

# SINKING DEEP ROOTS OF SOLIDARITY AND RESISTANCE

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

Bloody repression is hardly a new phenomenon in the history of the US. From the wars of extermination to carry out the thefts of Indigenous lands and the genocidal enslavement of millions of Africans and African-descent people, from the invasion and conquest of northern Mexico to the lynch mobs that enforced white supremacy after the Civil War and Reconstruction, from the massacres and executions of working people and labor organizers to the assassinations of scores of Black Panthers, Chicanos, American Indian Movement members, and Puerto Rican *independentistas* by COINTELPRO, from mass incarceration to deaths in custody, executions via the death penalty, and extra-judicial killings of Black, Brown, Asian and Indigenous people, the US federal state and its component state governments have always been willing to take lives to enforce settler colonial capitalism and its global empire.

Nonetheless the second Trump presidency marks a qualitatively more intense and troubling willingness by the Empire to violate all norms and restrictions in regards to civil and human rights and the use of military forces inside the US. ICE agents have been recruited with white nationalist slogans and unleashed not only on migrant workers but on anyone who expresses solidarity with them. Red-baiting depictions of even the mildest dissent or protest as domestic terrorism, and as an internal enemy that must be extirpated, emanate on a daily basis from the White House, enforced and implemented by executive orders and by military, paramilitary, and vigilante forces. These attacks are justified as “protecting the homeland” from external threats, while military adventures like the invasion of Venezuela and kidnapping of its president and first lady are justified as using the armed forces to execute a Department of Justice arrest warrant.

Under these circumstances, it is vital to overcome the weaknesses and illusions that have held back the movements of colonized, oppressed and working people in this country. The worst of these continue to be white supremacy, male chauvinism, and identification with the oppressor and the empire. One example, is that, even in Los Angeles, rallies that denounced the ICE murder of Renee Good in Minneapolis failed to even mention the New Year’s murder in LA of a Black man, Keith Porter, by an ICE agent. (One positive sign is that most of those demonstrations linked the issues of ICE repression and war.) The failure to take note of Porter’s murder reflects a debilitating disregard of the Black freedom struggle and its critical importance in the US, historically and today. It’s paralleled by the relative disregard of the genocide in Sudan compared to the concern about the genocide in Palestine. This is a potentially fatal flaw, because the underpinning of all Trump’s lies is the big lie of white supremacy.

We need to internalize how to function under conditions of increased repression, techno-fascist surveillance, and untrammled and dictatorial presidential power and war making. These have been augmented by “civil society” operations and reactionary political formations targeting thought crimes, labor organizing, education, communications media and journalism. We need to internalize “security culture,” learn how to operate below the radar, figure out how to encourage and protect whistle-blowers, and work on building organic connections and solidarity in communities, workplaces, schools, prisons, and even within the military and paramilitary state organizations. These are lessons that anti-colonial movements inside and outside the US have learned through bitter experience, and that leadership must be recognized and absorbed by the peace, labor, and environmental movements.

We also need to recognize that “fascism” implies and is based on not merely dictatorial measures by the state apparatus but the activity of a mass base. That base includes white Christian nationalists in the MAGA movement and



open neo-Nazis and neo-Confederates, because white supremacy is central to the settler colonial and imperial project.

But it also incorporates right-wing elements within many immigrant communities -- “gusanos” among Cuban-Americans who have carried out acts of terror; right-wing Venezuelan emigres who welcomed Trump’s attack on their home country; monarchist Persians in LA who want the US to place the Shah’s son in power in Iran; anti-communist Vietnamese in the US who have killed opponents; former members of Central American death squads or Eastern European elements that collaborated with the German Nazis; Zionist thugs who served in the Israeli military and have attacked Jews and others who support Palestinian rights.

On all those fronts, we must define wedge issues that can begin to split away some of the base of the MAGA movement and other reactionary formations, just as a younger generation of Cuban-Americans has sought to end the blockade of Cuba, or many young US Jews have denounced Israeli genocide and settler colonialism, and sought to end US support for it.

Anti-globalization struggles once united “teamsters and turtles,” environmental struggles have created “cowboy and Indian” alliances. We can and must rebuild such solidarity and revolutionary inter-communalism. Simultaneously, we must enable solid, rooted, and transformative organizing in working class communities, Indigenous nations, and among people of color in the US. Black and Brown leadership and unity will be vital in that regard. These combined efforts must help heal the urban/rural breach. Start by listening to as well as speaking to the concerns and needs of working people, whether blue collar, white collar, pink collar or agricultural, overcoming isolation and division with a pro-social, anti-capitalist approach.

If white, Black, Native, and Mexican prisoners in California and other penitentiaries could overcome their own differences and the strategy of guards and prison authorities to foment racism and division as a way to maintain control, and unite -- thereby ending self-defeating racism, internal strife, antagonistic gang identifications and other hostilities -- those of us out here in minimum or medium security should be able to do the same.

Fascist-like conditions and dictatorial power have always existed not only in the prisons and jails, but at many

workplaces and in many schools. These include the use of snitches cultivated and rewarded by authorities, the use of the carrot and the stick, repression and cooptation, and the use of privilege to divide and control prisoners, workers or students. Fascism has always promoted masculinism and sought to confine and coerce women, LGBTQ and non-binary people.

Bullies, as is well known, are actually cowards, and the fear that they seek to induce in us is a projection of the fear that they feel. This is true of Trump, Vance, Stephen Miller, Bannon, Musk, Peter Thiel, and the rest of the techno-fascist crowd. They understand better than we do the potential power of the people to bring this system down and to replace it with a new and different society and economy, one that is not at war with the planet but promotes regenerative and restorative agriculture and other productive enterprises that are democratically determined to meet human needs in a sustainable way. Trump et al cannot brook any opposition, because they understand in what critical condition and how brittle and vulnerable their system actually is.

Mutual aid, cooperative economic projects, communal child care and kitchens, urban eco-agriculture, community self-defense, restorative and transformative justice procedures, popular assemblies and budgeting processes, defense of political prisoners of earlier periods and support for the new resisters facing frame-ups and set-ups, and similar activities, can prefigure that future society. They give people an empowering sense of what we are fighting for and what we are capable of creating.

Boycotts and general political strikes can give our exploiters and oppressors the feel of our teeth and of our capacity to undermine their power and wealth. We need our own media, our own technology, and our own means of defending ourselves. We need people-to-people solidarity on a global level, exemplified by efforts like medical and other aid to Cuba, to Palestine, and other front-line targets of imperialism. Solidarity begins at home by upholding the self-determination of Black, Chicano/Mexicano, Indigenous, AAPI and other struggles and movements.

The failing of the dinosaur, though deadly, is a manifestation of its weakness, and in fact its death throes. In the words of the old Motown song, the darkest hour is just before dawn. We can and will build a new world atop the ashes of the old. Only a rooted, revolutionary resistance based on solidarity can overcome fascism.

face elimination of their jobs, from Uber, Lyft, and truck drivers, to healthcare and education workers. Delivery drivers are forced to work with Infrared cameras on their eyes 50-60 hours a week. CA Governor Newsom has deregulated autonomous vehicles and has also allowed A-I companies to partner with UC, CSU and community colleges to introduce A-I and use it to eliminate faculty and staff and revise course content. The US military is driving the use of A-I in aircraft, vehicles and ships and police departments are using A-I tools for surveillance and criminalization of targeted communities.

This meeting will bring together teachers, healthcare workers, writers, logistics and transport workers to report on the effects of A-I on them and fellow workers. Goldman Sachs has said that 350 million workers will lose their jobs and the tech billionaires who run the government want the total elimination of any regulation of A-I and its effect on working people. 500,000 tech jobs have already been purged since the introduction of “large language model” chatbots. These techno-fascists are using the state to spy on working people, and the general public, and profiting from war and genocide abroad. Lets educate ourselves and our siblings about what is happening now with A-I and what we can do to defend our jobs, lives and families. For more information, contact labormedial@gmail.com.

## A-I, LABOR, AND THE FUTURE OF LOS ANGELES & THE WORLD

Saturday, Feb. 7, 11 am - 5 pm, IAM Hall, 1261 N. Avalon Bl., Wilmington

The first thing to understand about “artificial intelligence”, A-I, is that it is military technology. The techno-fascist moguls promoting it are all military contractors with Trump’s War Department. The principal driver of research and development in autonomous vehicles has been the US Army Tank Division. Elon Musk’s Space-X is mainly involved in launching military spy satellites, not uber-rich space tourists. All branches of the US military are engaged in developing, deploying, and training robotic weapons -- autonomous tanks, naval vessels, and airborne devices capable of identifying targets and executing kills without human oversight. A-I relies on sweated human digital labor and the expropriation of previous human creative efforts. Its application to domestic economic purposes in production and consumption reflects the steady transfer of military technology to daily life, just like Tang, Teflon, and teargas.

In the fifties, the interstate highway system was planned and financed by a Defense authorization, justified for the transport of troops and materiel during the Cold War. Not coincidentally, it enabled white flight to suburbia, and displaced and isolated Black communities in cities across the country. The Internet was a product of DARPA, the Defense Advanced Research Projects

Agency (<https://darpa.mil> -- as in “military”) to coordinate military research at universities around the country. Not coincidentally, it generated a geographic, racial, and class-based “digital divide” between urban and rural, white and Black, and rich and poor people and communities.

