

Journal of Anti-Racist Activism, Research & Education

TURNING THE TIDE

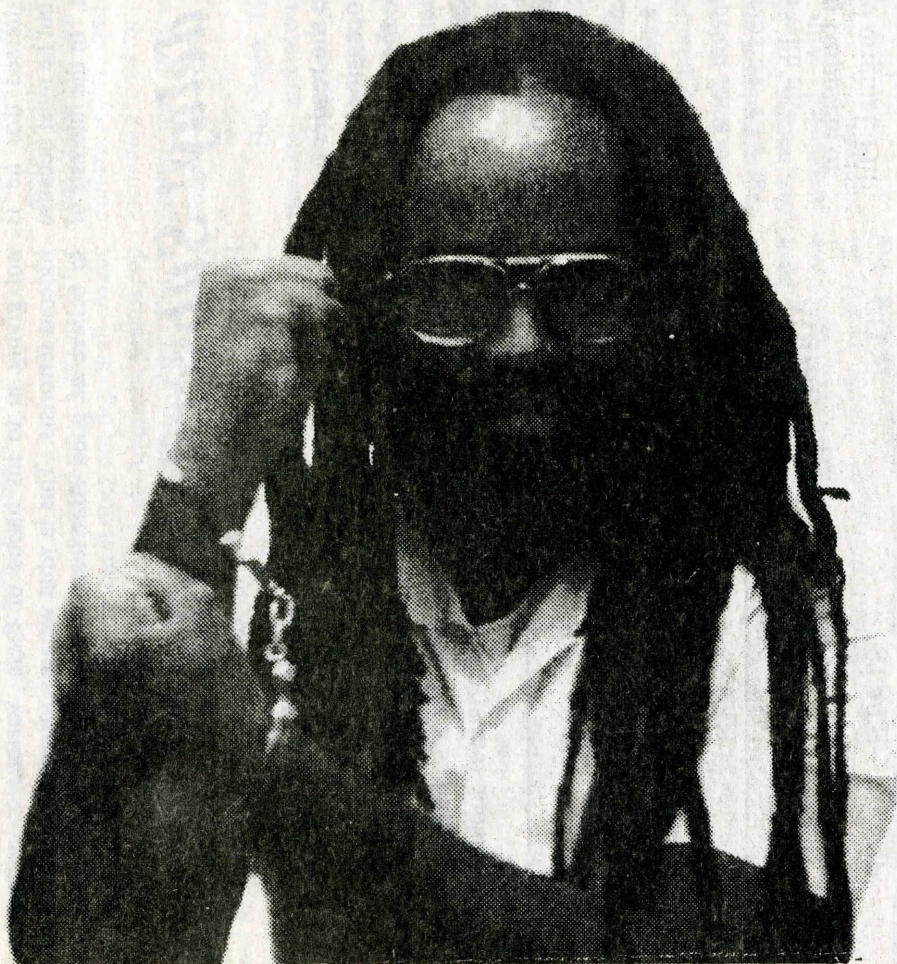
Volume 11 Number 4

Winter 1998-99

\$2/newsstands

INSIDE THIS ISSUE: ANTI-ABORTION TERROR*VOICE OF A.R.A.
JULY 4TH 2000*CIA & DRUGS*CARIBBEAN POEMS*INS RACISM*

FREE MUMIA!



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

PART's Perspective:

Create a Culture of Resistance — Impeach the Government!

With the resignations of Speaker Newt Gingrich and Speaker-elect Bob Livingston, and the impeachment of President Bill Clinton, Congress has finally taken a few positive if tentative steps in the right direction — towards a political murder-suicide pact. Fratricidal warfare has erupted between the two parties of the Dollar Empire, between the Imperial Presidency and the Neo-Confederate Congress.

But what are anti-racists committed to human liberation to do about the debate over the potential removal of Clinton from office? We cannot be content to cheer on the sidelines as the powers-that-be wallop each other. The exposures of the involvement of Trent Lott and Bob Barr with the neo-

It's Bill Clinton — no liar — who promised to end welfare as we know it, to expand the death penalty, to add 100,000 street cops, and *he did*. Bill Clinton has presided over the militarization of the border, the bloodshed in Waco, the imprisonment of well over a million Americans, the genocidal sanctions and periodic bombardment of Iraq.

Clinton reneged on every promise to protect the environment. He cut a deal with Pacific Lumber that dooms the California redwoods and the species that inhabit them. It's Bill Clinton who granted the Christian right authority to grant accreditation to schools and colleges. The Republicans hate him with such a passion precisely because he stole their thunder!

But if both sides in the impeachment battle have shown themselves to be enemies of the people and the planet, how do we deal with it? We need to figure out how best to take advantage of this in-fighting among the political representatives of the exploiters. Can we use these emerging contradictions to weaken the rulers and to advance the cause of the liberation of the oppressed?

To do this we need to understand what is really at stake in this battle of the dinosaurs. The scandals about the sexual conduct of Dan Burton, Helen Chenoweth, Bob Livingston and Henry Hyde among many others on the Republican side of the aisle make clear that the Clinton affair (no pun intended) is not about sex or sexual harassment, but about power and ideology.

But though we should certainly attack the hypocrisy of the Republicans on issues of sexual morality and the repressive nature of their abortion policies, we should not embrace Clinton or his sexual politics either. Under Clinton, abortion availability has reached its lowest level since legalization. Clinton wants merely to

retain the legal right to abortion ("safe, legal and rare" is his mantra), not to achieve the liberation of women.

Clinton wants to accommodate women's desire for personal freedom in hopes that it will ensure their loyalty to and participation in the economic operations and social order of the empire. In this arena, as in others, he presents himself and his 'centrist' politics as the best deal people can get.

As he baldly put it to the AFL-CIO, the U.S. has 4% of the world's population and consumes more than 20% of the world's resources, and if labor wants to maintain that and enjoy a share of its fruits, it needs to back him.

Some on the left and the right like to intone that there is no difference between the Republicans and the Democrats. But if this were so, they would be incapable of functioning as they do, as mass parties with interest group constituencies. The parties still serve as major mechanisms for organizing the consent and participation of a significant portion of the U.S. population precisely because they do represent slightly different takes on how best to run the U.S. empire.

True, economic and political contradictions are narrowing the options that the rulers can choose among. The collapse of the Soviet empire and decreasing corporate profitability have precipitated a general abandonment of the welfare state, with the result that more and more people are alienated from the electoral farce or attracted to alternatives like Jesse "the Body" Ventura.

The two parties are very close these days on welfare, education, immigration, and incarceration, but there are still a couple of very significant disagreements. One is more 'domestic' and public, and emerges most sharply over the issue of abortion

rights. The other is more 'international' and is rarely discussed openly in the media or the political arena. It has to do with how to handle China and to a lesser extent Iran (and Iraq).

But it's not our job to defend Bill Clinton from Hyde or Lott. The enemy of our enemy may also be our enemy. We have no interest in defending the presidency, a most undemocratic institution as conceived in the Constitution and now distorted beyond recognition by the powers of the empire.

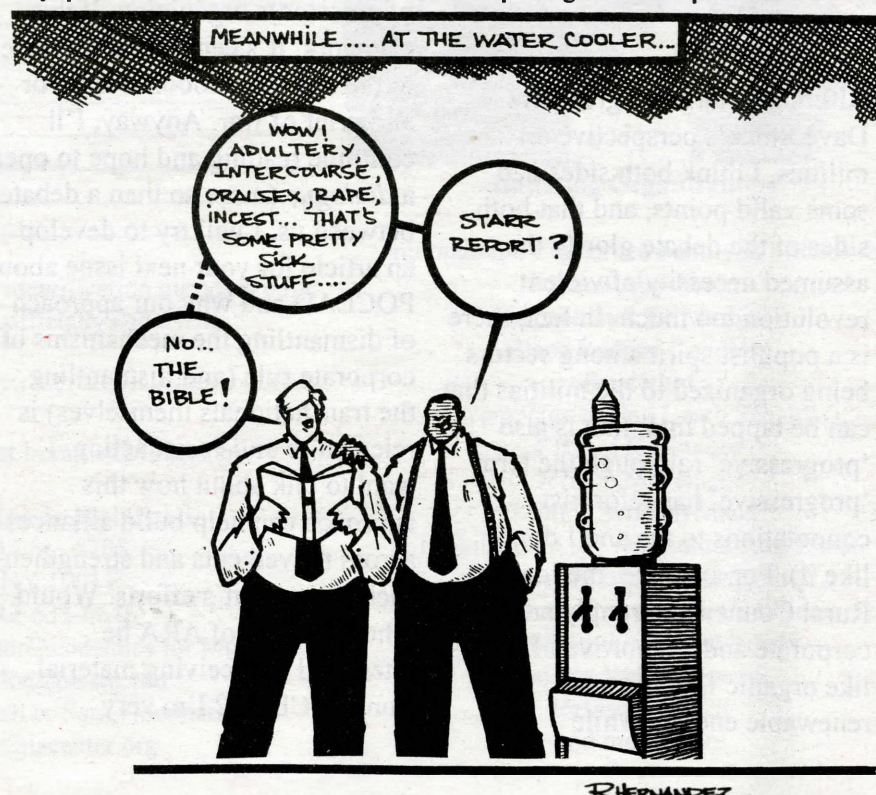
Roughly speaking, the G.O.P. is the party of clerical fascism and more naked whiteness on both of those questions. The Republicans see militant Christianity as the glue that will re-consolidate the state after the destabilizing and liberatory gains of the social movements of the 60's and 70's. It is also the armament that they believe will defeat the challenges to white world supremacy of Islam and 'Communism' in Asia.

But the Democrats are not the party of liberation — they stand for neo-colonialism. Domestically, they fear that going along with the Christian Right crackdown on women, lesbians and gays will open a significant fissure in Euro-American consent to and acceptance of the imperial state. Internationally, they fear toppling the repressive regimes in China and Iran. They perceive the mullahs and the

Chinese 'Communists' as providing the stability necessary to ensure the markets, labor and resources that will extend the profitability and the very survival of the dominant corporate powers. They see the current sorry state and dangerous political currents in the former Soviet Union as an object lesson on the necessity of working with the elites already in power.

Yet neither of these positions deals with the interests of oppressed and exploited people. It's not time to defend the New Deal; it's time to say, No deal! We must seize the time for a different politics — a politics of human solidarity and planetary sustainability.

The strength and wealth of this empire is extracted from the land and people it exploits. As we resist, it will materially affect the balance of power between the forces of oppression and those of liberation. The sharpening contradiction between the branches of government and the capitalist parties provides a chance for us to sharpen our contradictions with the empire state. It's an opening for direct political action.



A Statement From Death Row

by Mumia Abu Jamal, SCI-Greene, Waynesburg, PA, October 31, 1998

Once again, Pennsylvania's highest court has shown us the best justice that FOP (Fraternal Order of Police) money can buy. Ignoring right reason, their own precedent, and fundamental justice, they have returned to the stranglehold of death. In their echoes of the tortured logic of Judge Albert Sabo, they have reflected a striking fidelity to the DA's office. If it's fair to have a tribunal who are in part admittedly paid by the FOP – and at least one justice who can double as DA one day and a judge the next in the same case – then fairness is just as empty a word as "justice". To paraphrase Judge Sabo, it is "just an emotional feeling."

In recent months the Pennsylvania Supreme Court has upheld death sentences in cases where an impartial reading of transcripts or pleadings would make an honest affirmation all but impossible. They have ignored all evidence of innocence, overlooked clear instances of jury taint, and cast a dead eye on defense attorneys'

ineffectiveness. What they have done in my case is par for the course. This is a political decision, paid for by the FOP on the eve of the election. It is a Mischief Night gift from a court that has a talent for the macabre.

I am sorry that this court did not rule on the right side of history. But I am not surprised. Every time our nation has come to a fork in the road with regard to race, it has chosen to take the path of compromise and betrayal. On October 29th, 1998, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court committed a collective crime: it damned due process, strangled the fair trial, and raped justice.

Even after this legal legerdemain [sleight of hand] I remain innocent. A court cannot make an innocent man guilty. Any ruling founded on injustice is not justice. The righteous fight for life, liberty, and for justice can only continue.

MILLIONS FOR MUMIA

Saturday, April 24, Philadelphia, PA March of a Million

A NEW TRIAL FOR MUMIA IS A SIMPLE APPEAL FOR JUSTICE.

The police and courts of Philadelphia, the most notorious in the U.S. for brutality and corruption, have framed an innocent and courageous journalist. Mumia Abu-Jamal is on death row awaiting execution. His case has attracted wide support among human rights activists around the world. The Pennsylvania State Supreme Court recently denied Abu-Jamal's appeal for a new trial. Governor Thomas Ridge said he will sign a death warrant for Mumia Abu-Jamal's execution. Mumia's attorneys have sought a rehearing and will eventually file a federal appeal, but death penalty appeals at the federal level have been seriously circumscribed in the last few years.

The struggle for Mumia Abu-Jamal's life must be won in the streets. It has become an epicenter of the people's movements trying to shake free from the widespread human rights violations that Amnesty International now documents as plaguing the entire United States (police brutality, runaway prison-building and use of the death penalty, harassment of asylum seekers and the marketing of weaponry). We must have no illusions. The system is capable of any atrocity or injustice to maintain its illegitimate power. It seeks to kill Mumia because it fears him and his uncompromising resistance. It seeks to demonstrate its power over our struggle and to intimidate any of us from raising our voices. The struggle for Mumia is a struggle for ourselves and our future. *We dare not lose this struggle for Mumia.* We cannot concede the power of life and death over our freedom fighters to the state. The time to act is now!

WE MUST UNITE TO SAVE MUMIA!

On Saturday, April 24th in Philadelphia, on Mumia's birthday, a massive outpouring will demand the basic right that suppressed information be heard. Together we can be a powerful force for truth. Hip hop and rap artists, international delegates, prominent political figures and religious leaders will join with tens of

thousands of students and youths, as well as many thousands more community activists, trade unionists and people's organizations in building a powerful mobilization in Philadelphia. We need every prominent voice, every person who is on the move for comprehensive justice and peace, people stepping out from every public sector. The sooner you sign on, the more quickly we can build this movement. Thank you! Use the form below, today!

I want to add my name to the list of endorsing organizations and individuals for the Millions for Mumia April 24 March in Philadelphia to defend Mumia's right to life and to a fair trial.

Name _____
Phone _____
Address _____
City/State _____
Zip _____
Country _____
email address _____
Organization _____

☐ List organization for identification purposes only
☐ My organization has officially endorsed.

