

Post Election Post Mortem 2018

by Michael Novick, *Anti-Racist Action-Los Angeles/People Against Racist Terror (ARA-LA/PART)*

In the recent so-called “mid-term” elections, roughly halfway through the four-year term of proto-fascist Donald Trump, the US political system demonstrated simultaneously its irrelevance to the fundamental issues, crises and contradictions of US society and economy, and at the same time its capacity to function as a mechanism for absorbing, containing and recuperating the frustrations and dissidence of the population in the face of those contradictions and crises. Millions were drawn into voting, and getting out the vote, as a “blue wave” crashed on the shoals on institutionalized and internalized white supremacy.

The election exposed the fundamentally undemocratic nature of the US federal state, perhaps even to a greater degree than the two recent presidential elections “won” by the candidate with fewer votes (“Dubya” Bush in 2000 and Trump in 2016). The undemocratic nature of the presidential Electoral College is simply a manifestation of the undemocratic nature of the US Senate (as well as the generally winner-take-all, single-member gerrymandered Congressional districts). Two Democratic woman US Senators were punished with defeat for re-election for opposing Brett Kavanaugh, Trump’s pick for the Supreme Court. Black gubernatorial candidates in MD, GA and FL were all unsuccessful. A Black US Senate candidate in Mississippi has forced a run-off but will doubtless lose once white reactionaries are no longer splitting their vote. To paraphrase PT Barnum, nobody ever went broke overestimating the reactionary majority of white US voters. Trump quite successfully motivated his base of voters in so-called “red” states with blatant racist and misogynist fear-mongering. Efforts to supposedly deal with the social media amplification of racist, misogynist, anti-Muslim, anti-migrant and anti-Semitic memes somehow became a mechanism for corporate censorship of left-wing platforms.

Disregarding for a moment the fact that the Democratic Party is for the most part no less pro-Empire than the Republicans, the number of votes won by Democrats in US Senate races far exceeded those won by the GOP candidates, yet the Republicans picked up additional Senate seats, because Senate seats are not apportioned according to population. Republicans generally win seats in sparsely-populated, predominantly-white states (or by narrow margins through voter suppression in more diverse and populous states), giving them a lock on the Senate (and thus increasing their control over the equally undemocratic judiciary).

The House of Representatives, in which all seats are up, and where districts are roughly comparable in population, showed a more accurate reflection of the support base of the two capitalist parties, but all the legislative races reflected

Insurgent Supremacists: The U.S. Far Right’s Challenge to State and Empire

by Matthew N. Lyons Reviewed by Michael Novick, ARA-LA/PART Published by Kersplebedeb Publishing, CP 63560, CCCP Van Horne, Montreal, Quebec H3W 3H8 Canada www.leftwingbooks.net, PM Press, PO Box 23912, Oakland CA 94623, www.pmpress.orgUS\$24.95, ISBN 9781629635118, 353 pp. inc. endnotes, bibliog. and index, ©2018

This is an important and worthwhile book that looks at many aspects of the far right and its contradictions with dominant class forces and state power that are not often dealt with or clearly understood. Lyons goes deeply into various forms of what he refers to as “theocrats” and others might term “clerical fascists” (Lyons tries to avoid the over-used and misused term “fascism” in most of the volume) and the contradictions within their movement and between their movement and other parties and factions on the radical and/or racist right, and with Christian fundamentalists more comfortable with participating in the current power structure.

Lyons also provides a valuable service in examining themes of gender and sexuality on the far right, both in terms of deeply misogynistic men’s movements and groupings, like incels (involuntary celibates) that have fed certain white racial nationalist and so-called “alt right” currents, and in terms of the varying appeals that different tendencies within the far right make towards women. He also looks at nominally “anti-imperialist” and anti-globalist motifs on the far right, as well as tendencies toward decentralism in both religious and racialist elements on the far right, including such phenomena as so-called “national anarchists.” He updates information on the LaRouche Network and its current capacities and influence.

Part III looks in greater depth at the interplay between federal security forces and the para-military right, and the shifting loyalties and disloyalties of different elements of the far right in relation to the Trump campaign and presidency. All these contradictions are still unfolding, evidenced on the one hand by the recent federal arrests of leading members of the Rise Above Movement (RAM) a white-power fight club operation responsible for violence in Charlottesville, Huntington Beach, Sacramento and elsewhere; and on the other by the mobilization of anti-



the more fundamental problem. Despite the presence of a few “democratic socialist” candidates, the Congressional and Senatorial elections and discourse never addressed fundamental and vital concerns.

There was no significant national discussion or debate about the national prisoner strike and the crisis of racialized mass incarceration; no platform addressing global warming and climate justice issues as reflected by devastation in Puerto Rico, Texas, Florida and the Carolinas or forest fires across CA and the West. No candidate or party spoke out against US troops in Afghanistan, military operations and bases in Africa, backing for genocide in Yemen, or the intent to launch a new nuclear weapons race and to militarize space. Bernie Sanders did come to L.A. and speak out against racist police murders with impunity, but despite years of unrest and agitation by local communities, Black Lives Matter and its allies, police abuse did not become a pressing issue within the election campaigns or corporate media coverage of the “mid-terms”. The increasing evidence of the threat posed by white racial nationalists and their misogynist “incel” fellow travelers drew out little more than pious calls for “civility” in our political disputes and crocodile tears for the 11 elderly and disabled Jews massacred in Pittsburgh, occasionally supplemented by acknowledgment of two Black people shot dead in Kentucky by a white racist gunman who couldn’t get into a Black church.

The elections serve therefore merely as a cathartic spectacle that allows people to feel the system is theirs to command through the power of the ballot box. The notion that Constitutional norms will allow a partisan “check and balance” on the autocratic impulses of Trump through divided power in DC lulls people into believing they have effectively “resisted” by casting their votes. The last time Democrats flipped the House in midterms, during Dubya Bush’s second term, they swiftly abandoned

any of their alleged opposition to tyrannical measures like the USA PATRIOT Act. This time around, they did not go into the election with any program beyond defending “Obamacare” and Social Security, while the ‘left’ wing of the party talks mainly about Medicare for All and debt relief for college students (neither of which is a remote legislative possibility).

Comparing the massive white voter rejection of the Obama presidency in his first mid-term -- 6 lost Senate seats, including the majority, and over 60 House seats -- with the majority white embrace of the blatantly racist, misogynist and narcissistic Trump -- a net gain of Senate seats, and many fewer ‘flipped’ in Congress -- gives us an accurate picture of the death grip white supremacy and identification with empire holds on mass consciousness in the US. There were, however, two significant blows to institutionalized white supremacy -- the restoration of voting rights to 1.4 million+ formerly incarcerated people who served their felony time in Florida, and the abolition of criminal convictions by a less-than-unanimous verdict in Louisiana, which had been designed circumvent being required to allow Black people to serve on juries. But like the two Muslim and two native women elected to Congress, this does not belie the fundamental racism and sexism of the system.

In California, voters rejected Prop. 10, which would’ve allowed municipalities to develop rent control programs, by nearly a 2-1 margin after a massive fear mongering campaign. The billionaires backing charter schools bought the superintendent of public instruction office for their favored candidate on his second attempt. In Los Angeles, Measure B to authorize a public bank was crushed. The House seats in OC that the Dems thought they could flip appeared as we went to press to be staying in the GOP column except for Dana Rohrabacher, who appears to have lost to a former Republican running on the Democratic line. Indicted SD GOP Rep. Hunter was re-elected.

