

It's Bigger than the Police:

White-Supremacist Capitalism and State-Sanctioned Violence Against Black People

By Melina Abdullah

On October 29, 2018, Albert Ramon Dorsey was murdered by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) while completely naked and exiting the shower inside a 24-Hour Fitness center in Hollywood. Employees called the police on him, first alleging that he was a “transient,” then asserting that there had been a verbal altercation, and finally claiming some incident from days prior justified their call. This is the second time in less than two years that employees at this second-largest gym chain have gotten Black members killed by police in Los Angeles.

In March 2017, employees called the police on Dennis Todd Rogers, citing their “discomfort” with the 41-year-old father. LA Sheriff’s Dept. deputies shot him dead outside the gym on Slauson Blvd. in south LA. While these private employees did not pull the trigger in either case, no one can claim to be unaware of the potential for an interaction between Black people and police to result in Black death.

@djsardine On 10/29 Albert “Ramon” Dorsey aka Mello (30) was shot and killed in a gym locker room by LAPD. To know him was to love him, best described as the “Gentle Giant” he would give his last and his all to help another person succeed. <https://www.gofundme.com/albert-ramon-dorsey...#BlackLivesMatter> 10:55 AM - Nov 8, 2018

The Black Lives Matter movement has been hugely successful in raising awareness around the way in which Black people are “systematically and intentionally targeted for demise” by police. Many are familiar with the ground-breaking study of the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement which found that Black people are killed every 28 hours by police, security guards, or vigilantes.

Over the last three years, since Donald Trump’s candidacy, we have experienced the greatest increase in hate crimes on record, especially in urban centers. The violent attack on the immensely popular Black queer actor, Jussie Smollett, in Chicago is most illustrative, with attackers hurling racist, homophobic remarks as they poured bleach on him and attempted to place a noose around his neck. [After claiming Smollett staged the attack, and arresting him, all charges against Smollett were dropped subsequent to this article being written--ED.]

As the violent attacks on Black people are pushed to the fore of our collective consciousness, we have been programmed to believe them to be the work of a few white extremists, poorly trained police, or maybe even a few “bad apples.” What is missed is the systemic and intentional nature of it all and how white-supremacist capitalism condones, benefits from, and even requires violence against Black people.

In his seminal book *Black Marxism*, Cedric Robinson builds on the work of Oliver Cox, W.E.B. DuBois, CLR James, and Richard Wright, when he analyzes the concept of racial capitalism, arguing that capitalism does not simply require racism, but that racism (or racialism) actually predates capitalism and that the two are interlocking systems.

In short, racism is not simply a tool necessary to make capitalism viable, but is a co-equal leg of an oppressive system. Racial capitalism means that the economic system and the racial hierarchy reinforce one another, embedding ownership and working classes. But there is no fluidity; the people along these strata are static. We don’t simply live in a racialized system, or even a racist system; we live in a white-supremacist

system. White folks are at the top and Black folks at the bottom, with white wealth requiring Black exploitation.

None of this is a groundbreaking revelation. It is very apparent that, save an Oprah here and a Jay-Z there, all the rich folks are white, and Black folks are mostly broke. What is less apparent, though, is why and how these positionings connect with state violence.

The popular narrative around state violence and the police killings of Black people is that they are individual instances—some justified and some warranting protest. Government agencies and mainstream media, in the interest of White-supremacist capitalism, engage in what Thandisizwe Chimurenga calls “double murder,” the killing of the body followed by the assassination of the character. As Manning Marable outlines in *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America*, we didn’t just stumble into this process.

The systems that are constructed were intentionally developed to produce outcomes that hasten white-supremacist, capitalist profit. American policing was constructed to be a tool to advance the interests of the white ownership class. Policing is a direct derivative of slave-catchers, who returned formerly enslaved African people who dared to take their freedom back to their alleged “owners.” Parallel practices by contemporary police place targets on the backs of Black bodies and continue to protect the interests of white owners.

When two LAPD officers entered the gym locker room at 24-Hour Fitness, they were invited in by corporate practices that viewed Albert Ramon Dorsey’s 6’1”, 300-pound frame as a threat to white fragility. White-supremacist capitalism saw Ramon’s presence as infringing on the comfort of white (and compliant non-white) patrons, and, as such impeding their profits. Rather than allowing Ramon to finish showering and dressing, and taking the logical next step—leaving—white-supremacist capitalism deemed it much more efficient to simply extinguish Ramon.

24-Hour Fitness commissioned police to send a message to Black people—much like slave-catchers and overseers sent messages to enslaved people—submit,

or be killed. The message was also one of solidarity among the white ownership class, and extended to whites of every class, affirming their position on the racial hierarchy. Each outcome more deeply entrenches white-supremacist capitalism and the place of corporations like 24-Hour Fitness within it.

So while attention on the policing system and reimagined visions of public safety are necessary endeavors, Black liberation requires that we examine the larger systems that require and benefit from police violence. Justice for #AlbertRamonDorsey and #DennisToddRogers...and #JohnCrawford, #SkyYoung, #KajiemePowell, #YvetteHenderson, and so many others comes when we demand more than individual officers be fired and charged.

Justice is even bigger than making sweeping reforms to entire police departments. Justice means getting to the root of it all and undoing the white-supremacist capitalist system that prioritizes corporate profits above the lives of Black people.

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*In 2013, Melina was among the original group of organizers that convened to form Black Lives Matter and continues to serve as a Los Angeles chapter lead and contributes to the global leadership. Melina is co-host and co-producer of the weekly radio program *Beautiful Struggle* on KPFF and hosts and produces the internet radio show “Move the Crowd” on *Radio Justice*. She regularly contributes to print and broadcast media and is featured in the films *13th*, *When Justice Isn’t Just*, and *Justice or Else*. She is widely published in academic and popular outlets. Melina is originally from Oakland, California, is a single “soccer mama” of three children, and resides in Mid-City Los Angeles. This article originally appeared in *Praxis* and is reprinted with the permission of the author.*



Sheila Hines-Brim, aunt of Wakiesha Wilson, & Melina Abdullah outside DA Lacey’s office.

REST IN POWER EXILED FREEDOM FIGHTER NEHANDA ABIODUN

Abiodun passed away on January 30th in Havana, Cuba. She was 68. Abiodun had been in exile in Cuba for at least 30 years, after enduring years of being forced to live underground on charges associated with the liberation of Assata Shakur and the robbery of a Brinks armored car by the Revolutionary Armed Task Force of the BLA..

Abiodun has steadfastly denied involvement in those actions she had been charged with, but has proudly said that, “I am proud of being accused of it.”

“She is my sister and I love her.”

Before facing the dangerous challenge of repression, Abiodun was a founding member of the New Afrikan People’s Organization (NAPO), spearheaded by the late Chokwe Lumumba who died in office as Mayor of Jackson, Mississippi just several years ago. She also worked at the legendary Lincoln De-tox Center, a bold, holistic health care initiative of the Black Panther Party



Exiled Black liberation freedom fighter Nehanda Abiodun lived out her life in Cuba.

and the Young Lords Party at Lincoln Hospital, until the operation was labeled a “breeding ground for terrorists” and then shutdown by NY Mayor Ed Koch in 1978.

In Cuba, Abiodun would become a presiding elder for the powerful emergence of Cuban Hip Hop in the 1990s, challenging young artists to use the engaging art form to raise human consciousness and to affirm their African identity through a cross-fertilization vehicle she came to anchor known as Black August. They came to address her as “Mama Nehanda” and dubbed her “The Godmother of Cuban Hip Hop” for her empowering presence and direction.

Services for Abiodun were held at Harlem’s National Black Theater. Abiodun was born and raised in Harlem. “It breaks our hearts that Nehanda has to come home this way,” said Malcolm X Commemoration Committee press officer Zayid Muhammad. “We will honor her with the love she gave so many of us with her bold, cherished commitment.”