The rapid and unregulated development and adoption of A-I in every aspect of daily life poses a threat to human agency and intelligence, to privacy, to jobs, to freedom of expression, and to higher education, not to mention traffic safety. This is a reflection and manifestation of the drive towards cyber-warfare, control of space, and technological supremacy versus China, which US imperialism perceives as an existential threat. Israel used A-I to carry out genocide against Palestinians. We are all in line to be collateral domestic damage to that global war-fighting capacity.

Come to a critical gathering, with a panel of knowledgeable presenters and an opportunity for strategic planning and discussion on Saturday, February 7 from 11:00 AM to 5:00 PM at the IAM Machinists Union hall, 1261 N. Avalon Boulevard, Wilmington CA. Sponsored by ARA-LA/PART, Work Week, LaborNet, and the National Writers Union.

During the last SAG-AFTRA and Writers Guild strikes, members said A-I was an existential issue for their craft and their unions. This is even more true today. Millions of workers

# MUMIA ABU-JAMAL: FREEDOM FROM FRAME-UP

MN: This is Michael Novick. I’m here today with Jamal ibn Mumia Freedom. We’re going to talk about his father’s case and freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, and also the work that he has been doing. He recently went to Cuba on his father’s behalf. Jamal, can you introduce yourself and tell us a little bit more about Freedom From Frameup and the other work that you’re doing?

J: Okay, thank you, Mike. Well, I am Jamal ibn Mumia, Mumia’s eldest son. The work we do in our organization, Freedom From Frame-Up Foundation, is based on 5 principles, and it’s the FRAME Initiative.

F is for free, R is for reform, and A is for advocate, and M is for mentorship, and E is education. We do grassroots work. We go into the communities.

Our recent Mumia Freedom Tour has been in Cuba. We were at the Third International Meeting on Theoretical Publications of Left-Wing Parties and Movements and first Granma-Rebelde Festival 2025 celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Granma-Rebelde Newspaper was both held Oct. 15-20 at Nico Lopez University in Miramar, Cuba. as well as at Granma, which is the media outlet of the Cuban revolution that was led by Castro, celebrating its 60th year anniversary.

Other things that we did was go into the communities and observed different things the Cubans are doing. Their culture and way of life. What we also do is educate people on Mumia’s case, educate people on Mumia’s innocence, and Political Prisoners we show the facts. Some popular facts that we push are the Arnold Beverly confession that he unalive police officer Daniel Faulkner. NOT Mumia Abu Jamal. A lot of times, people don’t know about that.

MN: Right. Beverly confessed to the murder that Mumia is accused of, and they just ignored that, disregarded it.

J: Yes, Mumia’s falsely accused of murdering Daniel Faulkner, a police officer in Philadelphia, in 1981, December the 9th.

My father, as always, has been a journalist before and during his incarceration. His whole thing was bringing media to the people at any level. So as a result, he became public enemy number one to the racist establishment.

Like I tell people, it all started with Powelton Village. When you look at Powelton Village, that’s called the Black Bottom, that’s 39th Street in West Philadelphia. My father interviewed Move 9 when they were doing standoffs from the police. Back then, they used to have block captains that get together, and they can sign a petition and just basically tell you; we evict you off our block. You need to leave. The police backed the play. And Move was like, basically, we bought this house. We don’t care if you like what we do; we’re not going anywhere. This is back in 1978, ‘79, and my father covered it.

And he covered also John Africa’s case; that was a federal gun case before that. When I’m saying he was covering it, he was a journalist. He actually was looking into the details, going to the press conferences, asking questions. So, the status quo is that he’s been under COINTELPRO as having been also a Black Panther member. At the age of 14, he was the Minister of Information for the Philadelphia Black Panther Chapter, under Captain Reggie Shell. So, if we look at our history, there’s always been some entanglement with law enforcement and the Black Panthers.

Then during the press conference when Officer Ramp was killed during the Move standoff in ‘78 or 79, down in Powelton Village. My father was one of the bold journalists, when Mayor Frank Rizzo was giving a press conference, and trying to control the narrative.

MN: Rizzo was the former police chief of Philly, if people don’t know, just historically racist...

J: Yeah, the former police chief of Philadelphia and he was running a very racist police force. And then as Mayor, he controlled the narrative. And one of his narratives was, we got these wild people off the street, and a police officer has died, and we’re charging them with murder, all of them. So, 9 people were charged for murder, facing 30 to 100 years.

MN: People should be aware, it’s clear that officer was killed by friendly fire, so-called, by other police.

J: I’m getting to that. During the press conference, my father raises his hand, and he says, “Excuse me, can you express to the people, what is a friendly fire?” He says, “because the coroner’s report says Officer Ramp was killed by another officer, which was Friendly Fire.”

Rizzo’s response was, if they left when he told them to leave, then this officer wouldn’t have died. And he pointed at my father, and he said, “Young man, you’re going to be accountable for your actions.” One and a half years later, Mumia is facing capital murder charges, and he was arrested for killing Officer Daniel Faulkner.

MN: It’s kind of ironic that many of the Move 9 basically have been freed, and Mumia is still locked down to this day. Can you say more about the effort to actually free your father?

J: Move 9 is out, so let me ask a question. How many times did you see Move 9 doing an interview talking about their arrests or their wrongful conviction, okay? You got Mike Africa Jr. going around about a book and all this, but he doesn’t speak about his own parents. He doesn’t interview his parents. They’re home now, Michael Sr. and Janine Africa. So, what I’m saying is that a lot of times people push different things, and Mumia is getting caught in the

whirlwind. I believe that a lot of times, people are not doing the work that they... claim to do.

I don’t understand how people allowed Daniel Williams to write a book during the time he’s defending Mumia on his PCRA [Post-conviction relief] appeals. Daniel and Leonard Weinglass, Mumia’s lead attorney, are aware of the contradictory book that was prioritized over actual innocence evidence of a live and written affidavit confession by Arnold Beverly, and Williams writes a contradictory book titled Executing Justice. That directly and indirectly contradicts what Mumia’s defense is and Beverly’s confession. So, I think the people should expose that, because attorney Daniel and Weinglass tried to discredit Arnold Beverly’s confession to killing Faulkner, to promote the book for a payday over defending their innocent client, Mumia Abu Jamal. But there’s 3 points that people don’t look at with the Arnold Beverly confession. First, at the time, there was tremendous police corruption in Philadelphia during that time, 1980.

MN: Absolutely. There were federal cases against the Philadelphia Police Department.

J: Yeah, 1980 to 1988, Mike; they were under FBI probes. Meaning that, it was an investigation going on. After Mumia was convicted in 1982, there were over 30 cops that were convicted of the Philadelphia downtown police precincts. And 15 of those corrupted cops worked on Mumia’s investigation. So how is it that his case wasn’t overturned? How did the people that did not push that?

When I said three factors. One, he passed three lie detector tests. Two, he knew stuff that other people didn’t know, and he describes, actually, the scene. Right? And three, his blood is at the scene. We actually had detectives matching it. The judicial system is saying it’s time-barred [and can’t be considered]. Because attorneys Dan Williams and Weinglass should have put it in a timely manner of the PCRA appeal.

What are we talking about here? We’re talking about an innocent man that was on death row for 30 years. And his sentence changed to life sentence without parole to date for 14 more years served, thus far a total of 44 years of incarceration. Mumia’s medical condition declined drastically. And he has had triple bypass heart surgery. Had diabetic shock induced by medical mistreatment, passed out in the prison, half blind, had cataracts, had surgery only on one eye because they still denied him the other eye; that has retinopathy and glaucoma. He also had COVID-19. What are we doing here?

Freedom From Frame-Up Foundation, Inc. puts out information on Political Prisoners like Mumia that are framed and innocent that we’re pushing for their release. We went out to Cuba on an international level educating how this is in the US currently happening in real time. We established that by informing the people in Cuba that other Black Panthers including Mumia Abu-Jamal, Kamau Sadiki, and Iman Jamil Abdullah al-Amin are still being persecuted by a political agenda, COINTELPRO still alive, weaponizing of the legal judicial system against those that dare to speak truth to power. We did plenty of press conferences with many different countries and organizations. Bringing to light that Mumia was placed to slow death row. By Mumia an innocent man being removed from the death-row to Life sentence without parole, is slow death row. Educating our struggle through comprehensive interviews and press conferences over Cuba. Perhaps, around 15 interviews with interpreters and some with English speaking interviewers. When we went to Cuba at this international conference, we exposed the facts that prove Mumia is Innocent and Framed and a Political Prisoner through his situation... there were people there that was from Chile, from Venezuela, from Cuba, from Antigua, from Morocco, from Namibia and they were like, well, we know about Mumia. Is he free? Because we heard in 2001 that he got off from death row. I said, they moved him out of the frying pan and put him



Jamal ibn-Mumia and Mumia Abu-Jamal

in the broiler.

Because he did not get free. They took him off the international stage. And put him in life without parole. And the way they did it, Judge Yohn, said that there were constitutional irregularities. This is a capital murder case. If there’s any constitutional infraction, the whole case should have been overturned.

MN: That’s right. They just overturned the penalty phase, the death sentence, and let the conviction stand. Can you talk a little bit more about the humanity aspect, and the fact that he’s a father or grandfather and great-grandfather, and also, could you tell us a little bit more about the difficulty and the effort it took to maintain your family relationship over all these years of his being on death row, and now locked up, life without parole.

