

Excerpts from a review by Tom Hayden and an exchange with Mike Davis on David Killcullen's *Out of the Mountains: URBAN COUNTERINSURGENCY*

by Tom Hayden

<http://tomhayden.com/home/kilcullens-new-urban-counterinsurgency-plan.html>

David Killcullen is the architect of the failed US counter-insurgency policies in Iraq. According to Bob Woodward, Killcullen was the top adviser to Gen. David Petraeus during the “surge” of targeted killings of Sunni insurgents, which was coupled with the US-funded alliance with competing Sunni tribes known as “The Awakening,” in 2007-8. The Pentagon declared victory over those insurgents based on a two-pronged approach of killing the “irreconcilables” while arming and funding the “reconcilables.” The terminology was from Petraeus but the doctrine was Killcullen’s.

Now that the insurgents the US “defeated” are rising again in Sunni regions of Iraq (and in Syria), a review of Killcullen’s thinking should be in order. But the public debate is narrowed into whether to blame Bush, Obama, or both, not examining the underlying counter-insurgency strategy. Killcullen was a proponent of the Long War doctrine that underlies our military policy, a war against Muslim insurgents projected to last 50-80 years, the length of the Cold War. In the Long War perspective, Iraq is only a “small war within a long one.”

But Killcullen’s recent writings leave Iraq and Afghanistan behind, to concentrate on the greatest current threat he sees: how to keep malignant, violent, irrational masses of desperate people at bay in a coming urban apocalypse. Killcullen’s *Out of the Mountains, the Coming Age of the Urban Guerrilla* (Oxford, 2013) is an important read. It has a blurb by Mike Davis, who writes on the book’s cover that, “Although (I am) an enemy of the state, I must concede that this is a brilliant book by the most unfettered, analytically acute mind in the military intelligentsia.”

Kilcullen lists Davis’s *Planet of the Slums* (2006) as a seminal work on the coming chaos centered in urban slums. Both authors see dystopian specters of anti-social violence arising from the underclass. Here the two thinkers part: the specter of urban collapse frightens Killcullen, while Davis is often intrigued by its possibilities. He has written sympathetically on LA street gangs, and recently wrote *A Brief History of the Car Bomb*, which Killcullen finds authoritative.

Kilcullen’s picture of the violent urbanized planet is “littoral” (coastal), swamped by population growth, paralyzed by lack of services, and connected as never before by new communications technologies. Such places turn “feral,” he writes, with mobs that can only be controlled by heavy police surveillance and ‘pacification’ programs. Killcullen defines the “feral city” as one where once-“domesticated” humans have “regressed to the wild.” He identifies his new enemy as multiple non-state armed actors, which include “urban street gangs, communitarian or sectarian militias, insurgents, bandits, pirates, armed smugglers or drug traffickers, violent organized criminal networks, vigilantes and armed public defender groups, terrorist organizations, warlord armies and certain paramilitary forces.” (p. 126)

Kilcullen warns that the violent threats often come from fluid, self-perpetuating outbursts by handfuls of people who briefly centralize before they evaporate. US security forces have to come down from the mountainous rural areas of Iraq and Afghanistan, Killcullen argues, and engage on the wired battlegrounds portrayed by Davis.

Kilcullen here might want to borrow more from Davis’s Marxism and less from his dystopia, since there’s no reference to class as a cause or solution in this 300-pp. work. One reason for the vast urban migrations of our era is the globalization of corporate and financial capital. When NAFTA came to Mexico, it displaced 1000s of campesinos and indigenous people who trekked north. When factories left LA for cheap labor havens abroad, tens of thousands of young people of color were stranded in Watts with few opportunities but drugs and gangs. Either Killcullen doesn’t think there are root causes, or believes it’s too late for anything but security measures. To be fair, he does incorporate a few lines about the crisis of inequality on page 247, speculating that while, “inequality *per se* might not be the problem... inequality without opportunity... can create lethal resentments.” He goes no further, except to hope that civic society will generate that quota of hope necessary to keep people clinging to reform above the abyss.

Kilcullen seems blocked by his conceptual model from seeing why people might freely choose revolution or violence as options. In his model, radical social movements give rise to power-driven “predators” who seek control over innocent populations. Whether racketeers, underground communist revolutionaries, al-Qaeda recruiters, or other non-state actors, they act out a script of top-down manipulation. They use grievances to mobilize recruits, “blood them” through violent

confrontations with rival groups, “groom them” through involvement in illicit actions, and lead them into “an ever-greater level of illegality and alienation from society,” finally absorbing them into a trap they cannot leave. In previous writings, Killcullen has described trapped villagers as being “accidental guerrillas” because they have been coerced to choose the insurgent side or face terrible consequences. The basic flaw in this model is Killcullen’s inability to accept that the nationalist, radical or revolutionary anti-Western aspirations of these populations can be sincere and independent. Instead, he argues that people are manipulated into taking sides based on the need to keep their families safe. They secretly help the extremists because they have to, not because they want to. To think otherwise would require Killcullen to revise his own assumptions about race, class, imperialism, colonialism, religion, and a host of factors that affect the choices of people under oppression.

Kilcullen has joined a national security cult which evolved since Vietnam. These mostly liberal warriors originated with the Kennedy administration’s counterinsurgency approach of isolating “irreconcilables” while winning the “hearts and minds” of the peasantry. In the 60s in South Vietnam, this crystallized in the Phoenix Program, a CIA-led effort to identify and capture villagers suspected of operating as agents in the NLF’s clandestine infrastructure in health care, education and literary, rice-growing and local security operations. These village networks were easier targets for the US and Saigon than the ‘Vietcong’ and allied NVA in jungle sanctuaries or underground tunnels.

Phoenix, as revealed in congressional testimony, aimed to kill, imprison and torture thousands of South Vietnamese, confining the rest in “strategic hamlets” similar to the reservations built in US Indian Wars. The Phoenix Program folded amid protests against torture by South Vietnam and their American trainers, which should have left the Phoenix Program in the dustbin of history [after the US loss]. But Phoenix rose from the ashes. Military leaders like Petraeus argued that Phoenix would’ve succeeded if liberals hadn’t ended the war prematurely. Petraeus restored the myth as official doctrine while in Iraq, then incorporated Phoenix as a forgotten model of “success” in the 2007 revised US Army-Marine Counterinsurgency Field Manual written with Harvard liberals at the Carr Center. To drive home the point, Killcullen wrote a document which called for a “global Phoenix Program.”

One wonders how Killcullen plans to isolate the “real terrorists” from the millions of “innocents” in quiet desperation or those, like Mike Davis, who consider themselves enemies of the state. Is cyber-warfare what lies beyond counterinsurgency? Will Anonymous be the equivalent of the Vietcong “headquarters” which was never located? If the enemy is information in our heads, who is the sniper and who the Pied Piper? One thing is certain. Despite Killcullen’s trouble in accounting for the past, he always is on the front lines of the military future.

The following exchange occurred on The Rag Blog on July 9, 2014 between Mike Davis and Tom Hayden:

Mike Davis says:

Tom’s correct to assert a continuity of intellectual hubris and moral depravity between McNamara’s whiz kids and the Rumsfeld-era ‘revolution in military affairs.’ What are Obama’s drones except a robot version of Phoenix? Tom may also be prescient in implying that the current celebrity of the unorthodox ‘warrior thinker’ doesn’t put any new ideas on the empire’s table. But *Down from the Hills* does register with stark honesty a reality that foreign policy mandarins have generally ignored: the consequences of a billion poor people in peripheral slums with negligible hope of ever finding employment in the formal world economy. An agricultural ‘apocalypse’ has driven hundreds of millions into cities where, apart from the world factory of China and its periphery, capitalism no longer creates jobs or rewards education. Without an international red menace incubating in the slums, governments have abdicated everything except police violence and extortion in their poorest, fastest-growing urban districts.

Into this “vacuum,” Killcullen claims, has rushed a mob of terrorist militias and super street gangs who have transformed the despair of the young into a new strategic weapon: suicide bombers. A chief architect of counter-partisan warfare in the Middle East, he now concedes that special-ops can be a steroid to the movements it seeks to behead. So ‘smart power’ must now pay attention to underlying causes. Indeed his analysis drives him part way into the arms of ex-1960s-guerrilla Dilma Rousseff, Brazil’s president, who extols the military occupation of Rio’s *favelas* as ‘profound reform.’

If you carefully read Killcullen and the thinking at the Naval War College, you’ll see that the Pentagon’s killing machines are not the most profound danger ahead. Rather it’s the fact that the military intellectuals are already exploring the consequences of writing off the future of a large part of humanity. During the Cold War there was no social group or acre of sovereign land that wasn’t seen as valuable by one side or another. Ideology had to rhetorically address the condition of all humanity. With the collapse of the USSR, the ‘Free World’ became an unnecessary pretense on a planet of free markets. Any vision of common humanity was abdicated to NGOs and UN speeches. What material interest now remains in wooing the poor or helping them adapt to global warming? What geopolitical [value] do they possess in a world without a powerful international left?