MASSACRE AT CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand

Written 3/16/19 © 2019 Mumia Abu-Jamal

Live-streamed, a young Aussie killer invades a set of Muslim mosques, and commits a massacre of men, women and even children.

The man publishes a maniacal manuscript decrying Muslim “invaders” of Europe, while slaughtering Muslims at prayer and in meditation.

Online, millions viewed this carnage live as it happened in Christchurch, a city in New Zealand. The author of this horror was reportedly a ‘white nationalist’

who expressed opposition to Muslim immigrants.

New Zealand, a nation mostly composed of 2 islands in the SE Pacific Ocean, is mostly white people from Britain, who number in the millions. The Maori, (indigenous) people who are of Polynesian ancestry, have lived there for at least 500 years before European arrival, with the 18th century exploration of British Captain James Cook.

As a result of European/Maori warfare, Maori were

reduced to less than 100,000 souls around the time of the US Civil War.

Today, there are perhaps 200,000 Maori survivors.

So, who are the invaders?

New Zealand now has a population of about 4.5 million, 71% of which are of European ancestry. Kinda makes you wonder: who invaded whom?

At last count, some 50 Muslims were slain, and an Australian man in his 20s is charged in connection with what we call the Christchurch Massacre.

A Conversation with Nestor Kohan (Part 1):

Confront Imperialism and Don't Make Concessions [excerpts]

February 23, 2019 <https://venezuelanalysis.com/analysis/14346> Interview by Cira Pascual Marquina

Argentine Nestor Kohan has worked to recover the tradition of Latin American revolutionary Marxism, a trajectory that he argues stretches from Julio Antonio Mella and Jose Carlos Mariategui to Che Guevara, Fidel Castro and Manuel Marulanda. Kohan has also developed a reading of Marx that considers commodity fetishism to be the centerpiece of Capital: Critique of Political Economy, at the same time emphasizing the political and revolutionary character of all of Marx's texts. Kohan has supported the Bolivarian Process in Venezuela from its beginning. In this interview, we asked about the crisis engulfing the continent, with Venezuela as its epicenter.

What is happening right now in Latin America seems to have a lot in common with Operation Condor, that aimed to rollback the revolutionary tide of the 1960s and '70s. Today, US imperialism wants to wipe out the "Pink Tide" that began at the start of the current century. Is the analogy relevant?

In the 70s Operation Condor was born. An Argentine investigator, Stella Calloni, wrote a good book about it, and a Paraguayan victim of persecution found documents that prove its existence. Intelligence agents of Pinochet also ratified its existence, and declassified documents of the CIA confirm it. It was a coordinated international project to carry out repression on a continental scale. In other words, there was a right-wing, counter-revolutionary internationalism.

On a rhetorical level, the counterrevolution traded in nationalist language. In every country they talked about defending the "national self" (el ser nacional). But their practice was internationalist, and their agents operated in many countries. For instance, the terrorist of Cuban-American descent Felix Rodriguez assassinated Che Guevara. He later participated in the counterinsurgency in El Salvador. There are films of Rodriguez on a helicopter shooting at Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front troops. Luis Posada Carriles, who put a bomb in a commercial airplane, killing many civilians, also operated in several countries. The bomb that killed [Chilean economist] Orlando Letelier in the US was set off by agents of Chilean intelligence.

The "clandestine detention centers" also worked on an international level. In Buenos Aires, there was a torture camp (let's skip euphemisms) "Automotores Orletti," run from an auto repair shop. They gathered there the foreigners they had kidnapped (Chileans, Uruguayans, Paraguayans), and sent them back to their respective dictatorships. In other words, Operation Condor worked on a continental scale. Who directed it? The US; Henry Kissinger. That's well-known.

Operation Condor = International Counter-Insurgency

Where did Operation Condor come from? The National Security Doctrine, a counterinsurgency doctrine, imported from the French torturers in Algeria. The US applied it in Vietnam... for instance, throwing prisoners alive from airplanes, part of the Phoenix Program. That same practice was used in Argentina. They threw revolutionaries captured by the military from airplanes into the Rio de la Plata. They combined it with the same massive torture used in Algeria – including systematic rape of men and women – during the French occupation. The two doctrines, French and North American, were taught in counterinsurgency schools in Panama run by the US military's SOUTHCOM, and in the war school in Rio in Brazil, after the 1964 coup, and in Buenos Aires too.

It was [imperialism's] reaction to three things. First, to the revolutionary insurgency, the huge "social rebellion" of the 1960s, which went from the Vietnamese Revolution to the Algerian Revolution and the Cuban Revolution. It also included the youth rebellions that took place in Mexico, Tokyo, Rome, Berlin, Berkeley and Paris. It was a response to the emergence of Third-World national liberation movements, because many countries, that had been French, English, Dutch, US, or Japanese colonies, gained independence between the end of World War II and the late 1960s, or even the end of 1970s, if we consider Angola.

Second, it was a response to the declining profit rate felt especially sharply with the oil crisis, or "petrodollar crisis," of 1973 and 1974. That economic crisis was itself the outcome of the rebelliousness in the workforce. Third, there was the overall aim of disciplining the workforce, imposing mechanisms of super-exploitation on Third World workers, and finishing off the welfare state (the so-called "golden age of capitalism" that had lasted little more than 30 years in Western Europe: from the end of World War II through the crisis of the early 70s). The aim was to make capitalism-in-crisis function again. But imperialism didn't have an easy time implementing it; it was met with resistance.

Are we seeing the same thing today then? Is there an Operation Condor of the twenty-first century?



Venezuelans march against US intervention and its fascist partners and in defense of their sovereignty and the Bolivarian process.

Today, the counterinsurgency project continues, with some continuity and some discontinuity. We're seeing a new attempt to apply the [old] counterinsurgency doctrine in different conditions. Because rebellions reemerged, after 20 or so years of neo-liberalism.

First, there was the Zapatista rebellion in 1994. Then came Chavez's emergence in Venezuela. There was also the ongoing political-military insurgency in Colombia and the survival of non-capitalist relations in Cuba. That rebelliousness extended to the World Social Forums in the early 21st century. Then Chavez declared the Bolivarian Revolution to be socialist... To the Zapatista's question, "Is there a world where all other worlds fit?," the World Social Forum responded: "Another world is possible." Chavez raised the stakes. He said that other possible world must be socialist, "21st Century Socialism."

It's a weakness of the progressive movements not to have defined 21st Century Socialism, to have stopped short. However, I think we should be cautious in our answers, because there are no pre-established models about to how to make the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Many paths were proposed to Chavez. Some suggested self-managed industries, as was done in Yugoslavia. Others proposed the path of market socialism, as Deng Xiaoping had done in China. Still others, including me, suggested working with Che Guevara's Budgetary Finance System, a transition to socialism based on Popular Power, on participatory democracy, but also with a centralized economy. Venezuela offers certain advantages when it comes to applying this. Its situation is more favorable than Cuba's, whose economy was based on sugar.



Chavez and 21st Century Socialism represented the interests and aspirations of the primarily African and indigenous working people of Venezuela and "Nuestra America."

Venezuela has the [state oil company] PDVSA, which could, with its oil resources, coordinate a series of activities – not only relating to oil profits – but of collective, centralized socialist production, with a centralized banking system and a nationalizing [network of] large enterprises. But that had to be done not only in one isolated country, Venezuela. The proposal was that from ALBA, the Budgetary Finance System could be put in practice on a continental scale. If not in all of the countries, at least in a great many of them.

I believe that Chavez and Bolivarian Venezuela only went halfway, not because they were lukewarm or didn't understand Marxism. They did so because there was and continues to be an open debate. The debate is about the transition to socialism. It is not a new discussion. There have been at least three stages.

The first took place in the 1920s in Bolshevik Russia, where not everybody was in agreement as to how to move forward. On the one hand, Nicolai Bukharin proposed market socialism. On the other side was Yevgeni Preobrazhensky, who proposed an economy with centralized planning. Meanwhile, Lenin tried to find a

political solution, reconciling the two.

