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TURNING THE TIDE

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**In this issue: Beyond the Battle in Seattle*John Brown
African Liberation*Community Control of the Police**



Revolutionary Collaborators: Lucha, Tito, Ariel, Eric, Martin, and Script

FREE MUMIA ABU JAMAL!

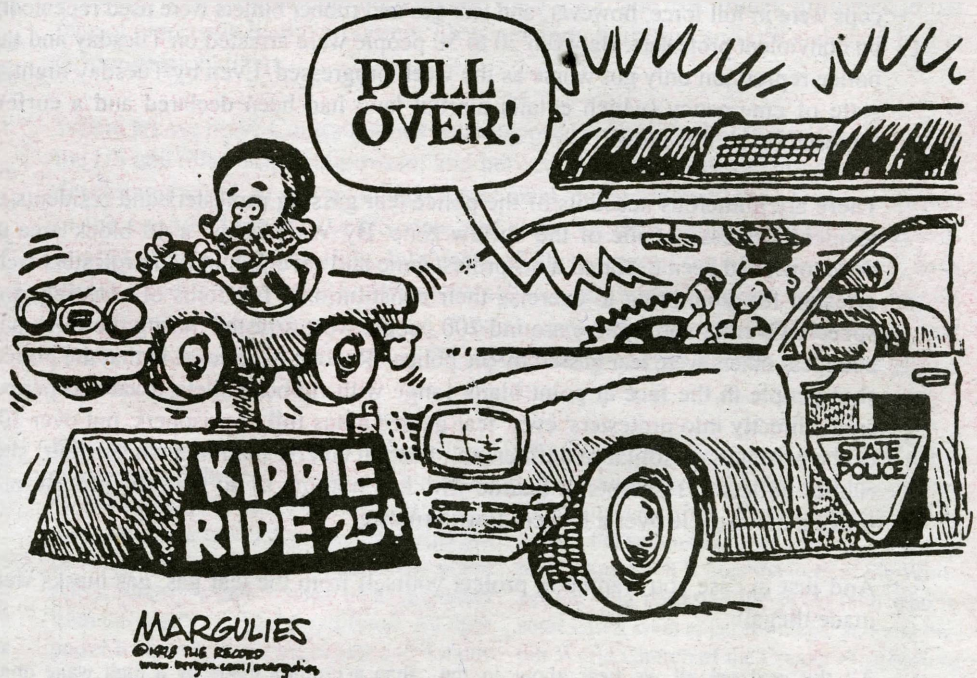
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Demonstrate Against Police Brutality and for Community Control of the Police!

by Michael Novick,
People Against Racist Terror

More than any other scandal about police killings and shootings, the widening exposure of police brutality, criminality, perjury and murder growing out of disclosures at the LAPD Rampart Division exposes the systematic nature of the problem. It's not only the police drug thefts and drug sales, the police shootings and killings of unarmed men that were covered up with perjury and planted guns. It goes beyond the cops who acted as hired killers or who robbed banks. It involves not only the cops who do the crimes, but those who go along with the cover-up. It goes past the police department to the prosecutors, judges, public defenders and to the Mayor, City Council and Police Commission.

Quite simply, the system requires and protects police brutality. The only thing that will put a stop to it is independent, community-based control of all aspects of policing. Precinct by precinct, the people need to set the policies for the cops, and hold the cops to account for breaking the rules. But we can't stop with the cops. They are an occupying army in communities of color, an internal border guard in more privileged areas. To stop their violence, we have to go after the people in high places who trained these dogs to bite and sicced 'em on us — the political and economic elite whose wealth the police are designed to protect and serve.



Here's what the L.A. Times acknowledges has been exposed by the on-going Rampart scandal:

"The main job of the criminal courts, separating the innocent from the guilty, is difficult under the best of circumstances. When the police lie, it becomes all but impossible. Prosecutors are almost wholly dependent on police for the information they use to bring cases.

"And because of a[n] anti-crime crackdown... defense lawyers these days are rarely in a position even to test in court the strength of information that the police [and] prosecutors present. [I]ncreasingly harsh punishments ... raise the stakes of going to trial. Prosecutors hold these ... over the heads of defendants... to get them to plead guilty at an early stage of proceedings — often before any meaningful defense investigation has taken place.

"In the since-overturned Rampart cases, prosecutors and judges — most of whom are former prosecutors — did what they routinely do: They offered discounts on punishment to those who agreed to plead guilty ... [Innocent] defendants did what defendants typically do: They took the deals. They evidently believed they would be convicted anyway if they stood trial. No one would take their word against that of the police. And courts would then punish them more harshly, saying they deserved it in part because they had not shown remorse.

"The big question is: Do the police regularly lie?... Some police administrators and legal commentators believe that police often tell ... small lies, mostly to justify unlawful searches [involving] claims that officers saw a defendant drop drugs on the ground when an officer actually turned them up in a search of the defendant, or ... because he merely saw the drugs lying near the defendant and inferred that they belonged to him.

"Joseph McNamara, former chief of police in Kansas City, Mo., and San Jose, has said he believes hundreds of thousands of police officers tell those kinds of lies in court every year to convict people they are convinced are guilty and who would otherwise go free.... Judge Alex Kozinski has called this kind of police perjury

widespread and described it as 'an open secret long shared by prosecutors, defense lawyers and judges.'

"Los Angeles Superior Court Judge James Albracht, a former deputy D.A., thinks he knows why. There is tremendous pressure on prosecutors and judges to ignore police lying, he said. 'A young prosecutor who challenges a veteran cop's claim is dead meat,' said Albracht.... Judges are in a pickle too, said Albracht... The D.A.'s office, which prosecutes all felony cases in the county, can ... boycott a judge it does not like ... 'If you called the police liars, they'd 'paper' you,' the judge said."

The cynicism of the judges and DA regarding police crime and perjury is evident in the court proceedings. In one of the Rampart cases now overturned, in which police perjury was evident from the start, prosecutors made the defendant 'an offer he couldn't refuse.' They would let him go if he would just say he did it — actively suborning his perjury to cover the lies of the arresting officers! He pleaded no contest to assault and guilty to having been armed (under a court ruling, "People v. West," that allows guilty pleas to lesser actions *that the defendant did not commit* in the interests of making a plea bargain! He was placed on probation after almost a year in jail pre-trial on a police frame-up.

But before Judge Robert O'Neill would accept the deal, he wanted to make sure it was OK with the cops! "I understand the basis for this disposition is the fact that there are factual difficulties," the judge said on the trial transcript. Factual difficulties! What a euphemism for police perjury! "Indeed, this disposition has been run past the agency that employed the individuals in this matter, is that correct?" Can't bring himself to name the LAPD! Told that the cops had signed off on the plea-bargain cover-up, he let the deal go through. How many lives would have been saved if anyone in the court, the LAPD, or the press had blown the whistle on this railroad and whitewash while it was happening?

This problem is not a new one and is not limited to L.A. Thirty years ago in New York, I did research which showed that in thousands of cases in the Manhattan

Criminal Courts, virtually all were based on testimony by a police complainant identical in case after case — either the cop saw the suspect drop a bag of white powder, or the cop was solicited for sex in a subway toilet. No judge, DA or defense lawyer who heard such identical 'testi-lying' for more than a day or two could have any doubt that it was perjury. And nothing has changed in 30 years. In 1999 in NY, cops 35,000 more arrests than there were reported crimes!

It is atop this base of 'small' lies that the big lies and big crimes that are being exposed in Rampart rests. The notorious police killings and beatings, like those of Abner Louima and Rodney King, Tyisha Miller and Margaret Mitchell, Ricardo Clos and Julio Castillo, rest on the countless thousands of racial profiling traffic stops and street frisks carried out by police against Blacks and Latinos. To stop the killings and beatings, the perjury and drop guns, we must stop the every day lying and racism at the heart of the so-called criminal justice system. The system sends cops out to maim and to kill, and when they do so, the system protects them, except in a few rare cases where the individual cops are hung out to dry, scapegoats to divert attention from the system's crimes of colonialism and exploitation.

Only massive protests can get the cops who killed Margaret Mitchell, Irvin Landrum or Tyisha Miller indicted. Only street confrontation can get the deputies who killed Julio Castillo or Ricardo Clos prosecuted. Protests forced the system to try the cops who tortured Abner Louima. Even more widespread protest forced the murder indictment of the cops who killed Amadou Diallo; but as soon as things quieted down, the system moved their trial to mostly white Albany (just as was done for the cops who beat Rodney King).

The system is gambling that our memories are short and our concern is fleeting. But police brutality is an open, festering wound that will not go away or be forgotten; it is a sore that is being irritated over and over again, by police racism and abuse, 24/7. Remember that the acquittals in Simi Valley for the cops who beat Rodney King were met by the most extensive and expensive multi-racial urban rebellion in U.S. history!

Demand justice for the victims of police murder and criminality! Mobilize for community control of the police!

Establish an independent prosecutor to hold cops to account for their crimes!

Demonstrate at Parker Center, LAPD headquarters, Wednesday March 15, 1999, 5:00 PM

International Day of Action Against Police Brutality!

Beyond the Battle

WTO: What's the Fuss About? (Excerpts)

On Tuesday November 30, the streets of Seattle became alive with the spirit of revolution when between 50,000 and 100,000 people turned out to protest the opening day of the ministerial meeting of the World Trade Organization (WTO). The whole downtown was shut down and the opening ceremonies were canceled. The cops were in full force, however, and tear gas and rubber bullets were used repeatedly on nonviolent protesters. Between 20 to 50 people were arrested on Tuesday and the police repression only got worse as the week progressed. Even by Tuesday night, a state of emergency (which entails martial law) had been declared and a curfew imposed on all downtown.

There are numerous accounts of the police tear gassing protesters and residents in residential areas outside of the curfew zone. By Wednesday, a 40 block area of downtown had been declared a no-protest zone and several hundred protesters were arrested for attempting to exercise their constitutional freedoms of assembly and speech. Overall, somewhere around 700 people were arrested during the week and countless others were tear gassed by the police. Reports have come in that the police: shot people in the face at point blank range with rubber bullets; swabbed pepper spray directly into protesters' eyes; tear gassed a bus full of prisoners; put over 200 of the prisoners in solitary confinement; beat an elderly man in a wheel chair; shot rubber bullets at residents of Seattle who had nothing to do with the protest, and drove a motorcycle over a locked down protester.

And just in case you wanted to protect yourself from the tear gas, gas masks were made illegal!