Endorsements list being organized by:

Millions for Mumia Mobilization
39 W. 14 St., #206,
NY, NY 10011
phone: 212-633-6646
E-mail to Mark Taylor/Academics for Mumia:
mark.taylor@ptsem.edu
or Cheryl LaBash or Sara Flounders:
iacenter@iacenter.org



Initiating Organizations:

International Concerned Family & Friends for
Mumia Abu-Jamal
Academics for Mumia
Black Radical Congress
Bruderhof
Campaign to End Death Penalty
Critical Resistance
Jericho Movement
Million Woman March
Mobilization to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal
National People's Campaign
New York Free Mumia Coalition
People Against Racist Terror
Peoples Video Network
Refuse & Resist
and many more

LETTERS TO P.A.R.T.

A Response Regarding an Exchange of Views on the Militia Movement

Dear Michael,

I found the Volume 11 #3 (Fall 1998) issue of *Turning the Tide* well worth reading. I have been sharing the material with folks here in Oregon and elsewhere who are focusing on the environment and corporate accountability and mostly are not focusing on racism as their primary activism. In other words, I feel there is fertile ground for some cross-movement alliance building which could strengthen our respective movements.

I have worked almost full time as an activist in a wide range of environmental issues and social justice support (including for indigenous issues) since 1980. Recently, I'm focusing more and more on bringing down corporate power directly by dismantling the *mechanisms* of corporate control. I became part of the Program on Corporations, Law and Democracy (POCLAD) to better achieve this. I speak on these topics around the northwest, and have helped organize successful End Corporate Domination groups and conferences. But I also live and work in the heart of the "Wise Use Movement"/militia country in eastern Oregon, trying to stop the most destructive federal timber sales in three national forests out here. So of course the subject matter in your fall issue interested me a great deal. In particular, I wanted to comment on the exchange regarding the militia movement.

Although I largely agree with Dave Stock's perspective on militias, I think both sides had some valid points, and that both sides of the debate glorify the assumed necessity of violent revolution too much. In fact, there is a populist spirit among sectors being organized to the militias that can be tapped into, that is also 'progressive' (although the term 'progressive' has reformist connotations to me and I don't like it). For example, the Idaho Rural Council is strongly anti-corporate and supportive of things like organic farming and renewable energy, while

representing small farmers and ranchers (who in my area of eastern OR are heavily dominated by the "Wise Use" agenda) in a politically 'conservative' (i.e., reactionary) state. So the situation is not so black and white as portrayed in the duality of the militia debate.

That's the problem with the debate or argument format. The two writers are trying to win over or discount each other, rather than coming to terms with points of truth on each side, and to learn from each other; this is typical of U.S. anti-culture. Anyway, I agreed with some of James Murray's critique of comfortable white 'vanguard' intellectualizing even as I wondered how representative his contacts with militias were, and rejected his easy acceptance of 'casual racism.' I agreed with some of Dave Stock's criticisms of reactionary and racist thinking in militias. I think we can create the future (or limit it) with our ideas, so why does Stock limit his perspective of the future to taking up arms as the only way out? I think this is rather outmoded and suicidal. Why does James Murray wait for someone "to give us the struggle we desire"? I'm an anarchist, too, but I'm not waiting for someone to hand me a struggle. I'm trying to set the tone of the struggle I'm in and working to change things non-violently if at all possible.

Also, anarchism does not mean that our strategy is disorder. I prefer the vision of fostering mutual aid through the real work of grassroots organizing. If this can work, it's certainly preferable to the real-life bloodshed, terror and grief of war. Anyway, I'll continue reading and hope to open a *dialogue* (more so than a debate) between us. I will try to develop an article for your next issue about POCLAD and why our approach of dismantling the mechanisms of corporate rule (and dismantling the transnationals themselves) is relevant to anti-racist action. I want to talk about how this approach can help build alliances across movements and strengthen each movement's efforts. Would other chapters of ARA be interested in receiving material from POCLAD? I'm very

impressed by the number and distribution of ARA groups. How are you all structured?

I am also going to order your book, *White Lies White Power*, to further educate myself on racism. We work in loose alliance here with the Rural Organizing Project (which started out to defend gays and lesbians in rural areas of Oregon and has since expanded to focus on civil rights organizing in rural areas in general). I've been working a bit with Zapatista supporters. Another significant development is Aguascalientes Dialogues in Oregon, embracing the northwest Hispanic community, migrant farm-workers, tree planters, Hispanic activists resisting racist police brutality, etc. It's a positive example of cross-culture, cross-movement alliance building.

Karen Coulter
End Corporate Dominance
HCR-82
Fossil OR 97830

For more information about the Program on Corporations, Law and Democracy, write to their national office at: POCLAD, PO Box 246, South Yarmouth MA 02664-0246; 508-398-1145; fax 508-398-1552; e-mail: people@poclad.org.

Political Prisoners of War Coalition

Revolutionary Greetings;
Clenched-fist Salute!!

To the People!

My name is Ali Khalid Abdullah. I am a New Afrikan (Black) man currently incarcerated with the Michigan Department of Corrections (MDOC) for taking strategic actions for my political/social beliefs. I am an anarchist who believes in self-autonomy, end of government or state rule and dominance over the people.

I've been incarcerated within Michigan's death-kkkamps for the past 10 years and during this time I've continued to struggle for the people by politicizing un-politicized prisoners; exposing the abuses of prison administrators and guards; and developing a

prisoner-oriented political organization called Political Prisoners of War Coalition (PPWC). This is a non-sectarian organization dedicated to changing the existing government and its politics by and through re-education and other meaningful acts that meet the necessary means for change.

I and PPWC are supported by and work with the following U.S. groups: Raze the Walls!, Claustrophobia, Active Transformation, and the ARA. Our European comrades are Huddersfield ABC (Anarchist Black Cross), ABC-Ghent, and the Cruz Negra Anarquista. Our Canadian comrades include Moncton ABC. We also work with independent individuals as well as Marxist-Leninist, Maoist and other revolutionary groups by *maximizing* our common purposes and goals and *minimizing* the differences we may have in theory, philosophy, ideology or the methodological approaches we might choose to use in order to effect change.

I forward this letter in hopes of networking and developing revolutionary dialogue in ways that could strengthen our solidarity in order to move us forcefully against oppression, repression, racism, sexism, homophobia, kapitalism, imperialism, kolonialism, nazism, fascism, and other parasitic socio-political ills. We hope you will welcome me and accept my invitation to work with me and my comrades for the betterment of all.

My writings and those of PPWC can be obtained by contacting the following: Raze the Walls!, 2351 College Station Rd. Box 523, Athens GA 30605; Cynthia Risher, PO Box 554, Lincoln MA 01773; or the Huddersfield ABC, PO Box 381, Huddersfield HD1 3XX, England. I look forward to our future solidarity and friendship. Until All are free, I remain...

In the trenches...
Ali Khalid Abdullah
#148130
Saginaw Corr. Facility
9625 Pierce Road
Freeland MI 48623

Jericho '99

Amnesty Campaign for Political Prisoners and P.O.W.'s

On the 50th anniversary of the adoption of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, there is a grave on-going violation of human rights, right here in the U.S.A. — the continued imprisonment, often under particularly repressive conditions, of more than 100 political prisoners and P.O.W.'s. These are prisoners inside state and federal "correctional" institutions for their political beliefs and practices in the struggle for liberation — members of the Black Panther Party, such as Dr. Mutulu Shakur and Mumia Abu-Jamal; members of the MOVE organization such as Janine Phillips Africa and Charles Simmons Africa; Puerto Rican *independentistas* like Alicia and Ida Luz Rodriguez and Carlos Alberto Torres; American Indian Movement warriors like Leonard Peltier; white anti-imperialists like Linda Evans and David Gilbert. Not to mention political exiles like Assata Shakur, living in asylum in Cuba, who describes herself as a 20th Century fugitive slave, and who has been the target of a recent vicious campaign led by New Jersey Gov. Christie

Whitman, that recently resulted in a near-unanimous Congressional resolution defying international treaties and calling on the Cuban government to return Assata to the US for incarceration.

These freedom fighters have been locked down — some for more than two decades — because of their effectiveness in mobilizing our communities for self-determination. In part because of their continued incarceration, the government has been able to carry out such measures as the destruction of social services, the transfer of funding from schools to prisons, continued police brutality, and mass incarceration. We need these brothers and sisters beside us on the streets, as we near the 21st Century, to help advance our struggles for freedom and justice. These self-sacrificing individuals continue to organize behind prison walls — their courageous and uncompromising resistance calls out for our best efforts to free them now!



Carmen Valentín

Last year, in response to a call from inside prison walls, the Jericho campaign for amnesty for political prisoners/POW's was launched on a national basis. There was a successful rally of thousands in Washington DC, and a spirited local rally of several hundred protesters outside the Criminal Courts building in Los Angeles. Get involved in this year's effort to build and extend Jericho '99, so that our freedom fighters will not spend one more day behind bars! This year, activities will build on a local level in cities across the country. There is now a Jericho '99 Los Angeles Organizing Coalition which meets the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month at the offices of the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, 2907 W. Vernon, east of Crenshaw, near Leimert Park.

Here are just a few of the events through which you can help make Jericho '99 — and more important, the prisoners we are trying to free — household names. Let our watchword be resistance — Free our Freedom Fighters! For more information, call the Jericho '99 L.A. Organizing Coalition at the offices of the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, 213-294-3836

FUND-RAISING & EDUCATIONAL SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA EVENT CALENDAR for JERICHO '99 AMNESTY CAMPAIGN

Free Leonard Peltier!

Fund-raiser video showing: "Incident at Oglala"
Friday, January 8, 1999, 8:00 p.m.
Luna Sol Cafe
2501 W. 6th St., LA

JERICHO '99 Amnesty Campaign



Mutulu Shakur

**Jericho '99 workshop on Amnesty for
Political Prisoners and POW's**
at the **ARA Regional Gathering**,
Saturday, Jan. 16, 11:30 am
Koo's Cafe,
1505 N. Main St. Santa Ana.

Ex-Political prisoner Ed Mead
former member of George Jackson Brigade
and a leader of the fight against prison rape and
sexism,
Thursday, Jan. 21, 8:00
PCH Club,
1832 E. Pacific Coast Highway, Wilmington
(between 710 and 110 freeways)
For club info: 310-830-7381
at a political-punk-rock show
featuring the **Young Pioneers and Locust**

Ex-Political prisoner Ed Mead will also speak
Friday, Jan 22, 7:00 pm
KAOS Network, 4343 Leimert, L.A. and
Saturday, Jan 23, 7:00 pm
Midnight Special Bookstore,
1318 Third Street Promenade, Santa Monica

"All Power to the People" — The Black Panther
Party, American Indian Movement,
FBI's COINTELPRO, CIA's MK-ULTRA —
a film by Lee Lew-Lee.
Benefit Video Showing for Jericho '99
Friday, February 12 8:00 PM
Luna Sol Cafe, 2501 W. Sixth St. L.A.
near MacArthur Park

"A Case of Reasonable Doubt" -- video on
Mumia Abu-Jamal,
Wednesday, February 17, 7:00 pm
New Panther Vanguard Movement headquarters
1470 W. Martin Luther King Blvd, L.A.
For info: NPVM, 213-296-4383.

"Can't Jail the Spirit" and "Break the Chains"
videos on political prisoners, educational forum
New Panther Vanguard Movement headquarters
Wednesday March 3, 7:00 PM
1470 W. Martin Luther King Blvd, L.A.

"Through the Wire"
video on women political prisoners Silvia
Baraldini and Susan Rosenberg and Puerto Rican
POW Alejandrina Torres and the successful
struggle to shut down a federal women's
maximum security, sensory deprivation prison.
Celebrate **International Women's Day**.
Saturday, March 7, 7:00 PM
Luna Sol Cafe,
2501 W. Sixth St. L.A.

Can't Jail the Spirit:
Music and spoken word performance benefit
for Jericho '99
Amnesty Campaign for Political Prisoners and
POW's.
Saturday, March 13, Time and Place TBA
SAVE THE DATE!

**Jericho '99 is set for
Saturday, March 27, 1999.**

WHITE HOUSE
Pres. Bill Clinton,
1600 Pennsylvania Ave,
Washington, DC 20500.
202-456-1414
<president@whitehouse.gov >

**The SPEAKER of the
HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES**
Rep. J. Dennis Hastert,
2241 Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, DC 20515,
202-225-0197,
email: dhastert@mail.house.gov

On his web-site, Hastert declares: "As Chairman of the Speaker's Task Force for a Drug-Free America and chief negotiator of the anti-drug section of our Omnibus Budget Package, I'm proud to announce that we've finalized the details of a true War on Drugs to stop the supply, deter the demand, and increase the accountability of our overall drug fighting strategy." If Hastert really wants to stop the supply and increase the accountability, then his top priority as Speaker must be open, thorough,

public hearings into the CIA's role!
**HOUSE PERMANENT SELECT
COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE,**
Rm H-405, US Capitol,
Washington, D.C. 20515
Phone 202-225-4121.
FAX 202-225-1991

**SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON
INTELLIGENCE,**
Room 211, Hart Bldg
Washington, D.C., 20510
202-224-1700. FAX 202-224-1772

From the media we want:

Full public coverage of hearings on
Volume II of the CIA IG report!

ABC, Arita Krichman
1717 De Salles St., N.W.,
Washington, D.C. 20036
202-222-7777

CBS, Lois Dyer
2020 M St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
20036
202-457-4385 fax 202-659-2586

NBC
4001 Nebraska Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016
202-885-4200 fax 202-362-2009

CNN National Assignments Desk
CNN Center, P.O. Box 105366
Atlanta, GA 30374
404-827-0234 fax 404-681-3578

LOS ANGELES TIMES
Times Mirror Square,
L.A., CA 90053
1-800-LA TIMES
< letters@latimes.com >

WASHINGTON POST,
Walter Pincus
1150 15th St. NW
Washington, D.C. 20006
202-334-6000
< pincusw@washpost.com >

NEW YORK TIMES,
Tim Weiner
1627 I Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
202-862-0300

Mike Ruppert is the ex-LAPD officer who confronted then DCI John Deutch at Locke High School in L.A. He has been researching this issue for 20 years, and is active in the L.A. !Crack the CIA! Coalition. He needs support now to go to Washington DC to press this case and to continue his efforts.

You can reach him to send donations or subscribe to his monthly newsletter "From the Wilderness" at Michael C. Ruppert, P.O. Box 6061-350, Sherman Oaks, CA 91413. 818-788-8791 fax 818-981-2847. URL: www.copvcia.com email: mruppert@copvcia.com

!Crack the CIA! Coalition is at 310-288-6108, crackcia@radio4all.org. It's working on the Institute for Policy Studies-initiated people's Truth Commission on the drug trade and the drug war — who profits and who pays, to be held the last weekend of January at Loyola Law School in L.A.