That very rich debate [about the transition to socialism] from the 1920s reemerges in the 1960s in Cuba, where Charles Bettelheim proposes market socialism together with Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, who had a somewhat more pro-Soviet attitude. Che Guevara, supported by Ernest Mandel, proposes the Budgetary Finance System. As Lenin had done before, Fidel opts for a political solution that tries to maintain the alliance between the two tendencies as Lenin had done in the 1920s... He tried to keep the pro-market current and the central planning current both within the revolution's sweep.

The third phase of this debate exists now in Venezuela and in the Bolivarian process. It's a debate that's going to happen in any peripheral country that wants to leave capitalism behind. It is an open debate. The progressive governments in Latin America – in Venezuela a government that stands out for its socialist intentions – have raised this debate and it hasn't been resolved.

Following up on that, let's look critically at our movements, which are all in crisis now. Would it be fair to say that these progressive movements are in trouble because they fail to connect with the Latin American revolutionary tradition and practices that derive from Marxist theory?

Are you asking whether Marxism guarantees we will succeed? Marxism is a political conception of the world and of life. It is a multi-linear materialist conception of history, a philosophy of praxis, and a dialectical method, but in itself it does not assure [we're on a] revolutionary path.

Marxism is a tremendous tool that allows us to understand how capitalism works and understand what are the elements that bring it into crisis. It allows us to understand the mechanisms of exploitation, domination, dependency, and imperialism. Yet merely appealing to Marxist texts does not guarantee a revolutionary outcome.

As an Argentine, I know many intellectuals who can quote Marx, but in practice they have reformist positions! As far as Venezuela is concerned, very ambiguous positions! Some don't know if they should support the Bolivarian Process. Or they support the imperialist offensive using quotes taken with tweezers from Marx's texts. They employ Marxist rhetoric yet don't define themselves clearly against imperialism.

Revolutionary Marxism must be accompanied by a firm revolutionary project. Bolivarianism is an emancipatory continental project that could [fill that role]. That's what Chavez tried and what the Colombian insurgency tried to do (along with others). The synthesis of Marxism and Bolivarianism is the best assurance that we have a leftist solution to the crisis, one that questions capitalism. In other words, confront imperialism and not make any concessions.

It's necessary to study Marxism, but it's not enough. Marxism makes things clear. It's a theoretical and scientific tool and critical method, but must go along with clear political positions. In Argentina there are political currents that quote Marxist texts, but when imperialism attacked Syria and Libya and now Venezuela, they have very ambiguous positions. They declare Maduro to be a tyrant. They declare Gaddafi to be a tyrant, whom they lynched! In other words, in the name of Marxism they end up being shock troops of imperialism. Studying Marxism is necessary, but must go hand in hand with revolutionary positions.

(Continued next issue)

<https://venezuelanalysis.com/analysis/14362>

PART's Perspective:

Beyond the Green New Deal: Eco-Socialism & Decolonization

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

Environmental catastrophes in southern Africa and in the US mid-west underscore the fact that life-threatening damage from capitalist-induced climate change is happening already.

Hundreds died as a result of the cyclone in Mozambique and elsewhere, where the resultant flooding has caused an “inland sea”. Record flooding in Nebraska has caused multi-million-dollars of destruction, and more flooding is anticipated.

Things are getting worse, despite the Paris Accord, with or without Trump and the US. Tim Radford of Climate News Network reports British meteorologists warning that although 2018 broke all records for greenhouse gas emissions, 2019 will see even more carbon dioxide added. <https://climatenewsnetwork.net/human-carbon-emissions-to-rise-in-2019/>

Some point to the “Green New Deal” introduced by Ocasio-Cortez and Sen. Markey as the answer. Apparently it has been rendered DOA as far as Congress is concerned, via a “stunt vote” by Majority Leader Mitch McConnell in the Senate. But the impact of US economic and military actions around the world, make it clear that decolonization and demilitarization are central to overcoming global climate injustice.

As the Indigenous Environmental Network has pointed out, the Green New Deal leaves much to be desired. “The IEN applauds the Green New Deal resolution for its vision, intention, and scope. ... From sea level rise to loss of land, Indigenous frontline communities and Tribal nations are already experiencing the direct impacts of climate change, and we are encouraged to see these congressional leaders ... help Indigenous communities and Tribal nations protect their homelands, rights, sacred sites, waters, air, and bodies from further destruction.

“However, ...we remain concerned that unless changes are made..., the Green New Deal will leave incentives ... to continue causing harm to Indigenous communities.... the most impactful way to address the problem is to keep fossil fuels in the ground. We can no longer leave options for the fossil fuel industry to determine the economic and energy future of this country. Until the Green New Deal can be explicit in this demand and close the loop on harmful incentives, we cannot fully endorse the resolution.” <http://www.ienearth.org/talking-points-on-the-aoc-markey-green-new-deal-gnd-resolution/>

Indigenous Environmental Network

The IEN identifies several major problems with the Green New Deal:

1: Its goal of “net-zero emissions” implies the use of “carbon accounting” including carbon pricing systems and/or Payments for Ecological Services. This provides opportunity to fossil fuel industries to continue extraction and combustion. Geoengineering technologies like Carbon Capture Sequestration can be claimed as producing net zero emissions as well as “building green infrastructure.” Carbon trading allows polluters to buy and sell permits to pollute and privatizes the air that we breathe.

2: “Renewable/Clean Energy” need to be clearly defined. Burning “bridge fuels” like fracked gas, municipal waste and biomass, nuclear energy and large-scale hydroelectric dams all pose major environmental justice concerns.

3. Restoring and protecting threatened and fragile ecosystems is linked to supporting climate “resiliency.” Restoration projects could be used as climate mitigation schemes. Programs like REDD+ “financialize” Nature and turns its “carbon-sink” capacities into commodities to be sold in speculative markets.

4. Compensation for farmers might include funding for GMOs and/or Climate Smart Agriculture, so-called “carbon farming” for “offsets” of industrial pollution.

5. Weak language on indigenous peoples sovereignty: “Stakeholders” don’t explicitly include indigenous people. IEN suggests the following language instead: “*The Green New Deal must be developed in transparent and inclusive consultation ... and partnership in recognition of the sovereignty and self-determination of federally recognized American Indian and Alaska Native Tribes and villages including all ...rights secured under treaties, statutes, executive orders and federal and state court cases. These projects will also include ...Native Hawaiian organizations and State recognized Tribes. Acknowledge the ... Tribes that develop ... their own Free, Prior and Informed Consent laws [for] Indian Country, inclusive of their lands, waters, territories and resources; and off-reservation hunting, fishing, medicine gathering, food gathering, cultural and spiritual practices...*”

Imperialism=Pollution, Climate Change

Indigenous people worldwide pay a heavy price for US practices. US imperialism continues to have primary responsibility for damage to the climate. According to the Univ of Michigan, in 2018, 80% of the energy in the US came from oil, gas, and coal. Only 11% came from so-called “renewables”; 40+% of that was biomass, which requires a large amount of land and energy to produce and still causes carbon emissions.

According to PopularResistance.org, “The US is the largest crude oil producer in the world. This week, Mike Pompeo met with oil and gas industry executives to remind them of their role in fueling wars to control the world’s

oil. Bill Van Auken reports, ‘Pompeo’s speech provided a blunt description of US predatory aims across the planet that involve the interests of [its] energy conglomerates.’ [Pompeo] was open about US imperialist aims regarding oil in Iran and Venezuela.”

The US military is responsible for the worst and most widespread pollution on earth, yet this goes unreported by corporate media and unaddressed by US environmentalists. It wasn’t the focus of restrictions at the UN Climate Change Conference. Global operations of the US military (wars, interventions, over 1000 bases around the world and 6000 facilities in the US) aren’t counted against US greenhouse gas limits. According to Steve Kretzmann, director of Oil Change International, “The Iraq war was responsible for ...more than 60% [of the emissions as] that of all countries. ... [M]ilitary emissions abroad are exempt from national reporting requirements under US law and the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change.” <https://www.projectcensored.org/2-us-department-of-defense-is-the-worst-polluter-on-the-planet/>

De-Militarize, De-Colonize, De-Carbonize!

