

Anti-Racist Slate Running for KPFK Local Station Board

by the Grassroots Community Radio Coalition <https://gcrs-socal.org>

The Grassroots Community Radio Coalition candidates stand for:

- Restoring KPFK's Commitment to Peace & Justice**
- Getting Money Out of Pacifica Elections**
- Growing KPFK's Membership and Support Base**
- Financial Transparency and Accountability & Listener Engagement**
- Promoting Spanish Language & Other Community Programming**
- Training a new generation of committed, crusading radio journalists!**
- Restoring an hour-long locally produced newcast**
- Creating a new co-hosted morning magazine show that covers local news, public affairs and cultural expression**

These are the 10 listener candidates and a brief quote from each:

Deidra Bynum: "I am a mother to a "Gen Z" in South LA and have seen just how negative commercialization can be,



whether online or on the radio. I see our education system failing to enrich young minds, and I've watched attacks on free and/or unbiased media. These things specifically have greatly influenced my decision to get involved with KPFK as a contributor and now as a candidate."

Marisol Cruz: "I served on the Lennox School Board for over a decade. I'm a lifelong L.A. County resident, shop



steward for SEIU Local 721 & dedicated mother of 3 boys. As a first-generation immigrant in a union household, it has been instilled in me the values of hard work, compassion, fairness, and community contribution."

Fernando Fernando: "As a former soldier, I have first-hand experience with



the horror of war, especially the unjust war in Vietnam. It's better to make peace and turn our resources for better uses. Our government spends One Trillion Dollars or more on war every year that we should use for our country's needs."

Kelly Flores: "To me, this station has been a lifeline for decades. I want the KPFK I knew and loved back. For that to happen, the programming has got to be



addressed. I want to hear from the folks creating mutual aid around the city, the struggles of the houseless fighting for dignity and of the housed fighting off eviction. I want to help get KPFK back to the community it serves and promote programming that reflects the voices of the people, especially communities of color in the struggle."



George Funmaker: "I am an enrolled tribal member of the Ho-Chunk Nation and Spirit Lake Dakota. I was born and raised in Los Angeles (Gabrielino/Tongva/Kizh territories). I am a father of four children, and live in the South Bay; I am honored to work and be of service in the Native community. My motivation to run for the LSB is rooted in my own experience of being greatly influenced by progressive programming on KPFK. Growing up, I was introduced to Divine Forces Radio with Fidel Rodriguez. Also listening to American Indian Airwaves helped educate me on various Indigenous issues throughout Native Country."

Jack Neff: "KPFK radio works best when it broadcasts diverse voices giving controversial political news, critical education, and soul-stirring entertainment from a local and global



perspective. I love KPFK because it gives voice to people from all walks of life, from perspectives which are directly engaged in the struggles for existence and dignity."

Michael Novick: "I am a concerned listener, a former unpaid programmer at KPFA, a rank-and-file labor activist in UTLA (now retired), a non-biological great-grandfather, and an anti-racist person of European descent committed to solidarity with the freedom, liberation and sovereignty struggles of Black, indigenous and other people of color. I believe KPFK can rebuild its listenership, membership and financial base by increasing its engagement with the current communities of resistance

and solidarity around southern California, and by bringing



the many-to-many ethos and interactivity of social media to our broadcast operations."

Lydia Poncé: "I am encouraged to run again as we still have so very much to do. We must move



KPFK forward and we must all evolve so we can rebuild our community. The key words to do this is to inspire one another and be compassionate. I plan to offer my best effort and will continue to be of service."

Rocio Rivas: "I am running once again for the LSB because of my strong belief in participatory democracy, which is what the Pacifica Foundation and affiliated station networks, like KPFK, represent. KPFK is a people powered radio station that must be preserved as it was intended to be."

Jeanine Rohn: "I'm a passionate film producer, activist and an educator. I am an active member in many progressive organizations such as PDA, ADA and DSA. I have successfully



organized many outreach campaigns in my district for both progressive candidates as well as progressive issues. I am committed to storytelling that is strong and thought provoking, that serves to enlighten as well as empower its audience."

Listener-sponsors and staff, mostly volunteers, built KPFK and Pacifica into a powerful medium of communication for insightful and incisive public affairs and news, cultural coverage, music arts and literature programming, and community awareness of the possibilities for justice and peace, and we can do so again!

With stations in diverse major

cities, here in the media capital of the US; in the Bay Area, the digital capital; Houston, the energy capital; DC, the political capital; and NY, the financial capital, Pacifica should be in an ideal position to tap into the creative energies, and manifest and amplify the voices, of real resistance in an era of lies, corporatization and privatization of media, militarization of schools and the border, mass surveillance, incipient fascism and environmental, social and political crisis.

But KPFK and Pacifica are paying the price for gentrification of the airwaves, abandonment of community involvement and responsiveness, lack of financial transparency, and voter suppression. Wonder why KPFK is in fund-drive every other month, pitching products instead of airing news, investigative reporting, cultural coverage or stimulating conversation?

It's because, over a decade of so-called "strip programming" that has increasingly abandoned the communities the station used to serve, and closed off its airwaves to the voices of the increasingly diverse and creative resistance movements of southern California, KPFK's audience, influence and relevance has dwindled to embarrassingly low levels. It has less than a quarter of the listener-sponsors it had a dozen years ago, because the station has turned its back on us listeners and on the kind of cutting-edge, hard-hitting, community based programming we need and want.

Don't be fooled by glossy mailers, deceptive rhetoric or undue influence by on-air personalities badmouthing Pacifica and elected representative governance over the airwaves. We need to uphold and fulfill the democratic Pacifica bylaws that provide elected local oversight of management and budget, to defend and extend community input and respond to it, rebuild the People's School of Broadcasting training program, and prevent the break-up and collapse of the Pacifica network. We opposed the shut-down and takeover of WBAI with "Pacifica Across America," and we pledge to reverse the gentrification of the airwaves here at KPFK.

Our plan for rebuilding KPFK's financial base:

Market content from the Pacifica Radio Archives so that PRA becomes an income generator for Pacifica, rather than an expense and obligation for the stations and another occasion for on-air fundraising from our listeners.

Carry out a strategic planning process, including input from management, paid and unpaid staff, elected governance and listeners, identifying priority goals for getting from where we are to where we want to be, with a step-by-step plan for marshalling our financial and creative resources to rebuild and live up to our huge potential and the demands of the times.

Establish fundraising task forces at each station to develop off-air fundraising efforts to augment on-air fund drives, like major community events, special-purpose funds or grants, etc..

Develop media partners to allow our expansion into consistent audio-visual production, better use of social media and other multimedia platforms to attract content producers, promote our stations and content, fundraise, and bring the many-to-many ethos of social media into our broadcast operations in order to enhance community engagement and feedback.

Reduce expenses judiciously, including development expenses for thank-you premiums, and implement better financial controls, like integrating our membership and financial software.

Improve existing programming and refresh our grid with voices from burgeoning new movements for democracy, freedom of cultural expression, human rights and environmental action to attract a new generation of listeners and donors. Rise to the occasion of the reckoning with racism and for racial justice, the indigenous-led protection of the land and water to reverse environmental devastation and global heating, and look to mutual aid, direct action, and other community based solutions for the economic crises caused by the pandemic and rampant economic inequalities and profiteering.

Targeted promotion of our programming on campuses, with organized labor, at bookstores and libraries, and in like-minded publications.

Maintain elected local oversight of budgets, management and programming, and PNB Committees of Inclusion to assure diversity and involvement of all communities.

Keep Pacifica whole and united! Some people have been pushing for a break-up or "triage" because they think Pacifica is worth more in pieces than as a whole functioning progressive people's network. WBAI is at 99.5 FM in the middle of the commercial FM dial, KPFA is also on the commercial portion of the FM band at 94.1. KPFK's 90.7 is the strongest signal west of the Mississippi and licensed for coverage from Santa Barbara to San Diego, and NPR powerhouse KPCC has already bid for it. This is deadly! We can't let proponents to sell off pieces, feast on the carcass, and leave Pacifica as an empty shell of its current capacity to inform, educate and impact the public discourse.

