

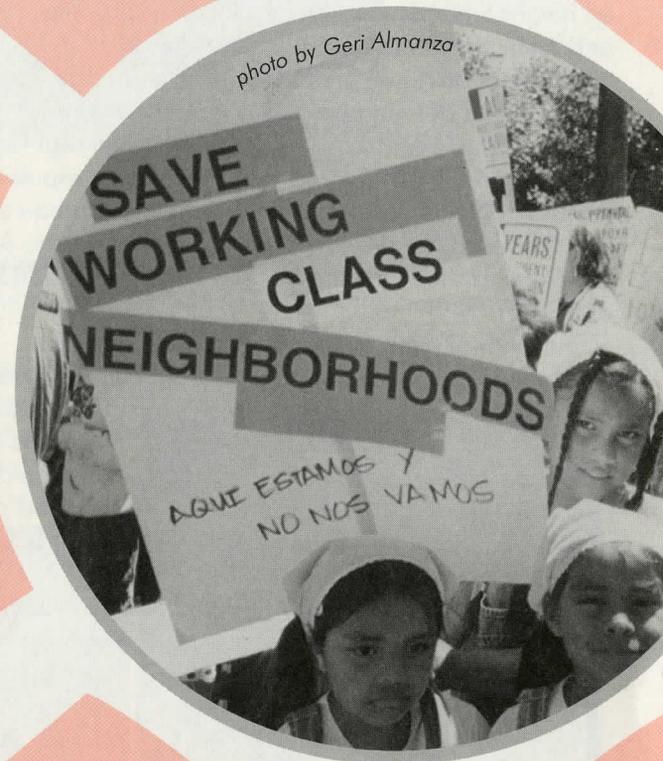
of POWER

BY ANTONIO DÍAZ

If you walk down San Francisco's Mission Street from, say, 24th to 16th, you get a sense of the rich social and cultural character of *la Misión*. *Señoras* wait along 24th for their MUNI bus while Latino and Asian families shop at the little stores across the street. Going farther down Mission, you can hear the rrring, rrring, rrring from the *paletero* with his cart selling popsicles and ice cream bars. You pass by Latin Jewelers where you can get your watch fixed or a bracelet engraved. The Pilipino video place, beauty parlors, inexpensive clothing stores.

The more you explore the landscape, though, the more you notice the various establishments sprouting up that cater to a different clientele. There's the Foreign Cinema restaurant with its valet parking (valet parking!!)—try to find any oldtime Mission residents eating there. And next door is a big, gleaming, high-end optometrist. Walk down Valencia, one block over, and the picture is even worse as new coffee-houses and chi-chi boutiques multiply every month.

These streets typify the changes sweeping through San Francisco's Mission District. Due to city policies and market pressures, the neighbor-



RACE & SPACE

Dot-Colonization and Dislocation in La Misión

hood is undergoing a profound transformation of its race and class character, of a whole society and a use of space. But this distortion of *la Misión* is not going unchallenged.

In fact, the Mission has become ground zero for multiracial organizing against massive displacement in the San Francisco Bay Area today. A whole new movement is being born with thousands of people opposing "gentrification"—that word we have learned for what happens when a workingclass neighborhood is upgraded by middle-class interests (the "gentry"), often forcing out lower-income people. The problem exists in San Francisco but also Oakland and, in fact, in cities all over the country. Everywhere those being squeezed out are mainly people of color.

The Racialized City

What's happening now has roots going back many years. Cities have historically applied land use policies and zoning laws to determine who lives where, what kind of building is allowed where, the whole type of environment created for the inhabitants. These decisions by city planners often reflect the larger social and economic picture—which includes racism. For example, municipalities have invoked discriminatory zoning policies to segregate populations and classes.

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San Francisco is no exception to this practice of applying land use decisions to marginalize or oust working people or communities of color. In fact, it was one of the first cities in the U.S. to practice racial zoning. In 1890, at the height of anti-Chinese hysteria, the City ordered that all persons of Chinese descent move out.

Along with local restrictions, federal government policies have also promoted discriminatory zoning. Policies by the Federal Housing Administration and the Veterans Administration in the 1930's and 40's encouraged segregated neighborhoods and the development of white suburbs, and often we can still see the results today.

Then we have also seen local and federal policies that simply wiped out communities of color in the name of eliminating "urban blight." Remember Urban Renewal (or was it Removal) in the 60's? It led to the wholesale expulsion of thriving communities of color from desirable urban spaces. In San Francisco, gentrification wiped out the African American community in the Fillmore and the Pilipino population South of Market.

And now it's the Mission District.

The Mission was primed for land speculators and

unscrupulous investors by years of neglect that lowered property values. After all, it was just a neighborhood with a lot of recent immigrants and working-class families, mostly Latino. Property was cheap, and suddenly demand was sky-high—especially from internet or multi-media firms needing dot-com office space and high-cost lofts. The

Mission's mixed-use zoning regulations made all this easy. Money poured in.

For many in the 'hood, all this community "revitalization" just meant, "Pack it up, you're moving out of here!" The average rent for a 2-bedroom apartment in the Mission reached over \$1,600 in 1999, an increase of more than 25% in just 3 years. San Francisco has an office vacancy rate of only 1% with rent increasing as much as three or fourfold. Throughout the Bay Area, new jobs from new businesses outpaced the development of new housing by more than 5-to-1 since the mid 1990's. Last May, people became especially



Horace Mann Middle School, June 28. Photo by Pancho Alatorre

angry about city approval—despite much protest—of the Bryant Square project, a five-story high-tech complex that would take up an entire city block.

¡Aquí estamos, y no nos vamos!

That sort of treatment was too much for 500 people who packed Horace Mann Middle School in the Mission District on June 28. One after another, they talked about the effects on their families, their neighborhoods and their peace of mind. Longtime tenants being evicted. Skyrocketing rents displacing artists, small businesses and non-profit organizations. Youth who are having to quit school and go to work to help their single mothers pay the new rent.

For over two hours, the Director of San Francisco's Planning Department, Gerald Green, and three members of the Planning Commission had to listen to community demands (see below). Two weeks later, on July 13, 500 peo-

MAC'S DEMANDS

- An immediate moratorium on new market rate housing and live/work lofts in the Mission;
- An immediate moratorium on office conversions and new construction of dot-com office space in the Mission;
- An immediate abatement of illegal conversions, specifically including the conversion of the Bayview Bank building to a single dot-com company;
- A commitment to community-initiated planning process to rezone the Mission District; and
- Re-program funds in the 2000/2001 budget so that the rezoning can be done in the next year.

ple rallied on the steps of City Hall to make the City protect their neighborhoods against the dot-com invasion. Many went inside to the full Planning Commission to present community demands. Others marched to the Planning Department, causing it to shut down temporarily. Even the San Francisco daily newspapers recognized something new and big was on the move with front-page headlines.

And two weeks later again, on July 27, protesters held a press conference and rally at the National Guard Mission

Armory at Mission and 14th Streets.

The building, abandoned for almost 30 years, had been bought by Eikon Investments, a development corporation that will renovate it and then rent space for what they are calling "New

Economy compa-

nies." Celebrants of the new plans arrived in BMW's and Mercedes for a posh reception while outside Mission residents and activists demanded different goals for the building: a school, a homeless shelter, other community needs. Instead of those uses, Eikon said the project would provide some parking spaces for employees.