So people in the US must struggle to keep hydrocarbons in the ground, resist US militarism, and uphold the sovereignty of indigenous people. This includes offering concrete alternatives, like the Mutual Aid centers in Puerto Rico, or the clean water programs supported by Puerto Ricans in Action here in L.A., to recovery efforts controlled by US NGOs and the military. Puerto Rico is as damaged,

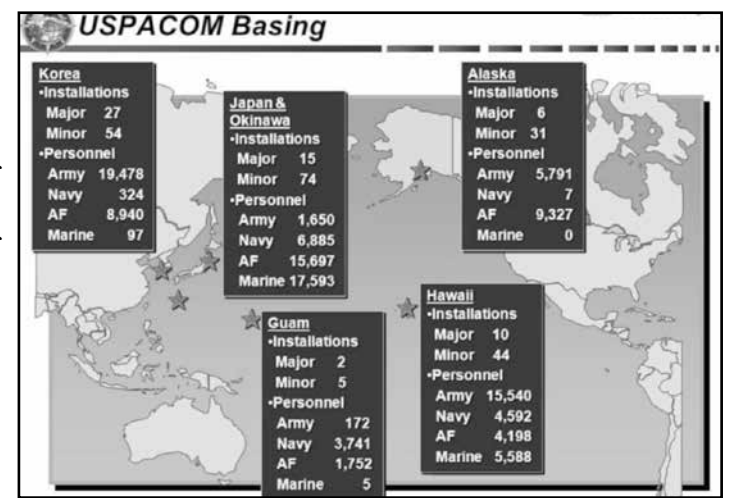


Mercedes Martinez, president of the Puerto Rican Federation of Teachers, struggling against school closures, privatization & colonialism.

ongoing, by US colonialism and disaster capitalism, as by Hurricane Maria. That’s why the Puerto Rican Federation of Teachers, in the documentary “*Lucha Si!*” and in their daily organizing, make it clear that decolonization, Puerto Rican sovereignty, is the solution to the privatization of schools being imposed under the colonial government’s austerity programs and the US-imposed “PROMESA” financial junta that controls the island nation’s finances in order to prioritize repayment of debt to vulture capitalists.

On the recent occasion of getting the PR Dept. of Education to reverse the closing of several schools, Mercedes Martinez, the union president, said, “Everything is possible, if we fight. More than ever proud to have been arrested with 20 comrades for defending public education.” <https://www.facebook.com/federaciondemaestrosdepuertorico/posts/2049249715309763>

Similarly, to respond to the devastation in Africa, we must support self-determined grassroots efforts. More than 1.5 million people have been affected across the three Southern African countries, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Malawi. The Chimanimani district in Mozambique has been cut off by torrential rains and winds that swept away roads and bridges knocking out power and communication



The US military war machine, with over 1000 globe-spanning bases & operations, is the world’s biggest polluter & source of CO2 emissions.

lines. Global Citizen offers specific ways to help victims, as well as general guidelines for providing conscientious assistance to formerly colonized peoples. See <https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/how-to-help-victims-cyclone-idai/> and <https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/all-hands-all-hearts-resilient-response/>

Decolonization as central to the struggle for sustainability and climate justice goes well beyond the current Green New Deal resolution. As eco-socialists in the Democratic Socialists of America acknowledge in their paper on an eco-socialist Green New Deal, we must “demilitarize, decolonize, and strive for a future of international solidarity.”

They call for abandoning global military domination, and building consensus throughout the Global North for decarbonization that outpaces less-industrialized countries, who have contributed the least to and are suffering the most from global warming. The US, they propose, should welcome refugees, share life-saving technologies freely, and provide mitigation resources requested by peoples in the Global South. <https://portside.org/2019-03-16/ecosocialist-green-new-deal-guiding-principles>

Their proposal continues, “Recognize the sovereignty of Indigenous peoples... Accept the decisions of Indigenous communities regarding future green infrastructure projects that impact their lands.... Remove US military presence around the world; end military aid and arms exports; and demilitarize our borders.”

This is a step forward, along with acknowledging we must solve the climate crisis and the inequality crisis together. “Climate remedies in the context of austerity will produce a popular backlash.... Ineffectual gradualism and corporate obedience ... has proven to be a dead-end for humanity. We need rapid, systemic transformation that heals the stratification of wealth and power while putting de-carbonization and justice at the forefront.”

Unfortunately, this same anti-colonial, anti-racist and anti-militarist orientation is not necessarily reflected in local implementation plans. The DSA-LA resolution on an eco-socialist Green New Deal in Los Angeles talks about “green jobs” and a bit about integrating work around housing and homelessness, and around immigration issues, but doesn’t use an anti-colonial or anti-racist lens, and is silent about issues of militarism, local military-industrial complex industries or extractivism. https://www.dsa-la.org/ecosocialist_green_new_deal

Capitalism Kills!

There is a strong need to sharpen up such proposals so that the axiom, “think globally, act locally” doesn’t liquidate the essential role of the military and colonialism in creating the current crisis, or the role of self-determination and conscious solidarity in overcoming it. A truly eco-socialist approach would take on militarization of the police and the border, the toxic conditions in prisons and related issues, to help explain why we need to end capitalism and colonialism, not cut another deal in the 21st Century to give them a new lease on life. **Capitalism kills – its life is our death!**

One positive aspect of the local proposal is that it does identify the need for mutual aid projects as a basis for organizing. As the threat of climate change increasingly becomes the deadly reality, we cannot afford to leave survival to the right-wing or racist survivalists. The left must step up to promote anti-racist collective common solutions in the process of uprooting and replacing the system that is to blame. “Survival pending revolution” was the basis for the Black Panther Party survival programs; such efforts are needed more than ever today, to hasten the day when massive reforestation and restoration of grasslands and wetlands destroyed by capitalism and colonialism can begin to restore the natural carbon cycle.

To de-carbonize, we must de-colonize!

Statement Regarding the City of Portland & the Police Bureau's Feb. 21 Listening Session

by Rose City Antifa (RCA) fight_them_back@riseup.net

The recent uproar in the media and activist community regarding the Portland Police Bureau's communications with Joey Gibson did not take us by surprise, but only served to prove what has been known to many for some time. The City of Portland has attacked and injured anti-fascist activists, and done so at the behest of and in collusion with far-right groups.

Incomplete Timeline of Portland's Collusion with Far-Right Violence

The Portland police provided free buses to transport white supremacists at the tax-payers expense on April 29, 2017.

On May 13, 2017 Joey Gibson assembled his supporters to harass and attack a leftist rally against police brutality at Chapman Square in downtown Portland. Gibson's right-hand man Tusitala "Tiny" Toese was filmed flagrantly assaulting a leftist demonstrator with complete impunity in front of nearby police.

On June 4, 2017 the police attacked anti-fascists with explosives and chemical weapons in order to clear a safe retreat for white supremacists. Then, they kettled over 400 protesters and violated their civil rights, for which the city is being sued by the ACLU. Federal Police also collaborated with far-right militia members in making at least one arrest that day.

Before Joey Gibson's September 10, 2017 hate rally, Portland police (and apparently also Vancouver, WA police) actively colluded with him to conceal from the public the fact that he was changing the rally's location to Vancouver, WA. This event, which was attended by members of the neo-Nazi "PDX Stormers" organization, took place in the immediate aftermath of the deadly Charlottesville "Unite The Right" rally (organized and attended by a number of Joey's fellow alt-right activists) where neo-Nazi James Alex Fields murdered Heather Heyer.

On October 8, 2017, Patriot Prayer supporter and defender of Jeremy Christian, Jay Bishop, was arrested for being a felon in possession of a firearm, as well as possessing a firearm on federal property during a Patriot Prayer event at Terry Schunk Plaza. Gibson gave a week's advance notice to the police about this event, but did not announce it publicly. The police kept Gibson's planned rally a secret from the community. Bishop's case was handed from the Feds to Multnomah County, but he was never prosecuted.

