

PART's Perspective:

The French Have a Word For It: Plus Royaliste Que Le Roi

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

More monarchist than the monarch.

This French proverb expresses the irrationality of a subject so loyal to a ruler, or a principle, that his zeal to uphold or defend it exceeds that of the ruler who stands to benefit the most. In the alternate form, "Plus Catholique que le Pape," more Catholic than the Pope, it tends to be used to express a criticism of hypocritical and pretentious false piety. In either form, and with both nuances of meaning, it well applies to the shepherded public opinion in the U.S., which the evidence of our senses now clearly demonstrates is more Euro-centric than the Europeans and more Zionist than the Israelis.

While Greek, French, British and Spanish youth, migrants and working people are smashing massively in the streets against austerity, US workers and students seem content to devote ourselves to "rebuilding the dream." In Israel, settler-colonial Israeli Jews march by hundreds of thousands in their capital, Tel Aviv, even if it's only to complain about the neo-liberal domestic economic policies of their government. But here in the US, any inkling of deviance from 100% pro-Israel politics is enough to get the former Democratic Mayor of New York to endorse the Republican in a special Congressional election.

The world is in flames across Africa, Asia, and Europe, throughout Latin America, even in the US Caribbean colony of Puerto Rico, yet here things can hardly be said to be smoldering. A single spark can start a prairie fire, but sparks will not catch if the tinder is wet.

Identification with the Empire and the oppressor throttles revolutionary class consciousness and independence among the oppressed and exploited. It promotes class collaboration, neo-colonialism, a defense of privilege or victimhood.

Labor and the left made much of the outpouring of protest in Madison, WI,

and still speak of it as the equivalent of Tahrir Square in Cairo. Yet public workers and their supporters were quickly diverted into putting their energy into elections that ended up maintaining the status quo in the legislature and the courts.

The Democrats they backed even stepped away from support of collective bargaining rights as a campaign issue, as minimal a demand as that was.

Rallies that supported the Madison WI protesters raised no demands about ending the US wars around the globe, or the war on the poor, youth of color, or migrants inside the US. Meanwhile, organized labor and

most of the left ignored the strikes that *were* a beacon of inspiration inside this country.

The AFL-CIO had nothing to say about the prisoners' work strike in Georgia, or the hunger strike initiated by the Pelican Bay Security Housing Unit prisoners, that spread to thousands of prisoners around CA and across the U.S.

Instead, organized labor and the Dems they back hitch their wagon to uniformed public workers like the cops and prison guards. So it should be no surprise that workers and the so-called middle class vote "against their own interests," whether they're voting for Democrats or Republicans. Neither party represents the true interests of colonized or exploited people and never will.

The French also say, "*Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*" – the more things change, the more they are the same thing. The morphing of Dubya into Obama has brought change, indeed: more deportations, more surveillance, more war, more transfer of wealth to the wealthiest, more privatization of schools, prisons, and even covert operations, more austerity in the name of stimulus, more capability to invade Africa. But we cannot descend into despair.

What *will* make a real change? It must come, and in fact is coming, from below and from outside the corporate dominated political system. Alliance building and solidarity among the colonized, the

"wretched of the earth." Honest and sincere folk from other classes and sectors, such as those protesting in DC on the 10th anniversary of the war in Afghanistan or against the Tar Sands pipeline, would do well to heed the lesson that Martin Luther King Jr. taught more than 40 years ago.

He said, unless we make fundamental changes in this system, a revolution of values he called it, we will be forming "clergy and laity concerned" about wars into the indefinite future.

Like Malcolm X before him, King began to develop an internationalist, anti-imperialist class consciousness that grew out of the centrality of the Black freedom struggle. Both understood the need for loving self-criticism as well as uncompromising direct action and challenge to white supremacy.

King spent the last year of his life, from his speech opposing US aggression in Viet Nam to his death in Memphis while mobilizing to support the sanitation workers, building for a *Poor People's* March on Washington, working with Black, Native, Mexicano, Asian and white poor people.

Now, as then, it is the anti-colonial, anti-capitalist struggles of the indigenous, the Africans and Asians, that will help dry out the damp tinder and stoke the fires of revolutionary anti-imperialist class consciousness and push us all forward.

Twenty-fifth Anniversary of People Against Racist Terror-Anti-Racist Action Los Angeles (ARA-LA/PART) Coming Up!

Next year, 2012, marks the 25th anniversary of *People Against Racist Terror*, now *Anti-Racist Action Los Angeles* (ARA-LA/PART), and "*Turning the Tide*" begins its 25th year of publication. PART was launched in 1987, in response to a scheduled appearance in the L.A. area of convicted Birmingham church bomber J.B. Stoner. Stoner was a former Klansman and fugitive who, having served a prison sentence, was on a national tour for his so-called Crusade Against Corruption, seeking to attract white youth involved in the then-new phenomenon of nazi-oriented boneheads.

As a former member of the LA chapter of the *John Brown Anti-Klan Committee*, which had folded when most of the other members left Los Angeles, I had continued to do opposition research on white power groups in southern CA, and caught wind of Stoner's plans. I blew the whistle on the activities, scheduled for the Glendale Public Library and a nearby Holiday Inn, and with a few friends, launched *People Against Racist Terror* as a vehicle for organizing a counter-protest. Our slogan was "Be PART of the Solution!"

The exposure caused the library to cancel (I believe they shut down for 'security reasons'). But several thousand people turned out in response to the call to oppose Stoner and the boneheads, many local residents of Glendale and lookey-loos, but many others from around the L.A. basin who wanted to express their opposition. We marched over to the nearby hotel where Stoner had booked a room and still planned to proceed. Several nazi-skins on their way in were physically prevented from entering by angry protesters, and sent packing. The Glendale PD declared the protest an illegal assembly, closed several off-ramps on the Glendale Freeway to prevent further protesters from arriving on the scene, and actually called out a water cannon (shades of Stoner's Klan background) to disperse the crowd, although they did not actually fire it. Several arrests were made, including of one of the organizers, and as it turns out, Stoner's event was also disrupted from within the hotel, where a demonstrator had strategically rented a room in advance.

The following year, PART issued Volume 1 Number 1 of

"*Turning the Tide*," then subtitled "*L.A. Anti-Racism Newsletter*" as a single sheet broadside related to the revived trial of Tom Metzger of the White Aryan Resistance for a triple cross-burning some years before in the San Fernando Valley. (Charges had been twice dropped and reinstated.)

To mark this dual anniversary, ARA-LA/PART will hold two major fund-raisers in the coming year. In May, we will hold a "first annual" dinner honoring local anti-racists, in memory of John Brown, martyred abolitionist who was born on May 9, 1800. We intend to publish a commemorative dinner journal, and are seeking sponsors and donors whose ads will help to finance TTT and its distribution to hundreds of prisoners. In the fall, we will publish a special commemorative 25th anniversary well-bound issue of *Turning the Tide: Journal of Anti-Racist Action, Research & Education*, featuring excerpts from the previous quarter-century of publication, and we're seeking ads and solidarity messages to pay for printing and distributing the issue. Please get in touch if you'd like to participate in either of these projects. -- *Michael Novick, Editor/Publisher.*

Turning the Tide: Journal of Anti-Racist Action, Research & Education needs your help!

Postal and printing costs are up. A dozen new prisoners ask to get free subs every week. Over 1500 copies of each edition are sent free to prisoners. Friends of ARA-LA/PART are either in prison or facing prosecution for anti-fascist political activity. We had to switch to quarterly publication because of a lack of sufficient funds and staffing. The economy's in the toilet. **What can you do to help?**

We rely entirely on subscriptions and reader donations to publish. We've been coming out for 24 years, distributing thousands of copies free to prisoners, anti-racists and other concerned people without partisan subsidy, government funds or corporate grants. We depend entirely on you, the reader, to keep printing hard-hitting anti-racist, anti-colonialist analysis.

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ATTENTION PRISON SUBSCRIBERS! Because of financial constraints, prisoners who want a free subscription must contact us every 6 months. Too many papers are coming back because of address changes, releases or other similar problems. Therefore, prisoners who want to continue their subs please write us at least once during the year, and every time your address changes, with your EXACT address as it should appear on the address label to make sure the institution delivers it. **TTT** is a small project with few resources: **we can't provide books or legal aid, or investigate individuals' innocence.**

Anti-Racist Action Upsurge Reflected in National Gathering

The Anti-Racist Action Network is enjoying a renewed growth spurt in response to rising racist and fascist threats and the consolidation of a militant trend of direct anti-fascist action under conditions of 21st century repression and austerity. This growth was reflected at the ARA Network gathering scheduled for the weekend of September 16-18 in Chicago, hosted by South Side ARA with support from North Side and other allies.

The conference was set in part to incorporate and consolidate a number of new and revived chapters, including Columbus OH, and Indiana. A number of individuals who have been in dialogue about starting chapters or affiliating with the network were also invited.

Building off last year's conference in Portland, which revived the tradition of a substantial public portion of the conference for local anti-fa, the ARA Network gathering in Chicago included speakers and workshops open to the community.

Excerpts from: **I Was a 'Domestic Terrorist': Tales from a Post-9/11 America**

by Brad Crowder

<http://www.indydependent.org/2011/09/06/i-was-a-domestic-terrorist/>

In August 2008, Brad Crowder and David McKay, young activists from Austin, TX, traveled to St. Paul, MN, to protest the Republican National Convention. For months Brandon Darby, an older activist and FBI informant, had been goading Brad and David to take stronger action, telling them he was going to St. Paul to "shut the fucker down." After a trailer of their supplies and homemade shields were seized by St. Paul police, the two assembled eight Molotov cocktails in the building they were staying in. The next day they decided not to use them, but failed to dispose of the devices before leaving for protests. On Sept. 2 McKay was awakened by a cop's rifle pointing at his face. Called "domestic terrorists" by authorities and the "Texas Two" by supporters, they were charged in a high-profile case to justify tens of millions in security expenses for the convention. Crowder was sentenced to two years and was released last year; McKay was sentenced to four. Brad and David's story is told in the award-winning new documentary, *Better This World*, which aired Sept. 6 on the PBS program *POV*. The following is Brad Crowder's first published account of his experience, an exclusive to *The Independent* newspaper and *Truthout*.

