

PART's Perspective:

2020s - DECISIVE DECADE FOR PLANETARY SURVIVAL & LIBERATION

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

For most people who use the common calendar, January 1, 2020 marks the beginning of a new decade, the 2020s. Astronomical, geological and human historical time is a seamless flow. But we humans have a tendency to define, measure and demarcate time periods, generations, and other such phenomena. So we talk about the Roaring Twenties, or the Sixties, the Boomers or Generation Y or Z as if they are concrete objects or discrete realities. Of course they are simply mental abstractions of a never-ending process of change.

However, the best available scientific analysis gives us about 10 years as a time frame within which we can act to offset and reverse the steady increase in greenhouse gas emissions from fossil fuels and agribusiness that are driving the planet into unprecedented and possibly irreversible feedback loops of warming. Those will damage the “Goldilocks” just-right climatic conditions that have made human life and development possible. We are already seeing the catastrophic consequences much faster than any predictions. There has been a wave of mass extinctions, plant and animal migrations, ruptures in the seasons and cycles of life and water. So it makes sense to see the 2020s as a decisive decade in the entire history, not only of humanity, but of the planet itself.

Earth has always been transformed by the life that emerged on the planet. The interplay among life forms and geological, atmospheric and oceanic environments is the norm of nature. The biochemistry of life has always impacted the gaseous contents of the atmosphere and the seas. The hydrocarbons we are burning today are the remains of previous carbon-

based life forms. The European conquest of the Americas, with its attendant genocide of indigenous people, ending the practice of controlled burns in forests and generating a massive reforestation, drew down enough carbon from the atmosphere to produce a mini-ice-age in northern Europe. But the scale, severity and global extent of the changes now taking place threaten life as we have known it for not just millennia but millions of years. Rising temperatures mean rising sea levels. Use of the oceans as a carbon sink means acidification of the marine environment and the potential destruction of its entire food chain. Our capacity to destroy eco-systems and disrupt natural cycles exceeds our current ability to restore them. So prevention of further disruption and destruction is essential.

But we cannot address or solve this colossal problem without understanding its root causes and development. Who or what is keeping us from taking the necessary steps to overcome them? To answer those questions, social sciences and the study of history are at least as important as bio-chemistry, physics or meteorology. There is a clear relationship between certain developments in human history and spikes in the levels of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases in the atmosphere and the oceans. These are related to changes in the means of production

temperature has taken place over the last 50 years, since the 1970s, when the science demonstrating the impact of the emissions was already clear.

Colonization, enclosure and privatization of the commons and the development of the capitalist system of production, the industrialization it made possible, and the unimpeded capitalist globalization and privatization of “resource extraction” and production are the basis for the quantitative and qualitative leaps in human-caused climate change, at an accelerating rate. Colonization and enclosure started about 500 years ago and took place over a couple of centuries; industrialization started about 250 years ago and took place over a century or more. The third, current runaway leap has taken place within the lifespan of many people now living, roughly since the 1970s, accelerating with the collapse of the Soviet Union and socialist camp and continuing to intensify and accelerate in the last decade or so, **getting worse at a faster rate since the first tentative climate accords!**

Scientists and executives at fossil fuel companies were aware of the consequences of their actions well over half a century ago, when the worst impacts could still have been prevented or more easily mitigated. Political leaders of the advanced industrial states, the US foremost,



both neo-conservative and neo-liberal political figures resulted in increased skepticism about the human role in climate change, and increased cynicism about the capacity of collective or governmental action to address it.

This means that any solution at this late date must both address the root causes of climate change in colonialism and capitalism, and prepare for and carry out a political struggle against the colonizers and capitalists who have already demonstrated that they will tenaciously cling to and defend their power and privilege at the cost of the planetary environment. We are past the point of pleading or persuasion. What we need is **power** -- countervailing popular power to overcome and uproot those currently in power and perpetuating a system that has become necrotic, death-dealing and feeding on the death it deals out.

To develop and exercise such power requires a principled unity, based on decolonization, on a joint uncompromising resistance rooted in solidarity and a struggle for liberation and sustainability, and on a recognition that we have a clear and undeniable enemy: the system of capitalism and colonialism whose interests are diametrically and irreconcilably opposed to ours and to needs of the living ecology of the planet. In order to take on that decisive battle, we have to overcome the divisions, weaknesses and hindrances among ourselves -- white supremacy, male chauvinism, careerism, class collaboration, identification with the oppressor, individualism. By doing so, we can overcome our fears and self-sabotage, and build our unity, power and capacity to think and act on the basis of reality. We need to identify the contradictions and weaknesses within our own ranks so that we can minimize and overcome them; and the weaknesses and contradictions of our enemy, so that we can intensify them to our advantage.

Remember that there's a dialectic between the power of the oppressor and the power of the people. Their power and wealth is always and continuously derived from the people and land they exploit and oppress. It is the power of coercion and destruction. Our power is derived from our creative capacity and the generative and regenerative powers of life and nature. The growth of our unity and power, our capacity for independent thought and action *ipso facto* diminishes the power of our enemies and their capacity to dictate to or coerce us. The boss needs the workers; they do not need the boss. The colonizer and oppressor requires the colonized and those he oppresses; we need to decolonize and to end our oppression, and the colonizers and oppressors with it.

The environmental struggle is a vital one, but it can only be won with this in mind. It's part of an overarching anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist struggle for solidarity, justice, decolonization, liberation, social control of the means of production, and a new way of life that reveres and protects the entire biosphere we call Mother Earth.



themselves and to the social and economic systems based on controlling those means of production. The fires in Australia are the clear consequence of settler colonialism. The fires in the Brazilian rainforest are a consequence of fascism. And both catastrophes are related to capitalism and US-led imperialism.

The current runaway increase in greenhouse gases is a consequence of the nature of the colonial capitalist economic system, based on endless excessive -- one might say cancerous -- growth, on industrialization and the extraction of “cheap” energy, and on the “externalization” of the costs of those processes. A clear intensification of both the underlying economic exploitation and expropriation, and the attendant levels of emissions and

were confronting the issue as long ago as the Kyoto Protocols and making conscious decisions for inaction and deregulation. Even the public at large was aware of the problems, and their chemical and physical causes. ABC News produced a video compilation for ESL students that collected reporting from its news with Peter Jennings and Ted Koppel during the late 1980s and early 1990s, basically the George H. W. Bush and early Bill Clinton administrations. The reports covered the hole in the ozone, acid rain, the impact of greenhouse gases, plastic pollution in the oceans, and efforts (mainly in Europe) for solutions like mass transportation, or renewable and non-polluting energy sources. Yet in the years since, a massive propaganda campaign by energy companies and

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,

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and donate, or use paypal to 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.

White Nationalism Is a Real Thing

By Tom Watts, White Panther Organization-New Afrikan Black Panther Party

Black Nationalism is a real thing -- that is, it exists as a force in the material world, even though nationalism is today an anachronism. The Black Nation came into existence out of the exclusion of Blacks from the White Nation, not the strength of the demand of the Black bourgeoisie for self-determination. The Black Nation emerged as an almost entirely peasant nation in the "Black-Belt" South in the Post-Civil War Period of apartheid segregation. "Jim Crow" segregation was a product of White Nationalism.

The "Great Divide" among the aspiring "black bourgeois" intellectuals was between accommodation vs. integration. Some call Marcus Garvey a "Black Nationalist," but he, like his mentor Booker T. Washington, was thoroughly for accommodation with White Nationalism, bending his knee to the KKK and calling for Blacks to return to Afrika. The only call for self-determination for the "Black Belt" Nation came from the Communist Party (CPUSA) and the African Blood Brotherhood (ABB), which was absorbed into the CPUSA in the mid-1920s.

But even in the 1920s, the "Great Migration" was transforming the "Black Belt" Nation into a dispersed "Proletarian Nation" composed of various segregated urban Black communities within the overwhelmingly "White Nation" of the United States. Eventually, the CPUSA dropped the demand for self-determination, in part out of accommodation to white nationalism within its ranks and also the lack of interest in the Black communities. The Civil Rights Era had begun, and the CPUSA was in its vanguard, even as the Party was turning rotten with revisionism.

