

CARTON 6:20

STRONG IN THE STRUGGLE

CIVIL RIGHTS, RACISM AND
JUSTICE ARTICLES AND MAGAZINES

1991-1996

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I heard that



By Rochelle Metcalfe

My my how time flies... I'm approaching another birthday this Saturday, December 7! I always plan my day; Lord knows how I will celebrate this year. I was blessed with an interesting year, and what was my lucky day when I landed a gig December 7, 1995 on the KDIA Morning Show that lasted through August 1996. Dig, timing is everything! I stopped in for a few minutes as a guest not expecting to be discovered by the station owner!

I trust all of you had a warm Thanksgiving. I spent a relatively quiet day, but did stop by JOSE LACROSBY's pad, at his invitation, to enjoy some Gumbo and champagne. His recipe was quite tasty BUT I MISSED THE CRABS!

BENNIE HOLMES and his cooks served Pre-Thanksgiving dinner Wednesday at noon to those who live in the Western Addition area of town... some without families, or find themselves homeless with no place to go.

The HOME COOKIN' FEAST, that will remind you of your mother or Grandma's house when thinking about home, was served at 12 noon in the MARTIN LUTHER KING/MARCUS GARVEY Square cooperative Apartments, Incorporated Community Center located on Eddy near Pierce Street.

In 1970 BENNIE founded and was coordinator, along with the late TOM DUNCAN and others, that include CARMEN JOHNSON, Administrator Marcus Garvey Square, MARVA BROOKS, EVELYN JOPLIN, BARBARA JACKSON AND PEGGY HAWKINS. Bennie gives up his money and time and receives donations from supporters and those who help him cook the food. The office of EOC shares allocated monies for Thanksgiving dinners to provide food for their citywide areas of responsibilities — Western Addition and Bayview Hunters Point area included. Bennie is a staff person with the EOC, as are many of the helpers who assist him.

I always try to support Bennie (I missed last year because I had lunch with the late OLLIE OLLISON... and the last time I saw him in life for he died a few months later). I was able to break bread with Bennie and his helpers that included EVELYN JOHNSON, LOLA JACKSON, MARY JO SMITH, BUELAH WHATLEY, CHARMAINE BROWN, BETTY MARTIN, JAMIE WASHINGTON (I met her in '94 when standing in the serving line next to her). I do declare they all wanted to know WHY I LEFT KDIA and when was I coming back, for they listened to the show. Hey, for those who missed an earlier column, the station manager wanted to change the format... that's radio — here today and gone tomorrow!

BIG BOSS MAN NATE MASON, Executive Director EOC, formerly held by the late ERNEST OLIVER, was on the scene making sure everything went well before driving to check the other sites. Nate looked like a PREACHER in black suit... I was standing by Bennie when Nate shook his hand and praised him on the good job he'd done (always!). On a somber note, I had not realized that Nate lost his father recently until I overheard his conversation with another gentleman... not too many months ago he lost his mother. My belated condolences to Nate, for he seemed very close with his parents. Usually he makes it to Louisiana for the BAYOU GAMES, but his pain was too heartfelt to go home at this time.

Bennie looked handsome in a tweed sportcoat over black. He made several trips in his rented car to take dinners to a few shut-ins. I might note that he was planning to keep this car through midweek so as to celebrate his birthday this past Monday. Happy birthday BENNIE!

MG's project coordinator CARMEN JOHNSON stood out in her stylish red suit... noticed her while I was outside chatting with LORRAINE SMITH who lives across

the street and was looking for the plumber man. Girlfriend was telling me about her golf games, and the terrible conditions of a particular golf course that I forgot the name, but seems she and her lady golfers were furious over the water overriding the course.

HONEY BEAR... one of the old players who use to frequent the old Jack's Bar, had dined sufficiently and on his way back to his Fillmore Center pad, but not before tellin me he's a TRAVELIN' MAN... he recently flew to Hawaii to lay out on the beach and enjoy the female sights... I asked him if he wore his swimming trunks... seemed like he said he laid out on the sand in his BATHROBE! I BET THAT WAS A SIGHT!

I was surprised to see the suave MR. L.P. LEWIS, or shall I say REV. LEWIS, for he's involved with J. ALFRED SMITH Church in Oakland and living on DIAMOND HEIGHTS here in the city in that faaaabulous pad he and his ex-wife MARY LEWIS once shared! I first met Lewis when we worked on the same floor at the Federal building... at that time he was with HUD and I was with GSA.

ABE LANDRY looked full and peaceful when he exited the Center. Gosh BILL DOWD looks great. He sat with PABLO... who's always talking... lippin' off! I joined the venerable BUCK BUCHANON and his guest, and the impeccably dressed JOHN DOUMBIA. Noticed BARBARA JACKSON with her friend JIM... a cutie pie.

Bennie told me his longtime friend S.F. District Attorney TERENCE HALLINAN stopped by. ROBERT BROWN, President Marcus Garvey Board, was on the scene, as were DOROTHY MARTIN, assistant to MG's administrator Johnson... LEE BROWN, a handsome gentleman in his 70s... GOOD STOCK for he looked strong and younger than his age... his beautiful complexion glowed. My man wants me to do a story on him and his involvement with the labor movement.

In closing this segment I congratulate Bennie and his helpers and Nat Mason and the EOC for their commitment to the community and MAKING A DIFFERENCE in sharing with the haves and have nots!

Back to Thanksgiving night... After visiting with Jose LaCrosby I made it over to YOSHI's to catch bassist RAY BROWN's trio that featured two baaaaa YOUNG LIONS — BENNIE GREEN on piano and terrific bassist GREGORY HUTCHINSON. This was Bennie's last engagement with Brown for he was moving on to form his own group. Well Ray has had a long line of piano players who have gone on... one in particular GENE HARRIS. Ray got him to come out of them thar' hills of Idaho mountains and back on the worldly Jazz scene. You know, Ray Brown was married to the late Ella Fitzgerald ('48-53) and had a son — Ray Brown, Jr.

Yoshi's has a great line-up coming up... this week BRANFORD MARSALIS through Sunday night... the legendary MERRY XMAS BABY... CHARLES BROWN is booked for mid-December BUT I HEARD last weekend that he is in the hospital... I'll have to check on his condition. AND LOOK OUT JACK LONDONSQUARE... Yoshi's is scheduled to move near the movie multiplex in May '97... AND the first few weeks are already booked!

This past Sunday afternoon I caught the lively musical set in the 1920's "ONE MO' TIME!" starring DENISE PERRIER and a fine cast of performers and musicians. The musical runs through December 22, at the Lorraine Hansberry Theatre. My deadline prevents me from taking the time to review the play this week as the column was completed... perhaps next week, but do go out and support BLACK THEATER!

Well the holiday season is here and XMAS shopping promises to be brisk, for according to the economic statistics, the economy is up and people have money to spend! AND the pickpockets and those who prey and prowl especially during the holiday season are delighted for they will be on the watch for careless shoppers.

This brings me to the GOOD NEWS that MAYOR BROWN has deployed low-income unemployed youths, some of whom are ex-gang members, on the Muni buses to protect citizens who ride the system. The original idea of putting youth monitors on the MUNI was the brainchild of ROTEA GILFORD, who was appointed by Mayor Brown during the early part of the year to oversee the PATROL. Now Muni's new director EMILIO CRUZ, who I understand has spent the past 3 months putting the new program together, is in charge of the new PATROL that will be funded for the next 6 months.

I had the distinct pleasure to meet Cruz up close when seated next to him at the recent Muni civic Luncheon held at the Chinatown Holiday Inn. I derived a chuckle

from the handsome 31-year-old Cruz when I expressed that I hadn't expected to meet such a cool person, considering the high power position he has under the watchful eye of Mayor Brown, who appointed him to replace former manager PHIL ADAMS.

The energetic young man on the rise takes his responsibility way over the mark in striving to turn Muni around. He noted that when the Mayor took control of Muni (he fired Adams) and appointed him to the position, he had a lot of apprehensions. BUT that's changed... "I really enjoy my job... I'm happy here. We have a lot of work to do." And he's doing it!

As is the usual protocol, Cruz emceed the luncheon affair. During his presence at the mike, he shared with the diverse gathering (I seemed to be the only member of the press who attended these luncheons) that he makes the rounds on the buses in checking assessing the system — sometimes between the hours of 2-4 a.m. I wonder if he was responsible for the RAID On those drivers who were signing in for duty going back home to bed?????

There are some good, honest Muni drivers on the job. I always say MUNI drivers have a hard job working with the public and dealing with SOCIETY'S PROBLEMS in the people who board their buses; many times it's a thankless job for those TRYING TO DO A GOOD JOB, AND WHO PUT THEIR LIFE ON THE LINE EVERY DAY! SO IT'S NICE TO SEE THE MUNI ORGANIZATION ACKNOWLEDGE THOSE WHO CARE AND MAKE A DIFFERENCE!

Before moving on I want to note those honored that day. Among them were CECIL HORNE, October Systemwide OPERATOR OF THE MONTH working out of MUNI's Kirkland Division; Tall n' Handsome EUGENE BAPTISTE, "Accessibility Employee of the Fall Quarter" and voted in by the riders for his exceptional service to SENIORS; RICHARD MOULTRIE, Transit Supervisor of the fall Quarter; FRANK LEE, Jr. (a cutie pie), September systems wide runner-up. AND two ladies... SHARON HALL, Operation Employee of the Quarter and NANCY PADILLA, October systemwide runner-up.

Cruz introduced MARTHA JOHNSON, FAP (personnel) Employee of the Quarter — he noted that she was a hard worker and that she was the one to process his personnel papers when he assumed his Muni position.

LOU JOHNSON, Deputy Director of Operations, welcomed me back to attending the luncheons (several years ago I attended on a regular basis until my daytime schedule prevented my presence; at that time they were held once a month).

It was great to see DARSHAN SINGH, S.F. Council of District Merchants, and also a pleasure to meet the impeccably dressed DAVID GONZALES, a businessman and entertainer. He gave me his card — JAZZ-MEX, that noted he's a vocalist — on the Bebop swing style and shared that he was going to produce a LATIN-JAZZ Festival next year.

Recently I was on the scene at the new nightclub, formerly ERNIE's, now called the ESSEX CLUB located on the edge of the financial district and North Beach, for the BADDDEST Saxophone player around... BRENO BROWN's record release party celebrating his new CD "Visions"... a QUIET STORM KINDA' THANG', co-produced by Brown and TONY SAUNDERS. His managers of crystal City Productions — MILTON JONES, RODRICK "RICK" JONES, G. JONES and SOLOMON, arranged for the party to be held in the upper room of the elegant restaurant. Guests enjoying the music and rubbing elbows with other invited artistic guests, included... NATE WEATHERS... looking like the Pope in all black and black wide brim. He told me he was taking his SHOW ON THE ROAD (meaning Monday night Football at Storyville... he fell out early on with the owners); Breno's UNCLE ED "DOWNTOWN" BROWN... he was definitely DOWNTOWN in support of his nephew, joined by his daughter; KDIA's TONYA SELLERS and vocalist BRENDA VAUGHN; MONEY BANKS and his wife VANESSA; vocalist BEVERLY WATSON AND DYNAMIC FOUR's handsome drummer man RON GATLIN; Breno's friend JEANNE, and barber musician KENNARD who performs in Breno's band playing Congos.

Hey, BRENO is already working on his next CD which I hope will be BEBOP straight ahead action that will BLOW YOUR MIND cause the brother is a COLTRANE ON THE RISE!!!!!!

GOLFING AND BOXING FANS WILL KNOW WHAT I MEAN WHEN I SAY... TIGER WOODS GIMME' SOME SKINS! MIKE TYSON... I NEED SOME MOOOOOOONEY!!!!

HEY, IT'S NICE TO BE NICE AND TO ALL OF YOU OUT THERE... LOOK FOR ME... I'LL BE THERE...

TIME



COSMIC CRASH

**A shattered comet is about to hit
Jupiter, creating the biggest explosion
ever witnessed in the solar system.
Could it happen here on Earth? Yes ...**

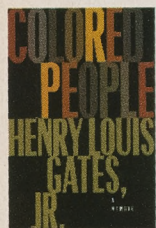
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■ BOOKS

Was the Picnic Ruined?

A leading black scholar recalls the bittersweet effects of the civil rights movement on his tiny, segregated hometown

By **JACKE WHITE**



ALBERT MURRAY, THE black social critic, once wisecracked, "Sure we got our troubles, but if white folks could be black for just one Saturday night, they wouldn't never want to be white folks no more." Henry

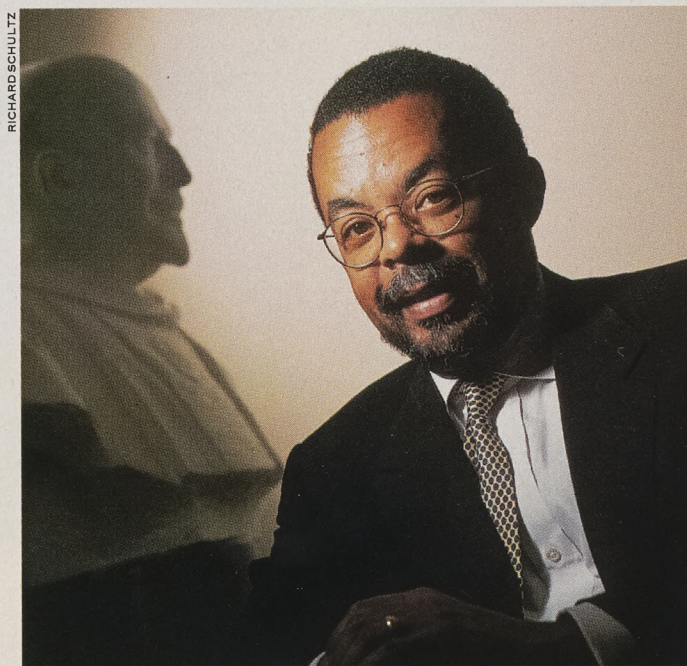
Louis Gates Jr. does not go nearly that far in *Colored People* (Knopf; 216 pages; \$22), his memoir of growing up in a West Virginia mill town during the 1950s and '60s. But his beguiling elegy for the exuberant society blacks created for themselves under the veil of segregation provides one explanation of why few African Americans, even if they had the power to change, would choose to be anything else.

As the chairman of Harvard's black-studies department and the author of several volumes of dense literary theory as well as countless op-ed pieces on racial issues, Gates, 44, has become one of the nation's most influential intellectuals. In *Colored People* he turns from scholarship to autobiography and writes intimately about his childhood, his teenage religious fanaticism, a frustrated youthful romance with a white girl. Still, history is never distant from Gates' mind. His coming of age coincided with one of America's most tumultuous eras, as the civil rights movement propelled blacks from "the colored world of the fifties [to] a Negro world of the early sixties [to] the advent of the black world of the later sixties."

These upheavals were slow to arrive for the 350 colored people in Gates' hometown of Piedmont, nestled in a sleepy hollow between the Allegheny Mountains and the Potomac River Valley. At first folks simply watched the speeches and marches on television. When the effects of the civil rights movement finally did come to the town in the 1960s, the impact was ambiguous. Blacks

welcomed expanded job opportunities and an end to humiliating reminders of where—quite literally—they stood: they were now allowed to sit down in white restaurants. But integration also meant that the nurturing institutions blacks had created to take the sting out of segregation would become moribund.

Among these segregated but proud institutions was the elementary school where generations received the sort of rigorous education that inner-city blacks today can hardly imagine. Another was the separate-but-more-than-equal "colored picnic," where blacks who worked



SOULFUL ROOTS: Gates' memoir is a reminder that the black mainstream is the source of a proud and resilient culture

at the paper mill gathered to dance, play bid whist and gorge themselves on soul food. Small wonder, as Gates writes, that for many of his parents' generation, "integration was experienced as a loss... Who in his right mind would want to go to the mill picnic with the white folks when it meant shutting the colored one down?" The black men and women of Piedmont never thought of themselves as second-class people despite their second-class status. This society teemed with role models of hard work, family stability and excellence.

If properly admiring, however, Gates is not sanctimonious. He takes pleasure

in describing his community's eccentricities, like Mr. Charlie, who confided that "George Washington was Abraham Lincoln's daddy," among other facts that whites had supposedly withheld from blacks; and churchy Miss Sarah, who consulted with Jesus every day, getting "full reports on all the seraphim and cherubim." Gates irreverently addresses such matters as blacks' fascination with their multitude of skin tones and their daily struggles to subdue their bushy hair. Even today, he writes, "so many black people still get their hair straightened that it's a wonder we don't have a national holiday for Madame C.J. Walker, who invented the process for straightening kinky hair, rather than Dr. King."

The strongest character in the book is Gates' mother Pauline, who looked down on whites as uncouth, dirty people who tasted their food "right out of the pot." Pauline's long struggle to become the owner of a home reflected the com-

plicated, bittersweet consequences of change. Just as her children were on the brink of buying the house of a white family for whom Pauline had worked as a domestic, she began inventing reasons to back away from the purchase. Badgered by her son, she tearfully dredged up bitter memories of how the white family had mistreated her, compelling her to work on holidays instead of spending them with her family, and leaving money lying around to see if she would steal it. Pauline's children argued that she could exorcise those ghosts by making the house her own, and she relented. But as Gates acknowledges, "I'll never know if we did the right thing by buying her that house or if our insistence on vindicating her was somehow misguided."

