

Counter Columbus, Confront Colonialism, Capitalism & Climate Crisis

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

This year marks the 150th anniversary of the end of the US Civil War and the triumph of incipient industrial capitalism over earlier, deeply-rooted mercantile and slave-based and land-based forms of capitalism. It set the stage for what is coming to be known as the “Anthropocene.” This is a period of bio-geological development in which human activity is shaping the atmospheric, oceanic and planetary ecological systems in ways that the pre-existing natural systems can no longer contain or accommodate. The consequences of the ensuing 15 decades of intensive exploitation of carbon-based energy resources for warfare, agribusiness, industrial production, and transportation are becoming increasingly undeniable.

We are facing a climatological catastrophe, global mass extinctions, and a possibly irreversible environmental transformation that will mark the end of the 10,000 year period, the Holocene, during which human civilization, based on agriculture, has developed. Global warming, ocean acidification, melting of polar ice, sea level rise, extreme weather events including super-storms, floods and droughts, may soon make the planet unrecognizable, and possibly uninhabitable for humans and thousands of other species whose physical evolution

and life cycles cannot keep pace with these transformations.

It behooves us, if we have any hope of staving off such calamities, or of surviving them if and as they occur, to analyze the roots of the social, political and economic behaviors and practices that have brought them about. We must also understand and undo the reasons for the failures of previous efforts to transform human society.

To do so, we must look further back in time, first to the birth of capitalism as a particular form of class society and of exploitation of nature and of humanity within nature, further into the beginnings of history and class society, and then into the entirety of the geological and biological development of earth including the emergence of our species. Doing that in a page or so of this newspaper, 2000 words, is an ambitious goal, so bear with me if what follows is particularly dense. It is also, though I begin by quoting Marx, not going to be the typical “Marxist” presentation of what purports to be class analysis or dialectical and historical materialism, because that has proven insufficient.

There were some incipient forms of capital developing in Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceania and the western hemisphere, based on trade, farming, handicrafts and early forms of money and banking in pre-existing patriarchal, slave-based and feudal societies. But “capital” is not the same as “capitalism.” As Marx has said, “The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, turning Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black-skins, signaled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production. These ... proceedings are the chief momenta of primary accumulation. On their heels treads the commercial war of the European nations, with the globe for a theatre...the revolt of the Netherlands from Spain, ...England’s Anti-Jacobin War, ...the opium wars against China, etc.”

But there’s an odd inversion in Marx’s brief recounting of the birth of capitalism. The paragraph he put before the one just cited should’ve followed it. He says, “The money capital formed by means of usury and commerce was prevented from turning into industrial capital, in the country by the feudal constitution, in the towns by the guilds. These fetters vanished with the dissolution of feudal society, with the expropriation and eviction of the country population. The new manufactures were established at sea-ports, or at inland points beyond the control of the old municipalities and their guilds.” Putting that first is a critical transposition of developments, chronologically and logically, that has plagued subsequent “vulgar” Marxists, who persist in identifying capitalism with what developed in Europe proper and with the class conflict between the new ruling bourgeoisie and the European proletarians.

In fact, as Marx stated, capitalism was born *in the colonies* -- with the conquest and privatization of land in the Americas and the enslavement of indigenous and African people as labor. It is only *on that base of “primary accumulation”* -- which is still proceeding -- that the *later* enclosure of the commons in Europe, the eviction of the peasantry, and the formation of the proletariat, first in



US settlers carrying out a genocidal theft of Native land .



Clearly, we must supercede capitalism, a cancerous, parasitical system based on inherently unsustainable “growth.” But to do so, especially given the centrality of the US to the global imperialist order, we must directly confront colonialism and particularly settler colonialism. The entire social order, economy and federal state apparatus of the US, including the new transnational manifestations of concentrated political and economic power such as the TPP, are based on settler colonialism -- on stolen land and the control and exploitation of colonized people. Huey P. Newton had some significant insights in putting forward the theory of revolutionary inter-communalism as his thinking and practice developed, but he made the error of misunderstanding and abandoning the concept of decolonization, and untethering Black liberation not only from nationalism and nationhood, but from a relationship to the land. Newton rightly rejected the neo-colonial bourgeois nationalism and the process of “decolonization” authorized by the European colonial powers, which transformed “former” colonies into nominally independent but “under-developed” states modeled on the European nation-state.

But true decolonization is something different -- it means reversing colonialism -- the theft and privatization of land, the domination, exploitation and often extermination of the people and cultures that developed on that land. Its culmination clearly cannot be a nation state, because, despite Stalin’s various pseudo-definitions, the “nation-state” has always been, in fact, an *empire* state, based on the subordination of multiple cultures, languages, and ways of life by a single dominant class claiming to speak for the “nation” and the “national interest.” If this is true in Europe, where dozens of principalities and ethnicities and languages were amalgamated to form “Spain” or “the United Kingdom,” or “Italy”, “Germany” or “Russia” -- and where the maps must continually be redrawn as nation-states dissolve and reform, or in Africa, where maps were drawn arbitrarily to divide and conquer people in the interests of European colonizers, how much more must it be the case in the US, a continental empire based on land stolen from 100 or more nations, and the conquest, importation and amalgamation of innumerable peoples.



It’s only by fundamentally transforming the relationship of people to the land (and to “nature” more broadly) while simultaneously transforming the relationship of people to each other, that we can heal the breach between humanity and nature, and hopefully heal the wounded eco-systems of this planet. This requires not only a political revolution, or an economic one, but a civilizational and cultural revolution. We must regain the wisdom of indigenous peoples who have been resisting colonialism for half a millenium, relearn how to live in harmony with the water cycle and other natural processes, transform our methods of raising food, using renewable and non-toxic forms of energy, reforest massive areas of the planet that are suffering from deforestation and desertification. That is only possible by freeing colonized lands and peoples and by expropriating the expropriators, the capitalist-colonialist class who can only exist by leeching off that land and human creativity.

Feedback and responses welcome to:
antiracistaction_la@yahoo.com

Europe and then globally, could occur. Marx recognized that private ownership of land (and therefore money rent) was an independent form of capital, and an independent basis for capitalist relations among people and between people and nature, but because the bulk of his work focused on abstracting from industrial and financial capital in order to understand its laws of development, this insight has in large measure been lost. In recent years, *Monthly Review* and related Marxian scholars have done tremendous work recuperating the ecological kernel in Marx’s thinking and analysis, but they have not yet overcome this fundamental weakness. Private ownership of land affects class status.

Beyond Historical Materialism

One reason for this oversight has been the historic ossification of Marx’s analysis and insights into what has been called “dialectical and historical materialism,” often also denominated as “Marxism-Leninism” or Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tse-Tung Thought.” Marx, of course, never called himself a Marxist, nor did Lenin characterize himself as a Leninist. Mao I believe did propagate the



formulation of Mao-Tse-Tung thought in his own lifetime, as the heir to and further developer of the philosophy and ideology of his revolutionary forbears, in a later historical period and a non-European context. But what is key, if we are to move beyond stale formulas and failed attempts, is to recognize the partial nature of such thinking. The “history” in “historical materialism” relates to the concept that “all history is the history of class struggle.” We require a much more sweeping and inclusive grasp of human and planetary history, and of physical and social evolution.

Humanity existed for at least a quarter-million years, possibly longer, before the advent of “history” and class society. The basis of class society, like the basis of capitalism, was a transformation in the relationship of people to the land. Settled agriculture, conscious cultivation of plants and domestication of animals, developed in several different parts of the world independently long after the spread of humanity across the planet as hunter-gatherers (a title that simultaneously illuminates and obscures a gendered biological division of labor that precedes patriarchy). This was also long before the advent of capitalism.

And long prior to the rise of humanity as a dominating presence on the planet, other forms of life were instrumental in a kind of co-evolutionary process along with the physical processes of geology, solar radiation and other forces, in creating the atmosphere and the biosphere. The question and challenge is whether we can reintegrate ourselves as humans into what Marx termed the “metabolism” of the ecosphere. Can human activity and social organization be organized so that it is consistent with and embedded in the reciprocal, symbiotic processes of regional and planetary eco-systems? Or is any “production,” whether based on agriculture, industry, carbon-based energy, inherently extractivist and destructive?