J: Thank you. Well, me being a grandfather now myself, I remember, I was 9 and a half years old, and our whole world had an earthquake when he was arrested. Because my father was a hands-on father. He’s the first one who taught me how to read, ride a bike, you know, clean my face, you know, get ready, and play sports. He’s a hands-on father. So, what they did was, when they put him on death row, there’s a glass wall pure isolation. And then there’s a screen at the bottom. And he’s shackled. So that, psychologically, no more touch, physically, for 30 years.

Right? And then, on top of that, you can’t even help your kids when they’re going through different triumphs, like my brother or my sister, when they’re going through things.

My father had always pushed me to read, was about education, was being self-taught, autodidact. So, I was always pushed, like books like Franz Fanon and Wretched of the Earth. I’m talking, when I was, like, maybe 12. What we did? We kept our family ties in education. So now that I bring my granddaughters up there to see their great-grandfather. They push the line, because they are today’s children, so they’re, like, between the ages of 12, and seven. And they’re like, “Grandpa, what... why... why great grandpop isn’t home? Why we got to go up here? Why we got to do this?” I said, wait a minute, he’s an elder, so why don’t you ask him? And then you can get your answer.

I take them up there, and we play Connect Four and all of that. But, you know, it brought tears to his eyes, because of my oldest granddaughter, she asked him. She says, “Grandpop, I want you to come home. And I seen on my tablet that you got streets named after you in Paris, and I want you to get me a place on that block. I want you to take me and get that. Grandpa told us to ask you anything we need to ask you, so how much longer you got to be in here?”

And then the other one was like, “it isn’t that extravagant, I’m 7. But, Grandpa, can you take me to one of the best beaches, and bury me in the sand, and don’t let it get too hot? And come on and get me out. Grandpa does that, but I want my great-grandpa to do that. Why you can’t do that?”

And then he’s looking at me, Christ! You know? And then he called me after that. He was like, you got to get me out of here. And that was the birth of the Freedom From Frame-Up Foundation, Inc. organization. Because we couldn’t keep listening to other people, saying, what’s going on with Mumia? What’s happening, and attorneys are doing what they want to do, a lot of things. I said, Dad, why didn’t you get an appeal bond?

What I’m saying is, they’re not pushing the line that he is innocent and framed. That’s what they have to push, because that is the truth. People don’t understand that Officer Faulkner was suspected. Where is his camera? You know, they had him with his camera on paper. Why was his camera empty when they got his body? Who took the film out? Why was he taking pictures that night? See, people don’t understand, in Philadelphia there is a corrupt side that’s beyond the Liberty Bell.

...Continued on next page

# Noam Chomsky and Jeffrey Epstein

by Simona Sharoni (on Facebook)

### Content Warning: Sexual Violence, Epstein files

Like many, I have been troubled by the surfacing of recent evidence about Noam Chomsky’s relationship with Jeffrey Epstein. Unlike many men on the left, I am not surprised that progressive scholars, including people of Chomsky’s caliber, fail to “walk the talk.” As a survivor of multiple assaults at the hands of progressive men in academia, I am dismayed that some radical men continue to turn a blind eye, even defend fellow lefty academics like Chomsky who have not distanced themselves from predators.

I am especially troubled by the failure of many of these conversations about Chomsky and Epstein, including in *The Nation*, to center the traumatic experiences of survivors. I am also appalled by the silence of organizations and institutions with which Chomsky has been affiliated.

### Silence = Betrayal!

I recently became involved with the STAR Scholars Network, which, five years ago, established an award named after Chomsky. After reviewing the evidence that surfaced, I reached out to leaders in the organization, urging them to issue a statement that I offered to draft. [*Ed. note:* Besides photos, there are letters and a financial arrangement.]

While I await their response, below is the statement in case you are connected to any group that should take a stand on the issue!



Noam Chomsky and Jeffrey Epstein on Epstein’s private plane, nicknamed the Lolita Express, in an undated photo released by Democrats in Congress. The two had a long, close relationship that continued well past Epstein’s sex crimes conviction in Florida.

### Draft Statement on Chomsky and Epstein

Like others who admired Noam Chomsky’s intellectual contributions, moral convictions, and political commitments, we were shocked by the revelation that he was in contact with Jeffrey Epstein and vouched for his character long after Epstein was convicted of soliciting prostitution from a minor.

We express our unwavering support for all survivors of sexual violence, beyond the Epstein case. While it is impossible to reverse the harm they suffered, we must act to prevent such crimes in the future.

As scholars committed to social justice, we cannot overlook this troubling relationship, which we were unaware of when we established the Noam Chomsky Global Connections Awards in 2020.

The awards were created to honor Chomsky’s legacy, but were not the result of any consultation with him or any donation from him or his family.

In light of recent revelations, we are taking the following steps to ensure transparency and accountability within our network and the institutions and communities we serve.

We will distance ourselves from Noam Chomsky and

rename the Global Connections Awards.

We will establish a Code of Conduct for scholars in our networks, and a committee and process to review violations.

We will highlight the topics of sex trafficking and gender-based and sexual violence in our publications and conferences.

This deeply troubling moment is a reminder that we are not judged only by the merits of our scholarship and activism; we must also hold ourselves and one another accountable to the highest moral and ethical standards in our everyday lives and relationships!

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

Over its 37-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](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 \$1300 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 publish 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](https://ko-fi.com/anti_racist_action_la)**

and donate, or use paypal to [antiracistaction\\_la@yahoo.com](mailto:antiracistaction_la@yahoo.com) or Venmo to Michael-Novick-3. Then share it with 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 m.o. to **Anti-Racist Action, PO Box 1055, Culver City CA 90232.**

## 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](https://twitter.com/ara_losangeles) on Twitter, and the De-Colonize LA! blog at [ara-la.tumblr.com](http://ara-la.tumblr.com).

# MUMIA ABU-JAMAL: FREEDOM FROM FRAME-UP

...*Continued from previous page*

And then some people say that this guy Arnold Beverly does not look like a hit-man, and they don’t believe he did a hit on Faulkner for the mob and the dirty cops. However, other people are saying Arnold Beverly did do the hit, and his confession of the crime and evidence corroborates the crime scene. Yes, during the 1980-1988 period Philly Cops’ corruption was at its highest and investigated. Over thirty corrupt cops were prosecuted and convicted. And sentenced, and this Philly FBI office investigates the Philly Downtown police corruption area that led to over thirty federal convictions. And Beverly’s written affidavit with the video confession, passing three lie detectors. I’m not the smartest person in the world. But I need to know why a court of law did not have a hearing just to hear Beverly testify in open court.

This is a capital murder case where Mumia has been on death row 30 years, why... No other case ever says that “this is time-barred, this issue has already been raised.”

What Freedom From Frame-Up Foundation continued to do when we went to Cuba? We’re educating people on this Mumia Freedom Tour, and Political Prisoners, Black Panthers, because we had the locals, and you’ve seen this with the children, and we were giving them candy and educating about the FREE MUMIA case, but we were also giving them literature. Take this to your mom and your pop, and this is Mumia Abu Jamal. He’s a political prisoner in America, you know, and we pushed the line.

We donated to the Cuban people medical centers medical supplies and over the counter meds that we

collected from doctors here, that the US prevents Cuba from getting. Cuba’s right now going through Hurricane Melissa. They’re getting flooded out. You know, there’s aid that these people need. We need to stop the blockade and the embargo. It is crazy. That stuff almost brought tears to my eyes, the way how these people live because of the blockade.

I think we’re losing our humanity, and people like Mumia, he touches that. Think about all the fire that Mumia has been through, and he has peaceful words. Because the man has a pure heart. But we got to stop people from taking advantage of my father. We can’t keep letting attorneys defend Mumia, without world and national scrutiny, and hold them to a high standard and stop their getting a pass. Are they qualified? Have they tried Criminal cases of this magnitude? Show us your track record! We got to know what your past is like? What did you do? How many people did you free? What are your wins? What are your losses? Because we got to look at it. This is a Black Panther Political Prisoner whose only crime is that he survived. Mumia Abu Jamal has no record. He was a journalist. The Philadelphia Inquirer said he was the voice of the voiceless.

MN: That’s right. You know, he was named one of the top 20 young influential journalists in Philadelphia by Philadelphia Magazine; president of the Black Journalists Association.

J: Correct. Yeah, and you remember that, but a lot of people don’t know.

They see the “cop killer”, or they buy that narrative that the prosecution and Fraternal Order of Police put out. People are like, oh man, I’ve seen your pop, a commentator in prison, I’ve seen this. I said, that’s what he was doing before this! He was always a journalist. It wasn’t prison radio; he was doing that already before they existed.

He has... been always in the community. People don’t know, my father comes originally from 7th and Wallace Street. 7th and Wallace Street is the project area, low income, in North Philadelphia, that’s where he was born and raised at.

He continuously goes out to the people. He has this humanity, moral compass; his heart is so big, but I feel like, Mike, I feel like people are just pushing too much exculpatory evidence towards his innocence stuff under the rug. I had so many people tell me, like, oh, I don’t believe that confession, like, why would someone confess? And so many people say Arnold’s confession makes so much sense. I said, whatever their reason is, that isn’t your business. My business is saying, why didn’t the courts allow this in an open court? Let a judge rule on this. Let a jury rule. You need to just say, this is clear weaponizing of the judicial system. Just call it what it is.

MN: People may recall that Judge Sabo, [who presided at the trial then heard the appeal] basically saying, you know, we’re going to fry that N-word...