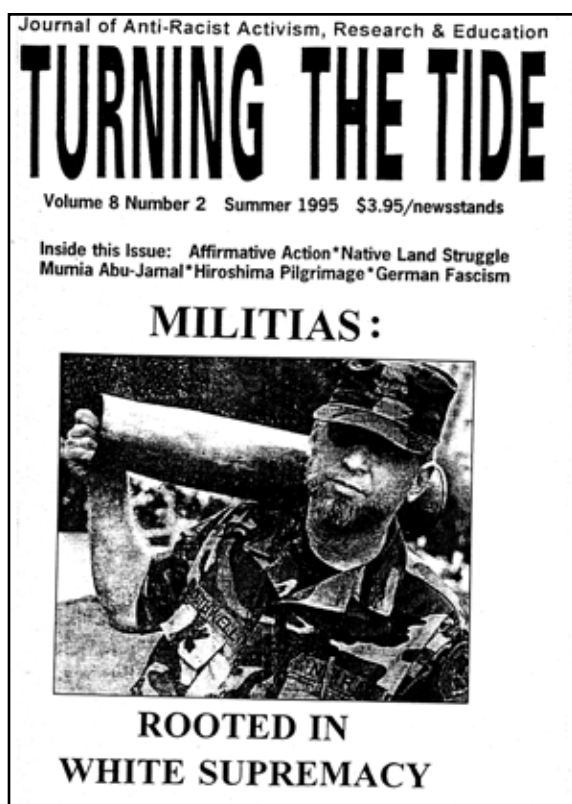
The locus of peoples’ power cannot be such legislative bodies. We need a clear-eyed recognition of the need to develop countervailing power at the grassroots and in the streets, through self-determined community action and real “resistance.” Rent strikes, labor militance, intercommunal solidarity, Copwatching, sanctuary networks, mutual aid centers like in Puerto Rico, overcoming opioids, combating white supremacy with the weapons of self-criticism and self-defense, upholding indigenous sovereignty, building urban-rural alliances against pipelines and fracking and for food sovereignty, turning anti-elitist despair and frustration into generative solidarity will bear greater fruit. We must build our capacity to meet human needs, defend human rights, and protect the planet through our own power as working and oppressed people.

as well as discussions we had about “white privilege” and its relation to fascism. He says, “In an email discussion... Novick wrote that white privilege remained an important reality but was diminishing.” (p. 193). I think a more accurate summation of my views at the time would be that USAmerican white privileges were being eroded by the economic, political, social and environmental contradictions of parasitic and necrotic imperialism; and I think the correctness of that view helps explain the mass sense of white grievance tapped and stoked by Trump.

I am also more skeptical than Lyons about some of the professed anti-capitalism and anti-elitism of the self-denominated “revolutionary” right; but Lyons provides important insights into potentially useful (from a truly revolutionary anti-capitalist, anti-colonial and anti-fascist perspective) contradictions within various right wing movements and between those movements and the state and the imperial bourgeoisie.

The weaknesses of Lyons’s work, despite its many important contributions, lie in the same areas that have plagued anti-fascism (and anti-imperialism) in the past -- how to avoid the snares of reformism and class collaboration. The crimes of the existing order and the underlying settler colonialism and racialized capitalism that created the US federal empire/state are at a greater scale than any of those carried out by the current incarnations of neo-Nazis or Christian Reconstructionists, and the operations of US financialized monopoly capitalism and militarism pose at least as great a threat to freedom and the survival of humanity as do any of the “revolutionary” dreams of the far right.

The question is, how do we nip the rightist threat in the bud, defend ourselves from retail racists and reactionaries as well as the state, and use the contradictions among and between them to drive a wedge between all of them and the larger base of acquiescence, complicity, complacency and compliance that undergirds the empire and its white supremacist economic, political and social order?



TTT article from 1995 cited in Lyons’s book. Full text of essay here: <https://ara-la.tumblr.com/post/177821412650/patriot-militias-rooted-in-white-supremacy>

immigrant white para-military militia groups to the border in response to Trump’s call-up of 15,000 troops to form a “human wall” against a slowly-moving caravan of refugees from Honduras that Trump characterized in blatantly racist, fear-mongering terms in the run-up to the mid-term elections.

In the interests of full disclosure, I should note that Lyons cites some of my own work (sometimes favorably)

Weaponized Artificial Intelligence Is Coming. Are Algorithmic Forever Wars Our Future?

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/oct/11/war-jedi-algorithmic-warfare-us-military>

By Ben Tarnoff

Sept. marked the 17th anniversary of “9/11”. With it came a new milestone: we’ve been in Afghanistan for so long that someone born after the attacks is now old enough to go fight there. They can also serve in the six other places where we’re officially at war, not to mention the 133 countries where special operations forces have conducted missions in just the first half of 2018.

The wars of 9/11 continue, with no end in sight. Now, the Pentagon is investing heavily in technologies that will intensify them. By embracing the latest tools that the tech industry has to offer, the US military is creating a more automated form of warfare – one that will greatly increase its capacity to wage war everywhere forever.

In October, the defense department closes the bidding period for one of the biggest technology contracts in its history: the Joint Enterprise Defense Infrastructure (Jedi). Jedi is an ambitious project to build a cloud computing system that serves US forces all over the world, from analysts behind a desk in Virginia to soldiers on patrol in Niger. The contract is worth as much as \$10bn over 10 years, which is why big tech companies are fighting hard to win it. (Not Google, however, where a pressure campaign by workers forced management to drop out of the running.)

At first glance, Jedi might look like just another IT modernization project. Government IT tends to run a fair distance behind Silicon Valley, even in a place as lavishly funded as the Pentagon. With some 3.4 million users and 4 million devices, the defense department’s digital footprint is immense. Moving even a portion of its workloads to a cloud provider such as Amazon will no doubt improve efficiency.

But the real force driving Jedi is the desire to weaponize AI – what the defense department has begun calling “algorithmic warfare”. By pooling the military’s data into a modern cloud platform, and using the machine-learning services that such platforms provide to analyze that data, Jedi will help the Pentagon realize its AI ambitions.

The scale of those ambitions has grown increasingly clear in recent months. In June, the Pentagon established the Joint Artificial Intelligence Center (JAIC), which will oversee the roughly 600 AI projects currently under way across the department at a planned cost of \$1.7bn. And in September, the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (Darpa), the Pentagon’s storied R&D wing, announced it would be investing up to \$2bn over the next five years into AI weapons research.

So far, the reporting on the Pentagon’s AI spending spree has largely focused on the prospect of autonomous weapons – Terminator-style killer robots that mow people down without any input from a human operator. This is indeed a frightening near-future scenario, and a global ban on autonomous weaponry of the kind sought by the Campaign to Stop Killer Robots is absolutely essential.

But AI has already begun rewiring warfare, even if it hasn’t (yet) taken the form of literal Terminators. There are less cinematic but equally scary ways to weaponize AI. You don’t need algorithms pulling the trigger for algorithms to play an extremely dangerous role.

To understand that role, it helps to understand the particular difficulties posed by the forever war. The killing itself isn’t particularly difficult. With a military budget larger than that of China, Russia, Saudi Arabia, India, France, Britain and Japan combined, and some 800 bases around the world, the US has an abundance of firepower and an unparalleled ability to deploy that firepower anywhere on the planet.

The US military knows how to kill. The harder part is figuring out whom to kill. In a more traditional war, you simply kill the enemy. But who is the enemy in a conflict with no national boundaries, no fixed battlefields, and no conventional adversaries?

Women in Prison Punished More Harshly than Men Around the Country

Jessica Pupovac and Kari Lydersen: a collaboration between The Chicago Reporter, NPR News Investigations, and the Social Justice News Nexus at Northwestern University.
<https://www.chicagoreporter.com/women-in-prison-punished-more-harshly-than-men-around-the-country/>

During her twenty years in an Illinois prison, Monica Cosby received disciplinary tickets and was sent to solitary confinement more times than she can remember. And she wasn’t alone.

“You’ll get a ticket or get sent to seg [solitary confinement] for having... a piece of candy,” she said. “Or you have a library book that’s overdue — and you’re on your way to the library.”

More often, Cosby says she was punished not for things she did, but for things she said — like the time she got in trouble while quietly playing Scrabble by herself. When a correctional officer asked her what she was doing, she gave him attitude. “What does it look like I’m doing?” she replied. And so, although she had permission to have the Scrabble board, he issued her two tickets: one for “contraband” and one for “insolence.”

The Illinois Department of Corrections denied our request for Cosby’s disciplinary records, citing an Illinois law.

But an investigation by The Chicago Reporter, the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University

This is the perennial question of the forever war. It is also a key feature of its design. The vagueness of the enemy is what has enabled the conflict to continue for nearly two decades and to expand to more than 70 countries – a boon to the contractors, bureaucrats and politicians who make their living from US militarism. If war is a racket, in the words of marine legend Smedley Butler, the forever war is one the longest cons yet.