CALL FOR SUBMISSIONS:
‘NO FASCIST USA’

Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee
IWOC Steering Committee Overview

No Fascist USA is an upcoming no-budget documentary about the Antifascist movement in the US, made by a longtime militant Antifa with the assistance of members (current and former) of the TORCH Antifa Network, the Anti-Racist Action Network, Red and Anarchist Skinheads and several independent Antifa groups.

In the fashion of Chasseur De Skins (France), 161>88 (UK), and Antifascist Attitude (Russia), this film will tell the history of our movement through a mixture of found footage and interviews with longtime Antifa from all around the U.S. It will seek to dispel several myths about Antifascism as well as address relevant criticisms, and ultimately create more and better prepared Antifascists.

Just some of the topics shown and discussed in the film include:
The John Brown Anti-Klan Committee
The founding of Skinheads against Racial Prejudice, Anti-Racist Action and Red and Anarchist Skinheads and the war against Nazis in Punk and Hardcore music.
The Coalition for Human Dignity
The rise and fall of the National Alliance and Creativity Movement
The Murders of Anti-Racist Skinheads Dan and Spit in Las Vegas in 1999 and the trials of John Butler and Ross Hack.
The 2002 “Battle of York”
The 2005 Toledo, OH Riots against the National Socialist Movement
The events surrounding the Jena 6.
The 2011 attack on the National Socialist Movement national conference in Pemberton, NJ
The 2012 attack on the White Nationalist Economic Summit in Tinley Park, IL and the resulting repression and imprisonments.
Due to time and money constraints, traveling to every city we would like to interview Antifa just isn’t feasible. Therefore, we are asking for your help.

If you have special knowledge of these events or others like them, we want to hear from you. Record a short video with yourself telling us what you want us to know. If you are knowledgeable about relevant historical or current topics, make a recording.

As we said before, the interviews are only half the film. We need footage. Protests, conferences (political or press), fights, benefit shows, news clips; anything that could be used to make the movie a more complete history. If the clip is not self-evident, please include a



short anecdote, for example, “The KKK came to my town in 1999 and Antifascists mobilized against them here is an old local news broadcast about it.”

Please DO NOT send footage of anything illegal (unless the statute of limitations has long expired), nor confessions to crimes. If you are interested in being interviewed we would also like to hear from you. However, because of previously mentioned constraints no one is guaranteed an interview and no one who cannot be independently confirmed and vouched will be included.

Finally, if you are a member of an Anti-Fascist musical project of any genre and would like your music included in the film, we are also accepting song submissions. All submissions should please include lyrics.

There has never been a film about the U.S. Antifascist Movement. The closest one, Invisible Revolution, included no history and spent half the film giving a platform to Klansmen. It is also 15 years old. This project is long over-due and we hope that Antifascists all over the country will help make it a reality.

We can be contacted at
eternalwaronthehitleryouth@gmail.com.

The Steering Committee of the Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee is a transitional body, mandated to assist the creation of an Industrial Union in prisons run by the people in prison themselves. It is mandated that at least 2 of the 7 positions on the Steering Committee are formerly or currently incarcerated individuals.

Unlike many IWW Committees, the IWOC Steering Committee is divided into 7 roles of which people will run for one, with 4 additional roles to be taken on by Steering Committee members once elected: 2 Steering Committee Co-Chairs, 1 Treasurer, and 1 Secondary Check Signer. There are also additional auxiliary committees who are connected to the Committee via the Co-Chairs.

IWOC Steering Committee Roles and Expectations

All Steering Committee Members are expected to:
Attend every other week 1 hour conference calls
Stay up to date on Steering Committee business and votes
Implement work in their task area as mandated by the annual IWOC Mini-Conference or amended by the IWOC Steering Committee
Ensure all goals are specific and have timelines attached
Work with other members of IWOC to create active members or a committee in their role area, involving members on the inside and outside
Take on necessary IWOC work beyond their designated task area

Inreach and Inside Support Responsible (2)
Be in regular contact with IWW inside organizers, groups, and branches
Support development of increasing levels of inside organization including connecting members of the Committee on Industrial Union Formation
Send out IWOC Alerts
Ensure maintenance and accuracy of IWOC database

Outreach and Local Support Responsible (2)
Support and mentor IWOC Local Organizing Groups and IUB 613 Outside Liaisons in growing their groups and electing point people for nationally mandated task areas: membership, fundraising, and newsletter (review these areas before or at Conference!)
Plan, recruit, and ensure the facilitation of quarterly Local Organizing Conference Calls
Expand IWOC infrastructure throughout the IWW including subscriptions to IWOC Alerts and in partnership with the Fundraising officer
Make a list of potential IWOC allies; ensure they receive Annual Greetings and Newsletter; respond to inquiries or potential alliances with said groups

Fundraising Responsible (1)
Ensure the creation and implementation of an annual Fundraising Plan
Create fundraising materials and ensure inclusion of fundraising into all aspects of work
Setup necessary online and other infrastructure to facilitate donations

Literature/Media Responsible (1)
Ensure regular posts to facebook, twitter, and other social media
Maintain website, including easy IWOC Alert sign-up
Ensure the creation of IWOC Literature
Create a list of reporters, blogs, facebook groups, etc, to get the word out to
Coordinate quarterly press releases/letters to the editors featuring IWOC talking points

Outside Newsletter Responsible (1)
Work with co-editors inside prison and graphic designers to create a powerful, beautiful, quarterly newsletter written by people in prison and representing the full depths of the IWW’s politics
Ensure successful printing and distribution of newsletter to members inside
Send potentially useful contributions to Literature/Media for creation of pamphlets, website articles, etc
Collaborate with Inreach Officers to develop an increasingly strong network of inside writers and artists

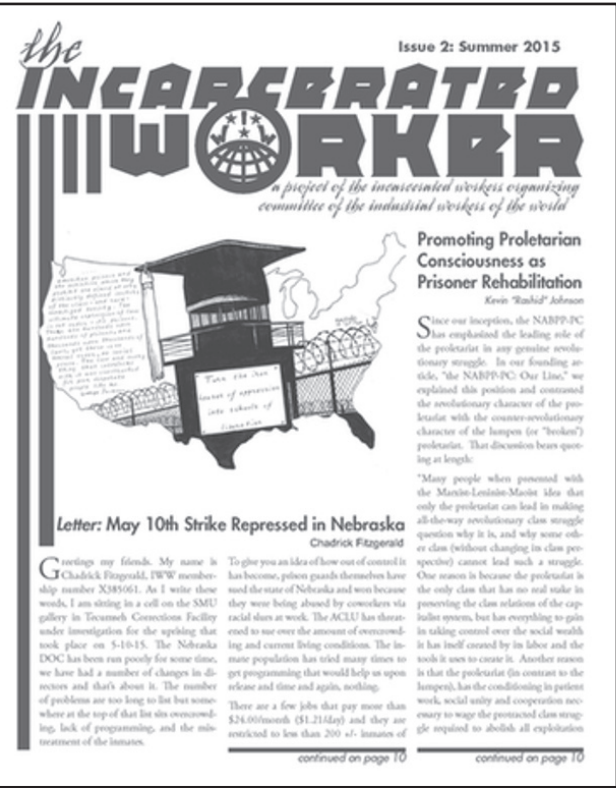
Additional Officer Requirements:
Co-Chairs:
Report quarterly to the GEB

Ensure bi-weekly Steering Committee conference calls
Ensure all approved motions are put into a common public document in a folder with approved documents
Ensure planning of annual Mini-Conference and the publishing of Annual IWOC Greetings

Treasurer
Track all finances, keep receipts, make monthly financial reports, write checks with the approval of the Steering Committee to anyone but themselves

Secondary Check Signer
Write checks to the Treasurer when they need to be reimbursed

<http://iwoc.noblogs.org/>
For more info: <https://itsgoingdown.org/new-incarcerated-worker-newsletter-summer-2015/>



Military Initiatives Open Meeting
Tuesday, October 6, 7pm

Military Initiatives
Organizing Committee

“After 13 Years Of War, Troops Feel Burned Out, Lacking A Sense Of Mission” [Army Times]

Those who understand the necessity for revolutionary change to rid ourselves of the class of capitalists who afflict us every day would do well to consider what action to organize, now, to reach those who serve in the armed forces. They are necessary allies in the class war for human liberation.