It began with the sound of the cold metal ratchet, the pressure gripping my wrists and squeezing way up to my heart. A brief, almost flippant sentence uttered by Special Agent Christopher Langert signified my terrifying new reality: "Mr. Crowder, you're under arrest by the FBI."

Five days earlier, I'd been arrested by cops in Minneapolis for "Failure to Disperse from an Unlawful Assembly." We'd been rounded up en masse. I'd just seen David surrender to police and witnessed a cop wield his baton like a bat across the head of a photojournalist. Another comrade, whom I knew from antiracist and antifascist organizing, was with me. Tears were streaming

NSM Rally in W. Allis WI Surrounded by Thousands of Counterprotesters

by South Side Chicago ARA

On Sat. Sept. 3, the neo-nazi National Socialist Movement (NSM) held a rally at the courthouse of West Allis WI to protest what they called "violent black-on-white hate crimes" at the county fair a month earlier. Their rally was met with thousands of counter-protesters who voiced that they did not want the NSM's racial hatred in their community. Police from multiple jurisdictions came out to protect the NSM rally with a system of barricades and rows of armed riot cops. The rally ended with the state, the fascists, and the counter-protesters all declaring victory. While the majority of West Allis came out to denounce the Nazis hate speech, the fight to drive out fascism in Wisconsin is far from over.

The rally was organized by Wisconsin NSM unit leaders Harriet Paletti and Paul Paletti (20225 W Coffee Road, New Berlin 53146, 414-554-2483) who had also recently protested Milwaukee Pridefest and the roller derby team "Rushin' Rollettes" earlier this year. Speaking to the press, they talked about their "non-violent" intentions; but NSM members have a long history of racial violence: Paul has done prison time for hate crimes where he attacked a Mexican teenager outside a bar while shouting racial slurs. Harriet is running for her district's alderman position in 2012 as well as the Crime Prevention Committee. She also operates "Garfield Accounting Services" but it's hard to imagine anybody trusting these nazi scum with personal financial info. Although the NSM had only 25 people, their opportunist attempts to gain local supporters by capitalizing off the incidents at the state fair seemed to be somewhat successful. It appeared there was a small, but noteworthy, appeal towards white supremacy among some residents and youth of West Allis.

The liberal belief that we should "peacefully voice our opposition" while respecting the fascists' "right to free speech" creates a platform that allows nazis to spread their ideology and think they're safe to come back. The State considered the action a victory in that they protected the nazis' "free speech" while restricting the counter-protesters to penned-in "free speech zones," even arresting a few. The fascists considered the action a success as they were able to bring local and out-of-town racists to West Allis without much confrontation. (There were allegedly attacks by militants against fascists on two separate incidents.) They had an opportunity to make a physical presence, as well as news headlines and TV interviews in an attempt to spread their racial hatred while fanning the flames of an already tense situation.

The counter-protest failed in that it allowed fascists to have the floor at all: there were several dozen other racists who were not part of the NSM openly walking among the protesters with little to no opposition. A crowd of mostly black protesters did move to confront the armed racists in our midst, only to be stopped by self-appointed "peace patrols." This betrayal by protest organizers reveals the poverty of the liberal non-violent doctrine: it is not up to anyone to dictate and control the way in which people challenge oppressive forces. Fascism is a grass roots movement that must be defeated at the roots with militant confrontation. Playing the pacifist role and stifling peoples natural desire to confront neo-nazis is not only authoritarian but actually helps the fascists build their movement.

Fortunately among the crowd of boring protestors there were a handful of militant antifascists, and word on the street says there were a few confrontations against the NSM and their supporters in two incidents. From One Peoples Project: "According to an account on the Internet, NSM members were confronted by antifa at a meeting point for those attending the rally, and later in its aftermath. 'The Milwaukee NSM was attacked in their car by antifascists as they (the NSM) attempted to pick up supporters for their rally, leaving their supporters deserted and unable to join up,' the brief report read. Following the rally a local nazi received blows to the face, to let him know you can't freely walk to and from the Nazi demo and to send a similar message to the crew he was rolling with."

ANTI-RACIST ACTION NETWORK FOUR POINTS OF UNITY

- 1) WE GO WHERE THEY GO:** Whenever fascists are organizing or active in public, we're there. We don't believe in ignoring them or staying away from them. Never let the nazis have the street!
- 2) WE DON'T RELY ON THE COPS OR THE COURTS TO DO OUR WORK FOR US:** This doesn't mean we never go to court, but the cops uphold white supremacy and the status quo, They attack us and everyone that resists oppression. We must rely on ourselves to protect ourselves and stop the fascists.
- 3) NON-SECTARIAN DEFENSE OF OTHER ANTI-FASCISTS:** In ARA, we have lots of different groups and individuals. We don't agree about everything and we have a right to differ openly. But in this movement an attack on one is an attack on us all. We stand behind each other.
- 4) We support abortion rights and reproductive freedom.** ARA intends to do the hard work necessary to build a broad, strong movement against racism, sexism, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, homophobia, transphobia, and discrimination against the disabled, the oldest, the youngest and the most oppressed people. We want a free classless society. **WE INTEND TO WIN!**

Billed as the 17th annual ARA Network conference, the public day was set for Sat. Sept. 17 from 3-10pm at the U.E. Hall, 37 South Ashland Ave. in Chicago, a wheelchair-accessible, child-friendly union hall near the Ashland green/pink line station. This event was open to the public and included workshops, caucuses and discussions. People were invited to come meet other activists and organizations involved in community struggles against racist terror and other forms of oppression.

Featured speakers and presenters included Mark Clements (of the Campaign to End the Death Penalty and the Chicago Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression) a Jon Burge torture survivor. Others were Daniel (of Four Star Anarchist Organization) & Lash, Bernadine Dohrn (a former SDS and Weather Underground member, co-author of *Race Course Against White Supremacy*), Michael Novick (editor of *Turning the Tide* and author of *White Lies White Power/The Fight Against White Supremacy & Reactionary Violence*), Xloi and Becca of Bring The Ruckus (BTR), and others. A fuller report will appear in the next issue of *TTT*.

was that the building where David and the rest of us were staying had been raided by the Joint Terrorism Task Force. I became scared because David and I had made eight Molotov Cocktails the night before the protests began. The firebomb of the poor, they consisted of motor oil and gasoline poured into wine bottles that were duct-taped closed, with cotton tampons rubber-banded to the sealed necks. When the tampon was lit and the bottle thrown, the shattered glass would release the fuel to be ignited by the flame. We were stupid for making them, but smart for not using them. When we woke up we decided not to use them and to destroy them when we had the chance, but we never did.

WHO'S THE TERRORIST?

I learned soon enough that our faces were all over the papers, television and the internet. I was now a "domestic terrorist." They were serious. I wasn't allowed a call for a week. All my family and friends learned of my fate via the media. My mom saw it on the local Midland news. Two close friends saw my mug shot plastered across the big screen TV at a club in Austin. I couldn't process any of it. The term domestic terrorist sounded so melodramatic. I could never build any sort of connection between my identity and the term itself. Hell, as far as it seemed to me, David and I were the only ones terrified. When Agent Langert ratcheted those cuffs on my wrist, it was to transport me from state to federal custody. When I arrived at the intake, the booking area was stuffed with bodies, around 70, all coming in from anti-immigrant ICE raids. Processing was going to take a lifetime.

After a few days in the pit, I was transported to my first federal court hearings. Prison was bad, but court was worse. In prison, the monsters in the room were generally the minority and much less dangerous. More honest, too. I can't recall the number of times I watched police testify falsely in damning detail. One officer testified under oath that during a warrantless raid of our group's UHaul trailer, he and his team had seized a large number of wooden batons that were to be used to attack cops during the protest. I wanted to stand and scream, to demand to see one "baton," one photo of a "baton." Nothing approximating a "wooden baton" existed. All I could do was sit in my chair and stare dumbfounded. I knew abstractly the system was crooked, but this was reality. The same officer was asked why they'd conducted the raid without a warrant. His answer pissed me off as much as the manufactured evidence. He said that given the protests the department was in "disruptive" and not "investigative" mode. Since they were more interested in disrupting protest activity as opposed to prosecuting under due process of law, there was no worry about "tainting" any evidence. The only check that was supposed to prevent illegal raids was tossed out the window, with total legality.

TRUTH-TELLING

I want, desperately, to write about what I learned from inmates. I want to write volumes, inspirational volumes, extolling the humanity of those I met inside the god-awful human warehouse that is prison, that these men are neither angels or demons, in all their fucked up, contradictory glory. I want to defend David against the sloppy misstatements and outright lies and attacks leveled against him. I want to put his one lie against the wall of lies built against him by this system that postures so self-righteously over the bodies it jails and buries. But I can't in any medium. There can be no representation of the truth. It can only be leveled by the historical movement of myself, of David, of Cowboy, Ghost, Peanut, Bob, and all the others, inside and out, slammed by a twisted system. The truth can be told in only one way, through the revolution of this system, this shit. The truth of racism can only be articulated in the revolution against it. The truth of prisons, of terrorism, of State violence, of poverty, of war, and hopelessness can only be articulated in their negation.

Am I a domestic terrorist? Domestic terrorist is an absurd term, and in its absurdity it is terrifyingly dangerous. Would you take Bernie Madoff seriously if he called you a crook? Why should I take the Feds, the most bomb-laden, destructive gaggle of lost souls on the planet, seriously for calling me a terrorist? My life today is fine, except for knowing how many great people are in prison: David in particular. I'm in college studying economics. It's terrible, but for some reason I love it. I work at a local sandwich shop, the same one I worked at before I was arrested. I still organize and will continue to do so until I'm dead. I look at the Arab Spring, the European rebellions, and the rumblings of working people in the U.S., and I see clearly on whose side history rests.

