

To Intersectionality – And Beyond!

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

Right off, I hope I can be forgiven for the parody of Buzz Lightyear's cry in *Toy Story* in the title of this piece. The concept of inter-sectionality, rooted in the understandings of the Combahee River Collective and coined by Prof. Kimberlé W. Crenshaw, continues to be an important contribution to understanding social, political, economic and personal realities, and an antidote to mechanical materialist conceptions of class and exploitation as limited to workers at the point of production.



It's used to describe how interlocking systems of power impact those who are most marginalized in society, and how factors such as class, race, sexual orientation, age, disability and gender, do not exist separately from each other but are interwoven. Crenshaw's original analysis focused on the reality of race and gender bias -- and how the two can combine to create even more harm, and was a call to listen to the voices and concerns of those facing such prejudices. It has been extended by various movements to incorporate issues of LGBTQIA people, disabilities, current or former incarceration, religious persecution, stigmatization of sex workers and other concerns.

It is an important reminder that all exploitation and oppression cannot be boiled down to one dimension and factor (that is, all seen incorrectly merely as consequences or contingencies of the private ownership of the means of production and of the product of waged labor, that will be resolved more or less automatically by collective public ownership). However, there are certain weaknesses within the conception. Because it focuses on prejudice or bias,

it implies that solutions lie in the field of overcoming prejudice, in legislation or social practices that encourage understanding, fairness, and equality (of opportunity, or even of outcome). This leads towards efforts at integration or re-integration, rather than total social transformation.

Even its more radical versions, reaching back to concepts like "triple oppression" or "triple jeopardy" that were put forward in the 1960s-70s by those with a socialist feminist orientation, like Frances Beale, to describe the condition of Black working class women, it tends to be additive in nature. It begins to address the contradictions that may arise between Black and white women, or between Black women and men. It attempts to break out of the silos various social movements have created, with conceptions like "patriarchal racialized capitalism." But in attempting to avoid "hierarchies of oppression," it misses the messy contradictions this system generates within individuals and within, as well as among, identity-groupings.

To craft a successful path forward, and overcome the material contradictions that divide us, we need a sense of the common enemy we face, despite those contradictions. And we must foster a self-critical awareness of the dialectical interpenetration of opposites -- the ways in which privilege and oppression co-exist. Without that, we can become our own worst enemies, undermining our own efforts to transform the system. Gender, race, class, nationality and other categories of oppression do not merely intersect and reinforce each other; they interpenetrate, undermine and contradict each other.

In particular, all such categories are shaped by colonialism, especially settler colonialism -- historically determined by land theft, genocide, racial chattel slavery in which African people were not merely enslaved laborers but, in their own human bodies, also both capital subject to private ownership and commodities bought and sold on the market. This is categorically different from waged labor. Control of physical reproduction in which the offspring are the property of a slave-owner is categorically different from simple patriarchal control of women's bodies, and produced different familial and social structures, and different consequences on a personal and social level. We cannot overcome and transform this history and reality and all its current consequences without acknowledging it and specifically, consciously seeking to overthrow and



transform it.

"Whiteness" and white privilege are among the key manifestations of that system of settler colonialism, anti-Blackness and imperialism and can only be relegated to the "dustbin of history" by a process of real physical decolonization and liberation. The same is true for class and gender contradictions within racial or national groups, or racial, class and national contradictions within a gender identity.

There is no purely, automatically revolutionary class or identity. Oppression is not a virtue, nor does it make one virtuous. Privilege is not a vice, though protecting and enhancing privilege makes one vicious. The proletariat like the bourgeoisie was based on pre-existing colonialism and slavery. Neither proclamations of unity, denunciations of identity politics, nor united front marches or strikes will overcome those real contradictions. Only acknowledging their reality and their roots in an enemy system that exists within us as well as against us, will give us the agency and capacity to overcome them through conscious and unremitting struggle, connected to the struggle to defeat the empire, destroy the imperial system of state violence and power, restore indigenous sovereignty, and build a new, sustainable, liberated, unalienated, collective consciousness and material way of life.

The Centrality of Mexico and Mexican@s to US Political Economy

Recently, Zocalo Public Square, a non-profit journalism and public discourse entity in L.A., sponsored a discussion entitled, "Are the US and Mexico Becoming One Country?" featuring Andrew Selee, a former member of the Council on Foreign Relations Task Force on Immigration (CFR is an establishment think tank and policy formulation organization). Ironically, Selee is with the Woodrow Wilson Foundation (Wilson ordered US troops to invade Mexico during the 1910-20 Mexican Revolution). He's the author of *Vanishing Frontiers: The Forces Driving Mexico and the United States Together*. According to Zocalo managing editor Reed Johnson, his takeaway is that: "The US and Mexico aren't yet one country, but they're becoming one region. Despite nasty rhetoric and political conflict, these North American neighbors keep drawing closer through trade, culture, and shared interests."

This world view, associated with Dr. Pangloss from Voltaire's *Candide*, that we live in the best of all possible worlds, and that every day in every way, it's getting better and better, flies in the face of the reality of the political, social and economic tensions in the US reflected in the rise of white nationalism and the election of Donald Trump with a pledge to build a wall between the two countries and a campaign rife with racist rhetoric about Mexican@s as "bad hombres" and worse. It also denies the state of internal war in Mexico being waged by drug cartels, the repressive nature of the Mexican state, and the unrest and popular insurgency reflected in the growth of autonomous popular militias, or the Zapatista-inspired candidacy of Marichuy, an indigenous woman healer, for the presidency of Mexico. The joint US-Mexico-Canada bid for the World Cup pales in comparison to the breakdown in the Trump-demanded talks to renegotiate NAFTA, resulting in his imposition of tariffs on Canadian and Mexican steel and aluminum.

Porfirio Diaz, the dictator of Mexico overthrown in the first successful revolution of the 20th Century about a century ago, came closer to the truth with his lament, "Poor Mexico, so far from god, so close to the United States."

But the reality goes darker and deeper than that. Mexico is not simply close to the US. The US was built in large part by the conquest and settler colonization of almost half of what was Mexico - starting with the annexation of Texas (which separated from Mexico as the 'Lone Star Republic'



in order to allow US settlers to re-establish slavery in an area where it had already been abolished). Texas petitioned to join the US, was admitted as a slave state, and the contested border between the two was immediately used as a pretext to launch a war on Mexico by President James Polk. He ordered troops under Gen. Zachary Taylor (later US president himself) into Mexico, and sought a declaration of war after the fact from Congress.

Henry David Thoreau, the environmentalist and author of "On Civil Disobedience," went to jail rather than pay the war tax for what he understood to be aggressive conquest for the expansion of slavery. Abraham Lincoln, during his one term in Congress, voted against the declaration of war, but then voted to authorize the appropriations to fight it in order to "support our troops" (who deserted in unprecedented numbers, including many Irish immigrants who had joined the Army to become citizens but switched sides to defend Mexico). Despite such opposition, the US quickly won the war through land and sea invasions and got Santa Anna to sign a treaty ceding the rest of Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Nevada, California, and part of Wyoming to the US. This vast territory

nearly halved Mexico, nearly doubled the US, and was a precipitating factor in the US Civil War, over whether slavery would be extended into this vast territory, most of it south of the so-called "Mason-Dixon" line. Lincoln's Republicans favored, not abolition, but the prevention of slavery's extension into this new west.

The 1848 conquest was followed immediately by 1849's discovery of gold in California and a Gold Rush of settler colonists who proceeded to carry out genocide against the indigenous people in California. The Texas, Arizona and California Rangers, originally vigilantes established by settler-ranchers to suppress indigenous and Mexican@ resistance became some of the first policing agencies in the US as they were incorporated into the state or territorial apparatus. (Texas and California became states almost immediately upon seizure, but Arizona and New Mexico were maintained as territories for decades, denied statehood until well into the 20th Century, after they finally achieved a "trustworthy" white settler majority in their populations.

Thus, Mexico and Mexican@s have been a critical aspect of US society ever since. The border provided a rear area for revolutionaries like the Flores Magon brothers, one of whom died in US custody in Leavenworth. The US feared German efforts to cultivate Mexican "irredentism" over the lost territories, and attempted to suppress Mexican revolutionaries like Francisco Pancho Villa (who staged a raid on the US side during the Mexican Revolution). Eisenhower deported millions with Operation Wetback.