That is a “Sense Of Mission” we and our troops together can proudly take hold of.

Panel speakers for the Military Initiatives Organizing Committee
Alan Stolzer: Outreach Coordinator, Military Initiatives Organizing Committee
Claude Copeland: Army Combat Veteran, Iraq; Military Initiatives Organizing Committee and Iraq Veterans Against the War.
Thomas Barton: Publisher, Military Resistance Newsletter

Bluestockings Independent Bookstore & Cafe
172 Allen Street
New York, New York
212-777-6028
Military Initiative: Contact@militaryproject.org
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UPDATED STATEMENT FROM
BLACK/NEW AFRIKAN POLITICAL PRISONERS
on the “New Black Panther Party” (NBPP)
Attack on Dhoruba Bin Wahad

The undersigned current and former Black/New Afrikan political prisoners condemn the vicious assault perpetrated on our comrade Dhoruba Bin Wahad by the security team of a group calling itself the New Black Panther Party at a public event on August 8, 2015 in Atlanta, Georgia. We reject any justification or rationalization for this attack on an elder, himself a documented target of COINTELPRO and a former political prisoner who spent 19 years in the state’s custody. The “New Black Panther Party” does not represent us; nor does it represent the legacy of the Black Panther Party of which we are proud to have been a part.

We fully support Dhoruba Bin Wahad and view this assault as one committed against all of us. We urge everyone to join us in condemning the attack. We wish our brother a full and speedy recovery.

- Herman Bell
- Jalil Muntaquin
- Robert Seth Hayes
- Abdul Majid
- Mumia Abu Jamal
- Sekou Odinga
- Kazi Toure
- James Tarik Haskins
- (List is still in formation)

TORCH ANTI-FA NETWORK GATHERING
IN PHILADELPHIA PA NOV. 7

It is now less than 6 weeks until the TORCH Anti-Fascist Network national conference here in Philly. So finish your travel preparations if you are coming from out of town and send in your registration information.

E-mail PhillyAntifascists@gmail.com for registration forms if you haven’t gotten them yet.

The public section of the conference will take place the afternoon and evening of Saturday November 7th at The Rotunda (4014 Walnut Street) in West Philly. We are very excited about all the public events.

The first event, starting at 2:00 PM on Saturday will be a panel discussion and Q&A. The subject of the talk is “Militant Anti-Fascism and the Black Lives Matter Movement” and will include several Anti-Fascists and Black Lives Matter activists discussing the role that Neo-Nazis and White Supremacists, both in and out of uniform, have played in opposing the Black Lives Matter movement and how Anti-Fascists can counter them effectively.

Immediately after the talk at 3:00 PM, we will be hosting a screening of “In Memory of Our Friend Ivan,” an hour-long documentary about the life and murder of Russian Anti-Fascist Ivan Khutorskoi who was assassinated in Moscow in 2009. The film was only recently released with English subtitles recently and has not been screened more than a handful of times in the U.S. After the film at 4:00pm we will be showing a short sneak preview of “No Fascist USA,” an upcoming documentary about the Anti-Fascist movement in the United States being produced by a member of Antifa Philadelphia.

Both those events are free, though we will be collecting donations for Anti-Fascist political prisoners and those facing legal repression for Anti-Fascist work.

We will then be kicking everyone out for a few hours to get ready for the Show of Unity that evening. Doors will re-open at 6:30. 5 bucks to get in to the show, which goes to the acts and Antifa prisoners.

Christopher Walking (Philly Math Punk)

Leisure Muffin (Just listen. We don’t even know.)

Novotore (Chicago Hardcore Hip-Hop)

Not4Prophet of the X-Vandals (NYC Independent Hip-Hop)

Erik Petersen (Mischief Brew) (Philly’s favorite son, anarcho-punk-folk laureate and all-around sweetheart)

If you or your crew want to table the show e-mail us to set it up. Look forward to seeing you all for the Conference.

Solidarity,
Antifa Philadelphia

Whispers: Stories from the Street

Note: Not all these stories have been confirmed.
Philadelphia, PA – Date Unknown: Philly KSS member A.J. Olsen pulled a knife on two hardcore kids at a show before fleeing with a fellow Nazi. The nature of the altercation is unknown but KSS has been on the ropes in Philly lately, and the rumored payback that said hardcore kids are looking for may just push them further underground.
Olympia, WA – May 30: Neo-Nazis had been rallying in support of Olympia PD after they shot two unarmed skateboarders who were allegedly shoplifting. After a few non-violent confrontations with Black Lives Matter protestors and Antifascists during the preceding week, the two camps finally clashed on the evening of May 30. Around 20 boneheads from various groups though coalescing around the American Freedom Party, were thoroughly smashed. Antifa and others used baseball bats, fire extinguishers and bottles to drive the Nazis back, smashing their cars up as they tried to escape. There were no arrests.
Phoenix, AZ – June: Anti-Racists and Anti-Fascists counter-protested an Anti-Islam demo outside a mosque.
Spokane, WA – June: Neo-Nazi boneheads chased a black person in an apparent attempted hate crime but were unable to catch them.
Charleston, SC – June: Two confederate monument were vandalized in the wake of the Dylan Roof massacre with Anti-Racist messages.



Ashville, NC – June: Anti-Racists vandalized a statue of Zebulon Vance, a confederate Colonel and Senator, with the phrase “Black Lives Matter.”
Philadelphia, PA – June: White racists rallied in South Philadelphia in response to an alleged attack by four black women on someone in the neighborhood. Despite no one being killed, or even seriously injured, the crowd chanted “white lives matter” and spewed thinly veiled segregation language. The event was attended by a city councilman and organized by virulent racist Jack Owens.
Ottawa, – May: Antifascists exposed Neo-Nazi Christopher Brands and successfully campaigned to have him fired from his job at a car dealership.

The Campaign to
Bring Mumia Home

August 29th, 2015
From Noelle Hanrahan of Prison Radio:

We are in court demanding immediate lifesaving medical treatment for Mumia Abu-Jamal, and we are going to win.

On Aug. 24, Mumia’s lawyers Bret Grote, Legal Director of the Abolitionist Law Center, and co-counsel Robert Boyle filed a preliminary injunction in Abu-Jamal v. Kerestes with Judge Robert Mariani of the Middle District Federal U.S. Court (see link below). The injunction seeks a federal court order to ensure that prison medical staff provide immediate lifesaving treatment to Mumia. The prison administration is simply denying Mumia all treatment. Let me be clear: Mumia is weak, his lower extremities still swollen, his skin still severely compromised and raw, and his hepatitis C active and damaging his organs.

Given the severity of Mumia’s organ failure (his skin) and indications of additional potential organ damage, our legal action states that withholding treatment is causing immediate and irreparable harm.

Prison officials have refused to conduct additional viral load blood panels, reveal or conduct additional organ damage assessments, and they are refusing to prescribe simple medications to reduce Mumia’s painful and dangerous skin eruptions.

And in an effort to further delay treatment, attorneys for the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections have filed briefs opposing the class action lawsuit for hepatitis C treatment filed in June. We expect they will oppose our injunction filed yesterday (8/24) as well.

Treatment for hep C has a 95% cure rate. By withholding medication, the DOC would like to see this become a death sentence.

