System of Criminal Injustice

by  
Michael Novick

## STOP MASS INCARCERATION!

In recent years, in response to the new phenomenon of mass incarceration, a new prison movement has begun developing in this country. Families, students and others have begun to mobilize against inhumane conditions and life-shattering sentences, and for alternatives to incarceration.

Why is there mass incarceration, particularly in communities of color? When Black Panthers like Geronimo ji Jaga or Romaine Fitzgerald were locked down, there were 200,000 prisoners in the whole country. Because the government got away with locking up those freedom fighters, the number of prisoners has increased tenfold!

Step inside any courtroom or any prison in the US, and the class and colonial nature of this society becomes immediately evident. As Mumia Abu Jamal has pointed out, the over 2 million people in U.S. prisons equal "the combined populations of Dallas and Detroit... There are 30 countries with smaller total populations than the U.S. prisons." The majority of them are Black and Mexican/Latino; almost all of them are poor.

For example, African Americans are 13% of drug users, but 35% of those arrested for drug possession, 55% of those convicted and 74% of those sentenced to prison!

In response, families have begun to organize against mandatory minimums. But at the same time, politicians backed by the increasing clout of prison guards, have begun to routinely deny parole, further swelling the prisons even as crime rates plummet.

So this electoral campaign, despite the irrelevance of the choice between Tweedledum and Tweedledummer, is a moment of great historical impact. The forces of repression and colonialism, across the spectrum of criminal injustice issues, is seeking to beat down and beat back the people's resistance. Now it the time for us to redouble our efforts, to make our movement broader, deeper, stronger and more intense. We need to unite the people in motion around all these issues — the criminalization of youth and our communities, the death penalty, three strikes, prison slave labor and privatization, political prisoners, police brutality — and forge lasting unity in struggle. The need for common and connected action is evident. When they started locking up political prisoners in the 70's and 80's, their long sentences and harsh conditions were exceptional. Now, the lengthy terms without hope of parole and the control-unit conditions are becoming generalized to the prison population as a whole. In a society that locks people up for life over a slice of pizza or possession of a macadamia nut, it becomes impossible to argue that the death penalty should be abolished in favor of life imprisonment. What's more, the families victimized by police abuse are often the very same whose members face

## STOP POLICE BRUTALITY!

In recent years, in response to police killings, beatings, and racism, a widespread movement against police abuse and for police accountability has sprung up. Police brutality has been a problem for years, but people are increasingly fed up, and fired up. Under Bush, we had the beating of Rodney King and the L.A. rebellion. Clinton added 100,000 more cops and armed them with heavier weapons and armored personnel carriers. Cops killed Margaret Mitchell, Tyisha Miller and Ricardo Clos in southern California; Diallo and Dorismond in N.Y. — and they all walked off scot free. Cities have been rocked by police scandals — murders for hire in New Orleans; planted evidence, brutality and perjury in Philadelphia and Los Angeles; torture in New York City, racial profiling in New Jersey. The Washington Post recently won a Pulitzer for after the fact coverage of the record number of shootings by DC police. The Detroit press did a similar expose of that city for having the highest per capita ratio killings by police of any PD in the U.S. Louisville's newspaper recently did an expose of the unreported use of force, including deadly force, by police in that Kentucky city. Tens of thousands of people have been marching, picketing, even using civil disobedience, across the country. The response of police departments and the politicians who back them has been to stonewall.

In NY, for example, the mayor and police commissioner Howard Safir have rejected calls from the US Civil Rights Commission for more effective discipline.

## STOP THE DEATH PENALTY!

Recent years have begun to see a major change on the question of the death penalty. Illinois was forced to declare a moratorium after more than a dozen people on Death Row in that state were exonerated and released, mostly thanks to independent investigations by journalists and students.

Public opinion surveys in CA show a majority favoring change on the state's death penalty, if not outright abolition. State legislatures in New England have recently voted to abolish the death penalty. The U.S. is one of the last countries in the world with the death penalty. South Africa and Russia both recently abolished the death penalty, after oppressive regimes were overturned.

But here in the U.S. last year, where racism still predominates in the application of the death penalty, we had a chart-busting number of total executions. Hundreds more — too poor to afford good lawyers — are locked on Death Row awaiting execution, even though studies show that most people sentenced to death eventually have their sentences overturned. Yet Congress passed and Clinton signed the Effective Death Penalty Act to speed up executions and deny people the appeals to prove their innocence. There was a massive outcry and appeals for clemency at Texas prepared to execute Shaka Sankofa, an arguably innocent man convicted of a capital offense while still a minor. Yet Bush, who has presided over more than 130 executions as governor of Texas, and will probably allow 15 more to proceed over the coming weeks until the presidential elections, sealed Sankofa's fate.

third strikes, whose children are being treated like hardened criminals for talking back to a teacher or throwing a spitball at school. It's time to rebuild and fight back! If you're sick and tired of being ground down in the dirt, of scraping yourself off the boots of the cops and the rich, it's time to unite and fight the powers that be! Get your families and friends together, and join us! Demonstrate at the Republican and Democratic Conventions, and use those mobilizations to build on-going resistance in your community. By uniting our struggles, we can create a pole of attraction to begin to involve people who have been demoralized and demobilized by the feeling that there is nothing we can do. The fact is, the rulers are being placed once again on the defensive by the people's movement. Remember that all their power comes from the people they oppress, and all their wealth comes from the people they exploit. They are vulnerable to our resistance and our struggle for liberation. As we take back our own strength, it weakens them. They know it, and so they fear Mumia Abu Jamal, Leonard Peltier, and all of us who are prepared for uncompromising struggle and resistance. *Fight for the future!*

## FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

A world-wide movement has developed over the past few years around the case of Mumia Abu Jamal, a former Black Panther Party political prisoner on Death Row in Pennsylvania. Mumia has been a graduation speaker at many colleges in the past two years, and hundreds of thousands have marched in the U.S. and other countries to demand justice and stop his execution. He's one of hundreds of people locked up for their effective resistance to this rotten system. Native Americans like Leonard Peltier and Standing Deer, Puerto Ricans like Haydee Beltran and Oscar Lopez Rivera, North American anti-imperialists like Marilyn Buck and Linda Evans, New Afrikan freedom fighters like Dr. Mutulu Shakur and Sekou Odinga, anarchist resisters like Rob Los Ricos in Oregon have been singled out by the state for long sentences and isolation from other prisoners because of their effective resistance to this system. But every time any prisoner develops a political consciousness, the Bureau of Prisons or Department of Corrections locks them up in Special Housing/Control Units AKA "the hole." Moreover, despite the broad support for Mumia Abu Jamal, both major political parties this summer have identified their conventions with his execution — the Republicans are being hosted in Philadelphia by Gov. Thomas Ridge who has signed two death warrants on Mumia and is seeking the vice-presidential nomination. The Democrats in turn will be chaired by Ed Rendell; former prosecutor and mayor in Philadelphia, who has responsibility in both the deadly bombing of the MOVE house and the death sentence imposed on Mumia Abu Jamal.