The Chicano movement and the land grant struggles lit up the US southwest in the 70s, resulting in a mostly unacknowledged chapter of COINTELPRO attacks on their movement. US capital flooded into Mexico, propping up the repressive PRI regime that came to power, and later in the form of maquiladora sweatshops and sub-assembly plants on the border. Ronald Reagan attempted to rationalize the growing importation of Mexican labor into the US through the so-called amnesty, the Immigration Reform and Control Act in the 1980s. But the continuing impact of neo-liberal globalization and integration, culminating in the imposition of NAFTA (TLC in Mexico - Tratado de Libre Comercio) resulted in massive dislocations in Mexico as cheap US corn drove subsistence farmers off the land, and the Mexican state began to abolish ejidos, or

See: "Mexico's Centrality" on back cover (p. 8)

United Struggle from Within (USW) “Building Bridges” Initiative

by Ras’Safidi-dāwūd and C.W.L. Bey of Iya Wala Productions

Recently this cadre of the MIM (Prisons) brain child received notice of an on-going feud between members of the Black Liberation Movement and a people’s journalist, Michael Novick of the anti-racist action publication “Turning The Tide” (TTT). We, USW-L1 would like to present the insights of New Afrikans on the ground inside California prisons as a gesture of reconciliation with those who have fallen behind on the turn of times and/or tides facing the oppressed nations internal semi-colonies of the united snakes of amerikkka.

First things first, remember September 9th 1971. This is the prisoners’ day of peace and solidarity, commemorated each year by prisoners across the US for the massacre of un-armed political prisoners at Attica State Prison in New York. USW-L1 in particular works to educate the masses of prisoners, and prisoner supporters in the public, never to forget the true objective. We all, of this first world anti-oppressor movement must pay less attention to pop culture politics, personality contests and the sideways jaw-jacking of those running for public office.

USW-L1 is a nationalist rooted branch of the mass organization for political prisoners at the real ground level, struggling to raise up the real exploited and oppressed: first world lumpen (FWL). We ain’t taking no position on the BRLP, as many of our members identify themselves as Black Riders, and we have not been privy to information in relation to the Riders engaging in anti-people behavior.

USW-L1 believes in democratic centralism as defined by the Maoist Internationalist Movement, which learns anti-imperialism in the need to investigate any national party discrepancies independent of the bourgeois institutions. In the matter of the BRLP, care will be taken not to become the beast that we revolutionaries hate, the oppressor.

USW-L1 calls on Michael Novick and the ARA to put their deeds where their mouth is, and to support the movement to commemorate Sept. 9, Prisoner Peace and Solidarity Day. For the sake of reconciling all the progressive parties of prisoners and spreading a better level of revolutionary education, that is backed by information that can actually affect the material interests of prisoners -- a productive transformation in the situation of prisoners and parolees. The time for talking is over; for those truly committed to overthrowing the oppressor nation, the time is now. Those of you who acknowledge your white privilege from the super-profits of the Third World exploits, why don’t you all get some real work then, folks!?

Groups like ARA, MXGM and IWOC are ghost groups, unheard of to the mass population of political prisoners. How can they be putting forth the claim to be the mouthpiece for we who have no voice? Groups like those that make up the roll call of TTT on the subject of New Afrikan issues like Wolverine T.A.C.O. Shakur would probably do better addressing the conditions which

cause FWL to become petty exploiters and oppressors of their own, after suffering under similar, versus becoming liberators of the self-sufficient conscious collective? Where are they in the movement to educate the lumpen, versus condemning from a bourgeois nationalist perspective?

We invite Michael Novick to ground with the brothers and sisters of the struggle, United Struggle from Within (USW) and the UFPP (United For Peace in Prisons). Malik and the NABPP (PC) should not speak to conditions of California specific issues when neither he nor they have any first hand source within of evidence within the CA prison system. Whereas USW-L1 does. The community can begin to rely on correct information direct from the source, as the CIA uses second hand information or misinformation to disrupt the truly liberated from those we seek to liberate.

Put your works into supporting us, within the California belly of the beast who suffer under the racist, sexist attitudes of white female pig corrections officers, if it is honestly the goal to put the Jericho Movement back into play.

For more dialogue and greater input into the Jericho Movement and the Sept. 9th Attica commemoration of a Day of Peace and Solidarity, United Front for Peace in Prisons, etc., contact: David Safidi Cauthen Jr., #V92805, CSATF/SP D Fac 3/127, Po Box 5242, Corcoran CA 93212

United Front Public Build

USW Loco 1 and El-bey Bridge

Who goes there? Calling on the keepers of the last grey stone. There has never been a time more appropriate for the gathering of the lost tribes of the dark world. However, is it real when we chant out Black Lives Matter? Members of the New Afrikan Subcommittee have convened at past USW Countrywide Councils including New Afrikans from states all across the US; CA, AK, HA, OH, just to name a few, launching the Building Bridges initiative of United Struggle from Within (USW) with the objective of reviving the Afrikan tradition of “Each One Teach One, Go a mile to reach one.” The most relevant topic that one of the NAS Committee members raises is the question, “Does Black Lives Matter (BLM) when it is at the expense of the Afrikan identity?”

This subject will be covered by New Afrikan anti-imperialist Political Prisoners over a period of time in short revolutionary tracts. This New Afrikan leader alongside of all those who support him will go in on the issues that face the BLM movement and what is to be done in order to paint a clearer picture for New Afrikans. This will be done using language geared towards reaching prisoners, former prisoners and the righteous supporters of the anti-imperialist prison abolition (AIPA) Movement. We who are most affected by this principal contradiction within amerikkka: Oppressor Nation Integration (ONI) vs Proletariat Nationalist independence (PNI).

Jumping off the porch, from the perspective of #If Black Lives Matter (#BLM), Free Larry Hoover, Free Shy C, Free Eugene Harrison, Free Jeff Fort, Etc. Free The Lumpen Organizations and their

leaders who for far too long bit the bullet for being the cause of the destruction of the inner city semi-colonies of the oppressor nation known as amerikkka. We who are truly the last hired and the first fired; we step to the plate speaking in plain language, asking the right questions. Like, if the CIA is responsible for all the drugs and firearms being circulated in the hood, why are we the ones who sit in prison since Black lives matter!?

We read publications like *The New Jim Crow* by Michelle Alexander that goes to describe the racial caste system of imperialist nations as the pit of class divides in the amerikkkas, but members of NAS goes into the root issue of this class divide misinformation with the question of, “How could there be a class divide within an exploiter nation?”

The whole of the matter is that really we just want a bigger slice of the pie, but at whose expense? If Black Lives matter, why settle for being black? Why not consider oneself to be in solidarity with a nation of its own, separate and unequal to that of its previous slave masters (oppressors) when we in all actuality just want to replace the slave masters only so that we may become them? Police bullies, Gossip columnists, Fake doctors, Tax agents, and Bill collectors? We ain’t doing nothing but reforming the beast (Exploiter nation) that we love to hate. So in essence the same crackers we claim is at the root of our suffering, the same bleach we claim to be destroying our skin, we’re putting it on. We have become the beast. So does Black Lives really matter? Not until Black Lives become Afrikan it doesn’t.

This is the objective of this build; to destroy the misinformation spread throughout the prison yards, and the New Afrikan neighborhoods, done so as to keep those of us who really suffer as a result of the oppressor nation’s strategy to keep them (the so called criminals, gang members and terrorists) uneducated of national liberation, un-united with those who share a similar national hardship/oppression, and dependent on the bourgeois exploitive systems of anti socialism.

It is most imperative for those who hold most dear to the identity that Black Lives matter to go to the root of this idea and relay the foundation of the identity of

ancestral reality. Twa Pigmy Nation and the Berber People fighting over class positions that translate into a bigger slice of the pie stolen from us in the first place, will get us no closer to the national identity determination and independence we so rightfully hope for. Only that hope is false if we fall into the trap trick that selling our soul by becoming integrationist with the pig state, we



will achieve national liberation. Remember, the pie (the systems) like welfare, social security, income taxes) is what the exploiters created off the backs of we the People and our natural resources. If Black Lives matter, why is it a crime for Blacks to consider themselves Original People (True/Native Afriqans) Or Asiatic Afriqans? Muurs or Maroons and Caribbs?

Why do those who proclaim leadership or stewardship for the Black empowerment identity find themselves enemy of the state, that their own so-called people work hard and with hand to maintain their Black Wall Street? Hell, since we on the topic. What happened to Black Wall-Street? Did it really disappear. or did it turn up in Chicago with Oprah Winfrey, Louis Farrakhan and the ‘Occupy Wallstreet Movement? A lot of groups ain’t going to like how we of the New Afrikan Subcommittee for United Struggle from Within is connecting the dots to expose those who are most in need of the Truth that is the root reason for the voices of the truly oppressed not being heard by the international supporters of anti-imperialism. But, we don’t have nothing to lose because we never sold out. so it doesn’t matter who don’t like us.

N-A-S, speaks the People’s & Kinfolks’ language (Block Talk) because we are amongst them that are traveling in the murky waters, struggllng with an objective solely rooted in delivering the message of maoist culture in a way the People & Folks will comprehend it. We do not have a false narrative for reforming the slave system, we come to destroy the Slave system.

Knowing that we can not free our people of their psychological enslavement without first addressing the national identity of We as a socialist people, N. A.S works from a bottom up vantage. We build from the Inside out, concentrating on the communities around us to develop independent systems of education, communication, economics and control.

