

Abolish the Police-Prison-Pharma-Private Profit-Complex

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

The Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners, AKA the LAPC, exposed its true nature once and for all, hopefully, when it voted in October to authorize the use of drones by LAPD's Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) unit, despite 90+% opposition from the public at every hearing they scheduled to try to whip up support. They also thereby tacitly acknowledge that despite their denials, drones are essentially weapons. It's probably no coincidence that with the "technical assistance" of the LAPD, CBS this month is reviving "SWAT" as a TV show, purportedly demonstrating that the unit is a mechanism for community responsiveness and engagement. The LAPD's own polling and survey instruments show a growing lack of trust for the department, especially among Black and Brown residents. The challenge facing community organizers is how to deepen that mistrust, and the condemnation of racist killings by police with impunity, into a widespread awareness that, as enforcers of exploitation, oppression, white supremacy and colonialism, the police have no legitimacy whatsoever. And then how to translate such awareness into resistance and a struggle for community defense and a better world.



Black Lives Matter has begun challenging L.A. District Attorney Jackie Lacey, who has not indicted a single cop in 5 years for any of the approximately 300 police killings that have taken place in the county under her watch. But again, the challenge is to develop a campaign that gives meaning to the recognition that there is "No Justice - Just Us!" -- that the entire criminal injustice system of prosecutors, courts, judges, cops, jailers and prisons, is part of the oppressive and repressive mechanism of a settler-colonial, patriarchal, racial-capitalist society that must be uprooted and transformed.

Critical Resistance and other "prison abolitionists"

support base. Carrying it out in practice over the long term is the difficulty.

What does it mean to unite our forces? We need greater collaboration and communication among those dealing with racist police killings with impunity, those opposing mass incarceration and prison slavery, those challenging political imprisonment and state repression, and opponents of the death penalty or other particular injustices. The principled basis for such unification must be a common recognition that these issues and problems

one whose survival depends on its ability to maintain its dominance over us, and who therefore is implacable in a life-or-death struggle against us. We must make an accurate assessment of its forces, not just the military power at its command in the armed forces, but the extent of people who see their interests dovetailing with the relatively few at the top who suck up the lion's-share of the wealth the system of exploitation of people and nature generates. This includes in the US most of the hundreds of thousands in the ranks of local, municipal, county, state and federal law enforcement and so-called "correctional" and detention facilities, border guards, and the for-profit corporate entities that have contracts to interface with, enhance, outfit and extend those mechanisms for surveillance, suppression and confinement. It also includes many in the ranks of the volunteer US military, especially career military, and the vast network of defense industry corporations, mercenaries, private corporate security forces, intelligence operatives, and others. Historically, in many imperial societies, veterans of all those uniformed services and agencies are another base for reaction.

However, within all those sectors, contradictions around race, gender, class and other social aspects are still operative, and should be addressed. Recent examples, such as Black NYPD officers expressing solidarity with Colin Kaepernick's "take a knee" protests against racist police murders is an example. For all of them, as for people on our side of the divide, we need to project the alternative we offer to the systems we want to abolish. Grievance and injury are not enough; people need and want to know what they are fighting for. Projecting a credible alternative, beginning to demonstrate in practice the kind of better world we are fighting for is thus critical to both uniting our forces and dividing theirs.

Another key is finding wedge issues that will divide the masses of the ruled and governed from the system they predominantly buy into and give their consent to. This involves transforming repugnance at Trump into opposition to the empire; anger at killer cops into repudiation of the system they enforce and that protects them; frustration with routinized sexual harassment into desire for a world free from patriarchy and the commercialization of hyper-gendered sexuality. To do this, we need to be engaged with people in meaningful workplace or community-based organizing to meet basic human needs and defend human freedom and dignity through self-directed action. We need to make study of our own potentials and of the nature of the enemy and its system appealing and productive. We need to take a page, not from the right, which has a relatively easy job of basing itself on the reactionary character of white settler culture and identity, but from the military forces of the empire, who understand how to identify and deal with their own weaknesses and challenges and those of their adversaries. Only by doing so will we be able to inspire and unite people around the possibilities of victory and a better world.

OPIOIDS AND IMPERIALISM

A major example of an area where our movements are failing to grasp and deal with the contradictions challenging the empire is the issue of the opioid epidemic. I am not aware of any major local or national initiative from the left to deal with opioids theoretically or practically, to engage under principles of mutual aid, solidarity and direct action with people and communities plagued by this crisis.

This is a serious failure. During the heroin epidemic in the Vietnam War era, the left led in a critique exposing heroin as a form of chemical/biological warfare by imperialism, such as in "Capitalism + Dope = Genocide" by Cetewayo of the Black Panther Party. The left was involved in healing efforts, such as Lincoln Detox and Dr. Mutulu Shakur's efforts through the Black Acupuncture Anesthesia Association, and in direct actions against the drug plague and dealers by the BLA. During the crack cocaine epidemic, the left also led in efforts like the Crack the CIA Coalition to expose the links between drug traffic and US imperialist war in Central America through the Contras, stop the flow of drugs, and expose the racist discrepancies between penalties for crack and powder cocaine and the stigmatization of "crack whores" and "crack babies." During the AIDS epidemic, it was the left, primary ACTUP, that led efforts to end the stigmatization of gays, Haitians and all HIV-positive people, to demand government action, to deal with the international scope of HIV, and to create needle-sharing and other harm-reduction programs.

The opioid epidemic is clearly related to the War on Terror, the community destruction by necrotic monopoly-financial capitalism, and the death throes of US settler-colonialism and imperialism. The left must step up with more than exposures of insurance companies or Big Pharma. We need to engage in direct action and political struggle with the families and communities contending with opioids.



inside and outside prison walls have focused attention on the continued legalization of prison slavery under the 13th Amendment, the enormous social and financial costs of racialized mass incarceration, the continuing price that formerly-incarcerated people and their families pay even after release from prison because of punitive laws and social practices. But the challenge remains, how can we regain the absolute moral and political condemnation of slavery that the original abolitionists had, the commitment to extirpate the ownership of human beings root and branch, and translate it into a powerful mass movement to abolish prisons, police and the entire system they enforce?

This is the fundamental question we must answer, the essential challenge we must meet, if our efforts are

are systemic in nature. The solution is not better training, stricter oversight, or fairer sentencing, but a struggle for a society based on fundamentally different principles of self-determination, solidarity, liberation, equality and mutual aid.

This same paradigm applies not just to organizing around "criminal justice" issues of policing and prisons, but to all other areas in which the oppressive, exploitative nature of this system creates contradictions between human need and freedom and the maintenance of a system of privatized land theft and profit extraction. Tenants facing eviction or deplorable housing conditions, homeless people, homeowners facing foreclosure, people in public housing facing privatization, neighborhoods grappling with displacement and gentrification are all facing aspects of the same beast: private ownership of stolen land. The under- and unemployed, minimum-wage workers, women working a "double-shift" in the home and the workplace, prisoners forced to labor for a pittance, unions facing campaigns to decertify them or strip them of the ability to organize politically or to bargain collectively similarly are contending with different aspects of the same system of private control of social labor.

Dividing and subduing our enemy is also easier said than done. The first requirement there is the recognition that we have an enemy,



to have success. Otherwise, our piecemeal reforms and victories may result in an occasional officer being tried or even convicted, an occasional DA or judge being voted out of office, a police chief or three losing their jobs, an occasional prisoner being freed and recompensed, while the system strengthens its capacity for counter-insurgency policing, conducting mass surveillance, and building a carceral state apparatus.

The formula is fairly simple: unite our forces, and divide, disperse and undermine our enemy's ranks and

Unity Block Party & Protest March Oppose Yiannopoulos's Hateful Rhetoric

by Greg Foisie

On Halloween, as TTT was going to press, 100s paid \$35 each to listen to hours of debasing commentary from the racist/sexist xenophobe Milo Yiannopoulos hosted by College Young Republicans at CSU Fullerton. Hundreds of others people spent the same day opposing him and his white supremacist associates at separate events on the same campus.