QFREJ Pledge:

QUEERS FOR RACIAL & ECONOMIC JUSTICE

by Jesse Heiwa, Coordinator of the QFREJ Pledge 2001 Campaign

It's important for Queer progressives to start the process of organizing again, as we reach the 21st century. With the Log Cabin Republicans, Pro-"Life" Lesbians & Gays (anti-choice) and the continued right-wing drift of the Democratic Party, don't you think we need a progressive/radical alternative? Help us get 2001 signatories to the QFREJ pledge by the year 2001. For this to succeed, your participation is absolutely necessary, as this is a grassroots-driven effort.

If you agree with the following pledge, sign it and send it in. Forward it to others you know that would agree with the QFREJ pledge.

Thanks.

Here it is, the QFREJ pledge:

- QUEERS FOR RACIAL & ECONOMIC JUSTICE**
***Support Reproductive Freedom & Sexual Self-Determination**
***Support Universal Health Care & A Living Wage**
***Support Affirmative Action & Immigrant Rights**
***Oppose Police Brutality & Military Intervention**

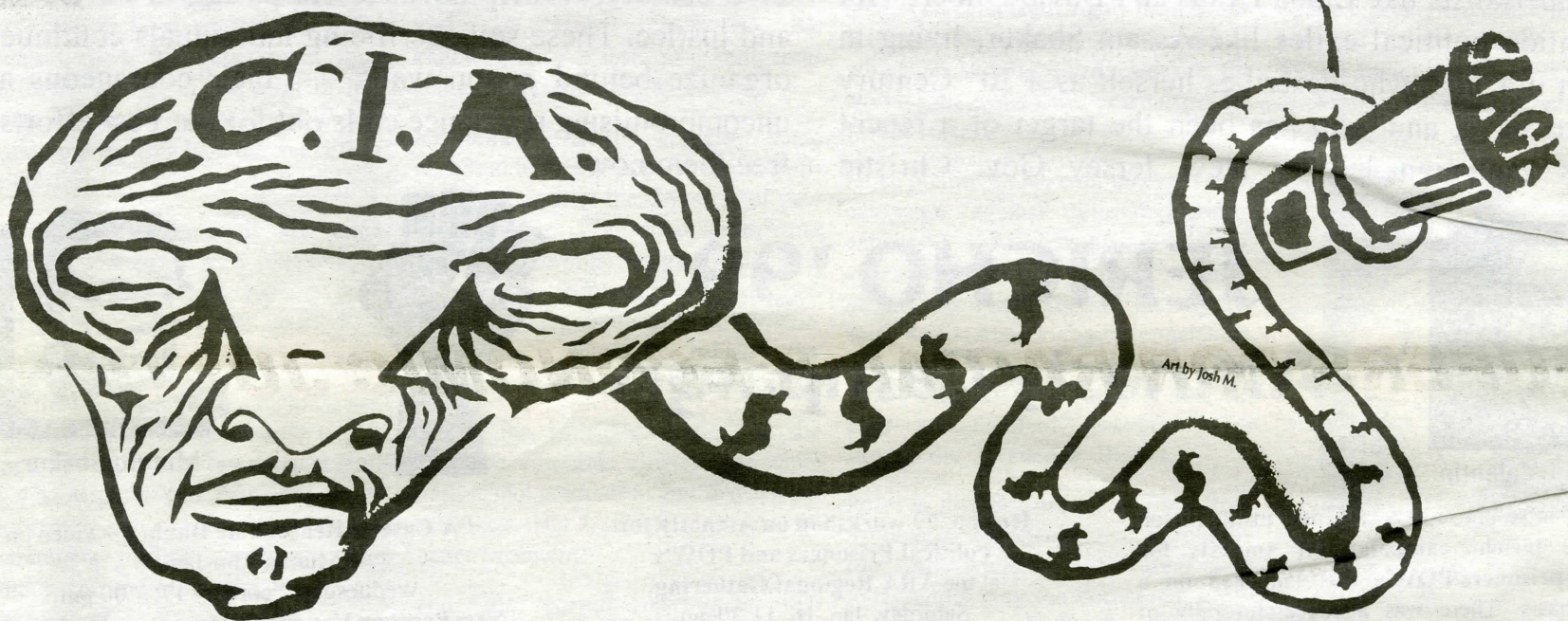
If you agree with the above, please send or e-mail us your name, e-mail address, mailing address (w/zip code), phone number, etc: to QFREJ c/o Boxholder, GPO Box 7045, NY, NY 10116-7045 US, and/or preferably by e-mail to: HAPAnes@juno.com (type "QFREJ Pledge" in the subject line). Thanks!

CIA and DRUGS: HIGH NOON

by Mike Ruppert

The San Jose *Mercury News* reported in November that hearings on Volume II of the CIA Inspector General's report on Contra drug trafficking will take place sometime in January in the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (HPSCI). This volume offers the CIA's own admissions that it knew its operatives were involved in dealing cocaine and that the only action it took based on that knowledge was to cover it up. CIA admits it went to great lengths to exempt the Contras, and others who work for it, from requirements to report drug dealing to the Justice Department. *Despite these confessions*, the pending hearings, The Mercury News says, are Congress's "final look" at the issue. With those hearings, every issue raised will be laid to rest. There will be no more chances in our lifetimes. On the issue of the CIA's complicity in importing drugs into the U.S., it is high noon.

"High Noon" is the classic western film about honor and conformity, fear and courage. Gary Cooper plays a marshal who faces a murderous gang of killers by himself while a town, paralyzed by fear, does nothing to help. Cooper's character risks his life and love and does what a higher moral compass requires of him. The spineless town, which had hired him to do for them what they would not do for themselves, vacillates, cringes and waffles. Cooper, terrified and abandoned, faces the gunmen alone. At the end of the movie the killers are dead but there is no resolution. The only thing that remains is an empty street awaiting the next group of bandits. Cooper has left in disgust, happily for him, with his wife played by Grace Kelly by his side, his badge lying in the dust. There is nothing there worthy of sacrifice.



I offer you two scenarios.

Scenario One: Moved by a massive outcry from the public and enormous pressure on the news media, HPSCI holds well publicized public hearings, with advance notice, and calls Gary Webb, Celerino Castillo, Mike Levine, Mike Ruppert, Dee Ferdinand, Danilo Blandon, Oliver North, John Poindexter, Robert Gates, Alan Fiers and a dozen others as witnesses. The hearings result in a massive public outcry and Congress, faced with overwhelming evidence of CIA wrongdoing, condemns the Agency and opens the door for reparations, abolition of CIA, and long overdue reforms in our criminal justice system.

Scenario Two: Due to the fact that no public interest was expressed, HPSCI holds sudden hearings, which are covered only by C-SPAN with no notice. The witness list is short and limited only to former CIA Inspector General Fred Hitz, current Director of Central Intelligence George Tenet and Congresswoman Maxine Waters. The major media do not cover the hearings live and brief spots on the evening news

report only that CIA was sloppy and received a minor wrist-slapping for its association with drug dealers during the Contra war years. Vague recommendations are made that the CIA undertake a review of its procedures with no time-specific period for completion. The matter is closed. As CIA apologist David Korn of The Nation has predicted - "CIA gets away with it." The bandits all head for the saloon to get more whiskey, women and song. The town is doomed. Each citizen returns to hoping that someone else will be the next victim.

The council of hundreds of predominantly Black Baptist churches in LA have invited me to speak and are beginning to mobilize around these hearings. In the current context, the African American community appears to be standing alone. The Black voice in America is all that remains between all of the people and the total disintegration of the nation and the descent into chaos, a constitutional break down and ultimately, fascism. Perhaps this is understandable, because the revelations in the CIA's own words and in Gary Webb's continuing investigation have

convinced me that the African American community was consciously targeted for the drug plague. But in saving itself, the African American community is saving us all. Notwithstanding, each of us has a responsibility to stand up at this critical moment.

I am endorsing the call for thousands to gather on April 29, anniversary of the last rebellion in L.A., at Florence and Normandie where it began. That's the only way to keep the struggle centered on the grass roots and to prevent Volume II of the CIA's admissions simply being used as a bargaining chip in the impeachment struggle.

There's a time for reading, for learning, and for waiting. There's also a time for doing. Which scenario plays out in January is entirely up to you. Make no mistake about the stakes. As reported by Alex Cockburn in his book *Whiteout*, New York Times reporter Keith Schneider wrote in 1987 that, "such a story could shatter the Republic." If you believe in a Republic that rests on crime and lies, then do nothing. If you believe that life rests on something more

fundamental and pure then get off your behind and do something — now.

CIA is still dealing drugs and if they are not challenged, then the saloon door, the entire town and you are standing wide open. With what has been revealed in Volume II we will never have a chance like this again. Throw your weight around!

From the government we want:

1. Disqualification of retired CIA covert operative J. Porter Goss as Chair of the House Permanent Select committee on Intelligence before any hearings, on grounds of conflict of interest.
2. Adequate public notice in advance of the hearings so that the press may cover them.
3. Testimony from all relevant witnesses including Celerino Castillo, Mike Levine, Rick Horn, Mike Ruppert, Bob Parry and Gary Webb.

This will only happen if we act now to make it happen!

FOURTH OF JULY, 2000

Millions March to Decolonize America

by Michael Novick

I have a modest proposal to make. I believe it is attainable. On July 4, 2000, I propose unified and simultaneous marches to decolonize and democratize America. Each could be at least one million strong, in at least five cities, let's say Washington DC or Atlanta GA; NY or Boston; Chicago or Detroit; Portland or Seattle; and San Francisco or Los Angeles. Perhaps Houston or Dallas as well. Call it a Poor People's Campaign to Change the Face of America.

These demonstrations would be designed to unify the social forces with an interest in liberation and social transformation around a program of decolonization and direct democracy. They would be designed to educate and

consolidate the rising generation that is facing an increasingly ugly world and a bleak future. They would carry out direct action to impede the operation of the forces of repression and exploitation. They would provide a counter-weight to jingoism and to the silly season of the corporate-dominated, media-driven electoral farce of the final US presidential selection of the century.

They would put a human face on internationalism and solidarity at a moment when, we can anticipate, the fear-mongers and hate-mongers will be exploiting the economic rigors caused by deepening global depression and the effects of the Year 2000 (Y2K) computer glitch.

I propose five banners around which our forces can unify, not a laundry list but a coherence and cohesion of the claims of justice and liberation, of peace and end to empire.

DE-COLONIZATION

Recognize Native treaty rights
Independence for Puerto Rico
Respect Hawaiian Sovereignty
Reparations for the descendants of
Africans forcibly enslaved
**Self-determination for all
oppressed people**

End the domination of the
Mexican people on both sides of
the border

**Amnesty for all political
prisoners, prisoners of war, and
prisoners of conscience in the
U.S.**

DEMOCRATIZATION

End police impunity!

**Community control of police
and of education**

Restoration of civic rights of
convicts

Protect labor organizing and
workplace rights, including the
right to strike

Freedom of speech and conscience
Amnesty for the undocumented

World-wide Jubilee

forgiveness of debt

Repeal NAFTA and block the
Multilateral Agreement on
Investment

Replace corporate domination
with cooperative economics.

DE-MILITARIZATION

Ban all nuclear power, nuclear
weapons and weapons of mass
destruction in the US

**End all secret wars and covert
operations**

Dismantle the NSC, the CIA, the
FBI, the School Of the Americas,
and all agencies of international
repression

**Demobilize U.S. troops and
bases around the world.**

DE-CRIMINALIZATION

Community controlled treatment
and rehabilitation of non-violent
drug offenders

**Alternatives to incarceration for
restorative justice**

Abolish the death penalty and
control units

Decriminalize consensual sexual
activity and use of intoxicants

End prison privatization.

DEFEND HUMAN RIGHTS AND ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

Support a woman's right to
abortion and to control her own
body

**Health care, child care, housing,
education and employment are
human rights**

Reverse deforestation and global
warming

Decolonize the Bio-sphere

Ban the privatization of seeds, life
forms, and the human genome.

I think building these unified demonstrations is an attainable goal. I know many streams and currents of dissent and community organization that could unite in this campaign into a mighty torrent of social transformation from the grassroots up.

Although the demands are sharp, radical and anti-imperialist, they are simultaneously broad and encompassing of many diverse aspects of our struggle. Unifying significant numbers of people around this program would create a pole of attraction within an increasingly polarized society.

The initiative needs to come from forces with a national scope of activity and anti-colonial politics, but much wider sectors can be drawn in whether through organizational involvement or grass-roots participation.

The work of engaging people would be carried out by the thousands of local groups that are operating right now below the radar of mainstream media hype; but by unifying our forces we could create a human presence and a message of people's power and hope that could smash cynicism and despair.

We need to unite to set the agenda for the "new millennium" on the basis of realizing the goals of a society free of colonialism and exploitation. I urge you to share this

proposal, to reshape and adapt it — but I think we are facing a historical window of opportunity. It's a moment in which we can converge our efforts on an uncompromising basis, with the potential for a tremendous effect on the consciousness of poor and oppressed people and on the balance of power on a global level between the forces of oppression and those of liberation.

Since I first began to circulate this proposal, I have received a great deal of individual input, including proposals to strengthen the component of militant action at the demonstrations themselves, the idea of holding the rallies in smaller cities where the size of the demonstrations themselves would bring business as usual to a halt, and particular suggestions about how to sharpen up the program and its components.

All of those things are possible, if significant social forces and organizations can come together to create a critical organizing mass and lay out a timetable for building such a manifestation. It is not too early to begin this process. Hopefully, it is not too late!

CARIBBEAN POEMS

POST-APARTHEID APARTHEID

No, I understand you may believe that Apartheid is dead and gone,
but not everywhere. No,
In some places a new kind of post-Apartheid Apartheid is being born.
No, there are no laws on the books
Forbidding ... Limiting ... No,
There are no customs in place to build such a system of
Post-Apartheid Apartheid on, in the little Caribbean island; No,
Au contraire,
People on the island freely mixed and intermingled with one another
since slavery days.
No, not without problems,
and certainly not without some prejudices, but these are always
complicated and controlled by the fact that nearly everyone has
a brother or
a sister
a father or
a mother
A cousin, a lover or a wife who is either darker or lighter than they are
No, I understand you may believe that Apartheid is dead and gone,
but not everywhere. No,
One has only to walk down a street in Marigot to see this new kind of
Post-Apartheid Apartheid slowly taking its stinking ugly form, as
more and more Frenchmen and women pour into the small island from
the Metropole
Arrogantly proclaiming for one and all to hear that French St. Martin
is not really part of the Caribbean at all, but part of *La douce France*
Ooh, well, what can you do about the Europeans and their difficulties
and limitations with geography, which stem from historical times?
No, there are no laws on the books facilitating the entire festering
process
Au contraire,
One walks past the bars in the older sections of the town
overflowing with laughter and joy mixed with cheap rum and beer
Loud calypso and reggae music drowning out a growing sense of
anger, pain and rage
No, I understand you may believe that apartheid is dead and gone
but not everywhere
At the end of that same street in a newly built section of Marigot
Resembling so many *gai* Parisian neighborhoods
One encounters modern European-owned bars and restaurants
with hypocritical and ironic signs above their entrances declaring:
"*Soyez Le Bienvenue*" — Welcome to one and all
to their endless *vins* and pricey *liquers*
Completely filled with arrogant Frenchmen and a few Frenchwomen
nostalgically listening to the latest *chansons* from France for hours
on end drinking wine.
These new bars and restaurants
Where local St. Martiners seldom if ever venture
No, not that it is forbidden or anything like that, mind you
Just that special sixth sense a colonized people acquires to know when
they are not really welcome
Many of these same Frenchmen and women who more and more
dominate and control the economic life of French St. Martin
by turning their superior
knowledge of the French administrative system to their advantage,
Turning the local people into nothing more than local color,
onlookers unwelcome in their own *pays*,
These same Frenchmen and women ready at any moment to pay
lip service to "*Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*";
those powerful words from the
French revolution which will again one day explode
in their surprised faces.

