

## ***PART's Perspective:***

# **The “Mid-Term” Elections Will Not Save Us From Fascism**

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

The so-called “mid-term” elections are less than a month away. Yet the very name underscores the centrality and primacy of executive power and the imperial presidency within the US political system.

The election is “mid-term” only in reference to the four-year term of whoever is in the White House. The representatives and senators seeking re-election are at the END of their own terms. Relative to the US Congress, the House of Representatives is elected in its entirety every two years, and the same is true of a third of the (essentially undemocratic) Senate. Whether or not the Supreme Court further upholds Trump’s bizarre theory of the “unitary executive”, the presidency, embodied in a single individual, holds more power than any member of the other branches or, has been made evident, than the entire legislature combined. We may chant, “No Kings!” but the president of the US is an emperor.

At the state level, when there are bicameral legislatures, both the upper chamber, usually also called a state Senate, and the lower chamber, commonly an Assembly or House of Representatives are both apportioned in districts with roughly equal populations, with larger populations and geographic reach typically for the smaller senate than for the more numerous representatives. But in the US federal system, the Senate is based on two Senators for each state, regardless of population, flying in the face of the essential democratic rubric of “one person, one vote”. Los Angeles County alone, with 17,000,000 inhabitants, has a larger population than 40 of the fifty United States, yet California as a whole gets only two Senators, the same as Montana, Wyoming or Rhode Island.

So the entire “mid-term” election, with 34 Senate seats at stake, is a set-up from the beginning. The Constitutional system was designed to limit or prevent popular sentiment and opinion from having effective control over the entire government. There is no need to “rig” the election when the entire political and electoral system is rigged from the foundation to favor moneyed interests and scattered rural populations. It intentionally discounts the numerical majority of poor people, especially people of color, in urban areas.

The electoral college system which has named the loser of the popular vote the winner of the presidential election twice in this century is based on the equal representation of less populous states with more populous ones in the US Senate. The mistrust of urban populations of poor and working class people is also manifest in almost every state, where the state capital and seat of government is in a small city as far as possible from the largest city in the state -- Albany, not New York City; Springfield, not Chicago; Sacramento, not Los Angeles; Tallahassee, not Miami or even Jacksonville.

Nonetheless, despite all these utterly undemocratic features of the federal/imperial electoral and governmental system, a lot of people are pinning their hopes, perhaps understandably, on the mid-term elections to “correct course” and check the increasingly untrammled power of DJ Chump. Although the Democrats are often referred to as spineless, hope springs eternal that once in the majority in the House and/or Senate, they would counter Trump with more backbone than the jellyfish GOP majority, which has enabled all his depradations and protected him from removal from office for his crimes.

Despite hopes for a so-called ‘blue wave’ or even a ‘blue tsunami’, Trump’s MAGA super-pac, the Republican Senatorial and House Campaign Committees, the RNC, and individual techno-fascist and energy mega-donors are pouring hundreds of millions of dollars into advertising and get-out-the-vote operations for threatened Republicans in House and especially Senate races. Elon Musk alone has already pumped nearly \$400 million dollars and counting for the last few weeks into efforts to maintain the GOP Senate majority. Not to mention gerrymandering and voter suppression in so-called “red” states.

Electoral politics aside, CA Gov. Newsom and AG Rob Bonta caved in and settled a lawsuit seeking to prevent the merger and takeover of Warner-Discovery (which runs CNN and the HBO cable and streaming service) by the Ellisons’ Skydance/Paramount, which has already taken control of CBS and its fabled news division, putting it under the control of the rabid Zionist and reactionary Bari Weiss. Further broadcast media monopolization in the hands of the techno-fascists who already run most of the social media platforms bodes ill for the possibility of the so-called “Fourth Estate” of the press operating as much of a check on the political and economic powers-that-be.

France and India are aflame with militant youth-led protests over austerity measures and unresponsive political parties unwilling to meet the demands for change. Indian youth created the Cockroach Janata party overnight to oppose Modi’s repressive Hindu nationalism. Yet here in the US, where autocratic measures and the deprivation of social services may be even worse, and Christian nationalists hold sway in Congress, the White House and the Pentagon, all we see is a reliance on electoral politics and polite, ritualistic protest rallies designed to advance the Democrats’ electoral agenda.

Groups like Indivisible and the No Kings rally organizers need to recognize that far more is needed than the election of Democrats in place of Republicans in so-called “swing

states” or districts. The fascistization of US politics is well under way and requires more than electoral opposition or rotation in power by the corporate parties. At a recent international gathering of right-wing states and parties, US Secretary of State Marco Rubio, angling to run again for US president as a MAGA hard-liner in 2028, delivered a speech and a 100+ page document attacking Cuba, the Black freedom struggle in the US, and anything to the left of MAGA, including Democratic Party office-holders, as violence-prone communists intent on subversion. In the interests of their own safety, Democratic-Party-oriented liberals and social democrats must oppose this effort to criminalize the Black movement, international solidarity, and the left.

This new McCarthyism seeks to amp up support for Trump’s war measures, economic sanctions, strangling energy blockade, and other attacks on Cuba. It uses that in turn to justify racist measures against and persecution of the Black liberation movement, and even mainstream political figures like Antonio Villarraigosa, Karen Bass, and Maxine Waters as conscious agents of a Cuban-led conspiracy and covert operations. It runs hand-in-glove with pro-Israel efforts to label support for Palestine as antisemitism or even terrorism. It’s no coincidence that Homeland Security has now staged a raid on the home of Congresswoman Ilhan Omar.

Such moves must be denounced, but more important, we must redouble our efforts and solidarity with the Cuban people and their revolution and sovereignty, with the Black liberation movement, with Palestine, and with efforts for the socialist and anti-colonial transformation of US society.

A few quotes from Rubio will serve to demonstrate the grave threat this now-dominant politics of neo-fascism poses. He wrote, “For nearly seven decades, the Cuban regime has waged a sustained campaign of subversion against the United States. It is a campaign that has infiltrated the highest reaches of the U.S. government, recruited and cultivated generations of American activists, backed an unprecedented wave of left-wing terrorism on American soil, and carried out one of the most durable and damaging foreign intelligence penetrations in American history.”

Rubio projects onto Cuba the tools of US efforts to overthrow the Cuban revolution (which included assassination attempts, invasion attempts, biological warfare, propagandistic media, subsidies to dissidents and infiltration of agents and terrorists into Cuba) in order to justify further such efforts and the intensification of the US stranglehold on the island nation.

He then goes on to paint a picture of “communists” hidden everywhere in the US, operating as agents of Cuba, most particularly in the Black movement for freedom, justice and equality, but including not just the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) and Zohran Mamdani in his cross-hairs, but even Barack Obama (apparently not enough of a war criminal to satisfy Rubio and Trump). He links the Cubans to Palestinians.

Rubio says that “the most successful and enduring sphere of Cuba’s campaign against America has taken place on the ideological battlefield. Since the 1960s, the regime has served as the beating heart of a new and distinct kind of Marxism, ...from the Black Panthers and the Weather Underground through to Antifa. Today, that network continues to maintain ties to powerful leftist nonprofits, anti-ICE collectives, socialist groups, and Marxist militant organizations across the United States.” Again, and not coincidentally, a subpoena has been issued to the People’s Forum in NYC, one of the groups Rubio named.

Rubio sees Cuban internationalism and anti-imperialism as uniquely threatening. “Castro’s Marxism was radically

## **WELCOME TO THE GAME OF DUOPOLY!**



**AS ALWAYS, YOU LOSE!  
TRY AGAIN NEXT TIME.**

different from its Soviet counterpart. It was permeated by something new: The doctrine of *tercer-mundismo* (“Third Worldism”). The concept of the “Third World” had initially emerged in the context of the Cold War, referring to the bloc of nations in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East that belonged neither to the American capitalist “First World” nor the Soviet socialist “Second World” spheres. But in Castro’s Cuba, the concept would harden into both a self-conscious ideology and a revolutionary identity.”