Black Nationalism burst onto the scene in 1968 at the founding conference of the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) in Detroit, four days before the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The conference was called by the Malcolm X Society and the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL), two influential Detroit-based black organizations with broad followings. Ironically, Malcolm X had renounced Black Nationalism prior to his assassination and like Dr. King was moving towards a more advanced anti-imperialist and socialistic consciousness. As Malcolm stated 33 days before his assassination:

"I believe that there will be ultimately be a clash between the oppressed and those who do the oppressing. I believe that there will be a clash between those who want freedom, justice and equality for everyone and those who want to continue the system of exploitation. I believe that there will be that kind of clash, but I don't think it will be based on the color of the skin..." - Pierre Berton Interview of Malcolm X, January 19, 1965

MLK's assassination on April 4, 1968 gave the RNA traction among the masses already frustrated with the slow progress of the Civil Rights Movement and many, like Dr. King, were questioning the advisability of integration into a system based upon class exploitation and global domination. The alternative was represented by Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party (BPP) which had been founded in Oakland, CA in 1966. The BPP represented a continuation of Malcolm X's political evolution. Huey resisted the pull of the RNA's Black Nationalism telling them:

"The Black Panther Party's position is that the Black people in the country are definitely colonized, and suffer from the colonial plight more than any ethnic group in the country. Perhaps with the exception of the Indian, but surely as much even as the Indian population. We too, realize that the American people in general are colonized. And they're colonized simply because they're under a capitalist society, with a small clique of rulers who are the owners of the means of production in control of decision making. They're the decision making body, therefore, that takes the freedom from the American people in general, and they simply work for the enrichment of this ruling class.

"As far as Blacks are concerned, of course, we're at the very bottom of this ladder, we're exploited not only by the small group of ruling class, we're oppressed, and repressed by even the working class Whites in the country. And this is simply because the ruling class, the White ruling class uses the old Roman policy of divide and conquer. In other words the White working class is used as pawns or tools of the ruling class, but they too are enslaved. So it's with that historical policy of dividing and ruling, that the ruling class can effectively and successfully keep the majority of the people in an oppressed position; because they're divided in certain interest groups, even though these interests that the lower class groups carry doesn't necessarily serve as beneficial to them.

"As far as our stand on separation, we've demanded, as you very well know, a plebiscite of the U.N. to supervise,

so that Blacks can decide whether they want to secede the union, or what position they'll take on it. As far as the Black Panther Party is concerned we're subject to the will of the people, but we feel that the Republic of New Africa is perfectly justified in demanding and declaring the right to secede the union. So we don't have any contradiction between the Black Panther Party's position and the Republic of New Africa's position it's simply a matter of timing. We feel that certain conditions will have to exist before we're even given the right to make that choice. We also take into consideration the fact that if Blacks at this very minute were able to secede the union, and say have five states, or six states, it would be almost impossible to function in freedom side by side with a capitalist imperialist country.

"We all know that mother Africa is not free simply because of imperialism, because of Western domination. And there's no indication that it would be any different if we were to have a separate country here in North America. As a matter of fact, by all logics we would suffer imperialism and colonialism even more so than the Third World is suffering it now. They are geographically better located, thousands of miles away, but yet they are not able to be free simply because of high technological developments, the highest technological developments that the West has that makes the world so much smaller, one small neighborhood.

"So taking all these things into consideration, we conclude that the only way that we're going to be free is to wipe out once and for all the oppressive structure of America. We realize we can't do this without a popular struggle, without many alliances and coalitions, and this is the reason that we're moving in the direction that



"The ruling elite are playing the nationalist card to divide and rule..."

we are, to get as many alliances as possible of people that are equally dissatisfied with the system. And also we're carrying on, or attempting to carry on a political education campaign so that the people will be aware of the conditions [1]and therefore perhaps they will be able to take steps to controlling these conditions. We think that the most important thing at this time, is to be able to organize in some fashion so that we'll have a formidable force to challenge the structure of the American empire." - Huey P. Newton, "Letter to Robert F. Williams and the Republic of New Afrika/RNA" (1969)

What Huey was coming to understand, and would articulate a year later, is that the ship had sailed on forming new nations or even maintaining existing ones. The process of globalization was forcing capitalist-imperialism to evolve into its highest and final stage, which Huey called "reactionary intercommunalism" but is more popularly known as Neoliberalism, in which a global monopoly capitalist ruling class presides over a globalized world economy and dictatorship of the bourgeoisie making national economies and national self-determination impossible. Marx and Engels were conscious of this tendency as far back as 1848, writing in the Communist Manifesto:

"The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilised nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the production of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have

intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature."

Lenin also saw it coming, as Stalin points out in Foundations of Leninism:

"Developing capitalism," says Lenin, "knows two historical tendencies in the national question. First: the awakening of national life and national movements, struggle against all national oppression, creation of national states. Second: development and acceleration of all kinds of intercourse between nations, breakdown of national barriers, creation of the international unity of capital, of economic life in general, of politics, science, etc.

"Both tendencies are a world-wide law of capitalism. The first predominates at the beginning of its development, the second characterises mature capitalism that is moving towards its transformation into socialist society" (see Vol. XVII, pp. 139-40).

Just as the free competition of rising capitalism gives rise to monopoly capitalism within national economies, global competition gives rise to global monopolies. But the U.S.-centered monopoly capitalist ruling class has been unable to consolidate its global hegemony and in fact grows weaker while its potential rivals for global domination grow stronger. On a very real level, there is contradiction between traditional white nationalism and global neoliberalism. However, nationalism, particularly of the cultural variety, is a powerful force for dividing people, a necessity under neoliberal imperialism. Neoliberalism is a rebellion of the rich against the poor and the concessions made to the working class as a response to the 1917 October Revolution and the spread of socialism following the 2nd World War.

The existence of the Soviet Union transformed the anti-colonial national liberation struggles into a front of the World Proletarian Socialist Revolution. Well, really, many fronts of struggle to which the "Socialist Camp" served as a powerful rear area. However, this rear area was undermined by the rot of modern revisionism—that is the corruption of Marxism-Leninism by bourgeois liberalism ideologically and the political adoption of "social-imperialism." This is "socialism in words and imperialism in deeds." U.S. imperialism aided and abetted this development and it was through the collapse of the "Socialist Camp" that it won the "Cold War." This set the stage for the replacement of "Cold War Liberalism" by "Neoliberalism."

Russia and China are now both junior partners and potential rivals for leadership of the global empire of monopoly capitalism. The U.S.-dominated ruling class of monopoly capitalists is driven to consolidate its global hegemony and is thus unleashing chaos and anarchy—including the threat of another world war—by its failed attempts to do so. White Nationalism is rallied around the slogan of "Make America Great Again!" and the person of Donald Trump. However, Trump is a "card shark" and he is playing his cards with the objective of serving his own ambitions to make his family part of the inner circle of the ruling class and not just their servants.

Around the world, the ruling elite are playing the nationalist card to "divide and rule" even as they struggle to consolidate their global hegemony, but they are not all of one mind and "one divides into two" in all things. The ruling class is overwhelmingly white and racist, but even still money and power not ethnicity is what they are about. According to a recent report by Credit Suisse, there are 100 million Chinese people among the world's top 10% of richest people, compared with 99 million in the U.S. In Russia, 1% hold 46% of the country's wealth. There are 2,604 billionaires in the world, and over a quarter of these ultra-high-net-worth individuals reside in the U.S. "North America was the only region to record an increase in billionaire population," according to the Wealth-X Billionaire Census 2019. --Global Billionaire Population: The Billionaire Census 2019 (6th edition of the Billionaire Census offers a comprehensive study of developments across the global billionaire class...)

White Nationalism is a thing, but so is class dictatorship, and class interests trump ethnicity. Ethnic nationalism is a tool to control the masses. Huey's "Theory of Revolutionary Intercommunalism" is the basis of a strategy to advance the class interests of the proletariat and the highest interests of humanity as a whole, which are one and the same. So great was the alienation felt by the original White Panther Party (WPP) to white nationalism that it came up with the

See: "White Nationalism," p. 6

TRUMP SHOWS HIS TRUE COLORS: BLOOD RED WAR

Can Direct Action Stop War on Iran and Drive Him From Office?

TTT is excerpting this anti-war analysis from
PopularResistance.org

The reckless and dangerous act of war committed by Donald Trump and the Pentagon in killing Major General Qasem Soleimani of Iran and the Iraqi leader of the Popular Mobilization Units (PMU), Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis, has brought the conflict in the Middle East (aka Southwest Asia) to a new level. The conflagration of war is growing with the US making this direct attack on a top Iranian official in violation of Iraqi sovereignty.

As expected, the corporate media and many politicians are spreading lies to justify the murders and further aggression towards Iran. It is important for us to understand the facts so we can respond to this misinformation and avoid being lied into yet another war.