On December 23, 2017, at Patriot Prayer's "March for Jesus" a police officer texted Joey Gibson telling him that a group of "4 or 5" counter-protesters was approaching them. Patriot Prayer and Proud Boys members Tiny Toese, Donovan Flippo, Travis Nugent, Carl D Todd, Justin Sheets, Nate Millsap, and Joseph Jay Harrison then chased these protesters into traffic on the Hawthorne Bridge, causing one of them to be hit by a car. Patriot Prayer members can be heard cheering when the person is hit in their own footage of the accident.

On numerous occasions throughout late 2017 and early 2018, Tiny Toese had warrants out for his arrest, and was allowed to attack activists in downtown Portland without being arrested, while being warned of the risk of arrest by police officers.

On July 20, 2018, far-right live-streamer and Patriot Prayer supporter Chris Ponte punched an activist in front of police at the Occupy ICE protest, unprovoked. Later, A Portland Police officer gave Ponte a friendly heads-up that he had been indicated by witnesses as the perpetrator of the assault. Ponte was never arrested for the assault. Later, the same officer texted Gibson telling him that he hoped another event would be "like the ICE Protest visit you guys did."

On August 4, 2018, in an assault which was deemed to be entirely unprovoked by any media agency who researched it, the Portland Police attacked protesters with explosives, causing several serious burn injuries and fracturing the skull of one person. After breaking up the anti-fascist lines, the Police then allowed the far-right groups to cross Naito Parkway into downtown Portland, where they hunted for protesters to assault.

After the city was swept with outrage for the August 4, 2018 assault, Chief Danielle Outlaw took to a right-wing radio program to mock protesters, saying "I kicked your butt," calling outrage at the unprovoked injuries whining and complaining.

Only months later was it actually revealed that on August 4, 2018 the Police found white nationalists in sniper positions over protesters with high-powered rifles, and let them go.

At the city's listening session last night, a large number of unmarked police vehicles materialized out of the night to give an armed escort to white supremacists, who invaded the meeting, threatening and shouting over the people who had assembled to speak.

At this very listening session, Outlaw was quoted as saying, "I want to be able to show that we're about what we say." Any person who has stepped up to defend their city against white supremacists over the last two years has seen what the city is about, and has heard what its leaders have said. They are about injuring anti-fascists, excusing police and far-right violence, and putting at-risk populations in harm's way.

Listed above are only a select number of the instances in which the city collaborated and supported Patriot Prayer and other far-right groups in Portland. Any statements released by the city claiming to condemn white supremacy are empty gestures and performance, just like this listening session. The city cannot blame this on the police, and the police cannot blame this on the city, and neither can blame this on the far-right. The entities are becoming one and the same. The city employs bigots such as Quincy Franklin and Gregroy Isaacson, and protects them with the police.

Quincy Franklin, currently employed by the Water Bureau, came to threaten LGBT community members at Portland Pride, telling them they deserved to be killed. He has said that Muslims should be murdered, and some women deserve to be raped. At Portland Pride in 2017, Joey Gibson acted as "security" for Franklin and his fellow bigots (including violent white nationalist Allen Pucket) as they attacked people at the trans march. Lt. Jeff Niiya, in his texts to Gibson, hoped that more of his events would go down like Pride.

There are simply too many interactions, too many communications, too many incidents of collusion to point the finger at any one action by the city, the police, or the



far-right. The only way to fully understand the connection between these different entities and the damage they are doing to this city, is to have lived through the fight against this creeping threat. To have stood on the front lines against the police and white supremacists, to see our comrades' blood spilt, and to hear the insults, threats, and blame levied at us from the city, the police, and the fascists: this is to know the nature of the fight we are fighting.

To be anti-fascist is to nevertheless know that the only thing that will work to defend our community and loved ones is to tell all of these forces and more, that we will not relent, we will not give in, and we will not rest until our community is safe from your oppression, hate, and violence.

RCA has not, does not, and will not communicate with the Portland Police Bureau in any venue or form, and we encourage any other activist group who is serious about fighting fascism to do the same. We will not take part in any performances meant to distract attention away from the harm the city has caused by supporting the far-right and attacking anti-fascists.

Patriot Prayer has said Portland's "streets will be cleansed" of liberals and leftists, members of the LGBT, Muslim, and immigrant communities, and any activist who stands up to this violent onslaught. Patriot Prayer has sold T-shirts with a graphic threatening to murder Rose City Antifa members. Followers of Patriot Prayer have, in fact, murdered four people in the Pacific Northwest thus far. The city, via their assistance of Patriot Prayer, and with their batons and explosive grenades, have shown that they are in support of this extra-judicial murder. Patriot Prayer has expressed open support of the violent dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, whose police forces murdered thousands upon thousands of Chilean citizens. The city, through action and inaction, have expressed the role that they are willing to play to Joey Gibson's own demagoguery.

The people, by showing up again to make clear to Gibson and the city that they are not intimidated by these threats, will be the only measure capable of preventing such a fate from finding us in our current chapter of history.

HEARD IT THRU THE GRAPEVINE: KNOCKING SOME SENSE INTO O.C. BONEHEADS

Some boneheads got beat down at the Garden Amp during the Reagan Youth Set in OC. There were about half a dozen boneheads at the show along with normies that were hanging with them.

We were standing next to the group of guys that were with the skrewdriver shirt wearing Keith Swan (Garden Grove). He tried to defend Adrian Navarro (Wilmington) a Mexican bonehead of a migrant family standing with 2 mystery people one in a Landser shirt and the girl standing next to him.

Keith Swan brought his 2 children early teens along with 3 normies. One was a bigger guy in an Exploited sweatshirt, Mike Kelly (Anaheim). He was Keith's back-up obviously knowing the shirt was going to be a potential problem. We chose not to confront Keith since his kids were with him, however they ended up watching their dad get the shit beat and kicked out of him.

Mike Kelly stayed back with the kids during the melee. An older south bay bone pushed through the middle of the melee throwing chaotic punches. He has German soldier tattoos on his back. He's been seen at 2 previous Garden Amp shows, Agnostic Front, and Cro-Mags with 2-3 other sbs from the 80's.



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 guarantee four 8-page issues a year. Now, to restore bi-monthly publication, we have launched a fund-raising campaign we've dubbed "100X100."

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

Turning the Tide doesn't print itself, or mail itself. Some prisoners who get the paper contribute a few stamps. 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 \$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 about 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

MUMIA SPEAKS TO YALE REBEL LAWYERS

By Mumia Abu-Jamal posted on February 28, 2019

On Feb. 1, students at Yale Law School courageously rescinded their invitation to Philadelphia District Attorney Larry Krasner to be a keynote speaker at their Rebel Lawyers (Reb/Law) Conference of Feb. 15-16. This decision came after Krasner chose to appeal a court ruling that would have given political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal access to new Post Conviction Act Relief hearings. In Krasner's place, the students invited Abu-Jamal to address their conference. The following is a transcript of his recorded speech.

Dear Friends at Yale Law School, Dear Rebel Lawyers — On a Move!

When I think of the term “Rebel Lawyers,” the first things that come to mind are jailhouse lawyers. They are, by definition, rebels who oppose the prison-industrial complex, especially the courts. Jailhouse lawyers fight for freedom, for themselves and others, and sometimes they prevail.

Some jailhouse lawyers, like John and Mo Africa of the MOVE Organization, defended themselves at trial and won acquittals. Because such men and women aren't trained in the law, and do their work using logic and sheer will, they fall under the description of Rebel Lawyers. But I've got a feeling that this isn't what students at Yale Law think of when they use the term. If you're really interested in that subject, I urge you to see my book, “Jailhouse Lawyers.”

Let us return to Rebel Lawyers, but with a peculiar twist.