The ultimate warning of my book *Planet of Slums* was about the ‘triage of humanity’ that since the 1990s had become the new unspoken framework of international politics. The greatest evil is no longer that capital exploits labor but that it expels it from the circuits of production entirely. To the extent that this surplus humanity poses no realistic threat of reorganizing society on more egalitarian principles, it’s simply a problem whose ultimate management – after the helicopter gunships and Predators – may be through pandemic disease, famine, and unnatural disaster.

In another fraternization with the enemy, I had a beer with an admiral who wanted to pick my brain about the convergence of urban poverty and natural disaster. He emphasized that only the US Navy could bring the infrastructure of a medium-sized city (in the form of ships supplying power, medicine, supplies, helicopters, etc) to a littoral region devastated by floods or quakes. “No one else – not China, Russia, the UK or the UN – has this capability. But here’s the rub,” he said, “Congress will never authorize serious expansion of humanitarian missions, when we’re likely to see more Katrinas and Superstorm Sandys on our own coasts.” I completed his thought, “So, no one would ride to the rescue.” “That’s right,” he said, “no one. And this is the kind of future that some of us at Newport [Naval War College] have been trying to understand.”

Tom Hayden says:

Mike Davis reiterates the chilling conclusion that millions of people living at the global margins will die as a result of their complete irrelevance to the global masters of corporate power. What Mike predicted in *Planet of Slums*, and was cited by Killcullen, is already occurring on a massive scale.

I’m not certain that this will come to pass without a new dialectics of resistance emerging. But an obvious lesson we all need to ponder is how Killcullen and the security apparatus simply assume that the techniques of fighting “terrorism” honed abroad should be, and are being, reproduced at home. Or is it the other way around, that the SWAT teams born in the domestic “wars” on gangs and drugs were the model for our massive counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency policies abroad? I know, for example, that LAPD anti-gang specialists have consulted with US forces in Baghdad. Wherever it began, Killcullen’s book reveals how encircled we are by the doctrine. And to go deeper into our unexamined past, notions of ridding countries of their “surplus” populations are rooted in Western policy going back to Lord Trevelyan.

But there is a strategic opportunity I see in Killcullen’s security nightmare: that whole populations can’t be written off as redundant, without resistance of many kinds. For example, the mass incarceration of young people of color hasn’t prevented a strong movement to curb the “prison-industrial complex” and a rising concern about the drain of billions that could be invested in energy, health and educational needs. Movements for civil liberties and domestic priorities are a threat to the War on Terror and the surveillance state. Similarly, the requirements of escalating secrecy in the War on Terror have led to a new generation of whistle-blowers and opposition by many of both liberal and libertarian stripes.

As time goes on, the public will realize that the War on Terror is breeding more “terrorist” attacks, both at home and abroad. A popular platform for the Left might be to argue everywhere that the current wars are unwinnable, unaffordable, undemocratic and unsafe. We have a window of opportunity before the inevitable coming of the next 9/11.

Like Mike, I see some evidence that even Killcullen understands the need for what used to be known as social programs, if only to dampen the domestic rage that threatens the status quo. Killcullen makes brief reference to Occupy and the recent work by Thomas Piketty as trends worth examining. One hopes for the gradual “demilitarizing” of Killcullen’s thought. Some of our strongest social justice advocates, after all, have emerged from backgrounds as hardcore militarists. Engaging Killcullen’s thought is a project worth pursuing, even if he cannot become the next Daniel Ellsberg any time soon.

Editor’s note: *The Empire understands, as the left often does not, that colonialism requires constant war, that the exploiters and oppressors depend on those they exploit and oppress for their wealth and power, and that the people have the capacity to make history through their struggle for liberation.*

Border Wars in the Homeland

by Todd Miller (Excerpts from “Tom’s Dispatch”)

Hard-line “border policing” has moved inland. The sort of intrusions that once would have qualified as unconstitutional have moved in startling numbers into the interior of the country.

Imagine the once thin borderline of the past as an ever-thickening band, now extending 100 miles inland around the US -- along the 2,000-mile southern border, the 4,000-mile northern border, and the coasts -- and you will visualize how vast Customs and Border Protection’s jurisdiction has become. This “border” covers places where 2/3 of the US population (197.4 million people) live. ACLU calls it a “constitution-free zone.” The “border” has devoured all of Maine and Florida and much of Michigan.

Homeland Security can patrol with broad, extra-constitutional powers for national security, immigration enforcement, and drug interdiction. The Border Patrol can set up traffic checkpoints and fly surveillance drones with high-res cameras and radar to track your movements. Within 25 miles of the international boundary, CBP agents can enter private property without a warrant.

“Border Patrol checkpoints and roving patrols are the physical world equivalent of the National Security Agency,” says attorney James Lyall of ACLU Arizona. “They involve a massive dragnet and stopping and monitoring of innocent Americans without any suspicion of wrongdoing by increasingly abusive and unaccountable federal agents.” Shena Gutierrez shared the story of her husband at a 48-hour vigil before she was pulled in abusively herself. There were no cameras to record how 11 agents “subdued” Jose Gutierrez Guzman, as the CBP put it in its official report on the incident. Its claim: that Jose “struck his head on the ground,” their way of accounting for the hospital’s eventual diagnosis of “blunt force trauma.”

Considering the extent of Jose’s injuries, that report is questionable. Many Border Patrol agents now use the term “tonk” -- the sound a flashlight supposedly makes when it bangs against someone’s head -- as their way of describing border-crossers. Jose was also repeatedly zapped with a Taser. He was so badly beaten that, more than three years later, he still suffers seizures.

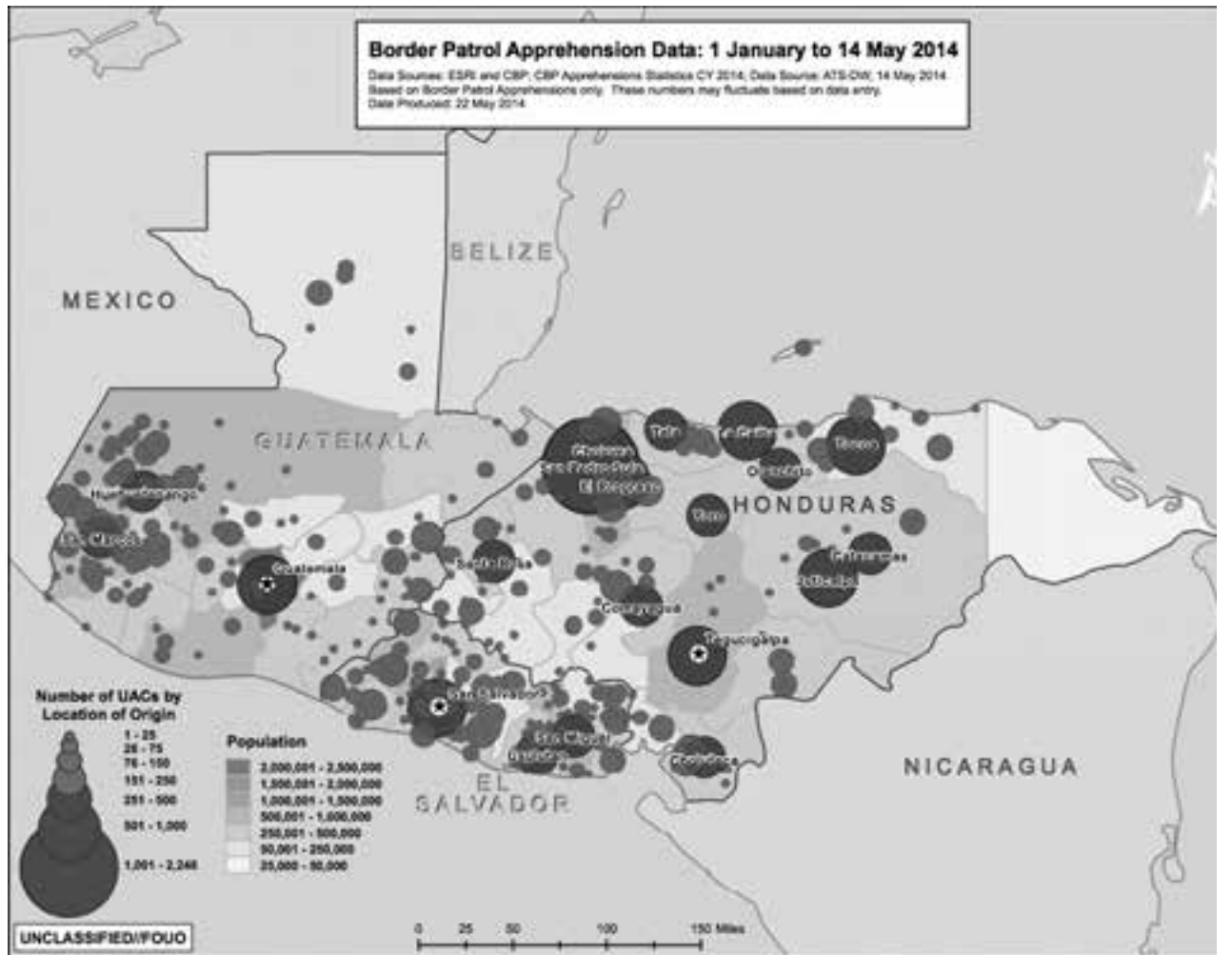
State Department whistleblower Peter Van Buren has dubbed this the “Post-Constitutional Era.” As he writes, “the government might as well have taken scissors to the Constitution stored in the National Archives, crumpled up the Fourth Amendment and tossed it in the garbage.”