Fortunately, there was a rapid response in the US with actions in more than 82 cities in 38 states involving tens of thousands of people to protest more war on Iran. It's imperative, and the ingredients are in place for it, that the antiwar movement grows exponentially very quickly and becomes a major force in 2020. The combination of opposition to never-ending, always-expanding wars, hatred of Donald Trump, the 2020 election year and pent up frustration over massive military spending can create a movement more dangerous to Trump than the toothless Democratic Party impeachment.

Assassination of Soleimani was Based on Lies

As expected, corporate media in the US is pushing lies to rationalize the crimes committed by the US. In reality, the justifications used by the US for the assassination were false. The primary claim used to justify the attack is that Soleimani was planning imminent attacks on US forces. In fact, Moon of Alabama reports that Soleimani was not planning any "imminent attacks" on the US or its interests in Iraq. In no way was Soleimani a legitimate target for a US attack.

The Quds force, which Soleimani led, is the external arm of the Iranian Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps. Soleimani was responsible for all relations between Iran and political and militant movements outside of Iran. He was the man responsible for defeating the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS or Daesh). In 2015, Soleimani traveled to Moscow and convinced Russia to intervene in Syria. His support for the Houthis in Yemen enabled them to withstand the Saudi attackers. In all these instances, Soleimani was standing up against US imperialism. These actions made him a target of the US military establishment and a hero in Iran and allied nations.

There have been vague claims that Soleimani killed a US contractor, but this is in doubt. As Scott Ritter writes: "There are several problems with this narrative, first and foremost being that the bases bombed were reportedly more than 500 kilometers removed from the military base where the civilian contractor had been killed. The Iraqi units housed at the bombed facilities, including Khaitab Hezbollah, were engaged, reportedly, in active combat operations against ISIS remnants operating in both Iraq and Syria. This calls into question whether they would be involved in an attack against an American target. In fact, given the recent resurgence of ISIS, it is entirely possible that ISIS was responsible for the attack on the U.S. base, creating a scenario where the U.S. served as the de facto air force for ISIS by striking Iraqi forces engaged in anti-ISIS combat operations."

Following the alleged killing of this unnamed US contractor, the US military bombed members of Iraq's Popular Mobilization Unit (PMU) killing dozens and wounding about 50 people. In response to this outrageous action – imagine a Chinese contractor being killed in the US and China responds by bombing our domestic military bases – Iraqis stormed the US Embassy in Baghdad. The assassination of Soleimani was apparently in response to the protests at the embassy.

National protests against US war on Iran, Iraq Jan. 9, Jan. 25: <https://www.codepink.org/01252020>

ON CHASING PAPER

--by Anarchist Prisoner Sean Swain

Still we lampin' still clockin' dirt for our sweat

A ballot's dead so a bullet's what I get

A thousand years you had the tools, we should be takin' 'em

Fuck the G-ride, I want the machines that are makin' 'em... --from "Down Rodeo," on the CD 'Evil Empire' by Rage Against the Machine

Chasing paper. Many of us who are locked up were chasing paper, and we chased it right through the prison gates and into the cells we now occupy.

We use our time in lock up to scheme and dream and come up with new strategies for chasing paper. We get money tattooed all over us. We listen to songs that will motivate us. We develop our visions. We identify our competition. We build our networks, our empires.

Maybe we don't think about how we are plotting and sweating and bleeding to get portraits of faces of former slave-owners, plantation masters who got rich by taking hostages and exploiting them for their sweat and blood. We don't stop to think that those dead slave-owners continue to take us hostage-- in a new way --and trick us into chasing them, collecting them, worshipping them.

If we stopped to think about it, to really think about it, we'd ask ourselves why we value the money that someone else prints. We'd wonder why we let them print it and distribute it and decide who gets more and who gets less. Why aren't we printing the money? Instead, we get tricked. We spend our lives and blood and sweat chasing paper and serving the system, the scheme of those who put the paper out.

How many of us catch it? And for how long?

If we stopped to think about it, we'd see that we really don't want their paper.



Trump's venal criminality is not just personal, but the embodiment of a criminal regime.

Prior to these events, Iraqis had been protesting their government and were divided over the US and Iran's involvement in the country. However, now the country is united against the United States and the Parliament voted to expel the US from the country. Before that vote, Prime Minister Adil Abdul-Mahdi told the Parliament he was scheduled to meet with Soleimani a day after his arrival to receive a letter from Iran in response to a de-escalation offer Saudi Arabia had made. The US assassinated Soleimani shortly after his arrival at the Baghdad civilian airport and before the letter could be delivered.

The Fallout

The US has been waging a war of "maximum pressure" on Iran throughout the past year to no avail. Iran has been measured in its responses to the US withdrawal from the nuclear agreement, increased illegal unilateral coercive measures (aka sanctions), threats of attack and false accusations against Iran. This assassination is a new level of criminality and recklessness. General Soleimani was loved and revered in Iran and throughout the region. Since his murder, Iranians and Iraqis have poured into the streets to mourn him and al-Muhandis and to call for action.

Iran has promised, "forceful revenge" but Iran is not seeking a war with the US. Unlike the US' action, which doesn't seem to be thought through, Iran will be deliberate to achieve strategic objectives. While rapid escalation is possible, more likely is a long-term careful response by Iran. An asymmetrical response, which is the strategy put in place by Soleimani, is the most likely. Iran's control of the Strait of Hormuz, where one-third of the world's oil passes, could choke the world's oil supply resulting in increased prices that risk a recession in the US and globally. Already, oil prices are rising.

Iran can act diplomatically to further isolate the US. Scott Ritter writes, "The diplomatic missions Suleimani may have been undertaking at the time of his death centered on gaining regional support for pressuring the United States to withdraw from both Syria and Iraq. Of the two, Iraq was, and is, the highest priority, if for no other reason that there can be no sustained US military presence in Syria without the existence of a major US military presence in Iraq." The 16,000 people working at the massive US embassy in Baghdad could also be forced out of Iraq. Muqtada al-Sadr has already said in a letter that Iraq should go further and shut down the US embassy. The State Department has ordered all US citizens to leave Iraq.

Brigadier General Hossein Dehghan, Iran's former defense minister and current military adviser to Ayatollah Khamenei, says Iran is not seeking war with the United States and will only target military sites. There are also military targets in the region that could be attacked by Iranian allies including those of the US and its allies such as Israel. General Gholamali Abuhameed, the commander of the Revolutionary Guards, said: "Some 35 US

targets in the region, as well as Tel Aviv, are within our reach."

An escalation of the situation could occur no matter what Iran does because of actions by the US. Yesterday, President Trump was threatening to bomb 52 targets in Iran, including historic sites. Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif wrote in response that "Targeting cultural sites is a WAR CRIME." Zarif sent letters to both the UN Security Council and the UN to condemn the US' actions.

The US announced it is sending 3,500 more troops from the 82nd Airborne Division to Iraq, adding to the 5,000 already there, at the same time that the Iraqi Parliament, Premier, and Prime Minister have called for the US to leave Iraq. The US will either leave voluntarily or it will remain as an illegal occupying force. And Iran just announced that it is leaving the nuclear agreement. Although Iran has not stated an intention of building nuclear weapons, leaving the agreement opens that door.

US Out of Iraq

Iran's first goal of removing the US from Iraq, Syria and the Middle East was advanced on Sunday when the Iraqi Parliament voted to expel the US military from the country. Prime Minister Adel Abdul Mahdi described the murders as "a political assassination" and urged "for the sake of our national sovereignty" that Iraq establish a timetable for the exit of US troops.

Shia PMU groups have already declared they will do whatever they can to evict the US military from Iraqi soil. The US killed their leaders and comrades so they will take action independent of Iran. Moqtada al-Sadr, the Shia cleric who commands millions of followers in Iraq, has given orders to reactivate his military to force the US out. Millions of people in Iraq joined processions remembering Soleimani and al-Muhandis. These Iraqis will be ready to take action to force the US to leave if the US does not abide by the Iraqi government's request.

An unfortunate outcome of the US actions is that not only have very effective leaders in the fight against ISIS been killed, but the Iraqi PMU is now diverting its efforts away from stopping ISIS to focus on US troops. This is one more reason why the US needs to leave Iraq, and ideally the whole Middle East. US foreign policy over the past decades has brought instability to the region and made the world more insecure. It's time for people in the United States to increase our calls for the US to get out of Iraq and the whole Middle East.

Our Next Steps

The mobilizations across the country were large and energetic. Many youth and new faces showed up. The messages were clear about opposition to more war on Iran and sanctions, demanding the US get out of the Middle East and calling out the bipartisan war machine. The root causes of capitalism and imperialism were also condemned. In 2020, we can build a people's peace movement that cannot be ignored. We need to send a clear message upon the return of Congress that there must not be any more aggression on Iran and that the Authorization for the Use of Military Force must be repealed immediately. You can also call the Capitol switchboard at 202-224-3121. We need to pressure all members of Congress and candidates to speak out against the war on Iran.

