

PART's Perspective: Digging Beneath the Surface

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

A well-known adage has it that some people “can’t see the forest for the trees,” that is, that they are so caught up in the details, they miss the larger picture or reality. When it comes to understanding what’s up with the Republican and Democratic Parties, particularly as concerns the just-seated new Congress, where the House of Representatives is back in Democratic Party control, many people can’t see what’s underground for the trees OR the forest. The appearance of tremendous surface differences between the Republican and Democratic representatives -- fewer Republican women, many more, new and younger Democratic women, the first Muslim and Native women in Congress on the Democratic side, far greater racial diversity among the Dems -- has disguised the subterranean eco-system that maintains both parties, and the many commonalities beneath the surface.

Consider a real forest. As reported by Indiana Public Media, “most species of tree and plant are routinely infected by what’s known as “mycorrhizal fungi,” but this is no cause for alarm. Surprisingly, trees can actually benefit from their fungal friends. Many trees and plants not only host mycorrhizal fungi—they have actually come to depend on them.

“As the fungi grow, they send fine tentacles streaming into the soil. These tentacles help channel large amounts of water and nutrients back to the host tree,

far more water than the tree would be able to trap with its roots alone. One study found that conifers with the fungus are twice as likely to survive a drought as those without.” <https://indianapublicmedia.org/amomentofscience/tree-roots-fungus/>

The fungi interacting with Congressional representatives, and with elected and party officials at every level, federal, state or local, are far less benign. These are the corporate donors and lobbyists, tech billionaires, military contractors and hedge fund investors, and their paid-for think tanks and consultants, who shape and limit policies within very narrow confines. But the rigidity of those constraints and similarities are evident in what Congress has already done, or not done.

While many operations of the US government have been shut down by a highly publicized dispute between Congressional Dems and racist Trump over a “border wall” vs. “increased border security” -- not including operations of the Border Patrol itself, or the TSA, military or federal police agencies -- Congress has moved to criminalize speech proposing Boycott, Divestment & Sanctions against Israeli until Palestinians have equal rights within Israel, self-governance in the currently-occupied territories, and the right to return to their family homes. They approved the very limited reforms of the “First Step” Act, imposing new “risk assessment” algorithms that put a scientific veneer on racial profiling, leaves mandatory minimums in place, and generally serves to make “Second Steps” unlikely. The Democrats in the previous Congress went along with even a larger “Defense” appropriation than Trump asked for, and have done nothing to reduce it. Conversely, Democrats in Congress have waxed apoplectic about Trump’s plans to withdraw US troops from Syria and reduce the contingent in Afghanistan.

On the other side of the equation, consider what the Democrats have not done, or even moved to do:

Abolish ICE? **No.**

Reverse Trump’s tax cuts for the wealthiest, or re-impose the estate tax on large fortunes? **No.**

Close Guantanamo or return to Cuba the base it’s located in? **No.**

Eliminate the PROMESA financial junta imposing austerity and privatization on Puerto Rico to benefit vulture capitalists at hedge funds? **No.**

Overtake TANF lifetime limitations on single parents getting financial assistance? **No.**

Withdraw US troops from Africa or close scores of US military bases around the world? **No.**

Create a federal living wage or approve workers’ right to ask for a union representation election with signed card, promised and never delivered by Obama? **No.**



Clockwise from top left, Venezuelan women against US threats, Zapatistas at Oventik, Women Against Imperialism in SE, CA, Filipinas opposing US-supported Duterte dictatorship.

Investigate white racial nationalist terrorism in the US? **No.**

Prohibit Trump’s efforts to militarize space and build new nuclear weapons, or criminalize first use of such weapons? **No.**

Pass measures to de-carbonize the US economy and shift to sustainable, renewable energy sources? **No.**

End US intervention and coup-promotion in Nicaragua or Venezuela? **No.**

Deny military weapons to domestic police agencies, conduct a federal probe of racist police murders with impunity, or abolish the federal death penalty? **No.** Close down the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) and other destructive projects that threaten Native land and aquifers? **No.**

To ask these questions or pose these issues -- none of which are on the agenda of the Democratic majority in the House, or the media pundits and party professionals -- is to demonstrate how far from being truly liberal or progressive (not to mention “socialist”) the Democratic Party is. None of these measures particularly threaten the existing economic and political order, though they might pinch the toes of a few ultra-rich. But they are so far from discussion, let alone implementation, as to make it clear that the effort to challenge that order sufficiently to bring them about would be better spent on working towards a revolutionary transformation of the entire society. We should be fighting for the recognition of Native sovereignty, decolonization of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Virgin Islands, nationalization of the banks, abolition of private ownership of the means of production, guarantees of housing, healthcare, education and employment as a human right, abolition of prisons, police and counter-insurgency agencies, reparations for the descendants of enslaved Africans and to the countries the empire has exploited, etc. It should be immediately evident that the Democratic Party is hardly closer to being a mechanism for such changes than Trump’s GOP.

In the interests of some long view perspective, we are reprinting demands raised in *TTT* on the occasion of the Democratic and Republican Party conventions in 2000 (that nominated Bush and Gore). The fact that nearly two decades later, such demands are as “radical” and as far from realization as ever, should be sufficient proof of the utter sterility and irrelevance of party politics in the US:

DE-COLONIZATION

Self-determination for all oppressed people

Respect Native treaty rights

Independence for Puerto Rico

Recognize Hawaiian Sovereignty

Reparations for the descendants of Africans forcibly enslaved

End the domination of the Mexican people on both sides of the border

Amnesty for all political prisoners and prisoners of war in the U. S.

World-wide Jubilee forgiveness of debt

Repeal NAFTA, block the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, and end the WTO

DEMOCRATIZATION

Community control of police and of education -- End police impunity!

Restore the civic rights of convicts

Protect labor organizing and workplace rights, including the right to strike

Freedom of speech and conscience

End media monopoly

Amnesty for the undocumented

Replace corporate domination with cooperative economics

DE-MILITARIZATION

End all secret wars and covert operations

Dismantle the National Security Council, the CIA, the FBI, the School Of the Americas, and all agencies of international repression

Ban all nuclear power, nuclear weapons, and weapons of mass destruction in the US

Demobilize U.S. troops and bases around the world.

End all military aid to regions of conflict

DE-CRIMINALIZATION

Provide alternatives to incarceration, for restorative justice

Abolish the death penalty

Community controlled treatment and rehabilitation of non-violent drug offenders

Decriminalize consensual sexual activity and use of intoxicants

End prison privatization, control units and the exploitation of prison labor

DEFEND HUMAN RIGHTS AND ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

Health care, child care, housing, food, education and employment are human rights .

Support a woman’s right to abortion and to control her own body and reproductive capacity

Reverse deforestation and global warming

End reliance on fossil fuels

Decolonize the Bio-sphere: Ban the privatization of seeds, life forms, and the human genome.

Since the Dems have done nothing in 19 years to win these goals, isn’t it time simply to fight for power?

100X100 Campaign to Increase Publication Frequency of Turning the Tide

Over its 30+ year publishing history, *TTT* has been published in magazine format, as a 24-page tabloid, and from time to time on a bi-monthly basis, six issues a year. For the last few years, economic necessity has dictated that we print four 8-page issues a year. Now, to restore bi-monthly publication, we have launched a fund-raising campaign we’ve dubbed “100X100.”

We are looking for one hundred people who will donate \$100 a year, or \$10/month, to make it possible for *TTT* to resume publishing six issues a year, and continue mailing nearly 2000 copies of each issue into the prisons. You can donate online at <http://gofundme.com/eugzgg>.

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

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

and email contacts. Everything helps.

If the campaign is successful, we will begin publishing every other month in 2019. 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. You can also donate to antiracistaction_la@yahoo.com on paypal.

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.

The Origins of European Anti-Semitism

by the Italian Jewish Bund

A deepening in terms of historical materialism of the themes inherent in and consequent to the Jewish question can not ignore the material conditions in which the European Jewish masses are held until less than a century ago. We hope to provide the means of study, important for anyone who wants to get out of mainstream narratives that reduce the complexity of the whole issue to a few macroarguments. These are narratives that lead to some vices in dealing with the Jewish question, mainly incarnable in two types: on the one hand the philosophism, with its image of Jews as victims that the system of liberal democracies has saved from the fascist beast; as C.R.L. says "The only place where Negroes did not revolt is in the pages of capitalist historians" this aphorism can be widely extended to all oppressed and discriminated identities whose complexity is reduced by forcing them into the role of victim.