A Standing Army

The 100-mile zone was created in laws passed in the ‘40s and ‘50s at a time when the Border Patrol had a miniscule budget and 1,100 agents. Today, Customs and Border Protection has more than 60,000 employees and is by far the largest federal law enforcement agency in the country. According to constitutional attorney John Whitehead, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), created in 2002, is efficiently and ruthlessly building “a standing army on American soil.” With 240,000 employees and a \$61 billion budget, the DHS is militarizing police units, stockpiling millions of rounds of hollow-point ammunition, spying on activists, and building detention centers. CBP is the uniformed and most visible component of this “standing army.” It has its own air force and navy, an Office of Air and Marine equipped with 280 vessels, 250 aircraft, and 1,200 agents.

There have never been so many miles of walls and barriers, or such an array of sophisticated cameras capable of operating at night or in daylight. Motion sensors, radar, cameras on towers, and drones, all feed information into control rooms throughout the borderlands. There, agents can surveil activity over large stretches of territory on sophisticated video walls. This enforcement regime is now moving into the 100-mile zone. Such technological capability also involves storing staggering amounts of personal information in digital databases.

The border, post 9/11, has become a place where manufacturers, eyeing a market in an “unprecedented boom,” are re-purposing war technology for Homeland Security. “Bringing the battlefield to the border” has created an unprecedented enforcement, incarceration, and expulsion machine aimed at the foreign-born (or often simply foreign-looking). The result is a permanent, low-intensity state of exception that makes the expanding borderlands a place where millions of borderland residents become the targets of continual surveillance. CBP agents are, for instance, in cities like Rochester, NY and Erie, PA, in WA, VT, FL, and all international airports. Homeland Security officials are scrutinizing people’s belongings, including their electronic devices. Just ask



The Border Patrol’s map of the places of origin of the children it has been arresting and deporting corresponds closely to the map of the areas in Central America with the highest homicide rates. Honduras had the highest homicide rate in the world for the second year in a row last year thanks to the impact of a US sponsored military coup and transplanting of US-based street organization and criminal networks to Central America via deportations. Just as the ‘border’ now extends deep into the US, the Empire respects no borders in its desperate search for profit and control.

Pascal Abidor, an Islamic studies doctoral student whose computer was turned on by CBP agents in Champlain, NY. When an agent saw that he had a picture of a Hezbollah rally, she asked Abidor, a US citizen, “What is this stuff?” His answer -- that he was studying the modern history of the Shiites -- meant nothing to her; his computer was seized for 10 days. Between 2008 and 2010, the CBP searched the electronic devices of more than 6,500 people.

Despite all this, the message politicians and the media generally offer is that the country needs more agents, new techno-gadgets, and even more walls for our “safety.” In that context, President Obama on July 7th asked Congress for an additional \$3.7 billion for “border security.” Since last October, in what officials have called a “humanitarian crisis,” 52,000 unaccompanied children, mostly from Central America, have been apprehended by Border Patrol agents. News and photos of some of those children, including toddlers, parentless and incarcerated in warehouses in the Southwest, have led to a flood of articles, many claiming that border security is “strained.” A Border Patrol Union representative typically claimed that the border is “more porous than it’s ever been.” While such claims are ludicrous, all signs point to more money being packed aboard what Whitehead has called a “runaway train.”

Homeland Security surveillance in the Southwest is so pervasive it nabbed Willie Nelson in TX for marijuana possession. It detained 96-year-old former Arizona governor Raul Castro and made him stand in 100-degree heat for more than 30 minutes because a dog detected the radiation from his pacemaker. In the past three years in Tucson, the Patrol has made more than 6,000 arrests at checkpoints. But this is no longer just a matter of inland areas near the Mexican Border. A Border Patrol agent forced VT Senator Patrick Leahy from his car at a checkpoint 125 miles south of the New York border. The ACLU unearthed a plan for CBP to operate checkpoints to stop southbound traffic on all five highways through that state.

Constitution-Free Zone

On Sundays in Sodus, NY, 30 miles east of Rochester, Border Patrol vehicles can be parked in front of a laundromat which farm-workers use. In Erie, PA, agents wait at the Greyhound bus terminal or the Amtrak station to question people arriving. These are places the Border Patrol was all but unknown before 2005. In Detroit, simply being at a bus stop at four in the morning en route to work or fishing in the Detroit River is now “probable cause” for an agent to question you. Or perhaps it’s simply the color of your skin. Arrest records from both bus terminals and railway stations in Rochester show that of the 2,776 arrests between 2005 and 2009, 71.2% were of “medium”

complexion (likely of Latino or Arab background) and 12.9% “black.” Only 0.9% of those arrested were of “fair” complexion.

According to the ACLU’s Lyall, the fact is that the abuses of Customs and Border Protection in that Constitution-free zone are “massively underreported” and “far more prevalent than anyone has been able to document.” Many people, according to him, are simply afraid to come forward; others don’t know their rights.

Shena Gutierrez returned to the same Nogales “port of entry” where her husband was injured and she was abused with two other activists to lodge a complaint about the earlier incident, where the contents of her purse had been spilled on the floor and intentionally and repeatedly stepped on by an agent. When she refused to leave (for which she now faces charges), the CBP arrested her again and detained her for hours. This time they did what she described as “an invasive body search.”

“I told them that I had not given my consent to be touched.” They nonetheless made her take off her wedding ring “for safety,” saying they “would force it off her.” Again, the handcuffs cut into her wrists. This time, an agent kicked her in the ankle from behind. A female agent searched her from head to toe and in her private parts, because she “might have drugs or contraband or documents.” As the agent groped her, she told me, she began to think yet again about what her husband had gone through. If this can happen to a U.S. citizen, she told me, “Imagine what happens to a person without documents.” Imagine what can happen to anyone in a realm where, increasingly, anything goes, including the Constitution.

Todd Miller, a TomDispatch regular, has researched and written about U.S.-Mexican border issues for more than 10 years. He now writes on border and immigration issues for NACLA Report on the Americas and its blog “Border Wars,” among other places. His first book is *Border Patrol Nation: Dispatches From the Front Lines of Homeland Security*. You can follow him on twitter @memomiller and view more of his work at toddwmiller.wordpress.com.

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Editor’s Note: *As the Empire recognizes, and Mumia Abu-Jamal expresses from the people’s point of view on the next page, colonialism means war; whether on the militarily imposed border; in occupied Palestine, or in the urban free-fire zones of police impunity. Hewlett-Packard contracts for the Israeli occupation, ICE detention camps, and the prison-industrial mass incarceration system. Boycott H-P!*

One struggle, many fronts! All Power to the People!

Urgent Call from Gaza Civil Society: Act Now!

The Electronic Intifada

<http://electronicintifada.net/content/urgent-call-gaza-civil-society-act-now/13558>

We Palestinians trapped inside the bloodied and besieged Gaza Strip call on conscientious people all over the world to act, protest and intensify the boycotts, divestment and sanctions against Israel until it ends this murderous attack on our people and is held to account.

With the world turning their backs on us once again, for the last four days we in Gaza have been left to face massacre after massacre. As you read these words, over 190 Palestinians are dead now, including 36 children. Over 1,200 have been injured including countless horrifying injuries that will limit lives forever -- more than two thirds of the injured are women and children.

We know for a fact that many more will not make it through the next day.

Which of us will be next, as we lie awake from the sound of the carnage in our beds tonight? Will we be the next photo left in an unrecognizable state from Israel's state-of-the-art flesh-tearing, limb-stripping machinery of destruction?