Learn more about our predominantly BIPOC group of candidates, majority women, on our website:

www.gcrs-socal.org

INVENTING PRETEXTS TO JUSTIFY OFFICIAL CRIMES: PAGES FROM THE PIG PLAYBOOK – READING NUMBER 2 (2021)

By Kevin “Rashid” Johnson

PIG PRETEXT CRIMES: THEY ARE NO ACCIDENT!

Everyone is familiar with the game so-called “law enforcement” officials play of creating or using pretexts to justify criminal abuse. Whether it’s the unarmed person of color gunned down for holding a cell phone (“It looked like a gun!”), or a similar attack on a driver who was following the cops’ instructions to produce his license (“He was reaching in his pocket for something!”), or similarly, when lethal force is used “accidentally” (“I thought it was my taser not my gun!”), or when a submissive and defenseless person is beaten by a group of guards or cops who yell over and over, “stop resisting!”, and on and on, ad nauseam. A lot of people don’t realize that these pretext crimes are more often than not deliberate. The pretexts are excuses used to justify intentional abuse.

The entire purpose of using pretexts is to give the pigs plausible deniability, or to justify illegal behavior because of an “error” that was facially believable.

But when official corruption has reached the point where abusers don’t care about accountability, because they’ve become accustomed to having a free hand at being lawless, they don’t even bother to come up with even remotely believable pretexts. That was what the world witnessed, and righteously reacted to, in the murder of George Floyd. It’s also the case here at Southern Ohio Correctional (sic!) Facility aka Lucasville prison.

Officials here have been murdering and brutalizing prisoners and blocking their ability to bring attention to the abuses without any concern for outside accountability or oversight for so long, they don’t even feel need to produce believable excuses for their criminal actions. I witness it daily. I actually wrote a recent article discussing how officials here don’t bother to pretend to be professional. Just like Derek Chauvin, they’re self-assured, smug and arrogant with their abuse. A recent

The Tears Of Empire

© 2021 by Mumia Abu-Jamal



It happened with a suddenness that was stunning. The Taliban taking town by town, village by village, province by province until Kabul itself toppled, all virtually without firing a shot. The sudden fall of the capital caused the falling of alligator tears by the US political class, many of whom demanded that more troops be sent, ostensibly to prevent Imperial embarrassment.

Forgotten, of course, was the 20 year project that armed, funded, and allegedly trained an army by the Americans. The U.S. trained troops faced with the prospect of fighting the Taliban melted away faster than the ice cream on a summer sidewalk. The late Palestinian intellectual Edward Said in a 2003 article taught the following lesson:

“Every empire” he wrote, “however, tells itself and the world that it is unlike all other empires, that its mission is not to plunder and control, but to educate and liberate. These ideas are by no means shared by the people who inhabit that empire, but that hasn’t prevented the U.S. propaganda and policy apparatus from imposing its imperial perspective on Americans, whose sources of information about Arabs and Islam or woefully inadequate,” the late scholar Edward Said.

When the Afghanistan War began, it was called Operation Enduring Freedom.

When the Iraq war began several years later, it was called Operation Iraqi Freedom.

You can call it what you will, but is either nation freer? And what endures after decades of war besides immense loss?

documented incident of their criminality is illustrative.

WE STOLE MAIL FROM THE FEDERAL COURTS BECAUSE...

Obstructing a court’s communicating with parties to pending legal proceedings is contempt of court. Making false accusations against a court is also contempt, it’s criminal contempt in fact. Obstructing U.S. mails is also a federal crime.

So tell me why, on September 13, 2021, Lucasville officials refused to deliver to me two official mailings confirmed to be from the U.S. District Court of Indiana, based on their claimed belief that the court was trying to smuggle me narcotics through the mail?! One doesn’t need to elaborate on the facial absurdity of this claim. They didn’t even try to make the claim seem credible; no attempt was made to test or criminally investigate the mailings for containing a controlled substance. I was given the option of having the mailings returned to the sender at my expense or they would be destroyed. So their proposed “disposition” was to get rid of the evidence that there was no evidence of attempted drug smuggling. How do you explain resubmitting mail to the postal service that believably contains narcotics? In which case how do you explain not delivering it?

People who have been following my recent transfer from the Indiana Department of Corrections [sic!] (IDOC) to the Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Correction [sic!] (ODRC) are aware that this move was in retaliation for lawsuits I have in the Indiana federal courts against the IDOC’s top officials, and that the ODRC has been actively involved since my transfer in denying me access to my legal property and resources needed to pursue those cases.

In turn, I have filed for contempt in those cases against IDOC and ODRC officials for what amounts to “obstruction of the administration of justice.”(1)

Big Brother’s Bigger Brother is Watching You

It’s not just members of Congress or probing reporters who have been subjected to federal subpoenas of the content of their email and social media accounts. According to a recent report in the Washington Post, from July-Dec. 2020 alone, Facebook received over 61,000 Federal requests for user data in the US. 69% of those came with orders to keep the subpoena secret from the person whose records were being taken.

Microsoft says it has received 2,400-3,500 secrecy orders a year from federal law enforcement since 2016 — seven to 10 a day — according to MS vice president of customer security and trust Tom Burt in testimony to Congress. Google said U.S. law enforcement made 39,536 requests for information about 84,662 accounts — with many of the requests targeting multiple accounts. Apple

One of the targets of my contempt action is Lucasville warden Ronald Erdos; hence his and his staff’s motive to intercept and invade my mail from that court, on top of their general inclination to frustrate prisoners’ attempts to litigate against prison conditions. As said, Lucasville officials are unaccustomed to and resist external oversight and challenge to prison abuses, and the prison has particular notoriety for its use as a site for retaliating against prisoners who litigate and challenge prison abuses; which is the very reason I was sent here.

The purpose of the Pig Playbook readings is to give the people insight into the games the capitalist system and its pig enforcers play to impose their criminal rule on the people, and to give false legitimacy to their professed right to rule. Power will never be exercised in any just way until it is directly in the hands of the common working class and poor people, whose interests political and economic power must serve.

In the meantime we should develop and mobilize a public oversight network in Ohio to address the daily abuses and official crimes occurring at Lucasville, which the warden and his staff right now believe they are above. This is why they don’t bother to even attempt to credibly justify their abuses.

*Dare to Struggle Dare to Win!
All Power to the People!*

Endnotes:

1. 18 United States Code section 401(1) empowers the federal courts to hold in contempt of court anyone who commits misbehavior so near to the court as to obstruct the administration of justice; which extends territorially to anyone within the U.S. who interferes with the court’s performance of its duties or the participation of parties in litigation.

said it received 11,363 requests. Those two companies would not say how many of the “requests” were issued with gag orders keeping them secret from the targets.

Trump was not unique in using gag orders for tech-company searches. WaPo reports “Under the 1986 Electronic Communications Privacy Act, federal prosecutors are required to seek digital information from tech companies, not their customers. Since then, prosecutors have routinely used gag orders to prevent the companies from spilling the beans to suspects,” claiming that if they knew they might destroy evidence, go into hiding or threaten someone’s life.

More info here:

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2021/06/15/faq-data-subpoena-investigation/>

Theatrical, Movie and TV Craft Union to Vote on Authorizing a Strike

After months of negotiating successor contracts to the Producer-IATSE Basic Agreement, and the Theatrical and Television Motion Picture Area Standards Agreement, the Alliance of Motion Picture and Television Producers (AMPTP) announced Monday it does not intend to make any counteroffer to the IATSE’s most recent proposal.

Throughout the bargaining process, the AMPTP has failed to work with us on addressing the most grievous problems in their workplaces, including:

Excessively unsafe and harmful working hours. Unlivable wages for the lowest paid crafts. Consistent failure to provide reasonable rest during meal breaks, between workdays, and on weekends. Workers on certain “new media” streaming projects get paid less, even on productions with budgets that rival or exceed those of traditionally released blockbusters.

