

PART's Perspective:

Sinking Roots of Revolutionary Resistance

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

As resistance to ICE and the use of military troops reaches a flashpoint in Los Angeles and spreads across the US, we must work on how to deepen, extend, solidify, organize and sharpen the outrage and anger in sustained, and sustaining, ways. Street clashes are inevitable, but massive protests and extended community non-compliance are also called for. Overcoming the contradictions between the documented and undocumented, between housed and unhoused, between those in organized labor and those not; overcoming differences in age, in nationality, in income or education; unifying those ready to throw down in militant action and those committed to non-violence (whether revolutionary or not), are all essential if a resistance is to build and grow powerful enough to thwart the state’s designs and the rising authoritarian or neo-fascist trend in the US (and elsewhere).

Leading in this work in Los Angeles has been the Community Self-Defense Coalition of LA, seeking to build organization and accountability, and to connect street patrols that can alert the community to ICE raids before they happen with larger-scale community organization and education, and militant defense against kidnappings. Hundreds of new members are being on-boarded through training and political education. But there are many others carrying out actions and strategies of their own, including the organized labor movement, which held massive rallies in LA and nationally in support of David Huerta, an SEIU labor leader arrested by the feds, various non-profit groups that have a long history of service work with migrant communities, direct action and autonomist formations and large numbers of individuals who have taken to the streets to defend migrant neighbors and express their outrage at ICE, Trump and the overall assault on democracy.

The Trump regime and its slash-and-burn approach to regulations and the social safety net, and its scapegoating of migrants and the left as enemies of “America”, represent the attempts of the Empire to grapple with the profound economic, social, political and environmental crises it is facing. But we need to recognize that those problems, and indeed those protracted crises, have deep roots in the nature of settler colonial capitalism in the US and its globalized system. ‘Fascism’ has its roots in colonialism and enslavement, mass incarceration and corporate privatization of the commons, all of which have been norms of class rule in this society since long before Trump was born, let alone elected.

We need to seize the time in this latest crisis to strengthen and unite the popular forces and our capacity to build solidarity, self-educate and organize, resist on the basis of an understanding that we do indeed have an implacable enemy with whom we have an irreconcilable contradiction, and put forward a strategy that will help us win not just a street battle, but our ongoing liberation.

Without diminishing or minimizing the particular threat posed by Trump and his minions (whether in uniforms or judicial robes, Proud Boy or Patriot Front



gear or suits and ties), we need to grasp that the other corporate, imperialist party has blood on its hands as well, and no solutions to offer. Elected officialdom in the city, county and state are almost uniformly in the hands of Democrats who have allowed or directed law enforcement to defend the ICE operations and attack the protesters. This reflects their longstanding complicity with and obedience to the developers, shippers, hoteliers, sweatshops, agribusiness and other corporate interests that have exploited migrant workers with or without documents for decades.

Exemplary in Los Angeles has been the unity of Chicano/Mexicano, Black, Asian, Palestinian, and Indigenous peoples and the leadership they are providing for conscientious European-descent working and professional people and youth who recognize the need for conscious anti-racist and anti-colonial solidarity. But there are still many contradictions to overcome, especially in reaching, uplifting and absorbing tens of thousands of everyday people who have not been engaged in the movements. But it is in them where the real power of the movement lies, and with them arises the possibility of a new and different world without oppression and exploitation, without oppressors or exploiters.

Building that solidarity and providing a vehicle for that liberatory process of collective self-realization and empowerment requires overcoming sectarian differences, small-group perpetuation, and identification with the oppressors and with the power of the rulers and the rulers’ ideas. It means rejecting the idea of cutting a better deal for yourself at the expense of others.

The people turning out to “Kick Out the Clowns” or declare “No Kings!” on Trump’s militarized birthday celebration must recognize that they can only achieve that goal through conscious and active solidarity with migrant workers, with the unhoused, with sex workers, postal workers, hotel and warehouse workers, with elementary, secondary and college students being turned into profit centers for the financiers, with the incarcerated millions and with the trans targets of the white Christian nationalists.

Rather than wrapping themselves in the flag or in

comforting illusions, those rallies must demand “ICE out of LA!” and “End the Genocide in Gaza!” if they are to mean anything. The resources and ‘bodies’ those campaigns funnel into the Democrats’ political machine must be redirected to solidarity with the leading forces of real resistance coming from the struggles of those oppressed and exploited communities.

What’s in Trump’s One Big Beautiful Bill?

It is expected to increase the federal deficit by trillions of dollars.

It increases funding for deportations and border control operations.

It will reduce the take-home incomes of the bottom 10% of wage earners by four percent by the end of the decade, according to the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office projections. Penn Wharton estimates that households earning less than \$51,000 will immediately see their after-tax income decrease. Meanwhile, the bill boosts the incomes of the top one percent by nearly \$70,000 each in the first year alone, with a collective \$124 billion net tax cut over the life of the bill.

It abolishes taxes on gun silencers, ends tax incentives for clean energy and cars, prohibits state and local regulation of artificial intelligence for 10 years, and cuts eligibility for Medicaid and SNAP (food stamps).

People who are kicked off Medicaid over work and work-reporting requirements will also become ineligible for subsidies for individual insurance plans sold under Obamacare. This is expected to increase the population without medical insurance coverage by at least 10 million people.

It would expand work requirements for SNAP on adults up to the age of 65 (from the current age 55) and also increase work requirements on families with children. 2.7 million families are expected to lose benefits, with an average increase of monthly food costs of over \$250.

It increases the “SALT” (state and local taxes) deduction, which overwhelmingly favors wealthy white homeowners or second homes.

It subsidizes support for private school vouchers. Rich people who donate to nonprofits that hand out vouchers to private K-12 schools will now receive a tax credit. Every dollar donated is counted as a dollar paid in taxes and can be deducted from their tax bill -- including for the appreciated value of stocks they bought at a lower price.

Americans for Tax Fairness says about a provision in the bill limiting estate taxes, “this handout to lucky heirs and heiresses will cost over \$200 billion in lost revenue over 10 years.”

The bill increases the child tax credit, but limits it to only citizen children with citizen parents. The current tax credit applies to children with Social Security numbers if the parent has a taxpayer ID number. This will probably disqualify 2 million children from mixed-status families.

It blocks any funding to enforce contempt of court orders. This, in turn, could enable the Trump administration to flout the rulings of judges without consequence. Erwin Chemerinsky says “the greatest effect of adopting the provision would be to make countless existing judicial orders unenforceable.”

What’s the record of previous US presidents compared to Trump?

On seeking to add Greenland, the Panama Canal and Canada to the US:

Jefferson purchased Louisiana Territory from Napoleon for an “empire of democracy” traversing the continent.
Jackson took US troops into “Spanish” Florida during the War of 1812.
Polk annexed Texas and conquered most of northern Mexico: Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada & California.
Lincoln purchased Alaska from the Czarist Russian empire.
McKinley went to war with Spain and took over Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Philippines and Guam. He also annexed Hawaii after US Marines backed a plantation owners’ coup against the independent monarchy of Hawaii.
Teddy Roosevelt took control of the so-called “Canal Zone” in Panama, and Reagan tried to reverse the treaty that returned sovereignty to Panama, saying, “We stole it fair and square.”

On immigration, deportation and militarizing the border:

Lincoln, Johnson & Grant oversaw the importation of Chinese and Irish laborers to build the trans-continental railway.
Chester Arthur signed the Chinese Exclusion Act.
Coolidge signed the 1924 Immigration Act that Asians, set quotas on Europeans and created the Border Patrol.
Franklin Roosevelt incarcerated Japanese Americans in concentration camps, using the Enemy Aliens Act.
Eisenhower launched Operation Wetback, deporting massive numbers of Mexicans and many Chicano US citizens.
Bill Clinton launched Operation Gatekeeper on the border between Mexico and California
Obama became the “Deporter-in-Chief”, deporting more people than any other president.
Biden increased the ICE budget to even higher levels than Trump had in his first term.

On McCarthyism, surveillance and militarization of policing:

Harry Truman imposed a loyalty oath on government workers, initiated the CIA and the National Security Council.
Eisenhower let the FBI develop COINTELPRO and run a massive snitch network against Black people and the left.
Johnson called out the Army in DC and Detroit on Black rebellions, and military intelligence on anti-war protesters.
Nixon created the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration OKed COINTELPRO attacks on the Black liberation movement, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and the American Indian Movement.
Reagan pardoned the FBI agents who carried out “black bag jobs” against anti-war organizers.
Clinton transferred military hardware to police and fomented fear “super-predators”, stepping up mass incarceration
Dubya Bush signed the USA PATRIOT Act. Obama pressured mayors for mass arrests to shut down Occupy encampments and signed the NDAA criminalizing protests at federal buildings and installations.

