

# Mumia Abu-Jamal Denied New Trial, Appeal in the Works

By Noelle Hanrahan, prisonradio.org

On October 26, 2022, a proposed order denying Mumia Abu-Jamal's constitutional claims of jury bias and suppressed evidence was issued by Common Pleas court Judge Lucretia Clemons. Abu-Jamal's defense petition had included newly discovered evidence buried in the prosecutor's own files. This evidence documented key witnesses receiving promises of money for their testimony and evidence of favorable treatment in pending criminal cases. The petition also documented the abhorrent and unconstitutional practice of striking Black jurors during Mumia's original trial.

## Racism remains the ELEPHANT in the room.

"I am going to help them fry the [n---word]" -- Original trial court Judge Albert Sabo said this in front of court clerk Terri Maurer Carter and fellow Common Pleas Court judge Richard Kline during the first week of Mumia's 1982 trial.

Philadelphia ADA Jack McMahon made the policy clear in a 1986 training tape stating that getting "a competent, fair and impartial jury. Well, that's ridiculous, ..." "You don't want smart people. But if you're sitting down and you're going to take Blacks, you want older Blacks." <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ag2I-L3mq5Q>

If you put thick blinders on that block out all reality and rely on procedural minutia for cover, honestly, it is still impossible to avoid the scorchingly blatant racism of trial judge Albert Sabo, Assistant District Attorney Joseph McGill, Mayor and former police chief Frank Rizzo, District Attorney during Mumia's trial Ed Rendell, and Ron Castille, the DA on appeal (who later ruled against Mumia as a judge).

Yesterday, Judge Lucretia Clemons in her oral statements from the bench continued a common practice of adopting wholesale the Philadelphia District Attorney's positions. These positions only seek to preserve convictions at all costs. These arguments prevent the defense from putting on the record evidence of discrimination. PCRA procedural rules such as time bar, due diligence, waiver, previously litigated, all avoid a judicial review of the merits.

The racism is so transparent and indefensible so the DA is using court created law to dismiss cases before hearing new suppressed evidence. This is a blatantly dishonest practice routinely used by the prosecution and the courts when everyone knows, and I mean everyone knows, that racism was a hallmark of the original trial.

## Striking Blacks from the Jury

Judge Clemons stated that she was dismissing the claim of striking Black jurors on procedural grounds,

# Mutulu Shakur Granted Parole, Will be Released in December

<https://mutulushakur.com/mutulu-granted-parole/>

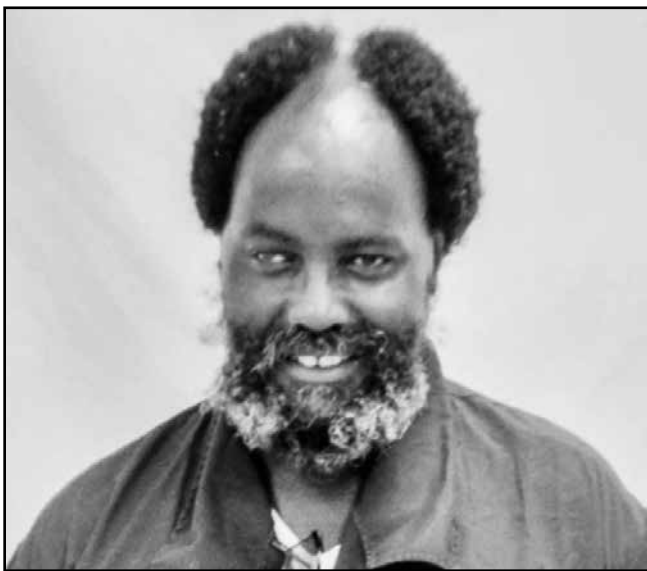
Dr. Mutulu Shakur, a 72 year old grandfather and respected healer and elder was granted parole by the US Parole Commission. The Parole Commission has recognized that his release poses no risk, particularly in light of his medical condition. He will be released shortly. Mutulu is one of thousands of incarcerated older people in federal and state prisons who has been repeatedly denied parole for over a decade after completing his minimum sentence.

Mutulu is deeply grateful and thankful for the broad expression of trust and support, and thanks everyone who has helped him over the years. We ask that he have space and time to be with family when he is released and to continue receiving medical treatment.

We welcome him home with great joy.

Many people have asked what they can do to support him. Family & Friends of Mutulu Shakur is continuing to collect donations that will go to support his transition to life outside prison. The only official ways to donate are listed on our Ways to Support page: <https://mutulushakur.com/support/>

More information from former political prisoner Linda Evans, via Freedom Archives Prisoner News bulletin:



## Mumia Abu-Jamal has spent 42 years in prison, many of Death Row for a crime he didn't commit.

without addressing the merits of the claim. She suggested that former counsel for the defense had not sought prosecutor McGill's previously buried notes (notes that highlight his impermissible race-based tracking and discrimination). Clemons adopts the prosecution position that the defense had the opportunity to receive these notes by merely asking the prosecution or cross-examining ADA McGill in prior court proceedings. This is a key and deliberate misreading of the record. At no time were these crucial notes and the motivations that guided ADA McGill ever available to the defense. McGill struck Black jurors at a 71% rate, significantly higher than the strike rate for white jurors. His reasons for seating some white jurors and not seating nonwhite jurors were not on the record, they were in his notes.

One only has to look at the McMann training tapes that were made by the Philadelphia DA's office which instructed district attorney's how to strike black jurors. These were made after Mumia's trial but they document the practice which was the norm in the office. This is the context for this ruling which misstates the record and ignores the reality in these Philadelphia courtrooms. Judge Lucretia Clemons and her law clerks complained on the record about how long it took them to find Pennsylvania cites to bolster their opinion. Why is Judge Clemons working so hard to avoid the elephant in the room?

## Suborning Perjury: Paying Witnesses

Additionally, at issue is the note from supposed "eyewitness" Robert Chobert that asked ADA McGill after the trial "where is the money that is owe to me?" This note was scrubbed from any filings and buried by the prosecution for 40 years. This dramatic "Brady

evidence" previously unavailable to the defense, was dismissed by the Judge in her written opinion as not "being material." Meaning it would not have affected the jury's verdict. Underlying this is the wholesale adoption of the credibility determinations of the original trial court judge Albert "I am going to help them fry the n---word" Sabo. It allows his racist tainted rulings to stand.

She also dismissed records from ADA McGill that extensively track and monitor another key witness Cynthia White, whose pending criminal cases were ALL were dropped by the prosecution following her testimony.

How can the court ignore the context. Note this information which follows had been previously prevented from being added to the record by Albert Sabo and other judges on appeal:

Photos from the Philadelphia Bulletin that prove Robert "I was on probation, did not have a license to drive a cab, and threw a Molotov cocktail into a school for pay" Chobert was not parked at the scene of the shooting. Chobert could not have witnessed the shooting. He was NOT parked directly behind the officer's car as he claimed to be. The answer is: because the PCRA (Post Conviction Relief Act) allows the dismissal of this critical evidence by "time bar".

Finally, Judge Lucretia Clemons admonished the defense to limit their briefs challenging her proposed ruling to cite Pennsylvania law. It is commonly understood here, rather than being the birthplace of liberty, Pennsylvania is the place where the US Supreme Courts constitutional standards for criminal defendants are the very last place to be honored.

This case proves that racism reigns unabated in the American justice system, Mumia Abu-Jamal is the canary in the coal mine.

The Defense has 20 days to reply, and prosecution given 10 additional days to respond before the court's order dismissing Mumia's request for a new trial becomes final and therefore can be appealed.

Mumia Abu-Jamal has spent 42 years in prison for the death of Philadelphia Police officer Daniel Faulkner on Dec.9th 1981. He has maintained his innocence and has sought his freedom by appealing to the very courts that now seek to preserve his unjust and unconstitutional conviction. At age 67 he has spent 42 years in prison. Mumia Abu-Jamal is a broadcast journalist and internationally recognized author. Mr. Abu-Jamal is serving a life sentence at SCI Mahanoy in Pennsylvania. He is the author of 13 books, holds a Master's degree in Comparative Literature and is currently working on the requirements to complete a PhD in the History of Consciousness Department at University of California Santa Cruz.