All this and yet all we hear about in the mainstream media is the "riots" and property destruction caused by a tiny minority of the protesters. It is outrageous how the smashing of a few multi-national corporations' windows by protesters receives headlines and pious denunciations from the media, but the bankruptcy of hundreds of small businesses as a result of the WTO's policies receives almost no coverage. The property destruction by protesters is insignificant when compared to the destruction of our environment, democracy, small businesses, labor rights, human rights and public health that the WTO is responsible for. In addition, it is worth pointing out that the damage by the protesters was to private property, whereas the damage by the WTO is to public property - the earth itself. Furthermore, compared to the violence and destruction carried out by the police against protesters, the protesters' actions are really pretty mild and perhaps even justified in the face of such police repression.

So why did so many people turn out to protest the WTO? What's all the fuss about? The WTO was established in 1995 with the purpose to eliminate "barriers to trade" which include environmental regulations, labor laws, consumer protection laws and public health laws. The WTO allows countries to challenge each others' laws and regulations as violations of WTO rules. Cases are decided in secret by a panel of 3 un-elected trade bureaucrats who are not screened for conflict of interests. If a country's law is found to be a barrier to trade, that country must either: change the law to conform with WTO requirements; pay permanent compensation to the other country, or face economic sanctions.

The WTO has ruled that it is illegal for a government to use method of production as a basis for discriminating against a product. This means that a government cannot treat a product made with child slave labor and in an environmentally damaging way any differently

than a product made by a high wage union worker in an environmentally friendly way. For instance, a provision of the US Endangered Species Act that forbade the sale in the US of shrimp caught in ways that kill endangered sea turtles to be illegal because it was discriminating against shrimp based on how they were produced.

The WTO has also ruled that governments cannot take into account the behavior of companies that do business with vicious dictatorships like Burma when regulating products. This means that the laws that prohibited the purchase of products made by companies doing business with apartheid South Africa and were responsible for the fall of apartheid would be illegal today.

The WTO has found that environmental restrictions on goods must be the least trade-restrictive possible, and the restrictions must be "necessary." To prove that a regulation is "necessary," a country must show that there is a world-wide scientific consensus on the danger, and a WTO tribunal of corporate lawyers must agree that the proposed regulation is a reasonable response to the danger. This puts an almost-insurmountable burden of proof on any government that wants to protect its citizens and its environment from harm and could potentially overturn the ban on chemicals like DDT or PCBs. Furthermore, this means that anything is legal until people can be 100% sure that the product is harmful. This has the effect of being sorry rather than safe and forces governments to line up the bodies of the dead before a product can be regulated. For example, the US challenged and won a decision against a European Union ban on the sale of beef in the EU from cattle that had been raised with certain artificial growth hormones that significant evidence, but not 100% certainty, has shown to cause cancer.

Continued on page 2 WTO/Fuss

Shutting Down the WTO and Opening Up a World of Possibilities

by Chris Crass <chriscrass1886@hotmail.com>

I'd been standing, arms linked, with members of my affinity group by my side in a street blockade for several hours on Tuesday afternoon, when word was passed along that all WTO meetings for the day had been canceled.

The day had started early - 5:30 am - my affinity group joined hundreds of people at the park to begin actions that truly felt historic. We were part of the Cowborg cluster - clusters of affinity groups had been formed to take specific actions to use non-violent direct action to shut down the WTO. The city had been divided up into 13 pieces of pie and ours was 'Key Lime.' The Cowborg cluster was one of several clusters in our wedge alone. There were hundreds of affinity groups and dozens of clusters, organizing on such a scale that I had never before participated in; the excitement was intoxicating.

We marched with thousands into the downtown and then moved to our location. We took our intersection and within minutes we could see other intersections occupied as well. Communications people on bicycles zoomed by announcing which intersections had been taken - the hotels are surrounded, clusters are taking these sections everywhere, the police are disoriented and can't keep up with us - we were told. We danced, we chanted, we sang, we celebrated. A street party had begun several blocks up from us.

I went to check it out and soon found myself helping blockade the delegates from China. An organizer began speaking to the delegates in Chinese and there in the street, international talks were taking place between activists and representatives from 135 nations around the world about human rights, social and environmental justice.

The first announcement came - the morning sessions had been canceled, the opening ceremonies were off. I could hardly believe it - we shut down the WTO! We hugged each other, we shouted, we cheered. One of the most powerful organizations on the planet had been brought to a stand-still. We rested and then returned to the blockades for the afternoon. Groups of activists were everywhere holding intersections. We joined a blockade a stood in solidarity with thousands of other activists working to keep the WTO shut down. Again the messages came that the entire day had been canceled; shortly thereafter we heard the concussion grenades and saw the tear gas.

A group of hundreds several blocks down from us was being fired upon with rubber bullets and tear gas. What I saw would continue and get worse. The police were relentless. The defenders of power and privilege had to punish us for what we had accomplished. The next few days were consumed in marches, blockades and military action by the police. A state of emergency was declared by the Mayor, the national guard was called in and the tear gas was flying everywhere, the pepper spray was indiscriminate, the sound of the concussion grenades and helicopters flying above was a constant - echoing in my mind long after they stopped.

We marched on Wednesday with the Steelworkers and thousands of unionists - alongside grassroots activists from all over the world, organizing around multiply causes. We were fired upon by the police and my affinity group was consumed in tear gas. As we tried to get out of there, I looked back and saw a comrade from our affinity group backed over

on the street completely surrounded by tear gas. We carried each other, each in a different state of trauma and pain. We regrouped and made decisions - as we had throughout all the actions - as an affinity group using consensus process.

People were amazingly well organized. Every night there was a spokes-council meeting where all of the affinity groups sent a 'spoke' to discuss and agree on strategy for the next day. These meetings and others that took place regularly were excellent examples of what we can do - of how we can operate as a strong yet decentralized movement that can come together in mass and still operate as small groups. The organizing demonstrated how effective it is to operate under the principle that we are all leaders, we are all organizers, we are all participants in this struggle.

While the media obsesses over anarchists who destroyed property, the real story was that anarchists were simply everywhere doing a hundred different things. Anarchists were doing jail support, media work, making meals for thousands, doing dishes, facilitating strategy meetings, leading workshops and discussion groups. Anarchists were doing medical support work, security at the warehouse space, communications between affinity groups and clusters, organizing marches and blockades and lock downs and tripod sits and forming human chains. Anarchists were starting chants, designing posters and newspapers, playing music, negotiating with the police and jailers to get our comrades out of jail. Anarchists were squatters occupying an empty building and attracting national media to the issues of property, poverty and homelessness. Anarchists were held in solitary confinement for being such effective organizers of the mass non-violent civil disobedience that rocked Seattle and ignited the imaginations of the world. And yes, anarchists targeted corporate chain stores.

Continued on page 2 WTO/Crass

the Battle

of Seattle

The Historic Significance of Seattle (excerpts)
by Vandana Shiva

The failure of the WTO Ministerial meeting in Seattle was a historic watershed, in more than one way. First, it has demonstrated that globalization is not an inevitable phenomenon which must be accepted at all costs, but a political project which can be responded to politically. Fifty thousand citizens from all walks of life and all parts of the world were responding politically when they protested peacefully on the streets of Seattle for four days to ensure that there would be no new round of trade negotiations for accelerating and expanding the process of globalization.

Trade Ministers from Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean were responding politically when they refused to join hands to provide support to a contrived 'consensus,' since they had been excluded from the negotiations being undertaken in the "green room" process behind closed doors. As long as the conditions of transparency, openness and participation were not ensured, developing countries would not be party to a consensus. This is a new context and will make bulldozing of decisions difficult in future trade negotiations.

The rebellion on the streets and the rebellion within the WTO negotiations has started a new democracy movement — with citizens from across the world and the governments of the South refusing to be bullied and excluded from decisions in which they have a rightful share.

The refusal of Third World governments to rubber-stamp decisions from which they had been excluded has brought into the open and confirmed the non-transparent and anti-democratic processes by which WTO rules have been imposed on the Third World and has confirmed the claims of the critics. WTO has earned itself names such as World Tyranny Organization because it enforces tyrannical anti-people, anti-nature decisions, to enable corporations to steal the world's harvests through secretive, undemocratic structures and processes. The WTO institutionalizes forced trade not free trade, and beyond a point, coercion and the rule of force cannot continue. Free trade is not leading to freedom. It is leading to slavery. Diverse life forms are being enslaved through patents on life, farmers are being enslaved into high-tech slavery, and countries are being enslaved into debt, dependence and destruction of their domestic economies.

The thousands of youth, farmers, workers and environmentalists who marched the streets of Seattle in peace and solidarity were not acting out of ignorance and fear. They were outraged because they know how undemocratic the WTO is, how destructive its social and ecological impacts are, and how the rules of the WTO are driven by the objectives of establishing corporate control over every dimension of our lives - our food, our health, our environment, our work and our future.

When labor joins hands with environmentalists, when farmers from the North and farmers from the South make a common commitment to say "no" to genetically engineered crops, they are not acting in their special interests. They are defending the common interests and common rights of all people, everywhere. The divide and rule policy, which has attempted to pit consumers against farmers, the North against the South, labor against environmentalists had failed.

In their diversity, citizens were united across sectors and regions. While the broad based

citizens campaigns stopped a new Millennium Round of WTO from being launched in Seattle, they did launch their own millennium round of democratization of the global economy.

The real Millennium Round for the WTO is the beginning of a new democratic debate about the future of the earth and the future of its people. The centralized, undemocratic rules and structures of the WTO, which are establishing global corporate rule based on monopolies and mono-cultures, need to give way to an earth democracy supported by decentralization and diversity. The rights of all species and the rights of all people must come before the rights of corporations to make limitless profits through limitless destruction.

A new threshold was crossed in Seattle — a watershed towards the creation of a global citizen-based and citizen-driven democratic order. The future of the World Trade Organization will be shaped far more by what happened on the streets of Seattle and in the non-governmental (NGO) organization events than by what happened in the Washington State Convention Center.

To take one concrete example, the citizens' Seattle round, for the democratization of the food system, synthesized common concerns of people from across the world to ensure that the way we produce, distribute, process and consume food is sustainable and equitable. In the Third World and the industrialized world, common principles have started to emerge from people's practices to ensure a safe and healthy food supply. These principles enable us to shift to nature-centered and people-centered food systems.

1. Diversity rather than mono-cultures to ensure higher output per acre.
2. Decentralization and localization in place of centralization and globalization.

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PART's Perspective

There's no doubt that the success of the mobilization against the WTO sets some new terms of struggle in the US and globally. What was a dream — coordinated international action against the economic and political program of imperialism — became a reality. What brought it about? Hard work, and disciplined militance in the face of repression by the protesters. Over-reaching ambition and self-delusion by the corporate globalizers.

Where are we now? Contradictions were exposed within the WTO itself — between the US and other imperial powers, and between the industrialized countries and the developing world. In sectors of the middle class and organized labor, fissures opened in the support base for the US state and rulers. A new generation of activists was unalterably radicalized. First, by a taste of 'the power of the people.' Second, by a direct experience of the boot and truncheon of state repression, and an instant education in the severe limits on dissent imposed by a system that fears class consciousness and people's power. That whiff in the air — it's not just tear gas; it's revolution.