Secondly, what can be ascribed to the phenomenon of socialist anti-Semitism, a phenomenon well known to anyone who knows the process of delegitimization and identity dispossession suffered by the Jewish masses who lived in socialist countries, a process that ultimately favored Israel and that, when unawares or treated with self-absolving tendency, it tends to reiterate itself in some currents that today collect the legacy of that socialism, fueling the vicious circle of anti-Semitism and support to Zionism.

Going back to the origins of the contemporary Jewish question means starting from 1791, the year in which the Russian empress Catherine II established the so-called Pale of Settlement, which will be abolished only following the February Revolution. After having begun the partition of Poland together with Prussia and Austria-Hungary, the Jewish population present in the Russian borders increases enormously. The Pale constitutes the western territory of the empire in which the Jewish population remains segregated, outside of which it is forbidden to reside. The work of legal deconstruction

of the Jewish identity took place immediately. The Russian Empire had built its image for centuries on the myth of "Holy Russia", (myth strengthened at that time as a bulwark of Christianity against the barbarity of the Napoleonic hordes) the presence of a population that did not recognize the authority of Christ (and of his church) could not be tolerated. Various edicts (ukaz) are promulgated by the tsars: among the most important is the one published by Alexander I in 1823 which forbids renting and cultivating land in the districts of Vitebsk and Mogilev (Belarus), imposing the abandonment of the villages and migrating to the city in conditions of overcrowding and misery; another published by Nicholas I in 1827, which requires compulsory military service from the age of twelve.

The policy adopted in the Russian Empire, however, remains qualitatively similar to the previous one and what results in the mid-nineteenth century are impoverished and discriminated urban masses. Because of the limitations in owning and working the land, the Jewish proletariat develops from artisan roots, mainly employed in the field of weaving, which experimented in the "khevroth" (artisan associations of mutual aid) its first

forms of union struggle against the capital, essentially Jewish, who exploited it. In fact, in the second half of the nineteenth century, Jewish employers were distributed in a large number of small laboratories and factories that survived the margins of economic development, excluded from the mechanized industry that was beginning to spread among the Christian masses. It was in the '70s and '80s that the first agitation of Jewish workers dates back, mostly represented by spontaneous strikes in an attempt to oppose the conditions of extreme misery in which they were. In the late nineteenth century, Jews represented an important part of the Russian urban proletariat, up to 52% in Belarus and Lithuania, marginalized in the field of economic development, subject to discriminatory measures and afflicted by working conditions even worse than those of Christians, not even benefiting from the scarce protections existing at that time. In 1897, in fact, the tsarist legislation imposed the limit of working hours at 11 and 30, but the Christian inspectors did not enter the Jewish factories. A testimony of the time says that: "the work in the workshop lasts from 7 am to 11 pm or at 12 and before the holidays the master makes us



In the picture an illustration by the Ukrainian Jewish exponent of art nouveau, Ephraim Lilien, which depicts a Jewish worker exploited in a ghetto.

work all night". This was the reality with which Jewish intellectuals, sons of that Jewish bourgeoisie assimilated to the Russian customs, confronted and in which they began to develop awareness of their double oppression, of class and national, giving value to the Yiddish culture and leading to the birth of a structured worker movement.

Comrade Malik Speaks the Truth about the K-2 Epidemic Inside of Texas Prisons!

By Keith Malik Washington

"Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission, and fulfill it or betray it" -- Frantz Fanon

Revolutionary Greetings Comrades, Sisters, Brothers, and all y'all locked up in these Slave Kamps and Gulags in Texas and BEYOND!!

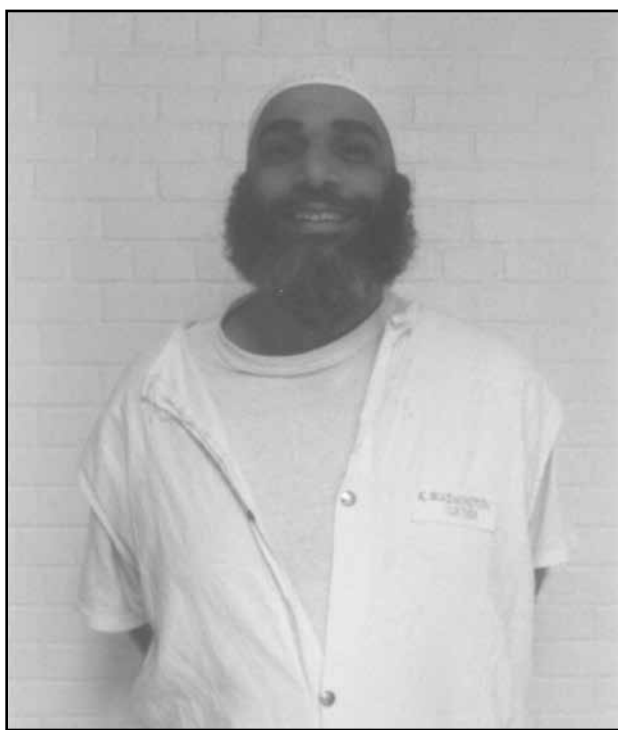
First and foremost, don't get it twisted y'all! I ain't down here in this prison sellin bean pies and Final Calls!! I was a criminal!! I robbed banks, sold and used drugs, disrespected myself and the ones who loved me the most!! That is about as real as I can be with you. I don't have no profound Political Rhetoric to give you right now. The struggle for our freedom has reached the Critical Mass stage! We either take this Prison Abolition Struggle/Movement seriously, or we don't. I'm either the "Real Deal" Holyfield or I am some type of Fake-Ass snake oil salesman. Ultimately, it will be your decision to decide what you will do in order to LIBERATE YOURSELVES!!

Now my Comrade and friend Jason Renard Walker released an essay in the October 2018 edition of the Bay View newspaper. Some say he stepped over the line. And I say that he is doing what he has been training himself to do--and that is serve the people!!

I am not going to bullshit y'all, I'm going to keep it real in the field. One time, y'all!! I'm going to shed by intellectual persona and just be Brother Malik from the Third Ward of Houston, Texas--Bro. Malik from Pittsburgh, PA, and 'RED' that NiGga from West Baltimore, MD, who smoked coke, robbed banks, and got that money by any means necessary!! I am not that persyn anymore but I need to be that persyn right now, so I can communicate with you clearly.

I am 50 years old and I have not heard of the M.O.D. Squad that may have operated on the hard and mean streets of Detroit and I am too young to have seen the works in "real time" of the Black Liberation Army. However, I did hear of the beautiful jumaat known as--DAR-US-SALAM!!! I heard and saw the work of Imam Jamil Al-Amin as he and a group of dedicated soldiers of Allah (swt) a dedicated group of SERVANTS OF THE PEOPLE ran many a Crack Cocaine dealer away from our from our neighborhoods!! Yes, that did happen in many cities throughout Amerikkka when Freeway Rick and Harry-O were unknowingly working with the CIA and delivering guns and death to our people!! Whether you want to believe it or accept it, that is what was happening. The U.S. Federal government was systematically destroying us!!

And in 2019 ain't nothing changed!! We down here in Texas smokin and sellin this K-2 and Ice like it's goin out



of style and these PIGS who are runnin these prisons are laughing at us like we a bunch of crazed monkeys. We have an opportunity right now to grab some power for ourselves and we can't snap out of our stupor to see it!!!

I am in close contact with Swift Justice and Kinetik Justice of the Free Alabama Movement and they are focused on the next stage in our Prison Abolition Struggle!! They see the power that Florida has given to former prisoners! Yes y'all many ex-cons can now VOTE in that RACIST ASS strong-hold known as Florida. So when the election for President comes around in 2020, we got a a rude awakening for that ORANGE WHITE DUDE who is currently living at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue!! And for real, he might not even be who we vote out! It might be Mike Pence. Because the way things are going right now, Donald Trump may end up being my cellie (LOL!!). Yeah it's real y'all. Michael Cohen is not that much of a liar. I promise you that Special Prosecutor Robert Mueller has a lot more than Cohen's testimony up his sleeve!!

