PART's Perspective: Low Intensity Civil Warfare is Underway in the US

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

Civil war is the latest buzzword among pundits and politicos, in books and book reviews, radio interviews and podcasts. But the main issue in most of these analyses seems to be whether or not we are on the brink of a civil war, and whether it is alarmist, or even counterproductive, to speculate about that. This is yet another manifestation of what is sometimes called "American [sic] Exceptionalism," the belief that the US social structure is uniquely democratic, stable, positive and free of class conflict. Yet as Martin Luther King Jr. intoned 55 years ago in publicly opposing the war in Vietnam, the US government is the greatest purveyor of violence in the world. Such violence manifests throughout this society, not only in its so-called foreign policy, or directed against other peoples and nations.

The term "civil war" conjures up, in the minds of many people in the US, the US Civil War of the 1860s, with a specific starting and ending date, beginning with the Confederate declaration of secession and attack on Fort Sumter in April 1861, and a definite end date, roughly the surrender by Lee to Grant at Appomattox four years later, with a series of pitched battles between uniformed standing armies. But this image is scarcely accurate about even that period of US history, as there were battles by both regular and irregular forces over the same issues leading up to the official hostilities, including a series of slave rebellions, the guerrilla war between pro-slavery and abolitionist forces in "Bleeding Kansas", and John Brown's raid on the federal armory at Harper's Ferry with the intention of freeing and arming slaves. And following the close of the official war, there was ongoing use of guerrilla tactics and night-riding terror tactics against free Black people and their allies, by the Ku Klux Klan and others.

Furthermore, civil wars have been a constant in numerous countries all around the world, particularly in the formerly colonized nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America that US imperialism has sought to dominate and exploit in the 20th and 21st Centuries. But civil wars and separatist insurgencies have also taken place steadily in Europe since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the COMECON bloc, repeatedly revising the map of much of central and eastern Europe, Africa and south Asia. To imagine the US is somehow uniquely exempt from such hostilities, especially when the armed right within the US has been stepping up its violence decade after decade since at least the white supremacist underground "Order", also known as Bruder Schweigen/Silent Brotherhood since the late 1980s, and the rise of the modern militia movement during Bill Clinton's presidency, would be the height of folly.

So we need to understand that civil war is not a future prospect, but a current reality, constituting a form of blowback or introgression into the settler colonial metropole of the US empire of the strategy and tactics of lowintensity warfare that the US has been using for decades to undermine anti-colonial and anti-capitalist uprisings in the countries it seeks to dominate, subjugate and exploit. Low intensity warfare is the general strategic formulation that US military theoreticians and planners have used to deal with "a-symmetrical warfare" by liberation forces, the war of the flea. It involves the use of regular and special military forces, like the Green Berets, clandestine forces and operatives, such as by the CIA, psychological operations, and the use of mercenary, death squad, regular military forces and paramilitaries of the neo-colonized government and society, to disrupt and destroy insurgent



from Malaya (now Malaysia) to Kenya to Cyprus to Oman to Northern Ireland, acquiring strategic knowledge and adapting his policies to local circumstances. His counterinsurgency program rippled even further, touching nearly every corner of the world where Britain had imperial and strategic interests...

"But are pseudo-gangs really the best model...? For one thing, pseudo-gangs could not have succeeded without more severe and overarching measures of control by the British—in fact, police-state control. In addition to targeting insurgents directly, the British targeted civilian populations, which often illicitly supported insurgents and harbored critical intelligence. Through measures including collective punishment, ...detention without trial, expanded capital punishment, censorship, and restrictions on movement, British forces sought to intimidate civilians, separate them from insurgents, and collect intelligence to infiltrate terrorist networks. In Kenya they broke civilian support by systematizing torture, inflicting heavy civilian casualties, and detaining nearly 1.5 million Africans thought to be sympathetic to the Mau Mau.

"The British adopted similar policies in Cyprus at about the same time, creating "Q patrols" to help suppress Greek Cypriot insurgents who demanded unification with Greece. The Q patrols worked alongside security forces, snatch squads, and interrogation teams that earned the nickname "HMTs," or "Her Majesty's Torturers." Like the pseudo-gangs in Kenya, they operated with a free hand in a police state.

"Throughout Britain's former empire, 20th-century colonial rule and the suppression of [resistance] inscribed a legacy of violence on the governments established in Britain's wake. As Somchai Homlaor, the secretary general of Forum-Asia, has put it, "Internal-security laws and anti-terrorist laws are a draconian remnant of the laws employed during the colonial era." Indeed, advisers from Britain's Colonial Office, who oversaw the crafting of police states throughout the empire, had a hand in drafting new constitutions that institutionalized coercion and political subjugation in Britain's former colonial states. In the final accounting, repressive laws and undemocratic institutions, not peace and progress, are the primary bequest of the British to their onetime empire."

Elkins ignores two key aspects in this overview. One, the US incorporated pseudo-gang counter-insurgency tactics domestically long before Dubya Bush, Cheney and Rumsfeld began applying them in Iraq. They were a key part of COINTELPRO operations against the Black Panther Party and Black power movement, and allied liberation movements among Chican@s, Puerto Rican, Native Americans, AAPI people and Euro-American left elements in the student, labor, women's and antiwar movements, along with infiltration, assassination, and state violence. Two, the incorporation of police state powers into the newly-created independent states was a conscious effort necessitated by neo-colonialism and the use of comprador elements of the local bourgeoisie and elites to suppress, exploit and police their own people in the interests of imperialism after formal independence. We continue to see corrupted and incomplete manifestations of this in situations like the so-called Palestinian Authority carrying out repression of Palestinians on behalf of Israel. Unfortunately, as the neo-fascist, white Christian nationalist right continues to pursue this strategy of lowintensity civil war, aiding and abetting elements within the state apparatus at a federal, state and local level that are applying state violence and domestic counter-insurgency psychological operations, left forces are well behind the curve, mostly focusing on electoral activities and legislative lobbying, rather than organizing communities directly for self-defense, survival under the catastrophic conditions of climate disruption, or countervailing actions that can disrupt and disorient the present and potential base of the racist right, or win over disaffected elements within the system's military apparatus.

What is the social climate within which the pseudorevolutionary right is pursuing its low intensity civil war strategy. There are clues in a recent public opinion survey [See https://www.prri.org/press-release/ competing-visions-of-america-an-evolving-identityor-a-culture-under-attack/].

PRRI's comprehensive 12th annual American Values Survey, released in partnership with the Brookings Institution, examines the widening partisan fault lines around questions of US identity, the belief

that the election was stolen from Donald Trump, and beliefs that political violence might be necessary to fix the problems in America, a continuation of the far-right ideologies that contributed to the January 6 attack at the U.S. Capitol. They report significant support for an antidemocratic approach and for the use of violence: "More than two-thirds of Republicans (68%), compared to 26% of independents and 6% of Democrats, continue to believe that the 2020 presidential election was stolen from Donald Trump. Belief in this false claim is significantly higher among Republicans who most trust Fox News (82%) and essentially universal among those who most trust far-right news sources such as One America News (OAN) and Newsmax (97%). White evangelical Protestants (60%) are the only religious group among whom a majority believe the election was stolen from Trump.