HURRICANE

In the Caribbean a hurricane is being born
winds once peaceful now
quickly turning violent
drizzle becoming heavy rains
pounding on fertile mountains and valleys
in Barbados, Dominica, Guadeloupe, St. Vincent,
Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo and Cuba
Seas once smooth as a woman's skin
now raging, raging
Winds for so long estranged now gaining in solidarity
Chasing away enticing but self-defeating
outside influences and alien dreams
Destroying many imported and artificial
behavioral and intellectual models and patterns
In the Caribbean a Hurricane is slowly developing
out of the past, in the present, and into the future
Move on North, you glorious and mighty Breeze,
No, not as Margaret, François, Jacques, Eugenia
Ronald, George, Bill, Ruud or Wim,
but with names such as Tula, Fanon, Toussaint,
Marti, Carlota, Pedro, Kamau, Che, Maurice, Amilcar and Walter,
Names that we can be proud of —
moving on North, moving on North
No, we are not afraid anymore of our Hurricanes
We are not afraid anymore
for we are part of them and
fuel these moody winds with our angry rotting breaths
until our last sigh
In the Caribbean
A Hurricane is moving on North
Moving on North
towards Florida
gaining in strength
towards Georgia
gaining in strength
towards the Carolinas
gaining in strength
keep on moving North
beautifully cleansing Caribbean Hurricane
keep on churning churning
all the while gaining strength
towards Washington.

— Gregory Gilbert Gumbs, St. Martin and New York



Humanitarian Victory over INS Brutality:

Rony Vasquez Beating Case Ends in Plea-Bargain

by Tom Louie, La Resistencia L.A.

On Wednesday, December 9, 1998, Rony Eduardo Vasquez, a victim of a beating administered by INS agents unexpectedly pleaded guilty to one of the charges against him, avoiding a trial and agreeing to a two-year sentence which, by now, has mostly been served. The federal government has now been spared the prospect of being accused of brutality and witness intimidation in open court. Members of the Los Angeles Catholic Worker Community were present for the plea-bargain hearing on Wednesday

morning. Rony Vasquez, the defendant, recognized them as supporters and smiled and waved. Jeff Dietrich, a member of the Community, later commented, "How could anyone believe that skinny little guy assaulted those four six-foot-tall officers? It's ridiculous!" Perhaps the prosecution was, in the end, happy to agree to such a lenient plea-bargain because jurors would have asked themselves the same question.

HISTORY OF THE CASE

On October 7 of last year, about two dozen residents of an apartment building at 401 S. Kenmore in Los Angeles witnessed four INS agents — whose identity as government agents was not obvious — beating the 27-year-old Vasquez, an undocumented Honduran immigrant. Eyewitnesses said that the beating continued when he was already handcuffed and helpless.

At the direction of the INS agents, L.A. police officers arrested Maura Gomez and Esperanza Rodriguez, who had protested the brutal beating and dialed 911, calling police to the scene. Both women, each of them single mothers, were separated from their young children and imprisoned for a week, and were later subjected to deportation proceedings.

As a result, very few witnesses of the beating were willing to come forward. Vasquez himself was charged with assaulting INS Officer Javier Olmos, one of his attackers, and has been held in federal detention without adequate medical treatment until the present day. Even though Vasquez agreed to plead guilty to something he hadn't done, this result represents a kind of victory on purely humanitarian grounds.

Originally, the prosecuting U.S. attorney, Dan Saunders, had vindictively sought to prosecute Vasquez on four charges, including escape, illegal re-entry into the country and another count of assault, against INS Officer Adam Green, which was added more than a year after the original arraignment. If he had been convicted of the combined total of the charges, Vasquez could have received more than ten years in prison. (The illegal re-entry charge alone carried a mandatory minimum sentence of at least 92 months; that's almost eight years!) When he had previously discussed a plea bargain, Saunders had only been willing to cut the total to seven or eight years. Understandably, Vasquez had rejected all previous plea-bargain proposals.

By pleading guilty to only one count of assault, against officer Olmos, Vasquez has managed to secure for himself a potential sentence of only 24 months, or two years. Vasquez has already been incarcerated for most of that time; therefore, if he is given credit for time served, he will be free (and immediately deported to Honduras) by July 1999 at the latest.

Rony Vasquez will be free before his thirtieth birthday. He will be able to celebrate the millennium in Honduras with his family.

The drawbacks to this plea-bargain arrangement are that Vasquez will presumably no longer have legal standing to sue the U.S. government for the injuries he suffered. Also, there will now no longer be an opportunity to make the government squirm in court in the face of overwhelming evidence of brutality and abusive practices.

The details of the events leading up to the deal are not well-known at this time, so several questions remain. Did Vasquez agree to the plea-bargain because of some new strategy or evidence on the prosecutor's part, which would have put him in greater jeopardy if the case had gone to trial? Or (which is more likely) did the prosecutor Saunders cave in at the last minute on the sentencing issue, because he wanted to avoid a public spectacle that would have seriously impeached government practices?

Saunders definitely knew that both Gomez and Rodriguez were prepared to give devastating testimony, and he also knew that Vasquez's attorney was prepared to play a dramatic and chilling 911 tape from the day of the incident. Perhaps he also knew that we of the Freedom For Rony Vasquez Coalition were determined to keep this case in the public eye and were preparing to fill up the courtroom with spectators on every single day of the trial.

REMAINING DANGERS

There is still an additional danger for Vasquez. Judge King said at the December 9 hearing that the sentence wasn't guaranteed, and that he would have to "analyze" the situation. Therefore, when Vasquez goes to his formal sentencing on March 8 of next year, it is theoretically possible that Judge King may disregard the plea-bargain and sentence him to ten years for that single assault charge.

For that reason, we call on all people who love justice and fair play to write letters to the judge, telling him that Rony Vasquez and his family have already suffered enough, and asking him to stick to the 24-month sentence already agreed upon by the government and the defendant.

There is also the situation of Rony's two witnesses to consider. Maura Gomez and Esperanza Rodriguez are both living under orders to leave the country. Rodriguez is appealing the decision in her case, but Gomez will have to take her two small U.S.-citizen children back to the disaster zone of her native Honduras, either as soon as the Vasquez case formally concludes or as soon as the hold on deportations of

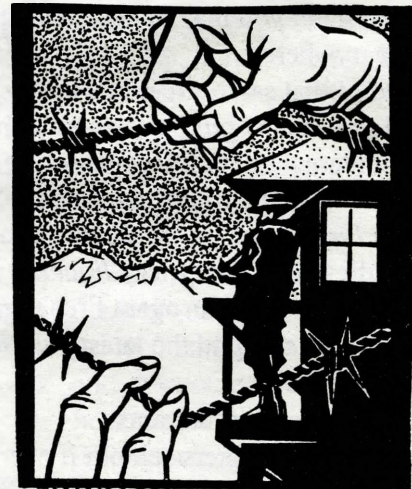
Hondurans expires, whichever comes later. We must unite in support of these courageous and conscientious women and demand relief from the government.

Neither the U.S. government nor any other authority should be able to abuse and brutalize people with impunity. In the future, whenever another Rony is beaten, whenever another Maura or Esperanza is separated from her children, WE AND MANY OTHERS WILL BE THERE.

Write to the judge and support Rony Vasquez:

U.S. District Judge George King
Roybal Federal Building
255 E. Temple St.
Los Angeles, CA 90012

For more information, contact:
La Resistencia and the
Freedom For Rony Vasquez Coalition:
P.O. Box 32202
Los Angeles, CA 90032-0202
tclouie@juno.com (323) 227-4678



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ARA Lansing IL POB 170 Lansing IL 60438	ARA Minneapolis P.O. Box 80239 Minneapolis, MN 55408 "FIGHTING WORDS"	ARA Raleigh PO Box 4095 Cary NC 27519			

1) We go where they go! Wherever the fascists are organizing or active in public, we're there. We don't believe in ignoring them or staying away from them. We will never let the Nazis have the streets.

2) We don't rely on the cops or the courts. This doesn't mean we don't ever go to court or work with the police. But we must rely on ourselves to protect ourselves and to stop the fascists.

3) Non-sectarian defense of other anti-fascists. In ARANET we have lots of groups and individuals. We don't agree about everything, and we have a right to differ openly. But in this movement **an attack on any one of us is an attack on all!** We all stand behind each other.

4) ARANET intends to do the hard work that is necessary to build a strong, broad movement against racism, sexism, anti-semitism, homophobia, discrimination against the disabled, the oldest, the youngest, and the weakest of our people. We support abortion rights and unrestricted reproductive freedom for all. **We intend to win!**

THE ARA BENEFIT CD IS COMING, THIS CD WILL HELP ANTI-RACIST ACTION CONTINUE TO MAKE A POSITIVE CHANGE ALL OVER NORTH AMERICA. TO BE KEPT INFORMED ON THE PROGRESS OF THE CD WRITE TO US AT:
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Mobilize to stop the Ku Klux Klan

Indianapolis IN and Madison WI, January 16

Kettering OH March 22

College Station TX May 8

ARA Meetings

49th parallel anti-fascist gathering Calgary Alberta January 9-10

After the meeting there will be a Rock Against Racism concert

Southern California Regional ARA-Network Gathering

Koo's Cafe 1505 N. Main Santa Ana CA January 16

Delegate's Conference last weekend of March, Louisville KY



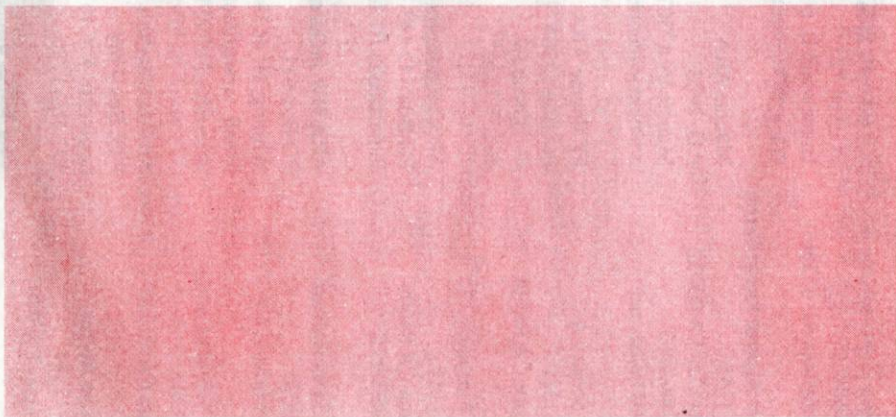
**Free Mumia
Abu-Jamal!**

VOICE OF
A.R.A.

ANTI-RACIST ACTION!



FIGHT RACISM! SMASH FASCISM!



Spit and Dan: Martyrs of Anti-Racist Resistance

Over the Fourth of July weekend of 1998, Lin "Spit" Newborn and Dan Shersty, two anti-racist skinheads with ARA-Las Vegas, were shot dead execution style. Spit, who was Black, and Dan, who was white, were united in death as they had been in life. Their bodies were found not far apart in the desert outside Vegas, in an area known to be used by neo-nazis and racist para-militaries for weapons practice. Anti-Racist Action (ARA) charged that they were ambushed and murdered by nazi boneheads who had been harassing and attacking anti-racists and people of color in Las Vegas for months.

These charges proved out when Las Vegas police charged nazi bonehead John Edward Butler, 26, with the killing. Ballistics reports showed that Butler's gun was the murder weapon. Butler is scheduled to go on trial early in 1999. He has apparently named several additional suspects, but no further arrests have been made yet. At least two nazi-bonehead suspects have fled Las Vegas.

These killings have made clear the deadly seriousness and

But the struggle is far from over. Police have identified two other members of the nazi bonehead scene who have not yet been charged. Witnesses told police they saw Butler and two others driving from the area where Shersty's body was found. The witnesses, according to press reports, wrote down a license plate number, and police traced it to a vehicle belonging to the family of Melissa Jane Hack, 22, of Las Vegas. Police believe Hack -- who was recently involved in a nazi bonehead assault on a Black family, and Joseph Justin, 19, were in the vehicle with Butler. Police have interviewed Hack and Justin.

Based on the sequence of events that led to the killing of Spit and Dan, it is evident that a wider conspiracy was involved. Two young women who had come into Spit's piercing shop on July 3, called them up and set up a double date. Spit, 25, and Dan, 21, set out on their fatal rendezvous into what was apparently a set-up and ambush by nazi boneheads. The boneheads hated Spit for the energy, love of life and humanity he had poured into the youth scene in Las Vegas, standing out as an African American skinhead who promoted the concept of the traditional skins, of racial harmony, in the face of the boneheads' hatred. Dan, a member of the US Air Force, was also targeted for espousing inter-racial solidarity. Spit and Dan, as members of the Las Vegas Unity Skins and Anti-Racist Action, were a threat to the warped teachings of the Christian-

Identity influenced boneheads and to the white supremacy of the system which generates boneheads.

Love is stronger than hate, but to prevail, love must be organized and mobilized. What are some lessons from the tragedy of Spit and Dan's deaths, and from our efforts to deal with it? First, our strengths as an anti-racist movement cause the nazis (and often the state) to target us for repression. Anti-racist activism is creating a pole of attraction among young people around the U.S. and Canada, as well as in Europe. New chapters of ARA are arising in Canada, the U.S., and internationally. ARA Las Vegas in particular has demonstrated the courage of its convictions in the wake of the killings, both in protecting certain individual members from attack with the assistance of the ARA network, and in maintaining a pro-active public presence. The ARA Network is developing and maturing in the face of such deadly attacks. Many chapters have come to the assistance of ARA-LV, and people turned out in large numbers from every region to the August 29 march and rally in Las Vegas. ARA is raising funds on behalf of Spit's surviving two-year-old son, left fatherless by the racist murder. See below for how you can donate.