He continues, “As the socialist magazine Jacobin approvingly recounted earlier this year, it was Cuba that ‘was seen by many in the Third World as the ideal site for radically rethinking anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, and decolonization.’ What Cuba was proposing, Jacobin writes, ‘was essentially a decolonization of Marxist thought.’”

After this excursion into revolutionary theorizing, Rubio proceeds to blame Cuba for “inspiring” hundreds of bombings in the US more than 50 years ago, in 1971-72, against the US war in Vietnam, and then gets into his real target, the Black liberation movement. Starting with Robert F. Williams (though neglecting his equally militant wife Mabel) who advocated for armed self-defense against Ku Klux Klan night-riders and were forced into exile in Cuba, Rubio moves on to an indictment of Malcolm X, Kwame Ture (the former Stokely Carmichael of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee), Assata Shakur, and Black Lives Matter.

He includes by name also LA Mayor Karen Bass, who once was in the Venceremos Brigade, “Hasan Piker; Amazon Labor Union founder Chris Smalls; ... the Democratic Socialists of America; former UK Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn, former Spanish deputy prime minister Pablo Iglesias; several other current and former members of European Parliament; and Isra Hirsí, campus activist and daughter of Representative Ilhan Omar (D., Minn.).”

In section VI of the document, entitled ***Racial Revolution***, Rubio on behalf of his master, Trump, says “Cuba played a foundational role in the formation of Black Power ideology. Throughout both the twentieth and twenty-first century, the regime has sought to cultivate a fifth column of American black extremists through appeals to international racial solidarity – framing both Cubans and African-Americans as oppressed Third World peoples arrayed against the common enemy of white America.”

It’s probably ignorant and unintentional irony on Rubio’s part in the use of the term “fifth column”. The term derives from a statement made by the fascist general in Franco’s assault on Madrid during the Spanish Civil War, who declared that in addition to his four columns of soldiers attacking Madrid to overthrow the Republic with Nazi German and Fascist Italian support, he had a “fifth column” of Falangist supporters inside Madrid itself. “Fifth Column” was previously a reference to a treasonous ***fascist*** element within.

Of Kwame Toure Rubio writes, “The central ideas he popularized — Black Power, the reimagining of blacks as a colonized people inside the United States, and the now-widespread concept of “institutional racism,” which Carmichael is widely credited with inventing — became the operating grammar of black radical (and later, mainstream liberal) politics for the next half-century.”

I am unfortunately not aware of any “mainstream liberals” who support Pan-African liberation or the view that Black people are colonized inside the US, although they should if they want to face reality.

But Rubio’s intent is to lay the basis for the further criminalization of the Black freedom struggle, and for prosecutions under the “Foreign Agents Registration Act,” FARA, [see sidebar, p. 2]. ***Continued on next page***

# The Mid-Term Elections Will Not Save Us

...*Continued from p. 1*

Already under the Biden administration, the Feds prosecuted the Uhuru Three, leaders of the African Peoples Socialist Party and the African Peoples Solidarity Committee, as alleged agents of Russia, an attempt that was defeated by a vigorous defense by the APSP, the Uhuru Movement, and their allies based on the right of anti-colonial free speech.

But despite that earlier setback, Rubio goes on in the same vein for pages, smearing the George Floyd Rebellion, Black Lives Matter, Black Congresswomen Ayanna Presley and Maxine Waters, and NYC Mayor Zohran Mamdani as somehow manifestations of Cuba’s successful subversion of US politics and culture.

He then goes on to indict so-called “fellow travelers” as dupes responsible for undermining US efforts to destroy the Cuban revolution. “These partnerships provide Cuba with access to city councils, universities, trade delegations, churches, hospitals, and local activists, collectively feeding a nationwide pro-Cuban constituency that can then lobby the U.S. government on Havana’s behalf. In cities with Cuban sister city partnerships, local governments have frequently passed resolutions advocating for Cuban regime interests. The ICAP-affiliated National Network on Cuba boasts of 117 resolutions representing 60 million people in the United States – across U.S. state legislatures, city councils, county and school boards, labor unions, and other organizations – advocating for reforms such as lifting the U.S. embargo and removing Cuba from the State Sponsor of Terrorism (SSOT) list.”

These are in fact great successes of the movement to get US hands off Cuba. How must we respond to Rubio’s new McCarthyism? It’s easy enough to ridicule his denunciation of Barack Obama for meeting with Bill Ayres and Bernardine Dohrn 35 years after they resurfaced from the Weather Underground, or the fevered imagination in which Antonio Villarraigosa, the consummate self-serving political sell-out, is portrayed as an agent of Cuban subversion.

But this would repeat the errors of the liberal response to McCarthyism during the first Cold War -- criticizing him for indiscriminately lumping loyal pro-imperialist liberals in with the supposedly nasty red menace of communism. It would also ignore the blatant racial coding of Black and Brown people as anti-American, un-American and disloyal, which has been the cornerstone of Trump’s neo-fascism.

The proper response is a denunciation of anti-communism, of those neo-fascist and white supremacist politics, and of the racist tech brologarchy of billionaires who back them. It’s no surprise that Elon Musk of X/SpaceX/Tesla, Peter Thiel of Palantir, and vulture capitalist David Sacks, whose private equity firm has invested heavily in Meta and other A-I, and who all three made their first fortunes together in PayPal, all grew up in apartheid South Africa, and are all big backers of Trump and of JD Vance (with whom Rubio is contending for heir apparent of MAGA and successor to Trump in 2028). Rejecting Trump’s labeling of his Democratic Party opponents as communists is insufficient; the right of communists, socialists, and anarchists to speak out and campaign must be defended.

But even more important, we must step up and stand up in solidarity with Cuba, in opposition to the new colonialism of Trump’s aggressive military Keynesianism and energy extractivism in Iran, Venezuela, Somalia, Ukraine and elsewhere, and in conscious anti-racist and anti-colonial solidarity with Black Lives Matter, the Uhuru movement, and the enlightened sectors of the labor movement that have broken with business (as usual) unionism and separated from the CIA-led efforts to make US labor federations stalking horses for US global domination.

The best defense against neo-fascism is a good offense against imperialism, colonialism, racism and war. This requires far more than electoral opposition. Whatever the outcome of the “mid-term” elections, we must struggle to demand a reversal of the NDAA that has integrated the Israeli military and surveillance

apparatus into the US military and strategic planning. We must demand, not just a denial of Trump’s and ‘Secretary of War’ Hegseth’s request for a half-trillion dollar increase in the military budget, but a massive reduction in US weapons spending, particularly the elimination of A-I surveillance and autonomous tanks and vessels, of nuclear weapons and of the militarization of space. We must call for the closing of US military bases -- not just confinement to quarters as occurred recently in Okinawa after a US service member killed a local woman -- and an immediate end to the US war on Iran and the US-financed Israeli war on Palestine and Lebanon, and the Saudi war on Yemen.

If the Democrats regain control of the House and Senate, will they do any better than they did when they had both houses of Congress and the White House and the presidency under Obama and later Biden? Will they end the war on Iran and the attacks and blockade on Cuba? Will they stop arming Israel’s genocide? Will they adopt single-payer healthcare, and reverse the One Big Beautiful Bill Act that robbed the social safety net to finance further tax cuts for the super-rich? Will they enact labor legislation that eases the path to organizing workplaces to build rank-and-file union power? Will they build social housing,

## The Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA)

by the US Center for Non-Profit Law [Excerpts]

<https://www.icnl.org/post/analysis/reforming-the-foreign-agents-registration-act-to-protect-u-s-nonprofits>

FARA is a World War II era anti-propaganda statute that requires an “agent of a foreign principal” engaged in covered activity to register with the Department of Justice unless they meet an exemption. Its provisions are famously sweeping and vague. This provides the federal government wide discretion for enforcement, creating uncertainty for nonprofits and others in navigating the Act. It also creates the danger that FARA will be used in a politicized manner by the government to target voices it disfavors.