But I've digressed--haven't I? Sisters and Brothers: I see the financial gain to be had by dabbling in the K-2 trade up in these places. And I've seen some be able to take care of their families from up in here. But just look at the cost!! IT IS DESTROYING US!!! Literally and figuratively. Just look at where we at! Kanye West runnin

around wearin a damn MAGA hat!! Kareem Hunt, one of the baddest, most talented runnin backs in the National Football League totally losing his cotton-pickin mind!! Beating a Sista up like that?? Come on y'all! We got to wake up or we won't exist. My brother in struggle and friend Abdur-Razzaq recently told me:

"To sum it up, Malik, Fred Hampton said it all when he said, 'We got to FIX US!' But in our HOODS they NOT tryna hear it because of what is being put out in the Music, Internet, and Television. This is how we wake them up--by getting them off the Meds and the Drugs that got then SLEEP and this TRASH ASS MUSIC!" -- end quote! He continued and said: "I love this mantra you use, 'Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win!' but what about 'Dare to be different?' or 'Dare to call your people out!' especially when we see those exploiting our youth because in actuality these are their HEROES and not the REVOLUTIONARY!"

So what can I say, y'all? I ain't gonna preach to y'all. I LOVE YALL! And if you can't see that then you really ain't been hearing me for the past six years I been writing for this beautiful BLACK NEWSPAPER!!! Some of y'all are reading this and saying: "Damn, bro. Malik ain't never write like this when Sis. Mary Ratcliff was Editor. Well, things have changed pardner!! Amani Sawari and I are committed to reaching to a broader and more diverse and in some cases a younger audience. So every now and then, we gonna shake things up a bit so y'all can go back to the day-room or the rec-yard and 'chop it up.' I am provoking you to think a little about the effect of your actions, and the choices you are making. How they are impacting the SURVIVAL OF OUR PEOPLE on a grand scale. As the legendary rapper Ice Cube would say: "You better check your-self before you wreck your-self, cuz shot gun bullets are bad for your health!"

E.J. Bradford, LaQuan MacDonald, Trayvon Martin, Oscar Grant, Tamir Rice, Michael Brown, Eric Garner -- these people been trying to destroy us for over 400 years right here in Amerikkka. IF WE DON'T START LOVING OURSELVES, THEN WHO WILL?? Do you hear me, Kanye West? Do you hear me, Ava Duvernay? Do you hear me, Ryan Coogler? Do you hear me, Alicia Garza, Patrisse Khan Cullors?? Y'all can't ignore me or this movement forever!! WE NEED Y'ALL so very badly!! Oprah Winfrey! Michelle Obama!! Don't allow us to die or be relegated to insignificance. BLACK LIVES DO MATTER!! Even the lives of those trapped in cages.

**Dare to Struggle, Dare to Win,
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!!**

THE STRUGGLE IS FOR LAND! TIERRA Y LIBERTAD!

by MOVIMIENTO DE LIBERACION NACIONAL (MLN) MEXICANO

We write this brief incomplete overview of our people's struggle for *Tierra y Libertad* (Land and Freedom) as a call to action/solidarity with current and continuing land struggles taking place in Southern Colorado (Sangre de Cristo Land Grant) and Northern New Mexico (Tierra Amarilla Land Grant). After initial victories in both cases in the late 1980s, these cases are once again before the courts of Colorado and New Mexico.

Tierra y Libertad has been a constant battle cry and call to action for the Mexicano people. It continues to this day.

The Mexican independence struggle (1810) can be seen as a manifestation of *Tierra y Libertad*. (Land [all of Mexico] and Liberty [from Spain])

After independence, beginning in 1836 and culminating in 1854 the Mexican people and nation, were robbed of approximately 50% of the national territory. But our struggles for *Tierra y Libertad* continued.

In the northern occupied territories in the 1800's, Las Gorras Blancas and other formations carried out both open and clandestine resistance to the occupation and fencing in of the land in the occupied territories.

Tiburcio Vasquez in California and Juan Nepomucena Cortina in Texas, both resistance fighters after the occupation, waged a form of guerilla warfare for *Tierra y Libertad* in attempts to reclaim land that had been stolen at gunpoint from our people.

In the southern half of the nation, the Mexican Revolution of 1910 was a struggle of indigenous, mestizos and campesinos in struggle against hacendados for *TIERRA Y LIBERTAD*.

In the occupied territories, the 1915 Plan de San Diego, Texas was a struggle (call) for *TIERRA Y LIBERTAD*. This plan called for self-determination for Mexicanos in the occupied territories by calling and acting for *Tierra y Libertad* in our occupied territories.

In the south, even with the take-over of the Mexican revolution and the assassination of the revolutionary Flores Magon brothers and Gral. Emiliano Zapata, and General "Pancho" Villa, the struggle for *Tierra y Libertad* continued. Throughout the south, campesinos and peasants organized and physically took over (freed) land by occupying and creating popular colonias under leadership of revolutionary organizations.

In Chihuahua, the *Comite de Defensa Popular* took over vacant land and established *colonias* (squatter communities) on land that was in the hands of rich landowners. Other revolutionaries in other parts of Mexico also conducted land takeovers and established popular *colonias*. In the state of Morelos, the *Partido Proletario Unido de America* under the leadership of Florencio "Guero" Medrano occupied land of a large landholder and established the *Colonia Ruben Jaramillo*, in honor of a surviving member of General Emilio Zapata's army who continued struggling for *Tierra y Libertad*. Ruben Jaramillo had been assassinated in 1962 by the Mexican army. As recently as 1994, the E.Z.L.N. took over land from the *hacendados* in Chiapas and

turned it over to the peasants and *campesinos*. Land occupations have continued.

In the occupied territories, our people continued to struggle for land. This was especially

so where there were land grants in New Mexico and Southern Colorado. Chilili (1977), Tierra Amarilla (1967, 1988, 2018), Golden (1978), La Sierra (1988, 2018) are all areas where our people struggled to regain land grants that had been stolen or sold to outside developers.

Today in 2018, our people are once again involved in land grant struggles, in both La Sierra (Southern Colorado) and Tierra Amarilla (New Mexico). After initial victories in the 1980s, the state's courts are being once again used to rob our people of our land.

In the Sangre de Cristo (Colorado) land grant struggle, after several years of a legal struggle by the heirs of the 1844 Sangre de Cristo land grant, in 2002, the local community was able to win a settlement where the community regained access to portions of this land grant. However a new owner of this land grant has gone to court to have the settlement agreement set aside and deny the community access to the communal (land grant) land. The struggle to defend this initial partial victory continues.

In New Mexico, on the Tierra Amarilla land grant, the community working with the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional took a different approach. An armed militant land occupation was carried out against the interests of an outside Arizona land developer, Vista del Brazos, to reclaim the Tierra Amarilla land grant for all of the Mexicano people and not just heirs to the land grant. After an 18-month struggle and occupation, over 200 acres of land were deeded over to the people. Since then,



these 200 acres of land have been used to house what has evolved into the Tierra Amarilla Youth Leadership Training Institute, which brings urban youth to this historic site for a week-long education on our history as a people and of our resistance and the importance of land to our people

However, in July of this year, the Attorney General of the State of New Mexico, aided by "Raza" law students of the University of New Mexico, has taken it upon himself to sue to have the Tierra Amarilla legal agreement and settlement set aside and once again use the legal system to take away land from the people. Yet, the Attorney General of New Mexico did nothing while Vista del Brazos, acquired the land and sought to transform it into a winter resort for settler-colonialist gentrifiers. This legal struggle also continues to this day.

As a people, we have long recognized the importance of land to our people, to our struggle and to our future. Without a land base, we will not be able to provide for the needs of the people. Without a land base, we will not be able to re-build our nation. Struggle for land.

Throughout the occupied territories and from the Mexican diaspora, we must as a movement defend these initial land grant victories and continue the struggle for **TIERRA Y LIBERTAD!**

Only self-determination and national liberation!

For more information on these struggles and to make monetary donations to support the fight back:
Sangre de Cristo fightback: shirleymromero@yahoo.com
Tierra Amarilla fightback: alfredtedelucha@gmail.com

New Era for Mexico's Zapatista Army 25 Years After Uprising

by Soyini Grey <https://www.telesurenglish.net/news/New-Era-for-Mexicos-Zapatista-Army-25-Years-After-Uprising--20181229-0015.html>

"We're the product of 500 years of struggles: first against slavery in the independence war led by insurgents against Spain, then avoiding being absorbed by North American expansionism, then for promulgating our Constitution and expelling the French Empire from our territory, then Porfirio's dictatorship denied the fair implementation of the Reform Laws and the people stood up with its own leaders..."