Two revolutionary leaders — Fidel Castro and Nelson Mandela — went to law school, but found that law, and the systems they lived under, were so corrupt, so biased, so dominated by unjust political elites that they learned that their very society had to be radically transformed before the law could be functional. The two men are rarely thought of as lawyers, even though both studied law, and one even briefly practiced it.

Fidel Castro & Nelson Mandela, Attorneys-at-Law

Castro went to law school under the Cuban dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista — a tool of U.S. imperialism and a supporter of the American Mafia.

Mandela earned his law degree under the racist National Party, which ruled South Africa with brutality and what they called “apartheid” — Afrikaans [word] for “separateness,” a system of domestic colonialism that deprived all Africans of their most fundamental human rights.

Both Castro and Mandela rebelled against such unjust systems and joined revolutionary movements to try and reform those societies. They are the very epitome of Rebel Lawyers.

Unless I'm dead wrong, I don't think there is a Fidel or a Nelson in this audience. But I'll be glad to be wrong.

Clarence Darrow For the Defense

The next rebel lawyer is a little closer to the mark. He is Clarence Darrow, who lived during the late 19th and early 20th century. He was a brilliant lawyer, a socialist back when millions of Americans voted for socialists, and an atheist.

In 1902, Darrow went to the Cook County Jail in Chicago and spoke to the prisoners there about law. Here's a little something of what he said: “See what the law is. When these men — the rich — get control of things, they make the laws. They do not make the laws to protect anybody. Courts are not instruments of justice. When your case gets into court, it will make little difference whether you are guilty or innocent, but it's better if you have a smart lawyer. And you cannot have a smart lawyer unless you have money.

“First and last, it's a question of money. Those people who own the Earth make the laws to protect what they have. They fix up a sort of fence, or pen, around what they have, and they fix the law so that the fellow on the outside cannot get in. The laws are really organized for the protection of the men who rule the world. They were never organized or enforced for justice. We have no system for doing justice. Not the slightest in the world.” Those are the words of Clarence Darrow, one of the original Rebel Lawyers.

In September 1925, Dr. Ossian Sweet of Detroit, was charged — and convicted — of murder, after shooting at a mob of whites assembled to attack his home for being a



Black man who dared to move into a white area. When he was granted a retrial, Clarence Darrow took the defense case and won an acquittal.

You law students should read the closing arguments, for you will read some of the finest arguments ever made in an American courtroom. I leave that to you, if you're interested.

Now I use Darrow as a model for rebel lawyers for a reason. You, as law students, have a wealth of doors open before you. Indeed, some of you will go into prosecutors' offices and work to help build and strengthen the bulwark of mass incarceration. Why? Because the lure of power is powerful!

How do you think mass incarceration came to be? Was it a mistake? No. Back during the early 1980s, neoliberals took power in major American cities and waged war on Black communities, led, more often than not, by Democrats like Philadelphia's first Black mayor, Wilson Goode, who brought the infamous MOVE bombing into being. Shortly before him, District Attorney Edward Rendell would join with former Mayor Frank Rizzo to give his blessing to the Aug. 8, 1978, attack on MOVE. Several years later, Rendell would announce an end to the prevailing prison system

by saying that prisons would no longer do rehabilitation. Their job, he said, was incapacitation.

Thus we saw the so-called drug war achieve hyper status, with neoliberals joining conservatives to enact mass incarceration on a scale the nation and the world had never seen before.

It should not therefore surprise us that Pennsylvania has the highest number of juvenile lifers on earth. Bipartisanship between neoliberals and conservatives built the monster we now call “mass incarceration.” No so-called “progressive prosecutor” can or will un-build it. That's because it took the entire system — DAs, judges, cops, defense lawyers and prison administrators, not to mention the media — to collaborate on a monstrous project like mass incarceration.

Only mass resistance can abolish mass incarceration. In other words: only a mass movement. Movements like Black Lives Matter or, for that matter, Reb/Law — movements of law students who stay engaged after they become “lawyers” and say “no” to monsters like mass incarceration and its architects.

That's why it's important to make note of Darrow's early days. He began his career as a corporate lawyer and made a pretty penny representing the people he would later call “the men who rule the world.” But his 1894 meeting with socialist activist and leader Eugene Victor Debs was transformative. Darrow resigned from his corporate clients and, at serious financial sacrifice, began representing those who opposed the economic elites.

He represented Debs at a federal espionage trial four years later and lost. But Darrow — socialist, anti-racist atheist — had begun his long walk as a rebel lawyer. He opposed the death penalty and represented 100 clients facing death — and never had a single one go to death row.

And speaking of the death penalty, I want you to know that this isn't my first trip to Yale. For in 1991, the Yale Law Journal published my essay, called “Teetering on the Brink between Life and Death.” It's in Volume 100. One of my lawyers was exulted, saying, “I made law review!” I calmly replied, “Hmm, you're right! And I didn't take a class.”

I thank you for inviting me back and welcome the work to come to abolish mass incarceration.

From Imprisoned Nation, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal
WRITE HIM (new PA regs):
Smart Communications/PADOC
Mumia Abu Jamal #AM-8335
SCI Mahanoy
PO Box 33028
St Petersburg, FL 33733

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.

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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

THE RIVER OF JADE

by Lee Mun Wah

Lee Mun Wah is the CEO and Founder of StirFry Seminars & Consulting, Inc., a diversity training company in Berkeley, CA. Since its founding in 1985, StirFry Seminars has revolutionized the field of diversity through its internationally-acclaimed documentary films and seminars. What makes the company so unique is their “mindful” approach to how they value and observe communication. They call this “mindful listening,” which focuses on being attentive to the subtleties in each communication, such as intent and impact.

Millions of viewers worldwide have seen “The Color of Fear,” as well as many of the other films produced and directed by Lee Mun Wah. In 1995, Oprah Winfrey produced a one-hour special on Lee Mun Wah’s life and the impact of “The Color of Fear” that was seen by over 15 million viewers.

The following are excerpts from Lee Mun Wah’s (forthcoming) biography, “The River of Jade” (2019), printed here with permission of the author:

How has your experience as a Chinese American affected you?

I think that even the concept of being Chinese American is perplexing and complex depending on one’s perspective and experience. When I went to Hong Kong, I realized how much of me wasn’t like the Chinese there and how quickly they noticed I was from the US. I think that early on in my life I felt I wasn’t truly Chinese enough because I didn’t speak fluent Cantonese. The reason I stopped learning my language was because we were often teased about the shape of our eyes, our accents and even the smell and strangeness of our foods. I so much wanted to ‘blend in’ because being different was never cherished or culturally appropriate in this country. Being white was the ‘norm’ and the only ones seen as a true Americans.

There is a word in Chinese, “empty bamboo,” a term for those who are born in the United States and who are empty of language and tradition. It is a very demeaning term that has haunted me and others who have tried so hard to be “accepted” even by our own people. In the process, we either end up trying too hard at being “more Asian” or giving up and saying “we’re all human beings.” I think that as I was growing up what I needed to hear was that I was good enough just the way I was. That Chinese Americans were perfect enough in all our varied forms. That no one was better or more Chinese than anyone else and that we didn’t have to prove anything to anyone, least of all, to other Chinese. To me, our blood is the same as our brothers and sisters here and across the seas and whether or not we speak our language or are knowledgeable about our culture – we are forever Chinese.

In terms of being embraced as “American,” I think that because of the color of my skin and my ethnic heritage, I will never be fully accepted into this culture or seen as an ‘American.’ I will never live long enough to see an Asian president or head of the armed forces, let alone, the CIA or the FBI. Those are extremes, but they are also prime examples of how much further we still have to go to achieve the type equality and representation that whites have in every facet of this country.

So being Chinese American is often more of birthplace than a birthright to equality. I am different from my European American brothers and sisters, and that difference is both endearing and separate in privilege and opportunity, respect and understanding.

Why do you wear your Asian costume?