By their figures, 20 million or more people in the US, mostly on the right, are inclined to entertain the use of violence. "Republicans (30%) are approximately three times as likely as Democrats (11%) to agree with the statement, "Because things have gotten so far off track, true American patriots may have to resort to violence in order to save our country." Agreement with this statement rises to 40% among Republicans who most trust farright news sources. ... [Those] who believe that the 2020 election was stolen from Trump are about four times as likely as those who do not believe this falsehood to agree that true American patriots might have to resort to violence to save the country (39% vs. 10%)."

Barbara Walter in her recent book, "How Civil Wars Start and How to Stop Them" argues that civil wars become likelier as populations divide by identity rather than ideology. But in the US, identity and ideology often track very closely. In the PRRI survey:

• Eight in ten Republicans (80%) agree that America is in danger of losing its culture and identity, compared to one-third of Democrats (33%)—a nearly 50-percentage-point difference.

• About eight in ten Republicans (79%), compared to 37% of Democrats, believe the American way of life needs to be protected from foreign influence.

• Republicans are nearly twice as likely as Democrats (70% vs. 36%) to say American culture and way of life have changed for the worse since the 1950s.

• Republicans (63%) are notably more likely than independents (37%) and Democrats (35%) to say being Christian is important to being truly American.

• A majority of Republicans (56%) agree that things have changed so much that they feel like a stranger in their own country, compared to only 31% of Democrats and 39% of independents. And 78% of Republicans who most trust far-right news outlets agree with that sentiment.

The left needs to engage with a firmly anti-capitalist anti-imperialist politics to begin to make a dent in those figures. Such elements cannot be won over by an appeal to reason or good nature or exhortations to support liberalism. We need an anti-authoritarian, antielitist approach to answering questions of COVID health and safety, workplace and economic security, climate preparedness and mitigation, suicidal drug dependency and addiction, and a host of other issues. And we need to face the reality that we will still have to face off with a consolidated reactionary and fascistic element of white society, along with the armed power of the state. If there are large reactionary forces in every Latin American country with significant electoral weight that uphold prior military dictatorships as saviors of the nation, it is guaranteed that in the heartland of the world bastion of white supremacy and reaction that a large section of the population will hold similar views. We need to think long and hard about how to neutralize or defeat them.

movements and defeat a protracted people's war of the kind used effectively by the Chinese and Vietnamese communist movements.

Caroline Elkins described the nature of "pseudogangs" as a key element of the British Empire's counterinsurgency efforts, based on a strategy of low intensity warfare against decolonizing attempts and movements for national liberation in a 2005 article in The Atlantic: https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2005/07/ the-wrong-lesson/304052/ based on a model developed in Asia and Africa and applied in Ireland by Frank Kitson, a major UK military theoretician and practitioner. She wrote:

"Kitson's pseudo-gangs were a key element of the "lowintensity operations" that were deployed throughout the British Empire in the waning days of colonial rule. Starting in the early 1950s, Kitson spent three decades moving

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Containment on Steroids: PENTAGON'S 2022 BUDGET SEEKS CHINA'S ENCIRCLEMENT

Analysis by Michael Klare, December 31, 2021 https://www.saneuschinapolicy.org/blog/containment-onsteroids-pentagons-2022-budget-seeks-chinas-encirclement

On December 27, President Biden signed into law the National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) for Fiscal Year 2022, allotting \$740 billion to the Department of Defense (DoD) for military procurement and operations over the coming year and setting key policy objectives. As in past years, much of the funding authorized by the NDAA will go towards fuel, ammunition, and the salaries of military personnel, but this year, more than ever before, there is a conspicuous focus on preparing U.S. and allied forces for a possible war with China.

This focus on China was first underscored in the Department of Defense Budget Request for FY 2022, sent to Congress last May. "China poses the greatest long-term challenge to the United States," the request states. "Accordingly, DoD will prioritize China and its military modernization as our pacing challenge." To meet that challenge, and provide for other military essentials, the Pentagon request called for projected expenditures of \$715 billion in FY 2022.

But even the \$715 billion in the administration's original DoD budget request was not deemed sufficient for a majority of Democrats and Republicans in Congress, who added another \$24 billion to the FY 2022 authorization in order to further bolster U.S. forces aimed at China.

"The additional funding we secured... helps the United States remain the world's leading military power," said Rep. Rob Wittman (R-Va.), a member of the House Armed Services Committee. "Through this strength, the United States will be able to project force and deter conflict as we work to...check China's malign influence."

Most of this additional funding will be used to acquire more ships and planes to buttress U.S. forces assigned to the Indo-Pacific region and for programs intended to strengthen military ties with U.S. allies located there. Among other items, the \$24 billion add-on will enable the Navy to procure a third guided-missile destroyer this year and for the Air Force to receive another six F-35 stealth fighters. Some of the additional funds will also be used to invigorate the Pacific Deterrence Initiative (PDI), a slew of activities aimed at bolstering U.S. military ties with its allies in the Indo-Pacific region and tighten the military noose surrounding China.

The PDI was established by the NDAA for FY 2021, and its stated goal is to "modernize and strengthen the presence of the United States Armed Forces" and to "build the defense and security capabilities, capacity, and cooperation of allies and partners" in the Indo-Pacific region. A total of \$2.2 billion was allocated for this purpose in the FY 2021 NDAA.

For FY 2022, the Biden administration bumped the PDI budget request to \$5.1 billion and Congress an additional \$2 billion on top of that, bringing the total FY 2022 PDI authorization to \$7.1 billion. Some of this will be used to acquire advanced military hardware intended for possible combat with China, including hypersonic missiles and a variety of unmanned surface and subsea vessels. In their Joint Explanatory Statement on the FY22 NDAA, leaders of the House and Senate Armed Services Committees also directed the Department of Defense to devote more funds to vital non-munitions items, such as fuel to increase the day-to-day presence of U.S. military forces in the Indo-Pacific region.

Aside from the Pacific Deterrence Initiative, the FY 2022 NDAA is saturated with other measures aimed at bolstering the network of alliances aimed at containing



When recognizing the PRC as China's legitimate government in 1979, the United States agreed to terminate its diplomatic relations and defense ties with Taiwan, and to withdraw all U.S. military forces from the island. At that time, Washington also acknowledged Beijing's position that "there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China." Three years later, under the "Arms Sale Communiqué" of Aug. 17, 1982, Washington further affirmed "that it does not seek to carry out a long-term policy of arms sales to Taiwan, that its arms sales to Taiwan will not exceed, either in qualitative or in quantitative terms, the level of those supplied in recent years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China, and that it intends to reduce gradually its sales of arms to Taiwan."