It is incomprehensible that the AMPTP, an ensemble that includes media mega-corporations collectively worth trillions of dollars, claims it cannot provide behind-the-scenes crews with basic human necessities like adequate sleep, meal breaks, and living wages. Worse, management does not appear to even recognize our core issues as problems that exist in the first place.

These issues are real for the workers in our industry and change is long overdue. However, the explosion of streaming combined with the pandemic has elevated and aggravated working conditions, bringing 60,000 behind-the-scenes workers covered by these contracts to a breaking point. We risked our health and safety all year, working through the Pandemic to ensure that our business emerged intact. Now, we cannot and will not accept a deal that leaves us with an unsustainable outcome.

In response to the AMPTP’s tactics, IATSE members are mobilizing in preparation for a nationwide strike authorization vote to demonstrate our commitment to achieving the change that is long overdue in this industry.

The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees or IATSE (full name: International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, Moving Picture Technicians, Artists and Allied Crafts of the United States, Its Territories and Canada), is a labor union representing over 150,000 technicians, artisans and crafts-persons in the entertainment industry, including live theatre, motion picture and television production, broadcast, and trade shows in the United States and Canada.

The International union president, Matthew Loeb, in urging members to vote “yes” on authorizing a strike, said: “We are at a stage where the employers have made this struggle about power, not reason. Therefore we are initiating a strike vote to authorize me to call one if necessary. It is crucial that every member understand the seriousness of this matter and return their ballot in favor of the strike vote. A clear decisive message will be sent.”

[Ed. Note: Hopefully, the contradiction with the studios and bosses will concentrate the minds of IATSE’s members and officers on the need for unity and solidarity, and to overcome the legacy and reality of racism dividing or excluding members and potential members from their ranks. Work in these positions still tend to be monopolized by white males, and such biased hiring and staffing as well as incidents of blatant racism and sexism, including cases as extreme as a noose being hung to threaten or seek to intimidate a Black cinematographer, have gone uncontested or unresolved by the union.--ED.]

COMMUNIQUE FROM THE INDIGENOUS REVOLUTIONARY CLANDESTINE COMMITTEE GENERAL COMMAND OF THE ZAPATISTA ARMY FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

translated by Enlace Zapatista.

September 19, 2021

To the people of Mexico:

To the peoples of the world:

To the Sixth in Mexico and abroad:

To the Networks of Resistance and Rebellion:

First: On September 11, 2021, in the early morning, while the Zapatista air delegation was in Mexico City, members of ORCAO – a paramilitary organization serving the Chiapas state government – kidnapped the compañeros Sebastián Nuñez Pérez and José Antonio Sánchez Juárez, autonomous authorities from the Good Government Council of Patria Nueva [New Homeland], Chiapas.

The ORCAO is a political-military organization with paramilitary characteristics: they have uniforms, equipment, weapons, and ammunition purchased with money they receive from [government-sponsored] “social programs”. They keep part of the money for themselves and use part of it to pay off government officials for reporting that they [the ORCAO] are complying with the terms of the social programs. They fire on the Zapatista community of Moisés y Gandhi every night with these weapons.

The EZLN has waited patiently as all avenues toward a solution were attempted and exhausted. While the Chiapas state government tried to sabotage and impede freedom for our compañeros, it was human rights organizations and the progressive Catholic church who made an objective assessment of what might happen.

Second: The compañeros were deprived of their liberty for eight days and then freed today, September 19, 2021, thanks to the parish priests of San Cristóbal de las Casas and Oxchuc, of the San Cristóbal diocese. The compañeros were robbed of a walkie-talkie and six thousand pesos in cash belonging to the Good Government Council.

Third: Kidnapping is a crime under both the bad government’s laws and Zapatista law. While the Chiapas state government has supported and covered up these crimes, the Zapatista Army of National Liberation took the necessary steps to free those who were kidnapped and to detain and sanction those who committed the crime.

Fourth: The only reason the conflict did not escalate into a tragedy was due to the intervention of the parishes mentioned above, human rights organizations, and the mobilizations and denunciations carried out in Mexico and, above all, Europe.

Fifth: The misgovernment of Rutilio Escandón is doing everything possible to destabilize the southeastern



Mexican state of Chiapas:

It violently represses the normalistas [1].

It sabotages the agreements made between the organized teachers and the federal government, forcing the teachers to take more radical action to demand the agreements be complied with.

Its alliance with narcotraffickers forces indigenous communities to create their own self-defense groups, as the government does nothing to protect the life, liberty, and property of the population. It not only protects the narcotrafficking gangs, but also encourages, promotes, and finances paramilitary groups like those that are constantly attacking communities in Aldama and Santa Martha.

Its vaccination campaign is purposefully slow and disorganized, creating unrest in rural communities that it will no doubt exploit. Meanwhile, the rising covid deaths in these communities are ignored.

Its officials are stealing everything they can from the state treasury, perhaps preparing for a federal government collapse or betting on a new party coming into power.

And now they want to sabotage the departure of the Zapatista delegation participating in the European chapter of the Journey for Life. They ordered their ORCAO paramilitaries to kidnap our compañeros, leaving the crime unpunished, and trying to provoke a reaction from the EZLN, all in a state where governability hangs by a thread.

Sixth: If what the Ecologist Green Party of Mexico (PVEM) wants is to provoke a crisis with international repercussions so that it can destabilize the regime currently in power, they should call a referendum to revoke the presidential mandate.

The PVEM is one of the names used around here by the same old PRI. Sometimes they say it’s the PAN, sometimes the PRD, and now it’s the PVEM badly

disguised as the Movement for National Regeneration [MORENA]. But it’s the same criminals as ever, and now they’re part of the misnamed “opposition” movement, a “fifth column” within the 4T [2]. Those responsible are: Rutilio Escandón and Victoria Cecilia Flores Pérez.

If what they want is to topple the federal government, or to cause problems in retaliation for the current federal criminal investigations against them, or to support one of the factions competing for power in 2024, then they should use the available legal channels and stop playing with the life, liberty, and property of the people of Chiapas.

They should call for a vote to revoke the presidential mandate and stop playing with fire because they’re going to get burned.

Seventh: We call on Europe below and to the left and on the Sixth in Mexico and abroad to protest in front of Mexican embassies and consulates and at the government offices of the state of Chiapas, demanding an end their provocations and renunciation of their death cult. The date is Friday, September 24, 2021.

Given the actions and omissions of the state and federal governments regarding these crimes and previous ones, we will take the necessary measures to bring justice to the criminals in the ORCAO and the government officials who sponsor them.

That is all. Next time there won’t be a communique. That is, there won’t be words, only actions. From the mountains of southeastern Mexico, In the name of the Indigenous Revolutionary Clandestine Committee-General Command of the EZLN Subcomandante Insurgente Galeano. Mexico, September 19, 2021.

[1] The ‘normalistas’ make up one of the best-organized movements among Mexico’s student collectives, socialist and assembly-driven in orientation.--ED.

[2] The 4T or Fourth Transformation is how Mexico President Andrés Manuel López Obrador [aka AMLO] refers to his election: as the Fourth Transformation of Mexico, preceded by the War for Independence from Spain (1810-1821); the Reform Period led by President Benito Juárez (1857-72, interrupted by two civil wars); and the Mexican Revolution (1910-1917). Many consider it to be a “left” face on projects that continue and even increase the neoliberal modality. The Zapatistas define it as “the bad government” that seeks to “develop”, and thus destroy, Zapatista and other indigenous autonomous communities and the areas in which they dwell.--ED. [Footnote numbering was found in the original but the actual content of the original footnotes were not shared by our source. The content of these footnotes is the best definitions we could find.] photo: Wikimedia Commons

Abolition, Cultural Freedom, Liberation

Tuesday, October 5, 2 PM PDT

Join 2020 Lannan Prize recipients Angela Y. Davis, Mike Davis, and Ruth Wilson Gilmore for a conversation hosted by Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor. The Lannan Cultural Freedom Prize for 2020 was awarded to Angela Y. Davis for her lifetime achievements as a public intellectual advocating for racial, gender, and economic justice; to Mike Davis for his life’s work as a public intellectual who encourages critical analysis of society in the service of constructing an alternative, post-capitalist future in both theory and practice; and Ruth Wilson Gilmore for a lifetime of achievement as a public intellectual working toward the decarceration of California, the United States, and the world. Join all three, along with acclaimed author Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor for an urgent conversation on abolition, cultural freedom, and liberation.