Those were the opening lines of the first public statement by the National Liberation Zapatista Army (EZLN), published on the day of the uprising on Jan. 1, 1994, when the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came into effect. The agreement drove the United States, Canada and Mexico into a commercial zone that has since impoverished the working classes while making the bourgeoisie even richer.

In that first statement, the EZLN announced they would walk into Mexico City and defeat the national military, inviting people to rise up and join them in the fight. Since then, the Zapatistas have come an incredible distance, drawing various sectors of Mexican and international society, regardless of their background and skin color, into a struggle that continues today.

Their stance is different now. Perhaps the invitation to rise up in arms was a "bluff" to intimidate the government, but we will never know. In the early years, they negotiated the San Andres Accords with the federal government, establishing that Indigenous peoples' autonomy would be respected. The agreements, however, were soon violated by the administration of Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de Leon, so the Zapatistas decided to implement them on their own, forever eschewing mainstream politics, including the new National Renewal Movement (Morena) led by Mexico's newly inaugurated President Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador.



Marichuy of CIG with Zapatistas

The Support Networks

Claudia T., one of the founding members of a collective named 'Mujeres y la Sexta,' was in Mexico City at the time of the uprising, 900 kilometers away from San Cristobal de las Casas. Sympathizers quickly organized protests to stop military action against the insurgents, and out of those connections were born new support networks in urban and rural areas. Some of those people formed brigades to bring aid to Chiapas, where the uprising took on new life. Luz y Fuerza del Centro, a state-owned electricity company with a combative union, even sent workers to install electricity in Zapatista villages where the government had been completely absent.

"There were several ways to help them. People from the pedagogy or nursing faculties used to go and support them," Claudia told teleSUR. "We would rent a bus and go as far as we could, getting wet to reach the communities and help somehow. Everytime we went there we took more than we brought. They would offer us their love,

their teachings, the humanism."

Those were some of the first relations established between the insurgent group (or communities) and civil society living in the cities and towns outside of the Zapatista rebel territory. Through the years, collectives would establish long-standing relations with the Zapatistas, a network of organizations and sympathizers that has shaped the movement.

"Then the Sixth Declaration of the Selva Lacandona came. They explained their six points and asked us: What about you? We had to write our own points, how we thought we could change," said Claudia.

"The relation established by going and supporting was transformed. It was not any more a 'come and help me,' but a 'let's be partners in struggle.' It's different. We go to their meetings, they invite us to forums, seminars. Scientists, artists, we are all nourished. Also their youth, their support bases, are nourished by this."

This process was in line with a transformation in the Zapatistas' own internal political organizations. The 'Aguascalientes' were transformed into 'Caracoles,' each ruled by a 'Good Government Junta,' integrated by one or two delegates sent by the communities' assemblies.

According to the late Subcomandante Marcos, the movement's most prominent spokesperson, the new political system created by the Zapatistas aimed to coordinate and answer to the communities' autonomy. By the time the Aguascalientes were disbanded, the Zapatistas would not be "receiving leftovers and wouldn't allow the imposition of projects" in their territory without consultation.

Small communities choose temporary representatives, sent to higher instances until reaching the Caracoles. But

See: "Zapatistas," p. 7

Latin American Leftists Must Think Why The Poorest No Longer Support Us So Much

Trump's border wall and anti-migrant scapegoating is part of a much larger imperialist counter offensive in Latin America, marked by support for right-wing victories in Colombia, Chile, Brazil and elsewhere, and attacks on Nicaragua and Venezuela, fomenting right wing violence and coup attempts. But because internal weaknesses of revolutionary-minded forces are always primary in setbacks, we are printing this helpful interview with a leading Brazilian thinker about what brought about the PT defeat and the neo-fascist Bolsonaro victory there. Bolsonaro is already waging a genocidal and ecocidal attack on indigenous in the Amazon.--Ed.

Interview with Friar Frei Betto

www.popularresistance.org

The life of the Brazilian friar and theologian Frei Betto is marked by milestones of all sorts from the day he was born, 74 years ago, in Belo Horizonte, Brazil. He militated in the Catholic Student Youth, worked as a journalist, joined the Dominican order, was imprisoned and tortured for opposing the military dictatorship, studied theology, philosophy and anthropology, and served as advisor to several progressive governments in Latin America, including the first term of former Brazilian president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva.

In between, he wrote more than 50 books – from novels to essays – and became one of the main Brazilian references of liberation theology, a current of Christian thought that consists of “seeing the world from the eyes and the suffering of the poor,” as the friar himself has defined it.

Visiting Uruguay, Frei Betto spoke with the Daily about the reasons for the arrival to power of the far-right Jair Bolsonaro, who will take office on January 1 as president of Brazil. At the same time, he spoke about the “self-criticism” that the Workers’ Party (PT) has to do to reconstruct itself and how the influence of the evangelical churches impacts on politics. About the theology of liberation, it was quite clear: it is still alive in spirit but, in practice, it lost ground.

What is your reading of the triumph of Jair Bolsonaro, a month after the presidential elections were held in Brazil?

The triumph of Bolsonaro has been given by four factors. The first is “anti-petismo,” (opposition to the PT) which has been very strong in Brazil because of the cases of corruption that actually occurred in the party. They are exceptional but serious cases, and the party never made a public self-criticism, so the opposition knew how to exploit this and created an anti-petista wave. It is not that people prefer Bolsonaro, people prefer anyone outside the PT. This took place within a conspiracy to imprison Lula; This is a second factor. There is no evidence against Lula, there is evidence against other PT leaders, who were sanctioned and some resigned, such as Antonio Palocci, who was minister of the Lula and Dilma Rousseff governments. But against Lula, no. So, as Lula had a lot of prestige and was guaranteed to win in these elections, they tried to put him in jail, and now the judge who did so [Sérgio Moro] has been rewarded by Bolsonaro and appointed Minister of Justice. This is proof that it was a conspiracy.

Another factor is the influence of evangelical churches, the only ones that do basic work with the people. In the 13 years of PT government we have not done this work, we have not tried to make the political literacy of the simple people, while the evangelical churches did.

The role of these neo-Pentecostal churches is to ensure that the poor endure poverty. Then they are like a flock of lambs, of sheep that accept the word of the shepherd as if it were the word of God. It is a terrible form of oppression, of voluntary servitude, but which has great strength in Brazil, including political force. The evangelical churches had their weight in the election of Bolsonaro and they have a very strong parliamentary caucus.

The fourth factor is the manipulation of digital networks, which now pose a serious problem for democracy. What does “democracy” mean if the manipulations made by a man like [Steve] Bannon from the US have already influenced the elections of 50 countries in the world? Even in the election of Donald Trump, in the Brexit vote in the UK and now in the Bolsonaro victory in Brazil.

We must also bear in mind that Bolsonaro had 47 million votes and there are 30 million Brazilians who did not vote, including abstentions, blank votes and nullity. But by the law and democracy of Brazil, Bolsonaro is now the future president and forms a government of fascist character, of the military, and that has an anti-democratic discourse. Bolsonaro's election is also due to the cowardice of the Brazilian judicial system, because he should have been sanctioned for the absurd things he said during the campaign, such as defending torture or



offending homosexuals and women. But everything was endured in Justice, without any sanction. That facilitated his projection.

To what do you attribute the growth of the evangelical religions in Brazil, both in the number of faithful and in the spaces of political power?

I attribute it to several factors. First, the two conservative pontificates of the Catholic Church, that of John Paul II and that of Benedict XVI, did not value our work on grassroots bases with the basic ecclesial communities. On the contrary, there was much suspicion, much opposition and a change of the bishops and priests who supported this work, so many of the faithful of the ecclesial base communities emigrated to the evangelical churches. Also, they did not feel good at Catholic Masses, which are generally only good for the middle and upper classes. But you, faithful, owner of a company, go to the mass and you will hardly find an employee of yours there, or the doorman of your building, or the driver of your car. These people go to the evangelical church.

The Catholic Church has not been able to give support or value. Also the clericalism that exists in the Catholic Church – everything is centered on the figure of the priest – has made our work very difficult. The priests do not live in the *favelas*, but the pastors do, so that approach wins the people. Another factor has to do with an internal mystique that “a brother votes a brother”. That is, an evangelical, when he is going to vote, has to vote for another evangelical. That is why Bolsonaro, who is from the Catholic tradition, was baptized in the Assembly of God, which is a Protestant confession of Pentecostal character. With great intelligence, he went to try to become an evangelical to also obtain that vote.