We call for a final end to the crimes and oppression against us. We call for:

* **Arms embargos on Israel, sanctions that would cut off the supply of weapons and military aid from Europe and the United States on which Israel depends to commit such war crimes;**

* **Suspension of all free trade and bilateral agreements with Israel such as the EU-Israel Association agreement <<http://www.enpi-info.eu/library/content/eu-israel-association-agreement>> ;**
* **Boycott, divestment and sanctions, as called for <<http://www.bdsmovement.net/call>> by the overwhelming majority of Palestinian civil society in 2005**

Without pressure and isolation, the Israeli regime has proven time and time again that it will continue such massacres as we see around us now, and continue the decades of systematic ethnic cleansing, military occupation and apartheid policies <www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/1.599422>.

We are writing this on Saturday night, again paralyzed in our homes as the bombs fall on us in Gaza. Who knows when the current attacks will end? For anyone over seven years old, permanently etched on our minds are the rivers of blood that ran through the Gaza streets when for over three weeks in 2009 over 1,400 Palestinians were killed, including over 330 children.

White phosphorous and other chemical weapons were used in civilian areas and contaminating our land with a rise in cancers as a result. More recently 180 more were killed in the week-long attacks in late November 2012. This time what? 200, 500, 5,000? We ask: how many of our lives are dispensable enough until the world takes action? How much of our blood is sufficient? Before the Israeli bombings, a member of the Israeli Knesset Ayelet Shaked of the far-right Jewish Home party called for genocide <<http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/why-im-on-the-brink-of-burning-my-israeli-passport-9600165.html>> of the Palestinian people. "They should go, as should the physical homes in which they raised the snakes," she said. "Otherwise, more little snakes will be raised there."

Right now nothing is beyond the murderous nature of the Israeli State, for we, a population that is mostly children, are all mere snakes to them. As said <<http://gazatimes.blogspot.ca/2014/07/day-2-of-israeli-aggression-on-gaza-72.html>> Omar Ghraib in Gaza, "It was heart shattering to see the pictures of little boys and girls viciously killed. Also how an elderly woman was killed while she was having her iftar at Maghreb prayer by bombing her house. She died holding the spoon in her hand, an image that will need a lot of time to leave my head."

Entire houses are being targeted and entire families are being murdered. Early Thursday morning the entire al-Haj family was wiped out - the father Mahmoud, mother Bassem and five children. No warning, a family targeted and removed from life. Thursday night, the same again, no warning, five more dead including four from the Ghannam family, a woman and a seven year old child amongst them <<http://www.maannews.net/eng/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=711990>>

On Tuesday morning the Kaware family did get a phone call telling them their three-story house would be bombed. The family began to leave when a water tank was struck, but then returned with members

BEATINGS

[column written 7/7/14] © 2014 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

The scenes are, unfortunately, all too familiar.

A person is beaten, ruthlessly, relentlessly, by a cop (or a group of cops).

A video is released, and, at least initially, public sympathy flows to the beaten figure on the bottom.

Before long, however, the counter-narrative emerges, the beaten was belligerent, combative, resisted arrest -- or, worst of all, was on drugs! Then, the story goes away. Done!

In California, a 51 year old grandmother is pummeled by a cop, throwing something like a dozen punches in bunches. He is hitting her like she's a man.

In occupied Palestine, a teenager, 15 year old Tariq Abu Khdeir is seen punched, kicked and stomped by black uniformed cops, who then place the child, now beaten into a stupor, into a waiting vehicle.

The grandmother? Police say she was playing in traffic.

The teenager? Cops said he was with boys with knives.

Yeah. So they beat them.

The videos are chilling. They are Rodney King, without the batons. They are Delbert Africa, without the rifle butts.

And they are SOP (standard operating procedure). It's what cops do.

Until people saw actual tapes of police in action, the police and the media were able to play it down.

But this is the age of social media.

And you see what you see.

Pigs in action; beating women and children -- because they can.

--© '14maj



of the community, who all came to the house to stand with them, people from all over the neighborhood. The Israeli jets bombed the building with a roof full of people, knowing full well it was full of civilians. Seven people died immediately, including five children under 13 years old. Twenty-five more were injured, and eight-year-old Seraj Abd al-Aal succumbed <<http://dci-palestine.org/documents/eight-children-killed-israeli-airstrikes-over-gaza>> to his injuries later that evening.

Perhaps the family was trying to appeal to the Israeli regime's humanity, surely they wouldn't bomb the roof full of people. But as we watch families being torn apart around us, it's clear that Israel's actions have nothing to do with humanity.

Other places hit include a clearly-marked media vehicle, killing the independent journalist Hamed Shehab, injuring eight others, a hit on a Red Crescent rescue vehicle and attacks on hospitals which caused evacuations and more injuries.

This latest session of Israeli barbarity is placed firmly in the context of Israel's inhuman seven-year blockade that has cut off the main life-line of goods and people coming in and out of Gaza, resulting in the severe medical and food shortages being reported by all our hospitals and clinics right now.

Cement to rebuild the thousands of homes destroyed by Israeli attacks had been banned and many

injured and ill people are still not being allowed to travel abroad to receive urgent medical treatment which has caused the deaths of over 600 sick patients. As more news comes in, as Israeli leaders give promises of moving onto a next stage in brutality, we know there are more horrors yet to come. For this we call on you to not turn your backs on us. We call on you to stand up for justice and humanity and demonstrate and support the courageous men, women and children rooted in the Gaza Strip facing the darkest of times ahead. We insist on international action:

* **Severance of diplomatic ties with Israel**
* **Trials for war crimes**
* **Immediate international protection of the civilians of Gaza**

We call on you to join the growing international boycott, divestment and sanction campaign to hold this rogue state to account that is proving once again to be so violent and yet so unchallenged. Join the growing critical mass around the world with a commitment to the day when Palestinians do not have to grow up amidst this relentless murder and destruction by the Israeli regime. When we can move freely, when the siege is lifted, the occupation is over and the world's Palestinian refugees are finally granted justice. ACT NOW, before it is too late!

Signed by:

Palestinian General Federation of Trade Unions
University Teachers' Association in Palestine
Palestinian Non-Governmental Organizations Network (Umbrella for 133 orgs)
General Union of Palestinian Women
Medical Democratic Assembly
General Union of Palestine Workers
General Union for Health Services Workers
General Union for Public Services Workers
General Union for Petrochemical and Gas Workers
General Union for Agricultural Workers
Union of Women's Work Committees
Pal-Cinema (Palestine Cinema Forum)
Youth Herak Movement
Union of Women's Struggle Committees
Union of Synergies-Women Unit
Union of Palestinian Women Committees
Women's Studies Society
Working Woman's Society
Press House
Palestinian Students' Campaign for the Academic Boycott of Israel
Gaza BDS Working Group
One Democratic State Group



Left: One of four Palestinian youths killed on a beach in Gaza by shelling carried out by an Israeli military vessel.

TOTAL VICTORY IS WHEN OUR PEOPLE ARE FREE...

by Etana Shakur and Mecca Shakur

Revolutionary Greetings! Black Power!
All Power to the People!

We would like to thank all of our supporters, ancestors, and God for all the love and strength that was given to us. There is no way we could be walking the streets today if it was not for that righteous POWER backing us up. Now we must all pick up the fight and deliver our people from the hells of racist AmeriKKKa.

As long as the evil forces of white supremacy, capitalism, and U.S imperialism still run rampant on the planet, we can never truly be free. We on the streets are in nothing but minimum security while those of us behind bars in concentration camps are in maximum security! Just like Malcolm X taught us years ago, AmeriKKKa is a big prison for black people! Also, Black Women are the fastest growing prison population in the racist Empire.

We are asking now that you support our other comrades who have fought diligently against the oppressors like General T.A.C.O, Comrade Jihad, and all of the numerous brothers who still face highly-charged political trials for their Revolutionary beliefs and actions for 18 years now!

We must never forgive or forget the brutal murders of OUR people like Oscar Grant, Trayvon Martin, Jordan Davis, and many more. Malcolm X said, "I don't call it violence when it's self-defense, I call it intelligence!" Also, to our house negro political haters and racist enemies who try to slander and smear, harass, jail, or kill us: We will not give up the fight!

Black Men and Women have a right to say "NO"

The Psychological Effects of Confrontational Politics

Revolutionary greetings; this is your brother and servant. I extend this letter to those who fearlessly pursue liberation. Brothaz, sistaz, comrades, I address you today with great ambition: **THE AMIBITION OF A RYDAH.**

- Lieutenant Tupac Amaru Shakur

As we well know, the success of resistance can be measured by the repression it receives. As should this repression be a motivating factor of greater resistance. Karl Marx's concept of permanent revolution taught us that we must struggle with no compromise despite the political or military dominance of the opposing fascist state.