Register through Eventbrite to receive a link to the video conference the day before the event. <https://www.eventbrite.com/e/abolition-cultural-freedom-liberation-tickets-174319824287> This event will also be recorded. Live captioning will be available via the webcast.

Mike Davis, professor emeritus of creative writing at UC Riverside, joined the San Diego chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality in 1962 at age 16 and the struggle for racial and social equality has remained the lodestar of his life. His *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* challenged reigning celebrations of the city from the perspectives of its lost radical past and insurrectionary future. His wide-ranging work has married science, archival research, personal experience, and creative writing with razor-sharp critiques of empires and ruling classes. He embodies the Lannan vision of working at the intersection of art and social justice. Davis has also helped to develop the theory of the prison industrial complex.

Angela Y. Davis is Distinguished Professor Emerita in the History of Consciousness and Feminist Studies Departments at the University of California, Santa Cruz. Dr. Davis grew up in

Birmingham, Alabama, and has been an activist and Marxist-Feminist in the Black Power and abolitionist movements since the late 1960s. In the 1980s, her book *Women, Race and Class* helped to establish the concept of intersectionality. She also helped to develop the concept of prison abolition, especially in her books *Are Prisons Obsolete?* and *Abolition Democracy: Beyond Prisons, Torture, and Empire*. Recently, Dr. Davis has written about the international movement in solidarity with Palestine in *Freedom Is a Constant Struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement*. Her work helped to lay the theoretical groundwork for the #DefundthePolice movement. Davis’s memoir will soon be published in a new edition by Haymarket Books.

Ruth Wilson Gilmore is Professor of Earth & Environmental Sciences and Director of the Center for Place, Culture, and Politics at the City University of New York Graduate Center. Co-founder of many grassroots organizations including the California Prison Moratorium Project, Critical Resistance, and the Central California Environmental Justice Network, Gilmore is author of the prize-winning *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California* (UC Press). Recent publications include “Beyond Bratton” (Policing the Planet, Camp and Heatherton, eds., Verso); “Abolition Geography and the Problem of Innocence” (Futures of Black Radicalism, Lubin and Johnson, eds., Verso); a foreword to Bobby M. Wilson’s Birmingham classic *America’s Johannesburg* (U Georgia Press); a foreword to Cedric J. Robinson on Racial Capitalism, Black Internationalism, and Cultures of Resistance (HLT Quan, ed., Pluto); and, co-edited with Paul Gilroy, *Stuart Hall: Selected Writings on Race and Difference* (Duke). Forthcoming projects include *Change Everything: Racial Capitalism and the Case for Abolition* (Haymarket); *Abolition Geography: Essays Toward Liberation* (Verso). Gilmore has lectured in Africa, Asia, Europe, and North America. In April 2019 novelist Rachel Kushner profiled Gilmore in *The New York Times Magazine*. Recent honors include the SUNY-Purchase College Eugene V. Grant

Distinguished Scholar Prize for Social and Environmental Justice (2015-16); the American Studies Association Richard A Yarborough Mentorship Award (2017); The Association of American Geographers Lifetime Achievement Award (2020); and election to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (2021).

Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor writes and speaks on Black politics, social movements, and racial inequality in the United States. She is author of *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black Liberation* (a Lannan Cultural Freedom Especially Notable Book Award recipient, recently published in an updated edition by Haymarket Books) and editor of *How We Get Free: Black Feminism and the Combahee River Collective*. Her third book, *Race for Profit: How Banks and the Real Estate Industry Undermined Black Homeownership*, published in 2019 by University of North Carolina Press, was a finalist for a National Book Award for nonfiction, and a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize for History. She is a contributing writer at *The New Yorker* and professor at Princeton University.

This event is a partnership between Lannan Foundation and Haymarket Books. Lannan Foundation’s Readings & Conversations series features inspired writers of fiction, nonfiction, and poetry, as well as cultural freedom advocates with a social, political, and environmental justice focus. We are excited to offer these programs online to a global audience. Video and audio recordings of all events are available at lannan.org.

Haymarket Books is a radical, independent, nonprofit book publisher based in Chicago. Our mission is to publish books that contribute to struggles for social and economic justice. We strive to make our books a vibrant and organic part of social movements and the education and development of a critical, engaged, international left. Lannan Foundation is a family foundation dedicated to cultural freedom, diversity, and creativity through projects that support exceptional contemporary artists and writers, inspired Native activists in rural communities, and social justice advocates.

Ending Systemic Racism

Nov. 7 Faith-Based Anti-Racist Network Gathering

A Statement and Call by Interfaith Communities United for Justice and Peace

Healing us of systemic racism means going beyond understanding individual prejudices and even beyond being aware of the effects of biases in people who wield power. ICUJP recognizes the racism that is built into our entire system. Individual accountability is vital, as is a recognition of the historical factors behind the status quo. For example, the move to reallocate funds from law enforcement to neighborhood services and development recognizes the history of the penal system in keeping control and moves it into aiding communities as the surest way to preempt crime.

ICUJP seeks to collaborate with our congregations and organizations, to tackle this issue.

Areas include:

Economic justice: our sisters and brothers of color disproportionately live in poverty, and the legacy of racism, in housing and education thwart attempts to move their families and themselves upward. Disparities in income, wealth and homelessness are highly racialized and discriminatory against Black, Indigenous, and other people of color.

Security justice: overt and unconscious biases within law enforcement, along with a sense of impunity, endanger the lives of Black people. This has repercussions for the officers.

Criminal justice: the penal system is focused on revenge and retribution, leading to cycles of recidivism and disproportionate punishment for the poor, instead of working towards rehabilitation and restorative justice

Environmental justice: mines, pipelines, carcinogenic and polluting factories and mines are disproportionately built on Indigenous land and in minority neighborhoods.

Housing justice: besides for economic reasons, studies show that many are locked out of homes and apartments

that they could afford because of discrimination against people of color, LGBT+, and people with disabilities.

Medical justice: the recent statistics of fatalities by race from the pandemic illustrate the lack of access to medical care in communities of color, and the resulting lack of faith in the medical system.

Civic justice: current accusations of ‘voter fraud’ are being used to disenfranchise poor communities, illegally removing hundreds of thousands, primarily people of color, from voting lists.

Systemic racism is also manifest in our global relationships, furthering stereotypes against Arabs, Latin Americans, Africans, South Asian, Chinese or any other group that the country has political or economic conflict with.

Reparations to Black communities would not come from any personal guilt but rather from the need to return the wealth created by and stolen from enslaved people, as well as by the systems that have evolved since to maintain a color-line in society.

Without ending institutionalized and internalized racism, any other progressive or humanitarian changes are a house of cards. Ending systemic racism would lift all of us up together. Let’s work together to make these changes a priority for action among all people of faith and good conscience.

Interfaith Communities United for Justice and Peace (ICUJP) is planning and attending a November 7 virtual meeting devoted to building an ongoing interfaith action network to end systemic racism.

The working meeting will take place on Sunday, November 7, from 4:00-6:00 PM PDT. Please register at: <https://bit.ly/3trM1Gs>

ICUJP wants to hear from your organization, as well as others who are leading work against racialized mass incarceration; police murders with impunity; racist and

sexist health care and education disparities; income and wealth inequalities; environmental racism; gentrification, displacement, homelessness and evictions; and the war economy related to U.S. military intervention and operations around the world.