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415-793-7958 [www.Prisonradio.org](http://www.Prisonradio.org)  
Cuando luchamos ganamos, When We Fight, We Win



## Dr, Mutulu Shakur, freedom fighter, healer, earlier in his prolonged incarceration.

In order to bring Mutulu home to his family in California safely and comfortably, we must raise funds to cover several urgent costs. These costs include Mutulu's ground transportation from the prison to the airport, medical air transport from Kentucky to Los Angeles to be reunited with his family, adding a wheelchair accessible ramp and other modifications to his home, healthcare to address existing and emerging urgent medical needs, and other costs associated with him returning home.

To make tax-deductible contributions to his release fund, please donate through:

**Community Aid and Development Corporation**  
EIN# 95-3402456  
<https://www.cadnational.org>

To donate through the CAD National website, click on the DONATE button, on the right side of any page. That will take you to a PayPal donation page. In the "Use this donation for" box, there's a drop down menu:

Please scroll down to FFMS (Friends and Family of Mutulu Shakur) to donate to Mutulu's release fund.

## Here's a direct link to their PayPal page:

<https://www.paypal.com/donate?token=Prg27qcZnF7EEptRtFZzO-BEply6Tqw4DqOChKnxW8y8FOptRR2xyv5ajN5Nm-rDo8yxGmmls3St88L0>

THANK YOU SO MUCH for your help in bringing Mutulu home!

And please circulate this good news and request to your friends and networks.

in solidarity,  
Linda Evans

# WHY WOULD MEDICAL PROFESSIONALS LIE?

## MY DENIED CANCER TREATMENT BECOMES MORE SINISTER (2022)

By Kevin "Rashid" Johnson

### A RECAP OF MY DENIED TREATMENT

As those who have been following my situation of denied cancer treatment know, Virginia prison officials have known from blood tests taken over a year ago that I have had prostate cancer at least since Oct 2021. But they have systematically delayed and denied me any treatment to allow the cancer to spread and eliminate any possibility of curing it, which would ensure that it becomes fatal. The intent to murder me by medical neglect is more than obvious.

Only because of ongoing public protests (for which I am humbled and grateful) have officials made gestures TOWARDS providing me treatment, although no actual treatment has yet been provided AT ALL.

### DOCTORS CONCERNED THAT THE CANCER HAS SPREAD

After several months of repeatedly missed and rescheduled consultations with radiologists to determine my treatment options, I finally saw a couple of radiologists, Drs. Alfredo Urdaneta and Navid Fallahi on Oct 4, 2022 at the Medical College of Virginia hospital (MCV).

Based on symptoms that I have recently developed due to the continued passage of time without treatment, the doctors were concerned that the cancer has now spread or metastasized beyond my prostate gland. Which would mean that curing it would no longer be an option and I will almost certainly die from the cancer. They therefore ordered a PET scan to determine if and to what extent it may have spread and a follow-up visit with them to go over the results with me.

On Oct 31st I was transported to MCV for the PET Scan by two guards, Varen and Smith. Upon reaching the hospital the guards went inside for a few minutes then returned to tell me the appointment had been rescheduled and we were returning to the prison. I asked why the appointment was put off, since this would be the FOURTH time a hospital appointment related to my cancer had been "rescheduled." Varen stated he did not know why.

### MEDICAL PROFESSIONALS JOIN IN SPINNING A WEB OF LIES TO DENY TREATMENT

Back at the prison I was taken to the medical department for a vital sign check, which is routine procedure anytime a prisoner returns from a hospital visit. At that time I was able to speak with the prison's nurse practitioner C. Riner and assistant Health Administrator H. Holloway. Both claimed to not know why the PET scan was not performed that day but assured me that it had been rescheduled for the very near future.

On Nov 4th I was taken to MCV by Varen and another guard Lewis. This was for the follow-up radiologist visit to discuss the PET scan results. When the radiologist Dr. Fallahi looked at my hospital records he asked why the PET scan wasn't performed on Oct 31st. I told him I didn't know but that I was told it was rescheduled. He said it had NOT been rescheduled and there was no indication why it hadn't been done. I then asked the guard Varen, who had brought me to MCV that day, why he was told the the PET scan wasn't done. Again he claimed no-one explained it to him, but that he was told it had been rescheduled.

Dr. Fallahi expressed that the scan needed to be done and he was immediately rescheduling it, but that he was worried that I might be mysteriously turned away again.



**Kevin Rashid Johnson, Minister of Defense of the Revolutionary Intercommunal Black Panther Party is fighting a sentence of death by medical neglect and mistreatment.**

On returning to the prison I was taken to the medical department for the routine vital sign check. As I entered the medical department I passed an office where I saw nurse practitioner Riner sitting at a computer. A new nurse named Fenner took my vitals. I asked her if I could speak with Riner and the Health Administrator to determine why my PET scan wasn't done on Oct 31st and why they'd misinformed me on that date that it had been rescheduled when it hadn't. Fenner then unwittingly spilled the beans.

She revealed that the PET scan wasn't done on Oct 31st because the guards got me to MCV too late and missed my appointment; which made the second time this has happened. She explained that she'd read it in the records sent back with me from the hospital that day, as had Riner and nurse Holloway. So everyone, including Riner, Holloway and the guards who took me to the hospital on Oct 31st, had lied about not knowing why the PET scan wasn't done and claiming that it had been rescheduled.

I again asked Fenner to tell Riner I needed to speak with her about all this. Fenner left to give Riner my message, then returned a few minutes later to tell me Riner couldn't see me because she was seeing another patient. Moments later I was escorted by the transport guards from the medical department and passed the office where Riner was still sitting alone at a computer.

I then asked the guard Varen why he'd lied claiming he didn't know why my PET scan wasn't done when actually he was the cause of my late arrival and missed appointment on Oct 31st, and everyone including medical staff had obviously conspired to close ranks around this lie. He would not answer and gave only a nervous chuckle.

I've known Varen from my prior confinement at Sussex 1 State Prison in 2018. He worked on death row, where I was illegally held in solitary confinement for four months until I was transferred to the Indiana prison system. During that time I observed that he is a closed-lipped and loyal "Blue Line" pig who will quietly go along with and cover up any dirt that his peers engage in or orchestrate, especially administrators. I believe my late arrival and missed hospital appointment on Oct 31st was deliberate and that Varen was directed to do this.

In any case, the pattern of denied and delayed cancer care by prison officials is clear, as is their sinister intention to cause me death from this cancer. They know that prostate cancer is the second leading cause of death in men, and can only be cured if caught AND TREATED before it spreads beyond the prostate. My prolonged delay of care ensures its spread and fatal outcome.

That medical professionals are party to this and lying to inflict this deadly harm is particularly egregious. As I've expressed before, in the context of prison medical care, their Hippocratic oath of "First do not harm" is inverted into one of "First do no good," especially in the case of political and politicized prisoners.

**Dare to Struggle  
Dare to Win!**

***Send our brother some love and light:***

***Kevin "Rashid" Johnson,  
#1007485,  
Sussex I,  
24414 Musselwhite Dr.,  
Waverly VA 23891***

**Fundraiser for an attorney  
to represent Rashid's  
struggle for medical care**

**Here is the new donation link for  
Rashid's legal fund:**

[https://fundrazr.com/025tu2?ref=ab\\_6BrbV1](https://fundrazr.com/025tu2?ref=ab_6BrbV1)  
Please be as generous as you can.

# FOR THE EXONERATION OF DAWN JEFFREY

Arkansas Worker <https://arkansasworker.com/for-the-exoneration-of-dawn-jeffrey/>

On May 25, 2020, the world witnessed the extrajudicial execution of a black man wanted on a misdemeanor as George Floyd was murdered by officer Derek Chauvin in public and on camera in front of other officers and citizens.

Although police killed 164 black people in the first eight months of 2020, the murder of George Floyd case in particular shocked and disillusioned millions of people, stoking a rage in the hearts of Black America at the deep structures of racism that haven't changed since slavery.

Protests erupted all over the U.S. including here in Arkansas. Among the leaders within the Black community who strove to mobilize and unite people, Dawn Jeffrey was one of the most remarkable.