Learn more about USW here: <https://www.prisoncensorship.info/archive/books/FPLmimp.pdf>

LAUSD Teacher Dara Bloom - Sugar Mama of British Neo-Nazis

by James Poulter

In August 2017 a gaggle of young neo-Nazis cowered in a lost-luggage storage area in Liverpool's Lime Street Station. They'd just been surrounded by angry anti-fascists and locals who were preventing a planned fascist march through the city to the Pier Head. Moments earlier anti-fascists had been showering the neo-Nazi crew with liquids, eggs, and bananas, while shouting verbal abuse. Outside the station, small groups of neo-Nazis were forced to sprint through the backstreets of an unfamiliar city to escape. Videos of the day's events got millions of views online.

Most of those who turned up in Liverpool for the "White Man March" belonged to National Action (NA) -- an openly neo-Nazi youth organization, notorious for producing virulent anti-Semitic and racist propaganda. Again this year members of NA have been involved in violent clashes surrounding an anti-immigration march in Dover at the end of January. Several weeks earlier the group held a flash mob in a Newcastle, at which a busker was assaulted. They held a banner emblazoned with the slogan, "Hitler was right." One of the group's speakers at the flash mob has been revealed to be a sex offender who had been jailed for tying up and then sexually assaulting a young man with learning difficulties. In the middle of February the group returned to Liverpool where they were again the catalyst for violent clashes between themselves and local residents objecting to their presence.

NA are a collection of racist loners and outcasts drawn together through the internet by former young British National Party (BNP) activists. They're the type of neo-Nazis who talk about taking psychedelics and listen to hardcore punk featuring Enoch Powell samples. They go on camping trips where they practice street fighting, learning about runes and the racist conspiracy theories they use to interpret the world. Over the past few years the group has repeatedly hit the headlines and grown substantially. NA has gone from two founding members (exposed in the *Sunday Mirror* for wanting to ethnically cleanse the UK) to claiming a membership of nearly 100.

Only one of the founders has been able to find work since being exposed, and only after dropping out of a degree course at a top UK university. The other is a relatively talented graphic designer who has struggled to find work and spends his days in his room on the internet, producing a lot of the graphics used by the British far-right. One member sent anti-Semitic abuse to a Member of Parliament, was jailed and now also struggles to find work. Another was photographed at the front of a rioting neo-Nazi mob in Dover. In short, these are some really nasty, really fucked up young people. They want to set up death camps and regularly joke about genocide.

TTT is now exclusively revealing the identity of one of the main backers of NA: a middle-aged LAUSD special education teacher named Dara Leigh Bloom, formerly of Texas. Bloom has supported the group since its inception, paying for and setting up the group's website, which is used to broadcast its message of race hatred. Bloom once estimated she had given NA close to \$1,000 (the figure may now be higher) used in producing banners and stickers with which the group spreads their neo-Nazi ideas.

At work Bloom teaches classes of children with special educational needs in Sylmar, in the northern part of LA County and LAUSD, where the population is more than 2/3 Mexicano and Meso-American. But she also maintains a highly secretive online presence, using a variety of pseudonyms. In the murky world of far-right social media she posts racist comments about her work and mixes with members of the extreme neo-Nazi groups she participates in and supports. She was once a lawyer in Texas, and apparently became a far-right and then racist activist through her involvement in fighting foreclosures and "banksters" after the 2008 Great Recession.

I asked Alan Richardson, a veteran member of London Anti-fascists, what kind of impact Bloom's support had on NA. They said: "The expertise and financial support Bloom provided is believed to have had a significant impact, allowing it grow more rapidly." Richardson explained how important the website Bloom set up for NA, was to their development: "[NA's] website is the main channel they use to communicate to the world. Due to their extreme propaganda many of their Facebook pages and Twitter accounts have been removed due to contravening community standards. Their website is fundamental to disseminat[ing] their hate propaganda." Richardson also thought Bloom's money may have been used to fund banners; saying: "On far-right and neo-nazi demonstrations in the UK that National Action have participated in, they display large, professionally produced printed banners. It's a clear link that they have had and have a source of funding to finance this."

Richardson went on to describe how seriously NA



should be taken, saying: "NA is an attempt to bring a new strain of neo-Nazi street movements to the UK. They've been influenced by the shift of neo-Nazi movements in Europe toward gaining influence in subcultures, often appearing to be anti-establishment and appealing to vulnerable youths. This is a new occurrence in the UK, after failed attempts in the past to mimic anti-capitalist and anarchist aesthetics. Their brand of "cool" and glossy propaganda, professionally made promo videos with drum and bass soundtracks combined with extreme, unashamedly Hitlerite and Nazi rhetoric, pose[s] a danger to the left, migrants and progressives if they continue to grow."

Bloom first surfaced as a key supporter of the American Nationalist Network, an Internet radio station broadcasting neo-Nazi propaganda. In one of her regular online feuds with fellow neo-Nazis, Bloom had her identity revealed and was accused of having Jewish ancestry. Accusing political opponents of being Jewish can be damaging in the virulently anti-Semitic online world of neo-Nazi politics, and so happens fairly frequently. The only evidence appears to be Bloom's surname; she denies the claim and I have been unable to find any evidence to support the claim. During the course of this particular online feud, the allegations were shared by NA member and "White Man March" organizer Wayne Bell, 35, from Castleford. In response, Bloom defaced the NA website and went on a bizarre rant in which she revealed the full extent of her support for the neo-Nazi youth group.

Bloom posted: "I figure you idiots above, excluding Ben [Raymond, NA leader], Terry [Miles, then NA London organizer] and Charlie, have no privacy concerns because you have neither jobs nor children. Let me make this very clear to you shitheads. I own this website. I've given about a thousand bucks to National Action so you assholes can march around and feel self-important. I have promoted you endlessly on social media. I set this up for Alex [Davies, NA co-founder]. I don't know any of you. And I wouldn't have done this for any of you. And I owe you nothing. If I had known there was a change in leadership, we would have had a chat regarding security. Now, Charlie and I are working some things out and you asshats aren't helping, so STFU. And I don't need any lip from British ghetto trash Peter J Knox, Mark Jameson, James Mac, Grace O'Malley, a special Fuck you to William Tait. And if you don't like it, get your own F*ing website. "Nut her." Really, Grace O'Malley? Bring it."

So Bloom reveals that she set up the website for NA co-founder and early leader Alex Davies from Wales. Davies had briefly stepped back from the organization following a tabloid expose which led to him being kicked out of a prestigious university where he had been reading politics. Davies had been replaced as leader by the other

co-founder, Ben Raymond. With the group's website defaced Raymond had to contact Bloom and reach an agreement to keep the website online. I think NA now have control of the website, although the domain name which was registered in September 2013, presumably by Bloom, does not appear to have been transferred to a new owner according to public records.

I contacted Raymond by email to ask him about NA's position on children with autism, Down Syndrome and learning disabilities - the type of children Bloom teaches, and has a duty of care for at Sylmar HS. He responded with an obtuse thought exercise in which he endorsed Nazi "racial hygiene" policies, which saw 100s of 1000s sterilized and tens of thousands murdered. Enacting these policies gave the Nazi regime the technical knowledge which formed the basis for the Holocaust in which millions died, including up to six millions Jews. In the course of the interview Raymond described the "racial hygiene laws" as "humane" and referred to disabled children as "subhuman" and "unfortunate creatures."

Bloom's support for NA and Raymond raises questions about how she treats the children she teaches. Sylmar, where Bloom works, is diverse, and Bloom frequently makes disparaging remarks about this on social media. I have seen comments she has made where she has describes Muslims as "goat fuckers," called for Mosques to be burned, compared black women to animals and called them "disgusting." Bloom has also described southern L.A. as a "barrio". Her take on the Charleston church massacre was: "Am I sorry that some negro bible ladies are dead? Not so much. Am I sorry that a white boy threw away his life on a soft target? Nah. I am disappointed that he didn't pick better, more deserving targets. Idiot Coward."

In a post I've seen she has said: "we need more professionals - educated infiltrators to break the system. I applaud the leaflets [sic] and demonstrators (which I do when I can), to effect change, but there needs to be an assault on many fronts." In another she describes her activity and the extent to which she backs neo-Nazi organizations: "I do go to anti-illegal immigraiton [sic] protests and wave my sign, as well as subvert the system in every way I can as a public employee, I also support pro-white groups as much as possible. Who do you support? Five, ten dollars?? National Action (UK) has been my pet project for several years. ANN is my US fave." Is it possible someone could make these arguments online and then not take their race hate to work?

Over the past year NA have been increasingly referencing "The Turner Diaries," written by prominent US neo-Nazi William Pierce, in their propaganda. Described as a bible for the racist far-right, the book tells the story of a neo-Nazi uprising and revolution in the US, and inspired Timothy McVeigh's Oklahoma City bombing. In it, after a string of neo-Nazi terror attacks, California falls to the insurgent racists and "The Day of the Rope" is held. Tens of thousands "race criminals," women who slept with black men, or people who contribute to a multi-racial society through their work, are lynched and hanged with placards around their necks reading, "I defiled my race." Bloom's work at a school which teaches Black and Brown kids with learning disabilities would surely make her eligible for a lynching, unless she justifies it as carrying out secret racist subversion from within.