Dead Diplomats: Agents of Genocide

by Arun Gupta [excerpts] <https://www.counterpunch.org/2025/05/25/dead-diplomats/>

Herschel Grynszpan did nothing wrong. He was a refugee at 15 years old. He was impoverished, unable to get work papers, and sleeping on the floor of his aunt and uncle’s apartment. The rest of his family had been booted out of the only country they had called home. His sister Berta wrote him of their “great misfortune,” without even a penny.

Grynszpan was distraught, unable to help them. He descended further into turmoil after being denied refugee status even though he “qualified in every way.” He was ordered expelled and hid in the attic of an abandoned apartment. Days later, he purchased a gun.

On November 7, 1938, Grynszpan walked into the German embassy in Paris claiming to have an important document. “He was ushered into the office of a junior-level diplomat, 29-year-old Ernest vom Rath, who asked to inspect it. Drawing his gun, Grynszpan told him, ‘You’re a filthy Kraut, and in the name of 12,000 persecuted Jews, here is the document.’ He fired five shots at vom Rath, who died two days later.”

Grynszpan was referring to an ethnic-cleansing operation by the Nazis that deported 12,000 Jews to Poland including his family. After shooting vom Rath, he “willingly submitted to arrest by the French authorities, and immediately made a statement about the treatment of Jews at the hands of the Nazis.”

Vom Rath happened to die on the fifteenth anniversary of Hitler’s Beer Hall Putsch in Munich. That day, November 9, 1938, Nazi bigwigs gathered in Munich to celebrate. During a “festive dinner,” “Herr Hitler” — as The New York Times called him in a fawning profile the next year in his mountain retreat “furnished harmoniously according to the best of German traditions” — ordered Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels to allow anti-Jewish pogroms already underway to continue and for police to stand back and stand by.

Kristallnacht, The Night of Broken Glass, was the first large-scale pogrom against German Jews after years of intensifying

The Tangled Knot of Anti-Zionist Violence

by Daniel May [Excerpts] <https://jewishcurrents.org/the-tangled-knot-of-anti-zionist-violence>

Doubling down on the conflation of Zionism and Judaism won’t stop violent attacks.

The day after the June 1st Molotov cocktail attack on demonstrators in Boulder, Colorado, I received an email from my synagogue. Citing the assault, which injured 15 at a walk for Israeli hostages in Gaza, along with the killing of two Israeli embassy workers outside an American Jewish Committee (AJC) event in Washington, DC, a week prior, the note from congregation leadership affirmed that “Attacking Jewish people as a response to a war in Israel and Gaza is unquestionably antisemitic.” The letter reminded readers that “the purpose of antisemitic terror is to make us afraid to live public Jewish lives.”

Progressive US Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez agreed, writing on X that “Antisemitism is on the rise here at home, and we have a moral responsibility to confront and stop it everywhere it exists.” Speaker Mike Johnson went farther: “It isn’t about Palestine, it isn’t about Gaza, it isn’t about any particular conflict. It’s because these people want a complete and total extermination of the Jewish people.”

The response is both predictable and puzzling. As troubling as these attacks are, neither the shooter in DC nor the assailant in Colorado yelled any obviously antisemitic slogans when they attacked; both chanted “Free Palestine.” Nor is there any evidence that they held classical antisemitic views, like blaming a Jewish cabal for government policies or seeing Jews as especially greedy or mendacious. The DC shooter’s manifesto doesn’t contain the word Jew or Jewish or even Zionist.

Yet those that have called the violence antisemitic ignore the fact that the AJC is well known as a staunch supporter of the Jewish state, that those killed in the DC attack worked at the Israeli embassy, and that [US] marches for the release of hostages are recognized by most as political demonstrations in support of Israel. It would seem that the victims were targeted not because they were Jews, but because of their support for Israel.

I understand why some find the distinction irrelevant. “The very conversation—is this antisemitic or not—trivializes the issue,” Yehuda Kurtzer, president of the Shalom Hartman Institute, said on a recent podcast. “We Jews who support Israel are now being targeted by acts of violence. Does it matter whether somebody calls it antisemitism or not?”

Yet for American Jewish leaders and politicians, it clearly matters a great deal whether or not this violence is called “antisemitism.” There are obvious political reasons why. For many in the Jewish world, antisemitism is an “eternal” hatred; it persists throughout time, a virus always on the verge of outbreak. If that is the cause of the violence—if indeed there is no cause except irrational prejudice—then there is little we can do to stop it.

But if one’s interest is the safety of Jews, then it’s imperative to examine the motivation of the violence. Doing so makes plain the uncomfortable but increasingly obvious fact that when associated with Jews as a whole, Israel’s annihilatory campaign of indiscriminate bombing and starvation in Gaza puts Jews around the world in danger. Those committed to preventing such attacks should be working to stop that destruction and to refute that association.

This knot—in which Zionism and Judaism merge so completely that opposition to Zionism becomes indistinct from opposition to Judaism—was tied at the birth of Zionism as a political program in the late 19th century. The early political Zionists were not only interested in creating a Jewish refuge, but in transforming what it meant to be Jewish. The key point was that the creation of a Jewish homeland was a means toward the end of establishing a new Jewish identity. According to this framework, those Jews that rejected their national identity were choosing self-denial over self-respect.

It isn’t hard to see how this position would eventually lead so many to insist that Zionism is not a political ideology, but an integral aspect of Jewish identity—and some to declare that Jews that oppose Zionism are, in fact, not really Jews. Yet if support for Israel is simply part of what it means to be Jewish, and anti-Zionism is tantamount to antisemitism, then why should anyone be expected to make a distinction between Zionism and Judaism that the leaders of the Jewish community refuse to make themselves?

Many Palestinian activists and intellectuals have long recognized that such a conflation would tarnish their cause, and worked to clarify that their enemy was ***not*** Jewish people but the state that had stolen Palestinian land.

Fayez Sayegh, founder of the Palestine Research Center in Beirut, was among the most persistent in making this point. It was Zionism and not opposition to it, he argued, that built directly on antisemitism. Both Zionists and antisemites, he noted, agreed on the basic premise that Jews are a single nation that cannot coexist with others. In a refrain familiar to any pro-Palestine activist, he insisted: “I am anti-Israel. I am anti-Zionist also. But I am not anti-Jewish.” Astute Jewish commentators recognized how difficult it was to hold the distinction. In 1968, the Israeli writer and historian Nissim Rejwan noted that supporters of Israel demanded that Arabs make a distinction between Jews and Zionists while insisting that “you cannot draw the line between Zionism and Judaism as the former is the ‘national liberation movement’ of the Jews.” Who are we, he would ask, “to accuse the Arabs of antisemitism when all they have done is fallen right into the ideological trap which the Zionists have set for them?”

It turns out that this wasn’t just a trap laid for Palestinians struggling against Zionist dispossession. It has also become a trap for Jews. By claiming Jewish anti-zionists aren’t real Jews, it invites violence against Jews as such. If support for Israel [were really] essential to being Jewish, then hostility to Israel [would] necessarily entail hostility to Jews. Studies have long shown that as Israeli violence increases, so too does violence against Jews.

For many Jews, discussing the consequences [of] the conflation of Judaism with Zionism is too risky—akin to victim blaming. But describing how the conditions for violence are produced does not exonerate the person directly responsible for that violence; regardless of motivation, we can and should be clear that civilians should not be killed or maimed because of their political positions.

repression. “The scope of the resulting carnage was staggering: more than 1,000 synagogues were burned; over 7,000 Jewish-owned businesses were gutted; hundreds of Jews died; and 30,000 were sent to concentration camps at Buchenwald, Dachau, and elsewhere.”

Upon learning of Kristallnacht, Grynszpan was said to be horrified while Nazi propagandists planned to turn his case into “a show trial to represent the ‘cardinal sin of global Jewry.’”

Grynszpan is now considered a hero and “one who fought back.” Jewish museums celebrate him, and a street in Be’er Sheva, Israel is named for him. At least five books have been written about him. One book terms him “A Boy Avenger.” Another praised him for starting World War II precisely “to stop the ongoing war that Hitler had initiated against the Jews in 1933” (emphasis in original).

No one blames Kristallnacht on Grynszpan. Historians say his act was the “justification” or “pretext” for Kristallnacht. One author justifies it as “an ‘act of counter-violence’ in explicit protest against Hitler’s war against the Jews.” In other words, the boy avenger at most only sought to end the heinous violence.

It is similar to John Brown’s attempt to incite a slave revolt with his deadly raid on Harper’s Ferry in 1959. There is simply no social, historical, or material reason one can oppose counter-violence against such vicious ideologies.

The same is true for Zionism and its agents. On May 21, Elias Rodriguez allegedly killed two Israeli embassy employees in Washington. The parallels to Grynszpan are striking. Rodriguez walked into the museum and identified himself as the suspect. He told police at the scene, “I did it for Palestine, I did it for Gaza.”