In the daytime she organized teach-ins and speakers and by night she worked to de-escalate situations and open up lines of communication between the State and Capitol Police. In addition, she organized a group called the Neighborhood Activists who helped to build structure and safety in what could otherwise have been pandemonium. In anticipation of mass arrests, Dawn also co-founded the Little Rock Freedom Fund to cover legal expenses for people rounded up by police.

On June 1, protestors had gathered after work to occupy the space in front of the Arkansas State Capitol. Organizers including Dawn addressed the crowd, calming everybody and leading chants to raise morale. A group of people in cars shooting off fireworks pulled in, and some began smashing windows and doors. Dawn moved to separate the crowd of people who were present for peaceful protest—clearing out a solid 30 foot open field—and approached the state police, who were present in riot gear, to inform them that the protestors had been separated from the provocateurs.

They ignored her and trained their weapons on the larger crowd, shooting pepper spray at younger folks and children who were being led up the steps towards the capitol doors to exit the situation capitol. Their aim and order for the night was not to curb vandalism, but to gas and shoot plastic and rubber bullets at the crowd to flush them out of the plaza. Somebody broke their eye socket, another's leg was broken in three places, and the medic tent was gassed as the State Police marched east along Capitol past the field medic and provisions tent.

As it became obvious that every night at the Capitol was going to be full of rubber bullets and mass arrests, the organizers decided to change tactics to demonstrate in a more peaceful and effective manner. Dawn and the Neighborhood Activists realized that the best way to get the attention of a political system that is ruled by corporate lobbies is to shut down business as usual.

They organized a series of Cookouts whose location was unannounced ahead of time. The first was the West Little Rock Walmart. Walmart makes millions selling recalled or returned goods to companies who use free prisoner labor to sort or refurbish, and has been key in efforts to defund and privatize schools, essentially reinstating segregation in Little Rock while eliminating labor and licensure standards for private charter schools.

Protestors set up picket lines at the front entrance, and the Walmart was quickly shut down.

The second Cookout was a traveling picket line, and multiple locations in Central Arkansas shut down their locations for the day, pinching millions of revenue, but



not a drop of blood was spilled and nor a single window broken.

On Sunday, July 12, the Cookout came to Andy's Frozen Custard in Conway, whose owner was accused by workers of having racially discriminatory hiring practices. Though the protestors complied with the law and limited their protest to a public sidewalk, Dawn was arrested for trespassing on private property. The charges were later dropped.

One of the demands of the Arkansas BLM movement is the purchase and routine use of body cameras on any active duty police officer. However, until such transparency and oversight is implemented, the citizens must fill the void, and Dawn coordinated a citywide effort of people recording police traffic stops to document instances of harassment and abuse. In retaliation, Dawn was routinely followed by local police. At one such stop on February 23, 2021, a police officer claimed that Dawn had flipped him off, commenting: "That's Dawn Jeffrey. We're about to be on Facebook." He then approached Dawn who was filming the stop and grabbed her by the shirt and arm, stopping the feed. The officer was reprimanded and charges were dropped.

On December 14, 2020, Special Agent David Oliver from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms filed an affidavit of complaint against Dawn Jeffrey and four other people in the U.S. District Court's Eastern District of Arkansas. This affidavit addressed events from the early marches of June, to cemetery vandalism, to the firebombing of a police cruiser and graffiti on multiple law enforcement landmarks in the early hours of September 3, 2020, and recommended that the state file vandalism and arson charges and issue a warrant. In the affidavit, three police informants made the following allegations against Dawn: That she was present at the cemetery defacement. That the molotov cocktails were made at her house. That she was present in the vehicle at the time of the act of arson. There is material evidence such as cell phone tracking, a captured phone with pictures of the scene and conversations between suspects... but no material evidence tying Dawn to any of the scenes. The affidavit includes as evidence pictures and correspondence between suspects, but none with Dawn.

A police informant alleges that Dawn and the other four suspects were present at the cemetery defacement; however, game camera footage at the cemetery shows only one individual spraying gravestones. She is not in footage, in conversations, in pictures, or in cell proximity to the arson. In addition, the Signal working group did

not include her, though she was on Signal for other logistics and mobilization; however, these working groups are encrypted and cannot be remotely accessed by any other groups or the police. Nonetheless, Dawn has been in jail for five months without trial or sentence. The only thing keeping her locked behind bars is the prosecution's confidence that one or more of the three informants will turn state witness in a public trial.

The Freedom Fund is continuing to reach out to the community to help cover Dawn's legal expenses. Ironically, the very issues that led to the George Floyd/BLM protests – that millions of black people are either in prison, under arrest, or on probation or parole, and that there are roughly 24 million registered felons in the United States, many of whom never committed a violent crime but are permanently relegated to a subclass of people with limited access to state resources and gainful employment outside of the underground market – have led to one of our community's leaders to be held in jail without cause.

These events should shock us collectively into the realization that the people must rise up and demand the end to the penal system as it is: a private, profit-driven sector that makes its dividends off of the lives of human beings.

Dawn was detained in Green County Detention Center for almost nine months. Two bond appeals were denied and her September trial has been pushed to October. No evidence has been reviewed or presented to Dawn. While incarcerated, Dawn has still continued her work as a bail disruptor with the Little Rock Freedom Fund, facilitating the bailout of two other women; one in Green County Jail and one from Faulkner County Jail. The case has now been dragging on for two years, with Dawn in detention and separated from her daughter. Read more about the latest developments in *The Nation*: <https://www.thenation.com/article/society/movement-racial-justice-police-arkansas/>

Dawn is the founder and lead organizer of Little Rock Freedom Fund which provides support for activists, organizers, and protesters in Arkansas. LRFF is currently selling t-shirts featuring a photo of Dawn alongside a quote from Assata Shakur. They can be purchased through Smoke + Smudge with all proceeds going to LRFF. <https://www.lrfreedomfund.com/>

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## 100X100 Campaign to Increase Publication Frequency of Turning the Tide

Over its 34+ 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 got 5 issues out this year, and with your support, can aim for 6 in 2023.

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. Postage alone has increased twice in the last year.

*Turning the Tide* doesn't print itself, or mail itself. Some prisoners who get the paper contribute a few stamps.. Often, they pass the copy of *TTT* that they received from hand to hand, cell to cell, or they send in the names and addresses of half-a-dozen or more other prisoners. **Prisoners, if you can find donors or subscribers outside prison to subsidize your sub, that would help a lot!**

If you'd like to see *Turning the Tide* more frequently, if you want to contribute to breaking down the walls of isolation and separation imposed by the prison system, please contribute. If you can't manage \$100 all at once, you could donate \$10 a month. But any donation you make can help. Postage costs for a single issue of *TTT* are \$1000 and climbing. If you can't donate yourself, please help spread the campaign via your social media, to your Facebook friends, Twitter followers, and email contacts. Everything helps.

If the campaign is successful, we will resume publishing every other month in 2020. Postage is our biggest expense. Nobody gets paid at *TTT*, and our printer has added a surcharge for paper costs. We have a handful of people who are sustainers, making a monthly donation, a larger number of people who subscribe once a year or so. Right now, we are at about 10% of our goal. LA area supporters could set up house meetings, where the editor will pitch to your friends for support. The future of *Turning the Tide* is in your hands. Now, while you're thinking about it, go to:

[https://ko-fi.com/anti\\_racist\\_action\\_la](https://ko-fi.com/anti_racist_action_la)  
and donate, or use paypal to [antiracistaction\\_la@yahoo.com](mailto:antiracistaction_la@yahoo.com) if you prefer. Then share it with your contacts. With your help, *Turning the Tide* can step up to the "urgency of now" -- the necessity for radical organizing, educating and analyzing to respond to the growing crisis of the Empire -- endless war, police terror with impunity, mass incarceration, colonialism, ecological devastation that will shortly become irreversible. If you think *TTT* is a useful tool in the struggle for people's power and a new world, please donate today. If you wish, you can also just send cash, check or money order payable to:

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

# THE BLUE AGAVE REVOLUTION: POETRY OF THE BLIND REBEL

Authors: Byron Shane of Chubbuck, AKA Oso Blanco, and Michael Novick  
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 or by paypal to antiracistaction\_la@yahoo.com. or email that address for instructions on using CashApp or  
 Venmo to make payment, or use the ko-fi.com link on the website below to order:  
 Check it out on-line on our website: <https://antiracist.org/the-blue-agave-revolution/>

*The Blue Agave Revolution: Poetry of the Blind Rebel* comprises magical realist and speculative fiction from the co-authors, an imprisoned Indigenous freedom fighter and a life-long anti-imperialist and decolonizer of European descent. Oso Blanco has a story and poetry cycle, and additional poems and stories, including with collaborators, written painstakingly behind prison walls. Many of the poems and the story cycle are set in Mexico during the Mexican Revolution of the early 20th Century. Novick adds a selection of his poems written over the course of many decades, some recent political analysis, and two speculative fiction works set in the near future, reflecting situations analogous to anti-fascist struggle. Below are some excerpts from the description, bios, and dedications in the book itself.