But we also need to recognize certain weaknesses, and use our strengths to overcome them. ARA is a very loose-

great importance of anti-racist activism, but they have not intimidated ARA Las Vegas or the international ARA network. Rather, we have redoubled our efforts, to ensure that Spit and Dan did not die in vain. We keep them alive in our hearts and minds the memory of them as individuals as they were in life, by building and intensifying the anti-racist resistance in which they struggled and were martyred.

Hundreds of people in Las Vegas turned out for their funerals, in a show of solidarity, love, and fearlessness in the face of the cowardly murders by the nazis. This was a measure of the esteem in which Spit and Dan were held, because of the example of energy and unity with which they lived their lives. Hundreds more, from ARA chapters around the U.S. and Canada, marched in Las Vegas on August 29. We successfully drew international attention to the case and to the demand for justice for Spit and Dan. It was in response to ARA's campaign and to the prospect of continuing negative coverage on *48 Hours*, in the *New York Times* and other media, that the Las Vegas police finally came up with their arrest.

knit network. Many chapters have short life spans, even without concerted attacks, whether in the form of nazi violence or police harassment and arrests. We need to strengthen the unity and solidarity of the network through concrete national campaigns that can help activists overcome isolation and attract new members and allies. Security is always a concern, but in addition to physical security measures such as training and counter-surveillance awareness, as well as a knowledge of our enemies, we need greater political security.

We cannot rely on the government to protect us. In some cases, the state openly attacks anti-racists, particularly in the context of public confrontations with nazis. The many arrests of anti-klan activists, and the John Doe and Jane Doe warrants issued in Michigan are a case in point. Even where police may arrest nazis for their criminal violence, they will often portray anti-racists as part of the problem. This is evident in Montreal, for example, where cops characterized nazi violence against bar patrons as "revenge" against ARA. The nazi brutality in Montreal and the killings in Vegas are not revenge -- they are part of the white supremacist and fascist technique of terror and intimidation, directed not only against activists, but against anyone they seek to victimize and intimidate. The lynching in Jasper, TX, was not "revenge," but racist terror. So too the

killings in Vegas. Getting organized as anti-racists does not promote or provoke violence; in the long run, it is our best defense.

Our real security can only come through organizing, sinking roots and building alliances and political support. The August 29 demo in Las Vegas would have been even stronger, for example, if more anti-racists and concerned people outside the ranks of ARA had been drawn in to the rally. This cannot happen overnight in LV or elsewhere. It requires us to spend time building relationships with people and organizations outside our scene. It means figuring out how, in a principled way, we can overcome differences we may have with other anti-racists who may not be as committed to direct action as ARA. Remember that we can learn from them, too.

For more information about how you can contribute to funds for Spit Newborn's son, and other efforts to commemorate the lives and struggle of Lin 'Spit' Newborn and Dan Shersty, contact Anti-Racist Action Las Vegas, PO Box 29057, Las Vegas NV 89126-3057.

To send contributions directly, make them payable to, and send to: Trust fund for Nicodemus Newborn c/o Bank of America, 4795 S Maryland Pkwy, Las Vegas, NV 89119, account # 088474137.

Spit and Dan Live Forever in the Struggle!

A Review and Critique:

American History X-posed

by Jon Bishop/Class War Crew

Some people will try to tell you that all skinheads are nazis... Others will tell you that not ALL skinheads are racists. Who to believe? The truth is, neither position is correct. Saying that not all skinheads are racist is like saying that not all vegetarians eat meat! In fact, there's no such thing as a "racist skinhead," and the group that people are talking about, we refer to as "boneheads." If you're interested in more information about the origins and multi-racial history of skinheads, you should check out any of the number of websites which explain this very well.

Many people, especially liberals, would be content to label

In the late 80's, the media, and people like Geraldo offered coverage without question to boneheads (whose numbers were small, at best in america). Their numbers skyrocketed, and they were poised to become the dominant white youth subculture in the United States. Don't remember it that way? Take a look at some older newspaper articles and television programs, or ask conservative "anti-nazi" groups like the ADL how the numbers of neo-nazi boneheads jumped because of the attention.

That calamity didn't happen because of a bloody, not so protracted street-war between boneheads and anti-racist skinheads. Many of us were locked up, maimed, and some even killed in the fight to keep fascists from ruling the

streets, and quite a few still sit in prisons across the country.

Now, in 1998 comes a new critically acclaimed movie - *American History X*. Movies like this, no matter how good the intentions of their liberal creators, don't discourage the growth of fascism. In fact, just the opposite is true.

To marginalized kids who know they live in a sick society that needs drastic cures, boneheads look militant and revolutionary, because they address people's material situations with easy answers, while mainstream politicians "address" themselves down interns throats, and the radical left squeals on campus about things like "Dialectical Materialism"... Giving exposure to fascists without debate or opposition

boneheads as irrelevant rednecks, but they musn't be written off so easily; Hitler and his crew were merely beer hall brawlers and thugs in their infancy and the German people and the left wrote them off...

Until they took the streets. Until they took half of Europe... And until they took millions of innocent lives. In fact, a well-researched study of fascism will reveal an interesting fact: Anytime fascist have ever come to power of any sort, they first sprang up and organized within working and poor street culture and sports (soccer, etc.)

does nothing but increase their numbers and strength, and make their claim to being skinheads (which they have no right to assert) more credible.

Nazi boneheads cannot be allowed to grow, because fascism by definition is ideas INEXTRICABLY mixed with action... The United States is going to see an extreme fallout in the wake of *American History X*. You will see the numbers of fascist psuedo "skins" grow to never before seen heights, with a renewed sense of boldness on the streets. The first people who will have to deal with this threat will be anti-racist skinheads.

You'll see us locked up and attacked again for defending ourselves and our communities against fascism. If our

front-line is broken, then you will see attacks against hippies, punks, and young leftists. You will see assaults against gays and lesbians in numbers you cannot even comprehend now. Then, they'll go after people of color, Jews, and white "Race Traitors" (any white people who don't think the way that they do).

Anyone who knows the truth about real skinhead culture, and does nothing to counter the immediate and long term effects of this movie will be complicit in re-opening the floodgates of racial violence and hate.

Remember: **Fascism doesn't start with concentration camps... That's where it ends!**
Respond to classwarb@yahoo.com

A short short story:

Another Mistake

by David Jacob

Yesterday I made another mistake. I live in a poor Spanish neighborhood where police and gang-bangers frequently speed. A shiny black car raced twice down my street. My mistake was yelling at the car's open window, "Slow it down!"

A screech of brakes and a quick reverse brought me face to face with the driver, an overweight Caucasian man, perhaps 55 years old. "What did you say?" he shot back.

"I said slow it down."

"I don't need your advice." A clinched middle finger rested pointedly on his outside mirror.

The finger made me mad. "I've watched you speed down that way. I watch you speed back. The speed limit through here is twenty-five miles an hour." I nodded at

two children riding their bikes half a block away.

"Children play in these streets." I paused to watch my neighbor approach. The car pulled away without another word as he walked up.

"Don't you know that's a detective car?"

I hadn't thought. The car was unmarked, the occupants wore plaid shirts.

This morning as I stood in my yard, the same black car crept toward the yield sign. I went back inside and drank another cup of coffee. The black car's white twin sped between the signs. One of its detectives stared at my place as it shot past.

11/16/98

Oklahoma City

TOWARDS ENVIRONMENTAL AND SOCIAL JUSTICE CHALLENGING THE GREENING OF HATE AND THE DEMEANING OF WOMEN

by Chris Crass

In the June 1998 issue of Z Magazine, Emanuel Sferios's essay "Population, Immigration and the Environment: Eco-Fascism and the Environmental Movement," explored the recent vote on immigration issues in the country's oldest and most respectable environmental group, the Sierra Club. Ballot Initiative A was placed before the Club's membership this past spring by advocates of anti-immigration groups that argue immigrants are a major cause of environmental problems in the U.S. and that the Sierra Club should back a freeze on immigration. The Sierra Club had been officially neutral on questions of immigration policy, but if the measure had passed, the Club would have become another voice scapegoating immigrants for social and ecological problems in the U.S. A majority of those who voted among the Club's half-million plus members voted against Ballot Initiative A and reaffirmed the group's position of neutrality.

The campaign within the Sierra Club and debate over immigration and environmentalism saw the mobilization of

In his essay, Sferios wrote: "While most environmentalists agree that ... corporations and government policy play a critical role in the environmental crisis, many still harbor oversimplified notions that population growth ... is nevertheless the main ecological threat." Sferios argues that population control advocates debate in terms of the impact of numbers, but rarely discuss the impact of social institutions and economic classes. "[Although] the wealthy consume far greater resources than the poor, it is not consumers but producers ... which account for the vast majority of environmental degradation," he wrote. He urges us to look at overpopulation not as a cause but as a symptom of the same corporate and government policies that produce environmental degradation and social injustice. Sferios goes on to document the influence of right-wing think tanks and population-environment groups on the broader environmental groups, particularly the Sierra Club.

But this problem is not limited to more mainstream and established organizations like the Sierra Club. The debate about population control, and the popularity of slogans like "Love Your Mother — Don't Become One!" have dramatic effects in the larger social change movement. I would argue that they marginalize white radicals from communities and radicals of color. Given current demographic realities in the U.S. and Europe, debates over

anti-immigrant groups like the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and also the building of a grass-roots alliance of environmental and social justice groups led by organizations such as the Political Ecology Group in San Francisco. It underscored the need for radical activists to look critically at the movements they are involved.

I am writing because I frequently hear white environmentalists and social change activists make arguments over alleged over-population that are nearly identical to right wing groups. Some go one step further, and have popularized the slogan "Love Your Mother — Don't Become One." I address this in the light of discussion I often hear in the radical/anarchist movement, asking why our groups and movements are predominantly white and middle class in background, counter-cultural and generally dominated by men. Looking at ideas about 'over-population' and the 'Love Your Mother' slogan begins to help us unravel these questions.



Prop. 187, which specifically targeted the question of medical care and schooling for the undocumented and subsequent propositions aimed at the language rights and education of young people of color.

There is a long history of such views being put into practice. Through forced or coercive sterilization programs, African American, Mexican, American Indian and Puerto Rican women have experienced the reality of population control: the invasion of one's body and the physical attack on self-determination and reproductive freedom. In many communities of color, the struggle for reproductive freedom has centered on ending forced sterilization, which has been understood as a tactic of genocide. The ideological framework of population control has always been the white supremacist 'eugenics' theory. The births of 'undesirables' are to be restricted. People of color, poor people, and others at the bottom of a segregated, class- and race-based social structure were said to be genetically inferior. The currency of such racist arguments in popular discussions is evident in the 'new, scientific racialism' of books such as *The Bell Curve*.

population control are in fact about controlling the reproduction of women of color. Advocates of population control frequently use racially-coded and gendered words, phrases, images and slogans. The image of brown bodies crossing borders, "out of control," figure prominently in the white social imagination. The image of undocumented Brown women "illegally and uncontrollably" mothering "alien" children is the backdrop used by population control advocates. This is not just theoretical, as was shown by

Eugenicists ultimately believe that a prosperous society must engage in genetic 'cleansing,' and limit the population of 'inferior' segments of society.

I am not saying that white social change activists or most in the environmental movement consciously subscribe to such tenets of white supremacy. But I do argue that people need to challenge the underlying racist assumptions that shape population control discourses, and to check ourselves out. Angela Y. Davis's essay, "Racism, Birth Control and Reproductive Rights" provides important insights into sterilization abuse and population control that need to be taken into account in both the environmental and abortion rights movements. The slogan "Love Your Mother — Don't Become One!" is a perfect example of how and why anarchist and radical white folks have alienated people of color, poor folks, and those of us who are either mothers ourselves or comrades of mothers.

A challenge to the white nuclear family of middle class America may appeal to a youthful counter-culture, but it should not extend to motherhood generally. To begin with, families in different social groups have different histories and should be analyzed differently. Bonnie Thornton Hill's essay "Fictive Kin, Paper Sons and *Compadrazgo*: Women of Color and the Struggle for Family Survival" lays out a basic framework for incorporating realities of race, gender and class oppression into understandings about families. When activists uncritically universalize white middle class experience, white supremacy is reinforced, and everyone

who does not fit that supposed 'norm,' (the great majority of humanity) is made marginal and discounted. I want to highlight here a few resources that activists must read to begin to deal more successfully with such issues.

Women, and mothers in particular, have been at the center of struggles for social change, and will continue to be. As Black feminist Cheryl Townsend Gilkes put it, "If it wasn't for the women, racially-oppressed communities would not have the institutions, organizations, strategies and ethics that enable the group not only to survive or maintain itself as an integral whole, but also to develop in an alien, hostile, oppressive situation and to challenge it." How alienating is a slogan that creates a contradiction between being a mother and being socially or environmentally "conscious."

In fact, feminist writers have been exploring the relationship of activism to women's lives and have found that many women come to activism through the experience of being mothers. In the book *Community Activism and Feminist Politics: Organizing Across Race, Class and Gender*, Celene Krauss has an essay, "Challenging Power: Toxic Waste Protests and the Politicization of White, Working Class Women," which examines this. She writes, "Toxic waste disposal has been a central focus of women's grassroots environmental activism... Women identify the toxic

waste movement as a women's movement, composed primarily of mothers." She goes on, "Women of diverse racial, ethnic and class backgrounds have assumed leadership of community environmental struggles around toxic waste issues ... These women have constructed ideologies of environmental justice that reveal broader issues of inequality underlying environmental hazards."

Nancy Naples, in her new book, "Grassroots Warriors," demonstrates how the skills, strategies and roles of motherhood contribute significantly to the making of community organizers. She uses the term 'activist mothering' to describe women organizers doing anti-poverty organizing in their communities. The latest issue of "Slug & Lettuce" 'zine, #56, has a column entitled "The Oppression of Mothers," by China, who explains that "what makes it so hard to be a mother is how things are arranged in America," and this definitely includes within the radical and anarchist movement. You can get a copy of Slug & Lettuce #56 from Christine Boarts, PO Box 26632, Richmond VA 23261-6632. Within her own piece, China quotes from *Radical Mother's Voice*, and recommends that when you write for this 'zine, at Cricket Farm, Route 1 Box 750-J, Elgin TX 78621, that you also order a pamphlet put together by radical parents about how to help make future activist gatherings and movements kid- and

parent-friendly. The isolation, neglect and oppression of mothers that China writes about within our movements is part of the same injustice of patriarchy that produces an unthinking slogan like "Love Your Mother — Don't Become One!" China's article contributes to making our movements friendlier to kids and their parents.