The embassy employees were as guilty as vom Rath despite farcical attempts to paint them as peacemakers. In his alleged manifesto, Rodriguez called his act an “armed demonstration.” The term evokes counter-violence, putting the burden of violence on the target.

Some leftists, however, wailed after the shooting, “I can never support murder,” and “We love life!” Denouncing Rodriguez is capitulating to Zionism. Leftists who denounced Hamas after Oct. 7 legitimized Israel’s strategy to sell genocide as self-defense. Denouncing Rodriguez is legitimizing Zionist attempts to paint

resistance to genocide as genocide. Should we now criticize any freed person who struck a mortal blow against a slave owner to free the enslaved?

Oct. 7 was simply counter-violence. The colonizer is responsible for all violence because they create the colonized and any means they use to resist. Oct. 7 showed Zionism for what it is. When, after 20 months of extermination, Israeli officials vow to destroy “everything left in the Gaza Strip,” are they any different than the Germans whom Grynszpan fought against?

If you want to condemn someone, condemn genocidal Zionists and their [US] backers. Then condemn yourself, condemn me, condemn all of us who should be protesting, disrupting, organizing with all our body and soul to stop this genocide.

Rodriguez acted because we have failed. In his manifesto, he praised the “Nonviolent protest in the opening weeks of the genocide [that] seemed to signal some sort of turning point,” and the shift in public opinion “against the genocidal apartheid state.” But he lamented that “thus far the rhetoric has not amounted to much.” His answer was to follow “Aaron Bushnell and others [who] sacrificed themselves in the hopes of stopping the massacre.”

Denouncing Rodriguez is like denouncing history. He is the third young man in less than a year who has picked up a gun to force political change in a left direction like Luigi Mangeone. These men are products of our age. They are filling a vacuum resulting from a left that has collapsed in confusion, defeat, and exhaustion. People are being pushed to violence because we are not creating alternatives.

At the same time, no one should do the state a favor by endorsing violence against individuals or groups. But neither should we cower in fear that pogroms are next and the Proud Boys will haul us off to FEMA camps. MAGA fascists want us to be afraid to protest, speak up, and fight back.

No one knows the effects of Rodriguez’s actions. It took more than 50 years for historians to tell Grynszpan’s story and longer for him to be considered a hero. We should resist the temptation or pressure to denounce Rodriguez.

Historians may one day say Elias Rodriguez did nothing wrong.

Manifesto of the Accused Shooter of Israeli Embassy Personnel

Provided online by Ken Klippenstein “Explication” --May 20, 2025

Halilintar is a word that means something like thunder or lightning. In the wake of an act people look for a text to fix its meaning, so here’s an attempt. The atrocities committed by Israelis against Palestine defy description and defy quantification. Instead of reading descriptions mostly we watch them unfold on video, sometimes live. After a few months of rapidly mounting death tolls Israel had obliterated the capacity to even continue counting the dead, which has served its genocide well.

At time of writing the Gaza health ministry records 53,000 killed by traumatic force, at least ten thousand lie under rubble, and who knows how many thousands more dead of preventable disease, hunger, with tens of thousands now at risk of imminent famine due to Israeli blockade, all enabled by Western and Arab government complicity. The Gaza information office includes the ten thousand under the rubble with the dead in their own count. In news reports there have been those “ten thousand” under the rubble for months now, despite the continual making of more rubble and repeated bombing of rubble again and again and the bombing of tents amid the rubble.

Like the Yemen death toll which had been frozen at some few thousand for years under Saudi-UK-US bombardment before being belatedly revealed to stand at 500k dead, all of these figures are almost surely a criminal undercount. I have no trouble believing the estimates that put the toll at 100,000 or more.

More have been murdered since March of this year than in “Protective Edge” and “Cast Lead” put together. What more at this point can one say about the proportion of mangled and burned and exploded human beings whom were children. We who let this happen will never deserve the Palestinians’ forgiveness. They’ve let us know as much.

An armed action is not necessarily a military action. It usually is not. Usually it is theater and spectacle, a quality it shares with many unarmed actions.

Nonviolent protest in the opening weeks of the genocide seemed to signal some sort of turning point. Never before had so many tens of thousands joined the Palestinians in the streets across the West. Never before had so many American politicians been forced to concede that, rhetorically at least, the Palestinians were human beings, too. But thus far the rhetoric has not amounted to much.

The Israelis themselves boast about their own shock at the free hand the Americans have given them to exterminate the Palestinians. Public opinion has shifted against the genocidal apartheid state, and the American government has simply shrugged, they’ll do without public opinion then, criminalize it where they can, suffocate it with bland reassurances that they’re doing all they can to restrain Israel where it cannot criminalize protest outright.

Aaron Bushnell and others sacrificed themselves in the hopes of stopping the massacre and the state works to make us feel their sacrifice was made in vain, that there is no hope in escalating for Gaza and no point in bringing the war home. We can’t let them succeed. Their sacrifices were not made in vain.

The impunity that representatives of our government feel at abetting this slaughter should be revealed as an illusion, then. The impunity we see is the worst for those of us in immediate proximity to the genocidaires.

A surgeon who treated victims of the Mayan genocide by the Guatemalan state recounts an instance in which he was operating on a patient who’d been critically injured during a massacre when, suddenly, armed gunmen entered the room and shot the patient to death on his operating table, laughing as they killed him. The physician said the worst part was seeing the killers, well known to him, openly swagger down local streets in the years after.

Elsewhere a man of conscience once attempted to throw Robert McNamara off a Martha’s Vineyard-bound ferry into the sea, incensed at the same impunity and arrogance he saw in that butcher of Vietnam as he sat in the ferry’s lounge laughing with friends. The man took issue with McNamara’s “very posture, telling you, ‘My history is fine, and I can be slumped over a bar like this with my good friend Ralph here and you’ll have to lump it.’” The man did not succeed in heaving McNamara off a catwalk into the water, the former secretary of state managed to cling to the railing and clamber back to his feet, but the assailant explicated the value of the attempt by saying “Well, I got him outside, just the two of us, and suddenly his history wasn’t so fine, was it?”

A word about the morality of armed demonstration. Those of us against the genocide take satisfaction in arguing that the perpetrators and abettors have forfeited their humanity. I sympathize with this viewpoint and understand its value in soothing the psyche which cannot bear to accept the atrocities it witnesses, even mediated through the screen.

But inhumanity has long since shown itself to be shockingly common, mundane, prosaically human. A perpetrator may then be a loving parent, a filial child, a generous and charitable friend, an amiable stranger, capable of moral strength at times when it suits him and sometimes even when it does not, and yet be a monster all the same. Humanity doesn’t exempt one from accountability.

The action would have been morally justified taken 11 years ago during Protective Edge, around the time I personally became acutely aware of our brutal conduct in Palestine. But I think to most Americans such an action would have been illegible, would seem insane. I am glad that today at least there are many Americans for which the action will be highly legible and, in some funny way, the only sane thing to do.

I love you Mom, Dad, baby sis, the rest of my familia, including you, O*****
Free Palestine -Elias Rodriguez. **Note:** *None of the on-line posts by Rodriguez target Jews as such, and the consular members killed were apparently Christian, not Jewish.*

HONORING OUR REVOLUTIONARIES: MUMIA ON FANON, LUMUMBA & MALCOLM X

Noelle Hanrahan (NH): Four questions for Mumia. In Fanon, how do we see the dialectical relationship between subjectivity and objectivity?

Mumia Abu-Jamal (MAJ): Hmm, well, when I think about Fanon, he speaks of subjectivity from the context of colonial subjects. This is kind of a colonial projection of colonized people, and it is not who they are. It is who the colonizers would like to project as the subject people. So, this is a projection of colonial power on the colonized.

You know, objectivity is really the colonized using their own minds and interpretation, not just of how to understand the world, of how to comprehend it, but of how to interact with it and transform it.

Fanon uses that quote from Marx, but not in quotes. He uses it to kind of remind us that the objective is not to understand the world, but to transform it. So, every objective that he points to is about how the colonized can be agents of decolonization, and by so doing, act against the colonial state.

And even after, I should say, the colonized people are freed from colonialism, they are not freed from colonization or coloniality, because our minds were formed, and I should say deformed, by the colonial process. And it is Fanon who tells us that the job of all of us, and I think it’s the continuing job of all of us, is to decolonize the institutions and the consciousness in former colonial states.

NH: How can we reflect on Fanon’s fundamental dual dimension of revolutionary anti-colonialism and decolonial humanism?

