

# The Roots of the Charleston Massacre

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

The mass murders of Rev. Clementa Pinckney, Cynthia Hurd, Rev. Daniel Simmons, Sr., Susie Jackson, Tywanza Sanders, Myra Thompson, Rev. Sharonda Coleman Singleton, Rev. Depayne Middleton Doctor, and Ethel Lance at Mother Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina was an act of racist terror by avowed white supremacist Dylann Storm Roof. May his victims rest in peace and power. This atrocity has provoked widespread efforts to grapple with or spin the killings by Republicans, Democrats, corporate and alternative media, various movement organizations and others.

As is now widely known, the church where the massacre took place was founded by Denmark Vesey, among others, and burned to the ground in the wake of the slave rebellion he organized. It was rebuilt, shuttered in a prohibition against Black churches during Jim Crow, and eventually offered a podium to both Martin Luther King Jr. and Coretta Scott King among others. Rev. Pinckney had been elected to both houses of the South Carolina state legislature and had been associated with the effective and growing Moral Mondays convergences in neighboring North Carolina. His assassin probably knew this, though most of Roof's reported remarks, and the white supremacist ranting and posturing on his "Last Rhodesian" website, his Facebook page and to his friends and house-mate, were directed much more widely at the Black community as a whole, and his actions were clearly intended to terrorize that community and provoke a race war.

What can we learn about the corporate parties and media, the white supremacist movement, broader 'white' society, and the current state of peoples' movements, from the way they have responded to the massacre? What lessons can we learn to advance a struggle that can uproot racism and create a world where such racist terror can no longer take place?

## Shadow Boxing with Symbols: Too Little, Too Late

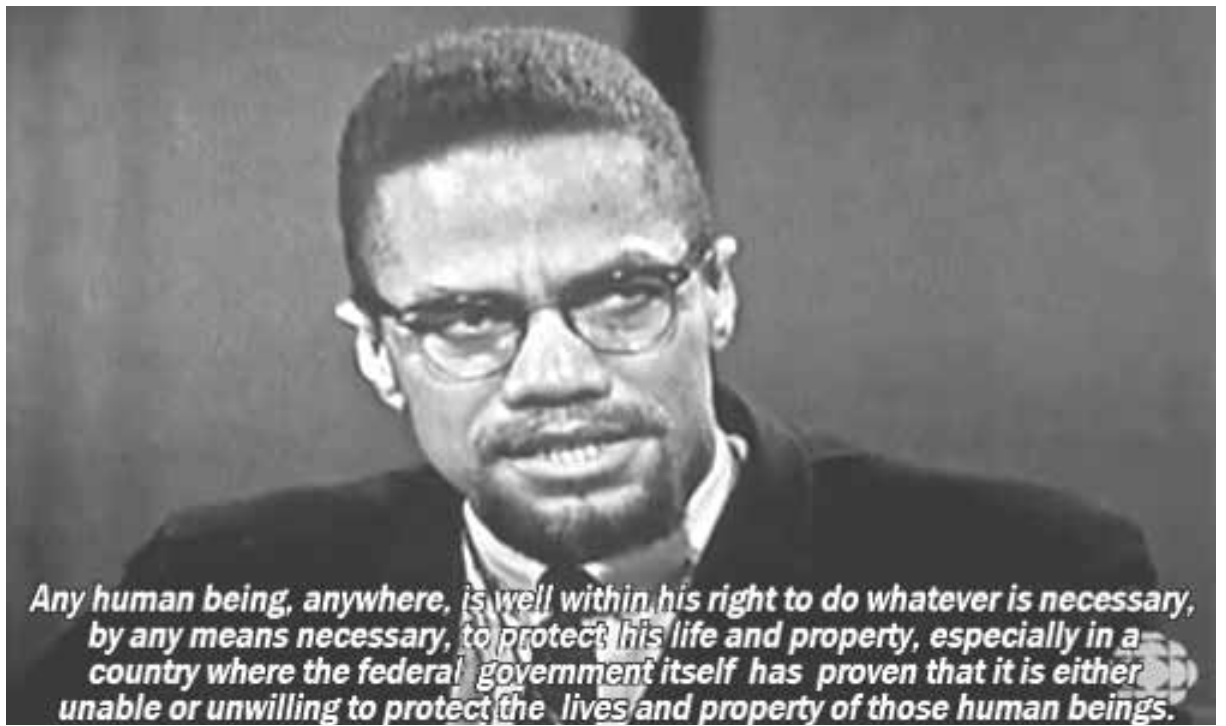
The Democrats and Republicans, each in their own way, tried to divert from and distort the issues. Democrats focused on gun control, linking this to other mass murders (also typically carried out by young, alienated white men, but not so blatantly racist in their targets). Republicans tried to pretend it was an attack on Christians, as if Emanuel AME was chosen because it was a church, not because it was a center of Black solidarity and community. Both were forced by the reality of the situation, and by progressives and Black civil rights figures, to acknowledge the centrality of racism as the issue.

But the spin doctoring and damage control by the parties and in the media continued. SC Gov. Nikki Haley, who only recently had refused to consider the idea of abandoning the Confederate battle flag because there was no problem with it expressed by any of the corporations she was seeking to attract to the state, suddenly decided the flag had to go, as did a number of other local politicians. Various Republican presidential aspirants such as Sen. Ted Cruz, suddenly found it politic to return contributions from a leader of the Conservative Citizens' Council, whose vile racist propaganda the killer had credited with opening his eyes and turning him into a racist.

These maneuvers also cast a light on the deep-seated racism within broad sectors of 'white' society, especially in the South. Polls showed 70% opposition in South Carolina to striking the Confederate flag. Amazon.com, which continued selling various versions of the Confederate flag even as other retailers and manufacturers began to drop it, reported sales increases of 2300% on one flag, and over 1800% on another. The host of "Meet the Press" chose to run a segment interviewing a number of imprisoned murderers, all Black men, most convicted of individual shootings, on the show that also dealt with the Charleston mass murders. The cops who arrested the 'suspect,' blatantly handled him with kid gloves, taking him to Burger King for a meal because he hadn't eaten much, decking him out with a bullet proof vest, and handling him with evident care during his 'perp walk.' Liberal media analysts suggested that the situation showed that US is in fact becoming less racist than in the days when lynching and burning Black men were occasions for mass popular participation and entertainment, because "only 200,000" (!) people were subscribed to the kind of nakedly white supremacist websites that the killer had drawn inspiration from.

## What About the Right to Self-Defense?

But if we expected more from movement figures and organizations, we would in the main also have been disappointed. There were critiques of the media and politicians, demanding that they refer to the massacre as terrorism, and thereby tacitly accepting the 'war on terrorism' rhetoric that has dominated corporate politics for the past decade and a half. There were demands to



remove the Confederate flag as a symbol of hate and oppression from state houses, big box stores and on-line vendors. There were prayer vigils, and calls for deepening the "conversation" about race, emphasizing how far from a "post-racial" society we still are. At least the grim reality of what it means to be Black in the white supremacist USA put a stop to some of the diversionary social media focus on the 'white' woman who was passing as "Black" at the NAACP in Washington State.

Hardly heard in the corporate press or political discourse, in most alternative/social media or the movement was any call for self-defense. Yet, as Malcolm X said 50 (!) years ago, "Last but not least, I must say this concerning the great controversy over rifles and shotguns. The only thing I've ever said is that in areas where the government has proven itself either unwilling or unable to defend the lives and the property of Negroes, it's time for Negroes to defend themselves. Article number two of the Constitutional amendments provides you and me the right to own a rifle or a shotgun. It is constitutionally legal to own a shotgun or a rifle."