If we are to further the possibilities for radical social change, then we must challenge not only the injustices of capitalism, white supremacy, patriarchy and authoritarianism in society, but also the ideological and personal effects of those institutions on our own movements. For environmental, social and economic justice, we must consciously and consistently integrate understandings of race, class and gender into a radical political challenge that includes all of us that feel the heel of this system on our necks.

For more information about the greening of hate campaign and what you can do about it, write to the Political Ecology Group, 965 Mission St. #700, San Francisco CA 94103; email <peg@igc.org>; URL: <http://www.igc.org/peg>. Special thanks to Minoo Moallem of the Women's Studies Department at San Francisco State University for critical feedback on an earlier draft of this article.

Chris Crass is an organizer with Food Not Bombs in San Francisco.

SOLE SURVIVOR OF MODERN-DAY SLAVE REDELLION

RUCHELL MAGEE FIGHTS ON AGAINST JUDICIAL CORRUPTION

As you read these words, another parole hearing will have by now come and gone for Ruchell Cinque Magee, sole survivor of the August 7, 1970 Marin County Courthouse Rebellion. The results are not yet available, but there is little doubt of the outcome. This is his tenth hearing since 1980. Magee himself has refused for the past 13 years to recognize the jurisdiction of the Board of Prison Terms.

"You'll just have to continue to talk to yourself," he told the board members ten minutes into the April 1985 affair, "because I'm not concerned about your hearing... Thank you very much for your hospitality and greens and cornbread. I'm ready to go."

The intentions of the State of California have never been

other than to keep Ruchell behind the walls of its most notoriously brutal prisons (presently, Pelican Bay) the rest of his life. Their hearings have been a charade, and the only apparent reason for holding them as often as they do is to continue to inflame opinion against Magee. To this end they have allowed the discredited testimony of former Judge Gary Thomas to be introduced continually despite the fact that juries in all trials involving said testimony have repudiated it. They have left unchallenged libelous newspaper articles such as "Convicted Murderer Denied Parole Again" (5/21/92), fully aware that Magee was convicted only of kidnapping (PC 209) in 1975, and that even that conviction was unconstitutionally elicited after a "mistrial" was declared in 1973 despite a unanimous jury conclusion of "not guilty of PC 209."

Magee has succinctly stated his present dispute with the BPT: "The Board do not have jurisdiction in this case to parole me, because I am 20 years overdue for release. The Board violated its own law by failure to set time before July 1, 1978... in accord with (California legislation) SB-42. Hundreds of prisoners was released under SB-42 before July 1, 1978. The Board released who it wanted and kept who it wanted."

He has now served 22 years for a crime whose parameters were set by said legislation at 13 years. He has been labeled a "public interest case" and successfully portrayed as equivalent to notorious criminals such as Charles Manson and Sirhan Sirhan

— despite the fact that he has never been convicted of homicide, and existing evidence that his 14 years of incarceration prior to the Marin County incident were the result of criminally fraudulent trials, and that he was thus held illegally and had every right to resist his incarceration.

It is apparent that, as in numerous other miscarriages of justice, the only solution to Magee's dilemma is either money or publicity. The Ruchell Magee Defense Fund has been seeking for over two years to elicit media attention with little success. It has been even more difficult to fund competent legal assistance for Magee. Without a concerted effort involving either large numbers of people or key media

figures, one of the most significant and intractable figures from the 1970's Black Liberation effort will end his life as a slave held by the state of California. Is 40 years behind the walls not enough service to the people? How many more years are we going to let them dog Ruchell around?

— Mark Thiel, coordinator

Ruchell Magee Defense Fund
PO Box 8306,
South Bend, IN 46617
<<http://dcwi.com/~magee>>

Countering the church, the state and the racist right Fight Back Against Anti-Abortion Terror

Over fifteen years ago, the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee in Los Angeles uncovered and exposed links between organized white supremacists and anti-abortion violence. In the early '80's, JBAKC disclosed the involvement of former Florida panhandle Klan leader John Burt in anti-abortion violence, as two young couples in his 'ministry' were among the first in the country to bomb women's clinic that provided abortion services. It drew attention to an ominous murder and the abduction of two women from an L.A. feminist women's health clinic that was carried out by a recently released member of the prison-based Aryan Brotherhood, who was then killed in a shoot-out with the LAPD. JBAKC recorded and transcribed telephone hate-line messages from "Aryan" leader Tom Metzger denouncing abortion as 'white genocide' carried out by what he characterized as 'lesbian nurses and Jewish doctors.' Now, after more than a decade and a half of unrelenting violence and more and more open connections between racist groups and anti-abortion violence, even the mainstream media and law enforcement agencies are acknowledging the undeniable connection.

Clarkson believes the Olympics was targeted because it represented ideas of internationalism and racial integration -- the so-called New World Order -- which are anathema to the extreme right, particularly to the white supremacist, anti-Semitic Christian Identity movement. The Times also reported that Rev. David Trosch, a Catholic priest in Mobile, Ala., who was one of the signers of a "justifiable homicide" declaration in 1993 after the first recognized murder of an abortion provider, Dr. David Gunn, reached the same conclusions on his website. Listing the four bombings, Trosch declared: "The common link -- all of the bombings were against people highly offensive to God."

The Times story noted a string of other incidents: white supremacists calling themselves the Phineas Priests who robbed a bank and bombed a newspaper office and an abortion clinic in Spokane, WA in 1995 and the Arizona Patriots, busted with plans to bomb government facilities, a synagogue, and a women's clinic. It pointed out that Larry Pratt, the head of Gun Owners of America, whom it characterized as "a co-chairman of Pat Buchanan's 1996 presidential campaign until his ties to militias and racist groups became known," helped raise nearly \$150,000 to pay the court fines and other debts of Operation Rescue.

Since 1993, there have been seven murders of doctors and other clinic workers along with 14 attempted murders, while there continue to be many incidents involving bombing, arson and vandalism. Dr. Barnett

Slepian was killed in his home near Buffalo, N.Y. by a sniper in October, and the FBI wants question James Kopp, a longtime itinerant protester with a Catholic group called the Lambs of Christ, who has also apparently disappeared into the anti-abortion underground. Kopp was associated with the "Army of God," a clandestine group promoting anti-abortion violence, under his *nom de guerre* "Atomic Dog."

The Times quotes Neal Horsley, who maintains a web-site identifying personal i.d. and other information about abortion providers and clinic workers -- a clear invitation to further assassinations, on which the names of those killed have a line drawn through them.

An apologist for terror, Horsley says, "The federal government made up its mind to block any nonviolent attempt to stop abortion. The federal government literally drove men mad, moved them to execute abortionists. When a federal monolithic government begins to crush the rights of a minority, if the issues truly matter, fighting men rise up and do the things fighting men do. In the life and death struggle to stop this unjustified slaughter, Christian men are looking down the barrel of a rifle." There are now Internet links between Horsley's web site and that of the neo-Nazi Aryan Nations.

In North Carolina, as the futile search for Rudolph continued over the summer and fall, there were a further series of bomb attacks. In August, the Hallmark clinic in Fayetteville was extensively damaged by a fire caused by a Molotov

A recent NY Times piece on anti-abortion-militia links reported a statement by Dallas Blanchard, chairman of the University of West Florida's sociology department, who has written on the subject. "Militia types have shown more and more interest in the abortion issue, while the anti-abortionists are becoming more and more militant and allying themselves with the militia movement," he said. The Times reported that law enforcement officials and researchers see the overlap most clearly in the case of Eric Rudolph, accused of bombings at the 1996 Olympics, a gay bar and an abortion clinic near Atlanta, and of a Birmingham clinic in which an off-duty policeman acting as a guard was killed. Rudolph disappeared into the North Carolina woods, and has since evaded a large-scale manhunt, indicating that he has probably received help from a network of supporters connected to the white supremacist milieu from which he emerged to carry out his bombings. "Eric Rudolph personifies the convergence of these issues," Frederick Clarkson, author of a study for the Southern Poverty Law Center on the ties between the anti-abortion fringe and the militias, told the Times.

cocktail, and a second clinic, Carolina Women's Clinic on the city's outskirts, suffered lesser damage in an attack an hour later. Explosive devices were found again in October outside the two Cumberland County abortion clinics. Authorities defused both devices and there were no injuries.

In November, abortion clinics in four states were the victims of letters purporting to contain anthrax, which proved to be a hoax, and a fake bomb was sent to one of the clinics that received a letter. The letters were received at clinics in Indianapolis, New Albany and Scottsburg, Ind.; Knoxville, Tenn.; Wichita, Kan.; and Louisville, Ky. Each 3-by-5-inch white envelope had a Cincinnati postmark.

The letters said: "You have just been exposed to anthrax." A similar letter also arrived at the Center for Choice clinic in Toledo, Ohio. The clinic had to be evacuated and two employees who handled the envelope were treated as if they had been exposed to anthrax. Also in November, a fake bomb was thrown at the Wichita clinic of Dr. George Tiller, previous target of an assassination attempt by anti-abortion forces.

What has the government done in response to this wave of terror? Attacked the clinic defense movement! Saturday, November 21, the Cleveland office of the FBI asked police across the country to look for Ronald Stauber and Michael Gingrich, who they said "might have information about the sniper slaying of a doctor who performed abortions." Refuse and Resist, a

national network which has focused on clinic defense, denounced this as an FBI attack on their movement. "Robert Stauber and Michael Gingrich are two well-known and respected activists who have been active for years in the struggle for reproductive rights of women and against police brutality in particular, and part of the movement to oppose the politics of cruelty in general. These activists are being falsely implicated in the heinous murder of Dr. Barnett Slepian. The FBI are using this brutal murder of Dr. Slepian, who put his life on the line to provide health care and abortions for women, to go after and cast a cloud of suspicion on people who have stood firmly against these types of brutal attacks," Refuse and Resist declared in a press release. "The FBI used the media nationally and locally to imply that Gingrich and Stauber were eluding them. In fact, the FBI had been contacted by their attorney and was fully able to reach them. Instead of accepting this, the FBI then went to the attorney's house and harassed his wife. The FBI was angered because Gingrich and Stauber refused to speak with them. The people have a right not to speak to the authorities -- a right these activists exercise because anything you say to them will be used to attack progressive organizations."

So while the government continues to deny that there is any national conspiracy to commit violence against abortion providers, and to harass clinic defenders, the racist and fascist right successfully pursues a strategy of terror to deny women their rights. The number of doctors performing abortions dropped

PAT BUCHANAN ▼



PART-TIME HOLOCAUST
DENIER, CLINIC-BOMBING-
SUPPORTER.

DAVID DUKE ▼



"EX"-KLANSMAN, "EX"-NAZI,
"EX"-WHITE SUPREMACIST,
AND CHRISTIAN SOLDIER.

OLLIE NORTH ▼



CONVICTED FELON AND
PERJUROR, PARA-FASCIST,
ALL-AROUND SCUMBAG.

PAT ROBERTSON ▼



ANTI-SEMITIC CONSPIRACY-
THEORIST, GAY-BASHER, QUACK-
"FAITH-HEALER," HONEST JOE

by 400 — a decrease of nearly 15 percent — between 1980 and 1992. In rural areas, the number of abortion providers plunged 55 percent during that same 12-year period. During the year following the first murder of an abortion doctor in 1993, one-quarter of clinics reported employees quitting because of the violence. Such resignations have continued over the last few years, though at a less rapid pace. Today, there are no abortion doctors in more than 84 percent of the nation's counties. The assassination of Barnett Slepian, for example, left a single abortion provider in all of upstate New York.

Before the Dr. David Gunn was killed in 1993, a national conversation about the "merits" of such murders was unthinkable. Six murders later, there has been a major change in the public debate. After both the Slepian assassination and the January bombing of a Birmingham, Alabama, abortion clinic, pro-murder fanatics were treated as credible commentators. They got the chance to spout their views in newspapers and on national television, including CNN and ABC's Nightline. The Catholic diocesan newspaper for Buffalo featured an apologia for Slepian's murder. One of the most visible media "spokesmen" is Michael Bray, a convicted clinic bomber who wrote a 1993 book titled *A Time to Kill*. Bray, 46, is a key figure in a community that has created a nationwide culture of violence. Bray organizes the "White Rose Banquet," to honor those arrested for clinic violence, which will be held on January 21 at a hotel near Washington, D.C. Bray, a Lutheran minister based in Maryland, explains, "While everyone is dishonoring these people and throwing them in jail, we're going to honor them."

A story on abortion violence in the *Village Voice* centers on the Army of God, which took credit for several of the attacks now attributed to Eric Rudolph. The AOG has had a shadowy presence in the anti-abortion movement for many years. According to *Voice*, experts believe it started with a former real estate investor from Texas named Don Benny Anderson. In 1982, he kidnaped an Illinois abortion doctor and his wife

with the help of two accomplices. Anderson, then 42, held the couple at gunpoint for eight days inside an ammunition bunker, eventually releasing them unharmed. At the time, Anderson claimed to be the leader of the Army of God. That kidnaping marked one of the first times an anti-abortion activist had attacked a doctor rather than a clinic. Eventually, Anderson is serving a 42-year sentence in federal prison for the kidnaping as well as for torching two Florida clinics and lobbing a pipe bomb at a Virginia clinic. At the time, the government claimed Anderson's "Army" consisted only of himself and his two co-conspirators.

The *Voice* article lists others who embraced the Army of God name. In 1983, Joseph Grace, who burned down a Virginia clinic, told authorities that he was an Army of God member. The Army of God sent a threatening letter to Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun, who wrote the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion, in 1984. John Brockhoeft, a 37-year-old postal worker who firebombed two Ohio clinics in 1985 and later worked closely with John Burt (the ex-Florida Klansman) and Shelley Shannon (who fired shots at George Tiller) claimed to be a colonel in the Army of God. Michael Bray also claimed an Army of God affiliation. Bray spent four years in prison over 10 bombings in Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and Washington, D.C., during the mid-1980's. At one of the bombed-out clinics, investigators found a plank with "AOG" written on it. Asked in a recent interview whether he still considers himself part of the Army of God, the *Voice* reported that Bray said, "If I were conspiring with the Army of God, I couldn't tell you."

The third edition of the Army of God's manual, dug up from Shelley Shannon's backyard after she shot Tiller twice, encourages readers to blow up clinics. There are recipes for plastic explosives, commentary on the merits of store-bought dynamite, and tips on making bombs with the fertilizer ammonium nitrate (which was used in the Oklahoma City bombing). Perhaps the most shocking section was the manual's epilogue. There, the Army of God describes the 1993 killing of Gunn

as "the first 'direct hit' attributed to us." The manual also mentions that by late 1992, "Douglas Karpen, a baby killer in Houston had been shot. Two accomplices in Springfield, Missouri, had also been shot." Pro-choice activist Eleanor Smeal says, "They were referring to serious incidents that our side didn't even know about." Karpen had indeed been shot in 1992 inside a parking garage near his abortion clinic. And a masked man had fired a sawed-off shotgun inside a Springfield clinic a year earlier, hitting two employees and paralyzing one of them. Those incidents received little publicity at the time.