Bloom's support for the British NA launched a period when they started to grow rapidly. When Raymond was contacted and asked about Bloom's support for NA he did not comment. Bloom did not respond to requests to comment. I asked the LA Unified School District, which runs Sylmar High, if it thought Bloom was a suitable teacher for children with special educational needs. In an emailed response a spokesperson said the district has no comment and that "all personnel issues are confidential."

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.

European Tour

Michael Novick of Anti-Racist Action will be visiting Sweden, Poland and Germany this summer doing some investigation, speaking and interviewing European anti-fascists, anti-racists and supporters of political prisoners in those countries. Reach him via antiracistaction_la@yahoo.com if you can share contacts or suggest venues in those countries during the end of July and the beginning of August. Report back will appear in the fall issue of *TTT*.

Student Protesters in Puerto Rico Face Trial as Government Criminalizes Dissent

By Alice Speri [excerpts]

<https://theintercept.com/2018/05/31/university-of-puerto-rico-protests/>

With the second round of trials underway in Washington, DC for protesters charged in connection with the J20 demonstrations against Donald Trump's presidential inauguration, another legal battle over the right to dissent is unfolding in Puerto Rico, where seven students are facing charges in connection to a protest over tuition hikes at the island's public university.

In April 2017, leaders of UPR's student body demanded a meeting with the school's governing board to discuss alternatives to a program of sharp disinvestment from the university, one in a slew of public service cuts in Puerto Rico in recent years. When their requests were ignored, a few dozen protesters stormed the building where the university board was meeting. There were no serious injuries or damage, and nobody was arrested.

In the following days, however, several student leaders in the protest movement received citations ordering them to appear in court. When they did, they were handcuffed and paraded before TV cameras in the middle of the night, then booked and, finally, released on bail.

While students at UPR continue to fight the new measures — the university board ultimately approved the tuition hikes last month, a year after the students stormed the meeting— they are also rallying around students arrested after the 2017 protest. As with the unfolding prosecutions in Washington, officials in Puerto Rico are throwing the book at protesters with unprecedented zeal. Eleven were originally charged following the protest,

facing up to 18 years in prison before the most severe charges were dropped. Four students were eventually cleared altogether, but seven are still facing charges ranging from intimidation of public authority to violating the right of assembly, restriction of liberty, and rioting.

With preliminary hearings currently underway, the UPR students and their lawyers say that the trials are a sign of Puerto Rico's growing criminalization of dissent — a message that was reinforced by the violent police response to May Day rallies the last 2 years. "I think it's a prelude," Gabriel Díaz Rivera, one of the students facing prosecution, told *The Intercept*. "It doesn't matter for them if, at the end of the road, all the charges are dropped. The important thing for them is to create the chilling effect."

Lawyers are challenging the criteria used to target these particular individuals out of the dozens who stormed the board meeting: Prosecutors used video of the incident and turned to an unidentified source to single out leaders of the student movement, according to Oscar Martínez Borrás, one of the students' attorneys. "What was really unusual is the way they got to these students," he told *The Intercept*. "There were about 60, 70 protesters in that building, and they just chose these particular students." Prosecutors did not respond to a request for comment.

The practice was also on display following a large May Day rally in San Juan. In the days after thousands took to the streets, police turned up at some protesters' dorms and homes and detained them without warrants, according to the Puerto Rico chapter of the ACLU. "You don't do warrantless arrests in a democracy," William Ramirez, the chapter's executive director, told *The Intercept*. "That's what you would have seen in some Latin American countries in the 1970s."

Puerto Rico has a long history of police abuse, corruption, and excessive force — often deployed against peaceful demonstrators — as the ACLU documented in a 2012 report, in which it accused the island's police of "unrestrained abuse and impunity." In 2011, the Justice Department launched an investigation into constitutional violations by the Puerto Rico Police Department, the second largest in the US. At the conclusion, the island's government signed a consent decree with the Justice Dept, agreeing to sweeping reforms and the oversight of an independent monitor.

With 60,000 students and 11 campuses, UPR has provided affordable, quality education to generations of island residents, offering even those from the poorest backgrounds and most remote areas a chance at greater opportunity. Last month, the governing board ratified a steep tuition increase, doubling the cost of attendance from \$56 to \$115 a credit, and up to \$157 by 2023, while cutting operating costs by 10% and enrollment by 20%. The move was just the latest blow to Puerto Rican public institutions, as the island struggles to balance its budget



UPR students link arms in protest of tuition hikes, austerity, repression.

and meet the requirements of the unelected fiscal control board overseeing its public expenditures in order to pay off Wall Street debt. The announcement followed months of protests, which last year shut down the university for weeks and forced the president to quit. UPR's interim president, Darrell Hillman, said the plan is "amputating an organ that is vital to the island of Puerto Rico." On Wednesday, the university's board approved additional tuition hikes for graduate students.

Tuition hikes and six proposed campus closures threaten to "cut poor and working-class students and future students out of access to a quality education," Alexa Paola Figueroa, a student facing prosecution over the 2017 protest, wrote to *The Intercept* in Spanish. "I come from a poor community and beyond being a space for debate and knowledge, for those of us who are poor, this university can be a space of liberation and empowerment."

The education sector, in particular, has taken a hit, accelerated after Hurricane Maria prompted a mass exodus from the island. Earlier this year, Puerto Rico's government announced closure of 280 public schools — in addition to 179 it had already closed last year. While officials have cited low enrollment as a reason, many say the move is part of an effort to privatize public services and drive more people to leave the island.

"Puerto Rico is dying," said Ramirez, noting that the university cuts only compound the problem of the island losing young residents. Officials argue that UPR is still cheaper than public universities in the US, he added — "which is true, but we are talking about Puerto Rico, where people don't have jobs or are very underpaid. Even the poorest state in the US— Mississippi — has double the per capita income of Puerto Rico."

The students' fight against austerity is part of a larger struggle on the island — one of a string of protest movements that authorities have tried to suppress. In 2017, nearly 100,000 Puerto Ricans took to the street on May Day — the second-largest protest in the island's history, by some estimates. Then, on May Day this year, with the island still reeling following Hurricane Maria, 1000s of peaceful demonstrators again rallied in San Juan. This time, police had planned their response, Ramirez noted: Officers in riot gear broke up the crowd but prevented them from leaving, blocking all exit points before spraying them with tear gas and pepper spray. Thirteen people were arrested — as Puerto Rico's Gov. Ricardo Rosselló accused the protesters of "vandalism" and throwing rocks at police. "This kind of violence damages the good name of Puerto Rico," he said.

Ramirez of the ACLU called the police's actions that day "an ambush" and said the group is considering legal action on behalf of some of those that he said police had "assaulted," including a man selling water who was shot with rubber bullets as he attempted to flee. Journalists and legal observers, including several working with the ACLU, were also targeted, Ramirez added. The federal judge overseeing implementation of the consent decree has ordered a judicial review of police actions on that day.

Mariana Nogales Molinelli, a Puerto Rican First Amendment attorney representing the UPR students and other protesters, said escalating responses to peaceful demonstrators are a sign of growing repression. "You can see it in the amount of police agents they deploy every time there's a small protest," said Nogales Molinelli, recalling a rally last summer, where 500 armed police confronted less than 200 peaceful protesters. "If

there are five people protesting, you will see 20 police agents," she said. "And undercover agents in each and every protest."

Students and activists said they have noted a growing number of undercover agents infiltrating protests, including some detaining protesters in unmarked cars. "The Puerto Rican government has always been violent toward student protests," said Figueroa. "But repression has escalated and evolved. Now they use the courts and the judicial apparatus to go after protesters. Not only do they double down on policing demonstrations, they also investigate and use undercover agents to prosecute you."

Critics of police tactics said repression took a turn for the worse after the appointment of Héctor Pesquera to the helm of Puerto Rico's Department of Public Safety. A former FBI agent who was once a favorite to lead the Miami PD, many see Pesquera as the architect of the crackdown on public expressions of dissent.

In another sign of escalating repression, following this year's May Day rally, Puerto Rico's Department of Justice summoned civil rights attorney and activist Alvin Couto de Jesús over social media posts critical of Pesquera. In a statement of support, the National Lawyers Guild called the episode "a thinly-veiled attempt at silencing movement lawyers who support constitutionally-protected speech." NLG President Natasha Lycia Ora Bannan said, "It is no surprise that Héctor Pesquera, who hails from the FBI — the very agency responsible for the decadeslong persecution of U.S. activists — is now targeting lawyers for their movement work in defending freedom of speech and assembly." Neither the Department of Public Safety nor the office of Puerto Rico's governor replied to requests for comment from *The Intercept*.

