

# POLICING THE PLANET

## Why the Policing Crisis Led to Black Lives Matter

Edited by Jordan T. Camp and Christina Heatherton

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

In the wake of the videoed police killings of Alton Sterling in Baton Rouge LA and Philando Castile in St. Paul MN, this is a vitally important, useful, and sometimes frustrating collection of essays, interviews with many significant on-the-ground activists and organizers, and academic analyses of the nature of policing under globalized racial capitalism and of the growing resistance to it. It is must reading, but you need to read critically and reflect on the contradictions in political viewpoints and strategic orientations among and between the various pieces in the collection. These range widely, from abolition of the police and the need to overthrow capitalism and decolonize the land and people, to much more narrowly focused efforts for reforming police strategies, tactics and policies, and demands for accountability or justice.

The editors say, "*Policing the Planet* traces the exportation of the broken windows model as [NY and LA police chief] Bratton ...became a ... security consultant for ...governments worldwide....In turn it highlights how this new urban security regime has given rise to dramatic and increasingly internationalized social movements confronting racist and uneven capitalist developments..." (p.6)

However, although it speaks at moments to the planetary integration of policing, the military and the national security surveillance state apparatus, the authors and interviewees are mainly from the US, and most of the focus is on the US and a few closely connected colonies and neo-colonies, such as Puerto Rico and El Salvador.

A good summary of the contradictions faced by these movements, and embodied within the expressions in the book itself, comes from Ruth Wilson Gilmore and Craig Gilmore, in their piece "Beyond Bratton." They state:

Sparked by police murder, in the context of racial capitalism's neo-liberal turn, the post-Ferguson movement may therefore be understood as protests against profound austerity and the iron fist necessary to impose it. The movement's central challenge is to prevent the work from facilitating another transition in regimes of racist policing and incarceration, displacement and disinvestment through formal but not transformative reforms. James Kilgore... recently warned how the "bi-partisan consensus on criminal justice reform" is actually a move towards what he, following Tariq Ali, calls the "extreme center." (p. 198)

Their insights into the role of Connie Rice, a former civil rights litigator who came to work closely with and for the LAPD under Bratton are especially important in understanding how "reform" can strengthen the grip of the police state.

Two of the stronger pieces in the book, that directly take up the central challenge posed by the Gilmores are the interviews by Christina Heatherton with Patrisse Cullors(-Khan), a co-founder of Black Lives Matter, and with The Red Nation, a Native-led council of Indigenous and non-Indigenous people committed to the liberation of Indigenous people and the overthrow of colonialism and capitalism, based in Albuquerque, New Mexico.



Cullors says "Often... in our ...work, we don't actually have a conversation about abolition. In the current #BlackLivesMatter movement, we are seeing some of the most vibrant, creative responses to state violence. We're also hearing some of the oldest arguments, like the call for special prosecutors or indictments...These... actually reify the state rather than insisting that the state should not be part of this process." (p. 35) She continues, "When our ...activism isn't rooted in a theory about transforming the world, it becomes narrow ...We have to deal with the current crisis in the short term...and we have to allow people to decide what those solutions are. We also have to create a vision that's much bigger than the one we have now." (p. 37) "It's ... necessary that, as Black people in the US, we do not center the struggle around a domestic fight for our 'civil rights.' Rather, this is a broader fight for the Black diaspora, both on the continent and across the globe." (p. 38).

In their interview, The Red Nation activists explain the group "was partially formed out of the anti-police brutality movement...For Native people in Albuquerque, forms of everyday police brutality are largely about the policing of Indigenous bodies in a space...The police... manage the crises of colonialism, colonization and occupation through the constant criminalization of Indigenous ...homeless and poor people." (p. 109) They go on, "Capital is reproduced through colonial violence. If you center the life of a Native trans sex worker ...



**Native people demand justice for Dine mother Loreal Tsingine, killed by Winslow AZ cops.**

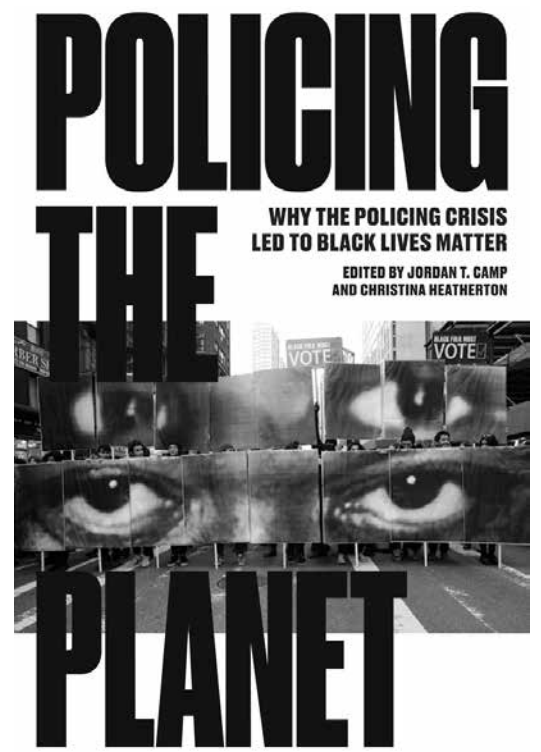
that person will have a subject position that has been reproduced through colonial violence." (p. 115) Their ten-point program, which begins by calling for the reinstatement of treaty rights, ends with the declaration that, "For Native peoples to live, capitalism and colonialism must die."

Another important, though insufficiently developed theme touched on in the book is the increasing convergence between low-intensity warfare and high-intensity policing. This is noted particularly in periodic connections drawn by Cullors and others, to the role of Israeli "Defense" Forces in policing Palestinians, and the role Israeli training and consultants have played with US and other police forces. There are also important contributions in the interviews with Hamid Khan of the Stop LAPD Spying Coalition, and Becky Dennison and Pete White of the LA Community Action Network (LA CAN), and with Breanna Champion, Page May and Asha Rosa Ransby-Sporn of "We Charge Genocide" from Chicago.



**Members of LA CAN's Community Watch patrol Skid Row to defend residents' rights.**

Other pieces in the book, however, are much less clear about the irreconcilable contradiction between the very survival of colonized and exploited people and the system of capitalism and colonialism that the police are designed to enforce. Several of the more academic pieces, and even some of the activist contributions seem to focus more on tactics, strategies and policies, on "broken windows" policing and neo-liberalism, as if they could be reversed, transformed or ameliorated without a fundamental transformation of the underlying system of exploitation and oppression. One particular area where there are widely divergent views within the book is on the question of "community policing." Though the Gilmores see it as a form of public relations pacification, other pieces seem more interested in it as a remedy, or are suspicious of it



but in a not well-defined way. The understanding that police theorists have expressed, that community oriented policing is the domestic equivalent of psychological operations (PsyOps) in the military, is never drawn out. In a sense, this accurately reflects struggles and differences within the movement, and perhaps the editors chose to simply reflect this contradiction within the pages of the collection.

However, there are some troubling omissions that reflect the weakness of our movements historically and to the present day to learn from past errors and to build on past revolutionary breakthroughs. The question of self-defense, armed or otherwise, is barely touched on in this collection. The link between targeted repression of activists and political formations and the broader repression of whole communities and people is not well developed (as for instance the relationship between COINTELPRO, the murders, exile and incarceration of members of the Black Panthers, American Indian Movement, Chicano-Mexicano struggle and Puerto Rican independence movement, and the mass incarceration and austerity described in the book). There is no reference to the important document excerpted in *Turning The Tide* a few issues back, "Policing Terrorism in the US: The LAPD's Convergence Strategy," by Michael P. Downing, LAPD Deputy Chief, of the Counter-Terrorism and Criminal Intelligence Bureau, which spells out how police see themselves as embedded in global counter-insurgency strategy.

**"When our ...activism isn't rooted in a theory about transforming the world, it becomes narrow..."--Patrisse Cullors, #BLM**

The insights developed, particularly by the Puerto Rican and Mexicano liberation struggles in the 70s and 80s about the genocidal decisions of the empire to stamp out the so-called "excess of democracy" diagnosed by Samuel Huntington and others at the Trilateral Commission through "spatial de-concentration" of Black and other oppressed people (today referred to as gentrification and displacement) are never referred to. Neither are the views of the New Afrikan independence movement about the roots of racist murders by police (as well as vigilantes, prison guards and private security) in the "disposability" of colonized New Afrikan people after the intentional de-industrialization of the US. These are critical insights and anti-colonial, anti-capitalist formulations and understandings that both explain the history of the past several decades and provide guidance for the directions our movements must take to successfully take a strategic offensive in the coming period.