J: Yeah, he said, “I’m going to help him fry the N-word.”  
...*Concluded next issue or complete text on-line*



# Will Mamdani’s Victory Advance a Solidarity Economy in New York City?

By Yvonne Yen Liu <https://nonprofitquarterly.org/will-mamdani-victory-advance-a-solidarity-economy-in-new-york-city/>

On Election Day, New York City didn’t just elect a new mayor. Voters opened the door to a deeper transformation—what I call a municipal revolution. Zohran Mamdani’s victory, powered by nearly 100,000 volunteers and the largest voter turnout in 50 years, demonstrated that economic populism centered on meeting material needs can build multiracial and multigenerational coalitions capable of defeating entrenched political machines. For the first time in generations, a democratic socialist who openly challenges corporate power will occupy Gracie Mansion.

Yet from a radical municipalist perspective, this electoral triumph raises a fundamental question: Will this campaign lead to genuine democratic and economic transformation, or will it follow the trajectory of past progressive victories?

Take, for example, Barack Obama’s election as president in 2008, which saw grassroots energy dissipate subsequently into institutional channels. The distinction here matters enormously. The notion of radical municipalism is not only about electing better people to existing offices, but fundamentally restructuring power itself.

### Electoral Limits

Mamdani talked about rent, groceries, and subway fares. This economic populism united diverse constituencies.

Mamdani’s campaign activated a base of nearly 100,000 volunteers who knocked on three million doors, building vital neighborhood-based organizing infrastructure. His 42 staging sites, with neighborhood captains coordinating outreach from Staten Island to the South Bronx, modeled a distributed leadership model. His platform embodies what municipalism calls for: organizing society around meeting people’s needs rather than enabling capital accumulation.

The proposed rent freeze for the two million New Yorkers living in stabilized apartments, fare-free buses, universal childcare, and city-owned grocery stores reject neoliberal urbanism’s logic. The funding mechanism matters too: Mamdani’s proposed \$4 billion tax increase on individuals earning over \$1 million annually, combined with raising the corporate tax rate to match New Jersey’s, explicitly redistributes wealth to fund collective provision. This represents a direct challenge to capital’s dominance over urban space and governance.

Moreover, the campaign transcended MAGA-style politics by focusing on the cost of living. While opponents deployed familiar attacks around identity and “law and order,” Mamdani talked about rent, groceries, and subway fares. This economic populism united diverse constituencies—working-class communities of color, young people who were priced out of neighborhoods, and immigrant families struggling with childcare costs—around shared material interests rather than fragmented identities.

Yet radical municipalism demands more than electing the right person to existing institutions. Municipalism is about community self-governed, direct democracy in which people act together to chart a future, not merely installing progressive leadership in existing hierarchical structures. The mayor’s office, even occupied by a democratic socialist, remains an institution that concentrates power rather than shares it.

Past campaigns, as noted above, have struggled to maintain grassroots energy after the election date, often redirecting volunteers into institutional channels. The lesson is clear: Without deliberate structural transformation, even the most energized volunteer base demobilizes after Election Day. Supporters become spectators, asked occasionally to mobilize for specific campaigns (and to donate money) but excluded from ongoing governance.

### Building Dual Power Through Assemblies

Radical municipalism demands active participation, even or especially after Election Day. Mamdani’s campaign can learn from people’s movement assemblies, which have been used in places like Barcelona, Spain, and Jackson, MS. These are grassroots forums where community members deliberate and decide on issues affecting them. But these cannot be advisory councils or consultation mechanisms that provide democratic aesthetics while preserving centralized power.

Radical municipalism seeks to build people’s assemblies to counter state power, while also taking over local state power itself. By so doing, these institutions anticipate or “prefigure” a more bottom-up, truly democratic order that can advance an economy rooted in values of solidarity.

What does this mean in a place like New York City? It means transforming the city’s existing 59 community boards from advisory bodies into decision-making assemblies with binding authority over neighborhood budgets, land use decisions, public safety approaches, and local economic development. The goal is to make democracy more participatory—devolving power to the local level, making face-to-face decision-making possible. All of his campaign organizing hubs, from the Astoria headquarters where Mamdani built his base to the dozens of staging locations across the five boroughs, should become permanent spaces for direct democracy.

New York City has infrastructure to build on. The city’s powerful tenant organizing tradition, from the

Metropolitan Council on Housing to the Crown Heights Tenant Union, already practices assembly-based decision-making. The challenge is scaling this model to the level of the city and giving it real authority over resource allocation. When the state government in Albany blocks local initiatives, organized assemblies can sustain direct action campaigns. When capital threatens disinvestment, assemblies become the democratic foundation for bottom-up economic institutions.

### From Services to Solidarity Economy

The vision must extend beyond municipalized services to constructing what radical municipalists call a solidarity economy, a polity and economy based on community self-determination and cooperation instead of extraction and exploitation. City-owned grocery stores represent a start, but genuine economic transformation requires more.

According to a 2024 report, New York City has 76 worker cooperatives, concentrated in sectors such as home care, cleaning, and food service. Mamdani should aim to both strengthen these existing businesses and encourage the formation of new worker co-ops through such means as preferential city contracts, technical assistance from organizations like the NYC Network of Worker Cooperatives, and financing from a new city-owned public bank, as the New Economy Project in New York City has advocated. Every city contract for building maintenance, food service in public buildings, and transportation services should prioritize worker-owned businesses.

Community land trusts can permanently remove housing from speculative markets, ensuring affordability in perpetuity rather than through temporary subsidies. New York City already has successful models such as the Cooper Square Community Land Trust on the Lower East Side, which has protected 400 units of affordable housing since 1959. The administration should establish neighborhood-based land trusts in every community board district, using city-owned vacant lots and acquiring buildings through tax foreclosure. This creates affordability in perpetuity rather than through temporary subsidies that expire.

A public bank, modeled after California’s nascent initiatives, could fund co-op and community projects rather than channeling public monies through Wall Street institutions. This bank could help finance land trust acquisitions, worker co-op startups, and green infrastructure projects while keeping financial returns in public hands.

The feminization of politics, another hallmark of radical municipalism, involves questioning patriarchal models of organization and supporting care work. This should reshape not just what a city administration does, but how decision-making processes can center care, relationship, and reproduction rather than competition and hierarchy.

### Toward Global Solidarity

The city of New York is large, but it cannot transform governance and the economy in isolation. The municipalist movement, although grounded in local action, is highly aware of the global nature of challenges. Black Panther Party theorist Huey P. Newton developed the concept of revolutionary intercommunalism to argue that oppressed communities can only achieve liberation by building cooperative frameworks across territorial boundaries to struggle together against a common empire of global capital.

The 100,000 volunteers who built this campaign face a choice. They can celebrate....Or they can recognize that electoral victory is only the beginning.

For this reason, Mayor-elect Mamdani should connect with potential global allies like Barcelona en Comu’s citizen platforms, Cooperation Jackson’s solidarity economy efforts in Mississippi, and Kurdish democratic confederalism in Rojava in northern Syria. These potential partners can help build transnational movements to



Mamdani and supporters celebrate victory. Photo credit: *Egyptian Streets*

challenge capital, and, by so doing, help Mamdani achieve his policy goals.

If the transition from neoliberalism to a solidarity economy is to occur, a global network of fearless cities is a prerequisite. Urban movements face similar challenges across the world—gentrification, austerity, climate change, and authoritarian nationalism. Coordinated responses at the local level, sharing strategies and resources across borders, offer possibilities that isolated cities cannot achieve alone.

### What’s Next

The 100,000 volunteers who built this campaign face a choice. They can celebrate the victory, perhaps stay involved through occasional volunteer opportunities, and hope Mayor Mamdani implements his agenda when he takes office. Or they can recognize that electoral victory is only the beginning of transformation and not its completion.

Radical municipalism means creating institutions like people’s assemblies and neighborhood unions where people learn to manage their common life through face-to-face politics and develop the skills and power to truly govern the city. Taking the mayor’s office differs from controlling the city: The former involves winning an election, the latter requires building permanent institutions of popular power.

What are some next steps?

For Mayor-elect Mamdani, the hard work begins now. The question isn’t whether to implement the campaign platform. The question is whether to use the mayor’s office to build institutions that democratize power itself, creating structures that outlast his mayoralty and shift authority from City Hall to neighborhoods. Without this transformation, the next administration can simply roll back policy gains. With neighborhood assemblies controlling real resources and a solidarity economy providing material alternatives, the movement becomes institutionalized.

To everyone who volunteered, voted, and organized—including supporters in the nonprofit community—the most important message is this: Don’t go home. The stakes are immense and immediate. Donald Trump remains the US president, and his administration continues to threaten immigrant families and tear communities apart. Rising seas and climate disasters demand cooperative economic structures now, not in a decade. The municipalist revolution isn’t won at the ballot box alone. It’s built in the neighborhoods, block by block, assembly by assembly, until popular power becomes the lived reality of urban life.

Mamdani’s victory opened the door to that possibility. What happens next will determine whether that door stays open or closes.

The choice is not just Mamdani’s, but belongs to the movement behind his campaign. The question is whether New Yorkers will settle for a progressive mayor or build the assemblies, cooperatives, and networks needed to support lasting transformation. History, in short, will remember not just election night, but whether the grassroots energy that won this race built the foundation for genuine democratic power.