Meanwhile, the hurricane is proving to be a double-edged sword for Puerto Ricans' ability to protest. At UPR, for instance, students sometimes work two or three jobs to be able to afford enrollment, leaving little time for activism, said Figueroa. "The country's crisis is at a level that's well beyond the students' struggle," she added. Yet exasperation at the perceived absence of the government after Maria has only compounded growing rage at the harsh austerity. "After Maria, not two weeks have passed without a protest from a community, blocking a road because they don't have access to light, or [against efforts] to close down their schools," said Díaz Rivera. "Since the conditions in the country have worsened, people have actually realized more and more in recent months that sometimes protesting and mobilizing are the only ways to get your voice heard." If island authorities are trying to stifle dissent, their plan may be backfiring.

SEPT. 23 DAY OF SOLIDARITY

Women's March Florida and Puerto Ricans in Action LA have called for US-wide actions for Puerto Rico on the 150th anniversary of the Grito de Lares in 1868.

Breaking News: Nina Droz sentenced

Judge Aida Delgado Colón sentenced Nina Alejandra Droz Franco to 37 months for conspiring to set fire to the Banco Popular building during protests for Iro de mayo May Day 2017.

In Federal Court in Hato Rey, Droz Franco insisted she had no intention to cause physical harm to anyone. "Eso ni me pasó por la mente... Me eché a correr porque no quería que me arrestaran." That never crossed my mind. I only ran because I didn't want to get arrested."

100X100 Campaign to Increase Publication Frequency of Turning the Tide

Over its 30-year publishing history since 1988, *TTT* has been published in magazine format, as a 24-page tabloid, and sometimes like last year on a bi-monthly basis, six issues a year. This year again, economic necessity has dictated that we print only four 8-page issues. Now, to restore bi-monthly publication, we have launched a fund-raising campaign we've dubbed "100X100."

We are looking for one hundred people who will donate \$100 a year, or \$10/month, to make it possible for *TTT* to resume publishing six issues a year, and continue mailing about 1700 copies of each issue into the prisons. You can donate online at <http://gofundme.com/eugzgg>.

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

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

and email contacts. Everything helps.

If the campaign is successful, we will begin publishing every other month in 2015. Postage is our biggest expense. Nobody gets paid at *TTT*. But the Postal Service is not so generous. We have a handful of people who are sustainers, making a monthly donation, a larger number of people who subscribe once a year or so. Right now, we are at 10% of our goal. LA supporters could set up house meetings, where the editor will pitch to your friends for support. The future of *Turning the Tide* is in your hands. Now, while you're thinking about it, go to:

<http://gofundme.com/eugzgg>

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

If you think *TTT* is a useful tool in the struggle for people's power and a new world, please donate today. If you wish, you can also just send cash, check or money order to **Anti-Racist Action, PO Box 1055, Culver City CA 90232.**

Predictive Policing and the Architecture of Surveillance

by Stop LAPD Spying Coalition [excerpts]
<http://stoplapdspying.org>

Since 9/11, the LAPD and law enforcement agencies across the US have been expanding their efforts to incorporate counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency programs into policing. The incorporation of Intelligence Led Policing (ILP) has oriented law enforcement towards data gathering, data analysis, and pre-emptive action. For example, the California Department of Justice “examines group characteristics, criminal predicates, target analyses, and intervention consequences to determine which groups pose the greatest threat to the state.”

The growing use of ILP in conjunction with advancements in technology has facilitated law enforcement agencies to expand their capacity for data collection, storage, sharing, and analysis. LAPD has developed a massive Architecture of Surveillance which includes (but is not limited to) Stingrays, trapwires, drones, HD cameras, body cameras, license plate readers, and Suspicious Activity Reports to spy on Black, Brown, and poor communities.

Powerful analytical tools, such as Palantir, aid in processing information while a growing network of fusion centers rapidly share information across departments at the local, state, and national levels.

With the move toward pre-emptive policing, law enforcement is criminalizing people and communities for behaviors they claim are precursors to a criminal or terrorist activity. A counterterrorism program called the National Suspicious Activity Reporting Initiative (SAR), known as LAPD’s Special Order 1, “Reporting Suspicious Activity” potentially creates secret files based on common behaviors such as taking notes, videography, using binoculars, and drawing in public. These benign activities are seen as potential behaviors that will lead to a criminal or terrorist activity.

Preventing Violent Extremism, a program launched by the FBI nationally in January 2016, intends to identify youth who have the potential to be “violent extremist” based on behavior and socio-demographics, such as culture, religion, facial hair growth or lack thereof, class, school merit, and emotional state.

Attempting to pre-empt crime through behavioral surveillance and data mining is fundamentally flawed. According to the National Academy of Sciences: “even in well-managed programs such tools are likely to return significant rates of false positives, especially if the tools are highly automated. Because the data being analyzed

are primarily about ordinary, law-abiding citizens and businesses, false positives can result in invasion of their privacy.”

Predictive policing is yet another tool in the LAPD’s Architecture of Surveillance that continues this trend. Predictive policing is a component of the Strategically Managed, Analysis and Research-driven Technology based (SMART) Policing Initiative. The LAPD uses two SMART programs, known as PredPol and Operation LASER (Los Angeles Strategic Extraction and Restoration). Branding itself as science, SMART policing claims to be data-driven and evidence-based [...except the data is generated by pre-existing biases in policing.]

PredPol attempts to predict crime patterns throughout LA using the time and location of historical crime data. PredPol’s guesses about future crimes are driven by three elements of past reported crime data: crime type, crime location, and a crime timestamp. This reported crime data originates from calls for police service [and we have recently and repeatedly seen how biased such calls for police can be against Black people] and from patrol officers’ crime reports. PredPol makes statistically-driven predictions as to which 500 x 500 sq. ft. areas in LA, called “hot spots,” have the highest expected crime rate. LAPD reports at the start of each shift which hotspots have been targeted; these are distributed to officers as a guideline for



“Predictive policing programs ... enable the continuation of decades of discriminatory and racist policing under the apparent neutrality of objective data.”

their patrols. [Higher intensity policing in such area can quickly produce a self-fulfilling prophecy].

In 2009 the LAPD started developing the LASER program. The premise was “to target with laser like precision repeat offenders” in the community. [The comparison is to laser surgery to remove tumors, or the “surgical strikes” by US military bombers and drones.] Based on surveillance and community interviews, LASER started in Newton Division in 2012, a station carved in LA history with the murders of Ezell Ford and Omar Abrego by LAPD in 2014. LASER claims to be both a person- and place-based predictive policing strategy responding to gun and gang violence. To implement LASER, divisions must develop a Crime Intelligence Detail composed of three officers and one crime analyst.

LASER Zones are different from PredPol’s “hot spots,” in that they [focus on] reported crime, arrest data, and calls for service that correlate to gun violence or violent crime. Once a division creates a targeted area the CID develops what is called the Chronic Offender Bulletin, [something] like a “Wanted” poster; however, unlike a “Most Wanted” poster in which a person is charged with a crime, a chronic offender is designated a “person of interest.” The COB marks individuals for surveillance and a range of potential interventions. It’s unknown if there is a way to contest a COB.

Native Water Protector Sentenced to Federal Prison

by Alexandra Jacobo, for NationOfChange.org [Excerpts]

Michael “Little Feather” Giron, a member of the Coastal Band of the Chumash Nation, was sentenced to 36 months in federal prison in June. He’s the first person sentenced to serious prison time for his role in the protests against the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL).

Little Feather has already spent 15 months incarcerated – time which will be credited to him as part of the sentencing – but still faces at least 11 more months in prison. His legal team hopes that he will then be released to a halfway house.

According to Asst. US Attorney David Hagler, Little Feather was identified as one of the individuals that set fires that obstructed law enforcement during the last

raids of the camp. In February, Little Feather took a non-cooperating plea deal rather than stand trial, and agreed to take responsibility for aiding a “civil disorder” in exchange for the prosecution dropping the charge of Use of Fire to Commit a Federal Felony.

The Water Protector Legal Collective explains that many of the defendants facing charges in relation to the events at Standing Rock take plea deals because a trial will mean facing a hostile jury pool. A defense-commissioned study last year by the National Jury Project found 77% of potential jurors in Morton County and 85% in Burleigh County had already decided that the Standing Rock defendants were guilty. A motion for

a change a venue for the defendants was denied. Seven Native Americans have been indicted for federal felony crimes and 100s more have faced lesser charges.

Among the others charged, two, Red Fawn Fallis and Michael “Rattler” Markus have taken non-cooperating plea deals and await sentencing, and two others, Dion Ortiz and James “Angry Bird” White, are preparing for trial. North Dakota has prosecuted 835 state criminal cases related to the DAPL protests, of which 325 have been dismissed or acquitted at trial and 235 are ongoing.

The fight against the DAPL has been happening for over three years now. The pipeline, which cost nearly \$4 billion and transports oil across 1,200 miles, has already leaked several times. Meanwhile, the Standing Rock Sioux have filed a lawsuit against the Army Corps of Engineers for authorizing the construction of the pipeline, which they claim violates the Clean Water Act, Rivers and Harbors Act, and the National Environmental Policy Act.