MAJ: I think if anybody unites those two concepts, it truly is Fanon because he is, at heart, an internationalist and a revolutionary humanist. And he believes deeply in his consciousness that all people have it within them, the wherewithal, the power, to rebel against colonial institutions and ideas and consciousness, but also to wage revolutionary resistance and battle against those forces. He unites those ideas because he understands, of course, as a psychoanalyst, as a psychiatrist, that how we think influences how we act in the real world.

Fanon used to say that colonized intellectuals have to practice what he calls combat literature, and that is writing from a new perspective, a perspective of new nations being born amidst the colonial wreckage that was imported with the colony. This is again like war, but this time war with words, and that without that, culture is but petrification. And a lot of times the colonized intellectuals, the poets, the writers, you know, write endearingly and affectionately about the departed past. What they don’t write about is the present.

And because they don’t write about the present, they perform the act of petrification, right, because you’re looking backwards but you’re not looking forwards. Write about the present, because the present is the doorway to the future. That, I think, is central to Fanon’s thinking.

NH: What do you think are the relevant lessons we can learn from Fanon and other revolutionaries of his time, including Lumumba and Malcolm X, to advance our liberation struggles today?

MAJ: Interesting choices, when you think about Fanon, when you think of Malcolm X, and when you think about

NH: And how would you see that as a relevant lesson? What can we take from those examples?

MAJ: Well, when you study Lumumba’s life and, I think, read *The Wretched of the Earth*, where Fanon talks openly about Lumumba, you can learn about the errors of Lumumba, and learn that you cannot make errors with the colonialists; because they will capitalize on those errors, and they will eliminate you. It’s as simple as that.

What Fanon and Malcolm, I think represent, are beings who are endlessly in transition. That is, they are transforming themselves when they get new information about how the world works, about history, about personality, about psychology, about politics, about world issues. You know, Malcolm was that to a T.

He never stopped developing. And he never ever stopped studying. People who knew him, who were around him when he was a Minister in the Nation in New York, said you never saw the brother without a book in his hand or in his briefcase. When he sat down on a bus or on an airplane, he did a lot of his reading. He continued to study, and he continued to expand his understanding of the world.



This year marks the centenary of the births in 1925 of Patrice Lumumba, Frantz Fanon, and Malcolm X, apostles of revolutionary African liberation.

Patrice Lumumba. I don’t recall Fanon writing about Malcolm. Maybe I’ve missed that. But I know he did write about Patrice Lumumba, who was a dear friend of his and one of the African leaders that he admired. But even if he admired him, Fanon, you know, being a revolutionary and decolonial thinker, was not afraid to criticize Lumumba. It’s true what happened to him was a terrible tragedy, and the colonialists, you know, really used him and destroyed him because they feared what might come from him opening up what was once called the bread basket of Africa, the Congo.

However, I think Fanon loved Lumumba and admired him as a brother, but, you know, human beings make mistakes, and human beings make fatal mistakes when they fail to adequately analyze and understand the role of the colonialists, right?

The same can be said in many ways of Fanon. And even though he formally studied, of course, to be a psychoanalyst and psychiatrist, he also studied revolutionary sciences, the human sciences as they call it. Why? Because he wanted to know how to apply a revolutionary science to a colonial situation. So, he read Marx and he read many other thinkers who gave him ideas and ways of looking at the world, you know. He read and critiqued Jean-Paul Sartre and he, again, used what he learned to further analyze the world and understand the world and try to transform the world.

Both of those fellows were beings of tremendous self-transformation, and they were becoming, I think, better thinkers, better beings, and better revolutionaries in their own way.

Stop Cop City RICO Trials Set to Begin This Summer in Atlanta GA

May 14 status hearing set plans to streamline the complex 61-person racketeering case under a new judge.

Defense attorneys face tight deadlines ahead of trials anticipated to begin this summer.

by Matt Scott (Atlanta Community Press Collective)
After nearly two years of delay, trials will begin in the coming months for the 61 individuals charged under Georgia’s Racketeering Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) law as part of the state’s crackdown on the Stop Cop City Movement. During the May 14 status hearing, Fulton County Superior Court Judge Kevin M. Farmer said he expects all motions to be filed over the next two weeks and trials to begin as soon as June.

It has been nearly two years since a grand jury indicted 61 individuals, collectively known as the ‘ATL 61’, on RICO charges in August 2023 over protests over ‘Cop City,’ a police training center in Atlanta. Defendants’ lives have been disrupted by the lengthy delay. If found guilty, defendants could face up to 20 years in prison.

“This case will not die,” said Marlon Kautz, one of the defendants and spokesperson for the Atlanta Solidarity Fund. “There’s a political reason for that. As long as 61 people are facing decades in prison for RICO charges simply for being associated with a political movement, protest everywhere is chilled and intimidated.”

Kautz, Savannah Patterson, and Adele MacLean, collectively known as the Sol Fund 3, were arrested during a police raid in May 2023 and charged with money laundering. Prosecutors dropped the money laundering charges in September 2024, but the RICO charges remained.

During the May 14 status hearing, Judge Farmer laid out a game plan for navigating the complexities of holding trials for what he called “a 61-person elephant.” Farmer said he will try five defendants at a time, with the Georgia Attorney General’s Office determining which defendants will comprise each trial.

The Sol Fund 3, along with Sonali Gupta and Brooke Courtemanche, will be the first group to be tried over the summer. Ayla King, who originally requested a speedy trial in 2023, will follow the first group. Attorney Surinder Chadha Jimenez, who represents King, said he expects the ‘speedy’ trial to begin in August.

New judge on case must work through a backlog of motions

The original judge assigned to the case was Fulton County Superior Court Judge Kimberly Esmond Adams, but Adams was recently transferred to a different court. On the eve of Farmer’s first RICO hearing Wednesday, Adams issued a ruling denying demurrers—colloquially known as motions to dismiss—made on behalf of the five defendants scheduled to go to trial first. Attorney Don Samuels, who represents Kautz, said they received the denial Wednesday, “five minutes before walking into the courtroom.”

In the nearly two-year period that Adams was presiding over the case, defense attorneys filed over 250 motions, most of which had been adopted by multiple defendants. Xavier de Janon, defense attorney for Jamie Marsicano, said that the motions had largely gone unaddressed by Adams, creating a backlog.

During the May 14 status hearing, Judge Farmer ordered that previously filed joint motions, which had been adopted by multiple defendants, must be refiled by each individual defendant. Each motion must now be “particularized” to the facts of each individual case. Refiling previously adopted motions is no easy task, the defense attorneys say. Farmer said these motions and any other motions must be filed by May 30.

State submits more discovery as trial nears

Deputy Attorney General John Fowler, lead prosecutor on the case, told the Court on Wednesday he brought 61 thumb drives with additional discovery, a surprise to defense attorneys. “We heard about a thumb drive today, for the first time ever,” de Janon said at a press conference following the hearing. “The state revealed that there’s more evidence in this case, 57 gigabytes of evidence.”

This discovery is in addition to the ten terabytes of discovery previously turned over to the defense, which attorneys said was uncategorized and included over 30 days’ worth of video footage and 27 days’ worth of audio recordings.

Assistant Attorney General Hallie Scott Dixon said the delayed discovery was due to the Dekalb County Police

Department’s failure to turn over evidence regarding undercover agents.

Farmer chided the prosecution for its delay in turning over evidence. “If it’s the custody and control of the DeKalb Police Department, then it’s deemed to be in your custody and control. If they didn’t turn it over to you, you’re going to take the brunt of that.” The late discovery production raised other concerns among defense attorneys.

“We not only have terabytes and terabytes of evidence already disclosed late,” de Janon said, “but now we have more evidence to review with a May 30 deadline.”

Defense attorneys also took issue with the timing of the new discovery, which came nearly a year after the May 17, 2024 deadline for discovery production that Adams set during a hearing last year. However, Adams did not put the order into writing, leaving Farmer to decide whether to allow the new discovery.

Farmer agreed with the concerns of defense attorneys, telling prosecutors, “[If/when] Stuff starts popping up two years old, people are going to call shenanigans on that.” Some evidence may end up excluded from trials, Farmer warned, adding that he planned to set “hard deadlines” on discovery.

Defendants and court attendees subjected to heightened security

With 61 defendants, their attorneys, supporters and media, the hearing was well attended and moved to a larger courtroom. Farmer ordered heightened security around the hearing.

The media, with the exception of pool cameras, watched the proceedings from an overflow room, reminiscent of an incident in November 2023, when Adams kicked out the media entirely to an overflow room.

Deputies instructed attendees in both the main courtroom and the overflow room to place their cell phones in pouches, which they then locked. Defense attorneys said their clients’ identification cards were taken in addition to their cell phones.

Amanda Clark-Palmer, who represents Timothy Bilodeau, said knowledge of the heightened security getting out to the public could prejudice a jury. She questioned the reasoning behind the additional security and requested the Court give notice to allow attorneys to argue against using those measures in the future.