But the vagueness of the enemy also creates certain challenges. It’s one thing to look at a map of North Vietnam and pick places to bomb. It’s quite another to sift through vast quantities of information from all over the world in order to identify a good candidate for a drone strike. When the enemy is everywhere, target identification becomes far more labor-intensive. This is where AI – or, more precisely, machine learning – comes in. Machine learning can help automate one of the more tedious and time-consuming aspects of the forever war: finding people to kill.

The Pentagon’s Project Maven is already putting this idea into practice. Maven, also known as the Algorithmic Warfare Cross-Functional Team, made headlines recently for sparking an employee revolt at Google over the company’s involvement. Maven is the military’s “pathfinder” AI project. Its initial phase involves using machine learning to scan drone video footage to help identify individuals, vehicles and buildings that might be worth bombing.

“We have analysts looking at full-motion video, staring at screens 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 hours at a time,” says the project director, Lt Gen Jack Shanahan. Maven’s software automates that work, then relays its discoveries to a human. So far, it’s been a big success: the software has been deployed to as many as six combat locations in the Middle East and Africa. The goal is to eventually load the software on to the drones themselves, so they can locate targets in real time.

Won’t this technology improve precision, thus reducing civilian casualties? This is a common argument made by higher-ups in both the Pentagon and Silicon Valley to defend their collaboration on projects like Maven. Code for America’s Jen Pahlka puts it in terms of “sharp knives” versus “dull knives”: sharper knives can help the military save lives.

In the case of weaponized AI, however, the knives in

and NPR has found that women in Illinois — and in prisons across the country — are disciplined at significantly higher rates than male inmates for mostly minor, subjective infractions. We analyzed data from fifteen states that track discipline by gender, visited four different prison systems, and interviewed dozens of current and formerly incarcerated women, academics, and prison staff. We determined that although female inmates are less likely than their male counterparts to act out violently in prison, they receive more disciplinary tickets for minor offenses — matters that are unlikely to compromise safety.

Though women are less than 10% of all prisoners, their numbers have grown eight-fold over the past 40 years. In an effort to better manage this population, and as part of a movement known as “gender-responsive” corrections, officials have slowly begun to adjust their needs assessments, case management protocols, and substance abuse treatments.

However, most if not all of those efforts have yet to change the stark disparity in how women behind



question aren’t particularly sharp. There is no shortage of horror stories of what happens when human oversight is outsourced to faulty or prejudiced algorithms – algorithms that can’t recognize black faces, or that reinforce racial bias in policing and criminal sentencing. Do we really want the Pentagon using the same technology to help determine who gets a bomb dropped on their head?

But the deeper problem with the humanitarian argument for algorithmic warfare is the assumption that the US military is an essentially benevolent force. Many millions of people around the world would disagree. In 2017 alone, the US and allied strikes in Iraq and Syria killed as many as 6,000 civilians. Numbers like these don’t suggest a few honest mistakes here and there, but a systemic indifference to “collateral damage”. Indeed, the US government has repeatedly bombed civilian gatherings such as weddings in the hopes of killing a high-value target.

Further, the line between civilian and combatant is highly porous in the era of the forever war. A report from the Intercept suggests that the US military labels anyone it kills in “targeted” strikes as “enemy killed in action”, even if they weren’t one of the targets. The so-called “signature strikes” conducted by the US military and the CIA play similar tricks with the concept of the combatant. These are drone attacks on individuals whose identities are unknown, but who are suspected of being militants based on displaying certain “signatures” – which can be as vague as being a military-aged male in a particular area.

The problem isn’t the quality of the tools, in other words, but the institution wielding them. And AI will only make that institution more brutal. The forever war demands that the US sees enemies everywhere. AI promises to find those enemies faster – even if all it takes to be considered an enemy is exhibiting a pattern of behavior that a (classified) machine-learning model associates with hostile activity. Call it death by big data.

AI also has the potential to make the forever war more permanent, by giving some of the country’s largest companies a stake in perpetuating it. Silicon Valley has always had close links to the US military. But algorithmic warfare will bring big tech deeper into the military-industrial complex, and give billionaires like Jeff Bezos a powerful incentive to ensure the forever war lasts forever. Enemies will be found. Money will be made.

bars are disciplined. The effects of these disparities have far-reaching and enduring effects on families and communities: women are often primary caregivers, and many are also primary breadwinners. More than half of imprisoned women across the country are mothers.

To better understand this problem in Illinois and nationally, The Chicago Reporter and NPR filed Freedom of Information Act requests for disciplinary data with 26 state correctional agencies. Eleven states either charged high fees for the data or said they don’t keep it. But almost all of the fifteen states that supplied data from 2016 and 2017 revealed the same pattern: women in U.S. prisons are being disciplined at higher rates than men, sometimes exponentially so, for lower-level offenses.

With more than 42 insolence infractions for every 100 inmates, women in Illinois prisons are cited at a rate nearly twice as high as their male counterparts (22 per 100). Insolence is the most common infraction in Illinois women’s prisons, accounting for nearly one out of every five disciplinary cases. Source: *Women’s Justice Institute, Illinois Department of Corrections*

Questions and Answers with Chairman Shaka Zulu of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party, Part 1

TTT: Can you tell us about the origin and history of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party (Prison Chapter)? When and where did it begin? Can you talk about your own individual involvement and history?

SZ: The New Afrikan Black Panther Party developed out of an ideological struggle with Nat Lee who headed up the Black Brigade, which was a mass-based formation geared towards reaching a wide swath of prisoners. Because we started reaching prisoners, our influence subsequently rose as well. Nat Lee did not like that. He did not want to ideologically train the most talented prisoners into Marxist-Leninist-Maoist cadre or introduce a political education program that would remove control from his hands. So, we engaged him in a serious ideological struggle, and sought to advance his understanding of revolutionary politics, but to no avail. He became more entrenched and reactionary in his position.

Out of this ideological struggle came the New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter, which we see as an advance detachment of the working-class, carrying on the revolutionary tradition of the original Black Panther Party.

You asked about my own individual history. Well, I have been a New Afrikan communist revolutionary for



nearly 2 decades. Along with Comrade Kevin "Rashid" Johnson as Minister of Defense, we founded the New Afrikan Black Panther Party-PC in 2005 to revolutionize the minds of prisoners and turn our oppressed and exploited communities into base areas of social, cultural and political power! To be frank, comrade--my individual history is deeply tied to the history of NABPP-PC. I will venture to say that no revolutionary person can see herself as a distinct or separate element from the large dynamics of the World Proletarian Socialist Movement! To do so would buttress the capitalist culture of individualism. I live, breathe, walk and talk Pantherism! It's in my DNA!

TTT: What are the key ideological and programmatic points of unity of your organization? Have they changed over your course of development as a party? What do you feel are the key lessons of the original Black Panther Party (for Self-Defense), both in terms of positive contributions as well as errors or failings that need to be overcome?

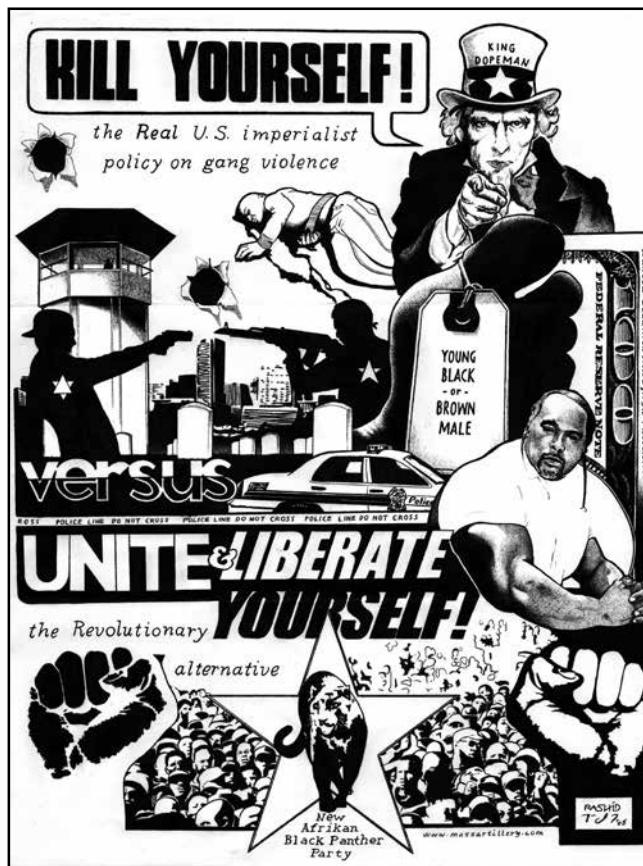
SZ: This is a great question. The programmatic points of unity of NABPP, the key ideological points center around Pantherism, which illuminates M-L-M in the 21st century. Pantherism is a synthesis of the best practices of the original Black Panther Party (1966-1971).