*The Blue Agave Revolution: Poetry of the Blind Rebel* is a collection of political poetry, short stories, other writings, and profiles of political prisoners, by two activists, Michael Novick and Byron Shane of Chubbuck, AKA Oso Blanco. These two writers express their desires for freedom, Native rights, anti-racist justice, as well as equality for All Life and Peoples. These writers are life-long artists, creative and political writers, poets and journalists. Each at different levels.

Byron Shane Chubbuck is a Cherokee Nation citizen who is also Choctaw and Celtic, a Wolf Clan Cherokee and a sovereign. He comes from the Chickamauga band, a direct descendant of Nancy Ward. He wrote his first book in the third grade, "Shane the Crane Lost His Feather." He published *Love Me Rebel Love* in 2011. He won the Poet of the Year award with the New Mexico Poetry Society. He published his first poetry in 1988 in a Canyon City Colorado newspaper. He has many poems in various poetry books published, and works with writers Elizabeth Frias and Joseph Jordan as well as Michael Novick. Byron Shane of Chubbuck

has traveled all over Mexico and has a deep love for its amazing peoples. He has vast experiences in Pulque making, chemistry, ART, and scraping a living from the ground up. He says to the Houseless - who he feeds and aids - "I have been you. You are me! I am commanded by my Creator to love all humanity and all Living beings." He is now in Federal prison for the Robin-in-the-Hood bank robbery case. Byron and Michael have a deep love for all races and humanity. They seek the revolution towards love and a new, good world, when all are Free, treated with respect as well as compassion.

Michael Novick grew up in an immigrant, working-class, Orthodox Jewish family in Brooklyn, New York, has traveled in Mexico, mostly in solidarity with the Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional Mexicano, and taught school in L.A. for many years. Michael edits, publishes and writes for *Turning The Tide*, which is distributed free to prisoners for over 30 years, and is dedicated to the just treatment of people and to anti-racist actions. He went to Cuba with the 50th Venceremos Brigade in 2019. He lives in Los Angeles with his spouse, Avon Leekley, who has also contributed to the production, editing and proof-reading of this volume. He is the author of *White Lies White Power/ The Fight Against White Supremacy & Reactionary Violence*, and has been writing poetry on occasion since the second grade. Some of his poems have been published by the Revolutionary Poets Brigade and Vagabond Books, and his other writings have appeared in *Brother: A Forum for Men Against Sexism* and many other alternative press publications, such as *Change Links* community calendar. He has been active as an elected listener delegate in the democratic governance of KPFK and Pacifica radio, and was recently named interim General Manager of that radio station, seeking to increase its community engagement and orientation, and openness to expressions of solidarity and liberation in political, cultural and economic spheres. He was challenged by Oso Blanco to write some short fiction for this volume, but is most comfortable writing essays and socio-economic, political analysis, a few pieces of which are also included.

Acknowledgments from the true heart  
 To James Baldwin - Dolores Huerta - Malcolm X - Leonard Peltier - Lenny Foster - Tom Manning - Mutulu Shakur - Assata Shakur - Mumia Abu-Jamal - Veronza Bowers - John Trudell - Robert J. Conley - Sumner Gray - Huey P. Newton - Cornel West - Cesar Chavez - Martin Luther King Jr. - Amy Goodman - Jaan Laaman - Paulette D'Auteuil - Sub-comandante Marcos - the whole EZLN - ALL other warrior Zapatista supporters, and Gloria, the special woman Activist, Zapatista; and all AIM activists the past 50 years.

I dedicate this book to you, those in the SPIRIT REALM, and those Living Legends still here on Earth's physical realm. -- I love you all very much for the impact you've had on me, and still inspire me through your voices. Because of you I shall never give up the real fight for Native rights, Native Sovereignty, and freedom for ALL

living beings. I hope for all **Native Nations** to once more lead all and everything in Turtle Island and Aztlán. --Oso Blanco / Yona Unega

Michael Novick acknowledges an unpayable debt to those, all too numerous to mention by name: to imprisoned and martyred freedom fighters, to formerly-incarcerated and still-incarcerated political leaders, to revolutionary anti-colonial thinkers and doers from anti-capitalist and national liberation struggles around the world and inside the militarily imposed borders of the United States, and to dedicated European-descent anti-imperialists, ecologists, and anti-fascists; all of whom have guided and motivated my work and inspired my dedication to

## Feather - by Oso Blanco

Feather

Sweet melody of **Ani-nvhillidali**,  
 the flyers, winged ones, bird people  
 of Mother EARTH.

Sweet songs and music of praise,  
 flow like a river for CREATOR  
 ALMIGHTY, singing endless love.  
 We love YOU, we love YOU  
 we love YOU.

Throughout the EARTH madmen  
 who live by greed, know not love,  
 know not beauty, destroy the trees,  
 poisoning the breeze, killing honey bees.  
 They place profit above all life.  
 Profits above the sweet melodies  
 of **Ani-nvhillidali**.

Yet the songs of bird people  
 continue the praise,  
 continue the praise.  
 The tree people reach to the skies  
 giving us pure air to breathe  
 and blessing our eyes.

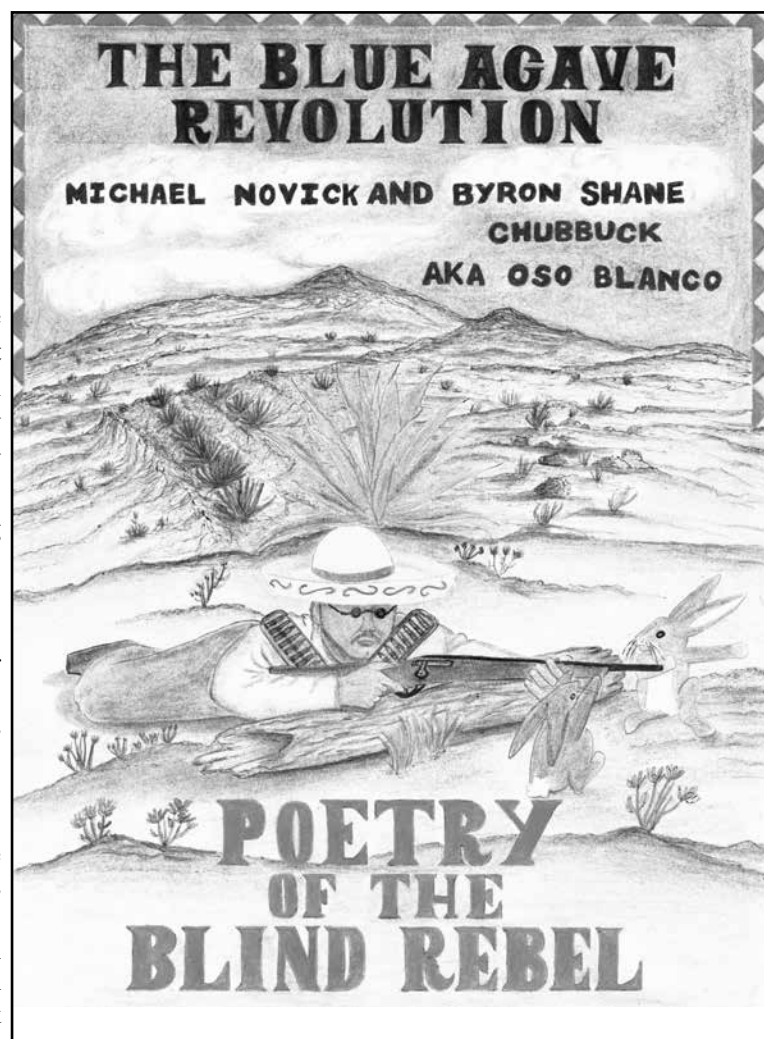
We see their beauty, we feel  
 it deep within,  
 we know no gold, nor money  
 can bring it back again.