What sets Gates' memoir apart from the harrowing, up-from-the-ghetto autobiographies that have appeared recently is its reminder that the black mainstream is not a tangle of pathology. Rather, he demonstrates, it is the source of a strong and resilient culture that has given the world such gifts as "a Jessye Norman aria, a Muhammad Ali shuffle, a Michael Jordan slam dunk, a Spike Lee movie, a Thurgood Marshall opinion, a Toni Morrison novel, James Brown's Camel Walk." Add to the list Gates' graceful, sparsely written memoir, which establishes that he has not only brains but also a whole lot of soul. ■

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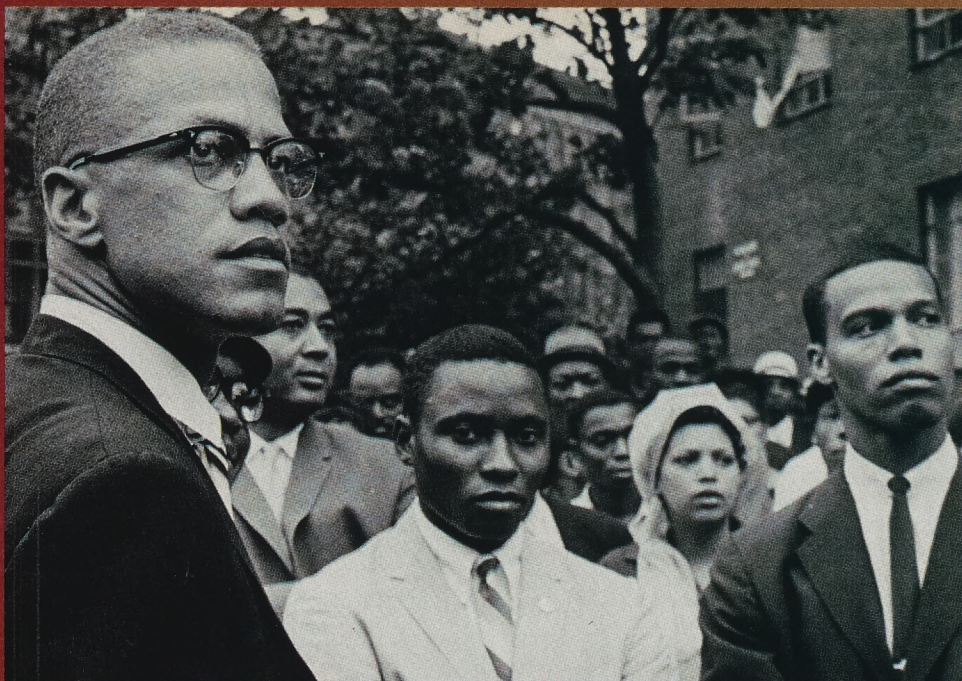
THE PLOT TO
KILL FARRAKHAN

TIME

Is Rush Limbaugh Good for America?

Talk radio is only
the beginning.
Electronic populism
threatens to short-circuit
representative
democracy

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BURDEN OF HISTORY: Malcolm X, left, and Louis Farrakhan, far right, at a New York City rally in 1963; in 1995, Malcolm's daughter Qubilah Shabazz in Minneapolis after her indictment

■ INVESTIGATION

IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER

Did Malcolm X's daughter plot to assassinate Louis Farrakhan? Or was she entrapped by the FBI?

By **DAVID VAN BIEMA**

WHEN A LITTLE GIRL IS FOUR, HER father is God. He is the leader of her private nation. Should he also happen to be a real-life leader, invited to stand before microphones and talk to great cheering crowds, that too would seem appropriate, consistent with his place in her young universe. But what if one day, while she is watching, he is blown from the dais by five thugs—a grotesque reversal of the nature of things, a wiping out of the sun? Can her spirit survive it? Can she avoid being twisted by it? Can it be overcome?

Last week a federal prosecutor in Minnesota suggested that it could not—that, in the words of one little girl's father, chickens will come home to roost, that violence must beget violence, that the world is a tragedy

in a continuous loop. Minneapolis U.S. Attorney David Lillehaug charged on Thursday that Qubilah Shabazz, 34, had for seven months negotiated with a hit man for a murder and had in fact moved to Minnesota to make a down payment on the crime. Her alleged target: Louis Farrakhan, the bitter rival of her father Malcolm X, who was murdered in 1965.

It was a seductive premise: the violence Malcolm saw as a tool of liberation had degenerated into the internecine violence that killed him, and now into a senseless blood feud. But by the weekend the case's lessons, and its prospects, looked less clear. The man expected to be the prosecution's key witness seemed to be more impeachable, at least on character, than anything yet seen at the O.J. Simpson trial. And the state's allegations had achieved what the passage of years had failed to do—drawn

the Shabazz family and Farrakhan into apparent agreement on at least one belief: that the Federal Government so dislikes black activists that it will pursue them recklessly unto the second generation.

THE PROSECUTION'S CASE, SHOULD IT EVER reach trial, will inevitably conjure up the carnage that took place at New York City's Audubon Ballroom 30 years ago next month, as Malcolm X, former con man and thief who had joined the Nation of Islam (NOI) while in prison and become the foremost spokesman of its fiercely proud and racist party line, played out his final political incarnation. After revealing that his mentor, Elijah Muhammad, had fathered several illegitimate children, Malcolm had split with the Nation. He had founded a splinter group, traveled to Mecca, adopted a more tolerant political philosophy (along





with the name El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz) and begun to believe he was marked for death—correctly so. One conspirator distracted his bodyguards' attention; another pulled a shotgun trigger, creating, in the words of writer Marshall Frady, "a perfectly circular seven-inch pattern of holes over his heart." For insurance, the killers shot him again with the shotgun and pistols.

All this within yards of his pregnant wife and four young daughters.

"THEY NEVER ACTUALLY SAW WHAT HAPPENED," Betty Shabazz told reporters of her children. At the first shot, she threw them under a chair and herself on top of them. But her oldest daughter Attallah contradicted that in interviews of her own: "She's yelling, 'That's my husband they're killing!' And a kid wants to look and see. Her husband means it's my fa-

ther. So I keep looking. I see the men. I see it." Qubilah, the second eldest, presumably saw it too.

Nor was she likely to forget it. Betty Shabazz has said, "My children were reared on a picture of Daddy. A lot of people have Daddy at home. When they prayed that God bless them and everybody, Daddy was part of everything." The mother hid her copies of the posthumously published *Autobiography of Malcolm X* because they showed his corpse, but Attallah says she and Qubilah found them. Far-eeed Nu'man, a researcher with the American Muslim Council in Washington, says Qubilah "had the roughest time" of all the Shabazz daughters coping with their father's loss. Mary Ryan, a Shabazz neighbor, agrees, adding "She was kind of a lonesome child, but friendly."

She attended the U.N. International

School in Manhattan, an academically rigorous haven for the children of diplomats, wealthy Manhattanites and scholarship students. There she met a white boy named Michael Fitzpatrick, whom a contemporary recalls as "a wild, wild kid" and who would pop up in her life later. Although some of her sisters attained a measure of celebrity, Qubilah lived out of the public eye. She had a child, now a teenager, whom she named Malcolm. She lived several years in France, reportedly working as a journalist.

And then, last October, she moved to an inner-city neighborhood in Minneapolis. The name next to her buzzer gave no hint of her paternity—it read simply QUBILAH. ("Really a fabulous person," says her building's owner, Mansoor Alyeshmerni. "Quiet and intelligent, very respectful.") But according to U.S. Attorney Lillehaug,

she came to Minnesota with a purpose. FBI audio- and videotapes, he claims, indicate that she made eight phone calls in July and August to a Minnesota resident contracting the murder of Farrakhan and, upon arrival, she made a down payment on the job. If convicted, she could receive 90 years in jail and a \$2.5 million fine.

Why Farrakhan? Two months before Malcolm's assassination, Farrakhan, now NOI's head and the most influential extremist voice in black politics, wrote in the Nation's newspaper that "the die is set and Malcolm shall not escape. Such a man is worthy of death." (Three men were jailed

badge of honor. Everybody talked about it." In June, Farrakhan and Shabazz appeared on the same stage at a leadership summit in Baltimore; but they did not exchange words, and Shabazz's remarks were noticeably cold. Asked recently whether she stood by her WNBC statement, she replied that she had not changed her position [on it] in 30 years.

Those, the prosecution may well suggest, would be 30 years of indoctrination, during which a shy, impressionable four-year-old might plausibly turn into a 34-year-old fanatic. But "might" is a key word, and the skeptics are many.

sen, has hinted that Fitzpatrick entrapped her in order to re-establish credit with his understandably disenchanted federal patrons. "She was an easy target," says Tilsen. "If your mother and father had been murdered, and somebody came to you and enticed—cajoled—you into discussing what happened, you'd listen, and it could be made to appear that you were in a conspiracy."

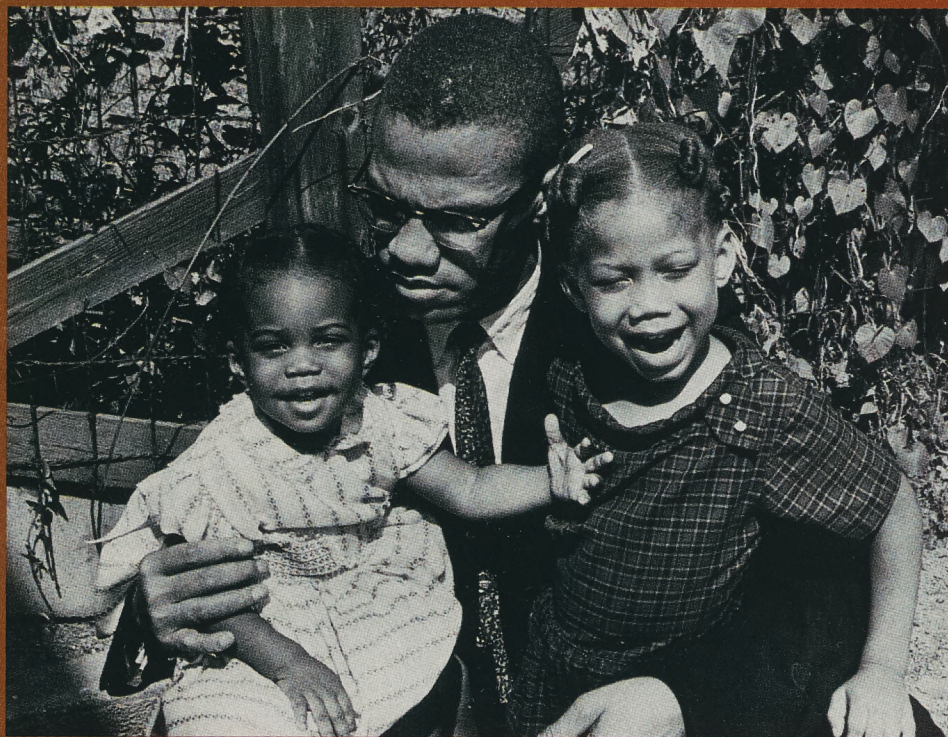
Betty Shabazz, who was in Atlanta last weekend to help celebrate Martin Luther King Day, said, "It is unfortunate that anyone would do that to a young woman, and it says how quick they are and how they will do anything to get their political ends." James Turner, a Shabazz family friend and national chairman of the Malcolm X Commemoration Commission, confides that Shabazz is "outraged" at the charges against her daughter. Another friend adds that she is concerned about possible retaliation by Farrakhan. But Farrakhan seems otherwise inclined. A spokesperson for the Minister said on Thursday that "his heart goes out to the Shabazz family"; another added that "it would be easy for conspirators to entrap this troubled young woman."

Both parties' comments reflect dire suspicions based in sad history. For decades black radicals—and especially the Nation—have appeared prone to paranoia; but events have recurrently proved their fears founded. The FBI's claims about Qubilah Shabazz prompt Turner to recall the '60s and '70s, when "there was a well-orchestrated, high-priority program operating from the FBI to destabilize black organizations

that were involved in the civil-rights movement and African-American liberation struggle. This was to be done by planting agent provocateurs, providing false documents and sending bogus letters to the heads of various organizations that would sow the seeds of conflict . . . in order to effectively destabilize them."

Still, it is hard to imagine what good reason the government might have to frame a young woman with no national reputation as an activist, and whether or not she was entrapped into it, no public figure has yet suggested that she did not undertake to commit a horrible crime. In jail or free, her wounds, reopened, will be slow to heal.

—Reported by Tresa Chambers and Sharon E. Epperson/New York, Sylvester Monroe/Atlanta, Elaine Shannon and Jack E. White/Washington and David Skarjune/Minneapolis



LIFE WITH FATHER: Qubilah, left, and her sister Attalah with Malcolm X in 1963

after the murder, but no coherent explanation of their culpability ever emerged, and most scholars now think two of them were innocent.) Farrakhan has always maintained his innocence of the deed and in fact has been apologetic for creating what he calls an atmosphere of hatred. Still, he has been recorded condoning it: the documentary *Brother Minister* captures a 1993 speech in which, referring to Malcolm, he roars: "And if we dealt with him like a nation deals with a traitor, what the hell business is it of yours?"

Betty Shabazz thought it was her business. A family friend explains that she has always believed the Nation killed Malcolm, while the FBI declined to interfere. Asked on a WNBC television program whether Farrakhan was involved, she answered, "Yes. Nobody kept it a secret. It was a

Their doubts quickly settled on the government's informant. According to lawyers close to the defense, he is none other than Qubilah's school friend Michael Fitzpatrick, whose life since those days has followed a singular course. In 1977 the 17-year-old was arrested in the bombing of a Soviet bookstore. Subsequently, according to court documents, he turned government informer and betrayed co-conspirators in a second attempted bombing: the Associated Press quoted a former acquaintance as calling him "a setup artist." The government sent him to Minneapolis as part of the witness-protection program and assigned him a new name, under which he was arrested in a cocaine bust. His hearing, as it happens, was scheduled, then postponed, the day before Shabazz's murder-conspiracy arraignment. Shabazz's lawyer, Scott Til-

■ JUSTICE

Scenes from a Bad Marriage

The O.J. Simpson trial confronts the crucial legal issue whether past abuse can be a prologue to murder

By RICHARD LACAYO

WITH OPENING ARGUMENTS IN THE trial of O.J. Simpson set to begin at last, the biggest challenge for the prosecution isn't the missing murder weapon or the reliability of DNA evidence or the makeup of the jury. It's the defendant's smile. Whatever damage has been done in recent months to Simpson's image as the world's most genial jock, it will still be hard to make jurors put aside the old impressions of him. Unless they can imagine O.J. in a murderous rage, it won't matter even if the state offers them DNA blood tests with his autograph on every drop.

That is why so much hinged upon last week's hearing to decide whether the jury should hear evidence that O.J. had beaten and threatened Nicole Brown Simpson from the earliest days of their acquaintance until just before she and Ron Goldman were slashed to death. Based upon the physical evidence alone, lead prosecutor Marcia Clark can make a strong circumstantial case. But to persuade jurors to picture O.J. with a knife in his hand, she may also need to present them with some of the uglier scenes from the Simpson marriage.

There was no shortage of these in the 85 pages of court documents, many of them sworn statements by witnesses, that prosecutors presented to Judge Lance Ito. O.J. throwing Nicole against a wall, knocking her to a sidewalk, shattering her car windshield with a baseball bat, locking her in a wine closet, drunkenly pushing her from their Rolls-Royce as it drifted through a parking lot—one after another the alleged episodes unfolded. When violence wasn't the major theme, it was humiliation. In one scene, O.J. taunted a pregnant Nicole as a "fat pig" and demanded that she abort their child.

Some of the most chilling accusations came from a witness who won't be able to testify. In November prosecutors opened Nicole's safety-deposit box. Inside they found an archive detailing her abuse at O.J.'s hands, including a written narrative that she drew up for her lawyer during the

couple's 1992 divorce proceedings. In it she describes being knocked around by Simpson as early as 1977. When she accused him that year of sleeping with another woman, Nicole wrote, "He threw a fit, chased me, grabbed me, threw me into walls." In a New York hotel room a few years later, she says, Simpson "beat me for

They spent the hearings sequestered in a Los Angeles hotel, their first taste of what may be months of isolation. Scrambling to contain the damage, defense lawyer Johnnie Cochran Jr. complained to reporters outside the courtroom about "a tabloid prosecution" that took its cues from the best seller by Nicole's friend Faye Resnick. One day later, prosecutors temporarily withdrew 18 of the 62 items, including Nicole's narrative, which the defense belittled as the work of a woman marshaling her case in a divorce dispute. Though that went far to make the prosecution's presentation seem like a pitch to the headlines, Clark's team insists it was a response to Judge Ito's request that prosecutors identify evidence they wished him to rule on immediately.

In deciding what to admit, Judge Ito will have to perform a particularly fine legal operation. A centuries-old rule of Anglo-American common law holds that jurors should not be told of a defendant's past



WHEN YOU'RE SMILING: Huddling with attorney Carl Douglas, the mostly silent Simpson still has found ways to communicate—mouthed words, grimaces and an upcoming book

hours as I kept crawling for the door" and forced her to have sex while he went on smacking her. The box also held Polaroids that show Nicole's face badly bruised, news clips about O.J.'s 1989 plea of no contest to charges of spousal abuse and three letters from him asking her forgiveness.

To prove that Simpson was stalking his ex-wife, prosecutors also want the court to hear from neighbors who say they saw him peering through the windows of her condo. Just five days before her murder, Nicole contacted a shelter for battered women. The district attorney's office wants the records of her conversations there.

For now the jury has heard none of this.

behavior that is considered too inflammatory for a jury to handle. In all states past crimes are inadmissible as evidence to show that the defendant was predisposed to commit the crime. Thus the judge in William Kennedy Smith's rape trial refused to allow testimony from three young women who each claimed that Smith had assaulted them under similar circumstances. "We fear that the jury will not be as careful in sifting the evidence if they know that the accused has committed other crimes," says Professor Stephen Gillers of New York University School of Law.