It’s important to point out that my Tibetan shirt and kimono are my clothing, they are not my costume. I remember my very first presentation was with Levi Strauss in San Francisco and I was told to wear a suit and tie because my colleague felt that I did not want my clothing to interfere with my message. I felt diminished and unsure for the first time. Did my clothing embarrass him? Was it embarrassing to others? Was I dressed “inappropriately”? When I came down the stairs with my suit and tie, my wife laughed and said how incredibly ‘uncomfortable’ I looked. After changing back to my kimono and Tibetan shirt I felt an overwhelming sense of relief and familiarity.

When I began my presentation to the folks at Levis Strauss, I talked about my fear of dressing “inappropriately” and the shame that followed. I told them that when I wore my Asian clothing I felt my ancestors inside me, their history and their spirit speaking through me. I had come home. To my surprise, they gave me a standing ovation for my honesty and for taking the time to honor my ancestors. From that moment on, my clothing became a part of who I was, and in time, who I was to become.



I realized later that the very idea put forth by my colleague was one that people of color have been told by whites since the moment we came to this country— that somehow we needed to ‘assimilate’ to be accepted. For people of color what that really means is to lose a part of ourselves and become someone else – which usually means being more ‘white’. That’s why I have often found ‘assimilation’ to really mean ‘accommodating’ to the dominant culture. I also find it amazing that this country brags to the rest of the world that we are the most multiracial country in the world, a country that was founded on religious and individual freedom — yet,

discriminates so often against anyone who is different religiously and culturally. What have we done to the American dream? Did we become what we were running away from?

I remember a high-ranking official in the US Dept of Defense once yelled at me in a workshop demanding to know why I had an altar with a Buddha and lit candles surrounded by pictures of my ancestors. In front of six hundred members of the armed forces, I walked over to him, putting my hand on his shoulder and replied, “Why Tom, it’s to remind you what is missing.”

BOK FAN

I never knew that my eyes
were not as opened as yours
that the color of skin was yellow
that these words I spoke were harsh and foreign.

I always thought that this land of my birth
this place where I took my first breath
was the same as yours.

When I was young, I thought we both ate
hom year ging gee yook, bok fan,
see you guy, and lop cheung
The same as any family coming home from work.

I did not know that my foods were strange or smelled
Just as I never knew quietness would be seen as weak
My waiting, a sign that I was empty and without fire.

I was taught that waiting was a sign of virtue and an honor
And that the eyes and heart were more direct than words.

But, I have learned: you do not follow the path of my hands
or hear the words of my eyes.

You do not smell the sweet fire of the blackbean
or lower your eyes to honor the old ones.

Instead, you speak over my words
Call me little as if I were a child

Decide that I cannot sing the sweet songs of love
or hold a woman with my tenderness alone.

You have stolen the dragon’s fire from my father’s lips
And now you seek to rob me of a warrior’s life.

Do you not see the blood that you have spilled?
Or the children you have shamed?

See me now.

My name is Lee Mun Wah. My name is Lee Mun Wah.

More information about this book and other diversity training materials such as “The Art of Mindful Facilitation” (book) and “Stolen Ground” (documentary about the experiences of Asian-American men) can be found on the company’s website: www.stirfryseminars.com.

ALABAMA PAPER PROMOTES 21st CENTURY KKK

The Alabama Press Association must take immediate steps to denounce white supremacist terrorism and revoke the membership of The Democrat-Reporter now.

The Democrat-Reporter, a newspaper in Linden, Alabama, recently published an editorial calling for the Ku Klux Klan “to night ride again” against lawmakers in Washington, D.C. who are “plotting to raise taxes in Alabama.” When confronted about this editorial, Goodloe Sutton, the paper’s publisher, admitted that he wrote it, doubled down on his idea to lynch federal lawmakers, and compared the KKK to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

More than 340 Black people were lynched in Alabama between 1877 and 1943, a period of 66 years.² To invoke the memory of such horrific acts in such a cavalier manner is more than insulting — it’s down right dangerous. At a time when white nationalism is on the rise, and white supremacists are marching in the streets of Charlottesville, VA and Portland, OR, this newspaper’s longing for the days of the KKK is inexcusable.

Endorsements of white supremacist violence have no place in our media. The Alabama Press Association needs to kick out The Democrat-Reporter now!

This isn’t the first time Sutton and The Democrat-Reporter have been openly racist. In an editorial from May 2015 titled, “Black cops arrest black — riot,” Sutton stated that the mayor of a city “up north” had “displayed her African heritage by not enforcing civilized law” and referred to President Barack Obama as “Leroy Obama.” In another editorial commenting on the NFL national anthem protest led by Colin Kaepernick, The Democrat-Reporter stated: “That’s what black folks were taught to do two hundred years ago, kneel before a white man. Is that it? Let them kneel!” Explicit racism is running rampant in this small town Alabama newspaper; two state lawmakers stated they weren’t surprised by the editorial calling for the Klan to lynch lawmakers, and that the constant racism from the paper is the main reason why they don’t subscribe. Other lawmakers, including Alabama Senator Doug Jones and United States Representative Terri Sewell have called on Goodloe Sutton to resign.

Public outcry and condemnation is even more reason for the Alabama Press Association to revoke The Democrat-Reporter’s membership. When asked about the Klan editorial, the APA said that while they don’t agree with it, they are “not a policing agency” and “have no authority over what [their] member newspapers publish.”⁶ This response is unacceptable. As a member of the APA, The Democrat-Reporter is provided with credibility and access to professional resources and spaces. The APA should not be a safe haven for this kind of unabashed racism coupled with historical ignorance, which inevitably leads to increased physical violence towards Black people.

It’s 2019 and enough is enough. It’s time for the Alabama Press Association to denounce white supremacist violence by revoking the membership of The Democrat-Reporter and adopt strong policies that reject media outlets that endorse white supremacy.

Until justice is real, --Brandi, Rashad, Arisha, Evan, Johnny, Future, Mary, Saréya, Samantha, Eesha, and the Color Of Change team

INCARCERATED WOMEN: AND STILL WE RISE..

by Coalition For Prisoners' Rights

There has been a 1,700% increase in incarceration of women since 1973. The growth of incarceration for women has grown at least twice as fast as that for men. As of 2018, there were 219,000 women incarcerated in the US. [Ed. note: That's more women incarcerated than there were people incarcerated in the US 40 years ago.] Of them there were 99,000 held in state prisons and 89,000 in local jails [Ed. note: the rest presumably in federal prisons and detention]. Women are much more evenly split between jails and prisons than men are. Of the women in jails, 60% have not been sentenced [Ed: but are awaiting trial unable to make bail -- in Los Angeles County, the largest jail in the world, that figure is closer to 80%.]

No current figures were available for those in federal facilities, which we know, due to current immigration detention policies and practices, have grown enormously in the last year. The latest figures available are that state and federal agencies pay local jails to imprison an additional 13,000 women. Drastically understating today's reality, ICE and the U.S. Marshals report contracting with local jails to hold 5,000 women.

From the available statistics, that makes a total of 102,000 women held in jails. Since incarcerated women have lower incomes than incarcerated men, they have an even harder time affording cash bail. This is despite the fact that of jailed women, 80% are mothers and most are the primary caregivers for their children, so are not considered to be a flight risk. Yet bail amounts are typically a full year's income.

About 25% of convicted incarcerated women are also held in jails, compared to about 10% of total convicted people. And jails make it harder to stay in touch with family than prisons do. Phone calls are more expensive and other forms of communication are more restricted. In addition, jailed women are even more likely to suffer from



Dominican women protest criminalization, rape of women sex workers by police in the DR.

mental health problems than either women in prisons or imprisoned men in whatever setting.

It will come as no surprise that African American and Indigenous women are markedly over-represented in prisons and jails. Incarcerated women are reported as 53% "white," 29% Black, 14% Hispanic, 2.5% Indigenous, 0.9% Asian and 0.4% Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander.

However, there is an additional form of discrimination. A third (33%) of incarcerated women identify as Lesbian or bisexual, compared to less than 10% of incarcerated men who identify as gay or bi. Lesbian and bisexual women generally receive longer sentences than hetero women.