Some observers believe that FARA only covers the agents of foreign governments. However, a “foreign principal” under the Act includes not only foreign governments, but also foreign individuals, foundations, nonprofits, companies, and other entities.

The Act covers a broad range of ...activities [besides lobbying and electioneering]. This includes ...attempts to influence “any section of the public within the US” on domestic or foreign policy[, which] can cover a wide range of public advocacy. [It] also includes a “political consultant”, ...someone who simply “inform[s]” a foreign principal “with reference to the domestic or foreign policies of the US”. Covered activities do not even need to involve politics. For example, an “agent” that “solicits” or “disburses” “things of value” on behalf of a foreign principal is also covered by the Act.

The agency relationship can be far more informal than many appreciate. An entity can be considered an “agent” under FARA even if they act at the mere “request” of a foreign principal or they are financed by a foreign principal “in major part” ([Neither] “request” [nor] “major part” [is] ...defined in the Act).

[FARA] creates significant burdens. An “agent” needs to register with the US DOJ, provide regular (publicly available) updates of activities covered by the Act, and ... must make a “conspicuous” statement [to the public] that it is acting on behalf of a foreign principal. All staff engaged in covered activities also have to submit short-form registrations.

If required to register, nonprofits acting independently in furtherance of their mission can be stigmatized as “agents” of a foreign principal. Staff at organizations frequently do not want to register as they fear potential negative repercussions to their career. Those that willfully fail to comply with FARA can face criminal penalties, creating a potentially chilling effect given the Act’s lack of clear bright line rules.

During the McCarthy era, W.E.B. Du Bois was prosecuted under FARA for circulating an anti-nuclear petition at the “request” of a French nonprofit. Since 2020, over 20 Congressional investigations have claimed dozens of nonprofits may be violating the Act – often focusing on whether the nonprofit ever acted at the “request” of a foreign principal in a covered activity. ...These accusations often fail to address potential exemptions for registration in the Act, but these exemptions are also vague, frequently leaving nonprofits on uncertain legal ground.

**More information about the Foreign Agents Registration Act and how to navigate it is available here:**

<https://www.icnl.org/our-work/us-program/foreign-agents-registration-act/>

***TTT notes:*** FARA was used extensively under the Biden administration. In 2024, Rep. Henry Cuellar (D-Texas) was charged by the DOJ with taking bribes and acting as a foreign agent of Azerbaijan. Sen. Robert Menendez (D-N.J.) was convicted of bribery and acting as a foreign agent of Egypt. The DOJ also charged two employees of **RT** with conspiring to violate FARA by paying right-wing media influencers to spread Kremlin talking points in the run-up to the 2024 presidential election. But the biggest attack, which was turned back, was against the anti-colonial Black left.

### Victory over FARA for the Uhuru 3

In 2022, the FBI carried out pre-dawn, military-style raids on seven homes and offices of the Uhuru (“Freedom”) Movement and the African People’s Socialist Party in St. Louis, MO and St. Petersburg, FL. In 2023, the Uhuru 3 were indicted under FARA on bogus charges of failing to register as “agents of a foreign government” or “Russian agents” for exercising their right to advocate for the liberation of African people, as the Uhuru Movement had been doing for 50 years. In September, 2024 the trial took place in federal court in Tampa, FL. The jury found the Uhuru 3 not guilty of being Russian agents. They were convicted of a lesser charge of conspiracy, a thought crime, but in the penalty phase, the judge refused to impose prison time or even a fine. The APSP and APSC used the trial to campaign vigorously for their right to advocate for the liberation of African people everywhere, and are appealing the conviction, about to file a writ to the US Supreme Court. More about the Uhuru Movement here: <https://handsoffuhuru.org/about-the-uhuru-3/>

The House Ways and Means Committee, citing concerns about “gaps” in government regulation of entities acting as agents of foreign principals, has issued sweeping subpoenas for internal records of the Peoples Forum in NYC, which TPF is resisting. You can learn about that effort here: [https://peoplesforum.org/blog\\_post/the-peoples-forum-responds-to-congressional-subpoena/](https://peoplesforum.org/blog_post/the-peoples-forum-responds-to-congressional-subpoena/)

Earlier this year, Montana’s AG Austin Knudsen led an attack under FARA against environmental non-profits. According to his press release, he led a coalition of 19 attorneys general asking the USDOJ to investigate over 150 U.S.-based climate activist groups allegedly taking money from foreign entities to influence energy policy in the US. “Foreign actors are attempting to sabotage our nation’s energy sector by funneling dark money to their climate activist cronies in the U.S. The law is clear – if U.S.-based nonprofits take money to lobby and influence policy on behalf of a foreign principal, they need to register under FARA,” Knudsen said. “I urge Attorney General [Pam] Bondi to open an investigation into this matter immediately.”

## 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. Last year, we put out 6 issues, but this year dropped down to five. To restore bi-monthly publication, we have 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 1500 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! We did it last year, but new increases mean we’re quarterly again.

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

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

makes a dime from working on **TTT**.

If the campaign is successful, we will resume publishing every other month in 2027. This year we only managed 5 issues. Postage, our biggest expense, just increased. 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 18% of our goal. LA area supporters could set up house meetings, where the editor will pitch to your friends for support. The future of ***Turning the Tide*** is in your hands. Now, while you’re thinking about it, go to:

**[https://ko-fi.com/anti\\_racist\\_action\\_la](https://ko-fi.com/anti_racist_action_la)**

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

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

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

**UNITY STRUGGLE AND REUNIFICATION:  
ON THE MERGER OF THE NEW AFRIKAN BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
AND THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERCOMMUNAL BLACK PANTHER PARTY (2026)**

By Kevin “Rashid” Johnson

The New Afrikan Black Panther Party (NABPP) was cofounded in 2005 by two prisoners, Kevin “Rashid” Johnson and Shaka Zulu aka Zulu Sharod, and transitioned into an outside party in 2019. As with all revolutionary organizations, the NABPP went through various stages of development, both ebbs and high tides in its growth and work, including a split between its cofounders in Dec 2020. The members that joined Rashid in the separation reconstituted as the Revolutionary Intercommunal Black Panther Party (RIBPP), to reflect the Revolutionary Intercommunalist ideological and political line of the organization, which the NABPP had formally embraced in 2015. (1) In fact, in 2018 we expressed intentions to make this name change to reflect this broader orientation and advance from the more limited New Afrikan national identity. (2) Upon our split, Zulu Sharod continued organizing under the name NABPP.

The historical field of anti-imperialist revolutionary movements is littered with parties that have split and dissolved, or that upon separation moved in opposite directions, with some going on to serve the interests of the people and others going on to serve the interests of the enemy ruling class. This usually happens because opposing political lines developed within these groups, one representing the revolutionary aims of the working class (the correct line), the other representing the reactionary aims of the ruling capitalist class (the incorrect line).

When the NABPP split into two separate parties, it wasn’t the result of internal two-line struggle. It was the result of antagonistic outside influences and wreckers behind the scenes undermining the group. I spoke to this situation in my articles “The Infiltration of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party” (2024), and “On Accountability Within Revolutionary Organizations” (2025) (3). As I discussed in these articles, there WERE always various two-line struggles occurring within the NABPP before and after our separation, but they were the types that could and should have been resolved without becoming antagonistic, as other revolutionary parties have done. It was under the influences of sinister elements that these struggles were escalated into antagonistic contradictions and ultimately split the organization.

From the moment that we separated, elders in the movement including veterans of the original Black Panther Party, were in the ears of leaders of both groups encouraging us to reunify. Many prisoners also expressed disappointment in an organization that began inside the razor wire plantations and had given them an example of unified struggle in service to oppressed peoples that contradicted the many examples among us of groups that have remained divided and warring among themselves. We even received reports of numerous prisoners reduced to tears at the news of the split.