In addition to the hepatitis C antiviral cure, we are demanding that prison medical personnel re-proscribe Protopic ointment and the mineral supplement Zinc (220 mlligrams per day) as recommended by his physicians to provide immediate relief to Mumia’s skin rashes- which have become open wounds.

As Mumia’s legal team fights tirelessly for Mumia’s life, we more than ever need your assistance.



Mumia Abu-Jamal target of medical mistreatment
Photo by Scott Slager for Democracy Now!

We are amplifying the call for:

1. Immediate treatment of Hep C with the latest Anti-viral drugs that have a 95% cure rate.
2. Treatment of Mumia’s skin condition by re-proscribing protopic cream and zinc supplements.
3. In-person medical exams by Mumia’s independent physicians.

Go here <https://www.indiegogo.com/projects/mumia-abu-jamal-in-danger-treatment-now#/story> to help us make these demands reality by giving to Mumia’s medical and legal fund now.

Also call the numbers listed in this action guide <http://www.prisonradio.org/sites/default/files/letters/pdf/Quick%20Guide%20to%20Prison%20Medical%20Information%20and%20Resources.pdf>

See the preliminary injunction:
<http://www.prisonradio.org/sites/default/files/letters/pdf/PreliminaryInjunction8-24-15Abu-JamalvKerestes.pdf>

Every action and every gift makes a difference

Solidarity,
-The Campaign to Bring Mumia Home

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

You can find archives of *Turning the Tide* at www.antiracist.org that go back more than 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, and facebook.com/intercommunalsolidarity. You can follow @ara_losangeles on Twitter, and the De-Colonize LA! blog at ara-la.tumblr.com.



ANTI-RACIST ACTION ENDORSEMENTS IN PACIFICA RADIO ELECTIONS FOR LISTENER & STAFF DELEGATES

Michael Novick of Anti-Racist Action LA is a candidate for re-election as a listener delegate on the Local Station Board (LSB) of Pacifica Radio’s KPFK 90.7 FM in Los Angeles. ARA is endorsing him and the entire Grassroots Community Radio Coalition slate (see below). ARA also endorses former political prisoner Lynne Stewart, health broadcaster Bob Lederer and the rest of the Justice & Unity Coalition at WBAI in NYC. If you’re a listener sponsor in LA, vote for Aryana Gladney, Lawrence Reyes, Michael Novick and the other Grassroots candidates to ensure that anti-racist voices and community resistance has a place on the FM dial and that KPFK serves the people to survive.

VOTE FOR GRASSROOTS CANDIDATES ON YOUR KPFK LSB BALLOT

Human Rights, Labor, Peace, Environmental and Social Justice activists for the Pacifica Mission
Grassroots Coalition candidates listed in alphabetical order. Be sure to vote for them all, including write-ins, in your order of preference as the top 18 on the KPFK Local Station Board ballot you receive, and mail it in, or cast your e-ballot, right now! *LSB *LSB & PNB member

Top row: Charles Anderson* retired worker, OC activist, Kelly Barnes (write-in) Exec., healthcare 501c3, Lydia Brazon* PNB Chair, Jaye Cho Bayan-USA, Michael Corral retired CPA, FSLN, Rose Mary Elizondo retired planning assoc. SCG, Aryana Gladney* non-profit fundraiser, Black Riders, Nancy Lawrence eco-socialist, Bus Riders Union, Richard Macias union carpenter, Latinos for Bernie



Bottom row: Brenda Medina* union organizer, Diana Medina counselor CSUN, Jack Neff (write-in) paralegal, MLK Coalition, Michael Novick* UTLA, Anti-Racist Action, Reza Pour Prog. Iranians, Schyna Pour social worker, Lawrence Reyes* Rehab counselor, SEIU, Puerto Rican Alliance, Alise Sochaczewski Union Healthworker, Ron Priestersbach* NASA (retired), Senior Scholar on Global Warming. (Affiliations for ID purposes only.)

WE STAND TOGETHER FOR:

- Peace with Justice - No ‘Humanitarian’ War
- Migrant Rights
- Workers’ Rights & Labor Solidarity
- Gender Equity
- Defense of the Earth, Animals, & the Environment
- Unity, Diversity & Our Communities
- Local News & Public Affairs
- Spanish & Bilingual Programming
- Building Pacifica’s Impact
- High-Quality Programs, Events & Social Media Interaction to Attract New Listeners
- Accountability to Listeners & Staff
- Openness to All on the Air, in the Streets & within Pacifica
- Local Board Fundraising
- Reducing Fund-drive Days & Pre-emptions

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GCRC staff candidates: Jose Benavides, LSB Chair Tej Grewall, Charlene Muhammad & Fernando Velazquez

www.gcrc-socal.org info@gcrc-socal.org, 323-540-GCRC

100X100 Campaign to Increase Publication Frequency of Turning the Tide

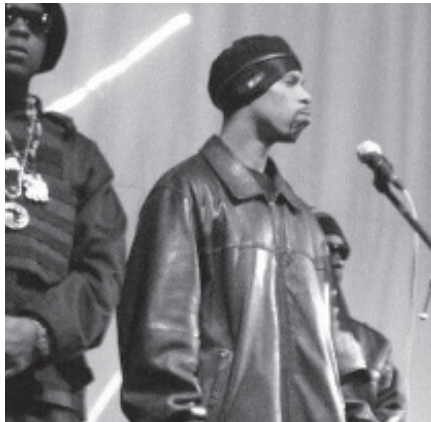
Over its 26+ year publishing history, *TTT* has been published in magazine format, as a 24-page tabloid, and from time to time on a bi-monthly basis, six issues a year. For the last few years, economic necessity has dictated that we print four 8-page issues a year. Now, to restore bi-monthly publication, 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 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 2016. 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. 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.



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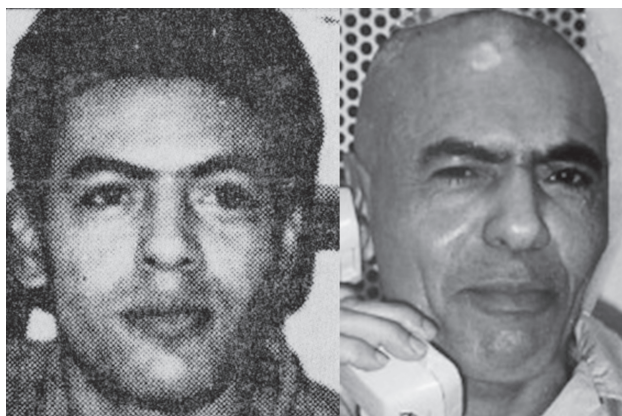


**ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE! SALUTES TO THE SOLDIERS OF SPIRIT
IN STRUGGLE FROM THE CELL BLOCK TO THE STREETS!**

by Black Riders Liberation Party
Minister of Public Relations, E Da Ref

The Black Riders Liberation Party would like to commemorate and continue the spirit and struggle of Hugo Yogi Pinell. On the 12th of Black August 2015, the Revolutionary warrior comrade Hugo “Yogi” Pinell was brutally assassinated in New Folsom State Prison in California. He was the longest held political prisoner in history, serving 50 years, over 40 of which were in solitary confinement, and was a powerful practitioner of prison abolition. He pushed and promoted the spirit of resistance for 40+ years. In 1968 he was convicted of assault for defending himself against an aggressive attack by prison guard and was transferred to another California state prison. In June 1970, he was convicted of a similar act of resistance and transferred to the California Correctional Center in Soledad, California. At Soledad, he was awaiting trial on charges for another physical altercation with a correctional officer in December 1970. He was involved in a victorious act of resistance March 3, 1971 in Soledad, as well as the rebellion with the great George Jackson in San Quentin Black August 21, 1971; which led to the San Quentin Six case. This 16-month trial was the longest in the state’s history at the time and was dubbed “The Longest Trial” by Time magazine.