But the evidence that tens of thousands of conscious resisters can indeed put "a wrench in the machine," while inspiring, is also a measure of the task before us. We should not be intimidated by the wealth and power of the rulers. All their wealth is stolen on a daily basis from the people and land they exploit. All their power is obtained from the people and nations they oppress and repress. But the very enormity of their wealth and power, *the rarity of days like November 30 in Seattle*, shows that on most days, in most places, most people — oppressed and exploited people — go along with the system. The system obtains our consent and participation by coopting or coercing us, by any means necessary.

By any means necessary. That simple phrase provides the resolution to the heated debate the left seems to be engaging in — about tactics. A conflict over whether wearing a turtle costume and blocking traffic, or wearing a black ski-mask and trashing Nike Town, is a better form of street theater, is best left to theater critics. The real argument is about how to transform opposition to the latest economic and environmental 'excesses' of imperialism into a movement that can dismantle the empire as a whole.

Because there is plenty of right wing and racist opposition to the WTO. And I'm not just talking about Pat Buchanan. Listen to what white supremacist Matt Hale, head of the World Church of the Creator, whose members have carried out vicious racist murders and shootings, had to say about Seattle:

"Many thousands of White people and a few muds gathered for many varying reasons to oppose the raceless World Trade Organization ... While there are those who see what happened there as something negative, the riots were incredibly successful from the point of view of... our Church. They helped shut down the Jew World Order WTO. Bravo! In fact, the riots ... can be considered the first in recent memory by WHITE people, and unlike the silly nigger riots that only succeed in destroying their own nigger neighborhoods, these riots in Seattle succeeded in practically bringing the elitist forces to their knees. Rightfully angry

White people have shown how it is done. ... What happened in Seattle is a precursor for the future — when White people in droves protest the actions of world Jewry... by taking to the streets... It is from the likes of the White people who protested the WTO (and who in some cases, went to jail for illegal actions) that our World Church of the Creator must look to for our converts..." Hale's remarks should be a sobering reminder to those who think we can form a united front of left and right, above politics, against the WTO. Our unity must be based on what we are for!

There is a kernel of truth in Hale's racist lunacy, however. Seattle was chosen by the WTO and Clinton not only because it's home to Boeing and Microsoft. They thought it would be safe for them because it's the whitest large city in the whitest section of the U.S., farthest from large concentrations of Blacks and Latinos. It is very significant that the safety they were expecting was not forthcoming, and that large numbers of young white people, as well as organized workers of all races and nationalities, came out to oppose them. But this break with whiteness must develop into conscious opposition to white supremacy: the break with globalization must develop into opposition to imperialism as a whole.

We must be sure that our opposition to the WTO, and our militance, are in the service of human liberation, not narrow nationalism or chauvinism. In the US, we have a long history of putting every form of struggle and militance, up to and including armed struggle, at the service of reformism, with the goal of striking a better, 'fairer' deal with the empire. This just renews the system's lease on life, ultimately at our own expense and that of the planet. This fatal weakness has bedeviled the labor movement, the women's movement, the environmental movement, even the Black and Chicano-Mexicano struggle. So the question posed by Seattle is not whether property damage detracts from civil disobedience. The question is whether and how working and oppressed people, inside and outside the borders of the US empire-state, can make a fundamental break with imperialism, capitalism and colonialism.

See p. 4.

Beyond Seattle

The Battle Beyond Seattle

So Who Did Win in Seattle? Liberals Rewrite History (excerpts)

By Alexander Cockburn

Hardly had the tear gas dispersed from the streets of downtown Seattle before an acrid struggle broke out as to who should claim the spoils. It's still raging. On one side the [liberal-labor] pundits, flacks for John Sweeney and James Hoffa like the Nation's Marc Cooper, Molly Ivins and Jim Hightower, middle-of-the road greens, Michael Moore, a recycled binful of policy wonks from the Economic Policy Institute and kindred DC think-tanks... On the other side: the true heroes of the Battle in Seattle -- the street warriors, the Ruckus Society, the Anarchists, Earth Firsters, the Direct Action Media Network (DAMN), radical labor militants such as the folks at Jobs With Justice, hundreds of Longshoremen, Steelworkers, Electrical Workers and Teamsters who disgustingly abandoned the respectable, police-sanctioned official AFL-CIO parade and joined the street warriors at the barricades in downtown.

At issue here is the liberals' craving to fortify the myth of Labor Revived -- a "progressive coalition" of John Sweeney's AFL-CIO, Hoffa's Teamsters, mainstream greens -- poised and ready to recapture the soul of the Democratic Party. The way they're spinning it, the collapse of the WTO talks in Seattle was a glorious triumph for respectable demonstrators, achieved despite the pernicious rabble smashing window, harassing the police and bringing peaceful mainstream protest into disrepute...

The Nation's Marc Cooper announced tremulously that "the media focus on a few broken store windows should not distract from the profundity of what has happened here..." Cooper evoked "a phantasmagorical mix of tens of thousands of peaceful demonstrators... something not seen since the sixties, but in [its] totality unimaginable even then." And what this "unimaginable" thing? "The rough outlines of the much-sought-after progressive coalition -- an American version of a 'red-green' alliance..."

In the liberal fantasy... the official finale was the great labor march of Tuesday, November 30, when some 25,000 union people rallied in an old football stadium, to listen to John Sweeney, [and] James P. Hoffa of the Teamsters ...When the rally was over, Sweeney and Hoffa led their thousands towards downtown where at that precise moment, the street warriors were desperately but successfully preventing delegates from entering the Convention Center where the opening ceremony of the WTO was scheduled to take place. It was touch and go as cops steadily got tougher and the tear gas got thicker. Certainly the arrival of thousands of labor marchers on the scene would have made it much more difficult for the cops to gas, beat and shoot the activists with wooden dowels and rubber bullets. It would have diminished the hundreds of serious injuries sustained by the street warriors.

The labor marchers approached and then... their own marshals turned them back. A few rebellious steelworkers, longshoremen, electrical workers and teamsters did disobey their leaders, push into downtown and join the battle. The main march withdrew in respectable good order and dispersed peacefully to their hotels, where Molly Ivins and the other scribes began composing their denunciations of the anarcho-trashers who had marred their great event.

It would no doubt be polite to treat this myth-making as contemptible but harmless ... [but] take Medea Benjamin of Global Exchange... Whatever cachet Benjamin won

by sneaking into a WTO session and being arrested and briefly addressing the delegates was swiftly squandered by her subsequent deeds, defending Niketown. Benjamin and her Global Exchange cohorts stood on the steps of Niketown and sweatshop outlets in downtown Seattle to defend to premises against demonstrators. As Benjamin herself proudly described her shameful conduct to the New York Times: "Here we are protecting Nike, McDonalds, the GAP and all the while I'm thinking, 'Where are the police?' These anarchists should have been arrested..."

Aside from the baneful consequences of this on-ground-collusion with the cops, the larger political agenda of the liberals with their myth-making is far from benign either. By falsely proclaiming a victory for peaceful pro-cop protesters, they now can move on under a banner of "unity", and hunker down with the government policy makers to rewrite the WTO treaty to their satisfaction.

This is the core meaning of co-option, and certainly the writers at the London Economist understand it well enough. In the wake of Seattle the Economist ran a long article discussing the rising power of NGOs, which successfully challenged the World Bank, sank the Multilateral Agreement on Investment and engineered the brilliant anti-landmine campaign. But, the Economist continued, there's hope. "Take the case of the World Bank. The 'Fifty Years is Enough' campaign of 1994 was a prototype of Seattle (complete with activists invading the meeting halls). Now the NGOs are surprisingly quiet about the World Bank. The reason is that the Bank has made a huge effort to coopt them." The Economist went on to describe how World Bank president James Wolfensohn had given the NGOs a seat at the table, and now more than 70 NGO policy wonks now work in the Bank's offices world-wide, and half of the bank's projects have some NGO involvement. No one should look at the NGOs without first reading Michel Foucault on co-option and internalisation of the disciplinary function

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Military Role in the Repression

by Mitch Cohen,
Red Balloon Collective

Check out this CNN report that has received little notice: "Troops sent to Seattle as part of terrorism contingency plan. SEATTLE (CNN) — In addition to hundreds of very visible Army National Guard troops called-up because of the civil disturbances in Seattle, more than 160 active-duty military personnel, including a small number of Special Forces troops, were sent to Seattle by the Defense Department for the meeting of the World Trade Organization.

"The military mission, according to the Pentagon, is to 'provide support' to the FBI, Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), U.S. Secret Service and other government agencies responsible for security there. The military specialists are in place largely to provide expertise and assist in coordinating a federal response in the event of a terrorist attack during such a high-profile event....

"Four special forces troops from the Joint Special Operations Task Force were deployed to Seattle to be on hand to advise FBI 'crisis support' agents in the event of a catastrophic terrorist event involving chemical or biological weapons or hostage taking. Two of the four special operations experts have since left the city, according to an informed Pentagon official who spoke on the condition that he not be named.

"Fifty-five military Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD) teams, along with 25 explosive-detecting dogs and their handlers, were sent. The soldiers are 'operating in civilian attire -- keeping a low presence,' the Defense Department documents say...

http://www.af.mil/news/Dec1999/n19991203_992177.html

This article states: "Sixty-six Air National Guard airmen were among some 425 Guardsmen called to state active duty to help local police restore order in downtown Seattle. Additionally, six members of the Wyoming Air National Guard lent a hand by flying 3,300 pounds of civilian riot control munitions from Casper, WY, to Seattle."

As John Novack, Seattle resident, writes: "Exactly what role were the sixty-six airmen here to fill? In light of allegations of various strange symptoms not normally associated with the effects of tear gas, a disclosure of the exact contents of the '3,300 pounds of civilian riot control munitions.' Were neurotoxins part of this dispatch (or any dispatch) of 'riot' control munitions?"

We need to re-examine our strategies and tactics in light of the willingness of the State, under Clinton and Gore as much as under Bush, to develop and deploy chemical and biological weapons against ANY protester here in the US, as well as people facing the might of the US military or weapons sold by the US to other forces elsewhere in the world. And, we need to ask: Who are the real purveyors of violence? Who are the real terrorists?

"The *Domestic Military Support*, or 'DOMS' as it is known at the Pentagon, is provided through the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff at the request of other federal agencies." [End CNN report]

This raises some questions that must be answered. Who really was in command of all police and military personnel once the city went into a state of "Civil Emergency"? Which, if any, of these military personnel and their equipment and munitions were actively involved in situations dealing with American citizens? What specific role did these military personnel and their equipment/munitions play?