(Mar. 4, 2019)

**Ch'ulel**

That which all existing beings share.  
 That spoken Maya word telling us  
 our human interaction is with all  
 our relations in everything.

**Ch'ulel** in physical as well as  
 spiritual place of existing.  
 The corn is cultivated.  
 The EARTH give humans sustenance.  
**Ch'ulel**.



end all forms of racism, colonialism, and exploitation, to uplift the humanity and equality of Black, Brown, Indigenous, Asian/Pacific, Palestinian, and other people of color, and to eliminate racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, antisemitism, Islamophobia, environmental injustice, extractivism and degradation, and all forms of exploitation, oppression, and domination. I dedicate this book to the current and coming generation of freedom fighters and resisters, young women, men, and non-binary people who will carry that ecological, intercommunal and anti-capitalist struggle on to victory and a new and better world.

Art is by Byron S. Chubbuck (Oso Blanco) and E. Yazzi.

## Excerpts:

### Sirens - by Michael Novick

Sirens

I live in the city of L.A. near Culver City's environs  
 And any hour of every day, I am besieged by sirens.

Ambulances, paramedics, fire engines and cops --  
 each walk or bike ride I take, the wailing never stops.

When I try to cross the street, they go tearing through the light.  
 And when I try to go to sleep, they go screaming through the night.

For weeks in Europe with hardly a claxon, I enjoyed the quiet.  
 Back in the US, it was copters and choppers, like a war zone or a riot.

Squad cars racing down the block. flashing lights and siren blaring  
 give the lie to their claims of serving, protecting, or caring.

Their constant piercing presence is an assault upon our senses  
 to which fingers, plugs or ear-buds can offer no defenses.

And when I climb, and meditate, atop the highest nearby hill,  
 the howling sounds of sirens surround and hound me still.

The shrillness seems designed to trigger post-traumatic stress,  
 to transform quiet neighborhoods into an auditory mess.

Like Ferguson's brazen cops chanting "Whose streets?  
 Our streets!"  
 the sirens transform peaceful blocks into occupation beats.

Homes and stores that police sirens ceaselessly surround  
 become virtual prison cells behind intrusive walls of sound.

The sirens sound a warning horn, a threat of further violence.  
 I'm working towards a better morn, a day with blessed silence,

Without teargas, gunshots, spying, when the sirens finally cease,  
 The day on which we finally can abolish the police.

# PART's Perspectives:

## You Can't Defeat Fascism at the Ballot Box

Many people on the left or progressive end of the narrow political spectrum in the US, perhaps understandably, heaved a sigh of relief at the more-or-less final results of November's so-called "mid-term" elections. There were expectations of a so-called "Red [Republican] Wave," and the historical record predicted Congressional and Senatorial losses by the party holding the White House, as happened with Trump, Obama, Dubya Bush and many others, including Reagan. But in fact, the results might almost be considered a "Blue Wave," since the Democratic Party flipped one Senate seat and may end up in firmer control of the Senate, flipped some GOP-held governorships and did well in state legislative and state-wide races in many closely-divided states. The rejection of MAGA "big lie" candidates by the majority of voters, especially for secretaries of state, is certainly preferable to their election.

But Trump's immediate announcement of his candidacy for the presidency in 2024 should be a reminder that, although fascism has from time to time come to power at the ballot box (as just seemed to happen in the Israeli election), fascism will not be defeated at the ballot box, especially in as inherently undemocratic an electoral system as exists in the US. Violence-prone elements and individuals on the racist and reactionary right are more likely to act out their grievances and threats now, when they feel stymied and cheated by the elections (again). The Republicans succeeded in taking over the House of Representatives and will name the new Speaker.

This was partly caused by the extreme gerrymander in Florida by De Santis, and by the short-sighted effort of corporate Dems in NY to forestall progressive challengers to incumbents in the primary that resulted in the end in districts favorable to the GOP. But the outcome is not merely a result of gerrymandering, or the concentration of Democratic voters in a few large urban districts. According to the Cook report, there were 53.3 million votes cast for Republicans in the Congressional elections, compared to only 49.3 million voters who favored the Democrats. We need to reckon with the reality of an electoral majority that favors fascist figures and solutions, in particular the large majority of white voters who do so.

This means that fascist figures like Marjorie Taylor Greene will gain outsized prominence and influence. According to press reports, right-wing legislators including Rep. Greene of Georgia extracted a promise that their leaders would investigate Speaker Nancy Pelosi and the Justice Department for their treatment of defendants jailed in connection with the Jan. 6 storming of the US Capitol to prevent the ceremonial ratification of Biden's election. The Proud Boys and others will be treated like martyred political prisoners.

The increase in armed attacks that has marked the two years since Trump's loss in Nov. 2020 is likely to accelerate, not diminish, now that the loss has been ratified in a second election. GOP efforts to suppress the votes of people they perceive as unwinnable or "un-American," are likely to intensify, especially in so-called battleground states like Georgia, North Carolina, and Wisconsin. These will reinforce more naked white and Christian nationalists' actions and expressions that "real Americans" stand with them. The extent to which the Republican Party has embraced nakedly fascist candidates, and the likelihood that Trump could win nomination for the third time in the primaries, or that if he lost it would be to Ron De Santis of Florida, who would probably be running to Trump's right, should sober people up.

But we should also never forget that the Democratic Party is also wedded to big lies and big money. The lie that the "Inflation Reduction Act" will do much to reduce carbon emissions or reduce global heating and its attendant climate catastrophes. The lie that the US sends troops around the world, and imposes deadly sanctions on the people of many countries to "support democracy." The lie that their party is the party of working people. The lie that the US and NATO have clean hands, and did nothing to provoke war in Ukraine, or to define China as an existential threat. The lie that they could and would have done so much more if not for Mitch McConnell or Joe Manchin. The lie that they are a bulwark for democracy, and the last hope to deter authoritarianism.

Democrats in the main voted for the most massive military spending in world history while pleading poverty on social spending. Democrats have voted to send weapons to intensify and prolong the war in Ukraine, and crushed a feeble progressive caucus effort to call for negotiations. Democrats in the White House slashed welfare, increased the death penalty, promoted mass incarceration and militarized policing, bailed out Wall Street not Main Street, planned the trillion-dollar-plus "modernization" of nuclear weapons, and tried to destabilize or back coups in Venezuela, Cuba, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Bolivia.

As Anti-Racist Action network understood over 30 years ago, you can't rely on the cops, the courts or the state to contain or crush fascism. There are elements within the state apparatus, law enforcement, the military and the national security surveillance



system that see a fascist "solution" as necessary when the economic and political crises rooted in settler colonialism, racism, exploitation and inequality intensify, as "stagflation" (rising prices, falling incomes) returns, as climate refugees grow even in the US. Millions of people across the country voted for blatantly fascist candidates who are dug into a base in churches, and in carceral, policing and military institutions, and are backed by billionaires. Many millions more -- the majority of the potential electorate, in fact -- did not vote at all, turned off by the system and the "choices" it offers. Turnout in the "most critical midterm elections ever" was lower than in the last midterms. Only 12 states had a bare majority of eligible voters cast ballots, and of course the population as a whole is much larger than the pool of eligible voters.

We need to build, from the bottom and the base, networks and a culture of solidarity, resistance and liberation, solutions and healing based on mutual aid, respect for indigenous sovereignty and anti-colonial self-determination, and a sustainable and respectful relationship with the earth. None of these can be won at the ballot box either.

## Eco-Socialist Revolution or Environmental Ruination

A measure of the inability of the current global political and economic system, dominated by US imperialism and its financialized monopoly capitalist corporations, to address the climate crisis is the fact that the COP27 meeting in Egypt does not even refer to fossil fuels, the major contributor to greenhouse gases and global heating. They are likely to produce in fact a declaration of surrender on preventing further heating, rather than a commitment to reversing it. Another such measure is the fact that the weak tea of Biden's "Inflation Reduction Act," is being proclaimed as the biggest commitment ever to fighting climate change, when it does nothing about remediating the damage the US has done to climate-vulnerable countries in the Global South, and actually mandates and finances additional pipelines and fossil fuel extraction in the US.