*Yvonne Yen Liu is a leader of the Municipalism Learning Series in Los Angeles and the Solidarity Research Center. This article was first published by NPQ [Non-Profit Quarterly] on November 21, 2025.*

**Full citation:** Yvonne Yen Liu’s article, “Will Mamdani’s Victory Advance a Solidarity Economy in New York City?” NPQ, November 21, 2025

<https://nonprofitquarterly.org/will-mamdani-victory-advance-a-solidarity-economy-in-new-york-city/>.  
Used with permission.

“Artificial Intelligence, Society and Religion: Crossroads of Algorithm, Neoliberalism and Faith”

by Karim F. Hirji, published by Daraja Press  
Reviewed by Eric Mann, Labor Community Strategy Center [Excerpts]

https://www.counterpunch.org/2025/10/24/a-space-odyssey-for-the-anti-imperialist-movement/

Karim Hirji has written a deep, thoughtful, mind-boggling book about AI and Neoliberalism. Artificial Intelligence, Society and Religion: Crossroads of Algorithm, Neoliberalism and Faith (Daraja Press in collaboration with Zand Press) is a deeply theoretical and dense book—in the best sense of that word. I have read many pages more than three times because the subject is so complex and cannot be fully grasped in one reading—and each re-reading is a new journey of consciousness and insight.

I came to this wonderful book in my role as a civil rights anti-imperialist organizer. Every year, my organization, the Labor Community Strategy Center and our Strategy and Soul Bookstore, sets up a booth at Los Angeles Times Festival of Books. There I was approached by Rosa Hirji, a prominent attorney fighting for the rights of children and the disabled. She knew of my work and had been a community organizer in South Central Los Angeles where we all work. She told me about her father Karim Hirji, and his forthcoming book—a political analysis of the impact of AI—and she explained he had been one of the editors of Walter Rodney’s *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*—among the books that have most shaped my life—and asked if I would write an essay engaging his book.

Karim Hirji and I share a mutual and deep commitment to the nations of the Global South and the Third World in their struggle against U.S. and European imperialism. He teaches at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, where Walter Rodney other Third World visionaries created a revolutionary community for strategy, intellectual investigation,

publishing, and community building—and where at some point in my life, I hope to be able to study and learn. So, given the broad scope of his monumental exploration, I have focused on how this book raised my consciousness and is a gift to the work of the civil rights, climate justice, and international anti-imperialist movement.

Hirji begins with definitions—a theoretical explanation of phenomena. He frames the technology of Artificial Intelligence by beginning with human intelligence:

“HUMANS POSSESS INTELLIGENCE. It enables them to interact with and survive in a complex natural and social environment. They learn from experience, make tools, adapt to change, plan and act in a rational manner and formulate abstract ideas. Human intelligence is a multi-faceted entity encompassing emotional, social, artistic and ethical dimensions. Animals display these characteristics as well, but in a partial and rudimentary form. A machine that displays any of these human characteristics is said to possess Artificial Intelligence (AI).”

Then he moves directly to the moral and political challenge. “The rapid pace of AI development raises fundamental questions about the future of humanity. Some assert that AI will facilitate the resolution of the major problems facing humanity. But others contend that on balance, it will mostly benefit a few, induce mass unemployment, widen national and international inequalities, worsen the climate crisis and generate major social upheavals. In the long run, it may lead to sentient artificial machines that will take over the world.”

While this book clearly warns about a new lethal phenomenon, it’s important that readers resist ... capitulat[ing] to the power and seeming inevitability of enslaving technology. While the specificity and challenges of AI are unique, they are only the latest escalation of the weapons of mass murder produced by the European barbarians who came to the Americas. In 1492, they came with horses, razor sharp swords, cross bows, and guns that rang out like thunder. They proceeded to systematically murder 90 million of the 100 million Indigenous inhabitants in 100 years with machetes, smallpox blankets, and every imaginable form of savage barbarism. Each generation of imperialists kept inventing greater and greater technologies of pain and destruction—pistols, rifles, machine guns, planes, aerial bombing, atomic bombs, napalm, saturation bombing, Agent Orange, and helicopter attacks. AI is the latest in that grotesque tradition.

Still, in the midst the latest attacks by U.S. fascists and the fear and despondency MAGA has created among so many, despite the alienated loneliness that AI promises to remedy, AI must be analyzed in terms of the danger it poses and the specificity of its threat to life. The present and future will test our wills as this is truly a plan by a few humans to take over the earth and create AI-led spiritual and physical death.

Hirji elucidates the three-way confluence of AI, social factors and religion. But as he makes clear, “[T]he exposition is cognizant of the fact that modern religions and AI systems function in the context of the global neoliberal system and reflect the values of that system.”

The struggle against the genocidal theory of Eugenics and racist theories of Intelligence

For me, the most compelling discussion in the book is Hirji’s detailed engagement with the nefarious theory of Eugenics. As he writes:

“Modern conceptualizations of intelligence began with Francis Galton, one of the founders of the science of statistics. Working in the late 1800s, he devised key ideas like correlation, regression, standard deviation, median and questionnaire research that are the standard tools of applied statistical analysis today. Galton also founded the discipline of Eugenics whose primary tenet is that individuals can be ranked in terms of intellectual and moral worth, and that these characteristics are hereditary.

“The proponents of Eugenics held that some races and ethnic groups are intellectually, physically and morally superior than other races and ethnic groups. The former have a preponderance of ‘good’ genes while the latter have a preponderance of ‘bad’ genes. [According to this heinous theory] White people of Anglo-Saxon stock, with Nordic (Aryan) features (blond, fair hair, blue eyes) have innately superior intelligence, health status, ability to excel in life and moral character compared to others. On this scale, people of African background were placed at the bottom.”

Hirji moves on to assault another construction of genocidal theory: The Bell Curve. “The publication of Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray’s *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* argued that IQ is a reliable

composite measure of cognitive abilities, [that] IQ is linked to genes and is largely inherited. The Bell Curve authors quickly move to their premeditated genocidal conclusions.”

Hirji elaborates endless statistical refutations of their methodology. Then he supports the conclusion of Matthew Yglesias, “*The Bell Curve* is after all, not a work of scientific research but rather a political book written by one of the most prominent conservative policy entrepreneurs in [the US] as part of a larger ideological project.”

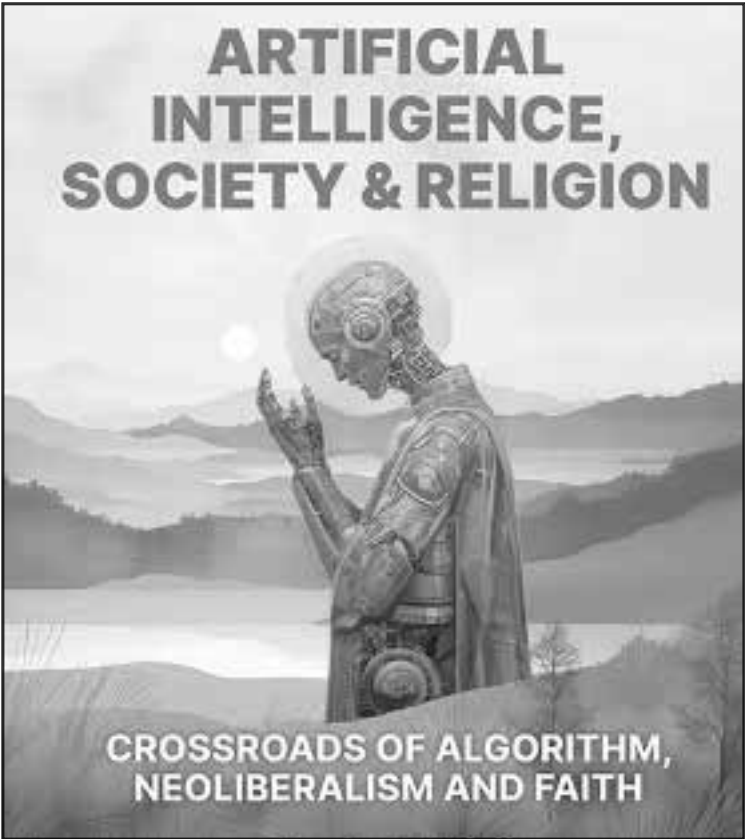
In the face of these terrifying beliefs and actions, what is the role of social movements challenging them? To begin with, the Movement has to go on the ideological and political offensive—not just to refute genocidal theories but to expose them and offer a liberating vision of the humanity and intelligence of the oppressed.

I want to focus on the struggle to elevate the young, gifted, and Black children in the face of this assault and to encourage the resistance of the oppressed to fully occupy their own leadership to fight for their humanity and change the world.

In the South Bronx in 1962, I got a job as a recreation worker at the East Side Settlement House in the South Bronx. I saw the 25 young Black and Puerto Rican young people with whom I was working in the program as complicated, talented, moody, angry, young people, human beings who were facing joy and depression and acting out. I did not need an IQ or any other test to confirm what my eyes and heart made clear—Black and Puerto Rican children were advanced emotionally, intellectually, and culturally. They had great operative intelligence, both abstract and applied, and in difficult circumstances, they had a great sense of humor and problem-solving capacities greater than many of my former white high school classmates.

Today, the counterrevolution is in full force and anti-Blackness, once in momentary retreat, is even more so, the “law of the land.” In the struggle against “standardized testing” in the Los Angeles schools, in which Black students as a group had significantly lower test scores than white students, Black parents responded to the school board, “You have no right to ‘test’ our children whose lives you are attacking and hurting; no right to be judge, jury, and executioner to measure the success of your subjugation.”

