

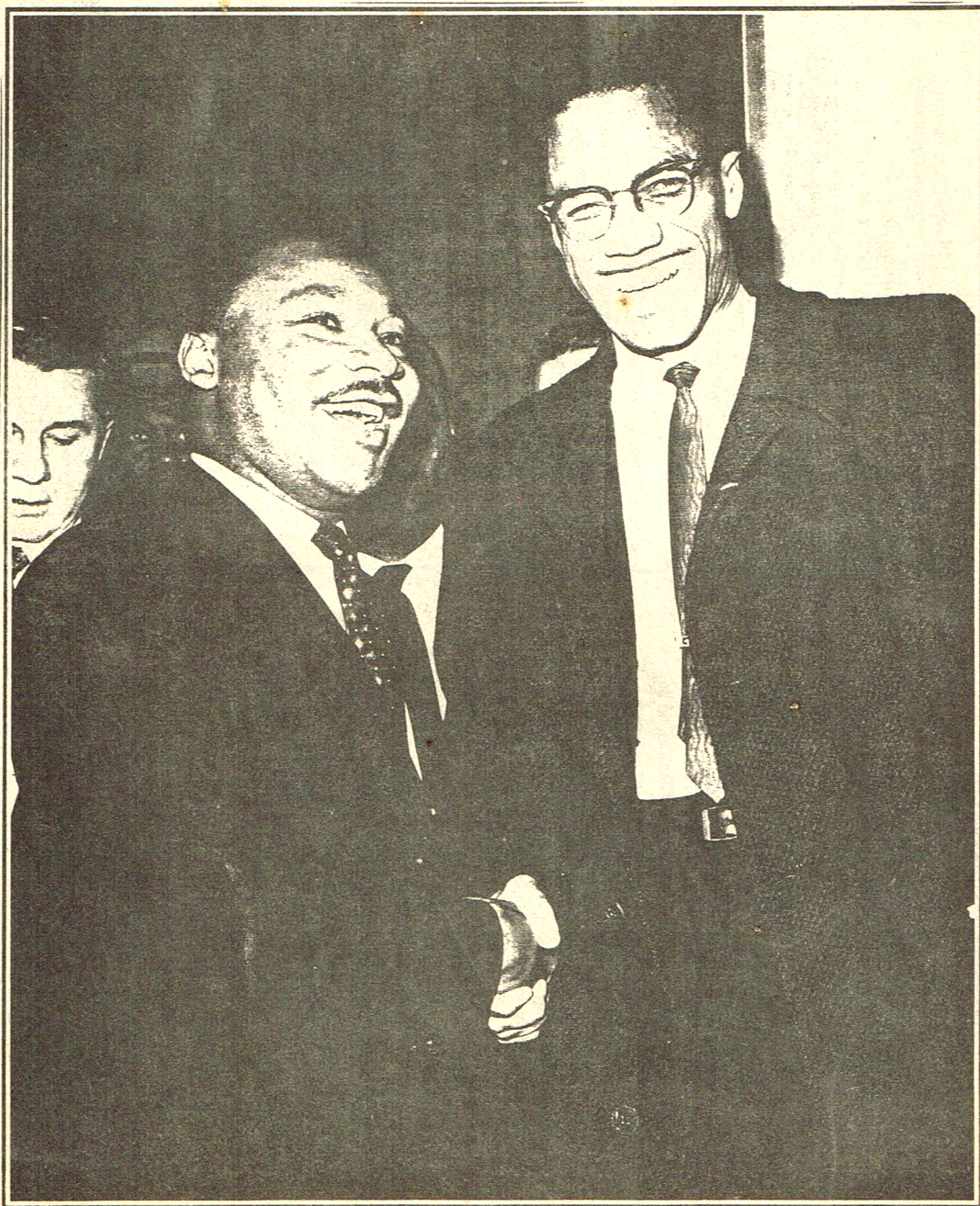
Journal of Anti-Racist Activism, Research and Education

TURNING THE TIDE

Volume 7, #1 January-February 1994 \$2/news-stands

Inside this Issue: Sacramento Skinheads

Uprising in Mexico Repression in Texas



Neo-Nazi Chic

by

Michael Novick, PART

Axl Rose, lead singer of Guns N' Roses, has introduced convicted mass murderer Charlie Manson to a generation of young fans. Over the objections of other members of G N'R, Rose included a version of a song by Manson, "Look at Your Game, Girl," on their new album, "The Spaghetti Incident?" Audible on the album after the unlisted song is Axl heaving a sigh and saying, "Thanks, Chazz." Manson stands to earn \$62,000 copies for every million copies of the album sold. Thankfully, the album seems to be sinking swiftly in sales.

Most of the controversy over the recording has focused on Manson's leadership of the group that killed actress Sharon Tate, then pregnant, and six others in 1969. He was convicted of seven counts

of murder and two conspiracy charges in that case, and separately found guilty of murdering a stunt man and a musician himself. The Doris Tate Crime Victims Bureau, named for the actress's mother, has called for a boycott of Geffen Records.

But did you know about Manson's nazi beliefs and practices both prior to and after his arrest for the Tate mass murder? Manson has often been photographed with a self-inscribed swastika tattoo. His avowed purpose in planning the killings was to blame them on Blacks and try to foment an apocalyptic race war. Even inside prison, Manson continued to associate with neo-nazis.

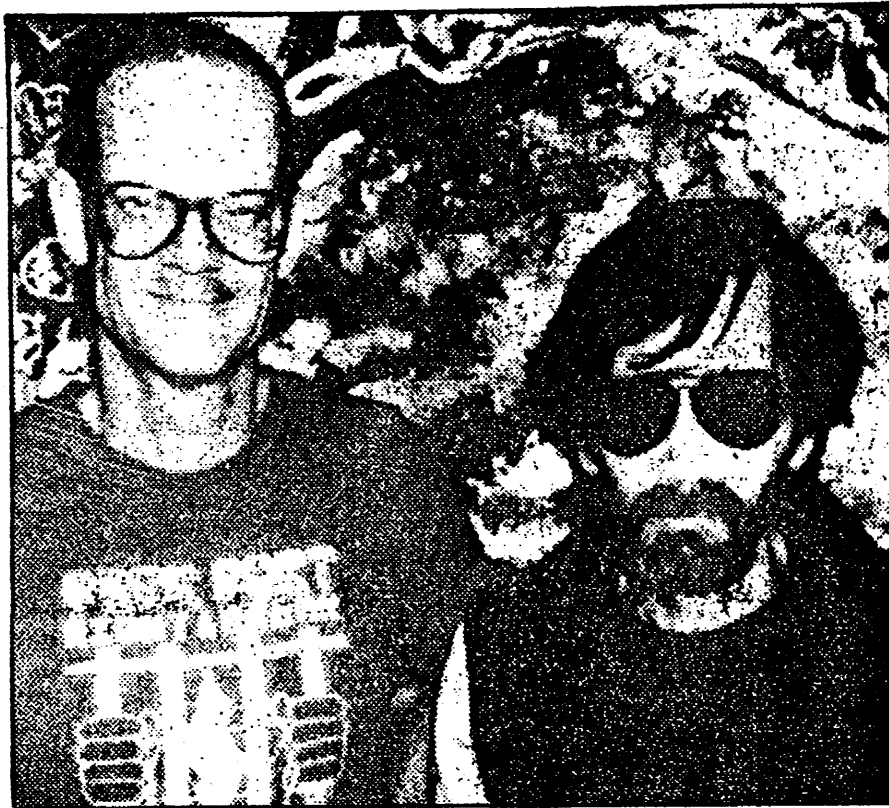
In 1982, Manson was visited repeatedly at Vacaville prison by northern California nazi leader Perry "Red" Warthan. Warthan shortly thereafter killed one of his own teen-age followers, Joe Hoover, after Hoover admitted that he and other members of Warthan's band had stuffed racist flyers into lockers at Oroville CA High School. Support for Manson was part of Warthan's program in seeking to organize a group of youthful neo-nazis. In June, 1983 he was sentenced to prison for murdering Hoover, whom he called a race traitor and informant who deserved to die.

Manson's earnings from the G N'R song are supposed to go to the son of one of his victims, under the terms of a 1971 court order. But Manson has pocketed

most of the money he has made over his years in prison, including tens of thousands of dollars for interviews and cash sent in by his supporters and fans. Ignoring his nazism, Satanism and mass murders -- or perhaps glorifying him because of it -- young fans have made Manson a cult figure, and exploitative entrepreneurs have rushed in to make a quick buck. Manson shirts, dresses, and children's clothes are available. Some are bootlegged, but at least one, which Axl Rose popularized by wearing on Guns N' Roses last tour, is officially licensed by Manson himself.

The T-shirt is produced here in southern California by the Lemmons brothers of Zooport Riot Gear in Newport Beach and pays Manson ten cents for each shirt. Dan Lemmons of Zooport told the press, "There's a good side to Charlie that hasn't gotten out... Kids today don't look at Charlie Manson as a mass murderer. He's like a rebellious figure." Perhaps it is the neo-nazi nature of Manson's rebelliousness that makes him such an appealing figure to the Lemmons brothers. They are giving a "a good chunk of the proceeds" from the Manson shirt -- they won't say exactly how much, to Operation Rescue, Randall Terry's fascistic anti-abortion group.

In defending the shirt, which shows Manson and the slogan "Charlie Don't Surf," Lemmons said, to the San Francisco



Manson and his Nazi friend

1983
A.P.
with
photo
from PART 4.125

A familiar face and one soon to be familiar: Charles Manson, right, is the notorious California murderer now in prison in Vacaville for the Sharon Tate slayings. And at his side is Perry Bernard "Red" Warthan, jailed last week in Oroville in the murder of 17-year-old Joe Hoover. Police say the victim was one of several teen-age followers of Warthan, who proclaimed himself a Nazi and an admirer of Manson as he sought to foment race hatred in the isolated Northern California community. Hoover was slain after he informed on Warthan.

Examiner, "People get all worked up over some murders that happened almost 25 years ago. Why not be concerned with the ... babies who are murdered in the U.S. every year," referring to his anti-abortion beliefs. He also also referred to Manson as a philanthropist and environmentalist. Manson's environmentalism is probably akin to the anti-immigrant, preserve the white-man's land variety preached by neo-nazi Tom Metzger.

Axl Rose and Guns N' Roses were promoted heavily by Metzger and WAR when, on an early album, they recorded lyrics attacking gays and immigrants. Rose claimed at the time that he was only singing, and that his views were not racist. But with the flap over Manson, and his promotion of the shirt which is benefitting both neo-nazi murderer Manson and the Christian-fascistic Operation Rescue, Axl Rose's true colors are showing through.

What is the justification for a musician glorifying a man who killed a musician? What is the hypocrisy of abortion opponents promoting a man whose followers stabbed a pregnant woman to death, killing her after she pleaded for the life of her unborn child, stabbing her in the abdomen with a fork? What is the popularity among young rock fans of a man whose nazi associate murdered a teenaged band member for confessing to circulating racist flyers? This is the sinister appeal of the irrational that promotes what Wilhelm Reich referred to as "the mass psychology of fascism." It is rooted in racism, hatred of women's independence, and a desire for fascist authority disguised as "rebelliousness." Only an intense cultural and social struggle among young white people will overcome these unhealthy tendencies.

Thanks to Tom Burghardt and BACORR for research assistance with this article.

Letters to P.A.R.T.