Read and discuss this book, which has a lot to offer, but understand it is a contribution to a much more incisive and wide-ranging process of political analysis, struggle and strategizing that must take place, which must deeply engage and internalize anti-colonial and anti-capitalist perspectives (both those contained within book and others not so featured). I should also mention one significant, irritating weakness -- the book does not provide contact information for any of the activists, organizations or scholars who contributed, so that such a necessary dialogue and debate could go forward. Correcting that oversight partially here, you can reach LA's Stop LAPD Spying Coalition at [stoplapdspying@gmail.com](mailto:stoplapdspying@gmail.com), The Red Nation at [contact@therednation.org](mailto:contact@therednation.org), and co-editor Jordan Camp at [jordan\\_camp@brown.edu](mailto:jordan_camp@brown.edu).

# Puerto Rico: Debt Colony

By Eric Draitser <http://www.telesurtv.net/english/opinion/Puerto-Rico-Troubled-Commonwealth-or-Debt-Colony-20150731-0014.html>

It may not dominate international headlines as Greece has, but Puerto Rico is facing a strikingly similar crisis, one which threatens to tear apart the very fabric of its society. With a crushing debt burden poised to collapse the US commonwealth, many alleged experts have warned that only through painful “reforms” (read austerity) can the island territory make any economic progress. But at what price is this “progress” to be attained?

The question of ultimate responsibility is, just as with Greece, multifaceted. On the one hand, years of mismanagement have taken their toll on the economy, leading in part to the current crisis. On the other hand, Puerto Rico has been the victim of a predatory capitalist campaign waged by major Wall Street banks, as well as hedge funds and private speculators, who have become heavily overleveraged in Puerto Rican debt through reckless bond purchases while Wall Street has fattened itself playing the role of middleman.

But the crisis in Puerto Rico also raises a deeper political question that for years has lurked just beneath the surface of the US territory, namely Puerto Rico’s true status: dependent US commonwealth or neocolonial possession? While Greece has been a member of the European Union, thereby at the very least giving it the illusion of democratic representation, Puerto Rico

has remained little more than a colonial possession – an economic and political vassal of the Empire, subject to its rules and at the mercy of its lenders, while having no political representation or legal recourse. In short, Puerto Rico’s crisis demonstrates unequivocally that the small island commonwealth, and its 3.5 million inhabitants, are little more than neocolonial subjects.

## A Sick Patient, a Bitter Pill

Any close analysis of the financial crisis in Puerto Rico immediately shows that the current dire situation was by no means unexpected. In fact, when Governor Alejandro García Padilla declared that “The debt is not payable,” he was merely confirming what keen financial analysts had known for a long time: Puerto Rico was in a vicious downward spiral that would ultimately require extraordinary intervention in order to rescue the troubled island.

But one need not be a world class economist to understand that this was undoubtedly the case. The precipitous decline of Puerto Rico’s GDP growth, which dropped from a high of almost 10% in 2001 to its low of -3.3% by 2007, coincided directly with a massive explosion of debt accumulation in the form of bond selling. In 2000, Puerto Rico’s debt was 63.2% of its gross national product (GNP), but by 2015 it had reached a staggering 100.2% of GNP. The negative

impact of such an obviously unsustainable rise of debt accumulation was magnified by a number of circumstances, including the expiration of Section 936, a tax incentive which attracted a number of large companies to invest in Puerto Rico, and the onset of the global financial crisis of 2008 which lowered tax revenues while everything from infrastructure to pension costs continued to soar. In addition, prices in the housing market have continued to decline, dropping by 27% since 2007, while the labor participation rate has fallen to around 40% and official unemployment has been around 12%.

The real culprits are the Wall Street banks who have parasitically, and quite handsomely, profited from Puerto Rico’s financial straightjacket. Barclays, Morgan Stanley, Goldman Sachs, JP Morgan, Bank of America-Merrill Lynch, and many others rushed to underwrite massive loans in the form of bond purchases in order to then turn around and sell those bonds to hedge funds and other investors in the US and around the world, thereby raking in tremendous profits on the underwriting fees. Essentially, Wall Street banks came in with enormous capital then transferred

the risk to other speculators, while profiting as middlemen.

Indeed it seems that many of the major hedge funds active in the Puerto Rico bond market were either short-sighted, or were outright swindled, by the big banks. As recently as late 2013, major hedge fund managers were predicting a rally in Puerto Rican bonds. As David Tawil, co-founder of New York-based Maglan Capital told Bloomberg, “Over the next two years, the government should be able to make progress in their plans... They will do a lot of fundamental changes; they will be seen as a reforming story, so that debt should trade up substantially.”

Aside from being woefully inaccurate, such predictions illustrate precisely why major hedge funds are now on the hook, and why mutual fund management giants OppenheimerFunds and Franklin Advisers are now intimately involved in the debt restructuring negotiations with San Juan. Those two companies alone own roughly 15% of Puerto Rico’s debt, and while acting in their own interests, are surely also collaborating to prevent a collapse in bond values for their Wall Street cronies in the hedge fund world. Moreover, it was OppenheimerFunds, a unit of insurer MassMutual Financial Group and Franklin Templeton, which successfully sued the Puerto Rico Electric Power Utility (PREPA) to prevent it from restructuring its debt and possibly forcing financiers to take a haircut. And so, despite the passage of the Puerto Rico Public Corporation Debt Enforcement & Recovery Act, US courts have effectively acted in the interests of speculators to block Puerto Rico from acting to restructure its debt.

All of this leads to the simple fact that, from the perspective of investors, financiers, and major institutions, the only option for Puerto Rico is brutal austerity, just as with Greece. And so, the big guns of neoliberalism have been brought in to justify the crushing policies of “fiscal responsibility,” made famous by the troika in Europe. Anne O. Krueger, former World Bank Chief Economist and the first deputy managing director of the IMF, co-authored a study entitled Puerto Rico – A Way Forward which was released at the end of June 2015. The report examined many of the causes of the crisis, while conveniently underplaying the insidious role of Wall Street banks, and presented a number of deeply odious “structural reforms.”

Chief among these austerity measures recommended by Krueger & Co. is an attack on workers including a proposed exemption from adherence to the US federal minimum wage of \$7.25 per hour. Additionally, the report suggests exemption from other labor laws including a redefinition of overtime, reduction of vacation days, elimination of end-of-year bonuses, relaxation of youth labor laws, as well as making it easier for employers to fire employees for any minor infraction, among other things. The report also recommends reducing the staffing of PREPA in order to lower costs (not, of course, reducing the cost of electricity to working class and poor Puerto Ricans), reducing and/or eliminating welfare programs aimed at poverty reduction such as food stamps, housing benefits, etc. Krueger and her cronies also call for the reduction of Medicaid benefits which provide health care coverage to those in the most extreme poverty. In short, the report reads like a manual for austerity in the near and long term.

Equally troubling is the fact that Governor Padilla has hired Stephen Rhodes, the bankruptcy judge infamous for his pro-banker rulings in Detroit, to act as consultant in Puerto Rico’s debt restructuring process. In a recent interview, Rhodes explained that the situation in Puerto Rico “is a result of the same sort of phenomena we saw in Detroit.” Naturally, the solution will likely be quite similar to Detroit, including the stealing of pensions, the stripping of publicly owned assets, and the raising of prices for basic needs and utilities. Of course, because Puerto Rico cannot file for Chapter 9 bankruptcy protection, the situation might be even worse in the commonwealth.

## The Lesson: Debt as a Weapon

Speaking at the Summit Conference of the Organization of African Unity in 1986, the great African revolutionary leader Thomas Sankara famously said that “Those who lent money to us are the same people who colonized us, are the same who so long managed our states and our economies... We were not involved in the creation of this Debt, so we should not pay it.” His point, though specific to Africa, is in fact true for all colonized territories throughout the world. Latin America knows this fact well.

And, despite its having been a possession of the US for more than a century, this point is no less true in Puerto Rico.