It also raises the very serious question as to why police were allowed to roam the streets, with authority to use deadly force if necessary, without proper identification? Were some of these unidentifiable police in actuality military personnel, and is this the reason they refused to give proper identification when asked?

Another important article comes from the news section of the official USAF web-site. The article was written by Army Master Sgt. Bob Haskell and published on December 3rd, 1999.

WTO/PART Continued from p. 3

We stopped a meeting and derailed a project of imperialism and corporate globalization. Now, we must go forward to stop the day-to-day repressive operation of global empire. What tactics and organizing campaigns can we adapt to prevent the execution of Mumia Abu Jamal — and of everyone else on death row? What methods can we use to forestall the construction of one more prison, or the carrying out of one more extra-judicial execution in the streets by the police? How can working people fight for our own true interests rather than aligning with the elite politician who promises "the least worst?" This

is a struggle that will evolve, not on a date certain in one town, but everywhere and at all moments. How can we build a movement strong enough to have no identifiable leaders to arrest or buy off? A movement capable of placing its people secretly inside the repressive and war-making apparatus of the state, for our own revolutionary purposes? A movement capable of operating not only in the glare of corporate media but also in the quiet of people's lives, families, workplaces and neighborhoods, in the isolation of prison cells? How can we begin building the 'better world of tomorrow' today? We need to apply the lessons of Seattle to answering those pressing questions without delay.

Don't Throw the Radicals Overboard

Dec. 2, 1999

"The People, United, Will Never Be Defeated," was one of the most commonly heard chants in the days of marches protesting the WTO summit in Seattle. However, one of the most striking elements of the WTO protests was the level of conflict between adherents of a non-violent protest method, and those who preferred to express more concretely their feelings towards global capitalism. A tide of reaction has been swelling against the latter, with great arrogance on the part of the former. As a group of activist intellectuals, we feel the need to state our support for the group the media has been calling, only somewhat inaccurately, the Anarchists from Eugene.

We, the broad Left, anti-corporate, pro-livable world community controlled the streets of downtown Seattle from 7 am on Tuesday to roughly 7 pm. After that period, with Mayor Schell and Governor Locke's declarations of martial law and the violent offensive by local, county, state police and the National Guard, the streets were a war zone, but during that period, they were a liberated area. Inside that liberated area a spectrum of protest and resistance activities took place, many of which warmed our hearts. Violence against property, as we'll call the attacks against corporate chain stores by activists, was one of the conscious strategies that was employed. These activities began on the afternoon of Monday, Nov. 29th, with the smashing of a window at McDonald's.

The next day, Tuesday, Nov. 30th, they started again shortly after 10 am, at the corner of 6th Ave. and Pike St., when police began shooting tear gas canisters and rubber bullets into the crowd. Throughout the day activists, protecting their identities with hoods and kerchiefs, formed 'black blocks' to move en masse to attack unoccupied chain stores such as the Gap, Nike, Levi, Disney, and Bank of America. This is a key point that the media and President Clinton, among others, are trying to obscure: the crowd did not attack mom and pop stores, but the physical manifestations of "McDomination."

Adherents to non-violent protest methods preach against targeting corporate property. We feel that this is an uncritical acceptance of the dominant value system of American consumer society: private property has a higher value than life. At this time, we feel that we, as activists, need to debate these issues further among ourselves. The problem we are addressing immediately is that these non-violent activists used their numerical advantage to isolate and dominate practitioners of alternate protest philosophies: most visibly, the black block anarchists.

As a spectrum of protest activities manifested themselves, scenes we witnessed included non-violent activists linking arms to protect the corporate theme store Nike Town from the aggressive acts of a black block. Riot police soon replaced the peace advocates, as if to say, "We'll take over now. You're only volunteering to protect property, we do it for a living." Elsewhere throughout the day "non-violent" activists de-masked, and on at least one occasion beat, an individual who was acting against property.

Many elements of the broad Left, anti-corporate, pro-livable world community have been alarmingly willing to distance themselves from the direct, militant forms of protest. The World Trade Observer, a daily tabloid published by a network of mainstream environmental and fair trade organizations, which features the writing of prominent figures such as Ralph Nader and Norman Solomon, offers one example. In describing the previous day's festivities in their Wednesday, December

1st issue, they identified as a 'troubling theme' the practice of 'the police singling out peaceful demonstrators for gassing and beating... while ignoring black-clad hooligans breaking windows and spraying paint.' We witnessed other 'non-violent' protesters criticize the police, not for waging chemical warfare to cleanse the streets of protesters, but for failing to enter into the crowd and extract the practitioners of militant protest. The implication of these statements is that the crowd would have handed over some of its members to the police, if the police had only asked. We strongly urge progressive activists to reconsider this stance.

There will undoubtedly be repercussions from the fact that we took control of a major city for twelve hours, as the leading administrative body of global capitalism met to brainstorm for the next millennium. It is unfair, and irresponsible, to offer "the Anarchists from Eugene" to the state as scapegoats. Without the support of the rest of the WTO protesters, the direct action practitioners are at great risk. Grand juries have become common in the militant animal rights and environmental movements: we would not think it a surprising development for there to be an inquisition exploring conspiracy-to-riot charges for the day of well-directed rage in Seattle. Gas-masks have been declared illegal in Seattle under Mayor Schell's martial law, and the donning of hoods is being explored by prosecutors in Eugene as a possible excuse for sentence enhancement. The price of protecting oneself and one's identity from police violence is rising.

As people who are interested in counteracting the ill effects of globalization and ensuring a livable new millennium, we need to consciously confront the criminalization of radical political philosophies.

We feel that those who belittle and distance themselves from the actions of "the Anarchists from Eugene" have either ignored or simply did not realize the level of contributions anarchists — black-clad and otherwise — made towards bringing the N30 Festival of Resistance into reality....

If the Left activist community is to be united and strong, more communication and internal discussion around strategic issues is necessary. Our contact information is listed below. All of us have experience with social movements, and many of us have mapped the repressive tactics used against them. We encourage media to get in touch with us as well.

Daniel Burton-Rose, (206) 324-8165, ex. 1. Co-editor, The Ceiling of America: An Inside Look at the U.S. Prison Industry (Common Courage Press, 1998), editor, win: a newsletter on activism at the extremes.

Ward Churchill, (303) 492-5066 (voice mail). Author, Pacifism as Pathology: Reflections on the Role of Armed Struggle in North America (Arbeiter Ring: 1998).

Robin Hahnel, (202) 885-2712, rhahnel@american.edu. Author, Panic Rules: Everything You Need to Know About the Global Economy (South End Press, 1999); Professor, American University.

WTO/Crass Continued from page 2

As a movement we need to recognize the difference between property destruction and violence. I remember watching people hammering away at the Berlin Wall that stood as such an obvious symbol of political oppression. I did not once think that those who were smashing the wall were violent. It was a jubilant and inspiring moment. In the United States, under corporate capitalism, the symbols of oppression are the golden arches of

Continued from page WTO/Fuss? 2

Even labeling of products could be illegal by WTO rules. The European Union has passed a law requiring food containing genetically modified organisms to be labeled as such. However, our wise leaders at the Clinton/Gore administration have said formally that this is an illegal restraint of trade because there is no

WTO/Shiva Continued from page 3

3. Ecological processes instead of industrial processes of farming.

4. Food rights and food security rather than free-trade as the basis of distribution.

5. Democratic control rather than corporate control of the food system.

6. Patent-free and genetic-engineering-free farming to ensure the respect and protection of all species and the integrity of ecosystems and cultures. This involves excluding life forms from TRIPS and bio-safety regulations from WTO rules of free trade.

7. Cultural diversity in place of the global mono-culture of fast foods and industrial food chains.

8. Small farms and small farmers in place of corporate farms and absentee land owners.

WTO/Cockburn Continued from page 4

Finally, the myth-making actively demobilizes radical struggles against the two party status quo, since it pretends that one of the two parties -- naturally, the Democrats -- can actually be redeemed.

But of course it's all a myth, which can be easily popped: if labor's legions had not shown up in Seattle, the direct action protesters would have at least succeeded in shutting down the opening session on Tuesday, November 30... if the only protest had been that under official AFL-CIO banners, then there would have been a 15-second image of a [parade on the national news headlines that Tuesday evening and that would have been it. The WTO would have gone forward with barely a ripple of discord except for what the African and Caribbean nations had managed to foment from the inside.

Leave the last words to Jeff Crosby, the president of a union local of International Union of Electrical Workers who flew to Seattle with 15 of his fellow union members from New England. Crosby works at a GE

Kent Jewell, (206) 324-8165, ex. 3. Former co-owner, Left Bank Books Collective.

George Katsiaficas, (617) 989-4384. Author: The Subversion of Politics: European Autonomous Social Movements and the Decolonization of Everyday Life (Humanities Press, 1997) and The Global Imagination of the New Left (South End Press, 1987), editor, with Kathleen Cleaver, Liberation, Imagination, and the Black Panther Party (Routledge, forthcoming); editor, New Political Science.

Christian Parenti, (415) 626-4034, seapea@juno.com. Author: Lockdown America: Police and Prisons in the Age of Crisis (Verso, 1999); instructor, New College.

Robert Perkinson, (203) 772-1600, robert.perkinson@yale.edu. Instructor, Yale University.

Signatures are on file with win, a movement consultancy group currently based in Seattle.

McDonald's and other corporate stores that are destroying the planet and amassing enormous power at our expense. While we need to think strategically about our tactics and be open to debate and dialogue, we also need to put things into perspective. While I advocate non-violent direct action, I understand where others are coming from and hope that we can discuss these issues as a movement that is diverse and vibrant

difference between normal food and genetically modified food (yeah right). The Clinton/Gore administration has officially argued that even "country of origin" labels are WTO-illegal because they allow consumers to discriminate against certain countries like Burma because of its propensity for slave labor.

This involves protection of existing small farms and land reforms to redistribute land.

9. Fair trade, not free trade, to ensure farmers and producers get a fair return. Trade as a means rather than end, with global trade subservient to values of ecological sustainability, health and social justice.

Against all odds, millions of people from across the world have been putting these principles into practice. The post Seattle challenge is to change the global trade rules and national food and agricultural policies so that these practices can be nurtured and spread and ecological agriculture, which protects small farms and peasant livelihoods, and produces safe food, is not marginalized and criminalized. The time has come to reclaim the stolen harvest and celebrate the growing and giving of good food as the highest gift and the most revolutionary act.

plant that is about to relocate in Mexico. After he went home, Crosby put up on the web this open letter:

"The decision by the AFL-CIO not to plan direct action was a mistake. The literature the AFL-CIO used for Seattle was unusable, with no edge. Despite heroic efforts by union folks in Seattle and other places, the AFL-CIO campaign was reminiscent of the 'old' AFL-CIO's campaign against NAFTA -- remember 'Not This NAFTA'? If we had run a campaign against the congressional 'Fast Track' vote with 'Not this fast-track', we would have lost that one too....