Prior crimes can be used, however, to show motive, intent or planning. More re-

cently the law has carved out a further exception for sexual assault, spousal murder and child molestation by bringing forward evidence that a pattern of past offenses in those areas is an especially good indicator of guilt. That reasoning exasperates some legal thinkers. "You can't infer murder from abuse," insists Columbia University law professor George Fletcher. "Homicide may imply abuse, but abuse does not imply homicide." All the same, the crime bill that was recently passed by Congress allows prior behavior to be used as evidence in the small number of sexual-assault and child-molestation cases tried in federal courts. In cases of child abuse that result in death, new laws in Minnesota, Tennessee and Washington admit evidence that the accused has abused children in the past. Minnesota also allows incidents of domestic violence to be brought into evidence against accused spouse killers.

In many other states, appeals courts have issued rulings that have a similar effect. One of those states is California. In a 1986 spousal-murder case, *People v. Zack*, which could have serious implications for Simpson, the California Supreme Court upheld the conviction of a man accused of killing his wife, ruling that prosecutors could offer evidence that he had assaulted her repeatedly in the past. In the Simpson case, Deputy District Attorney Scott Gordon told the court, "This murder took 17 years to commit."

Simpson's lawyers fought back with the arguments that the Simpson marriage was no worse than most, and that even if acts of violence did occur, they were not comparable to the savagery of the murder. Attorney Gerald Uelman even suggested in court that the murder resembled a drug-related homicide, a scenario the defense team has been busily feeding to journalists for months. At the end of the week the defense launched its counteroffensive with an admissibility issue of its own: Will the jury be allowed to hear racist remarks allegedly made by Los Angeles police detective Mark Fuhrman, one of the officers who searched Simpson's house?

If a good part of the abuse evidence is allowed in court, it will increase the pressure on Simpson's lawyers to allow their client to testify on the stand. Next month Little, Brown will publish O.J.'s response to the thousands of letters he has received in jail, titled *I Want to Tell You*. Meanwhile, the star defendant has perfected a form of silent communication, grimacing from his seat at court statements that he doesn't like or mouthing "I didn't do it." And when something in the courtroom goes his way, he smiles.

—Reported by

Elaine Lafferty and James Willwerth/Los Angeles and Andrea Sachs/New York

■ ADVERTISING

Damage and Destruction

Ousted as head of the giant firm he founded, Maurice Saatchi comes back with a vengeance

By MICHAEL S. SERRILL

EVERYONE WHO HAS READ JOSEPHINE Hart's best-selling novel *Damage* remembers the opening lines: "Damaged people are dangerous. They know they can survive." Those words came to life last week for Hart's husband, the British advertising mogul Maurice Saatchi. Wounded by his ouster last month as chairman of Saatchi & Saatchi, the agency he started in 1970, which grew to be one of the largest in the world, Saatchi struck back hard. He announced he would start a rival advertising firm that will probably spirit away some of Saatchi & Saatchi's biggest clients. To add to the retribution, at least seven of the London-based agency's top executives resigned, with three saying they would join their old boss's new enterprise.

Saatchi's moves sent the advertising world into an uproar and Saatchi & Saatchi stock into a nosedive; it ended last week at 102p on the London Stock Exchange, around 35% below its price in mid-December. Some analysts think that with its charismatic chairman gone, its executive suite half empty and its client list endangered, Maurice's original firm could break up.

Saatchi & Saatchi CEO Charles Scott and his backers scrambled to put the best face on the setback. After three Saatchi loyalists, including acting chairman Jeremy Sinclair, walked out early in the week, Scott issued a statement saying that "if the departure of Mr. Saatchi is included, it's just four people out of 11,500."

But Scott's denial that the resignations injured the firm were later belied when Saatchi & Saatchi filed suit in London High Court, charging a conspiracy to injure the company, demanding damages, and seeking to enforce clauses in the three departing managers' employment contracts forbidding them to work for a competing firm for at least a year.

TRAVELING MAN: When Maurice left his old firm, Saatchi & Saatchi stock plummeted

Feelings were bitter on all sides, with Sinclair charging that "the company is in the grip of people who do not understand the business." A number of important clients agreed. By week's end four major companies had pulled out or announced they were reviewing their accounts. The most important defector may be British Airways, whose \$125 million annual advertising spending earned Saatchi & Saatchi \$9 million in profits last year. Other companies reconsidering their advertising deals include the candymaker Mars and the Mirror media group. In announcing that he too was thinking of closing his account, Stanley Kalms, head of the British electronics retail chain Dixons, called the Saatchi affair one of the "worst examples of corporate governance" he had ever seen.

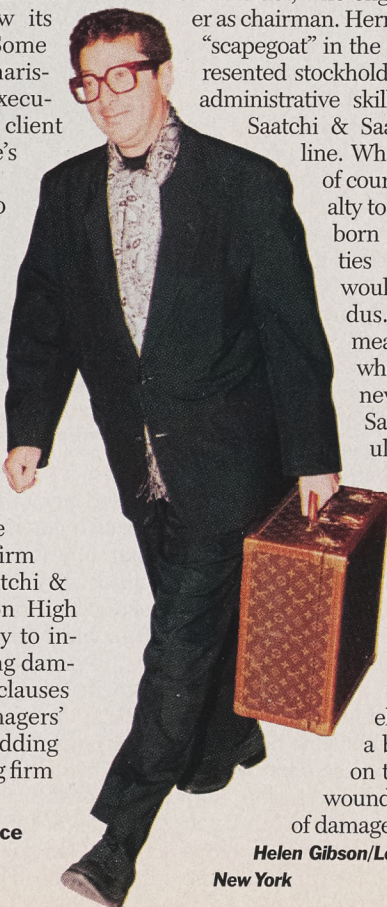
In the wake of the fiasco, fingers are being pointed at Chicago businessman David Herro, reportedly the company's biggest stockholder, who engineered Saatchi's ouster as chairman. Herro says he has become a "scapegoat" in the affair, claiming he represented stockholders critical of Saatchi's administrative skills and worried about Saatchi & Saatchi's wobbly bottom

line. What he didn't anticipate, of course, was that intense fealty to the ousted executive—born of his close personal ties to staff and clients—would lead to a mass exodus. That same loyalty means, analysts say, that when Saatchi launches his new company, the New Saatchi Agency, scheduled for May, the venture is likely to be instantly formidable.

As for his old company, Maurice Saatchi "is clearly looking to dismantle it," said Karen Ficker, an advertising analyst for Wasserstein Perella in New York City. In a business so dependent on the interplay of egos, a wounded one can cause a lot of damage.

—Reported by

Helen Gibson/London and Stacy Perman/New York



RUSSELL CLISBY



MIDNIGHT EXPRESS

"It takes the whole village to raise a child"



Volume 1 No. 1

MIDNIGHT BASKETBALL LEAGUE PROGRAM NEWSLETTER

Winter 1993

Corporations Invest In Midnight Basketball

By Rochelle Metcalfe

Nestle Beverage Company and the Gap, with headquarters in San Francisco, are making a difference in their concern to become involved with the African American community and the Western Addition neighborhood through the San Francisco Midnight Basketball program, a 10 p.m. to 2 a.m. athletic league played at Ella Hill Hutch Community Center located in the Western Addition. Mandatory workshops are required in order to play in the game. Workshops start at 8:30 p.m. every Tuesday and Thursday nights. Topics include employment opportunities, job training, AIDS education, the criminal justice system, and cultural heritage.

The league targets young African-American men between 17 and 25 who are part of the lost generation. It was started on the East coast, and made it's West coast debut March 1992 in San Francisco's Western Addition neighborhood joining 41 other cities across the country. The program aims to reduce crime by providing youth with appealing, constructive alternatives.

Former L.A. Mayor Tom Bradley addressed a gathering of the Commonwealth Club in Palo Alto focusing his message on the economy and the L.A. riots. He encouraged corporations to ferret out ways to be more responsive to their communities to examine the way they recruit their work force, and not to assume that all urban minority youth have criminal records, drug habits, and trouble reading. He said there are plenty of kids who are bright, eager, and willing to learn, and need to be given an opportunity, and if a corporation is involved in their community, why not adopt one or more local schools and give kids a chance to see what they otherwise might never understand or experience? Teach them how to get a job, how to hold a job, and how to perform under those circumstances.

Nestle and the Gap may not have heard that message, but its one President Bill Clinton has been encouraging, and one they understand that it's the responsibility of the corporate, private sector to be responsible to their communities. Both the Gap and Nestle have given support in working to help steer young men away from street life and into education and employment programs.

Nestle donated \$47,000 to the Midnight program. Phoenix "Suns" basketball player Cedric Ceballos attended the ceremony and press conference that announced the grant from Nestle at Ella Hill Hutch Community Center. Ken Bentley, Director for Community Affairs at Nestle USA, and author of the book "Men of Courage," invited Ceballos who grew up in the tough neighborhood of Compton, a notorious area in Los Angeles. Ceballos echoed his sentiments that programs like Midnight Basketball are important because they create new options for people who have no where else

Continued on page 2

THE STANDIFER LEGACY



President George Bush honors G. Van Standifer and the Midnight Basketball League

The Midnight Basketball League was founded and started by G. Van Standifer, (G stands for GET THEM OFF THE STREETS), in the summer of 1986, in Glenarden; Maryland.

Mr. Standifer was the Town Manager of Glenarden when he founded the league. The league program was designed to curb an escalating crime rate and provide young men with something constructive to do on Tuesday and Thursday nights between the hours of 10 p.m. and 2 a.m.

Mr. Standifer, while Town Manager, came up with the idea of Midnight Basketball. Studying police reports he noticed that crime in Glenarden had increased significantly and that most of the increase came during certain months. Police logs indicated that most crimes occurred between 10 p.m. and 2 a.m. and they involved

Continued on page 4

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(Late Founder of Midnight Basketball)
- Executive Director's Message 2
- Comments From The Advisory Board..... 2
- MNBLP Regional & Local Reports 3



LEFTY'S CORNER...

Succinctly put, 1993 was a very good year for our Midnight Basketball program emanating from a successful fundraising campaign attributable to our contributors.

We received contributors from nine foundations, two major corporations, one law firm, one private corporation, one civic/social organization, one bank, one national food chair and two private individuals and state department through the efforts of Speaker of the Assembly, Honorable Willie L. Brown Jr.

As a result of their generous contributions, we were able to implement two highly successful program cycles each consisting of 10 weeks in duration.

Programmatically, the primary accomplishment was the enhancement of our Employment Component augmented by the involvement and constellation of resources of Nestle Beverage Company and the GAP, respectively. A total of 29 participants were placed in employment this year.

An added dimension which strengthen the comprehensiveness of our program is the DMV Component. Initiated by Captain Richard Cairns, Commanding Officer of Northern Station, the objectives are two fold:

1. Enable participants with outstanding tickets to pay a reduced fine and in lieu of paying the balance due to perform community service work.
2. Allow non-license drivers the opportunity to participate in classes designed to assist enrollees in successful completion of DMV Examination.

This component coupled with continuous interaction among police and participants aid greatly in their improved relations.

We believe, and hopefully our contributors can concur that their contributions are a worthwhile investment.

Thanks again. Happy Holidays.

Leonard (Lefty) Gordon
Sincerely,



WORDS FROM THE CHAIRMAN...

Midnight Basketball is a very innovative concept of combining the lure of the sport of Basketball, with the opportunity to provide a healthy educational environment, to attempt to better the quality of life for it's participants.

I would like to extend my congratulations to those people who are trying to make a difference in the lives of those who are trying to change the direction of their lives.

Dealing with the realities, which we are faced with in today's world, the workshops which are provided, with this program are very instrumental in the success for the future.

Best of luck and continued success with this outstanding program.

Al Attles

Advisory Board Chairperson

Midnight Basketball Documentary Win An Emmy

On May 15, 1993, Ken Schwartz, Cameraman from KRON's Channel 4, San Francisco and Midnight Basketball League Program was given an award, by the northern California Emmy Award Association, for his camera work and documentation on Midnight Basketball League Program at the Ella Hill Hutch Community Center.



Pictured from left to right, Les Howard, Leonard "Lefty" Gordon, Robert Hector, Ken Schwartz, Larry Gray, Maurice "Cheeks" Johnson and Jimmy Driver.
Center Front, Howard Smith with the award.

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Editor
Rochelle Metcalfe

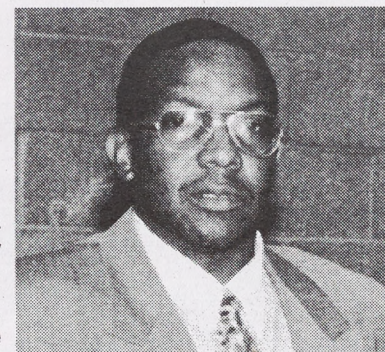
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M N B L P N E W S

REGIONAL REPORT...

By Larry Gray
Regional Coordinator



On February 24, 1993, 12 noon, at Ella Hill Hutch Community Center, 1050 McAllister, San Francisco, CA, history was made. The first Southwest Region meeting of Midnight Basketball League Program members were assembled for the sole purpose of 1) coming together in unity, 2) to strengthen the region (bridge the gap between all the cities in the region), 3) program coordination, 4) to share ideas and problems, 5) team work, 6) networking and support for each other.

The consensus was that coming together to develop a regional program is paramount, with the reason being that cities working with this target population (17-25) have similar needs and some successes. Larry Thompson of East Palo Alto, California made the statement, "During the month of October 1992, while Midnight Basketball League Program was in operation there were no fatalities."

The group meets once a month in a different City. Each city will host a meeting. This load will not fall on any one city. Everyone will have a job to do.

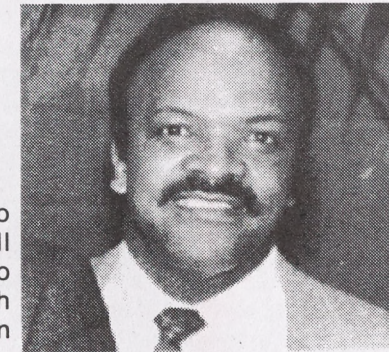
Member Cities are Denver, Colorado, San Francisco, Marin City, Pittsburgh, CA, East Palo Alto, Alameda, Oakland, San Jose, and San Diego, California.

MIDNIGHT BASKETBALL LEAGUE 1994 Program Plan

1. Expand to 3 other geographical areas (Bayview Hunterspoint Sunnydale and Oceanview-Omi)
2. Develop Secondary Leadership Group
3. Plan and implement a tribute to the elderly during the months of February, May, November and December.
4. Implement a junior Component. (Henderson Program) A spin-off of Midnight Basketball League Program for youth 13-16 years of age. This program deals with Youth Violence and Warring Gangs
5. Develop and implement NIA-Imani Program. (Womens Program 13-25 years of age.)
6. Develop an Afrocentric Education Component in conjunction with San Francisco City College and San Francisco State's Center for Applied Culture Studies.
7. Expand our Employment Preparation and Placement Component through involvement of corporations such as the GAP Inc., Nestle, etc.

LOCAL REPORT...

Robert Hector
Co-Commissioner



The San Francisco Midnight Basketball Program is committed to providing participants with opportunities for education and employment.

As part of the employment process, we have been working with various organizations and agencies to develop workshops focusing on resume writing, how to fill out employment applications, interviewing techniques and pre-recorded interviews using video tapes. We have been working collaboratively with companies such as Nestle Beverage and the Gap. A number of program participants who completed the workshops were hired by these companies. The Midnight Basketball Program has also received assistance from the Mayor's Youth Employment Program. Needless to say, these were major accomplishments.

As a part of the educational component, we have developed a partnership with the San Francisco Unified School District, City College - Extended Opportunities Program and Service (E.O.P.S.) and San Francisco State University-Center for Applied Cultural Studies and Educational Achievement, Department of Education. The development of this partnership has given Midnight Basketball participants the opportunity to further their education.

The San Francisco Midnight Basketball staff and participants would like to thank these businesses, educational institutes and the Mayor's Office for their support of the program.

- A. Projection of 50 permanent jobs.
- B. Projection of 75 seasonal jobs.
- C. Projection of 10 internship position.
8. Plan and implement a conference focusing on combating drugs and violence in our communities.
9. Conduct 3 seminars on improving relations between police and youth.
10. To conduct 3 inter-generational sessions between seniors and youth.
11. Develop a Council of Elders for the Midnight Basketball League Program.

*Season's
Greetings*

Continued from page 1

to turn. "It teaches the importance of education and job training while creating an outlet for youthful energy." He said. And that he was lucky enough to be able to use basketball to get an education at Ventura College and later at Cal State Fullerton, and upon graduation drafted by the Suns. "I support this program from the bottom of my heart!"

Bentley announced that Nestle will partner with the United Negro College Fund to provide one full scholarship per season to a member of Midnight Basketball.

In addition to underwriting the 1993-1994 season, Nestle's Human Resources Department created an intern program for youth from the MNBLP program. Howard Smith and Anthony Johnson were hired to work at the Market Street office in entry-level positions for the summer. Smith left to further his education at San Francisco State where he's a senior and majoring in the Sociology for a BA degree. Johnson is still employed and doing well. Smith stated, "It was a positive experience. I learned a lot working with the company. It was nice".

The Gap Foundation donated \$20,000 in a three year pledge for 1993-1995. The Gap has hired several participants of the program for seasonal employment in their San Francisco Bay area stores in a pilot program with Ella Hill Hutch's Employment component of the Midnight Basketball program that include young people who were participants in the city-wide program.