*Monthly Review* magazine, an independent socialist journal published since the early Cold War period post World War II, has been presenting in its pages, and in volumes by its editors and contributors published by the Monthly Review Press, the case for identifying financialized monopoly capitalism, AKA imperialism, as the systemic cause of greenhouse gases and other assaults on and disruptions of the earth systems that are destroying the habitability of the entire planet. They discuss -- in detail too profuse to summarize here -- the impact of commodity capitalist production and distribution on many aspects of the ecology of life. This includes not only greenhouse gases and global heating, but ocean acidification, desertification of large areas, deforestation, destruction of topsoil, overfishing, wetlands destruction, and mass extinctions of birds, large mammals, insects, and other species.

*The NY Times* in a major supplement claimed that the worst predictions of alarmists have been proven false, as have the claims of climate denialists, and that we are on track, if not exactly to a "soft landing," (borrowing the language used for elite goals in limiting inflation), then towards "climate change we can live with." This flies in the face of the best available analyses by climate scientists. So we need to understand that "climate denialism" is not restricted to the fossil fuel companies themselves, or to the Republican Party. Biden's return of the US to the Paris accords, and his recent proclamations of the US commitment to fighting climate change, are manifestations of "solutions that do not solve, reductions that do not reduce, and protections that do not protect," to paraphrase Chairman Fred Hampton of the Illinois Black Panther Party in another context.

The need is clear for direct action to address the climate crisis, based on solidarity with, in particular, Indigenous sovereignty and land and water protection. Only a fundamental change in the system of settler colonial capitalism, with its commitment to white supremacy, private expropriation of the common wealth, extractivism, and private profit over human needs can reverse the destruction of the ecological basis for human and other life.

The median age of people in the Global South in particular is at or lower than the 27 years that the advanced industrial countries have been meeting to talk fruitlessly about concerted global action on the subject. COP27 is dominated by corporate spokespeople and lobbyists who always have the ear of the policy makers in almost every country.

But it's also important to remember that there are other equally destructive aspects of capitalist globalization besides its impact on greenhouse gases and the climate. These are totally ignored by COP27, and include overfishing and its impact not only on fish stocks but on oxygenation of the seas, ongoing land grabs and privatization of the commons in Africa and elsewhere, monoculture agriculture including tree plantations replacing forests, the impact of industrial agriculture and animal husbandry on wildlife habitat and the spread of disease vectors, and the use of AI and robots to control workplaces, work processes, and working people. The creation of a huge sector of not just a reserve army of labor but of "disposable" people has enormous consequences to human psychology, mental and physical health, and social organization.

Climate change is the leading edge of the wedge of the now-undeniable anti-life nature of the necrotic imperialist system. Capitalism from its birth, as Marx analyzed, is based on *both expropriation and exploitation* of land and people. But in its current terminal stages, it is not merely parasitic, but necrotic -- it lives through the death of everything it touches. We need a holistic strategy for organizing the planet for survival, beginning with a strategy for overcoming those who run, profit from, and enforce the existing political and economic system. It is way past the time for half-measures and reforms that prolong the life of the system. We have to expropriate the expropriators, and develop a new way of life in the process of opposing the degradation of the environment and the privatization of the commons.

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# ALABAMA PRISON STRIKERS DEMANDS PUSH FOR DECARCERATION

by Jared Ware, Prism, November 11th, 2022  
<https://prismreports.org/2022/11/11/alabama-prison-strikers-demands-decarceration/>

*Building on the foundation of previous strikes and organized movements, people on the inside of Alabama prisons are now regrouping to continue the fight for abolition.*

Hours before dawn on Sept. 26, the incarcerated workers who run the prison kitchens across Alabama were slated to begin their shifts when they refused to take up their posts, kicking off one of the largest prison strikes in U.S. history.

“Everything was electric from then on—[people] were excited and anxious for action,” said Antoine Lipscomb, a founding member of the Free Alabama Movement (FAM) who spoke with Prism Reports from Limestone Correctional Facility, one of the largest and deadliest prisons in the state, currently housing nearly 2,300 people.

The Alabama Department of Corrections (ADOC) classifies 14 prisons within the state as “major facilities,” and there are almost 17,000 people incarcerated in those prisons. In a highly unusual move, the ADOC publicly confirmed the strike action across “all major facilities in the state” on the very first day of the strike. Acknowledging a prison strike and its scope goes against the prevailing wisdom in prison administration. In 2018, leading up to the national prison strike, prison associations advocated the use of disinformation campaigns when dealing with prisoner resistance to manage the disruption and discourage further participation.

While acknowledging the strike, a spokesperson for the governor said the demands of the incarcerated strikers were “unreasonable and would flat out not be welcomed in Alabama.” The strike demands included:

- repealing the habitual offender law**
- making presumptive sentencing retroactive**
- repealing the drive-by shooting statute**
- creating a statewide conviction integrity unit**
- developing consistent criteria for mandatory parole**
- streamlining processes for medical furloughs and elder release**
- reducing the minimum sentences for juvenile offenders**
- eliminating life without parole sentences**

Advocates say far from being “unreasonable,” those changes would constitute a program of substantive decarceration. They would also address the unconstitutional overcrowding of Alabama’s prisons and increase opportunities for prisoners to return to their communities.

The work strike continued for three weeks in at least five prisons before prisoners in all facilities returned to work. While the strikers’ demands remain unfulfilled, organizers both inside and outside the prisons are encouraged by the strike’s organization and the mass support it received. Contrary to ADOC’s characterization that the strike has “ended,” incarcerated organizers describe the strike as having merely been paused.

“It will resume,” Lipscomb said, adding that incarcerated organizers and supporters are resting, regrouping, and discussing strategy. For many who participated in the strikes, future strikes or protests aren’t just vehicles for decarceration, they’re also about survival and the possibility of life beyond incarceration.

## Striking against despair

Long before three strikes statutes became popularized during Clinton era in the ’90s, Alabama’s version, the 1977 Habitual Offender Law, drew the ire of academics and correctional facilities staff in 1985, who argued life without parole sentences removes “all incentive for good behavior,” and fuels “frustration and rage, which in turn produces prison riots and threats to staff.” Currently, 75% of prisoners sentenced to die in Alabama prisons under the Habitual Offender Law are Black, despite Black people representing less than 27% of the state’s population.

Relatedly, one of the key motivations behind widespread



Alabama prisoners on the work stoppage drew support for their demands from members of the public and communities and families impacted by incarceration

strike participation is the state’s draconian parole board. In July, more people died inside Alabama prisons than were granted parole. This year, the Alabama parole board has revoked parole in 67% of hearings, a rate over six times the rate that it has granted it. According to ADOC data, their rate of granting parole has fallen from 54% of eligible prisoners in 2017 to 6% this past August. In a recent interview with the Montgomery Advisor, organizer Diyawn Caldwell said, “More people are coming out in body bags than they are on parole.”

Advocates believe that while individually, the changes demanded by the strike might have minimal impact on the state’s incarceration rate, together they would provide thousands of prisoners expanded avenues toward release. Crucially, the strike is an attempt to combat the despair that comes from indefinite incarceration with no foreseeable path to freedom.

According to prisoners, that despair is an essential ingredient to the violence and drug use that make Alabama’s prisons the deadliest in the nation. Amid six years of scrutiny, the DOJ describes confinement in ADOC prisons as “constitutional deficiencies.” That scrutiny, however, has produced no tangible improvements. The death rate in Alabama prisons has more than quintupled since 2005, from 33 deaths in 2005 to 173 in 2021.

The methods Alabama state officials used to repress the resistance of the strike further illustrate how incarcerated people suffer at the whim of the carceral system. Family visitation was canceled, prisons implemented new “security measures,” the Corrections Emergency Response Team (known inside as riot squads or goon squads) was deployed, prisoner activist Robert Earl Council, aka Kinetik Justice, was placed in solitary confinement again, and ADOC used the strike as a pretext to reduce the number of meals.