"This is a period when on certain issues, massive, non-violent direct action is in order, as the demonstration in Seattle shows. Every member who went on our trip reports that support for the demonstrations, even with the disruptions, is overwhelming. And not just from other workers in the shop, but family and other friends, regardless of what they do for a living. 'Since we came home, we're being treated like conquering heroes,' marveled on of our group.

HELP
US
TURN
THE
TIDE.

SUBSCRIBE

FOURTH OF JULY, 2000

Rally to Decolonize America

by Michael Novick

July 4, 2000, is a date with tremendous significance. The year 2000 is recognized as being the threshold of a new millennium. The future seems upon us with its prospect of a better world. The Fourth of July is the great myth-making holiday of U.S. independence, that actually marked the transition from settler colony to empire in its own right. The concurrence of the two dates calls upon us to rethink the American past in order to reshape the American future. Call it a Poor People's Campaign to Change the Face of America.

It's past time to unify the social forces with an interest in liberation and social transformation around a program of

decolonization and direct democracy. We need a demonstration that can educate and consolidate the rising generation that is facing an increasingly ugly world and a bleak future. We need to carry forward with direct action to impede the operation of the forces of repression and exploitation. We must 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 20th century on the eve of the Republican and Democratic Conventions in Philadelphia and L.A.

We can put a human face on internationalism and solidarity and build on the momentum of N30 in Seattle.

Here are five banners around which our forces can unify, not a laundry list, but a coherence 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 and prisoners of war
in the U.S.**

DEMOCRATIZATION

**Community control of police
and of education**
End police impunity!
Restore 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, block the
Multilateral Agreement on
Investment, and end the WTO
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,
food, 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.

Building such a unified
demonstration is an attainable goal.
Many streams and currents of dissent
and community organization 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 broad 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 dozens 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. Share this proposal, to
reshape and adapt it — but let's
not fail to grasp 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 this proposal first began to
circulate, I have received a great
deal of individual input, including
proposals to strengthen the
component of militant action at the
demonstration itself, 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!

**Join the
L.A. !Crack the CIA! Coalition
today!**

The CIA has admitted its guilty knowledge
of drug dealing and cocaine importation
by its operatives and Contra clients.

It knew and did nothing.

Will you be guilty of the same crime?

We must act now and fight back.

What we win will depend on our united efforts.
If we do nothing, the next wave of CIA drugs —
the heroin coming in from CIA protected dictators
in Burma and Colombia — will be our own fault!

If we do nothing, the next CIA dirty war
for drug profits, already brewing in Colombia,
will be our responsibility.

Join the !Crack the CIA! Coalition campaign
to get the City Attorney, the City Council,
and our Congressional representatives
to take action against the CIA.

Send a membership donation
and your group's endorsement to !Crack the CIA!
today.
Don't delay!

Name: _____

Address: _____

City/St/Zip _____ Phone/email: _____

!CRACK The CIA! Coalition

presents

**An Educational Forum &
Organizing Meeting**

Thursday, February 10

7:00 PM

Holman United Methodist Church

3820 West Adams Blvd.

Near Arlington, Room 5, Back Bldg.

History of CIA & Drugs

L.A. City Council Campaign

Intake for Class Action

Lawsuit

**Learn how you can get involved and fight for just
reparations from the CIA.
Come and bring friends!**

L.A. !Crack the CIA! Coalition,
PO Box 34186, L.A. CA 90034;
tel. 310-495-1229;
crackcia@radio4all.org
www.radio4all.org/crackcia

JOHN BROWN 200/2000

John Brown 200/2000 Hunter College, NY, May 12-14

There's an increasing momentum of people's movements today, generating a new spirit of resistance to all facets of the system of empire we live within. Looking at and learning from historical movements, we have long been inspired by the example of John Brown, who took a militant position among white people to join in struggle with the masses of oppressed and uprising Africans. We are therefore calling, at the time of the two-hundredth anniversary of John Brown's birth, for an activist gathering of anti-racists and anti-imperialists.

We also hope that the conference will be forward-looking: a place to network, strategize, and plan future actions, to hear from leaders of the current liberation movements, and to engage in real discussion and debate — on the role of solidarity, the current organizing possibilities, and the need to rebuild. We want to celebrate with revolutionary cultural artists and honor the contributions of anti-imperialist North American freedom fighters who are locked down as political prisoners.

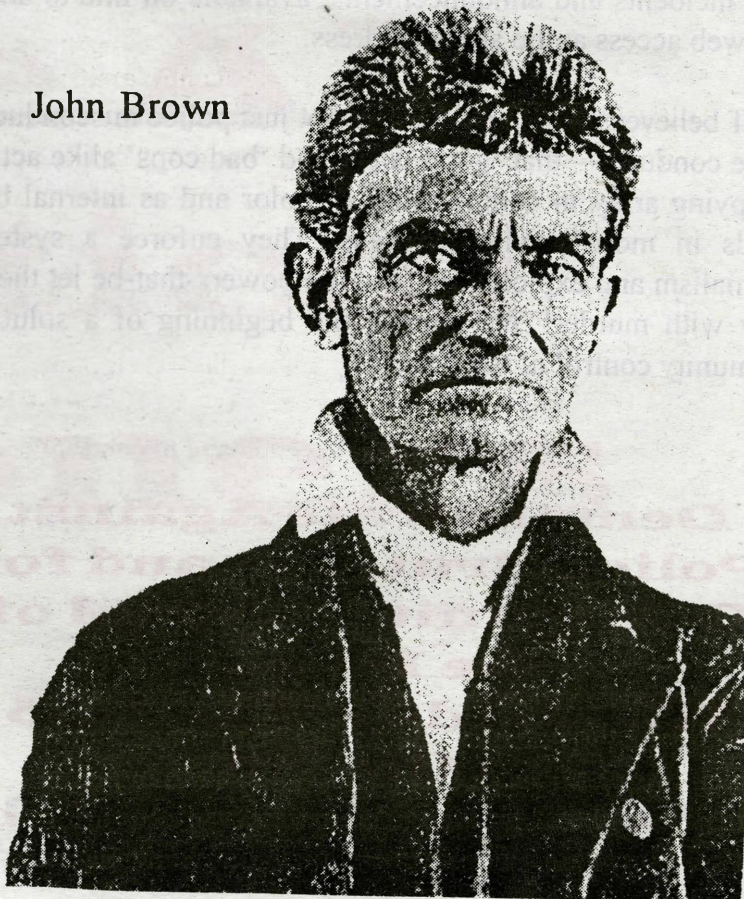
Currently the initiators of the conference are Resistance in Brooklyn (RnB) and the Student Liberation Action Movement (SLAM) at the City University of New York. Co-sponsors and participants in the planning committee include representatives of People Against Racist Terror, Anti-Racist Action, Out of Control, Prairie Fire Organizing Committee Chicago, and others. Scheduled speakers and workshop facilitators include representatives of the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional Puertorriqueno, the Jericho Movement, the All African People's Revolutionary Party, the Hawaiian sovereignty movement, the American Indian struggle, and other liberation struggles.

At this time, we are asking organizations and individuals to join in making this Call to a John Brown 200/2000 Conference, and to help us spread the word. Your endorsement would include an agreement to set that weekend aside, planning to attend and participate with us. We are sure that other events will be planned around the same time, so would also like your assistance in keeping us informed, so that all activities are collaborative rather than competitive. Finally, we hope to make all decisions on the event in collaboration with the endorsers.

For more information, please contact
RnB

Resistance in Brooklyn
309 Park Place,
Brooklyn NY 11238
mmmsrnb@igc.org

John Brown



ANTI-RACIST ACTION

Southern California

Regional Meeting

Thursday, January 27
7:00

Cafe Luna Tierra Sol
2501 W. Sixth St. Los Angeles

Anti-Racist Action (ARA) is an international network of direct-action anti-racist groups, with over 100 chapters across the U.S. and Canada, and in several other countries. The **Four Principles** that unite ARA are:

We go where they go. Whenever racists or fascists are organizing or active in public, we're there. We don't believe in ignoring them or staying away from them. Never let the nazis have the street.

Don't rely on the cops or the courts to do our work. This doesn't mean we don't ever go to court. But we must rely on ourselves to protect ourselves and stop the fascists.

Non-sectarian defense of other anti-fascists. In ARA-Net, we have lots of groups and individuals. We don't agree about everything, and we have the right to differ openly. But in this movement, an attack on one ittack on us all. We stand behind each other.

We oppose all forms of oppression. ARA-Net intends to do the hard work necessary to build a broad, strong movement against racism, sexism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, and discrimination against the disabled, the oldest, the youngest, and the most oppressed people. We support abortion rights and reproductive freedom for all, and the rights of working people everywhere. We intend to win.

For information on ARA internationally, check out www.aranet.org. For local information, contact PART; 310-495-0299.

Stop
Police Abuse
Now!

Don't Delay!
Subscribe Today!

People Against Racist Terror (PART) hosts an international e-mail distribution list of cases of police racism, sexism, and abuse: beatings, killings, shootings, perjury, corruption and crime by law enforcement and reports of the people's resistance, struggles for justice and community control of the police.

You can sign up for this list by sending an e-mail message to PART at part2001@usa.net or by subscribing yourself to the list on-line at: www.egroups.com/group/stop-polabuse. The list is free and is growing on a daily basis. There is a searchable archive of almost 2000 incidents and announcements, available on line to any-one with web access at the above address.

PART believes that the problem is not just police misconduct, but police conduct — that 'good cops' and 'bad cops' alike act as an occupying army in communities of color and as internal border guards in more privileged areas. They enforce a system of colonialism and exploitation, and the powers-that-be let them get away with murder! We believe the beginning of a solution is community control of the police.

Demonstrate Against
Police Brutality and for
Community Control of
the Police!

Wednesday March 15
5:00 PM

Parker Center - LAPD hq

Turning the Tide: Journal of Anti-Racist Action, Research and Education is the quarterly publication of People Against Racist Terror (PART). It has been coming out as a grass-roots voice of anti-racism, anti-sexism, anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism for a dozen years; an independent means of communication among forces of human liberation and planetary survival.

Turning the Tide receives no government funding, no foundation grants, no corporate sponsorship and no partisan or sectarian subsidies. It has survived entirely with the support of its readers and contributors for more than a decade, and we plan to keep it going strong in the new decade and into the new millennium and the Twenty-first Century with your continued support.

Turning the Tide pulls no punches. It provides analysis, poetry, news and information you will find nowhere else. If you appreciate the unique perspectives and resources you found in this issue or handout, won't you please join our project and help keep **Turning the Tide** strong by subscribing today?