**If you like this broadside or sample copy, please subscribe to "Turning the Tide: Journal of Anti-Racist Action, Research & Education — only \$15 for four quarterly issues to: PART, PO Box 1055, Culver City CA 90232-1055**



## Attack on Asian Students at SUNY Binghamton:

# Campus Racism on the Rise

by Vik Chaubey

Racism is on the rise in the U.S. We are seeing so many people of color who have been victimized in relation to police brutality, racial profiling, the war on drugs, and the tremendous number of people of color in death row. In the supposedly enlightened universities and colleges in this country, we are also seeing more overt racism. Students of color are being attacked verbally and physically by white students in universities all over the country. It is also important to note that EOP programs (which help low income people get a chance to go to universities) are in decline. This parallels the demolition of affirmative action programs in the country.

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The incident at Binghamton is part of a pattern of hate crimes committed against Asians, which is increasing in this country. Asians have been the targets of racist killers this past year in both the Midwest and California.

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negotiators came up with a list of demands. These included an apology by the administration for its slow response to the hate crime. They called for 2 Asian counselors, they wanted the administration to help the victim, and they also asked for the expulsion of the two white wrestlers, who had previous incidents of violence. "Allowing them to continue their studies at Binghamton is in violation to the requirement that student athletes be good University citizens," they wrote in their petition, while calling on the athletic department to denounce the attack, in order to reassure everyone that the racist action did not reflect the department as a whole. They wanted the administration to come up with an Asian American Studies major, and to establish a center for Asian American Culture and Asian American Affairs.

These demands make sense even apart from the racist incident that sparked the mobilization. Asian enrollment has increased dramatically in recent years at Binghamton, up to close to 20% of the student body. They are the largest minority group on campus and their enrollment is nearly double that of Blacks and Latinos combined. Black and Latino enrollment has declined in recent years. The percentage of students of color on campus has increased overall, but that's mainly due to the increase in Asian students. The administration for the most part ignored the demands of the student negotiators. This is an example of the arrogance of power and it shows how racism is tolerated by the administration despite the image it portrays. The administration response to the student mobilization mirrored its inadequate response to

The events that happened earlier this year at SUNY-Binghamton are symbolic of how racism is on the rise and the white power structure is consolidating itself. At the State University of New York campus in Binghamton, a vicious racist crime was committed against an Asian student by two white wrestlers. This crime was committed in a dormitory, College in the Woods. The white wrestlers made negative comments about Asians before engaging in the attack. Recently we've seen a lot of derogatory comments made by white students against Asians. This corresponded with an increase in the number of Asian students on campus.

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I believe there is a strong connection between the university's actions and inaction, and the hate crime committed against the Asian student. The university administration is in part responsible for a climate that allows such crimes to take place. Institutional racism is clearly on the rise. The people who make the decisions are protected by a larger white power structure in New York State and elsewhere which is quite prepared to see acts of racist violence increase and to see opportunities for impoverished students of color decrease along with affirmative action and equal opportunity programs.

Since repression breeds resistance, perhaps some good did come of the attack in terms of student awareness and unity among students of color. The concerned students set up a list-server. To receive information from the Binghamton Hate Crime List-server, send an email to: [BinghamtonHateCrime@excite.com](mailto:BinghamtonHateCrime@excite.com) with "listserv" as your subject. For more information, contact the Asian Student Union, SUNY-Binghamton, P.O. Box 2000, Binghamton, NY 13902-2000; (607) 777-4847; E-mail: [asu@sa.binghamton.edu](mailto:asu@sa.binghamton.edu)

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## Attack on Asian Students at SUNY Binghamton:

# Campus Racism on the Rise

by Vik Chaubey

Racism is on the rise in the U.S. We are seeing so many people of color who have been victimized in relation to police brutality, racial profiling, the war on drugs, and the tremendous number of people of color in death row. In the supposedly enlightened universities and colleges in this country, we are also seeing more overt racism. Students of color are being attacked verbally and physically by white students in universities all over the country. It is also important to note that EOP programs (which help low income people get a chance to go to universities) are in decline. This parallels the demolition of affirmative action programs in the country.

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# Beyond Welfare Queens

by Chris Crass

## Part II of Two Parts

[Editor's note: The first part of this essay, in the last issue of TTT, examined how welfare, first developed to support "deserving (that is, white) widows" became increasingly racially coded, particularly during the 60's when Lyndon Johnson used it as part of a "guns and butter" strategy of domestic counter-insurgency against the Black liberation struggle. The welfare system was used as a colonial mechanism to control poor Black women. Even though the great majority of welfare recipients were white, and the main beneficiaries were the growing number of poor children, welfare became racially stigmatized.--Ed.]

Throughout the 70's and 80's cutbacks on AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) were made, and the dominant discourse on welfare continued to focus on so-called pathologies or what was then termed the 'underclass' and the 'culture of poverty.' [Most of the 'Great Society' programs were dismantled under Nixon's policy of benign neglect, articulated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who blamed the problems of Black oppression on Black women, and by

The welfare reform bill, as it came to be known, eliminated AFDC and the 'entitlement' to last-resort support for poor children by the state. It created instead a block grant for states to provide time-limited and conditional cash assistance to families in poverty. The purpose of the new block grant program, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), is allegedly to "reduce dependency by promoting job preparation, work and marriage." The block grants can also be used by the states "to fund efforts to reduce out-of-wedlock pregnancies and encourage the formation and maintenance of two parent families." Thus, highly controversial birth control methods are being administered to welfare mothers, regardless of the high levels of side effects and lack of testing on long-term effects.