On Aug. 12, a "Walking Tour to Defend the Right to Live in the Mission" was held to keep up the heat. Over a thousand people participated in this neighborhood tour and celebration, which highlighted the displaced or threatened sites as well as the rich diversity of the Mission.

The MAC is on the Attack

All these high-profile protests have been the work of the Mission Anti-Displacement Coalition (MAC). Formed in mid-April, initially to respond to the Armory project and the divisive tactics used by the developer to feign community support, MAC now consists of various organizations such as grassroots groups like Mission Agenda and PODER (People Organizing to Demand Environmental and Economic Rights); neighborhood institutions like Mission Housing Development Corporation and the Mission Economic Development Association; organizations such as St. Peter's Housing Committee, the Day Labor Program, the Coalition on Jobs, Arts and Housing, and the Mission Neighborhood Centers, and individual residents, artists and community activists.

The MAC has so far targeted the city's Planning Department and Planning Commission because those two bodies have been largely responsible for the reckless dot-com and loft development. Through their lax or non-enforcement of city planning codes, and by turning a blind eye to the effects of projects they approve, the Department and Commission have intensified the market pressure on Mission residents and small businesses. Developers like SKS, who have contributed handsomely to Mayor Willie Brown's cam-

campaign, are reaping the benefits of the city's inaction.

The broad-based mobilizations by the MAC have brought together hundreds of Mission residents: single-room occupancy hotel tenants, day laborers, recent immigrants, youth, elders, artists, etc.

MAC is building a movement to preserve the Mission's cultural and economic diversity. Its rallies and actions have included people from other San Francisco neighborhoods. Representatives from the Chinese Progressive Association, the John Coltrane Church and the Nation of Islam in Bayview

Hunter's Point and the United Pilipino Organizing Network from the South of Market area have participated. Building a strong multiracial movement has been a key priority for MAC organizers, who know it must work in solidarity with other neighborhoods facing similar displacement problems.

MAC's organizing has also galvanized an electoral effort. Backers of Proposition M, the 1986 voter-approved initiative that put a cap on office construction, have gathered 30,000 signatures in two weeks to place the "Daughter of Prop. M" on the November ballot. The new amendment, Proposition L, would close the loopholes of the previous initiative and offer protection to front-line neighborhoods not only in the Mission but also Potrero Hill, Bayview

Hunters Point, and South of Market. Mayor Willie Brown has put his own, watered-down Proposition K on the ballot; people are saying "Love L, Kill K!"

In an action organized by others and supported by MAC, Dancers' Group Footwork—a Mission dance studio—protest-



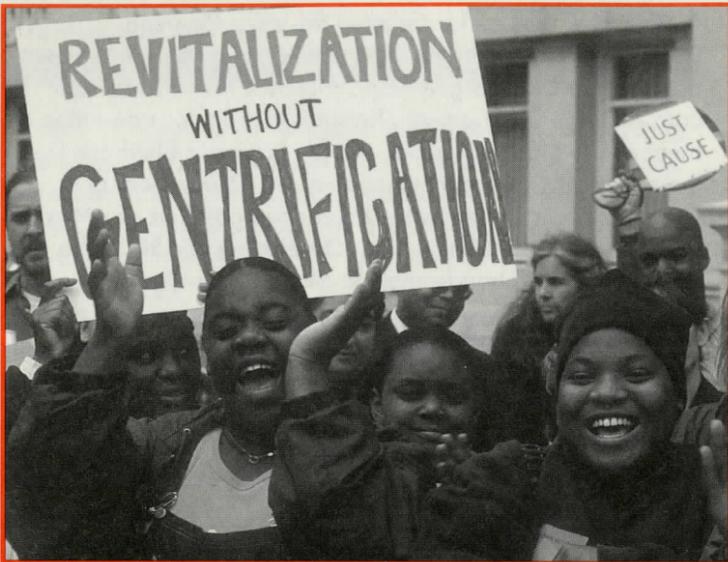
Demonstration at Armory Building, July 27. Photo by Geri Almanza



City Hall, July 13. Photo by Bill Carpenter.



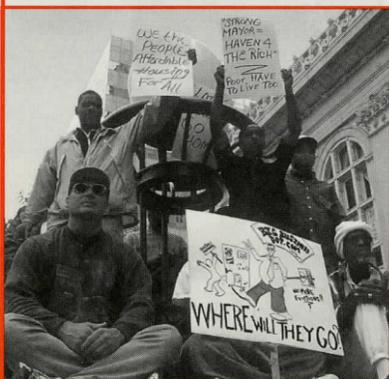
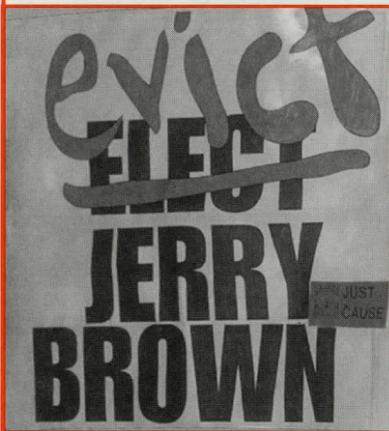
Marie Harrison, City Hall, July 13. Photo by Bill Carpenter.



BY KALI AKUNO-WILLIAMS

If ever there was a time to build third world unity for community survival in Oakland, it is now. What was once a solidly working class "chocolate" city, proud birthplace of the Black Panther Party and home to a strong tradition of Latino and Asian community organizing, has become the epicenter of a reconquest driven by white-colonial forces. But a resistance movement is also growing in Oakland

RESISTING THE RECONQUEST oakland's struggle against gentrification



From top to bottom: Protests at Oakland City Hall in June. Photos by Scott Braley.

The first urban conquest centered on the European occupation of North America and the successive founding of urban settlements built by white capital and the stolen labor of colonized Native Americans, Afrikans, Latinos, Asians and Pacific Islanders. Beginning in the mid-20th century, the major urban settlements were abandoned by whites. This left working class communities to deteriorate.

Capitalism's tremendous revitalization and restructuring over the last 30 years has fueled a reconquest of the once abandoned urban environment. This process is typically called "gentrification." Gentrification is a process of urban restructuring centered on the removal and/or displacement of working class communities, generally African and Latino, by private capital (mostly European American). Gentrification is often mistakenly thought to be a neutral process of economic and social development. It is not. Like any process of conquest, gentrification is not neutral; it is deliberate. Oakland's reconquest is no exception.

In this city, gentrification stems from two related developments. The first is white capital flight, divestment and the deliberate abandonment of the urban core beginning in the late 1950's. The flight of

white capital lowered property values, which made it possible for third world communities to settle. But those lower values also paved the way for white capital's eventual return, as the needs of commerce changed in the 1980's and 90's and created new demands.