Larry Gray, Co-commissioner MNBLP, is optimistic about future plans to develop an internship program for a minimum of (10) MNBLP participants with the hope that the Gap could hire them permanently. "It would provide young adults with an awareness of employment opportunities to motivate them to continue their studies and pursue higher

levels of education," Gray said.

The value of the program has been a positive one. Howard Smith also is a staff person at Ella Hill Hutch Community Center working in the tutorial program and trying to give the younger kids help and guidance about their future plans. He expressed his enthusiasm for the MNBLP "It has changed the neighborhood. It has been a very inspirational program as for us getting people to realize who they really are as people; getting people to take on more responsibility; have more respect for our elders. It changed a few people's attitude towards the neighborhood. It's been a positive program."

Standifer Legacy continued from page 1

a narrow age group; young people from 17 to 25.

Almost from the beginning, the program was a success, spreading first to outer communities in the Washington D.C. area and then nationwide, to cities such as; Chicago, Camden, Cleveland, Atlanta and San Francisco, Crime rates went down. Mandatory drug education workshops and vocational counseling sessions were added.

Mr. Standifer died September 17, 1992. This remarkable man has bestowed a legacy of community service through the **Midnight Basketball League**. It is the wish of the family that he be remembered through the continued growth and development of the **Midnight Basketball League Program**.

MIDNIGHT EXPRESS

1050 McALLISTER STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94115

HAPPY
NEW
YEAR
1994

Criminalization of African Americans: The New Face of Racism

TONY MONTEIRO

The criminalization of African Americans is the new face of racism. Its starkest forms are directed toward African American young males. They are victims of extreme levels of imprisonment, police violence and murder, high unemployment, homelessness, illiteracy and disease. More than 25 percent of them are either in prison, on parole, probation, or in some way under the control of the criminal justice system.¹

An African American male living in the USA is four times more likely to be in prison than a Black male living in South Africa.² 200,000 more African American males are in prison than are in colleges and universities. Of the over one million U.S. citizens in federal and state prisons, more than 45 percent are African American males. Of the 14,625,000 African males, 454,724 are in prison; for every 100,000 African American males 3,109 are in prison. African American males in their twenties experience an imprisonment rate 25 times the rate for the population in general.

In 1982, Alfred Blumstein indicated that on any single day one in thirty-three African American males were in a state prison; for the general population the rate was one in eight hundred.³ African American males in their twenties are 16 times more likely to be in prison or under the control of the criminal justice system than white males of similar age.

Eighty percent of prisoners fall below the government established poverty line. In 1978, 53 percent of African American prisoners made less than \$3,000 per year. In 1983 the average pre-arrest income of Black inmates was about \$4,000. Prisons in the 1980s became the nation's poorhouse.

Racism continues to play a large role in determining who is arrested, imprisoned, and the severity of punishment. Using data provided by the National Crime Survey, Jeffrey Reiman indicates that Black males are arrested 45 percent more frequently than white males⁴, even though white males commit the majority of assaults, burglaries, rapes and murders. Marginalization and criminal-

ization are inseparable from the broader realities of the social existence of African American males. Their lives are characterized by one catastrophe after another. They experience higher levels of killer diseases such as cancer, hypertension, heart disease and AIDS. They have the shortest life expectancies of any single section of the population. They are the least educated segment of the entire population and experience the highest rates of permanent unemployment. These conditions constitute social homicide. Its colossal nature cannot be underestimated. While targeting for the most vicious treatment one part of the African American people, it is clear that the consequences impact on the entire African American community.

THE CRIMINALIZATION PROCESS ■ These extreme levels of imprisonment represent the criminalization of African American males. This process is a threat to the entire African American people. Criminalization is an ideological, political and legal process. In ideological terms, it targets African American males as a danger to society. This involves establishing a social perception that Black males are inherently prone to violence and crime. Defining the African American poor as an underclass plays an essential role in shaping this ideological stance. African American males, according to the underclass concept, tend to be socially and culturally pathological and part of a criminal subculture.

While not as severe, there is also criminalization of African American women. It occurs within the context of criminalizing poverty and pregnancy. The "war against drugs" has targeted poor women addicts. The criminalization of African American women takes place within this context. Lisa Maher points out that, under the cover of fighting drugs and "protecting the rights of the unborn," so-called "crack pregnancies" have been criminalized.⁵ This, as funding for treatment and prenatal care is cut. These pregnancies are being defined as child abuse and cause for prosecution. Nationwide, at least 35 prosecutions are underway to date.⁶ Moreover, poor women who become pregnant are viewed as criminally irresponsible. In

Tony Monteiro is a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party USA.

(2)

some states those who refuse sterilization or birth control are denied welfare assistance.

The criminalization of African American women is reflected in their marginalization and portrayal by the media as sexually irresponsible, drug users and child abusers. They are more likely than white women to be arrested and imprisoned.

THE POLITICS OF CRIMINALIZATION ■ Since the 1970s, U.S. politics has been profoundly shaped by the process of criminalization. The politicization of street crime was part of the so-called Southern strategy.⁷ The language of crime (and of fighting it) has become code language for a new racism designed to blunt the Civil Rights movement. Conservative explanations of the causes of crime are used to argue that African Americans are not "ready" for genuine equality.

"Get tough" policies include the death penalty, mandatory sentencing, limitations of parole and probation, and unleashing police violence and surveillance on African American, Latino and Native American communities. The charge of "soft on crime" has become as politically damaging to mainstream politicians as being "soft on the Russians." Liberalism is marked by indifference to the plight of its victims.

George Bush's 1988 domestic program was organized around an "anti-crime platform." Horton was the central figure. He was an African American male who, while on a prison furlough program, raped and murdered a white woman. Lee Atwater, Chair of the Republican National Committee, invented "Willie Horton" as symbolic of the quintessential criminal - a Black male. Although the majority of such crimes against women are committed by white males, a Black male served the purpose of mobilizing racist attitudes and generating fears based upon racism.

"Willie Horton" became the metaphor for evil and violence - a tool to distort the national debate on racism and affirmative action and to hide the dismal record of the Reagan-Bush Administrations. He became Bush's answer to the struggle for racial equality. In this sense, Atwater and the Republicans created "Willie Horton" to be the personalized symbol of African Americans.

CRIMINALIZATION'S LEGAL DIMENSIONS ■ This ideological and political superstructure is the foundation of a vast body of laws and Supreme Court

decisions. The most significant of these are the Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1984, the Sentencing Reform Act of 1984, the Helms Amendment of 1988, and the Omnibus Anti-Drug Act of 1988. This legislation has expanded the role of police, FBI, prosecutors and other agencies of force and coercion. A large network of surveillance, which uses the new technologies of telecommunications and computers, has been put in place. The rights of accused have been limited. Due process, the presumption of innocence, and the right to a fair trial have been severely undercut.

This represents a fundamental shift in the focus of federal legislation, as compared to the 1960s. The legislative achievements of that period were the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and the Fair Housing Act of 1968. The Supreme Court majority was pro-civil rights. The major civil liberties ruling of the 1960s was *Miranda v Arizona*, 1966, which upheld the concept that an accused person should be protected against self-incrimination.

Since 1974, the Supreme Court has moved to a limited interpretation of civil rights. Rather than demonstrating the results of discrimination as proof of its existence, the court now insists that the intent to discriminate be shown. This is obviously an impossible situation, which undermines legal recourse to victims of discrimination. This criterion was the ideological, juridical and theoretical basis of the five anti-civil rights decisions of the Supreme Court in 1989.⁸ In the end, the current court majority has rejected any argument that suggests that racism is manifested in results and the effects of discrimination.

At the same time, African American males have been defined as beyond the bounds of civil society and civil rights. They are treated as criminals, irrespective of whether they have committed a crime or not. Violations of their civil rights are the rule, rather than the exception. The new body of criminal law and the enhanced authority given the police and prosecutors are predicated upon the presumption that African Americans are inherently prone to criminality. The larger significance of this is that, by defining African American males as a physical threat to society, they are categorized as enemies of society.

Diana Gordon refers to the new structures of coercion that have emerged as a "justice juggernaut."⁹ In 1990, close to \$70 billion was spent on the criminal justice system. Of the \$14 billion

(3)

spent in 1990 on keeping U.S. citizens in prison, \$7 billion was spent on keeping African Americans in jail. While more people are in prison and more is being spent to apprehend, try and keep them there, we have come very little distance in solving the crime problem. Criminologist Jeffrey Reiman argues that the function of these vast structures of repression is not to end crime at all.¹⁰ They serve to defend the capitalist order. Moreover, the criminalization of large segments of the population becomes a justification for expending large resources in the "wars against crime" and expanding the police, prisons and agencies of repression. Diana Gordon further suggests that the criminal justice system serves to control social protest and dissent,¹¹ thus threatening civil rights and liberties in general.

The decision to make a political and ideological issue of street crime went along with the decision, made in the wake of the Watergate scandal, to turn a blind eye to so-called "white collar crimes." White collar crimes are for the most part corporate crimes. These are crimes flowing from the exploitation of labor, racism and gender oppression. They are crimes that cause workplace death, injury and illness, environmental pollution, embezzlement and fraud, like the Savings and Loan scandal, tax evasion, and so on.

THE SUPREME COURT'S 'LAW & ORDER' ■ The Burger and Rehnquist Courts have been openly "law and order" courts. Burger campaigned on and off the bench to weaken the rights of accused by restricting their due process rights. In the end, this has meant that the poor, and especially people of color, have fewer rights when accused. Their rights to an equal and fair trial have been severely undermined. The police have been unleashed on the poor, African Americans and Latinos. Behind the fig leaf of the "rights of victims," the courts have supported mandatory sentencing, preventive detention, house arrest and the widest use of the death penalty.

Moreover, the anti-civil rights direction of the Supreme Court is part of its anti-labor thrust. The breaking of the air controllers strike and their union (PATCO) Union by the Reagan Administration in the early 1980s, the attacks on TWA's flight attendants union, and the court's pro-scab decisions are part of this direction. Thus the criminalization of African American males and the assault on the rights of African Americans general-

ly, occur while powerful efforts are simultaneously being made to outlaw strikes and restrict the rights of unions.

Considerable evidence suggests that the "wars on crime" and the "wars against drugs" have very little to do with fighting crime. Their effect is not to fight crime, but rather to justify the expansion of the instruments of coercion and control over society. While enormous social resources are allocated to police, programs of benefit to the working class, the poor and peoples of color (such as funding for schools, housing, health care, job training and other important social programs) have been cut. The twenty-year growth of the criminal justice system, have been the years of decline in the standard of living of the majority of workers and middle income people. More Americans are imprisoned than ever in history.

CRIMES OF THE RICH AND OF THE POOR ■ The problem in estimating crime rates is that crime data are collected by two surveys. The National Crime Survey indicates that the rate of violent crime declined by 13.6 percent between 1973 and 1986.¹² More significantly, the NCS reports that rapes were down by 30 percent and robberies down by 23.7 percent. Household burglaries declined by 33 percent.

The National Crime Survey is a phone sample of households done each year. On the other hand, the FBI's Uniform Crime Report,¹³ compiled on the basis of reports of police departments, shows a very different trend. The UCR shows that violent crimes have risen 29.7 percent between 1977 and 1986, (down 17.1 percent according to the NCS). According to the UCR rapes were up 27.6 percent, robberies increased 18 percent, while burglaries declined 5.3 percent. Researchers have argued that local police and the FBI have a direct interest in reporting increases in crime, because of their interest in increased funding - similar to the military industrial complex's effort to maintain the perception of foreign military threats to guarantee large Congressional allocations for weapons.

Much of the fear of crime is stoked by the media and politicians. The perception of crime, and the dangers of street crime in particular, often go beyond the reality. This serves the ideological and political interests of the most reactionary segments of the population.

■ The poor are targeted as the symbols of crime. However, based upon the U.S. Chamber of

Commerce's *Handbook of White Collar Crime*, 1974. Jeffrey Reiman estimates that in 1986 white collar crime cost society more than \$107 billion.¹⁴ This was 6000 times the total amount taken in all bank robberies in 1986 and nine times the total amount stolen in all thefts reported in the FBI Uniform Crime Report for that year. When added to the magnitude of tax evasion (between \$216 and \$296 billion in 1986) the magnitude of loot acquired by corporate theft and embezzlement is colossal. Furthermore, the super-rich are seldom arrested for their crimes; and if arrested, seldom tried in court, seldom convicted and hardly ever sentenced to prison. For the most part, the rich are filtered out of the criminal justice system.

Violence affects all classes and strata of society. The National Center for Health Statistics indicated in 1990 that the U.S. was the homicide capital of the world. Dr. James Mercy, of the Center for Disease Control, said of this situation, "Homicide is a health problem in the United States. We're so immersed in violence here that it's easy to miss that."¹⁵ This problem of violence is intensified by the wide availability of handguns and automatic weapons.

Criminal behavior is widespread among white youth from upper middle class and bourgeois families. A study of 180 white males, ages 15 to 17, from different social economic strata, found that, although the youth from upper income families were 55 percent of the group, they admitted to 67 percent of instances of breaking and entering, 70 percent of instances of property destruction, and 87 percent of all armed robberies.¹⁶ Eugene Doleschal and Nora Klapmuts, conclude,

In support of recent studies ... the relationship between social status and delinquent behavior was weak except that higher status white boys were more delinquent than lower status white boys. The greater seriousness of the higher status boys' delinquent behavior stemmed from their committing proportionately more thefts, joy riding, and (surprisingly) assaults.¹⁷

Yet five times more poor and working class boys are found in official records of arrests than upper middle class and bourgeois youth.

Burglaries, assaults, thefts and drug trafficking occur widely among the bourgeoisie. Much of the most violent criminal behavior among bourgeois males is seldom defined as criminal. Professor Peggy Reeves Sanday has studied the epidemic of

rapes on college campuses. She indicates that many of these rapes are ritualistic gang rapes, carried out in fraternity houses or in athletic dormitories.¹⁸ She was unable to uncover any evidence of prosecutions for these gang rapes. While rape is among the most violent of criminal acts, males of bourgeois families, at elite universities are not arrested or prosecuted for this behavior. Usually university administrations and alumni conspire to "protect" these youth from the criminal justice system. For the poor, and especially African Americans, the situation is the total opposite.

CRIME AND ECONOMIC DECLINE ■ The situation of crime in the African American, Latino, Native American Indian and working class communities must be addressed. Indeed, the rise in crime among the poorest segments of the working class is alarming. The principal sources of this are lack of opportunity and the horrible rise in poverty. The structural crisis of capitalism and the processes of restructuring during the 1970s and 1980s, are central to the rise of poverty, unemployment and crime. In this period the industrial base of the U.S. economy contracted. With this contraction came a general decline in the living standards of the U.S. working class.¹⁹ African Americans, however, were most devastated, losing close to 30 percent of the industrial jobs they previously held.

The restructuring of U.S. industry, was at the same time a deindustrialization process. As Bluestone and Harrison argue,²⁰ this deindustrialization caused a widening inequality of incomes. The working class became poorer and, increasingly, the poor became even poorer. As the report of the Economic Policy Institute, written by Lawrence Mishel and David M. Frankel indicates,²¹ there was a massive redistribution of wealth and incomes from the lower 40 percent shifted to the highest 10 percent of the population during the 1980s.

The deindustrialization process occurred alongside the relocation of the productive forces of U.S. capitalism. Plants and factories once located in urban and close to urban areas were moved far beyond the reach of the urban working class, into suburbs or rural areas. In other cases, plants and major sections of industry were moved outside the country. Restructuring produced a profound crisis of unemployment and poverty among African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans and large sectors of the working class.

Ghettos, reservations and barrios began to

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resemble "third world" nations. Elliot Currie argued that the course of U.S. economic development in recent decades has rended community bonds and accentuated economic processes which disrupted the African American community.²² In sociological terms, family bonds and community solidarity have been severely wounded.

CHANGED WORKINGCLASS COMPOSITION ■ Large migrations of African Americans from the South, resulting from the revolutions in agricultural production, increased the number of Blacks in major industrial centers. African Americans became the most highly workingclass of all nationalities and ethnic groups in society. The Civil Rights Movement in the early part of this century fought to open the doors of industry to African Americans. The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s added the demands for occupational upgrading and affirmative action. The urban rebellions of the 1960s demanded the opening of the auto, steel, aerospace and other basic industries to African Americans.

But now, the movement from agriculture to industry has been fundamentally set back as a result of the relocation of the productive forces of U.S. capitalism. This restructuring and the concentration of major productive forces in military production are at the heart of the increase of deep poverty in the African American community. The migrations of Puerto Ricans, Jamaicans, Haitians and other Carribeans to New York, Philadelphia, Connecticut and Northern Jersey, produced similar aspirations and outcomes as in the case of African Americans. The large migrations of Mexicans and other Central Americans to the Southwest and West, while creating a pool of low-paid agricultural and service workers, produced a large Mexican American and Latino proletariat. At the same time, there grew barrios filled with unemployed and poor.

Immigrants from Indochina, most fleeing the tragic outcome of the U.S. aggression and its social and economic consequences, have increased the Asian and Pacific population to well over six and one half million. The vast majority of Indochinese live in deep poverty and work in small manufacturing industries, service and agriculture.

A NEW RACIST DIVISION OF LABOR ■ The processes of restructuring, based upon shifting the location of productive forces (militarizing a significant part

of them), and deindustrialization has produced a new racist division of labor. This is part of a ruling-class policy geared to segregate the workforce, weaken Black-white and Brown unity, and undermine class consciousness. Japanese auto producers play a special role here. As a rule they build plants in rural areas, far removed from African American workers. This decision goes well with anti-African American statements made by leading officials of the Japanese Government.