Despite these pledges, U.S. officials have never been fully reconciled to the terms of the 1979 recognition agreement or the 1982 Arms Sale Communiqué. In accordance with the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) of 1979, the U.S. maintains quasi-official relations with Taiwan and provides its military with a wide variety of military hardware.

In recent years, and especially during the Trump administration, top officials have questioned the legitimacy of the "one China" policy and stepped up arms sales and diplomatic outreach to Taiwan. Increasingly, the island is being viewed by senior officials not as "part of China" but rather as an autonomous entity whose participation in the U.S.-led alliance system encircling China is deemed essential to American security – a view articulated by Ely Ratner, Assistant Secretary for Indo-Pacific Security Affairs, in testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee in December. "Taiwan," he asserted, "is located at a critical node within the first island chain [stretching from Japan to the Philippines], anchoring a network of U.S. allies and partners that is critical to the region's security and critical to the defense of vital U.S.

interests in the Indo-Pacific."

This outlook appears to have largely governed the NDAA's stance on Taiwan. Section 1246, "Sense of Congress on Taiwan Defense Relations," essentially claims that previous restraints on U.S. military ties with Taiwan can now be ignored given the PRC's "increasingly coercive and aggressive behavior" toward the island. In contrast to the terms of 1982 Arms Trade Communiqué, it calls for the sale of increasingly sophisticated weapons to Taiwan. It also calls for joint military exercises between U.S. and Taiwanese forces, increased consultation between senior U.S. and Taiwanese military officials, and enhanced linkages ("interoperability") between U.S. and Taiwanese maritime surveillance and air-defense systems.

Following on this, Section 1248 calls on the Secretary of Defense to conduct a study of Taiwan's vulnerabilities to possible Chinese attack and to identify ways in which the U.S. can assist Taiwan in overcoming those vulnerabilities, including by providing advanced arms-making technology and through the sharing of intelligence data. Yet another measure, Section 1249, calls for a briefing on possible cooperation between the U.S. and Taiwanese National Guards.

Finally, Section 6511 directs the president to compose a "grand strategy with respect to China" and submit it to Congress in approximately ten months. Among other things, the "China Strategy," as it is termed, is to include a comprehensive assessment of Chinese military, economic, political, and military challenges to U.S. global interests and the corresponding U.S. capabilities needed "to implement the national security strategy of the United States as they relate to the new era of competition with the People's Republic of China."

From China's perspective, all this must represent a coherent and highly threatening blueprint to ensure permanent U.S. military superiority and to surround China with an impenetrable chain of hostile powers – an assessment that can only lead to greater suspicion and paranoia in Beijing while fueling a relentless and increasingly dangerous arms race.

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China's rise in Asia and buttressing U.S. military ties with Taiwan.

Section 1252 of the NDAA, "Sense of Congress on Defense Alliances and Partnerships in the Indo-Pacific Region," constitutes a blueprint for a U.S.-led system of military alliances surrounding China and dedicated to its military confinement. It states that the Pentagon leadership should "strengthen United States defense alliances and partnerships in the Indo-Pacific region so as to further the comparative advantage of the United States in strategic competition with the People's Republic of China."

Such efforts should include, among other things: enhancing U.S. military cooperation with Australia, Japan, and South Korea; "broadening the engagement of the United States with India, including through the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue"; developing increased military ties with Singapore, Thailand, and the Philippines; and "strengthening the United States partnership with Taiwan."

Many other provisions of the NDAA, including the PDI, provide the funding for measures aimed at enhancing U.S. ties with traditional allies, such as Australia, Japan, and South Korea. But Taiwan represents a special case, in that it is not, formally, a military ally of the United States. [] \$20 a year individual [] \$30 institution/international [] \$50 sustainer payable only to Anti-Racist Action

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NO DARKNESS HERE: LETTER TO THE MOVEMENT

by Julia Wright

We leave the old year to move into the new year with many battles won, more than we think.

We had thought 2021 would be a year of much darkness because of so many commemorations of Black Loss from Tulsa to the half centennial of the assassination of George Jackson, from Attica to the half centennial of the discovery of the first COINTELPRO documents in Media, PA, files that remain redacted to this day.

But we can enter 2022 with the knowledge that we are not going gentle into the "good night" that white supremacy has in store for us, and that our gains will leave positive traces in the new narrative we are weaving to oppose the PIC myth that is unraveling our lives.

Our battles won?

At the New Year we will pour libation to them. You tell me. Let's create a list. My list is not exhaustive. The browning of the census - certainly.

Derek Chauvin is forced to plead guilty and Ahmaud Arbery's lynchers are sentenced - certainly. Parole granted to David Gilbert after half a century of prison, yes.

The US government being indicted by the Spirit of Mandela Tribunal of Genocide against black, brown and indigenous peoples according to the UN 1948

convention - a leap forward. Russell "Maroon" Shoatz's medical release enabling

him thanks to fierce 24/7 abolitionist protests to spend the last month of his terminal cancer in the arms of his loved ones with access to hospice care - is historic. Yes, Maroon's release is more than a battle won, it is a victory, and I will return to it.

Within the Mumia coalition a Mumia Health Committee has been set up and seeks outreach with all political prisoners' committees. And a sub-committee of the Health Committee called the Released Elders Council is preparing a first Released Elders teach-in. The concept being opposite to the Bermuda triangle where ships sink - we will not let the lives of our prisoners sink within the liberation triangle represented by our released elders, our prisoners and us. The perfect synergy between those three powerful points will bring about more and more releases.

I thank the Mumia Health Committee and the Released Elders subcommittee for their patience and energy - we will get there. See y'all in the New Year.

And our victories are also Pan African and Latin American.

Let us give a thought to the youth of Burkina Faso in Africa who are at last seeing the murderers of their black Che Guevara, Thomas Sankara, being brought to justice. And even though it is a mockery of justice because France's complicity is remaining protected by non-disclosure of key secret service records, the neo-colonial forces who enabled Sankara's murder are squirming.

Let us also give a thought to the landmark initiative by the International Movement for Reparations to launch a legal appeal for Reparations for all Afro-descendants. Radical lawyers from Africa, Europe and the Caribbean will resume litigation mid-January at the French Appeals Tribunal in Fort de France, Martinique, based on the famous Taubira law voted in 2001 by the French parliament recognizing slavery and the slave trade as crimes against humanity.

Let us hail the recent victories in Honduras and Chile and may they have a domino effect.

And recently, thousands of nurses' trade unions worldwide presented an indictment to the UN to challenge the wealthy nations of the West, referred to as COVID War Criminals for denying vaccine equity to the parts of the world they inhumanely underdeveloped.

Not to forget the UNHCR's strong press release on April 20, 2021, condemning the use of four point restraints on a hospitalized Mumia and against all incarcerated prisoners citing the UN Nelson Mandela Rules in particular.

Now these battles have not been won perfectly - by

So the question is as we move into the new year: How do we turn our shortcomings, our flawed attempts, into final victories without claiming "any easy victories" as Cabral would say ?