Subscriptions are \$15 a year for four quarterly issue; \$10 will subsidize a prisoner subscription (**Turning the Tide** goes free to more that 400 prisoners around the US). Sustainers contribute \$50 and can send us the names of 10 people to receive free samples.

Send your donation to: **PART**, PO Box 1055, Culver City 90232.

Name: _____

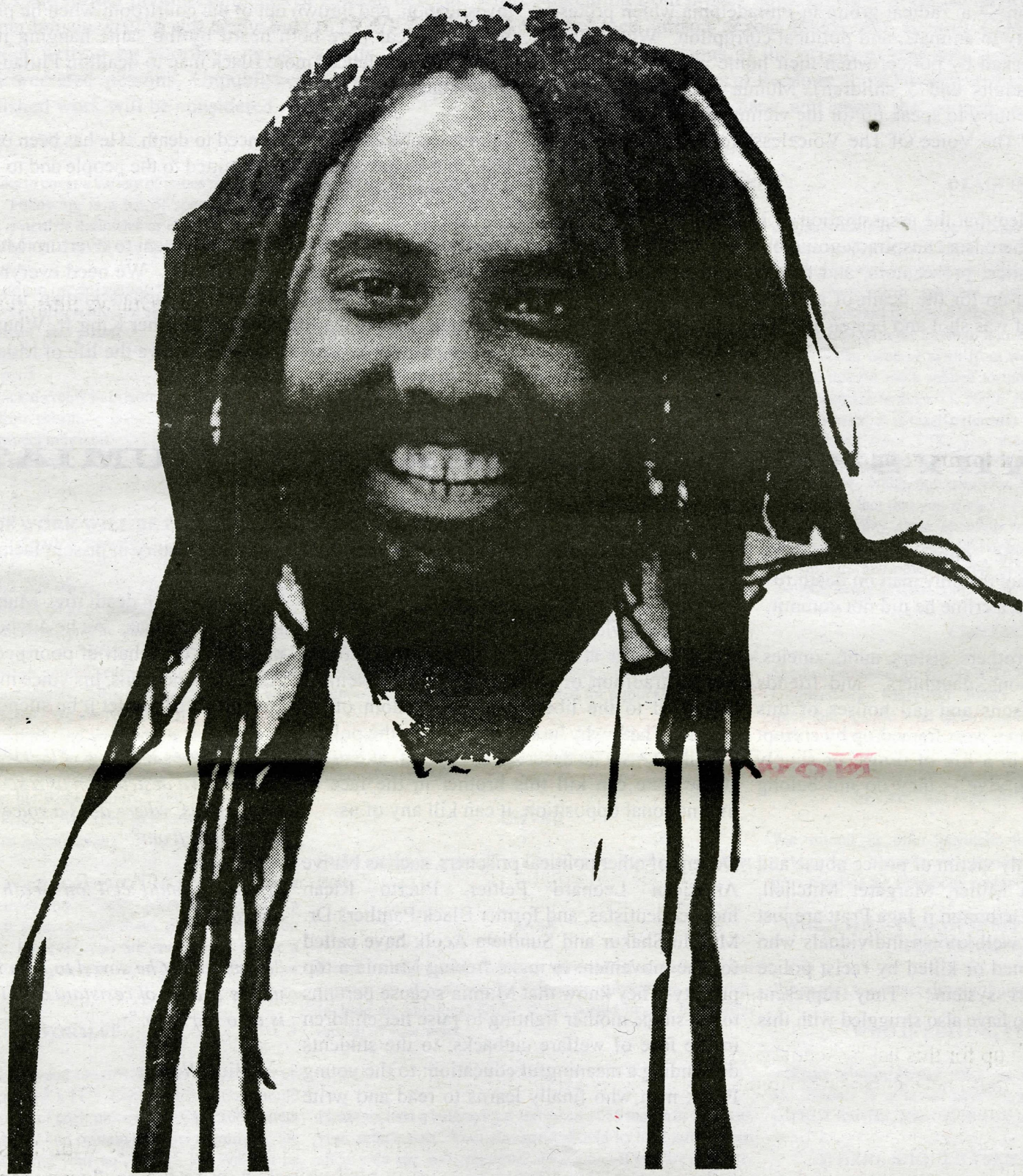
Address: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip: _____

Telephone: _____ FAX: _____

E-Mail: _____

**Free Mumia
Abu-Jamal!**



**Free All
Political
Prisoners
& P.O.W.'s!**

**People Against Racist Terror, POB 1055, Culver City CA 90232
310-495-0299 part2001@usa.net**

JERICHO 2000:

FREE MUMIA ABU JAMAL!

Mumia Abu-Jamal is an African-American man who has been wrongly imprisoned for 19 years. Mumia is a former Black Panther, an award-winning journalist, a critic of police abuse. He is a supporter of the MOVE organization — a radical group in Philadelphia which protested police abuse, cruelty to animals, and political corruption. When MOVE members were attacked by police, when their home was bombed by the police (killing 6 adults and 5 children), Mumia was one of the few journalists in the country to speak up for the victimized MOVE members. He was known as "The Voice Of The Voiceless" for his insightful radio journalism.

Recently, a jury ruled that the assassination of Martin Luther King was a conspiracy. Well, there is a conspiracy going on today to execute Mumia, a conspiracy of police, prosecutors, and government officials. In 1980, Mumia was framed-up for the death of a cop who had been beating his brother. He himself was shot and beaten at the scene by police.

At his trial, blacks were systematically kicked off the jury, and witnesses were forced to change their testimony to incriminate Mumia. He was denied his right to represent himself, denied adequate legal representation and investigation, and thrown out of the courtroom when he protested. His trial and his appeal were both heard by the same hanging judge, Sabo, who individually sentenced more Black man to death in Philadelphia than many entire states.

Ultimately, Mumia was sentenced to death. He has been on death row since 1982, but he has remained committed to the people and to justice. His spirit and his resistance are unbroken.

There is a growing international movement to overturn Mumia's conviction and save him from death by execution. We need everybody's help if this brother is to go free. Imagine if you had known in advance of the conspiracy to take the life of Martin Luther King Jr. What would you have done to stop it? We have a chance to save the life of Mumia Abu Jamal.

WHY SHOULD I CARE ABOUT MUMIA?

Mumia is not the only person unjustly imprisoned. He is not the only man on death row facing execution for a crime he did not commit.

Many of us have brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, mothers, fathers, sons, daughters, and friends who sit in the prisons and jail houses of this country. Whether they were framed-up by corrupt police, caught up in a life of drugs, or simply caught trying to survive -- they do not belong behind bars.

Mumia is not the only victim of police abuse and frame-up. Tyisha Miller, Margaret Mitchell, Rodney King, and Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt are just a few more of the well-known individuals who have been imprisoned or killed by racist police and a racist court system. They represent thousands more who have also struggled with this unfair system.

Mumia was targeted by the police, not just because he is Black, but because he was an outspoken and effective critic of police abuse. He is not just a victim, but a freedom fighter! As a Black Panther at the age of 16, Mumia comes from a tradition of struggle, from a movement dedicated to the liberation and freedom of all people. That's why he was targeted by the police. And that's why he deserves our special attention. If the state can kill this brother in the face of international opposition, it can kill any of us.

Dozens of other political prisoners, such as Native American Leonard Peltier, Puerto Rican independentistas, and former Black Panthers Dr. Mutulu Shakur and Sundiata Acoli, have called for the movement to make freeing Mumia a top priority. They know that Mumia's cause pertains to the single mother fighting to raise her children in the face of welfare cutbacks; to the students demanding a meaningful education; to the young Black man who finally learns to read and write

and study history in prison, facing his third strike.

From his cell on death row, Mumia has continued to write and speak. As he advocates on behalf of prisoners, on behalf of poor people, on behalf of African-Americans, his voice makes a difference. And we must not let it be silenced.

"In this time which is so filled with grief; when we see our own destruction as a species looming just ahead of us; where does a voice of sanity seem to be coming from?"

"From a small cell on death row. Isn't this amazing?"

"Mumia must be saved to help heal us. To show us the beauty of resistance and compassion that is also our own."

— Alice Walker

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS BUILD THE JERICHO AMNESTY MOVEMENT

Mumia is not the only political prisoner in the United States. There are over 100 political prisoners locked up in the U.S. today.

They come from the movements for social change — Black liberation, Puerto Rican independence, Native American sovereignty, anti-nuclear and anti-imperialist movements.

Many were targets of COINTELPRO, a government program of infiltration and attacks on the Black Panthers, American Indian Movement, and other dissidents. But anyone who resists oppression, who fights

back today, can become a political prisoner!

As with Mumia, the government says they are "criminals." But we know different. Like Nelson Mandela, these activists have sometimes broken laws while fighting for justice. And, like Mandela, they will only be freed when millions of people demand their release.

The Jericho Amnesty Campaign is a national movement, initiated in response to call by political prisoners like former Black Panther Jalil Muntaqim, to educate the public about political prisoners in the U.S. and eventually

win their freedom. In March 1998, Jericho brought 10,000 people to Washington DC to demand amnesty for the prisoners, and last year we held regional demonstrations in NY, LA, San Francisco and a dozen other cities.

In Los Angeles, we meet on the second and fourth Tuesday of each month at 7:00 pm at the offices of the Coalition Against Police Abuse, 2824 S. Western Avenue, L.A. Nationally, you can reach us on the internet at www.thejerichomovement.com. There are Jericho organizers all across the U.S., building now for the third annual Jericho mobilization in March 2000. Join us!

CONVICTIONS

A Call For Submissions From Writers and Photographers

by
Askhari Johnson Hodari

CONVICTIONS is an edited volume of essays, personal narratives, poems, short stories, and letters by people of Afrikan descent. **CONVICTIONS** will consider original poetry, fiction, essays, letters and photographs by prisoners/inmates and former prisoners/inmates of Afrikan descent. While inmate and former inmate writing will be the bulk of **CONVICTIONS**, We will also consider writing by attorneys, prison guards, and the family members of incarcerated persons. Unpublished work is preferred, but previously published work will be considered.

CONVICTIONS looks to cover a variety of issues related to the prison experience. Following is a list of specific topics of interest, but this list is neither definitive or exhaustive:

- Dealing with the death of a loved one from prison
- Prison guard brutality
- Getting "used" to prison (or not getting "used" to prison)
- Comparisons between prison life and slavery
- The "American dream" and prison
- Solitary confinement
- Sexual abuse in prison
- Medical care (or lack thereof) in prison
- Trying to escape from prison
- Getting/earning respect in prison
- Being gay/lesbian in prison
- Prison culture

WHAT KINDS OF WORK WILL BE PUBLISHED IN CONVICTIONS?