Moreover, the AOG supporters are clearly moving from bombings of facilities to attacks on providers. Bray has published an essay urging activists to brush up on their sniper skills. "I am short on shelf space," Bray wrote in *Life Advocate*, an antiabortion magazine based in Oregon, "so I traded my copy of *The Army of God Manual for the [U.S.] Army's Sniper Training and Employment*" manual. Encouraging his readers to get a copy of this military manual, Bray insists that "the very presence of sniper-minded people serves to instill fear in those who take it upon themselves to slaughter babies." The *Voice* reports several other recent violent assaults against abortion doctors that also "slipped under the radar" of the national media and law enforcement. George Patterson, owner of the clinic where Gunn was killed, was fatally shot in 1993 in a Mobile, Alabama, parking lot. Abortion provider Paul Hackmeyer was shot three times in the chest after two men ambushed him outside his Los Angeles home in 1994 and George Klopfer was shot at in 1995 while driving along an Indiana highway.

Yet despite these incidents, and others clearly carried out by anti-abortion advocates, federal authorities deny the existence of a conspiracy. "There were and are cases involving multiple incidents and multiple clinics, but nothing to indicate that this is a national effort," according to Special Agent Bernard J. Zapor of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, which worked with the FBI on this

investigation. "We're talking about two or three defendants getting together and doing damage to two or three clinics. That's about as widespread as the cases show." This is the same line the ATF and FBI have maintained on the incidents since the Reagan presidency, when FBI chief William Webster explained that anti-abortion violence did not qualify as terrorism because it was not seeking to alter government policy!

Several hours before Slepian was shot, the National Abortion Federation sent a fax warning its 350 members to take precautions against possible sniper attacks. Buffalo police basically ignored the warning since Slepian did not personally request additional protection. "Why did that [fax] have to come from NAF instead of law enforcement?" asks an official of the NAF. "That is emblematic of what our frustration is. If we were doing some other kind of work that did not have this political stigma around it, then we wouldn't even have to be doing the work of law enforcement." But this is exactly the point. Abortion providers and defenders of women's rights cannot rely on the state. Despite the formal legalization of abortion, the state has done little or nothing to protect women's real life right to choose. The women's movement must embrace the strategy of direct action, learning methods of self- and community-defense, learning methods of self-examination and menstrual extraction and the use of herbal and other medicinal forms of contraception and abortion. Women have always found it necessary at times to terminate pregnancies, throughout history and under all social and legal systems, and will continue to do so, no matter what the church or state may do or say. In Buffalo, virulent opponents of abortion have appeared at the clinic of the remaining abortion provider, seeking abortions themselves. We must continue to expose the links between the anti-abortion movement and other racist and reactionary forces, as well as the full anti-woman and anti-sex agenda of the anti-abortionists and their strategy for imposing a theocratic system of government. Our best defense is a political offensive against reaction and imperialism.

TEAR DOWN THE PRISON WALLS!

California Governor Pete Wilson and President Bill Clinton have managed to accomplish something that has eluded movement organizers since the days of the Soledad Brothers in California and the Attica uprising in New York — making prison issues into the top concern of a mass movement. They did this through the simple and direct method of mass imprisonment.

Clinton rode into the presidency on the pledge of 100,000 new street cops. During his tenure, he has overseen a massive increase in federal prison populations, the scrapping of centuries-old habeas corpus protections for prisoners, the extension of "mandatory minimum" sentencing and the maintenance of a racist 100-1

discrepancy in the punishment for crack and powder cocaine. Wilson has presided over the largest prison construction boom in world history, and the highest per capita imprisonment of any jurisdiction in the world. He has repaid the state prison guards who funded his campaigns with a steady stream of salary increases and a protective cover-up of guard misconduct and unjustifiable shootings and homicides inside prison walls.

In response, a new generation of activists — augmented by the families of prisoners and impelled by the prisoners themselves — has taken to the streets, held conferences and demonstrated outside prison gates.

In September 1998 in Berkeley, organizers hoping for 5-800 attendees at the Critical Resistance conference, were overjoyed and a bit overwhelmed when upward of 3,000 people showed up. In L.A. on October 22nd, the protest to end police brutality, repression and the criminalization of a generation drew over 1000 marchers at its height. Close to 500 people gathered outside Corcoran State Prison on October 17th to denounce the impunity of prison authorities for the killings, shootings, beatings, gladiator contests, and rape set-ups that have been taking place at the prison. On the federal level, prison rebellions shook dozens of federal lock-ups after Congress refused to reduce mandatory minimums or reduce the sentencing discrepancies for drugs that have filled the prisons with non-violent drug offenders. In San Leandro, CA, at the end of September, a high school student walkout drew thousands of teens into the streets to protest Wilson's budgetary priorities of building and staffing new prisons while starving the schools.

A particular strength of the new wave of prison activism is the active participation of prisoners and their families. Using e-mail and the Internet, groups such as the November Coalition, based in the relatives of people imprisoned in the draconian drug war, have pushed prison activism into urban and suburban communities around the country. Mothers ROC (Reclaiming Our Children), led by the mothers of Los Angeles youth, particularly Blacks and Latinos, have initiated a campaign against the perverse "three-strikes" legislation, which has become a touchstone of "law and order toughness" among politicians and D.A.'s in CA, even though most of the people now being sent down for life on third strikes are convicted of non-violent, non-serious offenses. Growing out of the Corcoran protest, at which about 30 family members of prisoners attended, a new state-wide group called U.N.I.O.N. has formed, under the leadership of journalist B. Cayenne Bird.

Byrd describes U.N.I.O.N. as follows: "We are a statewide communication network dedicated to reforming the criminal justice system in California. We believe that the prison industry is absorbing tax dollars which would be better spent on education, health care, job and other social programs. We are opposed to the incarceration of addicts and the incarceration for life of nonviolent offenders as required by the Three Strikes and Mandatory Minimum laws. We abhor the brutality practiced in California prisons. We prefer to attack crime through economy for everyone, prevention through education, free after school activities, adult supervision of youth, support of teenage mothers, rehabilitation of incarcerated criminals, medical care for the mentally-ill, restorative justice and other programs clearly proven to be more of a solution to crime than prisons. We believe this can be done through the political processes established in our democracy: by the power of the vote, by letter-writing and by demonstrating."

The U.N.I.O.N. (United for No Injustice, Oppression or neglect) is run by volunteers who are prisoner families. Often they are the poorest of the poor who do not own automobiles, have money for basics such as food, clothing, rent. Most of the time they are single mothers and grandmothers working two jobs to make ends meet. But, they find time to fight for their loved one's freedom by writing letters, demonstrating and voting in unison. To receive the newsletter a \$20 donation minimum donation is required in cash or postage stamps. Write to: The U.N.I.O.N., 7000 College Ave. #22 Bakersfield, CA 93306 Attn: B. Cayenne Bird. E-mail: Rightor1@aol.com Their URL is:

<http://hometown.aol.com/cayennpepr/politics/index.htm>

To learn more about these issues and to get involved, a good place to start is the "Prison Issues Desk," an on-line project of the Berkeley-based Prison Activist Resource Center (PARC). The Prison Issues Desk is a primary source for

progressive and radical information on prisons and the criminal prosecution system. If you are looking for resources for educators and activists, including up-to-date news, alerts and analysis, this is a great jumping-off site on the Web at <http://www.prisonactivist.org>.

It has information on prison issues, including statistics, discussion, and background on the prison crisis, political prisoners, women prisoners, the death penalty, and control units. They also have links to sites on prisoner support, prison law, and prison activism. They cover recent news on prisons and prisoners and list prison activist and advocacy groups around the country. PARC co-sponsored the Critical Resistance prison activist conference, which set up on going workshops and caucuses. You can get more information from: PARC/Critical Resistance, PO Box 339, Berkeley CA 94701 Phone: 510-845-8813; parc@prisonactivist.org.

Another important resource is California Prison Focus, which along with the California Coalition for Women Prisoners, initiated the successful state-wide car caravan to support prisoners' human rights which culminated in a demonstration at the gates of Corcoran State Prison. Leading the demonstrators was Bill Tate, father of Preston Tate, one of seven prisoners killed execution-style by guards at Corcoran during a reign of terror that included setting up prisoners for gladiator-style combat in the prison yard - guards would bet on the outcomes and then often end the fights they had set up by firing on the prisoners, wounding more than 40 and killing seven. Tate's refusal to accept the murder of his son resulted in a lawsuit that exposed the racism and brutality and the high-level cover-up, and to federal civil rights investigations and indictments.

California Prison Focus is one of many groups around the country that work on ending the human rights abuses taking place inside maximum security and SHU (special housing units) — prisons

within prisons. You can reach the entire "control unit" network through them, at: CA Prison Focus, 2489 Mission St #28, San Francisco CA 94110; 415-452-3359. Their website is <http://www.prisons.org>. You can reach the CA Coalition for Women Prisoners at 100 McAllister St., S.F. CA 94102.

Another important national resource is the Sentencing Project in Washington DC. Their most recent study is on the impact on the general political life of the community caused by the disenfranchisement of those convicted of felonies, particularly Black men. Human Rights Watch and The Sentencing Project recently released a report that documents the astonishing impact of such state laws. In 14 states, including Alabama, Florida, Virginia and Mississippi, even people who have completed their criminal sentences are still barred from voting. In some communities, the majority of Black men are now barred for life from voting — the new way to circumvent "one person, one vote" and the requirements of the Voting Rights Act. For more information you can check their website at <http://www.sentencingproject.org>.

In southern CA, work around the prisons is being taken up by a number of organizations including the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, which focuses on the cases of political prisoners and prisoner of war like Geronimo ji-Jaga (Pratt), Sundiata Acoli and Assata Shakur. You can reach them at MXGM, 2907 W. Vernon Av., L.A. CA, 90008-4714; tel: 213-294-3836.

Other important resources are Mothers' ROC, 4167 S Normandie Ave., L.A., CA 90037-1736 and CAPA (Coalition Against Police Abuse), which coordinated the Corcoran car caravan efforts from southern CA, at 2824 S. Western Ave., L.A., CA 90018-3032; tel. 323-733-2107. Other groups dealing with related issues include Californians Against Three Strikes, Families to Amend California's Three Strikes (FACTS), and the L.A. !Crack the CIA! Coalition.

Racism manifests in every aspect of life, including particularly public and private housing. Racist terror may come from hooded night-riders who burn churches or government bureaucrats who authorize the demolition of homes. In San Francisco, Project HOPE VI promised a future and delivered displacement.

HOPESICK!

By James Tracy,
Eviction Defense Network

During the 1970's, a wave of urban removal allowed skyscrapers to eat much of San Francisco's skyline, while one working-class or ethnic neighborhood after another fell to the wrecking ball. We did not let this happen without a fierce struggle whose epicenter was the International Hotel. There thousands rallied to stop sheriff's deputies and police intent on evicting elderly Filipino residents. After a nine-year mobilization, the hotel fell; as did Manilatown, South of Market, and the once Japanese, later Black Fillmore neighborhood. The damage done hit Blacks especially hard. However, the movements momentum propelled later victories such as rent control, and created a large non-profit housing network. A sensibility survived that San Franciscans did not have to simply bow to whims of developers, politicians and landlords.

HOPE VI claimed to offer a way forward from a public housing system that has been critiqued as little more than ugly, crime-ridden warehousing for the urban poor. Millions of dollars of federal money are pumped into local housing authorities, who in turn tout radical improvements and self-sufficiency based on 'economic uplift' opportunities they fund. Thus far, the reality has been using the program to clear prime real estate of poor people who stand in the way of maximum profits. It may also be the harbinger of the privatization of public housing.

The gigantic McCormack Baron Development Corporation, for example, was awarded the Hayes Valley contract and will reap at least \$32.7 million in tax credits alone. On top of that, the company's deal with the city housing authority (SFHA) to administer the demolition, rehabilitation and later operation of the development will net the company \$34 million. According to Bee Harper, a resident organizer at North Beach Public Housing, the funding beyond demolition is unclear. "They are worried that HUD won't give enough money to rebuild so they will have to go with outside funding. No one knows who will fund the project and what their intentions are."

This same pattern is being played out around the country. In Atlanta, HOPE VI tore down the Techwood Homes to make room for the Olympic Village. In Chicago, demolitions of Cabrini Green housing has recently proceeded after a court battle and massive tenant protest movement. In San Francisco, public housing 'attrition' has been taking place in stages. Residents are removed, often accepting Section 8 vouchers and moving out of the city. When buildings are rebuilt, there are fewer units constructed. Eligibility requirements

severely restrict who can return. In addition, only a third of the units are offered to low income families. In the case of the Bernal Dwellings, funding difficulties have prevented any reconstruction, leaving four acres of mud.

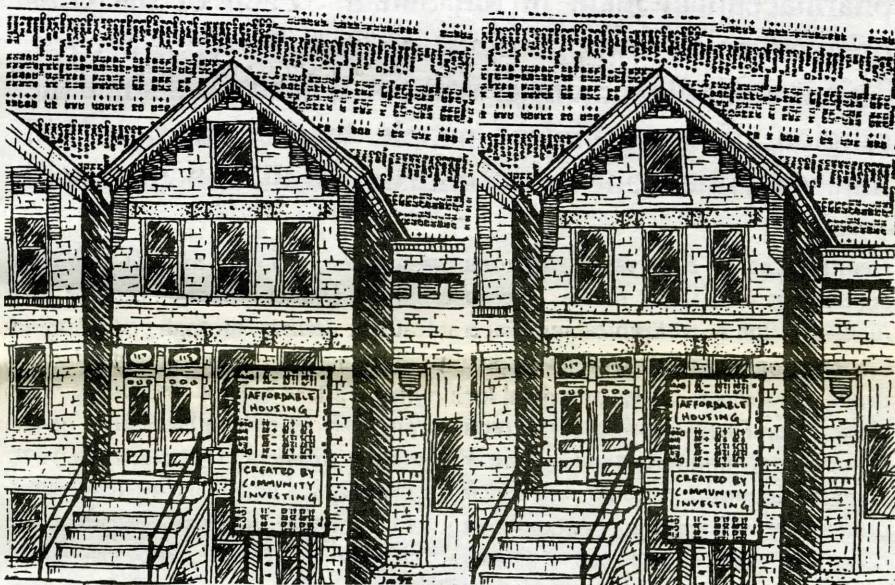
Self-organizing tenants have received community support from the Eviction Defense Network and The Mission Agenda. Organizers from those groups have been repeatedly detained by security forces and branded 'outside agitators' by SFHA executive director Ronnie Davis. Tenant organizers Malik Rahim and Jeff Branner were arrested on trumped-up charges of breaking in to a tenant association room. One TV station ran a three-part hit piece on them, distorting Branner's past drug convictions and Rahim's conflict with the police while a member of the Black Panther Party.