More and more of us have been discussing this.

Ever since I was honored to attend the funeral of Kwame Nkrumah in Guinea in July 1972 and listened to Amilcar Cabral pronounce his now iconic speech: "The cancer of Betrayal", this question of political cancer suffered by our movements has been on my mind. Cabral said essentially in this read-to speech that Nkrumah did not die of the biological cancer he was diagnosed with, but of the "cancer of betrayal". Cabral was referring here to the coup d'etat that toppled socialist Nkrumah and the liberation movements he gave asylum to - a coup led by the African bourgeoisie in alliance with our CIA.

Cabral identified four carcinogenic political factors :

1) Do we have a healthy definition of the people?

2) How do we handle the class struggle?

3) How do we choose those we surround ourselves with as we go forward?

4) What is the role of arms/weapons in our struggle?

As we think these focal questions over - here are some half-baked thoughts.

What is the weapon our adversaries cannot seize from us? What is the weapon that unlike guns cannot backshoot or contaminate us with its darkness?

What is the weapon that unlike white supremacy's hatred and narcissism cannot be self-destructive or implode if we use it? What is the weapon that if we use it against our adversaries will not also kill us?

What is the weapon that if we touch it will not give us the cancer of betrayal? What is the weapon that will help change the world where our freed prisoners will live?

I put the question to young Mike Africa a few days ago, just before we learned that Maroon had passed.

His immediate reply was two words: Revolutionary Love.

Sincere thanks to our young leadership for teaching us.

However, with humility, as far as I am concerned, leading with Revolutionary Love is easier said than done. What about my negative emotions? As an elder now, I

grumpy, and impatient.



As Thich Nhat Hanh says in a conversation with Bell Hooks in 2000:

By taking a look at your anger it can be transformed into the kind of energy that you need - understanding and compassion. It is with negative energy that you can make positive energy. A flower, although beautiful, will become compost someday, but if you know how to transform the compost back into the flower, then you don't have to worry

Here again I find working on the international front a source of political and poetic inspiration.

Madly, the mother of Keziah the Martiniquean youth who was tortured for having protested against the use of the carcinogenic insecticide Chlordecone, says that she loves the thought of a "Mumia Abu-Jamal Way" in Philly because Mumia has shown the way to so many. In the Basque country, the attempt to rename a bridge after Mumia reminds me of the Mumia I know, the Mumia who always let me know that I must build bridges to other political prisoners: "OK, Julia, so go and say hello to Maroon now".

But also, Yuri Kochiyama's love of Thich Nhat Hanh:

The enemy is not a person

If you kill people with whom will you live? (...) The enemy is not in the stranger It lies inside each of us

And so back full circle to the Spirit of Maroon.

I would say that his medical release was more than just a battle won but a victory. Because a zoomed video shown to a hostile judge confronted her with his mortality and his loving humanity, she ruled in his favor. This video, although invisible to us for legal reasons, gave me the spark for the Council of Released Elders: the power and eloquence of the oral testimony of our elders who, having returned from Hell, can speak truth not only to the power of the PIC but to the world.

The other spark was Mumia's dream to open a school when he is released and to teach Freedom.

Because a hostile Judge was faced with Maroon's radical lawyers, the PADOC 's cruel and inhumane contradictions (i.e." we can't and we don't want to ") were exposed to the world.

The spiritual, revolutionary love of the Maroon Liberation Party remains an example for the release of all political prisoners.

As a result, not only did Maroon die in true maroonity an ultimate escape from his capturers - but those who freed him will now protect and serve the living body of his

that I mean that we would have preferred not to have been compelled to wage them in the first place. Real justice would be George Floyd alive, Daunte Wright alive, Ahmaud Arbery alive, Walter Wallace Jr. alive.

Real justice would be Mumia free, Mutulu free, Sundiata free, Assata back home, all the others free - and no arrests in the first place.

Real justice would be that the lie that had the child Emmett Till lynched - be uncovered at last and impunity cease

During the Kyle Rittenhouse trial, there was a cover-up of real evidence of collaboration between the police and the white militia during the Kenosha events - no justice there

Mumia's boxes of exculpatory evidence are still moldering after 36 years in the prosecutor's office - why not free Mumia?

As Vijay Prajad and others analyze, it is leftwing electoral and political gains that challenge the far right into consolidation and into uniting across borders to form a world alliance with the help of corporate U.S. liberalism.

Our advances remain imperfect, incomplete, immunocompromised by the virus of white supremacy.

I am tired, beyond angry, full of the very anger and depression that are an integral part of too much mourning for too long. I wake up every day looking for ways to deal with the culture of hatred and death we are taught and fed. What Dr DeGruy calls my Post Slave Traumatic Stress.

So going into the New Year, my resolution, my first series of exercises, of spiritual pushups, will be to find ways and antidotes to turn all those negatives into love.

Ways to transform the black rage, paradigms of hatred and inter-movement strife into positives.

written and inter-generational legacy.

None of this can be reconquered.

And as Assata says, if "Revolutionary Love is the acid that eats away bars", it will not eat up our cells and it is the best antidote against the cancer of betraval.

Lovin' y'all, Stay safe,

See you in 2022,

Mama Julia

You can reach the Maroon Party for Liberation, mentioned in this piece at maroonpartyforliberation@gmail.com

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

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Houston Antifascists Disrupt Neo-Nazi Event

On the morning of Saturday, December 18, about a dozen members of the neo-Nazi White Lives Matter group came out to demonstrate against the Anti-Defamation League at its building in Houston. Their appearance was the latest in a series of anti-Semitic incidents across the state in recent months. In San Antonio, this group distributed anti-Semitic flyers and protested outside a Holocaust Remembrance Day event at the Jewish Community Center. In Austin, neo-Nazis painted swastikas and racist slurs on a high school building, held a banner reading "Vax the



Jews" on an overpass, and distributed anti-Semitic flyers on the streets downtown.

On October 31, neo-Nazis demonstrated outside the Chabad of Uptown synagogue in Houston and harassed passers-by. That evening a hate-filled former member of the Texas State Guard set fire to Congregation Beth Israel Synagogue in the state capital. In November and early December, flyers blaming Jewish people for the COVID-19 pandemic and containing other anti-Semitic statements were left at the homes of residents in Hays County, Harris County, and Fort Bend County.



Diverse community organizations, faith leaders, and elected officials have expressed support for the Jewish community, and a November solidarity demonstration in Austin drew hundreds of participants. Regrettably, that has not deterred the increasingly brazen neo-Nazis across the state, and the appearance of the White Lives Matter group at the ADL building in Houston on December 18 was hardly surprising. Unfortunately for them, more than twenty-five antifascists knew they were coming, had assembled at the site early, and were ready when about half as many Nazis showed up.

Although they reject the ADL's Zionism, anti-Palestinian positions, and cooperation with law enforcement, the counterdemonstrators recognized the need to disrupt the planned White Lives Matter rally and deny them a platform to spread their hate. A brief physical skirmish left some of their racist signs in pieces but no physical injuries were sustained. Houston Police Department officers soon showed up to separate the groups and, to the disappointment of the antifascists, defend the neo-Nazis' First Amendment rights.