Essays and personal narratives. We welcome essays and personal narratives that are serious, sobering, humorous, erotic, introspective, investigative, and/or political. Narratives and essays may take on a variety of creative forms. Autobiographical essays, journal entries, experimental prose and memoirs are acceptable. Most importantly, We want thought provoking essays. We are NOT looking for editorials. We welcome well written and well thought out essays in a language that is accessible to an intergenerational and culturally diverse audience. Two examples of potential essays are: "The Impact of Prison on the Black Family," and "Maintaining a Marriage While in Prison." We seek particularly unique and introspective personal narratives that reveal some facet of the prison experience. Some examples of potential personal narratives are: "Prison Life after 60," "Surviving Rape in Prison," "Parenting from Prison," and "A Day in the Life of a Prison Inmate." All personal narratives must be based on personal experience, however, you are encouraged to use a pseudonym if that enables you to write more freely about your experiences.

FORMAT

Manuscripts should be typed (double-spaced) and printed on white letter sized paper (8 1/2 x 11"). Contact information should appear on the first page of each piece only. Each subsequent page should be numbered and contain a header identifying the work. Please do not send your only copy-- We will not be responsible for lost work. Upon notification of acceptance, we may request work by electronic mail or by floppy disk (WordPerfect or Word). Please include a self-addressed, stamped envelope with sufficient postage if you would like your work/disks returned.

If you wish to submit work for consideration yet you do not have access to a typewriter, word processor, or computer; and also do not have friends or family members with access to word

processor or computer, then neatly printed/legible manuscripts will be accepted from prison inmates only. Handwritten submissions must be printed neatly; using lined paper and skipping every other line.

Submissions will not be accepted via the Internet at this time.

Poetry. Please do not submit more than five poems. Poems may be typed single spaced, however, single poems are not to exceed 200 lines or six (single spaced) typed pages.

Fiction. Do not submit more than two pieces of fiction. Fiction should be between 2000-4000 words.

Essays and Personal Narratives. Do not submit more than two essays or narratives. Essays and narratives should be between 2000-8000 words.

Letters. Do not submit more than two letters. Letters should not exceed 2000 words.

Photographs. We invite photographic interpretations of freedom and/or imprisonment. Photographs must be presented in black and white (b/w). Please do not send your only copy and please do not submit more than five photographs.

Authors/photographers may send multiple submissions, however no more than three submissions per author/photographer will be accepted for publication.

You may submit up to five works for review. We will not consider more than five works from a single author/photographer.

COVER

Please introduce yourself in a brief cover letter (50 words or less).

SASE

Please include a self-addressed, stamped envelope with your submission if you would like your submission returned. Include an additional SASE if you would like us to confirm receipt of your work.

BIO

Please include a biographical statement of 50 words or less with your submission. Your statement should include information about your age, and geographical location. If you are currently in prison, you may also include your contact information in your biographical statement.

Sample topics may include (but are not limited to): prison conditions, racism, sexism, prisoner-guard relationships, police-state brutality, prison-civilian relationships, freedom, life after prison, crime, punishment, parenting from prison, name changes in prison, prison medical care, guilt, innocence, prison sexual abuse and assault. **CONVICTIONS** explores various dimensions of the prison experience. **CONVICTIONS** is about freedom and the loss of freedom; about struggle and survival; about the men and women behind bars; and about the women, men and children left behind.

DEADLINE

All submissions must be postmarked by January 15, 2000. Please send your best work as early as possible. We are still looking for work/submissions relating to: solitary confinement, death row, strip searches, being a parent in prison, religion/spirituality, sexual assault, escape attempts or successes and dealing with the death of a loved one from prison. We are in particular need of work from women in prison. If you are able to submit work related to those topics, the deadline for submissions is January 15, 2000. However, TTT readers have been granted a special extension. If you found out about **CONVICTIONS** from TTT, you may send submissions until February 10, 2000. If you decide to submit material after January 15, 2000, but before/on February 10, 2000, please include the fact that you are a TTT reader in your cover letter, and please pay close attention to the submission format-- otherwise your materials will not be reviewed. You can check for updates and other possible deadline extensions using our website: www.askhari.com.

CONTACT

Send submissions to: **CONVICTIONS** Editor, P.O. Box 3040, Gaithersburg, Maryland 20885. If you have additional questions, please send electronic mail to: skhari@igc.org, or visit our website: www.askhari.com.

WILL CONTRIBUTORS BE PAID FOR WORK SELECTED FOR PUBLICATION?

We intend to offer payment for all work selected for publication. The monetary amount will be determined by the provisions of the final book contract.

WHEN WILL I KNOW IF MY PIECE IS SELECTED FOR PUBLICATION?

We expect to contact all contributors by May 2000.

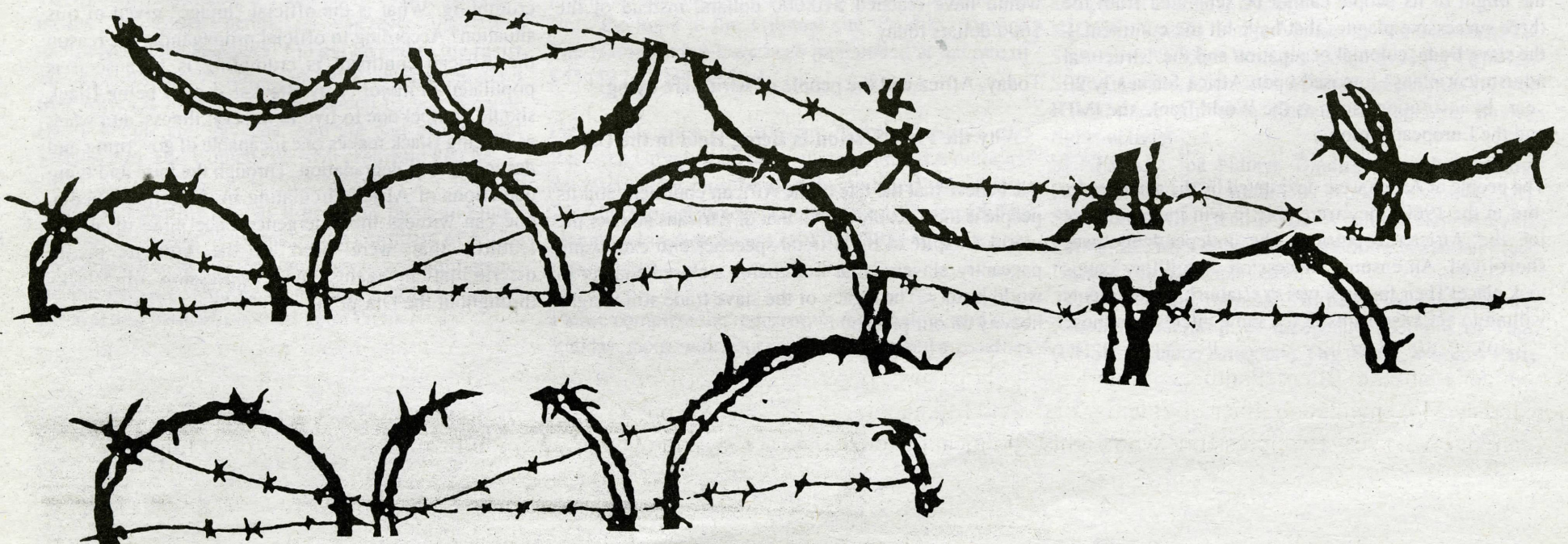
WHO IS EDITING CONVICTIONS?

Askhari Johnson Hodari, Ph.D. is the **CONVICTIONS** editor. Dr. Hodari is a social psychologist, professor, writer and political activist. She will receive and review all submissions.

WHERE SHOULD I SEND SUBMISSIONS?

You may contact the editor at and/or send submissions to this address:

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P.O. Box 3040
Gaithersburg, Maryland 20885
www.askhari.com



CALL FOR THE FIRST SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL ON AFRICA

**Compton College,
Los Angeles, California
February 5-6, 2000**

In March 1998, political and trade union leaders from 18 African countries issued an Appeal to hold an "International Tribunal to Judge Those Responsible for the Murderous Course Imposed on the Workers and Peoples of Africa." The call for this International Tribunal on Africa was launched at a conference held in Bingerville, Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast) that was organized by the International Liaison Committee for a Workers' International (ILC). The first session of the International Tribunal on Africa will take place at Compton College in Compton, Calif., on February 5-6 of the year 2000. Compton is in the greater metropolitan Los Angeles area.

Why such an Appeal? African people today are threatened by a human and social tragedy unprecedented in the history of humanity. Average life expectancy in the African continent is devastatingly low, and the latest report of the UNDP (United Nations Program on Development) has warned that if nothing decisive is undertaken in the months and years to come,

The destruction of industry and of the infrastructure across the continent is being accelerated. The peoples of the towns and countryside are faced with mass unemployment. The only future offered to youth is poverty or the armed gangs that are tearing the African continent apart. (There are officially over 300,000 child soldiers.)

Fundamental choices must be made immediately and put into action to end the further devastation of the African continent and to create for Africa the possibility of reaching its full potential.

One need only look at the situation today to know what will happen if nothing is changed in the decade to come: (a) the only borders will be the ones imposed by armed gangs; (b) there will be no qualified people in Africa because future generations will have been sacrificed by these lost school years; (c) because of the wars, the only movements of people will be these mass displacements, not those involving increased trade; (d) people will die in the streets because they will be driven out of hospitals for which they have no money to pay; (e) men and women will be unable to contribute much to the national economy because of their short life span; (e) the African continent will everywhere become another Somalia; and (g) the continent's elite will, simply, leave.

From Slavery to Structural Adjustment ...

When political and trade union leaders of 18 African countries took the initiative to issue a call for an International Tribunal on Africa, they emphasized that the dramatic devastation of the African continent and the plight of its people cannot be separated from the three successive plagues that have hit the continent -- the slave trade, colonial occupation and the "structural adjustment plans" imposed upon Africa for nearly 20 years by institutions such as the World Bank, the IMF and the European Union.

The people of Africa were devastated by the slave trade, but in the 1960s they were able to win independence for the African countries. The independence was short-lived. An ensuing succession of military coups took place. Their function was to establish governments willing to act as servants of the same interests as those

which created slavery and colonialism.

The faces have changed -- it is no longer the colonial occupiers who are in charge - but colonial domination is still everpresent. It is now the "experts" from the World Bank and the IMF who have taken charge of the economies of the African countries and who rule its states. In all the ministries of the African governments, one can find "experts" who exercise genuine power. This is done in the name of "good governance" and, therefore, implicitly, in the name of the so-called inability of Black people to govern for themselves.