Second, there have been successive waves of technological advancement and capital expansion stemming from the development of Silicon Valley, heartland of the third industrial revolution. With its microchips, superconductors and dot.com's, Silicon Valley has fueled displacement throughout the San Francisco Bay Area for at least the past 20 years. As the industry expanded, its need for land, new office space, and other kinds of infrastructure grew. Capital investment in communities throughout the Bay Area has created wildly inflated property values and raised rents sky high. High rents and over-valued properties have attracted mostly white techies and professionals, pushing working class Black and Latino communities out of the region at an alarming rate. A conglomerate of developers, investors, bankers and related capitalist interests is now aggressively gentrifying Oakland, spearheaded by players like Rick Holiday and Joe O'Donoghue

Jerry Brown Paves the Way

The highly eclectic, neo-liberal (neo-fascist) strong man mayor Jerry Brown and his political machine energetically facilitate Oakland's gentrification. Since his election in 1998 Jerry Brown has so masterfully engineered Oakland's gentrification that the process has become popularly named "Jerryfication." Yet, Brown is only a front man, or better yet a political cover for the corporate interests driving Oakland's reconquest.

What Jerry Brown and his political machine provide is control over Oakland's political and legal apparatuses and processes. With this control, Jerry Brown has instituted the necessary social policies to drive out Oakland's workingclass third world communities and lure the conquering white gentry. His two key tactics are: 1) implementing a host of repressive "law and order" programs to occupy, terrorize and remove the criminalized underemployed from Oakland's predominantly Afrikan, Asian, and Latino flatland communities; and 2) hijacking the school board with three, self-appointed board members to bring the public schools under his direct control.

The "law and order" programs are designed to control third world communities and the working class. These programs criminalize the so-called "surplus" or "expendable" elements of these communities: those who are underemployed or un-employable. Criminalization in particular is key. By targeting and physically removing ever-expanding sectors of third world communities and the working class—placing them in prisons and other detention centers—urban environments are cleared of the human "impediments" that the white gentry fear.

A School System for the Elite

Controlling education is directly linked to the "law and order" criminalizing programs. Proposition 21, the "Juvenile Justice and Gang Violence Prevention Act" passed in March is an example. By bringing the school system under his control, Brown can implement both the elite education programs (charter schools, academies or small schools) that are a major draw for the conquering white gentry and the necessary "discipline" programs in public schools to control third world youth—which also attracts the white gentry.

These two strategies are just the tip of the "Jerryfication" iceberg. The Jerry machine is also selling off large tracks of city owned property to developers and speculators. It is severely restructuring and weakly enforcing the city's zoning and land use polices to accommodate and attract developers and dot.com businesses. It has also instituted a set of strict anti-blight measures to change the city's aesthetic appearance at the literal expense of its working class communities. The net effect of all these strategies, together with soaring rents and record numbers of unjust evictions, is the displacement of third world people in droves, particularly Afrikans, from Oakland.

This powerful, seemingly inevitable process is not being



Lillian Boctor and Alex Salazar lead discussion at Just Cause for Eviction meeting about its petition. Photo by Scott Braley.

met with inertia, however. Drawing on San Francisco's recent experiences, people began mounting a conscious, organized resistance to this process in late 1999. The first stage of resistance was the "Just Cause for Eviction" campaign, which focused on quelling one of the major sources of displacement in Oakland: "no cause" evictions. Over the past two years there has been a 300% increase in the number of "no cause" evictions in Oakland, mostly of Afrikans, who are permanently displaced from the city as a result. Most of these "no cause" evictions are prompted by unscrupulous landlords taking advantage of the rise in property values and rents to remove low-income and working-class tenants. Thus they can make way for higher paying, more affluent dot.commers and business professionals.

The "Just Cause for Eviction" campaign begins

All this is made easy by the fact that Oakland, unlike most major urban areas of the U.S., has no stringent laws that define the grounds on which a tenant may be justly removed. It also has virtually no means of enforcing the laws that do exist. There is only one housing enforcement officer to investigate and administer the issues and complaints of over 170,000 renters.

The "Just Cause for Eviction" campaign, waged by veteran tenant rights activists, community organizers, and evicted tenants, has attempted to stem the tide of these "no cause" evictions by placing a measure on the November 2000 municipal ballot that would specify the grounds on which a tenant could be "justly" evicted from a rental unit. Although the campaign gathered over 20,000 petition signatures this past summer, the initiative did not qualify for the November ballot. The campaign went on to pressure city authorities and is now reorganizing for a sustained community campaign.

But whatever the outcome of the petition drive, the energy

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When Will Disabled Women be counted?

A Question for the "Color of Violence" Conference.

BY NOEMI SOHN

On the last weekend of April, an impressive gathering attended "The Color of Violence" Conference at U.C. Santa Cruz, California. Over a thousand women from the U.S., Canada and New Zealand participated and hundreds more who came unexpectedly had to be turned away.

This first conference of its kind was the brain-child of Andrea Smith, a long time activist in the anti-violence against women movement. Although women of color have always been part of, and often leaders in, both the domestic violence and anti-sexual assault movements, they are often relegated to being a caucus at conferences. The Santa Cruz conference offered a chance for women of color and their spe-



Conference Participants. Photo by Ana Bertha Campa.

cific issues to be in the front and at the center of the struggle to stop violence against women.

Angela Davis began the opening plenary with a keynote address, followed by a powerful respondents' panel that included UCLA law professor Kimberle Crenshaw; Urvashi Vaid, Director of the Policy Institute of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force; and Lourdes Lugo, an activist for U.S. political prisoners, particularly Puerto Ricans. The evening program set the tone and scope of the conference. Expanding the definition of violence, speakers that night and throughout the next day made the connections between domestic and sexual violence and political and institutional violence. Crenshaw used the term "intersectionality" in



Lourdes Lugo, codirector of Puerto Rican High School in Chicago, at the Color of Violence Conference. Photo by Ana Bertha Campa.

describing how we must examine all oppressions and their relationship to violence against women of color.

Workshops reflected this concept and included issues of law enforcement, medical/reproductive rights, colonialism, racism and heterosexism, the global economy, militarism and violence, media/cultural representation of violence, and the depoliticization of the Anti-Violence Movement. The workshops I attended were all informative but very academic, with little (if any) chance for dialogue with the panelists. The most participatory workshop was Challenging the Depoliticization of the Anti-Violence Movement. The only other real opportunity for participation came at a special lunchtime meeting of the National Planning Committee of the conference and conference participants to discuss the development of a national organization dedicated to ending all violence against women of color.

In many ways, the conference was an exciting breakthrough. But as an activist in the struggle for social justice for all people, I felt disappointed to find the issue of disability once again absent. Despite the sincere effort to achieve inclusivity and intersectionality, there was no analysis of the impact of disability in connection with violence against women of color. Likewise there was a lack of attention to violence against older women of color.

The relationship between disability and violence against women of color is twofold. First, disabled women of color do experience violence. They experience all the same types of violence as their non-disabled sisters, plus they may also have to deal with the violence perpetrated on them by the medical system and governmental institutions such as the Social Security Administration. Second, a non-disabled woman might become disabled due to violence.

Every workshop had pertinence to the lives of women of color with disabilities, but none addressed the intersection between race and disability. For example, the workshop on "Colonized Bodies of Women of Color" was a missed oppor-

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FROM VIEQUES TO OKINAWA the same struggle

BY MARIA REINAT-PUMAREJO

Maria is Co-Director of the Institute for Latino Empowerment and Core Trainer with the People's Institute for Survival and Beyond. She is an anti-racist organizer in the U.S. and Puerto Rico and has been actively involved in the struggle to demilitarize Vieques, where strong popular resistance to the U.S. Navy and its bombings despite repression.