## FREE OSCAR LOPEZ RIVERA

Earlier this year award-winning playwright Lin-Manuel Miranda (of “Hamilton” fame) asked Pres. Barack Obama about imprisoned Puerto Rican independentista Oscar López Rivera - whose only crime, according to Nobel Peace Laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu, is “conspiracy to free his people from the shackles of imperial justice.” Obama told the Hamilton creator that he “had [the case] on his desk.” Miranda, whose parents hail from Puerto Rico, used his invitation to the White House to bring up the issue of López Rivera’s continued incarceration, which is of tremendous importance to Puerto Ricans. Both on the island and in the diaspora, freedom for the 73-year-old political prisoner enjoys overwhelming popular support and has united

people across the political spectrum.

May marked the 35th anniversary that López was imprisoned. He was convicted in 1981 of “seditious conspiracy” for trying to overthrow the U.S. government by force, as well as minor charges including possession of firearms and transporting stolen vehicles across state lines. López was accused of leadership in the FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de



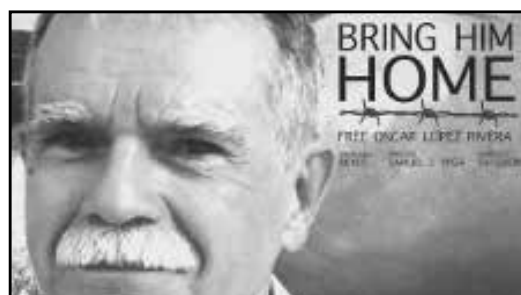
Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña). The group claimed responsibility for a series of bombings in Chicago and New York during the 1970s and 80s.

López was never personally tied to any bombing or any other act of violence that resulted in the death or injury of any person. Undoubtedly, if the government possessed any evidence of his participation in, or organization of, a violent act they would have charged him with it in court. But they merely charged him with conspiracy to commit sedition, the same political charged used by the apartheid South African government to convict Nelson Mandela two decades earlier. López has now served seven more years in prison than Mandela did before being freed and becoming South Africa’s first post-apartheid President.

Thousands of people gathered in San Juan Puerto Rico to mark the 35th anniversary of his imprisonment and demand his release. Marchers chanted “Obama, listen to me! We want Oscar free” and “We don’t want this board, we want to be free,” according to Fox News Latino.

The later slogan references the stipulation in the Puerto Rico Oversight, Management and Economic Stability (PROMESAS) Act that created a financial control board made up overwhelmingly of members from outside the island and not appointed by representatives elected by Puerto Ricans. The board has power over all fiscal decisions, effectively overriding Puerto Rico’s own elected representatives.

López himself opposes the financial control board, telling El Nuevo Día in a phone interview (prison officials denied the newspaper’s request for an in person interview): “This is a problem created by Washington. The problem is in Washington and Wall Street. The people of Puerto Rico should not accept it. No Puerto Rican should doubt that we can solve our own problems... We need for them to respect our right to self-determination and not depend on the crumbs that Washington gives us.”



# BREXIT

[col. writ. 6/25/16] ©2016 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

The national referendum determining Britain's exit from the 28-nation body called the European Union (EU) (dubbed 'Brexit' by the hip British press) has sent shock waves around the world.

That it has done so is a reflection of how narrow the national--and global--media is--and how little they see of the world they purport to cover.

It is also a window into the world of rising right-wing nationalism--and a walk away from the very notion of globalism.

The EU, which began as the EC (European Community) was a centuries-long trend to unify Europe as a singular global force--a kind of United States of Europe.

While that notion still has force, to have one of its biggest members vote to leave, means that unifying force is weakening.

That's largely because the EU served its economic elites first--and best--and left working class and poor people to fend for themselves. The Brexit vote demonstrates that older, working-class Brits yearn for British hegemony--the old days of empire--and not to be submerged in a bland European stew.

Other nations now are considering whether the grass really is greener on the other side.

The media used polls, and pundits to predict the upcoming vote--and their projections strongly leaned toward British rejection of the Brexit option. Unheard were the voices of the elderly, the rural, the poor, the working classes.

Unheard and unseen, they became the voters for rejection of the globalist project, and a return to a more hopeful time.

They provided an immense shock to the system. The globalist notion, so long seen as the inevitable, has been given a big punch in the nose.

Let's see if other punches are coming!

## IS THERE A BALM IN GILEAD?

[col. writ. 4/22/16] ©'16. Mumia Abu-Jam

The great Black activist and artist, Paul Robeson, in 1958, in Carnegie Hall, sang the gospel song, 'Balm in Gilead': ♪Therrre is a balmmm in Gileaaaad, ♪To make the wounded who--oole!♪.... His full, magnificent baritone filled the Hall with wonder.

These words in song sprang back from over half a century, when the news emerged of a big pharmaceutical, Gilead Sciences, Inc., buying the drug sofosbuvir--and then tripling its preferred price, to treat hundreds of thousands of people, suffering from Hepatitis C. Hepatitis C is a liver infection (inflammation), which can untreated, lead to immense suffering and death.

Sofosbuvir, sold under the names Harvoni and Sovaldi, is more than a treatment: it is a cure, with healing rates of over 95%. And it now goes for \$1,000--- a pill. A full course of treatment? Over \$100,000. Is there a balm in Gilead? Yup. There is. But only a few can afford it. To quote Paul Robeson, in the words of this cherished Negro spiritual, ♪There is a balm in Gilead, ♪To make the wounded whooole----♪♪ But if you can't afford it, you die.



Mumia Abu-Jamal, released from Death Row through the people's struggle, is still facing death in prison due to medical mistreatment and neglect by authorities. He is involved in a class action lawsuit to provide treatment to 15,000 prisoners suffering as he is from untreated Hep C. Learn more at [PrisonRadio.org](http://PrisonRadio.org) and write to

Mumia at:

Mumia Abu-Jamal, #AM 8335

SCI Mahanoy

301 Morea Dr., Frackville PA 17932

## OTHER VIEWS ON BREXIT:

### A vote against inequality

The British vote to leave the EU is the result of the destruction of the working class, the glorification of the financial elite. Now, it is up to us to organize and fight for migrants' and workers' rights.

Demonizing 15 million working-class Britons as "racist," or "uneducated" reveals more about the media than about why so many rejected the advice of their supposed "betters." Steelworkers, dockers, shipbuilders, miners, print workers, car workers, rail workers were shattered by the very people who demanded that the survivors vote to support a status quo of unconscionable inequality.

Note I've hardly mentioned migration...because that's not the point. To be clear: workers have no country. There should be no borders. The migration of people across frontiers cannot be stopped. It's absurd to claim that the EU is a progressive force for the rights of migrants. Fortress Europe forces migrants to risk their lives at sea and deports those who survive. Nothing will change with the vote to leave. It's up to us to fight for more progressive laws and attitudes towards migrants.

A vote to stay would have been taken by the financial, political and media elites as a vindication of their contempt for us--for workers, for migrants. The vote to leave should be taken as a vote against acquiescing to this, and now we have the chance to act. We are not passive. We have the opportunity to take advantage of a divided, shattered elite and fight for tolerance. --Paul Salgado, from the Internet

### A vote that emboldens the right

Several days after the UK voted in favor of Brexit, debates about the outcome, what led to it, and what the fallout from this decision will be continue to divide us. Of course, there is a significant popular divide, a ruling-class divide, and importantly, for socialists, there is a divide on a proper left response to the issue.

The Lexit (Left Exit) side has shown an inability to transcend philosophical questions about the nature of the EU by also attending to the practical questions of how to formulate a response given the actually existing balance of forces. The Brexit vote has emboldened the far right in the UK (and elsewhere) while providing a rallying point for those who wish to engage in racist and xenophobic attacks on migrants and racialized people. It put a smile on the faces of fascists everywhere while rendering already vulnerable groups more vulnerable as a result.