Yiannopoulos is a provocateur who uses sensationalistic prejudice to demean Blacks, women, migrants and others and excite bigoted audiences. A protégé of Steve Bannon, and former tech news editor of Breitbart News, promoting the so-called "alt-right," he lost that position after supporting pedophilia. The targets of his vicious attacks have included women, feminists, lesbians, immigrants, Muslims, Jews, (Milo is a gay Jew), people he sees as being ugly or fat, liberals, and anyone opposed to his prejudicial rants. In short, his bigotry promotes white supremacy.

Two distinct activities were organized to oppose Yiannopoulos's presence at CSUF. A "Unity Block Party" was set up by CSUF students before, during and after his talk. It was designed to not attract attention to his speech. The party featured entertainment, music, Mexican food, workshops, and a variety of speakers.

A protest was separately set up to denounce Yiannopoulos verbally without engaging in violence. What was to become a march was organized by a variety of community groups, such as ANSWER and Refuse Fascism. Medics among their ranks ended up treating people who got pepper-sprayed. These protesters originally gathered near the Titan Student Union where Yiannopoulos was to speak.

CSUF erected fencing surrounding the TSU building. Dozens of University police, local police, and sheriff deputies were present in riot gear with them horse-mounted detachments, K-9 units, and multiple helicopters. Some had shields. They arrested eight people, including two members of the anti-fa group Joe



Media figures Yiannopoulos, Coulter & Bannon promote white supremacy.

Hill Brigade. All but one of those arrested were released that day.

The Unity Block Party was a free public forum promoted by many campus groups on Facebook. It centered on peace, non-violence, respect, "positive vibes," quality education, diversity, community collaboration and betterment, and enjoying each other's company. Organizers wished to "focus more on what we stand for than what we are against."

50 different groups and individuals tabled, spoke and performed, or offered workshops, including slam poet Matt Sedillo, Chulita Vinyl Club of Sana Ana and the band Weapons of Mass Creation. Campus group sponsors included Democratic Socialist Party, Immigrant Youth United, Inter-Tribal Student Council, MEChA, Muslim Student Association, North Orange County Democrats, Orange County LGBTQ Center, Planned Parenthood, Queer & Trans People of Color Conference, Students for Justice in Palestine, Students for Quality Education, and Women's and Gender Studies Association. Many sponsored workshops in adjacent university buildings from 2-8 pm.

This student-led event was supported by a dozen faculty. A few spoke at the event. One sociology prof, a recent CSUF graduate, spoke about not mincing words, calling out people like Yiannopoulos for what they are – racist bigots who support white supremacist ideology.

Between 6-7 pm the protest march left the Student Union area after police began singling out individuals. The protesters approached the Unity Block Party at the common quads. Some came into the party crowd using bull horns, inviting parties to join the protest. They were confronted by the designated security team, who demanded they leave. The march continued through the campus, ending up in a central location again adjacent to the Titan Student Union, separated from it by two covered sets of chain-link, crowd control fences. There a series of speakers from different groups lead chants and talked about their concerns regarding Yiannopoulos's hateful rhetoric and a system that engenders the social

problems currently being experienced, as exemplified by Yiannopoulos attacks.

The Daily Titan campus newspaper reported that a pro-Trump supporter wearing a "Make America Great Again" cap pepper-sprayed several people at 4:50 PM and the first arrests began after 5:25 pm. Other articles stated a protester in riot gear, Rhapsody Johnson, was chased by pro-Trump supporters after she allegedly threw rocks and pepper-sprayed them. This protester hid as the police used their batons and shields to cordon off elevators in the library building they thought she was in. She was taken into custody and the library was subsequently closed. CSU Fullerton police Capt. Scot Willey told the press she was suspected of parole violations and booked into the OC jail for knife and pepper spray possession, that could be felonies.

Recent reports exposed the extent of Yiannopoulos's collaboration with and fronting for open neo-Nazis and white supremacists in his role at Breitbart in promoting the so-called "alt-right." BuzzFeed News' Joseph Bernstein wrote a story on former Trump adviser Steve Bannon, now back at Breitbart, and former Breitbart editor Yiannopoulos based on leaked internal emails and documents leaked from the company. They reveal how Bannon, Yiannopoulos, and other employees worked to develop and advance an agenda embracing tactics, values, and assistance from neo-Nazi and white nationalist groups, among others. BuzzFeed reported that Yiannopoulos in particular sought input and content from neo-Nazis.

Bernstein wrote, "These... emails and documents show that Breitbart ...thrives on [hate-filled, racist voices of the alt-right], fueling and being fueled by some of the most toxic beliefs...--and clearing the way for them to enter the ...mainstream." He continued, "They reveal how the website--and, in particular, Yiannopoulos--links the Mercer family, the billionaires who fund Breitbart, to underpaid trolls who fill it with provocative content, and to extremists striving to create a white ethno-state."



TORCH Anti-Fascist Network Statement on Dave Strano

It has come to our attention that Dave Strano of Redneck Revolt and the John Brown Gun Club has engaged in an ongoing pattern of behavior that is oppressive, exploitative, abusive, and which put comrades' activities and well-being at risk. Strano's behavior is in complete contradiction to what the TORCH Network stands for, as recorded in our Points of Unity.

TORCH Point of Unity #3:

"We oppose all forms of oppression and exploitation. We intend to do the hard work necessary to build a broad, strong movement of oppressed people centered on the working class against racism, sexism, nativism, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, homophobia, transphobia, and discrimination against the disabled, the oldest, the youngest, and the most oppressed people. We support abortion rights and reproductive freedom. We want a classless, free society. We intend to win!"

TORCH Point of Unity #4:

"We hold ourselves accountable personally and collectively to live up to our ideals and values."

TORCH Point of Unity #5

"We not only support each other within the network, but we also support people outside the network who we believe have similar aims or principles. An attack on one is an attack on all."

The TORCH Network declares itself in complete solidarity with the survivors of Dave Strano's abusive behavior. Strano has caused serious harm across a number of groups over a sustained period of time. In creating a society free from fascist activity, we must also challenge and reject abusive behavior in our own movements and from those claiming to be allies. Therefore, we issue the following call.

For the TORCH Network, the only acceptable means of accountability from Dave Strano starts with his complete cessation of involvement with Redneck Revolt, the John Brown Gun Club, and other similar and allied groups. Though the TORCH Network has worked with these groups in the past, we hereby discontinue our involvement with them until Strano ceases to be a part of these groups. We ask that any organization that seeks to work with the TORCH Network also issue a similar, allied call, and refuse to work with Strano and those involved with him. In line with our Points of Unity, we will neither work with nor support any organization that continues to have a relationship with Dave Strano.

OC's Rise Above Movement (RAM) Promotes Racist Violence Nationally



Above, OC members of RAM in Charlottesville: Tom Gillen front right, Ben Daley front center. Below, Daley (sunglasses) attacking woman at Charlottesville Unite the Right rally. Photos by Jason Andrews for Splinter.



ProPublica has identified a southern CA group, based in Orange County, responsible for white supremacist violence around the country. A C Thompson, Ali Winston and Darwin BondGraham write: "ProPublica spent weeks examining one group at the center of the violence in Charlottesville: the Rise Above Movement (RAM), one of whose members was the white man dispensing beatings near Emancipation Park Aug. 12. The group, based in Southern California, claims more than 50 members and a singular purpose: physically attacking its ideological foes. RAM's members spend weekends training in boxing and other martial arts, and they have boasted publicly of their violence during protests in Huntington Beach, San Bernardino and Berkeley. Many ...have been captured on video, and its members are not hard to spot."