OCT. 8 Planning Meeting

We also invite you to be represented on our planning meetings, to help shape the event. The next one is on Friday, Oct. 8, 2021 at 9:35 AM PDT. Zoom Link <https://us02web.zoom.us/j/84962103110> Meeting ID: 849 6210 3110, Passcode: 689048; One tap mobile: +16699006833,,84962103110# US (San Jose) or +12532158782,,84962103110# US (Tacoma)

Of course, the earlier your organization or individuals join us in planning, the more your ideas will influence the nature of the event.

This action grew out of two events held earlier this year. ICUJP held two online forums on the theme of “Backlash to Justice: Overcoming Obstacles to Ending Systemic Racism,” featuring District Attorney George Gascón and Dr. Melina Abdullah of Black Lives Matter Los Angeles in conversation with others. Out of those two events, ICUJP developed an ongoing Ending Systemic Racism working group. It works with the Program Committee and the Outreach/Advocacy Committee, all of which follow our weekly 7:30 forums on alternating Friday mornings. (ICUJP celebrated its 20th anniversary on September 11, and has met almost every Friday since 9-11-2001, hearing from speakers and taking action on issues of social, racial and economic justice, demilitarization and peace.)

We came up with a plan to reach out to and join forces with existing faith-based racial justice, social action and anti-racism committees and projects. We hope to inform each other about and complement each other’s efforts. We propose creating an ongoing network to cohere a critical mass of faith-based groups, able to take concrete action towards ending systemic racism in all spheres.

LA Sheriff Trashes RAND Report On Deputy Gangs; Secret Police Outed

by Celeste Fremon

Sheriff Alex Villanueva held a press conference in order to respond to the RAND Corporation’s long-awaited report released earlier this month in which the RAND researchers studied and analyzed the deputy subgroups — known by many as deputy gangs — that have plagued the Los Angeles County Sheriff’s Department for a half century. At the beginning of his press conference, the sheriff sounded upbeat, as he announced that he and his administration had already accomplished all the key recommendations that the RAND people listed.

After that, the sheriff proceeded to slam the report, which was commissioned by the LA County Board of Supervisors, who are pretty much fed up with the deputy gang issue, “They were not interested in the truth,” said the sheriff of the authors of the 230-page report. [Read the report here: https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RRA616-1.html]

Deputy gangs or subgroups, according to Villanueva’s Wednesday analysis, are a “problem of perception but not reality.” Furthermore, the sheriff told reporters that, “sub groups exist in every large organization, especially paramilitary organizations.” As for the members of the so-called deputy gangs, or sub groups, or deputy cliques, such as those affiliated with the Banditos of the department’s East LA station, the Grim Reapers originally out of the Lennox station, and the Executioners who are associated with the LASD’s Compton station, Sheriff Villanueva had this to say:

“They’re a glorified bunch of people who go to the river on the weekend and party. That’s all they are.” Never mind that the actions of some of these harmless river partiers have triggered major lawsuits, and a seemingly limitless string of high ticket legal settlements that LA

County taxpayers wind up paying. (On the former topic, the latest draft of the legal complaint written by Attorney Vincent Miller, who represents a list of LASD deputies in a civil lawsuit, lays out allegations of “assaults, threats, intimidation,” and more allegedly inflicted on the plaintiffs by members of the Banditos deputy clique.)

The sheriff’s broad dismissal of the RAND report, however, was just one of many verbal mud pies Villanueva tossed at county officials. He also took potshots at the legal opinion rendered recently by LA County Counsel regarding the parameters that should and should not govern efforts to curb deputy cliques or gangs. On Wednesday, citing no details, the sheriff deemed the opinion, “laughable.”

Subpoenas, weaponized investigations, & a motion

The press conference came at a time when tensions between Sheriff Villanueva, and those tasked with oversight of the LA County Sheriff’s Department, was ratcheting up into the red zone. One of the biggest recent causes of tension occurred last month when the LASD’s Civilian Oversight Commission (COC), subpoenaed Sheriff Villanueva in order to ensure his presence at the Commission’s monthly meeting on Thursday, September 23, to discuss topics the commission members consider pressing. But after being served with a subpoena on August 26, 2021, on September 9, the sheriff wrote to the Commission’s executive director, Brian K. Williams, to say that he will not, in fact, be attending the Commission’s September 23 meeting, virtually or otherwise He’s very busy, Villanueva said, or words to that effect.

One of the primary issues the COC commissioners want to discuss was Villanueva’s habit of launching criminal investigations against oversight officials he appears to believe may have done him wrong. Last July, WitnessLA wrote about the sheriff’s pattern of using the threat of criminal investigations as cudgel against those he deems have treated him unfairly, especially

if those on his bad list are engaged in some kind of oversight of the LASD. This same issue was documented in a ten-page report by COC Commissioner Sean Kennedy, who described in detail how, for more than two years, Sheriff Villanueva, with the help from certain members of his administration, had been targeting oversight officials and other “perceived political adversaries,” with what seem to be specious criminal investigations that never result in actual charges. (You can read Kennedy’s report here: <https://witnessla.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/LASD-Investigations-of-Oversight-Officials-final.pdf>)

Now, in view of the sheriff’s refusal to show up to respond to questions about these ongoing weaponized criminal probes — some directed at members of the COC themselves, and against the Max Huntsman, the LA County Inspector General — at Thursday’s meeting the commissioners will vote on a motion that, if passed, will direct County Council to “forward potential illegal activity by the Los Angeles County Sheriff to the California Attorney General for investigation.” In addition, if it is approved by the COC, the motion will direct County Council to file a petition with the Los Angeles County Superior Court for an Order to Show Cause “as to why Sheriff Villanueva should not be held in contempt for his failure to appear pursuant to a properly served subpoena.”

[TTT Note: The LA Times has reported that Villanueva has been maintaining a “secret police” unit targeting those he deems his political enemies: <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2021-09-23/sheriff-alex-villanueva-secret-police> Excerpt: “On paper, the deputies are scattered around the LA Sheriff’s Department in various assignments. One is supposed to be working patrol in Lancaster, another in West Hollywood. In reality, though, the group of nine men and women make up a little-known team of investigators formed by Sheriff Alex Villanueva and other top sheriff’s officials. But as some of the investigations handled by the team have come to light, a common thread has emerged: Their targets are outspoken critics of Villanueva or the department. The unit, named the Civil Rights and Public Integrity Detail, has pursued a long-running investigation into one of Villanueva’s most vocal critics.”]

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. *Turning the Tide’s* future is in your hands. Now, while you’re thinking about it, go to:

<http://gofundme.com/eugzgg> or https://ko-fi.com/anti_racist_action_la 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.

PART's Perspective:

On the Incapacity of Capitalism to Confront the Crises it Creates

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

Anyone who imagined that the threat of naked fascism in the US would depart, disappear or even diminish with the defeat of Donald Trump suffers from a lack of understanding of the real nature of fascism or of the US social, political and economic system. What we call fascism has always been deeply rooted in the nature of the white supremacist, settler colonial capitalist order in the US. This is a system based on land-theft, genocide, enslavement, and cultivation of a mass base, beyond merely the rulers, for such degradations.

Trump trod squarely in the footsteps of Andrew Jackson, the slave-owner, military colonizer, and killer of Native people in order to seize their land; of Woodrow Wilson, arch-segregationist, invader of Mexico, launcher of the first red scare, the Palmer Raids and mass deportations of "subversive aliens"; of Franklin Roosevelt, whose New Deal removed Black people from all its programs of labor recognition, agricultural reform, and social security, and whose anti-Japanese prejudices were enforced by confining tens of thousands of Japanese Americans in concentration camps; of Harry Truman, whose political career was launched by the backing of the KKK, and who launched the Cold War, the CIA and the national security state, incorporating German Nazi scientists and agents into US military weapons projects and intelligence agencies. (And of course, all those predecessors are iconic Democratic Party presidents).