Furthermore, in keeping with the return towards the 'state's rights' ideology once promoted at the federal level by Dixiecrat segregationists, the law provides that states may use their TANF block grant allocation "in any manner reasonably calculated to accomplish the purpose of the TANF." Since TANF is administered as a block grant, the states have "complete flexibility to determine eligibility and benefit levels," which means that some of the options available to the states are that they "may deny assistance to additional children born or conceived while the parent is on welfare," and "may deny assistance to unmarried teen parents and their children."

The welfare reform bill claims to remove families from welfare into employment through job-training programs. Adults in families receiving assistance under TANF are required to "participate in work activities after receiving assistance for 24 months (subject to good cause exemptions by the state). Recipients must be participating in community service within two months of receiving benefits if they are not working." This reflects the growing trend towards workfare for recipients of welfare as well as 'general assistance.' In fact the decision taken on welfare 'reform' only carried out a much larger policy shift by the rulers, a decision to destabilize and 'spatially deconcentrate' Black communities in

order to reclaim the inner cities for more privileged and compliant residents. Black women in particular were singled out in this shift, because they were seen as having proven too capable of sustaining the Black community through previous assault and periods of intense oppression. Thus this most recent period has seen the growing incarceration of Black women, and the removal of Black children from their families and into the foster care system in massive numbers. Newt Gingrich even spoke out from his bully pulpit as House speaker in favor of the institutionalization of such young people in orphanages!

The welfare bill also provided cash bonuses to states who showed "high performance" in meeting the goals of reducing the numbers of people on welfare. Such criteria for "high performance" did not consider the numbers of people gainfully employed, moved out of poverty, or any other indicator of the "quality of life" for people removed from welfare. There is also an Illegitimacy Reduction Bonus Fund that rewards the five states with the "greatest success in reducing out-of-wedlock births without increasing abortions" — a clear incentive for the use of Depo Provera and other chemically coercive forms of birth control, or sterilization.

During the debate over welfare reform the mainstream media presented a nearly unanimous perspective that welfare had failed and needed to be seriously reformed. The image in the news of the welfare mother was that of a Black teenager. In Newsweek (12/94) journalist Jonathan Alter wrote, "Every threat to the fabric of this country — from poverty to crime to homelessness — is connected to out-of-wedlock teen pregnancy." In fact, less than 6 percent of AFDC recipients are under 20; only 1 percent goes to people under 18 years of age.

Regardless of how many teen mothers are actually on welfare, the politicians and journalists used the image of the Black teen mother to generate anger against welfare in public opinion. Diane Sawyer, on her show "Prime Time

Patrick Buchanan, already a blatant racist in his first White House shift as a Nixon loyalist.--Ed.]

The next big event in the history of welfare occurred in 1996. President Bill Clinton had promised during his first electoral campaign to "end welfare as we know it." He took pains, with his attack on Sista Souljah, to make clear that he was the kind of Democrat who knew how to put Blacks and women in their place.

The Clintons' disastrous attempts to extend medical coverage to the uninsured working poor via the insurance market led to a Republican takeover of the Congress in the midterm elections, with their so-called "Contract on America," which put Blacks and women in the cross-hairs. Clinton settled into his strategy of 'triangulation,' distancing himself enough from 'urban' Democrats in Congress to strike deals with the Republican majority. On August 22, 1996, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act was passed into law, and signed by Clinton.

Live" (02/95) asked a teenage mother on AFDC, "why should they [taxpayers] pay for your mistake?" Newsweek (02/95) carried a story on the "sexually irresponsible culture of poverty" and argued that we [morally correct citizens] must use the television to send a powerful message as it "is the only sustained communication our society has with the underclass."

The media watchdog group Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting (FAIR) did a study on the welfare reform debates and the representation of welfare recipients. They surveyed three months of welfare coverage in half a dozen of the most influential news outlets: the New York Times, the Washington Post, ABC News, the "McNeil/Lehrer News Hour" on PBS, Time and Newsweek. The study looked at whom the media quoted, how they were quoted and what sources were used in the reporting. Of sources whose gender could be identified, 71% (608 sources) were men. When welfare recipients are removed from the percentage, the number of male sources is 77%. Reporters used current and former government officials as sources more than any other group, making up 59% of the sources. The single most quoted person during the period studied was Republican Rep. Clay Shaw, chair of the House subcommittee that drafted the "Personal Responsibility Act". In the New York Times Shaw described the welfare system as "pampering the poor".

Welfare recipients made up 10 percent of the media's sources, however FAIR found that they were generally quoted only when they reinforced popular myths of welfare mothers and helped construct a perspective that viewed "guilty moms" and "innocent children". FAIR found that the idea of success was strictly associated with cutting welfare and not a decrease in the number of people living in poverty and that similarly experts continually referred to "getting tough" on welfare. This reflected the economic utility to the rulers of poor people, ineligible for welfare, forced to compete for ever lower paying jobs or driven into the prisons for slave labor and social control.

While the actual number of teen mothers on AFDC is small, the study found that when welfare recipients age was given in media reports they were generally 17, 18 and 19, thus reinforcing the image of teenage welfare mothers. One example of how the media presented welfare and race was the cover piece on welfare in US News & World Report (01/95) that had pictures of seven women on welfare; all but one was a woman of color and most of them were Black. While white women are the majority of AFDC recipients only one was pictured, and she was described as "clinically depressed." The report produced by FAIR clearly demonstrates how the media objectified welfare recipients in general and Black women on AFDC in particular. The stereotypes and controlling images helped win public support for the "Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act".

"By articulating a definition of poverty that associated it explicitly with illegitimacy, and [then] associated illegitimacy with race, the Right made it acceptable to express blatantly racist concepts without shame." FAIR stated. The media consistently put forward a paternalistic message that all of this was "for your own good" regardless of how racist and sexist it may be. In a report to the United Nations about poverty in the United States, Special Rapporteur Maurice Glele-Ahanhanzo wrote, this "new mythology provided the ideological cannon fodder for the attack on the poor and people of color. That mythology equates growth in poverty to growth in an underclass which is primarily Black, Latino and female. This was the basis for the myth of the 'welfare queen'. The increase in poverty is said to be the result of the growth of this sector of the population, not economic factors."