"ProPublica has identified the group's core members and interviewed one of its leaders... The man in the Charlottesville attacks ... is 24-year-old Ben Daley, who runs a tree-trimming business." It's to be anticipated that the group may well be planning to carry out further such attacks at the Yiannopoulos event. Forewarned is forearmed.

More information here:

<https://www.propublica.org/article/white-hate-group-campaign-of-menace-rise-above-movement>

The Importance of Women in the Struggle: Emphasis on the Black Woman's Voice

by Donald "C-Note" Hooker

Without hearing the woman's voice, in particular the Black woman's voice, we don't get the full scope of injustice and discrimination. The Black woman's voice informs us of the inherent, patriarchal, discrimination, that comes with the gender discrimination.

Here she is participating with community, in community protest. However, within that community of protest, she is being discriminated against because of her gender. As a man, I may be indifferent to this. I may have unconscious biases. So her voice awakens me.

Her voice chastises me. Her voice brings me back to community. The true so-called utopian community that we are in the streets protesting and fighting for.

Just as we are fighting against structural biases, structural discriminations, and structural prejudices, that may have resulted from the generational conditioning from our oppressors. We have a patriarchal structure, we have a patriarchal conditioning, so that its injustices manifest when we listen closely to Her voice.

Absent Her voice in utopian infrastructure, that structure has cracks. Cracks are structural flaws. Structural flaws are factors in an inherent crumbling or destruction of that structure.

I became aware of the brotherhood's unconscious biases against the sisterhood when I read the Autobiography of Angela Davis, and *A Taste of Power: A Black Woman's Story*, by Elaine Brown. While I use the term unconscious, the vibe in these sisters' prose certainly do not feel like it.

That was the 20th century, and while my brothers may have been unconscious; we are now in the 21st century, because now we know.

C-Note says he is the world's most prolific prisoner-artist. He is an internationally known poet, playwright, painter, musician, and is known as the King of Prison Hip



Hop. his photo is above. He's written for Prison Action News, California Prison Focus, and has been in People magazine, KCET public television Los Angeles, and KABC-TV Los Angeles. <https://mprisondthotz.wordpress.com/2017/07/24/the-importance-of-black-womans-voice/>

Black Women In the Struggle for Liberation: Prisoner Study Group

by Sehu-Kessa Saa Tabansi (government name Alfonso Percy Pew) #BT-7263, SCI Houtzdale, PO Box 1000, Houtzdale PA 16698-1000, www.GTL.net/PADOC [Excerpts]

Readings:

Audre Lorde, "Revolution Is One Form of Social Change" (poem)

Danielle McGuire, "It Was like All of Us Had Been Raped: Sexual Violence, Community Mobilization, and the African-American Freedom Struggle," *Journal of American History* 2004, PP. 906-931.

Devin Fergus, "Speaking Truth to Black Power: Black Nationalism and its Gendered Discontents," in *Liberalism, Black Power and the Making of American Politics 1965 to 1980*, U. of GA Press, 2009, PP. 166-195.

Safiya Bukhari, "Testimony," in *The War Before*, Feminist Press, 2010, PP. 18-33

Q: What does Lorde's poem asked us to consider in our evaluation of black social movements?

A: it tackled two issues – racism and sexism as tools of division. How both of these issues need to be addressed *together!*

Q: Were you surprised to read about the role of sexual violence in sparking civil rights activism and undermining black power activism?

A: I was not surprised by it happening. I was shocked by the extensiveness within the party and by whom, such as leadership.

Q: Why was sexism so prevalent in the black power organizations Fergus describes?

A: The effects of slavery, such as the Willie Lynch Syndrome, continue to affect people in the movement as a disease. Further, lack of accountability against leadership and perpetrators perpetuates the problem.

Q: Why as violence against black women, whether by white men are black men, not become a more common focus? What impact could ending the silence and to our collective understanding?

A: Sexual and other violence against women is institutionalized in Western religion and all aspects of society in the form of inequality and dehumanizing culture. It will take way more than just speaking about it.

Q: Imagine Safiya Bukhari and Devin Fergus in a room together. What would they say to each other?

A: They would say to each other that a new nucleus can and must be built on equality of the sexes inside the Black movement. Safiya might say: Reporting to the officer of the day. My day began with feeding schoolchildren breakfast and helping with their homework. Later I conducted drills, health awareness and clinic activities. In the evening, I wasn't political education class, combat training, and survival programs. Fergus might respond: Sister, your activities were exemplary, and based on your moral values and consistent actions devoted to the party, you are being promoted to a higher rank to serve equally with your counterparts.

Q: What would it have meant for black power organizations to have taken on women's oppression as central to the black freedom struggle?

A: Black women wouldn't have had to leave the movement to join women's groups to fight for their equal rights. The movement would have advanced egalitarian principles that could transform social relations as a whole through full participation and emancipation of women within the movement.

Q: What would it mean for contemporary black organizations to take on women's oppression as central to the black freedom struggle? Where do you see this happening? Where do you see it being ignored?

A: It would mean we are truly revolutionaries living up to the ideal of freedom for all from slavery. I still see the same outdated mold of patriarchal leadership that has advanced token women in positions. Until women become sovereign within the movement responsible for their own survival militarily, they are bound to paternalism. When I see a federation of women nationally engaged in the movement technically, economically, politically and militarily, then I will know a serious revolution is underway.

Defense Dept. "Cost of War" Estimate: One-and-a-half Trillion Dollars Since 2001

Even this is an underestimate of the direct cost to the "US taxpayers" of this endless war, because there are major costs incurred going forward for medical care, pensions, debt service, etc.. Yet the US "peace movement" seems to be as asleep at the switch under Trump as it was under Obama. Consider this quote from President Dwight Eisenhower, not from his "beware the military-industrial complex" farewell address, but from early in his presidency. "This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children. The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this: a modern brick school in more than 30 cities. It is two electric power plants, each serving a town of 60,000 population. . . . We pay for a single fighter with a half-million bushels of wheat. We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8,000 people. . . . This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron." - Pres. Dwight Eisenhower, The "Chance For Peace" speech, April 16, 1953. That's to the left of alleged independent socialist Bernie Sanders. What politician today would dare make such a speech challenging the "American Way of Life"?

And of course the true "costs of war" far exceed the bill that comes due to US taxpayers. It is the cost in lives, tens of thousands of deaths, hundreds of thousands of civilian

casualties, the millions of displaced refugees, the destruction of whole cities, the blighting of people's futures. Those costs are visited primarily on the nations and regions in which the globe-spanning US empire conducts its deadly military operations, but despite the use of drones, robots and volunteers, that tally of death continues to mount within the US as well.--Ed.

US Spends \$250 Million per Day for the War on Terror

<https://www.telesurtv.net/english/news/Report-US-Spends-250-Million-per-Day-for-the-War-on-Terror-20171101-0013.html>

According to a newly published US Department of Defense (DoD) "cost of war" report, U.S. taxpayers have shelled out \$1.46 trillion for war since September 11, 2001, when the War on Terror began.

This amounts to around \$250 million per day.

The report was published by the Federation of American Scientists Secrecy News blog and covers the period of September 11, 2001 to mid-2017.

As the report notes, nearly \$1.3 trillion of the total cost spent on the Iraq and Afghanistan wars alone. On top of this, continuing operations in Afghanistan and the U.S.-led air campaign in Iraq and Syria has totaled \$120 billion.

Trump has promised to "rebuild" the US military, which he sees as less extravagant than it ever has been. "Our active-duty armed forces have shrunk from 2 million in 1991 to about

1.3 million today," he said in a speech. "The Navy has shrunk from over 500 ships to 272 ships during this same period of time. The Air Force is about one-third smaller than 1991. Pilots flying B-52s in combat missions today. These planes are older than virtually everybody in this room."