For the next forty-five minutes or so, counterdemonstrators energetically chanted against the fascists and drowned out their racist rants. This task was made easier because the antifascists had brought a bullhorn and their adversaries had not. The antifascists' signs informed people driving by the site what all the ruckus was about, and it was heartening that people in cars honked their horns and made heart signs to show support for the counterdemonstration. At the same time, tensions remained high.

It was disgusting to see one White Lives Matter member wearing a small metal swastika around his neck and a baseball cap with the two lightning bolts worn by the Schutzstaffel (SS) of Nazi Germany. At one point while antifascists were shouting "Nazis out!", he raised his shirt, turned around, and displayed a large swastika tattooed on his back. Then he shouted, "Yes, I am a god damn Nazi!"

The White Lives Matter group grew increasingly frustrated because of the loud, spirited opposition to their message, and shortly after it began to rain, they left the area. The antifascists remained for some time despite the worsening storm and then made sure that participants returned safely to their cars.

The protest against the neo-Nazis was a big success for several reasons. The action had been called and organized in less than twenty-four hours yet still drew twice as many people as the White Lives Matter group. The counterdemonstration disrupted their event and denied them a platform for propagating their hate. The diversity of participants was impressive, and local left and progressive organizations showed that they can work together to confront the growing threat of fascism in this country.

Counterdemonstrators also displayed the willingness and ability to defend themselves against the neo-Nazis' violence. Although local media outlets did not cover the event or report on it afterward, democratic-minded activists are learning about it through social media and word of mouth. The success of the counterdemonstration points to the potential of the antifascist movement in Greater Houston and throughout the United States.

Special report for TTT by a Texas antifascist, December 2021 (arrived too late for special December 5th issue.)

COVID Rampant in CA Juvenile "Justice" Prisons; Newsom Nixes Releasing Kids to their Families

By David M. Greenwald, Executive Editor Davis Vanguard

https://www.davisvanguard.org/2022/01/covid-runs-rampant-at-djj-even-as-governor-newsom-will-not-let-the-kids-return-to-their-family/

COVID has already devastated California's prisons at times, but the new wave has also reached DJJ (the Division of Juvenile Justice). According to sources, more than onethird of those incarcerated at the DJJ facilities have tested positive since November—and with testing lagging, that is almost certainly a low number. One mother who asked to remain anonymous told the Davis Vanguard, "It's really hard. That's my son. My job as a mother is to protect him and make sure he's safe. My hands are tied."

According to Nancy Juarez, Communications and Policy Analyst for the Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice, DJJ is in the midst of a massive COVID-19 outbreak, likely fueled by the Omicron variant. On January 11, there were more than 145 active infections and a total of 238 youths have tested positive. "That's more than 1 in 3 youth in the facilities," she said. "Youth at DJJ are highly susceptible to COVID-19 given its tightly packed and poorly ventilated living units. Since the weekend, we've seen a huge spike in cases with more than 100 youth testing positive."

"The outbreak began around mid-November," said Police Manager Maureen Washburn of CJCJ in an interview on Friday. "But, it's accelerated tremendously just in the last three or four days." The result, youth at DJJ 'have been living in highly restrictive conditions since mid-November. This has limited their access to school and programming, and it takes a toll on their mental health. Youth in some units are spending as much as 23 hours straight in their cells." Washburn expressed grave concern with "the extent to which youth are being locked down, experiencing long periods of isolation in their cells, they're in their living units without programming or education. That's another area of concern for us." She called this "a really unprecedented crisis for the system." Staff are likely the source of the outbreak she thinks. Only 69 percent of staff are vaccinated. Moreover, "Prior to the outbreak, staff routinely broke protocol by not wearing masks and not submitting to regular testing." In terms of the incarcerated population, Washburn stated that "they don't release that data. That's one of many pieces of information we wish we had. That isn't made publicly available." She added, "We did hear that the numbers are low, potentially significantly lower than the state average."



DJJ "dorms" are open, crowded and poorly ventilated. a highly dangerous mix for contagion.

game with DJJ when this information is crucial, and far as, like, the youth go." With staffing shortages now, Juarez noted, "with the staff shortages that we're seeing, it seems like the protocol is just to bring all the kids in, into one space or these closed spaces. And that goes against CDC's recommendation, completely against it."

she believes that the treatment is making things worse for her son and the other youth in custody at DJJ. "There's a lot of fights," she said. "I've video chatted with my son and his face was all bruised up. Somebody hit him in the face with a sock of dominoes." She said, "I was trying to hold back the tears because you know, that's my baby.' The fighting, she believes, is getting worse because of the COVID situation. "It seems like it," she said. "The kids are on edge. They're locked down most of the time, so they have nothing to do, but just build that tension." DJJ is slated to be shut down in a few years. CJCJ expressed serious concerns about staffing shortages at DJJ. "An out-of-control COVID outbreak only makes it even harder to staff living units and keep youth safe. Recently, we've learned that some facilities are consolidating youth into larger units rather than spreading them out, possibly due to staff shortages. There are at least 55 staff out of work due to a positive COVID test," they told the Vanguard. "Along with long periods of isolation, youth are just not receiving the care that they even promised at DJJ. With the staff shortages, how can they uphold that care when we're, they're lacking staff and the governor refuses to, to let children go home to their families early, and they're not able to provide the care that they've promised."

Juarez also noted, "Along with not reporting youth vaccination data, they're not reporting where the outbreaks are occurring and that's a problem. Like it's a guessing

Washburn noted that issues like cleanliness, masking, and medical access have been a big issue at DJJ. "There have been periods in the pandemic where mask availability was an issue," she said. "That's doesn't sound like the number one issue right now. I'd say a big concern is around staff behavior, especially leading right up to this latest outbreak." She mentioned staff having masks but not wearing them or pulling them down, even when they're around young people.

Washburn said "one of those things is that they're not they're being placed in cells that aren't being cleaned regularly. So they'll turn over from one youth to the next, not clean them out." This was a problem for the mother who spoke with the Vanguard. Her son is type I diabetic, they took him to medical and one of the other kids tested positive for COVID, they pulled him out of the room. "They put my son in that room without sanitizing it," she said. "They didn't clean it. They just took the kid with COVID out and they put my son in their for like an hour and half." She said, "It was like they were intentionally trying to give him COVID." Since diagnosis, "They've been keeping them on lockdown."

She acknowledges his son is no angel. Three years ago at the age of 16, he was convicted of armed robbery. But David Greenwald is the founder, editor, and executive director of the Davis Vanguard. He founded the Vanguard in 2006. David Greenwald moved to Davis in 1996 to attend Graduate School at UC Davis in Political Science. He lives in South Davis with his wife Cecilia Escamilla

CALL OUT IN SUPPORT OF INDIGENOUS PRISONER RIGHTS AT USP VICTORVILLE

Stand with Indigenous prisoners at USP Victorville! Tell BOP prison officials and staff to respect Native religious rights and practices!