Pantherism is class struggle aimed at organizing the oppressed poor and working class communities. Pantherism goes further than anyone today in calling for the seizure of State power. Therefore, our party is a proletarian party. Pantherism is a fighting ideology on the side of the people!

Before a person is recruited into the party, he or she must know, understand and commit to our ten point program and platform, which clearly delineates "what we want" and "what we believe". They must also know our ideological and political line of historical dialectical materialism. We absolutely believe that before one can join the ranks of the vanguard party, he or she must be totally, completely committed to the ideal of revolution.

Other key documents include: "Unity-Struggle-Transformation: On Revolutionary Organization, Leadership, and Cadre Development," On the Vanguard Party, Once Again; The New Afrikan Black Panther Party's Organizational Principles, Policy and Practice: The 3-P's; The NABPP-PC Rules of Discipline and General Directives"

The original Black Panther Party (BPP) came out of the ashes of rising rebellions across the country, a fight-back attitude permeated the minds of the oppressed urban New Afrikans. Comrades Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale



knew these needs and developed an appropriate ideology to inspire the people to take the struggle to a higher level. As our Minister of Defense has so eloquently laid out in Panther Vision:

"Huey, sensitive to the interests and unmet needs of the New Afrikan masses, initially proved a capable organizational and tactical leader. His political line and practice were initially influenced by Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theory. Through serve the people community service programs and its newspaper, the BPP was able to inspire the imagination of poor and working class urban poor, teaching them that they could and how to defend their communities against police terror, meet their own basic needs, and become organized into a united force that could break free of their oppressed condition at the bottom of society and beneath the boot-heel of imperialism..."

TTT: The current historical period, both in the US and internationally, is much different from what prevailed at the time of the original BPP, for example in terms of the scope of mass incarceration, the level of militarization of police, the failures of various supposedly socialist regimes and national liberation formations, the intensity of the ecological and economic crises, etc. How do you see that impacting your work and your strategy?

SZ: The original Black Panther Party represented the cutting edge of revolutionary organizing; the cutting edge of revolutionary ideology; the cutting edge of revolutionary practice! Our Party rises to the occasion to carry this tradition forward in the 21st century. We call upon BPP alumni, the various panther formations and allies to help us build this vanguard party from the grassroots up.

TTT: Most of the organizations that use "New Afrikan" as a designation see themselves as part of an independence movement for people of African descent in the geographic area in which the vast majority of African slaves in the US lived and worked, under the slogan "Free the Land!" My understanding is that the NABPP (PC) does not subscribe to that proposal for a New Afrikan nation and land base. Can you explain your position?

SZ: Why the designation "New Afrikan"? Initially, we called ourselves New Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter, because we wanted to influence and develop a sharp turn in ideological line and practice of the outside New Black Panther Party. We wrote several letters to Malik Zulu Shabazz asking him to support our prison group. We wrote three letters and got no response, so we concluded that we were on our own.

As our newsletter *Right On!* reached hundreds of prisoners and many veteran Panthers on the outside...we started getting letters from Political Prisoners asking us to distinguish ourselves from the New Black Panther Party because we had a fundamentally different ideological line and practice from them. So, our Central Committee held a secret meeting and decided to adopt "New Afrikan" because it is more about our nationality, which all people brought to the Western Hemisphere have a right to claim independent of any political party or cultural designation. New Afrikan belongs to all the oppressed black property-slaves of capitalism.

In "Talking Non-sense Solves No Problems: Reply to an Open Response Letter Allegedly Written by the Amazon-

August Collective and NAPLA to the New Afrikan Black Panther Party," Our Minister of Defense Rashid laid this out:

"We tend to agree with the line advanced by Comrade Huey P. Newton in his September 13, 1969, letter to the RNA, on the occasion of the return of RNA President Robert Williams from exile. In fact we feel conditions today--in particular the replacement of colonialism with today's far more advanced and refined neo-colonialism--validate Huey's position even more so. Based upon various critiques we have read of our line on New Afrikan liberation from Comrades who embrace the RNA line, it seems Huey's letter has been lost or forgotten within RNA circles. It is an important historical document we feel, and therefore bears quoting at length. The letter was entitled *Huey P. Newton to the Republic of New Afrika*, and read:

"This is Huey P. Newton at Los Padres, California 1969, September 13. Greetings to the Republic of New Afrika and President Robert Williams. I'm very happy to be able to welcome you back home. I might add that this is perfect timing. And we need you very much, the people need you very much. And now that the consciousness of the people is at such a high level, perhaps they will be able to appreciate your leadership, and also be ready to move in a very revolutionary fashion.

"Sometime ago I received a message from the Republic of New Afrika with a series of questions concerning the philosophy of the Black Panther Party; and very detailed questions on certain stands, and our thinking on these positions. At that time I wasn't prepared to send a message out. I've had to think about many questions, and due to the situation here it's very difficult for me to communicate, so this explains the lapse of time between question and answer.

"I would like to give some general explanations of the Black Panther Party's position, as related to the Republic of New Afrika. The Black Panther Party's position is that the Black people in this country are definitely colonized, and suffer from the colonial plight more than any ethnic group in the country. Perhaps with the exception of the Indian, but surely as much even as the Indian population. We too, realize that the American people in general are colonized. And they're colonized simply because they're under a capitalist society, with a small clique of rulers who are the owners of the means of production in control of decision making. They're the decision making body, therefore, that takes the freedom from the American people in general, and they simply work for the enrichment of this ruling class.

"As far as Blacks are concerned, of course, we're at the bottom of this ladder, we're exploited not only by the small group of ruling class, we're oppressed, and repressed by even the working class whites in the country. And this is simply because the ruling class, the white ruling class uses the old Roman policy of divide and conquer. In other words the white working class is used as pawns or tools of the ruling class, but they too are enslaved.

"So it's with that historical policy of dividing and ruling, that ruling class can effectively and successfully keep the majority of the people in an oppressed position; because they're divided in certain interests groups, even though these interests that the lower class groups carry doesn't necessarily serve as beneficial to them.

"As far as our stand on separation, we've demanded, as you very well know, a plebiscite of the U.N. to supervise, so that Blacks can decide whether they want to secede the union, or what position they'll take on it. As far as the Black Panther Party is concerned we're subject to the will of the people, but we feel that the Republic of New Afrika is perfectly justified in demanding and declaring the right to secede the union. So we don't have any contradiction between the Black Panther Party's position and the Republic of New Afrika's position; it's simply a matter of timing. We feel certain conditions will have to exist before we're even given the right to make that choice.

"We also take into consideration that fact that if Blacks at this very minute were able to secede the union, and say have five states, or six states, it would be almost impossible to function in freedom side by side with a capitalist imperialist country. We all know that mother Africa is not free simply because of imperialism, because of western domination. And there's no indication that it would be any different if we were to have a separate country here in the North America. As a matter of fact, by all logics we would suffer imperialism and colonialism even more so than the Third World is suffering it now.

"They are geographically better located, thousands of miles away, but yet they are not able to be free simply because of high technological developments, the highest technological developments that the west has that makes the world so much smaller, one small neighborhood. So taking all these things into consideration, we conclude that the only way that we're going to be free is to wipe out once and for all the oppressive structure of America.

"We realize we can't do this without a popular struggle, without many alliances and coalitions, and this is the reason that we're moving in the direction that we are, to get as many alliances as possible of people that are equally dissatisfied with the system. And we're carrying on, or attempting to carry on a political education campaign so that people will be aware of the conditions and therefore perhaps they will be able to take steps to controlling these conditions. We think that the most important thing at this time, is to be able to organize in some fashion so that we'll have a formidable force to challenge the structure of the American empire.