Part of Trump's plan to 'rebuild' the U.S.' military is to make sure that the military is "funded beautifully." The Trump administration has proposed a \$603 billion defense budget, which well exceeds the cap of \$549 billion, and would require spending cuts in other areas. In response, the US House passed a record military budget, even more than Trump requested. In July, the House of Representatives approved \$696.5 billion in defense spending, which includes a base budget of \$621.5 billion and \$75 billion in 'Overseas Contingency Operations dollars', commonly referred to as 'war money'. Conversely, the Senate passed a \$640 billion base defense budget with a \$60 billion allocation for war money. Both versions of the budget well exceed the Trump administration's proposal, making this defense budget, by far, the largest defense budget in U.S. history.

While current and proposed US military spending is massive, the DoD's "cost of war" report did not take into account other collateral costs of war, including veteran's benefits and other related costs. International Business Times notes that: "The report's costs include only direct war-related expenses such as operating and maintaining bases, procuring equipment, and paying for and feeding troops." The report does not include "intelligence" spending on the War on Terror, nor does it include

veteran's benefits. [Ed. note: Nor does it include the costs of maintaining nuclear weapons, hidden in the Energy Department, military satellites hidden in the NASA budget, military operations carried out by the CIA and other covert agencies, or debt service for all the deficit-spending borrowing used to finance the war machine.]

Harvard Kennedy School professor Linda Bilmes estimated in 2011 that the cost of veteran's benefits would range between \$600 billion - \$1 trillion. However, since Bilmes' study, the number of veterans receiving benefits has skyrocketed. Current estimates project the figure to be \$674 billion over the next 40 years.

The U.S. intelligence apparatus also operates under a \$52.6 billion annual operating budget, which includes 16 agencies, with the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) soaking up the lion's share of \$14.7 billion, according to leaks that were revealed by Edward Snowden. The CIA spent \$1 billion alone annually training and arming military opposition factions in Syria.

The report also does not take into account the large military-contractor economy that has surged around the War on Terror, which is currently valued at around \$674.4 billion.

The so-called "War on Terror" is officially the second most expensive war in U.S. history, trailing well behind (but perhaps not for long) World War II, which cost an estimated \$4.1 trillion in today's dollars. For comparison, the long and drawn out Vietnam War cost around \$770 billion, with an additional \$250 billion if veteran's benefits are taken into account.



Know Your Enemy 1:

US Special Forces Target "Violent Extremist Organizations" in Africa

Shortly after President Donald Trump loosened Obama-era restrictions on offensive operations in Somalia, Navy SEAL Kyle Milliken was killed during what AFRICOM described as "an advise-and-assist operation alongside Somali National Army forces" in a firefight near Mogadishu. Two other US personnel were wounded. Then, four US troops were killed in an ambush in Niger (leading to Trump's insult to the grieving widow and mother of one, Sgt. La David Johnson, on their way to pick up his body; followed by attacks by Trump and his chief of staff General John Kelly on the Black woman US Representative, Frederica Wilson, who was accompanying them). The media focused on Trump's tone deaf comments, but Congress is actually being forced to look at the extensive US military operations in Africa.

"At any given time, you will find SOCAFRICA (Special Operations Command) conducting approximately 96 activities in 20 countries," according to Donald Bolduc, the U.S. Army general who runs those special ops, author of an October 2016 strategic planning guidance report obtained through a Freedom of Information Act request by VICE News. "Africa's challenges could create a threat that surpasses the threat that the United States currently faces from conflict in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Syria," Bolduc stated. SOCAFRICA and AFRICOM, the overall US military command in Africa did not respond to any inquiries from Vice News for more information.

In addition to sending its own special operations forces, Navy SEALs, Army Rangers, Green Berets, etc., the US sent at least \$150 million in military aid to its local clients and "partners" in Africa. While claiming not to be engaging in offensive combat operations or wars in Africa, the US is still heavily involved in Libya since NATO forces attacked and helped overthrow Qaddafi. The US claims it's targeting alleged militants of ISIS, Al Qaeda, Al-Shabab ("The Youth") and close to 50 other so-called "violent extremist organizations," known as VEOs. But no doubtless the US has a close eye on popular resistance to its exploitation of petroleum and mineral wealth in Africa, and a concern over China's growing involvement in economic development projects, land purchases and resource extraction on the continent.

SOCAFRICA: A Sub-unified Command

[Excerpts. To read the full text (not downloadable) see here: <https://news.vice.com/story/the-u-s-is-waging-a-massive-shadow-war-in-africa-exclusive-documents-reveal>]

Overview

SOCAFRICA's position as the sub-unified Theater Special Operations Command makes it unique within USAFRICOM. In accordance with joint doctrine, it requires significant support from other AFRICOM components to execute its mission. This brief primer on SOCAFRICA's authorities and the logistical support required from other USAFRICOM components is intended to avoid confusion regarding the command's functions and relationships with other USAFRICOM units. It is not comprehensive, but provides a framework for understanding how SOCAFRICA differs from other USAFRICOM subordinate units.

Operational authority

- As commander of a sub-unified command, CDRSOCAFRICA has functions and responsibilities similar to those of the commanders of unified commands. He exercises operational control of assigned commands and of all Special Operations Forces (SOF) in the USAFRICOM AOR unless otherwise directed.
- As commander of a theater special operations command, CDRSOCAFRICA oversees those broad, continuous missions that are uniquely suited to SOF capabilities.
- As the CDRUSAFRICOM-designated supported commander for counter violent extremist organizations and associated operations, actions, and activities in the USAFRICOM AOR (Area Of responsibility), CDRSOCAFRICA has primary responsibility for these tasks and exercises general direction of the supporting efforts.

Long-Term Vision

Our long-term vision is to enable and support our



A U.S. Army Green Beret patrols with Nigerian soldiers during a training exercise in February 2017. (Photo by Staff Sgt. Kulani Lakanaria, from *Vice News*.)

African partners to deter violent extremist organizations (VEOs), achieve effective governance, promote future socioeconomic development, and protect the populace to achieve peace and prosperity in Africa.

Our Mission

SOCAFRICA, as part of a global team of national and international partners, conducts persistent, networked and distributed special operations in direct support of the United States Africa Command to promote stability and prosperity in Africa.

Our Core Tasks

We will, without fail, deter and defeat transnational threats by:

- Countering violent extremism
- Strengthening the defense capabilities of African states and regional organizations
- Protecting US interests in Africa
- Supporting crisis response
- Countering weapons of mass destruction

Commander's Narrative: Discussion on Special Operations in Africa

Introduction

Special Operations Command, Africa, as part of a global team of national and international partners, conducts persistent, networked and distributed special operations supporting the United States Africa Command to promote stability and prosperity in Africa. Our AOR is a challenging and dynamic operational environment consisting of positive and negative trends. With 53 African states, more than 800 ethnic groups, over 1000 languages, vast natural resources and a landmass 3 1/2 times the size of the continental United States, Africa is complex.

At any given time, you will find SOCAFRICA conducting approximately 96 activities in 20 countries with 1700 personnel arrayed on three continents. SOF enables USAFRICOM to reduce strategic risk and achieve Campaign Objectives.

SOCAFRICA's continued focus for USAFRICOM is deterring and defeating transnational threats in Africa. We succeed in our mission by:

- Countering violent extremism destabilizing Africa
- Strengthening the Special Operations Force (SOF) capabilities of African partners
- Protecting US interests in the Africa AOR.
- Provide time for Civil administration to address root causes by promoting development, expanding good governance, and protecting the populace.

The Complex Operational Environment

The United States is not at war in Africa, but our African partners are. This shapes policy, guidance, missions and resources. Terrorist, insurgent and criminal groups are among those exploiting fragile, conflict-prone environments. Their goals are to expand illicit networks,

establish safe havens, subvert legitimate authority, recruit and mobilize people and resources; all to fuel crises to their advantage.