For several years leaders of both parties have been



**Endnotes:**

1. In 2015 the NABPP issued a special 10th anniversary edition of our newsletters, **RIGHT ON!**, where we announced our formal adoption and advances of Revolutionary Intercommunalism aka Pantherism illuminated by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as our ideological and political line, based upon analyses set out my 2010 article, “In Search of the Right Theory for Today’s Struggle: Revisiting Huey P. Newton’s Theory of Revolutionary Intercommunalism”. <http://rashidmod.com/?p=1282>. This article further advanced positions raised in my 2010 article, “Black Liberation in the 21st Century: A Revolutionary Reassessment of Black Nationalism”. <http://rashidmod.com/?p=301>. The latter article also appears in my book, **Panther Vision: Essential Party Writings And Art Of Kevin “Rashid” Johnson** (Kersplebedeb publishers; Montreal, Canada, 2015), pp. 188-204
2. See, Kevin “Rashid” Johnson, “On Pan Afrikanism: Part One of an Interview With Comrade Rashid by JR Valrey” (2018) <http://rashidmod.com/?p=2525>
3. The former article is unpublished, the latter article can be read at <http://rashidmod.com/?p=3734>

**DOG-GONE!**

**UPROAR LAUNCHES CAMPAIGN TO REMOVE ATTACK DOGS FROM VIRGINIA PRISONS**

by Kevin “Rashid” Johnson

UPROAR (Uniting Prisoners’ Relatives Organizing Against Repression) has launched a campaign to remove attack dogs from Virginia’s prisons. These animals (euphemistically called working dogs and patrol dogs by VA prison officials), have been used as weapons of terror and violence by VA prison officials for over two decades. VA’s incarcerated have been mauled and even crippled by dogs at rates unmatched by any other prison system.

During 2023 the INSIDER published a report on the uses of attack dogs in U.S. prisons, where it was found that just between 2017 and 2022 VA prisoners had been attacked with dogs over 271 times, compared to Arizona, which had the next highest number of dog attacks (only 15) during the same period.

The abuse of these animals in VA prisons continues a long and tortured history of uses of attack dogs as weapons of racialized terror in the Amerikas. From the use of specially bred hounds by Spaniards in the extermination of the peaceful Tainos Indians of Hispaniola (modern day Haiti and the Dominican Republic), to the gruesome efforts to put down the revolution that ended slavery in Haiti and Jamaica’s Second Maroon War against slavery, in late 1700s; from the widespread use of attack dogs to terrorize, maul and often kill Black slaves across the U.S. South, to police dog attacks on peaceful Civil Rights

demonstrations in the 1960s; from the uses of dogs to terrorize Iraqi detainees by the U.S. military in 2004, to the abuses of dogs by police in Ferguson, Mo in their campaign of terror against Black communities protesting the 2014 police murder of unarmed Black youth Mike Brown.

In each of these historic moments, the uses of attack dogs was widely recognized and denounced as racist, barbaric and inhumane. The priest Bartolomeo de las Casas protested this abuse against the Tainos. The use of dogs to maul and kill Black slaves was denounced by such figures as Harriet Beecher Stowe and Harriet Tubman, and was a major factor behind wide spread white support to abolish slavery and its horrors. Worldwide condemnation of the racist inhumanity of Jim Crow segregation was bolstered by pictures of police dogs attacking Civil Rights demonstrators in Montgomery, Al in 1963. An international scandal resulting in court marshals of U.S. soldiers followed the release of pictures of them using dogs to terrorize Iraqi detainees, and so on.

Because the use of dogs is occurring behind prison walls, there are no images to show the terror being inflicted on those incarcerated in VA. But we have graphic descriptions. Incidents like Jaeon Chavis’s description in his lawsuit of having dogs at VA’s Red Onion State Prison sicked on him and ripping out chunks on his flesh while guards called him racist names, as he lay defenseless on

floor screaming that was being killed; or Walter Kissee who was permanently crippled in a similarly unprovoked attack by guards at VA’s River North prison, where a dog ripped a softball-sized chunk of muscle from his leg as he lay defenseless and blinded from tear gas, in an incident where he had done nothing wrong. There have been hundreds of similar attacks in VA’s prisons, and most of them have been committed against Black and Brown men by guards in rural prisons strategically located in segregated white communities in rural Southwestern VA.

It is no coincidence that VA’s highest security prisons where dogs are present, are all located in such racially hostile regions with Black and a Brown prisoners disproportionately concentrated in these prisons.

UPROAR is calling for all possible public exposure, support and protest to remove attack dogs from VA prisons. Join this fight!

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

Political Education:

Exposing VADOC’s Use of Slave Hounds to Terrorize Virginia Prisoners: [https://youtu.be/K-\\_F0ejlnY](https://youtu.be/K-_F0ejlnY)  
Sign the Petition:

Slave Hounds Out of Virginia: End the Use of Attack Dogs in Virginia Prisons: <https://actionnetwork.org/petitions/slave-hounds-out-of-virginia-end-the-use-of-attack-dogs-in-virginia-prisons>

**The Black Panther Party 60th Anniversary Convening: Oakland CA, Oct. 15-18**

<https://www.bpp60.org/about>

The Black Panther Party changed what people believed was possible. Founded in Oakland in 1966, the Party confronted police violence and state repression, but its legacy reaches far beyond resistance alone.

The Panthers built survival programs that fed children before school, opened community health clinics, organized around sickle cell anemia, created schools that re-imagined education, supported prisoners and their families, and advanced self-defense as both a political principle and a practical response to terror. They insisted that Black people had the right not only to survive, but to live with dignity, political clarity, and collective power.

The Party also understood that Black struggle in the US was connected to liberation movements around the world. Its politics were international. Its vision was global. From anti-colonial struggles in Africa to revolutionary movements in Asia, Latin America, and beyond, the Panthers located Black freedom

within a larger fight against imperialism, capitalism, and racial domination. That global analysis remains part of the Party’s enduring legacy, as does its insistence that political education, community care, and organized resistance must move together.

The Black Panther Party 60th Anniversary is rooted in that full legacy. This is an opportunity to engage the breadth of what the Party built, defended, and imagined. The 60th calls together veterans, scholars, organizers, artists, educators, and community members to reflect on the Party’s impact and to consider what its lessons demand of us now. The Black Panther Party 60th Anniversary convening gathers in Oakland under the theme **All Power to the People: Resistance, Resilience, and Revolution**.

Over three days, the convening brings together intergenerational voices to engage the legacy of the Black Panther Party as a living framework. Through panels, workshops, film, and conversation, participants will study the Party’s history, examine its strategies,

and apply its analysis to the present. The sessions are designed to deepen understanding, sharpen political clarity, and create space for collective reflection and forward movement.

Join us in Oakland for the Black Panther Party 60th Anniversary, a three-day convening of organizers, educators, artists, and community members from across the country, designed as a space for political education, cultural exchange, and collective strategy, rooted in the enduring legacy of the Black Panther Party.

We offer multiple ways to participate in the 60th Anniversary. There are special rates for Panther veterans, 1000 high school students are also being sponsored to attend. There is a free event open to all on **Community Day, 12 noon-4 pm, Sunday, Oct. 18 in Little Bobby Hutton Park, 1651 Adeline St, Oakland**; many other events are ticketed and passes begin at \$250. You can access a pdf of the full schedule at <https://www.bpp60.org/events> for other events that are open to the public.

# REVERSING THE THEFT OF BLACK LAND

by the Movement for Black Lives

Over a century of systematic land theft has fueled the massive wealth disparity we face today.

In 1910, Black people owned roughly 15 million acres of farmland in the U.S. Today, that number has plummeted to roughly 2 million acres – a critical 90% loss representing at least \$326 billion in lost intergenerational wealth.

This structural theft was orchestrated through discriminatory policy, exploitative lending practices, and predatory property investors who understand a fundamental truth: land ownership is the bedrock of economic power and self-determination.

## What does it actually take to keep our land in our hands?

To understand this nationwide crisis, we look to the U.S. southeastern coast – stretching across North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. October is Gullah Geechee Heritage Month, honoring a culture known particularly for their ability to maintain their culture through deep community bonds and land protection.