...Continued on next page

Q & A with Chairman Shaka Zulu of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party

...Continued from previous page

“So we invite the Republic of New Africa to struggle with us, because we know from people I’ve talked to, (I’ve talked to May Mallory, and other people who are familiar with the philosophy of the Republic of New Africa), they seem to be very aware that the whole structure of America will have to be changed in order for the people of America to be free. And this again is with the full knowledge and full view of the end goal of the Republic of New Africa to secede. In other words, we’re not really handling this question at this time because we feel that for us that is somewhat premature, that I realize the psychological value of fighting for a territory. But at this time the Black Panther Party feels that we don’t want to be in an enclave type situation where we would be more isolated than we already are now. We’re isolated in the ghetto areas, concentrated in the north, in the metropolitan areas, in the industrial areas, and we think that this is a very good location as far as strategy is concerned, as far as engaging a strong battle against the established order.

“And again I think that it would be perfectly justified if Blacks decided that they wanted to secede the union, but I think the question should be left up to the popular masses, the popular majority. So this is it in a nutshell. As I said before, I don’t have the facilities here to carry on long discussions I look forward to talking with Milton Henry [later known as Gaidi Obadele--Rashid] in the near future, if it’s possible, (I know that he has his hands full now) or a representative of the Republic of New Africa, so we can talk these things over.

“There are many things I heard, things I read, I’m in total agreement with. I would like for the Republic of New Africa to know that we support Robert Williams, and his plight at this time; that we support him one hundred percent, and we would like to find out exactly what we can do that would be most helpful in the court proceedings coming up, what moral support we could give. Perhaps we could send some representatives, and we will publish in our paper, “THE BLACK PANTHER,” the criminal activities that he’s been victim of for some eight or nine years...”

We still adhere to this line as it is the most practical

and political for the party. When the people decide they want to secede from the empire we will support them because the people are the makers of revolution; the final decision makers, but the people must be fully abreast of all the options so that they can make a well-rounded decision. The New Afrikan Black Panther Party has developed a strategy to deal our oppressors the death blow by uniting all the people that can be united into a united front against imperialism, state repression and racism. We also developed a mass based formation called the United Panther Movement to bring in people who want to do some service to the people as long as they agree on our 10 point program and platform.

All Power! Panther Love!

Chairman Shaka Zulu

End of Part 1 -- Part 2 will continue in the next issue of “Turning The Tide.”

Women Ignored in Incarceration Reform

J. Gabriel Ware, The Crime Report

<https://thecrimereport.org/2018/10/18/women-ignored-in-incarceration-reform-says-new-york-panel/>

Women are the fastest-growing population in U.S. jails, but the effect this has on families has been largely ignored, according to a panel at a New York conference in October.

Implementing long-term, meaningful solutions for women and families remain too few and far between, experts said at a three-person panel unveiling a new initiative aimed at reforming criminal justice system to better serve women.

“The damage this system does to the individual, it also does to their family,” said Soffiyah Elijah, executive director of the Alliance of Families for Justice, a New York-based nonprofit. “The damage it does to the family, it also does to the community—and the damage it does to that community, it does to our society as well.”

The panel, organized by The New York Women’s Foundation, was held to launch the foundation’s Justice Initiative & Collaborative Fund, a seven-year initiative to that focuses on ameliorating the effects of incarceration on women and families in the New York City.

In 2016, Vera Institute of Justice and the Safety and Justice Challenge, released a report that found the number of women in local jails in the US was almost 14 times what it was in the 1970s—a far higher growth rate than for men. 82% of women in jails suffer from alcohol or drug addiction, and many of them are poor and struggle with mental health issues

Female incarceration rates have increased, even as crime rates declined nationwide. In the U.S., about 80% of women in jail are mothers with young children, and many are single moms. They are often jailed and charged with minor offenses and have not been convicted.

Many incarcerated women are from rural communities, and researchers are beginning to explore solutions. This week, the Urban Institute released a study examining a pilot project in Tennessee that aims to address the particular needs of incarcerated women from rural communities.



In NY, through the Justice Initiative & Collaborative Fund, the NY Women’s Foundation plans to invest in community-based programs that include alternatives to incarceration for women and assistance to the families of jailed women, in collaboration with other foundations, nonprofit groups, and representatives from government, the private sector, and academia.

One key focus will be racial disparities in NY’s justice system that have landed a disproportionate number of African-American and Hispanic women behind bars.

Another priority is expediting women’s removal from Rikers Island—the city’s main jail complex that has earned a national reputation for neglect and abuse of incarcerated people—and investing in more humane and safe alternatives that promote justice.

Jonathan Lippman, a former Chief Judge of NY and the head of a commission that recommended the closure of Rikers, announced his support for the initiative at the event. “Women don’t belong (in Rikers Island),” he said. “The vast majority there are nonviolent, and there are definitely better places for them to be than in that miserable facility.” NYC Mayor Bill de Blasio announced last year that the jail could be closed by 2027.

Lippman chaired the Independent Commission on NYC Criminal Justice and Incarceration Reform, which was established to examine the future of the Rikers facility in the context of systemic criminal justice reform. Earlier this year, the Commission released an updated report, recommending that the facility be shut down sooner than 2027.

Announcing the Solitary Confinement Resource Center

By Jean Casella and James Ridgeway

<https://solitarywatch.org/2018/11/02/announcing-the-solitary-confinement-resource-center/>

The Solitary Confinement Resource Center is a curated, fully searchable database of media, research, firsthand accounts, court and policy documents, and advocacy tools on the use of solitary confinement in U.S. prisons, jails, and juvenile detention facilities.

Although some 80,000 people are held in isolation in the United States on any given day, solitary confinement units and supermax prisons long functioned as virtual black sites, hidden from the public, policymakers, and the press. Today, despite the best efforts of a system that

resists transparency, the body of information on solitary confinement is growing, but it remained scattered and difficult to access.

Believing that information can be a powerful force for change, Solitary Watch joined with the Unlock the Box national campaign to create this central, comprehensive bank of resources for use by advocates, journalists, scholars, educators, attorneys, health care providers, corrections officials, solitary survivors and their loved ones, and other concerned citizens who seek to shine a

light on one of the darkest corners of our criminal justice system.

We encourage Solitary Watch readers to explore the Solitary Confinement Resource Center, and use the form found on the site to suggest additional resources. Find it at <https://scrc.solitarywatch.org/>

The Solitary Confinement Resource Center is made possible through a grant from the Jacob and Valeria Langeloth Foundation.

100X100 Campaign to Increase Publication Frequency of Turning the Tide

Over its 30-year publishing history, *TTT* has been published in magazine format, as a 24-page tabloid, and from time to time on a bi-monthly basis, six issues a year. For the last few years, economic necessity has dictated that we guarantee four 8-page issues a year. Now, to restore bi-monthly publication, we have launched a fund-raising campaign we’ve dubbed “100X100.”

We are looking for one hundred people who will donate \$100 a year, or \$10/mo, to make it possible for *TTT* to resume publishing six issues a year, and continue mailing nearly 2000 copies of each issue into the prisons. You can donate online at <http://gofundme.com/eugzgg>.

Turning the Tide doesn’t print itself, or mail itself. Some prisoners who get the paper contribute a few stamps; their contribution more often comes by writing articles, letters and poems or sending in drawings. Often, they pass the copy of *TTT* that they received from hand to hand, cell to cell, or they send in the names and addresses of half-a-dozen or more other prisoners. **Prisoners, if you can find donors or subscribers outside prison to subsidize your sub, that would help a lot.**

If you’d like to see *Turning the Tide* more frequently, if you want to contribute to breaking down the walls of isolation and separation imposed by the prison system, please contribute. If you can’t manage \$100 all at once, you could donate \$10 a month. But any donation you make can help. Postage costs for a single issue of *TTT* are almost \$1000 and climbing. If you can’t donate yourself, please help spread the campaign via your social media, to your Facebook friends, Twitter followers,

and email contacts. Everything helps.

If the campaign is successful, we will resume publishing every other month in 2019. Postage is our biggest expense. Nobody gets paid at *TTT*. But the Postal Service is not so generous. We have a handful of people who are sustainers, making a monthly donation, a larger number of people who subscribe once a year or so. Right now, we are at 10% of our goal. LA supporters could set up house meetings, where the editor will pitch to your friends for support. The future of *Turning the Tide* is in your hands. Now, while you’re thinking about it, go to:

<http://gofundme.com/eugzgg>

and donate. Then share it with your contacts. With your help, *Turning the Tide* can step up to the “urgency of now” -- the necessity for radical organizing, educating and analyzing to respond to the growing crisis of the Empire -- endless war, police terror with impunity, mass incarceration, colonialism, ecological devastation that will shortly become irreversible.