During the electoral campaign, Bolsonaro presented an agenda that – among other issues – threatens to criminalize social movements. In this context, what perspective of action and mobilization do they have?

The social movements are going to continue with their struggles. Surely there will be more repression, imprisonment of its leaders and much agitation in Brazil, because Bolsonaro will want to go beyond the constitutional limits. The Constitution guarantees, for example, the right to protest or popular organization, but for him all this will be framed in the anti-terrorism law of Brazil, which unfortunately is a law of a PT government, that of Dilma. The social movements are going to be characterized as terrorist movements, at least he in his speech put it that way. We have to wait to see if that happens. Within a month we will be able to evaluate where this government is going.

In what position is the left now in Brazil and, particularly, from where does the PT begin to be reconstructed?

The PT has to go through a self-criticism. It must be able to say “we have advanced in many things, the achievements are more important than the failures, but we have made a mistake in this, this and this point”. It also has to punish its militants who effectively screwed up corruption. If that does not happen, nobody will believe in this self-criticism. The left has to look for something like what they have achieved in Uruguay with the Frente Amplio. We have to find a way to unite against this fascist offensive that is coming. For that we have to work hard, because we can not think about the disagreements we have with the other.

How is the figure of Lula currently seen in Brazil?

He is very respected. People have a memory that Lula's two mandates were very good; So much so, that he left the government with 87% approval. People make

a distinction between Lula and the PT. The PT is already old, it screwed up – or its hands – and has its problems, but Lula is something else. People know how to distinguish it, and that makes him still very dear to the people.

Do you think his leadership will survive the Bolsonaro government?

I think so, because my expectation is that the government of Bolsonaro is going to be a disaster and many people who voted for it will be repentant. That will reinforce Lula's leadership.

Have you talked to him since the elections?

No, not after. I went to visit him in jail before the elections and now I'm going to go before Christmas. I have news, for the family and for friends who visit it, and I know that it is very good, in good spirits. Outraged, because he is imprisoned, because he could not participate in the elections, because of all the injustices and false accusations that are made against him, but he is firm from a mental and spiritual point of view.

What is the place of liberation theology in today's Brazil?

The theology of liberation is still alive in Brazil, after a long period of conservative pontificates that have not valued this pastoral line. Now it is valued, especially because Pope Francis is very identified with the thesis of liberation theology. There is a new breath, the theology of liberation is again very important for the Christian faith, for the movements of churches, to understand the relationship between the Bible and the reality we live, then we are in a new moment of offensive in that sense. But we have lost a lot of space.

Was that space lost to the detriment of the evangelical religions?

Exactly. We lost space in the base, but not from the theoretical point of view, because we keep moving forward and trying new topics, such as ecology, technological innovation, astrophysics, a very advanced feminist theology, and also an indigenous theology.

In the current political conjuncture, of the advance of the rights in the region, what is the self-criticism that the Latin American left should do?

We must make a self-criticism in the sense of why the poorest people no longer support us so much. Where have we been wrong? Could it be that we lacked political literacy? Could it be that we let the economy depend too much on commodity imports? Do not we create enough domestic market? Could it be that we have worked too much in the cultural and artistic dimension? These are all issues that we have to assess now.

Last week, at the World Forum of Critical Thinking held in Buenos Aires, Bolivian Vice President Álvaro García Linera said there will be a “dark night” in the region, but that it will not be long because “neoliberalism is dying”.

I do not share his optimism so much. I believe that capitalism has a great capacity to survive in different ways. I am of a generation that has believed that I attended the wake of capitalism about ten times, and it did not happen. On the contrary, it continues to be increasingly hegemonic, especially after the fall of the Berlin Wall. So I think we have to rethink our way of dealing with this system, and we have to face it with the grassroots organization. We have to create a new model of society within capitalism itself based on the solidarity economy, the environmental protection struggles, a good life for the indigenous people. That is to say, to make socialist popular democratic spaces from the base that are increasingly undermining this capitalist pyramid of brutal inequality.

Vote for Grassroots Community Radio Coalition Listener Candidates for KPFK Local Station Board Running Under Protest of Gross Irregularities in the Pacifica Election Process



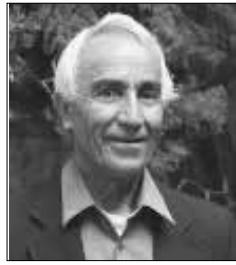
**Jeff
Silberman**

Jeff Silberman is an entertainment attorney and literary agent. He works to empower innovative thinking and reconcile diverse or competing viewpoints. He wants to use his skills and cultural connections to strengthen KPFK.



**Sharon
Brown**

Sharon Brown is an author, certified permaculturist, and attorney involved in movements for clean food & water, raising the minimum wage, voters' rights, and education reform. She wants to return to the LSB to preserve KPFK as a bastion of free speech. **WRITE-IN #1!!**



**Reza
Pour**

Reza Pour, a current LSB member and chair of the Outreach Committee, is active in the peace movement opposing US intervention and destabilization. He's a strong advocate for engaging with communities. He works with progressive Iranians



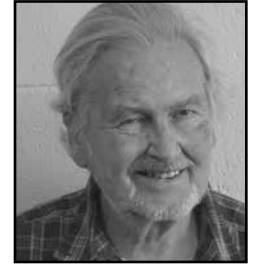
**Tyan
Schesser**

Tyan Schesser, who has been increasingly involved in social and political activism since the run-up to and aftermath of the 2016 elections, opposes corporate censorship and domination of social and other media, and sees free speech at KPFK as vital.



**Michael
Novick**

Michael Novick is a longtime anti-racist, labor and solidarity activist and a community journalist at *Change Links* and *Turning The Tide*. He's a former LSB chair and treasurer and former PNB member, and a coalition builder.



**Bill
Eisen**

Bill Eisen is a Medicare for All activist, community photo-journalist, and established and moderated a key local "Bernie" group. He has taken action to force greater transparency on Pacifica's recent financial deals and indebtedness.

We Are United with all who stand for Financial Transparency, for Accountability in Governance, and for Rebuilding KPFK and Pacifica's Audience through Incisive, Stimulating Programming Responsive to Community Needs and Interests. We Support Spanish Language and Bi-lingual Programming for the Community. KPFK should tap the creativity and air the voices of a new generation of resistance, solidarity and liberation struggles and the solutions they are developing. We Uphold the Pacifica Mission, Free Speech, Peace, Justice and Human Rights. Our Staff Candidates are Fernando Velazquez and Oscar Ulloa. More info at www.gcrc-socal.org

Countering Gentrification of the Airwaves and Insolvency at Pacifica

by Grassroots Community Radio Coalition and National Coalition for Accountability at Pacifica

Concerned about possible financial malfeasance, a flawed election process, and the gentrification of the airwaves, members of Pacifica Foundation's KPFK radio station and national allies are filing a complaint with the California Attorney General, whose office has oversight of California non-profit corporations. Pacifica fills a unique role as a radio network featuring progressive views, free of corporate influence. The Grassroots Community Radio Coalition, a lead complainant, is launching a campaign with its allies to restore transparency and accountability and is seeking assistance from the Attorney General to remedy violations of the Foundation bylaws and irresponsible governance practices that endanger the survival of this 71-year-old progressive foundation and radio network:

- Acting contrary to the advice of its CFO, its General Counsel, and its Auditor, the Pacifica National Board (PNB) majority took out a \$3.2 million loan and refuses to reveal to Foundation Members the loan details or to produce a repayment plan.
- Acting contrary to Pacifica bylaws, the PNB majority passed a motion that would illegally extend their own terms as Directors.
- Acting contrary to the National Election Supervisor's decision to terminate the election because it would be impossible to fairly conduct the long-delayed board elections due to inadequate membership records, and lacking a plan to remedy the cited deficiencies, the PNB majority nevertheless directed Pacifica's Executive Director to proceed with elections, replacing two NESes in the process.
- Acting contrary to its own acknowledgement of a conflict of interest, and despite a bylaws-compliant election timeline recommended by a new NES, the PNB majority violated the bylaws again by repeatedly setting its own timelines, which changed the qualification status of candidates as well as voters.

Pacifica governance is directing program changes to gentrify the airwaves, counter to the Pacifica Mission, endangering the Spanish-language and other community-based programming.