MOBILIZING WHITE PEOPLE FOR THE ANTI-FASCIST FIGHT

Catalyst Project invites you to an urgent, practical conversation on how white organizers can respond to the authoritarian threats of this moment. Mobilizing White People for the Anti-Fascist Fight moves beyond naming the danger: it equips us to build the broad, multiracial front necessary to defeat it. This online webinar and fundraiser will take place on Tuesday July 1st at 3pm-5pm PST/6pm-8pm EST, it is session 3 of the 2025 Anne Braden Anti-Racist Organizing Series.

Register here: https://us02web.zoom.us/webinar/register/WN_9uI8_edARbmKTBSwJbNURA

Featured panelists are:

Suzanne Pharr — Southern queer feminist, founder of the Women’s Project, co-founder of Southerners On New Ground (SONG), and former director of the Highlander Center, with fifty years of strategic anti-racist and LGBTQ liberation work.

Deadly Heat in Prisons

from The Marshall Project prison journalism

The Marshall Project and Prison Journalism Project asked several incarcerated reporters to document the impact of extreme heat on their facilities. Their stories reveal the brutal reality: frequent medical emergencies, increased tension among the incarcerated, and little respite from the heat.

Derek R. Trumbo Sr., 46, Kentucky

Derek Trumbo is a writer incarcerated at Northpoint Training Center. He is a member of Voices Inside, a prison playwrights’ workshop, and he is a multiple-time Pen America Prison Writing Award winner, who has also been published by The Vera Institute of Justice.

The heat affects everyone in prison. One day in late July, the temperature outside got up to around 100 degrees. The very hot days tend to run together, melting and merging in the heat. But I remember this particular day because during a routine training session of the prison’s Certified Emergency Response Team (CERT) a correctional officer collapsed and died.

He suffered a heart condition. Nurses attempted to resuscitate him, but he passed away at the hospital. The entire prison mourned the 24-year-old man’s passing. Local news stations reported on it, and officers wore black rings around their badges to show solidarity and compassion.

Even though the heat can be deadly, the prison offers little respite. Our windows are riveted shut, and there are no trees in the yard to offer a single lick of shade. In the sweltering blister of summer, the prison’s pastoral landscape — with its amazing sunrises and sunsets — only magnifies the sun’s intensity.

Inside the prison, the dingy white linoleum floors become slick and damp with the brown water oozing from the overhead water pipes that sweat with condensation. The puddles sit as if a small child had spilled ice cream on hot asphalt in the desert.

If the air-conditioning goes out, as it often does during a heat-wave, the prison will roll out large industrial fans that circulate the hot air like a convection oven.

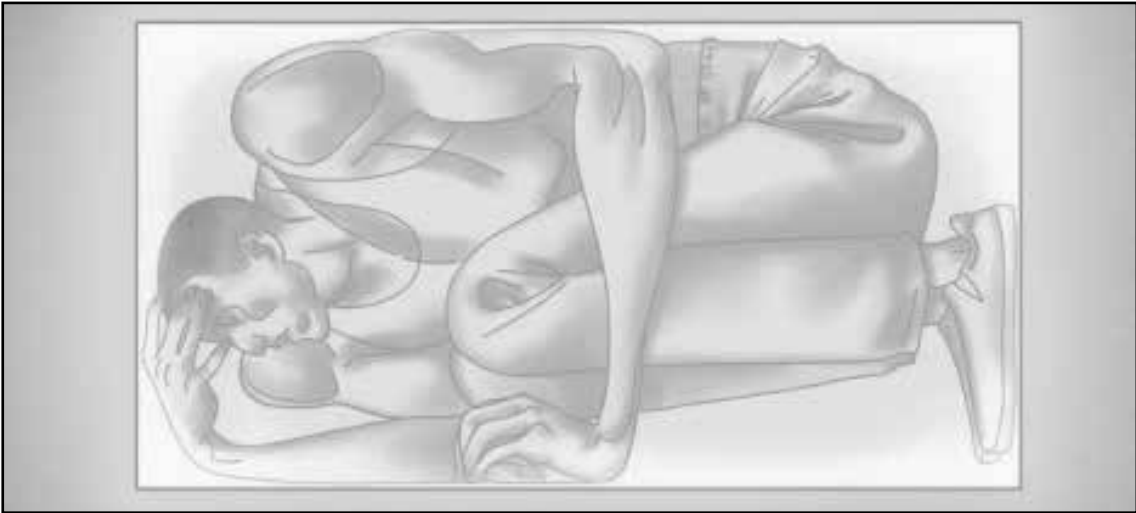
The communications director for the Kentucky Justice & Public Safety Cabinet stated that prison leadership equips facilities with free “cooling stations, industrial fans, water bottles, extra blankets and clothing.” They would not comment on specific maintenance issues but added that their leadership “act[s] swiftly and work[s] through the state procurement system to quickly fix.” Regarding details about the facility, they added that the “Department of Corrections does not confirm or deny facility layout and structure.”

Gopal Dayaneni — Co-founder of Movement Generation: Justice & Ecology Project; a veteran organizer and trainer who weaves climate, labor, and racial-justice struggles into transformative, broad-front strategy.

Beth Howard — Appalachia Peoples Union Director for Showing Up for Racial Justice (SURJ) and forthcoming Haymarket author of Rednecks for Black Lives, organizing majority-white bases in the South toward cross-racial, working-class solidarity.

Morgan Bassichis — NYC-based comedian, writer, and Jewish Voice for Peace leader whose “fiercely hilarious” performances merge radical Jewish politics with sharp anti-racist critique.

Why attend? Shift from fear to action. Hear stories of white people taking principled risks—and learn how you can too.



Ashleigh Smith, 39, Michigan

Ashleigh Smith is a writer incarcerated at Women’s Huron Valley Correctional Facility. She has taken a creative writing class through Eastern Michigan University and has been published in The Oakland Arts Review through Oakland University.

The first sign of extreme heat in my prison is a smell that comes from the walls, which hold in the heat until they sweat. The stench reminds me of the rolled up floor mats the wrestling team used for practice in high school.

The next signal is when my peers and I change into tank tops or white T-shirts during count instead of the stifling navy blue uniform — even though we risk getting written up. And the final sign is when the prison cancels medical appointments because the administration doesn’t want people overexerting themselves by walking long distances to get to an appointment.

Once, during an exceptionally warm week in August last year, I was supposed to push a friend in a wheelchair a little under a quarter mile to one of the health care areas for a routine treatment, but the unit officers had locked the wheelchairs away to make sure nobody left the unit. It was 103 degrees.

Not having control over the water temperature in the shower is the hardest part of being in prison during a heatwave. When I come back to my housing unit after being called out, and I’m sweaty, I just want to take a cool shower to rinse off. But instead I have to get in a scalding hot shower.

According to the Michigan Department of Corrections’ public information office, incarcerated people “do not risk getting written up if they wear their white [T]-shirt during count.” They also stated that “medical appointments are not canceled due to heat, but some restrictions in movement may be made because of the heat index.” They did not respond to questions about locking away wheelchairs.

Ryan Green, 33, North Carolina

Ryan Green is a writer and military veteran currently housed at FCI Butner Medium I. He writes about the treatment of incarcerated people and the need for justice reform.

In a heat wave, the prison doesn’t do anything for the elderly, sick or more vulnerable, even though we are in a medical facility. Once, I had a cellie who had what I thought was a heart attack due to the heat and lack of hydration. He told me he was feeling dizzy, had pain in his chest and arm, and was short of breath. He said that when he went to the medical unit, the staff told him to drink more water and sent him back. But they don’t supply bottled water in a facility where the water quality is known to be bad.

I have no way of knowing how hot it is in the summer months. The one thermostat I’ve seen is in the UNICOR factory, where there is air-conditioning for the safety of the machines. But I know it’s too hot in my prison when I wake up soaked in sweat when the air-conditioning unit breaks in the living areas.

I’ve been in FCI Butner for nearly five years, and I have never seen my facility give us anything for a heat wave. Last spring, staff searched people’s cells, and wound up taking many people’s fans that they had purchased from the commissary. We can’t buy new ones because they no longer sell them.

The commissary sells water bottles for 50 cents, antifungal cream for \$2.40, sunscreen for \$4.80 and hats for \$9.10. Many jobs here pay under 50 cents an hour, so buying supplies is expensive for us.

Citing privacy reasons, a representative of the Federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) Office of Public Affairs would not comment on the medical condition or treatment of Green’s cellmate. Regarding the water quality, the BOP stated that FCI Butner I, and the larger FCC Butner complex receive water from the same source as the local community and that it “meets community standards.”