If you think *TTT* is a useful tool in the struggle for people’s power and a new world, please donate today. If you wish, you can also just send cash, check or money order to **Anti-Racist Action, PO Box 1055, Culver City CA 90232.**

BI-PARTISAN HELL

[col. writ. 8/27/18] (c)'18 Mumia Abu-Jamal

In much of public discourse today, one hears the call for “bi-partisanship”, as in the nations two corporate political parties, working together to ‘get things done’.

One hears this mostly from corporate media elites, or intellectuals, who decry the lack of civility in today’s politics.

What does this mean in the real world? It is a plaintive plea that politicians play nicer. In practice, however, it really means that they unite before their funders to bequeath more and more of the nations’s wealth on them.

For the poor, the impoverished, the immigrant and the oppressed, it really means more war on them!

For the wealthy elites ever love disunion among the people; between irrelevancies -like race, ethnicity and social rank. They have ever and always tried to use race, language, age and other perceived differences, to drive workers at each other’s throats. They have ever stoked fear of the Other to secure their class ascendancy.

That’s the lesson of Trumpism, but he is not alone in this.

Do you oppose Trump because of his racist, fear-mongering call for the Wall?

On April 23, 2006, the NY Daily News published an article quoting Hillary Clinton saying ‘We need a wall’.

Immigrant wars, it seems, are bi-partisan, for both corporate parties utilize fear to drive voters to the polls.

Bi-parisan politics brought us NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), the AEDPA (the so-called Effective Death Penalty Act), the Chinese Exclusion Act - and so much more.

Bi-partisanship equals repression, amid the toothy smiles of political jackals.

—(c)'18maj

THE RIGHT TO RAPE

[col. writ. 10/20/18 (c) '18 Mumia Abu-Jamal]

It is difficult to use the title that this commentary bears, but upon reflection, it must be so, for the truth supports it.

For the truth is, this nation was born in rape. The rape of indigenous women (so called ‘Indians’) was considered but a spoil of war.

African women were ravished aboard slave ships, clad in rags and chains. Many women leaped into the dark, roiling sea, preferring death to how they were treated onboard by seamen.

Indeed, if the slave ships were a horror, American slave plantations were worse, for here women were raped systematically.

Why? Because the more they became pregnant, the more wealth they produced for the master class.

Black male slaves also played a role in this tragedy, for by raping women, they also increased a slaveowners’s wealth. Such men were considered prize bucks for the wealth they created for masters.

Indeed, up until the dawn of the 20th century, it wasn’t considered a crime to rape Black women; it was considered a white rite of passage!

Could those days, which lasted for centuries, not have radiated into the ignoble present?

Consider the commonality of sexual harassment and sexual assault in modern American life. Does anyone remember the Tailhook Scandal, where US servicemen took gross advantage of women in the ranks?

Everywhere we turn, we find evidence of clear misogyny against women, which, while expressed in rape, has its origins in an intense hatred and disregard of women.

One need look no further than the highest office in the land — the US presidency.

We witnessed it in the recent senatorial so-called ‘hearings’ in the [Brett] Kavanaugh nomination, where women were ignored, unheard and dismissed — even by other women!

But I guess ‘boys will be boys’, huh?

—(c) '18 maj

Native Hawaiians are filling private prisons in Arizona

By Brooke Fryer <https://www.sbs.com.au/nitv/article/2018/10/03/native-hawaiians-are-filling-private-prisons-arizona>

The over-representation of incarcerated Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) in Arizona prisons was one issue raised during the recent nationwide strike in the United States.

Some demands of the 19-day strike, which ended on September 9, included: ‘an immediate end to the racial overcharging, over-sentencing, and parole denials of Black and brown humans’; and ‘immediate improvements to the conditions of prisons and prison policies’.

Campaigners, such as Eric Tong, a PhD student at the University of Hawaii at Mānoa, were hoping to raise awareness of the practice of transferring of male Indigenous inmates from Hawaii to private prison facilities in Arizona.

Mr Tong highlighted in a Twitter thread how Kānaka Maoli inmates are being transferred to Saguaro Correctional Centre, which is run by detention centre and prison contractor CoreCivic.

CoreCivic has been contracted by the Department of Public Safety in Hawaii since 1998 to house some of its inmates in Arizona’s Saguaro Correctional Centre. The centre was built specifically to house Hawaiian inmates. The company also has a contract to house Hawaiian inmates at its Red Rock Correctional Centre in the state.

In solidarity with the #PrisonStrike today, here’s a thread about the nearly 1,500 pa’ahao kāne (the majority of Hawai’i’s incarcerated males) locked up at the Saguaro Correctional Center, a for-profit private prison in Arizona. pic.twitter.com/YIrT9Qu0od — E. TONG (@_iwakeli_i) August 21, 2018

In August 2018, 1453 inmates were being held at the Saguaro Correctional Centre, with 551 self-identifying as Kānaka Maoli.

“Over the years Hawaii’s inmate population has increased but prison space has not,” a Hawaii Department of Public Safety spokesperson told NITV News.

“If we did not have the ability to send inmates to Saguaro Correctional Centre, our largest in-state facility would be grossly overcrowded. “They can only return when sufficient bed space becomes available in Hawaii.”

Kānaka Maoli men over-represented

Carrie Ann Shirota, a lawyer with Hawaii Justice Coalition and Soros Justice Fellow, told NITV News Kānaka Maoli males are being sent to Arizona at rates much higher than other inmates. She said they are also more likely to be serving longer sentences.

“The majority of men who are sent to these private prisons [in Arizona] are Kānaka Maoli. They are already disproportionately over-incarcerated and over-represented... but they are also disproportionately sent from their ancestral homeland,” said Ms Shirota. 21% of the state-wide population are Kānaka Maoli, according to 2015 Pew Research data.

However Indigenous Hawaiians make up 39 per cent of the prison population in Hawaii, and 41 per cent of the out-



of-state prison population, as reported by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs in 2010.

Ms Shirota says Hawaii’s signing of a new three-year contract with CoreCivic last year means inmates will continue to be disconnected from their ‘ohana’.

“To physically move a person from their ancestral land... the idea that Hawaiians come from the land, they will return to the land... just moving people is injury to the person’s cultural identity,” Ms Ann Shirota said.

She believes the way Kānaka Maoli men are allowed to practice culture is very limited in Arizona. “It is very rare they are even allowed to gather... It’s not just like you can meet anytime you want,” she said. However the department told NITV News the inmates are allowed to practice culture at any time. “All inmates are allowed to participate in Native Hawaiian cultural programs at all of our facilities, including the contracted prison in Arizona, if they so choose,” the department said.

On-Line Resources for Turning the Tide & ARA-LA.

You can find archives of *Turning the Tide* at www.antiracist.org that go back more than 12 years.

In addition, there are several Facebook pages, such as facebook.com/tideturning, and facebook.com/intercommunalsolidarity. You can follow @ara_losangeles on Twitter, and the De-Colonize LA! blog at ara-la.tumblr.com.

URGENT APPEAL

We need your financial support to continue sending the paper free to nearly 2000 prisoners around CA and the US.

PLEASE SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

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Postage alone for this issue comes to nearly \$1000. We would like to increase the size and frequency of Turning the Tide, but we can only do it with your support. If you’re a prisoner and can send stamps or get someone outside the walls to subsidize your subscription, please do so. If you work with an info shop or other zine or record distro, please consider ordering a bundle of TTT to distribute; \$5 will get you 20 copies. And check out our 100X100 campaign elsewhere in this issue. If you live in L.A. or nearby, we can come to house meetings to speak and collect donations for the paper. Email antiracistaction_la@yahoo.com

Pittsburgh: The Dead End of Racism Tolerance

By: Hugo Marín González - November 3, 2018

<http://www.latinorebels.com/2018/11/03/pittsburghracism/>

Pittsburgh was the sad scene of a ruthless crime: the hate-driven racist Tree of Life synagogue murders of 11 members of the city's Jewish community in the historic Squirrel Hill neighborhood. In a small-sized city with almost 70% of the population white Caucasian, a tendency to legitimize equal rights seems to distort their collective sense of proportion when self-defining the boundaries of racism.