Poverty, economic collapse, and disintegration are first and foremost the result of the burden of the foreign debt payment. The figures are no secret: the global amount of the debt of the African continent totals \$350 billion; the yearly payment on "debt" service alone by African countries is \$33 billion. This so-called "debt" is mainly the accumulation of the debt service.

The debt service on the public debt in Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), for example, accounts for \$3.7 billion of the \$6 billion owed. We must stop this bleeding of the resources of the African continent. Taken as a whole, the debt service payments of the African states are four times higher than the combined budgets for education and health care. In 1997, Niger and Ethiopia had to use half their budgets to pay the debt service. Zambia used 44% of its budget, and Malawi used 35% of its budget. Fifty percent of export income is devoted to the payment of the "debt." A recent study by the World Bank shows that if the amount of money allotted to "debt" repayment had been used for real development, the yearly income per capita in a country like Zambia would have reached \$10,000 dollars, instead of the \$600 dollars today.

Today, Africa and the people of Africa are dying.

Why the First Session Is Being Held in the U.S.

We believe that the fate of the African continent and its people is inextricably tied to that of Africans all over the world. In spite of the official speeches and exorcising pageantry, slavery is far from being a closed chapter in world history. The legacy of the slave trade still weighs heavily on our present.

average life expectancy on the African continent will fall further by 20 years. Thus, the African continent's population would consist of orphans and decimated and disorganized families that are ruined by illnesses and epidemics such as AIDS and malaria.

Today, half of the African people are living on less than one dollar per day. If things continue to deteriorate, the African continent will be further ravaged by poverty. Murderous wars and conflicts -- which are developing one after the other and affect over half the countries in Africa today -- bestow upon the African continent untold tragedy and suffering. Because of these wars and conflicts, hundreds of thousands of civilians have been killed or uprooted. There are officially 6 million refugees, and 12 million others wander from one side of the continent to the other with only poverty and death as their future.

When the appeal for an International Tribunal on Africa was launched, political and trade union leaders from 18 African countries stated that it was impossible to understand the present drama in Africa without integrating the meaning of the slave trade and the mass deportation of African people from the African continent. Africa today still bears the scars from tens of millions of men, women and children deported from its shores, loaded on slave ships in chains, starved and whipped. Millions and millions died or committed suicide during slave transport, while millions of others died resisting enslavement or in slave jails before leaving the African continent. Africa was emptied of its living forces and of those who had the greatest ability to produce. Economic activity was plunged into chaos, and the most advanced forms of social and political organization were destroyed.

To all that, one must add that in Africa -- as well as in America and around the world -- Africans still suffer from the myth of an "inferior race," which was invented by slave traders to justify what can't be justified. Disorganized and maimed by slavery, Africans on the African continent transitioned to the evil of colonial occupation, while Africans in America transitioned to institutional racism -- the system of racial segregation and discrimination. Africans throughout the Diaspora have been used in wars which were not their wars. These wars were often characterized as "liberating" African peoples in their individual areas, but instead Africans were used as cannon fodder. Those Africans who were lucky enough to return from these wars discovered that "equality" did not exist for them.

Today, the African continent is torn to pieces and is crumbling. What is the official "image" given of this situation? According to official propaganda, the reason the African continent is crumbling is because it is populated in majority by Blacks! -- as if being Black should compel one to live in misery, illness, and wars; as if being Black makes one incapable of governing and destines one to degradation. Through the false and lying depictions of Africa circulating in the official media, one can witness the emergence once more of all the features that were used in the past to justify discrimination against and oppression of Blacks throughout the Diaspora.

What we are aiming to accomplish by organizing the International Tribunal on Africa is to re-establish the link between Africans on the continent and all those victimized by discrimination and oppression who find their roots in slavery and the past regimes of racial discrimination.

Beside delegates from all regions of Africa, Black activists from the Caribbean islands, South America, Europe and the United States will participate and testify to the jury.

The preparatory documents for the Tribunal call for a number of key demands:

the complete cancellation of the devastating "debt" and austerity forced onto African people by the colonial powers, including the United States; the right to self-determination and the restoring of political and economic independence for all African nations; and, the immediate payment of needed reparations in forms determined by African people for past and present crimes committed against these nations by the foreign countries, corporations and militaries.

"We are coming from Africa to Los Angeles because there are tens of millions of you in the Americas who share with us the common tragedy represented by the enslavement holocaust of Africa, and the continuing Mafias," said Tribunal co-coordinator Norbert Gbikpi-Benissan, General Secretary of the National Federation of Independent Unions of Togo (West Africa), during a tour of five U.S. cities this past September.

The February 1999 Johannesburg conference, which prepared the Tribunal, adopted a resolution in which one can read:

"Conscious of the devastating effects of slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism on the African peoples, the meeting endorsed calls for reparation for the African people in relation to crimes committed against them by the imperialist countries."

In addition to these important issues, joint action to combat the super-exploitative "African Growth and Opportunity Act" legislation, which recently passed in the U.S. Congress, and the repressive and regressive World Trade Organization, will be developed. Quite significantly, organizers have asked freedom fighter, journalist and political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal (who is fighting to win a new trial and freedom while currently held on Pennsylvania's death row), to serve as the honorary chairperson of the Tribunal.

The political and trade union leaders of Africa who issued the initial call for the International Tribunal on Africa are convinced that the judgment which the Tribunal will issue will enable the people of Africa to call for the holding of a Congress of African Peoples that could enable the workers and peoples of the African continent to garner the strength to take the measures required to save themselves from this murderous course.

The judgment which the Tribunal will issue will be a means for Black people -- wherever they find themselves in the Diaspora -- to put an end to the racist and discriminatory policies of those who dare pretend that Africa is in crisis and dislocated by war because Black people are "savages" and are part of a race of inferior men and women. We will eradicate that lie.

With each passing day, as it becomes more and more difficult to survive, Africans on the continent of Africa are demonstrating that they are a proud and courageous people who are standing up and fighting back against the war and plunder imposed upon them.

Who's Convening the International Tribunal on Africa?

The following people have come together to constitute the Organizing Committee of the International Tribunal on Africa:

* **Jahahara Armstrong**, member of the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA) and member of the BRC (Oakland, Calif.)

* **Norbert Tetevi Gbikpi-Benissan**, general secretary of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Togo (UNSI)

* **Alan Benjamin**, member of the Editorial Board of The Organizer newspaper and vice chair, Golden Gate chapter of the Labor Party

* **Miguel Cristobal**, member, International Relations Committee, Workers Party of France

* **Daniel Gluckstein**, coordinator, International Liaison Committee for a Workers' International (Paris, France)

* **Dedon Kamathi**, Organizer, All African Peoples Revolutionary Party (Los Angeles)

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We invite you to attend the International Tribunal on Africa on Saturday and Sunday, February 5-6, 2000 in Compton, California (USA). The Tribunal will be held at Compton College from 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. both days. Please complete the registration form which follows and mail it TODAY.

Additionally, we urgently need your financial support so that this International Tribunal on Africa will be able to take place. The costs for the Tribunal are nominal, but the costs of the delegation from Africa are overwhelming. Each of the 20 African delegates will require a minimum of US\$3,000 to cover travel and lodging expenses.

Won't you please give us your most generous donation in addition to your registration amount? Registration has been set at \$50 per person. Registration fees are strictly earmarked toward the cost of the Tribunal and to assist in financing international delegations.

Hotel accommodations have been arranged at The Hampton Inn in Carson, California (freeway accessible and about 5 minutes by car to the Tribunal site at Compton College.) There will be shuttle buses provided Saturday and Sunday for transportation to and from the hotel to the Tribunal site. Double rooms at The Hampton Inn have been guaranteed at the rate of \$55 (\$27.50 per person).

Please reference the African American Study and Research Group when booking your hotel reservations. All reservations must be made by no later than January 21, 2000 to get the guaranteed rate. Please call The Hampton Inn directly at (310) 768-8833 to make your reservations.

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Mail to: **Organizing Committee for the International Tribunal on Africa**, c/o Connie White, Tribunal Organizer, P.O. Box 303 2286 East Carson St., Long Beach, CA 90807. Checks should be made payable to "Connie White, Organizer Africa Tribunal". Please earmark on memo "For Africa Tribunal." You may contact us by phone at (562) 915-3510 (voicemail), by fax at (562) 492-9139 or by e-mail at connierw@earthlink.net.

INITIATORS OF THE TRIBUNAL

ALGERIA: Amar Takdjout, Director, Textile and Leather Division, General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA); Louisa Hanoune, National Deputy of Algeria.

SOUTH AFRICA/AZANIA: Lybon Mabasa, President, Socialist Party of Azania (SOPA); Patrice Mkhize, General Secretary, Azanian Workers Union (AZAWU); Mtinkulu OUMI, Executive Board, Black National Convention.

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CAMEROUN: Mbillie Martin, Workers Federation of Cameroun (CSTC); Anicet Ekane, Manifesto For Democracy (MANIDEM).

CENTRAL AFRICA: Patrice Zacarias, General Secretary, National Teachers Union (SNE CASU).

CONGO: Simon Tsimpanila N'Domba, representative, CDT union federation.

CHAD: Gami N'Garmadjal, General Secretary, SET.

COMORES: Ibouai Ali Tabibou, Coordinator, Autonomous Workers Federation of Comores (USATC).

COTE D'IVOIRE (Ivory Coast): Francois Yao, Adjunct General Secretary, National Autonomous Workers Federation (FESACI); Marcel Ette, General Secretary, FESACI; Kouame Kra, Executive Committee, FESACI.

GABON: Jean-Pierre Omanda, Executive Committee, Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Gabon (CGSL).

GHANA: Kwessi Pratt Jr., Vice President, Convention Party.

GUINEA: Sherif Aboubacar, Foreign Relations Committee, Electricity and Water Workers Federation.

MADAGASCAR: Zephyrin Razafimandjary, General Secretary, SYMPIMA federation; Georges Rakotosondrasoava, Dean of the Order of Journalists and former National Deputy.

NIGER: Daddo Hadji Mahaman Mansur, General Secretary, National Workers Union of Niger (USTN); Sidibe Assane, Economic Affairs Director, USTN.

RWANDA: Alphonse Karango Niyonzima, human rights activist.

SENEGAL: Iba Ndiaye Diadji, General Secretary, Confederation of Autonomous Workers Unions (CSA).

SWAZILAND: Jean-Marie Vianney Nzabakarana, Former Deputy General Secretary of the Rwandan Trade Union Confederation - exile.

TOGO: Gbikpi Benissan Norbert, General Secretary, National Federation of Independent Unions of Togo (UNSI); Claude Ameganvi, Org. Secy., Workers Party

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BURUNDI: Pail Nkuzimana, President, Organized Workers Force (FORTRA).

CAMEROUN: Mbillie Martin, Workers Federation of Cameroun (CSTC); Anicet Ekane, Manifesto For Democracy (MANIDEM).

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