100X100 Campaign to Increase Publication Frequency of Turning the Tide

Over its 30+ year publishing history, *TTT* has been published in magazine format, as a 24-page tabloid, and from time to time on a bi-monthly basis, six issues a year. For the last few years, economic necessity has dictated that we guarantee four 8-page issues a year. To restore bi-monthly publication, we launched a fund-raising campaign we’ve dubbed “**100X100.**”

We are still looking for one hundred people who will donate \$100 a year, or \$10/mo, to make it possible for *TTT* to resume publishing six issues a year, and continue mailing about 1700 copies of each issue into the prisons. You can donate at http://ko-fi.com/anti_racist_action_la. Help it go viral!

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

If you’d like to see *Turning the Tide* more frequently, if you want to contribute to breaking down the walls of isolation and separation imposed by the prison system, please contribute. If you can’t manage \$100 all at once, you could donate \$10 a month. But any donation you make can help. Postage costs for a single issue of TTT are over \$1000 and climbing. If you can’t donate yourself, please help spread the campaign via your social media, to your Facebook friends, X or Bluesky followers, and email contacts. Everything helps. Nobody makes a dime from working on *TTT*.

If the campaign is successful, we will resume publishing every other month in 2026. Postage is our biggest expense. Nobody gets paid at *TTT*. But the Postal Service is not so generous. We have a handful of people who are sustainers, making a monthly donation, a larger number of people who subscribe once a year or so. Right now, we are at about 10% of our goal. LA area supporters could set up house meetings, where the editor will pitch to your friends for support. The future of *Turning the Tide* is in your hands. Now, while you’re thinking about it, go to:

https://ko-fi.com/anti_racist_action_la

and donate, or use paypal to antiracistaction_la@yahoo.com if you prefer. Then share it with your contacts. With your help, *Turning the Tide* can step up to the “urgency of now” -- the necessity for radical organizing, educating and analyzing to respond to the growing crisis of the Empire -- endless war, police terror with impunity, mass incarceration, colonialism, ecological devastation that will shortly become irreversible.

If you think *TTT* is a useful tool in the struggle for people’s power and a new world, please donate today. If you wish, you can also just send cash, check or money order to

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

Drop the Charges Against Nick Tilsen

Relatives, We need your help to secure Nick Tilsen’s freedom and ensure the upcoming evidentiary hearing doesn’t go to trial. Nick has an evidentiary hearing on June 12-13, 2025, at the Pennington County Courthouse, where we aim to prove not only his innocence but the pattern of targeted attacks against Indigenous Peoples by the Rapid City Police Department (RCPD). We will begin each day at 8 AM with smudge and prayer and proceed to the courthouse together.

*If you are nearby, please show up in a good way for our brother. Sadly, individuals wearing AIM, NDN, or Landback clothing will not be allowed to enter the courthouse.

LEARN MORE ABOUT THE CASE:

In 2023, Nick Tilsen pulled over to conduct a routine cop watch where a Native unhoused relative was being stopped by Rapid City Police (RCPD) in Rapid City, South Dakota.

A year after that cop watch, Nick received notice that he was being charged with aggravated assault and obstruction of a police officer from the incident. The officer wasn’t touched at all, no physical harm was caused to any officer in this incident, and there is video evidence that proves Nick is innocent.

Nick is being systematically targeted as an Indigenous movement leader, local prosecutors intentionally sought

out the police officer named in this case and encouraged him to press charges. The charges brought against Nick are false and inflated to criminalize, silence, and ultimately isolate him from his community through imprisonment.

Nick is being targeted by RCPD because he has unapologetically stood on his values and has called for accountability and justice for people harmed by police in Rapid City. This is a continuation of the American legacy of vilifying Indigenous people and the legal system targeting and over-criminalizing Indigenous movement leaders.

NDN Collective has been pushing for a federal investigation into the Rapid City Police Department for over three years for this exact issue. This fight is bigger than just Nick Tilsen. It’s about protecting movement leaders, movement organizations, our right to free speech, and to demand justice for those harmed by colonized white supremacist systems and structures.

Here are a few ways you can support Nick Tilsen and NDN Collective:

1. Sign this Petition (& encourage others to sign): <https://actionnetwork.org/petitions/drop-the-charges-against-nick-tilsen>
2. Donate to the NDN Legal Fund: <https://ndnlegalfund.org/>

3. Call or email the Pennington County States Attorney’s office asking them to drop the charges: Phone: (605) 394-2191 OR Email: sao_all@pennco.org and larar@pennco.org
 4. Share this information with a friend or on social media to bring attention to the injustices happening in South Dakota
- Drop the Charges**
- Nick is a devoted father, son, uncle, spiritual helper, mentor, and leader respected by his elders, the broader movement, and Indigenous Peoples’. This is his legacy - they won’t define or diminish it.

NDN Collective

The Rapid City vs. Racism Campaign is an ongoing campaign aimed at addressing issues of racism, discrimination, and racial inequality by challenging systems that continue to uphold white supremacy and contribute to the oppression of Indigenous people.

Learn more about our campaign by visiting our website:

<https://ndncollective.org/rapid-city-vs-racism/>

Colorado forests are releasing more carbon than they capture each year

By Jayme DeLoss
<https://warnercnr.source.colostate.edu/colorado-forests-releasing-carbon/>
[Dead spruce trees on a mountain with other mountains in the distance under blue sky.]
Engelmann spruce trees killed by the spruce beetle in Colorado’s Rio Grande National Forest. Insects and disease were the main culprit causing Colorado’s forests to become a carbon source in recent years. Photo by Katie Nigro

Trees consume carbon dioxide and lock it away from the atmosphere, preventing the heat-trapping gas from contributing to global warming. However, dead trees slowly release carbon as they decompose. Colorado’s forests store a massive amount of carbon, but dying trees – mostly due to insects and disease – have caused the state’s forests to emit more carbon than they absorbed in recent years, according to a Colorado State Forest Service report.

The report’s findings are valuable as policymakers consider options for drawing down carbon to reduce climate change and forest managers develop long-term strategies for forest and carbon management.

“People are looking to our natural ecosystems to mitigate climate change,” said Tony Vorster, lead author of the report and a research scientist with the Natural Resource Ecology Laboratory. “We shouldn’t necessarily look to our forests to offset emissions because they’re currently a net carbon source across the state as a whole, and that trend is probably going to continue with ongoing droughts and wildfires.” Vorster said that future reports will show Colorado’s forests are an even greater source of carbon because of recent severe wildfires that were not accounted for in the report released Jan. 9, which covers 2002-2019.

The state-mandated Forest Carbon Inventory provides the most detailed and comprehensive assessment to date of how much carbon is stored in Colorado’s forests and harvested wood products and how that amount is changing over time. “It’s natural for forests to cycle through times where they are carbon sinks and then carbon sources. We’re interested in long-term trends,” Vorster said.

Researchers from the Colorado State Forest Service and the Natural Resource Ecology Laboratory, both part of Colorado State University’s Warner College of Natural Resources, developed a statewide carbon accounting framework to produce the ongoing inventory. The inventory establishes a baseline for measuring future changes, so managers and policymakers can gauge the long-term effectiveness of decisions. It will be updated every few years.

“While other reports have provided estimates for forest carbon, this report stands out as the first to focus solely on the state’s forest sector,” said Ashley Prentice, a CSFS forest carbon specialist and co-author of the report. “It delivers a detailed, in-depth analysis of how much carbon is stored, how it is changing and the factors driving these changes.”

Researchers estimated that Colorado’s 22.8 million acres of forests and harvested wood products stored 1,558 teragrams of carbon between 2010 and 2019. (A teragram is one trillion grams or a million metric tons.) To put that into perspective, Prentice said if all that carbon were released, it would be roughly equivalent to annual carbon dioxide emissions from 1.3 billion gas-powered vehicles.

Compared to their total carbon stock, the state’s forests emit a relatively small 0.9 teragrams of carbon annually,



Prentice calculated, which is roughly equivalent to the annual carbon dioxide emissions from 770,000 vehicles.

Patchwork of carbon gains and losses

Trees are half carbon. They absorb carbon dioxide through photosynthesis and store it as biomass in their trunks, branches, leaves, roots and in the soil.

This inventory is the first for Colorado to include harvested wood products, like lumber or furniture, which continue to store carbon until they decompose or are burned. Harvested wood contributed only a small fraction of carbon to the state’s overall stock, 0.4%; however, Prentice said, “These products represent an opportunity for long-term carbon storage while also supporting local economies.”

Changes in carbon stocks varied greatly across forest types and locations, in line with disturbances by wildfire, weather, insects, disease and timber harvest. Undisturbed forests sequestered more carbon than they emitted.