However, to these economic causes must be added the rise in the availability and use of highly addictive drugs, especially crack cocaine. Drug abuse is connected to ready availability of drugs and the social, economic and cultural conditions which produce despair and hopelessness.

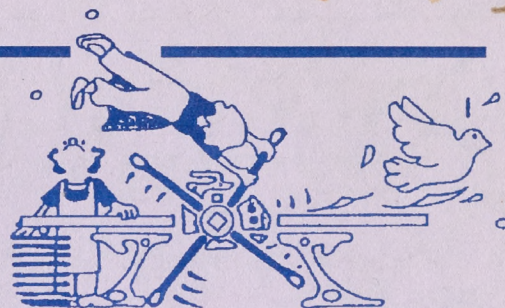
During the Reagan-Bush years the African American community has been flooded with crack cocaine. There was a 3,500 percent increase in the amount of cocaine coming into the nation during these years, from 1,872 kilograms in 1981 to 35,970 kilograms in 1987. In this same period the price per kilogram went from \$40,000 to \$20,000. Drug trafficking became a \$160 billion a year industry, most of it controlled from the U.S. The connections between the White House, the CIA, banking and financial circles, gun dealers, Central American and Middle Eastern counter-revolutionaries and major drug producers are at the heart of the international drug trade. The influx of drugs is, therefore, inseparable from U.S. foreign policy. In this sense it is impossible to separate the influx of heroin in the 1960s and 70s from the CIA's financing of counter-revolutionaries in Laos and Cambodia, as it is not possible to separate the massive flow of cocaine from the Reagan Doctrine in Central America. The so-called drug of choice of U.S. citizens is usually the available drug in the region of the world where the U.S. military and the CIA are the most active.

STREET DRUGS & BLACK MALE HOMICIDES ■ At the street level the drug trade assumes an especially violent form. It is warfare usually fought over crumbs. Nonetheless, in urban areas where the economy has collapsed and job opportunities and education are all but non-existent, the trade in drugs becomes the major economic activity. On the other hand, widespread addiction to crack, combined with profound misery, poverty and unemployment, leads to alienation, despair and violence. Drug addiction and the drug trade are the

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November 1991

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Selection of the articles is by agreement of the editorial collective. We do not edit for content. We edit for clarity, syntax, grammar, length and spelling. In specific situations we will contact the author to assist in the editing process. All submissions must contain author's name, address, phone number, and total word count. All decisions about editing fall within these guidelines and are the final judgment of the PEACE PRESS editorial collective.

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For more information, call 823-8122.

VOLUNTEER POSITIONS AVAILABLE

We have an ongoing need for volunteers to help with the PEACE PRESS. Currently, we need desktop publishers (Macintosh PageMaker 3 or 4), word processors (Macintosh), collators, help with distribution, and people experienced with offset press.

To get involved in these activities, please call 575-8902.

SPECIAL THANKS TO OUR PRODUCTION CREW

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Getting Centered

Nick Peck, Coordinator, Peace & Justice Center

Personally, I just don't understand how Herb Caen can write as much as he does, and as well as he does, on a daily basis. For me, the months seem to whip by, and as if by magic it's time to present all, or some, of the news of the Center.

Shortly before this is published we will have held another "State of the Center" meeting with representatives of all the Center member groups. I obviously can't report on the results (I'm writing this several weeks ago), but major agenda items include possible cooperative arrangements between groups, and future directions for the Center.

Now moving the other direction in time, I was one of about 100 or so who saw the local production of "Brigadista." This was a well acted, energetic look at what happens to an earnest, progressive young woman from the U.S. when she goes on a coffee picking brigade to Nicaragua at the time of the 1990 elections. It was funny, it was sad, and it raised questions about common assumptions made by the solidarity movement. Its ending message was don't forget Nicaragua now, even if the FMLN is no longer in power. I doubt that "Brigadista" will be appearing soon at a theater near you, but if it does, go.

Speaking of Nicaragua, Earl Herr posts weekly news pieces from Nicaragua and the rest of Central America that he has excerpted from PeaceNet. Come by and read the news.

Thanks to a reader of the *Peace Press*, Tom Walsh of Transworld Systems, we should be in possession of a FAX machine by the time you read this. Apparently Transworld makes a point of donating its used equipment to local non-profits. Thank you, Tom and Transworld. We establish again that an entirely public-supported agency promoting peace and social justice can get access to the same toys as the big girls and boys.

This reminds me of how well our local movement presents itself to the public with the assistance of electronic tools. Look at the quality of the *Peace Press*, the flyers for events, the postcards to send to legislators, and so on. The poison isn't necessarily in the technology, but rather to what ends it is used.

Two of the things I like most about the Peace & Justice Center are the impromptu cafe and produce market that occur from time to time. You don't know of them? As I said, impromptu. Mattie and Jack Rudinow are frequent (but not the only) suppliers of cucumbers, tomatoes, squash, etc. We leave them on the table, folks take what they want, and even leave occasional small donations. The other aspect, the cafe, happens whenever two or more people bring a bag lunch. There is usually lively and humorous discussion around the bites of cottage cheese and sandwich. Help the cafe to grow_stop by at your lunch-time and talk with friends.

This last month has seen the return of Elizabeth McDermott as a regular volunteer on Friday afternoons. Elizabeth is frequently accompanied by her lively daughter Loren, who helps when she can. A new volunteer is Andy Mesches. Andy stopped by several times while recovering from knee surgery, and has now joined us on a regular basis on Monday afternoons. I always feel humble and honored when people come forward and offer their time.

My time for this month is up, both on clock and page. See you next time.

And please keep sending boycott suggestions. Thanks.

Racism:

David and Shirley Thatcher, with Lucy Forest, Shirley Johnston, and Sandy Kaplan

A major established Black rights organization declined to take a stand on Clarence Thomas when he was nominated, saying, "Bush has checkmated us."

The effect of Clarence Thomas' confirmation as a Supreme Court Justice is clearly racist and sexist. He will cement the right wing hold on the highest court in the land,

Barrier to Unity Checkmated

effectively denying equitable redress to women and people of color for decades.

George Bush has no sincere interest in improving the lives of African-Americans. The main motive in nominating a right winger was to consolidate right wing control of the nation, and to imply an interest in African-Americans in order to capture their votes for Republican candidates.

George Bush has opposed all honest ways to attract African-Americans to the Republican party. He vetoed the Civil Rights bill of 1990 and threatens to veto the watered-down 1991 bill. He vetoed extension of jobless benefits. Because of Bush cuts in social programs, only 25 percent of eligible children are enrolled in Head Start. Instead of supporting needed services, Bush fixed on a totally cynical ploy—the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court.

He started out with two ugly lies: that Thomas was the best qualified, and that race had nothing to do with his selection. Bush knew that many white male senators—that's 98 out of 100—would be in hot water if they voted against confirmation of an African-American nominee. Southern Democrats need the Black vote to stay in office.

Tragically for the American people and the Constitution, Bush's strategy succeeded beyond his wildest dreams. Due to the early suppression of Anita Hill's allegations by the Judiciary Committee—Democrats and Republicans alike—righteously indignant insiders on Capitol Hill leaked the information to the media, giving Clarence Thomas a second chance to appear on national TV.

All his appearances were orchestrated by the Bush White House. He was coached to appear dignified, concerned, fair-minded, to brush aside questions, to lie, to distance himself from virtually everything he had previously written or spoken about on crucial questions. He made much of his humble beginnings, presenting himself as the African-American Horatio Alger, a new role model for young African-Americans.

In his second incarnation he presented himself as the

outraged victim, , flatly dismissing all allegations of sexual harassment. He used—as scripted—the code word "lynching," the ultimate obscenity of Bush strategy.

There were gross double standards in the hearings related to Anita Hill's allegations. It was perfectly acceptable for the Republican members of the Judiciary Committee to portray Anita Hill as a scorned woman, an unstable person, a fantasizer, a tool of evil left-wing organizations such as the National Organization of Women, and even, in Sen. Simpson's trademark sly manner, to hint

about her "sexual proclivities." But it was not OK for the committee to question Clarence Thomas closely about her allegations or any other possibly damaging information. He set the boundaries by announcing that he would not answer any questions about his private life. Unfortunately, the entire Judiciary Committee permitted Thomas to appear as a wronged Black man who cried "foul!" and was permitted to get away unquestioned. The Anita Hill hearings gave the Bush administration an ample opportunity to sow doubt and confusion among Black Americans. Many African-American males rallied to the cause of Clarence Thomas—a bonus for the Bush strategy of divide and conquer.

The Democrats on the Judiciary Committee seemed paralyzed by the Anita Hill charges. To a man they had neglected to address with equal—or any—passion the less emotionally charged problems Clarence Thomas had presented—his disavowal of earlier positions, his declaration that he tailored his philosophical position on affirmative action to suit the audience he was addressing, his story distorting his sister's life "on welfare," his total refusal to reveal in any way how he would vote as a Supreme Court Justice, his mesmerizing mediocrity. While we might have disagreed with his stands, we could at least acknowledge his honesty. He showed none.

The Bush plans are shown up for what they are, once more: The end justifies the means. Opposition to legitimate social legislation, lies and distortions about the invasion of Panama, gross posturing and lying and cover-ups about the Gulf War—all justified as means to the end—dominance of American political life into the foreseeable future by right-wing ideology. It is no coincidence that the leaders of that dishonorable army of the right are all white males—Republicans and Democrats alike—Baker, Bush, Boren, Danforth, DeConcini, Dole, Gramm, Hatch, Helms, Johnston, Lugar, Nunn, Rudman, Simpson, Specter, Thurmond, Wallop.

Are we going to let it succeed?

"What would happen if one woman told the truth about her life? The world would split open."

... Muriel Rukeyser

Senator Alan Simpson (R-WY) referred in the hearings to "this sexual harassment crap."

FOCUS ON RACISM

Racism & Classism

in the Criminal Justice System

In 1989, California returned more parole violators to prison than the other 49 states combined. During the past seven years, the Board has consistently revoked between 97 and 98 percent of all cases reviewed, and the parolees do not even have the legal right to be represented in the proceedings by an attorney.

Sandy Kaplan

The U.S. now holds the tragic distinction of incarcerating a greater share of its population than any other nation on earth, recently surpassing the one million mark. The fastest growing profession in the U.S. is that of prison guard.

According to a study done by the non-profit research organization, The Sentencing Project, for every 100,000 in population, 426 are incarcerated. South Africa ranks second, with a rate of 333 per 100,000. The statistics for Black males are even more appalling: 3,109 per 100,000 are incarcerated in the U.S., compared to a rate of 729 per 100,000 in South Africa. Our nation, purported to be a democracy, imprisons more than four times the percentage of Blacks as apartheid South Africa.

In California, the numbers are even more ominous. According to the National Center on Institutions and Alternatives, "As quickly as new prisons and jails are being built, they are being filled; and this incarceration of individuals absorbs monies which could be spent on preventative programs. During the decade of the 1980s California voters approved \$6.2 billion in bond issues for new prison construction, yet California's prisons are substantially more overcrowded today than they were a decade ago...Filled to 180% of capacity, the California Department of Corrections (CDC) is the most overcrowded prison system in the country...The majority of those involved with the criminal justice system are young—between the ages of 20 and 29—creating the probability of a vicious cycle of growth in prison populations and costs if alternative measures are not taken soon."

A breakdown of these 20-29 year olds by ethnicity sharply illustrates the racism of the criminal justice system specifically, and the society generally. One of every three Black males between 20-29 years old is under the control of the criminal justice system. For Latinos, it is one of every eleven; for whites one of every nineteen; and for other ethnicities, one of every 29. The accompanying chart provides additional statistical information regarding this group of men.

Exacerbating this untenable situation in California is the dismal situation regarding the Board of Prison Terms (Parole Board). In 1989, California returned more parole violators to prison than the other 49 states combined. During the past seven years, the Board has consistently revoked between 97 and 98 percent of all cases reviewed, and the parolees do not even have the legal right to be represented in the proceedings by an attorney. In 1989, nearly half of the total inmates received at CDC institutions were technical parole violators, who had not committed a new crime.

Concurrently, programs for inmates which could be useful in breaking the cycle have nearly vanished. Although it is estimated that over 80% of CDC prisoners have drug problems, less than 3% will receive drug-related therapy. Educational opportunities and job training have all but disappeared. With unemployment rates sky-high on the outside, chances of parolees obtaining adequate employment are slim.

Clearly, without addressing these underlying issues of racism and unemployment, the situation in California and throughout the United States will continue to deteriorate. This is a situation in dire need of revolutionary change.

Sources: Two reports prepared by Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice; Press Democrat Jan. 1991; Parade Magazine February 1991.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE CONTROL RATES MALES IN CALIFORNIA AGES 20 - 29

	CYA	Prisons	Jails	Probation	Parole	Total	Criminal Justice Control Rate
White	583	11,332	9,040	37,066	6,798	64,819	5.40%
African American	1,012	13,837	7,038	38,093	7,576	67,556	33.20%
Latino	799	10,512	8,827	35,912	6,820	62,870	9.40%
Other	102	1,785	552	4,489	1,022	7,950	3.50%
Total						203,195	6.60%

WAR TOYS

Stop the Cycle of Violence

Eszter Freeman

I grew up with emotional violence in my family, and the resulting anger was present within me for most of my life. I played with squirt guns and I would have used a toy machine gun to express my rage had my parents bought me one.

After years of therapy and practice at life, I came to peace with myself in my mid-thirties. I separated myself from my parents' hostility and un-

derstood violence with its many definitions. Violence is much more than physical assault. Violence is a silent parent who doesn't speak to a child for a week. Violence is speaking to a child as if she was a non-person. Violence is stifling self-expression. Violence can be silent and insidious, passed from parent to child. The unresolved child grows up to be society's decision-making adult whose national policies derive from his own personal anger. Violence is a child playing with war toys.

While assault guns are being banned in many cities, a parent can buy toy arsenals at Kay-Bee Toys in the Santa Rosa Plaza and Toys-R-Us.

The guns and grenades are realistic and there is no room for negotiation, coop-

eration, or creative problem-solving. GI Joe, "A Real American Hero," is the role model for this exploitation.

The toys are patterned after real military hardware. The GI Joe Brawler has cruising twin side missile launchers and a reactive armor panel. The Desert Shield .50 Caliber Machine Gun has real sound and recoil action. GI Joe's Septic Tank is an anti-environmental tank. GI Joe Electronic Battle Gear is equipped with image target goggles and a sonic fighter pistol that makes eight electronic battle sounds.

Children who play with war toys are receiving mixed and confusing messages. For example, it is not OK to hit someone when you're angry, yet it's OK to "shoot" at someone with a toy gun. After all, it's only fun and pretend and no one gets hurt. Pretend was also when Desert Storm troops dropped bombs on a faceless people in a faraway war. Pretend is seeing thousands of fake

murders

on TV. Pretend is equating the military with peace.

Children need to resolve conflict in a creative non-violent way. Positive self-esteem comes with developing peaceful ways to solve problems. Children need to learn to express anger in appropriate, helpful ways.

I am asking you to stop the cycle of violence by not buying war toys for children. Write letters to Kay-Bee Toys and Toys-R-Us and demand that they take war toys off their shelves. Help leaflet at these stores. Send a letter of support to stores that don't carry war toys, and when you shop there, tell them you're there because of that reason.

Please call to volunteer to leaflet and get a sample letter: Eszter Freeman, 823-9203, or Sudie Llana, 545-8426.

We want Kay-Bee and Toys-R-Us to disarm their war toy section just is President Bush is reducing nuclear weapons!

You can make a difference in stopping personal violence and thus changing our society.



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Drip irrigation experts



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Political Correctness

Jason Rabinowitz

The University of Michigan class of '91 that marched in to hear commencement speaker George Bush address the "assault on freedom" was subjected to a frightening, ominous speech ("hysterical" was the *New York Times* word) in which the president declared that the real threat to education today is the notion of "political correctness" (P.C.). This notion, he said, "replaces old prejudices with new ones. It declares certain topics off limits, certain expressions off limits, even certain gestures off limits."

Bush's speech signaled official White House support for a new and dangerous movement that has been taking shape in academia for some time, recently spawning a group called the National Association of Scholars. The

NAS is an organization of professors, founded in the name of protecting "academic freedom" against the bogey called "political correctness," a supposedly totalitarian atmosphere on the campuses in which one may no longer make racist statements in the classroom with impunity, in which European history cannot be presented as "world history," in which campus rules ban racist, sexist and

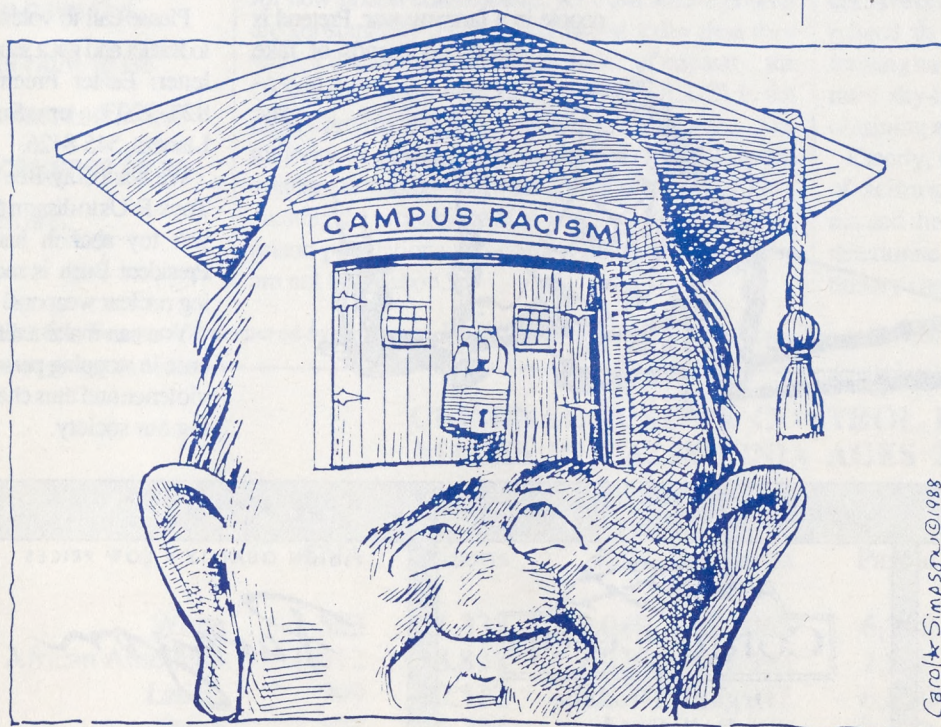
homophobic speech and acts. The NAS considers these developments, which most see as a step forward for civility and educational quality, as examples of "intolerance." We all should be alarmed at the rise of intolerance in our land," Bush said. But the "intolerance" that is alarming to Bush is not necessarily that which alarms students and others concerned about the state of education. The real "intolerance" (and that word is too weak to adequately describe this reality) is the shocking rise in incidents of racist violence and harassment—some publicized, some not—on the campuses. It is the appearance of neo-Nazi and white supremacist groups, openly organizing at some schools. It is the curriculum at most colleges, in which "Western Civilization" is required, but studies of Asian, African and Latin American cultures, Black and Native American history and women's studies, are left out. It is in the plummeting numbers of African-American and Latino students, due to rising costs and a racist atmosphere that makes the pursuit of education difficult and even dangerous.