There were welcome calls from anti-racist white formations like White People for Racial Justice in Los Angeles, an action collective associated with the Alliance of White Anti-Racists Everywhere (AWARE-LA), and from SURJ (Standing Up for Racial Justice) nationally for white people to examine the roots of the Charleston Massacre in broader societal white supremacy, and wider complicity by all people of European descent in systems of white privilege that uphold and in turn are maintained by the oppression, subjugation and devaluation of Black people and Black lives.

## The Real Roots of Racism

But we, particularly people of European descent, must go further and deeper. White supremacy and racism in the US are rooted in a global system of settler-colonial capitalism, land theft, genocide, racial chattel slavery and its consequences. White privilege is the manifestation, consequence, and flip-side of Black oppression and exploitation, violation of indigenous sovereignty, and the Eurocentric imposition of private property relations on both land and people to extract profit through domination. This is a global Empire, and it is an empire here within the US itself as well. White supremacy, white privilege and racism can only be uprooted by overturning that system of settler colonialism and imperialism, here in the US and throughout the world. Nothing short of decolonization, self-determination of oppressed and colonized people and a revolutionary social, political, economic and ecological transformation of the entire society will do.

The complacency, compliance and complicity of so-called white people, even those who profess to be opposed to conscious or naked white supremacy, is an essential bulwark of that system, the 'consent of the governed' without which no Empire, no matter how powerful or oppressive, can long endure. The flag of the USA, symbol of settler colonialism and manifest destiny, of expansion from 13 settler colonies hugging the Atlantic seaboard to a continental Empire and beyond, seizing territories from and ethnically cleansing Native nations, colonizing the Arctic and the Pacific, including Polynesia, is as much a symbol of white supremacy and racism as is the Confederate flag. Witness the recent hysteria that greeted Eric Sheppard, 21, of Valdosta GA, a young Black man who trod on a US flag in a protest at his college campus of police killings of Black people, and is now a political prisoner facing trial after police claimed a book bag found

on the campus with a gun in it belonged to him. You can donate to support Eric Sheppard at <https://www.indiegogo.com/projects/eric-sheppard-support-initiative#/story>. Eric Sheppard has said, "You care more about a cloth on the ground and me stepping on it with a boot, than a black man's death? You're out of your fucking mind. White folks have been out of their fucking minds since they stepped out of Europe."

The connection and interpenetration of white supremacy in the US with a global system growing out of European conquest and colonization in Africa, Asia, America and Oceania is very clear in the case of Dylann Storm Roof, identified as the killer in the Charleston massacre. He saw himself in the Rhodesians, a settler colonial bastion that ceased to exist before he was born. His anti-Semitism was rooted in his racism towards Black people, whom he stereotypically believed were being agitated by the Jews. He absorbed the rhetoric of white nationalists who see themselves (correctly) as a minority within the global population, and imagine their racial "purity" and "superiority" to be threatened by migration, miscegenation, and majority rule. He made it clear that if you scratch a so-called "white separatist" or advocate of "white pride," you will find an exterminationist advocate of white power.

## In an Empire there are no citizens, only subjects

But there is no way to purge a "white nation" of white nationalism, no way to seal off and stigmatize Nazis and naked conscious white supremacists from the larger domain of white identification with the Empire and the oppressors. We can't pretend that because we are not a virulent, violent racist like Roof, we can absolve ourselves of responsibility for systemic racism or colonialism. White privileges bind us and blind us to the system that provides them, as a substitute for human rights, and in return for our participation in that system; privilege is a method of social control. Until we find the Stars and Stripes as abhorrent as the Stars and Bars, or the face of slave-owners and land-thieves George Washington or Andrew Jackson on the currency as repellent as a statue of Jefferson Davis or Nathan Bedford Forrest, the Confederate general who founded the Ku Klux Klan, it will remain true that, as Malcolm X said, "Everything south of the Canadian border is the South."

Racism is not just embedded deep in the culture of US white society; because of the fundamental nature of settler colonialism and expansionist conquest to the political entity called the United States of America, white supremacy and racism are the bedrock of the economic, political and social system in operation here. Race is a mental and social construct, but racism is a material reality that undergirds the operations of capital and government in banking, farming, housing, commerce, transportation, education, entertainment, and every other facet of life.

White anti-racists, whites who claim to be color-blind, white progressives, all need to acknowledge that when you point a finger at the Nazis, or even the 1%, three fingers are pointing back at yourself. An authentically anti-racist movement can only be a self-critical, revolutionary movement, a movement prepared to *fight*, shoulder to shoulder, which is what an ally does, by any and every means necessary, to end a system of white supremacy, settler-colonial capitalism, and Empire once and for all.

*Comments and feedback welcome to [antiracistaction\\_la@yahoo.com](mailto:antiracistaction_la@yahoo.com)*

**Saturday, July 25, 2015**

# International Day of Solidarity with Antifascist Prisoners

Antifascists fight against those who—in the government or in the streets—dream of imposing their fascist and other Far Right nationalist nightmares on the rest of us. Throughout the world, Islamophobic, anti-Semitic, anti-immigrant, and racist bigotries are on the rise. Antifas are on the frontline in confronting these reactionary politics, and we will not forget our comrades imprisoned in the course of this struggle.

The July 25 International Day of Solidarity with Antifascist Prisoners originated in 2014 as a Day of Solidarity with Jock Palfreeman, an Australian who is imprisoned in Bulgaria for defending two Romani men from an attack by fascist football hooligans. Groups around the world took action: holding demonstrations, benefits supporting the Bulgarian Prisoners Association, writing to Jock, and talking about the plight of the Romani and Sinti people in general.

In 2015 we would like to expand this day of solidarity to all antifascist prisoners around the world. We encourage groups to take the day to plan an event of their choice—whether it is a letter writing, demonstration, benefit, or other action—and to focus on the prisoners and related issues that are of most importance to them locally.

Below is a list of global antifascist prisoners; if there is an antifa prisoner who is missing, please e-mail us with his or her details and the language(s) they can read.

No Pasaran! Until All Are Free!

Send prisoner updates, announcements for local events, and additional group endorsements to [nycantifascistaction@gmail.com](mailto:nycantifascistaction@gmail.com).

## LIST OF ENDORSING GROUPS:

NYC Antifa (US)  
One Peoples Project (US)  
RASH Florida (US)  
NYC Anarchist Black Cross (US)  
TORCH Antifa Network (US)  
Brighton Anarchist Black Cross (UK)  
Slackbastard (Australia)  
Anti Fascist Action Sydney (Australia)  
Projekt Antifa (Denmark)  
Anti-Racist Action-LA/People Against Racist Terror

## LIST OF ANTIFA PRISONERS:

### EUROPE

#### Belarus

#### Roman Bogdan

Roman Bogdan was arrested on April 15, 2015, as part of the long-going state repression of anti-fascists in Brest, stemming from a fight between anti-fascists and fascists on May 8, 2013. Roman is facing up to fifteen years in prison on charges of group hooliganism and weapons charges. He can read Russian and simple English phrases.

Roman Bogdan  
224030  
Brest  
ul. K. Marksa, 86,  
SIZO-7  
BELARUS

#### Dzmitry Stsyashenka

Dzmitry Stsyashenka was arrested on October 4, 2013, for his alleged involvement in a fight between antifascists and neo-Nazis in Brest on May 8, 2013, that sent one Nazi to the hospital. He is also accused of another fight with neo-Nazis during the summer of 2013. He was sentenced to four years in prison, but in 2014 his term was reduced by one year due to an amnesty. He can read Russian and simple English phrases.