Welfare Reform has been in effect now for several years, and the measure for success continues to be only reduced numbers of people receiving welfare. In a front page article in the Los Angeles Times (11/98), the success of welfare reform is noted by the percentage of people off of welfare, not by the number of people employed or living above the poverty line. This



# Beyond Welfare Queens

reflects the system's desire to reduce its fiscal crisis by shedding expensive and burdensome social services, applying in the US the same fiscal discipline and austerity measures it has imposed on semi-colonial nations around the world to ensure repayment of the debt to the big banks. As more and more families become homeless and are pushed deeper into poverty, the politicians and journalists cheer on about the great success of welfare reform. Clinton boasts about balancing the budget and even moving into surplus, ignoring the human and social costs involved in thus answering the dictates of the stock and bond markets.

The connections between poverty and the skyrocketing number of people in prisons is also avoided in most discussions about welfare reform. The fact that women are the fastest growing segment of the prison population should warrant an investigation into this connection, but in the eyes of politicians and pundits who championed welfare reform, the fact that they aren't still on welfare seems to be the only fact that matters. Far from an unintended consequence, this criminalization of Black women can now be seen to have been one of the unstated purposes of welfare reform. Furthermore, since prisoners are 'criminals' and therefore even more stigmatized than welfare recipients, incarceration serves the system's purposes of dividing women along lines of class, race and nationality.

However, along with the backlash against welfare and Black women is particular, there has been a groundswell of welfare rights activism that is organized and led by women. In 1992, the Women's Economic Agenda Project held the first ever Poor Women's Convention under the title, "Under Attack, Fighting Back". Over 400 poor women participated. The National Welfare Rights Union was active during the welfare reform debates, getting organizations like NOW to come out against the welfare reform bill. With the passage of the bill in '96, groups like the Kensington Welfare Rights Union have intensified their efforts. KWRU in the summer of '98 went on an organizer tour to build their "Economic Human Rights Campaign" and traveled in their Freedom from Unemployment, Hunger and Homelessness Bus across the country.

They stopped in dozens of cities to meet with local poor people's groups and ended the tour at the United Nations where they presented economic human rights violations under welfare reform along with a speech to the general assembly on the struggle of poor people in the US. The KWRU is a multiracial organization started by and led by mothers. Black women and other women of color have also played key roles in resisting police brutality, in reclaiming their children from the prisons and from parasitic criminality, and in opposing such other manifestations of the racially-coded law

and order mentality as "Three Strikes" legislation. Thus Black and other nationally and racially oppressed women continue to resist the colonization and oppression of their people and their own stigmatization and oppression simultaneously.

It is crucial to examine the history of welfare and welfare reform discourse from a Black Feminist perspective that places Black women at the center of an interconnected race, class and gender analysis. It is also imperative that we develop strategies of resistance from a Black Feminist perspective as well. Such a perspective would include the importance of self-definition and moving from objectivity to subjectivity.

As Collins writes, "challenging controlling images and replacing them with a Black women's standpoint is an essential component of resisting systems of race, gender and class oppression." The process of self-definition involves not only rejecting social constructions of racial and gender inferiority, but also reclaiming history and knowledge that challenges white supremacy, patriarchy, and economic inequality. Liberatory knowledge for Black women and other oppressed groups is what Collins refers to as subjugated knowledge. "Suppressing the knowledge produced by any oppressed group makes it easier for dominant groups to rule, because the seeming absence of an independent consciousness in the oppressed can be

taken to mean that subordinated groups willingly collaborate in their own victimization," Collins explains.

The system's image of the welfare mother is one of a powerless, irresponsible woman who not only willingly collaborates in her own victimization but has produced a culture of poverty based on that victimization. Subjugated knowledge is information, ideas, and history that has been buried, obscured or invalidated by discourses that serve power and privilege. These images of welfare mothers occupy the public debate, as a way to prevent 'welfare mothers' from acting for their own liberation. They disguise the history of how welfare developed and how oppressive concepts of race and gender have historically discriminated against and kept Black women down.

Reclaiming subjugated knowledge is one of the key practices of Black feminist thought as Collins outlines it, and of the radical political analysis that I employ throughout this essay. These political projects aim to not only recover lost history of Black women and other oppressed groups but also to re-conceptualize history through an interconnected analysis of race, class and gender. This paper aims to re-conceptualize welfare, welfare reform and images of welfare mothers so that welfare recipients can continue to move from being objects in this debate to become subjects shaping this debate. Welfare rights activists who are not also recipients can aid in this project by shifting the center of our analysis so that welfare recipients, their knowledge, claims and their strategies inform and guide our work.

## Confronting U.S. Colonialism in Guam:

# Colonized Chamorro Coalition Wages Land Rights Struggle

**Note from the Editor:** On January 6, 2000, former Guamanian Senator Angel Santos was sentenced to six months in federal prison for contempt of court, stemming from the clearing of land and building of a house on property claimed by the U.S. Air Force in Mogfog, Dededo on Guam. The land in question is contested; it was taken illegally from Santos's grandfather by the U.S. military. A 1993 court order had required Santos to stay off the property, but for building a house on it, he was exiled from his homeland to federal prison here in Los Angeles.

PART thanks Mo Nishida, of Asians for Jericho & Mumia, for the materials we are presenting here. Although Santos has just been released from prison, having completed his sentence for contempt, the land struggle

in Guam is still very much current. Similar to the struggle in Vieques, Puerto Rico, one of the personal tragedies that motivated Santos to take up this struggle was his discovery that the land he had been left with by military was contaminated with toxic chemicals that probably led to his daughter's death of cancer at an early age.

The Colonized Chamorro Coalition in Guam recently held a protest upon the occasion of a visit by a US Congressional delegation. Their demands are 1) War reparations; 2) Return of excess lands under Federal control; 3) Resolution of political status; and 4) Environmental clean-up of lands used by the US military and other federal agencies. Meanwhile, US Marshals have targeted several other activists over other land re-takings.

## STATEMENT by Angel Leon Guerrero Santos to US District Court Judge

Your honor, this case is not about Angel L.G. Santos vs. The United States of America. This case is about right and wrong. It's about a god-given right of a people to fight for 'truth and social justice.'

It was wrong of the U.S. government to condemn our land without due process or just compensation, at a time when our grandparents were not US citizens, and their parents could not speak or understand English.

Today, there are thousands of Chamorus (indigenous Guamanians--ed.) who are landless and are struggling to survive, while thousands of acres of our homeland are sitting idle in remote jungle areas that have been declared 'excess' and are no longer needed by the U.S. military.

If the federal government is not using our land, then return it to the rightful owners from whom it was taken, so their children and grandchildren can survive; otherwise, this generation and the next will become disenfranchised and maladjusted. How many Chamorus will drown themselves in alcohol or die from drug overdose, because there is no future for them? How many of our children will engage in violent acts against society or commit suicide because they have given up hope?