In spite of tightening resources and constrained budgets, we can expect an increased demand on us to gain a better understanding about the threats, integrate with our coalition and inter-agency partners, and build African partner SOF capability to counter violent extremism. All of this becomes increasingly important to us and requires our presence forward. I see SOF in more places, doing more with little increase in resources. That forces us then to be creative and figure out how to squeeze more blood from the same stone and do more with the resources we have available. This presents us with an opportunity to be creative, imaginative, and use initiative to solve resource problems while mitigating risk of continuing the mission.

Assessment

The problem we assist AFRICOM in solving is countering violent extremism in order to provide time for African partners to expand good governance and self-secure. This is by no means an easy task due to the extent of destabilization throughout Africa. Our first step in solving the problem is having situational awareness of Africa's complex operational environment. Knowing the external and internal destabilizing pressures across Africa and by region is critical to our mission success

Endemic inside Africa are leadership challenges within government institutions, corruption and heavy-handed responses by autocratic regimes to real or perceived security threats. A state which increases the likelihood of internal conflict. Poor governance, ineffective government institutions and socio-economic inequality increase the risk of popular uprisings and permits violent extremism to expand their reach.

Outside pressure from terrorism and foreign fighter flows, illegal immigration and trafficking in narcotics, weapons and people not only destabilize Africa, but threaten our allies on Europe's southern flank. Negative external influencers contribute to security shortfalls, human rights violations, corruption and government mismanagement producing an environment conducive to subversion, military coups and mass atrocities.

Each region of Africa has its own set of additional problems. In North Africa political instability and threats from violent extremist organizations continue to drive security dynamics here. In Libya, ungoverned spaces allow Al Qaeda in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, Ansar Al-Sharia elements, and other violent extremist organizations to grow and gain negative influence. North Africa remains a significant source of foreign fighters to Syria and Iraq, some of which are returning with greater capabilities.

See "Africa," p. 6

100X100 Campaign to Increase Publication Frequency of Turning the Tide

Over its 29 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. This year, we restored bi-monthly publication after several years of coming out only quarterly. To sustain, 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 keep publishing six issues a year, and continue mailing nearly 2000 copies of each issue into the prisons. You can donate online at <http://gofundme.com/eugzgg>.

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

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

and email contacts. Everything helps.

If the campaign is successful, we will keep publishing every other month in 2018. Postage is our biggest expense. Nobody gets paid at *TTT*. But the Postal Service is not so generous. We have a handful of people who are sustainers, making a monthly donation, a larger number of people who subscribe once a year or so. Right now, we are at 10% of our goal. LA supporters could set up house meetings, where the editor will pitch to your friends for support. The future of *Turning the Tide* is in your hands. Now, while you're thinking about it, go to:

<http://gofundme.com/eugzgg>

and donate. Then share it with your contacts. With your help, *Turning the Tide* can step up to the "urgency of now" -- the necessity for radical organizing, educating and analyzing to respond to the growing crisis of the Empire -- endless war, police terror with impunity, mass incarceration, colonialism, ecological devastation that will shortly become irreversible, open white supremacy and misogyny. **Or donate via paypal to antiracistaction_la@yahoo.com.**

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.**

Know Your Enemy 2:

FBI Targets “Black Identity Extremists” in US

While organized white supremacists were organizing mass racist rallies and killing and beating people around the country, alerting even people asleep at the switch to the growing threat neo-Nazis and other white nationalist represent, the FBI chose to declare that it had discovered a previously unheard-of threat to national security, a so-called “Black Identity Extremists movement.” To do so, they strung together a number of unrelated attacks on law enforcement personnel by Black people (while citing police killings of Black people only as a “perception” that spurred such attacks). Perhaps unsurprising after Trump himself urged cops to take the gloves off in their treatment of suspects, and his Attorney General, Jefferson Beauregard Sessions, a noted racist, had ended Justice Department efforts to hold abusive, murderous police accountable under federal civil rights laws.

The FBI also created non-existent connections between so-called “Moorish” sovereign citizens, individuals aggrieved about white supremacy, and various Black radical groups, as well as to fantasize direct links to the history of the Black Liberation Army decades ago. They do this by associating one killing with a public Black Lives Matter rally that was occurring at the same time, and by seeking to criminalize or stigmatize groups whose Facebook pages one of the killers had liked, such as the New Black Panther Party and the Black Riders Liberation Party. The circular reasoning

involved in this effort include “sourcing” the material in this “intelligence assessment” to open-source reporting in corporate media like the NY Times and groups like the Southern Poverty Law Center that get much of their information from law enforcement, and fulfill an ideological function of establishing the boundaries of “legitimate” dissent. The Black Identity Extremist (BIE) designation is clearly a propagandistic effort by the FBI to stigmatize the Black liberation movement and essentially create a “thought crime”. It alerts us to the reality that COINTELPRO has never ended, and that the FBI continue to play a role in guiding counter-insurgency policing around the country.

INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENT

Prepared by: FBI Counterterrorism Division
Intelligence Assessment

Black Identity Extremists Likely Motivated to Target
Law Enforcement Officers

3 August 2017 [Excerpts; footnotes excised here]



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UNCLASSIFIED//LAW ENFORCEMENT SENSITIVE Executive Summary

The FBI assesses it is very likely ^a Black Identity Extremist ^b (BIE) perceptions of police brutality against African Americans spurred an increase in premeditated, retaliatory lethal violence against law enforcement and will very likely serve as justification for such violence.

The FBI assesses it is very likely this increase began following the 9 August 2014 shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, and the subsequent Grand Jury November 2014 declination to indict the police officers involved. The FBI assesses it is very likely incidents of alleged police abuse against African Americans since then have continued to feed the resurgence in ideologically motivated, violent criminal activity within the BIE movement.

The FBI assesses it is very likely some BIEs are influenced by a mix of anti-authoritarian, Moorish sovereign citizen ^c ideology, and BIE ideology. The FBI has high confidence ^d in these assessments, based on a history of violent incidents attributed to individuals who acted on behalf of their ideological beliefs, documented in FBI investigations and other law enforcement and



open source reporting. The FBI makes this judgment with the key assumption the recent incidents are ideologically motivated.

Scope Note

This intelligence assessment focuses on individuals with BIE ideological motivations who have committed targeted, premeditated attacks against law enforcement officers since 2014. This assessment does not address BIEs who have attacked law enforcement officers during the course of officers' routine duties, such as responding to calls and traffic stops, in which violent actions were reactionary in nature.

This assessment addresses the following key intelligence questions:

- To what extent are BIEs' targeting interests retaliatory?
- What cross-programmatic relationships influence the BIE movement?

This assessment is the first FBI analytic intelligence product to assess influences between the sovereign citizen extremist movement and the black identity extremist movement. The FBI has previously reported on BIE retaliatory violence against law enforcement in two products, both of which had findings consistent with this assessment. The 23 March 2016 FBI intelligence bulletin, titled “Black Separatist Extremists’ Call for Retaliation in Response to Police-Involved Incidents Could Incite Acts of Violence against Law Enforcement,” assessed that incidents involving allegations of law enforcement abuse and related legal proceedings would likely lead to BSE calls for violent retaliation and incite these domestic extremists to commit violent acts against law enforcement. The 14 November 2014 FBI intelligence bulletin, titled “Potential Criminal Reactions to Missouri Grand Jury Announcement,” assessed the announcement of the grand jury’s decision in the shooting death of Michael Brown in Ferguson would likely be exploited by some individuals to justify threats and attacks against law enforcement and critical infrastructure.

Source Summary Statement

Reporting in this intelligence assessment was derived primarily from FBI and law enforcement investigations and open source reporting—media interviews of subjects, subjects’ posting on social media accounts, and online news articles—deemed credible and reliable. The review of FBI investigations occurred between September 2014 and December 2016. The open source reporting was current as of 17 January 2017. Statements made by the subjects to law enforcement during the course of investigations were particularly helpful to identify motivations behind BIE attacks against law enforcement because ideological motivations are infrequently identified or collected. Additional reporting on the ideological motivations behind BIE attacks would improve the confidence levels in this assessment.