The world was astonished by the tragic events that took place inside the Tree of Life last Saturday. Now, we should take time to reflect on the impact a city's own culture of acceptance and tolerance for white supremacy and hate are influential in perpetuating systemic racism.

In recent years, Pittsburgh has become a hip destination for young professionals for its solid economy and affordable cost of living. It is home to a vibrant arts and music scene, overall a far cry from the city's steel mill industrial past. It is a sports-loving town with a blue collar pride. The media portrays the city as an example of what the United States of America truly represents.

Yet inside a local hot dog shop near Squirrel Hill, a paper sign taped on a wall tells residents to be aware of a violent group of neo-Nazi skinheads. According to the sign, this group has been physically attacking people and also actively recruiting new members around the city. They are the Pittsburgh chapter of the Keystone State Skinheads, a Pennsylvania-based white supremacist group. Unlike faceless hooded Ku Klux Klan members, skinheads in Pittsburgh are not afraid or ashamed to show their swastika armbands. On the contrary, they seem to wear them with pride. Some members are staple customers at taverns and bars associated with the punk



(Photo by J. Wagner)

rock scene. The word on the street is that their goal is to intimidate and drive away customers of color to maintain "safe white spaces."

A few years ago, while I was living in Pittsburgh's South Side, I was more than shocked to witness how it is socially acceptable to be a neo-Nazi identified by swastika armbands or t-shirts. Somehow they managed to comfortably get normal service at regular bars and restaurants all over the neighborhood. Ironically, including at a Mexican-themed restaurant called Iguana Grill.

One random night, on my way to have an after-work drink, I walked to a popular neighborhood bar in close proximity to my house called the Smiling Moose. As I approached the place, I saw a group of about six swastika-wearing skinheads walk into the bar. When I got to the door and concerned about my safety (dark brown skin and Puerto Rican with an accent), I inquired the bouncer about the presence of skinheads. He explained to me how neo-Nazis were hard working-class citizens who have the right to be served there. I turned around and slowly walked away, having just learned that in this city, the Nazi right to express their beliefs by intimidating imagery representative of violent death and racial hatred was more important than my personal safety.

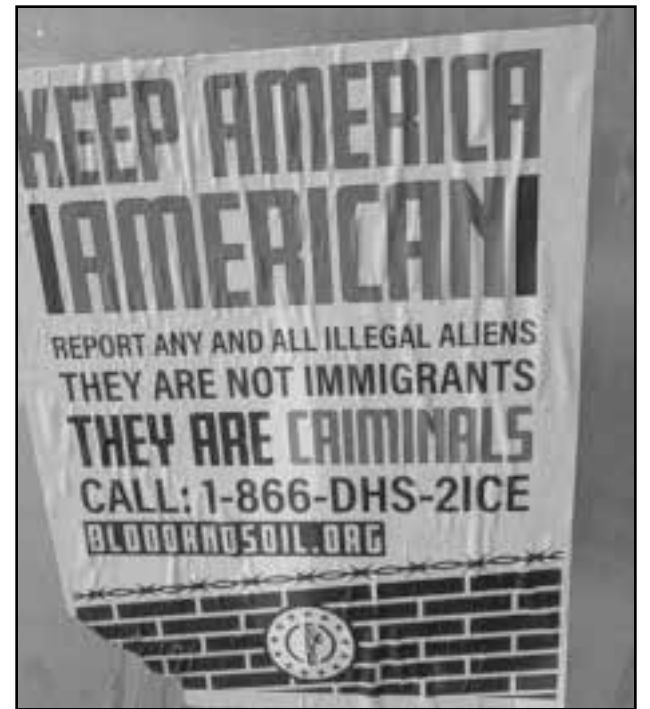
Although many white residents share a collective progressive notion which rejects racism, there is also a validation for the right to the freedom of speech and artistic expression—allowing an open space for white supremacy and racism to become rationally acceptable.

Pittsburgh's Real Soul?

In an attempt to modernize their image by recognizing the LGBTQ community, every June 12 Pittsburgh celebrates what they call "Sharon Needles Day." Since 2012 the day is dedicated to honor the career of drag queen performer Aaron Coady, better known by the stage name, Sharon Needles. Needles gained national notoriety after their participation on the popular TV show "Drag Race." Along with their success outside the TV show, Sharon's career has been tainted by use of swastikas during stage performances, constant racist remarks and the repeated use of the "N" word. Despite the controversy and under heavy criticism from local members of the LGBTQ community who felt Needles was not representative of them, the city council made "Sharon Needles Day" an official event. Today, it is still a common occurrence for trans people to be the target of violence and harassment from conservative white male residents.

In the heart of the trendy, hipster neighborhood of Lawrenceville, right on a corner wall at the intersection of 46th Street and Butler Street, a sign says that immigrants are criminals. For the people of Pittsburgh, seeing this kind of sign is as normal as seeing a Pepsi ad, a regular part of everyday life oftentimes ignored. This sign however was not to be overlooked. At the bottom of the sign, taking credit for the propaganda, was the

organization "Blood and Soil," a part of the "Patriot Front," a solid national network of anti-Semitic white supremacists.



(Photo by T. Samilson)

For years, I have been a city correspondent for *La Jornada Latina*, the only newspaper reporting in Spanish for Pittsburgh's Latino community. Last month, before the Squirrel Hill tragedy, I published an article making the Spanish-speaking community aware of the existence of these threatening campaign signs. For that story, I interviewed a city police officer who told me that he did not find the signs threatening.

Those words still stick to me today, one week after Squirrel Hill.

Pittsburgh is trying to heal and it deserves to heal. However, the city should learn how to eradicate any practice that re-centers white people in conversations about racism. We face unique issues that go unaddressed in a city that fails to acknowledge the disadvantages of vulnerable groups. In the end, this city continues to reinforce racism by further blurring the marginalization of those of us who are not white.

That needs to stop.

Hugo Marín González is a Puerto Rican linguist and a journalist, a regular correspondent for La Jornada Latina in Pittsburgh.

He holds a B.A. in Hispanic Linguistics from the Inter-American University of Puerto Rico in San German, PR.

Certain Days Political Prisoner Calendar 2019: Health/Care

We are happy to announce that 2019 Certain Days calendar are now available for sale. Use the discount code "BULK" to get 10 or more calendars for \$10 each. Shipping is free on orders over \$25.

You can order in the US/Internationally at: <https://burningbooks.com/products/certain-days-2019-calendar-awakening-resistance>

The Certain Days: Freedom for Political Prisoners Calendar is a joint fundraising and educational project between outside organizers in Montreal, Hamilton, New York and Baltimore, in partnership with a political prisoner being held in maximum-security prison in New York State, David Gilbert. Co-founders Robert Seth Hayes and Herman Bell were released from prison in 2018.

Your group can buy 10 or more for the rate of \$10 each and then sell them for \$15, keeping the difference for your organization. Many campaigns, infoshops and projects do this as a way of raising funds and spreading awareness about political prisoners. Use the discount code "BULK" to get 10 or more calendars for \$10 each.

This year's theme is "Health/Care," and features art and writings by David Gilbert, Bec Young, RISE: Radical Indigenous Survivance and Empowerment, Aviva Stahl, Debbie, Mike and Chuck Africa, Roger Peet, Addameer, Leah Jo Carnine, Suzy Subways, Farha Najah, Ashanti Alston, Alec Dunn, Barbara Zeller, Hikaru Ikeda, Giselle Dias, Micah Bazant, Alisha Walker, Fernando Marti, Sins Invalid, Tom Manning, Dave George, Laura Whitehorn, Frizz Kid, Abolitionist Law Center, Cindy Milstein, and more.

The proceeds from Certain Days 2019 will be divided among these groups: Addameer Prisoner Support and Human Rights Association (Palestine), Release Aging People in Prison (RAPP) and other groups in need.

Don't forget- if you buy 10 or more, be sure to use the discount code "BULK" to get 10 or more calendars for \$10 each.