Officials claimed the shift to two cold meals per day in major male facilities was logistical, arguing without the prisoner labor force, they lacked the workers to cook for three meals a day for nearly 23,500 people. Prisoners called the practice “bird feeding,” an attempt to starve prisoners into submission. Prisoners argued these meals did not meet the needs of prisoners with dietary restrictions and medical conditions, putting more lives at risk. ADOC also put out a statement about the health of a prisoner named Castello Demarcus Vaughan to refute allegations of medical neglect.

Under these circumstances, incarcerated organizers say that a widespread strike and their demands shouldn’t come as a surprise.

“You’re looking at individuals finally [coming] to the realization, ‘Hey, I’m gonna die in here,’” said K. Shaun Traywick, aka Swift Justice, who is currently incarcerated at Fountain Correctional Facility. “Once they hear it enough, once they see it in the actions of ADOC and the parole board and society, they finally realize maybe it’s best that we [strike]. Maybe it will make a difference.”

## New developments in the prison strike era

Local news in Alabama referred to the strike as “an unprecedented move” by incarcerated people. While the duration, discipline, and scale of the strike are monumental developments in the prisoner movement, the strike in fact is an extension of many similar actions in recent years. Prisoner resistance, including work and hunger strikes,

boycotts, and other forms of organized disobedience like “sit-downs,” have a history as lengthy as incarceration itself. In the U.S. this is most well chronicled in the captivating and tragic story of the Attica Rebellion and the massacre that ended it.

The Georgia prisoner work strike of 2010 is frequently cited by today’s incarcerated organizers as a point of origin and source of inspiration for a new phase of prisoner resistance. Strikers released their demands to state prison officials and the press, including the demand that workers be paid a living wage, noting that prisoners in Georgia received no wages, which they argued violated the 13th Amendment’s prohibition on slavery and involuntary servitude. This demand would later be adapted to the movement to abolish exception clauses to anti-slavery statutes. That push has been embraced by many legislative advocates, but has yet to lead to any decarceration or changes in labor practices.

As *The New York Times* noted, cell phones had already been in prisons for some time, but this was the first known example of incarcerated people using them to coordinate resistance across different facilities. They also became a critical tool in circumventing the prison system’s ability to monitor and prevent their communication, not only to each other, but to the general public and the press, often via social media.

The following year, people who were incarcerated in California’s supermax Pelican Bay State Prison went on massive rolling hunger strikes that eventually grew to over 30,000 prisoners in the state through multiple phases over three years. Incarcerated organizers facilitated an agreement to end hostilities inside the prisons and mobilized a large outside group of families and advocates in solidarity. Strikers raised multiple issues, but key among them were California’s practice of indefinite solitary confinement, especially for those it classified as “gang members,” and its “debriefing” process, which required prisoners to provide information on “gang activity” to secure their release from solitary. The UN has described solitary confinement for 15 days or more as torture, and prisoners argued this practice amounted to torture with inadequate pretext toward due process or avenues for redress.

While the outcomes of those strikes and the related successful lawsuit have been varied, complex, and partial, the strikes provide a powerful example of how dynamic inside-outside action can shift policy and practice, potentially opening up new contradictions and arenas of struggle against the carceral system. For instance, FAM has adopted many tactics and lessons learned from the Georgia work strikes in their efforts. In 2014, incarcerated organizers mobilized two strikes in Alabama, the larger of which led to the shutdown of two facilities—St. Clair and Holman—which at the time incarcerated roughly 2,400 people. Additionally, FAM released “Let The Crops Rot In The Fields,” a manifesto that would inspire the coordination of national prisoner strikes, the first of which was led by FAM in 2016 and supported by the fledgling inside-outside solidarity organization the Incarcerated Workers Organizing Committee of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWOC-IWW).

The 2016 national prison strike saw “[l]ockdowns, inmate suspensions, and full-unit strikes lasting at least 24 hours were reported at 31 facilities,” which housed

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

You can find archives of *Turning the Tide* at [www.antiracist.org](http://www.antiracist.org) that go back more than 15 years.

In addition, there are several Facebook pages, such as [facebook.com/tideturning](https://facebook.com/tideturning), and [facebook.com/intercommunalsolidarity](https://facebook.com/intercommunalsolidarity).

You can follow @ara\_losangeles on Twitter, and the De-Colonize LA! blog at [ara-la.tumblr.com](http://ara-la.tumblr.com).

# We Go Where They Go: The Story of Anti-Racist Action

Authors: Shannon Clay, Lady, Kristin Schwartz, and Michael Staudenmaier;  
Foreword by Gord Hill Series: PM Press/Working Class History, out in May 2023  
Format: Paperback/Hardcover; Size: 6x9, Pages: 320

What does it mean to risk all for your beliefs? How do you fight an enemy in your midst? *We Go Where They Go* recounts the thrilling story of a massive somewhat forgotten youth movement that set the stage for today's anti-fascist organizing in North America. When skinheads and punks in the late 1980s found their communities invaded by white supremacists and neo-nazis, they fought back. Influenced by anarchism, feminism, Black liberation, and Indigenous sovereignty, they created Anti-Racist Action. At ARA's height in the 1990s, thousands of dedicated activists in hundreds of chapters joined the fights—political and sometimes physical—against nazis, the Ku Klux Klan, anti-abortion fundamentalists, and racist police. Before media pundits, cynical politicians, and your uncle discovered “antifa,” Anti-Racist Action was bringing it to the streets.

Based on extensive interviews with dozens of ARA participants, *We Go Where They Go* tells ARA's story from within, giving voice to those who risked their safety in their own defense and in solidarity with others. In reproducing the posters, zines, propaganda, and photos of the movement itself, this essential work of radical history illustrates how cultural scenes can become powerful forces for change. Here at last is the story of an organic yet highly organized movement, exploring both its triumphs and failures, and offering valuable lessons for today's generation of activists and rabble-rousers. *We Go Where They Go* is a page-turning history of grassroots anti-racism.

“I was a big supporter, and it was an honor to work with the Anti-Racist Action movement. Their unapologetic and uncompromising opposition to racism and fascism in the streets, in the government, and in the mosh pit continues to be inspiring to this day.”

—Tom Morello, *Rage Against the Machine* and *Audioslave*

“Antifa became a household word with Trump attempting and failing to designate it a domestic terrorist group, but Antifa's roots date back to the late 1980's when little attention was being paid to violent fascist groups that were flourishing under Reaganism, and Anti-Racist Action (ARA) was singular and effective in its brilliant offensive. This book tells the story of ARA in breathtaking prose accompanied by stunning photographs and images.”—Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, author of *Loaded: A Disarming History of the Second Amendment*

**TTT note:** Michael Novick, editor of *Turning The Tide* and a participant in the Anti-Racist Action Network from its earliest days in the late 1980s, through to its last years and reincarnation as or transformation into the Torch Antifa Network, was interviewed extensively for the volume (along with many other ARA members around the US and Canada) and shared a great deal of archival material with the authors, including reports from many of the ARA national and regional gatherings over the years, reports that appeared in the pages of TTT, and scans of issues of many zines and publications of various ARA chapters. Several of the authors were key figures in the ARA Network over the years, and write with an insider's knowledge of its ups and downs. They have performed an invaluable service to a new generation of antiracists and antifascists in summing up a rich and complex history. We will have a fuller review in *TTT* next year, but urge you to pre-order.

## ALABAMA PRISON STRIKERS DEMANDS PUSH FOR DECARCERATION

approximately 57,000 incarcerated people across 24 states, according to Shadow Proof's Brian Nam-Sonenstein. Repression against the strike was widespread. The following year Jailhouse Lawyers Speak, a group of incarcerated paralegals and human rights advocates who organize nationally, launched a Millions for Prisoners Human Rights March with support from outside organizations. Prison officials in Florida were so concerned about solidarity action inside that they locked down the entire state's nearly 100,000 prisoners. The march was followed by Operation PUSH in 2018.

Since 2018, outside organizations have taken different directions, some more focused on politicization and building infrastructure. The most frequent acts of resistance by incarcerated people have taken place on more local and regional scales against conditions that local authorities can directly address. While those efforts have seen some victories, there hasn't been a widespread state-wide or national incarcerated-led campaign over the last four years.