Hugo Pinell was born March 10, 1945 in Nicaragua with the aura, energy and spirit of Rigoberto López Pérez, Augusto César Sandino, (and later Carlos Fonseca), the Sandinistas and other freedom fighters in Nicaragua who smashed on the colonizers! This is the struggle Hugo Pinell represented. In the confines of the concentration camps and prison plantations, in the torturous conditions of the solitary confinement chambers known as the hole



Revolutionary warrior Hugo “Yogi” Pinell was brutally assassinated in New Folsom Prison after a lifetime in solitary couldn’t break him.

or the soul breaker; is what creates this urge to resist and rebel against the forces of fascism. These are the same conditions that the Black Riders Liberation Party emerged from. We are not only in solidarity with all political prisoners and prisoners of war, but we actively engage in the struggle alongside them with the development of a nationwide prison chapter to transform these concentration camps into revolutionary schools of thought; while turning the streets into revolutionary bases of operation to carry out the actions to support the comrades’ ideas inside the prison. The Black Riders Break the Lock Program provided support for many inmates serving basic needs and raising consciousness. On Black August. 30 2013, (the 53rd day of the Prison Hunger Strike) The Black Riders marched on the CDCr Parole Office in Los Angeles to push the 5 core demands of the California Prison Hunger Strikers.

A month after the assassination of Hugo Pinell, a small but vital victory was accomplished in the struggle for human

rights and Prison abolition. A settlement was reached in the federal class action suit filed in 2012, effectively ending indefinite long-term solitary confinement in CDCr and greatly limiting the prison administration’s ability to practice this inhumane torture tactic on the inmates in the California concentration camp facilities. It is estimated that between 1,500 and 2,000 prisoners will be released from SHU (security housing units/ super max) within one year of this settlement. The 3rd core demand of the Prisoner Hunger Strikers was for the CDCr to comply with the US Commission on Safety and Abuse in America’s Prisons 2006 Recommendations Regarding an End to Long-Term Solitary Confinement. To Release inmates to general prison population who have been warehoused indefinitely in SHU for the last 10 to 40 years (and counting).

Hugo Pinell is an example of what long term solitary confinement can create. The SHU Supermax, and Solitary confinement, known as the soul breaker; cannot break the soul of a soldier with nothing to lose. That’s why they had to murder Hugo, because the psychological terror tactics failed to break his soul and his spirit. His ideas and the vision he had for the liberation struggle of all oppressed people is eternal. His energy and spirit and influence are eternal. The Power of the people putting pressure on the system agitated the forces of fascism to react with hostility. Now they are forced to meet one of the peoples’ prisoners demands, out of fear of the response of rage by the people and the prisoners. Hugo Pinell made the ultimate sacrifice. And victory after victory we the Black Riders Liberation Party will continue the legacy of liberation struggle for generations to come.

**All Power To The People
Who Don’t Fear Freedom!**

Urban Guerrilla R.A.P.

by the BRLP

Panther Power Radio will also include... Black Riders Music.

Black Rider music has an artistic manifestation of a new Hip-Hop genre. It is a versatile blend of Revolutionary Politics, African Culture/Spirituality, Military Kung Fu Guerrilla Theatre and Inter-Communal Class Struggle. This diverse blend of concepts has been forged in the flames of Revolutionary Resistance and crafted under the pressure of state repression. Black Riders are proud to introduce the most advanced forms of musical martial science to the world with what we call Urban Guerrilla R.A.P.

Urban: Signifying the Black lumpen proletariat, in the inner city ghettos across the globe.

Guerrilla: representing the unconventional, military, structure of the group, displaying an example to educate the people about the success of militant resistance across the globe throughout history.

Revolutionary: Black Rider Music’s purpose is to use the science of vibration to invoke

the rebellious spirit of our ancestors upon our people so we can continue the legacy of liberation struggle and rid the universe of imperialism.

African: Through music we will develop knowledge of self among Black people scattered across the planet. Africa is the original cradle of civilization and humanity. Hip-Hop started with the world’s first drum, therefore Africa is the birthplace of Hip-Hop.

Propaganda: Black Riders believe that all attacks on socially redeeming Hip-Hop Rap songs should stop. We believe that Urban Guerrilla Rappers help guide us to liberation by outlining the horrible plight that Black people suffer in this new era of crisis. We will bombard this decadent society with images and sound images promoting the total annihilation of Capitalism and white supremacy.

The Urban Guerrilla R.A.P. HIP-HOP Edutainment Sector: This is specifically designed to hone in on special skill sets that can and must be utilized to illustrate our people’s struggle across the globe.



From the Editor: Introducing a new feature in *Turning The Tide*. “Know Your Enemy” will focus on reprinting and analyzing material from various enemies of the people so that we can better understand the nature of their enmity, their plans for maintaining or obtaining control, and the lessons we can learn and counter-measures we can take in our own defense. This first installment focuses on what Kristian Williams calls “*Our Enemies in Blue*” -- so-called law enforcement, armed protectors and servants of property, white supremacy, colonialism and capitalist exploitation. What follows is a condensed excerpt from a much longer piece by the deputy chief for counter-terrorism of the LAPD, historically and currently one of the most militarized police forces in the US, and one deeply embedded in the national security state.

This piece, propaganda though it is, was written for internal consumption by law enforcement management professionals in Police Chief magazine, and therefore reveals certain truths normally hidden in corporate media and liberal analysis of “police reform.” As Comrade George Jackson said in the context of the prison system, long before it became the “prison-industrial complex” or New Jim Crow system of mass incarceration of Black and Brown people that it is today, “reform” is the modern name for “fascism.” Failure to understand that reality by prisoner rights advocates is what gave the state a free hand to create prisons within prisons and to increase the prison population by a factor of 10 times since the 60s. We cannot afford a similar failure to grasp that reality at this time of intensified mass action against police racism.

What are the author’s key points?

1) Law enforcement is embedded in a sophisticated global counter-insurgency, population control and state surveillance strategy. They are part of the war-making apparatus of the Empire. You can no more demilitarize the police than you could demilitarize the Army.

2) “Community policing” isn’t an antidote to “militarization.” It’s a key part of the military strategy of the police, as front-line counter-insurgency combatants, to identify, isolate, and criminalize potential threats as “terrorists,” and to contain, control and enlist as allies sectors of the community that might otherwise be influenced by “radicals.”

3) Tactics developed for dealing with radicals in faith communities, street organizations or conscious revolutionaries are extended to control the general population. LAPD spying -- Suspicious Activity Reports, Fusion Centers, etc. -- grows out of state attacks on groups like the **Black Riders Liberation Party (named --and slandered-- in this report)**. The movement must build conscious solidarity with such targets of repression to deal with more generalized surveillance.

4) The police have moved from a preventive, defensive stance to an offensive operational approach, “predictive policing” designed to identify, entrap, and disrupt *potential* threats that may have a radicalizing influence on larger populations.

What can we learn from this? We need effective strategies of our own. Do we have a vision of where we want to move political reality in this country over the next five years, say by 2020? Huey Newton said political power is the ability to define a phenomenon and make it act in a desired manner. We must know what manner we desire this system to act in, to exert power over it. We need to analyze sectors of the population, in order to unite popular and potentially revolutionary sectors, and divide, isolate and weaken sectors that identify with oppressors. Studying how the enemy proposes to do the mirror opposite -- divide, conquer and incorporate us -- will be vital to that process.--*Editor*

Condensed Excerpts from:

Policing Terrorism in the US: The LAPD’s Convergence Strategy

By Michael P. Downing, Deputy Chief, Counter-Terrorism and Criminal Intelligence Bureau, LAPD

Local law enforcement agencies face complex problems with the emergence of global criminal networks and national security threats. Modern criminals are transnational, adaptive and linked by networks. Agencies such as the LAPD are developing equally adaptive and networked strategies. Their linchpin is ‘convergence,’ the process of bringing different elements together to achieve a result. As an example, the US Army’s Human Terrain Project puts anthropologists with combat units in Afghanistan and Iraq to help the military understand local cultures.

This concept translates to policing in the context of counterterrorism. Police have to bolster old strengths, such as investigative skills, while acquiring new information. These developments are fostered by collaboration. This article highlights LAPD efforts to achieve convergence to prevent terrorist activities.