Dear PART:

A few minor corrections to your otherwise excellent piece, "Anti-Abortion Terror Escalates." Life Advocate, even prior to the murder of Dr. Gunn in Florida and the shooting of Dr. Tiller in Wichita, has long been a networking and informational venue for the most extremist wing of the "direct action" anti-abortion movement. They extensively report on violent incidents which take place around the country: bombings, arson, butyric acid (stink bomb) attacks, health care provider stalking/assault incidents. They run analysis of tactical operations by organizations such as the Lambs of Christ, Missionaries to the Pre-Born, Pro-Life Action Network, Operation Rescue, etc. Your use of the word "mainstream" to describe them, even in quotation marks, is incorrect. On the political front, Life Advocate routinely provides information to a broader audience on the totalitarian doctrine of Christian Reconstructionism as well as the theocratic Coalition on Revival (COR) and Rev. R. J. Rushdoony's Chalcedon Foundation, bankrolled by Robb Hurrt and by Howard Fieldstead Ahmanson, jr., heir to the Home Savings and Loan Association fortune.

We'll be sending you our latest report, "Low Intensity Warfare: An Anti-Abortion Strategy of Terror," currently in the pre-publication stage. You should have it in January. Keep up your good work.

Warm greetings,

Tom Burghardt, Bay Area Coal. for Our Reproductive Rights.

BACORR North, 750 La Playa #730, San Francisco CA 94121. (415) 252-0750

Dear PART:

The conscience of the people must be roused. The hypocrisy of the criminal justice system in Indiana and its crimes against Lorenzo L. Stone-Bey must be exposed. Lorenzo, a 34-year-old African American, was the target of a frame up and highly political trial when he was 17 in Feb. 1976.

Alone of four co-defendants, he was convicted on two counts of first degree murder in an armed robbery. The conviction came as the result of corruption in the Gary police department and blind-folded justice in the Lake County court system. The only testimony came from a guilty plea by a fifth defendant, Elliot James, who had been identified by two state witnesses as pointing a gun and initiating the robbery. Under cross-examination, he admitted that he pleaded guilty to get a reduced sentence, that the police had threatened his life, and that the prosecutor's office falsified his statement to implicate Lorenzo and the three other co-defendants. What a travesty of justice!

Unable to afford legal defense team, Lorenzo still persevered in his trial and subsequent appeals. His arrest was clearly illegal from the start. Officer Keith Komenich testified in the original trial that he had no warrant and no probable cause to arrest Lorenzo, and that he kept him illegally in custody past 24 hours because he did not have positive identification of any of the suspects by victims or witnesses. Both the trial court and State Attorney General have admitted in appeals in 1989 and 1991 that Lorenzo L. Stone-Bey's arrest was without probable cause. Yet the Indiana Supreme Court denied Lorenzo's appeal, even though he was held incommunicado for several days and placed in an illegal line-up without his juvenile rights being afforded to him.

In Indiana State Prison where he is serving a life sentence, Lorenzo has been constantly oppressed for speaking out and for his political ideas. He needs the aid, assistance and support of fighters for democratic rights around the world, to demand justice for him, justice that has been denied for 17-1/2 years.

Letters of support can be sent directly to:

Lorenzo L. Stone-Bey, #10006, Indiana State Prison, PO Box 41, Michigan City IN 46360

Dear PART:

Zolo Agona Azania, whose article on a New Afrikan view of Hawaiian Sovereignty was excerpted in your last issue of TTT, is a Muslim and a conscious New Afrikan Freedom Fighter. Born Rufus Lee Averhart on Dec. 12, 1954, he changed his name in 1977. Zolo is a writer and an accomplished artist.

He was sentenced to death in May 1982 on a trumped up charge of killing a policeman during a bank robbery. No eyewitnesses ever identified Zolo or claimed it was a New Afrikan (Black) man who shot the cop. The autopsy report was falsified. A 1974 manslaughter conviction was used to secure an indictment, even though that conviction had been overturned. Zolo was denied the right to testify on his own behalf or call witnesses. The prosecutor withheld evidence favorable to Zolo's defense.

In May 1993, the State Supreme Court reversed the post-conviction death penalty and ordered new jury and judge sentencing proceedings. Zolo was convicted of "unarmed robbery class C felony murder." There is no such crime or statute on the books in Indiana!

Zolo wasn't convicted of murder. He was convicted by the jury of a lesser crime, unarmed robbery, not causing injury, but the judge had sentenced him on the greater charge. Had he received the maximum sentence, he would have been discharged, with good time, in 1985. It appears someone is trying to keep this information out of the news media because they don't want the public to know about it.

Brother Azania is for the total liberation from oppression for men, women and children. He is for environmental safeguards to protect plant and animal life from extinction. To help his case, write Crossroad Support Network, c/o Spear and Shield Collective, 3021 West 63rd St., Chicago IL 60629, (312)873-3564. Or write directly to:

Zolo Agona Azania, #4969, Indiana State Prison, PO Box 41, Michigan City IN 46360

Turning the Tide

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People Against Racist Terror (PART) is a local affiliate of the Center for Democratic Renewal (CDR), formerly the National Anti-Klan Network.

PART'S PERSPECTIVE:

In the last issue of T.T.T., "PART's Perspective" carried an analysis of the nature of the problem we face, and necessary aspects of the solution. Both the problems and solutions were defined in terms beginning with the letter "s." The problems included the supremacists, the state, and society itself. The solutions we named included self-esteem, self-determination, solidarity, spirituality, and struggle. Because of space constraints, two other elements of the solution were excluded, and we want to expand upon those here.

A vital factor in finding a solution is self-criticism. If we only identify the problem outside ourselves, we will never come to grips with the totality of the problem. If we only criticize others, we will have no credibility or moral authority in the criticism. We have all internalized oppressive aspects of the system and society, and we must all internalize the struggle as well. Otherwise, we will demonize "the racists" without confronting our own racism. We will alienate people who like ourselves must change and participate in the struggle.

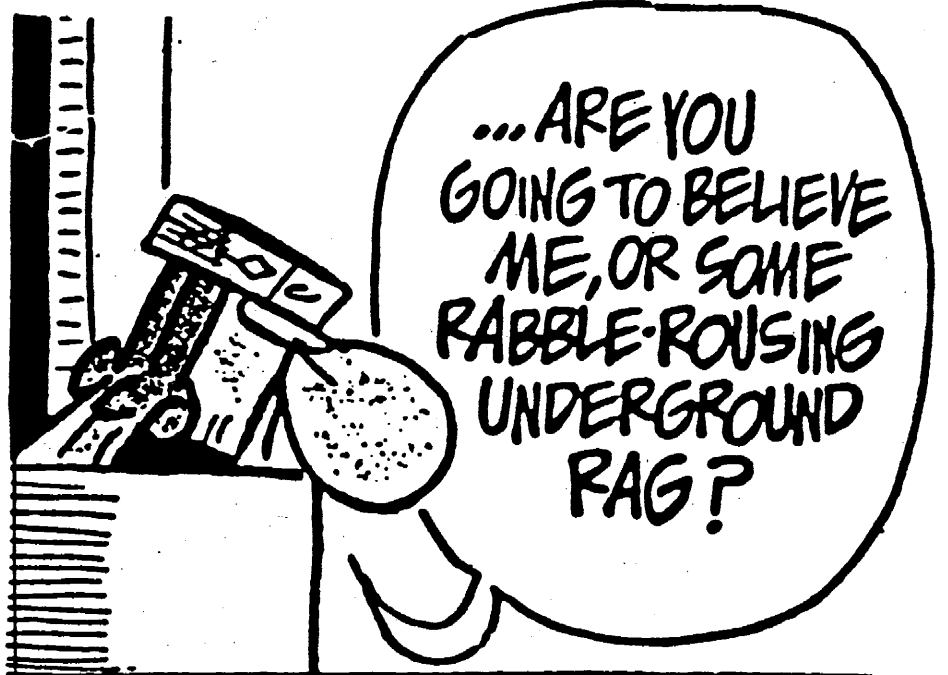
Self-criticism is also vital because nobody is exempt from the struggle. The oppressed must not turn around and become the oppressor. This has happened all too often in the past. Perceiving oneself exclusively as a victim leads to eventually becoming a victimizer, to seeking revenge rather than justice. The Jewish people were targeted for genocide by the Third Reich, and abandoned by many others to their fate; but Israeli Jews, supported by American Jews, have turned around to become expropriators and oppressors of the Palestinians. The Serbs of Yugoslavia were victims of Croat collaborators with Hitler during World War II, but today the Serbs are participating in a genocide against Muslim Slavs and a criminal war among Serbs, Croats and Muslims. The Chinese were oppressed by various imperial powers, particularly Japan and England, but now the Chinese violate the human rights of the Tibetans.

It is a mistake, in this regard, to regard the oppressed as simply powerless, exclusively as victims. The oppressed have power and are capable of exercising it -- otherwise a revolutionary transformation and end to that oppression would be impossible. And therefore, the oppressed are, like anyone else, capable of misusing power. Self-criticism is essential to preventing this. Thus, it is necessary to recognize that the object of bigotry can also be bigoted.

PART once held to the view that people of color could not be racist, because racism required both prejudice and power. We now see this was a wrong view. There are various forms and sources of power, ranging from physical force to

organization, from the application of knowledge to physical and social phenomena to economic wealth. People of color can and do at times exercise these powers. So, people of color can be prejudiced and can have the power to put their prejudices into practice -- to be racist. Such racism, whether between people of color or against whites, should be opposed, not excused. White supremacy is a particular world historic form of racism tied to colonialism and European world domination, but it is not the only form of racism. As a dominant ideology, it acts as a magnet and model for other forms of racism and discrimination.

The Japanese are people of color, yet they have a strong imperial drive in their history, a history of racism and colonialism towards other Asian people, including the Chinese and Koreans, and manifestations of racism towards whites, Latinos and Blacks are not uncommon in Japanese society. Most Mexicanos are people of color, yet racism and discrimination against unassimilated indigenous people is quite strong in Mexico. The current human rights violations by the Mexican government against the indigenous people of Chiapas and the rebellion they are leading is incontrovertible evidence of this. Certainly



people of color within the strongest and wealthiest country on earth -- even if they are colonized and discriminated against within this country -- are not exempt from this pattern.

So while we need strategically to seek to dismantle the overarching system of white supremacy and colonialism, tactically it is vital to oppose all forms of racism from all sources. It is not enough to excuse an action like the commuter-train rampage in New York as a misguided manifestation of Black rage and frustration born out of oppression. Shooting commuters is not a valid response to white privilege or Black oppression. The racism and brutality of the act must be condemned as much as in the case of the gunman who targeted Latinos several years ago at a mass murder in McDonald's, or the Canadian who picked out women students to kill at his college because he believed feminist gains gave them unfair advantages. This argument is not the same as claiming affirmative action is "racism in reverse." Steps to overcome and compensate for racism are not racist; we do not become color-blind by declaring ourselves so in the face of huge social and economic disparities based on color and nationality. But we are arguing that self-criticism is vital for members of oppressed groups as well as those born

into oppressor groups.

Finally, in addressing solutions, we must look to socialism in some form as a replacement for the current economic system. Racism and colonialism are bound up inseparably with the system of private wealth and private control of land, resources and labor. Democratic socialism is necessary to remove the profit motive from racism and to protect the earth. Such socialism does not mean simply replacing corporate ownership with state ownership; it certainly doesn't mean imposing the dictatorship of a political party or state apparatus over all economic or social or cultural activity. But some form of social ownership is essential, as well as a systematic way of ensuring that no form of ownership will violate the rights of people or the sanctity of the land. Again, look at the example of the indigenous people of Chiapas rising up with the Zapatista slogan, "La Tierra Pertenece a Quienes la Trabajan" -- the land belongs to those who work it. It reflects the need for social and collective control and protection of the earth and its resources, and for the workers to control their own work, if we are to preserve the planet, its cultures, and all its inhabitants into the next century.

Update on Hate

. Racist activity continued in southern California through the holiday season and into the new year. Allan E. Carlson, a neo-nazi in his thirties from Glendale who was arrested late last year for stamping racist slogans in notebooks in the San Gabriel Valley, was spotted by a school janitor stuffing racist flyers into student lockers over the holidays at Simi Valley High School. He is wanted by police for questioning and to face a possible assault charge for punching the custodian.