The notion that capitalism seizes upon natural (or man-made) disasters to impose its most destructive, authoritarian and exploitative reforms has been widespread since it was popularized by Naomi Klein with the catch-phrase "disaster capitalism." But what has become increasingly clear is that capitalism is incapable of dealing effectively with the crises it is generating. Biden's claims to be confronting COVID or climate crisis may be more soothing to some ears than Trump's denialism, but seems to be no more effective. With their tenuous grip on slim majority control of the House and the Senate, the Democrats are still having enormous difficulty in passing even the weak tea of Biden's infrastructure and social welfare programs (even while massive military spending passes easily, along with another billion dollars in armament for Israel). Biden's package does nothing about Medicare for All, about forgiving student debt, about massive decarbonization, decarceration or demilitarization of police, about ending the white supremacist super-majority requirement imposed by the filibuster in the (utterly undemocratic) US Senate, about banking re-regulation, about taxing wealth or improving the rights and capacity of labor unions to organize, or any of the other hardly-radical proposals championed by so-called democratic socialist Sen. Bernie Sanders, progressive Sen. Elizabeth Warren, or even by Biden himself in some of his more effusive campaign promises.

These failures offer both a challenge and an opportunity to revolutionary-minded people and to the mass popular movements. The opportunity is to fill the vacuum with the self-organized effort to create grassroots solutions, to build an alternate power to that of the state and the bourgeoisie, the corporate rulers, the 1/10th of 1 percent. The challenge is that such incapacity and insecurity is likely to intensify a turn towards a more authoritarian state and more openly fascist "solutions" by both the rulers and sectors of broader white society.

In the face of growing and intersecting crises in the political, economic and environmental spheres, fascism presents itself in a multi-faceted way. There are five main forces competing, contending and colluding in building a fascist response and "solution" to the problems of the Empire. Anti-fascist forces committed to human liberation and planetary survival must simultaneously challenge the Empire itself, develop solutions for the problems fueling the fascist response, and disrupt the fascist forces. To do so, we need to get a clearer picture of the fascist elements and the contradictions among them.

Self-proclaimed Nazis, though not necessarily the largest threat, are a place to start. This is the element with the most naked racist approach, based on open white supremacy. They incorporate traditional Nazi/fascist or Klan symbolism, and classic scapegoating of Jews. Particular groups within this tendency suffer setbacks, and ego drives rivalries between various "leaders." But this faction has an opportunist tactical flexibility. It benefits from effective use of the media to magnify its forces and appeal. Nazis seize on every sign of racial friction. They appeal to younger whites, both male and



female, with a sense of grievance about lost entitlements. They often present themselves as anti-establishment or even anti-capitalist, yet usually seek protection by the cops. They use methods of physical intimidation, as bullies do. But like all bullies, they are highly susceptible to organized physical resistance.

Clerical fascism is a second major component, also connected to an element of traditional fascism. It is based in religious fundamentalism, and often incorporates well-established and well-funded religious organizations, whether churches or lay fraternal groups. They base their appeal on a sense of moral decay under the Empire, but they are otherwise often more than happy to operate within the mainstream and existing political institutions. In the U.S., we are speaking mostly about Christian fascist groups, which focus on anti-woman and anti-gay organizing, opposing abortion and other reproductive rights, gay marriage and similar issues. But in a global context, Jewish fundamentalism linked to a more secular, but still religiously-justified, Zionism is an important element of this tendency, and in the U.S., Christian and Jewish Zionists make common cause. In the colonized and semi-colonized Muslim world, Muslim fascist fundamentalism plays a role more similar to that of western Nazism, usually presenting itself as the voice of grievance, with an anti-establishment, "anti-imperialist" politics. The recent ban on abortions in Texas, now spreading to Florida, reflects the existing incorporation of these elements within the state apparatus in the US.

Direct action "patriots" have fed a resurgence of the worst components of the old militia movement. They're most interested not necessarily in replacing but in supplementing the power of the state. Although some elements engage in anti-corporate or anti-politician rhetoric, this faction, like the Christian fascists, are generally content to seek entry into, and work with, mainstream political power. Thus such vigilante projects work with the Border Patrol, or run for elective office. They sponsor propositions targeting immigrants, particularly Mexicans, and work closely with Republican office-holders. While sometimes professing not to be

racist, they also provide a convenient conduit and nesting place for Nazi and white supremacist forces. Anti-immigrant, anti-Mexican and anti-Asian stereotyping and violence have been a growth area for a mass base for fascist solutions.

An element within the military, law enforcement, and state security forces, operating independently of the official chain of command, is a fourth component of a fascist movement. This aspect has leaped to the forefront with the storming of the Capitol and the role of the Oathkeepers and various active duty cops and military in the break-in there. But the increasing use of mercenaries by the Empire, as well as concerns within the ranks and the brass about the inadequacy of current domestic and international counter-insurgency efforts, is also resurrecting it. Continued setbacks in and withdrawals from Iraq, Afghanistan and other fronts of the "endless wars" could increase this component dramatically, with a possible appeal among demobilized and disoriented veterans unable to find a productive niche in civilian life.

Fascist elements within the state, the corporate parties and the ruling economic and political elite are the fifth element, since fascism is built from above as well as below. The GOP has been increasingly willing to seek one-party rule through voter suppression and claims of electoral fraud, raised to a fever pitch by Trump. They provide red meat and marching orders to the clerical and vigilante fascists, and reward or protect fascist elements within the military and law enforcement. Multimillionaires and billionaires have funded proto-fascist organizing and various "alt-right" and "alt-light" transmission belts. This will grow as the disastrous consequences of Empire, and the inability of the rulers to "deliver the goods" to anybody but an increasingly narrow stratum of the wealthy, erode popular support. The Democrats offer at best token alternatives to, if not outright reinforcement of, these approaches. This shows the systemic nature of the crisis, and the limited options available to the rulers as the crises deepen. The commitment of both parties to confrontation with China, whether couched as a trade war or a new ColdWar, make it clear that we are in a pre-war, or inter-war, period, with the US enacting what the Dulles brothers (at the CIA and State Department) used to refer to as brinkmanship -- taking the US to the brink of war with China today, as it once did with the Soviet Union. Fascism and war almost inevitably march together.

The turn to fascism implies a change in the composition, structure, powers and rationale of the state, and in the forms of domination and exploitation of the metropolitan working class. The types of oppression and exploitation that have been directed at the (internally) colonized population begin to make themselves felt against the settlers as well, even as they are being courted and propagandized to adopt a new and more intimate and totalitarian identification with the rulers and empire.

Continued on next page

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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

PART's Perspective:

On the Incapacity of Capitalism to Confront the Crises it Creates

...Continued from previous page

I think this continues to describe what is happening in the US today. The process of fundamentally transforming the nature of the US state, not merely quantitatively in terms of repression, but qualitatively in terms of its fundamental modes of operation and social contract, is happening simultaneously from the top down -- orchestrated by the neo- and paleo-cons and a supportive faction of the bourgeoisie -- and from the bottom up (by clerical fascist forces and neo-confederates closely allied to the rulers, and by working class and petty bourgeois elements of white society who are drawn into openly and expressly neo-Nazi and other armed and violence-prone formations). What we are seeing today is an integration of those groupings facilitated by the Trump phenomenon and its takeover of the GOP, which is being converted to a nakedly fascist party by the Trumpists. But corporatization, intensified state surveillance, public-private partnership and other elements of state reconstitution are proceeding within the neo-liberal state apparatus and the Democrats as well.

That means we must seriously prepare for situations of much more naked repression, perhaps akin to those which have pertained in the colonial and semi-colonial areas -- the dirty war in Argentina, the Pinochet regime in Chile, the death squads in Central America, the Israeli Occupation Forces in Palestine, etc. That such repression may sometimes target open, self-proclaimed fascists does not negate its fascist character. Since the goal is stabilization in crisis, threats to stability are unwelcome.