"These violations of the democratic rules of elections and governance are designed to keep listeners and staff from exercising their voice and vote," says Grassroots Community Radio Coalition candidate Michael Novick. "Carried out mostly in secrecy, the decisions of the self-serving Board majority threaten the survival of the Foundation and prevent the stations from fulfilling their mission to serve the community and the cause of free speech, peace and justice. We are bringing these concerns to the attention of the AG today, and our Grassroots candidates are running under protest in these elections to bring these issues of financial mismanagement, illegality, and a lack of accountability or responsiveness into the

light of day."

The complaint was filed, along with a press conference and community speak-out, on Tuesday, January 8 in Los Angeles at the AG's office. Further documentation ins being provided and a meeting with and remedies by the Attorney General are being sought, including injunctive relief against the flawed elections, which have again been delayed, release of all documents surrounding the loans and development of a repayment plan, and a requirement that the PNB reconstitute the Committees of Inclusion at each station, empowered to assure equitable involvement of under-represented communities in programming, staff, management and governance at Pacifica and its stations.

Because the new NES improperly disqualified Sharon Brown, a Black community activist illegally removed from the Board once before, please vote for her as a write-in, #1 on your ballot!

URGENT APPEAL

We need your financial support to continue sending the paper free to nearly 2000 prisoners around CA and the US.

PLEASE SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

**\$20 a year payable only to Anti-Racist Action
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Postage alone for this issue comes to nearly \$1000. We would like to increase the size and frequency of *Turning the Tide*, but we can only do it with your support. If you're a prisoner and can send stamps or get someone outside the walls to subsidize your subscription, please do so. If you work with an info shop or other zine or record distro, please consider ordering a bundle of TTT to distribute; \$5 will get you 20 copies. And check out our 100X100 campaign elsewhere in this issue. If you live in L.A. or nearby, we can come to house meetings to speak and collect donations for the paper. Email antiracistaction_la@yahoo.com

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 13 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.

Murder Is The Case:

The CA Medical Facility Administrative Staff Has Blood on Their Hands!!

Reporting for the W.L. Nolen Mentorship Program by
Chairman Kijana Tashiri Askari

By definition, of the law, prisoners have a clearly established constitutional right to medical care, and this is per *Estelle v. Gamble*, 429 US 97 (1976).

But apparently, this law is not applicable to New Afrikan Black people, based upon an 1857 United States Supreme Court decision, where the Justices ruled:

“The Negro lies so far below the Whites on the scale of created beings that they have no rights that Whites are bound to respect.” --1857 US Supreme Court decision in Dred Scott Case

Article II of the UN’s “Geneva Convention on Genocide” defines the crime of genocide as meaning any of the following acts:

“genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- A. Killing members of the group;
- B. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- C. Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- D. Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- E. Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

There is no other way to describe what’s going on at the California Medical Facility (C.M.F.) (aka “Vacaville”), in Vacaville, California, than what the concrete facts inform us of. And the facts are: “The prisoner class is being subjugated under a sophisticated form of genocide! (i.e., “Our standard of care is being met”).

Hospitals, by design, are infrastructures that have been constructed to treat, care for, protect life, prevent significant illness/disability, or alleviate severe pain. [1.]

However, since my arrival to the California Medical Facility (C.M.F.) on September 5, 2017, I have witnessed everything *but* the protection of life, as it relates to the prisoner class. In addition to those prisoners

sent to “X Corridor,” (i.e., “Hospice”) from every slave kamp in C.D.C.R., to suffer in extreme pain & misery via over-medicating medical prescriptions, while they await their inevitable demise...prisoners are also being maliciously & intentionally deprived of adequate health care via the crucible of “misdiagnosing” prisoners and outright refusing prisoners medical treatment.

I will simply point to two cases, to substantiate my point:

1.) On November 5, 2017, a New Afrikan brutha named Theaudra C. Williams (CDCR #C-47938, (V-Wing, Cell #101) also known as “Big Gangsta” from the Los Angeles area, went into a Diabetic Coma for 48 hours and died! Somehow, this New Afrikan brutha survived this ordeal, by being brought back to life by San Joaquin General Hospital Medical Staff. Brutha “Gangsta” attributes his survival to correctional officer S. Wang who found him lying slumped over in his cell, during the 1st Watch (1W) Count, wherein he called out to brutha Theaudra C. Williams numerous times, to which brutha Theaudra was non-responsive. Officer S. Wang then activated his Emergency Alarm, wherein an Emergency Team responded to perform CPR, but to no avail, efforts by CMF’s Medical Staff to resuscitate were unsuccessful.

At no point, prior to this contradiction, did Theaudra C. Williams’ Medical Physician Dr. Petras, perform any tests on this brutha, or recommend that he be examined by a specialist, with regards to numerous complaints of chest pain, frequent urination, light headedness and so forth.

2.) On 10/22/2018, a second New Afrikan brutha named “Rasheed” (s/n Raymond Jackson) CDCR # C-21148, (V-Wing, Cell #243) from the Los Angeles area, was murdered by (C.M.F.) Administrative staff and their malicious and deliberate indifference to his serious medical needs.

Brutha “Rasheed” had been a kidney transplant survivor for over 25 years, thanks to the compassion of his brutha. “Rasheed” had been incarcerated since 1981, and never had a history of heart problems. But on 10/19/2018, brutha “Rasheed” had begun complaining of chest pains & shortness of breath, and went “Man-Down” twice on 10/20/2018, and again, on 10/21/2018. Each time he went “Man-Down,” and requested medical treatment, our designated Housing Unit Medical Nurse [2], blatantly ridiculed “Rasheed” openly laughing at him

for all to see.

Sunday morning 10/21/2018, “Rasheed” was given an “EKG,” and was told:

“Since there was no pain in his left arm and/or the left side of his neck, there was nothing wrong with his heart.”

On 10/22/2018, at 2 A.M. in the morning, brutha “Rasheed” was found dead in his cell slumped over his typewriter, working on a legal petition for the courts.

Bruthas “Gangsta” and “Rasheed” are well known “jailhouse Lawyers,” who were a constant ‘thorn’ in the backside of C.D.C.R.! And there is no doubt, that this dynamic was a major factor that contributed towards C.M.F.’s Administrative murdering these bruthas!!! As brutha “Rasheed” was in the process of negotiating a \$1-Million-Dollar settlement with C.D.C.R., at the time of his death!

If anybody knows these New Afrikan brutha’s families, please inform them of the truth, in particular, how C.M.F. Administrative has murdered their loved ones!

In addition, the W.L. Nolen Mentorship Program (W.L.N.M.P.) is asking the people, to voice their outrage to C.D.C.R. headquarters [3.] in Sacramento, California, and demand justice for these bruthas! How many more prisoners must die, before C.M.F. Administration is held accountable?!?!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE WHO DO NOT FEAR FREEDOM!!

*For more information, Contact me at:
ATTN: W.L. Nolen Mentorship Program,
C/O Chairman KTA, P.O. Box 7907,
Austin, Texas 78713

<http://www.kijanatashiriaskari.wordpress.com>

E-mail: w.l.nolen13@gmail.com

* REFERENCE NOTES:

[1.] The California Code of Regulations, Title 15, Section 3350, (1.); provides the definition for the standard of care entitled to prisoners.

[2.] We have put out an all-points bulletin (APB) to locate and discover the name of this nurse. As she was immediately relocated and/or reassigned from V-Wing, Unit 4, after she murdered “Rasheed.” She has a heavy African accent, dark complexion, & is about 5’9” in height.

[3.] All letters are to be mailed to:

Attn: C.D.C.R. Secretary,
C/o Scott Kernan,
Sacramento, CA. 95814

Angela Y. Davis on the Cancellation of her Fred Shuttlesworth Human Rights Award

On Sat. Jan. 5, I was stunned to learn that the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute Board of Directors had reversed their previous decision to award me the Fred Shuttlesworth Human Rights Award. Although the BCRI refused my requests to reveal the substantive reasons for this action, I later learned that my long-term support of justice for Palestine was at issue. This seemed particularly unfortunate, given that my own freedom was secured – and indeed my life was saved – by a vast international movement. And I have devoted much of my own activism to international solidarity and, specifically, to linking struggles in other parts of the world to U.S. grassroots campaigns against police violence, the prison industrial complex, and racism more broadly. The rescinding of this invitation was thus not primarily an attack against me but rather against the spirit of the indivisibility of justice.