A New Reality: Global Events with Local Effects

Approaches that emphasize prevention must converge with new ones that focus on prediction. Systems to protect sensitive information must converge with efforts to cooperate with law

KNOW YOUR ENEMY

enforcement. Self-contained methods of operation must give way to strategic relationships and an international consciousness anchored in local communities. Groups that hew to extreme ideologies and embrace violence can achieve global reach.

The terrorist threat can be separated into three categories: homegrown terrorists inspired by an ideology promoted by al Qaeda or others; terrorists who come to raise money for operations here; and terrorists who have footholds in the US and overseas and operate in both arenas.

In LAPD’s experience, the principal threats are local, self-generating, and self-directed. If there are direct connections overseas, these are likely initiated by local actors. This isn’t intended to minimize the international threat, but a caution that local threats will increase.

Strengths of Local Agencies in Counterterrorism

Covering 3.79 million sq. mi. with 300+ million people, the US has 3000 counties and 2500 cities with 10,000 or more people, 16 federal intelligence agencies and 17,500 local law enforcement agencies with 750,000+ officers. This presents a challenge to collaboration, but an opportunity for expertise to be developed and shared. Whether it’s realized will be decided by how effectively agencies collaborate—with each other, the private sector, academia, and their communities.

The strengths of law enforcement are drawn from the powers of search, seizure of evidence, and arrest; a community policing infrastructure; ability to share and analyze information; ability to identify and interpret suspect behaviors; and relationships that can carry an investigation to completion.

Local police also add critical speed, resources, and numbers. They can deploy rapidly and summon more forces if needed. Managers in the field are accustomed to making decisions in dynamic high-stakes incidents. The outcome is officers and investigators with breadth and depth of field experience.

In the terrorism arena, local agencies bring experience in investigating individuals and enterprises. The model used to investigate organized crime, gangs, and narcotics trafficking is applicable to investigation of terrorists. Local police from larger antiterrorism units are contributing to the knowledge base of state and federal colleagues. These cases have earned local police a seat at the intelligence table.

Information sharing has improved vertically between the FBI and state and local PDs, and horizontally among PDs. Changes in communication fall into three categories: culture, capability, and awareness.

Culture: Local agencies are critical to intelligence efforts, which blend with their mission to detect and deter crime. The change in culture has been reflected in studies and initiatives, including the National Strategy for Information Sharing.

Capability: Analytic capabilities have improved because of 58 fusion centers in 46 states.

Awareness: Local police are better able to recognize behaviors consistent with crimes related to terrorism.

Local Agencies Intelligence Gathering and Analysis

Officers from every major police intelligence unit have formed an Intelligence Commanders Group (ICG), part of the Major Cities Chiefs Association. 64 top-level intelligence commanders share intel and ensure interagency cooperation. In May 2008, this group delivered a position paper, Twelve Tenets to Prevent Crime and Terrorism, that detailed the priorities of law enforcement. It’s an example of how police are collaborating to influence homeland security policy.

Growth of local intelligence-gathering must be proportionate with safeguards against abuse. Law enforcement must define those they suspect will commit a terrorist act. This must be executed with a precision that inspires the support of the US population so local residents will partner with police in pursuit of their mission.

Support and trust of the public are essential to law enforcement strategies aimed at countering extremist ideologies and influence. The primary objective remains to hunt suspects and disrupt their operational capability, but the broader strategy must include efforts that target terrorists’ motivations.

Outreach and partnership efforts aim to create a network of individuals who feel it’s in their best interest to create an environment hostile to criminals of all stripes. This can be achieved by providing excellent police service and building solid relationships with community members.

By getting communities, including those that may be breeding grounds for violent ideologies, to buy into the idea that local agencies operate in the communities’ best interests, these agencies foster an environment in which tips can increase the ability to gather information.

Recent LAPD Counterterrorism Cases

The LAPD created its Counter-Terrorism and Criminal Intelligence Bureau in 2003. It has 300 officers dedicated to counterterrorism, criminal-intelligence gathering, and community mobilization. It has four goals:

Prevent terrorism by sharing information aimed at disrupting terrorists’ operational capability and addressing causes associated with the motivational component

Protect infrastructure by leveraging private resources and hardening targets

Pursue terrorists and criminal enterprises that support them
Prepare citizens for consequences associated with terrorist operations

The LAPD has gained considerable counterterrorism case experience. The following cases are but a sample.

Hezbollah Funding Case: The arrest of a terrorist funding group by a task force of the DEA and the LAPD working alongside the FBI illustrated the interrelation of criminal acts and the funding of terrorism. This group raised money for Hezbollah by selling narcotics.

Black Rider Case: The Black Rider Liberation Party, a spinoff of the Black Panther Party, threatened to take over four police stations in LA and kill as many officers as possible in furtherance of its black separatist anti-government agenda. Traditional tactics, including surveillance (technical and nontechnical), source development, search warrants, and introduction



of an informant, resulted in arrest and prosecution of this domestic terrorist group and recovery of large-caliber automatic and semiautomatic weapons; a military handbook on intelligence and interrogation; night vision goggles; bulletproof vests; knives; a crossbow; a police scanner; and manuals on police field operations, sniper procedures, and bioterrorism.

Jam’yyat Al-Islam Al-Saheeh: an example of prison radicalization, the nexus between street crimes and terrorism, and how homegrown terrorists are inspired by ideology but have no affiliation with a larger terrorist organization. Local police are key to identifying terrorism suspects who weren’t on the federal radar. Kevin Lamar James was a former Hoover Street Crip who, in prison, founded a group called Jam’yyat Al-Islam Al-Saheeh (JIS). He converted a fellow inmate who, once released, was instructed to recruit others for terrorist operations against the US and Israel. In 2005, the four-person cell started researching military installations, Israeli offices, and synagogues, and funded its operations through gas station robberies—orchestrated by James from prison.

Animal Liberation Front: The ALF is an extremist group whose members have committed arson, vandalism, and other crimes. Leaders cloak themselves in the First Amendment while leading a criminal lifestyle, such as robbery to sustain themselves and the criminal enterprise. This enables local agencies to catch the leadership for crimes such as burglaries. The ALF’s objective is to eliminate animal euthanasia and use of animals in lab testing. Elements have become more violent.

LAPD Counterterrorism Programs

Even as LAPD gains experience, it must keep improving to stay ahead of the threat. The LAPD must develop ways to forge partnerships. Here are some areas where LAPD has concentrated its efforts.

Suspicious Activity Reports (SARs): The LAPD developed Suspicious Activity Reports for reporting suspected terrorism-related incidents and tying them into information collection systems and intelligence analysis. This is the first program in the US to create a standard for terrorism-related modus operandi codes. and is being rolled out nationally. Local, state, and federal agencies will have a common standard for collecting, measuring, and sharing information about suspected terrorism. They can become the bread and butter of fusion centers, and inspire boots on the ground and the community to get involved in counterterrorism.

Operation Archangel: More than 85% of critical infrastructure in the US is privately owned. In partnership with Homeland Security, the LAPD implemented Operation Archangel, a convergence of the private sector with the police documented in a film distributed to 64 cities and Congress.

National Counter-Terrorism Academy: The LAPD piloted the National Counter-Terrorism Academy (NCTA), created by local agencies for local law enforcement. 60 police and private security personnel received an overview of terrorist threats and were aided via intelligence-led policing (ILP) strategies to counter them. LAPD has also proposed the creation of a National Consortium on Intelligence-Led Policing as a training resource for state and local PDs.

Hydra: a training system that tests and improves decision-making of personnel during simulated incidents. The first in the US grants LAPD access to training scenarios of 32 installations throughout the world.

Terrorism Liaison Officers: Terrorism liaison officers (TLOs) are casting an ever-wider net to train more people in the city as public data collectors. They are trained on how to report suspicious behavior that has a nexus to terrorism, an effort to institutionalize counterterrorism awareness throughout LAPD. The goal is to blend crime-fighting and counterterrorism seamlessly..

