

# PART's Perspective: People Get Ready: The Best Defense is a Good Offense

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

Trump's hospitalization with COVID-19 increases the range of eventualities in the upcoming national election, adding death and incapacity to the possible strictly electoral outcomes.

If Trump loses but refuses to concede, or if he ekes out an electoral college victory again while losing the popular vote as he did in 2016, he will be in charge of, and guaranteed to try to use, repressive federal agencies as he did after the murder of George Floyd. If the Biden-Harris ticket wins uncontestedly, the reactionary and racist forces Trump has encouraged throughout his presidency are still likely to unleash further violence, if they have not already done so by that point in an attempt to disrupt the election and suppress votes against Trump. Are we prepared to defend ourselves? The GOP, and increasingly the corporate Democrats, have demonstrated that there is no shit they will not eat. How can we build real resistance and exercise people's power?

As you read this, there's less than a month to election day. What are you doing to prepare for the possible outcomes and their consequences? Given recent realities, including vehicles being driven at racial justice protesters here in L.A., the murder of two protesters in Kenosha, exposures of organized racist violence being planned in Portland, the repeated refusals by Trump to say he will commit to a peaceful transfer of power, it does not require superpowers to foresee white nationalist violence and state repression in almost any eventuality.

Our need to plan is underscored by the televised "debate" between Trump and Biden. Trump doubled down on voter intimidation, unleashing his white nationalist followers with his call to the Proud Boys to "stand by," and refused to recognize a loss. Biden seized every opportunity to distance himself from any "progressive" programs or demands, the Green New Deal or defunding the police.

The bourgeoisie on various levels is preparing for 'chaos'. The Transition Integrity Project convened a bipartisan group of over 100 current and former senior government and campaign leaders and other experts in a series of 2020 election crisis scenario planning exercises. They expect that November's elections will be "marked by a chaotic legal and political landscape." They gamed out four scenarios: an inconclusive and ambiguous result, with several "battleground" states including FL, NC and MI remaining too close to call for a protracted period; a clear Biden win, a narrow but undeniable Biden win, and a clear Trump win (in the Electoral College only). While explicitly concerned about illegal and authoritarian efforts by Trump to retain power and delegitimize electoral democracy, the hidden undercurrent in their worries is about the capacity of the Democratic ticket and party to contain, and control for partisan purposes, the grassroots resistance of its constituents and other disaffected elements of the population.

Here's some of what they learned from their tabletop game of these alternatives (excerpted and reorganized for narrative purposes):

"Team Trump was consistently more ruthless than Team Biden – more willing to ignore existing democratic norms, to make use of disinformation, to deploy federal agencies to promote Trump's personal and electoral interests, and to engage in intimidation campaigns. Team Biden generally felt constrained by a commitment to norms and a desire to tamp down violence and reduce instability.

"During TIP's exercises, the [Team Biden] moves had limited ability to stop Team Trump's push to discredit or contest the results. The one exception was in the scenario where Biden won the popular vote by a large margin but still lost the electoral college, and the response was aggressive and coordinated.

"In [that] scenario Team Biden pushed to overturn certified results in states with Democratic Governors *and negotiated hard for permanent structural reforms in exchange for recognition of a Trump victory.* [emphasis added--MN]

"To take this robust action, Team Biden had to deliver a united Democratic front, which meant coordinating effectively with state party officials as well as with grassroots and activist organizations. While most participants believed that the Trump campaign has the real-life capacity to mobilize and, to a significant extent, steer and control the actions of Trump supporters, several participants expressed serious doubt about the ability of the Biden campaign to mobilize or control left-wing activists. (They also expressed doubt about Team Trump's future willingness to honor any agreements made during the election period.)

"The scenario exercises revealed that for many Democrats and key Democratic constituencies, this election represents an existential crisis, the last chance to stop a rapid and potentially irreversible US decline into authoritarianism and unbridled nativism. Some participants in the exercises observed that if former Vice President Biden wins the popular vote but loses the Electoral College, there will be political pressure from the Democratic Party's rank and file and from independent grassroots



organizations to prevent a second Trump term.

"A show of numbers in the streets- and actions in the streets- may be decisive factors in determining what the public perceives as a just and legitimate outcome. During TIP's exercises, Team Biden almost always called for and relied on mass protests to demonstrate the public's commitment to a "legitimate" outcome, with the objective of hardening the resolve of Democratic elected officials to fight and take action, and to dramatize the stakes.

"As a practical matter, however, participants in the exercise noted that racial justice activists and others will likely act independently of the Biden campaign – players repeatedly cautioned that these social movements are independent, not beholden to, or a tool of, the Democratic Party. Their support or Biden's ability to mobilize them cannot be taken for granted.

"(Note: leaders of these grassroots movements were not well represented in the simulation exercises, so the scenario exercises did not test their likely receptivity to a Biden call to take to the streets, or to the Biden campaign's ability to control these actors once mobilized.) If anything, the scale of recent demonstrations has increased the stakes for the Democratic Party to build strong ties with grassroots organizations and be responsive to the movement's demands.

"In addition, the exercises suggest that there is a significant possibility of simultaneous street mobilizations by both Trump and Biden supporters, in which case the possibility for violence will increase significantly, and the actions of law enforcement will become critical.

"TIP's scenario exercise suggest that President Trump and his more fervent supporters have every incentive to try to turn peaceful pro-Biden (or anti-Trump) protests violent in order to generate evidence that a Democratic victory is tantamount to 'mob rule.'

"In the recent past, President Trump has on numerous occasions called on 'Second Amendment people' to defend their rights and has called on his supporters to 'liberate' states with restrictive COVID-19-related rules. Trump can rely on surrogates to embed operatives inside protests to encourage violent action, and he can mobilize a range of law enforcement actors (including National Guard troops, whether federalized or under the control of GOP governors) who might, without proper training or if led by politicized actors, escalate matters. In some scenarios examined by TIP, Team Trump succeeded in invoking the Insurrection Act and sending active duty military troops into US cities to 'restore order,' 'protect' voting places, or confiscate 'fraudulent' ballots."

---

**If Trump loses but refuses to concede, or if he ekes out an electoral college victory again while losing the popular vote as he did in 2016, he will be in charge of, and guaranteed to try to use, repressive federal agencies as he did after the murder of George Floyd.**

---

Whatever the electoral results, all the underlying crises and contradictions of the empire will remain. Unless the Dems display more backbone than they have ever done, there is likely to be a 6-3 reactionary majority on the Supreme Court to cap a federal judiciary which is already overwhelmingly stocked with similar appointees, even if the Dems win. The illness of a few Senators may not be enough to stop that railroad. COVID and its economic consequences will still be raging on Nov. 4 and probably on Jan. 20.

In those circumstances, what level of real resistance, of no-business-as-usual massive disruptive street protests are we prepared to engage in, if Trump is returned to office by the white supremacist, anti-democratic Electoral College or by some sort of palace coup sanctified by the Senate or the courts?

Even more to the point, how will the movements respond to a Biden-Harris win? We cannot afford to demobilize for a moment, either before or after the inauguration. The demands to defund the police, or to guarantee workers' safety and right to organize, the struggle to leave fossil fuels in the ground, the effort to free prisoners from mass incarceration, which has become a virtual death sentence under COVID, must all be intensified, not relaxed.

War-mongering against Russia and China will not abate under a Democratic administration, nor will the Pentagon's plans to militarize space and to engage in cyber-warfare. Nothing either of the politicians on the Democratic ticket has said or done makes defunding, let alone abolishing, the police any more likely. Nor do they provide any basis for thinking that indigenous treaty

rights and sovereignty will be respected. Despite the GOP claim that Biden's a socialist, they are clearly and expressly opposed to eco-socialism or any other form of collective social control and ownership of productive resources, or even to such social-democratic measures as Medicare For All.

It is gratifying to see a number of efforts to prepare, but most are too focused on the electoral process and defending the electoral outcome, as for instance: <https://www.mobilize.us/the frontline/event/321224/> Groups like Showing Up for Racial Justice (SURJ), the Mobilization for Black Lives, IfNotNow and other movement groups based in a new generation of young activists have all generated various preparatory trainings and organizing efforts to protect the vote and defend the outcome. Voices for Creative Non-Violence has put together a resource list of local groups training for non-violent "counter-coup" efforts: <http://vcnv.org/2020/09/30/counter-coup-unarmed-community-organizing-resource-list>. [wecountonus.org](http://wecountonus.org) is one such national effort, organized by the Sunrise Movement, Dream Defenders and other similar orgs. Protect the Results Coalition (<https://protecttheresults.com>) is another such, a joint project of Indivisible and Stand Up America. Most of these groups are committed to supporting and canvassing for the Biden-Harris ticket (though some previously backed Sanders, or stood aloof from electoral politics).

The narrow focus of such actions reveals the deep defeatism that still grips many popular and progressive forces, so inbred that it is not consciously recognized as such, but is manifest in a failure of imagination, in self-censorship, and in an acceptance of and identification with the US imperial system and limited formal electoral representative democracy as the "arena" within which they operate. The zeitgeist of the times is reactive, anti-fascist and anti-racist; the sense of Black power, peoples' power, of imminent anti-imperialist revolution and of the weaknesses and contradictions of the empire that was the spirit of the 1960s and '70s is not evident despite the massive racial justice protests that filled the streets of every city and even most towns and suburbs only weeks ago. People do not have a sense of their own power and capacity to make history, or of the parallel and corollary weakness and vulnerability of the rulers that the crisis in electoral democracy actually represents and grows out of. Trump and the "abnormality" of his regime are a manifestation of those contradictions within, and facing, the ruling class and their ability to rule.