They say I'm a domestic terrorist. I say they're on their way out. Let's see who's right.

From the Archives:

A Black Manifesto: July 2000

By General T.A.C.O. (Taking All Capitalists Out), *Black Riders Liberation Party*

This letter is a position paper to my brother and comrade Sesso Montgomery. He's a committed Black revolutionary who has been held political prisoner for over 11 years inside California prison slave camps on trumped up charges. After he heard the Pigs raided our headquarters in Watts he was allegedly involved in a physical altercation with a prison guard and put in solitary confinement. I wrote this report to my brother in the spirit of George and Jonathon Jackson. We will now criticize the unjust with the weapon!

Dear Comrade, Revolutionary Greetings! I know it's been a long time since you heard from me. My sincerest apologies to you. I'm living under strain. There have been numerous issues that have distracted me from my duties. In our political thrust to bring about freedom and Black self-determination in the neo-colonies out here, the Black Riders Liberation Party has been engulfed in repressive attacks launched by the racist pigs. Of course, we counter-attacked, but reestablishing a solid organizational structure throughout the community has been difficult. The enemy ruling class understands the value of mass psychology. They have scientifically taught people 'what to think,' while we have the more problematic job of promoting 'how to think.' The goal is still the same: building a communal infrastructure capable of fielding a people's army.

In our efforts to build tangible unity and increase social strength in the Black community, we've helped organize 'gang' truce football games (I prefer not to call us gangs because we are tribes). They are a part of our B.O.S.S Black on Black violence prevention program, ever since a peace treaty was agreed on by the tribes in Watts in 1992. This initial truce generated the black consciousness that provided fuel for the rebellious explosion in the aftermath of the acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King and the wrist slap for the Korean grocer who murdered Latasha Harlins.

That peace treaty was agreed on two days before the L.A. uprising and ushered in a temporary truce between all tribes in southern California. But it only lasted a few weeks because the f'ing pigs sabotaged it by sending government spies into the Black community to cause tension and tribal warfare after the rebellion. Watts only survived the repression because of extensive organizing and as it's a small cohesive community. Even this small sign of unity has been under siege because the fascist rulers understand the Watts truce will eventually spark something a thousand times more productive - armed revolution!

For three days in '92 the people took over one of the biggest cities in Amerika and the action was completely unorganized. Imagine what would happen if we were fully organized. President Bush had just defeated Iraq in an imperialist war and he had to make a mad dash to call home 'the boys' to help reestablish National security during the biggest uprising in US history. It was started and carried by the notorious Bloods and Crips -- the urban Black lumpenproletariat.

All of white Amerika stood up and took notice when we united and rebelled against the fascist state. The reactionary propaganda machine kicked into high gear to smother the explosion, with a flood of reports in which Rodney King was used to mouth a few well-worded lies that he learned from the snake. To establish 'law and order' and redirect revolutionary rage into empty outlets, they made Rodney King ask the now classic cliché "Can't we all get along?" The enemy tried to reduce one of the most tragic episodes in race relations into a one-line joke! Peaceful coexistence is impossible with the white power structure because oppression breeds resistance.

The fear of Blacks and revolution is at the core of white racist psychology. In the early '80s the oppressor encouraged the growth of Bloods and Crips by smuggling crack cocaine and military weapons to the tribes in the Black neo-colony. Two main reasons why the ruling elite and their hired gunslingers manipulated us into intensifying our own genocide was to create the prison-industrial complex to control the most rebellious people, simultaneously raking in profits for the capitalist global economy. It was also a defense mechanism erected against future revolutionary activity in the Black community, after the fascists destroyed the old Black Panther Party, by splitting us up into small tribes feuding over territory that the elite really owned and controlled.

The neocolonial repressive measures launched against the Black community in the last 30 years is not a sign of white power structure security but a manifestation of its insecurity. Total repression and genocide aren't possible if we organize ourselves for survival first -- if we construct the commune, a sense of community, a common class interest. The Black commune is the vehicle for the ultimate drive by against the fascist state!

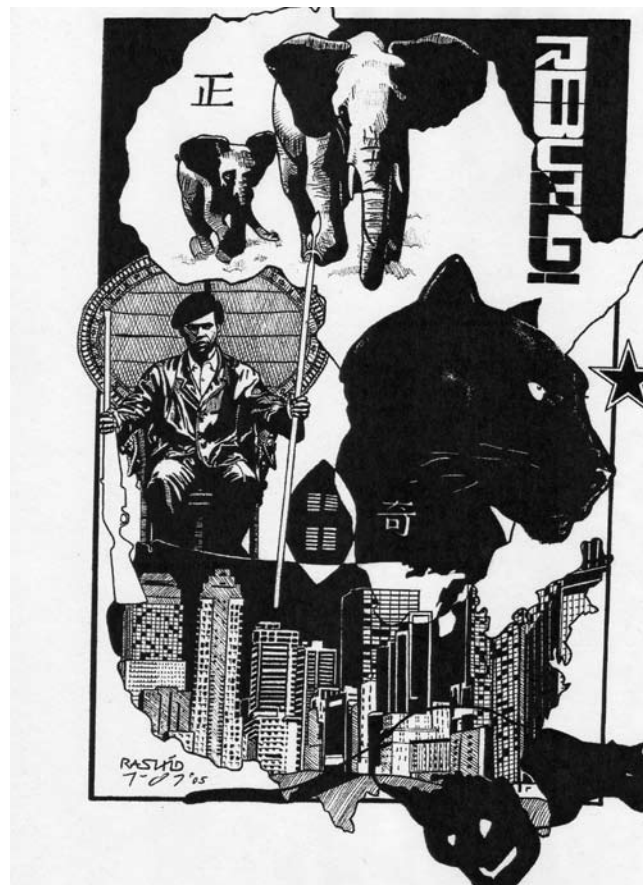
As comrade George Jackson points out, "...we must realize the oppressive contract can't be broken as long as

any sort of hierarchy exists to perpetuate the sensitized relationships of American tribalism, classism, and racism. Society is rendered impossible by such relationships. The establishment of society through intercommunalism (Huey P. Newton's concepts of the revolutionary solidarity of all oppressed people of the world) will require that the social contract be completely altered. Clearly alteration cannot take place unless hierarchy is destroyed. Can we expect the hierarchy to do away with itself?"

When we resisted in '92, fascist Pete Wilson moved to pass laws to put a leash on young Blacks who had finally united and turned on their slave masters. The 3-strikes act and other anti-people bills passed as a direct response to the uprising. The public fear of 'crime' must be seen as white America's reaction to the fear of 'niggers' shooting in retaliation for racial oppression! Anglo-Saxon law is grounded in the principle that the haves must be protected from the have-nots.

The peace treaty in Watts has become very dangerous to the establishment. We have been waging a relentless struggle to defend our people and the truce from the oppressor's occupying pig army. The fascist pigs' main goal is to destroy revolutionary consciousness. The 'gang' truce football games' underlying theme is to bring hostile tribes together to teach our people we're one family, one community, and one Nation. Our main political theoretician Comrade George Jackson wrote, "It's the sense of the finality of their exclusion from solid social-economic participation that forces our youth away from the crippled family unit into the streets. [The loss of -- and longing for -- community] causes the excessive importance of meaningless relationships and the prevalence of anti-communal behavior."

In the process of building unity, we teach Black men and women that to engage in tribalism against each other is tantamount to siding with white supremacy. The best way to get meaningful respect is to actively join the Party and declare war on the capitalist system! In 1992 we didn't just loot Korean stores. There were 16 gun battles between brothers and pigs reported! The truce combined with the rebellion represented the decline of tribalism and signaled



the rise of urban guerrilla warfare inside the Empire's slums. As comrade George Jackson says, "We must prove our predictions about the future with action." But the state prevailed at that time.

I was captured and made political prisoner at the beginning of this new millennium. After the pigs raided our headquarters in Watts spraying mace and swinging billy clubs they captured one of our soldiers. We responded by marching into the lobby of 108th precinct and demanded the release of our comrade Daude Sherills (a lead organizer of the 'gang' truce football games). While we stood in military formation inside the station, one of the pigs came from behind a desk and tried to brutalize me so I defended myself from the attack. This action had domino effect when more pigs ran into the lobby and the comrades followed my example. We relentlessly fight the myth, the hoax, that repression can work against the collective consciousness of the commune, and prove that ideals cannot be killed with violence. We bled; 'they' bled. After 10 minutes of hand-to-hand combat with the Gestapo our 20 men and women unit was ultimately subdued. The soldier we went to the station to free was released a couple of hours later. Seven of us were arrested on trumped up charges that were eventually dropped but the pigs kept me locked up for six months on a parole violation stemming from the incident. As Mao Tse-Tung teaches us, "Politics is war without bloodshed, and war is politics with bloodshed!"

The Black Riders have become the highest expression of organized rage in the new Black Liberation movement. 'Action makes the front.' We refuse to be intimidated by repression. We retaliate blow for blow. The oppressor is strong, he might beat us down to our knees, might crush us to the ground, but it will be physically impossible for the oppressor to go on. At some point his legs will get tired, then the people will tear his kneecaps off.

Bulletproof love from your li'l bro', General T.A.C.O.

**Long live our B.O.S.S. Black on Black violence prevention program!
Revolution in the new millennium!
All Power to the People!**

When the Prison Gates Are Opened, the Real Dragon Will Fly Out!

by the Black Riders Liberation Party
Mao Tse-Tung points out that a single spark can start a prairie fire! The new prison movement has officially begun.

The Pelican Bay SHU hunger strike catapulted into a nationwide prison strike. Thousands of supporters and fellow strikers could be found in prisons (concentration camps) throughout the massive, overcrowded prison industrial complex. Many different races of oppressed people participated.

The Black Riders helped to support the strike and to bring it to national attention. We held press conferences, and distributed the five core demands to thousands of people on the streets of L.A. and Oakland. We demonstrated in full Panther uniform outside the L.A. County Jail and in front of the reactionary Reagan State Building with family members of the strikers, Bilal Ali and many different organizations. Also our nationwide Black Riders prison chapter helped to organize other prisoners to fast and educate people to the real issues that sparked the fast. We worked in the Jericho Amnesty Movement locally and nationally. Comrade Mutope Duguma (s/n James Crawford) and the other Pelican Bay SHU hunger strike leaders of all nationalities should be respected, protected and held in high esteem.