Dzmitry Stsyashenka  
224030  
Brest,  
ul. K. Marksa, 86,  
SIZO-7  
BELARUS  
<http://abc-belarus.org/?cat=3&lang=en>

#### Dzmitry Zvan'ko

Dzmitry Zvan'ko was arrested for his alleged involvement in a fight between anti-fascists and neo-Nazis in Brest on May 8, 2013, that sent one Nazi to the hospital. He was arrested the next day, along with four other people, in a police raid on the homes of known anti-fascists. Dzmitry filed a complaint to the prosecutor about psychological and physical abuse while in custody. He was accused of malicious group hooliganism and serious bodily assault and faced up to ten years of prison. Dzmitry was found guilty and sentenced to five years of prison, but after paying off about 4,000 euro in damages he was granted amnesty, which has reduced his term by one year. He can read Russian and simple English phrases.

Dzmitry Zvan'ko  
225295  
Brestskaya oblast Ivatsevichi  
p/b 20 IK-22  
Volchi Nory  
BELARUS  
<http://abc-belarus.org/?cat=3&lang=en>

#### Bulgaria

#### Jock Palfreeman

Jock Palfreeman is an Australian anti-fascist political prisoner serving a twenty-year prison sentence in Bulgaria for the rather mysterious death of a neo-Nazi football hooligan who was part of a group attacking two Romani men in Sofia, Bulgaria in 2007. Jock came to the aid of the Romani, and quickly found himself the focus of the attack. Bulgarian authorities did everything they could to ensure that Jock did not receive a fair trial, and after his sentencing have refused—in contravention of their own treaties—to transfer him to Australia to serve the rest of his time closer to his family. Jock wants donations for him sent to the Bulgarian Prisoners' Association, which he is part of. He can read English and Bulgarian.  
Jock Palfreeman  
Sofia Central Prison

21 General Stoletov Boulevard  
Sofia 1309, BULGARIA

[www.freejock.com](http://www.freejock.com)  
<http://www.brightonabc.org.uk/jock.html>

### Russia

#### Aleksandr Kolchenko

Aleksandr Kolchenko was arrested in Crimea on May 17, 2014, along with several others, and accused by Russian authorities of participation in a “terrorist group” which planned explosions near the Eternal Fire memorial and the Lenin monument in Simferopol, as well as having sabotaged railway tracks and electricity lines. Aleksandr is also alleged to have carried out two arson attacks in April: against the headquarters of the Russian Unity-Party, and the Russian Community of Crimea. He was transferred to Moscow and is being kept in draconian conditions. His lawyers are under a gag order, and have been refused elementary rights to defend him. He faces fifteen-to-twenty years in a labor camp.

Russian authorities claim that Aleksandr is a member of Right Sektor, a Ukrainian ultra-right nationalist organization, but he has no connection to the group—a fact confirmed by relatives and friends. Moreover, Aleksandr is an antifascist and anarchist who consistently opposed nationalistic movements in Crimea and faced constant fascist attacks for his activism. For example, after a film screening about murdered anti-fascist journalist Anastasiya Baburova, he was attacked by thirty Nazis with knives.

Since this case is highly political, Aleksandr's legal costs are high, around 850 euro per month. The investigation has created a heavy financial strain on local ABC groups, and there is a call for financial support and information distribution. You can make donations via PayPal to [abc-msk@riseup.net](mailto:abc-msk@riseup.net) or using a bank account (write to the same e-mail address for details).

Kolchenko Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, (born 1989),  
Lefortovskiy val, 5, p/b 201  
111020 Moscow  
RUSSIA  
Please note: Moscow ABC advises that letters in English are seldom accepted in Russian prisons, so please write only in Russian (try using a translation program), or just send photos and postcards.

<http://avtonom.org/en/news/repressions-against-crimean-activists-political-context>  
[http://wiki.avtonom.org/en/index.php/Aleksandr\\_Kolchenko](http://wiki.avtonom.org/en/index.php/Aleksandr_Kolchenko)

#### Alexey Sutuga

Alexey Sutuga is a longtime anarchist and anti-fascist who was arrested in April 5, 2014, for a fight with members of the ultra right in Moscow. He was sentenced on September 30, 2014, to three years and one month in prison for his alleged involvement in the fight.

However, this sentence comes in the context of an earlier case from April 2012, when he was arrested for allegedly taking part in a fight at a punk/hardcore concert in Moscow on December 17, 2011. The conflict began after club security, consisting of members of the far right, provoked guests. The concert was stopped prematurely because of the fight, but the security then attempted to take some of the audience hostage and threatened to call their nationalist football hooligan friends in reprisal. The audience members resisted and the club security opened fire with rubber coated metal bullets. However, the club security was neutralized and sent to the hospital. That earlier case against Alexey and several others was eventually dropped in January 2014 on the eve of the Sochi Winter Olympics as part of the amnesty bill, approved as a PR stunt on initiative of Vladimir Putin.

Earlier this year, Alexey was in transit to a prison in Irkutsk, Siberia. We are waiting to confirm his new address. Please note: Moscow ABC advises that letters in English are seldom accepted in Russian prisons, so please write only in Russian (try using a translation program), or just send photos and postcards.

[http://wiki.avtonom.org/en/index.php/Alexey\\_Sutuga](http://wiki.avtonom.org/en/index.php/Alexey_Sutuga)

### Sweden

#### Joel Almgren

Joel Almgren was sentenced to five years and six months for defending a local community-organized anti-racist demonstration in Stockholm against a brutal Nazi attack on December 15, 2013. The peaceful protest—against fascist



assaults on local anti-racists and the dissemination of Nazi propaganda in area schools—was attacked with knives, sticks, and glass bottles by the most militant Nazi group in Sweden. Anti-fascists at the scene defended the demonstration from the attack and many were injured themselves.

Joel has over 4080 USD in fines, and his supporters are asking for help raising the money. The group can be contacted at the web site below. He can read Swedish and English.

Joel Almgren  
KVA Tidaholm  
Skogsholmvägen  
522 85 Tidaholm  
SWEDEN

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

#### Linus Soinjoki

Linus Soinjoki was charged and convicted for actions related to his involvement in the anti-fascist movement in Sweden. He was given fourteen months in prison and began serving his sentence in mid-May 2015. Linus can read Swedish and English.

Linus Soinjoki  
KVA Västervik Norra  
Box 248 593 23  
Västervik  
SWEDEN

<http://heyevent.com/event/keiajdw7gqvtga/free-linus-break-down-the-walls>

### NORTH AMERICA

#### United States

#### Luke O'Donovan

On New Year's Eve of 2013, Luke O'Donovan attended a house party in Reynoldstown, a neighborhood in Atlanta, Georgia. Luke was seen dancing with and kissing other men at the party. Later in the night he was insulted with homophobic slurs, and attacked by several people at once. Luke unsuccessfully attempted to escape, at which point several witnesses reported watching between five and twelve men gang-banging on Luke and stomping on his head and body, evidently with the intent to kill him. He was called a faggot before and during the attack, throughout the course of which he and five others were stabbed. Luke was subsequently imprisoned and charged with five counts of aggravated assault with a deadly weapon as well as one count of attempted murder.

Luke's trial concluded on August 12, 2014, when he accepted a negotiated plea deal. He agreed to a two year sentence beginning that day, and then eight years of harsh probation. The judge also banished Luke from the state of Georgia for the term of his probation. He can read English.