Popular Resistance goes on to list various forms of educating, organizing and protesting, but we need millions to engage in insurgent resistance or at the least disruptive non-violent direct action against the war machine & ecocide.

What we want is the happiness and freedom that we see others have, others who have paper. We want nice things. A good house, a new car, the best clothes, great food, comfort. We want friends and loved ones who love and respect us. We want lives of purpose and meaning and importance.

What if I told you that we could all have that, if only we were the ones with power to print the paper... and that to get that power, we must take it from the ones who currently have it?

The ones who turn some of us against the rest, so we kill each other and save them time and bullets...

The ones who decide where the factories and jobs go...

The ones with the planes bringing the drugs into the country...

The ones who hand out the sentences...

The ones who count the votes.

They run things. They run us. They are our enemies, with happiness and freedom at our expense... living off of our sweat and blood. They're not special or smart or any more deserving than we are, and we can be just as happy and just as free as they are, if only we spend our sweat and blood chasing revolution like we've spent it chasing paper. There's only one thing that they have that you don't: They know a powerful secret.

And now you know it too.

Empire of U.S. Idiots

By Mumia Abu-Jamal 1/6/20

Empire of U.S. idiots. As these words are written, the U.S. Empire takes a dangerous step closer to another war in the Middle East. After it's assassination of an Iranian military leader, Major General Qasem Soleimani, a man revered in two countries, Iraq and Iran, for his military genius in a career spanning decades. General Soleimani was a young man during the ruinous Iran/Iraq war, in which over a million souls were lost. He was so highly regarded by Shias that he was known as the 'Living Martyr', for his long survival from war.

Until, that is, the Americans sent a missile from a drone, ending his life.

The Iraq War, based on lies from leading U.S. politicians and intelligence agencies, sent Americans to war in search of Weapons of Mass Destruction. And ended up, in what foreign policy experts have called 'The biggest foreign policy blunder in modern U.S. history'. For while the war cost trillions, in U.S. dollars, and lost thousands of American lives, it strengthened immeasurably, Iran, and gave rise to a



Shia spread. Iranian power has waxed, while U.S. power has waned. Worse, the lessons of the Iraq War have been lost upon American politicians, who wish to impose its hegemony upon the world.

Military power is a destructive force, but it

is rarely a creative force. The Viet Nam War proved that a country can be stronger militarily and still lose. The Iraq and Afghanistan wars proved that the objectives of war aren't always awarded to the strongest, but to who can endure.

Today, Iraq's Parliament has voted that all foreign troops should leave the country, including the Americans. Imperial powers work, when they 'appear' to be working on behalf of the occupied country.

The U.S. no longer even pretends to do so.

Iraq is sick and tired of the American presence.

This happens just as the U.S. is on the brink of leaving Afghanistan.

What was won? What was lost?

America is more hated today than ever, and perhaps, just perhaps, a new war is on its way.

(C) '20 maj

Audio by Noelle Hanrahan

Transcription by Fatirah

Why I Fight So Hard for Our People!

by Comrade Malik

"The hypocrisy of American fascism forces it to conceal its attack on political offenders by the legal fiction of conspiracy laws and highly sophisticated frame-ups. The masses must be taught to understand the true function of prisons. Why do they exist in such numbers? What is the real underlying economic motive of crime and the official definition of types of offenders or victims? The people must learn that when one "offends" the totalitarian state it is patently not an offense against the people of that state, but an assault upon the privilege of the privileged few." -- George L. Jackson, from Blood in my Eye, p.107

Revolutionary greetings, comrades!

As I stare out of my window here at the United States Penitentiary in Pollock, Louisiana, I find myself in a pensive and reflective mood. I see razor wire as well as concertina fencing immediately outside my window. I see the prison yard, the grass, the gun tower and far off in the distance I see trees. I see a flag on a pole, it is the "stars and stripes". This flag does not represent freedom to me, it represents oppression, abuse, social control and it represents the hateful legacy of slavery.

I woke up here in Pollock, Louisiana thinking of Angola 3 member Herman Wallace. I remember the day he died. I was listening to Democracy Now with Amy Goodman, and she played a recording of Comrade Herman describing the garden that he and his comrades were preparing behind the house he was planning to move into.

Once the state of Louisiana finally granted Comrade Herman release, he was on his last leg, the cancer had literally eaten him alive. When I heard the voice of Herman Wallace, with the anticipation of freedom and the hope of seeing a brighter day, I cried. I cried because I was angry, sad, and frustrated.

Louisiana had absolutely no love, compassion, or care for the Angola 3. What they had for them was racial hatred and decades of abuse. Comrade Robert King and Comrade Albert Woodfox made it out alive. Herman wasn't so lucky.

So you should know that I fight for the Herman Wallaces of this world! The political prisoners here in America - I fight for them. I fight for my New Afrikan brothers!

We are being told that we will be on lock-down for months after this most recent incident here at USP Pollock.

Lockdown means my cellmate and I will be trapped in our cell 24/7. Every 3 days we are afforded an opportunity to shower. Our meals are all cold and consist of powdered milk, a piece of fruit, bologna, bread, cheese or peanut butter and jelly. The nutritional value is extremely poor. I have survived years on this paltry diet.

There is no programming on lockdown. So all that talk you have heard about the First Step Act is just that: talk. My cell-mate and I are both "short-timers". He has about 14 months left, and I have about 15 months. He is 33 years old and I am 51. Two Black men. Both of us want to prepare for a successful transition back into society - but how can we?

The Federal Bureau of Prisons is sending us back to our families and to our communities traumatized & scarred emotionally as well as physically.

What rehabilitation is to be had when you are forced to live in a concrete cell for months at a time? Our situation here is not unique. This is the reality for literally thousands of men who have found themselves inside a Federal U.S. Penitentiary. USP Beaumont, USP Coleman, USP Victorville, USP McCreary, Big Sandy, Lee County, ALL of them in a continual state of lockdown! This is why I fight!

"The psycho-social dimensions of fascism become quite complex, but they can be simplified by thinking of them as part of a collective bargaining process carried on between all the elites of the particular state with the regime acting as arbitrator. The regime's interests are subject to those of the ruling class. Labor is a partner in this arrangement. At the head of any labor organization in the fascist state, there is an elite which is tied to the interests of the regime - and consequently tied also to the economic status quo."-- George L. Jackson, excerpt from Blood

in my Eye, p. 157

In this environment, and I am talking about high-security prisons in Amerika, the the prison warden is the 'elite' who represents the interests of the regime.

Let me be clear. Here at USP Pollock, the Complex Warden is named Mr. McConnell. Mr. McConnell is an extension of the Trump Administration. Now, I want to break down exactly what justice looks like here inside USP Pollock.

Recently, there have been U.S. Supreme Court cases, such as U.S. vs Johnson, U.S. vs Davis, and others which have the potential of granting relief to thousands of Federal prisoners. That means that many prisoners who were charged with gun charges under 924(c), 922(g) and those with Hobbs Act Robberies may receive reductions in their sentence or possibly even go home if they qualify and file the proper legal motions and writs of Habeas Corpus.

The ongoing lockdowns at USP Pollock as well as all USPs across the United States of Amerikkka have resulted in a mass denial of our access to the courts. USP Pollock is an egregious violator of our access to courts - allow me to explain.

At USP Pollock we see a special problem. On most USP units, you have access to a computer terminal which is exclusively set up for the law library. That means we could access legal cases which could aid in our freedom.

Because of the numerous lockdowns, we cannot make copies of case law. It would help us immensely if we had a printer on our housing units, since the prison administration here has fallen in love with the reactionary practice of the lockdown strategy.

While en route to USP Pollock, I was in the Federal Transition Center, which is located in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. There on the housing unit was a computer terminal strictly for law library use, and another terminal which was used to print documents, both legal documents and emails from our Corrlinks e-mail accounts.

From my stance as a freedom fighter and jailhouse lawyer, I state for the record that prisoners held at USP Pollock are similarly situated as prisoners who are housed at the Federal Transition Center in Oklahoma and should be afforded the same access to the courts as prisoners there.

What is happening at USP Pollock is a blatant violation of the Equal Protection Clause, as well as our Constitutional right to have access to the courts. There are men here who have excellent arguments, which could free them from Federal custody, but the B.O.P. has created a culture of incarceration which traps mostly black, brown and poor whites inside these slave camps and gulags.