Suspects’ Grievances Very Likely Lead to Violent Targeting of Law Enforcement

The FBI judges it is very likely BIE perceptions of police brutality against African Americans have become organizing drivers for the BIE movement since 2014, resulting in a spike of BIEs intentionally targeting law enforcement with violence. In all six targeted attacks since 2014, the FBI assesses it is very likely the BIE suspects acted in retaliation for perceived past police brutality incidents. Even though five of these attacks occurred following controversial police shootings of African Americans by white police officers, BIE targeting of officers was not, in every incident, based on their specific race.

• On 7 July 2016, Micah Johnson ambushed and shot 11 law enforcement officers, killing five, in downtown Dallas, Texas, during a First Amendment protected protest, before being ultimately killed by police. The five deceased officers were white. The planned public event was protesting recent officer-involved shootings of African Americans in Louisiana and Minnesota. Based on Johnson’s journal writings and statements to police, he appeared to have been influenced by BIE ideology.

During the standoff with police, Johnson told police negotiators he was upset about recent police shootings and white people, and expressed a desire to kill white people,

especially white officers. ¹ Johnson searched and liked social media pages of BIE and black separatist groups, ² and had been ousted from a local BIE group for being too radical, according to an open source news article. ^{3,4}

• On 23 October 2014, Zale H. Thompson attacked four white New York Police Department (NYPD) officers in Queens with a hatchet. One officer received injuries to the arm and a second officer received an injury to the side of his head. The two remaining NYPD officers at the scene shot and killed Thompson according to open source reporting.

According to open source reporting, Thompson was angered after “a recent spate of deaths at the hands of the police.” ⁵ In his own writings, Thompson advocated for armed struggle against “the oppressors” ⁶ and “mass revolt” against the US social, economic, and political systems, which he perceived to be “white dominated.” He also described the United States as a “beast” and called for “chopping off” its head, hands, and feet. ⁷ NYPD observed tattoos on Thompson’s body that indicated he was affiliated with a black separatist extremist group and pocket litter indicating he may have been associated with another black separatist group according to law enforcement reporting. ⁸

Convergence of BIE and Moorish Sovereign Citizen Ideology Very Likely Leads to Violence against Law Enforcement Officers

The FBI assesses it is very likely a few of the BIEs who have targeted law enforcement since 2014 were influenced by more than one ideological perspective. The FBI judges it is very likely in four of the six BIE attacks against law enforcement since 2014, the perpetrators were motivated by a mix of BIE ideology and Moorish sovereign citizen extremist (SCE) ^e ideology, a category of SCE ideology. The FBI assesses it is very likely BIE adoption of a Moorish SCE identity reinforced a sense of disenfranchisement from society and a perception that the criminal justice system is unjust.

• On 4 October and 13 October 2016, an individual allegedly shot at two different police stations in Indianapolis, Indiana. The subject left a hand-written note at the scene of one of the shootings, in which he identified himself as a Moor and made anti-white statements. The subject posted pictures on social media of African American men carrying assault rifles behind text calling for social injustice and retribution. ⁹ The subject was later involved in a shootout with police during his arrest on related charges according to law enforcement reporting. ^{10,11}

• On 17 July 2016, Gavin Eugene Long ambushed and shot six law enforcement officers in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, before eventually being killed by police. ¹² The deceased victims included one African American officer and one white officer from the Baton Rouge Police Department, and one white officer from the East Baton Rouge Parish Sheriff’s Office. Long had expressed black separatist rhetoric both on social media and in his manifesto, including rants against “crackers” and reference to an African American male killed by police in Baton Rouge on 5 July 2016. ^{13,}

¹⁴ In his manifesto, Long expressed his frustrations with the police and criminal justice system in the United States and saw his actions “as a necessary evil... in order to create substantial change.” ¹⁵ A law enforcement search of Long’s laptop contained biographical information and residential addresses of two officers involved in the Alton Sterling shooting, and Google searched directions to one of the officer’s home address. ¹⁶ Long had also declared himself to be a Moor, had changed his “slave” name to the Moorish name Cosmo Ausar Setepenra, and was carrying a Moorish identification card at the time of his death according to open source reporting. ^{17,18}

• On 13 September 2016, an individual reportedly intentionally drove his vehicle toward three white officers with the Police Department in Phoenix, Arizona, outside a gas station, striking two of them before he was arrested. ¹⁹ The subject’s social media accounts indicated that he was tied to a BIE group and a Moorish group, ^{20,21} and that he was angry over police shootings since at least the killing

See “Black Identity Extremists,” p. 7

AFRICA: US SPECIAL FORCES TARGET “EXTREMISTS”

...Continued from p. 4

In 2012, Pres. Obama, in his *US Strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa*, said that “Africa’s economies are among the fastest growing in the world, with technological change sweeping across the continent and offering tremendous opportunities in banking, medicine, politics, and business.” Those opportunities, however, have been hampered by several threats ranging from poor governance to violent conflict to address the more violent threats, US Special Operations Command Africa conduct a full spectrum of special operations activities in 20 countries through 96 mission sets and seven named operations as a component of US Africa Command (USAFRICOM). SOCAFRICA is threat-focused and we support partners who have limited capability and capacity to fight some of the world’s deadliest violent extremist organizations (VEOs). We believe the situation in Africa will get worse without our assistance.

Why Our Assistance to Africa Matters Now

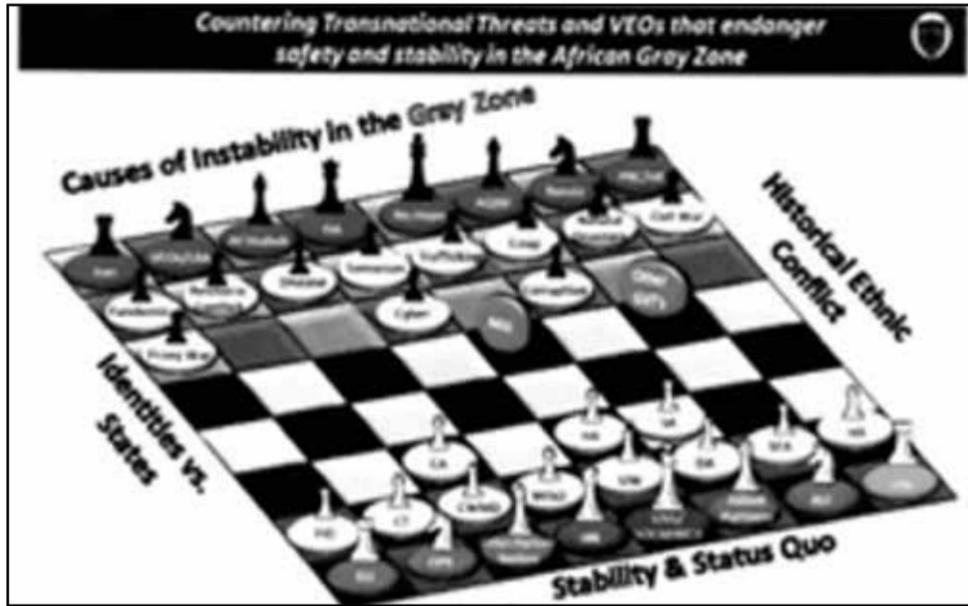
From 2010 to the present, VEOs in Africa have been some of the most lethal on the planet. In Eastern Africa, al-Shabaab has exploited the weak governance in Somalia and waged 2349 terrorist attacks in Somalia, Kenya, Djibouti, Uganda and Ethiopia. Al-Shabaab has not only contributed to foreign fighter flows elsewhere, but also to trafficking in persons, narcotics and illicit goods, as well as piracy. Central Africa is the most volatile and remote region in the world, characterized by scant security forces, human rights violations, corruption and government mismanagement, which create an environment conducive to insurgent activities, Coombs and mass atrocities. The Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) was responsible for approximately 1862 attacks during the same six year period. In Western Africa, ineffective governance and socio-economic disparity created the environment that gave rise to Boko Haram and Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM). Boko Haram launched 1424 terrorist attacks in Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroon, while in Mali, AQIM 324 attacks during the period. In northern Africa, the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) gained a foothold in post-Civil War Libya and achieved 294 attacks there and in the nascent democratic Tunisia over the past year alone (2015-2016). Clearly, VEOs represented a serious political, economic and social threat to our African partners now. But what of the future?