Luke Patrick O'Donovan  
#1001372271  
Washington State Prison  
P.O. Box 206  
Davisboro, GA 31018 USA

<https://letlukego.wordpress.com/>

#### Jason Hammond

Jason Hammond accepted a non-cooperating guilty plea and was sentenced to forty-one months on January 2015 for his part in an organized direct action taken against a group of white supremacists. In 2012, a group of racists and white supremacists organized a White Nationalist Economic Summit in the Chicago suburb of Tinley Park. Groups of anti-fascists and anti-racists from the Midwest confronted the meeting and successfully shut down the event through a righteous melee. In the aftermath, five antifascists were arrested, and dubbed the Tinley Park 5. The five were sentenced to upwards of three years and all have since been released. Jason was arrested later, and is the last person still in jail for this action. He can read English.

Jason Hammond, M50190  
P.O. Box 500  
Vandalia, IL 62471 USA

<http://freejasonhammond.blogspot.com/>  
<https://fundrazr.com/campaigns/0w0Ma/ab/94SfS3>

# Four years since our hunger strikes began, none of our core demands have yet been met: Our protracted struggle must continue

by Mutope Duguma, Pelican Bay short corridor, June 21, 2015

Excerpted from: <http://sfbayview.com/2015/06/four-years-since-our-hunger-strikes-began-none-of-our-core-demands-have-yet-been-met-our-protracted-struggle-must-continue/>

2015 marks four years since we collectively got together and launched our peaceful protests to end long term solitary confinement. We have not been able to get any policy, outside of STG (Security Threat Group) 1 and 2 and SDP (Step Down Program), which we have to keep in mind is again CDCr continuing to violate our civil and human rights by holding men and women in these solitary confinement torture chambers – SCTC – indefinitely.

Prisoners been held for over four decades for no other reason than a prison label called prison gang validation, based on confidential information provided to prison officials by snitches, rats, informers, turncoats etc. And in looking into a lot of these cases, we would learn that it was the prison officials who manufactured this information in order to subject prisoners to a life of hell.

We have been able to examine, evaluate and investigate the STG and SDP policies and we unanimously reject them, because, simply put, they are more of the same. They empower the previous policies that we were initially peacefully protesting.

## Individual accountability

The individual accountability Core Demand No. 1 (End group punishment and administrative abuse) was crucial for establishing a fair and just policy. CDCr's power stems from the threats that they place over prisoners by labeling us with groups and holding us responsible for the actions of that group.

That practice is flawed; other than a gang title by which the group or individuals are labeled as members or associates, simply based on the group's alleged gang title, nothing else allows for CDCr to blatantly target racial groups and individuals. Prison officials want these targeted individuals off of General Population in order to subject them to SCTC. But individual accountability, satisfying Core Demand No. 1, would have put an end to this policy, where predominantly white "prison gang" officials target mostly New Afrikans and Mexicans – racism.

These validations are a matter of life and death, because to subject and isolate prisoners for indefinite periods of time in SCTC takes a serious toll on our health and mental stability, regardless if we appear to be a reflection of strength. We see how young human beings can naturally develop into strong men and women under natural circumstances. We also see how, if able to grow older, they develop eventually into fragile individuals, so as you age, it's a matter of life and death.

## Active or inactive

After six years of waiting to go before the DRB, a prisoner should be referred and seen, regardless if it's an active or inactive recommendation or if it's a validation as active, and should see the DRB immediately. To tell someone who has been deemed active that he or she has to wait for their DRB case-by-case review, which the same CDCr official refers you to, is a grave injustice.

I believe it's a 14th Amendment violation under the equal protection clause, because prisoners being reviewed for active/inactive re-validation should also be seen by OCS and then the DRB, which makes the final decision based on the OCS recommendation. This would not allow CDCr gang officials to discriminate against prisoners they want to retain in SCTC, because under the new policy, whether you like it or not, as soon as you are in a SDP Step 1-4, you are on a three-year course toward getting the hell out of the SCTC.

We, in our Core Demand No. 2, demanded in part, an end to the active/inactive review, because it retains prisoners indefinitely in SCTC without any real due process or procedural due process. The debriefing policy is still in effect and its sole purpose is to have prisoners snitch on one another for a release from the SCTC that they are held on indefinitely. We, in part of our Core Demand No. 2 (Abolish the debriefing policy and modify active/inactive gang status criteria), have demanded an end to this debriefing policy that tortures men and women for information on other men and women by using state sanctioned powers to carry out their attacks.

## Long term solitary confinement

We, in our Core Demand No. 3, demanded an end to long term solitary confinement. We see that CDCr has basically just condemned us to three more years in isolation, which amounts to torture and long term solitary confinement.



National and international opinion clearly deems long term solitary confinement torture, but these laws are not respected by CDCr, which reduces these laws to opinions. We continue to see prisoners die due to medical neglect and inadequate medical treatment.

## Health care and food

We all hear the horror stories – and have our own that have routinely been allowed to occur – where countless men and women have died in agonizing pain due to not being diagnosed or not treated for medical conditions that eventually manifest into deadly diseases that the prisoners suffer the rest of their stay in SCTC. In part, we have demanded in our Core Demand No. 4 that inadequate medical treatment cease.

We continue to be fed non-nutritional foods and issued regularly disproportionate servings, so that prisoners held in long term solitary confinement go hungry and become unhealthy, since it is a concrete fact that nutritional foods maintain one's good health. CDCr continues to defy this documented fact under the "Dietary Guidelines for Americans, 2010," from the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

I can go on and on about the inadequate food prisoners are forced to eat – or starve; much of it provides no nutritional benefits. In part, our Core Demand No. 4 demanded an adequate, balanced, nutritional diet be provided and an end to the small servings.

## Education vs. warehousing

We are still held inside these solitary confinement torture chambers (SCTC), where no meaningful educational programs and privileges have been implemented that could encourage our mental stability and physical development. When we talk about educational programs, we are talking about CDCr changing their practice of just warehousing prisoners, but instead giving access to modern world technologies that can be provided at a prisoner's expense or state expense.

We need real courage and a commitment to real education for prisoners. Allowing our mental energy to die or waste away in these man-made tombs does nothing for anyone. I'd prefer to be studying for a doctorate than to be just sitting here wasting away like this. And once we earn our degrees, we should be afforded the opportunity to serve humanity nationally and internationally.

## Visiting

Privilege is simply allowing prisoners access to activities that enrich our lives. This can only be a benefit to everyone. Family visits and contact visits are privileges, even an hour visit out of 24 hours a day on two days, Saturday and Sunday, and in some prisons, just one day for an hour.

PBSP afforded an hour and a half and, after our peaceful protests, now three hours. But traveling to PBSP is like going to another state, so even three hours is insufficient considering the distance. We should be allowed five or six hours.

We have, for the last 50 years in California, been conditioned around violence, and violence has been a regular practice throughout our stay. Thanks to our Agreement to End Hostilities, a lot of this violence has been deterred to some extent.

But what will keep this violence at bay? Because

it definitely won't sustain itself if prisoners' energy is not being challenged in the educational programs and privileges that would hold their attention and produce the development that will enrich their lives.

Our Core Demand No. 5 (Expand and provide constructive programming and privileges for indefinite SHU status inmates) demanded that in order to deal with the idle time and the physical and mental development and social development of each and every prisoner, there must be real rehabilitation.

None of our core demands have been met! We are at a stage in our protracted struggle where we have to ask ourselves a tough question: Where do we go from here?

[W]e have to start strategizing around what we have to do in respect to our peaceful protests in order to end the continued abuse of authority.

CDCr has turned up its attacks, making it worse for each and every prisoner and his or her family. New regulations on personal property and on "obscenity" – actually censorship, a direct attack on free speech – have been implemented, and the proposed regulations to use canine searches of visitors – a direct attack on our families – are not yet approved but are in effect "on a temporary basis."