The atmosphere of "intolerance" is such that one in four college women survive rape or attempted rape. Attacks on gay students, verbal and physical, are epidemic. This is the real "intolerance" plaguing our campuses, but this does not concern our president. In fact, he brushes off such phenomena as "debris" from past oppression.

This speech, and the whole "anti-P.C." movement, are a direct attack on gains that have been achieved, in particular multi-cultural education and campus anti-bias rules that are beginning to be implemented in many places. The arguments made against these reforms are that they amount to a restriction of "freedom." This idea is rather influential among students, and therefore deserves some exploration.

It is argued that to reform the curriculum to be more inclusive is a restriction of "academic freedom," because it directs what faculty must teach. But there has always been a curriculum, it's just that it has been racist in

continued to next page



The Closing of the American Mind

The Connection

Shirley Thatcher

News stories are appearing with dismay frequency about the "skinheads," neo-Nazis gangs in eastern Germany which beat and firebomb foreigners living there. The race riots are a symbol of the rage being vented toward foreigners throughout the nation, including western Germany. The victims include Mozambican, Vietnamese and Moroccan residents.

Associated Press reports that the situation not only highlights the social woes in eastern Germany, but also has set off debate over the millions of refugees trying to immigrate to Western Europe. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's conservative government pointed to the trouble "as a sign that Germany must tighten its liberal asylum laws to stem the flood." Others say agitating for a reduction in refugees "only encourages rightist attacks and does not deal with the fundamental lack of tolerance in former East Germany. "Our young people never learned tolerance," says the Rev. Frederick Vogel of a Lutheran Church near Berlin. "But there is no other solution (than moving the foreigners). It is not safe here."

Not a Non Sequitur

The cover story in a recent issue of *Response*, the Wiesenthal Center World Report, tells about some 140 anti-semitic computer games circulating in Germany, Austria, and Holland. One of the games, "KZ Manager," invites the player to "manage" a concentration camp. To get a promotion and win the game, the player gains credit for killing and torturing prisoners and selling gold fillings.

CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

character. Conservative professors protest that the Western "classics" are "universal." Of course they are, but so are the works of the great thinkers of Africa, Asia and Latin America, a fact to which some, blinded by racism, are indifferent. If it was permissible to impose the previous curriculum, why is it now in contradiction to "academic freedom" to amend it?

It is said that codes of student conduct prohibiting "hate speech" or imposing penalties on violent acts committed because of "bias," curb free speech and violate the First Amendment. But there are strong legal and moral justifications for such rules. No "freedom" is absolute. The law recognizes competing freedoms, and seeks to balance them, curbing one person's freedom when it impinges on that of another. There are many such restrictions on free speech. It is illegal to libel or slander another person, in other words to hurt their reputation by spreading false

The Center has identified German neo-Nazis as the source for these home computer games. One cites "Adolf Hitler Software Ltd." as the origin, and another is called the "Anti-Turk Test," saying it was made in Buchenwald by "Hitler & Hess."

The games aim to influence youths through technology with which their parents are largely unfamiliar. Distribution has been by electronic mail, under-the-counter sales, word-of-mouth, and deceptive packing on store shelves.

The video games are clearly based on the Holocaust, but often substitute Turks, many of whom are 'guest workers' in Germany, for Jews. All games make anti-semitic references; they include such choices as not to buy from Jews, to vote for the Nazi party, selecting the name of "our Fuehrer," selecting a method to kill Jews, and much more. Based on the points accrued, the player is assigned a rank: Aryan, half-Aryan, etc. The half-Aryan must prove his worth by killing communists; another rank is only good enough to clean the streets and toilets of German soldiers; the Jew receives gas. One game talks of "glorious" places in the history of the German empire, like Auschwitz. Other variations include working in the soap factory and burning in the ovens. The game ends to the music of the anthem of Nazi Germany, and the infamous quote, "Jews are our misfortune."

Marvin Hier, dean of the Wiesenthal Center, warned the games are being translated and could soon arrive in the U.S. Sources at the U.S. Customs Department indicated that steps were being taken to bar the wholesale import of such games to the U.S.

Sources include S. F. Chronicle, 9/25/91

information. It is illegal to endanger others with one's speech, for example, to shout "fire" in a crowded movie theater.

Racist speech is both slanderous and hurtful. It is directly threatening, and creates an atmosphere in which people of color cannot exercise their rights freely. But this attack on the freedom of millions does not concern these reactionaries hiding behind the phony "free speech" banner. What concerns them is the "rights" of bigots to carry out such crimes. "Free speech" is a cynical smokescreen, a deliberate distortion intended to confuse and to shift the debate away from the substance of their agenda, which is to reinforce racism and sexism on today's campuses. We must redouble our efforts to defend and expand the gains that have been made.

Excerpted from Dynamic, Sept/Oct. 1991

News stories are appearing with dismay frequency about the "skinheads," neo-Nazis gangs in eastern Germany which beat and firebomb foreigners living there.

Fighting White Supremacy in Progressive Movements

Sharon Martin

Last April six thousand people marched in Los Angeles to protest police brutality after the videoed beating of Rodney King. Most of the marchers were African-American. In January, twenty thousand Los Angelans had demonstrated against the war in Iraq. Most of those marchers were white. Since both demonstrations were protesting government terrorism against peoples of color, why didn't the white progressives also hit the streets in April?

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The answer, I think, is that there is no political immunization protecting European American progressives against the virus of white supremacy that has infected our world for at least the past five hundred years.

When I use the term "white supremacy," I mean an historically based institutionally perpetuated, system of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations and peoples of color, by white peoples and nations of the European continent, for the purpose of establishing, maintaining and defending a system of wealth, power and privilege.

White supremacy is the linchpin of imperialism, the system whose injustices all our movements are fighting. Because it is so central, we can't treat white supremacy as just another issue, to add to our list of demands if it won't alienate important constituencies. There's no neutrality here. Either we're actively fighting white supremacy or, by our silence, we're supporting it.

But, how can we begin to fight it effectively? One way is to use this period of organizing for the five hundred years of resistance to examine one legacy of U.S. history which might suggest directions appropriate to the struggle.

Legacy: The USA is a Nation

Born of the Holocausts

Capitalism came into the world dripping with blood. From the 15th to the 19th centuries, Europeans built their cities, nation-states, businesses and bank accounts on the

gold, silver and land of the indigenous Americans, and on the slave trade and enslavement of Africans. In the process, Europeans slaughtered from sixty to a hundred million Native Americans and a hundred million Africans.

Out of these holocausts came the United States, the first European nation and the first capitalist system created from scratch from the theft of land of the Native Americans and the enslaved labor of Africans. The European American colonists used the riches amassed from the stolen land and the enslaved labor to fund their war of independence against Britain and to open up their new nation state to millions of Europeans who came seeking life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

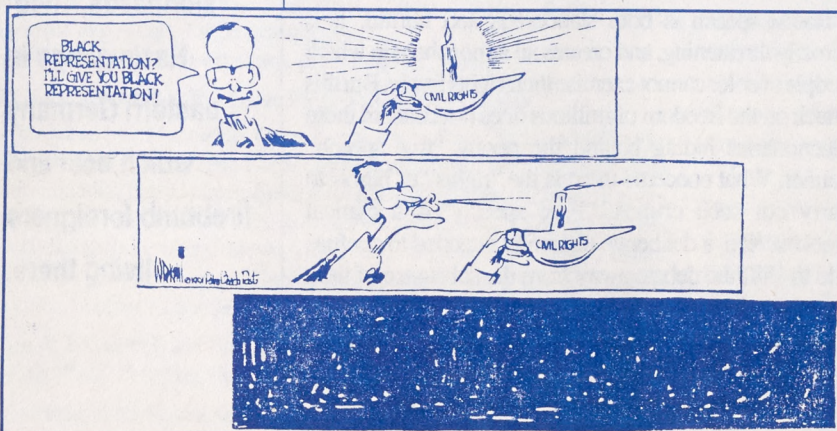
This history teaches us two lessons. First, American capitalism was created on a foundation of subjugation of nations and continents of peoples of color. Economic exploitation and national oppression are twin peas in the pod of the capitalist system.

Second, the subjugation of peoples of color is the material basis of white or European supremacy in the U.S. The lives of poor and working class European Americans were wretched because capitalist exploitation is ruthless, regardless of skin color or national origin. But the fact remains that for five hundred years the dreams of freedom of millions of European immigrants have been realized only through the nightmare of domination of every Native American and African.

Our political demands must reflect this history, if we are ever to challenge the fundamental structures of injustice in this country. Every demand for economic justice must be paired with a demand to rectify the injustice of white supremacy. For example, when we demand more money for our schools, we must also demand that every school provide education reflecting the true histories and contributions of peoples of color. When we tell the U.S. to stop funding destructive wars overseas, we should demand that the money be used to rebuild Harlem or Hunters Point for the people who live there.

If we continue to focus only on the economic injustices of capitalism, or we use vague terms like "fund human needs," instead of demanding reparations for the special injustices against peoples of color, we will, by our silence, be complicit in supporting the institutions of white supremacy.

For a complete copy of this paper, which contains four legacies, send SASE to the author, 2440 16th St. #275, San Francisco CA 94103.



Laura Larque

On October 12, 1992, two major events will be taking place simultaneously. The first will be the Western celebration of the five hundredth anniversary of the "discovery of America." European countries, the United States and some Latin American governments will revel over the "achievements" made in the New World over the past five hundred years.

At the same time, indigenous people of the Americas and their supporters will be commemorating with an observance day the five hundred years of resistance against the invasion and colonization of our continent. This commemoration will be offered as a tribute to the hundreds of thousands of Native Americans who have died throughout these five centuries in the name of western civilization, Christianity, prosperity and development. Preparations for mass protests throughout the Americas have been in process for the last few years. Conventions and conferences are being held in various Latin American countries, with varying goals. One objective is to prove to the western world that indigenous cultures are vibrant and alive, and do not reside solely within the study of anthropology and archaeology as old dead cultures. Additional objectives include: to continue the struggle for acknowledgement and recognition of indigenous people within the framework of political, economic, social and cultural institutions; to advance the struggle for rights and equal opportunities for indigenous people; to advance the call for human rights and the



immediate stop to the oppression and massacres against Indian political and social movements; and to call for the inclusion of Native American history and culture in the educational system, and for the recognition of Native Americans' participation in the building of the American continent following its invasion and colonization.

In the United States and Mexico, the systematic genocide against native people began when the white man first set foot on the continent. Little by little, the European

October 12, 1992

invaders took possession of the natives' wealth, pushing them off their lands, destroying their nations, their political and social systems, in the name of God and the advancement of western civilization. In exchange, the indigenous people received starvation for nutrition, diseased blankets for warmth, and concentration camps—reservations—for homes. The oppressor's language was imposed on the native peoples, to facilitate communication, both because the colonists did not wish to learn "barbarian" languages, and to systematically erase the indigenous languages. Many Nations were converted to Christianity. As a result, native cultural celebrations and ceremonies were suppressed. Many ceremonies dedicated to the mother earth,

the elements, and the universe were prohibited by the law. Constitutions and laws imposed by both English and Spanish colonizers did not guarantee rights for indigenous peoples in their own land.

As you read this, October 12, 1991 has already passed. It would be appropriate to take a moment of reflection, to commemorate and pay tribute to the indigenous peoples of this land. On October 12, 1992, consider participating in an indigenous event in memory of and in tribute to the hundreds of thousands of Indians who have given their lives to the resistance, for the liberation of our indigenous nations.

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Phil Anderson

In Haiti there is today a war between the state and its people. President and Catholic Priest Jean Bertrand Aristide is in exile. Aristide, a practitioner of liberation theology, had begun to bring political and economic democracy to his people. In eight months of power, not a single constitutional violation of human rights had tarnished the record of Aristide's presidency. Even Roger Lafontant, a former coup leader and assassin of hundreds, was sentenced to life imprisonment and not capital punishment, since Haiti's new constitution forbids that.

The day after the military coup, a friend called me upon his arrival from Haiti at the Miami airport. He

Haiti Coup

said that the agriculture project he had planned to work for was destroyed, and that he feared what might soon happen to the Haitian project leaders. Some of his Haitian counterparts were now dead. After he hung up, I asked: what kinds of seemingly intractable structures and systems are operating in Haiti, which can wipe out in hours what takes years to create?

Let me give only a few examples of these structures and systems. In the first months of 1990, many sectors in Haiti had called repeatedly for President Prosper Avril to step down, but he did not budge until after a wee-hours chat with U.S. Ambassador Alvin P. Adams over his kitchen table. Later that day, Haiti had a new president, Mme Ertha Pascal-Truillot. Avril arrived safely in Florida before nightfall. Adams then pressed for elections, and his embassy provided ample funds for candidate Marc Bazin, former World Bank functionary. Late in the campaign, Jean Bertrand Aristide entered the race, and voter registration leapt by 35% in the days after. In the final days before the election, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, converted into election "observer," visited Aristide and told him that he would be defeated by Bazin, and to prepare his followers so they would not respond violently upon learning the results. Carter depended on information from the U.S. embassy. Aristide obtained over 90% of the vote. Haiti's strategic location on the Windward Passage (which it shares with Cuba) has been a main focus of U.S. policy. Former Secretary of State George Schultz, meeting at the White House with U.S. businessmen, stated "[It] must remain politically favorable to Washington and our allies. ... We shall not permit that vital waterway to be straddled by hostile governments."

Top commanders participated in drug trafficking by facilitating the transshipment of cocaine from Colombia to the United States.

In the 1980s U.S. policy pushed for food aid, which, sold on the black market by military personnel, undercut local farmers who could hardly compete with food that started out free. Export-led production controlled by Haitian elite and military landholders was promoted to replace subsistence farming. During this time absolute poverty increased in Haiti from 50% to 80%.

During these years the Haitian military top commanders participated in drug trafficking by facilitating the transshipment of cocaine from Colombia to the United States. From its harbors flowed at least 7,000 pounds of cocaine in 1988 (the amount caught by the U.S. Coast Guard). This avenue of lucrative earnings faced severe curtailment by President Aristide.

Consider then: That the United States, most powerful nation in the world and only a few hundred miles from Haiti's shores, wanted a former World Bank economist as President of Haiti. That the U.S. loathes another "leftist" government in the region. That the Haitian military and the elite (to which belong virtually all members of the Haitian parliament) prosper economically by export-led production. That the Haitian military makes untold sums of money by having liberty to trade in drugs headed for U.S. city streets.

Is it any wonder that these structures are seemingly so "intractable"? And yet, however hopeless and weak may seem the cause of Haiti, to give up would mean to allow further violence against its people. (Over 600 are dead already.) It would mean, in effect, saying "I agree

NOT WITHOUT CAUSE

with the way things are done around here." And I do not nor will not.

To start, please join me in calling these numbers: The White House, 202-224-3121. The Organization of American States, 202-458-3000. Bernard Aronson, Undersecretary of State for Interamerican Affairs, 202-247-9210. Alvin Adams, U.S. Ambassador to Haiti, 011-509-22-0354. Senator John Seymour, 202-224-3841. Senator Alan Cranston, 202-224-2043. Congressman Frank Riggs, 707-576-1466. Tell them that President Aristide must not languish one more day away from his country. That no more of his people, our brothers and sisters in humanity, must be allowed to die, nor to live in terror and misery.

Sources: Josh De Wind and David H. Kinley III, *Aiding Migration: The Impact of International Development Assistance on Haiti*. Westview Press, Boulder, CO 1988. Vernon Gentry, *Times of the Americas*. Washington, D.C. 12/26/90. Fritz Longchamp, *Covert Action* 36: 54-58. Spring '91. James Petras *In These Times*, April 10-16, '91.

Immigration and Free Trade

In Unions They're Part of the Same Debate

David Bacon

If it has done nothing else, the debate on the U.S./Mexico Free Trade Agreement (FTA) has focused the attention of U.S. unions and workers on the economic inequality between the U.S. and Mexico, and the great impact this has on the lives of working people on both sides of the border. Together with environmental organizations, the AFL-CIO and other unions have led U.S. opposition to the agreement. Jay Mazur, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, expressed a position common to almost all sections of the U.S. labor movement, both progressive and conservative, in stating that "while the United States would lose many jobs, especially in industries like garment and electronics, Mexican workers would gain only sweatshop conditions intended to benefit American and other multinational companies."