In LA, from 2000 to the present, my organization, the Labor/Community Strategy Center—in coalition



with Community Coalition, Students Deserve, CADRE, Black Lives Matter, and Inner-City Struggle—has been fighting “the school to prison pipeline.” In our work, we have stopped the school system from giving tickets for “truancy” to students who were late for school they came to attend, stopped suspensions of Black boys for the racially constructed violation called “willful defiance,” and forced the LA School Board to return one tank, 3 grenade launchers, and 61 M-16 assault rifles to the Department of Defense. After the death of George Floyd, our movement was able to get the school board to cut its school police force by 35% and \$25 million. But we raised the challenge to the board and LA School Police of why they had a school police force in the first place—and still maintain one.

The LAUSD school board is liberal, yet they created “zero tolerance” truancy tickets, used the term “willful defiance” as a racist pretense to discipline, suspend and expel Black boys. They created the school police force, and purchased tanks, guns, and M-16s from the US Defense Department to be used against their students and their families. Besides the abuses Black children and their families experience in the larger racist society, public schools fail the children and repress them into lower performance through a pedagogical model based on contempt and punishment. Then school boards administer standardized tests to measure and “prove” their racial stereotypes of the Black students they claim to love.

But you should hear the counter-hegemonic testimony of the Black students every month at the school board meeting. “The Los Angeles School Police patrolling our schools as if we are prisoners makes me sick. I get up and don’t want to go to school to study in a police state.” “You are the failures, you should quit your jobs since you don’t know how to educate us. We want the Black Student Achievement Plan defended and expanded because it is Black students who have the plan for our own liberation.” The fight against internalized oppression by the oppressed themselves is central to the fight against eugenics and genocide.

Karim Hirji’s exposition of the statistics and intent of the Eugenics Movement gives a brilliant historical frame to the work organizers are doing today. Kirji situates the problems of racism, racist science, and the destructive outcomes of AI inside a systematic analysis of neo-liberalism. He writes, “Neoliberalism has no integral link to freedom. It functions under constrained democracy, authoritarianism, dictatorship or military rule. It perpetuates itself by fomenting divisions along race, ethnic, gender, religious and national lines. Electoral choice revolves around wedge issues that pit pro-corporate parties against one another. Neoliberalism is a dogmatic, not an evidence-based, doctrine. It serves the 1%.

“Neoliberalism fertilizes daunting global problems like hunger, extreme poverty, refugee crisis, authoritarianism and extremism, global climate change and loss of biodiversity. Yet, neoliberal tenets of individualism, privatization and reliance on the market dominate individual thought and public policy, in rich and poor nations. Neoliberalism exercises greater influence over humanity than any religion.”

**Challenge to neoliberalism and A-I from a democratic socialism**  
Hirji argues that the only consequential challenge to neoliberalism comes from a democratic socialist perspective.

*Concluded on-line.*

URGENT APPEAL

We need your financial support to continue sending the paper free to about 1700 prisoners around CA and the US.

PLEASE SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

[ ] \$24 a year individual [ ] \$36 institution/international [ ] \$50 sustainer

payable only to Anti-Racist Action  
at P.O. Box 1055 in Culver City 90232

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_ St: \_\_\_\_ Zip: \_\_\_\_\_

Tel: \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_

Postage alone for this issue comes to \$1300. We would like to increase the size and frequency of Turning the Tide, but we can only do it with your support. 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. 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

# Toxiccollege

by Ali Zaidi

Bronx Community College (BCC) lies in the poorest congressional district in the US. In fall 2023, the BCC student body was 52% Latino, 38% African American, and 56% female. Those students face unusual challenges. The Bronx has the highest rate of asthma of any county and is one of only five counties in the US where single mothers head more than 30% of households. Although it promises social mobility to its students, BCC exemplifies injustice in New York, the state with the most segregated schools and the worst income inequality. [Over the course of the 21st Century, generations of students have been impacted by the unjust, toxic environment at the college. --*Ed.*]

Hired as a Spanish lecturer at BCC in January 1999, I immediately noticed that the hallway clocks were out of sync. The clocks were removed shortly after and never replaced. My office ventilator stank of urine and emitted neither heat nor cool air. A physical plant technician told me that it could not be fixed. The long-ignored maximum occupancy signs in the classrooms were also removed. Sometimes students had to stand or sit on a radiator in class because administrators would over-tally my classes, without my consent, to as many as forty students. BCC, then under the leadership of Carolyn Grubbs Williams, was in disrepair and dysfunction.

In an essay published in the BCC Senate newsletter, André Hurni, BCC Campus Facilities and Planning Officer, detailed several unmet needs at BCC: Screams for grass seed, for adequate air supply in the classrooms, for working elevators, for potable water in buildings, for fire exit doors, for heating in the winter and cooling in the summer, for lights, for more security at night, for fences, parking spaces, pigeon

guards, paving, trash receptacles, toilet seats, floor tile; the chorus of screams is loud and clear... It creates a powerful symphony of anger and despair... Here’s one more scream, this one primal and final: Did you know that there are 2658 air filters in our buildings and that they have to be changed every three months?

Without the resources or manpower to fully remedy the safety and environmental hazards at BCC, Hurni faced choices that recalled triage in a war-zone hospital. The BCC Physical Plant Services had shrunk from 256 employees to just 113 within a decade.

In May 2000, the Gould Memorial Library Rotunda was closed because of falling ceiling tiles. Air quality problems persisted, as noted in the minutes of a BCC Senate subcommittee: “In Tech One the ducts are completely dirty. Filters must be installed on the ceiling, covering the supply registers. The filters are installed on all registers in all rooms. These filters are also exchanged four times a year. This is very cumbersome work.” The same minutes also detail similar problems in what was then the Gould Student Center (GSC): In the GSC the ducts are completely filthy. Recently a cloud of black soot was blown from the ducts onto the food in the kitchen. Several hundred dollars worth of food had to be thrown out. Andre [Hurni] reported that he has requested duct cleaning from DASNY (Dormitory Authority of the State of New York), but that he does not have a response yet. The cafeteria is presently running without a ventilation system, a code violation.

Near my office on the second floor of Colston Hall, a water fountain basin had a coppery sheen indicative of water pipe corrosion. After summer or winter breaks, the water would briefly flow copper-colored into the men’s bathroom sinks before turning transparent. In fall 2003, the drinking fountains at BCC were sheathed in plastic without advance notice. Shortly afterwards, Professor Martin Pulver, the BCC Environmental Health and Safety Officer, informed the campus community in a memo: “About four years ago it was noticed that, at times, the water leaving the faucets in several laboratories in Meister Hall had a pale blue tinge. The problem was immediately reported to the Dormitory Authority engineers on campus. They responded by hiring an independent water testing company to come onto the campus and perform tests at many locations. Some of these tests indicated higher than acceptable concentrations of dissolved metals. I reported these results to VP of Administration and Finance, Mary Coleman, and recommended that all of the locations that had metal concentrations higher than those specified by the NYS Department of Health be shut off. The V.P. agreed, and all of those drinking fountains were turned off and remain so today.

Pulver did not specify which heavy metals had been detected nor did he explain why it had taken four years to turn off the water fountains at BCC.

Between Nov. 1998 and May 1999, two independent water testing companies had evaluated the water quality at BCC, finding that concentrations of lead at eight buildings exceeded the maximum contaminant level (MCL), or legal regulatory limit, of 0.015 milligrams per liter (mg/L). A water sample from the second-floor drinking fountain in Bliss Hall had a lead concentration of 0.133 mg/L, nearly nine times the regulatory limit. Because lead causes neurological impairment, reproductive damage, and hypertension, the target contamination level (TCL) for lead, or the level at which action must be taken, according to EPA guidelines, is any amount above zero.

In Meister Hall, Colston Hall, and Havemeyer Annex, copper concentrations in water samples exceeded the

MCL (1.3 mg/L) by as much as 18.4 mg/L. Excessive copper ingestion can cause liver, kidney, and brain damage. Moreover, water samples taken at seven buildings had concentrations of iron that exceeded the TCL of iron (0.3 mg/L) at by as much as 5.90 mg/L. Although iron is essential for red cell production, excessive intake can disrupt cell metabolism in the heart, liver, and central nervous system, and even cause organ failure.

To reduce heavy metal concentrations, the BCC physical plant flushed out the water pipes regularly, placing considerable demands on its employees. A pilot water filtration system that was installed in Meister Hall failed to lower heavy metal concentrations below regulatory limits. Therefore, BCC switched to bottled drinking water.

In spring 2007, the BCC Health and Safety Committee, newly formed by faculty and staff, reported a spill of titanium tetrachloride on the lower level of Sage Hall. When exposed to water, titanium tetrachloride produces hydrochloric acid, and when exposed to fire, poisonous gases such as hydrogen chloride and titanium oxide. Because it is highly reactive and corrosive, titanium tetrachloride can damage the eyes and lungs.

By then, faculty and staff were speaking up about the dangerous working conditions in the Meister Hall Library, as evidenced in a Spring 2007 Health and Safety Committee report: “Leaks, mold, missing ceiling tiles, and wet carpeting are a few of the conditions staff must deal with on a daily basis. Katherine Parsons sits in her office with an improvised system to prevent water leaking from the ceiling onto her and her desk. Although PPS staff has tried to find a solution to her rainy office, nothing seems to work. According to Ms. Parsons, “Two trays with tubes were placed in the ceiling over my desk to collect and send water to a bucket adjacent to my office. The bucket is dry. Unfortunately, this is not working and my office has been leaking since Friday, August 25. In the evening I have to dress my desk in plastic, so water will not damage the computer monitor and hard drive, files and pictures. During the day, I have to decorate my desk with a garbage can to collect falling water.” Others complain of “sick building syndrome” symptoms: headaches, rashes, and breathing difficulties that abate on the weekends and holidays.”