. Police claim their hands are tied in dealing with the racist and sexist neo-nazi flyers, which have appeared at numerous schools throughout southern California. Agoura Hills High was the latest, in January. They say the flyers are protected as free speech. But police used to arrest protesters passing out anti-war flyers to high school students, showing no compunctions about free speech rights. In one case in Oakland in the 70's, they filed seditious conspiracy charges against one such leafleter. The free speech of fascists is honored much more often than that of progressives.

. No one is advocating that speech be criminalized, but it would seem that a man in his 30's entering a high school without permission when it is closed for the holidays and putting material without authorization into students' lockers is guilty of at least trespassing.

. What's more, such "organizing" inevitably leads to racist vandalism and violence. A Black high school student in Orange County who received racist messages after running for school office had a brick thrown a car window. A Black student at Saugus High was beaten by a group of white students in December after giving a speech in class about the dangers of racial prejudice.

. All through the Christmas shopping season, racist flyers and stickers were found in supermarkets and drugstores all around the area. Flyers attacking Latinos and non-whites were found stuffed inside soda six-packs at a Lucky market and in Christmas stockings at a Sav-On in Canyon Country; in children's backpacks at a Target in Valencia; in cosmetics at a Ralphs in Reseda; in 12-packs of soda and beer at Lucky's and Vons Markets in Palmdale. If Allan Carlson is distributing all this trash single-handed, he's a one-man hate wave. More likely, it's a network of Metzgerites, following up on the exhortations of the neo-nazi

leader of WAR over his hate-lines and in his newspaper, to foment a race war by practicing a clandestine "leaderless resistance." Of course, if anyone is busted for vandalism or violence, Metzger's hands are clean and he's free of any liability.

. Metzger is not the only one fomenting such racist activity. Long-time neo-nazi Joe Fields, and Richard Barrett follower Jim Jones have apparently hooked up. They appeared at a "Nationalist Rally" in Torrance in December, seeking to promote anti-immigrant hysteria. Their event at the Torrance library drew a rag-tag band of fewer than 10 hard-core racists. Followers of Bo Gritz have been having more success. A Ventura County group composed of Simi Valley supporters of Gritz's Populist Party run for president, have hooked up with some Birchers, anti-abortionists and Perotists to form a group called "Wake Up America" that's been meeting regularly. The group has ties to the John Birch Society, which has been active building chapters of its own around Ventura County, as well as the "white citizens" group L.A. Lawman. A similar grouping called the Granada Forum has been meeting regularly in Granada Hills for almost two years.

Effective with this issue, beginning Turning the Tide's seventh year of publication, subscription rates are going to \$10 for one year, six issues. TTT has grown steadily in size, readership and reader support, but it is not breaking even on its publication and distribution costs. Without your support the paper will not continue.

We believe TTT makes a vital contribution as an independent, non-partisan grass-roots forum against racism, sexism and colonialism. We get no subsidies from political parties of any persuasion, no corporate funding, government money, foundation grants, or wealthy private donors. We rely entirely on our readers, subscribers and members of PART (People Against Racist Terror). If everyone who's receiving TTT because they sent in a small donation subscribed, or if everyone who is subscribing became a sustainer at just \$5 a month, TTT would be on firm financial footing. PART could devote energy and resources to completing its slideshow on racist activity in southern California, which want to use as an educational tool with schools, churches, unions and community groups.

But, quite simply, if readers and subscribers are not forthcoming, TTT may have to cut back substantially or fold entirely.

We think you would miss TTT if it were gone. We think it would be better to increase, rather than decrease, the frequency of publication and the press run. But we can only do it with your help.

Subscribe now!

Enclosed is \$10 for a one-year subscription to TTT.

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Viva la Lucha Mexicana!

ALL OUT TO THE MEXICAN CONSULATES

On January 1, 1994 as the Tratado de Libre Comercio (NAFTA) was coming into effect, the EJERCITO ZAPATISTA DE LIBERACION NACIONAL rose up in arms to challenge the decades old dictatorship of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional. Hundreds of indigenous Mexicanos issued a declaration of war against the Mexican government/state and captured seven cities within the state of Chiapas, along the southern border of Mexico and Guatemala.

The EJERCITO declared that it was fighting the Mexican government to oppose the centuries old discrimination against the indigenous populations of Mexico and to carry forward the Revolution that the Mexicano people began in 1910 against the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz. The EJERCITO has declared that it's goals are to obtain land and liberty for all landless peasants and to establish socialism in Mexico. The EJERCITO is one of several armed guerrilla organizations such as the Partido Revolucionario Obrero Clandestino Union del Pueblo and the Partido de Los Pobres in Mexico that is seeking to create a truly new Mexican social order with equality, land, justice and liberty for all Mexicanos. Armed struggle has been constant in Mexico since the revolution of 1910.

The U.S. government has already sent a special mission to assist the Mexican government in defeating this latest outbreak of revolutionary struggle. The U.S. interest is of course to support it's allies in the Mexican government and to protect it's interests in the Mexican economy and to make Mexico "safe for investment".

Despite the selling out of Mexico to U.S. economic interests by the P.R.I. and Carlos Salinas, who solely serve to represent the interests of the rich and ruling class in Mexico, the MEXICAN REVOLUTION continues. As Mexicanos living under colonialism in the occupied territories, we must support national liberation and the just struggle of Mexicano people, we must oppose the torture, disappearances and repressive actions of the P.R.I. government.

JOIN US IN NATIONALLY COORDINATED ACTIONS AGAINST THE P.R.I.

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ENDORSED/SUPPORTED BY: GRUPO REGENERACION, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., FORO DEMOCRATICO MEXICANO, SAN JOSE, CALIF., LUCHA MEXICANA, LOS ANGELES, CALIF., LOS ANGELES CHICANO MORATORIUM COMMITTEE, NATIONAL CHICANO HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL, PHOENIX, ARIZ., LUCHA PARA LA AUTODETERMINACION MEXICANA, ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO, COMITE EN DEFENSA DEL PUEBLO MEXICANO, TIERRA AMARILLA, NEW MEXICO, CONGRESO CHICANO, EL PASO, TEXAS, MOVIMIENTO NACIONAL DE LA RAZA, HOUSTON, TEXAS, POLITICALLY UNITED MEXICAN ACTIVISTS, DENVER, COLORADO, TIERRA AMARILLA YOUTH BRIGADES, FRENTE ESTUDIANTIL DE LIBERACION NACIONAL, CHICAGO, ILL., FUERZAS REVOLUCIONARIAS MEXICANAS, CHAMPAIGN, ILL., MOVIMIENTO DE LIBERACION NACIONAL PUERTORRIQUENO, NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO FREE PUERTO RICAN PRISONERS OF WAR, PRAIRIE FIRE, NEW AFRICAN PEOPLES ORGANIZATION.

WE DEMAND:

**Tierra y Libertad para todos los Mexicanos!
Stop Mexican Governmental Repression in Chiapas!
Mexican Military Out of Chiapas!
Amnesty for all captured combatants!
Free all Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War!
Present all of the Disappeared in Mexico!
Social Justice and True Democracy in Mexico!
Abajo con el Tratado de Libre Comercio!**

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LOS ANGELES, CALIF. 90033

LA TIERRA ES



**DE
QUIEN LA
TRABAJA**

Take PART in the Struggle!

Combating racism and sexism is everyone's responsibility. There are a number of things you can do, whether you live in southern California where PART operates, or elsewhere in the country, to participate in the struggle.

Locally, set up a house meeting or slide showing to your class, school, union, church or community organization. Someone from PART will be available around the region most evenings, some days, or weekends. We have speakers, slides and videos available. We are currently developing a new 30-minute slideshow focused on the history of racism in southern California and the role of organized white supremacist and neo-nazi groups.

Subscribe to Turning the Tide, or become a sustainer. (See the sub-form elsewhere in this issue). Order a bundle yourself, or take the paper around to bookstores to see if they will carry it. Bring the paper to your library and ask them to carry it. TTT is available in bulk to individual activists or anti-racist groups at 50 cents per copy (minimum 10 copies); we will also provide the paper to

bookstores at a discount from the cover price with affidavit-return privileges.

Arrange for a spokesperson from PART to appear on TV or radio in your area on talk shows and public affairs programming. (We can provide audition tapes of previous talk show appearances if needed).

Send us clippings about racist and anti-racist activities in your area, and examples of racist propaganda that is being distributed. Let us know about white supremacist and neo-nazi groups operating in your area. PART is tracking anti-abortion violence and the involvement of neo-nazis in that campaign, organized white supremacist groups in the military and law enforcement, and the growing

anti-immigrant hysteria. Any information on these topics will be incorporated in our research reports and disseminated as a tool of resistance.

Distribute anti-racist flyers of your own. Participate in clinic defense. Start a 'zine. Upload PART's reports and articles to your computer BBS. Order and distribute copies of PART's background research reports. Get your local alternative paper or movement newsletter to reprint stories from TTT. Anything PART produces is available for reproduction by anti-racist groups, as long as credit is given, including our address and phone.

If you have fast-breaking information, call PART's anti-klan hot-line, 24 hours a day: 310-288-5003.

Tear Down The Borders!

Five hundred years ago there were no borders in North America. No State burdened the people living here. Indigenous people made no claims to "own" the land.

Then came the foreigners. Backed by the rising European nation-states of Spain, England, France and the Netherlands, these first "immigrants" murdered millions of the people living on what was called Turtle Island. In the names of their kings, their popes, and their gods these conquerors occupied this territory and created the first borders on this continent.

Defined by the ruling class and enforced by its State, the "border" is both shorthand for an entire set of social relations and a declaration of war on every other nation-state — "This is our turf from sea to shining sea. Everything here is ours! All upon it is for us to use!"

In order to deconstruct the idea and reality of "borders," we need to understand that borders are intricately linked to the existence of a ruling class and the State that represents it. To tear down the borders, we must also tear down the State and eliminate class society.

After centuries of unbridled economic growth and capitalist expansion, orchestrated and choreographed by transnational ruling elites, the world has plunged into its deepest and most serious economic, ecological, and social crisis.

To deflect attention away from a major source of this crisis — class society and the ruling elites themselves — this capitalist system employs a method of crisis management that scapegoats "the other," and encourages division and social tension along lines of nationality, class, race, gender, and sexual preference.

Immigrants, refugees, people of color, gays, lesbians, bisexuals, women, people with AIDS, homeless people, and other "aliens" are blamed for problems such as the deterioration of the economy and the breakdown



of "traditional family values." The common folk, people who are not the "other," are supposed to align themselves with the patriotic status quo and adopt a position of belligerent nationalism backed by ideas like "manifest destiny." This ruling class system of crisis management is nothing more than a post Cold War version of fascism.

In nearly every industrial capitalist and "socialist" State, fascist movements are growing larger and more violent. Among the foremost targets have been immigrants, refugees, and "aliens."

Governments in all these countries are moving to further restrict immigrant's rights, deny refugees asylum and seal off national borders. These actions are supported and encouraged by politicians both on the right and left. Even one of the US Senate's most liberal Senators, California Democrat Barbara Boxer, calls for the National Guard to patrol the border with Mexico. In Germany socialists support further restrictions of the right to asylum.

In contrast to the intensity of the fascist and neo-Nazi presence in Europe, particularly since 1989 with the collapse of the Berlin Wall, fascist undercurrents in the United States have not been as prominent. Yet the current wave of anti-immigrant hysteria in the U.S. reveals the specter of a similar violent right-wing and proto-fascist reaction exploding here.

For anarchists, anti-authoritarians, and others who share a vision of a free society without capitalism, States, hierarchy and all forms of domination, this ominous situation presents a challenge, and an opportunity, to begin organizing against fascist and other anti-immigrant attacks from a grassroots, participatory, and direct action oriented perspective.