The Gullah Geechee are a uniquely distinct Afro-Indigenous culture descended from enslaved Africans who preserved their language, creole traditions, and self-sufficient lifestyle along the southern Sea Islands.

Yet, they serve as a stark warning of how predatory development and legal loopholes can disassemble a community from within.

## Land as Infrastructure & Cultural Loss

For the Gullah Geechee, land is far more than a speculative financial asset, it is the physical infrastructure that sustains their culture. The land anchors their coastal marshes, fishing grounds, family cemeteries, praise houses, Lowcountry foodways, and the front

porches where elders pass down the Gullah language to the next generation.

Take Hilton Head Island, South Carolina. In 1940, descendants of freed people made up the vast majority of this isolated island community. By 2020, following decades of rapid resort development, soaring tax assessments, and forced partition sales, the Black population collapsed to just 7%.

Losing physical space is a direct form of cultural erasure. When ancestral land is unspooled, centuries of community memory and self-determination disappear with it.

## Heirs’ Property

After emancipation, freed people purchased land and intentionally sought to maintain family ownership across generations. Despite their intentions, Jim Crow courts were hostile and inaccessible, meaning land ownership transfers rarely involved formal wills or probate court.

Land passed down without a probated will becomes heirs’ property – a form of fractional ownership where every living descendant owns an undivided share “in common.”

Generations later, a single parcel may belong to dozens or hundreds of relatives scattered across the country.

Community care and shared family stewardship are vital to Black history, but without legal titles, this setup creates dangerous vulnerabilities:

**The Partition Sale:** Any single heir, or a predatory developer who buys out the interest of just one distant relative, file a lawsuit to force a court-ordered partition sale, requiring the entire family estate to be sold all at once regardless of the remaining family’s wishes.

**Auctioned Below Value:** A judge forces the entire family estate onto the public auction block, where developers routinely purchase properties for cents on the dollar.

**Erased in One Hearing:** Partition laws prioritize a single heir’s right to cash out over the rest of the family’s right to stay. In just one court session, a developer with a tiny share can trigger a forced sale that strips the entire family of their home and land.

The USDA identifies heirs’ property as the single leading cause of Black land loss in the United States.



The Lathan family, pictured above, were kicked off their land in coastal North Carolina. Their story was told in an article in Pro Publica, and made into a feature-length documentary, “Silver Dollar Road,” by director Raoul Peck, who made the film “I Am Not Your Negro” on James Baldwin.

In South Carolina alone, over 41,000 heirs’ properties remain untitled, representing more than \$3.42 billion in vulnerable real estate. Combined with skyrocketing property taxes and aggressive resort developers, this isn’t a free market – it is an old, racist machine. [TTT note: Black farmers are still fighting the results of USDA discrimination, and the erasure of Black subsistence farmers.]

## If It Can Happen Here, It Can Happen Anywhere

If legal loopholes can unspool the land of a community as deeply rooted and protective as the Gullah Geechee, no Black community in America is safe.

These same mechanisms of displacement are actively playing out across the country:

Deed theft and fraud targeting elderly homeowners in Queens, NYC

Urban heirs’ property grabs in gentrifying hubs like Atlanta, GA

Speculative tax pressures grinding out legacy families on Chicago’s south side.

For more, see: <https://www.facebook.com/reel/730981866444394>

# SOLITARY SOULS ON ICE

© by Mumia Abu-Jamal

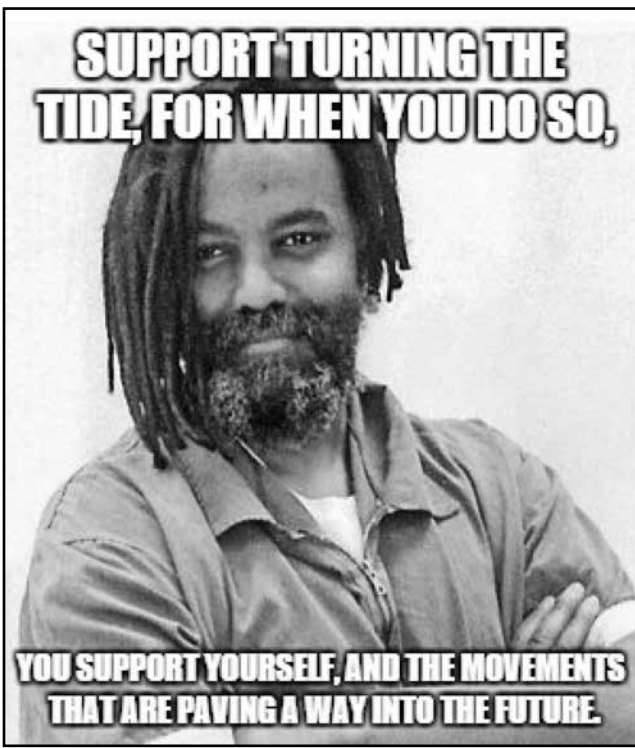
Most people have heard about solitary confinement, but few actually have experienced it and know what it entails. I have and I do. There are basically two kinds of solitary: administrative and disciplinary. The former is usually of a temporary nature or tied to a sentence, while the latter is a response to behavior in prison.

I’ve been in both. For death row is a kind of solitary because of the sentence – death. Guys have spent years doing 23 plus one – or 23 hours a day – locked up in a cell with one hour a day outside, yeah, locked in a cage. Think of a cage for a dog. Only the dog usually gets more space.

I spent 28 years on death row in solitary. While on death row I was sent to the “hole” – or the second type that I discussed earlier – for refusing to cut my hair – where I stayed for eight years.

Remember I said “23 and 1”? That isn’t really true because that 23 hours locked up only referred to Monday to Friday. On the weekends it became 24 hours a day – or the weekend 48 hours. That was solitary.

I’ve seen men lose their senses and start howling to the moon for hours on end. Other men beat on their metal bunks for 10, 15 or more hours a day singing songs of pure nonsense for weeks or months on end. I’ve seen men smear their faces, head and bodies with feces until they looked like mud men, but that wasn’t mud that they were covered with.



I’ve seen men shrieking, howling, barking, and screaming in an attempt to escape the loneliness of solitary. For the fact is, some men were sent to solitary for over 20 years or even 30 years for escaping or attempting to do so.

The great prison teacher Russell “Maroon” Shoatz spent over 30 years in the “hole” for escaping back in the 1970s. Arthur “Cetewayo” Johnson spent decades in “holes” across the state of Pennsylvania for being what was called “a Black militant.” That’s the word that they used back then in the 1970s. Cetewayo was a child lifer, an innocent man who was 16 years old when he went to prison. He spent 50 years

in prison. He is out now, free.

Maroon worked with the young men in the “hole” with him. He taught them history, he taught them how to organize, he shared copies of The Wretched of the Earth and he taught them resistance for generations. His students emerged from the “hole” different beings, knowledgeable, comfortable, confident, wise, and activists that could not be stopped.

It’s interesting to contrast how the state created an institution like the “hole” to destroy and break men’s minds while a man like Maroon used the “hole” to teach men how to serve their communities and how to struggle to change the world.

Finally, what is solitary? According to Juan Mendez, the [former] Special Rapporteur on Torture for the United Nations, “any time beyond 15 days” – think about it: 15 days! – “constitutes torture because it breaks minds.”

With love, not fear,  
– this is Mumia Abu-Jamal.

These commentaries are recorded and transcribed by Prison Radio.

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(Correspondence is scanned and the image shown to the prisoner.)

# Justice Without Illusions: An Open Letter to Comrades on Mayor Mamdani, Policing, and Public Safety

by Mimi Rosenberg

Too often, those who seek to challenge the forces of the right hesitate to confront racist policing and state repression for fear of giving ammunition to their opponents - oftentimes when there is a public official such as Mayor Mandami who we may be eager to support. But this caution can become complicity, and solidarity can become an excuse for silence. Policing and racism are deeply intertwined; to evade this reality in the name of political expediency is to abandon the very principles of justice and popular power we claim to champion.