Despite the repression, tenants have consistently and effectively challenged the SFHA. At North Beach Public Housing, residents unseated a Tenants' Council perceived as a rubber-stamp for demolition. SFHA was forced to make concessions to a 10-point plan which guarantees no displacement. Tenants of all nationalities at North Beach forced the agency into non-compliance with a HUD rule which requires the eviction of undocumented tenants. The tenants are seeking resident control over the 'economic uplift' funds, and cooperative ownership and management of the renewed development.

A similar struggle is developing in Valencia Gardens. In 1997, the SFHA announced plans to renovate the project in partnership with the non-profit Mission Housing and Development Corporation. An impressive list of no-

A generation later, the city is facing an even more acute housing crisis, though to utter the words 'urban removal' or 'gentrification' is to be branded a doom-sayer in the rainbow kingdom of Mayor Willie Brown.

With a one-percent vacancy rate, this crisis affects all renters, even with 'middle-class' incomes. But the hardest hit are again the city's poorest — public housing residents, predominantly Black. The ironically named federal housing program, HOPE VI, has come forward with a solution worse than the problem, demolishing hundreds of public housing units in San Francisco. The body count so far: three public housing projects down, two more facing an uncertain future; hundreds of tenants have been displaced and the Black population has been reduced to 9%.



displacement promises were made; yet many tenants remained worried, pointing out no concrete plans to fulfill the promises exist. Their skepticism has proven warranted. In 1998, SFHA dropped the MHCD and opted to form its own non-profit.

After Willie Brown was quoted in the SF Chronicle referring to Valencia Gardens as a demolition, rather than a renovation, resident Vernell Guthrie exclaimed, "I was shocked! I heard nothing about demolition until I read it in the paper!" Brown now claims he was misquoted, but Ms. Guthrie began a campaign to unseat the Residency Council and replace it with one running on a slate skeptical of HOPE VI.

Those who have lived through previous decades of neighborhood destruction see this HOPE VI as part of a continuing effort to remake the city to suit a corporate agenda. San Francisco is earmarked for 'multi-media gulch' in tandem with Silicon Valley to its south, attracting well-paid computer programmers from around the world to work — and live — here. We're building not one but two sports stadiums, and attracting a high tech bio-

medical industry.

There's no room on that agenda for poor people, especially of color, who can't compete with the new urban professional. The 'progressive' city government is complicit with this plan to allow the corporations to obliterate what's left of working class life in the city. But tenant resistance is the wild card. No attempt at removal has ever gone forward without resistance.

For more information, contact the

Eviction Defense Network,
2940 16th Street, Room 205,
San Francisco CA 94110.

Editor's note: For a fascinating companion piece to this story, check out Colorlines magazine, for a piece by Jeff Chang on Asian-Black conflict being manipulated by the powers-that-be to divert and divide tenant struggle in San Francisco's public housing. Check out:

ColorLines Magazine,
4096 Piedmont Ave Suite 319,
Oakland, CA 94611,
510.653.3415;
<http://arc.org/Pages/ArcColorLines.html>

Hollywood in the Service of the Empire: Reality Under Siege

by Jennifer Dixon

As I look back over the last year of memorable movies, I can't help but think of one movie in particular. Serving more as propaganda than entertainment, its intended message has left another indelible imprint on the American mind.

America is under siege. At least the makers of the movie of that title, *The Siege*, would like us to think so. They want to see us quaking in our Nikes at the thought of what the future holds. Crazy Arabs running amok, and blowing up every bus, schoolroom, and bank lobby in sight as they mow down America's cities.

No longer will there be a head to this vicious monster. No, this is the new terrorism alluded to by Madeleine Albright in her remarks after the U.S. bombed a pharmaceutical plant in the Sudan. Each of the cells operates on its own, no direction from the top is needed. This is a mindless monster without a head. And since the religion of these violent people teaches them to kill innocent Americans indiscriminately well, hell, there will

be no end to it. No end until you call in the Army, declare martial law, lock the bastards up, and reestablish order. Sure, it poses some difficult decisions regarding civil liberties, but what is a decent law-abiding society to do? According to Edward Zwick, the director, one of the purposes of the movie is to talk about the dilemma of being Arab-American during a time of terrorism. The message is clear. It is difficult coming to the decision to revoke the civil rights of Arab-Americans. But it must be done because the violence coming from this deranged culture is so destructive that there is no other way to deal with the problem!

That, in rough cut, was the essence of this particular Hollywood blockbuster, released the sixth of November as the U.S. once again began a build-up for a military attack on Iraq. Timing, as they say in Hollywood, is everything.

Timing is everything. Reality, on the other hand, is nothing. America could use a good shot of reality, but it is not likely to get it from Hollywood.

Reality Check: Five years after the signing of the Oslo Peace Accord human rights violations remain a constant feature for life for Palestinians in the West Bank, Jerusalem, and the Gaza Strip. Israel, in violation of both the Hague Regulations and the Fourth Geneva Convention, both of which prohibit the settlement of citizens of an occupying power in occupied, continues to expand existing settlements as well as constructing new ones. During the previous Labour government settlers population increased by 50%.... On average, 8,630 dunams are confiscated each month from the Palestinians for settlements by Israelis. Since Oslo, 662 Palestinian homes have been demolished by the Israeli forces. The accusation is that Palestinians build without permits but building permits are rarely issued to Palestinians, fees are exorbitant for the impoverished population, and waiting periods are often up to a year.¹

The *Siege* is as heavy-handed a piece of propaganda while pretending to treat the subject- that of Arab terrorism- even-handedly. And therein lies the danger. Frame after frame delivers a death blow to Arabs and Arab culture.

The premise of the movie is based on deep seated prejudice and distortion of the facts. It is based on the assumption that the real threat to Americans in the near future is from Arab terrorism.

In fact, Arab terrorism is a negligible source of violence in America today.

Reality check: According to FBI statistics there were 21,597 homicides

in the U.S. in 1997. MADD, (Mothers Against Drunk Driving), reports that 16,000 Americans died in that same year in drunken-driven accidents. And since 1990, 4 million Americans have died from cancer (American Cancer Society) while in that same ten year period approximately 7 Americans have died in Arab terrorist incidents on American soil (These being the World Trade Center bombing and the shooting of Meyer Kahane. Author's note). The number of Americans dead from home-grown terrorists is now in the several hundreds.

The supposed saving grace of the film is that it does not depict all Arabs as bad. One Arab-American, that of cop and side-kick to the hero of the film, is a good guy. But he is a good guy by virtue of the fact that he is no longer Arab. He has forsaken all but the most nominal remnant of his own culture and language. He supports the decision of his superiors unquestioningly right up to the internment of entire boroughs of New York City. This is a not so subtle justification of the isolation and closure that Palestinians suffer from on the West Bank and the Gaza strip, where they have for years lived in concentration camps, caged like animals. Eventually he is forced to support even this demeaning violence against his own people.

Reality check: "Since the accords, the West Bank and Gaza have been continuously subjected to closures. The Israeli policy of closure results in severe restrictions on movement, and due to the nature of the current stage of

the agreement, whereby Palestinians controlled areas do not form a contiguous entity, the Palestinian towns and villages are easily isolated, aided by the presence of bypass roadsIsraeli authorities have been known to impose what could be called blockades, where movement of the Palestinian population is virtually impossible, and humanitarian relief is often impededClosures cause considerable economic hardship, by denying the possibility of Palestinian workers who earn their living in Israel from getting to their places of employmentIt has been estimated that closures cost over 6 million US dollars a day, and in 1997 the total estimated cost of closures for that period was around 230 million US dollars."²

The Frank Haddad character is fawning, and always over-anxious to please. African-Americans referred to members of their own ethnic groups who were characterized this way as Uncle Toms.

One idyllic scene shows him playing football with his sons on a fall afternoon- the quintessential American male bonding experience. This slow motion quiet meditation is one of the only scenes of an Arab who is not hysterical, violent, or on the run. The message is unmistakable. The often violent sport of football is depicted in a reverent, almost mystical manner while the images of Muslims praying are juxtaposed with scenes of Arab violence.

Long after the plot is forgotten and the dialogue is erased from memory, the images will persist. That is the power of movie-making. And the image of Arabs, Arab culture and Islam is largely bad in this movie.

The plot is triggered when an Arab terrorist commandeers a New York city bus and holds the passengers hostage. It is repeated several times that he makes no demands. The implication is that these terrorists have no political purpose but are simply irrational killers.

One main player that is notable by its absence is Israel. The country is never mentioned, although it is well known the Israeli human rights violations and breaking of international law are the reason for Palestinian suicide bombers. But the movie presents it as though Arab terrorists have some inexplicable hatred for innocent Americans.

Reality Check: Physical violence against protected persons is a serious violation of human rights. Israel continues to use lethal force against Palestinians. [During 1997] twenty have been killed by the Israeli army, a quarter of which were children and one of whom was under the age of thirteen. Settlers (Israeli colonizers) living in illegal colonies established by Israeli in the Occupied Territories, (many of whom are Jewish extremists) are armed and act with impunity. In one incident in 1996 an armed Israeli settler was fined 1 agoret (less than 0.28 of a dollar) for killing a young Palestinian man. In 1997 Israeli civilians killed three Palestinians.³

The movie has a number of subtle messages. The hero, played by Denzel Washington, always a likable actor, is African-American. He, too, has to forsake his blackness and trade it in for a John Wayne persona to achieve greatness. In one crucial scene he approaches the bus of innocent Americans held by terrorists. Like John Wayne, he is out in the open, bravely exposed to fire, and quietly addressing the craven, hidden terrorists without his translator, which actually makes the scene laughable. However, here, too, essential character is defined by contrast. The lone, brave American attempting to save innocents while risking his own life stands in stark contrast to the evil of the terrorist who cannot even show his face. But then that Arabs have no face in American culture is nothing new.

Another intriguing character is the female CIA agent. She is a tough-talking professional gal who gives as good as she gets. But in the end she gets it. She gets it because, in fact, she isn't one of the guys but a soft-headed woman who is sleeping with the enemy. Underneath her bravado she is a foolish woman, foolish because she is having an affair with a Palestinian, who is supposedly on our side. Actually it is intimated that we should not be too sure of the loyalties of either of them. But then women, like Arabs, have never been entirely trustworthy. Talk about stereotypes! In the end, he betrays her, of course. How could she have been so stupid as to trust an Arab?

Actually what drives her trust is the guilt she feels as a member of the CIA which betrayed their hireling Arab mercenaries in a failed coup attempt on Saddam Hussein. Her tenderness towards her Arab lover is partially explained by her guilt. Guilt for which there is no reason, because in the end he is more treacherous.

That her sexuality is her undoing is

an old theme. It is portrayed here as excessive, and needy and slightly repellent. In one scene where she is at a party with the hero and his Arab second in command, she paws the hero's tie as the very married Arab slips away from her grasp. "They seduce you with their suffering", she says by way of explanation of her relationship to Samir, the Palestinian. The remark is insidious. It implies that Samir, like all Palestinians, has the uncanny knack of deceiving you into pitying them while all the time plotting your destruction.

Her death scene too is rife with subtext. Samir has tricked her into going to a bathhouse to meet the last cell, which he will destroy. But he is that cell. He turns on her savagely. He kneels down to wash and pray before he kills. Evidently we are to believe that Islam teaches its faithful to pray before killing. She pleads with him not to kill citing the Koran. "Do not read to me of the Koran, woman", he answers her with contempt. He uses her as a hostage. She dies in the shoot-out between Samir and the FBI chief, only too willing to die for her wrong-headed betrayal of her own side.

Her death scene is interesting. Denzel is administering her last rites by talking her through the Lord's Prayer. As she fades, she stops reciting the Our Father and dies with the Arab phrase, Im Shallah, on her lips. Infidel to the end.

Her sexuality is one part pity and guilt and one part, raw animality. In the post-lovemaking scene with Samir, he is stripped above the waste, lithe and limber like a cat. And like an animal he sits on the floor. The conversation is edgy and charged and there is no tenderness between them.

The last of the major characters is the Army general who must go into New York when the War Powers Act is invoked. It is stressed that he is reluctant to do so but he must because his superiors insist. In the interests of

the "complexity" this movie is supposed to have, his character is not an unsullied hero. He is excessive, even brutal, torturing one of the Arab "mules", which is his wrong-doing. The fact that he rounds up and detains whole communities of Arab-Americans without any due process of law, is presented as unfortunate but necessary. His excesses are seen as purely personal and not the outcome of American government decisions.

Reality check: *Israel is the only country in the world where torture has been legalized. In 1997 Israel was found to be in contravention of the Convention against Torture....Once arrested, lawyers are denied access to Palestinian detainees and torture is systematically practiced against them in order to obtain information or secure confessions....the military court continues to operate in a manner contrary to standards set out in the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights....There are presently 3,547 political prisoners and 572 administrative detainees held by Israel.*⁴

One particularly enraging scene has a suicide bomber holding a room full of school children hostage as the timer ticks ominously. Our hero saves them.

Reality check: *Since the Oslo Accords 276 Palestinian children under the age of 13 have been killed by Israelis.*⁵

The movie ends in a contrived scene where FBI hero, Denzel Washington, and the Army general have a stand-off. They stand face to face calling each other's bluff, their men with arms drawn and pointed at one another. But the FBI guy wins because he is morally superior, doing only what the law requires and not giving in to his hatred of these hideous terrorists. This is what we are to believe of good American culture

versus bad Arab culture; American is a country ruled by laws not men and the good guy always wins.

The Siege presents a black and white picture of good American versus the bad Arab. America, the democratic melting pot is represented by an ethnically mixed group of police officers of both sexes working together in efficient harmony versus the cowardly, reflexively violent fanatics, who have now been identified as Palestinian. This movie is about as complex as Psycho was lyrical, and as damaging to its victim-the Arab.

There is little reporting of Israeli violence against Palestinian in the American media although no incident of Palestinian violence against Israeli goes without major play on the evening network news. There is no mention of the 4000+ children who die in Iraq each month because of the U.S./U.N. sanctions. This movie only adds to the ongoing, one-sided portrayal of the "situation in the Middle East."

Footnotes:

(1) A Summary of Human Rights Violations Since the Declaration of Principles, The Palestinian Society for the Protection of Human Rights and the Environment, September 1998.

(2) Ibid

(3) Ibid

(4) Summary of LAW's Human Rights Annual Report 1997 Human Rights Violations in Palestine, The Palestinian Society for the Protection of Human Rights and the Environment, 1997

(5) B'Tselem-Israeli Human Rights Group

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