Smash The State!

Tear Down The Borders – ¡A Desalambrar! – is a group of anti-authoritarians organized for direct action in defense of immigrants and refugees. We include members of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation and unaffiliated individuals. For more information, please contact us.

Phone: (510) 980-2605

Email: theweb@sfsuvax1.sfsu.edu

Multi-culturalism is the dominant idea of the day in education, entertainment, and advertising. It sounds like a good thing -- but like most dominant ideas, it is the idea of the dominant group in control of business and the government. As such, it must be looked at closely by anyone who is seriously committed to doing away with racism, sexism and all forms of injustice.

Many people with very good intentions are in favor of multi-culturalism. In schools and in the movies, they see it as a way to preserve and show respect for cultural minorities. They say it teaches acceptance and even welcoming of differences. These are very valid ideals.

But too often, multi-culturalism in the schools is reduced to learning a few songs, eating some "ethnic" food, and wearing traditional costumes. Multi-culturalism in the media is probably best illustrated by the men's razor blade commercial that shows a series of faces of different races and nationalities, one "morphing" into the next, and all of them happily clean shaven by the perfect razor -- one size fits all.

Multi-culturalism is essentially about marketing and production in the new economic era of the multi-national corporation and the truly global economy.

Why is multi-culturalism misleading and inadequate as a strategy for dealing with cultural differences? Because it is not based on respecting and enhancing the sovereignty of colonized and oppressed people. That's the only basis for truly preserving the totality of a people's culture. Multi-culturalism is mainly about preserving and enhancing market share. In the process, it reduces whole cultures to market niches -- MTV Latino. Multi-culturalism is the attempt to dress up the "melting pot" for the 90's and export it around the world. For the well-to-do of the advanced industrial countries, it is a way to "graze" among the "offerings" of the others cultures they are dominating and distorting. Thus, San Cristobal las Casas in Chiapas, the center of the indigenous insurgency in Mexico, became a tourist center for Europeans who wanted a taste of the indigenous people's "lifestyle" and artifacts. But how many of those tourists left prepared to engage in active solidarity to end the poverty and exploitation of the Mayas and the Mexicans? Multi-culturalism has become the "hip" version of cultural imperialism.

Another big flaw of multi-culturalism is that it based on a view of "culture" that is too narrow and limited. Culture is not simply art, music, food, clothing, appearance. Culture is the totality of the way a people

conceives of itself and of the world -- how we live with each other and on the planet every day. In this understanding of culture lies the answer to questions like, "How could a highly-cultured people like the Germans, who produced great music and literature, have brought forth Hitler, the nazis, and the holocaust?" The answer is that anti-semitism, nationalism, and dreams of empire were among the dominant ideas of the German culture before Hitler came to power.

It's not enough to take a culture, like that of the U.S., which is shot full of the values of "rugged individualism," racism, sexism, and empire, and simply tack on minor manifestations of the cultural expressions of the people it has oppressed. One aspect of dominant U.S. culture has always been its tendency to expropriate the "useful" or "decorative" elements of the cultures it dominates, ranging from the adoption of the federalism of the indigenous people's government, to the music and art of the enslaved African population. This has not and will not preserve either the oppressed cultures, or the dominant culture. Because the dominant culture, based on conquest, male domination, and white supremacy, is in the process of destroying itself as well as the cultures it comes in

contact with.

The evidence of this self-destruction, cultural suicide as well as genocide, is all around us. We see it in the widespread violence, child abuse, alcoholism and other social ills, as well as in environmental devastation. The racist right attempts to scapegoat these problems on people of color, immigrants, lesbians and gays. But these problems are the outgrowth of racism, colonialism, male supremacy and economic exploitation. They are an outgrowth of an economic system and culture that reduced the family to an alienated and fearful nucleus centered on consumption, and is now obliterating even that. These problems grow from a culture that reduced the biosphere that incorporates and sustains all life into private property, and thinks you can get away with shitting where someone else eats.

To deal with these problems, no liberal reform is sufficient; good intentions are not enough. Their failure will produce only greater cynicism and frustration. Liberalism and charity will not stand up to the iron-fist strategies of the right, which is arming for a cultural war (not just Pat Buchanan's metaphor) or a race war (not just Tom Metzger's rhetoric). Instead, we need a hard-headed understanding of how to transform ourselves, and how to defend

Culture of Resistance



ourselves from those in power and their supporters, who will resist that transformation forcefully and brutally. Look how the politicians and the media have "p.c." -- political correctness -- an insult, a polite code-word for "nigger-lover." Even the most minor challenges to racism and sexism come up against a zero-tolerance policy.

The question is open as to whether a culture, especially one that is deeply corrupted, can heal and transform itself in a positive direction, in a liberatory and life-affirming way. There are many examples of cultural transformation in history, but most of them are related to the direct and intense clash of cultures; most have been resolved by military force or unintentional cultural accretions. The conqueror either imposes its culture on the conquered, or adopts the culture it has vanquished. There are few positive historical examples or models for the task that faces us. The European renaissance and enlightenment, for example, was as much an expression of the reduction of people and nations to factors of production as a breaking of the chains of feudal superstition.

To heal our culture requires an intense struggle to identify the positive elements within it, and to do battle with the more powerful and central negative

aspects. In a society that has always sustained itself by suppressing or incorporating its adversaries and victims, this task is difficult indeed. An appreciation of the beauty and value of other cultures that have been nearly eradicated is certainly necessary. Music, art, and poetry are vitally needed, but such cultural expressions must constantly struggle to transcend the system's efforts to reduce them to commodities, to "product." The information super-highway and the mega-mergers of "info-tainment" corporations vastly strengthens the capacity of the system to turn musicians, poets, artists, into "profit centers," and to put a price tag on the human heart and a coin-meter on the human mind.

In the sixties, there was much talk of a counter-culture. But all that developed was a "youth sub-culture" dependent on and reflective of the larger society. The hippies, the left and related social forces lost their way, as they reproduced the ills of racism, sexism, and commercialism within their own ranks. The imperial system is always on the look-out for new cultural developments that it can coopt, neutralize and market as trends. Capitalism, despite its boasted productive capacity, is a parasitic system. What Marx referred to as the primitive accumulation of capital, the theft of land and gold in the new world and labor from Africa, was not a one-shot event. Capitalism constantly needs the infusion of new land, new resources, new ideas, new markets, to sustain itself. It colonizes and re-colonizes itself and everything it comes in contact with. That is why the crimes against indigenous people are ongoing, not simply some atrocity of the past. That's why the prospect of capitalist markets in eastern Europe and China has temporarily given the imperialist system a new lease on life.

What's more, the system sustains itself by treating potential revolutionary threats and anti-colonial insurgencies like a virus. The system swamps itself

and its subjects with a kind of cultural vaccine, a killed-virus version of what it fears. It incorporates these non-threatening versions into the dominant culture and discourse in order to inoculate people against "infection" with truly revolutionary ideas and ideals. In economics, they say that bad money drives out good -- cheap, adulterated coins will stay in circulation in preference to gold and silver. In the same way, cheapened and controlled versions of feminism, of Black nationalism, of gay liberation, of environmentalism, along with the use of political repression and violence, have virtually driven the real things out of the arena. Multi-culturalism falls within this same strategy of the imperialist rulers to preserve themselves. Cultures that accept manipulation and incorporation will be tolerated; those which do not, the system will attempt to crush.

A true counter-culture must be a consciously anti-racist, anti-sexist culture. This means supporting not only cultural diversity, but true political and economic sovereignty and self-determination for oppressed and colonized people. It means creating a culture and economy of creation and participation, not of alienated production and consumption. Only when we strip away the underpinnings of colonialism, domination and exploitation, will we be able to see our way clearly to a culture that can sustain itself without controlling or expropriating others. As Gandhi said when asked what he thought about western civilization, "It would be a good idea."

Construction sometimes requires destruction. In transition towards a truly humane culture, one that values differences, which treasures young people and old people, which accepts the differences and similarities of individuals regardless of gender, which inhabits a share of the planet gracefully and with loving-kindness and respect for the rest of the creatures, co-inhabitants, and the biosphere, we need a culture of resistance and affirmation. We must affirm the values of cooperation, creativity, nurturance; we must resist fear, hatred, intolerance, and exploitation.



WER BÜRGERBLÄTTER LIEST WIRD BLIND UND TAUB.
WEG MIT DEN VERDÜMMUNGSBANDAGEN!

John Heartfield, Those Who Read Bourgeois Newspapers Will Become Blind and Deaf, AIZ, 9 February 1930, Checklist No. 36

Hip Hip Hypocrisy
by
Astoria Red/E. McKenna 5/93
35-51 10 St. #3R LIC NY 11106 c. 1993

We hold these truths to be self evident
that all men are created equal

We hold these truths to be self evident
that the men who wrote these words
were hypocrites
were hypocrites
were hypocrites

Follow an African field hand right off
the boat
on his first day picking Amerikkkan
cotton

First light & he is already in the field
with his sack

A special slave driver follows him all
day

If he stops & wipes his brow
he is whipped

If he slows as the August sun rises
higher & higher
he is whipped

He is whipped & whipped & whipped

He is made to pick as fast as he can

He is made to pick that much for the rest
of his life

If he weighs in short
he is whipped

If he picks 10 pounds more
it is added to his quota

Sounds like your first job, right

But in his entire life of plowing &
hoeing
planting & picking
whipping & weighing
can see to can't see

in his entire life of dirt floors
rinky dink stick shacks
one set of clothes all year

in his entire life he was not paid

not paid one red white & blue cent

He & his children & his children's
children for 250 years were never paid
one red white & blue cent not one
And Uncle Sam has never apologized
never paid this debt
still tolerates white racism

We therefore hold this truth to be self
evident

that Uncle Same is a Hip Hip Hypocrite

We hold these truths to be self evident
that all men are created equal

Hip Hip Hypocrisy

Foetal Conceptions
by
Michael Novick

Fewer cavities. Funky Chicken.
Fun City. Fellatio/cunnilingus.
French Connection. --
False consciousness.
Fur coats/file clerks free choice?
Fat chance!
Fat cat finance capitalists finger
controls.

Facile condensation
fearful culture's foremost
characteristics:
Females control forgotten civilization.
Fertile Crescent. Fat Caesar fiddles
carelessly.
Fear Christ, Father, Church: frozen
centuries.
Feudal Crusades fuel commerce.
Following Columbus,
free-wheeling conquistadors fetch capital
from colonies, feed capitalism.

Forests chopped,
farms cleared, fabric -- cotton.
Fathomless cargoes from Congo fatten
conveyors.
Freedmen's conspiracies, "Fraternite,
Citoyen!"
frighten conservatives.
Far-sighted colonists' Federal
Constitution
frames commonwealth for continent.
Futile compromises forestall clash;
fight, Civil, "frees" chattel.
Forts, cowboys, ferro-carril,
factory construction.
Fierce competitors form corporations.
Foreign conquests: favored "century."

Fifth Columns, fascist collaborators.
Fuhrer's charnel fills camps.

Fifties constipation:
Football coaches fighting communism.
Family cohesion: father crowned,
frau constricted, fettered children.
Fabulous cooptation,
forced consumption: fancy cars,
filthy, covetous fuel companies.
Frozen conflagration.
Fallout contamination.
Festering cancer.

Finally, changes -- fiery colonies,
ferocious criminals feeding children,
free clinics, food conspiracies,
firebomb communes, flaming campuses.
Fleeing conscripts forego cannon fodder
conflict,
find Canada.
Faggot cocksuckers flout conventions.
Fundamental contradictions fuel critical
feminist consciousness. Foundations
crumbling?

"Founders" confer, fashion consensus,
facilitate crackdown: FBI's Cointelpro.
Financial controls flatten consumers,
fatten corporations.
Fumbling Cubans-for-CIA foster criticism.
Fingered chief faces censure.
Festive celebration "feliz cumpleaños."
Ford. Carter. Fuel crisis.