I am not saying that returning over 10,000 acres ... will solve all the social problems we have on this island. What I am saying is that, if we can save a culture and a people by reuniting them with their lands ... then, we all win in the name of humanity.

If you find me guilty of contempt, which is

a misdemeanor, and sentence me to serve time in a federal penitentiary, then I am a political prisoner, whose human rights have been violated by a government which claims to be the protector of freedom and democracy.

I am a man without a country whose constitution does not recognize my basic, fundamental right to vote for its president. I am a citizen of a democratic society with no voting representative in the U.S. Congress.

I am a human rights activist with a belief that as law-abiding citizens, we have a legal obligation to obey just laws; but more importantly, we have a moral obligation to disobey unjust laws. The women's rights movement and civil rights organizations are living examples of this in America.

### WHO ARE WE TO UNCLE SAM-FRIEND OR FOE?

As I pen this poem, while I sit in prison, For you silence my voice, in the American tradition;

Who are we Uncle Sam, are we friend or foe?

If we are your friend, then treat us as so.

Day in and day out, we struggle to survive, You say that you own us, as long as we're alive.

Justice and Equality are all that we ask, You act as if it's an impossible task.

January 29, 2000

Angel Leon Guerrero Santos  
Human Rights Activist/Political Prisoner,  
Metropolitan Detention Center,  
Los Angeles, CA, USA



# HISTORY OF THE VANCOUVER FIVE

by Jim Campbell, pns@pathcom.com  
Excerpted from KICK IT OVER Number 92, Spring 2000

Linking anarchism to deliberate acts of violence might seem very natural to most people if they [don't] think [much] about anarchism at all. But for most younger anarchists, it must be difficult to imagine that in the early '80's armed struggle in Canada not only seemed possible, but a small group coming out of the anarchist community in Vancouver actually engaged in it. Moreover there was small but significant support for all three actions claimed by Direct Action and the Wimmen's Fire Brigade.

Political struggle didn't end in the early '70's with the end of the Vietnam war. The anti-war, and other movements had pulled back, but militants had gone underground to wage war against the system. Insurrection in Europe seemed possible as the Red Army Fraction and the Red Brigades assassinated and kidnapped politicians and corporate executives. In the U.S., the Black Liberation Army, formed when Black Panthers went underground, was active until 1981.

The Canadian anarchist papers, Open Road in Vancouver, Bulldozer in Toronto, and Resistance, which started in Toronto and then shifted to Vancouver, covered the armed resistance in the U.S. and in Europe and the subsequent repression. We published communiques explaining actions, provided supportive coverage of trials and offered an outlet for the writings of the captured combatants and their supporters. Revolution, or at least a protracted struggle, seemed quite possible. Direct Action and the Wimmen's Fire Brigade were part of this wave of armed struggle in North America, part of a broader anti-NATO, anti-war machine politic. The perspective was very much internationalist even if it was understood that it meant working within one's own local and national situation.

In the spring of 1982 a bomb destroyed the nearly completed Cheekeye-Dunsmuir Hydro substation. Its construction had been strongly opposed by local residents on environmental grounds. It was thought that it would lead to the industrialization of Vancouver island and the construction of nuclear power plants for export sales to the U.S. Several hundred pounds of dynamite stopped that plan in its tracks. There was a lot of local support for the action. It wasn't clear whether or not Direct Action, which had claimed the action, was an anarchist group, in a sense it didn't make any difference. The action had raised the political stakes in Canada. But as the bombing had taken place in the wilderness, it was easy to ignore. The next action wouldn't be

In the late evening of October 14, 1982, a truck exploded outside the Litton Industries plant in Rexdale, in the northwest corner of Toronto resulting in million of dollars in damages. Seven workers were injured, one permanently. After a few days, Direct Action issued a communique claiming responsibility. As a political piece, the communique is as relevant today as it was in 1982, the only change being that the cold war is over. In a second written statement, they took responsibility for a series of errors which resulted in the injuries, especially for seeing the cops and security guards as super heroes. They weren't

To ensure that the bomb would be taken seriously, they drove the van in front of a glass-enclosed security booth and parked in front of the factory. The guards didn't notice the truck even though the van driver could clearly see them. Then the phoned-in warning was not understood. But at least it drew the attention of the guards to the van. Unfortunately Direct Action was a bit too clever. They had placed a box painted fluorescent orange outside the truck, easily visible from the security booth. On top of the box they placed a sheet of paper with information and instructions. They expected the guards to come over to the box once they received the phone warning. To emphasize the seriousness of the situation, they placed a stick of unarmed dynamite on top of the box. The guards avoided the box, given that they didn't know that the dynamite on the box was unarmed. In spite of the obvious threat, they didn't start to evacuate the plant until 20 minutes after receiving the warning. And then the bomb went off early, probably set off by radio signals from the arriving police cars.

The bombing took place at a time when the possibility of nuclear war was very real. Both sides were attempting to achieve first strike nuclear capability through new weapons such as the Cruise and Pershing Missiles, the Trident Submarines, and the Neutron Bomb. In response, a peace movement developed in Europe, North America and elsewhere. Canada's agreement to let the U.S. test the Cruise over northern Alberta and the Northwest Territories was seen as a particular affront by peace activists. Litton had been the focus of extensive protests by peace groups since they were producing the guidance systems for the Cruise. But the protests were going nowhere.

The initial reaction of many radicals and activists was joyful on first seeing the headlines in the paper. But this changed on more sober reflection as the implications were thought through. The bombing wasn't just a threat to the militarized state, but to the peaceful coexistence so many activists have with the system. It is clear that even with the injuries, there was not much reaction to it by the average person. For most people the bombing was only another spectacular event in a world gone mad.

The United Freedom Front (UFF) and the Armed Resistance Movement were active into the early '80's, bombing government buildings to protest American military involvement in Central America and attacking corporate targets to protest their involvement in South Africa.

On the west coast, a multitude of small groups [in the late 70's] robbed banks, set off bombs and [one, the SLA] kidnaped Patty Hearst, a wealthy heiress. Some of these were explicitly anarchist or anti-authoritarians. Bill Dunne and Larry Giddings, for example, were anarchists who continue to be imprisoned in the U.S. today for trying to break a friend out of jail. The George Jackson Brigade was anti-authoritarian, pro-woman, pro-gay and lesbian and advocated collective as opposed to party politics. Even though all of these groups were eventually crushed, they did offer a political alternative to organizing demonstrations and putting out papers.