These new regulations are nothing other than prison officials abusing their position of power in order to retaliate against all of us who participated in the hunger strikes and against all prisoners, activists and our families who supported us. The fact that CDCr can use the power that has been entrusted to them by the people to attack the people for their peaceful protests speaks volumes to how CDCr officials have no respect for the offices they hold.

We prisoners need to prepare for a massive peaceful protest and work stoppage if prison officials don't 1) Change the culture to which prisoners and their families are subjected: so much mental and physical torment; 2) End long term solitary confinement, as they promised; and 3) Implement our five core demands. If not, we have to think about our immediate future and long term future behind these walls. Too many humans are suffering who don't need to.

We also have to begin to educate prisoners on how to file writs and civil complaints in the state and federal courts in the interests of prisoners, ending the routine abuses that have been systemic throughout the state. The work stoppage, if necessary, should last anywhere from a month to years.

Our support committees need to release a report on the health consequences that many prisoners suffered during our last hunger strike, such as when we were temporarily taken to New Folsom. Many prisoners suffered immeasurable consequences in the name of our peaceful hunger strikes – the most recent having lasted from July 8, 2013, to Sept. 5, 2013 – that I personally recorded. We lost six lives, and we continue to lose lives.

## One Love, One Struggle!

Send our brother some love and light: Mutope Duguma, s/n James Crawford, D-05996, D2-107, P.O. Box 7500, Crescent City CA 95532.

**23rd of each month Statewide Coordinated  
Actions to End Solitary Confinement  
[https://prisonerhungerstrikesolidarity.  
wordpress.com/take-action-2/](https://prisonerhungerstrikesolidarity.wordpress.com/take-action-2/)**



# FLOOD THE SYSTEM

floodthesystem.net/

## The Story So Far

Over the past year, hundreds of thousands of people have flowed into the streets to fight back.

Fast food workers in over a hundred cities went on strike, with thousands arrested demanding \$15 an hour and a union. Young people in Ferguson, protesting the murder of Michael Brown by Darren Wilson, showed us the power of sustained action as they fought back against state violence for weeks, reinvigorating a national movement for Black liberation. Hundreds of thousands of climate activists marched at the People's Climate March in New York, and the next day Flood Wall Street shut down the heart of New York's financial district.

Across the country, and the world, powerful movements are using nonviolent direct action to to disrupt business as usual and demand lasting systemic change.

These moments show that broad mobilization and disruption are ways that we can transform our society. It is time we move beyond conventional strategies. Its time we connect across movements and #FloodTheSystem.

Rising Tide North America and its allies call on communities, networks, affinity groups and organizations across the continent to join together this Fall to rapidly escalate the pace and scale of the anti-capitalist climate justice movements.

We need to wash away the root causes of climate change -- capitalism, white supremacy, patriarchy and colonialism. These systems enable the domination of people and Earth. They place gains for the elite before the well being of our communities.

To build the scale of movements necessary to take on this challenge, we need everyone. Using sustained, coordinated direct action we can bring more people into a movement for radical social transformation than ever before.

The upcoming United Nations meeting of the Conference of the Parties in Paris (COP 21) at the end of the year provide us with an opportunity. Framed as climate negotiations they are really about capitalism and the corporate elites. We have an opportunity to focus the debate on capitalism itself as negotiators wedded to and benefiting from the status quo refuse to discuss the systems that drive the crisis. This is a natural moment to preemptively highlight community resistance and radical alternatives in advance of another colossal failure of international leadership. Through our combined action we can turn the failure of these critical talks into a moment in which the systemic nature of the crisis moves to the center and in which our movements begin to connect and collaborate.

In the past, the climate movement has repeatedly tried days of action and one-day marches. While these have built important relationships, they have not created the sustained movement swells we need. To lay the groundwork for exponential movement growth we are asking groups to convene Action Councils, like those forming in the Pacific Northwest, California, Montana, Northeast and elsewhere, with the intention of coming together to organize sustained actions beginning in late Summer, continuing through November and beyond.

With luck, waves of mobilizations breaking across the continent and world will build



off each other to create a flood of resistance to fossil fuel extraction, capitalism and colonialism.

## Vision

#FloodTheSystem invites the Rising Tide network, the larger climate justice movements, and other non-climate focused groups to create a flood of massive economic and political disruption of the systems that allow the climate and economic crisis to continue to escalate. This is not a simple call to action or day of action, it's a long-term process. We want to organize a series of actions that would:

Build a more robust anti-capitalist movement that clearly defines climate change as a symptom of capitalism. Specifically, we hope to support and catalyze regional organizing networks and relationships to challenge extreme energy infrastructure and the systems of oppression that enable it

Build long term local, regional and continental networks that can continue to coordinate, build connections between movements, and escalate these fights in 2016 and beyond.

Begin to work closely with other movements through the analysis of where our struggles intersect and through a commitment to anti-oppressive organizing practices. Share, implement and gain experience in innovative models of horizontal movement structures and mass democracy in organizing that will serve radical forces for the long haul.

Create a flood of energy within regions that inspires others to join in with organic, spontaneous actions and organizing. Regional blocks of escalating action are already planned that will lead into, and play off, each other. More emerge everyday. Preemptively highlight community resistance and real alternatives to the fossil fuel economy ahead of the inevitable colossal failure by global elites at the United Nations climate negotiations in Paris.

## 100X100 Campaign to Increase Publication Frequency of Turning the Tide

Over its 26+ 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 print 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 begin publishing every other month in 2015. 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.**

## FREE PUERTO RICAN POLITICAL PRISONER OSCAR LOPEZ RIVERA

Oscar López Rivera, 72, is a Puerto Rican *independentista* political prisoner. Sparked by broad support from many sectors of Puerto Rican society and in the Puerto Rican diaspora in the United States, the campaign to release López Rivera, a name unfamiliar to some, has been picking up steam. May 29 marked 34 years since his arrest on charges of the thought crime of "seditious conspiracy," plotting to overthrow the US government in Puerto Rico by force of arms. This is the same charge that was levied against Don Pedro Albizu Campos, Puerto Rican Nationalist leader in the 1950s.

Alejandro Molina is with the May 30 Coalition to Free Oscar López. "He was a decorated Vietnam veteran who came back to serve his people. He's also a Puerto Rican Revolutionary." Charges against him total 70 years in prison. On May 30th, thousands marched demanding his incarceration, thronging in the streets from Harlem through El Barrio, so-called "Spanish Harlem" with many more in the Puerto Rican community waving support from the sidelines. Congresswoman Nydia Velázquez joined with other López supporters for the march and rally. Addressing Barack Obama she said, "Mr. President, do the right thing. Free Oscar López!" Many other figures in the Puerto Rican movement and community also addressed the marchers, including his daughter Clarissa and his brother, Jose López of the Puerto Rican Cultural Center and Pedro Albizu Campos High School in Chicago. The younger López said that the continued survival and consciousness of Puerto Rican youth and the Puerto Rican community in Chicago in the face of gentrification was a testament to the living legacy of Oscar López.

If there is no pardon or clemency by the President, López will get out of prison when he is 82 years old. You can join a letter writing campaign asking President Obama for clemency by going to [BoricuaHumanRights.org](http://BoricuaHumanRights.org).

His case was also taken up recently to thousands at the Left Forum in NY. The Pacifica Foundation Radio national board also adopted a resolution calling for his release and coverage of the issue on Pacifica stations and the network's affiliates, in a motion advanced by a Pacifica affiliate in Vieques, Puerto Rico.

López Rivera and several codefendants adopted a stance of "prisoners of war" when captured and tried, refusing to recognize US jurisdiction because of the colonial relationship of Puerto Rico, which was taken over by the US in the so-called Spanish American War in 1898. The others have all subsequently been released, either by presidential clemency by Bill Clinton or eventual parole after lengthy sentences.