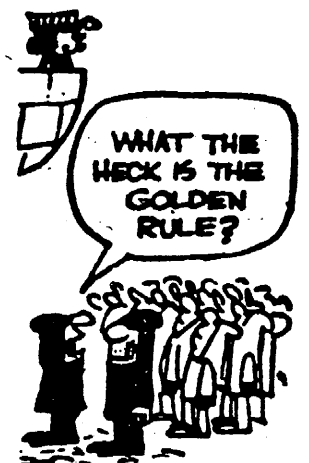
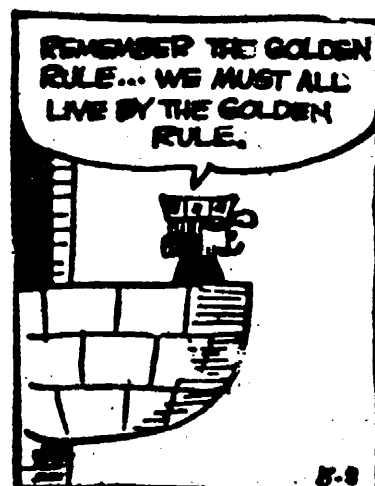
Fundamentalist Christians forge counter-
revolution.
Fairy-tale "Communicator" fibs
constantly.
Forthright colonel's firearms commerce
funds Contras.
Filthy cash: from Colombia, flows
cocaine, fatal crack.

Fall Classic's final champion, frisky
Clinton,
favors careful flavor change,
flip-flop centrism.
Fat commentator's facile comedy,
familiar contempt flatters complacent.
Flinty Congressional fiscal conservatives
frustrate communities' flimsy coalitions.
Fragmented cities'
fearful citizens, "friendly" cops fight
crime.

Future course fascist consolidation?

Flawed construction -- facade crumbles.

"Final Conflict" finds conclusion:
free, classless, feminist communion.



I measured out my life
by
Michael Novick

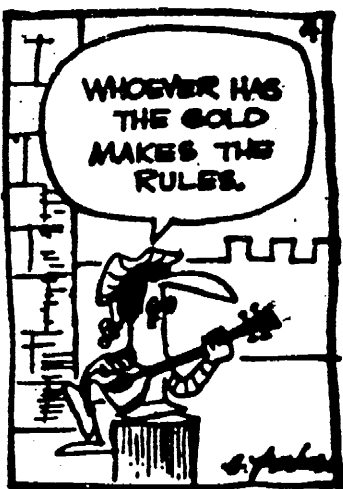
I measured out my life
in the riddled bodies of Black men.

When Chaney, Schwerner and Goodman
were turned up
where the dirt was turned over
by the side of a Mississippi road,
my parents said:
"What a shame, a shandeh,
that two nice Jewish boys
like that -- we knew their families --
should have got mixed up
in somebody else's business."
But I thought:
"They were connected in life
to the Black man they died with."

When Malcolm X was assassinated,
I cried, and wondered
why I felt such a loss,
when the radio
said he deserved it.

When Martin Luther King was gunned down,
and the lily-white hypocrites who ran my
college
closed it for a convocation
(and found one black teacher,
one black administrator,
and one black janitor
to address the 99 and 44/100's % white
student body),
I recognized that I had gone
"past reform,
radicalism,
resistance,
to revolution."
I signed and distributed a leaflet
about how King had been killed
for threatening the system,
to silence his opposition to the war
and his association of civil rights
with the Memphis black sanitation men's
labor struggle.
I saw that
having turned the other cheek,
he was shot in the head.

When Chairman Fred was murdered --
Fred Hampton of the Chicago Black
Panthers --
by Daley's gestapo on Nixon's say so,
my rage was boundless.



CRIME
by
Judy Miller

At four
he clanged away
at the gumball machine,
while Momma softly warned,
"We CAN'T afford that."
He learned early on,
money buys the gumballs
and later the LA GEAR.

In "street life-time"
the brother only wanted
--MOMMA, OUT OF THE HOOD;
away from hissing crack pipes,
and low-flying helicopters.

Primed for combat,
he decided to hit up this fur store.
Y' know,
the place where rich-impotent males,
buy 80-grand road-kill for their wives.

Homeboy walked into the "fur place;"
but met death on a fawn-colored carpet.
He had forgotten the first law of war,
"NEVER UNDERESTIMATE THE ENEMY."

When they lifted him out of the store,
the last words he heard were Momma's --
"WE CAN'T AFFORD THAT."

Amerikkkan Justice
by
Astoria Red 10/93

"My country, 'tis of thee, Sweet land of
Slavery" --Charles Mingus

White European-American Cops
Beat hit beat strike beat bash beat
A six foot African-American man of color

Again & again & again with oak batons

And a city judge moves the trial to
a suburb white as Mr. Macy's sheets

Where the new judge

instructs the jury

not to consider race

tells the jury

race is irrelevant in America

Race Irrelevant In Amerikkka?
Race Irrelevant In Amerikkka?
Race Irrelevant In Amerikkka?

Tears when I heard it on the car radio.
Disbelief: I am older than he ... was.
Do I now live on borrowed time?

When Jonathan Jackson died in battle,
along with other warriors,
Ruchell Magee lying wounded,
I faced
isolation,
"the low level of struggle in the white
community."
When George Jackson was shot down,
when Attica's valiant inmates
were snuffed out by Rockefeller's craven
troops,
and the butchers defiled
the humanity of the slaughtered
with vile slanders,

When Amilcar Cabral ... When Steve Biko
... When Maurice Bishop ... When Arthur
Ashe ... When Majice Green ... When Chris
Hani ... When ... When ... When ...

When will we act?
What will we do?
What are we waiting for?

Now the genocide is silent,
but no less swift:
lynch mobs in white robes -- or black
robes;
AIDS, dope, hopelessness.
What are we waiting for?
Waiting for another Black man to die
for another PWA to die
for another nameless prostitute to die
for another farmworker to die
for another homeless veteran to die
for another black mother
to be shot 9 or 10 or 27 times
by the police
because she was "behaving strangely"
for another Arab or Jew to die
another Serb or Muslim or Croat to die
another battered wife to die
another street-walking run-away to die
waiting for another child to die
to measure off the waiting?

Repression in Texas

Close it Down!

Abuse of women prisoners at the new (for women) Hobby Unit of the Texas Department of Correctional Justice - Institutional Division, (TDCJ-ID); Marlin, Texas.

Ana Lucia Gelabert #384484, Hobby Unit (current housing uncertain) Rt 2 Box 600, Marlin, TX 76661 December 1, 3, and 10, 1993

On Tuesday, November 23, 1993, together with 40 other women prisoners from the TDCJ-ID Mountain View and Riverside units in Gatesville, I came to the new Hobby Unit, in Marlin, Texas: **AND WE ALREADY NEED HELP, URGENTLY!** Hobby Unit, before this, had been an all-men's unit; now it is a women's unit. I came with the second group of women from Mountain View, in Gatesville, and buses keep coming several times a day. The TDCJ-ID plans to fill this prison to capacity: 12 dayrooms, or tanks, each with 84 women, total 1008 women here before the end of this month. For men, Hobby was a minimum security unit, one fence only. Since converting to women, they have installed a

second fence, so it is now a maximum security prison. Ostensibly because it was previously a men's prison, and thus, we are told, "a real prison" instead of a "mickey mouse prison" (that is, a women's prison), we are subjected to all sorts of abuse around the clock, most noticeably verbal abuse, mostly by male guards. Most guards here are men, who go out of their way to deride, downgrade, abuse and humiliate women. But the same is true for the women guards, who generally appear subservient to men in a very noticeable way. That was hardly the case in Gatesville's women's units.

From the time we get out of the bus here, we are called "bitches," and "cunts." We are told, "Put your shit there, move your asses here," and so on. The coarse language, which is illegal according to employee guidelines, continues to this date and very openly so. In the dining room, clusters of male guards get together, while we eat, to tell all sorts of dirty jokes, being sure we hear every word that is said. A white woman transferred from Mountain View, Cathy "Cat" Oger, upon her arrival protested this abusive "welcoming" language, and as result some 5 or 6 male guards body-slammed her on the floor, then took her handcuffed to segregation and kept

calling her "a bull-dagging bitch" all the way to seg. I requested a "legal visit" to see "Cat" but have been denied. On Sunday, November 28, at about 2:45 p.m., a tall white woman (I still haven't got her name) was forced to strip down to her bra and thermal underwear pants in the middle of the inside yard, in view of everyone. Doing the strip search were 2 female guards, but as the yard is in open view from everywhere here, there were plenty of male guards looking on. The incidents of abuse of this kind seem to go on and on. By their own rules, TDCJ-ID guards must wear name tags on their uniforms; at any rate, if no name tags are worn, they are required to state their names, so if a guard abuses someone, administrative remedies ("grievances") can be sought. most guards here not only refuse to wear name tags, but threaten disciplinary action against or verbally abuse anyone asking for a guard's name.

But this attitude that "they are above the law" or "they are the law" is prevalent here, much more so than in the Gatesville units. The showers, designed for male prisoners, only have very narrow doors, and are some 5 or 6 feet under the control cabin ("pipechase"), where male guards, who are always in the pipechase, can see women at their

chest level. Only a glass partition separates the showers from the pipechase. The only toilet we have in the day-room, that is outside the cells, is in plain view, next to the glass partition, in the shower area, with no partitions whatever. We have a toilet inside each cell (2 women per cell), but during "count" or weekends after 10:30, we can't get into our cells when we want, so we have to either go to the open toilet, or remain locked in our cells. It is illegal for male guards to watch women at the toilets. In our cells we do have a toilet, but male guards come unannounced into the living area, next to the cells, and can watch us use the toilets, or while we are dressing or undressing, or sleeping. In fact, for the past few nights, invariably, at around 12 midnight, a male guard has come inside my cell, to wake me up on pretext he needs to see my I.D. I have complained of all of this, to no avail. At Mt. View, because I worked outdoors (yard) I was issued thermal underwear, 2 good-quality coats, and gloves by the State. Besides, I had my own crochet hat and scarf which I could wear to work. Besides, we were not required to stay outdoors when the temperature dropped to 42 degrees F or below. Here I also work outside but have not been issued (yes, I have requested them several times) thermal underwear, or gloves, and I was only given one old and worn out coat, which is very thin. It doesn't protect from extreme cold. And, unlike at Mt. View or any of the Gatesville units, here we have been required to work in freezing weather. Besides work, we are forced to stand in l-o-n-g lines outside, even in cold, windy weather, for anywhere from 15 to over 30 minutes at a time: outdoor lines to get clean clothes, to get medicine, to enter the mail room (postage for indigents or legal mail), to report to work, to return from work; however we are not allowed to wear winter hats or scarves. The abusive treatment and contemptuous attitude of guards here is the worst part, but not the only indignity.

The abusive regimen includes not having irons to iron our clothes, even for visiting days; not being allowed to have our photos taken (except those of us who have visitors, only if the visitor is nice enough to pay for them at a "bargain" rate of \$3 to \$5 per cheap Polaroid shot); taking away our clothes we brought in with our name tags on, and instead issuing us crumpled, dirty, unbleached clothes which do not fit even remotely well; being awakened several times at night, like by the lights going on every 30 minutes or so (ostensibly to count us, but after 10:30 p.m. we are all locked up inside our cells, so what is so difficult about counting locked up women??). It's virtually impossible to sleep at night here, a condition which exists on purpose: "sleeplessness," or sleep deprivation, a human rights violation which the U.S. charged the former USSR with practicing!

The idea is to erode all of our self-esteem and to humiliate us to the maximum.