Particularly among young white anti-racist activists and young Jewish progressives, the sectors with which I am most familiar and engaged, there is an ongoing focus on process, on emotional readiness. One aspect of this is a positive lesson from past errors, an attempt to avoid burnout, and to lower the barriers to participation, to recognize the need for a sense of community and cultural support mechanisms that can sustain people. But part of it is an avoidance of economic class, colonialism and empire as material realities and contradictions, not just cultural phenomena. People seek to avoid such errors of "white supremacy culture" as 'perfectionism' and 'urgency', without paying enough attention to the need for criticism, and especially self-criticism, in developing accountability and in charting a successful **revolutionary** strategy forward. We need to act on the understanding that this is a life-or-death struggle for literally billions of people. It's also life-or-death for the billionaires who exploit and oppress them and us, and who hear and fear their own death-knell ringing in the rising voices for freedom, justice and yes, social ownership and control of the means of production. We need to see and exploit their weaknesses and vulnerabilities, and the irreconcilable contradiction between our enemies and ourselves. We need to recognize our own strengths and essentiality, and use them to overcome the contradictions among the people that divide us, which are rooted in identification with the empire and the oppressors.

So if your preparation for Nov. 3 doesn't go beyond getting out to vote or getting others to, or protecting the "sanctity" of elections, you are not preparing enough. We need to be thinking and organizing now for mutual aid, for the serious prospect of a general strike, and for making a qualitative leap forward in the capacity of popular movements to shape the political and economic agenda. Otherwise we are setting ourselves up to be quashed and squashed by a repressive and racist steamroller.

# How The Pigs Abuse 'Gang' Labels

By Kevin "Rashid" Johnson (September 2020)

## USING RACISM TO CREATE POLITICAL BOGEYMEN

Socially and politically charged labels have long been used (or misused) by officials as a cover for abusing and discriminating against Black and Brown people and suppressing political views that challenge or question the status quo.

During the Cold War, when the U.S. and its Western allies, were engaged in a propaganda war against Communism, the "Communist" label was used to discredit, and as a pretext to justify attacking, people, and political views that officials disliked or opposed. During the Civil Rights era, anyone (especially whites) who opposed Jim Crow segregation, lynching, and the many overt abuses faced by Blacks was labeled a Communist.

In fact, the FBI targeted Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X under its COMINFIL (COMMUNIST INFILTRATION) program using the pretext of investigating them for supposed backing from Communist countries, as cover for surveilling, harassing, and ultimately murdering them, to counter their leading struggles against white supremacy and capitalism in Amerika.

The real basis and method that officials used to incite anti-Communist sentiment across the U.S. white population weren't political, it was racial. They did this by linking Communism with white fears of Black integration and Civil Rights in the public mind.

Officials openly advanced these views. As the chairman of the Washington State Investigative Committee expressed, "If someone insists that there is discrimination against Negroes in this country, or that there is inequality in wealth, there is every reason to believe that person is a communist." Also, the head of the board of the Federal Department of Loyalty expressed, "of course, the fact that a person believes in racial equality doesn't PROVE that he's a Communist, but it certainly does make you look twice." (1)

The FBI perpetuated the same views and targeted people accordingly. "FBI agents spotted white communists by their ease and politeness around Negroes, or by the simple fact that they socialized with Negroes at all." (2)

In 1948 president Harry Truman aimed, according to his own political strategist, "to identify [presidential candidate Henry Wallace who promoted liberal views on race] and isolate him in the public mind with the Communists." (3) As a result of these policies linking anti-Communism with race, when Wallace toured the South during the 1948 election campaign, violent white mobs screamed charges against him and his entourage as a "Communist" and "nigger lover!" This in the South was the "Communist Menace." (4)

Officially manipulated racism formed the basis of the mass hysteria that fueled the Red Scare and McCarthyism of the Cold War.

The pigs even tried to use the Communist bogeyman to turn Black communities against the Black Panther Party. Of course, it didn't work because Blacks had no racist basis upon which to manipulate them to fear Communism, while they whole-heartedly supported the BPP's community service programs like the Free Breakfast for Schoolchildren program. Fred Hampton, Jr, the Chairman of the Illinois chapter of the BPP described the pigs' failed attempts. How they tried to turn the community matrons against the Party by describing the BPP and its programs as Communist—although the BPP actually was a Communist organization. Here's Fred in his speech, "Power Anywhere There's People!":

"[Y]ou ain't seen nothin' till you see one them beautiful sisters with their hair kinda' start gettin' grey, and they ain't got many teeth, and they were tearing them police up! They were tearin' 'em up! The pigs would come up to them and say, "You scared of communism?" And the Sisters would say, "No—scared of it? I ain't never heard of it."

"You like socialism?"

"No, I ain't never heard of it."

The pigs, they be crackin' up, because they enjoyed seeing these people frightened of these words.

"You like capitalism?"

"Yeah, well, that's what I live with—I like it."

"You like the Breakfast for Children program, ni\*\*er?"

"Yeah, I like it."

And the pigs say "Uh oh." The pigs say, "Well, the Breakfast for Children program is a socialistic program. It's a communistic program."

And the women said, "Well I tell you what, boy. I've been knowing you since you was knee-high to a grasshopper, ni\*\*a. And I don't know if I like communism and I don't know if I like socialism. But I know that that Breakfast for Children program feeds my kids ni\*\*a. And if you put your hands on that Breakfast for Children program, I'm gonna come off this can and I'm gonna beat your ass like a...."



## INVENTING NEW BOGEY MEN—TERRORISM AND GANGS

As the late historian Howard Zinn observed, when the Soviet Union collapsed at the turn of the 1990s, U.S. officials had to create a new racially charged bogey man with which to incite 'majority' public opinion against those countries, people, and ideas they opposed. This time they used Arab terrorism. But this label didn't readily apply to whipping up fear WITHIN the U.S., using people of color who remained marginalized and whom the establishment desired to continue to hold back socially, politically, and economically. So another racially charged bogey man had to be created and used that could be readily applied to people of color within the U.S. This was the 'gang' label.

During the 1960s and '70s, U.S. officials systematically targeted for destruction independent Black political leadership like Malcolm X and the BPP, that was winning and influencing large numbers of Black youth to take up the fight against segregation, racism, endemic poverty, and the myriad abuses that inhere in the capitalist system.

In turn, through blaxploitation films and other entertainment media, hustlers, drug dealers, pimps, and especially the mafia were glamorized to poor urban youth as the images of social rebels whom they should emulate and imitate, while outright government terrorism was used to discourage them from identifying with and joining groups like the BPP.

At the same time the government flooded the poor Black communities with narcotics and assault weapons that destabilized the communities and gave rise to the growth of, and violent conflicts between, youth street gangs. The resulting drug epidemics and gang wars were used to bolster the bogey man image of gangs by officials bent on continuing to marginalize, exploit, and repress Black people. I discuss and extensively document the government-engineered process of dumping drugs in the Black communities and generating the violent rise of gangs and gang conflicts in my article, "Kill Yourself or Liberate Yourself: The REAL U.S. Imperialist Policy on Gang Violence Vs. the Revolutionary Alternative" (2010), <http://rashidmod.com/?p=626>.

With gangs as the new bogey man with which to demonize and justify repressive policies against the Black community at large, officials maneuvered to label any and every young Black male and view they opposed as gang-related. Indeed they labeled Black youth who didn't even exist as gang members, to inflate gang databases created to stigmatize entire Black communities as gang-affiliated.

Officials used the drug infestation and gang proliferation THAT THEY CREATED THEMSELVES to carry out this agenda. As one report explained, "Operation Hammer [a campaign created by the LAPD targeted at the Black communities of Los Angeles] was a counterinsurgency program that sometimes resembled the Phoenix program in Vietnam. There were hundreds of commando-style raids on 'gang houses.' More than 50,000 suspected gang members were swept up for interrogation based on factors such as the style of dress and whether the suspect was a young Black male on the street past curfew. Of those caught up in such Hammer sweeps, 90 percent were later released without charge, but their names were held in a computer database of gang members that were later shown to have included twice as many names as there were Black youths in Los Angeles. [LAPD chief Darryl] Gates sealed off large areas of South Central as 'narcotics enforcement zones.' There was a strict curfew, constant police presence, and on-the-spot strip searches for those caught outside after curfew." (5)

Alongside these attacks on the Black communities, a parallel program was occurring inside U.S. prisons and jails, where officials were also engineering the growth of gangs while purging them of leaders who might lead them in positive directions and replacing them with ones who could be controlled through their own self-interest and desire for power and money into cycles of

violent conflict and drug proliferation and addiction. The pigs use these elements to control prisons, target non-affiliated politically conscious and otherwise 'problematic' prisoners, and to justify increasingly draconian measures and calls for increased funding and resources for 'gang intelligence' measures and staff, and the construction of more prisons, especially supermax, and solitary confinement units.

## THE SECURITY THREAT GROUP LABEL

To allow the gang label to be applied more generally and broadly to any prisoner or prisoner group that officials wish to target, prison officials have created the term Security Threat Group (STG), which is a more broadly inclusive euphemism for gang.

As with the cops on the outside, everyone and every idea prison officials wish to suppress, they label as STG related. More often than not, the STG label is used to target things in manners that are facially absurd and in no way related to any STG matter. Often the motives are blatantly racist.

Indeed most STG investigators and their staff are white and have no connection to communities or cultures of people of color. Yet, the vast majority of prisoners targeted as STG affiliated are Black and Brown. The few exceptions in cases of more racially diverse STG officials occur in prisons that are located in areas where there is a more diverse local population. But in many such cases, the STG staff are still white officials shipped in from other places to run the STG operations.

Overall the entire STG corps is trained into a hostile doctrinaire view of the so-called gang culture,

which stereotypes Black and Brown communities, culture, people, and history and is blatantly ignorant of and prejudiced toward them. In all prison systems, the STG label is used to suppress and censor literature that expresses views and teaches histories from critical Black and Brown perspectives. Often it's used to censor media that criticizes racism and racist groups.

Florida prisons, where I was confined from 2017-2018, routinely banned publications as "STG material," citing articles that criticized racially discriminatory government practices or the actions of white supremacist groups in society.

I've witnessed over and over again, STG officials endorsing and permitting the spread of white supremacist groups and their teachings while targeting and repressing Blacks and Browns.