Also of concern were the asbestos disturbances in floor and ceiling tiles as well as in tank and pipe insulation. BCC often had to request asbestos abatement such as in September 2001 when flooding from a staff toilet caused asbestos-containing floor tiles to become delaminated in faculty classrooms and offices on the fourth floor of Gould Tech One. Hurni expressed his concern that the exposed glue might become friable, which is to say, airborne. In early 2003, BCC informed the CUNY’s Chief of Construction that the broken and delaminated floor tiles in the tutoring lab on the third floor of Gould Tech posed potential hazards from tripping and airborne asbestos fibers.

In spring 2006, biology professor Peter Yom noticed a loose ceiling tile in his office in Carl Polowczyk Hall, the new name of Gould Tech. Upon further examination, Yom found a dead rat behind the tile. BCC building staff delayed removing the rat because asbestos was present in both the ceiling and floor tiles in Yom’s office. In accordance with Article 31 of the contract between the faculty union, the Professional Staff Congress (PSC), and CUNY, which provides for a workplace free from safety and environmental hazards, the union requested that the air in Yom’s office be tested for the presence of asbestos fibers.

In April 2007, a car-sized sinkhole opened up in front



Meister Hall at Bronx Community College ironically hosted a UN Water Conference.

of the Havemeyer Lab building, resulting in a one-day class cancellation. Although the sinkhole was repaired in 2008, a new sinkhole, nicknamed Sinkhole, Jr., opened up that year on the running track, growing for five years until it measured thirty-feet across and became visible on Google Earth. It was not repaired until summer 2013.

On November 24, 2009, the PSC faculty union chapter held a Hall of Shame exhibit in Meister Hall to publicize such problems as the collapsing tiles and gaping holes in two classroom ceilings that caused water to drip down on students when it rained. Several weeks later, BCC legal counsel Mary Rogan informed the PSC Chapter Chair, Nikki McDaniel, that BCC would install doors in fifteen bathroom stalls, repair a damaged wall in Havemayer Hall, and improve outdoor lighting around Sage Hall where a lecturer had been injured falling down a dimly lit stairwell. However, other serious issues at BCC remained unresolved.

In April 2019, a drop in power and voltage shut off the pumps that circulated water in the heating system, causing water pipes to burst in Colston Hall. The flood damaged over sixty ventilators, causing systemic heat and electrical outages. The administration closed the building, which houses six departments, and moved five hundred classes elsewhere. This crisis, in part, prompted the BCC Faculty Council in November 2019 to vote 23-3 no confidence in Kay Ellis, BCC Vice President of Administration and Finance, censuring her for “a failure of oversight and forethought in the execution of her duties, leading to a widespread lowering of morale amongst the faculty and staff.” The resolution noted that dozens of staff members had resigned under her leadership, that Ellis had instructed a faculty member who complained about the freezing workplace to wear a sweater, and that she had dismissed a request for mold testing in Colston Hall after it flooded by saying, “This is the Bronx.”

In October 2021, the administration closed Nichols Hall, whose offices and bathrooms had long been sullied by mouse feces, dust, filth, and mold. To destroy the mold, BCC had used a chemical that caused burning sensations in the eyes of the non-instructional staff who worked there. Because its windows could not be opened easily or opened at all, Nichols Hall could not be properly ventilated after the chemical was applied, forcing its occupants to work remotely.

In spring 2022, faculty and staff rallied for health and safety at BCC, but the working environment continued to deteriorate. Extreme cold forced BCC to hold classes online for a week in late November 2022. Two weeks later, the BCC College Senate voted 47-7 no confidence in Ellis who a day earlier had resigned effective the end of the fall semester. Rather than face his own vote of no confidence, BCC president Thomas Isekenegebe announced that he would resign in summer 2023.

By rededicating itself to educating the whole citizen, BCC may yet cast off its identity as a toxic sinkhole. A repurposed BCC would host theater groups, art galleries, and civic associations instead of businesses in pursuit of tax breaks. It would cultivate an ethos of learning and justice to catalyze community involvement and public service, so that someday the Bronx might be known for its parks and organic community gardens rather than for its power plants and waste transfer stations.

This essay originally appeared in *The American Dissident* and is reprinted here with permission of the author and the original publisher. Ali Zaidi as noted was a teacher at Bronx Community College from 1999-2007 and has been at SUNY Canton since 2007.

**Complete footnotes and references available on-line.**



# MY RETALIATION AND ABUSE CONTINUES IN SOUTH CAROLINA PRISONS UNDER INTERSTATE COMPACT

By Kevin “Rashid” Johnson

Since I was interstate transferred to South Carolina from the Virginia prison system on May 1, 2025, I have endured continued abuses and retaliation in response to and to deter my role in publicizing, resisting and organizing against abuses in Va prisons (and now in SC). Which is what prompted this transfer in the first place.

My SC confinement began with a wild transport ride in a “Freddy Grey van”, namely, an unpadded steel-lined vehicle with the factory-installed seatbelts removed. I’d been restrained in a squatting, almost fetal position, so I could neither brace nor protect myself against being thrown against the van’s steel walls, as the SC guards drove at high speeds swerving and braking wildly as if in a high speed chase. I suffered multiple injuries as a result.

Upon arriving in the SCDOC, I was thrown into medieval solitary confinement conditions several times for no valid reason. The second time, I was put into a cell at Perry Correctional (sic!) Institution (PCI) for months with what I would later discover was a concentrated insecticide coating the cell’s floor along the base of the walls, toilet and window, and across the sink. As a result and throughout my confinement in that cell, I suffered severe respiratory illness and infections, and had to be put on antibiotics and other medications.

I also developed an oral infection (an abscessed tooth) while in that cell, which SCDOC dental and administrative staff refused to treat. I ultimately had to receive treatment at a private dental office at my own expense.

At every turn I’ve suffered abuse and blatant attempts on my life.

My communications lines were also immediately cut, as I was restricted from telephone use and denied possession of a GTL tablet which all other SC prisoners are allowed to have, on which they may send and receive electronic messages to and from outside people. When I was compelled to use other prisoners’ telephone pin numbers and tablets to communicate, I was subjected to disciplinary measures.

In response to these abuses I brought and now have pending federal litigation in the SC District Courts against both SC and Va officials, styled Kevin Johnson v. Chadwick Johnson, case no. 2:25-cv-12580.

In response to this lawsuit further retaliations have followed, in attempts to sabotage my litigation efforts and in ongoing efforts to block my communications lines. At the core of these measures have been the SCDOC general counsel’s office office (which are in-house

lawyers who advise, represent and cover up for SC prison officials in litigation), the Perry law library supervisor - a low ranking guard - Rachel Cobb, a captain Lasley, a lieutenant Smith and others.

Because I continue to be denied use of a GTL tablet, which has a Westlaw legal research app on it, and therefore need to use the law library, I pressed a complaint that Perry officials were not opening the law library 37.5 hours per week as SCDOC policy requires - at Perry the law library is opened less than 18 hours per week and I’m not allowed to use it more than 6 hours per week. Also, no priority is given to my court deadlines as required by these policies.

Furthermore, as a security officer, Cobb is not supposed to supervise the law library. Indeed, as per SCDOC policy, a law librarian is supposed to run the library and train the prisoner law clerks with the clerks with the assistance of the General Counsel’s office. None of this was done.

Because of my complaint, Cobb retaliated by creating a rule that prisoners in the law library may not talk to each other and if they did she would make them leave. She told other prisoners that my filing the complaint against her was the reason she created the rule. She then used this rule several times to order me removed from the law library and to have me locked inside my cell for 24 hour punitive cell restrictions.

Next she got together with captain Lasley and lieutenant Smith, to have me denied meals, showers, pickup and delivery of legal mail, etc., during these cell restrictions, in blatant violation of SCDOC policy OP-22.14 (26.2).

Lasley and Smith also collaborated with Perry investigators captain Cotter, lieutenant Boccabello, and others, to target and threaten other prisoners who might aid me in communicating with the outside to publicize conditions and my treatment. They also cancelled my attorney calls. All in violation of the foregoing policy.

When an outside supporter, Melinda Evans of UPROAR, contacted the prison about these abuses on Dec 10th, lieutenant Smith answered the phone and hung up in her face the moment she stated that she was calling about me. Smith then came directly to my cell and threatened me.

In another call, Mrs Evans was able to record Perry staff (whom I believe was a sergeant Baber), on the call admitting the abuse of cell restriction against me and the policy violations in denying me to come out of the cell for showers, meals, legal mail, attorney calls, and so on.

On Dec 15th, I attempted to speak with a guard, Njcholas Sessa, in the operations building about being denied an attorney call on Dec 11th that Sessa had scheduled, because of being on cell restriction. The very same sergeant Baber who’d admitted that my cell restrictions were wrongly imposed to Mrs Evans, attempted to instigate an argument with me, to cut off my questioning Sessa about my cancelled attorney call. Baber began literally screaming hysterically that my yelling at Sessa would not be tolerated. I never had not once raised my voice to Sessa.