On behalf of all Native and Indigenous prisoners held at USP Victorville, we call on prison officials and staff to cease and desist from violating the religious rights of Native and Indigenous prisoners being held at USP Victorville.

On or around December 25, prison staff purposefully destroyed the sacred sweat lodge at USP Victorville, also removing medicine bags and other materials from Indigenous prisoners. These actions are violations of religious rights of those held at USP Victorville. Furthermore, prison staff have withheld BP-8 forms from said prisoners, preventing them from filing a formal complaint about these blatant religious rights violations.

As Indigenous prisoners at USP Victorville are denied to even raise their legitimate grievances within the prison system, along with the continued denial of basic religious rights, and the destruction of their sweat lodge, we are urgently requesting emails and phone calls to BOP prison officials in order to rectify these gross violations of prisoners' rights.

Immediate Demands:

1) Immediately provide proper materials so that the prisoners themselves can rebuild the sweat lodge destroyed by prison officials. The energy involved in the process of rebuilding has significance for Indigenous religious purposes, so the work should and must be done by them.

2) Ensure prison staff are properly trained on what they can and cannot do in regards to Native/ Indigenous religious ceremonies

3) That prisoners be given immediate access to BP-8 forms so they can file a formal complaint. Write to or call:

USP Victorville, P.O. Box 5400 Adelanto, CA 92301

General email: VIM-ExecAssistant-S@bop.gov General phone: 760-530-5000 Warden Gutierrez – mgutierrez@bop.gov Assistant Warden Martinez – fmartinez@bop.gov Chaplain Michael Northway–mnorthway@bop.gov Chaplain Doran Kelvington (accommodating to Christians and Jews, but not to Natives or Muslims) – dkelvington@bop.gov Melissa Rios RO Western Regional Office 7338 shoreline Drive Stockton, CA 95219 WXRO-ExecAssistant@bop.gov Phone: 209-956-9700

Defend the Atlanta Forest

https://defendtheatlantaforest.com/ linktr.ee/defendatlantaforest

Atlanta is a city in a forest. We have the highest percentage of tree canopy of any major metropolitan area in America. Our canopy is the main factor in ensuring Atlanta's resiliency in the face of climate change. The forest in Southeast Atlanta is home to wetlands that filter rainwater and prevent flooding. It is also one of the last breeding grounds for many amphibians in the region, as well as an important migration site for wading birds. The history of this particular land is deeply scarred. In the 1800s, shortly after the land was stolen from Muscogee Creek peoples, it was used as a plantation. In the early 1900s, a prison farm was opened where inmates were forced to perform unpaid agricultural labor, marking the rebranding of slavery into for profit prison labor. The Atlanta Police Department currently uses this hallowed ground as a firing range. This forest is at risk of destruction as the police and Hollywood make plans to pave over Atlanta's largest remaining green space. The Atlanta Police Department seeks to turn 300 acres of forest into a tactical training compound featuring a mock city. This project was recently announced to the shock of community members who had been given no opportunity to weigh in on the proposal. The entire process has been shadier than the forest itself. Intrenchment Creek is an existing public park adjacent to the Prison Farm. Dekalb County seeks to swap this land with Blackhall Studios, a major film production



Michael Carvajal BOP Director Federal Bureau of Prisons 320 First St., NW Washington, DC 20534 mcarvajal@bop.govDraft letter: Dear _____,

It has come to my attention that Indigenous prisoners at USP Victorville are being denied their religious rights, and that their sacred sweat lodge was demolished by prison staff. On top of these gross violations, prisoners are being prevented from accessing BP-8 forms which would allow them to file a formal complaint.

Seeing as all their modes of regress have been denied, I am asking you to please do your job and ensure that those held captive at your facility are provided the religious tools and basic rights for which they are entitled. I ask you to immediately grant these three demands and enable Native prisoners held within your facility to practice their religious rights.

1) Immediately provide proper materials so that the prisoners themselves can rebuild the sweat lodge destroyed by prison officials. The energy involved in the process of rebuilding has significance for Indigenous religious purposes, so the work should and must be done by them.

2) Ensure prison staff are properly trained on what they can and cannot do in regards to Native/Indigenous religious ceremonies

 That prisoners be given immediate access to BP-8 forms so they can file a formal complaint.
Sincerely,

no cop city. no hollywood dystopia.



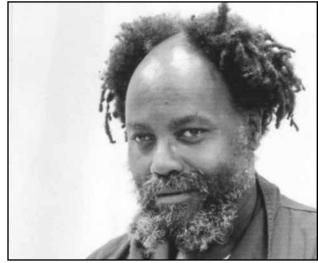
company. Blackhall wants to clear cut 170 acres of forest to develop into an airport and erect the largest sound stage in America. This project would cement Atlanta as the new Hollywood, making the cost of living in our city outrageous.

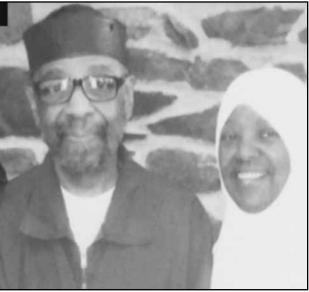
We refuse to let our forest be bulldozed in favor of the police and sold out to Hollywood. There are many forms of action and advocacy to be taken. This is a broad, decentralized, autonomous movement. Get involved in whatever ways move you. Take a walk in the forest with your friends. https://atlpresscollective.com/2021/08/14/history-of-theatlanta-city-prison-farm/ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OD60MH2LniA To Defend the Atlanta Forest follow: Instagram:@defendatlantaforest Twitter: @DefendATLForest Telegram: t.me/DefendtheForestATL Facebook: fb.com/DefendAtlantaForest Email: defendatlforest (at) protonmail (dot) com #StopCopCity © 2021 Defend the Atlanta Forest

Russell Maroon Shoatz: Presente!

He was born Russell Shoatz of Philadelphia in 1943. A pivotal event occurred when he was a young child that marked the years of his life and sent him on a trajectory that cost him most of his life lived in a state prison cell. He was just five years old when he and his father were looking out the window of the family's home in West Philadelphia when they witnessed several cops beating a black man on the street.

In a 2017 interview with the San Francisco Bay View newspaper, Shoatz recounts the following: once the cops got the black guy in their car, one of them turned and blurted, "Any of you other niggers want some of this?" And I saw our neighbors begin to shut their doors and withdraw from their windows while my father took my hand and pulled me away





Russell Maroon Shoatz freed from captivity to be with his sister, children and family. from our window as well. Right then, at the age of five, I determined that what had occurred was wrong.