As an example of how absurdly the STG label is abused and used as an illegal tool of censorship by so-called 'expert' gang officials and investigators, a recent issue of SOCIALIST VIEWPOINT magazine was banned by STG investigators here at Indiana's Wabash Valley prison, where I'm confined. They claimed the magazine violates the prison system's STG policy (policy # 02-03-105, which can be read on the Indiana Department of Correction's [IDOC] website). The magazine, they claimed, had "hand signals" in it. People from all walks of life are routinely seen using hand signals, presidents using the "V" for victory, which among others is a general peace sign and even clenched fist. Sports people and rock stars are commonly seen with thumb and pinky finger extended, or thumb, pinky and index fingers extended, and so on.

But in the fevered minds of prison gang 'experts,' any and every hand sign in a publication coming into a Black or Brown person is problematic. Aren't these 'expert' gang investigators supposed to know how to distinguish between gang communications and everyday people using everyday body language? Of course, they are, which is what demonstrates the foul motives behind what they do. This case is telling.

The IDOC's STG policy which was cited as banning the magazine in no way applies. As a threshold matter, the policy defines an STG. Here's what it says:

"SECURITY THREAT GROUP (STG): A group of offenders that set themselves apart from others; pose a threat to the security or safety of staff or offenders, or are disruptive to programs or the orderly management of the facility."

By this policy's own definition, the magazine has no connection to any STG. SOCIALIST VIEWPOINT, which can be also be viewed online, is a Socialist magazine published and edited by two elderly white women, with obvious Jewish last names, who are not prisoners and have never been to prison. They are obviously not a "group of offenders."

We already know that officials don't like socialist and Communist views, and have linked suppressing those views with racist opposition to equality for Black people. Indeed they've used racially charged labels to suppress those views, which is EXACTLY what is occurring in this case...the racially charged STG label is being deliberately misused to suppress a socialist magazine.

From "Communism" to "terrorism" to "gangs," the agenda of using racially charged labels to suppress people of color and ideas that officials dislike continues. It's the same racist imperialist shit in the same racist imperialist toilet.

**Dare to Struggle Dare to Win!**

**All Power to the People!**

**(Footnotes, citations available on line)**

Kevin Rashid Johnson  
D.O.C. #264847  
6908 S Old US Highway 41  
Carlise, IN 47838

# People's Strike and the Uprising: Open Letter to All Forces Fighting for Our Lives

by People's Strike <https://peoplesstrike.org/peoples-strike-and-the-uprising-an-open-letter/>

The extrajudicial killing of George Floyd at the hands of police in Minneapolis has sparked a worldwide rebellion and unprecedented solidarity and public support in defense of Black lives and the need for radical transformation. The names of Ahmaud Arbery, Breonna Taylor, and Tony McDade, also recently murdered by police and white supremacist vigilantes, are on the lips of millions in the streets in every city and many smaller towns in the USA, and around the world. Led by young black women and men, the uprising is the largest and most militant in decades. The upheaval was triggered by police violence, but it is also a response to an intensifying economic, health, social and political crisis. Bold, sustained action by millions of people is shaking the props of power and forcing promises of reform. We've seen promises made and betrayed before. The real path to radical transformation is anything but easy and automatic. But now is the time to build on the expressions of militancy and solidarity and to transform them into a force that can win and build a new world.

Change is upon us. The confluence of crises brings us to an historic crossroads. We are confronting an ongoing pandemic the likes of which we haven't experienced since 1919 – 1920; joblessness and economic depression unparalleled since the 1930's; and an uprising rooted in confronting a neo-fascist government, white supremacy and the deadly dimensions of American apartheid that is now surpassing the rebellion of April 1968 initiated in response to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.

The combination of these factors means that we are without question facing a combination of challenges unparalleled in this country since the Civil War. The ground is shifting beneath our feet. We are living, learning, and struggling. This we know: things cannot, and should not, return to the way they were before the start of the global pandemic and the shutdown of the world economy. Why?

The "normal" world roiled by this pandemic is deeply unequal, inequitable, exploitative, extractive, and repressive. It is deeply fractured around capitalist colonialism, racial oppression, gender, sexuality, nationality, and religion. It is this real world dystopia that has led to the needless death of more than 115,000 people in the United States of COVID-19, with at least 25,00 new infections daily. The vast majority of the infected and dead are Black, Brown, and Indigenous people. In the midst of the pandemic, it is this dystopian world that right-wing Republicans and neoliberal Democrats are determined to force-march us all back into against our will. Rather than following the proven best public health practices and developing a scientific, medically determined response to the pandemic, they are putting profits over people in

order to save the capitalist system. As a result, they are treating working people like disposable objects by forcing millions of people to risk their lives working in life threatening conditions. If they were serious about truly saving lives, they would alter the socio-economic system to address the needs of the moment. But this was never on offer.

Treating people like disposable objects however is nothing new. As the experience of Black people in the United States clearly indicates, this disregard for human life is standard practice and procedure for this system. Enslaved Africans and their descendants, who built the concentrated wealth of this empire, have been disposable since the colonization of the Americas, the advent of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and the subjugation of chattel slavery. They became the "free labor" for the "free land" stolen through genocide of the indigenous peoples. But, capitalism has never stopped there. The few who benefit from this system have always treated working class people, of all races and nationalities, with various forms of ill intent and disregard. Examples abound. Think of the 600 medical workers, more than half of whom are people of color, who have died so far in the Pandemic because a for-profit hospital system refused to invest in their protection. Consider the countless numbers of miners who have died of black lung disease and tunnel explosions. Or the millions of migrant farm workers who labor in pesticide drenched fields. Or the untold number of factory workers and urban dwellers displaced by automation and globalization.

There are powerful and clearly defined forces that are doing all they can to shape the future in their own interests and on their own terms. They include multinational corporations, financial institutions, and the political parties who serve their interests. Unfortunately, at this crucial moment, the working class and oppressed peoples in the United States are not organized as a concentrated counter force operating in our own interests. As a result we lack the ability to wield political power.

This doesn't mean that we don't have the capacity to shape the future. Far from it. Through our labor, paid and unpaid, and other social relationships and contributions, we, the working class, are fundamental to the functioning of this society. Without us, nothing could move, nothing would work, nobody would eat, and no profits would be made. We have witnessed the potential of this power through the course of this pandemic. People across the United States and the world have engaged in strikes and shutdowns for hazard pay and to protect themselves from life threatening working conditions, as governments hedged and delayed on shutting down, sacrificing thousands of lives. We have seen it in the moments when workers and communities have insisted on producing what is most needed to protect human life. We have seen it in mutual aid efforts in cities, towns, and rural areas throughout the country, where millions of people are feeding, clothing, and housing each other and those in need in their community based on the principles of reciprocity and solidarity. This mutual aid movement demonstrates how the democratic self-management of our collective labor can benefit us, rather than the owners of capital.

The disruptive force of the Floyd rebellion is bringing this potential and power further into view. Working and oppressed people controlling our own bodies and our own labor-power is our greatest strength and weapon—but only when it is properly organized and applied on a massive scale, on a collective, democratic basis. We have to learn how to organize, harness, and employ our strength to shape the future for the benefit of the vast majority of people. This is what the People's Strike is about.

This multifaceted crisis has also made it clear that the fractures and divisions in our society are deep, and the contest between competing and contrasting ideas and political forces is accelerating. This is a good thing. It's good because it means that the systems of oppression that structure our society and our lives – capitalism, colonialism, white supremacy, patriarchy, heterosexism and imperialism – are being exposed for what they are, a barrier to the full individual and collective possibilities of humanity. The type of collective experience and exposure that we have gained over the past three months opens political space in which we can operate and which we can harness to confront these oppressive systems head on and defeat them.

To do so, we must embrace and engage this transformative moment with everything we've got. The COVID-19 pandemic, makes clear that our so-called leaders and the money interests that employ them are indifferent to the mass deaths of Black people who are most impacted by the virus. They are calloused to the deaths of 80,000 + people over 65 from COVID-19. They care nothing for frontline workers, for immigrants and prisoners, for the millions burdened with even more unpaid care work as thousands have become ill, or died. We have seen that instead of support and treatment, instead of prevention and planning, COVID-19 distancing measures have been used to further criminalize, assault and prosecute Black people, Indigenous people and migrants. We must further expose the links between the extrajudicial killing of Black, Brown, and Indigenous peoples by police state violence and forcing working people back to work under murderous conditions. These acts serve the same fundamental purpose, sustaining the capitalist system and perpetuating the interwoven hierarchical systems of social control that enable its dominance over life on our precious planet.

Rebellion is not revolution. The radical transformation that we need will require many millions of people organized and actively engaged to forge a new path, one that changes the relations of power in society. Only then can we create a sustainable future. But, to get there we still have to fully reveal the real face of the enemy—its violence, disguises and seductions. The Floyd rebellion has forced the system to bare some of its teeth. But, the full force of its terror has yet to be unleashed.

This crisis has put a planet-sized spotlight on the fraud, the lie of American democratic superiority. Billions have seen with their own eyes how US power has rained disease and death and police abuse on the

people inside the United States, a domesticated version of what they've been inflicting on the Global South for decades. The crisis of the system, revealed in both the pandemic and mounting police murders of Black and Brown people, has driven growing, popular democratic protests, not only in the United States, but throughout the world.

The pandemic has accelerated the global crisis of capitalism, and every capitalist power is scrambling to seize a dominant and sustainable position in the midst of the tectonic shifts occurring. As a result, the governments and corporations of the world are going to be executing a number of frantic experiments in the coming days, weeks, months, and years to try and save the system and restore some order to it that will enable the dominant forces to regain control. Some of these options will be centered on making a limited number of concessions to the democratic mass movements, others will seek to obliterate these movements and impose even greater austerity and terror.

Inside the US, one tendency seeks to fulfill the reformist promises propagated by the perpetrators of the myth of American democracy. They push for "reforms" of the police, health care, housing, education, and other institutions by tinkering, fighting for symbolic gestures and tactical concessions that leave the power structure in tact. Then there are those of us who have learned from hard experience that the only reforms the American government has shown it is willing to make are cosmetic, designed to pacify peoples' righteous indignation. We believe that we must recognize, expose and take on the beast – the capitalist profiteering system – to put an end to it once and for all.