### Tactics of strike repression

In the wake of the 2016 national strike, incarcerated organizations like Jailhouse Lawyers Speak raised concerns about the efficacy of work strikes as a sole tactic in galvanizing collective action among prisoners. Having a job can significantly affect someone's circumstances during incarceration. Labor arrangements within prisons vary from state to state, and in some states, it is quite rare for prisoners to have jobs. Imprisoned organizers have noted instances in which prison administrators exchange certain sets of privileges with jobs, such as better housing situations, greater freedom of movement, greater access to commissary or phones, and perhaps more time outside.

Stevie Wilson, who is currently incarcerated in Pennsylvania, and former political prisoner James Kilgore point out that the precarity of jobs inside and enticement of special privileges make it even more difficult to convince incarcerated people to sacrifice those jobs and act in solidarity with strike efforts.

Additionally, incarcerated people in some form of solitary confinement don't have jobs, which means they can't materially participate in a labor strike. The 2018 national strike addressed this issue by expanding the tactical repertoire of resistance to include commissary boycotts, acts of protest like “sit downs,” hunger strikes, and labor strikes. While this may have enabled more prisoners to participate, it can also potentially make strike participation less legible to the media, and it can be easier for public officials to deny and repress the strikers.



Since 2018, organizers have discussed the possibility of additional major prison strikes, but amid concerns that there may not be enough support to swell into collective action, they have not come to fruition. Swift Justice said that he had initially stepped away from organizing for the most recent Alabama strike, quoting the definition of insanity often misattributed to Albert Einstein, “Doing the same thing over and over and expecting different results.”

Despite the pessimism around strike participation and support, the Alabama strike among incarcerated workers defied expectations and was strongly reflected over social media and local news over the past month, often with the hashtag #ShutdownADOC2022.

Swift Justice works in a so-called “honor dorm” in ADOC, a prison space that some have characterized as inhospitable to collective protest organizing, and was shocked by the level of solidarity and commitment he's seen by others incarcerated there, most of whom he said, “couldn't make it in general population.” Defying conventional wisdom, he said that it has been precisely those workers with the most to potentially lose from participating in the strike who had the most impact. Many of those workers controlled the essential duties of social reproduction inside—cooking, cleaning, trash removal, laundry—which enabled them to shut down the entire Alabama prison system.

“The weakest link has actually turned into being the strongest link,” Swift Justice said.

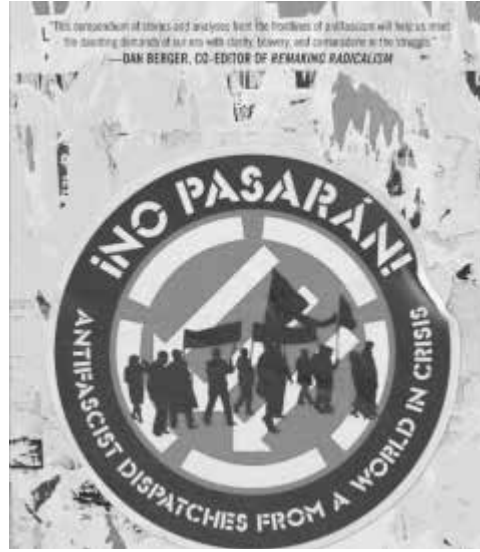
### Political education pays off in the long term

*The New York Times* and ADOC have both intimated in their reporting that outside organizers had significant influence on the strike activity inside Alabama prisons, but both the mass scale of the strike and the responses of

# No Pasarán!

## Antifascist Dispatches from a World in Crisis

Shane Burley (Editor); Tal Lavin (Foreword); David Renton (Afterword)  
Publisher: AK Press, paperback, 564 pp. ISBN-13: 9781849354820



*No Pasarán!* is an anthology of antifascist writing that takes up the fight against white supremacy and the far-right from multiple angles. From the history of antifascism to today's movement to identify, de-platform, and confront the right, and the ways an insurgent fascism is growing within capitalist democracies, a myriad of voices come together to shape the new face of antifascism in a moment of social and political flux.

“Academics and pundits have made careers out of debating the definition of fascism. We are deluged with books, each bearing its own definitions, prognoses, caveats, and warnings, only to be bumped off the bestseller list by the next self-

proclaimed fascism expert. *No Pasarán!* is not that book. These writer-activists understand fascism to be a many-headed hydra that defies typologies and strongman tropes and can only be apprehended in the dialectic of resistance. Antifascism is not an exercise in abstract thinking but an active, collective struggle for a new world. This book will get dog-eared and dirty, but not by gathering dust.”

—Robin D. G. Kelley, author of *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* and *Hammer & Hoe*

**TTT Note:** Michael Novick, the long-time editor of *Turning The Tide* has a chapter in this extensive compendium of antifascist writings and analyses from many sectors and many countries. The chapter, “Lessons from a Lifetime of Antiracist and Antifascist Struggle: A Memoir and Analysis”, looks at experiences and struggles from the 1960s, '70s, '80s, '90s, aughts, 2010s and through today in the 2020s. It includes material about SDS, the June 28th Union, the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, Anti-Racist Action, CopWatch, the Torch Antifa Network and White People 4 Black Lives. It emphasizes the centrality of issues around settler colonial capitalism and white supremacy to antifascist organizing, and reinforces views elsewhere in the volume, such as in “The Black Antifascist Tradition: A Primer” by Jeanelle K. Hope, “500 Years of Fascism” by Mike Bento, and “Gringos and Fascism” by Mira Wabi-Sabi. The volume takes a multi-faceted approach to identifying and fighting fascism, and well merits close study and discussion, especially regarding the history and efficacy of resisting fascism in a large variety of scenes and countries. A long review and appreciation will appear in *TTT* next year, but the book is out now in print for purchase and would provide fantastic subject matter for an anti-fascist study group.

those incarcerated there belie this notion. One prisoner who spoke with Prism Reports and wished to keep his criticism anonymous acknowledged that prisoners appreciate the outside support and organizing of solidarity protests, but he scoffed at the notion that people on the outside were leading the way or coordinating the action of those on the inside.

“You know things don't work like that,” he said.

Lipscomb attributes the sustained commitment of the recent strike to incarcerated people's frustrations with the parole system and fears over the likelihood of dying before being able to be released. Most crucially, he believes that the long-term investment that organizers like FAM have made by engaging in mass political education with their incarcerated peers is paying dividends. Incarcerated people in Alabama have studied the organizing of the Black Panther Party, and the thoughts of figures like Kwame Ture, formerly known as Stokely Carmichael.

According to Lipscomb, the support of street organizations, which command a considerable amount of influence inside, has been critical.

“They enable us to do the teaching and networking in a peace and solidarity like I've never seen before,” Lipscomb said. “I commend the youngsters for their courage and respect for revolutionary thinking and change.”

As incarcerated organizers regroup and discuss when and how to reconvene the strike, they do so with a proven ability to bring about a powerful and widespread strike against prison operations in Alabama.

“I'm a student of history, and struggling has always been a part of life,” Lipscomb said. “So I'm studying from those who came before me as a guide to [get us] where we're trying to be, and that is free.”

*Prism*, where this report originally appeared, is an independent and nonprofit newsroom led by journalists of color. They describe themselves “We report from the ground up and at the intersections of injustice.” See their homepage: [www.prismreports.org](http://www.prismreports.org)

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# TURNING THE TIDE

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## UPCOMING EVENTS:

- ★ November 11 - Armistice Day: Honor Veterans by Waging Peace!
  - ★ Nov. 24 - No Thanks! Honor and Respect Indigenous Sovereignty!
  - ★ Nov. 25 - Buy Nothing Day - Consumer Culture Consumes the Planet!
  - ★ Dec. 10 - International Human Rights Day - Spanish Language Programs
  - ★ KPFK Fiesta Benefit, \$25 @kpfk.org 7p-12m, SEIU 721, 1545 Wilshire. LA
  - ★ Dec. 6-20 KPFK membership drive. TTT Editor's now General Manager of 90.7 FM
  - ★ Dec. 21 Winter Solstice, holiday season (Xmas, Chanukah, Kwaanza)
- Check us out via [www.antiracist.org](http://www.antiracist.org), [facebook.com/tideturning](https://facebook.com/tideturning), [ara-la.tumblr.com](https://ara-la.tumblr.com)

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- MUMIA ABU JAMAL

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★ The Blue Agave Revolution: Poems of the Blind rebel

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