Not only does this directly hurt the members of those vulnerable groups, but the division and marginalization effect this has on the population more generally makes the organization of an effective socialist fightback more difficult. The forces of extreme reaction have been strengthened with the result of the vote. The working class has deprived itself in advance. Now, without utmost effort dedicated to organization, outreach, expanding our numbers and, perhaps most importantly, a renewed emphasis on practical battle strategy over abstract, sterile analysis, the consequences could be even more dire. Because any refusal to change tack and compromise with the EU now in order to fight it later under more favorable conditions to us means the reactionary nationalists and racists of the far right get their way.. --J. Gannon, from the Internet

# WHEN WE FIGHT WE WIN!

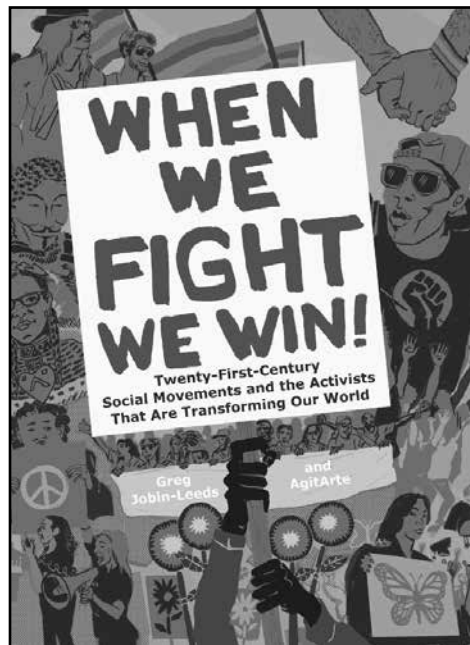
## TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THE ACTIVISTS THAT ARE TRANSFORMING OUR WORLD

by Greg Jobin-Leeds and AgitArte. NY/London, The New Press, 2016. \$17.95

Reviewed by Michael Novick, Anti-Racist Action-LA (ARA-LA/PART)

This inspiring book looks at the growing social movements of resistance and solidarity of the second decade of the 21st Century, grassroots efforts struggling for social change from below, to make the case for its title. Like the movements it reports on and represents, it integrates artistic and cultural work intimately in its design and content, with photographs, posters, infographics, artist interviews, and cartoons. Chapters focus on the LGBTQ movement, on community-based struggles for public education, on the abolitionist campaign against mass incarceration, on the "Dreamers" and the movement for immigrant rights, on the effort to win economic power, justice and equality, and on defense of the environment, but each section reflects the "intersectionality" that is a buzzword of grassroots political activity today -- looking at issues of race in the "queer" community, racist policing in the section on mass incarceration, undocumented queers and the role of the labor movement in the section on immigration, and the role of indigenous people in the environmental struggle for climate justice.

A measure of the fast development and transformational power of these grassroots social movements is the relative lack of focus on Black Lives Matter (though they are named, and there is an interview with Patrisse Cullors-Brignac, one of the three co-founders of Black Lives Matter). The book was obviously several years in development and in collecting and curating the art materials, so that a great deal of what is covered is from roughly 2010-2014. Inevitably, some of the intensity of the Ferguson and Baltimore uprisings is missed, as well as the widespread opposition to racist state violence.



The impact of that resistance in the streets and of Black Lives Matter is touched on in Antonio Darden's "Afterword," which quotes Malcolm X: "I believe that there will be ultimately be a clash between the oppressed and those who do the oppressing. I believe that there will be a clash between those who want freedom, justice and equality for everyone and those who want to continue the system of exploitation. I believe that there will be that kind of clash, but I don't think it will be based on the color of the skin..." Darden, hearkening to her Puerto Rican roots, defines the problem as "racism in a capitalist society," and elsewhere, organizers are quoted opposing "unregulated capitalism."

The chapter on the environmental struggle, for example, focuses a great deal on Bill McKibben and 350.Org (though there is a



"Estudiante Militante" (Militant Student) by Papel Machete, 14-ft puppet at a San Juan, Puerto Rico protest of privatization, 2010-11. Slogan reads: "UPR Not For Sale." Photo credit: Isamar Abreu. From "When We Fight, We Win!", pp. 46-47

lengthy "sidebar" on Environmental Justice 101), but there and elsewhere, some key strategic differences and contradictions that need to be overcome are glossed over. There is not much about the sell-outs by "Big Green," for example, the corporate-sponsored environmental non-profits and NGOs.

Something else missing from the book, not the fault of the author and contributors, is the peace movement. It is an unfortunate reality that in the period under consideration, roughly corresponding with the Obama administration, the peace movement has given up the ghost. Unfortunately, this also manifests itself with an excessive focus on events and developments within the US. There is a recognition that the climate justice movement is global, and coverage of indigenous struggles around the issue, primarily in Canada. There is strong content about the educational struggles that have been advanced in Puerto Rico. But the chapter on immigration gives a too-quick once-over to the "push" aspects of migration in terms of the conditions of exploitation and repression, and the US role, in the countries people are coming from.

I recommend the book for its breadth, creativity and scope. I fear, however, its title is over-optimistic: there is no guarantee that when we fight, we win. As someone who has been in the struggle for half a century or more, I have seen many losing battles. What is true is that if we don't fight, we can't win. The book presents a new generation to a new generation, and seeks to inspire people with a sense of the possibilities, that "resistance is fertile."

But the need to extract lessons from defeats is also an essential part of building a movement that will go all the way, overcome defeatism, and transform society from top to bottom. This will involve not merely confronting, but uprooting and overturning capitalism and colonialism, root and branch.

# OPPOSE RACISM, WAR & WHITE NATIONALISM AT THE RNC, CLEVELAND 7/17-21, & THE DNC, PHILADELPHIA 7/24-28

## Where Is the Outrage?

In 2000, massive public protests greeted the DNC in Los Angeles and the RNC in Philadelphia, met by police-state level repression, tear gas, and police brutality. The LAPD paid huge penalties to its victims; Philadelphia activists spent almost a decade fighting charges that grew out of the repression. In 2004, demonstrators in NY were so numerous, they shut down Manhattan during the RNC renomination of George W. Bush. Yet during the past 8 years of the Obama presidency, anti-globalization and anti-war groupings have been painfully quiet, even as resistance has grown around environmental devastation, economic inequality and racist police killings with impunity.

The Republican National Convention in Cleveland and the DNC in Philadelphia provide an opportunity for a unified outpouring of resistance that will link opposition to imperial war, environmental destruction, economic exploitation, police repression, the national security surveillance state, racism, sexism and white nationalism. It's past time to link opposition to the global war machine, to racist police killings with impunity, and to the system of austerity, ecocide and genocide they are designed to protect and serve.

#VoteNoEvil

It's long past time to free ourselves from the grip of the duopoly and to turn the tables

on the mesmerizing spectacle of corporate dominated conventions, and elections, that only serve to legitimize the system and disempower the people. Obama has just announced the reversal of his ordered troop withdrawals from Afghanistan, no doubt as part of the encirclement of Russia and China that has also seen NATO troops advanced to the very borders of Russia in massive "war games," and US air and sea forces provoking China regularly. The TTP is designed as an economic cordon against China, perceived as a threatening adversary to the US economic empire in Asia. Obama has moved US troops into almost every nation in Africa, and is threatening the holdouts -- Eritrea and Zimbabwe -- with economic sanctions and destabilization. The US and its allies in right-wing Latin American elites is pushing regime change in Brazil, Venezuela and elsewhere, targeting popular movements as well as the "pink tide" social democratic governments.

Although the protests in Cleveland and Philly for the most part have been organized late, and reflect the confusions and divisions that still beset our movements, we are printing contact info and data about many of the rallies and actions scheduled in the two cities in late July. We encourage people to vote in the streets, and to prepare themselves for repression through state-sanctioned violence and white nationalist thugs.

## Oppose Trump & the RNC in Cleveland

<https://www.facebook.com/RESIST2016/>

**Friday, July 15**

**People's Justice & Peace Convention - 7-9:30pm**

Cultural performances and academic and author Michael Eric Dyson will kickoff this 3 day gathering, July 15-17. Representatives of justice, peace, environmental and democracy groups will come together the weekend before the RNC. The Convention will take place July 15 and 16 at Olivet Church, but will shift to the Masonic Auditorium, 3615 Euclid Ave Cleveland, Oh 44115, on Sunday. Details soon on specific times and schedules for Saturday and Sunday. Contact us: [peoplesconvention2016@gmail.com](mailto:peoplesconvention2016@gmail.com)  
<https://www.facebook.com/pjpc2016>

**Sunday, July 17**

**Keep the Promise Cleveland March & Rally - 11:20 - 5pm**

Join AHF & The AIDS Taskforce of Greater Cleveland along with local & national activists including political and spiritual leaders for Cleveland's Keep The Promise March followed by a free rally & concert. For more information contact Jacqueline Burbank @ [jacqueline.burbank@aidshhealth.org](mailto:jacqueline.burbank@aidshhealth.org)

**Monday, July 18**

**End Poverty NOW! March for Economic Justice - 2pm Rally & 3PM March**

We will begin the rally & march on East 45th St & Superior to the Quicken Loans Arena, the convention center, on July 18 and make it loud and clear: No more complicity with the crime of poverty! No more building your political career on the backs of the poor! No more silence from those you have been stepped on! We demand an end to poverty NOW!