Withstanding Fascism & Brutality

If we are facing anything close to that type of repression and death squad activity inside the US today, we need to adjust our organizing dramatically, as the Black Panther Party tried to do in the 1970s. Fascism, however we define it, has meant a particularly brutal and harsh form of governance within imperial metropolises, a much more active pursuit of genocide, a more naked and totalitarian form of domination of labor and other mass organizations. Other forms of social and political organization are also capable of excesses, but fascism distinguishes itself by seeking to reconstitute the individual personality and the state in a 'revolutionary' fashion.

The current political context in the US, whether we label it fascist or not, calls for a whole range of things connected to the idea of more clandestine struggle (I am not thinking necessarily of illegal or armed action). We need to incorporate the same sense that "from-below" fascist forces have long grasped - that independent political action must make use of all forms of struggle and all means of exerting countervailing power.

The abiding lesson of the previous history of fascism in power is that the alleged state monopoly on armed power is a polite fiction aimed at disarming the oppressed. Particularly in the US context, where armed settlers operated independently of the state to capture land, suppress slave rebellions, and carry out other colonial functions, it is fatuous to believe that only the state acts as an armed agent. Class fractions, regional networks and other social elements have always been armed, and used arms to advance their interests in the U.S. Pacifism is exclusively a pathology of the left. We need to develop the capacity to defend ourselves and our communities.

Conscious internationalism (or inter-communalism) is essential. Leadership in anti-fascist struggle has always come from people of color, particularly Black and indigenous people. The centrality of anti-Blackness to almost all varieties of racism, fascism and reaction means that anti-racism and solidarity with the Black freedom struggle must be central to any definition or practice of anti-fascism. Similarly, any legitimate form of anti-fascism must oppose capitalism, empire and US militarism and intervention in "Latin" America, Africa and Asia, as well as the continuing US land theft and oppression of indigenous people, or US colonialism in Puerto Rico and elsewhere.

Alternatives to corporate media, including social media, are happening. The Internet is closely monitored and subject to being choked off. Similar to what happened under Clinton, the Democrats are moving



to eliminate Pacifica Radio as a medium of grassroots dissent now that they control the White House and both chambers of the federal legislature. They won't countenance independent forces to their left. Democracy at Pacifica, and openness to radical, community oriented voices from people of color, must be defended and extended. I have been engaged in that struggle as an ally to communities and broadcasters of color for a long time, and it is at a critical stage right now, with an effort to eliminate democratic governance and impose a top-down, chain-of-command control of station staff by centralized management.

We also need our own media. I have persisted in publishing *Turning The Tide* as a print newspaper (as well as on-line, and expanding to a separate weekly e-newsletter with the pandemic). We distribute thousands of copies over the course of a year to prisoners around the US, who are now grappling with the deadly consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic on top of the general repressive nature of prisons and the targeting of political and politicized prisoners. The paper is also simultaneously a way to communicate to the larger movement anti-fascist and anti-racist initiatives and lessons from the prisoners.

We need to cultivate relationships with media that serve people of color. In NY, Chicago, LA, Atlanta etc. there are Black, Spanish-language, Asian and other "BIPOC" oriented media outlets that still provide an outlet that is unavailable in general-audience print and broadcast media. The recent attacks on Keith Malik Washington, who upon being released from prison took the helm of the San Francisco Bay View national Black liberation newspaper, is a critical case in point.

The pandemic has made it all the more important to focus energy on less public forms of organizing than rallies and demonstrations, including mutual aid. We need to organize deeper and more sustained initiatives of our own away from public scrutiny, not only reacting to state and fascist provocations. We need to listen more, as a means not only of intelligence gathering on the enemy, but also of understanding what's on the minds of the people we want to work with and among. We need to develop community-based grass roots anti-racist and anti-empire work that has endurance, promotes sustainability and environmental restoration, and that rewards people in the doing of it. We need to think about methods of infiltration and subversion of state and fascist initiatives, as well as counter-organizing a base for anti-racist culture and resistance among people who would otherwise be drawn to the nazi "solution." This will require more than cyber-warfare and hacking, though those are certainly useful tools, as the EPIK hack clearly shows.

We need to build a legal/self defense component into all our work, anticipating busts, frame-ups and harassment. We need to build stronger outside networks of support, materially and otherwise, for people locked down. There needs to be thought about safe houses, cultivation of supporters who never do anything public to identify themselves with the anti-racist and anti-fascist movement, secure means of covert communication, transportation and dissemination of information. In other words, we need to adopt some methods of organization that are better suited to conditions of occupation or fascism. To the extent we can get at all ahead of the curve on this, it will be a lot easier to do, and a lot likelier to survive the repression. We need to think about building redundancy in all those mechanisms.

Organizing and outreach into the prisons and the

military are vital. These spheres, along with workplace organizing, have always had some of the characteristics of occupation or fascism that impede open organizing and require more secretive methods. This is also true for work with high school students, for many of the same reasons (especially

given the penal character of a lot of public schools and as the military increasingly penetrates the schools for recruitment). They are vital areas in which to work. The degree of state and bourgeois repression applied in these arenas under "normal democracy" are a measure of their strategic importance. They are also vital to eroding the power of the state and the elite, and building our own countervailing power. They are an important proving ground of our ability to organize under such conditions as well as our capacity to craft a message and practice that engages the people we want to reach.

One key to understanding fascism is to grasp, and counter, the appeal fascism makes to women. The male-dominated left tends to discount the revolutionary potential of women, the need for a strategy to deal with the role of violence in the lives of women and children, and the efforts of fascists to present themselves as the answer to women's problems. A fuller discussion and an attempt to develop practice based on a deeper understanding of those issues must take place in a sustained way.

The state has moved into this arena in various ways. The use of Afghan women as justification for waging war on Al Qaeda, the Taliban, and other Muslim forces is one clear example. Another notable one is creation by the Pentagon of a network of organizers out of "army wives," whose job it is to maintain morale and support for the war efforts among the families of the troops. Recruitment of female soldiers, sailors, pilots and police officers is yet another aspect.

Faith-based groups, some of whom are hard-core pacifists, must be addressed in an anti-fascist strategy, just as "White Rose" Catholics formed one base of anti-fascist resistance in Hitler's Germany. Such groups also have a long history of civil resistance, sanctuary-type activities regarding unjust immigration policies, and otherwise breaking the law or doing secret work for reasons of conscience. I think we might be able to learn a great deal from them. It is not coincidental that it was followers and associates of the Berrigan brothers who carried out the burglary of the Media, Pennsylvania FBI office that exposed the existence of a widespread FBI snitch network, suborning civil servants, college registrars, postal workers and others to spy on every Black college student in the US, and other potential "subversives." It was this break-in that eventually led to the revelation of the existence of COINTELPRO, a domestic warfare program against the Black Panther Party and other elements of the Black freedom struggle, and against the Puerto Rican, Chicano/Mexicano, American Indian, Asian/Pacific Islander and other movements, including various communist, Trotskyist and New Left groups. It would be nonsensical to imagine that such efforts at infiltration, disruption and surveillance are not taking place today.

We need to begin operating as if fascism were fully in place. This is not defeatism, because only acting in this way will we be able to turn the dynamic around and use the crisis as a basis for a truly revolutionary transformation of society. We also need to build community based efforts to live under the harsh environmental conditions that will prevail over the next decades. Anything less is suicidal.

We have no more time for betrayals, or learning from defeats. In other words, we need to take the current political, economic and environmental crises as the breeding ground, not for fascism, but for an independent, revolutionary anti-imperialist offensive.

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 30 years.