Historical materialism teaches us to scientifically dissect the tactical maneuvers of past revolutions across the world. Through this process, we can weave out the past mistakes, then draw from them their successes and lessons. Furthermore, we attempt to update and re-implement the tactics renegotiating them to our current conditions.

This can be seen in action through the Black Riders Liberation Party's (BRLP) ideology and practice of confrontational politics. Examples of this practice can be seen in many of our programs such as: The Watch a Pig Program, the Squeeze a Slum Lord Program, and The BRLP Court Watch program, as was demonstrated in the people's most recent victory in the case of our comrades Etana and Mecca Shakur.

The Watch a Pig Program, for example, was developed and adopted from the Black Panther Party's (BPP) Community Alert Patrol. The BPP would exercise their constitutional right to patrol and observe the vicious Oakland PIG department carrying out their duties, while openly brandishing shotguns and M1 carbine rifles to establish that any brutalization of the people would be met with extreme hostility. The armed and disciplined Panther formation utilized this tactic to modify individual PIG behavior, through confronting the PIGs with legal and military means. This meant that the Panthers' armed presence, legal savvy, combined with their sheer audacity, struck terror in the fragile hearts of the racist Oakland PIG department. While this was a small yet important victory, it was not the primary goal of the (community alert patrol). Which was to teach black people, community self-defense through what Minister of Defense/Dr. Huey P. Newton called Observation and Participation.

Revolution is not an apple that falls when it is ripe. You must make it fall.

-Commander /Dr. Ernesto (Che) Guevara

Observation and participation was a tool used to build the morale of a people who have been whipped, raped, sold, terrorized, and humiliated into submission for 500-plus years, by the racist white power structure. These small victories captured the imagination of the people dwelling in the predominantly black communities of Oakland, and were a vital organizing mechanism.

In the mid 90's the BLACK RIDERS LIBERATION PARTY modified and re-engaged this tactic using disciplined paramilitary formation, advanced communication devices, high definition video cameras, and a wide range of legal weapons including: knives, swords, staffs, expanding batons, stun guns, machetes,



Community support, packed courtrooms and a political defense helped Minister Of Community Programs Etana Shakur (left), Minister Of Information Mecca Shakur (right) beat charges of battery on a cop who tried to assault them. Defend self-defense!

to racist attacks! Black Power! All Power To The People!
Black Women Are Panthers Too!

Women are strong leaders and teachers in our organization! This is knowledge taught to us by General T.A.C.O. Don't politically hate, just congratulate! Fred Hampton Sr. said, "You can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail the revolution! You can kill a revolutionary, but you can't kill the revolution!" Our Shero and example is Assata Shakur, who is in exile in Cuba. Hands Off Assata!

Please share this with every one you know!

Be a Panther at War -- for the hearts& minds of our people!

Black men and women must unite and protect our children from the racist pigs! Defend self-defense! If you want to join and be down or form a prison chapter, email us at blackriders1996@gmail.com, call 323-289-4457 or write to BRLP, PO Box 8297, L.A. CA 90008. **Africa and Africans on the planet will be free!**
Black Power to Black Men, Black Power to Black Women, All Power to the People!
We Will Win! Ashe'! Thank You! ... Support Black Riders... Coming To A Hood Near You!
We Stand In Solidarity With Our Sister Akua Agusi!
RBG 4 Life!



bats, canes, and cross bows. Also a plethora of martial sciences including: wing chun, karate, shodokan, judo, aikido, northern shaolin, and traditional muay thai.

As suspected, Dr. Huey's concept of "THE CORRECT HANDLING OF A REVOLUTION" was and still is very effective in communicating our sincerity and concern to the community by risking our lives to assure their safety, as well as modifying individual pig behavior.

INDIVIDUAL PIG BEHAVIORAL MODIFICATION or I.P.B.M. is a form of physiological shock therapy. It is a cognitive reaction to a frightening experience. Cognitive is a term used to describe how the brain processes information in order to shape how one perceives things. I.P.B.M. is similar to the corporate media's efforts to implant fear in the minds of the general populace; primarily, to assure compliance and prohibit the people from uprising. We turn this tactic around to mortify the black communities' most immediate military aggressor, the various local pig departments. Our militant posture erases the idea of community compliance from the enemy's mind, forcing him to comply with the laws of the people. This destroys the enemy's ego, demolishes their confidence.

I.P.B.M. is the reconstruction of laws of engagement between the people and the pigs. One of the two behavioral transformations will transpire, as a result, 1.) The pigs are forced into humiliation. 2.) They lash out on the people to discredit the vanguard. But despite the numerous smut campaigns and the heightened repression, the people pressed more than ever to address their conditions. For now, these social, economical, political and military contradictions are more evident.

The ancient commanders of armies who well knew the powerful influence of necessity and how it inspired the soldiers with the most desperate courage, neglected nothing to subject their troop to it.

It is important that we understand this for the true and correct handling of revolution. We as revolutionaries must accept this repression as confirmation that our agitation is truly effective.

Resistance Breeds Repression and Repression Breeds Resistance

Malcolm X stated, "The price of freedom is death!!" If this is true, then we should do nothing short of committing our lives and deaths to the liberation of oppressed people across the world. Those who truly intend on bringing liberation to oppressed peoples have the greatest of responsibilities. This means that in return for the great power the oppressed peoples supply to the vanguard, the vanguard is responsible for proving to them that revolution is a necessity. What better way than to mold oneself into the shield and sword of the people. It is time that we prove to the masses that revolution is not a flame that was blown out in the 1960's- 70's; that revolution does and will exist and expand until imperialism and its fascist military state is driven from the universe. It is our duty as members of humanity to defend the preservation of the universe and the lives within it. The fascist military state threatens their very existence.

We as a collective of revolutionary communities cannot continue to "whistle pass the grave yard."

--General T.A.C.O. - Wolverine Shakur

This means we cannot continue to pretend that the confrontation between black People and the pigs does not already exist! It does and will whether you participate in it or not. We the BLACK RIDERS LIBERATION PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE have chosen our path; we are the revolutionaries of our generation. We well understand the sacrifice that is necessary to obtain freedom, and have made the collective decision that, WE WILL FIGHT! WE WILL WIN! BECAUSE WE MUST WIN! All power to the people who don't fear freedom!!

While knowing that we will die someday we think that all the others will die before us and that we will be the last to go. Death seems a long way off. Is this not shallow thinking? It is worthless insofar as death is always at one's door, one should make sufficient effort and act quickly.

-Hagakure (The Book of the Samurai)
Yamamoto Tsunetomo

Bring on the Peace! Bring on the Social Justice!

by the Grassroots Community Radio Coalition

KPFK is facing critical choices now that will affect the survival of the station. For more than a decade, while the dominant element in Pacifica governance and management has pursued an unsuccessful strategy of trying to move into the space left by NPR as it moved to the right, the Grassroots Community Radio Coalition has been at the forefront of the struggle for fresh, relevant, diverse voices on air, and accountability and transparency within Pacifica Foundation Radio. We are building an alliance of people who believe in the dignity and humanity of all of our listeners and communities. We recently put together a majority on the local board; a majority of our majority are people of color, including three of the youngest members of the board, and four women of color, who bring a unique and needed perspective. Together we will build on KPFK's strengths as a community-oriented, free speech, democratic communications medium including a new generation of listeners and volunteers.

KPFK in Crisis

KPFK's news department has been decimated. Once KPFK's crown jewel, broadcasting remotely from local demonstrations and community events, it is now a newsdesk for "Pacifica Nightly News" originating in Berkeley.

KPFK's principal managers are again or still only interim appointees. Due to the actions of the previous Board majority, several of the stations and the national office had to function without financial managers or the ability to generate proper financial and payroll records.

Premiums that have little to do with Pacifica's Mission of fostering creativity, peace, and diverse news sources have become the primary fundraising tool. Fund drives are longer and longer, turning off regular listeners, with less money raised.

KPFK's unpaid programmers, largely responsible for local programming, are under more and more pressure to raise money from their audiences. They volunteer under the threat of being removed if they fail to meet their quotas.

Spanish-language programming, reaching a major under-served market with remarkable breadth and depth in their coverage of community and international issues, is largely ignored and under constant attack by some sectors of station staff and a reactionary minority on the local and national Boards.

Daily programs are being distributed across the Pacifica Foundation Radio network, outside of local station process and at the expense of Southern California news and issues.

Pacifica is in dire financial straits. One station is depending on the dwindling support of the other stations, including KPFK, to keep it afloat, apparently because the previous interim Executive Director, according to a member of her own faction, sat for a year and a half on an offer that could have saved that station \$20,000 or more a month, or a total of at least \$360,000.