**Monday, July 18**

**Coalition to stop Trump and march on the RNC - 1pm - 3pm**

We will rally at Cleveland Public Square and then march to the RNC at Quicken Arena.

<https://www.facebook.com/events/574059672757617/>

**Tuesday, July 19**

**CODEPINK Film Screening of "The Brainwashing of My Dad" - 7- 10 pm**

(West Shore Unitarian Universalist Church 20401 Hilliard Blvd Rocky River Ohio 44116) Filmmaker Jen Senko examines the rise of right-wing media through the lens of her father, whose immersion in it radicalized him and rocked the foundation of their family. Sign up now to join CODEPINK in Cleveland during the GOP Convention to call for a President for Peace! <http://www.codepink.org/president4peace>

**Thursday, July 21**

**Stand Together Against Trump - 4pm - 11pm (Downtown Cleveland)**

A peaceful demonstration directed at opposition to the racist and sexist language and policies of Donald Trump. We're dedicated to working with any like-minded organizations that wish to join a protest of Trump on the final day of the convention, and members of STAT will join other protests throughout the week.

[www.standtogetheragainstrump.com](http://www.standtogetheragainstrump.com)

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

Over its 28+ 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. To restore bi-monthly publication, we launched a "100X100" fund-raising campaign. Last year, we got out 5 issues.

We're 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>.

If the campaign is successful, we will begin publishing every other month in 2017. 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.

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.**

## Oppose Clinton & the DNC in Philadelphia

According to Chris Hedges, on July 25, opening day of the Democratic Convention in Philadelphia, Cheri Honkala, of the Poor People's Economic Human Rights Campaign, who was denied a permit to march by city authorities, will rally with thousands of protesters outside City Hall. Defying the police, they'll march up Broad St. to the convention. Many other protests, permitted and unpermitted are planned.

**March on the DNC, Monday, July 25 11 AM**

<https://www.facebook.com/events/248664418802949/>

Come out to Philadelphia and join us as we march on the Democratic National Convention this July! This march is in protest to the highly biased and unfair treatment, demonstrated by the DNC, towards presidential candidate, Bernie Sanders.

If you need a ride, check out our rideshare program: <http://bit.ly/1SDYz2k>

We also have a RALLYBUS program (Bernie Buses):

<http://rallybus.net/march-on-the-democratic-national-convention/?ur=fe3022f6-bf2e-41aa-9ec8-0c4ca54fca55>

Need a place to stay?: [www.BernieBnB.com](http://www.BernieBnB.com) [www.couchsurfing.com](http://www.couchsurfing.com) [www.VRBO.com](http://www.VRBO.com)

**SHUT DOWN the DNC! Build the Movement to Smash Capitalism & Racism Tuesday, July 26, 4 PM Philadelphia City Hall, sponsored by Workers World Party**

<https://www.facebook.com/events/1637521486470450/>

The Presidential elections that take place every four years bring about only cosmetic changes. Progressives, socialists, peace activists, feminists, environmentalists: Let's build a united front to take on the racist, capitalist Democratic war machine!

<https://www.facebook.com/groups/occupydncconvention/>



Erica Mines (center), Cheri Honkala (right) of the Poor People's Economic Human Rights campaign speak out against protest restrictions.

Four pro-Sanders rallies have been approved, with more than 30,000 people expected to attend weeklong demonstrations called "March for Bernie at DNC," which will be held at FDR Park in South Philadelphia. It's within earshot of where conventioners will gather at the Wells Fargo Center to nominate their party's presidential nominee. The rally has been approved for five straight days, starting July 24 and ending July 28. The permit from the city also allows activists to gather each day from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. The "public assemblage," as the city technically describes demonstrations, could evolve from rally into protest depending on what happens during delegate voting inside the convention. Black Men for Bernie has been approved to hold a "We the People Restoration Rally" at Thomas Paine Plaza across from City Hall on July 27-28. They will be allowed to gather from 9 a.m. to 7 p.m. The purpose of the rally is "to address economic inequality, human rights, poverty, criminal justice reform and lack of ownership."

Local Philadelphia groups are protesting the refusal to allow rush hour protests right outside the Well Fargo Center where the DNC is taking place. Members of at least 14 different organizations – including the MOVE Organization, the Philadelphia Coalition for Racial, Economic and Legal justice, the Black and Brown Workers Collective, and others – attended a rally to press their demands for:

- Permission to march and rally in the streets in front of the Wells Fargo Center
- Repeal of the ban on protests during rush hour
- Shutdown of any detention center being prepared to hold DNC demonstrators
- Repayment to the city of \$60 million in subsidies to the DNC

"You say you have no money, but you have money for partisan politics," argued Deandra Jefferson, a 23-year-old protester. "We want our \$60 million back."

# Critical Time for KPFK & Pacifica Radio: SUPPORT GRASSROOTS COMMUNITY RADIO COALITION CANDIDATES FOR KPFK LOCAL STATION BOARD

In the last year, KPFK, the listener-sponsored free speech Pacifica radio station in Los Angeles (aired from Santa Barbara to San Diego) has gone from running a nearly half-million dollar deficit to operating, just barely, in the black for the first time in almost five years. It has added the first fresh programming in a long time in both morning drive time and late night, including seasoned Black female journalists and commentators like Thandisizwe Chimurenga (a KPFK newscaster and public affairs host, published author, print journalist at the LA Watts Times and social media columnist for the Daily Kos), Nana Gyamfi (movement human rights lawyer and previously on Internet radio) and sister Charlene Muhammad (long-time public affairs host and producer at KPFK, and west coast correspondent for the Final Call newspaper). Many new volunteers have been trained in all aspects of community-oriented and -supported radio and have started to work on station operations, radio production and news-gathering. The station's "Film Club" premium membership has been restored and expanded, with new theaters in different parts of the region including Long Beach and Orange County. Listener sponsorship has climbed back up from a low of about 15,000 members to c.18,000. New youthful voices have been added in late night as well, with



**Alise Sochaczewski**

programming such as Sex Please, a public affairs show about matters some people like to keep private "behind closed doors," looking at issues of racism, sexism and criminalization facing sex workers and others.

KPFK is currently doing the best of all five Pacifica stations, the only one current this year on its payments to the national office and to the

Pacifica Radio Archives (which it hosts free of charge on the station's premises, as well as paying the largest fees of all the Pacifica stations). It is provisionally in the black since the beginning of the current fiscal year last October 1, although that has only come at the cost of reductions in hours and pay for all the paid staff and management, as the new station manager, Leslie Radford, who has effectuated these changes, sought to preserve most jobs by implementing across-the-board percentage cuts, including for herself and other managers. Even though the paid staff (unlike the managers) received a subsidy for the lost hours and pay from a CA state unemployment insurance program designed to reimburse workers who

take a cut in hours in lieu of layoffs, that has resulted in an arbitrator's ruling that because Pacifica had been unable to present full financial documents to the staff at the time of the cuts, the reductions and a few layoffs that took place must be renegotiated. Radford has followed PNB directives



**Kahllid Al-Alim**

to reduce expenses (the first GM at KPFK to do so) and to predicate reinstatement of hours for managers or staff on maintaining a balanced budget with proven income projections.

KPFK also held its first successful elections for the Local Station Board in five years (previously scheduled elections either failed to reach a quorum of voters for either listeners or staff, or were postponed by the previous majority on the Pacifica National Board loyal to former Pacifica interim executive director from KPFK, Summer Reese, who had also ousted the network's Chief Financial Officer and the station's business manager). One might think this record of achievement and a dramatic turn-



**Schyna Pour**

around in the station's downward drift would win support from station governance. But in last year's election, in which all 24 seats on the KPFK Local Station Board (LSB) were to be filled, a well-financed group from candidateslate.org, also known as the Committee to Strengthen KPFK, won a substantial majority, returning to the local board and the national

board Grace Aaron and Jan Goodman, who had been backers of the ruinous Reese regime, along with a group of disaffected paid staff members. Only six candidates from the Grassroots Community Radio Coalition were elected.