In addition, there is facebook.com/tideturning. You can follow @ara_losangeles on Twitter and IG, and the De-Colonize LA! blog at ara-la.tumblr.com. Sign up for our ARA E Newsletter: <https://antiracist.org/subscribe-to-our-e-newsletter/>

From Belarus To Ukraine, Antifascists Stand Together!

by International Antifascist Defence Fund <https://intlantifadefence.wordpress.com/>



Alexey Bolenkov (with mic) and Artur Kondratovych

The International Antifascist Defense Fund has reported some of the difficulties of being an antifascist in Belarus

these days {see: <https://intlantifadefence.wordpress.com/2021/09/03/bad-times-in-belarus/>). But you know what might be even more difficult than that? Being a Belarusian antifascist living in Ukraine.

For example, there's Alexey Bolenkov and Artur Kondratovych – two Belarusian antifascists and anarchists who have been living in Ukraine for several years now, doing really solid organizing work in the community there. Ukrainian authorities have been keen to rid themselves of people challenging them on issues such as police brutality, the plight of refugees, and the creeping fascist presence there and have actively deported several people for their completely-legal participation in peaceful demonstrations. Such is the context in which they have attempted to illegally deport Alexey and Artur.

Our two friends have challenged this illegal extradition on the courts and have every sign of winning there. But this is costing a lot of money and they need help to fight for their rights – a situation made more

difficult by Alexey recently losing his job as a result of all the publicity.

On top of that, the case has attracted a lot of public attention, particularly from no fewer than four separate fascist gangs operating in Ukraine. These gangs have coordinated their efforts, physically attacking Alexey's and Artur's supporters and, in one especially bold move, attacking Alexey himself outside of the courthouse prior to a hearing, in full view of Ukrainian police and court security.

It's fair to say that Alexey and Artur are in a tight spot and need support from antifascists to help see them through it. That's what the International Anti-Fascist Defence Fund was established and that's why we were happy to be able to come to their aid! [Ed. Note: We donate to the International Antifascist Defence Fund, and you should, too!--ED.]

Gaza Is Palestine: The Peoples Inquiry October 7

When all but 11 members of Congress voted recently to send an additional \$1 billion of weapons to Israel, the debate completely obscured the suffering Palestinians face when the bombs drop. Gaza is Palestine, a new Palestinian-led campaign by Adalah Justice Project and MPower Change, will change that, putting Palestinians in Gaza at the center of the conversation and awakening the people power necessary to stop the flow of U.S. weapons that enable Israel's harm against the Palestinian people and end Israel's siege on Gaza.

The campaign kicks off on October 7 with a virtual People's Inquiry into the night of May 16, 2021, which altered the lives of three Palestinian families of Gaza City's Wahda Street forever. That terrible night, Israel used U.S.-made bombs to kill members of four generations of the al-Kawlak family, 22 people from one family alone. They included 6-month old Qusai, his parents, his grandfather, and his great-grandparents. Also on Wahda Street, Suzy Eshkuntana, 6, lost her mother and four siblings.

Awni al-Kawlak, 49, lost his brothers and their families. His baby nephew Qusai had just gained his first tooth, while his nieces Rula, Yara, and Hala were found buried in the rubble in an embrace. "We know that the world is now empathetic, but after a while it will forget our problem," he told AP back in May. "Even when they remember us again, they will remember us as numbers."

We must remember Palestinians killed by Israel in Gaza. And we must struggle with the 2 million Palestinians surviving the brutal Israeli blockade on Gaza, toward freedom, justice, and the right to return to their homes. Demand accountability for the massacre and the siege by joining the Gaza is Palestine People's Inquiry hosted by Adalah Justice Project and MPower Change on October 7 at 12 p.m. ET.

Register Now: <https://www.gazaispalestine.com/hearing>

Join to hear from featured guests Rep. Rashida Tlaib, Abier Al-Masri, Issam Adwan, and Jihad Abusalim. We will listen to accounts of Palestinians from Gaza on the massacres carried out by Israel in May 2021 and learn



how to exercise our personal power to disrupt Israeli and American violence on Palestinians in Gaza and recommit to end the blockade and siege of the Gaza Strip.

In Congress, we've seen how vital people power is to transforming U.S. policy toward justice: as People's Cosponsors and grassroots advocates, we pushed nine progressive Democrats to support an amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act to #BlockTheBombs and try to stop a weapons sale to Israel, and later to remove \$1 billion in weapons funding to Israel from a government spending bill.

movements for policy vision, not Congress, which always lags behind movements for justice. Register for the People's Inquiry on Oct. 7 to join the movement to end U.S. weapons to Israel and build justice for Palestinians in Gaza.

[Editor's note: Progressive icon Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez has apologized for backing off a "no" vote on the billion-dollar weapons bill under unrelenting pressure and threats, casting a vote of "present" instead. This is a measure of how little room there is in the corporate Democratic Party and the imperial political system for solidarity with Palestine or resistance to US militarism.--ED.]

But as we make gains, powerful political forces opposed to justice for Palestinians are digging in their heels: Democratic leadership still forced \$1 billion in weapons to Israel through Congress, employing racist and Islamophobic tropes to demonize people in Gaza in the process. Rashida Tlaib was the lone representative to speak on the House floor and condemn the violence of funding Israel's atrocities, only to be met with racist anti-Palestinian attacks smearing her plea for protection of her people. That same day, 'progressive except Palestine' representatives introduced a bill, the Two State Solution Act, that repeats status quo policies that enable perpetual Israeli occupation and apartheid in Palestine.

These enraging political developments reminded us to look to people and grassroots

Racism & the New Cold War vs. China

Anti-Asian racial bias skews spy probes, study shows

By LIA ZHU in San Francisco |
China Daily Global | Updated: 2021-09-23

<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202109/23/WS614bd841a310cdd39bc6ae20.html>

Excerpt:

People with Chinese or Asian names in the US are punished twice as severely as those with Western names for convictions involving economic espionage, according to research that also finds a third of Asian Americans caught up in investigations may have been falsely accused.

The research, co-led by the Committee of 100 and Andrew Chongseh Kim, a lawyer and visiting scholar at the South Texas College of Law, analyzed data from 1996 to 2020 involving 276 individual defendants in 190 cases brought under the Economic Espionage Act, or EEA.

In the cases ending in convictions, jail time for Chinese and other Asian defendants was double that handed down to non-Asian defendants, according to the study, which was released at a virtual conference on Tuesday. It also found that the Department of Justice is much more likely to publicize alleged "spying" by people



with Asian names than is the case for those with Western names that face accusations.

The report, titled "Racial Disparities in Economic Espionage Act Prosecutions: A Window into the New Red Scare", concluded that the findings support concerns that "overzealous attempts" to fight "Chinese espionage" are unfairly upending the lives of ordinary Asian Americans. The Committee of 100, which contributed to the report, is made up of prominent Chinese Americans.

The department, by disproportionately publicizing alleged spying by people with Asian names, may be

contributing to the stereotype that Asian Americans are less loyal to the US than people with Western names, said the report.

"We spent thousands of hours analyzing federal court filings and Department of Justice news releases. Unfortunately, the data reveals that Asian Americans and others of Asian descent are treated differently by our justice system," Kim said. Report is here: <https://www.committee100.org/initiatives/racial-disparities-in-economic-espionage-act-prosecutions/>

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

First Class Postage

A JOURNAL OF INTER-COMMUNAL SOLIDARITY

TURNING THE TIDE

Volume 33 ★ Number 4 ★ ISSN 1082-6491 ★ October-December 2021

UPCOMING EVENTS:

- ★ Oct. 8 - Faith-based Anti-Racist Network planning meeting 9:30am zoom
- ★ Oct. 12 - International Indigenous Peoples Day - Dia de la Raza
- ★ Oct. 15 - Deadline to vote in Pacifica's LSB listener/staff delegate election
- ★ Nov. 7 - ICUJP End Systemic Racism Network formation gathering
- ★ Nov. 26 - "Black Friday" : Buy Nothing Day - Boycott Amazon/Walmart
- ★ Dec. 10 - Universal Declaration of Human Rights commemorated

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- MUMIA ABU JAMAL

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PO Box 1055

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