Pacifica's terminated Interim Executive Director had a seven-week sleep-in at the National Office until the court ordered her out. Her rule and ruin damaged and embarrassed the Foundation, and prevented necessary work from getting done.

This crisis is the result of wrong turns and bad choices made by the previous majority on the LSB and PNB.

What We Can Do to Turn Things Around

KPFK's management needs support to be effective, collaborative, and courageous. With collaboration from listeners and governance, paid and unpaid staff, management should oversee developing concrete long-range plans and budgets.

Fundraising should involve listeners, management, staff, and governance, envisioning the goals and values that drive the programming. Implement a strategic, multi-year plan, based on an understanding of what kind of station best serves community needs and the Pacifica mission, that sets the baseline for the staffing, funding, and fundraising. Raise funds on-air without driving off regular listeners for weeks at a time. Raise funds off-air to stabilize station finances. Avoid corporate underwriting.

Programmers need support for improving shows and developing new ones. Train programmers to use the web as an educational tool. We need to become relevant again, with community-oriented voices on the air that new and younger listeners can relate to.

Use outreach over the air and in the communities. Re-establish outreach committees throughout KPFK's disparate regions and diverse communities. Gather data to match programming with the audience.

Use technology. Incorporate the interactivity and the many-to-many ethos of social media to strengthen KPFK's affinity for fresh thinking and fresh ways.

Rebuild KPFK's audience. The Grassroots Community Radio Coalition trusts that together we can rebuild the station we want with a growing, diverse new generation of membership and win back those we have lost.

If you believe that implementing these grassroots objectives and strategies will help restore KPFK and Pacifica, we invite you to join the Grassroots Community Radio Coalition as we stand up against the challenges of war, racism, and austerity.

KPFK 90.7 is fully funded by your contributions. To contribute or volunteer to support our radio station, go to KPFK.org. For a contribution of \$25 or more, you will become a voting member and be an active partner in keeping KPFK powered and led by the people.

To find out more about GCRC visit gcrc-socal.org or call 323-540-4272(GCRC).

This article and GCRC are not supported or authorized by Pacifica Foundation Radio or KPFK 90.7 FM.

We the people

by Mutope Duguma (James Crawford)

What we learned this far in our protracted struggle is that We the People are the vanguard. We the People have to demand what we want for ourselves. No government, no power, no authority and no one should be able to trample over the People without the People rising up and saying, "Under no circumstances do We the People accept this in our home."

We the People reject torture of human beings,
We the People reject mass incarceration of our sons and daughters,
We the People reject police brutality,
We the People reject poverty,
We the People reject solitary confinement,
We the People reject Security Threat Groups and Step Down Programs,
We the People reject oppressive prison conditions
In solidarity.

We the People reject violence

Our unity is our strength. If we learn to cultivate our unity, we can begin to reshape this world – back into a world that reflects our humanity – because there is too much pain and suffering in the world today that only our unity will end. We've got to be unapologetic and always be dedicated and serious about the revolutionary change we seek.

Violence only perpetuates more violence inside of the vortex of violence, the senseless taking of lives, like a timeless hour clock that never ends, feeding on the very lives of our families and friends.

An end to all hostilities means peace amongst the oppressed, where our children can focus on school and living their lives peacefully, while they develop into strong young men and women.

An end to all hostilities means peace for the elderly and worrisome minds, where they can take peaceful walks during any time of day or night, sit out on their porches and watch the moon and stars in the sky.

An end to all hostilities means peace where young men and women can go into any neighborhood to socialize with fellow human beings without fear of being attacked or murdered.

An end to all hostilities means peace where all races in the free society can coexist without worrying that their race or class will be a hazard to them.

During our strikes to end all hostilities – July 1 to July 20, 2011; Sept. 26 to Oct. 14, 2011; and July 8 to Sept. 4, 2013 – we men and women got together and said enough already!

An end to all hostilities is solidarity.

Send our brother some love and light: Mutope Duguma, s/n James Crawford, D-05996, PBSP SHU, P.O. Box 7500, Crescent City, CA 95532.

LA-ABCF's Annual Running Down The Walls 5K Run

www.abcf.net/la

Running Down The Walls has been happening in Los Angeles since 1999, and is now becoming a mainstay for the Los Angeles Anarchist Black Cross Federation. The last three runs have been at MacArthur Park and have been held in conjunction with Revolutionary Autonomous Communities (RAC) and this year we are honored to continue this wonderful tradition.

On Sunday, September 7th, 2014 at 10 a.m., the Los Angeles Anarchist Black Cross and RAC-LA will host the 5K Run/Walk/Bike around MacArthur Park. This Run is designed to raise much-needed funds for the ABCF Warchest program and for RAC. We are attempting to reach the goal of \$3,500 with the run. Funds will be divided between the two programs. Send funds to the LA ABCF, PO Box 11223, Whittier, CA 90603. Checks payable to: Tim Fasnacht.

Today we celebrate our movement

by Todd Ashker, Sitawa Nantambu Jamaa and Arturo Castellanos

This is the third anniversary since we began using peaceful actions collectively to push for an end to the use of longterm solitary confinement. If we look back and remember before July 2011, we prisoners were alone, isolated, not being heard. We wrote newspapers and nothing was printed. We wrote lawmakers and never heard back.

Few people knew how many of us were locked away in windowless cells for 23 hours a day – often more – here in California. Few understood how many others are kept in various forms of isolation here in our state in other SHUs, Ad Seg cells, mental health cells – including women and juveniles.

Almost no one understood California's place as the state that uses solitary confinement the most of anywhere. California is the only state that puts people in longterm endless solitary confinement for mere association, without any violent behavior.

California uses solitary confinement more than anywhere else. And California is the only state that puts people in longterm endless solitary confinement for mere association, without any violent behavior.

Our July 2011 hunger strike and the hunger strike of prisoners at Guantanamo Bay struck a nerve about the mistreatment of prisoners in the United States. We are most grateful that we got your attention, our supporters – activists, lawyers – and the nation and the world.

Twelve thousand prisoners across the state started the September 2011 hunger strike. Thousands lasted for several weeks before we suspended it with promise of talks. Our second hunger strike was short but big.

Our July 2013 hunger strike was historic: 30,000 prisoners in California, by CDCR statistics, refused food at the beginning and we were joined by prisoners across the country. Officially 40 people lasted 60 days. No one was force fed. We know that it was more than 40, but even one person lasting 60 days is historic.

The California, national and world press suddenly focused on the shame of California's prisons. Even Scientific America had an editorial, "Solitary Confinement Is Torture." United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture Juan Mendez spoke out against our endless confinement.

We are so grateful so many of you heard us and joined us and have joined with us. When we began, the saying within our walls was "Parole, snitch or die." Now 69 percent of Secure Housing Unit (SHU) prisoners have been released to general population. Most of the others have been placed in steps supposedly on the way to the general population.

This is an admission, by data of the CDCR itself, that California has misused and overused isolation. There have been changes to visiting rules at Pelican Bay but not in other state SHUs. We have more canteen items, spices for our miserable food and clothing items so that we are not as cold in the winter. These are big victories.

But California has filled the SHU cells up as fast as they have emptied. California still isolates prisoners endlessly without any violent behavior. The conditions of isolation remain torturous. There is still lots to change.

Today we celebrate our movement. We do not rely on the legislature or the courts alone. Only by a strong growing movement of those of us inside and our supporters outside do we have any hope of making all the changes that we need. You keep CDCR's feet to the fire. We are grateful that you stand with us.

Send our brothers some love and light: Todd Ashker, C-58191; Sitawa Nantambu Jamaa (R.N. Dewberry), C-35671; and Arturo Castellanos, C-17275, all at PBSP SHU, P.O. Box 7500, Crescent City CA 95532

Breaking news on July 17th: CA Death Penalty ruled unconstitutional!

Political Prisoner Prof. G. N. Saibaba, Must Be Freed!

Condemn the Abduction of Delhi University Professor by State Security Forces of India!

While the Indian state and its imperialist masters harp about India's overall advances and continue to portray it as "the largest democracy in the world", in the very heart of its capital in Delhi, on May 9, 2014, in broad day light, in full view of CCTV monitored by the local police, the Indian security forces, unashamedly assaulted and abducted Delhi University Professor, Dr GN Saibaba.

After Dr. Saibaba, who suffers from 90% disability and is wheelchair bound, was taken away blindfolded from within the university premises, it took a mysterious call to Vasantha, his partner, from some unknown location in Delhi disclosing it to her that her husband was being taken to Gadchiroli in Maharashtra. Since then, according to the Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners (CRPP) statement, issued in New Delhi on 10-05-2014, the lawyers in Aheri court in Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra have confirmed that Dr. Saibaba has been produced before the magistrate and was sent into judicial custody.