I mentioned earlier in this essay/article that we were on lockdown here at USP Pollock. What I did not mention is that some prisoners here on Unit A-3 did resist being forced back into their cells. They had good reason to resist, and after another quote from Comrade George Jackson, I will explain.

"As victims of one of history's most brutal contradictions, as the poorest of the poor, as blacks, it is quite justifiable and completely possible for us to destroy this country as a modern nation-state, to attack it with a totally destructive counter-sweep of frustrated retaliatory rage; that is not our purpose. As revolutionaries, it is our objective to move ourselves and the people into actions that will culminate in the seizure of state power. Our real purpose is to redeem not merely ourselves but the whole nation and the whole community of nations from colonial - community economic repression."-- George L. Jackson, excerpt from Blood in my Eye, pgs. 133-134

On December 31st, 2019, there was an incident here at USP Pollock which resulted in the warden calling for an institutional lockdown.

On Unit A-3 you have a group of prisoners who have jobs, are involved in rehabilitative programs, etc... "A" Unit is considered the

"good side" of the penitentiary - the side where the peaceful and "well-adjusted" prisoners are allegedly housed.

However, the prisoners on A-3 Unit were not afforded the opportunity to go to the commissary. Their lockers were empty! Some of these men have active and pending litigation. There has been a palpable "frustrated retaliatory rage" building.

It took rubber bullets, shock grendards, batons and chemical agents to force the "good guys" into their cells on Unit A-3 here at USP Pollock.

You see comrades, something is very wrong here at USP Pollock and many other federal pens across the U.S. Deceptions and lies are being told about the so-called rehabilitation and re-entry programming made available to Amerikan prisoners.

Question: If you make your living off of incarcerating poor Black, Latinx, and white human beings, why in the world would you be interested in turning out whole human beings from these slave camps? It is not in their interest to help us!

We are being sent back in worse shape than we came in! And then, when we fail, the oppressor profiles us on "Good Morning America" and highlights the worst of us, while ignoring the best of us!

Do you think I will be invited to be interviewed on GMA once I successfully assume my position as Assistant Editor of the San Francisco Bay View - National Black Newspaper? Probably not.

I vow to fight for those I leave behind. But what about now? What shall we do to address the current conditions of our confinement?

A violent and brutal response will not serve our interests. We must set in motion a thoughtful and well-put-together plan which must be embraced by all Federal prisoners in the USP. Violence only plays into the strategy the oppressor has in store for us.

Remember comrades, there will be no programming, no visits, no phone calls and no business transactions while we are on these lockdowns.

It's time for the shot callers of all street tribes and organizations to communicate with one another now. Exposing the conditions which exist is one part of "the plan". As the weeks turn into months, I will be offering more ideas and suggestions that may improve our conditions, but I am only one man - I'll need some help and co-operation from the good men who are trapped inside these razor-wire plantations.

This is just a glimpse - there will follow more. Will you be ready?

Dare to struggle, dare to win, all power to the people!

Keith "Malik" Washington is assistant editor of the Bay View, studying and preparing to serve as editor after his release in 2021. He is also co-founder and chief spokesperson for the End Prison Slavery in Texas Movement, a proud member of the Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee and an activist in the Fight Toxic Prisons campaign. Visit his website at ComradeMalik.com. Send our brother some love and light: Keith "Malik" Washington, 34481-037, USP Pollock, P.O. Box 2099, Pollock LA 71467.

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Social Unrest Turns Santiago's Walls Into Open-Air Museum



This graffiti by Carmen Paz was registered on Dec. 13 in a street in Santiago de Chile. | Photo: EFE

by Carla González, Telesur

The walls of Chile's capital Santiago are bearing witness to the biggest wave of protests in the country's democratic history, becoming makeshift canvasses for dozens of artists looking to reflect the social discontent through the medium of street art.

The platform is planning to do similar work in cities like Valparaíso and Antofagasta, which have also been pulled into social unrest.

An interpretation of Pablo Picasso's *Guernica* on the outer wall of the Veracruz Church in the Lastarria neighborhood of the capital is among the murals that have caught the attention of passersby.



The bull, the horse and the mother cradling dead son in her arms - subjects found in Picasso's original piece from 1937 depicting a bombing during the Spanish Civil War - have been swapped out for disfigured eyes, tear bombs, burned subway stations and "pacos," the colloquial name given to Chile's police, which faces serious accusations of human rights violations including violence, rape, and kidnapping.

"This work by Miguel Angel Castro synthesizes the horror we have experienced in the last two months," said Juan Pablo Prado, one of the founders of Dignity Museum, a civic platform that seeks to preserve some of the artworks born from the protests.

Inspired by open-air exhibitions like the East Side Gallery on the remnants of the Berlin Wall, the seven members of this museum select the graffiti on the walls of Santiago they deem most representative of the unrest.

Once selected, the works are framed in gilded wood and incorporated into a catalog on Instagram, where the location of the piece, the name of the artist behind it and the techniques used, are detailed for potential visitors.



"Do not forgive them, they know perfectly well what they are doing."

"Something about the frames makes people stop and think, like a museum," Prado added. The museum has already curated 14 works and is about to add another dozen or so, all in Santiago.

The first framed work was a collage by Caiozzama, a renowned Chilean graffiti artist who drew Jesus Christ surrounded by police officers with the message: "Don't forgive them, they know exactly what they're doing."

"Santiago has become a public museum. I am fascinated by the representation of (Chilean poet and Nobel prize winner) Gabriela Mistral with a Chilean flag died black as a sign of mourning," Prado said.

There is hardly a blank space on the walls around Dignity Square - formerly known as Italy Square -, the epicenter of the protests in the capital.

"There are times that we find a work we like, measure it to buy the frame, only to return to find that it has gone. That's the magic of street art," Prado said. "The walls are the printing press of the people."

Images of Camilo Catrillanca, an Indigenous man killed by police a year ago, are interspersed with portraits of ousted former president Salvador Allende and former dictator Augusto Pinochet. Some 23 people have been killed so far in the protests, while around 3,000 have been injured.



Intense repression of protests and cultural events like the open air Inti-Ilimani concert shown here have not deterred protests.

Massive demonstrations against the Chilean government began in Santiago on Oct. 14 due to a 30-cent increase in the subway fare.

While this measure was revoked by Piñera, social unrest increased in magnitude as the Chileans began to question "30 years" of neoliberal policies, which have implied a systematic withdrawal of economic and social rights for millions of people.



Chilean women protest patriarchy & repression with massive chanting crowds: "El violador eres tu - The rapist is you" - the patriarchy is a judge, the cops, the president..." These have gone viral electronically and in live action internationally.

TTT note: Chilean women have led these protests at the intersection of feminism and anti-capitalism. You can see them in a whole series on youtube starting here with followup videos around Chile and across Europe. Thanks to **TTT** subscriber H. Holtz on Brooklyn for the link!

Antofagasta Chile - El violador eres tu <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ZBh0iKwPPM>

Bolivian Resistance: "We Are Not Afraid"

By Cindy Forster, Dec. 14, 2019 [excerpts] <https://www.resumen-english.org/2019/12/bolivia-we-are-not-afraid/>

The stamina of the people has prevented the victory that the U.S.-backed coup regime expected in Bolivia. Resistance to the coup has been successful via three strategies - road blockades, nonviolent protests of thousands that gathered force in the face of massacres, and intense collective decision-making.

"We the Aymaras, Quechuas, all the Indigenous and original peoples, have suffered discrimination for centuries," said a Bolivian who was entering with streams of people to the city of La Paz, the center of governance, to protest the army's ousting of president Evo Morales on November 10. "They have burned our wiphala," the flag of Indigenous dignity. "They have said that our Pachamama does not exist," the spirituality sacred since ancient times.

"Only recently have we begun to rise up demanding dignity." That recent era refers to the 1990s through the 13 years of Evo Morales' presidency. The spiritual force of Pachamama was honored, decolonizing lesson plans were taught, and an ethic of land to the tiller led to the distribution of 935,000 land titles in a population of eleven million, with almost half the titles going to women. The party called MAS, or Movement toward Socialism, guided these changes, having emerged out of massive grassroots organizing against neoliberalism.

The coup regime that took power in November has acted with fascist consistency then been forced to retreat, a behavior that can only be explained by the strength of the people they are trying to subjugate.

Indigenous protestors are not armed. State security forces have killed 34 civilians. The people being shot at say, "When the police and army fire their weapons, they claim that the bullets are coming from us and that we are killing each other." The de facto rulers denied killing anyone. That monstrous claim disintegrated and now they say they'll compensate for every death with a little over \$7000 to each family.