For those committed to transforming power relations, the question is not how to shield progressive leaders from criticism, but how to hold them accountable to the people they represent. What follows is offered not to weaken that struggle, but to strengthen it: to challenge racist policing, demand accountability for state power, and insist that democracy serve the people—not the tactical calculations of political leaders or the interests of entrenched power.

## MAYOR MAMDANI, WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?

### Police Killings, Broken-Windows Policing, the Assault on Racial Equity, the Criminalization of Dissent, and the Betrayal of Sanctuary

What has become of the promise of a new New York City—a city where public safety would mean protecting human life rather than protecting police power; where Black and Brown communities would no longer be treated as occupied territory; where immigrants

would be defended rather than abandoned; and where the constitutional right to protest injustice would be protected rather than policed into submission?

The contradictions of the Mamdani administration are becoming increasingly difficult to ignore. The issue is not simply whether the mayor speaks the language of progressive politics, but whether he is prepared to confront the institutions of racialized policing, economic inequality, political repression, and state violence that have historically governed this city.

#### Win Rozario: Five Police Bullets for a Cry for Help —and a Pension for the Officer

Consider the killing of Win Rozario, a 19-year-old Bangladeshi New Yorker who called 911 seeking help during a mental health crisis. Instead, armed NYPD officers entered his family’s Queens apartment, repeatedly used Tasers, and fired five bullets at him in his own kitchen, in the presence of his mother and younger brother, as his mother desperately pleaded with police not to shoot her son.

Win called for help. The police brought death. The city’s independent Civilian Complaint Review Board subsequently substantiated serious misconduct allegations against Officers Salvatore Alongi and Matthew Cianfrocco, including excessive force and abuse of authority. Yet Alongi was permitted to retire with an accidental disability pension before facing his departmental disciplinary trial. The NYPD failed to notify the CCRB in time to seek expedited proceedings. Commissioner Jessica Tisch characterized this extraordinary failure of accountability as human error.

Human error? A young man is dead. His family has been devastated. The Bangladeshi community continues to demand justice. And an officer facing serious disciplinary charges retires with a disability pension.

Mamdani has announced a review of NYPD use-of-force practices and additional oversight measures. But another review cannot resurrect Win Rozario. Nor does it answer why Alongi escaped disciplinary adjudication, why Officer Cianfrocco has not been removed, or why armed police continue to be dispatched to people experiencing mental health emergencies.

Where is the accountability? Where is the justice? And why is Jessica Tisch still police commissioner? This is not simply about one killing. It is about the continuing architecture of racialized policing in New York City.

#### Broken-Windows Policing: The Criminalization of Black and Brown Communities

The renewed emphasis on low-level enforcement evokes the notorious broken-windows policing associated with Rudolph Giuliani and William Bratton—a philosophy that turned poverty, homelessness, minor infractions, and the ordinary lives of Black and Brown New Yorkers into occasions for police intervention.

Its legacy includes discriminatory stop-and-frisk practices, aggressive street encounters, surveillance, arrests, and the routine humiliation and criminalization of entire communities.

The NYCLU reported a 29 percent increase in criminal summonses during the first quarter of 2026 compared with the same period in 2025. That increase raises serious questions about whether the administration is allowing the revival of precisely the enforcement practices that movements for racial justice spent decades challenging.

We have seen this history before: the criminalization



Win Rozario’s family demanding justice for their son killed by NYPD cops.

of Black youth, the surveillance of Muslim communities, the harassment of homeless New Yorkers, and the treatment of immigrant neighborhoods as territories requiring constant police supervision.

Changing the political leadership of City Hall does not, by itself, change the culture or practices of the police department.

A mayor who promised a different vision of public safety must explain why the city continues to rely on enforcement strategies rooted in criminalization rather than investment in housing, health care, mental health services, education, and community-based approaches to safety.

#### CORE: NYC is Appealing a Court Ruling Upholding Racial Equity

And what of the city’s Commission on Racial Equity—CORE—created by New York City voters themselves to challenge structural racism within city government?

Under the leadership of Linda Tigani, CORE has sought to give institutional meaning to racial equity: examining the consequences of government policies, demanding accountability for racial disparities, elevating the voices of communities subjected to discrimination, and advancing the work of truth, healing, reconciliation, restorative justice, and reparations.

Its mandate goes beyond producing another report destined for a government bookshelf. CORE provides a means to confront the systemic injustices embedded in public spending, housing, education, economic opportunity, and public safety—including the devastating consequences of racist police violence against Black and Brown communities.

On August 25, 2026, State Supreme Court Justice Phaedra F. Perry-Bond ruled in CORE’s favor, finding

that the city had failed to comply with mandatory racial equity planning deadlines and ordering compliance with the City Charter.

Yet on September 25, the Mamdani administration filed a notice of appeal.

Consider the political significance of that decision. New Yorkers voted to make racial equity an enforceable obligation of city government. CORE went to court to defend that mandate. A judge ordered the city to comply. And the administration chose to continue the legal fight rather than simply accept the ruling.

This is particularly troubling when the administration simultaneously professes its commitment to racial justice. Mamdani has released the city’s first racial equity plan and publicly acknowledged CORE’s independent oversight role. But those commitments must be measured against the city’s litigation decisions, the resources and independence afforded CORE, and the administration’s willingness to confront the NYPD.

As Tigani has emphasized, no mayor is above racial equity law.

Meanwhile, CORE has raised an equally disturbing question about the public cost of police misconduct. According to the commission, New York City taxpayers paid \$53.5 million to resolve lawsuits alleging NYPD misconduct in just the first seven months of 2026.

Millions for the consequences of police abuse, while communities must fight for the resources necessary to prevent that abuse in the first place.

Where is the administration’s commitment to restorative justice, reparations, and the transformation of institutions that perpetuate racial inequality?

Why expend public resources contesting CORE’s legal authority rather than strengthening the very institution established to hold government accountable for systemic racism?

*Continued on next page*

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# An Open Letter to Comrades on Mayor Mamdani, Policing, and Public Safety continued

## Palestine, the Buffer-Zone Law, and the Criminalization of Political Dissent

Then there is the administration’s treatment of Palestine solidarity.

The mayor allowed legislation establishing protest restrictions around houses of worship to become law. Its implications extend beyond the protection of religious observance, which must remain inviolable.

Religious institutions have also hosted secular real estate events involving property in Israel and the occupied West Bank, provoking protests against settlement expansion, the recruitment of settlers, and Palestinian dispossession.

The distinction is fundamental. Protecting people at prayer from threats, intimidation, and obstruction is one thing. Shielding secular commercial or political activities from lawful protest because they occur inside religious institutions is another.

For Palestinians, settlement expansion is not an abstraction. It is part of an ongoing process of dispossession, forced displacement, and the destruction of communities. The sale and promotion of property in occupied territory raise profound questions of international law, colonial settlement, and the right of Palestinians to remain on their land.

Opposition to those practices is not inherently antisemitic. Criticism of Zionism, Israeli state policy, and settlement expansion cannot be equated with hostility toward Jewish religious identity.

The mayor should support repeal of the buffer-zone law’s restrictions on constitutionally protected political protest and insist that any protections for worshippers be narrowly tailored to genuine threats, obstruction, and harassment—not the suppression of dissent.

The same contradiction extends to the NYPD’s Strategic Response Group, the heavily equipped unit deployed at demonstrations, including protests for racial justice and Palestinian liberation.

Mamdani promised to disband the SRG. Yet it remains in operation, and its treatment of demonstrators continues to generate demands for accountability.

A city that proclaims itself a defender of civil liberties cannot simultaneously allow the policing of political expression to become an instrument for suppressing opposition to colonialism, racism, and state violence.

## Oscar Belgal: When an ICE Shooting Becomes an Occasion to Criminalize the Victim

And now, the shooting of Oscar Belgal, a 28-year-old Dominican New Yorker, by a federal immigration agent in Marble Hill, while his five-year-old child was inside the car. Seven shots were reportedly fired, one striking Belgal in the neck.