The neo-liberal consensus among the money interests and both political parties is coming apart. And the "great recession", austerity, increased exploitation and upsurge in state repression are undermining the acceptance and legitimacy of this strategy among masses of people. This rejection is reflected in the fact that so many people recognize the need for a movement to defend Black life and in the growing popular support for socialism, at least as a vaguely defined concept. This does not mean that austerity and escalating repression will not remain the substance of their program in the midst of this crisis. In fact, they will double down, while attempting to win the acceptance from the mass of people. It would be naïve to think that they won't attempt to enforce our compliance through direct violence and repression – through deployment of police, the National Guard and other military forces and even private militias.

The political parties of the establishment will attack or try to narrow the vision of the mass movement. They will try to limit the scope of the revolutionary possibilities and potentialities of the current and future moments. They will reassert the myths of "democratic" reform and capitalist correction that only reinforce the perpetuation of the system. In addition to the stick, the liberal operatives of the state have been able to offer some carrots of reform with increasing effect and impact over the course of the of the Floyd rebellion.

The international dimension of the current political and economic crisis is a major factor driving the carnage we are experiencing. The competitive imperative of capitalism is driving capitalists (corporations, banks, etc.) and the imperialist nation-states to ramp up the struggle over market share and profits. This is the central factor compelling governments and businesses to pursue the dangerous and utterly irresponsible openings we are seeing around the world. It is also driving a type of closure. The United States and several so-called western countries have closed their borders, limiting the movement of various populations deemed to be "risks" because of their national origin and race. The right has used the COVID-19 pandemic as an excuse to advance their racist, xenophobic politics. As we've seen too many times in history, it is easy for settler-colonial and European political forces to whip up xenophobic "unity" against a declared enemy. This is often framed in the fallacious claim that "whether rich or poor, capitalist or worker, oppressed person of color or white supremacist we are all in this together." It's a particularly dangerous pitch when it is used to stir up nationalistic support for moves, including threats of war, against rival states – as is now the case with China.

To the greatest extent possible we have to bring clarity to the radical movement that is spontaneously emerging to confront this complex crisis and bring forth the most transformative ideas that have emerged from our historic movements and experiences of struggle. We have to take the battle of ideas seriously. We have to be in the streets with the people, engaging this struggle, and doing all we can to win it, holding and engaging people's assemblies in the streets, projecting solidarity and support for the uprising on social media, and to whatever extent we can, in the mainstream media and formal political channels. Losing the battle of ideas will have consequences, dire consequences in the face of the extreme right-wing alternative that is actively confronting us with state sanctioned violence and openly threatening us with martial law and dictatorship.

When they try to divide the movement, we must struggle to unite it. Voices on all sides are attempting to divide the movement between "good" and "bad" protesters, between "peaceful" marchers and those engaged in "violence" and property destruction. Protestors are called "outside agitators" to drive a wedge between supporters and the Black people most affected by police violence. This message is being broadcast loudly, by forces of the far right, as well as liberals and even among some on the left. It takes many forms, often boosting scattershot efforts by organized fascist forces from the state or right wing militias to infiltrate or discredit the movement in the streets. This narrative serves the interests of capital, reinforcing the divisions it has long imposed and unequally rewarded.

We must be clear that this is a movement to defend people, not property. We affirm the unprecedented level of support for this movement that for

the first time in history goes well beyond that of Black people living in the United States and the already-organized left. We have to build on that support and transform it into concrete solidarity with the same scope. The movement as it stands is a good start; a multiracial mass uprising with an infusion of young new Black leaders, militants and organizers at the forefront.

The far right is not the only danger to this movement. We have seen in recent years as well as in historic struggles, that militant rebellion for Black liberation can be diverted off the streets and other organizing spaces into toothless reforms. It can be channeled into recuperation and self-advancement by individuals and instruments of the ruling class, in the form of NGO advocacy, purely symbolic forms of representation, Party politics, legalistic court battles, and attempts at bureaucratic solutions to fundamental contradictions. All this in an effort to sidetrack and absorb the revolutionary energy of the people.

This time, we must be vigilant and aware of these processes as they begin, and, instead of accepting "leadership" from any who present themselves, develop, build and support our own, in the form of democratic, broad, accountable and sustainable Black and working class organization.

We call on all forces fighting for our lives: We call on the organized left, unions and other workers' organizations, tenant organizations, those fighting for Indigenous and Black self-determination, Latinx organizations, immigrants-rights and anti-racist forces, feminist, queer and LGBTQ organizations, ecosocialist formations and more, who stand for broad solidarity against the far-right and the ruling class. We call on all to take up the task this moment and movement has given us. We call on these forces for solidarity to:

## Show up

Join the movement in the streets by following the lead and level of militancy of the Black and Brown youth leading the struggle on the ground. Help elevate the transformative demands being raised and raise the fundamental demands of the People's Strike. Build relationships with other principled forces and individuals who are also showing up. Whatever tactics you engage in, resist attempts to divide and conquer and narratives of good/bad protesters and tactics.

## Organize for self-defense

We must publicly resist and condemn not only divisive narratives, but repression of the movement in all its forms, from direct assault and attack, prosecution, punitive bureaucratic delays by courts and police, targeted attacks on immigrants and other vulnerable groups, vigilante and far-right violence, curfews, and any tactics by authorities to impose apartheid-like restrictions on geographic movement between Black and working class neighborhoods and the centers of commerce and/or white affluence.

## Organize solidarity in workplaces

Strike, launch sickouts, slowdowns, walkouts in union and non-union workplaces. Do it as international or local unions, as union caucuses and as cross-sectoral labor organizations. We should build on the solidarity already shown by Transit Workers in many cities; in defense of Black Lives we must first refuse to aid and abet the police. We can fight to remove police officers from all union formations, and to organize in work places around the principle highlighted by street protest—against criminalization and humiliation of all workers on the job, against the targeting and scapegoating of Black workers, against racist disparities in hiring, pay, work assignment and opportunity.

## Organize mutual aid

We should organize to feed and protect protesters with whatever is needed: hand sanitizer and masks, first aid, legal aid and bail money, with housing and shelter in moments of crackdown, but also food and clothing. We should build and extend ongoing efforts that take up not just the needs of protesters, but those of the unhoused, the unemployed and others suffering in the midst of pandemic and economic meltdown.

## Organize people's assemblies and popular education

Spontaneous popular assemblies have already begun to take place in a number of cities where the uprising is ongoing; these can be a space of deliberation of strategizing tactics and relationship building. Popular education can take place in many forums. They should include movement history, skill sharing and more.

## Prepare for the future

We can prepare for the immediate future of the uprising and for what comes after by consolidating our existing organizations, or by forming new ones. We need to provide political space for new radicals, organizers and militants to recover, reflect and regroup. We should build united fronts of solidarity between and among old and new organizations wherever we can.

We invite all forces who are defending Black lives and fighting to forge a radically different future to join us in discussion, strategy and planning for all this and more, and to commit to planning monthly coordinated actions as we enter a new period of intensifying struggle. We are offering a platform for promoting your already ongoing efforts to organize tenants, workers, mutual aid and anti-austerity, anti-imperialist forces and for connecting with many more organizations who share these aims in the struggle for liberation, and a society built on new foundations.

# Inside “Patriot Front”

by TORCH Antifascist Network

<https://torchantifa.org/inside-patriot-front-analysis/>

Throughout the past year, the Torch Antifascist Network has been monitoring the internal communications of Patriot Front, a US fascist organization. The leaked documents reproduced below reveal an organization incapable of moving beyond furtive flyering sessions and photo opportunities, and falling under the increasingly centralized and heavy-handed control of Thomas Rousseau as other longtime leaders step back. Despite their attempts to present an intellectually respectable and professional image, Patriot Front chat logs reveal a group defined by crude fascism, neo-Nazism, and misogyny.

As well as the leaked communications, we’re providing an analysis of Patriot Front and a collection of article links profiling PF members past and present.

Study these contents to your heart’s (dis)content and submit additional identifications to TorchAntifa[at]riseup[dot]net to be included.

## An Analysis of Patriot Front FORMATIONS

Patriot Front is a splinter from and rebranding of its former incarnation, Vanguard America, which held the prime organizers and participants in the infamous Unite The Right rally in 2017. Two weeks after James Fields, Jr. murdered Heather Heyer at UTR in Charlottesville, Virginia, a very young Thomas Rousseau announced the transformation of Vanguard America into “Patriots Front”, seizing control of the Southern Front Discord server from ex-marine Dillon Irizarry (aka Dillon Hopper). Having served as Texas state director and then second-in-command of Vanguard America, Rousseau wanted ultimate authority in the group, according to an investigation into the group’s formation posted on It’s Going Down. Although he is adamant about disassociating Patriot Front from Vanguard America, claiming entirely new leadership and very little overlap, it’s clear that Rousseau cherry-picked members for his new organization and then split, taking most of the leadership structure with him. Predictably, VA limped along for a few months and then disbanded.

Patriot Front’s growth has been slow and steady, rising from less than a hundred members at the end of 2017 to almost 300 as of this writing. The contiguous 48 states are clustered into “networks”, each of which has a “Network Director” chosen by Rousseau. Members are pressured, increasingly it seems, to do more and more “activism” in the form of banner drops and posterings, stickering, & stenciling runs. The placement of promotional materials is carefully curated and catalogued online to show the world what dedicated, industrious “revolutionaries” their members are. They hope that more disaffected and alienated young men will be inspired by their aesthetic and purported militancy and want to join their ranks. Their immediate plan is to romanticize nationalism through lofty rhetoric and recruit online to create an internal hyper-masculine culture that presents as empowerment, while exploiting disgruntlement with late stage capitalism and corporate oligarchy. Their long-term strategy is to gain social and cultural grassroots power with the goal of eventual political domination. They have strict criteria for membership, however — men only, 80+% white, 35 or younger, no military, etc. — and seem to have little interest in good relations with other US fascist groups, the vast majority of whom they despise and constantly ridicule.