Last June, Maria went to Okinawa for the "Third International Women's Summit: Redefining Security." The conference was organized jointly by the East Asia-U.S. Women's Network Against Militarism and Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence.

For the first time, Puerto Rico was represented at the International Women's Summit as a separate country from the United States, and it was such an honor for me to attend. I was humbled by what I experienced and learned from being there with 91 women from Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and the U.S. who are involved in a common struggle against the U.S. military. The similarities between our struggles were overwhelming.

I had gone to Okinawa from the Vieques campaign of civil disobedience and the latest wave of arrests of people determined not to let the U.S. continue using our island as a major training site. In Okinawa, a high point for me was visiting the coastal area of Nago City in the north, where the U.S. is planning to replace the Futenma Marine Air Corps Station with a modern heliport. This construction will destroy coral reef and marine life. Walking to the beach where the heliport will be built, we saw the damage already done by intense bombing.

Tears streamed down my face looking at the cemetery of coral reef, for you can see the same thing at the beach in Vieques. There we also struggle for our fishing rights, for our children suffering from cancer and other diseases related to the bombing, and for our manatee—a type of aquatic mammal or sea cow found in Okinawa as in Vieques. We also struggle with false promises and corrupt collaborators.

At the Women's Summit, beyond the words and the formal reports we heard, it was so clear to me that the struggles of Okinawa and Vieques are one and the same. I have sisters, mothers and grandmothers on the other side of my world. Another powerful moment came at a peace memorial near Naha City, where we laid flowers to remember the

nameless victims of World War II—the youngsters forcefully recruited by the Japanese government and the thousands of Korean women brought to Okinawa as "comfort women" for the pleasure of soldiers stationed there.

In hearing the reports from each country, we had many discussions about violence against women, children's rights, environmental issues, treaties, economic conversion, the concept of "national security," civil disobedience and non-violent resistance. We shared struggles and strategized together.

On the last day of the Summit, we unified our thoughts by writing a statement to the G-8, the powerful, wealthy nations that control our world, whose leaders would have their annual meeting on Okinawa July 21-23. We demanded they stop the injustice against our countries and assume responsibility for the damage done to the environment and the social, political and economic development of our countries. We also said:

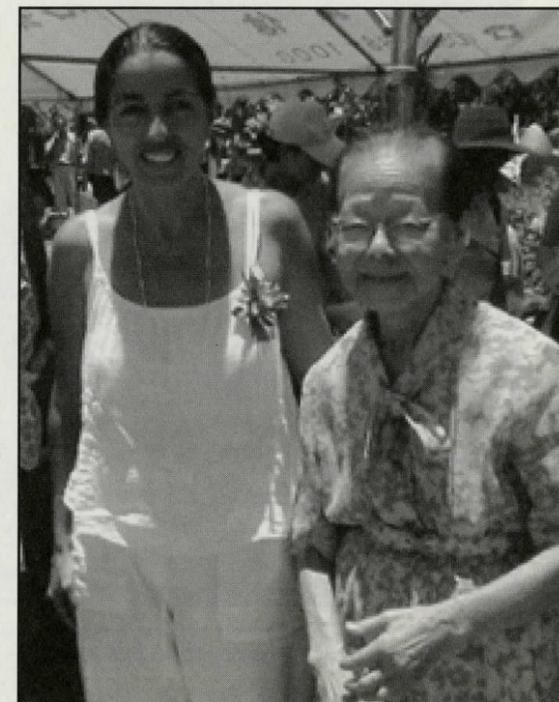
"We are activists, teachers, students, researchers, elected officials, survivors of physical, sexual, and emotional violence; we are daughters, mothers, and wives. The purpose of [our] meeting was to challenge the principle of 'national

security' on which the economic policies of the G-8 are based. These economic policies can never achieve genuine security. Rather, they generate gross insecurity for most peoples of the world and devastate the natural environment.

"Moreover, militaries maintain control of local populations and repress those who oppose the fundamental principles on which the world economic system is based...greed, fear, domination, and the objectification of 'others.'"

The meeting in Okinawa expanded my feeling of wholeness, of connectedness, knowing that we are not alone in our struggle to demilitarize Vieques. The notion of other paradises also victimized by the U.S. gives me more strength for what lies ahead in Puerto Rico.

On July 20, the day before the G-8 would begin their meeting, 27,000 people joined hands and formed a human chain around Kadena Air Base in Okinawa. They sought to send a message to the G-8: we seek to create an island of peace, without military bases.



Maria and an elder from Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence at the Konpaku Memorial to commemorate Memorial Day in Okinawa. Photo by Martha Matsuoka

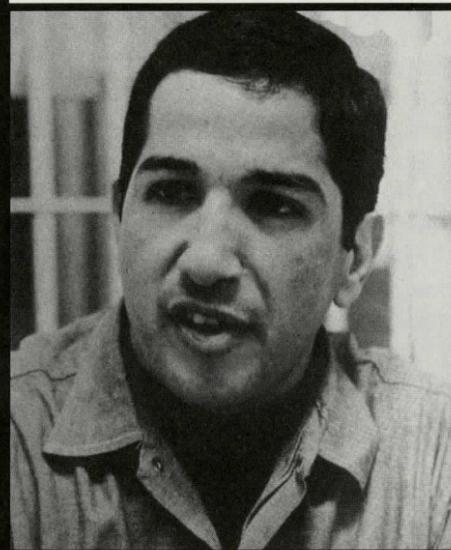
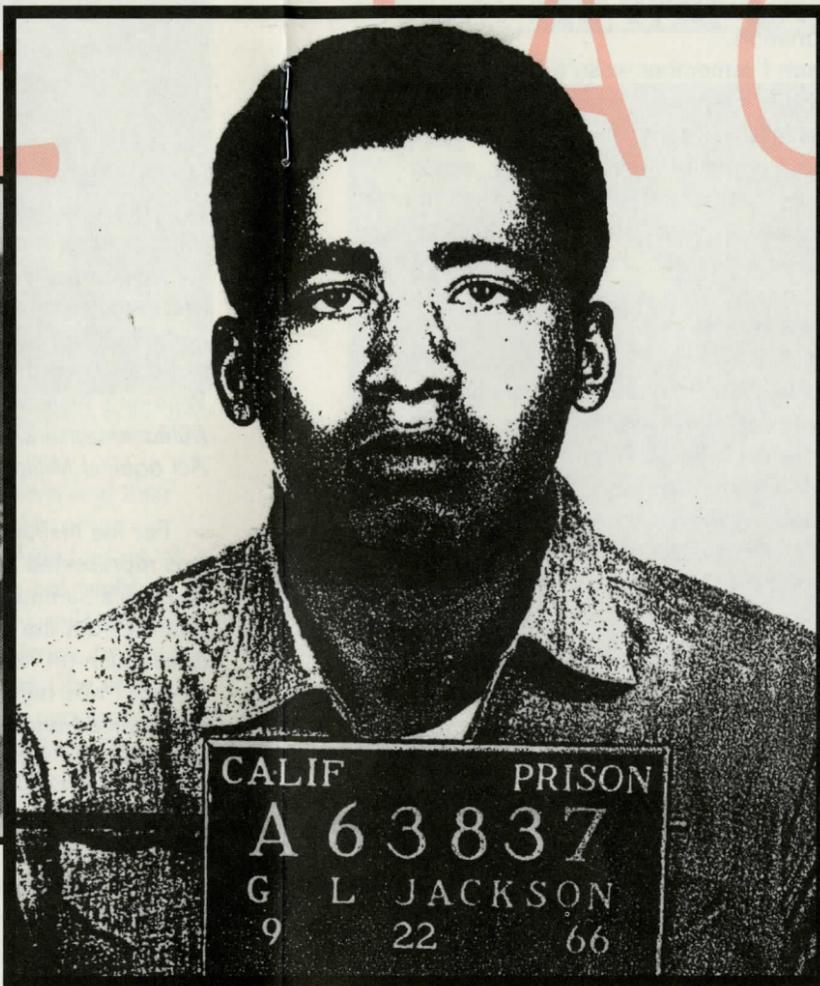
Ed.