The community responded with understandable anguish and outrage, demanding an end to ICE’s terrorizing of immigrant neighborhoods. Yet protesters encountered the NYPD’s aggressive response, while Commissioner Jessica Tisch used a public briefing about the shooting to recite Belgal’s prior criminal history—information that does not, by itself, establish whether federal agents were justified in opening fire.

Tisch’s disclosure was criticized as criminalizing the victim and echoing the federal government’s effort to justify its conduct.

And once again, Mamdani allowed Tisch to become an official voice of the city’s response, even as he condemned ICE’s actions. The contrast is profound: immigrant communities demanding protection confront police barricades and aggressive enforcement, while the police commissioner introduces the victim’s criminal record into the public narrative.

The question is whether an individual was subjected to unjustified state violence—not whether police officials can construct a narrative that makes that violence appear more acceptable. Public safety for whom? Sanctuary for whom?

## A Sanctuary City Must Be More Than a Slogan

A city that proclaims itself a sanctuary must be prepared to confront the machinery of federal immigration enforcement, not merely express sympathy for its victims.

Haitian New Yorkers facing the threatened loss of Temporary Protected Status confront the terrifying prospect of detention, deportation, family separation, and forced return to a country experiencing profound insecurity and humanitarian crisis.

These are our neighbors, workers, caregivers, parents, and children—people who have built lives and

communities here. Mamdani has raised Haitian TPS with the federal administration and described its protection as a city priority. His administration has also increased immigration legal-services funding. But diplomatic appeals and expressions of solidarity are not enough. If New York City is to be a sanctuary in more than name, the mayor must actively champion additional legislation and enforceable protections, including Intros 1077 and 1078 and the NYC Trust Act, to close loopholes permitting cooperation with federal immigration enforcement, strengthen safeguards against improper transfers of people into ICE custody, and prevent city agencies and resources from facilitating deportations.

He must support the CURB Act, aimed at restricting abusive police practices and protecting the right to protest; prohibit unauthorized sharing of immigrant information; demand transparency and independent investigation of NYPD

interactions with federal immigration agents; and expand deportation-defense legal services.

Schools, hospitals, shelters, courthouses, and other essential public institutions must remain places where immigrant New Yorkers can seek assistance without fear that doing so will expose them to detention and deportation. These protections are particularly urgent for Haitian New Yorkers facing threats to Temporary Protected Status, and for every immigrant family living under the shadow of detention and deportation.

Words of solidarity must become instruments of protection.

The question is not simply whether the mayor opposes the cruelty of federal immigration policies. It is whether he will use the full legal, political, and material powers of New York City to defend the communities those policies threaten.

## The Contradiction Is Political—and the Demands Are Concrete

The broader contradiction is unmistakable. The administration speaks of racial equity while appealing a court ruling enforcing racial equity obligations. It promises new approaches to public safety while retaining the police commissioner and an enforcement apparatus whose practices have generated profound community opposition.

It speaks of civil liberties while allowing restrictions on political protest to become law.

It promises immigrant protection while vulnerable communities continue to confront the machinery of federal detention and deportation.

And it promises accountability while the family of Win Rozario continues to demand justice for a young man who called for medical assistance and was killed by the police.

These controversies raise questions not merely about individual policy decisions, but about the distribution of power in New York City: who exercises it, whose interests it protects, and whose lives and freedoms remain expendable.

## The demands are clear.

Fire Commissioner Jessica Tisch. Establish police leadership accountable to communities subjected to police violence, not merely to the institutional interests of the NYPD.

End broken-windows policing. Reject discriminatory low-level enforcement, unconstitutional stop-and-frisk practices, and the criminalization of poverty, homelessness, and Black and Brown communities. Disband the Strategic Response Group and build genuinely community-based, non-police alternatives for mental health emergencies.

Deliver justice for Win Rozario. Address the outstanding disciplinary questions, investigate the NYPD’s failure to notify the CCRB of Alongi’s retirement, and provide meaningful accountability to his family and the Bangladeshi



community.

Drop the appeal of the CORE ruling. Respect the independence of Linda Tigani and the Commission on Racial Equity. Fully support its work on racial justice, truth, healing, reconciliation, restorative justice, and reparations. Give meaningful effect to its authority to scrutinize government practices, including police violence.

Repeal protest restrictions that violate constitutional freedoms.

Defend the right to protest Palestinian dispossession, Israeli settlement expansion, and the recruitment of settlers to occupy Palestinian land. Protect religious worship without transforming religious institutions into zones of immunity from legitimate political criticism and protest.

Strengthen sanctuary-city protections. Champion additional legislation to prevent city cooperation with ICE, prohibit improper information-sharing, expand legal representation, protect immigrant access to public services, and defend Haitian and other immigrant communities confronting detention, deportation, and family separation.

These are not isolated demands. They concern a single underlying question: Will public safety mean protecting people from violence, poverty, racial discrimination, and political repression—or protecting established institutions of power from accountability?

A sanctuary city cannot protect the machinery of repression while asking its victims to trust in promises of reform. A progressive administration cannot proclaim racial justice while defending the institutions that perpetuate racial injustice. And a mayor cannot invoke the language of liberation while permitting the criminalization of those struggling against colonialism, racism, and state violence.

The measure of a progressive administration is not its rhetoric. It is whether it is prepared to confront the institutions and interests that perpetuate injustice—even when those institutions are part of the government it now leads.

Mayor Mamdani, which side are you on? The side of the police establishment and the preservation of its power? Or the side of the families demanding justice, the communities resisting racialized policing, the immigrants defending their right to remain, and the people exercising their constitutional right to resist oppression?

The answer must come not in promises, but in action. A luta Continua!

**TTT note:** For more information about the struggle for justice for Win Rozario, see: <https://www.justicecommittee.org/win-rozario>

*Mimi Rosenberg is an attorney serving low income clients; producer/host of Building Bridges and of Equal Rights & Justice -- two weekly radio programs on WBAI and WPFW, Pacifica radio stations in NY & DC; and a co-founder of the Ida B. Wells Media Defense Network.*

*Learn more at <https://idabwellsmediadefense.org/>*

# What is the Future of Pacifica Radio?

by the Pacifica Mission Coalition <https://pacificamissioncoalition.com>

A legal process began in September against the now-concluded Pacifica elections for national and local board members under the Foundation’s new, improperly-imposed Bylaws, seeking to maintain Pacifica as a democratic media institution capable of meeting the challenges of the times.

A motion for a temporary restraining order (TRO) to prevent the certification of the election results, citing irreparable harm if the process proceeds, was denied by a judge in L.A. Superior Court. However, the underlying legal challenge, seeking an “order to show cause” and demand for documentation, as well as the preservation of all records related to disqualifications, the nominations process, and the apparent purging of the voter roles, still remains to be adjudicated. Beyond the legal action, however, there is an urgent need for people concerned with the future of Pacifica and its capacity to serve communities of resistance during an era of war and encroaching fascism to take action at each of the five stations. We must build a base to revive Pacifica and its commitment to the mission.

The record of unfair and unfounded disqualifications of candidates is disturbing, and reflects an increasing closure of Pacifica stations and their governance and programming from community input. This includes the removal from the ballot of five Pacifica Mission Coalition (PMC) members running for the national or local boards. The PMC ran a Black-led slate with a commitment to restoring democracy, diversity and transparency to the Pacifica Foundation and its radio operations, as well as to an explicitly anti-racist Pacifica, capable of facing its weaknesses and using its strengths to overcome them.

## Censorship

The PMC candidate for secretary of the Pacifica National Board (PNB), Donna Carter, was disqualified for speaking at a non-Pacifica protest outside Oracle, over the proposed techno-fascist media monopolization in the Paramount/Skydance takeover of Warner Bros./Discovery, which will consolidate CBS News and CNN under a single pro-Trump, pro-Israel management and ownership. Carter was charged with not preventing another speaker, not a candidate, from criticizing Pacifica programming.