The U.S.-backed government lies with no remorse. Yet it seems they are being forced to accept elections, though they may well change their minds at any minute, since their only mandate is brute force.

Another Indigenous protestor said, "More than 3-1/2 million voted for Evo. We are the majority." In this moment, they hold a super majority of seats in both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Yet at all levels and across the country, MAS leaders

are being persecuted and jailed by the deadly elites who seized power.

The correlation of forces is startling. MAS legislators made their way back to work under the blows of the right-wing. The Chamber of Deputies just passed a law guaranteeing the safety of all Bolivians in the upcoming electoral process. The coup regime has said they will veto the law of the MAS majority guaranteeing security to all citizens as they vote or run because, the right argues, protection will encourage new popular mobilization.

MAS had withstood every ruse to destroy them until the police mutinies and treason of the high command of the army in the days before November 10. Before that point, Morales tried to reason with the right-wing: "We liberated ourselves from the impositions of foreigners and of foreign bands, now we are governed by Bolivians. We are living with respect for each other and in harmony with Mother Earth. For all these reasons, stop the confrontations! We must turn to dialogue to end the violence."

His words fell on deaf ears, and his departure opened a hunting season on the majority of the population that voted for MAS.

Among the three historical protagonists mentioned so far - the president of the poor, the coup plotters, and the people - the least discussed are the poor. Their actions and words are there for all to see.

The Road Blockades by Indigenous Bolivia

More than 72 bloqueos across Bolivia reflect Indigenous and MAS preponderance in the countryside and millions of people in El Alto all the highland cities. These blockades are the nonviolent instrument of struggle that the Bolivian masses have used across decades to win social justice. In Nov. 2019, blockades helped the social movements achieve the return of soldiers to the barracks, a concession wrenched from the coup government. It's a victory that people who believe in freedom should study. Unlike the murderous blockades of the previous weeks set up by the coup plotters, these were convened by the poor to halt the juggernaut of the right.

After the coup triumphed, the shutdown of the major arteries of Bolivia was planned in village assemblies and meetings in the poorest neighborhoods. It was a grave risk for the poor. The right-wing coup regime could only end the blockades of the people by negotiating with the leaders of the popular bases, who are the elected representatives of millions of people in the social movements. Incredibly, the poor won their demands from arch-conservatives who had tried to kill their president. The negotiations took place in the presence of the United Nations and Catholic bishops.

El Alto, the Indigenous working-class city on the edge of the canyon above La Paz, was a nerve-center of organizing even before the coup.

Gathering from across the country, the poor marched down on the city of La Paz "in columns of rural teachers, miners, barrio residents from El Alto, as well as campesinos from Achocalla who withheld their produce that feeds La Paz," said Freddy Morales, a teleSUR journalist. Campesinos from Achocalla didn't allow the army to enter their municipality; the coup elites did not massacre them. Their 30-year old leader Andronico Rodriguez, a possible MAS presidential candidate, told the NY Times, "In less than 24 hours, we can mobilize 100,000 farmers." Their tenacious resistance is one of the most hopeful protections for democracy in Bolivia. Even more hopeful is the fact they are not alone in their convictions or their courage.

The intensely collective decision-making of the poor is nourished by various roots, including ancient local governance structures in which power is rotated and consensus sought; extremes of exploitation that gave birth to an extremely mature union movement; and careful lessons drawn from a failed national revolution, a nightmarish descent into neoliberalism, and US military force under the guise of the war on drugs. Millions of people who share these histories are accustomed to making their own grassroots democracy, and they often instruct MAS rather than the other way round.

The right-wing reserves a special fury for Indigenous women who exercise their right to protest. Before MAS won state power, maternity was lived by the poor as an often tragic condition. Under MAS, Bolivia has become one of the most desirable countries to be poor, Indigenous and female. Bartolina Sisa and Gregoria Apaza, who are known to every schoolchild, commanded troops and negotiated alliances among the Quechua and Aymara and nearly brought down the colonial regime in the siege of La Paz in 1781, not once but twice. Bartolina Sisa is remembered in the name of the largest grassroots women's organization of Bolivia. Thousands conducted a massive march of women of Cochabamba before Evo's decision to resign under army pressure. Mostly Quechua Indigenous, the women intended for their moral force to halt the violence of the middle classes and elites.

"Our fathers have been massacred," said an older man marching, "and now, they continue to assassinate our sons and daughters, our grandchildren. We are not going to permit that they ever again massacre us, we are simply not going to permit it."

The past month offers a glimpse of what lies ahead. Dec. 7, an enormous gathering of grassroots MAS delegates in Cochabamba started crafting a strategy to win back, through the vote, what was stolen from them via violence: A government of the poor. Evo Morales is in constant conversation with his people, and they elected him as the campaign manager. The Indigenous president ousted by the military described the challenges of the present, addressing the social movements when he arrived in Mexico, after great peril, as an asylee invited by the state. He said to the poor through the television cameras, "You are our liberation."

US Strategy and What the Gas Pipeline War Is Costing Us

by Manlio Dinucci

TTT Editor's Note: I will lay odds that even if you are a news junky in the US, unless you are involved in the natural gas or energy industry at an executive or investor level (and therefore very unlikely to be reading this paper), you will never have heard or read a word about these US sanctions against the European allies of the US and their energy, finance and construction companies. Sanctions are an act of war under international law, and we need to understand that the US is in a constant state of war against its allies, its adversaries, its own population, and the planet itself.

Although they were locked in a convoluted struggle concerning the impeachment of President Trump, Republicans and Democrats in the Senate laid down their arms in order to vote, in quasi-unanimity, for the imposition of heavy sanctions on the companies participating in the construction of North Stream 2, the doubling of the gas pipeline which delivers Russian gas to Germany across the Baltic Sea. The main victims were the European companies which had helped finance the 11 billion dollar project with the Russian company Gazprom.

The project is now 80% finished. The Austrian company Omy, British/Dutch Royal Dutch Shell, French Engie, German companies Uniper and Wintershall, Italian Saipem and Swiss Allseas are also taking part in the laying of the pipeline.

The doubling of North Stream increases Europe's dependence on Russian gas, warn the United States. Above all, they are preoccupied by the fact that the gas pipeline – by crossing the Baltic in waters belonging to Russia, Finland, Sweden and Germany – thus avoids the Visegrad countries (Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland and Hungary), the Baltic States and Ukraine. In other words, the European countries which have the closest ties to Washington through NATO (to which we must add Italy).



While Dems blather about Trump being Putin's bitch, his administration continues to impose sanctions not only on Russia but anyone doing business with it. Trump is nobody's fool but the current cat's-paw of the US ruling class's most desperate elements.

Rather than being economic, the goal for the USA is strategic. This is confirmed by the fact that the sanctions on North Stream 2 are included in the National Defense Authorization Act, the legislative act which, for fiscal year 2020, hands the Pentagon the colossal sum of 738 billion dollars for new wars and new weapons (including space weapons), to which must be added other posts which bring the US military expenditure to approximately 1,000 billion dollars. The economic sanctions on North Stream 2 are part of a politico-military escalation against Russia.

An ulterior confirmation can be found in the fact that the U.S. Congress has established sanctions not only against North Stream 2, but also against the Turk-Stream, which, in its final phase of realisation, will bring Russian gas across the Black Sea to Eastern Thrace, the small European area of Turkey. From there, by another pipeline, Russian gas should be delivered to Bulgaria,

Voting About to Begin in CA March 3 Primary Election

Anti-Racist Action-Los Angeles/People Against Racist Terror (ARA-LA/PART) has never endorsed candidates and in general does not get involved in electoral politics. For the most part, we believe that the electoral system as designed in the US is a trick bag, designed to divert people's struggles and to act as a spectacle and safety valve that defuse and diffuse real resistance and opposition. However, there are several races on the ballot locally here in L.A. County, as well as several races within the city of L.A. that merit people's engagement. First and foremost is Measure R, the Reform LA Jails initiative placed on the ballot through a major volunteer signature gathering effort initiated by the Justice LA Coalition and including Black Lives Matter, White People for Black Lives, the Youth Justice Coalition, and other involved in mass and class organizing from an abolitionist perspective.

YES ON "R"

Reform L.A. Jails, founded by activist, public speaker, and co-founder of Black Lives Matter Global Network, Patrisse Cullors, received their ballot designation and is now officially Yes on R. The Reform L.A. Jails initiative will be on the California presidential primary March 3, 2020 ballot as a response to the systemic corruption and structural oppression that has shaped the lives of black and brown residents, the homeless, and people who struggle with mental illness or disability in Los Angeles County.