Additional Capabilities

Information Sharing: Working in concert with regional and federal partners in the seven counties served by the Joint Regional Intelligence Center, the LAPD continues to build its capacity to collect, fuse, analyze, and disseminate both strategic and operational intelligence. LAPD’s Counter-Terrorism Bureau’s Major Crimes Division and Emergency Services Division, as well as the Joint Regional Intelligence Center and the Real-Time Analysis and Critical Response Division, create a superhighway of information and intelligence aimed at predictive policing.

RPPICS: the LAPD’s **Regional Public Private Infrastructure Collaboration System** enhances communication with the private sector. This converges technology with the goal of hardening targets.

Human Intelligence: LAPD created a human source development unit to increase its ability to develop actionable intelligence in specific areas—a measure taken to understand the environment of homegrown extremists and what to target.

Cyber Investigations: The LAPD has developed the ability to hunt for radicalization on the Internet—a capability that provides a means of identifying and gathering information on potential threats. Information gleaned from this source and combined with an understanding of operational indicators is critical to articulating suspicion and justifying increased application of enforcement measures.

Conclusion

Police hold the key to defeating terrorism in the US. Through multi-jurisdiction, multi-agency efforts, police can cast trip wires to determine whether individuals represent a threat that warrants investigation. Agencies need to be flexible enough to collaborate. They need trusting partnerships to maximize law enforcement resources. They need to work with communities to counter extremism. Policing must fight crime and disorder while creating hostile environments for terrorists.

Local police are best positioned to observe behaviors that have a nexus to terrorism. LAPD’s goal is to institutionalize counterterrorism efforts throughout the communities it serves. Converging community policing and counterterrorism strategies under the philosophy of intelligence-led policing will focus law enforcement and equip agencies to partner with communities.

From The Police Chief, vol. LXXVI, no. 2, February 2009. (C) International Association of Chiefs of Police, 515 North Washington St, Alexandria, VA 22314.

Excerpts from

Until We Win: Black Labor and Liberation in the Disposable Era

by Kali Akuno

<http://www.counterpunch.org/2015/09/04/until-we-win-black-labor-and-liberation-in-the-disposable-era/>

Since the rebellion in Ferguson, Missouri in August 2014, Black people throughout the US have been grappling with a number of critical questions such as why are Black people being hunted and killed every 28 hours by various operatives of the law? What must we do to end these attacks and liberate ourselves? There are concrete answers to these questions, firmly grounded in the capitalist dynamics that structure the brutal European settler-colonial project we live in, and how Afrikan people have historically been positioned within it.

The Value of Black Life

There was a time in the US Empire, when Afrikan, aka, Black people, were deemed extremely valuable to the “American project.” This was the era of chattel slavery, when the labor provided by Afrikan people was indispensable to the settler-colonial enterprise, accounting for nearly half the value produced within its holdings and exchanged in “domestic” and international markets. Our ancestors were held and regarded as prize horses or bulls, something to be treated with a degree of “care” (enough to ensure they were able to work and reproduce their labor, and produce value for their enslavers) because of their centrality to the processes of material production.

What mattered was Black labor power and how it could be harnessed and controlled, not Afrikan humanity. Afrikan humanity didn’t matter – it had to be denied to create and sustain the rationale and dynamics that allowed for the commodification of human beings. These included armed militias and slave patrols, iron-clad social clauses like the “one-drop” rule, the slave codes, vagrancy laws, and a complex mix of laws and social customs aimed at oppressing, controlling and exploiting Black life and labor to the maximum degree.

The correlation between capital accumulation (profit) and the value of Black life to the overall system has remained consistent throughout the US settler-colonial project, despite shifts in production regimes (from agricultural, to industrial, to service and finance). The more value (profits) Black labor produces, the more Black lives are valued. The less value Black people produce, the less Black lives are valued. When Black lives are valued, they’re secured enough to allow for reproduction (at least); when they aren’t, they can be and have been readily discarded.

The Age of Disposability

We’re struggling through a transformative era of the global capitalist system. Over the past 40 years, the dynamics have produced a coordinated system of resource acquisition, cheap labor, production, marketing and consumption on a global scale. The automated and computerized expansion has resulted in millions, if not billions, of people being displaced through two broad processes: from “traditional” methods of life sustaining production (mainly farming), and from their ancestral homelands (with people being forced to move to large cities and “foreign” territories to survive). As the ILO reported in its World Employment and Social Outlook 2015 paper, this renders millions to the status of surplus or expendable.

Capitalist logic doesn’t allow for surplus populations to be sustained long. They have to be reabsorbed into value-producing mechanisms, or disposed of. Events such as the disintegration of Yugoslavia, genocide in Burundi and Rwanda, never-ending wars in Zaire/Congo and central Afrika, the mass displacement of farmers in Mexico indicate the system doesn’t possess the capacity to absorb surplus populations and maintain its equilibrium.

The dominant actors in the global economy – multinational corporations, the trans-national capitalist class, state managers – are in crisis mode trying to figure out how to manage this massive surplus in a politically justifiable (but expedient) manner.

This incapacity to manage crisis caused by capitalism itself is witnessed by numerous examples of haphazard intervention at managing the rapidly expanding number of displaced peoples. More starkly, direct disposal experiments are also deepening and expanding against Afrikans in Colombia, Haitians in the Dominican Republic, Sub-Saharan Afrikans in Libya, Indigenous peoples in the Andes, Palestinians in Gaza, Adivasis in India, Rohingya’s in Myanmar and Bangladesh, and the list goes on.

Accompanying this is xenophobia targeted at migrants on a world scale, pitting the victims of imperialism against one other, as has been witnessed in South Africa. The capitalist system is demonstrating that it no longer possesses the capacity to absorb newly dislocated populations into the international working class (proletariat). It’s also becoming harder for the ruling class to sustain material benefits traditionally awarded to the most loyal subjects of capitalism’s global empire, the working classes in Western Europe and settlers in the US, Canada, and Australia.

When capitalism can’t expand and absorb it must shift towards “correction and contraction” – excluding and disposing of surpluses that can’t be absorbed or consumed at a profit. We’re now clearly in an era that will have genocidal consequences for the surplus populations of the world if left unaddressed.

This dynamic brings us back to the US and the crisis of jobs, mass incarceration and the escalating number of extrajudicial police killings confronting Black people.

The Black Surplus Challenge/Problem

Afrikan, or Black, people in the US are one of these surplus populations. Black people are no longer a central force in the productive process, because those industries that haven’t completely off-shored no longer need large quantities of cheap labor due to automation. Agricultural industries have been mechanized or require super-exploited labor from migrant workers.

Campaigns to reduce the cost of Black labor in the US have failed, due to the militant resistance of Black labor and the ability of Black working class communities to “make ends meet” by receiving survival resources from the underground economy. (The underground economy has exploded worldwide since the ’70s due to unregulated service economies and the illicit drug trade, now vital to major financial institutions).

The social dimensions of white supremacy constrain the opportunities of Black workers in service industries and retail, as significant numbers of non-Black consumers are uncomfortable receiving direct services from Black people (except for custodial and security services). These are the root causes of what many are calling the “Black jobs crisis.” Lack of jobs translates into a lack of need for Black people, which equates into the wholesale devaluation of Black life. This isn’t a new problem – Black people have constituted an escalating problem in search of a solution for the US ruling class since the 1960’s, due to militant struggle (through instruments like the League of Revolutionary Black Workers), strikes, other forms of industrial action, resistance to repression and hundreds of urban rebellions.

This occurred at the same time that the international regime of integrated production, trade management, financial integration, and currency convergence ushered in the present phase of globalization. This regime obliterated most protectionist production and allowed international capital to scour the world for cheaper labor and raw materials without fear of inter-imperialist rivalry. Thus, Black labor was hitting its stride just as capital was finding secure ways to eliminate its dependence upon it.