The U.S. State Department claims that the agreement "would lead to expanded trade with Mexico and the creation of additional jobs for U.S. workers [through] unrestricted access to a Mexican market of 86 million people." Many Mexican producers fear that if this claim is true, it would result in dumping cheap U.S.-made goods on the Mexican market, with consequent job losses for many Mexican workers.

However, the State Department claim also seems contraindicated by a Commerce Department study which predicted job losses of more than 40% in some key U.S. industries, because of the relocation of production from the U.S. to Mexico. The U.S. International Trade Commission also pointed to job losses in "automobiles and auto parts, apparel, electronics, toys, fresh vegetables, and food processing," along with steel, trucking, glass and agriculture. Ironically, the work force in industries such as apparel, electronics, food processing and agriculture is composed overwhelmingly of immigrants from Mexico and other countries of Central America and the Caribbean. Many of them would see their jobs move back to Mexico, but at a wage only one-tenth of that in the U.S.

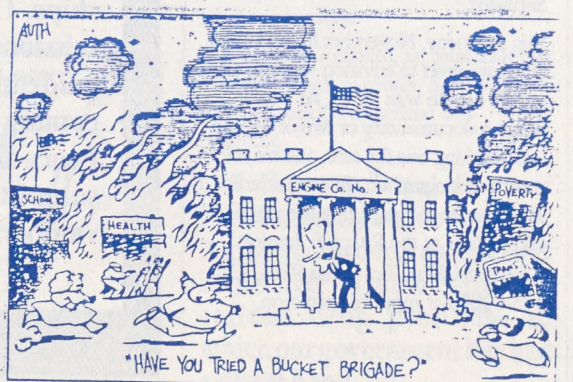
While some workers and unions in the U.S. see the FTA in isolation, simply as a threat to U.S. jobs, many others understand that the agreement is part of a larger picture of the developing relationship between the U.S. and Mexico. AFL-CIO testimony in Congress linked the agreement to development of the 27-year old maquiladora program, under which over 1,000 U.S.-owned factories now employ 500,000 workers in border cities such as Matamoros, Juarez, Mexicali, Tijuana and others. The testimony pointed to conditions of extreme exploitation, sexual

discrimination, and widespread environmental pollution in the plants. And although they provide jobs, Mexican trade unionists point out that the maquiladoras pay lower wages than workers earn in the same industries in central and southern Mexico.

While the Mexican and U.S. governments promise that a free trade agreement will produce jobs in Mexico, and lessen the motivation for workers to emigrate, Mexico's free-market economic policies will tend to sharpen the economic crisis which is the overall source of immigration. Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, Mexican presidential candidate opposing President Carlos Salinas de Gortari in the last election, criticizes "an international division of labor between the three countries [which] assigns Mexico the role of a permanent supplier of cheap labor," and calls for "raising Mexican wage levels and working conditions in the general direction of American or Canadian standards, instead of systematically lowering our salaries and incomes to attract reluctant investors."

Delegations of U.S. trade unionists are visiting Mexican unions more frequently, and Mexican unionists are beginning to attend conferences in the U.S. They increasingly point out that the rights and conditions of immigrant Mexican workers in the U.S. is a strong concern of Mexican unions, and that the organizing drives of Mexican workers in the U.S. are a source of strength and militancy for U.S. unions. Proposals for solidarity are bringing U.S. and Mexican workers, including immigrants, together in pursuit of a common program, in an era in which the free trade agreement and the economic development policies of the Bush and Salinas administrations pit them against each other.

Alfredo Dominguez, leader of the Mexican Authentic Labor Front (FAT), says that "Mexican, U.S. and Canadian workers have common interests which we must promote with common action... Good, secure jobs will not come from trade agreements among the wealthy. We need 'free workers', not 'free trade'."



While some workers and unions in the U.S. see the FTA in isolation, simply as a threat to U.S. jobs, many others understand that the agreement is part of a larger picture of the developing relationship between the U.S. and Mexico.

New World Order in Asia?

Ying Lee Kelly, aide to Bay Area Congressman Ron Dellums, will discuss "Korea After the Persian Gulf: New World Order in Asia?" Tuesday, November 26, 7 pm, at the new Copperfield Books, 650 Fourth St., Santa Rosa. Admission is free, but a voluntary collection will be taken. Kelly's talk will benefit Common Agenda, a coalition organizing for a 50 per cent cut in the U.S. military budget. Sponsors are Pledge for Peace in Central America and Petaluma Peace Group. For more information, call 526-7220.

Open Studios for Peace

Local artists team with Peace Network for mutual benefit Saturday, November 16, 10 am to 5 pm. Participating artists open their studios for direct sales to the public. The Peace Network encourages its members and friends to go to these studios and purchase work in support of our local artists. The artists contribute 30 percent of these sales to the Peace Network. It's a great way to vitalize both art and peacemaking and spend an enjoyable and informative Saturday.

Participating artists include Victoria Whitehand, Carol Capp, Hassan Behray, and Sandy Eastoak (whose painting hangs in the Peace & Justice Center). A map to all participating artists' studios is available at the Peace & Justice Center. For more information, call the Center, 575-8902, or Sandy Eastoak, 576-0819.

Concert to Benefit Task Force on Homeless

Disciples of Ed, Victims Family, and Wild Brides will perform at the Cotati Cabaret Saturday, November 16, 9:30 pm. These local alternative rock bands will be donating their talent to benefit the Sonoma County Task Force on the Homeless. Valuable prizes will be raffled. A hundred percent of the proceeds will go to the Task Force as Cotati Cabaret is hosting the event at no charge. Tickets for the event are sliding scale beginning at \$7 and are available at Gravenstones in Cotati, Copperfields in Petaluma and Sebastopol, and the Last Record Store, Santa Rosa. Tickets also available at the door.

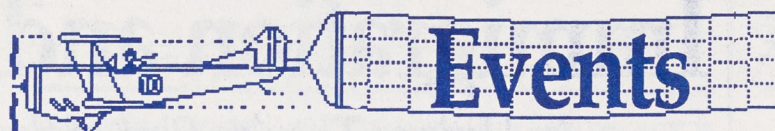
Documentary Inspiration

We know it's bad out there. Pollution. Corruption. Creeping fascism. Bigotry and racism. Environmental devastation. Yecko. But let's be brave and find out just how bad it is and what exactly is wrong so we can do something about it. Let's band together for support. Let's get the most important videos into the public libraries, and even make our own documentaries through public access TV and home video equipment.

Let's be daring. As home videos of beatings shown on nationwide TV have illustrated, a few minutes of videotape can expose a mountain of injustice. An informed and inspired public can move that mountain.

In two evenings of video documentary thrillers we've seen six covering subjects such as the bombing of Iraq, GE's deceptive advertising, guerrilla art (an award-winning video by a local high school student), the terrorist attack against Judy Bari, and Folger Coffee's connection to death squads in El Salvador.

Join us Friday, November 8, 6:30 pm, when we meet to envision what we the people can do with video. At 7 we'll watch a documentary or two or three, a late-breaking one for sure, and maybe meet a videographer. (See calendar for videos to be shown) Juicy Movie Night takes place at the Peace & Justice Center, 540 Pacific, Santa Rosa. Call 575-8902 for more information.



Fund Raiser for Conscientious Objectors

Erik Larsen and Tahan Jones are reserve Marines who applied for conscientious objector status at the start of the Gulf crisis. They were denied C.O. status. They are legally entitled to an honorable discharge. They need money to sustain their legal battle.

A March-a-thon will take place Sunday, November 24, 2 to 5 pm, from 12th St. BART Station, Oakland, to Trinity United Methodist Church, Berkeley. Please get pledge sheets and detailed information, and plan to walk for Jones and Larsen. Call 510-655-1201, or write Jones/Larsen Defense Committee, 1678 Shattuck Ave., Box 225, Berkeley 94709.

Sign Making Instruction

Bruce Sloan invites people interested in learning to make good protest banners and signs can set up tutoring sessions with him—for one or two at a time—at his Windsor home. Call him at 707/838-3740.

Letter Writing & Good Time Society

Once a month on the last Monday evening—we get together for political influence and fun. For information, call Judith Iam, 829-3771.

Talks by Michael Parenti

Audio and video recordings of talks by Michael Parenti are available from People's Video, P.O. Box 99514, Seattle, WA 98199. Audio tapes are \$4; video \$12. There are seventeen titles, including "Marxism and the Crisis of Eastern Europe;" "Imperialism, Drugs and Social Control;" "Hidden Forms of Censorship in America;" "The Political Uses of Religion."

Green Fuse, the peace and environmental poetry magazine published in Sonoma County, is now available at the Peace & Justice Center for browsing or purchase.

Future Focus and Deadlines

As is our custom, the next issue of the Peace Press will be the combined December/January one. Its focus is "Peace Begins at Home: Achieving Peace Within Ourselves, Our Families, Our Relationships, Our Community." We welcome your submissions. Please see inside front cover for submission guidelines. Deadline for receipt of articles for upcoming issue is Thursday, November 7, 5 pm at the Peace and Justice Center. Calendar items should be submitted by 4 pm, Tuesday, November 12 at the Peace Center.

& Announcements

Trips to Promote Enduring Peace

A one week peace seminar in Costa Rica, hosted by Radio for Peace International, takes place in March 1992. Program includes trips to rain forest, botanical garden. Limited to 20 people. A U.N. conference on environment and development—the "Earth Summit"—takes place in Rio de Janeiro June 1-8. A Dnieper River Peace Cruise co-sponsored by the Ukrainian Peace Council, is planned for July 28—August 16.

Information and application forms can be had from Promoting Enduring Peace, P.O. Box 5102, Woodmont CT 06460.



Molly Ivins talking, about the propensity to depression of some of us weary of activism, tells about famous civil libertarian Joe Rauh, a great fighter for human rights—he defended many persons during the McCarthy era. Rauh was in hospital and asked a friend to accept an ACLU award for him. "What shall I tell them on your behalf, Joe?" asked the friend. Joe reflected a bit, and then said, "Tell them how much fun it was!"

—Molly's book, *Molly Ivins Can't Say That, Can She?*
She can, and does.

Causes and Cures of Narcotics Epidemic

A National Teleconference on the Narcotics Epidemic will originate November 9 from New York and be broadcast in a hundred cities nationwide. It will be aired on our local community access channel 21 (Post-Newsweek Cable) and by Viacom from San Francisco. In addition, during the week of November 3, Post-Newsweek Cable will air a pre-taped program. See calendar for schedule.

The format is roundtable discussion with such participants as Alfred McCoy, author of *The Politics of Heroin*, former addicts, policymakers, former DEA agents, including Deep Cover author Michael Levine, and religious leaders.

The Christic Institute, an interfaith law and public policy center, has been the main driving force behind this program.

Get the word out to your friends, family and co-workers. A grassroots coordinated effort is needed to deal with our serious drug problem—in which our government has had a direct hand.

New World Order's Second

The Green Berets are being described as "trainers," who would teach the Peruvians how to use the equipment they receive, rather than "advisers" who would "help develop an overall anti-guerrilla strategy and suggest what targets to attack."

Shirley Johnston

This July the Bush administration signed a bilateral agreement with Peru stating, in part, that the war against drugs is "inextricably intertwined" with the war against Shining Path. (See story, "Death Chases a Reporter," this issue.) Under its strategy of "attacking drugs at the source," the U.S. is in the process of linking itself with a brutal eleven year-old guerrilla war—a war calling upon racial animosities that go back to the Spanish Conquest—that neither side has any real chance of winning in the foreseeable future.

"Arming peasants with shotguns to defend themselves is a major part of Peruvian President Fujimori's anti-subversive strategy," Washington Post reporter, Eugene Robinson wrote.

"In an elaborate ceremony several weeks ago, Fujimori went to the department of Junin—perhaps the most active battle zone—to hand out weapons to leaders of peasant self-defense groups. But later, after the television cameras had left, the army commander in charge of the region took the weapons back. He wanted to proceed a bit more cautiously."

The commanders of the Peruvian military are mostly white. The countryside is overwhelmingly Indian. Ninety percent of the at least 20,000 who have been killed in the war have been Indian or mestizo.

U.S. Special Forces would be sent to the Upper Huallaga Valley, where over half the world's coca is grown.

"The only place where Shining Path fully controls the territory where it is present is the Upper Huallaga Valley," a Western diplomat who has followed the war

Death Chases a Reporter

Tina Rosenberg

Since he was a teenager, Magno Sosa has chased death in Ayacucho and now death is chasing him.

Sosa is a correspondent for the Lima-based newsweekly 'Si' in the Andean town where the Shining Path guerrillas were born, still the vortex of Peru's war. He covers what is perhaps the most dangerous beat in the world. For four years he broke story after story of massacres, torture and drug trafficking, ignoring the beatings and death threats his reporting drew from the army. On August 23 Sosa was arrested and charged with terrorism; he is being held in Ayacucho. His accuser now says police tortured him into making the charge.

Sosa's journalism and his life are in danger. He is 24.

In August the US State Department determined that Peru's human-rights situation is improving and that the military takes its orders from civilians, two conditions that

make Peru eligible to receive \$34.9 million in proposed military aid.

This is a sham and is contradicted by the State Department's own Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1990. "Security forces personnel were responsible for widespread credible reports of summary executions, arbitrary detention and torture and rape by the military..."

For the last four years the United Nations has ranked Peru as No. 1 or 2 among the world's nations at disappearing its own people. The state and the Shining Path have killed more than 20,000 people since the war began in 1980. No soldier has ever been convicted of human-rights violation.

The government of Alberto Fujimori, yielding to pressure from the military, is trying to bar press reports on military abuses; those who refuse to be censored are denounced as allies of the Shining Path and are often harassed or killed.

Act

for a number of years told a reporter. "That means practically no police or military presence. Shining Path runs the towns, the schools, the clinics."

While the agreement with Peru specifies that military aid must be used for "counter-narcotics purposes," such distinctions in the circumstances are often difficult to make. "In the Upper Huallaga you might be talking about the same person. One day he might be wearing his guerrilla hat, and the next day wearing his drug trafficker hat," the diplomat said.

The Green Berets are being described as "trainers," who would teach the Peruvians how to use the equipment they receive, rather than "advisers" who would "help develop an overall anti-guerrilla strategy and suggest what targets to attack."

"The word 'advisers' brings up some shadows of the

past," one US official said. "We would almost certainly do this training in places where there would not be the likelihood of encountering hostile forces."

No use of U.S. combat forces in Peru is envisioned.

A Western diplomat expressed the sentiment that the guerrilla war remains one for the Peruvians to wage. "I really don't think it's a question of external help. It doesn't require sophisticated equipment. This isn't Desert Storm."

quotes from "A Precarious (Shining) Path" by Eugene Robinson, Washington Post Weekly, Aug. 26-Sept. 1, 1991; articles also consulted, "Paupers in a World their Ancestors Ruled," Eugene Robinson, WPW, Jul. 8-14, 1991, "Shining Path is Gaining in Peru," Robin Kirk, Apr. 29, 1991, "Oh! What a Lovely Drug War in Peru," Robin Kirk, Nation Sept. 30, 1991.

For the last four years the United Nations has ranked Peru as No. 1 or 2 among the world's nations at disappearing its own people. The state and the Shining Path have killed more than 20,000 people since the war began in 1980. No soldier has ever been convicted of human-rights violation.

Except for truly sensational stories newspapers now run reports of military abuses only in their editions circulating outside Lima.

Nowhere has the war been dirtier than Ayacucho. Of the twenty journalists killed in Peru since 1983 according to the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists, fourteen were killed in Ayacucho.

Typically the Shining Path comes into a village, rounds up residents, requisitions food, shoots a few local officials, blows up city hall and leaves, taking the village's young men as forced recruits. A few days later the army comes in, sometimes killing many of those residents the Shining Path suspiciously left standing, including young children. Army roadblocks keep journalists and investigators away.

Sosa is one of the few journalists who go to mountain villages. His stories detailed the brutality of the Shining Path, but he also writes about the security forces' crimes.

In February 1990 after a 'Si' article on abuses committed

by civil defense patrols, Sosa was beaten by four hooded men in Ayacucho. He spent eight days in the hospital.

The radio station where Sosa also works received a letter calling Sosa and another reporter "spokesmen for the Shining Path" and threatened that they would "die like dogs with their throats cut."

Sosa went to Lima, where I saw him in late June. He was in hiding but pursuers apparently knew where he was.

When the military was alerted that he was trying to leave the country, soldiers and police came looking for him. He went back to Ayacucho and turned himself in.

The accusation that he is a Shining Path collaborator is based on a document signed by another prisoner who told the judge, and later reporters, that he was tortured with blows and electricity until he accused Sosa and 91 others—two of whom have since been killed.

Magno Sosa is a journalist, a good one, whose life is in danger because he tells the truth.

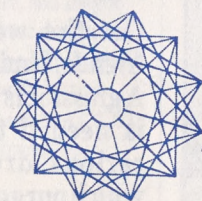
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The Iraq

The Impact of Sanctions Against Iraq

The Bush Administration decided to slaughter not only Iraqi soldiers, but also Iraqi children.

Another Slaughter

Sometime during the past year the Bush Administration decided to slaughter not only Iraqi soldiers, but also Iraqi children. Tens of thousands have already been killed. Hundreds of thousands face almost certain death. They are dying from disease and starvation. The Bush Administration knows this. They could stop it, but they don't. It is what they want to happen.