L.A. County's jail is the biggest in the country (in fact, the world), and has a history of over-incarcerating people with mental illness and providing substandard mental healthcare inside the jails. Thousands of people who struggle with homelessness, mental illness, or drug dependency are locked up in LA County every single day. Right now, there are over 5,500 Angelenos in L.A. County Jails simply because they suffer from mental health illness; 70% suffer from substance use disorder, 25% are chronically homeless and 40% cannot afford bail.

"Instead of locking people up, we should show care and compassion by ensuring them access to mental health care. That's why it is so pertinent to vote Yes on R and we call on the community to do the same," said Cullors.

White Nationalism is a Real Thing

...Continued from p. 1

theory that the youth counter-culture constituted a "New Nation," some dubbed the "Woodstock Nation" and others the "Rainbow Nation," and the WPP in Ann Arbor, MI reconstituted itself as the Rainbow People's Party (RPP) in 1971. This, of course was idealistic and utopian thinking, influenced by Anarchists like Abbie Hoffman and his book Woodstock Nation (1969). The reality was that we were white working-class and middle-class youth alienated by the values and culture of late capitalism; white supremacy and global imperialism.

The White Panther Organization of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party (WPO-NABPP) has no interest whatever in promoting white nationalism -- quite the opposite -- we aim to smash it! We have placed ourselves under Black leadership to advance our true class interests and those of humanity as a whole. We are not motivated by "White Guilt," and we're not bending a knee to Black Nationalism. Our political ideology is "Revolutionary Intercommunalism." The NABPP is the only force capable of playing a vanguard role at this time because of its ideological-political line. Line is leadership! As individuals, we are in no way special, just folks like everybody else. We bear the marks of capitalist oppression like everybody else -- our Black comrades even more so. The NABPP has its roots in the "razor-wire plantations" of Amerikkka, among the most oppressed strata of "slaves." Many were barely literate, and all

had fallen into the pit of self-destructive and anti-social lumpen ways.

But as Mao taught; "a fall in the pit can be a gain in your wit." In prison, these comrades were exposed to the revolutionary ideological-political line of Pantherism through contact with the still-imprisoned members of the original BPP who never broke or gave up the fight. Through study and struggle, a new generation took up the legacy. As Comrade Huey predicted: "There will be no prison which can hold our movement down." White prisoners were also inspired to form the WPO as an arm of the NABPP. Now, we are taking the struggle to the people on the outside in the oppressed communities.

As White Panthers, we have a particular responsibility to take on White Nationalism and kick it the curb, bust its bones and kick in its teeth! It is a foul and rotten worldview and must be destroyed. But even more important is our duty to be the "harbingers of spring" and carry the liberating solidarity of "Panther Love" to the white communities. As Huey taught: "What motivates people is not great hate, but great love for other people." The future is unwritten, let's make the best of all possible worlds!

**DARE TO STRUGGLE -- DARE TO WIN!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

Serbia and other European countries. This is the Russian riposte to the US action which managed to block the South Stream pipeline in 2014. South Stream was intended to link Russia to Italy across the Black Sea and by land to Tarvisio (Udine). Italy would therefore have become a switch platform for gas in the EU, with notable economic advantages. The Obama administration was able to scuttle the project, with the collaboration of the European Union.

The company Saipem (Italian Eni Group), once again affected by the U.S. sanctions against North Stream 2, was severely hit by the blockage of South Stream -- in 2014, it lost contracts to the value of 2.4 billion Euros, to which other contracts would have been added if the project had continued. But at the time, no-one in Italy or in the EU protested against the burial of the project which was being organised by the USA. Now German interests are in play, and critical voices are being raised in Germany and in the EU against US sanctions against North Stream 2.

Nothing is being said about the fact that the European Union has agreed to import liquified natural gas (LNG) from the USA, an extract from bituminous shale by the destructive technique of hydraulic fracturation (fracking). In order to damage Russia, Washington is attempting to reduce its gas exports to the EU, obliging European consumers to foot the bill.

Since President Donald Trump and the President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker, signed the Joint Statement of 25 July, in Washington DC in July 2018, European Union imports of U.S. Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG), the EU has doubled its importation of LNG from the USA, co-financing the infrastructures via an initial expenditure of 656 million Euros. However, this did not save European companies from US sanctions.

Buck over the deaths of at least two Black gay men in his home. (The Feds finally charged him with civil rights violations and drug crimes over the overdoses.) Lacey is facing several challengers on the March ballot, including ex-LAPD honcho and former SF D.A. George Gascon, and former public defender Rachel Rossi. The ideal outcome would see a run-off between Gascon and Rossi, eliminating Lacey from contention in the general election, but in any event it's important to educate and mobilize people to vote **AGAINST** Jackie Lacey, who has been the last line of defense for killer cops, as well as the prosecutor who has put more people on death row in California -- all of them Black and Brown -- than any other county in the state, and who is continuing to pursue capital punishment even though the governor has declared a moratorium on executions.

L.A. CITY & COUNTY ELECTIONS

Los Angeles has always been one of the most corrupt cities and counties in the country, up there with Cook County (Chicago under the Daleys) or New York County (Manhattan under Tammany Hall). But the business as usual switcheroo going on this year, while the City Council is under intense scrutiny and investigation by the FBI beggars belief. County Supervisor Mark Ridley-Thomas and former City Council president Herb Wesson, getting termed out, are trying to swap positions. Both face challengers however. Channing Martinez of the Labor Community Strategy Center and producer of KPFK's "Voices from the Frontlines" is one of several movement candidates running to replace Wesson in his 10th council district seat representing the Crenshaw area,



part of the historic Black core of Los Angeles, under heavy gentrification attack, including via the new Metro line through the area connecting to LAX. ARA-LA/PART urges your support of his campaign. Another movement council candidate is LA Council District 8 is Cliff Smith, a labor leader in the Roofers' Union and co-founder of the LA Coalition for Community Control Over the Police. He is making support for a City Charter amendment for an elected Community Control board, with the power to hire and fire cops a central part of his campaign.

CA PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY

California for the first time since perhaps the 1968 primary season, when Bobby Kennedy carried the state and was promptly assassinated here in Los Angeles has an opportunity to have a significant impact on the Democratic presidential nomination. In general, the Dems have been the graveyard of social movements, and in recent decades the party of war (most recently exemplified by their refusal to abolish the Authorization for the Use of Military Force in either the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) or the Defense Appropriations Act, actually voting along with the GOP to give Trump a larger budget for the Pentagon than even he asked for - \$738 billion dollars, over 40% higher than the already bloated war budget during the height of the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars under George 'Dubya' Bush. However, we recommend holding your nose, registering "no party preference", and asking for a Democratic Party primary ballot to vote for pseudo-socialist Bernie Sanders. Neither the Green nor Peace and Freedom Party have any realistic chance of even appearing on the November ballot; Sanders is unlikely to get the Democratic nomination no matter how well he does in CA. But in the cramped electoral spectrum of the US, to the right of that even among its NATO allies, a big vote for Sanders will send a message that people are fed up with capitalism, militarism, and austerity. It will take a lot more than Sanders' so-called political revolution to make a real change -- it will take decolonization and a real revolution to dismantle and abolish the US empire state, but a Sanders primary victory in CA in March would shake the political establishment in the US dramatically.

Los Angeles Voting Information:

February 3, 2020 – Vote by Mail

February 22, 2020 – Voting Centers Open

March 3, 2020 – Election Day

Vote “NO!” on Pacifica’s Anti-Democratic Bylaws Revision

by Grassroots Community Radio Coalition

A court in Berkeley has ordered the Pacifica Foundation to conduct a vote on a total Bylaws revision, masquerading as an amendment. Because of financial and other issues, Pacifica is unable to contest the order, brought by the same hijackers who recently took WBAI in NY off the air. They replaced local programmers with piped in content from KPFK and KPFA, and seriously damaged the NY station and its fundraising until the national Board reversed the terrible decision. But now the Board has been forced to vote to forward the hijackers’ anti-democratic amendment to the Local Station Board, and potentially a vote of the entire membership.

The KPFK LSB will vote on the measure (you can see it in its entirety at <http://elections.pacifica.org>) at its meeting on Sunday, January 19. Other LSBs are voting in the same time frame. Come to the KPFK LSB meeting (10:30 AM at the Peace Center, 3916 S. Sepulveda Blvd, Culver City between Washington Pl. and Venice Blvd.) or to the LSBs at other Pacifica stations, and urge the board to reject the “amendment”.