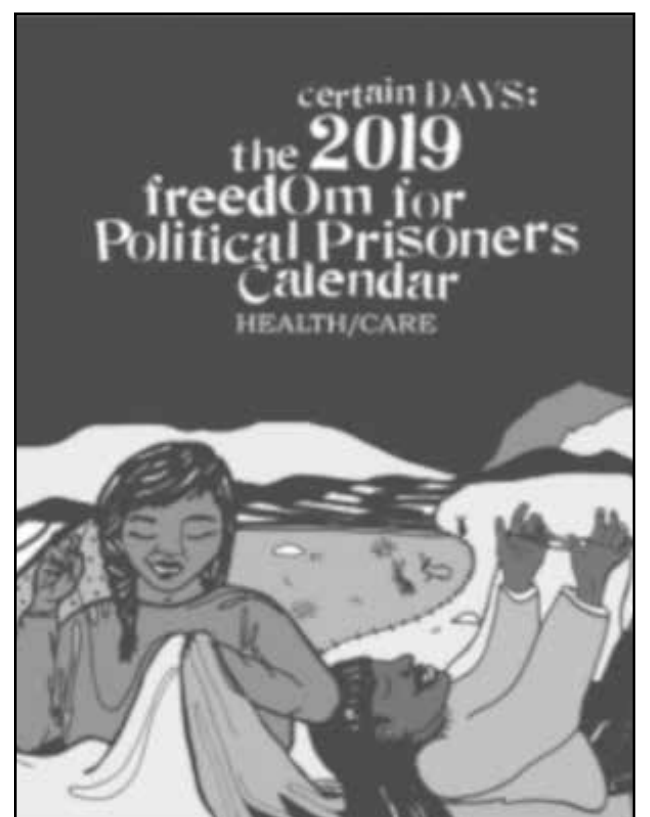
Certain Days - Freedom for Political Prisoners & Prisoners of War Calendar

<http://www.certaindays.org>

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Cover of Certain Days 2019 Freedom for Political Prisoners Calendar

THE TRANSFEMALE 36 MOVEMENT

by Geneva Kupanga

The 36 Movement is a political resistance of transsexual females within the context of our position as a socially oppressed people and our oppression as transwomen per se. The state is the principal source of our social, economic and political oppression, and is a source of our oppression as transwomen.

Transwomen need political power. In order to gain it, we must have political awareness and political representation. The 36 Movement is a resistance movement and a ground level political party of transwomen. We spread political awareness and provide an organizational structure so that we transwomen may resist in an informed, united and effective way.

Cadre of the 36 Movement struggle for political power and its application to our quality of life and existence. We go to the oppressor in political confrontation, which is our sole raison-d'être. We have no other.

The 36 Movement was spawned in the prison yards of CA along the Black August blueprint, as related to the creation, growth and momentum of revolutionary movement in the CA prisons as training camps for revolutionary cadre ("Blood In My Eye"). We are multi-ethnic, and our politics are essentially anti-state and trans-centric along a revolutionary discourse. We do not represent all transwomen, such as the reactionary and counter-revolutionary type, or upper-class transsexual bourgeois pigs. We represent ourselves as a political movement; our vested interest is in our day to day survival as oppressed people and as transwomen, basic principles that apply to all transwomen nevertheless. And we represent the narrow revolutionary path that very few are able to travel.



Graphic from buzzfeed.com



Under the circumstances of our imprisonment, a large portion of our political activity consists of confronting the state's oppression of us inside its prisons, by means of administrative litigation -- filing complaints against inhumane living conditions and for our particular needs as transwomen within the prison environment -- and judicial litigation in the courts. This is political activity: critiquing the state, and asserting our demands. We also outreach for public support of our resistance, and to spread awareness of our movement.

Political consciousness is only a first step. Cadre of the 36 Movement adjust their personal disposition into a revolutionary character in their interactions with people and with pigs. We do not use drugs or alcohol or traffic them, do not prostitute, do not abuse or steal from the people or assault them, and are not given to yard politics of a reactionary character. We stay the F-- away from police.

The 36 Movement is always recruiting among those who have an inner drive to confront our oppressors with a strong mind and an enduring spirit as a lifelong undertaking, even if that endangers their freedom and their lives. We encourage those who are serious about engaging in political resistance against our oppressors, and in political education, whether in outside society or in prison, to join the 36 Movement in our quest for political power. The 36 Movement is the only revolutionary political party of transwomen in the world. Those who wish to join our ranks must be vetted through our leadership. The objective of our resistance is the acquisition and application of political power towards our social peace and freedom.

--Geneva Kupanga, 36 Movement Leadership
Contact: Eva Contreras #C45857, PO Box 5103, Delano CA 93216

Neo-Fascist Backer of a New Military Dictatorship Elected President in Brazil

Far-right politician Jair Bolsonaro won the Brazilian presidential elections with over 55% of the vote, beating Workers Party (PT) candidate Fernando Haddad who scored 44.3% in an Oct. 28 run-off election between the top two vote-getters in the first round. Support for Bolsonaro grew by six million votes, giving him the majority; however, his opponent increased his tally by 13 million since the first-round elections earlier in the month, but still not enough to overtake Bolsonaro. Some 21.17% of Brazilians abstained from the theoretically-mandatory elections, while another 7.43% of the ballots were marked null.

Bolsonaro who presented himself a "strong man," threatening to impose a military government, announced that he will not speak to the press, but will be making all his public statements via social media,



apparently going Donald Trump one better. Trump sent him congratulations and wished him luck. Congratulations from other Latin American right-wing leaders began to flow in just minutes after the election results were announced. Chilean President Sebastian Piñera tweeted, "I congratulate the Brazilian people for a clean and democratic choice. I congratulate you @jairbolsonaro on your great electoral triumph. I invite you to visit Chile and I am sure that we will work with willpower, strength, and vision for the welfare of our people and the integration." Argentina's Mauricio Macri tweeted, "Congratulations to Jair Bolsonaro for the win in Brazil! I want us to work soon together for the relationship between our countries and the well-being of Argentines and Brazilians."

Speaking after the victory of the far-right Jair Bolsonaro, the candidate of the Workers' Party (PT), Fernando Haddad, indicated that he will use his political gains to work for the social unification of the Brazilian people. "We, who helped build one of the largest democracies in the world, are committed to maintaining it, and not accepting provocations, not accepting threats," Haddad told his supporters. The PT failings that led to defeat weren't addressed.

The leader of the Movement of Rural Landless Workers (MST), Joao Pedro Stedile, argues that the PT and the leftist organizations must build up strength and organize the people to face the government of Bolsonaro. According to Stedile, if the neoliberal agenda of the new government is materialized, it will generate a social chaos that will allow the popular movements to resume the offensive mass mobilizations. The social leader warned that the political left and social organizations have the challenge of organizing popular committees throughout Brazil in order to move towards a new debate in the country, on a new sovereign project for an egalitarian and just society. Both Haddad and Stedile acknowledge that after losing the second round of elections, the social movements should be reunited in order to create a great national movement that will allow them to face Bolsonaro's policies and return to power in Brazil. Neither spoke to the critique of the PT's role in conciliating Brazil's capitalists sub-imperial role in Latin America.



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TURNING THE TIDE

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UPCOMING EVENTS:

- ★ Nov. 12 - 30th Anniv. benefit dinner for Turning The Tide, 6:30p, Peace Center
- ★ Nov. 14 - Pacifica Elections scheduled: under protest for irregularities
- ★ Nov. 22 - No Thanks! Support Indigenous Sovereignty
- ★ Nov. 23 - "Black Friday" -- Buy Nothing Day, Boycott Walmart
- ★ Dec: Film Showing - "Symbols of Resistance" Date, time, venue TBA
- ★ Jan 2019 - Court Support for Melina Abdullah of BLMLA, 8:30a Crim Courts
- ★ Feb. 2019 - 55 Years Fighting Fascism, editor's birthday benefit for TTT.
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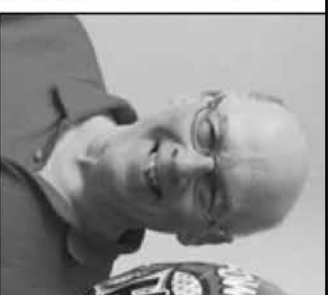
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Slaughter at the Tree of Life Synagogue, Pittsburgh PA
Honor & Remember Them through Solidarity, Resistance &
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