This "sleeplessness" practice has been denounced by the U.S. government to the U.N. Human Rights Commission, and is acknowledged as a form of psychological torture: to willfully disrupt or interrupt a prisoner's sleep. We can only hope to stop this by denouncing it and calling it to the attention of public officials, who will claim they know nothing about it (although they do), but who may, because of public opinion, be forced to stop it. If you want to help, letters and phone calls in support are encouraged to: Governor Ann Richards, State Capitol, Austin, Texas 78711. Governor Richards has a listed 800 phone number.

TDCJ-ID staff are boasting that Hobby will be "the largest women's prison of its kind in the United States." Which means Hobby will be used as a "model" for other facilities of its kind around the country. **CLOSE IT DOWN!**

In solidarity, Ana Lucia Gelabert, #384484 Hobby C-2 Rt. 2 Box 600, Marlin, TX 76661

Sacramento Skinheads

Richard Campos, 18, a follower of neo-nazi Tom Metzger, was arrested in November for a series of fire-bombings in Sacramento carried out by the self-proclaimed "Aryan Liberation Front." The fire-bombings were part of a reign of racist terror in the state capital reported in the last issue of "Turning the Tide," which included attacks on the NAACP (twice), a Jewish synagogue, the home of a Chinese-American city councilmember, the offices of the Japanese American Citizen's League, and the state office of Fair Employment and Housing, as well as bomb threats to a gay and lesbian center. A number of other fire-bombings and arsons may have been part of the same campaign. Campos is a white nazi-bonehead whose adoptive father is Mexican; he is one of a number of organized white supremacists, racists, and vigilantes facing charges in the Sacramento area for a number of crimes.

Christopher Garrett Horn, a white supremacist affiliated with the Fourth Reich Skinheads when he lived in Arizona, is charged with the arson attack during the same period on a church in nearby Davis, CA that housed a Korean congregation and various community programs. Although Horn sports Aryan tattoos, and had white racist and Satanic material in his home, police are discounting a hate motivation for the crime, which took place in the midst of the

string of racially motivated attacks in Sacramento. They say that Horn and a 16 year old set the fire to divert attention from burglaries they were committing that night. The Fourth Reich Skinheads in Phoenix are part of a so-called "Aryan Alliance" of neo-nazis in that city. Horn's mother, Mary Howell, said her son had a series of psychological and behavioral problems that got him in trouble with the law. "I'm Mexican American," she said. "That's why I was so shocked about this racist thing. I blew a gasket. (It was) a direct insult to me, his mother."

The Fourth Reich Skinheads in southern California, -- Orange County and the Inland Empire -- were involved in a number of pipe-bombings this past summer, and several members including ringleader Chris Fisher, recently pleaded guilty to conspiracy and other charges in a plot to kill Rodney King and attack the First African Methodist Episcopal Church with firebombs and assault weapons. Their stated goal was to start a race war, a strategy which also motivated several other skinheads arrested over the summer for attacks on an NAACP office in Tacoma, and possible involvement in a similar attack in San Francisco. Those skins had traveled down from Washington to Salinas in central California, where they were arrested for shoplifting and

discovered in possession of explosives, automatic weapons, and racist propaganda. Wayne Wooten, 18, and Jeremiah Knesal, 19, pleaded guilty in December in federal court in San Jose.

Yet another set of nazi skinheads were tried and convicted for a separate unprovoked, random shooting attack on a group of Black men in a Sacramento restaurant. In December, the last of the four boneheads involved in last year's attack was sentenced to 13 years in prison. Lorin Forrest Lesley, 19, had turned state's evidence against his three racist cohorts in the drive-by shooting. Robert Brogan, the leader of the white supremacist group known as the Sacto Skins, was sentenced to 9 years in prison earlier this year; two others were sentenced to shorter terms. Lesley, who fired the shots, was sentenced to 13 years in prison, which he will serve in "less harsh" federal prison in exchange for his testimony.

In two other cases of possible hate violence, there are also criminal proceedings. Three men in a neighboring community are charged with the vigilante style slaying of a disabled homeless man who had been accused of child molestation. Gary "Hopalong" Summar (so-called because of a deformity and limp) was beaten, mutilated and stabbed to death by a mob after

police found there was no evidence of abuse to back up the claims against him. In another, unrelated case, a former Sacramento city council candidate has been charged in a series of arson attacks and vandalisms which he claimed were hate crimes carried out by his neighbors, but which police and insurance investigators believe he carried out for profit.

Despite all these prosecutions, racist violence is apparently continuing in Sacramento. The home of a Native American member of the school board, Caspar Garcia, was the target of vandalism in November. Then two shots were fired into the house at 3:30 a.m. There are no suspects in either incident, in which the initials "NAACP" were scrawled on the home, possibly a reference to the earlier attacks on the Sacramento NAACP office. There have also been no arrests in an ongoing series of racist vandalism attacks on a Sacramento County elementary school. Although police have mentioned three additional suspects in the "Aryan Liberation Front" case, and once circulated a composite drawing of a suspect who looked nothing like the youth they later arrested, no further arrests have been made. Campos's defense attorney says the real bomber, for whom his client was a patsy, is still at large.

Campos, who was fingered by an associate after he was spotted by a copy shop clerk reproducing racist propaganda and an Aryan Liberation Front message, credits Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance (WAR) with showing him the light. "My perfect world would be an all-white society," he told the Sacramento Bee. Turned on to WAR through a flyer given him by an older friend, Campos connected directly with Metzger via a call-in radio show on which the older racist was a guest. The nazi-skin also called Metzger's hate-line, 34 times in July alone. He dropped his girl-friend, who was "half-Mexican." School-mates report that he had written

"Death to the Handicapped" on his ring-binder, and once threw a can of feces at a young woman he was angry at. "He's full of hate," one said. "He'd kill cats and put them on people's doorsteps. I was scared of him."

Racist and anti-semitic graffiti began to show up on the walls of his high school, and Campos asked his teachers how to get hold of a book on anti-semitism. He and a buddy, who later turned him in on the firebombings, were arrested for vandalizing the car of the parents of a classmate they hated. Campos' parents got a restraining order against the younger boy, who they felt was a bad influence, and the probation rules in the vandalism case separated the duo. But Campos persisted in his racist beliefs, reading Mein Kampf by Adolph Hitler. He was heavily influenced by Metzger's new strategy of "leaderless resistance," -- small groups of white supremacists carrying out the opening salvos of a race war.

After Campos' arrest, Metzger's hate line described the Sacramento bombings as the kind of action WAR would like to support, but criticized Campos for "trying to do too much" and getting caught.

It is perhaps not surprising that racist violence has taken and is taking such a toll in Sacramento, where the role model is provided not only by the Metzgers, but by political figures like Gov. Pete Wilson, who is trying to resurrect his political career through blatant immigrant bashing. The governor continues to cut education funding while increasing spending on prisons. The local state assemblywoman from Sacramento is an anti-abortion zealot. Several members of the state legislature have recently been caught making anti-Jewish, anti-immigrant and anti-Mexican remarks. In this political climate, the door is opened for the naked racist terror preached by Metzger and other white supremacists to find adherents and practitioners.

EXCHANGE ON ZIONISM &

RABBI JACOB FEUERWERKER P.O. Box 901 A187402 5701 Burnett Road Leavittsburg, OH 44430-0901 November 28, 1993 To the People at P.A.R.T.: Several weeks ago I received the October-December 1993 issue of TURNING THE TIDE. While it contained several good articles and I liked the response to Steve, the bulk of the articles and editorial contents were lacking in common sense and historical accuracy. To be honest, it hasn't been often, since I've been incarcerated 8 years ago, that I've asked my name to be taken off the mailing list of an organization that has sent me a free magazine. But this time I'm going to ask you to do just that! Please take my name off your mailing list! You've done a great disservice, by painting the ADL and the JDL with the same brush strokes, to the Jewish people. While the ADL deserves to be condemned, they're nowhere near as evil as your publication claims them to be and in fact, I condemn them for totally different reasons than you do. Simply put, they've strayed from their original mission. Also their "leaders" are self-appointing and self-serving.

While the JDL has stayed the course of its original mission statement of 1967, their problem is that they always seem to have the same response to different situations that call for different responses. Your anti-white perspective is also reprehensible! Do you expect to end white racism with anti-white racism? Do two wrongs make a right?

Your anti-Israel perspective is even more reprehensible because it totally lacks any historical perspective. The fact is that prior to 1870 there were hardly any people on both sides of the River Jordan, in what was known as the Palestine District. Both Jews and Arabs settled that land at about the same time. In 1920, the British gave 4/5th of Palestine to a bunch of nomads from Saudi Arabia.

From the late 20's until the current time, the Jews and Arabs in the remaining 1/5th of Palestine have been intermittently fighting a civil war, in which the Palestine Arabs have had the aid of various Arab countries, and also Arab countries have fought against Israel for their own nationalistic and religious reasons. Israeli Jews have been victorious. I do not believe that had the Arabs ever been victorious, they would have been as generous with the Jews as the Jews have been with the Arabs.

But to call it a "Colonial War" is idiotic and lacks any historical perspective. All it shows is knee-jerkism of the worst order. Also keep in mind, that while officially illegal since 1965, black people are still kept as slaves in many Arab countries. Also, since the late 60's the Sudanese Arab-Muslims have been conducting frequent genocidal campaigns against black Christians and native animists. If you do have the guts to print the above, please send me the issue that it appears in. Feel free to respond.

Dear Rabbi Jacob:

It doesn't require guts to print your letter, as we always appreciate feedback, no matter how hostile. We want the paper to serve as a forum, and print both articles and letters that do not express the position of PART (which comes in "PART's Perspective" and continues to evolve. We're sorry you want to stop receiving the paper; we're sending you this issue, obviously, and would hope you reconsider.

To take your points in sequence:

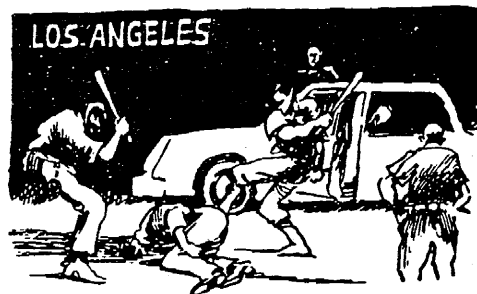
1) The article on the JDL, ADL and Zionist reaction does not equate the two groups. We have previously run several exposes of the ADL's spying and criticism of its generally pro-imperialist, establishment right wing agenda. As an arm of B'nai Brith, the ADL is openly

controlled by the wealthiest Jews, members of the international ruling class. As such, it is well-funded, endowed with extensive international resources and credibility. We do not subscribe to the view that it is part of a secret Jewish cabal that rules the media and the world, but it certainly true that the ADL has unique abilities to garner favorable press coverage and establishment support, and it returns these favors. We believe that Jews have a right and an obligation to investigate and expose neo-nazi bigots, but we regret that the ADL is granted such a dominant role by the rest of the Jewish community. We have called on progressive forces among Jews to denounce ADL racism, spying on progressive groups and people of color, and dirty tricks, and to try to clean house at the ADL if that is possible.

The JDL, while it probably enjoys financial support from the wealthy as well (though more covertly than the ADL), has always been more of a street-level organization, and by virtue of its militance and willingness to resort to violence has sometimes fooled people into believing it is an anti-establishment group, or that it has a viable strategy to defend Jews against nazis and other anti-Jewish violence. In fact, as its practice has demonstrated since its founding, the JDL is a virulently racist, anti-Arab, anti-Black, right wing organization, often associated with

their liberation struggle as by anti-Arab animosity unleashed by Israel's aggression in the Six-Day War.