We must coordinate strategy and tactics, and combine experience. Coordination requires organization, and organization can only be effective if each fighting unit is

a disciplined part of the whole. Attack must be planned, and losses in one zone must be compensated for by gains in another until the new generation movement of Black and oppressed people is finally victorious. As George Jackson points out, "The war goes on no matter where one may be at on bourgeois dominated soil."

"There are still some Blacks in here who consider themselves criminals -- but not many. Believe me, my friend, with the time and incentive that these brothers have to read, study and think, you will find no class or category more aware, more embittered, desperate or dedicated to the ultimate remedy -- Revolution. The most dedicated, the best of our kind, you'll find them in Folsoms, San Quentins, and Soledads." —George Jackson.

**All Power to the People!
Free All Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War!**

An Appeal for Funds

The Black Riders Liberation Party is appealing for donations to help produce a new issue of their paper, the **Black Rider African Intercommunal News Service**, Volume 4. The issue is planned to be in full-color to increase its readability and appeal to the Black, Brown and other communities and to young people generally. Please send cash, checks payable to cash, or US POSTAL money orders only made out to Boxholder, to the **BRLP, PO Box 8297, Los Angeles CA 90008**. Think of it as an investment in the future!

Hunger Strike Against Torture

by *All of Us or None*

The 'hood to Torture Chamber Pipeline

It's Friday night and police have several Latino youth detained on the corner of a 'barrio' in LA. Simultaneously, 400 miles north, several African-American young people have been stopped in a North Oakland park. Gang unit officers in both cities are asking the teenagers questions. The youngsters' responses may make them prime candidates for Security Housing Units (SHUs) at state prisons in the near future. How can a routine stop turn into a potential life sentence in a 10' X8' soundproof, sunless solitary chamber? The answer will take us down a chilling path, where torture has been used by law enforcement and correctional officers to exercise and maintain power over people and communities they deem a threat to the establishment they serve and protect.

The Truth behind Gang Injunctions and Gang Validation

The ongoing attacks in communities throughout CA destabilize communities and families. One of the tools employed for racial profiling by local governments is the gang injunction. These have been used in Southern California since the '80s and have been introduced in Northern California as the 'answer' to social problems. These restraining orders target young men of color and neighborhoods slated for gentrification and redevelopment. The injunctions name individuals or a group of "John Does," as a "gang," and prohibit them from otherwise legal activities - like frequenting a neighborhood, associating with other named individuals, wearing certain colors, or having certain tattoos. The injunctions subject them to additional punishments including county jail time, for violations.

Gang Databases

The injunctions generate ammunition for expanding unreliable "gang databases." They, particularly Cal-GANG, the statewide CA gang database, are absorbing the names and lives of young people. Some people may seek to end the torture or harassment they're suffering by providing law enforcement or correctional officers with names or information, whether reliable or not. Those named may be subject to future unrelated punishment, regardless of whether they're in a gang. As a result, many young people are being erroneously labeled, charged, convicted, and railroaded to prison, as alleged "gang members." If sentenced by the prison to the SHU for a disciplinary infraction, their "affiliation" may result in an indefinite sentence. Once inside the CA Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation, CDCR, the concept of rehabilitation seems to be abandoned at the prison gate.

CDCR has done everything it can to dehumanize people inside the SHUs in Pelican Bay, Corcoran, Tehachapi and Valley State Prison for Women. CDCR and the media consistently label people inside the SHUs as the "worst of the worst," to gain public support for the daily torture practiced inside. People may be designated to California SHUs through the "gang validation" process - whereby a book, friend, or tattoo may be used arbitrarily to place alleged gang members indefinitely in solitary confinement.

To people unaware of the reality behind the smoke-screen, gang injunctions and validation seem like appropriate tools to combat violence in cities and inside prisons. But to the people being targeted by injunctions & validations and their families, the reality is different. The process by which people are being placed on gang injunction lists and in SHUs has created a totalitarian system that reinforces racial profiling and institutionalized white supremacy. It lacks accountability and any semblance of humanity. Labeling people as gang members at a young age has allowed police to harass and terrorize people in their own homes. It has also permitted the torture of people in solitary units inside CDCR, who have been there for years, and in some cases for more than three decades.

The Five Core Demands of the Prison Hunger-Strikers

The inhumane conditions inside the CDCR, particularly in SHUs, have brought prisoners together across racial, geographical, and political lines. People have united to fight for changes in SHU conditions. These men have suffered grave injustices for decades. CDCR administration, the courts, and media have disregarded all previous attempts to change conditions. Even a hunger strike 10 years ago at Pelican Bay was ignored. As a result, the hunger-strikers developed five core demands:

- 1) **End Group Punishment & Administrative Abuse:** Hold people accountable for their individual actions, rather punishing everyone.
- 2) **Abolish the Debriefing Policy, and Modify Active/Inactive Gang Status Criteria:** The 'debriefing' policy is known as "snitch or die" - since the only way out of the SHU is to debrief (Inform on another prisoner, true or not), parole, or die - and parole is automatically denied to anyone serving a SHU sentence. In some cases, people have been in the SHUs since the '60s and 70s for sharing political beliefs that differ from conventional ideologies. For them, "debriefing" is a process of betraying their affiliations with certain people or ideas.
- 3) **End Long-Term Solitary Confinement.** Comply with recommendations from 2006 of the US Commission on Safety and Abuse in America's Prisons. International human rights organizations recognize that sensory deprivation is a form of psychological torture.
- 4) **Provide Adequate and Nutritious Food, adequate medical care, and access to natural light.**
- 5) **Expand and Provide Constructive Programming and Privileges for Indefinite SHU Status Inmates.** People in SHUs are not being released, since there are no constructive programs available to them with which to qualify for parole.

Resistance to Win Dignity, Humanity

Since the last meeting between CDCR and the hunger strike representatives was not productive, hunger strikers have announced they may restart the strike on September 26, as the last resort to restore their minds, dignity, and humanity. The torment they've been experiencing can only come to an end if people inside and outside the cages come together and demand an end to torture.

NEXT STEPS:

- 1) Prisoners should write their personal testimony for the Assembly and Senate Public Safety Committees, addressing letters to Assemblymen Tom Ammiano, State Senator Loni Hancock, and Governor Brown at the State Capitol in Sacramento. The letters can be sent directly to them, or to one of the organizations below, who can type them and keep copies for the record.
- 2) People everywhere should sign up to receive action updates from the hungerstrike solidarity coalition: www.prisonerhungerstrikesolidarity.wordpress.com and pressure the state government.
- 3) Medical professionals should circulate letters addressing how long-term solitary confinement, sensory deprivation, amounts to psychological torture. Civil rights and Faith Based Organizations should visit and talk to people inside the Pelican Bay SHU.

The power is in our collective message and our unrelenting efforts to end torture. Only through collective efforts across racial and geographical lines, as demonstrated by the people inside Pelican Bay SHUs and other prisons across CA, will people be able to put an end to torture in prisons and in our communities. Only then will children be able to walk freely through the streets of L.A., Fresno and Oakland, without fear of being harassed by those who are paid to protect them.

Legal Organizations:

For more information, contact prisonerhungerstrikesolidarity.wordpress.com.

Legal Services for Prisoners with Children (LSPC), 1540 Market St., Suite 490, San Francisco, CA 94102
California Prison Focus, 1904 Franklin Street, Suite 507, Oakland, Ca 94612

Victory for the SF Eight

by *Committee in Defense of Human Rights*

"The Court, having considered the Stipulation of Facts submitted by the parties...together with the previously submitted motion to dismiss, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED that this case be dismissed." -- August 18, 2011, Philip J. Moscone, Judge of the Superior Court.

So concludes a case that was initiated in a Joint Terrorism Task Force investigation in 2003, grand jury investigations that locked up former Panthers in 2005, and charged eight brothers in January of 2007. "It took over 4 1/2 years to win this case!" said Francisco Torres.

This case started 40 years ago with an attack on the Ingleside Police Station in San Francisco in August 1971, in which a SF Police Sergeant was killed. At the time, the attack was claimed to be a response to the assassination of George Jackson the previous week in San Quentin.

In 1973, in a major national police offensive and COINTELPRO operation designed to destroy the Black Panther Party, over a dozen Party members were arrested in New Orleans. At least three of the men were tortured and forced to sign statements regarding the Ingleside attack, but a 1975 prosecution based on the torture-induced statements was thrown out of court.

Decades later, in 2005, the government need to promote an "anti-terrorism" agenda and to re-criminalize the history of the Black Panther Party drove the reopening of this cold case through a Grand Jury. There was strong resistance to the Grand Jury, but in 2007 charges were brought against the men who became the San Francisco 8. With the same solidarity shown in resisting the 2005 Grand Jury, and with growing community support for the Brothers, and a film, *Legacy of Torture*, which exposed the background, the SF8 case soon began to unravel for the prosecution. In an unprecedented development, five of the men were released on bail.

In 2008 the conspiracy charge against Francisco Torres was dropped and all charges against five were dropped (Ray Boudreaux, Richard Brown, Hank Jones, Richard O'Neal and Harold Taylor). Jalil Muntaqim and Herman Bell, who have spent decades in prison as political prisoners, pleaded no contest to reduced charges of conspiracy and manslaughter without prison sentences. This left a single charge against Cisco for the last three years, which has just been dismissed.