Baber was angry and trying to distract Sessa’s admitting that the call was cancelled wrongly because I was put in cell restriction by lieutenant Smith, and that Sessa, Smith and Baber were in fact to blame, AFTER Baber had just admitted the improper abuses of cell restrictions on me. Baber had also been responding to numerous calls from the public about my treatment. She clearly recognized that she was in a compromising position.

So, casting aside the fake polite PR personality prison officials put on for outside callers, Baber exposed her true sinister character and made up the lie that I was arguing at and “disrespecting” Sessa, and conspired with Smith to out me on yet another punitive cell restriction, this time for 48 hours, during which I was again denied to come out for meals, showers, legal mail, etc.

Ironically, I was scheduled for and received an attorney call on Dec 17th. Immediately before the call began, Sessa came into the call office and apologized to me for the incident with Baber two days before, and admitted that I never raised my voice nor argued at him as Baber had falsely claimed. The entire situation was manufactured and escalated by Baber and lieutenant Smith to subject me to yet another round of abusive cell restriction. I was able to get several guards to admit in writing that they were ordered to not let me out of the cell FOR ANY REASON in violation in violation of policy, including for meals, showers legal mail, etc.

UPROAR has both the recorded call between Mrs. Evans and sergeant Baber, and a copy of one of these written guard admissions.

And while the abuse and retributions continue, my resolve to continue exposing, resisting and organizing against such against myself and others remains undeterred.

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

## CA Homemaker Sentenced for International Neo-Nazi Violence

Dallas Humber, 35, of Elk Grove, California, — leader of the Terrorgram Collective, a transnational terrorist group — was sentenced in December by U.S. District Judge Dena Coggins to 30 years in prison for soliciting hate crimes, soliciting the murder of federal officials, and conspiring to provide material support to terrorists.

“Humber actively encouraged violence against, and the murder of, individuals based on their race, religion, sexual orientation, and gender identity,” according to U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of California, Eric Grant.

According to court documents, between July 2022 and September 2024, Humber served as a leader of the Terrorgram Collective, a white supremacist transnational terrorist group, that used the Telegram communications app to communicate, coordinate and commit acts of racist violence and destabilization in the US and around the

world. To achieve these ends, she and other members of the Terrorgram Collective solicited individuals to commit hate crimes, terrorist attacks on critical infrastructure, and assassinations. They provided technical, inspirational, and operational guidance to equip those individuals to plan, prepare for, and successfully carry out those attacks.

As proved in court, Humber and the Terrorgram Collective inspired and solicited individuals to commit attacks or plot to commit attacks in the US and elsewhere. These included plotting to attack an energy facility in New Jersey, plotting to bomb an energy facility in Tennessee, plotting to murder two people in Wisconsin in furtherance of plans to assassinate a federal official, and attempting to assassinate an Australian official.

Additionally, individuals led by Humber and the Terrorgram Collective committed acts of violence internationally, including shooting three people, killing two, at an LGBTQ bar in Bratislava, Slovakia; shooting

11 people, killing four, at two schools in Aracruz, Brazil; and stabbing five people outside of a mosque in Eskişehir, Turkey.

The investigation that led to the trial and conviction was carried out by the FBI, assisted by various foreign and domestic law enforcement agencies. The successful prosecution was conducted by the Eastern District of California, the Justice Department’s Civil Rights Division and the National Security Division’s Counterterrorism Section.

Perhaps the egregious nature of the crimes and their international scope prompted those agencies to focus on right-wing violence, which even though it is the predominant form of “home-grown” non-state political violence has been more typically downplayed by the authorities, who prefer to target grassroots community activism and self-defense as so-called “domestic terrorism.”

A fifth person allegedly connected with the group, an ex-member of the US military, was also arrested in Louisiana.

The Turtle Island Liberation Front (TILF), according to an Instagram account the DOJ released, is dedicated to “liberation through decolonization and tribal sovereignty” and for the working class to rise up and fight back against capitalism. “Turtle Island” is a term used by some Native Americans to describe North America. The DOJ press release also showed photos of what it claimed were precursor materials for a bomb. According to press reports, an FBI agent and a confidential informant infiltrated the group and were present in the Mojave Desert.

The arrests reek of the kind of set-up and entrapment the FBI has repeatedly used to ensnare young Muslims in alleged terrorism plots. More details will emerge as court proceedings continue. The DOJ press release and national coverage make it clear that the arrests are part of Trump’s crackdown on what he calls “enemies of capitalism and Christianity.”

## Anti-Capitalists Arrested in LA on Federal Terrorism Charges

According to the US Justice Department, four members of an anti-capitalist group have been arrested for allegedly plotting to attack two US companies with improvised explosive devices (IEDs) this New Year’s Eve.

See: <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/four-defendants-arrested-alleged-anti-capitalist-and-anti-government-plot-bomb-us-companies>

US Attorney General Pamela Bondi claims that members of “The Turtle Island Liberation Front — a far-left, pro-Palestine, anti-government, and anti-capitalist group — [were] preparing to conduct a series of bombings against multiple targets in California beginning on New Year’s Eve. The group also planned to target ICE agents and vehicles,” she said.

Trumpo’s FBI Director Kash Patel declared that “The charges made public today show the FBI and our partners disrupted a dangerous New Year’s Eve plot to simultaneously target two U.S. companies with multiple explosive devices. The defendants allegedly acquired materials to construct the devices, planned to test them in

the Mojave Desert, and used encrypted communications in an attempt to evade detection, but thanks to the FBI and our partners those efforts failed. The FBI is committed to keeping our homeland safe and making sure those who attempt violent acts face justice.”

“This country protects the right to hold extreme views about its past, present, and future, but violence is an unmistakable and enforceable line,” said Assistant Attorney General for National Security John A. Eisenberg. “The National Security Division is committed to investigating and prosecuting those who cross that line.”

The following defendants were arrested in the Mojave Desert and are charged with conspiracy and possession of an unregistered destructive device:

Audrey Illeene Carroll, 30, also known as Asiginaak, of South Los Angeles;

Zachary Aaron Page, 32, also known as AK, of Torrance;

Dante Gaffield, 24, also known as Nomad, of South Los Angeles; and

Tina Lai, 41, also known as Kickwhere, of Glendale.

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

First Class Postage

UPCOMING EVENTS:

- ★ Jan 17 - *Seeds for Liberation* film, location TBA in WeHo/Beverly Hills
  - ★ Jan 19 - MLK Day marches in Oakland and in LA's Crenshaw district
  - ★ Jan 20 - Prayer Vigil for Disappeared by ICE, DTLA Fed. Bldg, 12n-1p
  - ★ Jan 25 - Leimert Park Jazz Festival in Africatown
  - ★ Feb 7 - A-I, Labor & the Future, 11a-5p, 1261 Avalon Bl., Wilmington
  - ★ Feb 10 - Loretta Ross speaks on Calling In, at UCLA Hammer Museum
  - ★ Feb 14 - Valentines Day benefit for *Turning The Tide*, location TBA
- 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)

TURNING THE TIDE GOES FREE TO ALMOST 1,700 PRISONERS EVERY ISSUE.

\$5 DONATION GETS THIS INTO THE HANDS OF 10. POSTAGE ALONE COSTS \$1300!!

“SUPPORT TURNING THE TIDE, FOR WHEN YOU DO SO, YOU SUPPORT YOURSELF, AND THE MOVEMENTS THAT ARE PAVING A WAY INTO THE FUTURE.”

- MUMIA ABU JAMAL

Send cash, check, or money order payable to: **Anti-Racist Action**,  
PO Box 1055, Culver City CA 90232. We CANNOT process checks to Turning the Tide or Intercommunal Solidarity -- **All checks to ‘ANTI-RACIST ACTION’ only!!**

- ☐ Individual Subscription: \$20    ☐ Institutional Subscription: \$30    ☐ ARA Benefit CD: \$10+\$3 S&H
- ☐ 25th Anniversary Commemorative Edition: \$5    ☐ Additional Donations \$ \_\_\_\_\_

Name: \_\_\_\_\_ Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Email: \_\_\_\_\_ Phone: \_\_\_\_\_ City: \_\_\_\_\_ State: \_\_\_\_\_ Zip: \_\_\_\_\_

TTT published at least four times a year. **No checks to Turning the Tide, please! Can't process them!**  
Please write us every time your address changes, with your EXACT address as it should appear on the address label. TTT is a small project with few resources: we can't provide books or legal aid, or investigate individuals' innocence.

TURNING THE TIDE

Volume 38   ★   Number 1   ★   ISSN 1082-6491   ★   January-February 2026



INSIDE

- ★ Mumia Abu-Jamal: Freedom from Frame-up
- ★ A-I, Labor & the Future of LA & World
- ★ Terrorgram Leader Convicted
- ★ Sinking Roots of Revolutionary Resistance
- ★ Rashid: Prison Abuse & Retaliation
- ★ Toxiccollege in the Bronx
- ★ Will Mamdani Foster a Solidarity Economy?
- ★ Epstein & Chomsky
- ★ and Much More!

Hands Off L.A., Portland, Chicago, Memphis,  
Baltimore & Minneapolis!  
**U.S. TROOPS OUT OF U.S. CITIES!**  
**US Imperialism Must Go!**

Anti-Racist Action-LA/  
People Against Racist Terror  
PO Box 1055  
Culver City, CA 90232  
[www.antiracist.org](http://www.antiracist.org)  
747-666-PART (7278)  
[antiracistaction\\_la@yahoo.com](mailto:antiracistaction_la@yahoo.com)