[But] it certainly was a major event for the anarchists and the pacifists. The anarchist-communist paper, Strike!, which came out of Toronto, initially condemned the action because it would discredit the movement. It repeated the usual critique that such actions could not by themselves do anything. Direct Action never claimed that it would. To quote the communique, "(w)hile we have no illusions that direct actions, such as this one, can by themselves bring about the end of Canada's role as a resource based economic and military functionary of Western Imperialism, we do believe that militant direct actions can have a constructive function as a springboard to the kind of consciousness and organization that must be developed if we are to overcome the nuclear masters."

A more sophisticated critique was issued anonymously by anarchists around Kick It Over. They complained that "the bombing at Litton can not be said to have increased the self-activity of either the community or the employees at the plant". Fair enough, though the same point can be said about putting out newspapers and most other things we do. These anarchists didn't condemn Direct Action for being violent, rather they put the violence in the context of state violence. Though wrongly labeling the bombing as "Vanguard Terror", it was valid to say that "clandestine organizations tend to become isolated from the people" and see their continued existence as becoming a goal in itself. Again this problem is not unique to underground groups.

In early November, less than a month after the bombing, the Toronto Globe and Mail ran a major front page article linking the Litton bombing to the Vancouver anarchist community. It quoted unnamed anarchists who drew out the similarities between the politics of Direct Action and the Vancouver anarchist scene. In a later, more sympathetic article, other anarchists provided some background information as to what the purpose of the bombing might be without explicitly claiming that it was an anarchist action. This article was condemned by many anarchists in Toronto but it did help to get the ideas to a wider public.

In mid December, the offices of the main peace groups in Toronto were raided along with the

homes of some of their prominent members. Activists in Toronto and Peterborough were picked up and harassed and threatened by the police. It has never been clear to what extent the police actually thought that these pacifists were really suspects or whether the raids were simply used to disrupt their work against Litton. Some pacifists tried to put as much distance as possible between themselves and the bombers. But there was enough support from other pacifists to show that there need not be a total split between militants, whatever their position might be on the use of violence. The largest demonstration ever to occur against Litton happened on November 11, 1982 less than a month after the bombing. As we said at the time, armed actions can make other forms of protest more visible, rather than less credible.

Litton lost a major contract shortly after the bombing. As Litton President Ronald Keating put it, "(t)hey (the protesters) are an irritant, they get a lot of publicity, and the Americans read every damn bit of it. Pressure from these people is making the Americans look twice." He added rather sadly that, "no one else has been bombed."

In early November, in Vancouver, the Wimmen's Fire Brigade firebombed three Red Hot Video stores. This American chain built up an inventory of video tapes pirated from hard-core porn films. According to Open Road, "(m)any of the films depicted not only explicit sex scenes, but women being trussed up, beaten, raped, tortured, forced to undergo enemas by armed intruders and other forms of degradation." Women's groups had been fighting for six months against Red Hot Video, but there was no response from the province. Within a few weeks, scores of women's groups of all stripes had issued statements of sympathy and understanding for the action, demonstrations had been held in a dozen centres across the province, and six porn shops had closed, moved away or withdrawn much of their stock out of fear they would be the next target. Within two months the first charges were laid for combining explicit sex with violence.

The Wimmen's Fire Brigade action was so successful because it was so well integrated into, and complimentary to the public campaign. As B.C. Blackout, a biweekly autonomist newsletter

# HISTORY OF THE VANCOUVER FIVE



put it. "the action of the WFB could only have the impact it did because of the months of spade work by many groups and individuals educating themselves, doing research, making contacts, pressuring the authorities, documenting their case — in short, building the infrastructure for an effective, grass roots, above-board movement."

On January 20, 1983, near Squamish, B.C. the Five were returning to Vancouver from target practice in the mountains. The police, dressed as Department of Highway workers, stopped their van and in a violent attack pulled them out of the van and arrested them at gun point. They were charged with 12 to 15 counts, including Red Hot Video, Cheekeye-Dunsmuir, conspiracy to rob a Brink's truck, as well as conspiracy to commit more bombings. Immediately after the arrests, the police had a news conference at which displayed the extensive weaponry which they claimed had been seized from the Five. This was the beginning of what came to be called, "Trial by Media" as the police and prosecution used the media to try to contaminate public opinion not only against the Five, but against the anarchist movement in general. Newspaper headlines screamed about "police netting terrorists" and "national network of anarchist cells." The police raided 4 homes in Vancouver the morning after the first support group meeting. No arrests were made, but typewriters were seized and people were subjected to verbal abuse.

The official police story was that the break in the case came when a reporter from the Globe and Mail showed anarchist papers to the Toronto police who, noticing the Cheekeye-Dunsmuir communique in Resistance, sent the Post Office Box address to Vancouver. The cops there supposedly put the box under surveillance and were eventually able to track down the Five through a series of contacts. The story was convincing enough that the reporter was going to apply for the substantial reward before being talked out of it by more conscious and principled friends.

What this story was a cover for was that the police were already very aware of the Five. They had been under police surveillance for one reason or another since well before the first action Brent Taylor and Ann Hansen in particular were pretty notorious in Vancouver. A cop didn't have to be too bright to consider them as possible suspects. Activists who didn't even know them thought they probably had something to do with Direct Action. They were the only ones who regularly went to demonstrations all masked up, looking much more prepared for demonstrations in Germany than in Vancouver.

It is quite likely that the security police had actually watched them do the Red Hot Video actions. This became very relevant at the trials. The Vancouver police obtained warrants to tap their phones and bug their house in order to investigate Red Hot Video. Such warrants are only supposed to be issued as a last resort when all other means of investigation have failed. But these were issued shortly after the firebombing happened. Moreover, they were not needed if the police already knew who had participated in the attacks. The RCMP security service had watched them commit other crimes and had them under observation at the time of Red Hot Video. But there were no surveillance notes covering the period of the actual attack. It was assumed that the wire taps were actually needed by the police to connect the Five to Litton, for which it would have been more difficult for the Vancouver police to obtain a legal warrant. The evidence obtained through these bugs provided the bulk of the case against the Five which is why the first part of the eventual trial dealt with their legality.