Mitigation, Not Consequence Management

Indeed, Africa’s challenges could create a threat that surpasses the threat that the United States currently faces from conflict in Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria. The emergence of that threat, however, is not inevitable. In 2012, Pres. Obama in his *US Strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa*,...outlined several mutually reinforcing objectives to support Africa: (1) strengthen democratic institutions; (2) spur economic growth, trade, and investment; (3) advance peace and security; and (4) promote opportunity and development. It emphasized that our success will rely on our engagement with Africa’s young leaders, addressing the unique needs of fragile and post-conflict states, and working closely with the UN and other multilateral actors such as the African Union to achieve our objectives on the continent.

We tailor our activities on the continent in close collaboration with AFRICOM and its components, the Department of State, USAID and US embassies abroad to ensure that we work synergistically to support our African partners, so that they have the time and space to develop their own ability to secure their own countries and to create conditions conducive to good governance and economic growth. We are further guided by the National Defense Strategy, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs Risk Assessment to the US Special Operations Command Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy and the Theater Campaign Plan of the US Africa Command, as well as by the interagency priorities defined by US ambassadors in their integrated Country Strategies. We also rely on the guidance of our African partners, who have an existential interest in our assistance.

While SOCAFRICA’s primary focus is on helping our partners disrupt, degrade and defeat VEOs, our activities are not limited to supporting direct action, but also indirect action. We develop relationships not only with national forces, but also with local communities, ensuring that we balance our support and have a comprehensive awareness of the areas where we operate. Through civil-military operations, we partner with USAID to support development and assist NGOs and local government to reestablish themselves in post-conflict environments. Through military information operations, we ensure that our partners not only counter the propaganda of their enemies, but inform the populace about what they are doing. Recognizing the resource constraints of our partners as well as that of their own, SOCAFRICA ensures that all of its activities expand and leverage the



capabilities of our African partners, as well as that of our allies.

To summarize, SOCAFRICA works as part of a global team of national and international partners to conduct persistent, networked, and distributed special operations in direct support of AFRICOM to promote regional stability and prosperity in Africa we also protect US interest in Africa, including our diplomatic facilities abroad, to ensure that all elements of our national power – diplomacy, development and defense – can continue to support our African partners. ISS that continued support will be vital in helping Africans confront the many political, social and economic challenges it will face over the next several decades, and in ensuring that those challenges do not develop into greater threats to our allies – particularly Europe’s southern flank – and to the United States and its interests.

Donald C. Bolduc, Commanding General
Special Operations Command, Africa
SOCAFRICA Gray Zone Defined

We operate in the gray zone between traditional war and peace. SOCAFRICA’s operational environment is volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous. The threat operates in a non-state, trans-regional and trans-national, decentralized and dispersed operational construct. The threat survives in ungoverned and under-governed safe havens and sanctuaries created by a populace that has lost hope due to ineffective governance exacerbated by ineffective civil administration at all levels. The threat usually has outside support, dominates the populace, utilizes asymmetric approaches, and leverages information, communications and available technology to promulgate its ideology and exercise its will.... Transnational threats and VEOs endanger the safety and stability of Africa. Counteracting these threats is in the common interest of US policy objectives and those of our African partners. We assess it is Africans who are best able to address African security challenges.

... Recognizing we operate in an environment where diplomacy is key to attaining US policy objectives, the country teams’ integrated Country Strategy must drive a synchronized comprehensive approach across the regions. This places military efforts in a supporting role (where they should be). We are part of the solution, and not the solution.... Further complicating this environment is the fact that the United States is not at war in Africa, but the partners we support are at war.

In addition, the political, economic, military, and informational interests of China, Russia, North Korea, and Iran complicate competition for strategic influence and relationships. Everything we do for our partners today must prepare them for tomorrow’s threats and support strong political and military relationships. Operating in this environment requires consensus from all stakeholders and their perspectives drive the pace of activities.

Adding to the complexity of military operations in Africa is that there are too many conflicting perspectives when it comes to what the USG policy should be for Africa. The problems in Africa defy solution within a single fiscal year, or the 2 to 4-year tour of a commander; such change will require at least a generation for a policy to become effective. The USG has not built a strategy to address the root causes of instability in Africa. Our approach must be small and focused on connecting the local with the national. We must not replace our partners’ will with US capability and capacity. Instead, we must enable our partners to conduct responsible and appropriate military objectives.

Understand there is no “quick win”. This will be long-term. This approach enables and builds capability and capacity in our partners without United States encumbering responsibility for the fight, allowing us to be in position to better support them so that they own

The US military played chess in Viet Nam and lost because Asian national liberation forces were playing “Go,” a game of encirclement and counter-encirclement. Can liberation forces in Africa similarly overcome neo-colonialism reinforced by imperialist “special operations forces” through protracted people’s war in the “gray zone”?

the problem, own the fight, and on the solution. All too often, civil administration lags behind military successes and creates a gap that exceeds military capability and capacity, negatively affecting the populace, local government and developments we need to figure this out as an international community; the solution is neither military nor unilateral. If people have no hope for the future, no job, no education, and poor government, they will find something to do (i.e., be subject to extremism/crime).

Special Operations units are the force of choice on the African continent to support our partners’ development of counter-VEO capabilities. This is due to the nature of the threats, the small force posture, limited resources, limited infrastructure, indirect approaches, and remote areas our country teams and partner nations prefer to accomplish support to security challenges against VEOs. **SOF is only part of the solution as there are defense institution, development, humanitarian, air, naval, and conventional capabilities that our African partners require as well.**

Operating in the African operational environment requires creativity and imagination to overcome limited resources, limited infrastructure, and a large geographical area.... The threat presents [challenges] with its regional connectedness, living among the populace, and asymmetrical approach. Operating in remote areas, distance, limited resources, ineffective governance, poor infrastructure, struggling economies, and ungoverned spaces add significantly to the challenges of our partners.

Six SOCAFRICA concepts that apply to the gray zone are:

- 1. Character-based leadership:** common sense, professionally educated, physically fit and energetic, optimistic and resourceful, aggressive but not reckless, able to see the big picture, work well with others, and build effective teams.
- 2. Shaping the environment:** we are regionally-aligned, threat-focused, and we build sustainable SOF capabilities in our SOF-focus African partner countries. We operate in the gray zone between traditional war and peace. We enable friendly networks; disrupt enemy connective networks. We are transparent; **we write, collect, and develop policy to release** information to our partners.
- 3. Preparation and assessments:** messaging, stance, execution, C2 (command-and-control and collaboration-and-coordination) – we are the sum of our preparation and our assessments. *Understanding, Planning, Execution and Reflection.*
- 4. Winning the Information War:** supporting our partners through institutional support with efforts to counter ideology, deliver effective messages, and teach our partners to operate appropriately and responsibly among the populace.
- 5. Achieve the objective without destroying everything in our path:** comprehensive population-centric approach where civil administration is the main effort and the military supports through an indirect approach that blends both kinetic and non-kinetic tactics, techniques and procedures to operate effectively amongst the populace and the infrastructure. Goal is to operate in and among the populace without creating collateral damage, destroying infrastructure, avoid creating a humanitarian crisis, and set conditions to support a civil administration recovery plan.
- 6. Target VEO strength to positionally and functionally dislocate to degrade their capabilities:** the population is the center of gravity. Effective governance brings stability and denies the threat influence and access to the populace. The denial of ungoverned spaces and safe havens positionally and functionally disrupts the threat, improving ineffective governance, and disrupting and degrading the threat will enable local police to maintain security.