Four and a half years of mass support for the Brothers, including resolutions from the SF Central Labor Council, the Berkeley City Council, and several SF Supervisors, have broken the back of a vindictive prosecution organized by Homeland Security, the FBI, and then CA Attorney General (now Governor) Jerry Brown. "Against the backdrop of the war on terror, steadfast solidarity among defendants and supporters of all stripes prevailed over conventional wisdom. Again the San Francisco 8 thank the people around the planet and especially the Bay. The success belongs to each and every one of you," commented Ray Boudreaux. Hank Jones declared, "There's no doubt in my mind, had it not been for the solidarity committee and the film, Legacy of Torture, we would have been railroaded. Mobilizing the way we did all across the country, put the government on notice that we were a force to be reckoned with!" The defense committee has vowed to keep up the pressure until Herman Bell and Jalil Muntaqim are back with their families and community. Hank Jones said, "Now that Cisco is cleared, we can shift our focus to building a movement to release other political prisoners."

Please support these brothers by sending a donation. Make checks payable to PDF/Committee for the Defense of Human Rights and mail to the address below or donate on line at

www.freethesf8.org/donate.html

Committee for Defense of Human Rights (CDHR), PO Box 90221,
Pasadena, CA 91109, (415) 226-1120, Freethesf8@riseup.net,
www.freethesf8.org

National Confederation against Unjust Incarcerations and for the Liberation of Political Prisoners

Progress Report on August 19-21, 2001 National Strategy Meeting, Washington, DC
by Jihad Abdulmumit

On August 19-21, 2011 in Washington, DC, the Baltimore/Washington Jericho Amnesty Movement chapter hosted what turned out to be a historic weekend gathering of organizations from across the US working to free political prisoners and fight against unjust prison conditions. Two key objectives were met:

1. Establish the National Confederation against Unjust Incarcerations and for The Liberation of Political Prisoners [National Confederation - (NC)].
2. Adopt a preliminary 5-year-plan of actions to free all political prisoners.

The National Confederation is an alliance of organizations dedicated to the cause of -

- Preventing unjust incarcerations due to racial, political, and religious profiling through education, supporting legal efforts, and organizing political initiatives to challenge and change state and federal laws and policies geared to this end;
- Educating communities across America to judicial excesses by organizing programs, forums, lobbying, and protests;
- Calling for the amnesty of all domestic political prisoners whose incarceration is a result of their social and political involvement and fight in the struggles against racism, political repression, and all the exploitative vestiges of capitalism;
- Educating communities across the US to the reality of US political prisoners;
- Supporting legal efforts to free all such political prisoners.

We now have a tangible mechanism to communicate with one another, share resources and ideas, and amplify our local efforts and initiatives. There were approximately 75 participants from various organizations. The effort also received significant input by mail from many political prisoners. Already the NC Interim Steering Committee has conducted its first teleconference call, which began the process of refining the structure and paving the way for the election of the NC staff this December.

The National Confederation looks forward to building strong and viable alliances and working relationships among all of its growing membership.

Straight Ahead!

Free Oscar Lopez Rivera Free All Puerto Rican Political Prisoners

by Lawrence Reyes, *Puerto Rican Alliance*

On October 12-13, Carlos Alberto Torres, a former political prisoner of the Puerto Rican independence struggle, will be in Los Angeles as part of a national tour to build the campaign to free his compatriot, Oscar Lopez Rivera. Torres will be speaking at CSU Long Beach and at a community event at the So. Cal. Library for Social Studies and Research, 6120 S. Vermont Ave., L.A. (between Slauson and Gage). For more information, contact the Puerto Rican Alliance at 310-460-8686, alianzapr@hotmail.com.

Oscar Lopez Rivera was born Jan. 6, 1943 in San Sebastián, Puerto Rico. His family moved to the US when he was a teen. Adapting to his new home, he managed English well enough to help the Spanish-speaking adults in the neighborhood. He was drafted into the US army; in Viet Nam Oscar began to understand what it meant to be Puerto Rican in the US, and the need for a people to control its own destiny. He earned a Bronze Star. When he returned in '67, he found that drugs, unemployment, housing and education for Puerto Ricans had reached dire levels and began organizing to improve their quality of life. Oscar worked in the creation of the Puerto Rican High School and Cultural Center in Chicago, and in developing the Committee to Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalists. He struggled for bilingual education in public schools and for universities to recruit Latino students, staff and faculty. He helped found education programs at the prison in Stateville, IL. He worked against drugs and police brutality, and to end discrimination in public utilities. Respected by the community for his tireless work, he was targeted by the establishment to stop his organizing. He and other young Puerto Ricans, inspired by guerrilla movements around the world, decided their work for independence could best be conducted in clandestine fashion.

He was arrested in 1981, accused of membership in a clandestine force seeking Puerto Rico's independence, and sentenced to 55 years for seditious conspiracy. In 1988, as the result of a government-concocted conspiracy to escape, 15 more years were added. His release date is 2027, at age 84. In Jan. 2011, he was denied parole, contrary to guidelines.

From 1986-98, he was held in the most super maximum-security federal prisons, in conditions not unlike those at Guantanamo, conditions the Red Cross, among other human rights organizations, called tantamount to torture. Then, after 7 years in general population of a maximum-security prison, he was transferred to a harsher pen, home of the federal death row. In 2008, for the first time, he was placed in medium security, with the unique condition that he report every two hours to corrections staff. In spite of 30 years of adversity in prison, Oscar has maintained his integrity—political, physical, emotional, and intellectual. Fit, studious, and focused, he reads voraciously, keeps up to date with current affairs, and writes. He has become a talented artist, whose drawings and paintings form an exhibit with Carlos Alberto's ceramics, *Not Enough Space*.

Write to him at:

Oscar López Rivera, #87651-024,
FCI Terre Haute,
P.O. Box 33,
Terre Haute, IN 47808.

Irvine 11: Free Speech on Trial in OC "No unlawful act was committed"

by Nora

<http://electronicintifada.net/blog/nora/recap-first-day-irvine-11-trial-no-unlawful-act-was-committed>

Opening statements in the Irvine 11 trial included explicit deconstruction by the defense team of the Orange County DA's argument that the Muslim students who protested an Israeli official's speech last year did so in violation of a CA penal code for conspiracy. "You cannot have a conspiracy to commit an unlawful act if there is not an unlawful act that has been committed," stated a defense attorney in the courtroom today. The trial, now underway in the OC courthouse in Santa Ana, focuses on the prosecution's claim that the students violated the penal code that could send the students to jail for up to two years on two misdemeanor counts: conspiracy to disrupt a meeting and disruption of a meeting.

Kifah Shah, media coordinator and spokesperson for the Irvine 11 solidarity group, told The Electronic Intifada that approximately 100 supporters packed the courtroom after attending a press conference outside. Several major media organizations also attended the pre-trial debriefing, which was organized by local community leaders from such groups as the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP), the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), and several interfaith leaders and professors at UC Irvine. Father Wilfredo Benitez of the Saint Anselm of Canterbury Episcopal Church told the press that "[t]his smells of persecution. In a free country ... this should simply not be happening." Moutaz Herzallah, whose son Taher is among the defendants, said Rackauckas "threw the [U.S.] Constitution in the trash" when he decided to press charges. Herzallah, from Gaza, said he immigrated to the US "to have peace, dignity and honor" and that the D.A. should be prosecuted for his disregard of the Constitution.

The prosecution lawyer reiterated in court that the students had tried to "shut down" the event, and tried to show that the protest was a conspiracy. He also went over the fact that they belong to a group, the Muslim Student Union (MSU), and that these defendants "conspired together as a group to enact a heckler's veto." He added that at the beginning of [the event, the chair of the Political Science department had stated that we "expect and relish debate on campus, but will expect nothing but civility and courtesy" [from the audience]. The ADA said that even the Chancellor, when the protest began, said that "this is outrageous, and this violates the rules."

The defense attorneys also laid out what the defendants did during the protest, and what that looked like for them. What really hit it on the head was that defense attorney Reem Salahi stated exactly what was written on the index cards [from which the students read during their protest]. They were not trying to stall, prolong or stop anything; they simply wrote down what they wanted to say on their index cards. They said what they had to say, which amounted in total for each of them just a few seconds, and took up a cumulative five minutes including the jeers from the crowd.

In their emails that were subpoenaed during the investigation, the students were talking about not resisting, about being nonviolent, acting with a certain demeanor the defense was illustrating how it wasn't their intention in any way to "shut down" the event. The defense said really well that "you cannot have a conspiracy to commit an unlawful act if there is not an unlawful act that has been committed." Oren did finish his speech, at the

Join Us in Los Angeles – November 2

Building a National Formerly-Incarcerated Peoples' Movement

by "*All of Us or None*"

All over the country, for ten years and more, formerly-incarcerated and convicted people have been mobilizing to focus and strengthen our voices. The organizing has taken many forms – caucuses and workshops at conferences, regional and national meetings, and a civil rights march and strategy session last February in Alabama. In November in Los Angeles, we will hold a national strategy session to unite our various organizations and campaigns by adopting a National Agenda.

At the Alabama meeting last February, formerly-incarcerated leaders from around the US united on the pressing need to build a civil rights movement to restore the civil and human rights denied us because of past convictions. Prison is the new method by which millions of people of color are permanently denied their rights. We marched across the historic Edmund Pettus Bridge to signify that the civil rights movement of the 1960's will not be over until formerly-incarcerated people win full restoration of our rights. Fifty formerly incarcerated and convicted organizers came with dedication and commitment stating that this was our time. We met with Alabama elected officials at the State Capitol, with Alabama's Chief Justice, and other elected officials. Twenty people volunteered to join a steering committee, providing us greater diversity in both geography and gender. We decided to hold regular conference calls to move forward with the agenda and coordinate convening in Los Angeles. We agreed to accept as our vision "The Fight for Full Restoration of Our Civil and Human Rights."

People from all over the US will continue the work of unity-building by adopting a National Agenda to advance our movement. On Wed., Nov. 2, 2011 in LA, formerly-incarcerated and convicted people, our families, and our allies nationally will convene to discuss and ratify a National Agenda to restore our civil and human rights. We urge everyone to join this effort, particularly formerly-incarcerated people and our families.

The meeting will be held at Freedom Hall in the Watts Community Labor Action Center, 10850 South Central Avenue, L.A. There is no registration fee and no deadline for registering., but PLEASE REGISTER NOW so we can plan for food and reserve housing in advance.