# Land Seizures Speeding Up, Leaving Africans Homeless and Landless

By Jeffrey Moyo

<http://www.ipsnews.net/2015/04/land-seizures-speeding-up-leaving-africans-homeless-and-landless/>

HARARE, Apr 8 2015 (IPS) - There's a new scramble for Africa, with ordinary people facing displacement by the affluent and powerful as huge tracts of land are grabbed by a minority, rights activists here say.

"Our forefathers cried foul when their land was grabbed by colonialists more than a century ago, but today history repeats itself, with our own political leaders and wealthy countrymen looting land," Claris Madhuku, director of the Platform for Youth Development (PYD), a democracy lobby group in Zimbabwe, told IPS.

Civil society activist Owen Dliwayo, who is program officer for the Youth Dialogue Action Network, said multinational companies were to blame in most African countries for land seizures. "I can give you an example of the Chisumbanje ethanol fuel project here in Chipinge. The project resulted in thousands of villagers being displaced to pave way for a sugar plantation so that space could be created for the ethanol-producing project," Dliwayo told IPS. The 40,000 hectare plantation displaced more than 1,754 households.

Fifteen years ago, Zimbabwe embarked on a controversial land reform to address colonial land-ownership imbalances, but activists have dismissed the move as disastrous for this Southern African nation. "To say African nations like Zimbabwe addressed the land problem is untrue because land which African governments like Zimbabwe grabbed from white farmers was parceled out to political elites at the expense of peasants here," Terry Mutsvanga, an award-winning Zimbabwean rights activist, told IPS. "Land grabs in Africa have helped perpetuate economic inequalities similar to the colonial era," he added.

In 2010, ZimOnline, a Zimbabwean news service, reported that 2,200 well-connected black Zimbabwean elites controlled nearly 40% of the 14 million hectares seized from white farmers, with each farm ranging in size from 250 to 4,000 hectares. President Mugabe and his family [were] said to own 14 farms spanning at least 16,000 hectares.

According to a 2011 presentation by Uganda's Joshua Zake, 'Land Grabbing: silent pain for smallholder farmers in Uganda', a few wealthy or powerful individuals [prevail] against many vulnerable individuals or communities. Zake is Senior Program Officer for Environment and Natural Resources and Coordinator of the Uganda Forestry Working Group at Environmental Alert. According to Zake, land grabbing in Africa, particularly in Uganda, is promoted by the suspected presence of oil and other mineral resources beneath the land, such as in Uganda's Amuru and Bulisa districts.

But land grabs in Africa may also be rampant in towns and cities, according to private land developers here. "There's high demand of land for homes in towns and cities across Africa owing to the sharp rural-to-urban migration," Etuna Nujoma, a private land developer based in Windhoek, the Namibian capital, told IPS. "The wealthy and the powerful as well as corrupt politicians are taking advantage of the land demand and parceling out urban land among themselves for resale at exorbitant prices at the expense of the poor."

Last year, irked by corrupt local authorities appearing to be dishing out land among themselves for resale, a group of informal settlement dwellers outside Namibia's coastal holiday town of Swakopmund occupied municipal land with the intention of settling there.

Meanwhile, in Mozambique, the poor are losing out to foreign investors on land rights there despite the state being the sole owner of land. Under the country's constitution, there is no private land ownership – land and its associated resources are the property of the

state – although the country's Land Law grants private persons the right to use and benefit from the land whether or not they have a formal title. However, loopholes have emerged in the law.

A survey last year by Mozambique's National Farmers' Union showed that there was a colonial-era style land grab there, with politically-connected companies in the former Portuguese colony seizing hundreds of thousands of hectares of farmland from peasants. According to GRAIN, a non-profit organization supporting small farmers and social movements in their struggles for community-controlled and biodiversity-based food systems, peasants in northern Mozambique have difficulties keeping their lands as foreign companies set up large-scale agribusinesses there.

"The Mozambican government is known for siding with foreign investors who now occupy huge tracts of land for their own use as local peasants lose out on land, which is their birth right," Kingston Nyakurukwa, a Zimbabwean independent economist, told IPS.

With foreign investors acquiring huge tracts of land ahead of locals in Africa, ActionAid Tanzania earlier this year said that through the European Union, United States and several European countries, the European Union's New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition plans to invest 7.57 billion euros in agricultural development and food security across Africa. However, said Nyakurukwa, these will be business ventures that will strip Africans of their hard-earned money as they buy agricultural produce.

Similarly, in Nigeria, Mozambique and Tanzania, smallholder farmers are being moved off their land, paving the way for sugarcane, rice and other export crop-growing projects backed by New Alliance money, according to ActionAid Tanzania's findings. "Money from investors seem to be elbowing us out of our native lands here in Tanzania. No one has been offered the choice of whether to be resettled or not, as we are being forcibly offered money or land for resettlement," Moses Malunguja, a disgruntled peasant from Tanzania, told IPS.



**Save the date:  
November 6-9, 2015**

**Annual TORCH Anti-fa  
Network gathering  
in  
Philadelphia PA  
Hosted by  
Philly Antifa.**

**More details and registration in  
the next issue of TTT.**

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

You can find archives of *Turning the Tide* at [www.antiracist.org](http://www.antiracist.org) that go back more than seven years, plus back issues of the *Black Rider African Intercommunal News Service*.

In addition, there are several Facebook pages, such as [facebook.com/tideturning](https://www.facebook.com/tideturning), and [facebook.com/intercommunalsolidarity](https://www.facebook.com/intercommunalsolidarity). You can follow @ara\_losangeles on Twitter, and the De-Colonize LA! blog at [ara-la.tumblr.com](http://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!**

**\$20 a year payable only to Anti-Racist Action  
at P.O. Box 1055 in Culver City 90232**

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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 are a prisoner and can 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](mailto:antiracistaction_la@yahoo.com)

# THOUGHTS ON OUR AGREEMENT TO END HOSTILITIES (AEH)

By Kijani Tashiri Askari and Akili Castlin

The Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary defines the word "hostility" as being :

- 1.) A hostile state, condition , or attitude; enmity; antagonism; unfriendliness
- 2.) A hostile act
- 3.) Opposition or resistance to an idea, plan project, etc.
- 4.) a) acts of warfare  
b) war

So our initial question to the people is: "What does hostility mean to you?" During the formulation phase of constructing our position on this issue, a wise man was asked his thoughts on our "Agreement to end Hostilities" (AEH) and he stated:

"The inclusion of the Agreement to end race-based hostilities to our struggle against California's solitary confinement policies, represents a qualitative leap of the insight of all prison nationalities, and unites us beyond the fight to free ourselves from CDCR's torture units. Its promise may foreshadow the triumph of prisoners' quests for full human recognition."

History has always proven to be a viable guide, with making qualitative assessments in relation to where we have been, and with what lies ahead in the course of our struggle. Therefore, it's only appropriate that we highlight the essence of our suffering with examples from our history in CDCR's solitary confinement units.

In the 1960s, we prisoners were suffocating under the inhumane and deplorable conditions in Soledad's O-Wing, where prisoners were routinely placed in strip/quiet cells amidst the foul stench of urine and human feces. In most instances, human waste lay bare on the floor for all to see. And you could forget about the prison guards giving us anything to clean up the human waste, especially when you factor in how the prison guards wouldn't give us toilet paper to wipe ourselves or flush our floor-based toilets on a regular basis, which could only be done by them. I mean, the prison guards wouldn't even give us drinking water!!