The ultimate goal of the revised Bylaws are to eliminate the capacity of listener-sponsors to resist or reverse the “sanitizing” of Pacifica airwaves. The current bylaws are imperfect but allow listeners to defend free speech and

non-commercial, non-corporate radio, and try to prevent the stations from becoming mouthpieces for mainstream neo-liberal politicians. Undermining democracy in Pacifica’s governance will inevitably lead to a final and complete purging of all radical, anti-capitalist and community-based voices, all advocacy for peace and justice, from its airwaves.

Grassroots (GCRC) and its allies emphatically urge all LSB and Pacifica members to reject these alternate bylaws for the following reasons:

1) They disenfranchise listeners by raising the requirement for membership, and by raising the volunteer hours requirement by a higher percentage than the cash requirement is raised. This is economically discriminatory (and has racial and gender bias implications, given economic inequality in the US). They make no provision for hardship waivers (such as in the case of people with disabilities or who are incarcerated, and therefore unable to affiliate with cash or volunteer time but who are still faithful listeners who support the Pacifica mission).

2) They turn over control of Pacifica, a multi-million dollar asset of its listener and staff members, to six outside at-large directors immediately, giving the outside at-large directors a permanent majority over the station-elected directors in their entirety. They basically allow three individuals, one from each of three of Pacifica’s five stations, to compose and name an irreversible super-majority over a period of time.

3) The revision cuts in half the threshold for approval of the sale or disposal of assets to 50%+1 of a “quorum” of only 5% of the membership, instead of the current 10% requirement. This increases the threat and that assets will be sold off as soon as the new national board is constituted (by the at-large members exclusively). WBAI, which broadcasts on 99.5 FM, in the center of the commercial part of the FM dial in the largest media market in the US, is clearly in the crosshairs of those who have been pushing these bylaws. Selling or swapping its frequency would produce an economic windfall for those in control of the rest of Pacifica, while silencing some of the most challenging and critical community radio in the country.

4) The “amendment” terminates local oversight of the manager, the program director and the budget, by eliminating local station boards entirely.

5) It severely limits or eliminates the possibility of diversity on the national board by restricting elections at each station to only a single director. This moves in a direction directly contrary to Pacifica’s previous commitment to proportional representation in the voting process, and to all progressive changes that are being developed in electoral processes in this country and around the world, such as multiple-representative districts. Given the dynamics of white and male supremacy and class privilege that operate among progressives no less than in the US as a whole, this is likely to result in a lack of gender balance and a board that does not adequately represent the racial, ethnic, class, gender, and political makeup of the audience we serve and that pays for the entire operation.

6) The proposal pretends that democratic governance is the cause of all of Pacifica’s ills, propagandizing for the notion that eliminating elected local boards will solve the problem. The problems Pacifica faces are deeply rooted in the steady loss of listeners and listener-sponsors, which has to do with lack of community engagement in the programming, lack of good responsive communication with listeners and among paid and unpaid staff and management (or existing governance), and falling out of touch with current community-based struggles and community needs, or with the listening styles, technology, and capacity of a new generation of tech-savvy listeners, who are accustomed to interactivity and shared content-creation in social media. While scapegoating democratic governance for Pacifica’s perilous state, it offers no solutions to any of the actual causes or other problems.



7) It empowers a simple majority of the board to remove the ED (along with any other “officer” including the CFO) at any time for any reason, thus giving the lie to the hoax that this change will promote “stability” at Pacifica.

8) It allows board members to serve up to 7.49 years in a row, since the limit is defined as two terms, and service of less than 18 months -- if elected to fill a vacancy -- does not count as “a term”.

9) After the initial all-or-nothing vote, at-large Directors are not elected directly by listeners (who do have the power to remove them, but not to select a replacement). In addition, if voters at a station recall an elected station director, or members at all 5 stations remove an at-large director, the vacancy created would be immediately filled by the national board, not the members. This is another factor tending the board toward the same self-perpetuating status that provoked the initial lawsuits and member boycotts that eventually resulted in the adoption of democratically elected governance in the first place. There is also no mechanism for non-director membership on national board committees as currently exists with LSB delegates who are not directors serving on PNB committees. This places a great burden on the few members of the new PNB proposed, as well as further

limiting oversight of and engagement with national board matters and policy proposals. This is another way the animus towards democratic electoral practices and local station boards that fuels this measure actually leads to an even less functional system of governance, where power will increase devolve into the hands of the ED, the “unitary executive” (to use a term popularized by intellectual Trump supporters). There is no mention of allowing immediate email communication with national board members during “public” streaming telephonic meetings, no mechanism for local town halls or for means of communication with the sole station director, or for on-air Q & A with at-large or station directors; in other words, no transparency and no accountability.

10) Despite its claim that it simplifies the Bylaws, along with decreasing the size of the national board and eliminating the local station boards completely, the draft fails to specify all the changes it is making in the bylaws, by striking out the parts it is removing and indicating the new language it is adding. This essentially recognizes that it is not a “bylaws amendment” but a bylaws revision and replacement in its entirety, and is designed in that way to hide from the members the exact nature of all the anti-democratic changes it is making. In addition, it still contains errors, such as the following: “The election of Transition At-Large Directors shall take place under the supervision of the interim Executive Director who shall have the authority to appoint an Election Supervisor, in his sole discretion.” There is no “election of transition at-large directors” apart from the naming of the specific six embodied within this “amendment”. This is actually the first sentence in the section on the election of “transition” STATION directors, as the rest of the article makes clear, who are considered “transition” because they join the transition at-large directors (who will have had months to operate without oversight or any check on their power) and because they, somewhat randomly and akin to the transition at-large directors, will serve possibly truncated terms of one or two years, in order to stagger the terms of all 11 directors. Once this transitional process is completed, incidentally, there will be elections every year for one or two station directors. This is going to mean a big increase in the cost of elections (with unclear provisions for what amount of on-air time would be devoted to such elections) since there will need to be some form of postal mail and email notification and the need for an election supervisor and ballot count provider every year.

Also, given the staggered nature of the elections around the Foundation stations, **it leaves open the possibility that a substantial body of members could switch their affiliated station from year to year in an organized fashion and affect the election of directors at a number of stations in succession.** Under the current bylaws, a member who donates to more than one station is flagged and must choose which station to vote at, since all five stations elect their local boards at once. Under this new system, people who have donated to multiple stations could vote for a national station director from a different station every year, and if you think such shenanigans are unlikely, you haven’t been around Pacifica long. There is also no provision for keeping money out of Pacifica elections, and we have already seen as cash flows around the network to finance glossy mailers and electoral propaganda how elections can be bought. This is all the more likely with only a single national director being elected from each station.

We urge all local station board members, and eventually all Pacifica members, to vote down these undemocratic and dangerous new Bylaws.

Even a YES vote by 3 of the 5 LSBs will and should trigger a vote by the entire membership, since these proposed new bylaws clearly change the number and powers of the directors and the eligibility and criteria for membership and thus must be approved by the members themselves, not just the PNB and LSBs, as a normal, minor bylaws amendment would. If supporters somehow manage to get majorities of 3 of the 5 LSBs to vote “yes” on this amendment, there MUST still be a favorable ratification/ adoption vote by the members themselves to adopt them as the operative Bylaws of Pacifica, with the current 10% quorum.

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

You can find archives of *Turning the Tide* at www.antiracist.org that go back more than 15 years.

In addition, there are several Facebook pages, such as facebook.com/tideturning, and facebook.com/intercommunalsolidarity.

You can follow @ara_losangeles on Twitter, and the De-Colonize LA! blog at ara-la.tumblr.com.

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TURNING THE TIDE

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Australia & the World Are Burning!

INSIDE

- ### UPCOMING EVENTS:
- ★ Jan. 9, 25: All Out Against US War on Iran! Hands Off the Middle East!
 - ★ Jan. 19: KPFK Local Station Board-Vote down Anti-democratic Bylaws
 - ★ Jan. 20: People's Power at MLK Day Parade - Peace, Jobs & Justice Now
 - ★ February is Black History Month - Time to Make some new History!
 - ★ March 8: International Women's Day: Global Women's Strike!
 - ★ March 21-22: Cuba Solidarity Conference, NYC: End the Blockade!

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- MUMIA ABU JAMAL

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SYSTEM CHANGE, NOT CLIMATE CHANGE!**

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Jan. 9 & 25 Protests
 - ★ Bolivia Indigenous
Resistance
 - ★ White Nationalism
Is a Tool of Empire
 - ★ Vote NO! on Pacifica
Anti-Democratic By-
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 - ★ Earth Day LA 2020
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