Luis Talamantez (Bato) is an ex-prisoner who, since the age of 12, grew up inside places of detention. He went on to prison at age 18 and was in San Quentin when George Jackson was killed there. Today he works with California Prison Focus, a grassroots organization based in San Francisco that monitors human rights abuses behind the walls of California's maximum security prison of the future, the SHU system.



San Quentin, Aug. 21. Prisoners hogtied, naked, face down in the yard. Circled figure is Luis Talamantez. Photo by Russ Reed, Oakland Tribune.

BY LUIS TALAMANTEZ



Luis Talamantez in San Quentin Prison. A93537

this was about prisoners fighting back.

For all the cells doors to come open together, somebody had to be out in the foyer area where the control box for opening the cell-doors was located. All the gates and doors were standing open. Prisoners could even wander over to the other side, where the isolation-tier was. Twenty-six prisoners would be temporarily liberated from their individual cells on the first-floor tier of the AC unit that day. Most were black, five were Chicano and four were white prisoners. For less than half an hour, although it seemed much longer at the time, it was exhilarating to be let out of our cramped 8 X 10 cells.

The storming of the cellblock by pissed-off guards, called to the prison on a pretty Saturday afternoon, would be swift and brutal. We were corralled in the strip-cell area of isolation, in the dank and dark solitary cells. The guards spattered machine-gun fire into the area where we huddled in small groups behind massive steel cell doors. Then they would call for us to come out, one at a time. They called Ruchell Cinque Magee's name first. He stepped out backwards and naked as ordered. Slowly he was back-stepped to the front of the tier where the guards nabbed him, threw him down and chained him. Nobody wanted to go out next. We waited; the guards were buzzing like

Black August, I believe, has meant different things to different people at different times. But from what I've read, for hundreds of years August has marked both sorrow and courageous acts of resistance for black people. Black August has for me meant George Jackson: prison revolutionary and Black Panther Party leader, brutally and calculatedly killed by agents of the California Department of Corrections on August 21, 1971.

Comrade Jackson set an example of determination never to surrender to the Oppressor and that example is why Black August today represents an ongoing threat to institutional security in the minds of prison officials. Black August has been historically distorted for CDC purposes. Prisoners today have been led to believe it was a racist attack

BLACK AUGUST FROM A BROWN PRISONER PERSPECTIVE

on whites. That is a complete lie. I was there. Calling it "the holocaust," wardens take extra precautions in August, knowing that George Jackson still lives inside the minds of many prisoners who might want to make their own statement during that month.

They must be frightened thinking about the level of prisoner unity seen that day. The unity was Black, brown, white. The truth of what happened must be known to all prisoners. I say this in the sincere hope of helping to build the racial unity among prisoners so desperately needed today behind the walls. Only unity can overcome the absolute power which the state prison apparatus,

the CDC, wields over a powerless prisoner class.

Today the California Department of Corrections runs the biggest prison ship in the nation, with 33 major prison installations and just as many lesser detention satellites: infamous places like Pelican Bay, New Folsom, Chowchilla, Corcoran, Tehachapi, High Desert, and the over-100 year old San Quentin prison. At the time of George Jackson's death, California's prison population stood under 20,000; today it is 165,000, with Mexicans now the majority. With this astronomical growth of what is now called the prison industrial complex have come woeful and untold acts of guard savagery and state brutality administered by a corrupt, quasi-military and punitive apparatus.

In my time spent behind bars, I can say I saw blacks get beat. Beat, shot and killed, mostly by white guards. The most brutal brutality I saw inflicted on anyone was brutality against blacks. I regret admitting now that I was glad at such times that I didn't have to be black in prison.

Black prisoner oppression must have been part of what drove George Jackson to become a prisoner revolutionary: a prisoner who fights for his life against the might of the state and stands ready to die for his beliefs. The day he was killed

has always seemed to me to have been a day of direct action, and that this might have been his way of telling something to all prisoners. It was Comrade Jackson's way of saying: Fight to the finish! Don't give up!

On a quiet, boring Saturday

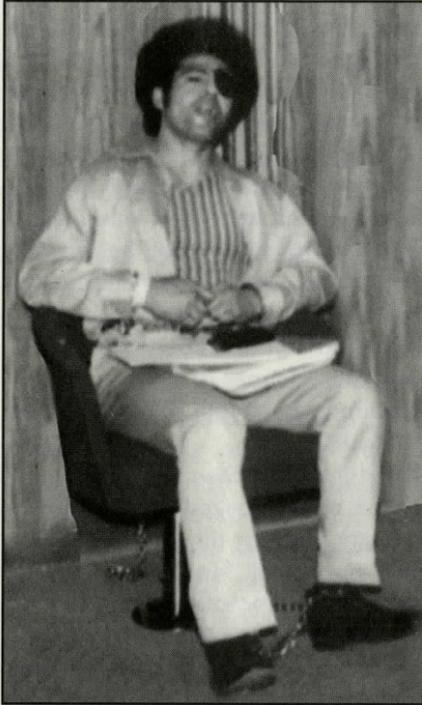
While lying inside my cell that day and before all hell broke loose, I heard my cell door make a mechanical clunk sound, indicating that the security bar had been lifted. To my growing wonderment, my cell door then slowly began opening as did the other cell doors. Everybody housed on the first-tier floor at the time was on walk-alone status and never allowed to freely mingle; this was the tightest max-row in the state then. Prisoners exiting their cells were all wondering what was happening. It had never happened before.

Nobody went after each other, or thought about settling up old scores. This wasn't about that. Everybody on our tier had gotten along up to that time and we all fought the guards periodically in a common prisoner front.

The tier had practiced racial harmony ever since I had been in San Quentin and so the day's subsequent events were never about racial conflict. If anything,

angry hornets. Then each of us stepped out in turn.

It took a while for the guards to process us out until we were all hogtied and laid face down on the grass, naked. Our asses had been beat every step of the way and our hair violently shorn off. One comrade's braids were yanked off. Many bones would be broken that cold, unforgettable night. Misery would become a constant companion. Everybody was called the 'N' word repeatedly, even though there were a few black guards present. One of the Chicano brothers, Louie Lopez,



was beat-up several times that evening for trying to fight back, handcuffed. (Twenty-five years later, he would be systematically abused and refused medical help at Pelican Bay until sent to the Corcoran prison infirmary where he would expire from a form of bone cancer, diagnosed only shortly before he died on Father's Day 1996.) Almost four years later, six of us would win our civil rights case citing cruel and unusual treatment, not only for that day but the hundreds of other days of CDC abuse.