The backdrop for this open anti-Black and anti-Puerto Rican racism included the struggles for community control of the schools, which were opportunistically denounced as anti-semitic because many teachers and principals in New York were Jewish; and the struggle for open admissions to the public colleges of the City University of New York (from which Black and Puerto Rican high school graduates had in the main been excluded, particularly at Brooklyn and Queens Colleges, with largely Jewish student bodies). This open racism has been a key element of the JDL's politics to this day, along with its particularly violent and hatefully anti-Arab form of zionism associated with Meier Kahane and his Kach party. It is no coincidence that the worst Jewish settlers in the occupied territories are American Jews fairly recently transplanted there. I have seen people I knew in high school and college brandishing Uzi's on TV.



crime, reactionary violence and thuggery. I knew people among the founders of the JDL in New York in 1967-68, and they were as intensely motivated by fear and hatred of Black people and

Here in California, the JDL has attacked Central America rallies, anti-klan demonstrations, Jews supporting the Israeli peace movement, immigrants, gays and lesbians, as well as Arab Americans. The fact that this "mission" is unchanged since 1967 is no recommendation for a group that has more in common with the nazis it claims to oppose.

2) Regarding your second point, PART is not anti-white. We are anti-"white supremacy," the material and ideological rea-

REACTION

lity that reflects and justifies European colonization of other people, mainly people of color. Color, of course, is not a necessary component of this colonialism. The English have colonized the Irish for centuries, and even implanted there the original settler colonists, the Anglo-Scot Protestants, in an effort to sustain their rule. This also created the model for settler colonies in the Americas, South Africa, Australia, and eventually, Palestine.

We do not believe that white people are genetically pre-determined to be racist, or inherently more racist or more oppressive than other peoples. But we do believe the material conditions



of existence of many people of European extraction, even those who are oppressed and exploited themselves, lead them to identify their interests as "whites," and therefore "entitled to supremacy," as opposed to as humans, as oppressed, and therefore entitled to justice and obligated to solidarity and conscientious living.

Even the article on the "New Abolitionism" in the last issue (which was the signed perspective of an editor of "Race Traitor" magazine, not of PART) proposed abolishing only this white racial solidarity and aggrandizement. We do not agree with everything in that article, particularly with its perspective that a relative handful of exceptional whites could topple white supremacy by in some manner refusing to participate in its operations. Overcoming this key aspect of a racist, oppressive society will require the mass participation of millions of people self-consciously seeking to build a better and different world, and apply

ing themselves to all the levers of power, political, economic, military and cultural.

3) Regarding Israel and Zionism, you are spouting the same discredited "A Land without people for a People without a land" line that Golda Meir used to justify Zionist aggression



(which is remarkably similar to the Afrikaaner settlement myths in South Africa -- that they met Black Africans simultaneously entering an empty land from the north). If some Jews lived continuously in Jerusalem and elsewhere in the area for the past two millenia, it was among a far larger number of Arab residents. The fact that the area was colonized by the Turks and British in this century after long years in other empires does not justify settler colonialism today. Nor should the Biblical blood-letting by Joshua and others in conquering the "promised land" serve as a model for how Jews today could live at peace with Arab neighbors who also seek to control their own destiny.

GUILTY OF



RACISM

THE WEST CONFRONTS GENOCIDE IN BOSNIA



Nor does opposing Zionist aggression blind us to the evils of Arab reaction and other imperialist powers in the region. One of the reasons the PLO enjoyed what support it has been able to garner among U.S. progressives, including some Jews, is its long-standing support for secular democracy, and the threat the Palestinian revolution posed to reactionary Arab regimes oppressing their own people. We would also point out that the Israeli regime oppresses dissenting Jews, as well.

Israeli Jews are not the only or the worst perpetrators of oppression and colonialism today. The neo-nazis who condemn Zionism while supporting all other forms of imperialism, and especially other settler colonialism such as the Boers in South Africa, the "Rhodesians," etc., are self-discrediting hypocrites. But neither, however, are Jews the only or the worst victims of genocide in history. Zionist and Jewish reactionaries claim that every criticism of Israel and Zionism is anti-semitism and Jew hatred. They appear to say that every denunciation of Palestinian oppression or of ongoing genocide against Africans and people of African descent diminishes and denies Hitler's genocide of European Jewry. In so doing, they are playing right into the hands of

the neo-nazi "historical revisionists" who want to portray the Holocaust as a "hoax;" a big lie perpetrated by the biggest liars.

Exceptionalizing the Holocaust from other horrors of inhumanity and genocide, or using the Holocaust to justify current oppressive practices of the Israeli regime, won't help to prevent a future repetition of such atrocities. Far from it! Such exceptionalization and rationalization weaken the overall struggle to prevent similar crimes against humanity which have happened and continue to happen. And since most similar crimes against humanity and the planet have targeted people of color (particularly the indigenous people of the Americas and Africans), it is essential to situate the defense of Jews against anti-Semitism and neo-nazi bigotry in a more general politics opposed to white supremacy and imperialism. This is what PART tries to do.

We hope this response will clarify our views on the questions you raised, not only to you but to all our readers.

Stress on Morality Avoids the Real Issues

BY LEE SUSTAR

Around the Fourth of July, Cornel West's *Race Matters* pulled ahead of Rush Limbaugh's *The Way Things Ought to Be* on the bestseller list of the *New York Times*.

The fact that a book of essays by a Black socialist could outpace the reactionary ravings of a talk show host shows how much things have changed since the Reagan-Bush era.

Unfortunately, West's attacks on the system are far outnumbered by rather empty, moralistic exhortations for Blacks and whites of all social classes to somehow come together in social harmony.

Far from a cohesive polemic on racism in the U.S., *Race Matters* is a collection of unrelated essays that ultimately fail to analyze the persistence of Black oppression.

And although West, 39, is a national co-chair of the Democratic Socialists of America, he does not argue for a socialist United States.

Instead, West—a Princeton University professor of religion and author of several books on philosophy—makes only a vague call for a return to liberal policies.

The book begins promisingly, with social criticism of a sort nearly absent in the go-go boom of the 1980s:

"American politics has been rocked by an unleashing of greed among opportunistic public officials—who have followed the lead of their counterparts in the private sphere, where, as of 1989, 1 percent of the population owned 37 percent of the wealth—leading to a profound cynicism and pessimism."

West points out that real wages of all workers have declined 20 percent since 1973, while wealth has been redistributed upwards.

Discussion of Racism

But having clearly [demarcated] this class line, West sets about erasing it from his discussion of racism.

He insists that the Los Angeles rebellion "was neither a race riot nor a class rebellion. Rather, this monumental upheaval was of a multiracial, trans-class, and largely male display of justified social rage."

For West, L.A. was not a result of class polarization, but a moral breakdown that transcends class.

"The Los Angeles upheaval was an expression of utter fragmentation by a powerless citizenry that includes not just the poor but all of us."

Yet "all of us" did not have to use a riot to obtain diapers and food, as many did in South-Central L.A.

The rich in Beverly Hills are not the "powerless citizenry."

They did not have to live in fear of troops occupying their streets or the midnight roundup by the LAPD.

Because West lacks a consistent class analysis of racism, he sometimes ends up blaming the victims of the system.

Equal Justice for Some

It was a cold December night in 1981. African American journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal was moonlighting as a cabbie on the mean streets of Philadelphia. These were hard times in the city, with racial tensions on the rise.

Yet, for Mumia, the year had begun with promise. "Voice of the voiceless," the Philadelphia Inquirer had called him; the Philadelphia Association of Black Journalists had elected him president, and the Philadelphia Magazine had named him as one of its "people to watch in 1981."

Mumia leaped at the opportunities such prominence offered to tell the stories of people without money or power. His hard-hitting, investigative journalism challenged police brutality, especially against the black community. He often visited the city jail to get the unofficial side of the story, even when the source was the controversial, primarily African American group of naturalists known as MOVE.

Steadfast commitment to expose injustice has a price. Mumia had caught the attention — void of any admiration — of certain city officials. Mayor Rizzo publicly blamed "a new breed of advocacy journalism" for fueling tensions between poor and black people and the city's police.

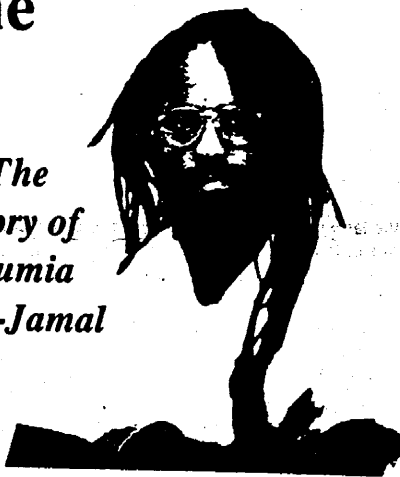
Mumia and the issues he covered became too hot for any city radio station to handle. He lost his regular broadcast job. While freelancing, he drove a cab at night to feed his family.

It was about 4:00 AM when Mumia pulled over to let off his fare. As he turned to give the rider his change, his eye caught a chilling sight: a police officer beating a black man. Responding as he had all his life when encountering injustice, Mumia rushed to protest the beating. Shock became anguish when Mumia realized that the motorist was his own brother, Bill, who had been stopped for a traffic violation.

In the fateful minutes that followed, the police officer was killed and Mumia took a bullet in the abdomen. Near dead, Mumia was beaten by police both at the scene and again in the hospital.

The District Attorney charged Mumia with murder and sought the death penalty. The case was quickly brought before Philadelphia Judge Albert Sabo, a man known for sentencing more people to death than any other judge in the country — all but

The Story of Mumia Abu-Jamal



two of them persons of color. Mumia sought and was granted his right to defend himself.

Three days into jury selection, Mumia was removed from his own defense. The court ordered a defense attorney to take over though he protested that he had neither the time nor the experience to handle the case. Mumia, too, protested, and was banished from the trial.

The prosecution argued that Mumia was the killer. Yet, they were unable to produce the murder weapon. A police ballistics expert testified that the bullets found at the scene could not be matched to a gun legally registered in Mumia's name. Furthermore, their case rested solely on the testimony of two eyewitnesses — whose accounts would change several times before the trial. Hand-picked from a pool of over 125 eyewitnesses — some of whom reported seeing a third man shoot the officer and flee — both had previous convictions and pending charges, making them susceptible to police pressures.

The trial was fraught with bias. The prosecution excluded 11 of 16 potential black jurors without cause. Especially blatant were the violations of Mumia's First Amendment rights of free speech and association. Judge Sabo allowed the prosecutor to cross-examine Mumia about his youthful participation in the Black Panther Party and to argue that his political background demonstrated his propensity to kill a cop.

With the deck stacked against him, Mumia never had a chance. The jury of ten whites and two blacks convicted him and sentenced him to death on July 3, 1982.

"Up South":

The Philadelphia Context

Mumia Abu-Jamal's case graphically illustrates what happens when the death penalty is levied in a legal system plagued by racism and injustice.

With 161 people on death row, Pennsylvania has the fourth largest death row in the nation, and the threat of resuming executions looms large. Representing only 9% of the state's overall population, blacks account for 61% of those on death row. Over half of these state prisoners were prosecuted and sentenced in Philadelphia. Of the Philadelphia inmates, 79% are black and almost all are poor.

Until recently, Philadelphia's defender association was prohibited from handling death penalty cases. Ill-trained, ill-prepared and inexperienced lawyers handle the most demanding of all criminal cases. Court-appointed attorneys often must go to federal court to be compensated because of the area's

dire economic situation: it leads a national list of counties facing major budgetary shortfalls. Only about 80 of the city's 8,000 lawyers both qualify and are willing to represent capitol-charged defendants because it takes months or even years to get compensated.

Meanwhile, the Philadelphia District Attorney's office zealously seeks the death penalty in 50% of all homicide cases, whether or not the facts warrant it. This not only places an undue burden on the defense, it insures that a death-qualified jury is seated, automatically barring the service of anyone opposed to the death penalty. Whether or not a death sentence results, the practice increases the likelihood of a conviction as death-qualified juries are widely understood to be guilt-prone juries.