I support Palestinian political prisoners just as I support current political prisoners in the Basque Country, in Catalunya, in India, and in other parts of the world. I have indeed expressed opposition to policies and practices of the state of Israel, as I express similar opposition to U.S. support for the Israeli occupation of Palestine and to other discriminatory U.S. policies. Through my experiences at Elizabeth Irwin High School

in New York City and at Brandeis University in the late fifties and early sixties, and my subsequent time in graduate school in Frankfurt, Germany, I learned to be as passionate about opposition to anti-semitism as to racism. It was during this period that I was also introduced to the Palestinian cause. I am proud to have worked closely with Jewish organizations and individuals on issues of concern to all of our communities throughout my life. In many ways, this work has been integral to my growing consciousness regarding the importance of protesting the Israeli occupation of Palestine.

The trip to Birmingham, where I was born and raised, to receive the Fred Shuttlesworth Award, was certain to be the highlight of my year—especially since I knew Rev. Shuttlesworth personally and attended school with his daughter, Patricia, and because my mother, Sallye B. Davis, worked tirelessly for the BCRI during its early years. Moreover, my most inspirational Sunday School teacher, Odessa Woolfolk, was the driving force for the institute’s creation. Despite the BCRI’s regrettable decision, I look forward to being in Birmingham in February for an alternative event organized by those who believe that the movement for civil rights in this moment must include a robust discussion of all of the injustices that surround us. --Angela Y. Davis. January 7, 2019



2012 African American museum photo
by Osiris Munir, Ankh Entertainment,
Culver City News.

USW Cell: L.O.C.O1 Must Not Wage War on Organizations Fraternal to the Anti-Imperialist Struggle

by Ras’Safidi of L.O.C.O1/USW, Dec. 1, 2018 [excerpts; full PDF online]

Right off the rim, let it be said to the following organizations, on behalf of L.O.C.O1: MIM (Prisons), ARA-LA, MXGM, IWOC, NABPP (PC), #BLM, NOI and the New Afrikan sub-committee of the countrywide Council of USW are called on to forgive the authors of the statement sent to and published in the *TTT* issue Vol. 30 #4 “USW Building Bridges Initiative” and “United Front Public Build.” Of the month of September, when prisoners and their organizations are concentrating on consolidating the movement to end prisons as they are today.

The release of those statements from the body known as L.O.C.O1 was premature, immature and provocative at a level capable of instigating hostilities between several factions within prisons and in society. It must be stated on the record and in public that the statements made by Ras’Safidi and C.W.L. Bey were made on the accord of themselves and their local members, separate from any other body of the organization of which the cell these two belong to.

United Struggle from Within is the mass organization of political prisoners developed in guidance with MIM (Prisons). L.O.C.O1 is a cell of individuals considered First World Lumpen with a multi-national/cultural membership motivated by the Black Panther Party for self-Defense and the Black Riders Liberation Party. L.O.C.O1 stands for Lumpen Organizations Consolidated On the One. As a small body within CA prisons as well as outside, it concentrates on developing a stronger hand for USW as a whole to be respected as a political organization and not a gang. Transforming prisons using revolutionary culture that produces politically conscious prisoners sometimes can disconnect us from other parts of the movement.

L.O.C.O1 organize from the inside to the outs, and try to be as independent as possible. Ras’Safidi and CWL Bey are leaders at the level of poor righteous teachers of over 20 lumpen prisoners. Ras’Safidi can claim more than 100 psychologically liberated by the teachings of the L1 cell. It was never intended as disrespect that they called on those other organizations of the movement, with L.O.C.O1 has subscribed to by countless hours of promotion, study and being targeted for holding membership to. It was solely to provide the lost word and the stone the builders rejected.

This member shouldn’t have included specific names of any parties without first getting written express permission to jack slack on said party. Though we are members of a strong cell, the authors only speak for the local conditions/members of the population. Their views do not reflect the whole of USW, its comrades of MIM (Prisons) or any of the established sub-committees of the USW Countrywide Council.

Ed. Note: TTT apologizes if our publication of the prior piece caused any needless problems. Our interest is solely in sharing information, hopefully promoting revolutionary unity on a non-sectarian basis.

ZAPATISTAS

...Continued from p. 3

representatives are not professional politicians. Instead, everyone is encouraged to participate and learn how to represent without substituting popular demand.

The focus of the Zapatistas has shifted since the time of the uprising. In 1996, they called for a meeting of Indigenous people across Mexico, which turned into the National Indigenous Congress (CNI). More than an organization, the CNI is a space to share community struggles and their vision of a possible future for the country. Without joining the EZLN or taking up arms, anti-capitalist Indigenous people joined the CNI and are still organizing resistance from their own trenches, capacities and worldviews.

The support networks played a key role in perhaps the CNI's most widely known project, forming the Indigenous Government Council (CIG) and electing Maria de Jesus Patricio Martinez, better known as 'Marichuy,' as their spokesperson and presidential candidate for the 2018 elections. They are in charge of organizing Marichuy's visits to their respective communities and cities, collecting signatures to approve her candidacy and include her in the ballots, and contributing to a collective reflection exercise on revolutionary praxis.

Times of No, Time of Yes

The Zapatistas' slow but steady development in revolutionary theory and practice has made them one of the main references for an alternative to capitalism in Latin America and the world. By refusing to take part in the mainstream economic and political system and actually proposing and executing ideas, the movement is moving forward positively.

This is explained by them as the "Time of No" and the "Time of Yes." That is, negating and proposing. For Eugene Gogol, a writer and activist living in Mexico, the Zapatista thinking echoes that of Georg W. F. Hegel and Karl Marx.

"It is an advance in which out of the first no, or rejection, something new arises, new ideas, new concepts, the positive in the negative," Gogol told teleSUR. "In Hegel this is put forward as a development of ideas, of thought."

Marx, while recovering Hegel's idea of dialectics, implemented that system of thought into the material world and living human forces. For Marx, the destruction of capitalism (first negation) would come hand-in-hand with an alternative (second negation or the negation of the negation), says Gogol, resulting in communism and "humanism arising from itself."

But the Zapatistas don't define themselves as communists, solely as Zapatistas. They believe that every individual and group should find their own path for liberation, their own "negation of the negation."

"The Zapatistas in 1994 called for an uprising, and have since turned to other forms of struggle," says Gogol. "They are anti-vanguardist, and thus believe that each movement and social struggle needs to decide how they will organize and what form their struggle will take, without being dictated from above."

Living in a Food Desert

by David Gilbert, European-descent political prisoner

Prison is bad for our health in so many ways: separation from loved ones, daily stress, questionable medical care. On the positive side, many of us exercise regularly. But when it comes to nutrition, prison can be a wasteland. Diet is a key to avoiding such difficult illnesses as diabetes, high blood pressure, and heart disease, which hit African Americans and Latino/as especially hard. Exercise and nutrition also help with staying mentally sharp as we age. Most of us know the broad guidelines, such as to have five to seven helpings of fresh fruit and vegetables a day – but we don't get that even in a week. While the situation may seem bleak, there's a lot more we can do to help ourselves, both in the choices we make and the policies we fight for.

When there's cake in the chow line, almost everyone goes for it, but hardly anyone picks up the weekly helping of coleslaw –(even though) cabbage is highly nutritious. When we go to commissary, guys haul in the bear claws and potato chips, but almost never the brown rice. In a way these choices make sense. Deprived of so many pleasures, we come to relish the rush of biting into some junk food. Fat, salt, and especially sugar are all addicting. That's why food processing companies work to get kids started with the likes of Fruit Loops and then calibrate the amounts of sugar, fat, and salt in foods to keep us hooked. Simple carbohydrates such as white flour, potatoes, and white rice are also problematic because they break down so quickly to sugar in our bodies.

Peer education can make a big difference – that's when some homeboys and homegirls learn the ins and outs, and then we all work together as a community. That approach played a major role when we first faced the



Tzotzil keep memory of Acteal massacre alive.

This thinking has influenced Gogol and pushed him to write and organize study circles with colleagues to analyze today's reality, while taking part in Zapatista-led initiatives and support movements such as the CNI, CIG and their spokeswoman Marichuy.

"For myself, and those of us in Praxis en America Latina, we see the need to both identify with what we see as the dialectic of the Zapatista struggle, while at the same time not shying away from showing that this dialectic is not only Zapatista, but has historically and globally developed. For us, understanding the methodology and particularly showing Marx's revolutionary dialectic in permanence is very necessary today for all freedom struggles, including Zapatismo," says Gogol.