Insects and disease – most notably, bark beetle outbreaks – affected more forest than wildfire, harvest and weather combined during the study period. Insects and disease were responsible for 85% of the total area impacted by disturbances and 64% of disturbance-related carbon losses. [ARA Note: The widespread bark beetle destruction of trees in Colorado is clearly related to rising temperatures at elevation due to global heating from greenhouse-gas emissions. The fact that Colorado’s forests are now releasing more carbon from decaying dead trees than they are capturing from growth is a manifestation of the destructive feedback loops that are accelerating the negative effects of global heating. This is similar to the way melting glaciers increase the amount of solar energy converted to heat by absorption, since the lost ice mass reduces the ability to reflect the light and thus the heat-energy away. It’s also the case that the trees weakened and then killed by bark beetles are prime candidates to fuel further forest fires.]

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Postage alone for this issue comes to \$1000. We would like to increase the size and frequency of Turning the Tide, but we can only do it with your support. If you’re a prisoner and can send stamps or get someone outside the walls to subsidize your subscription, please do so. If you work with an info shop or other zine or record distro, please consider ordering a bundle of TTT to distribute; \$5 will get you 20 copies. And check out our 100X100 campaign elsewhere in this issue. If you live in L.A. or nearby, we can come to house meetings to speak and collect donations for the paper. Email antiracistaction_la@yahoo.com

Illegal Bylaws Change Threatens Democracy, Diversity at Pacifica Radio

by Michael Novick, former General Manager, KPFFK

What is one of the most critical aspects of these new bylaws, (which we consider an illegal substitution, because they were not adopted by any of the methods within the bylaws for changing the bylaws; they were adopted in secrecy)? The main aim of it, and the same thing that was in the New Day proposal and in the predecessor Pacifica restructuring project bylaws proposal, both of which were rejected and defeated by the members in foundation-wide votes, is to centralize power and authority in the national board and the manager they hire, the executive director. They dis-empower the local station boards, and eliminate local oversight of the management and the budget of the finances. The long-term goal is to control the programming and marginalize or eliminate radical community voices from the airwaves.

They do this by eliminating the provisions for the elected local delegates to choose the Pacifica National Board (PNB) directors. They also have removed the Local Station Board (LSB) treasurers as a position. Since there are still treasurers, they’re allowing them for now to sit on the National Finance Committee (NFC) for observation purposes, but they no longer have a vote on the NFC, considering the budgets of the stations and the foundation.

They end the election of delegates from each station to the various committees of the PNB. They have already ended all involvement of LSBs in the selection process for managers and the evaluation of the station managers and the program directors.

There’s a deceitful bait and switch going on. The New Day faction put out a little spreadsheet with a comparison, but they left out some of the most important things. For example, the original bylaws provide for the recall or removal of a local station board member, also known as a delegate, and if that delegate is serving as the director of the Pacifica Foundation on the National Board, they would be removed from that director position as well, as a consequence of a vote by the members at their station.

In the original bylaws, it says a delegate can be removed “upon the majority vote of the class of members associated with the radio station who originally elected a delegate, voting by written ballot in an election to remove said delegates.” The election is held if the Secretary has received a petition signed by at least 2% of the appropriate class of members affiliated with that radio station. If that delegate is removed as a delegate, they’re also removed from the national board if they had become a director.

The illegal substitute bylaws remove this provision for removal of LSB members by the general membership electorate and they provide no comparable method for removal of the members of the PNB by the base membership.

They disguise various realities of the illegal substitute bylaws. For example, the table of contents that they put out shows the members as: A) listeners, and B) staff. But the actual body of the document is different. It says A) listeners, and B) paid staff members, and then C) Volunteer staff members. This is because originally they planned to separate the staff into two separate voting constituencies. They dropped that in the so-called settlement, because they realized it was one of the most vulnerable parts, but they still have this aspect of dividing the staff in two in the actual language, even though the table of contents tries to disguise that.

Similarly, in the new illegal bylaws, they state “All members shall have all rights granted to them by law, or by these bylaws, including without limit, the right to vote on the terms and in the manner set forth in these bylaws, on the election and removal of directors.” But this is another deception, because ***there is no provision*** for removal of directors by a vote of the members. Not for the so-called board officers, not for the station representative directors. Not for the staff representative directors. None of them have a provision that the people who elected people can remove them.

Similarly, Article 15 on voting methods in the new bylaws defines two methods of voting, as the current one does, single transferable vote (STV) and instant runoff vote (IRV). But the reality of the voting methods used in the illegal substitute bylaws repeatedly diverge from those methods. Those methods were designed in the original bylaws to assure that a single majority cannot



control all the seats or offices, and that minorities get some amount of representation.

Instead, the illegal substitute bylaws repeatedly provide for methods where the same majority controls all the seats, by electing the directors as single-seat national officers, a national chair, a national vice chair, a national treasurer, et cetera. They assure that the same faction and ticket will control all those seats. In providing only a single station representative from each station, they assure that only the majority faction from each station will take the seat from that station. The local station board officers are elected in the same manner. Each election is for a single officer position, guaranteeing that the same majority can fill all the seats. Once they’re on the PNB, they get to elect two at-large members, and in that vote each member gets two votes. So, the same majority can name both at-large directors.

This consistent pattern makes it clear that the language retaining STV and IRV is a sham. It’s just propaganda to disguise the winner-take-all, first-past-the-post reality, which, as in governmental elections, essentially disenfranchises and discounts minorities.

The new illegal substitute bylaws don’t provide any mechanism for keeping money out of Pacifica politics. On the contrary. Through all those provisions that eliminate minority voices and opinions, they ensure that the faction with the deepest pockets will dominate every aspect of governance with no recourse or voice for all the other elements of membership.

What’s their reasoning for this? They expressed in several places they want to remove the power of the local boards to have any oversight over finances, over management.

They have adopted a measure that says any and all actions resolutions and policies taken or adopted by a Local Station Board may be overridden by a majority vote of the directors if said action, resolution, or policy is found by the Board of Directors to be adverse to the mission or purposes of the Foundation, or exceed the power or authority granted to said LSB.

It’s also spelled out most clearly in the transition section, and that transition has already begun, according to them, despite the continuing court proceedings under which they came up with their settlement. The illegal Bylaws state: “during the transition period and under the provisions of the revised bylaws and thereafter, the powers and duties of local station boards change to a focus on fundraising, membership drives, community outreach and assessing the needs of the station in regard to their communities.” Actually they are supposed to assess the station offerings in regards to the ***needs of the community*** -- they got it backward!

“During the transition period under the provisions of the revised bylaws and thereafter, LSBs no longer elect directors to the National Board, no longer recommend budgets to the National Board, no longer approve bylaws or articles of incorporation amendments, will no longer be elected as delegates to national committees, nor have direct involvement in personnel matters.”

These changes, disempowering the members and the delegates we elect, and eliminating local oversight and evaluation of managers and station finances, make it clear

why the New Day majority on the PNB is seeking to impose these illegal substitute bylaws in the manner they are, without any public discussion or any member vote.

They know the bylaws do not pass the smell test. And in the light of day, with a fully informed electorate voting on the changes, they would be defeated by the members again.

What’s the background and reasoning behind this? It’s because Pacifica has always been contested terrain. The democratization of the bylaws and of the organization that took place at the beginning of this century came after years of struggle. There’s continued to be struggle about what voices are allowed on the air.

When I was general manager of KPFFK, we added many additional Black radical voices, Indigenous voices, environmental programs, a labor show, a hip-hop show, anarchist interviews, more Spanish language programming, local news. Almost all of those, after they removed me, were cut or reduced, moved to different times, or eliminated completely. Morning and evening drive time has been devoted to programs from KPFA or nationally syndicated white liberal programming. And that’s really what’s behind this, is to sterilize what goes over the airwaves, and to restrict it.

We won the struggle to democratize the bylaws, and we can’t afford to lose it. Because the democratic bylaws are what has kept Pacific in existence. Air America is gone, MSNBC got rid of all the anti-war voices. NPR censored Mumia Abu Jamal. Pacifica is here to continue the fight because of the democratization. If we lose that, we’ll lose everything. These illegal substitute Bylaws are the Pacifica equivalent of corporate media complying with Trump’s attacks on freedom of speech and of the press.

What you can do

Sign the petition to defend democracy here:
<https://www.change.org/p/defend-democracy-at-pacifica>

Read a summary of the significant changes and a point by point comparison of the original and the illegal substitute Pacifica Bylaws here: <https://pacificafightback.org/pacificas-bylaws-changed-your-vote-discarded/>

Read an analysis of the historic roots of the Bylaws struggle: <https://change-links.org/pacifica-radio-imperiled-by-maga-and-from-within/>

Contribute to cover the legal expenses to challenge the illegal substitute Bylaws. Donate here: <https://www.gofundme.com/f/defend-democracy-at-pacifica-radio>

Sign up for Pacifica Fightback’s low-frequency e-newsletter here:
<https://pacificafightback.org/sign-up-for-our-newsletter/>

To join the Defend Media campaign, and help plan an upcoming teach-in, email show@outfm.org

To join the Defend DEI, Overcome Racism & Sexism in Progressive Media working group, email pacificafightback@gmail.com

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 35 years. In addition, there are several Facebook pages, such as facebook.com/tideturning. IG [@antiracistaction_la](https://www.instagram.com/antiracistaction_la) You can follow [@ara_losangeles](https://www.x.com/ara_losangeles) on X, and the De-Colonize LA! blog at ara-la.tumblr.com.