Dr GN Saibaba's is a long standing peoples' rights activist. He is the joint secretary of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (RDF) and one of the central conveners of the "Forum Against War on People" that spearheaded the mobilisation of public opinion in India and abroad against the shameful "Operation Green Hunt" – another clean name amongst others for the Indian state's genocidal war on the tribal people of India – that aims to displace millions of people from this mineral rich area of India and auction off the land and its resources to domestic and international mining corporations to exploit.

The voices of intellectuals, progressive and activist across India opposing this genocidal war on people not only reflects the tremendous mass resistance of the Tribal people such as that in Singur, Nandigram and the Lalgarh peoples' resistance, it also has raised waves of indignation from across the world exposing the true anti-people nature of the Indian state.

The Indian ruling classes engulfed in deep economic and political crisis have been deploying the Indian state and have adopted increasingly more brutal and draconian measure to eliminate their opponents



intensifying repression across the board. It follows that the state and its security forces are directly responsible for war and aggression, wholesale arrests, inhumane treatment in captivity, torture, use of illegal chemicals in extraction of confessions, assassinations and extrajudicial killings.

During the past 5 years alone, the swelling numbers of political prisoners in India and those in captivity, is clear indication of the intensifying oppression and the desperation of the ruling classes in India unable to contain the rising tide of resistance and the struggle of the oppressed people across the country.

Today, tens of thousands including communists, other revolutionaries and progressive people, intellectuals, democratic rights activists, national and religious minorities, and people from all professions, continue to be incarcerated in prisons and interrogation centres across India.

The abduction of Professor GN Saibaba comes a few days after a similar abduction of Jeevan Chandra, the President of RDF in Uttarakhand, that was carried out by security forces on May 5, for having 'connections with the Maoists' and calling for the boycott of the upcoming elections – a typical farce to decide who will represent the fascist state in dealing with the endemic economic, political and social crisis and rising tide of the mass resistance.

According to the CRPP (a convener of "The International Campaign for the Freedom of All Political Prisoners): "Dr. Saibaba could see this unfolding method in madness of the state and had called for the rallying of all democratic and freedom loving people of the subcontinent resolutely to defeat this war on the people. Every voice that demands justice for Saibaba and his unconditional release will be a step to further strengthen those convictions of ours to stand for what is good for the vast sections of the masses of the people and their struggle to keep alive those dreams for a better world free from all forms of exploitation."

We join our colleagues in the Indian subcontinent, and express our solidarity in struggle for the release of all political prisoners and condemn the reactionary fascist state in India for transforming the whole country into a prison for its oppressed people and national and religious minorities.

On behalf the steering committee of the International Campaign for the Freedom of All Political Prisoners (ICFAPP) we call on all progressive and democratic minded forces across the world to join protests against the abduction of Dr GN Saibaba and demand the his immediate and unconditional release.

Let us join together to resist and struggle for the freedom of all political prisoners everywhere!

**LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY!
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!
WE DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE AND
UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF PROF. GN
SAIBABA NOW!**

The International Campaign for the Freedom of All Political Prisoners – Steering committee
info@icfapp.org 10 May 2014

For further info about revolutionary party he allegedly is a member of:

<http://democracyandclassstruggle.blogspot.com/2014/04/the-blazing-trail-of-maoist-revolution.html>

and a piece written by Arundhati Roy:

<http://www.outlookindia.com/article/Walking-With-The-Comrades/264738>

2 Animal Activists Indicted as Terrorists for Freeing Mink

by Will Potter <http://www.greenisthenewred.com/blog/aeta-olliff-lang/7900/>

Two animal rights activists have been indicted on federal terrorism charges for allegedly releasing 2,000 mink and foxes from fur farms in the Midwest.

Tyler Lang and Kevin Olliff were charged with two counts of violating the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act and committing "animal enterprise terrorism." Olliff is currently in jail in Illinois, where he was sentenced to 30 months for having bolt-cutters in his Prius. Lang was arrested outside a Veggie Grill restaurant in Los Angeles on Thursday July 10. He had arrived to prepare for a fundraiser at the restaurant to benefit the Bunny Alliance, an animal rights group with which he volunteers.

When he saw FBI agents walking up to the restaurant, he said he knew something was wrong. He was on the phone with a friend, who joked that they were there to spy on the animal rights fundraiser. Before he was arrested, he told his friend "call my lawyer."

At Lang's bail hearing at a federal court in L.A., the government asked for a \$30,000 bond, which is \$20,000 above what pre-trial services had recommended. The prosecutor said Lang was a flight risk because of his "extreme activism. He has plans to travel the country for what he calls non-profit work," the prosecutor said, "but what the government calls violent civil disobedience."

Lang told me he had planned on beginning a tour this weekend with other volunteers, protesting airlines that transport primate for animal experimentation. Lang may not be able to attend the protests, but other volunteers say they are undeterred.

"We know that Tyler would want us to carry on with the Fight or Flight tour," said Amanda Schemkes, a Bunny Alliance volunteer. "It's to further the campaign against the transport of animals to labs, as well as to build

and empower grassroots activism in the face of state repression. Our work to help animals continues to be motivated by them rather than stifled by attempts to chill activism."

The indictments came as hundreds of animal rights activists were in LA for the National Animal Rights Conference, where a prominent theme is corporate efforts to label non-violent protest activity as "terrorism."

Releasing animals from fur farms is clearly against the law, but in the history of underground groups like the Animal Liberation Front not a single human being has been harmed. Yet the FBI continues to label animal rights activism "terrorism." New "ag-gag" laws go even further in order to protect agribusiness, criminalizing whistle-blowers, undercover investigators and journalists who expose animal cruelty on factory farms.

First Annual TORCH Antifa Network Conference Chicago IL September 13-14

On September 13th The TORCH antifascist network is holding their first annual conference in Chicago via south side Chicago ARA. This conference has 2 parts; a private portion for those within the TORCH network and a public portion open to all antifascists. The public day is going to be on September 13th and will consist of workshops/speakers followed by an antifascist show. We are inviting any and all antifascists to come out and network, see speakers, see bands, and grab literature. There will be also be tons of free antifascist merchandise (shirts, CD's etc.) for those who come out. This will be a benefit for antifascist prisoners. Below is a detailed schedule with all the necessary info for our public day.

<https://www.facebook.com/events/269847203176689/>

5pm – Speakers/workshops

This portion of our public day will be donation based. No one turned away for lack of funds.

Speakers and their workshop descriptions:

Matthew N. Lyons from the Three-way-fight blog: Taking the game away from the left

"One of fascism's most dangerous features is its ability to present itself as radical or even revolutionary. From Third Position anti-capitalism to Nazi ecology, from National-

Anarchism to the slogan "Women's Power as well as White Power," far rightists have embraced many leftist ideas in distorted form. What are some leading examples of this dynamic today and where do they come from? To what extent is this empty posturing, and to what extent does it reflect real conflict between fascism and the established order? What kind of challenges does it pose for antifascist work?"

More speakers/workshops TBA

7pm -show starts- This portion of the conference is \$10



APPALACHIAN TERROR UNIT (crust punk from WV)

<http://www.reverbnation.com/appalachianterrorunit>

WARTORN (metal punxxx from Wisconsin)

<https://www.facebook.com/pages/Wartorn/272404432793464>

WRATHCOBRA (D-Beat metal punk from PGH)

<http://wrathcobra.bandcamp.com/>

KRANG (crustards from Chicago)

<http://krangcrustards.bandcamp.com/>

LA ARMADA (Chicago hardcore punk)

<http://armadahardcore.bandcamp.com/album/la-armada>

<https://www.facebook.com/la.armadahc?fref=ts>

ARID (Blackened crust from crete, IL)

<http://arid.bandcamp.com/>

<https://www.facebook.com/aridcrust>

There will be tables throughout the show with literature and merchandise

@Chitown Futbol

2343 S. Throop, Chicago, Illinois

Benefit for political prisoners!

Endorsed by the May 1st anarchist alliance and the Black

Rose/ Rosa Negra anarchist federation.

Interested in playing, tabling etc?

contact southsidechicagoara@hushmail.com

Can We Stop the US Surveillance State?

by News Dissector Danny Schechter, Mediachannel.org and newsdissector.net. Comments to dissector@mediachannel.org

With the publication of Glenn Greenwald's new book on Edward Snowden and the NSA, the state surveillance issue is back in full force as if it ever went a way.

Purloined formerly top-secret NSA documents are now there for the downloading, even as the calls for truth and privacy buttressed by irrefutable information, has run up against the institutional armor of the surveillance state that has little respect for public opinion or calls for "reform."

Every day, there are new stories showing duplicity in high places and revealing the existence of new tracking technologies and forced and voluntary collusion between the secret agency and its many "partners" in the private sector. PBS Frontline is out with one more expose.