As I learned later,

George Jackson had bolted from the Adjustment Center and onto the prison's utility road. He would be felled almost immediately by a shot from the rifleman stationed on the outside gun-rail, and left to die on prison asphalt. It is the belief of many prisoners to this day that George Jackson was finished off while wounded and lying on the ground. As I lay hogtied in the yard, I heard the guards singing in unison, "George Jackson is in his grave."

Lying on the grass, I heard a shot ring out behind me and heard a guard's mocking voice say to his guard buddies, "I guess nobody saw that happen." A white prisoner had been shot in the buttocks with buckshot and was hollering with pain. A few black prisoners near him were yelling angrily for help to be given him but the guards were letting him bleed. They were threatening everybody, kicking and spitting on us and trying hard to terrorize us. Some of the prison administrators wearing suits were also present and participating in the abuses being heaped on us. Many of them are now CDC bureaucrats with absolute power to vilify, neglect and kill the class that provides them with a living.

The rebellion left 6 dead: 3 guards and 3 prisoners, with 3 guards wounded. The two white prisoners killed with the guards had, to my recollection, been kitchen-workers from upstairs. Unfortunately they had been working for the unit sargeant when the takeover occurred. I had known one of them from youth authority, and he had been all right then.

Two other white prisoners present at the time showed some creativity when they realized there would soon be hell

to pay. They tied their doors shut with bed-sheeting. Later they both testified on our behalf. This act of solidarity would stun the district attorney and confuse the all white-jury, who had been told time and again by the D.A. that what had happened was based on racial hatred against whites, that we defendants were all animals.

The George Jackson I remember wasn't into racial discord. For anybody who knew him, Jackson's fight had become the prison system. But guards would later say as they still do today that what happened in A/C that day, was a black-on-white prisoner massacre. That was never so. If anything, this was a prisoners vs. guard showdown. Calling Aug. 21 an escape attempt was another of the many official lies and historical fabrications by state officials: it was a prisoner rebellion, much like Attica three weeks later.

In the aftermath of that so-called blackest day, six prisoners would be selected to stand trial although very little real evidence or eye-witness accounts were available. We were called "the San Quentin Six": Hugo Pinell, Fleeta Drumgo (now deceased), David Giappa Johnson, Sundiata (Willie) Tate, Johnny Spain, and myself. To cover the racism against Blacks and the wanton killing of Comrade Jackson, I as a Chicano was included in the 87-felony count joint-indictment. It would later be learned that it had taken the all-white Marin County jury only one half-hour to acquit me of all charges, saying I should never have been prosecuted. Let me add: none of us should have been prosecuted.

Our Solidarity Never Broke Down

The politically charged case took five years to complete and every day we were taken to court wearing pounds of chains and shackles. In the end, three would be convicted and three acquitted. Only one of the trial defendants remains incarcerated today, Hugo Pinell, a Black Nicaraguan. Solidarity never broke down between the Six although there were many attempts to divide us. I and my co-defendants thought too much of Comrade George Jackson, who had sacrificed his life, for self-interest to set us back.

Today my comrades are still in unity with all prisoners who continue to fight back, who continue to struggle as Geoge Jackson did. Some of us now understand that the Oppressors then are the same as today. They continue to oppress all the imprisoned class. White, Chicano-Latino, Black, Red, Yellow, Pacific Islander, etc. No longer is there any one particular color in my mind, only comradeship. Comrade George lives.

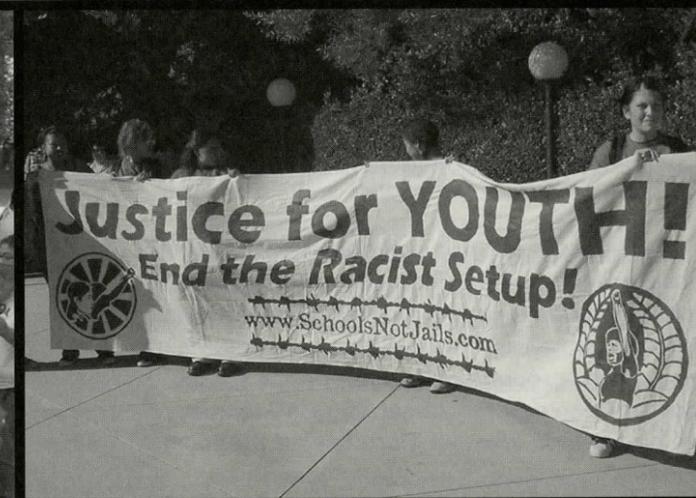
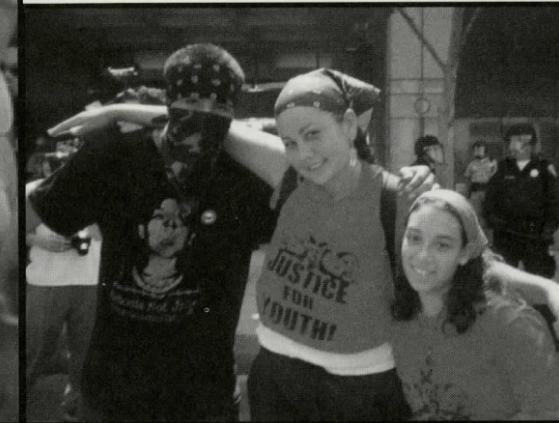
Bato and an investigative team from California Prison Focus were at Pelican Bay prison on Aug. 21, 2000, anniversary of the killing of Comrade George Jackson, to continue the work of helping to end human rights abuses. They found many prisoners on a hunger strike. Hugo Pinell, now at Pelican Bay, continues strong and involved with prisoner issues but largely forgotten outside. Hugo Pinell, # A88401, SHU D8-204, P.O. Box 7500, Crescent City, CA 95531. ✊

youth on the move

at the Democratic National Convention

August 13-17, 2000

Los Angeles, CA



Clockwise from top left: Third Eye Movement & Youth Force, photo by John Pilgrim; OLIN, photo by Patricia Barraza; YOC Los Angeles, photo by Favianna Rodriguez; Police massed at Staples Center, photo by IndyMedia LA; YOC Los Angeles, photo by Favianna Rodriguez; Mecha & OLIN, photo by Estria.

NEW YORK COLORS UNITE TO COMBAT POLICE VIOLENCE

COMBAT POLICE VIOLENCE
BY LA LUPE



March 18 protest against the killing of Patrick Dorismund, sponsored by the International Action Center. Photo by Diane Greene Lent.

Can people of color work together? How? This afternoon while walking past 137th Street in Harlem, as the air turned tight, that question came to mind. A young man of African descent, about 15 years old, approached a delivery bike lying on the ground and jumped on the spokes. Just then a man of Asian descent, about 35 or 40, comes racing out of a Chinese food take-out place toward the youth, knife in hand.

The incident caused this writer to reflect on People's Justice 2000 and the result is just what's offered here: a personal commentary. Unlike the incident, Justice 2000 has been able to bring together folks of color for work against the real enemy and its agents. The pain of that summer moment in Harlem was lightened by thinking about the collaboration of Asians, Latinas/os, African Americans, and others of color in Justice 2000 against systemic brutalization by the police. So many poor people and especially folks of color have been repeatedly tortured, insulted and injured. It is a mighty victory to work through our differences toward the common goal of opposing those tools of an occupying army.