Trump’s Ambassador to Germany Wants to “Empower” European Right-Wing Populists

From Breitbart <http://www.breitbart.com/london/2018/06/03/trumps-right-hand-man-in-europe-wants-to-empower-european-anti-establishment-conservatives/>

At a sit-down interview at his official residence in Berlin with Breitbart London, Trump’s Ambassador to Germany Richard Grenell said: “There are a lot of conservatives throughout Europe who have contacted me to say they are feeling there is a resurgence going on.” He added, “I absolutely want to empower other conservatives throughout Europe, other leaders. I think there is a groundswell of conservative policies that are taking hold because of the failed policies of the left.”

“There’s no question about that and it’s an exciting time for me. I look across the landscape and we’ve got a lot of work to do but I think the election of Donald Trump has empowered individuals and people to say that they can’t just allow the political class to determine before an election takes place, who’s going to win and who should run.”

The winning strategy, Grenell noted, is focusing on conservative issues that improve life for ordinary working people, the silent majority, saying the “support is massive” for candidates that can articulate “consistent conservative” policies on migration, tax cuts, and cutting red tape and bureaucracy. Unafraid to name names, Mr Grenell expressed a deep respect and admiration for the young Austrian Chancellor Sebastian Kurz saying, “Look, I think Sebastian Kurz is a rockstar. I’m a big fan.”

Chancellor Kurz, leader of the conservative Austrian People’s Party (ÖVP), formed a coalition with the populist Freedom Party (FPÖ) earlier this year, and has been one of the strongest advocates for securing the EU’s external border.

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Chicago Fights for Community Control of Police

by Fight Back! News [excerpts from print edition; not yet available on-line at fightbacknews.org]

Interview with Alderman Carlos Ramirez Rosa and community leader Frank Chapman:

Fight Back! interviewed Chicago Alderman Carlos Ramirez Rosa and Frank Chapman of the Chicago Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression about the struggle for an elected, civilian police accountability council (CPAC). The legislation to create this ordinance was sponsored by Alderman Rosa and eight other members of the Chicago City Council.

Fight Back!: Respond to the police accountability legislation put forward this week in the Chicago City Council. Aldermen Osterman and Sawyer wouldn't sign on to CPAC, but now they're sponsoring a bill for a "Community Commission for Public Safety and Accountability." Why do you think that is?

Carlos Ramirez Rosa: In the wake of the murder of Laquan McDonald, there was a mass outcry from regular folks demanding true police accountability. It exposed once again the manner in which the city had failed to hold the police accountable for killing young Black and Brown people. That massive outcry was represented in the movement for CPAC. People took to the streets. There were massive pickets outside businesses along Michigan Avenue where people said, "We can't have business as usual as long as we're being murdered by the police."

That struggle, as well as my conversations with those directly impacted by police violence, led me to introduce CPAC. It's an ordinance that really represents the demand from the community that they have real democratic control over those public employees that are meant to serve and protect the people.

We saw those demands voiced in the public meetings that were held by the city as a result of the Department of Justice looking into policing in Chicago. At every hearing, the community wanted CPAC. They wanted democratic control of the police.

So, the mayor could not move forward with his paltry police reforms without speaking to the need for community control. That developed into this grass-roots alliance of non-profit organizations that engage in community organizing, and working on their own version. That proposal takes elements that we see in CPAC but attempts to jury rig them around the existing failed bureaucracy. In this way we know that this proposal will fail to address the root causes, because you can't fix a burning house.



Chicagoans disrupt downtown in demo.

That is why I remain committed to CPAC. This is an attempt to engage in a reform that some individuals feel is more achievable in the short term. But we know that this short-term solution will not fix the problems of racist policing in Chicago.

Fight Back!: Frank, do you want to respond to anything Alderman Rosa had to say?

Frank Chapman: My response in church would be to say, "Amen." The only emphasis I would put in, we have built a mass movement around the question of police accountability, with all the elements that the alderman put out. We have more than 50,000 supporters in this city. Every ward has CPAC supporters. CPAC is a democratic demand coming from the people. We don't want a bureaucratic change - we want a democratic solution.

Rosa: I would add that this proposal which was introduced by Sawyer and Osterman wouldn't exist but for the struggle for CPAC. That's something we need to uplift and recognize, to show that despite the fact that we have not yet won under this existing mayor and his rubber stamp council, they've been unable to ignore our demand.

Fight Back!: At the Black Friday protest called by the

Alliance, you announced that you planned to bring CPAC up for a vote of the whole city council this year. What are your plans around that?

Rosa: It's no secret that the mayor totally controls the whole city council. Nothing passes, nothing can even move through committee without the consent of the mayor's office. As a result, we've seen CPAC languish in committee for over a year. Individuals that work at City Hall can't even look up information about CPAC; it's black-listed. You get a website that says, "This is political speech that is not allowed to be viewed at City Hall."

One of the procedural tactics we can use is when any item has sat in committee for more than 60 days, under Rule 4 of the Chicago City Council, any single alderman with five-days-notice can put forward a call for a vote on the floor, to first discharge the item from committee, and to immediately consider that item. So, if in the coming months of this spring, we do not see that this item is heard in the committee, under Rule 4 we will motion before the entire city council that the item be heard immediately and that the item be passed. Then we will know which aldermen are on the side of the people, and which aldermen are voting to protect the racist institution of policing, to protect the mayor and his rich friends' interests with their votes.

Fight Back!: Frank, how will this parliamentary procedure—a vote of the whole city council—impact the struggle for CPAC?

Chapman: I think it will have a tremendous impact, because it will further strengthen the realization among our followers and people in the community that it's a real piece of legislation that we're fighting for and the real possibilities of victory.

Because exposing the hand of the aldermen, particularly in the highly impacted areas of the South Side and the West Side, is very key, very important to us having a victory. Even though the city council is controlled by the mayor, even though the majority of the present city council are the mayor's lackeys, we will clearly put before the people what our task is: to get rid of this present situation. Our task is to change the political configuration within the city council, if necessary, in order to get CPAC passed. We will be enlisting the people of Chicago to join us in this struggle, to make this change. What we have in Chicago presently, is a dictatorship. We believe in democratic struggles. We believe in the people's ability to change that.

Murderous Cops, Liberal Snake Oil, & Revolutionary Solutions

By Steven Argue of the Revolutionary Tendency [excerpts]

In terms of racist police murders with the impunity, for Native Americans, the situation is even worse than that of African Americans. Native Americans comprise only 0.8% of the U.S. population (explained by a story of genocide in and of itself), but comprise 1.9% of people killed by cops. CDC numbers between 1999 and 2011 show that if you are Native American you are most [disproportionately] likely to be killed by cops [compared to overall population percentage]. This is followed in this order by African Americans, Latinos, whites, and then Asian Americans.

In addition to violent police terror, having ones person snatched up and enslaved is a major threat in the US as well. The US holds more people per-capita prisoner than any other country in the world. 2.3 million are in prison or jail and another 7 million people are on probation, parole, or community service. Of these prisoners, African Americans constitute 40%, but are only 13% of the U.S. population. Likewise, people identified as Latin@ constitute 15% of the population, but are over 20% of the US prison population. All together, Blacks and Latinos are only 28% of the U.S. population, but constitute 60% of the prison population. This reflects injustices that include racist stop and frisk policies, racist profiling, and injustices carried out by racist cops, DA's, and judges, as well as poverty caused by racism in hiring, education, and historic disadvantages. Study after study has shown no greater prevalence of drug

use or drug sales from African Americans, yet African Americans are more likely to be put in prison for those crimes. Poverty or just being working class also makes it extremely difficult to afford adequate legal representation so innocent people are routinely railroaded into prison. While OJ Simpson could afford Johnny Cochrane, there simply is no justice for poor and working class people who can't afford adequate representation in the capitalist courts.

But Native Americans also make up a disproportionate number of prisoners, especially in some of the most anti-Native American states like South Dakota, Montana, North Dakota, Nebraska, Wyoming, Minnesota, and Idaho. As an example, 7% of the population of Montana is Native American, but according to the 2008 Montana Department of Corrections Biannual Report, Native American men make up 20% of the male Montana prison population and Native American women are 27% of the female prison population. In "liberal" Minnesota, the story is the same, with a Native American population of 1.1% of the total; Native Americans comprised 7.6% of the prison population in 2000.

Blacks and Native Americans also comprise a disproportionate number of people who are homeless. A 2009-2010 study found that Black people comprise 37% of the U.S. homeless population, making Blacks about three

times more likely than whites to be homeless. About 8% of homeless people are Native American, making Native Americans about eight times more likely than whites to be homeless.