From that age of five, Shoatz tells us until his midthirties, he felt a deep sense of humiliation and rage. These feelings compelled him to help organize the Black Unity Council and later led him to the Black Panther Party and finally the Black Liberation Army, the BLA. And those relationships led him to conflicts with the state, armed conflicts that led him to decades in prison doing several life terms and long years in the hole. 1977 would prove a turning point, for that was when Shoatz and for others broke out of Huntington State Prison and Central Pennsylvania. One of the men got trapped before he could escape, another got killed on a mountain side, and two others were caught by nightfall. Maroon, however, wasn't one of them. He stayed free for about a month before recapture, and he was beaten brutally once they found him. He expected nothing less, but the experience transformed him.

Before his escape, he was known as harun, an Arabic name meaning Aaron, the brother of Moses. Afterwards, he took the name Maroon for the African slaves who rebelled and ran away from bondage into the hills and swamps of the American. He found out something else: that humiliation, that incessant rage that rang from his youth, had passed like a summer storm. He was Maroon, one who escaped the bondage of prison.

He spent 49 years in prison and was a brilliant teacher to generations of younger black men. He was a serious student of history. And after released for medical reasons on October 2021, he lived for 52 days in freedom with his sister, his children, and the rest of his family before he returned to his ancestors. He was Maroon, free at last again.

This is Mumia Abu-Jamal, saying love, not fear. These commentaries are recorded by Prison Radio.

35th Anniversary Celebration for ARA-LA/PART, editor's 75th birthday

People Against Racist Terror/Anti-Racist Action-Los Angeles was launched in 1987, following the departure from L.A. of most of the people who had been in the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee here. Michael Novick, a former member of JBAKC had continued doing intel gathering on local neo-nazis and other organized white supremacists in southern California, and caught wind of a planned So Cal visit by J. B. Stoner, one of the Birmingham church bombers during the KKK reign of terror in that city during the civil rights era. Although Stoner was not convicted of the bombing that killed four little girls, it was clear that there had to be a response and condemnation of such a racist terrorist, especially as he was seeking, despite his own advanced years, to recruit from the nascent nazi bonehead movement springing up at that time in the L.A. area and elsewhere. So, taking the name People Against Racist Terror (PART), Novick and others got more information and called a counter-demonstration for the venues in Glendale where Stoner was planning to speak. This year, 2022, marks the 35th anniversary of that launch, and PART is still around, as the subtitle of Anti-Racist Action-Los Angeles. The slogan, Be PART of the solution, still applies.

For many years, ARA-LA/PART has held two fundraising events a year, typically one in February and one in the fall. The pandemic has made it impossible to hold in-person events the last couple of years, but we have decided to do an event on-line instead – it's free to participate, but we are asking people to donate to Anti-Racist Action to help keep its newspaper, Turning The Tide (now subtitled "Journal of Inter-communal Solidarity" to put a more positive spin on what ARA-LA/PART stands FOR, rather than what it's against: pro-solidarity, pro-liberation, pro-self-determination, not just against racism, colonialism, sexism, and capitalism). This February, as it happens, also marks the 75th birthday of founder Michael Novick, so we are inviting you to join us to celebrate!



The event will take place on Sunday, February 13, from 4:00-7:00 PM via zoom. Obviously, we won't be having refreshments or birthday cake to share, as we have done on prior occasions, or a meal for everyone with Omicron still raging at this moment as we plan, it "wouldn't be prudent", as they used to say on Saturday Night Live. But you are of course able to make yourself a bite to eat or lift a glass of good cheer as we commune over the internet or phone. Lydia Ponce of the American Indian Movement and Idle No More will be with us to do a land-back acknowledgment. Matt Sedillo, a former slam poetry champion who is now a world -renowned, published and academically-recognized "poet laureate for the movement" will be sharing some of his powerful work, including from his newest book. Michael Novick will probably share a few poems and thoughts himself, and there will likely be a few other surprises.

Join Zoom Meeting: https://us02web.zoom.us/j/89688343 629?pwd=dTZPL1BjY3Qza2xncy90TkcvMVljUT09

Meeting ID: 896 8834 3629 Passcode: 820170 One tap mobile +16699006833,,89688343629#,,,,*820170# US (San Jose) +13462487799,,89688343629#,,,,*820170# US (Houston)

Here's the zoom information; we hope you will be joining us!

Time: Feb 13, 2022 04:00 PM Pacific Time (US and Canada)

Dial by your location +1 669 900 6833 US (San Jose) +1 346 248 7799 US (Houston) +1 253 215 8782 US (Tacoma) +1 301 715 8592 US (Washington DC) +1 312 626 6799 US (Chicago) +1 929 436 2866 US (New York) Meeting ID: 896 8834 3629 Passcode: 820170 Find your local number: https://us02web.zoom.us/u/ kdsQUyIFJC

There's also a facebook event page: https://www.facebook.com/events/965620931023578

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, added to from time to time. In addition, there are several Facebook pages, such as facebook.com/tideturning, and facebook.com/intercommunalsolidarity. You can follow @ara_losangeles on Twitter and Instagram, and the De-Colonize LA! blog at ara-la.tumblr.com.

Political prisoner Aafia Siddiqui disavows hostage taking

Many Muslim groups in the US, not particularly radical in their orientation, consider Aafia Siddiqui, a Pakistani former neuroscientist who had studied at Brandeis University and MIT, to be an innocent woman framed by the US military in Afghanistan, and a political prisoner. The Council on American-Islamic Relations held a press conference in Texas to support her an call for her release last November. In statements, on a November 11, 2021 panel that was streamed live on YouTube by the Council on American-Islamic Relations Texas (CAIR-TX), titled "Injustice: Dr. Aafia [Siddiqui] and the 20-Year Legacy of America's Wars," Aafia Siddiqui's attorney Marwa Elbially said that the U.S. government lies on a large scale. She gave the example of the "fabricated" rescue of U.S. soldier Jessica Lynch, who was taken hostage by Iraqi forces in 2003. She also said that the fact that Aafia Siddiqui has not been made into a "household name" as an example of a terrorist woman is proof that the government never really believed that she was an Al-Qaeda operative. Palestinian-American activist Linda Sarsour, the Executive Director of Mpower Change, called Aafia Siddiqui a "political prisoner" like Imam Jamil Al-Amin (fka H. Rap Brown), who is serving a life sentence for the frame-up conviction for the 2000 murder of two law enforcement officers, or like Leonard Peltier of the American Indian Movement, who is serving a life sentence for involvement in the murder of two FBI agents.

Separately, Mauri Saalakhan of the Peace Through Justice Foundation has said: "I wish to thank The Justice For Aafia Coalition (JFAC) for the phenomenal work they have been doing, on a consistent basis, to help lead the global campaign for our sister's release and repatriation; and I pray that they receive consistent communal support commensurate with their noble efforts." There is a human rights foundation named for her and supporting her release https://aafia.org/ According to her lawyer, Aafia had nothing to do with the Dallas incident. "She does not



want any violence perpetrated against any human being, especially in her name," Attorney Marwa Elbially told CNN. "It obviously has nothing to do with Dr. Siddiqui or her family."