People's Justice 2000 began about 3 years ago, in 1997. The Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence (CAAV), the Center for Constitutional rights with a Latina/o presence, and the National Association of Kawaida Organizations (NAKO) with an African American presence all joined together with

other longtime activists from community groups to focus on police brutality and to provide support for its victims. Explaining critical points in its growth, Bo-Keem Nyerere said,

"What has made the coalition strong was (is) the fact that you had groups represented from different races. They were just there. They came to participate. That made the organization. Justice 2000 is able to have great outreach because the groups were able to call on people from different walks of life who all came together and worked on this particular issue."

The brutalization of Abner Louima (a Haitian male tortured by police in Brooklyn, NY in 1997) started people crossing lines, Nyerere feels. People came together who normally would not have done so. He says, "a lotta Asians are involved in Justice 2000. The more people get to mix, they will step outside of their group. People have to get familiar with each other, so they can trust one another."

Nyerere expressed eloquently the need to feel comfortable with another culture, so you learn how to respect it and not unconsciously violate some tradition within it. He went on to share that East Indians are involved in the Taxi Worker's Alliance while Koreans, Japanese and Chinese people are in CAAV. All the groups have been under siege by police agents of the U.S., and have actively participated in planning Justice 2000 protests.

Justice 2000 Protests For Amadou Diallo

Everyone is dissatisfied with the fact that police are repeatedly acquitted in cases of brutality, as documented in the Stolen Lives Project's archives. Last winter, around the time of the verdict pardoning the cops in the Amadou Diallo case (an African man shot 41 times in front of his home), Justice 2000 got ready to respond to the shabby ruling. "Participatory and exciting meetings were held to plan the demo," said Nyerere, who is also a member of the Citywide Coalition to Stop Guiliani (NYC mayor). It took about 3 meetings of close to 200 folks each time to do it. "We all planned that we would show up at a certain area. A decision was made to have some demonstrations in the area where wealth and power rule our lives." From now on midtown Manhattan, or any place that ignores the discontent of communities of color, will be the site of some protests. "People who normally only read about it would have the dissatisfaction at their front doors!"

On Feb. 26, 2000, some 4,000 folks appeared, walking

down 5th Avenue toward 42nd Street and then on down to City Hall. "Every nationality was in it, Christians, gays, Buddhists," all in that march protesting a rotten, rancid police department. The crowd of orderly women and men were out to build a just and good society. Nyerere gives his thoughts about why folks need to continue in the movement along these lines. "We can find out how many similarities we have. The mystification is removed. You are able to develop a more rounded sense of appreciation of humanity.

"You know, a lot of people are miseducated and they mystify the differences. I hear North American (stateside-born) blacks talk about blacks from the Caribbean like they're from another planet. Certain cultural differences exist, because of the environment you are in. But people seem to take it too far, and they build up a lot of negative thought patterns, and they try to support them even when they've been challenged and they find out that their thought patterns are out of the loop. Certainly there are differences, but there are a lot of common things. The wealthy seem to oppress the non-wealthy, that is something we share around the world!"

Freeing the Killer of Patrick Dorismund

Last March, a security guard named Patrick Dorismund became the fourth unarmed African American to be killed by N.Y. police in a 13-month period. When a grand jury refused to file criminal charges against the police in late July, people exploded with anger. Dorismund, of Haitian descent like Louima, had been approached by three plainclothes narcotics detectives asking if he had any crack cocaine; he became angry, supposedly a fight started, and he was shot to death by one detective, Anthony Vasquez.

Police brutality is now an epidemic, said a sister of Errol Maitland, the Black reporter for WBAI/Pacifica covering the Dorismund funeral who was singled out, beaten, chained to his hospital bed and brought up on charges. At the funeral, people wanted to follow the casket to the cemetery and police blocked them. They marched toward the people and tried to move them away from the casket. People resisted and many were arrested.

On July 29, a Unity Walk 2000 brought out a mass of Africans, African Caribbeans, African Americans, Mexicans and folks of Asian ancestry in New York City to protest the grand jury verdict clearing Vasquez. Daniel Biko of the October 22 Coalition to Stop Police Brutality commented "It's one attack against one class, the ruling class against the working class. There's a difference between Detective Vasquez, who represents the enforcer wing for the capitalist class, and a Latino who represents the working class."

Pat Chin, a member of the Haiti Support Network, reflected on her own ancestry as a person born of a Cuban mother



People committing civil disobedience at April 5 youth march sponsored by People's Justice 2000 to mark 41 days since the verdict acquitting police of killing Amadou Diallo. Photo by Diane Greene Lent

and a black Chinese father. "Opening the minds of many Cubans in the U.S. to the struggle of Haitians would be difficult because many of the Cubans are racist. One of the biggest laments in Little Havana (Miami) is 'Fidel gave the house to the Blacks.' But Cuban people in Cuba are very anti-racist, they're very aware of Dorismund."

Building bridges of people against police brutality continues all over the country and around the world. In New York, the Student Liberation Action Movement (SLAM), which is part of Justice 2000, has made a name for its work exposing the prison industrial complex along with others. Members of the Black Radical Congress can be found in many of these efforts. "Jail the killer cops!" cry more and more people of color across the land. The repression is systemic, it demands an organized resistance to raise the pressure on the fat cats.

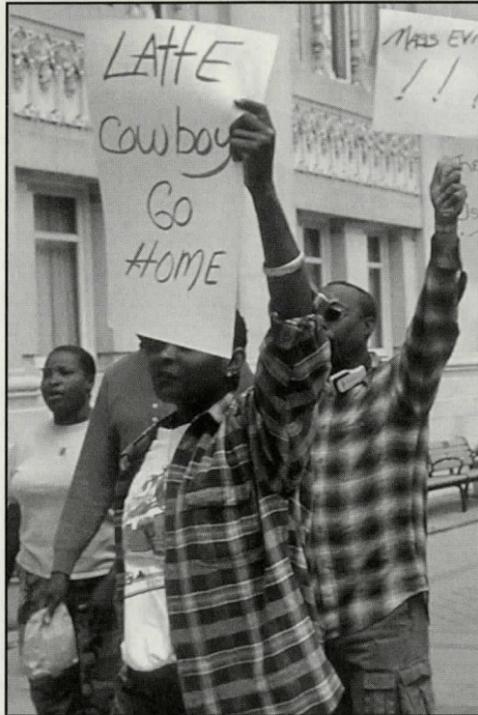
For further information about working together in multi-racial coalitions, especially in the NY region, contact Justice 2000 through email at Liberation@mail.com. Also:

- October 22 Coalition to Stop Police Brutality

at (212) 673-6008.