The KPFA candidate for listener representative on the Pacifica National Board, Cheryl Davila, a former member of the Berkeley City Council, was also disqualified at the same time for the same faulty reason, as was the PMC candidate for Chair of the KPFA Local Station Board (LSB), Steve Zeltzer, producer/host of “Work Week”.

The Pacifica Mission Coalition candidate for treasurer of the PNB, Kamau Harris, a former member of the Pacifica National Finance Committee and current chair of the WPFW LSB, was also disqualified. The pretext in that case was that he did not silence a listener caller on a “talkback” show he hosted on WPFW as chair of the LSB.

Such disqualifications signal a violation of Pacifica’s historic commitment to freedom of speech and the press, and its more recent embrace of participatory democratic governance of the stations. It signals an unwillingness to engage with the communities it should be serving, or to examine self-critically weaknesses and institutionalized racism that undermine the Pacifica mission and must be faced to be overcome.

## Disclaimer

The Pacifica Mission Coalition listener rep candidate from KPFK, former station interim General Manager Michael Novick (also a former LSB chair and treasurer, a former member of the PNB and the national finance committee, and editor of this publication) was also disqualified, in the middle of the election, with the votes he had amassed being discounted. This was over the absence of the full text of the Pacifica disclaimer on one page of a website (although there were two prominent links to the disclaimer on that page, and the problem was quickly corrected), and then a subsequent ruling that a video-watch function on the PMC YouTube channel (which had several prominent full-text disclaimers, and was titled “Pacifica Mission Coalition not an official Pacifica chan”) constituted a second violation because there was no disclaimer when the video was watched.

It should be noted that the “disclaimer” requirements are not in the Bylaws, only in a second set of rules adopted by the NES. These pretextual disqualifications disguise the political censorship going on, under rules that treat criticism of the current direction or programming at the stations as “disparagement” of Pacifica, rather than an attempt to identify and solve problems or restore the impact, relevance and audience of the stations, which are declining in membership.

On the other hand, repeated violations by the dominant New Day Pacifica faction were repeatedly

ignored by the national election supervisor, including a post card supporting its candidates that improperly bore the return address of the Pacifica Foundation Inc.

Fair campaign violation charges against the New Day candidate for staff rep on the PNB, and the New Day candidate for chair of the KPFK LSB were also discounted. Listener candidates are prohibited by even the new Bylaws from being on air. Staff were enjoined from airing them, and provided by the NES with a list of who should be kept off the air. But the chair candidate running for a listener-only position was repeatedly on-air and praised for his role as current LSB chair by the host of the show; and the producer and co-host who was supposed to prevent such occurrences allowed them to take place, despite herself running for the PNB. Both were clear violations of the Bylaws “fair campaign practices” that were simply ignored.

Another postcard from the well-financed dominant faction was sent using the non-profit postal imprint of another non-profit, a violation of US postal regulations. That also resulted in no sanctions by the elections supervisor. Violations of the requirements for a prominent disclaimer by New Day leader Jan Goodman, both on facebook posts and on an endorsement she posted to the *LA Progressive*, were also left unenforced.

The plaintiffs in the legal action, including a number of other disqualified candidates and Alex Steinberg, a former member of the Pacifica National Board who was suspended over his objections to the improper Bylaws change, intend to pursue the challenge despite the setback of the request for a TRO being denied.

## Disenfranchisement or Decline?

In the absence of the TRO, the national election supervisor is scheduled to certify the election results by October 15. In a preliminary report on overall vote totals from the Executive Director of the Pacifica Foundation, it shows about 17,000 voting members, even though membership lists totaling over 27,000 were previously distributed to the mailing houses that send out postal and email messages to the membership under a non-disclosure agreement. To cite two examples, KPFK is shown in the ED report as having fewer than 3000 listener members, and thus achieving over a 10% quorum of listener members with fewer than 500 voters. But in the last elections a couple of years ago (when Novick was unpaid interim manager), KPFK had over 5000 listener-sponsor members. Either the station has lost about 40% of its subscriber members, or there was massive disenfranchisement.

Similarly, at WBAI, the ED’s stats show a staff membership of under 60 members, when in previous elections, there were over three times as many. At KPFK, her figures showed a reduction in staff membership from over 200 to fewer than 90. Again, this is either



Pacifica, targeted by repressive state forces and media monopolization, has suffered an internal palace coup and takeover that must be reversed.

mass voter suppression or a drastic reduction in (mostly unpaid) programmers and other staff. The latter is a real possibility, as KPFK dropped many locally-produced public affairs programs, from Black Lives Matter, the Stop LAPD Spying Coalition, the Labor Community Strategy Center, the Black Alliance for Just Immigration, Health Care for US, and Extinction Rebellion LA, as well as locally produced Indigenous and disability rights and resources programming, in favor of nationally-syndicated shows and material piped in from KPFA in Berkeley, including the evening newscast and daytime health-and-spirituality and public-affairs programming. So the drop in staff may be real, but if so, it reflects an abandonment of local news and community-based public affairs, and of the communities they serve.

## Money Out of Pacifica Politics!

Pacifica Mission Coalition candidates campaigned on a pledge to get money out of Pacifica politics. They point out that this would have eliminated the need for costly independent postal and email communication by candidates with members, and separate websites, and thus entirely avoid the issue over disclaimers.

Pacifica Foundation should simply communicate with all its members via postal and electronic mail about all the candidates for the boards, and their platforms. Taking advantage of its own airwaves, it should have allowed live on-air candidate forums on the radio, with the opportunity for listener call-ins with questions that the candidates could respond to and discuss (as still required even in the replacement Bylaws). That was done at KPFK in the last two elections, including Spanish-and-bilingual candidate forums during the Spanish-language programming bloc, but not this year.

## Get Involved - Take the Lead!

The Pacifica Mission Coalition has scheduled a series of weekly zoom forums on envisioning the future of peoples’ media, and is seeking to engage with a new generation of community activists, artists, problem-solvers, and content providers.

If you are concerned about democracy, diversity and transparency at Pacifica, and overcoming racism and sexism in progressive media, the PMC needs your energy, ideas and leadership! You can join them via zoom on Sundays at 4 PM Pacific through at least Nov. 1. If the discussions prove productive, the series can be extended. You can register for any and all of them here: <https://us02web.zoom.us/join/register/z9q3F3wERgiHJkgud8VIyQ>

You can contact the Pacifica Mission Coalition at [pacificamissioncoalition@gmail.com](mailto:pacificamissioncoalition@gmail.com) <https://pacificamissioncoalition.com>

## 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 35 years.

In addition, there are several Facebook pages, such as [facebook.com/tideturning](https://facebook.com/tideturning), and [facebook.com/intercommunalsolidarity](https://facebook.com/intercommunalsolidarity). You can follow @ara\_losangeles on Twitter/X, @antiracistaction\_la on IG, and the De-Colonize LA! blog at [ara-la.tumblr.com](http://ara-la.tumblr.com).

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UPCOMING EVENTS:

- ★ October 12 - Indigenous Peoples Day★
- ★ Oct 13 - Delio Vasquez on *Huey P. Newton: I Am We*, w/ Eric Mann, 6p, LCSC
- ★ Oct 15-18, 60th anniv. of BPP Convening in Oakland, <https://www.bpp60.org>
- ★ Nov 11 - Armistice Day - Stop the War on Iran, Palesine, Lebanon, Sudan
- ★ Nov 24 - Latin America Solidarity, 10a, DTLA Fed Bldg & Met Det Ctr.
- Save the date Feb. 2027 40th anniv of PART, 80th birthday of Michael Novick
- Check us out via [www.antiracist.org](http://www.antiracist.org), [facebook.com/tideturning](https://facebook.com/tideturning), [ara-la.tumblr.com](https://ara-la.tumblr.com)

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label. TTT is a small project with few resources: we can't provide books or legal aid, or investigate individuals'  
innocence.

# TURNING THE TIDE

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