## THE LEAKED FILES

We are publishing PDF files of Patriot Front member chats from a RocketChat server, accessible via a user login on their website. We are also releasing three internal documents from the organization: a brief legal guide, a guide to avoiding release of personal information, and one on how to place promotional materials. Patriot Front uses a separate Mumble app for their voice chat, records of which researchers are not releasing at this time. From the chat logs, which run from March 2019 through June 2020, readers quickly get a sense of the asinine level of discourse of Patriot Front’s young and mostly inexperienced fascists. Members try to impress one another (and especially Rousseau) with anti-Semitic conspiracies and regurgitated, pseudo-intellectual political positions while sharing pictures of their “activism.” Because there is little ideological cohesion or unity of thought and purpose, this quickly degenerates into displays of bigotry, petty gossiping and juvenile chat about memes.

Rousseau, in his role as PF’s director and ultimate authority, tries in vain to keep the group’s largely immature male membership under control and on task. Members are consistently reminded of the threat of

doxxing: “treat #general as if the public is watching and knows our real identities”, warned New York member “Samuel”. In an attempt to impose order and tighten security, Rousseau barks rules at members and occasionally pleads with them to quiet their impulsive talk and neo-Nazi rhetoric.

The tone of these conversations shifted markedly in August of 2019. Leadership became more concerned with infiltration over the summer, no one new was added to the chat, and certain members were removed for failure to abide by the intensifying rules. These concerns were well-warranted. With this publication, fellow antifascists and the general public now gain a look into Patriot Front’s internal discussions and its membership is gradually unmasked.

## THE NATION

Through reading their manifesto and wading through chat room drivel, it’s clear that Patriot Front believes in the supremacy of the US-American “Nation” (which for them, is white by definition), and that the current State is failing to adequately represent white citizens.



Their ultimate goal is to enact “revolution as tradition”, destroy the current State, and redefine what it means to be an American through a dogmatic, racialized lens. By gradually expanding their base of power, they will ultimately decide who gets to be a part of the new fascist utopia, and who suffers deportation and exile. Their manifesto clearly states that “Membership within the American nation is inherited through blood, not ink [...] Nationhood cannot be bestowed upon those who are not of the founding stock of our people”.

Whiteness is not just a racial category, but also a socio-political system of power and control. Rousseau clearly wants power over that system. Although whiteness in the USA has gradually enfolded various ethnicities into its system of power and privilege, Rousseau is certain that nonwhites who he deems “extranationals” have no room in Patriot Front’s planned nation. While some members openly state they are White Nationalists or even identify as Nationalist-Socialists (actual Nazis), they publicly portray their nationalism as cultural rather than explicitly racial to avoid scrutiny and maintain deniability. Rousseau provides some additional clarity, however, when he says in the chats, “We don’t use the term White to describe ourselves [...] because it’s reductive”. Genetics and race matter, but so does a national “story” and “cause” (4.13.19). While this focus on the nation might seem to position Patriot Front close to identitarian groups such as Identity Evropa (now rebranded as “American Identity Movement”) or even the purportedly non-racist “Western Chauvinist” Proud Boys, Patriot Front’s true ideology and aims are blatantly fascist and white supremacist, placing PF much closer to organizations like the now-defunct Traditionalist Workers Party. Explicit fascism permeates the chats, including their nonsensical feeling of being entitled to the North American continent based on a perceived ancestral greatness, and the belief that their destiny is

a return to this greatness, no matter how mythological. This sad settler fetishism and sense of entitlement to places and resources based on “shared heritage” pervades their discourse. A narrative of phoenix-like national rebirth from the ashes provides the mythic core of all fascist politics. Much emphasis is placed on defining the “Nation”, when it can easily be summarized as “white people like us”.

## MISOGYNY, RACISM, & ANTISEMITISM

The chats reveal a desperate desire to legitimize and bond with others around bigotry and delusion. There is a pervasive false narrative of white victimhood, one that nearly always involves the scapegoating of Jewish people and the criminalization of immigrants and nonwhite people. Thinking that they are alone, Patriot Front members indulge in various forms of dehumanization and allude to or explicitly state their predatory motives. Their persistent obsession with “degeneracy” takes the form of homophobia, transphobia, and the general policing of others’ sexuality, especially that of women.

Patriot Front’s misogyny is deep and persistent. Members fear female desire, treating it as something to be broken and tamed before it corrupts their fragile masculinity. For many Patriot Front members, this is couched in religious terms. Sexual pleasure is treated as suspicious, except when tied to growing white families. An undercurrent of violence runs through all of Patriot Front’s writing about women.

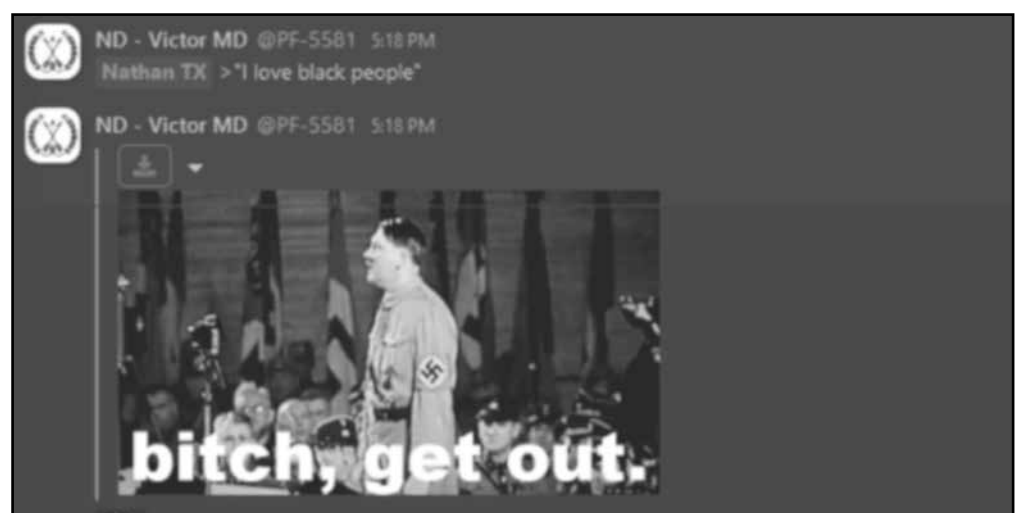
Antisemitism is central to their worldview. Racial hatred and anti-Blackness are also common themes.

Due to Patriot Front’s sanitized public image, Rousseau wants members to appear healthy, sensible and virtuous, to the degree they appear outside a masked anonymous mass at all. Crude racism and violent intentions are to be kept in the background. But as carefully controlling as Rousseau is, evidence of PF’s fanatical worldview and insidious goals abound. This highlights why Patriot Front members don’t do mainstream press interviews, because their veneer would be impossible to maintain when asked specifics about the world they really want: an ultra-conservative ethnostate created by mass deportations and maintained by brutal repression. Patriot Front members aren’t spending their weekends relentlessly promoting the organization just to have more “brothers”, as they refer to each other. Their long term goals are far-reaching and horrific. They claim not to seek political power, rather merely to win the culture war, but their ambitions reveal themselves in discussion.

While Patriot Front’s internal conversations may appear like a mixture of prejudice, half-baked ideas and militant posturing, the organization’s aims remain dangerous: to further marginalize already vulnerable people and target them for interpersonal or state violence. Members attempt to pin their problems on their immigrant neighbors, an imagined Jewish power structure, or both. PF members see every challenging personal or social issue as being a product of civil rights advances, multiculturalism, feminism, and an alleged Jewish/“Zionist” conspiracy, with the solution being a racially homogenous society where women are strictly controlled and “degeneracy” is severely punished. Like all those who can’t effectively grapple with the complexities of life, they are desperate for a scapegoat for their various miseries. And no matter how nonsensical their argument, their appeal during this moment — with its political turbulence, the political and economic disenfranchisement of a growing number of people, and wealth polarization under late stage capitalism — is greatly concerning. Historically, these are the times when fascism is more likely to gain traction in a populace.

[Lots more on-line, including screen shots of the chats, info and photos of individual members of Patriot Front, and more analysis as well as PF internal documents.]

*One of many screen shots of Patriot Front chats depict the group’s racism, sexism, antisemitism and fascism documented in the TORCH expose.*



# Neo-Nazi convicted for Rape Threats

by Amy Spitalnick, Integrity First for America (IFA)

Neo-Nazi Christopher Cantwell was found guilty of extortion and threats by a New Hampshire jury; he had threatened to rape the wife of a fellow white supremacist. He faces up to 22 years in prison.

It's particularly powerful that this verdict was handed down on Yom Kippur—the Jewish day of atonement—against a neo-Nazi defendant who has made antisemitism central to his violence.

But justice has not yet been fully served when it comes to Cantwell. Cantwell remains a defendant in our Charlottesville suit—and faces major financial and legal consequences—for his role orchestrating that violence three years ago.

Cantwell's long history of violence and bigotry includes:

- Urging his followers to join him in a race war and to “gas the k\*kes.”
- Likening himself to the perpetrators of mass shootings and advocating for mass murder of those with opposing political views.
- Making violent threats against lead counsel in our suit, Roberta Kaplan, two days after the rape threat that led to his NH conviction.

Our lawsuit aims to hold Cantwell, along with his neo-Nazi and white supremacist co-conspirators, accountable for the violence they meticulously planned and perpetrated in Charlottesville.



Cantwell isn't the only violent neo-Nazi who has faced jail time in our suit. Neo-Nazi defendant Elliott Kline was sent to jail earlier this year for contempt of court—and a bench warrant has been issued for neo-Nazi Robert “Azzmador” Ray's arrest for the same offense.