Communist Party of Aztlan Statement on Palestine

It strikes us [as odd] that the world would be shocked that Amerika would stand by in the face of genocide happening to Palestine, when Chican@s, First Nations and New Africans know first hand that the United States is not only a client but a pathfinder in the realm of genocidal settlerism. We should remember it was Amerika who inspired the likes of Hitler in honing his genocidal craft; an evaluation of evidence supports our point.

In the mire of the oppression being rained down on Palestine, especially with Israel assassinating those it has targeted even in other countries - or in embassies! - we just glean what lessons are available as the world gets a bold example of what colonization looks like today.

Here in the occupied territories that some call Amerika, the internal semi-colonies have long known about Amerika's stance on genocide. Chican@s and other oppressed nations who languish in the prisons, in the control units, and on Death Row overstand that Amerika green-lights genocide. The Brown and Black people, gunned down every day by Amerikan police know this as well. The Chican@ nation and other oppressed know because our own land and resources are occupied and controlled by the capitalists who neutralize us when we threaten the occupation.

The imperialists have "circled the wagons" despite the world responding in disgust. The people should also come together, all sectors here in the



internal semi-colonies also known as the United Snakes.

A Free Palestine, like a Free Aztlan, will only happen when anti-imperialism is exercised in a united front between all oppressed and allies. The

world sees that Palestine is deserving of peace, for it is life while Israel signifies death! End the Genocide!

*from a brochure issued by
the Maoist Internationalist Ministry of Prisons*

WHAT TO THE AMERICAN SLAVE IS YOUR FOURTH OF JULY?

by Frederick Douglass [Excerpts]

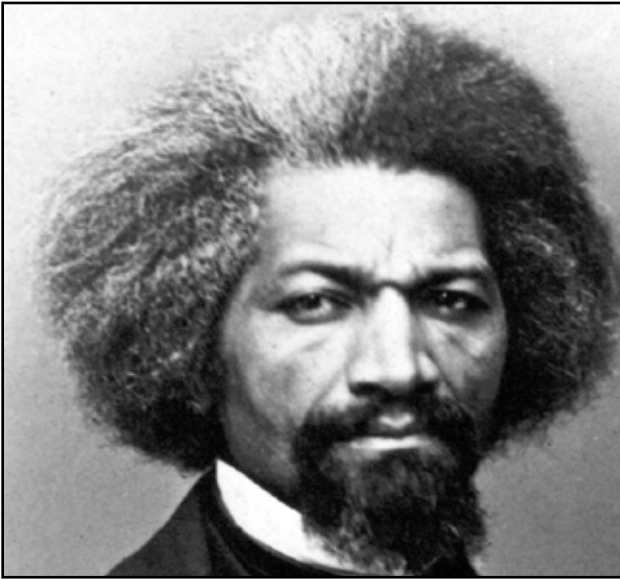
At a time like this, scorching irony, not convincing argument, is needed. O! had I the ability, and could I reach the nation's ear, I would, to-day, pour out a fiery stream of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke. For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder. We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake. The feeling of the nation must be quickened; the conscience of the nation must be roused; the propriety of the nation must be startled; the hypocrisy of the nation must be exposed; and its crimes against God and man must be proclaimed and denounced.

What, to the American slave, is your 4th of July? I answer: a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your denunciations of tyrants, brass-fronted impudence; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade, and solemnity, are, to him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy — a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on the earth guilty of practices, more shocking and bloody, than are the people of these United States, at this very hour.

Go where you may, search where you will, roam through all the monarchies and despotisms of the old world, travel through South America, search out every abuse, and when you have found the last, lay your facts by the side of the everyday practices of this nation, and you will say with me, that, for revolting barbarity and shameless hypocrisy, America reigns without a rival.

The church of this country is not only indifferent to the wrongs of the slave, it actually takes sides with the oppressors. It has made itself the bulwark of American slavery, and the shield of American slave-hunters. Many of its most eloquent Divines, who stand as the very lights of the church, have shamelessly given the sanction of religion and the Bible to the whole slave system. They have taught that man may, properly, be a slave; that the relation of master and slave is ordained of God; that to send back an escaped bondman to his master is clearly the duty of all the followers of the Lord Jesus Christ; and this horrible blasphemy is palmed off upon the world [as] Christianity.

For my part, I would say, welcome infidelity! welcome atheism! welcome anything! in preference to the gospel, as preached by those Divines! They convert



the very name of religion into an engine of tyranny, and barbarous cruelty, and serve to confirm more infidels, in this age, than all the infidel writings of Thomas Paine, Voltaire, and Bolingbroke, put together, have done! These ministers make religion a cold and flinty-hearted thing, having neither principles of right action, nor bowels of compassion. They strip the love of God of its beauty, and leave the throne of religion a huge, horrible, repulsive form. It is a religion for oppressors, tyrants, man-stealers, and thugs. It is not that "pure and undefiled religion" which is from above, and which is "first pure, then peaceable, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy."

But a religion which favors the rich against the poor; which exalts the proud above the humble; which divides mankind into two classes, tyrants and slaves; which says to the man in chains, stay there; and to the oppressor, oppress on; it is a religion which may be professed and enjoyed by all the robbers and enslavers of mankind; it makes God a respecter of persons, denies his fatherhood of the [human] race, and tramples in the dust the great truth of the brotherhood of man.

All this we affirm to be true of the popular church, and the popular worship of our land and nation — a religion, a church, and a worship which, on the authority of inspired wisdom, we pronounce to be an abomination in the sight of God.

The American church is guilty, when viewed in connection with what it is doing to uphold slavery; but it is superlatively guilty when viewed in connection with its ability to abolish slavery. The sin of which it is guilty is one of omission as well as of commission. Albert Barnes but uttered what the common sense of every man at all observant of the actual state of the case will receive as

truth, when he declared that "There is no power out of the church that could sustain slavery an hour, if it were not sustained in it."

You hurl your anathemas at the crowned-headed tyrants of Russia and Austria, and pride yourselves on your Democratic institutions, while you yourselves consent to be the mere tools and bodyguards of the tyrants of Virginia and Carolina. You invite to your shores fugitives of oppression from abroad, honor them with banquets, greet them with ovations, cheer them, toast them, salute them, protect them, and pour out your money to them like water; but the fugitives from your own land you advertise, hunt, arrest, shoot and kill. You glory in your refinement and your universal education; yet you maintain a system as barbarous and dreadful as ever stained the character of a nation — a system begun in avarice, supported in pride, and perpetuated in cruelty.

You shed tears over fallen Hungary, and make the sad story of her wrongs the theme of your poets, statesmen and orators, till your gallant sons are ready to fly to arms to vindicate her cause against her oppressors; but, in regard to the ten thousand wrongs of the American slave, you would enforce the strictest silence, and would hail him as an enemy of the nation who dares to make those wrongs the subject of public discourse! You are all on fire at the mention of liberty for France or for Ireland; but are as cold as an iceberg at the thought of liberty for the enslaved of America. You discourse eloquently on the dignity of labor; yet, you sustain a system which, in its very essence, casts a stigma upon labor.

Fellow-citizens! I will not enlarge further on your national inconsistencies. The existence of slavery in this country brands your republicanism as a sham, your humanity as a base pretence, and your Christianity as a lie. It destroys your moral power abroad; it corrupts your politicians at home. It saps the foundation of religion; it makes your name a hissing, and a by word to a mocking earth.

It fetters your progress; it is the enemy of improvement, the deadly foe of education; it fosters pride; it breeds insolence; it promotes vice; it shelters crime; it is a curse to the earth that supports it; and yet, you cling to it, as if it were the sheet anchor of all your hopes. Oh! be warned! be warned! a horrible reptile is coiled up in your nation's bosom; the venomous creature is nursing at the tender breast of your youthful republic; for the love of God, tear away, and fling from you the hideous monster, and let the weight of twenty millions crush and destroy it forever!

Full text here: <https://www.owleyes.org/text/what-to-the-slave-is-the-fourth-of-july/read/text-of-douglass-speech?fs=e&s=cl#root-166>

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- ★ July 26 - Anniv. of Cuban revolution attack on Moncada - Bloqueo No!
- ★ Aug 1-31 Black August: A month of study, training and rededication
- ★ Aug 7 - Anniversary of the Marin courthouse rebellion in 1970
- ★ Aug 21 - Anniv. of the assassination of George Jackson in San Quentin prison

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