In the ensuing months, the new board majority



**Lawrence Reyes**

has made it more difficult for listeners to address the board or to serve on LSB committees, requiring non-LSB members on committees to be approved by their Board majority. They enacted an arbitrary limit on the number of hardship waivers for membership that would be granted to listeners who are unable to donate to or volunteer for the station. The LSB has failed to move on holding bylaws-required town halls to hear from listeners, or to move forward on a motion to conduct off-air fundraising for the station. Their slate made clear that it wanted to remove both the new general manager and the long-time interim program director and is moving forward through the committee structure of the LSB to try to achieve those goals. They have also supported by board resolution the basis for lawsuits against the Pacifica Foundation (on at least one of which Jan Goodman is the attorney suing Pacifica). Their allies around the network, particularly at New York's WBAI, where contested election results have



**Rose Elizondo**

resulted in a stalemate in which their side has been boycotting local board meetings, incapacitated the first two national board teleconference meetings this year with unauthorized call-ins, disruptive noises and loud music (similar to the destructive "sleep-in" Reese staged when she was removed as iED by the



**Mariella Saba**

national board), so that the protocol for the calls had to be changed in order for the board to conduct its business. Locally, they have criticized the GM for implementing the national board mandate for additional Spanish-language programming, which many of them have



**Jessica Spencer**

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**Jack Neff**

always opposed.

Thankfully, there is a new election process underway, the first in a long while actually proceeding under the regular Bylaws schedule thanks to the current Pacifica National Board (PNB) majority (which the Aaron/Goodman faction opposes) and unpaid interim Executive

Director Lydia Brazon (a member of the KPFK local board, with the Humanitarian Law Project and the Peace Center). Brazon previously rescued the foundation from ruinous financial penalties that would have been imposed by the IRS due to previous iED Summer Reese's failure to pay to the government income taxes due, that Reese had withheld from the severance payments to the bulk of the staff at Pacifica's WBAI when she laid them off -- withheld from the workers but not paid to the government! Brazon arranged for an interest-free loan to Pacifica from Aris Anagnos of the Peace Center, a loan which Anagnos eventually forgave after he was impressed with the in-person national board that was held (free of charge) at the Peace Center here in L.A. last year, which came in under budget, the most economical and

productive PNB meeting in years.

As the elections proceed at all five Pacifica stations, a lot is riding on the outcome. New elections (or the outcome of a lawsuit) will resolve the impasse at WBAI, and hopefully provide new legitimacy at WPFW (which had no election last year because there were not enough candidates to contest for the open seats on the board). Both those stations have suffered a serious decline in listener-sponsorships in the last year, to the point where they are having difficulties meeting their payrolls, let alone their obligations to Pacifica. Successful elections will determine the composition of the national board, which is chosen by and from the ranks of the local station



**Michael Corral**

boards at each of the five Pacifica stations (KPFA in Berkeley, KPFK in L.A., KPFT in Houston TX, WPFW in DC and WBAI in NY). Locally, the Grassroots Community Radio Coalition is backing a full slate of seasoned leaders of grassroots organizations and non-profits, and of paid and unpaid broadcasters from the station staff, even though a number of its current board members, including Brazon, Michael Novick (editor of *Turning the Tide*), and Aryana Gladney of the Black Riders Liberation Party, are terming off the board.

The Grassroots slate includes veteran labor

boards at each of the five Pacifica stations (KPFA in Berkeley, KPFK in L.A., KPFT in Houston TX, WPFW in DC and WBAI in NY).

Locally, the Grassroots Community Radio Coalition is backing a full slate of seasoned leaders of grassroots organizations and non-profits, and of paid



**Hsing I Bird**

activist Sabina Virgo, a leader of the MLK Coalition of Los Angeles; Lawrence Reyes of the Puerto Rican Alliance and a shop steward for SEIU 721, a former member of the local and national boards; Reza Pour of the Union of Progressive Iranians, running for re-election to the LSB, where he has chaired the Outreach Committee and



**Sabina Virgo**

indefatigably introduced KPFK to new listener sponsor members; Rick Macias, a union carpenter and leader of Chicanos and Latinos for Bernie; Mariella Saba, a leader of the Stop LAPD Spying Coalition and co-founder of Familia Trans Queer Liberation Movement; Kahllid Al-Alim, a parent activist with the Coalition for Educational Justice involved in the UTLA-supported campaign for "Schools LA Students Deserve," and a former LSB member; Brenda Medina, a union staffer and former member of MEChA, also previously on the KPFK LSB and the PNB; Hsing I Bird, an outreach volunteer for the station, graphic designer and photographer; Alise Sochaczewski, a member of the LSB Outreach committee and a union-member mental health worker; Schyna Pour, a young social worker; Michael Corral, an accountant and board member at the First Unitarian Church on 8th & Vermont; Jack Neff, a long-time station listener sponsor and former board member at Kuruvungna Springs, a Native American sacred site and museum that was located on the grounds of LAUSD's University High School; Jessica Spencer, a young African American community activist and a marketing professional who has helped develop the station's successful outreach strategy; Rose Mary Elizondo, a listener-sponsor from the eastern San Gabriel Valley who has volunteered in the station's phone room during fund drives and on station outreach activities; and possibly several others whose candidacies and inclusion on the slate were being firmed up as *Turning The Tide*



**Richard Macias**

went to press. Full details are available on the Coalition's website, [www.gcrc-socal.org](http://www.gcrc-socal.org).

Staff members running with GCRC (staff members only vote for other staff members, listener sponsors only vote for other listeners, under Pacifica's Bylaws) include Jose Benavides, a

...See *Grassroots*, p. 7



# The Life of a New Generation Panther

by Sergeant E. J.

**Point J in the Black Riders Liberation Party Black Commune program states: "We ride for the immediate end of police brutality and the murder of Black people."**

Question: Let's say you are minding your own business going to the grocery store you go to frequently. When you get to the doors of the store, a man who you've never known or met before approaches you with a super-militarized utility belt, with pepper



spray that burns and irritates any part of the body that is exposed; a TASER, that causes excruciating pain, using electricity to cause injury; and a gun that is deadly. He approaches you, grabs you, intending to pursue his own interests.

My name is Sergeant E.J. of the Black Riders Liberation Party, new generation Black Panthers, under the leadership of General T.A.C.O. I became a Black Rider in Oakland California in 2013. I joined a couple of month before the assassination of Malcolm X's grandson Malcolm Shabazz, whose funeral I attended as a Black Rider. It's also around the same time the bounty for Assata Shakur went from \$1 million to \$2 million, and also when the statistics for pigs killing Black people was every 36 hours. Three years later, the onslaught of pig killings increased to every eight hours! Because that reality exists for Blacks in AmeriKKKa, the Black Riders for 20 years have been launching the Watch-a-Pig Program, which I have been a part of and help lead, to confront police terrorism.

I've been in countless demonstrations, the biggest and the most dangerous one would be the Black Lives Matter Day march we did with the Huey P. Newton Gun Club on March 16, 2015. It was an armed march, in which I was honored to be one of the gun-carrying members for the Party. Sacrificing our lives for the people, to raise consciousness around our God-given and Second Amendment right to defend ourselves.

A whole year later, the fascist state is still mad about the march. A state senator from Texas said that he has a "freedom bullet" for all the participants of that mission.

General T.A.C.O., leader of the Black Riders for 20 years, has had numerous bloody battles with the fascist state, and faced assassination attempts on his life. Through study and practice, General T.A.C.O. teaches us in areas of Africanity, law, Pantherism, and the martial sciences of fighting. The different styles he teaches are Wing Chung, judo, karate and aikido. The emphasis on the martial sciences is because of the Mulford Act in 1968 that stripped away the right (in California) to open carry firearms, which Panthers had utilized for the Community Patrol program in Oakland. It takes heart and courage to push this type of line.

On May 7, 2016, I was attacked and forced to defend myself from an assault by the racist pigs of Hawthorne, CA (in the Los Angeles area). It was my first physical altercation defending myself from the pig police. It was a bloody battle that resulted in my false arrest. From the way the pigs mounted up so quickly, it seemed like it was planned and all choreographed.

For the past year, operating in Los Angeles with Comrade Khalifa, we have encountered all different types of antagonism from the police. Yes, the pigs purposely go out their way to try to intimidate us. From mad-dogging, flashing their lights behind us as if they are going to pull us over, and that is what you call pig police harassment. The night prior to my being abducted, we were experiencing heavy police surveillance. As a Black man it is unfortunate to live with the anticipation of dying at the hands of the pigs. As a Black Rider, it won't come cheap.