To suppress Native American dissent, death squads and the FBI murdered at least 61 people on the Pine Ridge Reservation between 1973 and 1976. American Indian Movement (AIM) members have, however, estimated the number higher, around 200, with those victims including Native Americans killed by cops working with the FBI outside of the reservations in several states as well. Members and supporters of AIM were the primary target of this brutal repression, but family members, including children, were also killed. During that FBI's reign of terror, Leonard Peltier was framed up for the shooting of two FBI agents and remains in prison. While an innocent man sits in prison for decades, the FBI, local police forces, and tribal cops have never been prosecuted for their crimes. Revolutionary socialists call for Native American liberation through socialist revolution and we demand: Free Leonard Peltier! Jail Killer Cops! Jail Murderous FBI Agents! Jail Responsible Government Officials! and Jail GOON Death Squad Members Now! There is no statute of limitations on murder.

From and for more analysis of solutions: <https://www.indybay.org/newsitems/2015/01/11/18766730>.

Sources of Wage Stagnation, Wealth and Income Inequality in the US

In an interview on *Truthout* with C.J. Polychroniou, economist Robert Pollin, co-director of the Political Economy Research Institute at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, analyzes some of the sources of wage stagnation and economic inequality in the US:

"Since the 2007 financial collapse, the percentage of the adult population that has been either working or looking for work has fallen significantly. If the same percentage of people were in the labor force today as were in it as of 2007, that would add up to 5.3 million people.

"If we include these people [along with] the [12.3 million people] unemployed, underemployed or marginally attached, the unemployment rate by this

measure would reach 10.9 percent, a total of 17.6 million people....

"Let's also just note that even this figure doesn't account for the 2.2 million people in the US who are incarcerated, with our incarceration rate roughly triple that of other advanced economies. This is all within what is touted as the strongest labor market in nearly 20 years.

"On top of this has been the impact of globalization — which has effectively expanded the "reserve army of labor" into a global pool available to be hired by businesses. Because of globalization, workers face this kind of situation: ...They may go to their bosses asking for a raise. But the boss can just say: "You want a raise? Fine. I will just move the plant to Mexico, where wages

are 1/5 of what I pay you. Or will import from China, when I can pay workers 1/20 of what I pay you."

"It has [also] been a fundamental tenet of neo-liberalism to attack the laws, norms and institutions that ...support workers' well-being. These include, first and foremost, unions. ...If unions, for example, are weak, then workers don't have the institutional strength to bargain up their wages.

"The bottom line is that the average non-supervisory worker in the US today is earning (after controlling for inflation) a wage that is about 4 percent less than in 1972 — 46 years ago. This is while average worker productivity — the amount the average worker produces in a day — has more than doubled since 1972."

Comrade Malik Speaks:

Disparity in Gun Law Application in the US is No Good Robin Hood

by Keith 'Malik' Washington

As a New Afrikan in Amerikkka I know how it feels to be targeted for speaking out against police violence and abuse aimed at Black people and people of color.

Rakem Balogun is a founding member of Guerrilla Main-Frame in Dallas Texas, and he is a dedicated servant of the people who was targeted by the FBI and the US Attorney's office. When Black people were murdered by the police, Rakem Balogun spoke out! He continues to do so!

The Feds arrested Rakem in Dallas, TX at his home in front of his son on December 12, 2017. Rakem was the first test case of the ultra-racist "Black Identity Extremist (B.I.E.)" designation created by the bigots at the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

For five months, Rakem was held hostage by the US Attorney who charged him with a trumped up gun possession violation.

US Attorney General Jefferson Beauregard Sessions sounded like an illiterate dummy when US Representative Sheila Jackson Lee questioned Sessions at a Congressional hearing about the infamous B.I.E. designation. He couldn't defend the indefensible.

Well the charges against Rakem have been dropped!! He has been out of jail for several months and is trying his best to put his life back together.

As the Deputy Chairman for the New Afrikan Black Panther Party (Prison Chapter), I stand in strong solidarity with Rakem Balogun and *all* members of Guerrilla Main-Frame and the Huey P. Newton Gun Club. We *all* should stand with Rakem and others like him,

because the next time the pigs come knocking, it could be you they drag off to jail.

There is an overt amount of racism and bigotry in the manner in which Gun Laws in Amerika are enforced. There is one set of rules for gun-owning white folks and an entirely different set of rules for gun-owning Black folks.

Rakem Balogun is one example of the inherent bigotry which is so very pervasive at the FBI and the Department of Justice (DOJ) under Jeff Sessions.

I've said before and I will say again that the only difference between members of the KKK and the FBI is that the agents at the Bureau have advanced college degrees, but they adhere to a form of white supremacy and it is manifested daily in their everyday affairs.

Texas is the gun ownership capital of the world but your rights are only respected and protected if you are white!

This racist application of gun rights is not just unique to Texas.

I have an environmentalist sister in struggle named Siwatu-Salama Ra in Detroit, Michigan who has been fighting for her freedom after being railroaded into a conviction for felonious assault and felony firearm convictions.

Her story as recounted by Jane Coaston of *Vox* is remarkable and it fully illustrates one point: Black gun owners, particularly Black women, face unequal treatment under local laws!! -- FACT!

I am not an advocate of gun violence, but I am an advocate for self-defense. Siwatu-Salama Ra was

defending herself and her mom; now she sits in prison eight months pregnant -- and she had a concealed carry permit! Free Salama Ra NOW!!

We have people in the US Congress walking around with blinders on -- blind to the fact that the criminal justice system in Amerika is racist to its core! I'm not requesting to be treated special, just treat us fair!

I keep thinking about Marissa Alexander and how she was given a 20-year sentence for defending herself and her babies with a warning shot, and how George Zimmerman wasn't given a day after he executed Trayvon Martin! "Stand your ground" is only for white folks! Don't believe me? Well, let me put some facts in your face, courtesy of Jane Coaston of *Vox*:

"The Urban Institute found that in "stand-your-ground" states when white shooters kill Black people, 34% of the resulting homicides are deemed justifiable." Let's look at the other side of the coin: "Only 3% of deaths are justifiable when the shooter is black and the victim is white. Even when black shooters kill black people, those shootings are less likely to be deemed justifiable in a court of law than those involving white shooters who kill white people."

A Black female friend just told me there was a KKK rally at the Walmart in Crockett Texas. She said she never even knew that many racists lived in her town. My advice to her was to get her permit to carry a weapon so she can protect herself and her loved ones! And I mean that!

I'm not going to hold hands and try to sing Kum-bayah with people who hate me and mean us harm. Dare to struggle, Dare to Win -- All Power to the People!

As Black As Resistance

by Zoé Samudzi and William C. Anderson, published by AK Press

Available from Truthout.org as a "Progressive Pick"

"As Black as Resistance" is a revolutionary argument for Black liberation based on not compromising with the oppression of the settler state. The authors argue that change must be transformative, not just liberal reform of the state. The following is an excerpt from Chapter 4.

Blackness is the anti-state just as the state is anti-Black. The oppression of Black people ought not to inspire the modification of this existing state or the aspiration to create a purportedly better state. Somehow during the formation of the US settler project, anti-Black violence became a nod to the supposed beauty of the empire

Since the death of Crispus Attucks, the first person killed in the Boston Massacre (and thus the first martyr of the American Revolution), Black sacrifice for the nation has been turned into a weapon against us for the benefit of the state. As opposed to recognizing Black Americans as a group of people upon whose suffering the state is constructed, we too often understand the acquisition of Black rights and the eventual inclusion (assimilation) of Black people into the social contract as a reason to continue our fight within state apparatuses.

The myth of the arc of social progress flies in the face of the reality that our rights are being actively rolled back and continuously denied. Understanding the anarchistic condition of blackness and the impossibility of its assimilation into the US social contract, however, could be empowering. It is not up to us to castigate anyone who is or isn't empowered by our particular set of worldviews. We do not label anyone's philosophy right or wrong unless it reproduces or perpetuates existing oppressions. We simply hope to observe and analyze and express our concerns, rooted in the desire to achieve liberation for all Black people around the world.

As the authors of this book, we represent different aspects of blackness in this country, one of us as a descendant of enslaved Africans and the other as a child of Zimbabwean immigrants. We came together in the hopes of fulfilling something much bigger than ourselves, to offer a framework for understanding the Black condition in the United States and to challenge an increasingly standardized reaction to oppression. This imperfect yet heartfelt undertaking was intimidating, given all that we know needs to be accomplished and how much we don't know about how to define completion, an arrival at the destination where we wish to go.

It is possible that a people's liberation is a perpetual project and must consistently be renewed and updated. Embracing Nina Simone's definition of freedom as the absence of fear, we strive to overcome our own fears to offer our understanding of structural violence, ways of subverting these systems, and ways to imagine new ones.

For many people, the difficult and enduring questions about racial capitalism and white supremacy can be overwhelming. People may ask for answers as though there are distinct formulas for overcoming each form of systemic oppression. The truth is almost reductively simple. The solution to capitalism is anticapitalism. The solution to white supremacy is the active rejection of it and the dual affirmation of Indigenous sovereignty and Black humanity.

We must reject the violent machinations of the settler state (e.g., mass incarceration, treaty violations, transmisogyny, and so on). Any solution to the centuries of injustices and brutality waged against us requires a long struggle, and a crucial part of that struggle is precision in identifying our position as oppressed people and the structures that produce and maintain anti-blackness. Political education that thoroughly indicts racial capitalism and its supporting systems slowly increases consensus around our oppression. With this the chances increase for effective diverse actions necessary for liberation.