Register at <http://unprison.com/register-for-la/>

We will begin with breakfast at 8:30 a.m., and the conference will start at 9 a.m. We are trying to keep expenses low. Unfortunately, there are no scholarships available for travel or housing. If you're coming from out of town, please plan to travel on Nov. 1, so we can begin the strategy session at 9 a.m. Housing for the night of Nov. 1 will be available near WLCAC at rates of \$59-\$69 for a double room.

We believe unity of purpose will allow us to build political power. Many of us are already working locally on similar campaigns, to achieve the same demands. After Nov. 2, we will organize and mobilize nationally, to support the human rights of people locked up in cages, serve our communities, and create new solutions. Organizers, artists, musicians, activists, and media makers: the time is now for a unified grassroots Movement.

[Ed. Note: This gathering will coincide with a national *No More Drug War* conference in L.A. Nov. 2-5. See <http://www.reformconference.org/> for more details.]

end of which he stated that he wished the students had stayed. The penal code was not violated. That means that the prosecution's argument of a "shut down" didn't happen. I asked Shah to talk about the solidarity efforts of her campaign, at <http://irvine11.com>, Stand With the Eleven. She said, "This is a political opportunity for the district attorney's office everyone knows he's running for re-election. I think that if this is selective prosecution, it's really important to remember that now it's not just about these ten students, but it's significant for all Americans at this point. The precedent that is set concerns everyone's rights to free speech."

The Electronic Intifada will continue to publish updates on the Irvine 11 trial. The verdict is set for September 23 and was unavailable as we went to press.

Against Japan's Nuclear Dangers!

by Mumia Abu-Jamal 7-23-11

Brothers and Sisters of Japan: Health and strength and survival to the people of Fukushima and surrounding regions! As we survey the long and terrible history of nuclear disasters afflicting Japan, none of these were natural, and all of these were intentional.

One was acts of war as reflected in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, when the U.S. dropped A-Bombs on Japan. The other of course was the installation, construction and faulty maintenance of nuclear power plants in a region known to be prone to earthquakes.

In a sense these defective nuclear power plants were a kind of capitalism-bomb of Fukushima, for these structures are often built by government grants, for private profit, and then, when they fail, they destroy everything within miles, even at a molecular level!

We should recognize that shortly after the disaster at Fukushima, Germany announced it would shutter its own nuclear power plants--all of them! What does that tell you?

Until that happens globally we will see many more Fukushimas!

Down with Nuclear Poison!

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Note from Editor: *ARA-LA/PART is hoping to participate in the scheduled open-ended anti-war, free speech encampment in DC launching on the October 6 10th anniversary of the US invasion of Afghanistan. We see it as an important effort to overcome the binge of fear and self-aggrandizement that erupted on 9-11-11, as well as an attempt to broaden the consciousness and strengthen the resolve of the anti-war or peace movement. But we fear that the impulse to universalism and reformism will throttle this movement aborning. We are reprinting the 15 core issues they have identified, noteworthy for avoiding open mention of issues of race, gender, genocide, colonialism or fascism. Presupposing the continuity of the “three branches of government,” when the US executive, legislative and judicial branches were all designed to perpetuate slavery and land theft, is not likely to lead to a successful effort for human liberation or planetary survival. But we believe every breach with the Empire must be nurtured and engaged with, particularly among well-meaning people of conscience of European descent. We look forward to the struggles and discussions that may emerge. Forward ever!*

October 2011 Encampment in DC on Anniversary of Afghan War

These are the core issues identified by the October 2011 Movement steering committee. This is meant to get a conversation started. We hope that you will join discussions on each issue on the Discussion board and give us your feedback. This will ultimately represent a vision of where we want to go in creating a peaceful, just and sustainable world. The October 6 commencement of action is a beginning on the path to this new world.

1. **Corporatism**— firmly establish that money is not speech, corporations are not people, only people have Constitutional rights, end corporate influence over the political process, protect people and the environment from damage by corporations.

2. **Wars and Militarism** — end wars and occupations, end private for-profit military contractors, reduce the national security state and end the weapons export industry. War crimes, crimes against humanity and crimes against peace must be addressed and those responsible held accountable under international law.

3. **Human Rights** — end exploitation of people in the US and abroad, end discrimination in all forms, equal civil rights and due process for all people.

4. **Worker Rights and jobs** — all working-age people have the right to safe, just, non-discriminatory and dignified working conditions, a sustainable living wage, paid leave and economic protection.

5. **Government** — all processes of the three branches of government should be accountable to international law, transparent and follow the rule of law, people have the right to participate in decisions which affect them.

6. **Elections** — all citizens 18 and older have the right to vote without barriers, all candidates have the right to be heard and to run and all votes should be counted.

7. **Criminal justice and prisons** —end private for-profit prisons, adopt evidence-based drug policy, prisoners have the right to humane and just conditions with a focus on rehabilitation and reintegration into society.

8. **Healthcare** — create a national, universal and publicly financed comprehensive health system.

9. **Education** — all people have the right to a high quality, publicly-funded and broad education from pre-school through vocational training or university.

10. **Housing** — all people have the right to affordable and safe housing.

11. **Environment** — adopt policies which effectively create a carbon-free energy economy.

12. **Finance and the economy** — end policies which foster a wealth divide and move to a localized and democratic financial system, reform taxes so that they are progressive and provide goods, monetary gain and services for the people.

13. **Media** — airwaves and the Internet are public goods, require that media be honest, accurate and accountable to the people.

14. **Food and water** — create systems that protect the land and

water, create local and sustainable food networks and practices.

15. **Transportation** — provide affordable, clean and convenient public transportation and safe spaces for pedestrian and non-automobile travel.

Commentary from ARA-LA/PART:

This is a commendable effort to initiate dialogue and broaden the scope of the anti-war movement. But the lessons of many previous attempts to create an encompassing umbrella movement or coalition that tries to sidestep or finesse the real contradictions among the people, and within people trying to make positive change, teach us that this umbrella has too many holes.

It's not enough to declare for “equal civil rights for all” without specifically addressing reproductive rights, women's rights, and the rights of LGBTQ people. It's not enough to oppose “corporatism” without opposing capitalism and colonialism. It's not enough to oppose wars and militarism without addressing the state of war that exists within and defines the borders of the US state itself, and the on-going internal war against oppressed and colonized people and against dissidents, the class war. It's not enough to “end private for-profit prisons” when the vast majority of the millions incarcerated are in public prisons.

It will take more than a better energy policy to restore the environment, and more than funding to provide a meaningful, truth-based education. It's not just “policies” that foster a wealth divide, war or discrimination, it's a system, headed by a class of people who will not give up their power and privilege without a fight -- a fight we must prepare for.

OWE AKU (BRING BACK THE WAY) PARTICIPATES IN RESISTANCE AT THE WHITE HOUSE

Two members of Owe Aku (Bring Back the Way), a Lakota organization from the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, were arrested outside the White House Sept. 2, 2011. Debra White Plume is with the group designed for cultural preservation and protection of Lakota treaty rights and human rights. Kent Lebsack is from Owe Aku's International Justice Project, which utilizes international strategies to preserve Lakota treaties, sovereignty and self-determination. Both were arrested participating in the two-week-long civil resistance that occurred there in opposition to the XL Pipeline and tar sands oil mining.

Organized by the Indigenous Environmental Network and their allies, Sept. 2 was designated as Indigenous Peoples' Resistance Day. The tar sands come from Native lands in Canada. The pipeline will cross hundreds of miles of Native territory, including that of the Lakota, and it violates treaty rights under the Fort Laramie Treaties of 1851 and 1868 as well as human rights under the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Before the arrests, Debra White Plume addressed the large crowd that gathered in Lafayette Park across from the White House: “Our Lakota people oppose this pipeline because of the potential contamination of the surface water and of the Oglala aquifer. We have thousands of ancient and historical cultural resources that would be destroyed across our treaty lands. As a mother and a grandmother, I am related to Mother Earth and the life-giving water and it is my spiritual responsibility to be here today protecting Mother Earth from Father Greed.”

After being released from jail, White Plume, along with Kandi Mossett of the Indigenous Environmental Network, met with State Department official Daniel A. Clune, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Environmental and Scientific Affairs. There they urged the State Department to consult at high levels with Native leaders and to consider Section 106 (“tribal” consultations) in line with free, prior and informed consent as set forth in the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Kent Lebsack stated, “What action will be taken by politicians is unknown but the two-week long demonstrations at the White House and Indigenous participation are having an effect, if not on the President, at least in building alliances in opposition to corporate greed and government abuse.”

The Native American peoples gathered in front of the White House fence sang throughout the long afternoon of arrests. Differing cultural viewpoints between Native and non-Native allies were only visible when the crowd would chant, “this is what democracy looks like.” Native people were respectfully silent, pointing out that any American view of democracy has rarely served the interests of Native peoples, our lands or resources. Mrs. White Plume was the first Native woman to be arrested and the last five arrests were all of Native men including Owe Aku's Kent Lebsack. Speaking from the Lakota homeland, Rosalie Little Thunder, also an elder, leader, mother and grandmother from Owe Aku's International Justice Project and a long time defender of Lakota sacred sites, said of those who took part, “Today, you acquired probably hundreds if not thousands of relatives! It is a good thing to use your whole body and spirit to protect Mother Earth. Was-te ksto!”

**Owe Aku, PO Box 325, Manderson SD 57756,
605-455-2155, lakotaone@gmail.com,
www.bringbacktheway.com**

**Owe Aku International Justice Project, 720 W. 173rd St.
#59, New York NY 10032,
646-233-4406, oweakuinternational@me.com,
www.oweakuinternational.org**

Call to Action Against ALEC in Phoenix this November

by Project Baldwin projectbaldwin@riseup.net

The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) is a massive non-profit body that brings corporations and legislators together to draft “model” legislation. For example, AZ Senator Russell Pearce (facing recall) and Corrections Corporation of America (CCA), the nation's largest private prison firm, have been members for years. ALEC finalized the model legislation which became, almost word for word, Arizona's SB1070, aka “Support Our Law Enforcement.” It's the latest in the historical pattern of colonization, slave codes, convict leasing, and the drug war, that CREATES crimes and therefore criminals, for profit. With British Petroleum (BP) and the Koch brothers as some of their funders, ALEC has pushed for Three Strikes and Mandatory Minimum sentencing, as well as the Animal Enterprise Terrorism Act. More than 200 of ALEC's model bills became actual laws throughout the country over the past year.