On June 13, 1983, the Bulldozer house in Toronto was raided by the local Litton squad. The warrant, which included the charges of Sabotage of Litton, Seditious Libel, and Procuring an abortion allowed the police to specifically seize anything related to Bulldozer magazine. They took layout flats, letters, articles, magazines, and the mailing list. We finally got all this stuff back after a year of legal fighting.

The seditious libel charge was apparently related to a leaflet entitled "Peace, Paranoia and Politics" which laid out the politics around the Litton bombing, the peace movement and the arrests of the Five. Seditious Libel apparently involves calling for the armed overthrow of the state. The last time the charge had been used was in 1950 against some trade unionists in Quebec. Our lawyers eagerly anticipated defending us on this charge, but nothing ever came of it.

The Procuring an Abortion charge came about when an alleged menstrual extraction performed by a midwife, Colleen Crosby, on a member of the Bulldozer collective, had come to the attention of the police through phone taps. Crosby was picked up a week later by cops who drove her around for several hours, threatening to charge her with the procuring an abortion charge unless she told them about any links between Bulldozer and the Litton bombing. Crosby would have refused to cooperate anyway, but she had no information to give. It took a couple of years and thousands of dollars in legal fees before the charge was eventually dropped.

Our political weakness -- referring to both the Five and their supporters -- became apparent during the trial and the support work we did around the trial. The Five assumed that they would go down in a hail of bullets. Instead of the relative glory of the spectacular death, they had to deal with the much more pedestrian reality of sitting in jail awaiting trial. This lack of political and personal preparation for the almost inevitable consequences of their actions was compounded by a lack of preparation by their supporters. It is straightforward to reprint communiques from underground comrades. But it is much more difficult to handle raids and lawyers, harassing arrests, and watch friends and comrades distance themselves just when support and work is needed the most. One must be able to handle high-stress politics for what could be a period of years, while advancing politics that may not even be supported by one's own friends and political associates, let alone the wider society. Yet competent and principled above ground support is crucial if underground actions are to have any long term impact. The community in Vancouver was able to maintain a presence outside and inside the courtroom during the trial in spite of differences in strategy as to how to support them. In Toronto, we were able to keep the ideas in circulation, but had little public impact.

In the initial confusion, the right to a fair trial became the main demand. Since it seemed possible that the room bugs which provided the main body of evidence might be thrown out, this strictly legal course was hard to resist without prior political clarity as to how trials should be conducted. The right to a fair trial must not be ignored if the battle is going to be fought on the legal terrain at all. But it is the state's battleground, and their first weapon is criminalization. The Crown split the indictments into four trials, the first of which was on the least overtly political charges, weapons offenses and conspiracy to rob a Brink's truck. While it may be obvious to those who have a certain political understanding why guerrillas need weapons and money, television pictures of a desktop full of weapons, and reports of meticulous planning for a raid on a Brink's truck, were calculated to defuse claims that the Five were principled political activists. The fight for a fair trial did draw support from activists, progressive journalists and lawyers and human rights activists. But it can create real problems if the trial is made to appear legally "fair". Or when, as happened, the Five eventually pled guilty. Some people who did support work felt manipulated into supporting guilty people even though we tried to be clear that there is a difference between pleading not guilty and being innocent.

The Trial by Media strategy fell apart when the court ruled that the wire tap evidence was admissible. The first trial for the weapons and conspiracy to rob the Brink's truck began in January 1984. The evidence of the first 4 months mainly involved the surveillance prior to their arrests. In March, Julie Belmas and Gerry Hannah entered guilty pleas, including Red Hot Video, and for Julie, the Litton bombing. In April, Doug Stewart was ordered acquitted on the Brink's charge but found guilty of weapon offenses. In June, he pled guilty to Cheekeye-Dunsmuir. The jury found Ann and Brent guilty of all the charges from the first trial. In June, in a surprise move, Ann pled guilty to Cheekeye-Dunsmuir and Litton.

Brent was brought to Toronto for a trial around Litton and eventually pled guilty. Recognizing our own weakness, we told him that little could be gained politically in Toronto if the trial was to go ahead. In our relative isolation it was difficult to imagine taking on what would have to be a major effort to present the politics behind the bombing through a hostile mass media. Yet not doing so meant that there was never a longer-term focus nor sense of direction for those who might have been willing to come

forward with more active support. It was not our most glorious moment.

To sum up this section, let me quote from Ann's sentencing statement. "(w)hen I was first arrested, I was intimidated and surrounded by the courts and prisons. This fear provided the basis for the belief that if I played the legal game, I would get acquitted or less time. This fear obscured my vision and fooled me into thinking that I could get a break from the justice system. But this eight months in court has sharpened my perceptions and strengthened my political convictions to see that the legal game is marked and political prisoners are dealt a marked deck."

Doug Stewart was sentenced to 6 years, and served the maximum 4. Gerry Hannah got ten years, but was out in 5. Julie, only 21 at the time of sentencing, got 20 years. She appealed and got five years off when she turned against Ann and Brent, effectively sabotaging their appeal. Many people were really pissed at this betrayal by Julie. But Julie's testimony was not the reason why Ann and Brent were convicted. If Julie really wanted to make a deal, she could have implicated other people by lying. This she didn't do.

Brent got 22 years, and Ann got life. The sentences, especially Julie's and Ann's were considered unduly harsh. But the state wanted to stamp out any incipient guerrilla activity. The prison system, though, controls how long people actually served. Ann and Brent were both out before 8 years were up. In comparison to what happens to American guerrillas, this was almost lenient.

Doug Stewart wrote in Open Road after their conviction that the size of the bombs was problematic. He suggested that medium-level attacks such as arson and mechanical sabotage are easier to do than bombings and large scale actions virtually demand going underground. Direct Action understood that they had to break off contact with other political people; that to do actions in one city, they should live in another. But this demands enormous emotional and personal sacrifices. It was the failure to completely cut off ties with friends and lovers that left a trail for the local police. Smaller actions are technically simpler and allow, as Stewart says, "a group to come together easily and quickly around a particular issue." Medium-level activity also "has a much less intense impact on one's personal life. If you are not underground, you are less emotionally isolated, and the overall stress level is very much lower. Capture for a medium-level action would be much less devastating in every way. A two or three year sentence is no joke, but it is substantially easier to deal with than a ten or twenty year one."