His essay, "Nihilism in Black America" echoes the arguments of those who push the racist theory that a "culture of poverty" is to blame for Black oppression.

West claims to reject those thinkers because he links "a sense of worthlessness and hopelessness in Black America" to "the structural dynamics of corporate market institutions."

But rather than call for a struggle against those institutions, he calls for a "love ethic" that "confronts the self-destruction and inhumane actions of Black people."

This is nothing but a philosophical version of the call for Black people to pull themselves up by their bootstraps.

West's chapters on Black leadership do not come to grips with the growing class divide in Black America.

"Moral Reasoning"

He concludes that the Black political establishment tended to back Black conservative

Clarence Thomas for the Supreme Court because they lacked "a prophetic framework of moral reasoning."

West does not consider the possibility that much of the liberal Black establishment backed the conservative Thomas because they shared his pro-capitalist world view.

The author does target the "decadence" of the Black middle class and dismisses most Black elected officials as ineffectual administrators of a crisis-ridden system.

Again, West sees this as a moral failure rather than evidence that the growing Black middle class has interests different from, and increasingly opposed to, those of Black workers.

Class is also missing from West's essay on Black-Jewish relations.

By emphasizing Black anti-Semitism, West neglects the ways in which Jewish upward mobility and assimilation in the last 50 years undermined the old working-class basis for Black-Jewish solidarity in the struggle for social justice.

Rather than gaining insights into how Black-Jewish relationships are shaped by dynamics of race and class, we get yet another lecture about the moral content of the Black movement.

The same is true of West's treatment of homophobia and sexism among Black Americans.

Because he tends to divorce individual morality from collective struggle, West cannot see how such backward ideas can be broken down in movements for social change.

Unfortunately, *Race Matters* never comes close to even raising the question, let alone answering it.

Many anti-racists will want to read *Race Matters* to keep up with current debates on race and class in the U.S.

But the book cannot be recommended as a useful tool in the anti-racist struggle.

Reprinted from *Alternative Orange*,
126-T Bohne Center, S.U., Syracuse NY 13244

Kettleman Wins the Big One

Early in the morning on September 7, 1993, Kettleman City community activist Mary Lou Mares was surprised to see the general manager of Chemical Waste Management's Kettleman Hills toxic waste dump coming up her front walk. Her surprise turned to elation when he handed her a press release and said, "It's over, Mary Lou, it's over." The press release announced that Chem Waste was withdrawing its proposal to build a massive toxic waste incinerator near Kettleman City.

"Si se puede! (Yes we can!)" said Mares, one of the leaders of the Kettleman community group El Pueblo para el Aire y Agua Limpio (People for Clean Air and Water), which had been fighting the proposed incinerator for years. "This is a historic victory for environmental justice and against environmental racism."

The defeat of the incinerator will have national repercussions in the grassroots fight for pollution prevention, and is a serious setback to the toxic waste incineration industry nationally. The six-year David vs. Goliath fight has pitted a tiny, 95 percent Latino, farmworker community against the largest toxic waste disposal company in the world. "We're crying for joy for this — I knew in my heart that we could do it," said Espy Maya, another leader of the community group, when she heard the news.

The struggle of the people of Kettleman City was supported by dozens of environmental and social justice organizations across the country, including Greenpeace and California Rural Legal Assistance, two organizations that have worked closely with the community group for years. "This shows the power of the people. Without everybody's help we would never have made it," said Maya.

Kettleman City residents were exuberant at the announcement, which they predicted would galvanize other, similarly situated communities. "This victory will fill the people with power — this is not the only thing we're fighting. We're fighting all the injustices that are done to us," said Ramon Mares, another community leader. Chem Waste currently operates the largest toxic waste dump west of Louisiana just 4 miles from Kettleman City. California's other two toxic dumps, run by Laidlaw at Buttonwillow and Westmorland, are in 52% and 72% Latino towns, respectively.

The community celebrated with an October 2 Fiesta del Pueblo in Kettleman City, which drew hundreds of supporters from across California as well as from Texas, New Mexico and Arizona. A special guest was Kaye Kiker of York, Alabama, who has spent the past ten years fighting Chem Waste's Emelle dumpsite, the largest toxic dump in the

>>> SEE KETTLEMAN CITY, page 47

country and also in a low-income community of color.

"The victory of the people of Kettleman City will inspire people across the country to stand up for justice and a clean environment," said Bradley Angel, Southwest Toxics Coordinator for Greenpeace, who has been working with the community for six years.

The incinerator, first proposed in 1988, was approved by the Kings County Board of Supervisors in 1991. It has been held up since that time by a court challenge by El Pueblo. "The people of Kettleman City have rejected Chem Waste's environmental racism," said Luke Cole, an attorney with California Rural Legal Assistance who represented the

Kettleman City residents were exuberant at the announcement, which they predicted would galvanize other, similarly situated communities. "This victory will fill the people with power — this is not the only thing we're fighting. We're fighting all the injustices that are done to us," said community leader Ramon Mares.

Join the Campaign!

Mumia's direct appeals have been exhausted. *A death warrant can be signed at any time.*

Equal Justice USA is coordinating an educational campaign to pressure for a new trial and to expose the horrors of the death penalty. Thousands of petitions, postcards and letters have been sent to the Pennsylvania Governor.

Public pressure is having an impact. Recently, Huntingdon prison staff released Mumia from disciplinary custody — the most restrictive in the Pennsylvania system. He had been held there since 1986 simply for refusing to cut his dreadlocks. He now is permitted access to TV and radio and a wider array of books, as well as two phone calls a month.

Yet, conditions on death row continue to violate international standards on human rights. [Call or write for details.]

Equal Justice USA working in a partnership with Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal — an initiative rooted in Philadelphia's black community. Together, we are working to build public support and to raise funds for Mumia's legal defense. All legal funds are being channeled through the Black United Fund in Philadelphia.

Renowned defense attorney Leonard Weinglass has assumed the role of chief counsel. He and NAACP Legal Defense Fund staff attorney Steve Hawkins are overseeing the first real investigation of the case. Key eyewitnesses are being located and

ballistics and crime-scene specialists have been retained. The probe has already exposed a history of prosecutorial misconduct. A Pennsylvania court found the prosecutor coached witnesses and withheld evidence in a prior rape and murder trial. We have also learned that two members of the jury hearing Mumia's case had close family members and friends who had served on the Philadelphia Police force.

These and all other indications encourage our belief that Mumia was convicted of a crime he didn't commit and stir excitement that we will be able to successfully reopen the case. We expect the investigation to be completed by the end of 1993 and a motion for a new trial to be filed shortly thereafter.

Your Help is Needed!

- 1) **Call or write Governor Robert Casey** at Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120 (717)783-1198. Insist that he insure Mumia a new and fair trial and that he not sign his or any other death warrant!
- 2) **Send a donation** to support the campaign to:
Equal Justice USA
P.O. Box 5206
Hyattsville, MD 20782
- 3) **Spread the word!** Contact Equal Justice USA at 301-699-0042 for organizing materials.

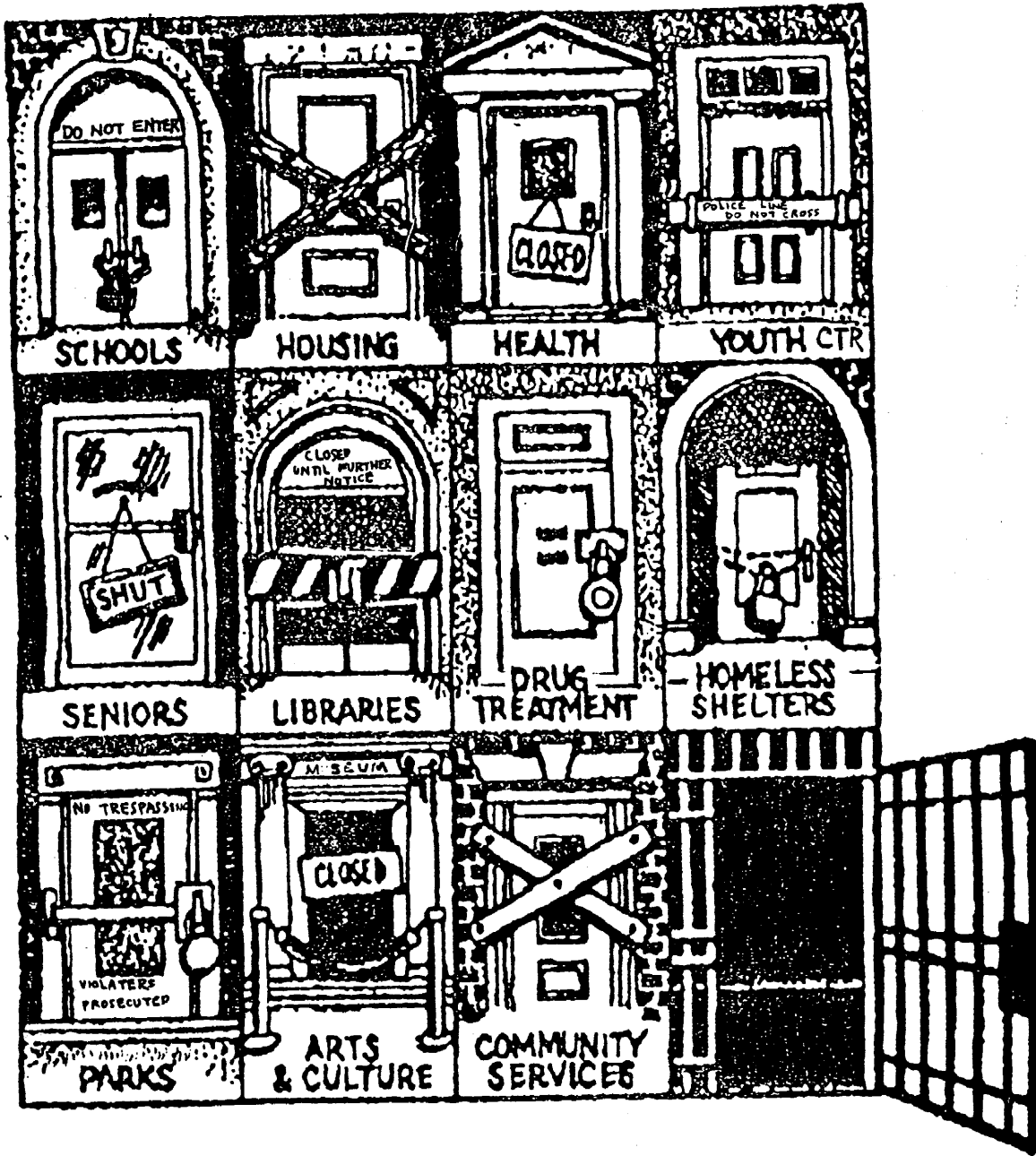
community in the lawsuit. The community won its legal challenge in late 1991 when a Sacramento Superior Court judge ruled that Kings County had not adequately studied the environmental impacts of the incinerator and that the County had not included the Spanish-speaking people of Kettleman City in the environmental review process. Chem Waste appealed the decision, and the appeal was awaiting oral argument in the Court of Appeals in Sacramento when the incinerator proposal was scrapped. "Chem Waste withdrew its appeal, reaffirming the community's legal victory in the Superior Court," said Cole.

Kettleman residents thanked their supporters nationwide, but reserved special praise for Kings County Supervisor Abel Mirreles, the first supervisor to vote against the toxic incinerator proposal in 1991. "Abe was the only supervisor who believed in us and cared for us all along," said Maya.

Chem Waste's announcement came as the struggle against the incinerator gained momentum. There have been recent protests involving Kettleman residents at government agencies in the San Francisco Bay Area, and thousands of postcards have been written to the Kings County Board of Supervisors.

"If you work together, you can beat even the biggest companies," said Mary Lou Mares.

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