Our lawsuit is already having major financial and legal consequences for the defendants even before we get to trial, expected in spring 2021. You can donate to support our Charlottesville civil lawsuit here: <https://www.integrityfirstforamerica.org/donate>

# US Bans “Communist” Migrants from Permanent Residence or Naturalization

<https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3104121/united-states-closes-immigration-door-communists-clear-swipe>

The US government has released guidance on its immigration laws that will make it almost impossible for members of a Communist party or similar to be granted permanent residence or citizenship. The announcement of “inadmissibility” was made in a policy alert issued on Oct. 2 by the US Citizen and Immigration Services (USCIS). <https://www.uscis.gov/news/alerts/uscis-issues-policy-guidance-regarding-inadmissibility-based-on-membership-in-a-totalitarian-party>

In a sign Washington is dusting off its Cold War-era legislation, the agency said: “In general, unless otherwise exempt, any intending immigrant who is a member or affiliate of the Communist Party or any other totalitarian party ... domestic or foreign, is inadmissible to the US.”

The law effectively blocks members of the Chinese Communist Party from ever obtaining permanent residency or citizenship of the US, and reinforces the widening ideology gap between the world's two largest economies that has already damaged people-to-people exchanges. The USCIS said the policy amendment was “part of a broader set of laws passed by Congress to address threats to the safety and security of the US”.

# Labor Authority Eviscerates Union Bargaining Rights

by Erich Wagner [excerpt]

<https://www.govexec.com/management/2020/10/labor-authority-abandons-decades-precedent-eviscerates-union-bargaining-rights/168977/>

The Federal Labor Relations Authority (which governs rules for collective bargaining by employees of the US government, and is distinct from the National Labor Relations Board, which oversees union recognition elections and bargaining by workers in private industry--Ed) again overturned decades of precedent in October with three decisions that hamstringing federal employee unions' ability to negotiate with agencies.

The first decision changed the standard from “greater than *de minimis*” to “substantial” for whether an agency policy change triggers a duty to bargain over its implementation and impact on employees.

A second decision ruled that federal labor law “neither requires nor prohibits midterm bargaining” and made “zipper” clauses, which limit negotiations during the term of a union contract, mandatory subjects of bargaining.

Third, they decide that when an expiring union contract is renewed while parties negotiate on a new contract, that it is effectively a new agreement, subject to agency head review and implementation of new government-wide rules and regulations.

The three rulings, all the result of requests for “general statements of policy” from the Trump administration, were approved by 2-1 votes on party lines. They hamper the ability of unions to negotiate on issues that did not come up during formal contract negotiations.

## 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. To restore bi-monthly publication, we launched a fund-raising campaign we've dubbed “100X100.”

We are still 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 about 1700 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!**

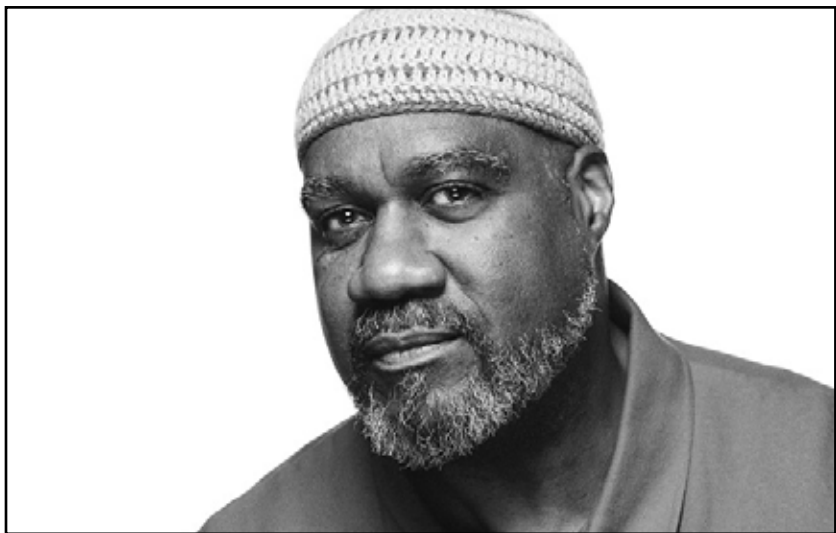
If you'd like to see *Turning the Tide* more frequently, if you want to contribute to breaking down the walls of isolation and separation imposed by the prison system, please contribute. If you can't manage \$100 all at once, you could donate \$10 a month. But any donation you make can help. Postage 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. Nobody makes a dime from working on *TTT*.

If the campaign is successful, we will resume publishing every other month in 2020. 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 area 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, or use paypal to [antiracistaction\\_la@yahoo.com](mailto:antiracistaction_la@yahoo.com) if you prefer. Then share it with your contacts. With your help, *Turning the Tide* can step up to the “urgency of now” -- the necessity for radical organizing, educating and analyzing to respond to the growing crisis of the Empire -- endless war, police terror with impunity, mass incarceration, colonialism, ecological devastation that will shortly become irreversible.

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

## Certain Days 2021: A Generation of Support Through the Bars



Political prisoner Jalil Muntaqim was recently released from NYS prison after 49 years. It's long past time to free them all!

<https://www.certaindays.org/>

The Certain Days: Freedom for Political Prisoners Calendar is a joint fundraising and educational project between outside organizers in Montreal, Hamilton, New York and Baltimore, with two political prisoners being held in maximum-security prisons: David Gilbert in New York and Xinachtli (s/n Alvaro Luna Hernandez) in Texas. Founding members Herman Bell and Robert Seth Hayes were happily welcomed home from prison in 2018 [Ed. note; Sadly, Robert Seth Hayes passed in Dec. 2019].

Your group can buy 10 or more for the rate of \$10 each and sell them for \$15, keeping the difference for your organization. Many campaigns, infoshops and projects do this as a way of raising funds and spreading awareness about political prisoners.

This year's theme is “A Generation of Support Through the Bars” and features art and writings by Grae Rosa, Herman Bell, Veronza Bowers, David Campbell, Saima Desai, Damon Locks, Tom Manning, Monica Trinidad, Nidal el-Khairi, David Gilbert, Gord Hill (aka Zig Zag), Eric King, Jaan Laaman, Paul Lacombe, Joy Powell, Richard Rivera, Laura Whitehorn, Linda Evans and Susan Rosenberg, Xinachtli and more!

While COVID-19 makes its way around the world, causing massive shut downs, prison officials make measly attempts at controlling the spread to the most vulnerable inside. Let's raise the voices of prisoners, now more than ever.

Proceeds from Certain Days 2020 were divided among Addameer Prisoner Support

and Human Rights Association (Palestine), Release Aging People in Prison (RAPP), Civil Liberties Defense Center and the Rosenberg Fund for Children. This year's proceeds will go to some of the same grassroots groups and more.

Pre-sales for the 2021 Certain Days calendar (OUR 20th EDITION) have begun! Order now and calendars will ship soon. In the U.S., order from Burning Books in Buffalo <https://burningbooks.com/>. (Use the discount code “BULK” to get 10 or more calendars for \$10 each)

In Canada, order 1-9 copies from Left Wing Books <https://www.leftwingbooks.net/certain-days-2021>. Order 10 or more copies in Canada (and raise funds for your own organizations and projects!) via [certaindays.org](http://certaindays.org).

### URGENT APPEAL

We need your financial support to continue sending the paper free to about 1700 prisoners around CA and the US.

#### PLEASE SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

[ ] \$20 a year individual [ ] \$30 institution/international [ ] \$50 sustainer

payable only to **Anti-Racist Action**  
at P.O. Box 1055 in Culver City 90232

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_ St: \_\_\_\_\_ Zip: \_\_\_\_\_

Tel: \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

Postage alone for this issue comes to \$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](mailto:antiracistaction_la@yahoo.com)

# End Land Grabs by US Universities & Pension Funds

<https://www.stoplandgrabs.org/en-us/reports/global-land-grabbing-and-the-human-right-to-land>

Social, economic, and ecological crises are intensifying due to the expansion of corporate, industrial agribusiness. Brazilian forests are being razed and burned to make way for cattle ranching and soybean plantations. Family farmers in the US are on the verge of disappearing in the midst of the biggest farm crisis in a generation, while mammoth corporations make even more profit, and indigenous people, people of color, and women are facing more and more difficulties holding onto land and feeding their families. Hunger, poverty, and diet-related disease are increasing around the world, reaching over 2 billion people.

Meanwhile, pension funds - which are supposed to manage workers' savings in order to provide for the future, and which are the largest players in the financial industry, with almost \$40 trillion in global pensions and almost \$30 trillion in the US alone - are putting more and more money into these destructive agribusiness ventures. Similar actions and "investments" are being taken by major US university endowments, including Harvard and other "Ivy League" universities.

They are buying farmland in the US and internationally (in addition to forest lands that are being converted to farmland) at an alarming rate, hoping to profit off its scarcity as the climate and hunger crises worsen, and they are buying stock in palm oil companies and other agricultural commodity companies, claiming that they are just acting in the interest of their clients, as these companies deforest the rainforest and make climate chaos inevitable.

We are a coalition of environmental organizations, human rights organizations, farmers organizations, unions, and individual university professors. We are demanding that financial companies and university endowments GET OUT of forests and farmland. Pensions should not be investing in plantations.

The takeover of land around the world by financial corporations continues to be a mechanism of neo-colonialism, one in which university faculty, staff, and students and non-profit organizations are unknowingly participating. The financial firm TIAA, which manages retirement funds paid for with tuition dollars on most campuses, is the leading player in rural land grabbing.



Many U.S. institutional investors and pension funds are invested in "forest-risk commodities" such as palm oil, soy, cattle, and pulp and paper, and TIAA is no exception. Often unbeknownst to their clients and even to fund managers, these sectors are widely associated with deforestation, land grabbing, labor abuses, human rights violations, and severe climate impacts.

TIAA is among the U.S. firms most deeply invested in deforestation, with several hundred million dollars invested in palm oil, soy, cattle, and pulp and paper companies,<sup>37</sup> but with no clear policy or process to address the impacts of these companies. TIAA also has over 18 billion dollars in consumer companies exposed to deforestation-linked supply chains that decimate the world's remaining forests, indigenous and local communities, and countless endangered species of wildlife.