Last issue, *TTT* published a piece we incorrectly attributed to *Bring the Ruckus*, who had only posted the piece, by “The Brigade,” on their list-serve. We regret the error and the related misunderstanding in a response to their piece by a member of ARA. Here's a further response by “The Brigade.”

On Strategic Armed Defense: Response to a Response to a Response

The Brigade respects the fact that people are taking the time to respond to our writing on the antifascist actions in Pemberton and Trenton, NJ in April, 2011. This gives us a chance to reconsider the limitations of our arguments and to revise and further develop our ideas. But to do so we must first burn down the straw men erected in this debate.

In reflecting on the conjured up spirits of the failed RAF, we feel the need to explicitly emphasize that nowhere in our writing on Trenton did we argue for “separation” or “isolation” between the underground and the aboveground. We should not be content to rehash old ideas. An armed fighting formation, just as much as a public campaign, action, service, or institution, stays or becomes extraneous if its tactics and strategy have no relation to the practical aspirations of the population. Any student of guerrilla warfare understands that it does not survive its protracted struggle without a mass base—which requires love, that unconquerable instinct.

We acknowledge that we may have encouraged assumptions of adventurism by framing the writing through an “underground-aboveground” binary. This makes the generalized realms of action—of defensive war on one hand and public militancy on the other—seem

We're a group of people in occupied Indigenous lands, now called Arizona, who demand the end of SB1070 and 287g, the criminalization—and incarceration—of migrants, and the militarization of the border. We oppose private prisons, detention centers, and security companies, not simply because they are private, but because we are sickened by profiteering on human misery. ALEC desires “free markets” and “limited government,” which means they use the state to support profit-making, the continuance of colonization, and neo-liberal policies (NAFTA, CANAMEX, etc.) that draw lines, make laws, and build freeways and prisons to exploit labor and the earth.

Whether maintained by the state or corporations, we're against all systems of control. We are for freedom of movement for all people. ALEC should know there are a million better things to do with their time than plotting mass incarceration. But there's nowhere we'd rather be than confronting their meeting. We're calling for four days of action here in occupied Onk Akimel

mechanistically related. We should have also given clear examples of what we are basing our arguments on, like the Underground Railroad, John Brown's posse, the African Blood Brotherhood, the Deacons of Defense, and RAM's Black Guards. So we agree with the correction—that all elements of true revolutionary activity do indeed have the same broad objective and strategy, despite varying subjects and tactics, with which to build a new world and destroy the old one.

The Many Headed Hydra

Not the dragon, but the hydra. The little modern revolutionary praxis which exists in the United States is very fragmented and multifaceted. This is no cause for concern, as the development of independent forces allows the people to strike the beast from many different angles, rather than relying on just one, preventing any one form from controlling all others and allowing for greater looseness and specificity of method. What we encourage is a specialized guerilla defensive which has to be derived from public organizing and agitation, and more importantly, based in the day to day self-activity of the masses. All elements of struggle are compatible when reciprocally related.

O'odham lands from Nov. 29 – Dec. 3, 2011, with an emphasis for action on November 30th (N30!). We encourage a creative diversity of tactics on N30, the 12th anniversary of the Seattle uprising against the WTO. No matter the acronym, ALEC is no different than all the other gangs of businessmen, politicians, and bureaucrats that we've been resisting for over 500 years.

In solidarity with everyone locked up and locked down in AZ, and all O'odham, Yaqui, Lipan Apache separated by the border, and anyone dispossessed by the wealthy and powerful...

**More information on ALEC and resistance at
<http://azresistsalec.wordpress.com>.
More to come.**

and the related misunderstanding in a response to their piece by a member of ARA.

It is not about winning enough people over or having the perfect strategy beforehand, but rather, of the power of the spontaneous creativity of the people and the ability of revolutionists to adapt to it. We personally know that many of the rebels from the slums of Trenton were armed and ready to defend themselves against the fascists and the police. Because of these personal experiences, we still hold that clandestine tactics should be discussed on a need-to-know basis, not in the same space or time as the aboveground ones. When local friends and newcomers wanting to participate in a militant protest are alienated because of security fetishes and underground posturing—that is a mistake.

We're trying to learn something new from these experiences. Just because grandmas and children in Basque Country or Mexico or Ireland openly support guerillas that protect their neighborhoods— does not necessarily mean that they themselves are guerillas. A popular culture of publicly and casually supporting strategic armed defense is common sense to most poor people of the world. The harder they come, the harder they fall.

-- Yours and theirs, *The Brigade*

Note from the Editor: Mexico is a glaring example of the irresolvable and irreconcilable contradictions of imperialism. Imperialism required NAFTA, which destabilized Mexico, precipitated the Zapatista uprising, and launched a wave of mass migration. Imperialism has engaged in massive export of arms to Mexico and turned to the drug cartels when the Mexican state proved inadequate to suppress the growing indigenous and community-based insurgency, but the war of the cartels on the Mexican people has further exposed and weakened the Mexican state. Now the US seeks to use Mexican "instability" to justify military intervention south of the imposed border, but this will only serve to ignite further insurgency among the indigenous Mexican people on both sides of the border and expose the over-extension and vulnerability of US military power. We printing some excerpts of a recent interview with Noam Chomsky from Z Communications that touches on some of the US-Mexico inter-relationship.

Excerpts from:

Violence in Mexico: An interview with Noam Chomsky

By Luis Cardenas

<http://www.zcommunications.org/violence-in-mexico-by-luis-cardenas>

Since the beginning of 2008, violence in Mexico, especially Ciudad Juárez, has risen to unprecedented levels. The dead, mostly civilians, have surpassed 30,000, and of those, about 8,600 occurred in Ciudad Juarez. Violence has become a way of life. I asked Chomsky about this war to understand the reasons behind it.

Luis Cárdenas: Journalists in México live in constant danger. For example, a photojournalist from *El Diario* was recently murdered in Juárez. The newspaper responded by printing an op-ed piece addressed to the cartels entitled, "What do you want from us?" Would you speculate on who is responsible for these attacks against the media and why?

Noam Chomsky: While I was there I met with journalists from La Jornada, who are extremely good. They gave me off-the-record information they had dug up about drug cartels and US tolerance of them, but they can't publish it because it's a death sentence. The cartels can kill anyone they want so the media are intimidated. It's obvious why the criminals don't want it published. *El Diario* knows exactly what the cartels want; they want them to stop publishing information about them.

La Jornada had an article on the inquiries of a professor, a specialist on drugs who works for the UN drug enforcement agency, who said 80 %of the businesses in México are involved in one way or other with the drug racket. Once you start publishing things like that, you're getting to the power centers of Mexican society and they're not going to want to be exposed. If they can use the drug assassins to stop it, they will.

Q: Do you think it's good for Mexico to suspend constitutional rights in Juárez or elsewhere until order is restored?

A: You have to ask what the Mexican government is trying to do. It looks as if they're supporting one of the cartels against the other. If that's what they are trying then there's no justification. If they want to stop the drug rackets, they know how to, and it's not military action. Part of the answer was given by the declaration of the three ex-presidents. They said that criminalizing drugs is just creating the problem and that drugs should be legalized, like alcohol, and regulated. Then you wouldn't get criminal syndicates.

The drug problem is in the US, not México. It's a demand problem—and it is not being dealt with. It's been shown that prevention and treatment are far more effective than police action, border control, and so on, but the money goes in the other direction and never has an impact. When leaders carry out policies that have no consequences for the stated goal and are very costly, you have to ask whether they're telling the truth. There are only two plausible answers: one, they're collectively insane. Or, two, they're pursuing different goals. If you want to know what the goals are, you see what other consequences are being achieved. Abroad, it's a cover for counterinsurgency. At home, it's a way to get rid of a superfluous population. There is a very close race/class correlation—not perfect but close—and in fact, black males are being removed. If it were in Colombia, they'd call it *limpieza social*. In the US, they put them in jails.

Since the drug war started, there's been a sharp increase in incarceration. The US is five, ten times as high as comparable countries, the biggest in the world, and its target is primarily black males, Hispanic males, some women, some whites, disproportionate to the population. A lot of the US industrial revolution was based on slave labor from leased prisoners in steel. This went on until World War II when there was a need for labor. There was a post-war boom that went on for 20 years in the 1950s and 1960s. During that period black men could begin to integrate into the work force and get a decent job, buy a house, send kids to school and so on. By the 1970s it was over.

The economy was financialized, production was exported, there was a rust belt developing where manufacturing jobs were no longer available. So what do you do with the black population?

The answer was to throw them back in jail under the pretext of a drug war. That's the consequence and it's pretty well understood.

That's one part of the drug war. The other part is the arms. Where are the drug cartels getting their weapons? They're being provided by the US. Cut off that flow of arms, it wouldn't end the violence, but it would have a big effect.

Q: What about NAFTA? Is that part of the problem?

A: Yes. In fact, I was told that in México, close to the U.S. border—visible from spotter planes— there are big areas that used to be devoted to agriculture, which are now devoted to poppies. You can't get in there because they're guarded, first by the cartels, but also by the army, which is hand in hand with the cartels. These are among the predicted consequences of NAFTA and it's clear the Clinton administration understood it. Remember that the Mexico-US border used to be open. It was militarized in 1994 when NAFTA was passed. Maybe it's another one of those coincidences. I doubt it.

Q: Do you think it's wrong for the US to make every reasonable effort to stop illegal immigrants from entering the country?