Removing oppression, not reforming it, demands the creation and radicalization of new dissidents. It is an exercise in imagining new communities. Our identities will be reflected in our willingness to nurture and channel the angst, anger, dissatisfaction, and resentment felt by Black people toward institutions of injustice. Channeling collective racial trauma into world-imagining energy and analysis is one of the ways we express care for our fellow Black people and our desire to improve their conditions.

Nonparticipation in the systems that harm us is not a choice for many of us, but we

can learn to undermine them when opportunities present themselves. Meaningful steps toward liberation do not have to be dramatic. Steve Biko's assertion that "the most potent weapon of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed" encourages us to create new ways of understanding oppression so that we may effectively challenge it and re-create ourselves at every opportunity.

The ability to thrive as people is something beautiful, and we cannot allow ourselves to be disposed by being misused in this stale US project of empire. Instead, we should be radically defining what will bring about our freedom from our unacceptable conditions. Until then rebellion will continually bring us closer to where we should rightfully be. When the work of our struggle settles beyond the turbulent waves of our current predicament, what lies in our depths can grow as a foundation to create a world free of oppressive violence, fear, and perpetual disruption.

Documenting The Eros Effect:

The Global Imagination of 1968 Revolution and Counter-Revolution

Revised and Expanded Edition 2018 from PM Press

by George Katsiaficas; Preface by Kathleen Cleaver; Foreword by Carlos Munoz



About half of this new edition of Katsiaficas's survey of the New Left and its impact is devoted to a sweeping examination of simultaneous uprisings in the late 1960s and into 1970, most of which failed to "seize power" (nor necessarily saw that as their goal), but which had an enormous impact. "The ruptures of 1968," he says, "marked the emergence of new values, ideas, and aspirations ...These intense periods of class struggle were important to the self-formation of the human species...The new realities created by the eros effect...were not limited to elite regime change, but transformed entire populations." Katsiaficas documents this with a survey of countries in Asia, including Korea, China, and the Philippines, the Arab and Muslim world, including Tunisia, Egypt, Iraq and Iran, Australia and New Zealand, African countries including Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa,

Ethiopia, the Portuguese colonies and Zaire; Europe, including West Germany, Italy, England and Czechoslovakia; and "Latin" America, including Mexico, Argentina, Uruguay and Chile, as well as the rise of Black Power movements in the Caribbean. Katsiaficas does much longer and more thorough case studies on May 1968 in France, and May to September 1970 in the US, one of the largest and most extended student strikes in the world (as well as a closely related revolt within the US military itself) which resulted in the abolition of compulsory military service (the draft) and creation of an "all-volunteer" army. The book, which concludes with a review of global uprisings after "1968", is mandatory for its examination of the effects of liberatory struggle on the human psyche and character development and for its interactive impacts of racial, anti-colonial and gender liberation movements on the conceptions and possibilities of class struggle and of the prospects and conceptions of a better world. ISBN: 978-1-62963-439-5, available from PM Press, PO Box 23912, Oakland CA 94623; www.pmpress.org.--MN

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TURNING THE TIDE

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A JOURNAL OF INTER-COMMUNAL SOLIDARITY

MEXICO'S CENTRALITY TO U.S. HISTORY & SOCIETY

...Continued from page 1

(communitarian or communal land holdings). This led to a massive migration northward. There are now a million Mexican@s in Chicago alone, hundreds of thousands (along with other Meso-American migrants) throughout the US southeast from the Carolinas through George and Louisiana, far beyond the areas stolen in 1848.

No revolutionary strategy for the transformation of this society, the dismantling of the imperial federal state and the creation of a new and better world is possible without taking these realities of culture, population and economic integration into account. Picture how different the world would be had the US never conquered and settled occupied northern Mexico, if Texas oil, California gold, Colorado copper had remained in Mexico. Picture the impact of a growing revolutionary struggle within Mexico itself on its northern "neighbor" when Mexicans and people of Mexican descent numbering almost half of the population of Mexico itself live north of the border in both rural and urban areas. We already see the impact on indigenous people throughout "Turtle Island" of the struggles of indigenous people throughout Mexico and "Nuestra America" and among First Nations people in Canada.

Even the election of a reformer like Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (AMLO) in the upcoming Mexican elections, signaling a resurrection of the "pink tide" of social democrats the US has been undermining in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Honduras, and attacking in Venezuela and Nicaragua, will have huge repercussions. Trump to the contrary, we do all live in NAFTA now and must develop strategies accordingly, identifying the contradictions and fault lines that exposes within the "belly of the beast." How do Black and Brown forces unite? How can we split significant elements of white society, particularly from the working class, away from white national chauvinism and anti-Mexican, anti-migrant hysteria, as well as anti-Blackness? How do we acknowledge and uphold the prior sovereignty of indigenous people without regard to imperialist colonial borders? These questions are vital to answer if we are to succeed in the coming years. The fate of millions, and perhaps of the planet's capacity to sustain life, hangs in the balance.

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- MUMIA ABU JAMAL

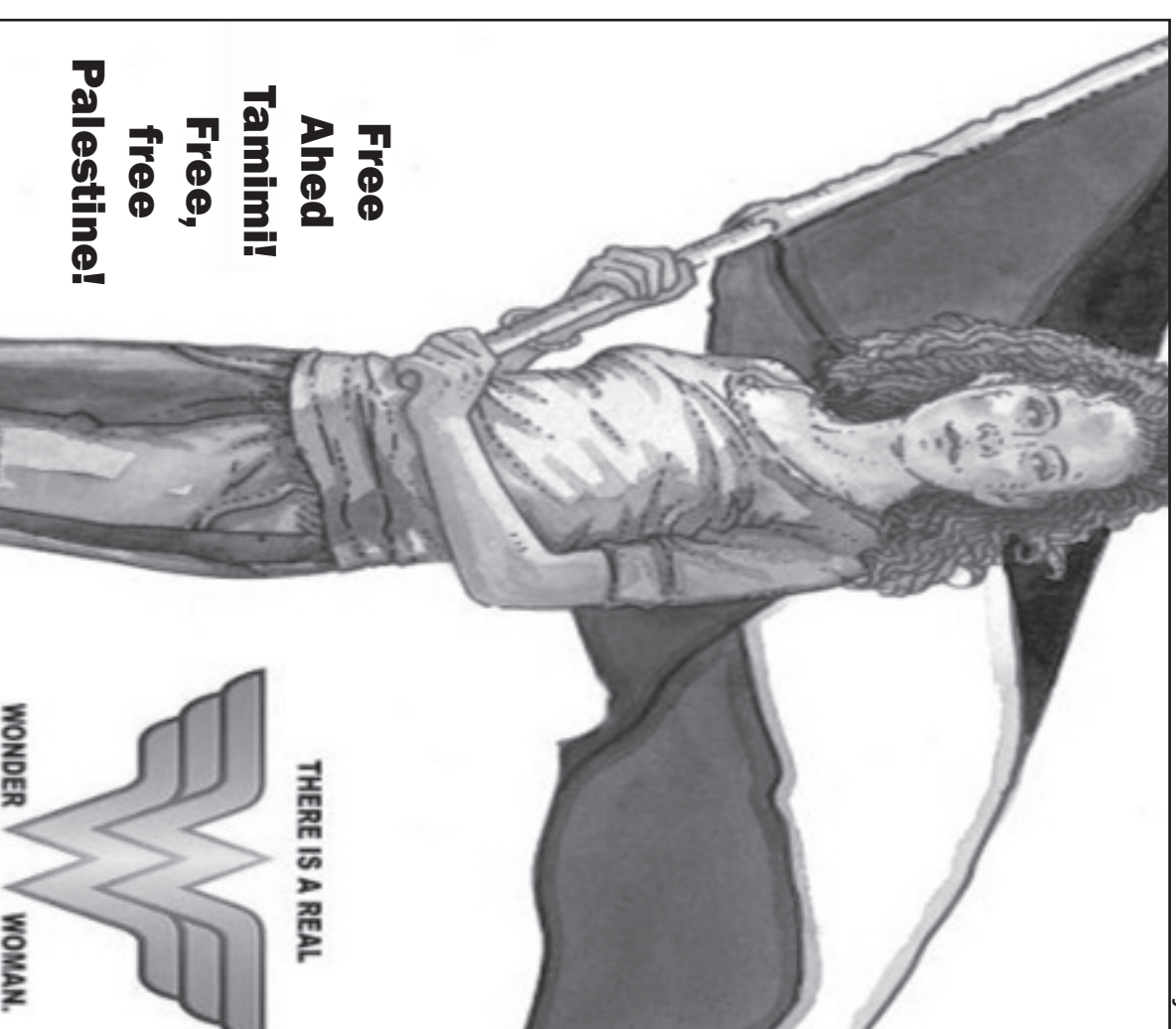
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