TIAA has so far claimed at least 2.2 million acres of farmland to expand mono-cropping plantations that destroy soil fertility, water sources, biodiversity and food production of local communities. TIAA makes claims about sustainability, while it is well known that agribusiness is a main cause of increasing greenhouse gas emissions, environmental destruction, and climate change.

TIAA managers argue that the COVID-19 pandemic makes it a key moment for speculators to acquire more land, but destroying biodiversity will increase public health risks.

Taking land from Indigenous people and people of color was at the core of European colonialism, accompanied by expulsion, slavery, and genocide. We are now in an era in which rural land is being grabbed up as a financial asset to be traded in financial markets. This process is playing out in many countries, but TIAA's land speculation efforts focus on Brazil, Australia, Eastern Europe, and the United States. TIAA finances large-scale plantations that undermine the human right to food by concentrating control of land.

These acquisitions cause displacement of rural communities, taking us farther away from land rights and land justice for Indigenous peoples, people of color, and decreasing land availability for new farmers and future generations.

Learn more about how you can take action on your campus here:

<https://www.actionaidusa.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/Toolkit-Sept-2020.pdf>

## UN Report on Venezuela Omits the Greatest Violation of Human Rights: US Aggression

By Leonardo Flores

[https://www.codepink.org/un\\_report\\_on\\_venezuela\\_omits\\_the\\_greatest\\_violation\\_of\\_human\\_rights\\_us\\_aggression](https://www.codepink.org/un_report_on_venezuela_omits_the_greatest_violation_of_human_rights_us_aggression) (excerpts)

On September 23, María Eugenia Russián, president of *Fundalatin*, Venezuela's oldest human rights organization, testified to the UN Human Rights Council (UNHRC) and decried an attempt by a UNHRC fact-finding mission to erase people who were "lynched, burned alive, decapitated and murdered by extremist sectors of the Venezuelan opposition." This fact-finding mission had published a report a week earlier that generated sensationalist headlines of "crimes against humanity" and painted a bleak picture of the situation in Venezuela.

However, the 400+ page report has been found to contain serious flaws and omissions, leading to charges that it politicizes human rights - a position backed by the Venezuelan government. But it's not just Venezuela that has taken issue with the report: Argentina's ambassador to the Organization of American States denounced it as "biased" and noted that "human rights are not an instrument for taking political positions."

### A parallel mission and attack on multilateralism

Moreover, even the formation of the fact-finding mission is suspect. Since 2017, Venezuela has been working with a different UN institution, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), to strengthen its capacity to guarantee human rights. This cooperation has led to technical agreements and to visits by the OHCHR to Venezuela.

Yet despite - or perhaps because - of this cooperation, the Lima Group, an ad hoc group of nations dedicated to regime change in Venezuela, maneuvered in the UN Human Rights Council to establish a parallel mission outside of the purview of the OHCHR. In the September 2019 debate prior to the founding of this mission, Russián said that it "seeks to thwart the advances between the Office of the High Commissioner and the Venezuelan state, hindering and duplicating its efforts." She also made a prescient comment: "[the mission] will generate major headlines but will not contribute to resolving the situation."

Several Venezuelan human rights organizations, including the Venezuelan Association of Jurists (AVJ), denounced the formation of the mission and the subsequent report as an attack on multilateralism. The AVJ notes that according to UN General Assembly Resolution 60/251, "the promotion and protection of human rights should be based on the principles of cooperation and genuine dialogue and aimed at strengthening the capacity of Member States."

Neither of these principles were adhered to in the report, which means that the fact-finding mission violated the United Nation's own guidelines. This contrasts severely with the latest update on Venezuela from the OHCHR, which notes that technical cooperation between Venezuela and the UN has led to progress in investigating 93 alleged cases of extrajudicial killings or excessive use of force, as well as the pardoning of 110 prisoners.

### Flawed methodology, biased sources and egregious omissions

The first thing to note about the report is that the authors are all from countries that support Guaidó. One of them, Francisco Cox,



Venezuelan human rights activist  
María Eugenia Russián

has close ties to the Chilean Foreign Minister (Chile is one of the Latin American countries leading the charge against Venezuela). In an interview with journalist Anya Parampil, Chilean analyst Esteban Silva noted that Cox "is part of an operation against the government of Venezuela."

Venezuelan human rights organization Sures considers that the report "lacks academic rigor" as the mission did not step foot in Venezuela "and as such never had direct access to the sources it consulted, including the victims, government officials and official records." Lending credence to the claim of a lack of rigor is the fact that more than 50% of the report's sources were links to social and digital media, while just 5% were NGOs.

Misión Verdad, an independent group of Venezuelan investigative journalists and analysts, wrote an exposé of the sources used in the report and found that one of these NGOs, COFASIC (Committee of Relatives of Victims of the Caracazo), receives USAID funds and has ties to Human Rights Watch, which supports regime change and the brutal US sanctions. None of the NGOs the fact-finding mission contacted even mentioned the case of Orlando Figuera, a young Black man burned alive by anti-government protestors, which has arguably been the most infamous violation of human rights in Venezuela in recent years.

If the report were interested in balance, it would have cited or contacted Venezuelan human rights groups that document right-wing violence at protests and the devastating effects of U.S. sanctions. Five such organizations were contacted for this article: Fundalatin, AVJ, Sures, Género con Clase (Gender with Class), and the Committee of Victims of the Guarimba and Ongoing Coup (guarimba is the term used for violent opposition protests in 2013, 2014 and 2017). None of them ever heard from the "independent" mission.

While victims like Figuera are ignored, another detailed critique by Misión Verdad documents the repeated "whitewashing" of political actors linked to violence by presenting them as victims. As analyst Joe Emersberger notes, the report's treatment of opposition figure Leopoldo López ignores the leading role he has played in destabilizing Venezuela since 2002. López's regime change strategy in 2014, 'La Salida', sparked opposition violence that resulted in the decapitation of Elvis Durán; he was riding a motorcycle down a street booby-trapped by protestors

with barbed wire. López's name appears 61 times in the report; Durán's does not appear at all.

As tragic as it is that a UN mission would engage in the erasure of victims of human rights violations perpetrated by government opponents, these are not even the most glaring omissions in the report. There are two ongoing mass violations of the human rights of all Venezuelans: the violent destabilization of the country by foreign and domestic actors, and the brutal U.S. sanctions. For Gisela Jiménez of Género con Clase, an organization that focuses on the rights of women and sexual diversity, currently the biggest challenge to the rights of Venezuelans is "the threat to the right to live in peace." Russián of *Fundalatin* dates the biggest violation of human rights to March 2015, when then-President Obama characterized Venezuela as an "unusual and extraordinary threat" to the United States. Since then, she notes, "the Venezuelan people have been subjected to violations of their right to health and even the right to life, due to the embargo and the obstruction of imports of medicine, food and supplies."

### The report in the context of a hybrid war

Beyond the bias and politicization of the report, what perhaps damns it most is how it is being used. The omissions on the impact of coups and sanctions enable regime change operatives such as Elliott Abrams, U.S. special representative for Iran and Venezuela, to cite the report as evidence of crimes against humanity while, in the same breath, threatening to cut off Venezuela's diesel supplies, which has drawn widespread condemnation from NGOs across the political spectrum for the devastating effect it would have on the Venezuelan people.

The report was similarly used by Senators Marco Rubio and Ben Cardin, who referenced it in a letter to the European Union in which they expressed "deep concern" over EU talks with the Maduro government and urged the EU to not monitor Venezuela's parliamentary elections. This blatant attempt at interfering in and attempting to delegitimize Venezuela's elections went uncovered by mainstream media, which focused all of their attention on the UNHCR report.

The fact-finding mission has produced a document that is currently being employed in the furtherance of sanctions, electoral interference and threats of war. To put it another way, the UNHCR report on the human rights of Venezuelans will likely lead to even more suffering for Venezuelans. In the words of Fundalatin President Russián, the threat to the human rights of Venezuelans "becomes graver because of the behavior by powerful states, who in the name of human rights, seek a foreign military intervention in Venezuela."

Leonardo Flores is Latin American policy expert and campaigner with CODEPINK. Author's note: The Trump administration's hybrid war against Venezuela is all about regime change and securing oil.

Please join CODEPINK in signing this petition to urge the US to fight Covid-19, not Venezuela, here:

[https://www.codepink.org/share\\_pandemicpluswar](https://www.codepink.org/share_pandemicpluswar)

# The Heartbeat of Wounded Knee:

*Native America from 1890 to the Present* by David Treuer: New York: Riverhead Books, 2019. 512 pp.  
reviewed by Roxanne-Dunbar-Ortiz, written for *Wicazo Sa Review: A Journal of Native American Studies*. Editor, James Riding In: pawnee1@asu.edu,  
printed by permission of the author of the review

David Treuer is Anishinabek and a citizen of the Leech Lake Ojibwe Reservation in Minnesota. He holds a doctorate in Anthropology and is professor of literature and creative writing at the University of Southern California. A widely published and praised novelist, literary critic, and essayist, Treuer describes his new book, *The Heartbeat of Wounded Knee*, as primarily “a work of history,” which weaves into the narrative his own life and stories of ordinary living Native individuals based on hundreds of interviews he carried out over several years. Treuer demonstrated his mastery of the memoir and storytelling in his 2012 book, *Rez Life: An Indian’s Journey Through Reservation Life*, and that mastery is manifest in the new book.

The title of the present book references *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* by the late Dee Brown. That book was published in 1970, a few months after the seizure of Alcatraz by the “Indians of all Nations,” which continued for another 19 months. Celebrity visitations garnered favorable national and international publicity and Native faces dominated nightly television newscasts. It was not only incorrect but ironic that Dee Brown’s pronouncement that the 1890 army massacre at Wounded Knee was the culmination of the previous thirty years during which “the culture and civilization of the American Indian was destroyed.” Brown’s work, albeit passionately sympathetic, was an updated variation on the 20<sup>th</sup> century trope of the “dead Indian,” as Treuer points out. Brown’s book has never gone out of print, selling millions of copies, still appearing as recommended reading, and it exists around the world in 17 different languages.