US: FBI SEEKS TO CRIMINALIZE "BLACK IDENTITY EXTREMISTS"

...Continued from p. 5

of Brown in 2014.²² Consistent with BIE statements on social media, the subject stated, "The Caucasian needs to be slaughtered like the pigs that they are right along with the niggas who serve and protect them" according to law enforcement reporting.^{23,24}

• On 21 November 2014, a BIE was arrested and eventually convicted for purchasing explosives the subject intended to use in the Ferguson area upon release of the grand jury verdict for the police officer involved in the shooting death of Brown.²⁵ He previously discussed a desire to kill the white St. Louis County prosecutor and the white Ferguson police chief who were involved in Brown's case, according to FBI information. Additionally, the subject had ties to a BIE group²⁶ that had discussed ambushing police.²⁷ Furthermore, the subject had ties to the sovereign citizen movement²⁸, filed paperwork declaring himself an "aboriginal/indigenous free sovereign moor,"^{30,31} and possessed a Moorish identification card according to open source reporting.³²

Perspective

BIEs have historically justified and perpetrated violence against law enforcement, which they perceived as representative of the institutionalized oppression of African Americans, but had not targeted law enforcement with premeditated violence for the nearly two decades leading up to the lethal incidents observed beginning in 2014. BIE violence peaked in the 1960s and 1970s in response to changing socioeconomic attitudes and treatment of blacks during the Civil Rights Movement. BIE groups, such as the Black Liberation Army (BLA), which was created in the early 1970s to "take up arms for the liberation and self-determination of black people in the United States," engaged in murders, bank robberies, kidnappings, racketeering, possession of explosives, and weapons smuggling.

• From 1970 to 1984, the BLA was involved in at least 38 criminal incidents, including 26 armed assaults, 3 assassinations, 4 bombings, and 4 hijackings and hostage takings. Almost half of these attacks took place in predominantly African American neighborhoods and targeted law enforcement officers without regard to their race according to an open source database.³³

BIE violence has been rare over the past 20 years and there is sparse evidence of any convergence with SCEs who adhere to Moorish beliefs, who have historically engaged in nonviolent fraudulent schemes—including production of fraudulent personal identification documents such as International Motorist Certifications, passports, vehicle titles and registrations, and birth certificates—in support of their claims of sovereignty. In addition, although non-Moorish SCEs have committed lethal violence against law enforcement in the past, this violence has typically occurred in response to encounters with law enforcement—for example, during traffic stops or the issuing of warrants—rather than through premeditated, targeted aggression. In addition, not all self-identified Moors are sovereign citizens, and not all sovereign citizen Moors engage in violence against law enforcement or other illegal activity.

The FBI has previously reported on BIE retaliatory violence against law enforcement in two products. This intelligence assessment addresses actual incidents of lethal retaliatory violence. The previous black identity extremism intelligence products discussed calls for potential retaliatory violence, not actual violent incidents. Recent lethal violent incidents may be indicative of a resurgence of targeted violence within the BIE movement.

Analysis of Alternatives

The FBI considered the alternative hypothesis that retaliatory violence against law enforcement is not ideologically motivated, but rather a result that some individuals may simply harbor animosity toward police and exploit racial tensions as an excuse to commit acts of violence. The FBI, however, assesses this alternative is very unlikely in the cases analyzed in this assessment because strictly criminal subjects typically commit spontaneous, "defensive" acts of violence against police rather than proactive targeting, and use idiosyncratic reasons unrelated to ideology, such as financial gain and personal disputes, to justify their actions. The FBI further judges it is very likely BIEs proactively target police and openly identify and justify their actions with social-political agendas commensurate with their perceived injustices against African Americans, and in some cases, their identified affiliations with violent extremist groups.

Outlook

The FBI assesses it is very likely that BIEs' perceptions of unjust treatment of African Americans and the perceived unchallenged illegitimate actions of law enforcement will inspire premeditated attacks against law



Despite grudging FBI acknowledgment that activism, strong rhetoric and the philosophic embrace of violent tactics "may be constitutionally protected", its identification of Black Identity Extremists motivated by police killings of Blacks as a national security threat is clearly designed to criminalize advocates of revolutionary Black consciousness and the right of self-defense.

enforcement over the next year. This may also lead to an increase in BIE group memberships, collaboration among BIE groups, or the appearance of additional violent lone offenders motivated by BIE rhetoric. The FBI further assesses it is very likely additional controversial police shootings of African Americans and the associated legal proceedings will continue to serve as drivers for violence against law enforcement. The FBI assesses it is likely police officers of minority groups are also targeted by BIEs because they are also representative of a perceived oppressive law enforcement system.

Possible indicators for BIEs posing a violent threat to law enforcement include advocating for violence against law enforcement, violent anti-white rhetoric, attempts to acquire illegal weapons or explosives, and affiliations with others in both the BSE and sovereign citizen extremist movements.

This Intelligence Assessment was prepared by the FBI Domestic Terrorism Analysis Unit, Counterterrorism Analysis Section (CTAS), of the Counterterrorism Division. Comments and queries may be addressed to the CTAS Section Chief by calling [REDACTED]

a: See Appendix A: Expressions of Likelihood (or Probability).

b: The FBI defines Black Identity Extremists as individuals who seek, wholly or in part, through unlawful acts of force or violence, in response to perceived racism and injustice in American society and some do so in furtherance of establishing a separate black homeland

or autonomous black social institutions, communities, or governing organizations within the United States. This desire for physical or psychological separation is typically based on either a religious or political belief system, which is sometimes formed around or includes a belief in racial superiority or supremacy. The mere advocacy of political or social positions, political activism, use of strong rhetoric, or generalized philosophic embrace of violent tactics may not constitute extremism, and may be constitutionally protected.

c: The FBI defines sovereign citizen extremists as individuals who openly reject their US citizenship status, believe that most forms of established government, authority, and institutions are illegitimate, and seek, wholly or in part, through unlawful acts of force or violence, to further their claim to be immune from government authority. The mere advocacy of political or social positions, political activism, use of strong rhetoric, or generalized philosophic embrace of violent tactics may not constitute extremism, and may be constitutionally protected.

d: See Appendix B: Confidence in Assessments and Judgments Based on a Body of Information.

e: Moorish sovereign citizens are a loose network of mostly African Americans who believe they are sovereign entities who do not recognize the authority of the US Government. Moorish sovereign citizen ideology derives from the Moorish Science Temple of America, a non-violent religious and cultural movement founded in 1913 by Nobel Drew Ali, who taught his followers they were not "negroes" but Moors, people of North African Berber and Arab descent. Some Moorish adherents adopt sovereign citizen strategies to assert diplomatic immunity by claiming membership in fictitious Native American tribes, claiming descent from settlers who arrived in North America during the pre-Columbian era, or identifying as foreign nationals or ambassadors. (Source: FBI; Primer; January 2014; "Black Separatist Extremists: An Introduction for Law Enforcement"; UNCLASSIFIED; UNCLASSIFIED; Multiple sources.)

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

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UPCOMING EVENTS:

- ★ Nov 11, 4pm, Russian Revolution Commemoration, WWP, 5278 W. Pico Bl, L.A.
- ★ Nov 12, 11am-2pm, Me Too Survivors March, Los Angeles
- ★ Nov 14, 6:30pm, Crush Columbus, 843 S Alameda, LA
- ★ Nov 16, 11a-2p, Catholic Worker anti-ROTC vigil at Loyola Marymount U.
- ★ Nov 19, 1-4pm, Solidarity with Peltier, The Main Museum, 114 W 4th St. LA 90013
- ★ Nov 24, Buy Nothing Day
- ★ Dec 9, 10am, Cold War Truth Commission, Pico Union Project, 1153 Valencias St. LA 90015

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innocence.



INSIDE

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