The U.N.'s August decision to allow Iraq to sell some oil was a minor cosmetic change in the sanctions, designed to take the heat off the Bush Administra-

tion—not to significantly improve the situation in Iraq.

In order to hide this cruel and cynical reality from the American people, the president has repeatedly lied about his actions and goals.

Sanctions Index

Percentage of Iraq's food that was imported before sanctions: 70%

Iraq's summer wheat harvest as a percentage of previous year's: 33%

War Crimes Tribunal

"It was not really a war. It was the use of technological material to destroy a defenseless country...We recognize our role in history is to bring the transgressors to justice."

Ramsey Clark

Former Attorney General of the U.S. Ramsey Clark is conducting Commission of Inquiry Hearings on U.S. War Crimes in the Gulf. Charges have been brought against our top government officials, some of which are listed here.

- The U.S. engaged in a pattern of conduct beginning in or before 1989 intended to lead Iraq into provocations justifying U.S. military action against Iraq and permanent U.S. military domination of the Gulf.
- President Bush ordered the destruction of facilities essential to civilian life and economic productivity throughout Iraq.
- President Bush usurped the Constitutional power of Congress as a means of securing power to commit crimes against peace, war crimes, and other high crimes.

- President Bush encouraged and aided Shiite Muslims and Kurds to rebel against the government of Iraq causing fratricidal violence, emigration, exposure, hunger and sickness and thousands of deaths. After the rebellion failed, the U.S. invaded and occupied parts of Iraq without authority in order to increase division and hostilities within Iraq.
- President Bush systematically manipulated, controlled, directed, misinformed and restricted press and media coverage to achieve propagandistic support for his military and political goals.
- The U.S. has by force secured a permanent military presence in the Gulf, the control of its oil resources and geopolitical domination of the Arabian Peninsula and Gulf region.

Substantiation of charges with legal references is available from: Commission of Inquiry for the International War Crimes Tribunal, 36 E. 12th St., 6th fl., NY, NY 10003.

Debacle

Percentage of pre-war electricity Iraq is now producing: 20%

Year it last produced so little electricity: 1920

CIA estimate of number of years it will take Iraq to rebuild its electrical system after sanctions are lifted: 5

Number of cans of infant formula the typical Iraqi family can afford a month: 3

Number of cans of infant formula necessary a month to sustain life: 10

Percentage decline in infant mortality in Iraq during past 20 years: 67%

Percentage of Iraqi's who had easy access to health care prior to the war: 95%

Percentage of Iraqi's who had access to safe drinking water prior to the war: 93%

Number of times George Bush has publicly said that the people of Iraq are not the enemy: 6

How You Can Help End Sanctions

• You can order and distribute copies of War Watch to others.

• Write letters to the editor using material from this article or the report.

• Write or call your members of Congress asking them to endorse HR 180 by Representative Henry Gonzalez of Texas, a resolution calling for the lifting of sanctions. (Any Senator: 202/224-3121; any House member: 202/225-3121)

• Call or write George Bush and tell him to end the sanctions now. See back cover for address, phone.

War Watch, Out Now, PO Box 562, Santa Cruz 95061. Issue #9, Sept. 1991

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- Recycle used greeting cards for women's jail project. Leave for Russa, Peace & Justice Center, 540 Pacific, Santa Rosa
- Buy, sell refinishable old furniture, caning supplies, instruction. 577-0064.
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COMMON AGENDA Endorsers Grow

Adrienne Swenson

- Cut the military budget in half.
- Use the money to fund programs to meet human and environmental needs and rights
- Support economic conversion to create an economy based on non-military production with the goal of employment for everyone at a decent wage

Fifteen organizations now have formally endorsed the COMMON AGENDA Coalition. Recent joiners include SCOPE/SCIU, Angela Center, the Interfaith Peace and Social Justice Committee, and the Sonoma Valley Democratic Club.

To build grassroots support for changing national spending priorities, the Coalition will pursue a political program. Candidates for office who pledge to support the three-point COMMON AGENDA program will win the

active political support of COMMON AGENDA in their campaigns.

COMMON AGENDA will seek endorsements from local governmental bodies. County supervisors, cities, school boards have all been left holding the bag as funds have been syphoned from domestic programs over the past decade and transferred to military spending.

How can you help? Gather names! We must demonstrate to local governing bodies and to candidates that there is broad and deep voter support for changing national priorities. We need thousands of pledge signatures to transmit to office holders.

The COMMON AGENDA COALITION will meet Thursday, November 14 at the Peace & Justice Center, 540 Pacific Ave., Santa Rosa, at 7:30 pm. Everyone is welcome. To find out how you can help, call the Peace Network at 575-8902, Sonoma Greens, 823-4940, or Santa Rosa Democratic Club, 545-8520.

Food Not Bombs

Recent studies have indicated that 5 million children go hungry every night in the U.S. Enough food is wasted each day to feed those children and all the adults that go hungry. Hunger is not an agricultural problem—it is a problem of distribution.

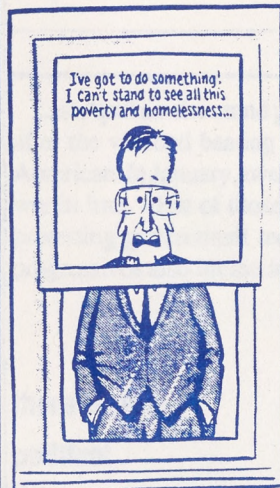
In 1980 Food Not Bombs was formed in Boston by a group of anti-nuclear activists who redistributed food that is ordinarily thrown away. They began by collecting edible food from warehouses and grocery stores that was deemed unsalable. This food would then be taken to local soup kitchens where it was prepared and served to hungry people.

Nutrition is an important aspect of fighting hunger. While there is no shortage of food, there is a predominance of unhealthy food and unhealthy diets—especially among poor people. This condition is reinforced by social agencies which serve people primarily meat-based diets with mostly canned and processed

fruits and vegetables. Food Not Bombs serves and distributes only vegetarian food. It would be very difficult to guarantee the safety of outdated or marginal meat products. Meat also has a much higher fat content than grains, beans and fresh vegetables. Food Not Bombs makes great efforts to provide organically grown foods. Food Not Bombs began preparing their own meals for political rallies and for serving to people on the streets. They worked to feed hungry people where they were, in a non-institutional setting, and to publicly demonstrate that hunger exists and that our country should be using its resources to feed people and not to create weapons of war.

The homeless and hungry themselves are members of Food Not Bombs, involved in all aspects of decision-making, cooking and serving. In Santa Rosa Food Not Bombs has been serving free food in Old Railroad Square every Tuesday and Thursday between 5 and 6 pm since mid-January. They are serving at that location at the request of the local homeless community.

Volunteers are needed. Call 707/575-4528 to see how you can help.



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We Are A Sebastopol Peace Community

Patrick Burke & Sue Wendrow

We met in wartime—in the vigils that formed downtown, at meetings and demos in Santa Rosa and San Francisco. We shared our grief, our outrage—and we began to know one another and feel the need to stay together. Our first meetings were crowded and passionate: we discovered in each others voices both echoes of our own hearts and sharp new insights. We spoke of the values we share: respect for the environment, the peaceful resolution of conflict, social and economic justice, the democratization of power, the demilitarization of the country.

We are still young as a group, growing and shaping. At our core we number 15 to 20. There are more than a hundred on our phone tree and we stay in touch, a

loose web. We feel we are a hub around which the larger community can mobilize for action if there's a need. We meet weekly to share and strengthen our understanding, discuss local and global issues, and plan activities.

The Children's Peace Float in the Apple Blossom Parade was a beautifully successful project. We participated in a Peace Celebration, a communal meal and evening of music and dancing, last spring. We sponsored a talk by Barbara Lubin after her trip to Iraq. We facilitated a healing ceremony and demonstration in response to a rape on the Laguna trail this summer. We revived our candlelight vigil to mark Hiroshima Day. The Peace Garden in Ragle Park is a project underway since 1987: its care group and our peace group overlap, and we've had picnics there. (Volunteers and funds are needed for completion. Call Chuck Kallander at 823-3838 if you wish to help.)

Now we are working to establish a presence in Analy High School: to counter military recruitment and to provide information on alternative careers which promote peace and justice and which help to preserve rather than destroy our environment.

Our emerging focus is community-building through peaceful, democratic, creative action—here in our city and in our county. We feel we must be pro-peace as well as anti-war. We believe deeply in the value of simple dialogue. We believe we must be about the slow, steady, ordinary work of transformation, healing and balancing ourselves and our place in the world. And we hope that out of the opening of our minds and hearts we may create a new, humane world.

We meet every Monday at 7 pm in room 5 of the Sebastopol Methodist Church, corner of Healdsburg Ave. and High School Road. We meet every Wednesday at 7 pm in a more relaxed setting at the East West Cafe on Main Street and just chat. You are welcome.

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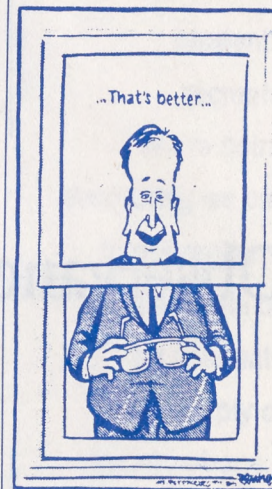
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Central America

Day Care Centers in Nicaragua and El Salvador Help Fill Their Needs

Lia Rowley

A group of women is leaving for El Salvador and Nicaragua December 27, bringing money and supplies for a day care center an Earthsteward group established in Leon three years ago. The building has never been used because there is nothing in the building—no furniture, no supplies of any kind. Even if there were money, supplies are not available there.

The group will bring money and supplies for the day care center. It will also visit El Salvador where Carmen

Broz is working to set up day care centers, and hopes to make a contribution to that project.

The group would like to carry your tangible gifts to further these projects. Pictures will be taken and back home they will be shown at slide shows and talks to families, churches, schools. The need is great and a little financial aid will go a long way to show concern for our neighbors.

Donations can be made tax-deductible through Earthstewards Network, mailed to Lia Rowley, 552 Gold Ridge Rd., Sebastopol, CA 95472.

Observances on Second Anniversary of Jesuits' Assassination

Mattie Rudinow

San Francisco and at least eight other cities across the U.S. will see vigils and demonstrations marking the second anniversary of the November 16, 1989 murders of six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper and her daughter in San Salvador. A coalition of groups opposing foreign intervention and supporting human rights will join churches in San Francisco to target Senator John Seymour on the issue of cutting off funds to the Salvadoran military. Particulars are not available at press time. Please phone the office of Pledge for Peace in Central America, 526-7220, for time and place.

The trial of nine officers and enlisted men of the Salvadoran Army for the Jesuits' murders ended on September 28. Only Col. Guillermo Benavides and an aide, Lieut. Yushy Rene Mendoza Vallecillos, were found guilty of some but not all charges. Two other lieutenants and five enlisted soldiers were found not

guilty despite the confessions of four of the soldiers. The Rev. Jose Maria Tojeira, head of the Jesuit order in Central America, said "While the jury has judged those lower down to be innocent, there is something at a higher level still to investigate."

Three days earlier, on September 25, at UN headquarters in New York, Salvadoran government and rebel negotiators came to an agreement on reintegrating rebel combatants into civilian society after a definitive peace accord is reached. Other terms of the agreement call for reductions in Salvadoran army troop strength and purging the armed forces of personnel involved in human rights abuses.

Fighting broke out anew in El Salvador within hours of the accord signing.

At the time of this writing, Congress had not yet concluded consideration of funds for the Salvadoran military.

Sources: Nica News Updates Nos. 87, 88, Pledge of Resistance, Oakland

News

Rigoberto Menchu to Speak in San Francisco

Mattie Rudinow

Widely known from her autobiography *I Rigoberto Menchu* and from the film "When the Mountains Tremble," Ms. Menchu will be the featured speaker at an event in San Francisco on Saturday November 23. Part of the "500 Years of Indigenous and Popular Resistance" campaign, the evening is being organized by the Comité de Unidad Guatemalteca. The program will begin at St. Peter's Church, 24th and Alabama Streets at 6 p.m. with food and with music by Grupo Muy Muy, followed by the speaker at 7 p.m. A donation of \$7 to \$15, sliding scale, will be requested at the door.

Ms. Menchu, who because of her organizing efforts on behalf of human rights in her native Guatemala is compelled to live in exile, made a rare visit there in October on the occasion of the international confer-

ence of indigenous people responding to the Columbus quincentennary. Though the conference was attended by such dignitaries as Madame Mitterand, wife of the president of France, no reports appeared in our local press.

The latest round of negotiations to halt the 30 year long civil war in Guatemala ended on September 24 in Mexico City. This fourth round focussed on human rights. No accord was reached. Future meetings are indefinite. There have been 1,718 human rights violations including 638 summary executions since the government of Jorge Serrano took office early this year, according to the Guatemalan Human Rights Commission.

Sources: Letter from Comité de Unidad Guatemalteca, S.F., Guatemala News & Info Bureau, Oakland, KPFA news broadcast, Nica News Update #86

UnderCovered

Chris C. Cory, CRM/COG

Here comes another election year. Prepare yourselves for appeals to your sensitive American impulses, and beware!

"I do not think you put me into this office so that I, of all people, should also lie to you. ... Our country is not prospering." (Vaclav Havel, inaugural address, 11/1/90)

"Our democratic system has been the object of a hostile takeover; engineered by a confederacy of corruption, careerism and campaign consulting. Money has been the lubricant for the deal." (Jerry Brown announcing his 1992 presidential campaign)

"Patriotism means to stand by the country. It does not mean to stand by the president or any other public official ... it is unpatriotic not to tell the truth, whether about the president or anyone else." (Teddy Roosevelt)

"A child can be expected to behave well only if his parents live by the values they teach." (Bruno Bettelheim, *Atlantic Monthly*, November 1985)

"I'm hoping to keep using my boat, and I hope the rest of America will prudently recreate. We're doing everything we can to guarantee ... that there will be an adequate supply of hydrocarbons." (President Bush while on vacation in August 1990)

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Mary Moore

There has been an unfortunate split in the peace, justice and environmental movements over the issue of defending hemp/marijuana.

Thank you for the recent coverage about the many uses of hemp that appeared in the September *Peace Press*. While this information has been around for a while, it is important to get it out in as many forums as possible.

Noting that you used a reprint from the *Santa Cruz News* (6/6/91), I would like to let your readers know that there is a west county advocate group right here in Sonoma County which has been working for about five years on public education around the issue of hemp. Carol Miller's articles in the *Sonoma County Free Press* have covered the uses of hemp for fuel, food, fiber, and many medicinal purposes. There is a vast amount of information about this incredible herb and people may write to P.O. Box 387, Occidental 95465 for reprints of her articles over the past five years.

The war on hemp/marijuana here in the U.S. is the domestic version of Bush's hypocritical "War on Drugs," and the international implications of U.S. involvement in the worldwide drug trade are well documented. It is all connected. If herb were legal and not in the control of the multi-nationals (two very big ifs) it would go a long way toward saving this planet as well as exerting a positive spiritual effect on its inhabitants.

There has been an unfortunate split in the peace, justice and environmental movements over the issue of defending hemp/marijuana. Some saw it as a problem instead of a solution, and others who did not understand were reluctant to go public with their knowledge. It is encouraging to see that both the *Peace Press* and the *Press Democrat* had articles on the positive uses of hemp this past month.

If readers would like more information, please feel free to use the local resources like S.C.R.A.P. (Sonoma Civil Rights Action Project). We can be reached at 847-3642 or 874-2248.

Boot In A Bird Cage

Gordon Yates

Barcelona, Spain,
home to Gaudi and Picasso
Commands attention to what it has.
In a funky bar (1973) hangs a bird cage
with an old worn work shoe in it.
When Franco's guardia civil asks, it is explained
as a call to patience.

The patrons are waiting for the boot to sing,
On departure of law-n-order the boot
turns into a symbol of the worker.
In 1991 Russia workers move the tanks back,
The boot is singing.

This is all a surprise
to our \$40 billion black budget "intelligence."
Cats have claws, skunks smell,
Snakes poison.
All life has surprise responses.
Humans group up and do it, now.
Ownership shifts, drugs answer the question
"Why should I suffer?"

The China man says "bosses are OK
As long as we eat every day."
P.R. tells us the new world order
Is new and inevitable.
This double barrelled monster
Is real only if my belief loads it.
People have ways to dump poisonous leaders.
When and how no one knows.
Workers prepare the scene, bit by bit,
Poco a poco, little acts
Jobs add up.

The author is 5 wars old

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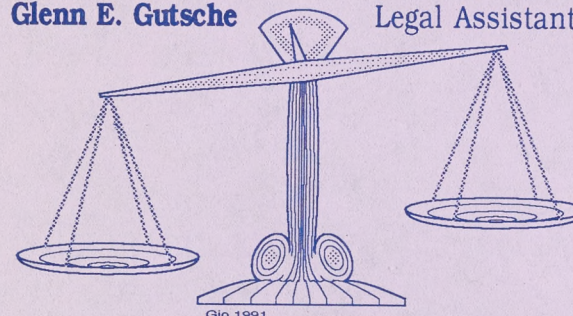
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Washington, D.C. 20510 (707) 763-6033

 *his country,
with its
institutions,
belongs to the people
who inhabit it.
Whenever they shall
grow weary of the
existing government,
they can exercise their
constitutional right
of amending it, or
their revolutionary
right to dismember
or overthrow it."*

*A. Lincoln
First Inaugural Address
March 1, 1861*

Fact 1: 64% of your tax
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Fact 2: Those who benefit the
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Fact 3: War Tax Resistance
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