Although with the flourishing of Native American Studies in universities Native activism and scholarship during the past half-century, Dee Brown’s sentimental and tragic approach has waned, but a subtler, yet insidious, version of the terminal narrative appears in questioning the authenticity of contemporary Native Americans, claiming that all the “real Indians” died off.

This is what anthropologist Michael Cox dubs the “terminal narrative—accounts of Indian histories which explain the absence, cultural death, or disappearance of Indigenous peoples.”<sup>1</sup> And this is what Treuer sets out to challenge with what he characterizes as a “counter narrative to the story that has been told about us, but it is something more as well: it is an attempt to confront the ways we Indians ourselves understand our place in the world.”

The book is comprised of seven parts of 30 to 100 pages each, bookended by a Prologue and an Epilogue. Treuer’s own story and his telling of others he interviewed make up most of the book, primarily in the post-World War II second half of the book. These are the strongest chapters, introducing fully developed Native individuals who speak of their own lives, but also their observations on tribal and government policies and other issues, all with much humor and insight. This is oral history at its best, Treuer’s ethnographic training combined with deeply felt respect.

One of the most informative section of the book is Part 6 on the tribal enterprises and economic development that led to the present “Boom City” for a number of Native Nations, especially based on but not limited to casino gambling. Treuer narrates the perils and advantages of the development of gaming that began in the 1980s, particularly as an expression of sovereignty. He explains, “Sovereignty isn’t only a legal attitude or a political reality; it has a social dimension as well. The Idea and practice of sovereignty carries with it a kind of dignity—a way of relating to the self, to others, to the past, and to the future that is dimensionally distinct.” (388-389) He attributes the emergence of the power of sovereignty to the sometimes reckless, sometimes violent risks that young Native people of the Red Power movement of the 1960s and 70s took in actions, calling for sovereignty and self-determination.

Above all, in the final part of the book characterized by being the “digital” period, Treuer sees a positive paradigm for the future of Native resistance and survival in the ten-month Standing Rock protest of 2016. What made it different and significant, he suggests, was its “manner and its reach...For the first time,



Graphic from <https://www.historyonthenet.com/heartbeat-wounded-knee-native-america-1890-present> podcast.

activists, individuals, tribal government, and the tribal governments of other Indian nations all banded together in common cause.” Most importantly, the protest didn’t have a face, a dominant leader, rather it was a plurality as Native peoples have always been pluralities that could come together to resist: “We are united by the legacy (and current practices) of colonialism to be sure. But we are and have always been more than what the government has done to us or tried to do to us and failed: mainstream us.”

Throughout the text Treuer emphasizes and demonstrates the survival of Native peoples, stressing that such survival was and is proactive and dynamic not passive. He capsulizes what his elder fellow Anishinabek writer and scholar Gerald Vizenor calls *survivance*: Vizenor writes, “The conventions of survivance create a sense of Native presence...Survivance is an active presence; it is not absence, deracination, or ethnographic oblivion, and survivance is the continuation of narratives, not a mere reaction, however pertinent.”<sup>2</sup> Treuer’s book fits well within those conventions.

However, the historical narration that begins the book is weak. Part 1 of the book, which sets the stage for the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the present, is titled “Narrating the Apocalypse: 10,000 BCE-1890.” At 80 pages it is rushed, dense, and not adequately sourced. It reads much like standard US history textbooks that seek to “tell both sides of the story.” Treuer writes:

The colonization of North America is often seen as a binary struggle, a series of conflicts between Indians and settlers. But in the face of disease, starvation, and displacement, conflict occurred along multiple vectors. Tribes allied with other tribes against yet other tribes; colonial powers made alliance with certain tribes against other tribes and against other colonial powers. Some tribes committed genocide against their neighbors. (32) Although, like other standard histories, Treuer goes on to describe situations in which clearly there was no level playing field, the “tribe against tribe” trope sticks in the mind of the reader and dilutes what can only be called colonial genocide.

But, Treuer never refers to the US wars as genocidal. He has taken issue elsewhere with the use of the term “genocide” in any context other than the Holocaust.<sup>3</sup> Yet, he uses the term, “genocide” to describe intra-Indigenous warfare.

In a brief “A Note on Sources” at the end of the book, which does not mention any actual sources, Treuer writes, “I have tried my best to frame opinion as opinion and fact as fact, if for no other reason than that Indian lives and Indian history have long been given the fancy treatment of poetic and loose interpretations.” The claim of Indian on Indian genocide is not attributed to any source, yet it is stated as a fact. There is considerable slippage in that respect throughout the text.

Unfortunately, Treuer does not make use of current Native scholars’ research and theorizing. This scholarship is extensive and varied, but it places the US colonization of the land base it presently claims full sovereignty over in the context of European colonization of Africa, the Caribbean, Asia and the Pacific since

the first venture in 1492, and specifically centering the attributes of settler-colonialism, which brutally dominates the masses to produce wealth for the colonizer. Settler-colonialism seeks to eliminate and replace the Indigenous inhabitants, and in the case of the United States, to institutionalize African slavery and invite European immigration to build the work force. Settler colonialism has a built in genocidal tendency.

This criticism is not meant to diminish the power of the stories or the value of the book, but the flawed historical context leads to some unsettling that nullify the uses of history from the Indigenous perspective itself as a healing agent.

After describing in the last chapter, the power and beauty of the water protectors, the flourishing Native languages programs all over the continent, the newly elected Native members of congress, the soaring Native population and dynamic diversity as well as common dreams and projects, the Epilogue returns to what Treuer regards as the continued Native destructive self-regard as having lost all, of being powerless, of overwhelming tragedy, invoking Black Elk. He seems to be saying the Native people must get over history and move on, as the right-wing privilege white male critics of “identity politics” prescribe. Closing with respectful quotes from founding father Adams and Jefferson, Treuer favors a reconciliation that without reparations, and without a reckoning with what the United States remains, a militaristic, violent, imperialist polity rooted in white supremacy.

**TTT Editor’s note: Unmentioned in this review but of significance to this journal, which works to free all political prisoners, Treuer has a negative posture toward Leonard Peltier and AIM generally, and is dismissive of their connection to and embrace by elders and traditionals. Yet most indigenous leaders of all political persuasions now call for Peltier’s release.**

## (Endnotes)

1 Michael V. Cox, *The Pueblo Revolt and the Mythology of Conquest: An Indigenous Archaeology of Contact*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009, 11.

2 Gerald Vizenor and Jill Doerfler, *The White Earth Nation: Ratification of a Native Democratic Constitution*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012, 11.

3 The 1948 *United Nations’ Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide*, the only technical definition of genocide, lists 5 acts, any one of which, can be considered genocide if “committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national ethnic, racial, or religious group:” killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

## On-Line Resources for Turning the Tide & ARA-LA/PART:

You can find archives of *Turning the Tide* at [www.antiracist.org](http://www.antiracist.org) that go back more than 15 years. In addition, there are several Facebook pages, such as [facebook.com/tideturning](https://facebook.com/tideturning), and [facebook.com/intercommunalsolidarity](https://facebook.com/intercommunalsolidarity). You can follow @ara\_losangeles on Twitter, and the De-Colonize LA! blog at [ara-la.tumblr.com](http://ara-la.tumblr.com).

Anti-Racist Action Publishers  
PO Box 1055  
Culver City, CA 90232-1055

First Class Postage

## UPCOMING EVENTS:

- ★ Mon Oct 12 - Indigenous Peoples Day: Decolonize-Decarbonize-Decarcerate
- ★ Oct 13, 6-8p, Candlelight Vigil Bezos Mansion, 1801 Angelo Dr Beverly Hills 90210 - Commemorate 19,000 Amazon workers who got COVID-19
- ★ Nov 1 - Peoples' Strike: No Rent - No Debt - No Work - No Shopping
- ★ Nov 3 - Election Day: #JackielaceyMustGo - Yes on J, Props 15-18,21,24
- ★ Nov 27 - Black Friday - Buy Nothing Day-Picket Walmart,Amazon,WholeFoods
- ★ Dec 1 - Monthly Peoples' Strike actions and webcast <https://peoplesstrike.org>

TURNING THE TIDE GOES FREE TO **1,700** PRISONERS EVERY ISSUE.  
ALMOST

**\$5 DONATION** GETS THIS INTO THE HANDS OF 10.  
POSTAGE ALONE COSTS \$1000!!

**"SUPPORT TURNING THE TIDE, FOR WHEN YOU DO SO, YOU SUPPORT YOURSELF,  
AND THE MOVEMENTS THAT ARE PAVING A WAY INTO THE FUTURE."**

- MUMIA ABU JAMAL

Send cash, check, or money order payable to: **Anti-Racist Action,**  
PO Box 1055, Culver City CA 90232. We CANNOT process checks to Turning the Tide or  
Intercommunal Solidarity -- **All checks to 'ANTI-RACIST ACTION' only!!**

- Individual Subscription: \$20    Institutional Subscription: \$30    ARA Benefit CD: \$10+\$3 S&H  
 25th Anniversary Commemorative Edition: \$5    Additional Donations \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_ Phone: \_\_\_\_\_ City: \_\_\_\_\_ State: \_\_\_\_\_ Zip: \_\_\_\_\_

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

# TURNING THE TIDE



graphic from Certain Days Freedom for Political Prisoners Calendar 2021 (order inside)

## INSIDE

- ★ People Get Ready: The Best Defense is Good Offense
- ★ End Land Grabs by US Universities & Pension Funds
- ★ Venezuela-Biggest Human Rights Violation: US Aggression

**Life's Interdependence Inspires Mutual Aid & Solidarity**  
**Oppressed People Desire Liberation**  
**Survival Requires Eco-Socialist Revolution**  
**Freedom Now! End Trump & USA Fascism**

Anti-Racist Action-LA/  
People Against Racist Terror  
PO Box 1055  
Culver City, CA 90232  
[www.anti-racist.org](http://www.anti-racist.org) ★  
747-666-PART (7278)  
[antiracistaction\\_la@yahoo.com](mailto:antiracistaction_la@yahoo.com)