## WE CAN'T BREATHE!!!

In the 1970s, we prisoners were suffocating under the inhumane conditions of being deprived of outdoor exercise and access to natural sunlight. Our means of exercise consisted of being let out of our cells to occupy a space in front of it that was no bigger than a public sidewalk. In *Spain v. Proconier*, the court ruled these conditions to be unconstitutional and set forth the mandate of prisoners in solitary confinement receiving at least 10 hours of outdoor exercise a week. But 36

years later, in 2015, Warden Holland of CCI Tehachapi has admitted that this prison is ill-equipped to meet the mandate of 10 hours of outdoor recreation. In other words "caged monkeys" in a zoo receive more outdoor exercise and natural sunlight than us!!

## WE CAN'T BREATHE!!!

In the 1980s, we prisoners were suffocating under the deplorable and outright inhumane conditions at Old Folsom and San Quentin State Prisons. These conditions consisted of extreme cold weather during winter months due to prison guards using their guns to shoot out the windows in the housing units. Rat feces circulated throughout the plumbing system, meaning that the designated shower areas for prisoners were inclusive of this kind of filth!! In *Toussaint v. McCarthy*, federal court ruled these conditions unconstitutional, but also issued a "permanent injunction," that mandated these conditions be immediately changed! However, instead of any changes coming about, CDCR surreptitiously transferred prisoners out of Old Folsom and San Quentin en masse to Tehachapi, DUI-Tracy, Soledad State Prison, etc... Thus, nullifying the injunction.

## WE CAN'T BREATHE!!!

In the 1990s we witnessed the expansion of solitary confinement units (e.g., "Supermax control units"), wherein CDCR's objectives became ever more apparent in the form of population control. On the one hand, a culture of police beatings was exposed to the public in *Madrid v. Gomez*, where prisoner Vaughn Dortch was forced into a tub of boiling hot water and had his skin ripped off!! Prisoner Greg Dickerson was shot in the chest and stomach point blank in his cell with a 38 millimeter gas gun via the false assertion of being non-cooperative with prison guards.

On the other hand, prisoners were forced to become informants for the state, in order to be released from solitary confinement via "the CDCR Inquisition" program. This was exposed as an "underground policy" in *Castillo v. Alameida*, because CDCR never promulgated it through the Administrative Procedure Act (APA). The Castillo case also brought about the 6-year inactive gang status reviews, which meant prisoners were led to believe we could be released from solitary confinement after 6 years. These reviews were a complete sham! It has now been revealed that Castillo is a pig collaborator by becoming an informant for CDCR in the current class-action lawsuit of *Ashker v. Brown, et. al.*, against the current conditions of solitary confinement.

## WE CAN'T BREATHE!!!

Through this spiral of development the AEH became manifest in October of 2012. So in reflecting upon our collective struggle, in being unable to breathe for over a half-century of pure torture. it's hard not to think of Eric Garner, right before his demise, when he uttered the words: "I CAN'T BREATHE!!!"

This reality explains why we ended our hostilities, as it amounts to freedom or death!! It's every prisoner's aspiration to be liberated from prison. Our AEH puts us in a viable position for this to happen, especially when we consider how CDCR has routinely denied us parole, for simply being interned to indefinite solitary confinement status as alleged gang members, without a single act of violence to support their position. This speaks to the importance and the manner in which every prisoner has honored and adhered to our AEH. This is commendable on all fronts!! Our exemplary conduct has made CDCR completely powerless over us, as we have successfully taken away the fodder that used to fuel their political rhetoric in labeling us the "worst of the worst." Our unity threatens the political, social, and economic stability of CDCR, which is why their Counter Intelligence Unit (IGI) is issuing all of these bogus CDC-115 rule violation reports for "promoting gang activity."

Our fortitude and resolve of continued unity ensures that our demand in wanting to be liberated from prison will no longer fall on deaf ears!! We now have the power to change the course of history with CDCR's routine parole board denials, just as we have done in building a movement around abolishing all solitary confinement units. We must begin a similar process in mobilizing our families on this very issue. But until then, "WE CAN'T BREATHE" must become our mantra going forward, as we prisoners refuse to ease up on the powers that be, until every prisoner is able to breathe by being liberated from these prisons!!

## WE CAN'T BREATHE!!!

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## ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!!

## **Boots on the Ground... A Brief Communique on the Charleston Church Massacre**

R.I.P. to our people who were brutally assassinated in cold blood by the racist white terrorist Dylann Roof on June 17, 2015.

Revolution is a glorious term, it's a term to be proud of, and we should know that we are morally right to fight.. and that the oppressor has no rights which the oppressed are bound to respect! The Black Riders Carolina Chapter is now officially open on the streets, (6/21/15). We must defend ourselves by any means necessary... AN EYE FOR AN EYE, A TOOTH FOR A TOOTH, AND A HEAD FOR A HEAD!!

by General T.A.C.O.

Black Power! All Power to the People!

"The primacy of politics remains, but we must now prepare ourselves for armed confrontation. By no stretch of the imagination can we hope to overthrow so determined an enemy without force."--George Jackson.

WE WILL WIN!

*Left, Tywanza Sanders, one of nine assassinated in Charleston, SC.*





# ***A New Generation Black Panther Talks About Baltimore and Black America***

by Bill Kilby, VICE Magazine May, 2015

General T.A.C.O. a.k.a. Wolverine Shakur is the leader of the Black Riders Liberation Party, a group in Los Angeles also known as the “New Generation Black Panther Party for Self-Defense.” As that name implies, they’re not exactly shy about their activism: In March, they traveled to Texas and marched with the Huey P. Newton Gun Club through South by Southwest in Austin, carrying guns to the state capitol to “raise the cry for armed self-defense” for the black community.

The link between black activism and gun control goes back a long way. The “open carry” of firearms was banned in California by the Mulford Act in 1967 in response to the armed police patrols of the original Black Panthers; their ideological successors in the Black Riders now organize “Watch-A-Pig” patrols in South LA, Oakland, and elsewhere to defend against what they see as “police terrorism.” While they can’t lawfully carry loaded guns, they say they use video cameras and “legal weapons” to confront police arresting black suspects. But where they differ from the Copwatch approach is that their eventual goal is total revolution.

We spoke with General T.A.C.O. (which stands for “Taking All Capitalists Out”) about Baltimore, gang truces, and the history of Black America. His comments reveal an alternative narrative of contemporary race relations that’s instructive for understanding how some black Americans view the current wave of attention to police brutality as the beginning of a renewed Black Power movement. Here’s what he had to say:

V: In the past year, with a number of high-profile incidents involving police killings of black suspects, have you seen more interest in the message of the Black Riders?

General T.A.C.O.: Yes, we’ve been growing pretty rapidly in the last year and a half. We’re also extremely strong in the prison-industrial complex—we have a nationwide prison chapter. By the pigs exposing their hand, they’re revealing to the public the things that have been going on in the black community since we were dragged here on slave ships from Africa. They’re using the same repressive, violent measures to colonize us into the position that we’re in right now. The police came from the paddy rollers, patrollers, who chased down runaway slaves and dragged them back to the plantation.

V: In that case, do you think that any type of police reform efforts are going to make life easier for the black community, or do you think it’s going to take a more systemic solution?

T: We see the whole issue of police terrorism as being tied to the issue of white supremacy and capitalism and US imperialism on the planet. We see our struggle and our freedom tied to an international struggle against a worldwide capitalist class, which has been oppressing people around the world since its existence. When we talk about police terrorism, it’s in conjunction with property relations, in conjunction with means of production and distribution of wealth. We deal with economic, social, and political subjugation and repression. The police act to protect the property of the capitalist class. As long as those types of property relations exist, we’re gonna have a problem with this government; we’re gonna have problems with capitalism, white supremacy, and US imperialism. We see a need to educate our people for armed self-defense and community service, then after that we want to move them to a community where we’re in control of the police and where we can disarm the pigs. But even that alone would never work—we need to have total revolution to deal with police terrorism, because as long as the state is in the pocket of the ruling class, we’re always going to have this racial and class conflict.