Just as the publication of the Pentagon Papers in 1971 did not end the Vietnam War, the leaks from a world of questionable "intelligence" has only made our Spymasters more determined.

There was four more years of carnage after Daniel Ellsberg dropped the hidden history of our intervention in Vietnam showing how officials knew the truth even as they fed the public a litany of lies to keep a profitable if murderous enterprise going.

The charade was finally ended by the Vietnamese liberation army 39 years ago this month, but the NSA and handsomely financed partners in the self-styled "Intelligence community" will go on and on until someone stops them, and their spying, and that someone is hard to identify given the way the agencies seem to have the goods on the government as well as the rest of us. There is no American liberation army with the clout to shut them down.

I spoke with retired CIA veteran Ray McGovern for a TV series I am producing about how government spying intimidates people in government. He told me: "Everybody is afraid. It's not just the journalists, it's people like Barack Obama, it's people like Diane Feinstein--think about what the NSA has on Diane Feinstein and her husband, who has made billions from Defense, and post office, and all kinds of nice cozy contracts, okay? This goes back to J. Edgar Hoover..."

So far, all the noise and media condemnations have not led to meaningful reforms. or legal restraints

on the NSA's electronic octopus. Jameel Jaffer writes in the Guardian about law suits against the NSA that were thrown out of Court:

"What's surprising – even remarkable – is what the government says on the way to its conclusion. It says, in essence, that the Constitution is utterly indifferent to the NSA's large-scale surveillance of Americans' international telephone calls and emails.

"The privacy rights of US persons in international communications are significantly diminished, if not completely eliminated, when those communications have been transmitted to or obtained from non-US persons located outside the United States."

That phrase – "if not completely eliminated" – is unusually revealing. Think of it as the Justice Department's twin to the NSA's "collect it all."

Leave it to the outspoken Chinese Artist Ai Wei Wei who has been spied on and jailed in China to recognize the similarities between pervasive Chinese surveillance and the US imitation of it. He writes,

"Civilization is built on that trust and everyone must fight to defend it, and to protect our vulnerable aspects – our inner feelings, our families. We must not hand over our rights to other people. No state power should be given that kind of trust. Not China. Not the US."

Easier said than done. As we focus on the government role in spying, we seem to be ignoring the commercial aspects of wiretapping and eavesdropping.

American corporations are not just cooperating with the NSA but competing with it. And, not just with Google cars photographing every street in the world.

Just ask Donald Sterling, formerly of the LA Clippers, Owner and jerk as he may be, about what non-government spying did it to him. Who has been prosecuted in that eavesdropping incident?

I spoke to Sam Antar who was wiretapped by the government as part of an investigation into illegal practices by the Crazy Eddy electronics chain years ago and who became a convicted felon. He says that spying has become a profitable business, that is bigger and even more insidious than the NSA.

I told Antar: "You made a point before about how a lot of the spying is not ideological. It's almost like a technology itself. It's almost like a business with no

particular political goals, but, you know, it gets funding, it gets support. People are afraid of what they don't know so they justify it."

He responded: "That's entirely correct. My point is, is this: 'It's not a left wing issue. It's not a right wing issue per se.' It goes on everywhere in this world. People want to know about what they don't know about."

"And spying agencies play to that?"
"Yes."

So where are we? We know more than ever, and they know we know it—but that hasn't stopped the government from trying to shut down all debate on the issue. A new executive order this month ordered all government employees not to publicly discuss classified information, even if it appeared in reputable media outlets.

And Congress? Can we expect politicians allegedly providing oversight on overreach to enact effective reforms? Not so far, writes Jameel Jaffer, who tells us to be very, very wary:

"While the current version of the reform bill, the USA Freedom Act, would make some necessary changes to a handful of surveillance laws, it would not narrow the surveillance powers granted by the 2008 law. Nor would it narrow the surveillance powers the NSA derives from the presidential directive that regulates the NSA's surveillance activities outside the United States. Reform is urgently necessary, and years overdue, but this imperfect legislation would leave some of the government's most sweeping authorities intact – and to a large extent it would leave the privacy rights, of Americans and non-Americans alike, to the mercy of the NSA."

And that's where we are, in a sense, where we've always been, on the receiving end of government abuse.

CIA veteran Ray McGovern says let's hope there are more Snowdens in the wings: "Now, if you only have 1 out of 100 or maybe even out of 1,000...technically proficient people like this, that's all you need to do what Edward Snowden did. The governments cannot operate without these very bright people—a lot of these bright people bring consciousness to their expertise, as long as that's the case, and that will continue to be the case, the governments will not be able to get away with this kind of thing."

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Know the Enemy, Know Yourself

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

The urgent necessity to defeat imperialism, capitalism/colonialism, and all forms of exploitation and oppression has never been greater. The evaporation of Siberian ice, creating huge sinkholes and releasing trapped methane, is only the latest deadly manifestation of the mortal impact on the planetary environment of a profit-driven system of rapacious greed.

Capitalism/ colonialism is a system at war with humanity, with the ecology, with natural law. The empire accumulates monetary wealth in the hands of a few by condemning billions to grinding poverty, suffering and early death. It maintains its grip on power through bloody repression, constant surveillance, incessant propaganda, and a constant war by physical and psychological means on the people and the forces of liberation. It exploits every weakness, every contradiction, every division to disrupt, deviate and dishearten those who struggle for freedom.

We should understand this as a given, yet seemingly year by year, generation after generation, we must learn the lesson again. If we didn't learn the lesson from COINTELPRO, perhaps the latest revelations from Edward Snowden will drive the point home. According to Glenn Greenwald, one of the Snowden NSA files "revealed that the agency has been monitoring

the activities of individuals it believes express 'radical' ideas or who have a 'radicalizing' influence on others." This in itself warrants "pervasive surveillance and destructive campaigns to 'exploit vulnerabilities.'" The cited file states: "Exploiting vulnerabilities of character, credibility or both, of the radicalizer and his message could be enhanced by understanding the vehicles he used to disseminate his message to the susceptible pool of people..."

Greenwald shows slides describing two forms of attack, known as on-line covert action: "information ops (influence or disruption)" and "technical disruption", meant to achieve "the 4 D's: Deny / Disrupt / Degrade / Deceive." Greenwald goes on: "Another slide describes the tactics used to 'discredit a target.' These include 'set up a honey trap,' [Cold War tactic of using an attractive woman to lure male targets into compromising situations], 'write a blog purporting to be one of their victims,' and 'email/text their colleagues, neighbors, friends, etc.'" This is intended, another NSA slide explains, to "take 'paranoia' to a whole new level," and use social media for "infiltration work, [to] acquire credibility with online groups, etc., and help with bringing SIGINT [signals intelligence] and Effects [extra-legal disruption, disinformation, etc.] together."

Greenwald says, "The Art of Deception: Training a New Generation of Online Covert Operations" is devoted to these tactics [drawing] on sociology, psychology, anthropology, neuroscience, and biology...

to maximize ... online deception skills. One slide shows how to engage in 'Dissimulation--Hide the Real,' while propagating 'Simulation--Show the False.' ... The document lays out what it calls the 'Disruption Operational Playbook.' This includes 'infiltration... ruse... false flag... and sting operation[s].' It vows a 'full roll-out' of the disruption program by early 2013 as '150+ staff [are] fully trained.'" (Glenn Greenwald, *No Place to Hide*, Henry Holt & Co, 2014; pp. 187-194).

The way to inoculate ourselves against such tactics is by understanding first of all that they represent the Empire's panicky awareness of its own vulnerabilities. They seek to keep their eye on everyone, because everyone is a potential threat, but they reserve their dirty tricks and their death squads for the "influential radicalizers," trying to nip their threat in the bud. As the Palestinians have made clear, and the prison hunger strikers have demonstrated, resistance springs eternally and irrepressibly in the human breast.

We need to learn how to overcome the divisions that plague us, and that the oppressors exploit. White supremacy, male supremacy, racism and sexism are some of the most glaring, but careerism, elitism, ego, ambition, jealousy, and organizational competition are right up there. In decades of anti-imperialist solidarity work, I have tried personally to set such entrapments aside. I have tried to work on a principled, issue-focused basis with anyone willing to work with me to resist the empire, despite their contradictions with each other, and I will strive to continue to do so come what may.

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- ★ Sing "The Internationale," Sat., Aug. 2, 12 noon, Broadway & 8th, L.A.
- ★ Marcus Garvey Day UNIA 100th Anniversary, Leimert Park, Aug. 17-19
- ★ National Chicano Moratorium, Ruben Salazar Park, E. Los, August 30
- ★ Run Down the Walls ABCF War Chest/RAC Fundraiser, McArthur Park Sept. 7
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