We raise the consciousness of Black people every day, propagating the *Black Rider* newspaper and *Turning The Tide*, to teach you how to defend yourself against police terrorism. In the early morning, Comrade Khalifa and I were traveling to our campaigning location, where we frequently distribute the newspapers. Heading to 120th & Hawthorne, where there is heavy foot traffic, we both began to get some form of military intuition that something strange was about to happen, especially due to the fact that there was a pig car parked outside the base the night before. We got to our location, parking the Black Panther-mobile. We did a security threat scan before exiting the car with 150 Black Rider newspapers, with the image of General T.A.C.O. and two soldiers on the front page, holding high powered assault firearms for self defense, with one of the soldiers being me.

At this time, we had circulated 6000 copies of the newspaper in Los Angeles county. Judging from their response, the pigs were pissed off about this and scared. Comrade Khalifa remained in the car, and I exited to propagate the newspapers. Within 15 minutes, I witnessed two pig cars positioning themselves in front of the shoe store, twenty to 30 feet from my position. I radioed Khalifa to brief her, saying "Black Power, comrade, there are two pigs in front of Payless." She replied, "Copy. Black Power!"

The Party has a history of pigs attacking us while we are selling Black Rider newspapers; hell, the pigs in L.A. have a history of violently clashing with Black people. With an expedient stride, walking to the Panther-mobile to avoid unnecessary conflict, I never took my eyes off the demon. There were two pigs involved -- we'll call them Pig 1 and Pig 2. P2 proceeded to drive towards the exit; in my mind, I was thinking, "OK, they're leaving, filthy pigs." As I was approaching our vehicle, P2 made a U-turn, pinning me off from my departure. P1 approaches me, waving his pale hand to me saying sarcastically, "What kind of newspapers you got there?" My response to him, scowling, "I have the right not to talk to you." Standing my ground, not pleading, begging or running away. P1 got closer with a quick movement, he reached for my wrist intensely, not following one ounce of pig protocol. He tried to use something of a sorry finger-lock on the hand I was holding the 150 newspapers with, sending the papers flying into the air. With the reflexes of a Panther, I defended myself with my left hand.

P1 stumbled in a daze, as his partner P2 bolted from his vehicle to tackle me to the ground, maintaining some gravity, forcing my weight down with his arms wrapped around me, as my left arm was wrapped around his head. I was repeatedly defending myself with my right. Our feet gave way to all the tugging and pulling, which resulted in us falling down -- BOOM!! On the ground with P2 on top of my legs, trying to hit me in my groin, with P1 standing right above my head, I notice an opening to strike and I launched like a missile, catching P1 from the ground while on my back. Managing to get P2 off of me, I ninja-rolled to my feet. I wasn't just fighting for my life, I was fighting my people. On my feet, trying to get my composure, I

noticed the pigs had duplicated, from two pigs to four, pinker, uglier and filthier. From the time the initial contact with the pigs had happened, it had to be 30 seconds to a minute.

The bombardment of pigs was an overwhelming experience. It felt like I was one second away from being killed. The blitz maneuver they used was all too well planned, but God is the best of planners. After a second of getting my focus together, I charged at one of the pigs. He reacted by spraying me with mace. I managed to deflect it, only to get it on the left side of my face. Blinded and caught off guard, the pigs began to rush in. Retreating to get space, one of the pigs discharged his stun gun, the new age electric whip, hitting me in my groin. By the grace of God, the lead was ripped off. Feeling the agitation of the mace take effect on my face, which made me disoriented, and temporarily blind, I stampeded with blind rage like a mad elephant, making it difficult for the pigs to pack me out.

The next thing I heard was two distributing loud clicks, another TASER stun gun being discharged. It penetrated my skin, I felt a surge of electricity go through my arm, as I yelled, "Aaah, fuck pigs!!" Feeling a million votes go through my body, I was TASEd again, piercing me with its metal prongs on the right side of my back. As foreign surges of electricity go through my body, I became immobilized and fell to the ground. Clenching my teeth, making noises of obvious discomfort, managing to say, "Fucking pigs, you fucking pigs." With my face on fire, my body recovering from intense shock treatment, the demons yelling at me, "Put your fucking hands behind your back!"

As one of the pigs began to arrest me forcefully, the other pigs paraded around me as if I was good game. After the handcuffs, new age slave shackles, are put onto my wrists, the pigs aggressively lift me to my feet. I was violently shoved towards the pigs' car, with an open door waiting for me to occupy its hot plastic seats.

Infuriated, my leg lashed out at the ajar door, slamming it shut. BOOM!! The pigs got all frantic and hysterical, shoving me against the vehicle. P2 started to yell in my ear, threatening me with mace in hand, shoving it in my face, screaming, "Do you want me to spray you again?!" Two pigs aggressively dropped me to my knees, making me lean over, placing my face against the wheel well, where I could feel the hot engine. One of the pigs put restraint bands around my legs, leaving me incapable of movement. Once again, I was lifted to my feet and placed into the pig car.

I had been assaulted, captured, kidnapped and held hostage at the Hawthorne Police Department for two-and-a-half days, demanding a ransom. Incommunicado from the cadre, I was able to get a hold of an outside contact that emailed HQ about my status. Flushing my burning face with sink water and examining my fresh wounds from the TASERS, I began to reflect on the teachings of General T.A.C.O. on the relations of people and the military institution/police station. While in custody anything I can say can be used to incriminate me, so I chose to remain silent, grounding myself in lessons of George Jackson and Huey P. Newton, doing katas, push-ups and reading. Eventually, the D.A. rejected the case against me.

After that, the fascists used a neo-colonial Asian puppet detective to coerce me into an investigation without an attorney. We cannot trust the police to investigate the police. He showed so much concern and got mad when I told him I wasn't answering any questions without a lawyer present. A few hours later, I was notified that I was being released, and all charges were dropped.

Although I may be a rare survivor of pig terrorism, unlike the recent pig murders of Alton Sterling in Louisiana and Philando Castile in Minnesota, this incident multiplied my belief 100 times to continue to serve and defend our people as a Black Rider. This is the life of a new generation Black Panther. -- Sergeant E.J.

**Black Power!  
All Power to the People!**

## Reports Needed from Behind Enemy Lines

Revolutionary Greetings,

We are calling on all nationwide prison comrades to write a report on the scandalous prison conditions in which they reside, and send it back to our P.O. Box address. This is mandatory for all comrades in the prison system. Some of these reports will be placed inside a new column called "BEHIND ENEMY LINES" inside our Black Riders African Inter-communal Newspaper. This new column will be designed to give nationwide prison comrades a voice that will be heard on the streets around the country--"Empire." Also, these reports will allow us to coordinate outside assistance and much-needed support in areas throughout the massive Prison Industrial Complex/Concentration Camps.

The Black Riders African Inter-communal Newspaper is an important vehicle for circulating the message of the Black Riders. We the Black Riders found that we as so-called citizens of this country were being kept duped and tricked by the government and kept misinformed by mass media. In an effort to give the facts to the people, the so-called "underground press" developed with various groups setting up newspaper and magazines with differing emphasis. The Black Riders African Inter-communal Newspaper was created to present actual, reliable information to the people. The Black Riders -- New Generation Black Panther Party for Self-Defense has been organized to serve the needs of the people of the Black Community and to educate and politicize the masses of Black People, but the Black Riders realizes that racism can only be eliminated by educating the Black and

oppressed people about the news and problems of the Black And oppressed people in Amerikkka that are dealt with in the Black Riders African Intercommunal Newspaper and other international news. The Black Riders African Inter-communal Newspaper is the alternative to the "government approved" stories presented in the mass media and the product of an effort to present the facts, not stories as dictated by the oppressor, but as seen from our side, the other side of the Revolutionary gun.

**By General T.A.C.O AKA Wolverine Shakur**

**Black Power! All Power to the People! Red, Black, and Green 4 LIFE!!!**

**Contact info for Black Riders**

**The BRLP is setting up new chapters rapidly around the U.S, and is building a nationwide Prison Chapter... Join Now!**

**You can reach Black Riders-New Generation Black Panther Party for Self Defense at**

**P.O. Box 8297, Los Angeles CA 90008, blackriders1996@gmail.com**

**Or by calling 601-557-5257(BRLP),**

**on Facebook, Black-Riders-Liberation-Party,**

**Twitter:@blackriders1996, Instagram, blackriders1996.**

# GRASSROOTS COMMUNITY RADIO COALITION

...Continued from p. 5

paid staff member at the station who has worked on producing a number of popular shows, including Margaret Prescod's *Sojourner Truth* show as well participating in the Spanish-language programming bloc and in People's School of Broadcasting training project to impart skills to new volunteers; Tej Grewall, running for re-election to the board, a former LSB chair and unpaid staffer who worked closely with the late Dedon Kamathi and has helped revive his show, *Freedom Now*, after his untimely passing; Ricardo Hernandez, with the Association of Spanish-Language Programmers; and Polina Vasiliev, a multi-lingual participant in the Spanish-language programming bloc. Again, additional staff



Polina Vasiliev

reduces election costs for Pacifica).