- SLAM (212) 772-4257 or (212)772-4261
- www.peoplecampaign.org
- www.blackradicalcongress.org
- International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia, P.O.Box 19709, Philadelphia, PA 19143
- Direct Action Network www.directaction-network.org. (212) 358-3966
- Free Mumia wwwmumia.org (columns by Mumia Abu-Jamal)
- Haitian Coalition for Justice c/o Haiti Progress Newspaper, 1398 Flatbush Ave., Brooklyn NY 11210 (305) 610-6913

La Lupe is an organizer, ESL activist, and healer. ✊



City Hall Protest, June. Photo by Scott Braley.

and awareness that it has generated—not just around “no cause” evictions, but around the issue of gentrification in general—has stirred things up. Serious discussion and concerted movement has been taking place among numerous community, political, and non-profit organizations and organizers. They include the Oakland Just Cause Coalition, Oakland Tenants

Union, PUEBLO, Urban Ecology, Emergency Services Network, Black Radical Congress, Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, Taller Sin Fronteras, Californians for Justice, American Friends Service Committee, Coalition for West Oakland Revitalization, BOSS, EBASE, Women’s Economic Agenda Project, Committees of Correspondence, the Communist Party, Institute for MultiRacial Justice, SEIU locals 250 and 1877 and others.

The main topic of discussion is the forming of a broad coalition or united front to struggle with Oakland’s numerous housing issues and resist gentrification. The formation of this coalition and/or united front is just beginning and a great deal of effort and struggle await. Over the next few months, the forces involved need to collectively decide a common agenda, set of concerns, and objectives.

In order for this coalition and/or united front to be successful it must overcome several obstacles. The most glaring weakness to date is the lack of organic third world participation and leadership. A new coalition must also transcend the different institutional and class interests of the participants. It will have to develop sophisticated strategies to engage participants from the various social classes in the community, including working class homeowners and small shopkeepers, who can be strategic allies against the major corporate forces. The forces of reconquest aim to divide these potential allies from the grassroots residents by trying to convince them that gentrification is in their interests as landlords and merchants because it increases the value of their property and their business volume. Both of which don’t inevitably happen.

Ultimately, for Oakland’s reconquest to be stemmed and

its workingclass, Afrikan, Latino, and Asian communities preserved, a mass community-based third world coalition or united front must be formed that isn’t just a collection of progressive third world organizations, service providers and non-profits. Most importantly, community members must provide critical leadership and direction to this struggle for it to gain authentic grassroots support.

Although the urban reconquest posed by gentrification is the result of extremely daunting, global forces, it is not inevitable. It is a process that can and must be defeated. To do that, we need aggressive strategies and tactics of mass action that have a local base but are regional and global in outreach. We must take on the larger issues related to gentrification, such as third world immigration, xenophobia, police terror, criminalization, domestic militarization and the prison-industrial complex.

If the reconquest is not defeated, the alternative will have devastating consequences. If profits continue to precede people, then third world peoples will be removed or marginalized from the 21st century global economy. They will be re-colonized.

This choice is ours to make.

Kali Akuno-Williams is a Project Coordinator for the Institute for Multiracial Justice and an organizer with the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement.



NEW BLACK/IMMIGRANT TASK FORCE TO TARGET GENTRIFICATION

The Institute for MultiRacial Justice has established an African American/Immigrant Task Force in Oakland, CA, with two goals:

- 1) To promote dialogue and inter-active education. Overcoming mutual ignorance of each community’s history, culture, and current concerns is crucial.
- 2) To encourage and support joint work on projects involving the various communities. The Task Force sees working together on concrete efforts as key to building cooperation. The current struggle against gentrification is an important and promising arena for such work.

To implement those goals, the Task Force is presently working on two, related projects. One is a series of dialogues involving various church and community groups. The other is the formation of a city-wide anti-gentrification coalition with the Oakland Just Cause Coalition, Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, Black Radical Congress, and other organizations. The Project Coordinator is Kali Akuno-Williams.

To contact the Task Force, call the Institute for MultiRacial Justice at (415)701-9462 or fax (415)701-9502. Email: i4mrj@aol.com.

ed against their building’s new landlord for raising the studio’s rent to be five times higher than before. They had rented the space for 18 years but no dance group could afford to pay the new rent, they said. On Aug. 18 at 6 a.m., police moved in and arrested 10 protestors who had defied eviction.

This and all the other organizing in the Mission is an example of the work that needs to be done in neighborhoods across San Francisco, the Bay Area and beyond to fight the displacement of low-income and workingclass people. Specific government policies that serve the pernicious power of capital are erasing poor people and people of color from urban spaces deemed profitable, accessible and desirable. A resistance movement needs to be built everywhere, among all our communities, to develop a proactive agenda for urban justice.

To get involved with MAC, call (415)431-4210 or (415)436-9707.



City Hall Protest. Photo by Billl Carpenter.

Antonio Díaz is Project Director of PODER (People Organizing to Demand Environmental and Economic Rights) in San Francisco.

tunity to include issues facing disabled women of color. To analyze forced sterilization and medical experimentation is not complete without examining how these procedures affect disabled women of color, since they are often the most vulnerable to medical violence. Women of color with disabilities are subjected to forced sterilization due to both racism and ableism.

Also missing from the discussion of abortion, as usual, was (and is) how we feel about aborting your fetus because of the possibility of birthing a disabled child. I believe in all women’s reproductive rights, and any violation of these rights is an act of violence. However, I think it behooves us as women of color to examine the idea of selective abortion due to disability. If we don’t have an honest discussion of the subject, the idea of selective abortion may extend to determining sex and/or race. In India, for example, women are pressured by society to have abortions if their fetuses are female.

When will all of us see ableism as a form of oppression to be included in the political discourse? I spoke up about my concerns at the lunchtime meeting and at the Challenging the Depoliticization of the Anti-Violence Movement workshop and received positive responses. Members of the conference planning committee took notes on the points I raised regarding disability. The question now is, how to move forward together?

On a personal note: at the end of the conference I expe-

rienced a painful assault on my dignity. I have speech impediment due to cerebral palsy. Before leaving the conference with some friends, I looked for a woman to whom we were planning to give a ride back to San Francisco. When I approached some women and asked if they had seen her, one of them asked if a friend could hitch a ride with us. I said that I wasn’t the one driving, that I would have to ask my friend. But she kept insisting, then finally said, “Never mind. I don’t want my friend to ride with drunk people.” Taken aback, I asked what she meant. She just kept repeating that she didn’t want her friend to ride with drunks. Finally, I asked if she thought I was drunk and she refused to explain her comments. Even when another woman came up and supported me, she still refused to own her misguided attitude.

Quite upset, I walked away, and then the first woman apologized. I said it was okay, to let it go, but she seemed to want me to say more when I just wanted to drop the whole thing.

I tell this story to illustrate how as women of color we need to examine all our assumptions so we can break down the barriers between us and thus work together for peace and justice. Future gatherings like “The Color of Violence” can become opportunities to do just that, and thus build on the progress made at Santa Cruz.

Noemi Sohn is a Filipina activist, lecturer and poet living in San Francisco. She has worked in the Domestic Violence and Anti-Sexual Assault movements for 16 years.



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shades of power

ABOUT SHADES OF POWER

Shades of Power is published by the Institute for Multi-Racial Justice. Founded in 1997 in the Bay Area, the Institute aims to strengthen the struggle against white supremacy by serving as a resource center to help build alliances among peoples of color and combat divisions.

Shades of Power brings you news of Institute activities, reports on current efforts to resolve conflicts and build alliances between communities of color as well as analysis of the issues at stake and historical examples of linkage between different communities of color.

Bulk copies are available to community organizations, teachers, youth groups and others working on relevant issues.

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