Faizan Syed, executive director of the Dallas-Fort Worth chapter of the Council on American-Islamic Relations said the group considers Siddiqui to have been "caught in the war on terror" as well as a political prisoner who was wrongly accused through flawed evidence. He nonetheless strongly condemned the hostage-taking, calling it wrong, heinous and "something that is completely undermining our efforts to get Dr. Aaifa released."

ABC News and the AP report that Siddiqui, who has been mostly in solitary confinement for 12 years and was being held in federal prison in Fort Worth TX, was attacked in July by another inmate at the facility and suffered serious injuries, according to court documents. In a lawsuit against the federal Bureau of Prisons, Siddiqui's lawyers said another inmate "smashed a coffee mug filled with scaling hot liquid" into her face. When Siddiqui curled herself into a fetal position, the other woman began to punch and kick her, leaving her with injuries so severe that she needed to be taken by wheelchair to the prison's medical unit, the suit says.

Siddiqui was left with burns around her eyes and a three-inch scar near her left eye, the lawsuit says. She also suffered bruises on her arms and legs and an injury to her cheek. The attack prompted protests by human rights activists and religious groups and calls for improved prison conditions. The activists have also called on the Pakistani government to fight for her release from U.S. custody.

The Struggle for Democracy and Justice in Haiti Continues:

Fanmi Lavalas Declaration

Haiti Action Committee is honored to share this recent statement from Fanmi Lavalas, the people's party of Haiti. The statement commemorates the anniversary of Haiti's first democratic election, on December 16th, 1990, which resulted in the victory of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and the Lavalas movement. Seven months later, President Aristide was overthrown in a U.S.-organized coup d'etat. Reelected overwhelmingly in 2000, Aristide was again ousted by yet another U.S.-sponsored coup in 2004.

In the wake of these coups, Haitians have faced years of repression, insecurity, economic misery and corruption inflicted by U.S.-imposed governments selected through stolen elections. These are the conditions that have forced so many thousands of Haitians to flee the country.

Over thirty years after December 16, 1990, the people of Haiti are still mobilizing to end dictatorship and build a new popular democratic government. This statement highlights the continuity and determination of that struggle. We invite you to read it and share it widely.

Fanmi Lavalas Declaration (unofficial translation from Kreyol by Haiti Action Committee) December 16, 2021

December 16, 1990 will never be erased in the memory of the people of Haiti. It is a symbol of victory, a symbol of hope. The victory of December 16, 1990 was about democracy developing roots in the country, it was about improving the lives of all the people in the country. Fanmi Lavalas presents its warmest greetings to the activists, sympathizers, everyone who understands what December 16, 1990 represents in the political history of Haiti.

After consulting with members of the organization in the 10 departments of the country, Fanmi Lavalas decided to commemorate the day through various Ti Fanmi activities all over the country. In the west department on December 15, we organized a mass meeting at the Dr. Aristide Foundation with hundreds of members of the organization in attendance. We decided to provide healthcare to the population beginning on December 16 in the school "Union College" in Maren. We will be announcing other locations where we will be providing healthcare services.

On December 16, 1990, the population made clear its demands to implement these three pillars of democracy:



The Haitian people's struggle against imperialism & corruption and for justice & dignity goes on.

Justice, Participation and Transparency. With ballots in hand, people voted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide into office to move their demands forward: food for all, healthcare for all, schools for all, housing for all, employment for all, justice for all. This was the first free, honest and democratic election that the country had known, where more than 2 million Haitians had chosen President Aristide to govern the country. As the Haitian people started to breathe the air of democracy, seeing the light of justice, the 1991 coup d'etat produced a huge setback to implementing the people's program.

Since that time, coup d'etat after coup d'etat have caused more misery, more hunger, more exclusion, more insecurity, more banditry, corruption, violence, repression, massacres, and impunity. These are the trademarks of the dreadful foreign "democracy" that the anti-change forces and their international allies want to impose on the country. The will of the people is not respected when it is foreigners who pick individuals to govern the country. As all of us can attest, GNBists* and PHTKists* have condemned the population to be under the table, not at the table.

Today, while the minimum wage has remained unchanged with no respect for the dignity of working men and women, the price of gasoline has skyrocketed on the and misery. No consideration is given for the high cost of living that will increase steadily for fathers and mothers who are already struggling to put food on the table.

December 16, 1990 - December 16, 2021: After thirtyone years, the struggle to change the system of corruption has seen many betrayals, but it will not be stopped. Thirtyone years later, even though the de facto authorities are using gangsters to terrorize the population and prevent people from exercising their rights, this righteous struggle must give birth to Justice, Transparency and Participation.

December 16, 2021 is a reminder to all of us that it was conviction and unity that brought about December 16, 1990. These times demand that we again create the unity that brought us to victory.

The Montana Accord that we, Fanmi Lavalas, have signed and support, must lead us to a transition that completely breaks with this system of exploitation, as demanded by the Haitian population. The people hunger for a government of "Sali Piblik" or public safety, and they must have it in order to be on the road to progress and security, with fair and free elections.

Every human being is somebody. Everyone's vote must be counted. This is the road to liberation and democracy.

acks of a population already dealing with unemployment difference with the method of the high cost of all to have peace in our minds and peace in our stomachs.

Alone we are weak, Together we are strong, Altogether we are LAVALAS

- Fanmi Lavalas Executive Committee Dr. Maryse Narcisse M. Joël Edouard Vorbe Dr. Jean Myrto Julien Agr. Anthony Dessources
- * GNB refers to a right-wing coalition that helped organize the 2004 coup.
- * PHTK refers to the ruling dictatorial PHTK party

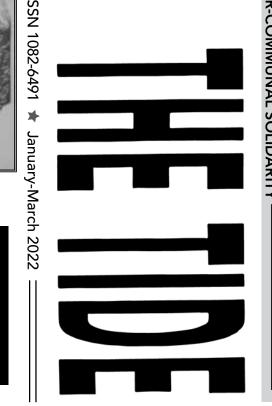
Haiti Action Committee

PO Box 2040, Berkeley,CA 94702 https://haitisolidarity.net

Please direct your donation for Haiti earthquake relief to the Haiti Emergency Relief Fund: https://www.haitiemergencyrelief.org Thank you.

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	Email: Phone: City: State: Zip: TTT published at least four times a year. No checks to Turning the Tide, please! Can't process them!
Break the Bonds of Mental	Name: Address:
SIXTY ONE PERCENT OF REOR TIONS ARE DR	□ Individual Subscription: \$20 □ Institutional Subscription: \$30 □ ARA Benefit CD: \$10+\$3 S&H □ 25th Anniversary Commemorative Edition: \$5 □ Additional Donations \$
IS A HUMAN	Intercommunal Solidarity All checks to 'ANTI-RACIST ACTION" only!!
ONE IN THREE WOMEN WILL HAVE AN AGONTION IN	PO Box 1055, Culver City CA 90232. We CANNOT process checks to Turning the Tide or
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