Global investments by US capital reduced the need for domestic industrial production, which limited the ability of Black labor to disrupt the system. As US capital reduced its domestic production, it intentionally elevated competition between white workers and Afrikan and other non-settler sources of labor for the crumbs it was still doling out. The settler-world view, position, and systems of entitlement possessed by the vast majority of white workers compelled them to support the overall initiatives of capital and to block non-white labor when there were opportunities to do so during this period. This provided the social base for the “silent majority,” “law and order,” “tuff on crime,” “war on drugs,” “war on gangs and thugs” campaigns that dominated the national political landscape from the late 1960’s, that led to mass incarceration, racist drug laws, and militarized policing that have terrorized Afrikan (and Indigenous, Xicano, Puerto Rican, etc.) communities since the 1970’s.

To deal with the crisis of Black labor redundancy and mass resistance the ruling class responded by a strategy of limited incorporation, counterinsurgency, and mass containment. Limited incorporation sought to divide the Black community by class. Counterinsurgency divided and weakened Black organizations. Containment resulted in millions of Black people being re-enslaved and warehoused in prisons throughout the US empire.

The costs of mass incarceration have become unprofitable and unsustainable. Experiments with alternative forms of incarceration (like digitally monitored home detainment) and spatial isolation of the Afrikan surplus population to the suburbs and exurbs currently abound, but no new comprehensive strategy has been devised by the ruling class to solve the problem of what to do with the Black surplus population problem. From events like the catastrophe following Katrina and the hundreds of Afrikans being extra-judicially killed by law enforcement it’s clear that Black life is becoming more disposable.

A Potential Path of Resistance

Since the dawn of the Afrikan slave trade and the development of the mercantile plantations and chattel slavery, Black people resisted their enslavement and the systemic logic and dynamics of the capitalist system itself. To what extent can Black people be the agents of their own liberation? Merely being the object or appendage of someone else’s project only leads to a disposable future. Black people have to forge their own future, a self-determining course of action.

Self-determination and social liberation, how do we get there? How will we take care of our own material needs (food, water, shelter, clothing, health care, defense, jobs, etc.)? How will we express our political independence? There are no easy or cookie cutter answers.

However, there are some general principles. We need to build a mass movement that focuses on organizing autonomous social projects as much as initiatives that apply transformative pressure on the state and corporations. “You’re on your own,” is the only

rationale the system has the capacity to process. To the system, Black people can accept their fate, or go to hell. We have to create our own options and eliminate the threat that confronts us.

Autonomous projects are initiatives that seek to create a democratic economy around sustainable institutions that satisfy people’s basic needs through social solidarity and direct democracy, that put the needs of people before the needs of profit. They are sustained by people collectivizing their resources through dues paying membership, income sharing, resource sharing, time banking, to amass resources. These range from community farms (developing the capacity to feed thousands of people) to people’s self-defense networks to non-market housing projects to cooperatives. To ensure that these aren’t Black capitalist enterprises, they must be built democratically from the ground up and owned, operated, and controlled by workers and consumers, as “serve the people” or “survival” programs that help people attain a degree of autonomy and self-rule. Our challenge is marshaling enough resources and organizing these projects on a large enough scale to eventually meet the material needs of nearly 40 million people, and overcoming the pressures that will be brought to bear on these institutions by the forces of capital to either criminalize and crush them or co-opt them and reincorporate them into the capitalist market if they survive.

Our pressure initiatives must focus on creating enough democratic social space for us to organize ourselves in a self-determined manner. We should be under no illusion that the system can be reformed. Capitalism has demonstrated an ability to absorb disruptive social forces and their demands – when it has ample surpluses. The capitalist system has essentially run out of surpluses, and therefore does not possess the flexibility that it once did.

Because real profits have declined since the late ’60s, capitalism has resorted to operating on a parasitic basis, dismantling the social welfare state, privatizing social resources, eliminating institutions of social solidarity (like unions), eliminating safety standards, promoting monopoly, and running financial markets like casinos.

Our objectives must be structural and necessitate nothing less than complete social transformation. To press for our goals we must exert maximum pressure by organizing mass campaigns that are strategic and tactically flexible, including mass protest methods, direct action, boycotts, non-compliance, occupations, and various types of people’s assemblies. The challenges are not being subordinated to someone else’s agenda – in particular that of the Democratic party.

The combination of these efforts will amount to the creation of Black Autonomous Zones to serve as centers for collective survival, defense, self-sufficiency and social solidarity. However, they aren’t sufficient in themselves. We also have to build a revolutionary international movement. We aren’t going to transform the world on our own. Black people in the US aren’t the only people confronting massive displacement, disposability, and genocide.

Our Autonomous Zones must link and unite with oppressed, exploited and marginalized peoples, social sectors and movements throughout the US and the world, Indigenous communities, Xican@s and other communities from the Caribbean, and Central and South America. We must build alliances with poor working class whites. It’s essential that we serve as an alternative (or counterweight) to the reactionary and outright fascist socialization and influences the white working class is constantly bombarded with.

Our Autonomous Zones should serve as new fronts of class struggle that unite forces presently separated by white supremacy, xenophobia, hierarchy, oppression and hatred. We have to unite on the basis of a global anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist, and anti-colonial program that centers the liberation of Indigenous, colonized, and oppressed peoples and the total social and material emancipation of all those who labor and create the value that drives human civilization. We must do so by creating a regenerative economic system that harmonizes human production and consumption with the limits of the Earth’s biosphere and the needs of all our extended relatives – the non-human species who occupy 99.9 percent of our ecosystem. This is no small task, but our survival as a people and as a species depends upon it.

The imbalance of forces in favor of capital largely dictates that this to be done from the “bottom up” through radical social movements. These social movements must challenge capital at every turn, while building up social and material reserves for the frontal assaults that will be launched by the forces of reaction. The forces of liberation are going to have to prepare themselves and all progressive forces for a prolonged battle to destroy the repressive arms of the state. As recent events Greece painfully illustrate, our international movement will have to simultaneously win, transform, and dismantle the capitalist state to secure the democratic space necessary for a revolutionary movement to accomplish the most minimal of its objectives.

Return to the Source

Capitalism, colonialism, imperialism, and white supremacy have consistently tried to reduce African people to objects, tools, chattel, and cheap labor. Despite this, Afrikan people never lost sight of their humanity, never lost sight of their own value, and never conceded defeat.

In the age of mounting human surplus and the devaluation of life, Afrikan people are going to have to call on the strengths of our ancestors and the lessons learned in over 500 years of struggle. Building a self-determining future based on self-respect, self-reliance, social solidarity, cooperative development and internationalism is a way forward that offers us the chance to survive and thrive in the 21st century and beyond

Kali Akuno is the Producer of “An American Nightmare: Black Labor and Liberation”, a joint documentary project of Deep Dish TV and Cooperation Jackson. He’s the co-founder and co-director of Cooperation Jackson, and co-author of “Operation Ghetto Storm” better known as the “Every 28 Hours” report. Kali can be reached at kaliakuno@gmail.com or on Twitter @KaliAkuno.

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UPCOMING EVENTS:

- ★ Oct. 17, 7:30p Lynne Stewart, Nelson Denis KPFK benefit, 1545 Wilshire LA
- ★ Oct. 18, 10a, White People 4 Black Lives @ CicLAvia, 7th & Figueroa LA
- ★ Oct-Dec. Balloting 4 KPFK LSB - vote 4 Grassroots candidates, gcrs-social.org
- ★ Oct-Dec. 100X100 Fundraising Campaign for TTT gofundme.com/eugz9g
- ★ Nov. 6-8 TORCH Anti-fa Network gathering, Philly PA (see p. 3)
- ★ Nov. 7-8, *Catch The Tiger* plar re: Marcus Garvey, 665 Heliotrope Dr. LA
- ★ Nov. 25, Boycott Black Friday - Buy Nothing Day
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Volume 28 ★ Number 4 ★ ISSN 1082-6491 ★ Oct.-December 2015

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Democratize, Decarcerate

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Lawyer & author of "War
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