Now, the EZLN and other revolutionary Indigenous organizations are at a turning point. Marichuy didn't make it to the ballots for the 2018 elections, won by the center-left Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador (AMLO), but the CIG continues organizing a national movement integrated by Campesinos and the working-class, Indigenous and non-Indigenous alike, to topple capitalism and the ruling class.

Lopez Obrador and his team have promised to respect the San Andres Accords signed by the EZLN and the government in the 1990s, but reality seems different. Even though the accords establish that Indigenous communities should be consulted over anything related to their territory, one of Lopez Obrador's first announced projects, the Maya Train, has been approved without proper consultation, and Indigenous organizations from the Yucatan peninsula are rejecting it.

In late December, support networks from across Mexico met in Guadalupe Tepeyac, part of the Zapatista autonomous territory in Chiapas, to discuss the next steps in the struggle along with representatives of the CNI, the CIG and the EZLN. On January 1, they will be at 'La Realidad,' the first Caracol, commemorating 25 years of the uprising.

Taking into account the outcome of the last assembly, this has the potential to produce an inclusive national plan and years of work between organizations, a new step in the long road to autonomy, liberty, life and dignity. A new "negation of the negation," another time for proposing and action.

frightening prison AIDS crisis in overcoming the panic, building support for our brothers and sisters with AIDS, and getting into the nitty gritty of prevention. We can apply that method to nutrition. Just like having workout partners leads to more consistent exercise, we can become positive eating partners. Tastes are cultivated; we can learn to appreciate healthier foods – and even to tolerate those overcooked vegetables to get some kind of leafy greens into our lives.

While the limitations are frustrating, there are some additional things we can do: 1. Encourage our friends to get off junk food – sugared drinks are the worst – and to prioritize whatever healthier options are available. 2. Lobby for commissary and package provisions for fresh produce, whole grains, beans, and nuts (some commissaries offer multi-vitamins, but we should try to get them with minerals too, which are equally important). 3. Push for prison food partnerships with local, preferably organic farmers, and develop prison gardens for our own consumption.

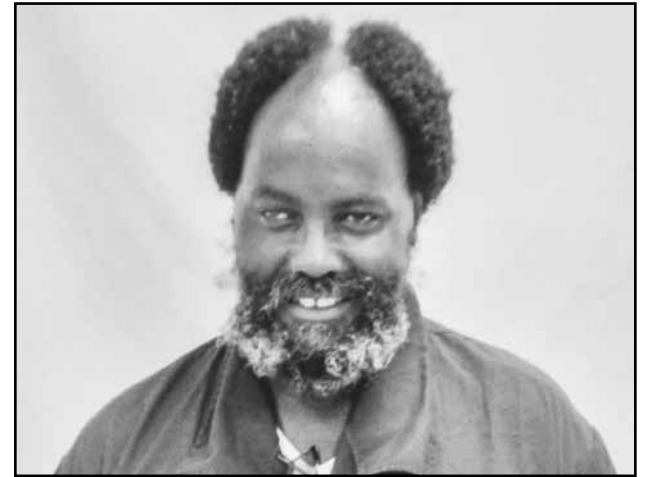
David Gilbert #83-A-6158, Wende Correctional Facility, 3040 Wende Road, Alden, NY 14004-1187
Academy of Nutrition and Dietetics / 120 South Riverside Plaza, Ste 2190 / Chicago, IL 60606-6995; 800-877-1600. <https://www.eatright.org>
Helpful articles: <https://fight.org/programs-and-services/prison-health-news/> For those who take on the challenge of a vegan diet in prison: The Guide for Vegan Prisoners / The Vegan Society / Donald Watson House / 21 Hylton St. / Hockley, Birmingham, B18 6HJ / UK. Support Vegans in the Prison System / PO Box 18576 / Minneapolis MN 55418 / supporttips@riseup.net

Mumia Abu-Jamal Wins Right to New Appeal, Path to Freedom

A Pennsylvania judge has ruled that Mumia Abu-Jamal was improperly denied a new trial on appeal because the D.A. involved in fighting his appeals, supported by the Fraternal Order of Police, later unconstitutionally participated as a PA Supreme Court Justice in ruling against him, creating what the judge considered the appearance of bias and impropriety.

On Dec. 3, 2018, Judge Leon Tucker had heard final arguments in Mumia Abu-Jamal's two-year-long appeal case on this issue and announced that he would issue a decision at a future time. The decision that came down was a partial ruling in Mumia's favor which creates a path to freedom through a new appeal process.

In response, there was a rally at Philly DA Krasner's office to say #FreeMumia! and to tell Krasner: DO NOT APPEAL! Krasner, a self-proclaimed progressive who had been a defense attorney, was elected on a pledge to

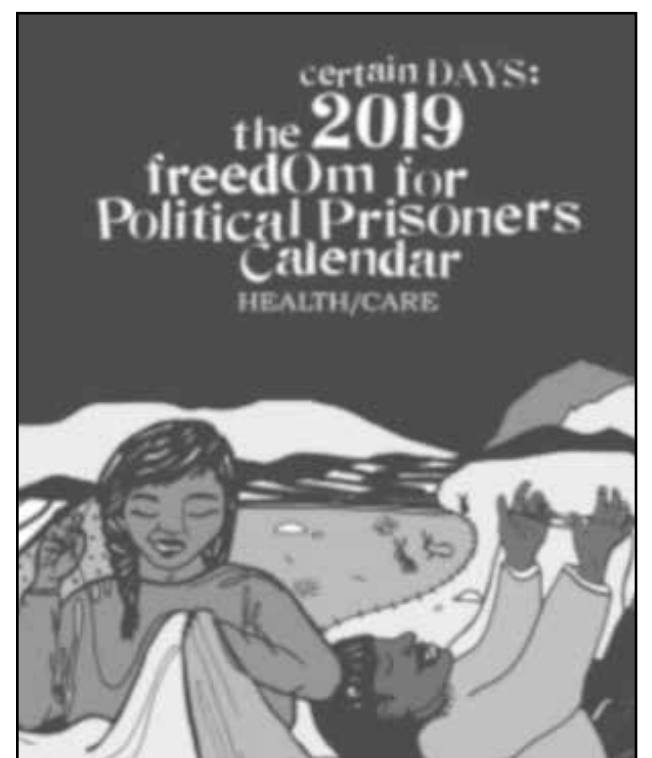


help reduce mass incarceration, and has expunged some convictions, but took the former DA and Supreme Court justice in the case, Ron Castile, as an adviser, and has been dancing to the tune of the Fraternal Order of Police, which wants to kill Mumia, on this issue. But the police failed to kill Mumia on the streets; the DA and Gov. failed to kill Mumia in the courts; the PA DOC has failed to kill Mumia in the prisons through medical neglect, and we will see Mumia!

All supporters are being asked to sign up for immediate email notice by going to this website: <http://www.mobilization4Mumia.com> or using the following link:

Pledge to Take Action to Free Mumia: <https://actionnetwork.org/forms/freemumia>. Contact Philly DA Larry Krasner to urge that he not appeal the judge's decision to allow Mumia Abu-Jamal a new appeal:

District Attorney's Main Office
Three South Penn Square
Corner of Juniper and South Penn Square
Philadelphia, PA 19107-3499
215-686-8000
Philadelphia District Attorney's Office FB
@philadao on twitter
Free Mumia and All Political Prisoners!



Check out this featured article for January in the 2019 Certain Days calendar. This is the first article printed in the brand new calendar which hopefully, is hanging on your wall! If you have not purchased one yet, be sure to order from:

<https://burningbooks.com/products/certain-days-2019-calendar-awakening-resistance>
<https://www.certaindays.org/>

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TURNING THE TIDE

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INSIDE

- ### UPCOMING EVENTS:
- ★ Jan 11, 11:30a-1p, Close Guantanamo, DTLA Federal Bldg
 - ★ Jan 21, MLK Day of Service & LA's Kingdom Day Parade, Crenshaw
 - ★ Feb 2, Grassroots Forum: Countering Gentrification of KPFK Airwaves
 - ★ Feb 9, 12n-3pm TTT Benefit Brunch: Fighting Fascism for 55 Years, Peace Center, 3916 S. Sepulveda Blvd. Culver City 90230 (Editor's 72nd Birthday)
 - ★ Feb 23 Deadline for Voting in Pacifica delegate elections to Local Board
 - ★ March 8 - International Women's Day/Global Women's Strike

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AND THE MOVEMENTS THAT ARE PAVING A WAY INTO THE FUTURE."

- MUMIA ABU JAMAL

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innocence.



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