A: It's an interesting question to ask about the US where everyone is an illegal immigrant except the people in Indian reservations. This is an immigrant society. The native population didn't have the power to prevent them from coming so they came in. Where we're sitting was the territory of the Wampanoag Indians. Until the late 1800s, entry to the US was free [to Europeans]. Then restrictions started being put in because the people who had already taken the country wanted to keep it. Should there be border controls anywhere? It depends. Suppose you believe in a free market—nobody does—but take the people who claim to believe in free markets, they should be saying that the movement of labor should be free. You go back to their saint Adam Smith; if you don't have free circulation of labor, you don't have free markets. Nobody talks about that. Should there be border controls all together, should people be free to live where they want to live? That gets to the notion of nation states.

An Open Statement to Fans of "The Help"

By Dr. Tiffany Gill, Dr. Daina Berry, Dr. Kalli N. Gross, Dr. Janice Sumler-Edmond, Dr. Ida E. Jones & the Association of Black Women Historians

On behalf of the Association of Black Women Historians (ABWH), this statement provides historical context to address widespread stereotyping presented in both the film and novel version of *The Help*. The book has sold over three million copies, and heavy promotion of the movie will ensure its success at the box office. Despite efforts to market the book and the film as a progressive story of triumph over racial injustice, *The Help* distorts, ignores, and trivializes the experiences of black domestic workers. We are specifically concerned about the representations of black life and the lack of attention given to sexual harassment and civil rights activism.

During the 1960s, the era covered in *The Help*, legal segregation and economic inequalities limited black women's employment opportunities. Up to 90% of working black women in the South labored as domestic servants in white homes. *The Help*'s representation of these women is a disappointing resurrection of Mammy -- a mythical stereotype of black women who were compelled, either by slavery or segregation, to serve white families. Portrayed as asexual, loyal, and contented caretakers of whites, the caricature of Mammy allowed mainstream America to ignore the systemic racism that bound black women to back-breaking, low paying jobs where employers routinely exploited them. The popularity of this most recent iteration is troubling because it reveals a contemporary nostalgia for the days when a black woman could only hope to clean the White House rather than reside in it.

Both versions of *The Help* also misrepresent African American speech and culture. Set in the South, the appropriate regional accent gives way to a child-like, over-exaggerated 'black' dialect. In the film, for example, the primary character, Aibileen, reassures a young white child that, "You is smat, you is kind, you is important." In the book, black women refer to the Lord as the 'Law,' an irreverent depiction of black vernacular. For centuries, black women and men have drawn strength from their community institutions. The black family in particular provided support and the validation of personhood necessary to stand against adversity. We do not recognize the black community described in *The Help* where most of the black male characters are depicted as drunkards, abusive, or absent. Such distorted images are misleading and do not represent the historical realities of black masculinity and manhood.

Furthermore, African American domestic workers often suffered sexual harassment as well as physical and verbal abuse in the homes of white employers. For example, a recently discovered letter written by Civil Rights activist Rosa Parks indicates that she, like many black domestic workers, lived under the threat and sometimes reality of sexual assault. The film, on the other hand, makes light of black women's fears and vulnerabilities, turning them into moments of comic relief.

Similarly, the film is woefully silent on the rich and vibrant history of Black civil rights activists in Mississippi. Granted, the assassination of Medgar Evers, the first Mississippi based field secretary of the NAACP, gets some attention. However, Evers' assassination in the film sends Jackson's black community frantically scurrying into the streets in chaos and disorganized confusion -- a far cry from the courage demonstrated by the black men

and women who continued his fight. Portraying the most dangerous racists in 1960s Mississippi as a group of attractive, well dressed, society women, while ignoring the reign of terror perpetrated by the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council, limits racial injustice to individual acts of meanness.

We respect the stellar performances of the African American actresses in this film. This statement is in no way a criticism of their talent. It is, however, an attempt to provide context for this popular rendition of black life in the Jim Crow South. In the end, *The Help* is not a story about the millions of hardworking and dignified black women who labored in white homes to support their families and communities. Rather, it is the coming-of-age story of a white protagonist, who uses myths about the lives of black women to make sense of her own. The Association of Black Women Historians finds it unacceptable for either this book or this film to strip black women's lives of historical accuracy for the sake of entertainment.

Ida E. Jones is National Director of ABWH and Assistant Curator at Howard University.

Daina Ramey Berry, Tiffany M. Gill, and Kali Nicole Gross are Lifetime Members of ABWH and Associate Professors at the University of Texas at Austin.

Janice Sumler-Edmond is a Lifetime Member of ABWH and is a Professor at Huston-Tillotson University.

Suggested Reading:

Fiction:

Like one of the Family: Conversations from A Domestic's Life, by Alice Childress

The Book of the Night Women by Marlon James

Blanche on the Lam by Barbara Neeley

The Street by Ann Petry

A Million Nightingales by Susan Straight

Non-Fiction:

Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household by Thavolia Glymph

To Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors by Tera Hunter

Labor of Love Labor of Sorrow:

Black Women, Work, and the Family, from Slavery to the Present by Jacqueline Jones

Living In, Living Out: African American Domestic Workers and the Great Migration by Elizabeth Clark-Lewis

Coming of Age in Mississippi by Anne Moody

Any questions, comments, or interview requests can be sent to:

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TURNING THE TIDE

Attica is All of Us! Abolish the Prison-Industrial Complex!

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BLACK RIDERS LIBERATION PARTY



“ALL BLOODS & CRIPS MUST UNITE

and Protect Black People

from our real racist enemies!”

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Excerpts from: **Whitey on the Moon**

<http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/2469/whitey-on-the-moon>

by Dina Omar

I've been asked my opinion on the “social justice” protests in Israel. I will use the words of two writers, Mahmoud Darwish and Gil Scott-Heron, to express why many are uninspired by the “14 July movement.” Scott-Heron sang *Whitey on the Moon* responding to Neil Armstrong's 1970 trip to the moon, anchoring the “advances” of the space program in populations at whose expense such feats were accomplished. “Whitey” refers to an institution that organized society to serve the interests of one racial group at the expense of another. Scott-Heron sang: “I can't pay no doctor bills./ (but Whitey's on the moon)/ Ten years from now I'll be payin' still/ While Whitey's on the moon./ ... Taxes take my whole damn check./ The junkies make me a nervous wreck./ The price of food is goin' up./ An' as if all that crap wasn't enough./ A rat done bit my sister Nell./ (with Whitey on the moon).” Scott-Heron scoffs at the US for spending billions on space while ignoring social issues—particularly those facing impoverished communities of color. He demonstrates how ridiculous the technological advancements are by tethering them to racial inequality. The intersection is located where you take my tax dollars to achieve something, and I give you my tax dollars and lose something.

A similar relationship explains why I roll my eyes at the Israeli 14 July Movement. In *Memory for Forgetfulness*, Darwish explains how Palestinian refusal to celebrate Israeli ‘liberals’ isn't disdain, but pain and loss. His response to protests in Tel Aviv 30 years ago can be applied to the protests today. He chronicles the thoughts of a Palestinian refugee during the '82 Israeli siege of Beirut, and his reaction to Israeli protests. He cuts through their proclaimed intention and reveals their odious consequences. The same observation must be made about the 14 July protests: they occur at the expense of Palestinians. To think the Tel Aviv protests are divorced from the question of Palestine is pathological. It's based in privilege. Darwish and Scott-Heron wrote about how privilege makes people delusional. Scott-Heron's poem works to measure the disconnect between Palestinian reality and 14 July slogans. The correlation between space and racism in the US is comparable to the asymmetry between Israelis and Palestinians.

Palestine has 6,000,000 refugees, but Israelis want affordable housing. Palestinians have 16% unemployment rate in the West Bank and 40+-% in Gaza, but Israelis rally for jobs to remedy their 5% unemployment. There are 5000 Palestinian political prisoners in Israeli jails, but protesters demand the release of Gilad Shalit [a captured Israeli soldier]. Hebrew Univ. confiscated Palestinian lands, uprooting more than 250 Palestinians, but Israeli marchers hold posters that say, “Arabs out of Jaffa, more room for artists and students.” As protesters demand “social justice,” they remain silent about Israel's treatment of the Palestinians.

It's not that critics don't want Israeli Jews to have adequate, affordable housing. However, Palestinians don't appreciate being uprooted to make room for such homes: 63 years after over 700,000 Palestinians were uprooted, 200,000 Israelis walk out of their homes to sleep in tents. *Ha'aretz* journalist Ari Shavit was quoted by *Time*, “There was a time people felt guilty about the Tel Aviv bubble. Then it turned out the bubble was pretty strong.” Tent City is in the bubble, and that bubble might as well be on the moon. Israelis gather to sleep in tents on the streets of affluent Rothschild Boulevard. Juxtapose that image with the tents of the 700,000 Palestinians forcibly removed from their homes in '48 or the tents in Jabalya Refugee Camp after the Israeli attack on Gaza—the inequality is clear.

Israeli protesters describe their tent city as “a creative space.” where Israelis are fostering “a real community.” How could Palestinians rejoice at the protests when “Tel Aviv is Jewish” is one of the mantras shouted or protesters assert the protests aren't political but social? Palestinians understand these protests as an appropriation of the Palestinian position, land, and the language surrounding the Arab spring. Unlike Israel's protests, the Arab spring is a political struggle for power—to take power from the ruling elite and government. Netanyahu was elected, and his high approval ratings are due to his position on defense and policy matters. It's ironic that as hundreds of thousands protest in the street, air strikes are launched against Gaza. Israel's middle class want improved social services while supporting an occupation that costs more than \$800,000,000 a year. An apartheid state cannot sustain itself. The ostracized tent #1948 is the only glimmer of social justice in the tent cities. Right-wing Israelis assaulted people (Israelis and Palestinians) in the tent and tore down the Palestinian flag, but it remains one of the only comprehensible messages from the 14 July movement. Its message is clear—social justice should be for all. The existence of tent #1948 is subverting the racist undertones of the Israeli protests: I pray more people join it.

If Israelis think they can achieve “social justice” while remaining silent about injustices against Palestinians—they will continue to be perceived as “Whitey on Moon.”