And then we get to the really big numbers: over a million women are on probation and parole. Just 17% of women directly under the control of "departments of corrections" are incarcerated. But, 74% of the total—that

is, three out of four—are on probation and 9% are on parole. This is in contrast to the total number of people—that is, both women and men—under correctional control, where a third (again, 33%) are imprisoned.

And again, no surprises: If you have been judged to be a "bad girl" and locked up for it, it turns out that you will be disciplined more often and more harshly than men for "low level" violations. Women, on average, were given almost double the number of disciplinary violation tickets as men. And the biggest difference is the one for "insolence." Not "safety" or "security."

As we know, women in prison often have a history of trauma. And they have symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder more than any other demographic group, including combat veterans. Often, imprisoned women have a history of sexual and other physical abuse. In addition to solitary confinement, a common punishment in prisons is losing phone privileges. When that occurs, not only is the person imprisoned punished and further damaged, but so are her children.

RESOURCES:

Women's Mass Incarceration: The Whole Pie 2018, prisonpolicy.org/reports, Aleks Kajstura, November 13, 2018

Investigation: In U.S. Prisons, Women Punished More Often Than Men, npr.org/ 2018/10/14, Jessica Pupovac

Becoming Ms. Burton, from Prison to Recovery to Leading the Fight for Incarcerated Women; Susan Burton & C. Lynn

From Her Mouth to Your Ears, A Survivors Manual by and for Women in Prison, AFSC Prison Watch, 89 Market St, Newark NJ 07102.

Coalition For Prisoners' Rights Newsletter March 2019 Vol. 44-A, No. 3, PO Box 1911, Santa Fe NM 87504

Palestine Still a Focus of Global Resistance Israel Still a Center of Global Reaction

by Jews Against Zionism

The weakening grip of Zionism and mindless support for Israel in the US and around the world has resulted in an intensification of repressive, reactionary charges of "anti-Semitism", even or especially against Jews who have broken to any degree with Israeli occupation, annexation and apartheid-like discrimination of Palestinian and other Arab peoples and land. As support for "Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions," as called for by Palestinian civil society grows, the US Congress has sought to criminalize it, and forces on campuses across the US have sought to label such activism as "hate speech" directed against Jews. Despicable Donald Trump, the US president, has doubled down on moving the US Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem by recognizing the illegal Israeli annexation of Syrian territory (and the expulsion of its Syrian inhabitants) in the Golan Heights.

Resistance Undeterred by Repression

But just as the Israeli war crimes of using lethal force against Palestinians marching up to the apartheid wall around Gaza, augmented by recent bombardment and missile attacks, has not deterred the Palestinians from their weekly Great March of Return protests every Friday at the wall, so too the charges of "anti-Semitism" and the attempts to criminalize speech and boycotts have only increased the resolve to show solidarity with the Palestinians' just struggle.

Increasingly, even hard-line pro-Zionist organizations in the US have been forced to denounce or distance themselves from acts of the Israeli government, such as the proclamation that Israel is the "nation-state" only of the Jewish people, and only of its Jewish citizens, exposing the lie that it is a "democracy." Similarly, the move by "Bibi" Netanyahu to sanitize and incorporate into his government the Kahanist (racist anti-Arab) party, whose leader is barred from the US as a supporter of terrorism, was widely denounced as the equivalent of bringing the KKK into the government of the US. (Mostly ignoring the fact that the KKK was long and deeply involved in the US government, helping write racist immigration laws in the 1920s, and with "former" members and supporters in the US Senate, White House and Supreme Court.)

Attacks on Rep. Ilhan Omar, a member of Congress who is a Muslim African immigrant, for alleged anti-Semitism when she charged that money from the pro-



Jackie Walker, Black & Jewish left-wing leader of British Labour Party, expelled after charges of "anti-Semitism"

Israel lobby was involved in US Congressional support for Israeli apartheid (even from people who routinely call for "money out of politics") were stymied when the motion intended to condemn and isolate her was changed into a condemnation of all forms of racism, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia and hatred that even she voted for. She has continued to be a target, however, with over 400 protesters showing up in the San Fernando Valley when she spoke at a recent conference of CAIR, the Council on American-Islamic Relations. Thankfully, the death threats against her moved members of Jewish Voice for Peace, IfNotNow (young US Jews against the occupation of Palestinian territories) and other progressive Jews to rally in her defense.

Unquestioning Support for Israel Crumbling, Support for Palestine growing

Supporters of Israeli apartheid aggression, and of US imperialism, which has always backed both Zionism and Arab reaction (such as Saudi Arabia and its genocidal war in Yemen), are becoming increasingly frantic as their support erodes within the US Jewish community, which had previously been a major bulwark of Zionist reaction. The role of Christian Zionists (who await the forcible conversion of Jews to acknowledge Jesus as their savior) and of white racial nationalists (who support Israel as a model "ethno-state") have become increasingly important. Bernie Sanders and other Democratic presidential contenders have refused to appear at AIPAC for the first time. Sanders has gone further, using quotes from Shaun King, comparing Sanders' opposition

to apartheid in South Africa with his opposition to apartheid-like conditions in Israel, in his campaign commercials and on his website.

Anti-Zionism is NOT Anti-Semitism

Similar divisions and witch-hunts of "anti-Semites" who support Palestine are going on in Europe, where support for BDS has made increasing inroads into government policies. The British Labour Party, with no sense of irony recently expelled a left-wing Black and Jewish leader, Jackie Walker, after she was accused of "anti-Semitism" by a pro-Israel British Jewish organization (while claiming it was for actions "prejudicial to the Party," and not specifically about anti-Semitism).

As reported on Tony Greenstein's blog, socialist, anti-Zionist, anti-racist, "77% of Labour Party members ...know very well that the bogus accusation of 'anti-Semitism' is, with regular monotony, leveled against any and all supporters of the Palestinians. No one seriously believes Jews are targeted for anti-Semitic attacks in the Labour Party. This is and always has been about Israel. The Jewish former Police Minister for the ANC, Ronni Cassrills, a hero of the struggle against South Africa Apartheid, was banned from speaking at Israel Anti-Apartheid Week by the Vienna Museum because of, yes you guessed it, accusations of anti-Semitism."

The Unity of Zionism, Arab Reaction, White Racism and US Imperialism

The murderous attack on Muslims in New Zealand by a white racial nationalist from Australia, nurtured by cesspools of racism on the Internet, who proclaimed his support for Trump as a symbol of renewed white nationalism, makes it clear that real anti-Semitic threat, which goes hand in hand with hatred of Muslims and with white supremacy, comes from the racist right, which is well-integrated with reactionary parties and states in power in the US and Europe. Israel foments such Muslims and openly allies itself with anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim neo-fascist parties and governments in Europe. Just as Zionism as a form of settler-colonialism is perfectly capable of accommodating itself to reactionary Arab regimes in Saudi Arabia or Egypt and with neo-Nazis in Poland or Hungary, US imperialism has no difficulty in supporting and using Arab and Muslim reactionaries, Zionists, and neo-Nazi or white racist formations for its wider ends of maintaining global domination and undermining popular resistance movements that threaten its hegemony.

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TURNING THE TIDE

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INSIDE

UPCOMING EVENTS:

- ★ Tue Apr 9: All out to LA Police Commission for Predictive Policing Policy
- ★ Apr 13-14 IWW Organizer Training in LA at Peace Center, 3916 Sepulveda Bl
- ★ Apr 17-27 50-500 Elder Little Tokyo to Manzanar 250 Mile Spirit Run
- ★ Thu Apr 25 Labor, Environmental, Social Justice Fair, CSU Dominguez Hills
- ★ May 1 - International Workers' Day marches for Migrant Rights, Worker Power
- ★ Sun May 5 "Cinco de Mayo" anniv of Mexico's defeat of French invaders
- ★ May 19 - Birthday of Malcolm X, Ho chi Minh, Augusto Cesar Sandino
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