V: Since the announcement of criminal charges against officers who arrested Freddie Gray, tensions on the ground in Baltimore have appeared to relax. What do you think is the next step for black organizers seeking to prevent further police abuses?

T: What they can learn from the Freddie Gray situation is that the need to resist is necessary. No longer can we sit idly by and watch the pigs terrorize our communities. You have to understand that even though this concession was given to the masses, it was designed to appease them, to offset the real revolutionary rage that’s inside of them from being oppressed by a racist US government. It’s like they did with those small crumbs of reform in the 60s like affirmative action; they created a black neocolonial class to provide a buffer guard for the ruling class. They need these house negroes to convince us that the capitalist, white-supremacist system works, despite the fact [that] it doesn’t. We’ve already proven that by numerous times throughout our history where the police have been indicted for a crime, and yet still, because of the racial dynamics of the jury pool, which is usually white, we don’t have anybody there to represent the interests of our people. Our peer group are those around us in a geographic location, who talk like us, look like us. As long as the jury pool is composed of people who are alien to our culture, to our language, to our ways as a people, then they’re going to see things through a white, racist, capitalist viewpoint, and end up letting the pigs off.

V: Who are some members of this black neocolonial class, in your view?

T: Obama! He’s the ultimate neocolonial puppet. We like to say, look at race car drivers, like Mario Andretti, one of the fastest race car drivers in the world. If you put that man inside a Pinto, a raggedy Pinto that only goes 50 miles an hour, you’ll understand that no matter his skill, no matter his intention or goodwill, he cannot make that Pinto go faster than it was designed to go! The racist US government and its system were never designed for our people; it was designed to enslave, massacre, and genocide our people out of this country. We look at Obama as pushing the same kind of line. He’s the grand house negro.

V: Do you think that charges would have been brought against those officers had there not been demonstrations and rioting in Baltimore?

T: We don’t call it rioting ourselves. We think things that the white supremacists did to gain control of this country, like the Boston Tea Party, were riots! This was a rebellion, a righteous response to brutal terrorism. It wasn’t the protesting that did it—it was the rebellion that forced the enemy’s hand to placate our people and try and calm us down so they can make business as usual. So no, the charges would have never been raised on these dumb pigs unless the rebellion took place. Now we have to keep rebelling as a people for justice and freedom.

V: So you’re not very confident that the charges will stick?

T: I think that people should push and keep up the resistance by any means necessary. We can’t depend on pigs to investigate the pigs. We have to understand the criminal justice system is a criminal “criminal justice system” that isn’t designed for our people, but to

protect the property of the racist, capitalist ruling class. We cannot depend on these same mechanisms formed by the enemy to seek justice or our freedom.

V: A memo was issued by the Baltimore Police Department which alleged that members of the Crips, Bloods, and the Black Guerilla Family were aligning to “take out” police officers. Do you think the police mischaracterized a truce as something violent?

T: This was a deceptive ploy to create mass confusion within our community. They saw that not only were the Bloods and Crips organizing together, members of other gangs such as the Vice Lords and the P. Stones were uniting and seeing the real enemy after the Freddie Gray situation. But also, it’s directly tied to history—we have to understand that even during the period of plantation chattel slavery, they did not like two, three, five black people congregating together, because they felt we were conspiring to overthrow the slave masters. It’s the same thing today. They don’t want us to work together and organize to uplift our community, because we’re opposed to their dominance.

You have to understand that in the 80s, the government used the tactics of bringing in crack cocaine and military weaponry to flood the black community. They decided to neutralize the black liberation movement in America and the righteous liberation struggle of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, to wipe out two birds with one white rock. They created the Contras, a group of counter-revolutionaries who pushed cocaine, to overthrow the Sandinistas, while using our own people, Bloods, Crips, and “Freeway” Rick Ross, to bring in crack and military weaponry to throw off the whole black liberation movement. They created the rise of the so-called “gang epidemic,” the “crack epidemic,” the “guns and violence epidemic”—they created these problems by smuggling these things into our community.

The whole idea of Crips came from the Black Panther Party. Crips stood for “Class Revolution in Progress,” later on Bloods came and created “Black Liberation of Our Descent.” Both Bloods and Crips came from the black liberation movement, so the government used our revolutionary righteous thrust and need for freedom and justice, and turned it against us, creating the pop-cultural, subcultural mentality of the “thug.” But they are the greatest thugs, the greatest terrorists, the racist US government.

There are Bloods and Crips in peace talks all over this country right now, not only in Baltimore. Not only are Bloods and Crips uniting, Christians and Muslims are uniting. All of our black people that are being oppressed and brutalized by a racist government are in peace talks, love talks, and knowledge-of-self talks, and once this public gets talking, it ain’t over. There isn’t too much time left until we start walking the walk, and the Black Riders intend to lead them to revolution.

V: What do you think of the Black Lives Matter movement?

T: The process of awakening, of revolution, is developmental. The initial phase starts when people just talk or scream or yell at the pigs, but once the pigs show their true intentions, and show that they’re morally bankrupt, then the Black Lives Matter movement will gain knowledge of the enemy’s true nature, and will eventually see the need to push for self-defense and revolution.

V: Do you see revolution as inevitable as long as black communities keep resisting, or do you think something could stop it?

T: The only thing that will stop our people from achieving true freedom, justice, and equality is disunity within ourselves. Our goal is to educate and liberate not only black people, but to be the vanguard of the global revolution to wipe out any form of racism or imperialism on the planet. We cannot be free as long as even one slave is oppressed.

V: What can sympathetic white people, and people of other races, do to assist the black community in defending against police brutality?

T: The main thing sympathetic whites can do is ride on the pigs and white supremacy. It’s important that black people are allowed to define themselves and their struggle, for outsiders not to come in and co-opt or water down our righteous revolutionary rage. The main way is to ride on the pigs, to go against the pigs. You’ve gotta study the history of John Brown, ‘cause if you’re not John Brown, you might as well get out of town.

*Bill Kilby is a freelance writer based in Los Angeles.*



## **Contact Info for the Black Riders**

You can reach the Black Riders Liberation Party, new generation Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, at PO Box 8297, Los Angeles CA 90008, [blackriders1996@gmail.com](mailto:blackriders1996@gmail.com) or by calling 602-842-2757 (BRLP), or on facebook, [Black-Riders-Liberation-Party](https://www.facebook.com/Black-Riders-Liberation-Party).

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Culver City, CA 90232-1055

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A JOURNAL OF INTER-COMMUNAL SOLIDARITY

# TURNING THE TIDE

Volume 28 ★ Number 3 ★ ISSN 1082-6491 ★ July-September 2015

## CHARLESTON MASSACRE

## INSIDE

### REST IN PEACE AND POWER

- ★ July 4: XRF Presents Farce of July, 2-10pm Chuco's Justice Center
- ★ July 14, KPFK LSB election registration & membership deadline, kpfk.org
- ★ July 23, 7p "If the SHU Fits" Peace Ctr, 3916 Sepulveda Bl., Culver City
- ★ July-Sept-100X100 Fundraising Campaign for TTT [gofundme.com/eugzgg](http://gofundme.com/eugzgg)
- ★ July 25, International Day of Solidarity with Anti-fascist prisoners
- ★ Black August, sunrise to sunset fast, training, study and dedication to peoples' uplift.
- ★ August 29th Anniversary of Chicano Moratorium  
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- ★ Roots of the Charleston Massacre
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