Pacifica elections are all held with a proportional representation method called Single Transferable Voting (STV). On such a ballot, you mark the candidates you favor, in order of preference indicated numerically. Please vote for all the Grassroots Coalition candidates. The



Tej Grewall

efforts to breathe life into the station and engage more fully with the community, such as the remote broadcast of the LA Human Relations Commission hearings on gang injunctions and LAPD spying and surveillance. We want a board majority that will once again hold the required Town Hall meetings to receive listener input and feedback, take on the responsibility of fund-raising off-air for the station, and assist in rebuilding KPFC's listening audience by regaining lost listeners, retaining current ones, and attracting a new generation of community-based problem solvers and communicators who can help carry the station forward in the 21st Century. You can find more information about the full candidate list, our program, platform and principles, at [www.gerc-socal.org](http://www.gerc-socal.org)

candidate endorsements may be forthcoming after *TTT*'s print deadline. Check [www.gerc-socal.org](http://www.gerc-socal.org) for more information. Ballots will be going out in mid-August and are due back no later than 45 days later. There will be an option of paper ballot or e-ballot (electronic distribution of election materials and e-voting



Jose Benavides

slate combines youthful energy and enthusiasm, practical non-profit and financial experience, and accountability to grassroots organizations that will help ensure that if elected, GCRC will work to increase the station's engagement with and public service to the actual and potential listening audience. GCRC supports GM Radford's

## URGENT APPEAL

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## Courage Against Racism series Black Lives Matter Fundraiser Presentation & Forum on Surveillance & Repression

Hamid Khan of the Stop LAPD Spying Coalition will provide an overview of surveillance in Los Angeles and its impact on privacy, organizing, and protesting. The Stop LAPD Spying Coalition's *Campaign to Rescind Special Order 1(1)* is an alliance of different organizations (and, in our case, individuals), each with their own interests, mission and vision, that come together to collaborate and take collective action together toward a common goal(s). We reject all forms of police oppression and any policy that make us all suspects in the eyes of the State. Our vision is the dismantling of government-sanctioned spying and intelligence gathering, in all its multiple forms. (For more information go to: [stoplapdspying.org](http://stoplapdspying.org))

A panel discussion will follow the presentation and will include: Hamid Khan (Stop LAPD Spying Coalition), Jasmine Abdullah (Black Lives Matter Pasadena), and a Black Lives Matter Legal Counsel (TBD). The panel will be moderated by Karen Hilfman (of White People 4 Black Lives).

Sunday, July 31 from 3-5:30 PM, Unitarian Universalist Neighborhood Church, 301 N. Orange Grove, Pasadena CA.

The suggested donation is \$10-\$25 sliding scale, but no one will be turned away for lack of funds. All proceeds will benefit Black Lives Matter-LA legal defense. Check [www.crowdrise.com/blmla](http://www.crowdrise.com/blmla) for more information.

This is a multi-racial event, family friendly, and the facility is ADA compliant. It is near the Metro Gold Line Azusa/Citrus stop, and the 180/181/267/264/256 buses. Free refreshments provided.



Angeles. Send us an email if you'd like to get involved: [whitepeople4racialjustice@gmail.com](mailto:whitepeople4racialjustice@gmail.com)

### BLM-LA Local Demands on the LA Board of Police Commissioners and Mayor Garcetti:

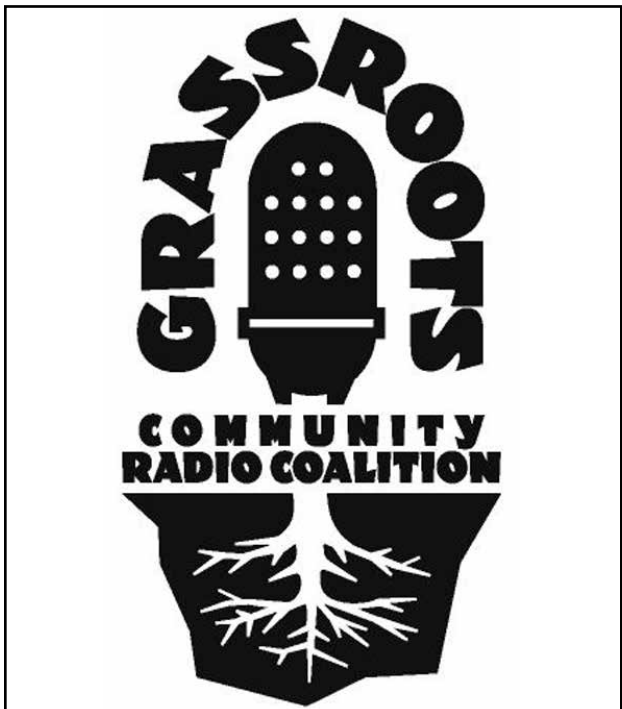
- 1) Fire Chief Beck for his refusal to hold LAPD officers accountable.
- 2) Work in partnership with the Los Angeles City Council to develop a reparations strategy.
- 3) Hold Police Commission meetings that are open, accessible, and at a time when working people can attend.
- 4) Appoint real community advocates to key commission seats.
- 5) Adhere to the agreed Town Hall meeting structure with the Black community negotiated in July 2015.

<https://www.facebook.com/events/1154865234577364/>



This event is a partnership between White People 4 Black Lives, Stop LAPD Spying Coalition, Black Lives Matter Pasadena and Los Angeles, the Sierra Club and the Neighborhood Unitarian Universalist Church.

White People 4 Black Lives (WP4BL) is a white anti-racist collective and activist project of the Alliance of White Anti-Racists Everywhere (AWARE-LA). We also operate within a national network of white anti-racists called Showing Up for Racial Justice (SURJ). Our work is rooted in showing up for racial justice and acting in solidarity with the Movement for Black Lives, and more specifically in alliance with Black Lives Matter: Los



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# TURNING THE TIDE

Volume 28 ★ Number 8 ★ ISSN 1082-6491 ★ July-September 2016

**#SayHisName #AltonSterling #Philandocastile**

**#SayHerName #WakieshaWilson #RedelJones**

**#BlacklivesMatter**

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★ **Black Riders**

★ **and Much More!**



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**SELF-DETERMINATION & SELF-DEFENSE!**

**SELF-DEFENSE AGAINST RACIST MURDER IS A FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHT!**

## ATTENTION PRISON MAIL ROOM!

The First Amendment protects free speech and a free press. Government regulations that allow the state or its employees to discriminate on the basis of the content or views expressed are contrary to the First Amendment.

Prisoners retain their free speech rights. The fact of confinement and the needs of the penal institution may impose some limitations on prisoners' exercise of their free speech rights, according to *Pell v. Procunier*, 417 US 817,822, 94 *Set* 2800, 2804 (1974), but any such restrictions must have a "valid, rational connection" to "legitimate penological interests" not related to the content of the ideas," as ruled in *Turner v. Safely*, 482 US 78, 107 *SCt* 2245 (1987).

That means you cannot legally suppress the expression and consideration of ideas. Prison walls do not serve to form a barrier separating prisoners from the protection of the Constitution, according to that same *Turner v. Safely* ruling.

If you exclude printed matter on an improper basis, or give a false pretext or rationale for its exclusion, merely because of the ideas expressed in it, you are breaking the law. The prisoner denied access to material he wants to read and consider can bring a civil rights lawsuit against you with cause for seeking punitive damages. You and those who supervise you and permit or order such a denial may be subject to termination of employment. Inclusion of this primer on free speech rights of prisoners makes your denial of access to such material writing and willing. In the case of *Police Dept. Chicago v. Mosley*, 408 US 92, 95, 92 *Set* 2286, 2290 (1972) the court found that "[A]bove all else, the First Amendment means that government has no power to restrict expression because of its message, subject matter or content."

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**- MUMIA ABU JAMAL**

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TTT published at least four times a year. **No checks to Turning the Tide, please! Can't process them!** Please write us every time your address changes, with your EXACT address as it should appear on the address label. TTT is a small project with few resources: **we can't provide books or legal aid, or investigate individuals' innocence.**

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