To summarize, let me quote from an article in Prison News Service written ten years after Litton:

"Overt political actions such as these bombings, propaganda by deed, as they are known, are not understood in a non-political society. Even though few people will understand the motivations behind the attack, the positive side is that there won't necessarily be a major reaction



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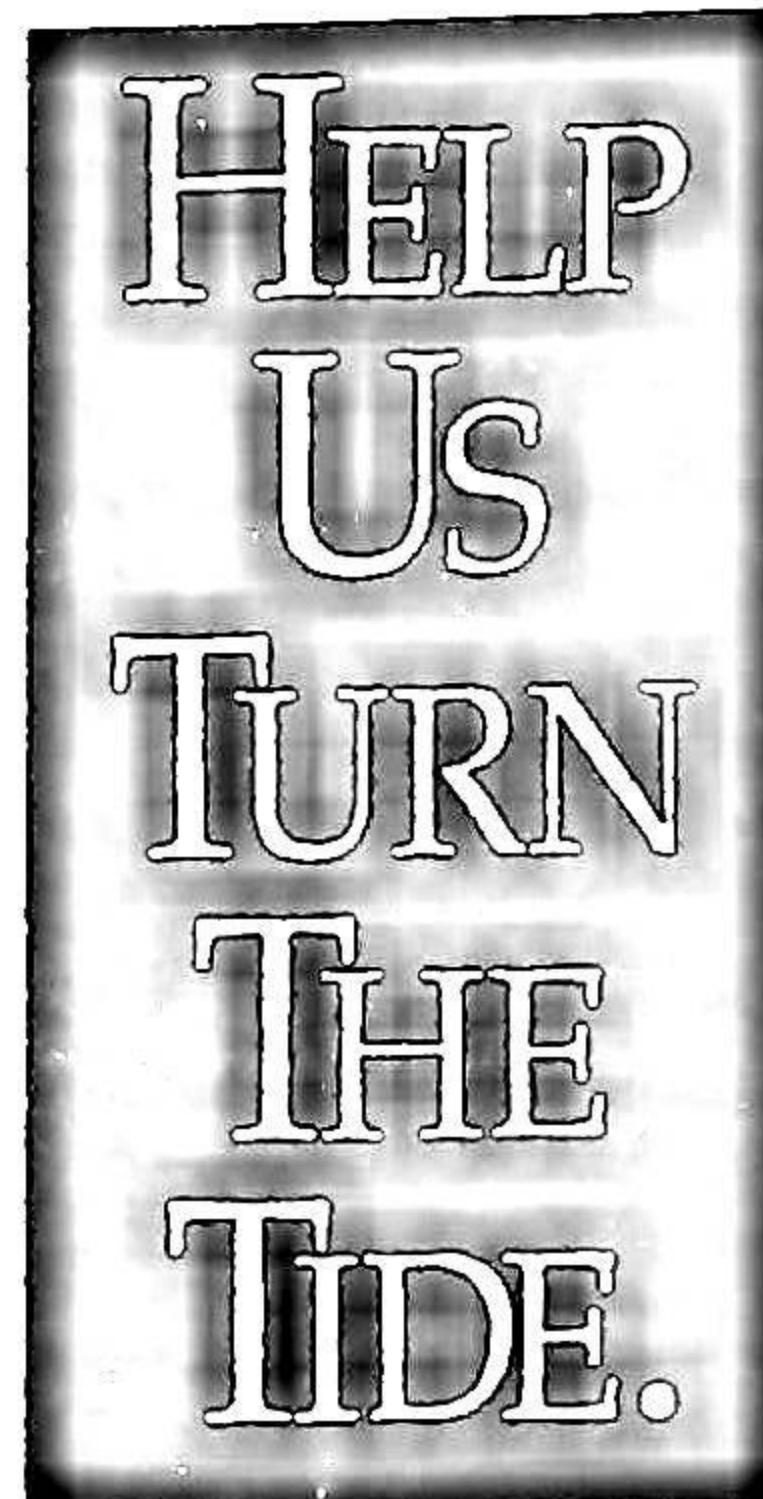
against it either. It is an error to think that something like the Litton bombing will be a wake-up call for people to do something about a critical situation facing them. But properly explained it can make a difference to those people who are already concerned about the situation and who have become frustrated with other methods of dealing with the issue.

"Guerrilla actions are not an end in themselves; that is, a single act, or even a coordinated series of actions, has little likelihood of achieving little more than some immediate goal. Such actions are problematic if it is assumed that they can be substituted for above ground work. But if they can be situated within a broader politics, one tactic amongst many, then they can give the above ground movements more room to maneuver, making them both more visible and more credible. At the same time, activists are given a psychological lift, a sense of victory, regardless of how fleeting, so that they go about their own political work with a renewed enthusiasm..."

"For most North American activists, armed struggle is reduced to a moral question: 'Should we, or should we not use violent means to advance the struggle?' Though this is relevant on a personal level, it only confuses what is really a political question. Most radicals, at this point in time anyway, are not going to become involved directly in armed attacks. But as resistance movements develop in North America - and they had better or we are all lost - it is inevitable that armed actions will be undertaken by some. The question remains if these armed actions will be accepted as part of the spectrum of necessary activity. Much will depend on whether people suffer harm or injuries. Far from being "terroristic", the history of armed struggle in North America shows that the guerrillas have been quite careful in selecting their targets. There is a major difference between bombing military or corporate targets, or even assassinating police in response to their use of violence, and setting off bombs on crowded city streets. The left in North America has never used random acts of terror against the general population. To denounce any who would choose to act outside of the narrowly defined limits of 'peaceful protest' in order to appear morally superior, or to supposedly avoid alienating people, is to give the state the right to determine what are the allowable limits of protest."

Repression is most effective when it is able to keep the radical ideas from being transmitted to a new generation of activists. If the ideas can be passed on, then the next wave of activists develop their politics from the base that has already been created. Fortunately, a relatively small, but very active milieu of young activists adopted many of the politics around Direct Action and developed them through such projects as Reality Now, the Anarchist Black Cross and Ecomedia. Their work in the peace, punk and native support movements, helped ensure that such politics did not end when the Five went to prison.

Based on a talk given for the Anarchist Lecture Series in Toronto.



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Available for **\$25, UNGAGGED**, a video, was created at a forum held  
in Minneapolis, MN, on Feb 12, 2000. The event was cosponsored by  
the Sara Olson Defense Fund Committee and the local chapter of  
the National Lawyers Guild. The event presented  
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