

# A way through the Jungle

# Reporting from Olympia's largest houseless encampment

#### **Just Housing Advocacy Group**

The Jungle, known to some of its residents as the Jungle of Hope, is home to between 150 and 200 people living in a wooded area between Pacific Avenue and Martin Way. It is Olympia's

largest encampment of houseless community members, including people who have lived there for years and others who relocated there after camp evictions elsewhere.

In late November, an employee at a nearby business contacted Just Housing to let us know that a neighboring business had been complaining about the encampment and had possibly filed a complaint with the city. We contacted the city's code enforcement office and learned that area businesses had filed a number of

complaints, and that the city had sent courtesy notices in response to the property owners informing them of an unauthorized encampment on their property and requesting that they correct that situation within 14 days. Although courtesy notices have historically led to the eviction of a targeted encampment, we continue to be told by the city that no eviction is planned at this time and that the next step is up to the property owners, who have asked the city for more time to figure out how to proceed.

We have communicated to the city our interest in helping find a way forward that addresses the concerns and needs of all stakeholders, including the property owners and concerned area businesses, and also focuses on minimizing the infliction of additional harm and trauma on an already vulnerable population, many of whom are medically and emotionally fragile. We are extremely concerned about the possible effects on them of an eviction this winter, especially when there is no legal place available for them to go.

We have communicated with all three property owners and most of the area businesses to urge a compassionate path forward that includes delaying eviction from the camp until people have another safe, secure, and legal place to which they can relocate, or at least through as much of the winter as possible.

We have also maintained close communication with Jungle residents to keep each other updated on new developments, and to make sure that the

voices and needs of the houseless are kept centered as we work together on possible solutions. The idea for the Jingle of Hope, a very successful twoday community cleanup at the Jungle, originated with a Jungle resident who reached out to the housed community



Photo by Janine Gates/Little Hollywood Media

for support. (See the Jingle of Hope box on page 8 for more info.)

The city has indicated that IF the property owners and area businesses are willing to work with the city toward a solution that addresses the needs of

all parties, including Jungle residents, is one element of a broader struggle then they would be open to considering such an effort to represent reasonable progress toward a resolution of the unauthorized encampment, which could buy us some time.

However, they have also said that in

the end the camp is in violation of existing city ordinances, and that it cannot remain there indefinitely unless the camp complies with the existing ordinances or the ordinances are changed. Neither of these is likely to occur in the nearterm, and the owners can always request assistance from the city, and the Olympia police department, to carry out an eviction.

There are many moving parts to this puzzle, and no guarantee that we will achieve success. An eviction might eventually be carried

out, as has unfortunately been done so often in the past. This struggle over what happens at the Jungle, and other area encampments facing similar threats, needs to be understood in the context of the larger struggle for safe and secure housing for all, which itself for economic, racial, and social justice.

Although we are in the middle of winter, the serious harm that could be inflicted on our houseless friends and neighbors at the Jungle is not the result of a natural disaster, but because the institutions and fabric of our society have failed them, and are failing us. We are mindful that the unauthorized local encampments are performing a largely unacknowledged public service by providing more bed-nights for our houseless community than all of the local shelters combined.

We understand that the inadequate availability of affordable and accessible housing, as well as support services for mental and physical health needs, is a regional crisis that requires close cooperation and collaboration among all governmental entities and social service providers, as well as a significant commitment of public resources. We are also aware that Olympia city ordinances presently criminalize people for simply trying to survive, and we call upon the city council to Legalize Survival by amending or repealing these ordinances, or at least suspending them through the rest of

▶ Jungle, continued on page 8

# The Arctic National Wildlife Refuge-A refuge no longer?

#### Staff Writer

The provision of the Trump Administration's "Tax Cuts and Jobs Act" that most concerns scientists, environmentalists and many others is the one that allows for the opening of five million acres of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) to oil drilling. In addition to slashing the corporate tax rate to 21 percent the legislation contains a variety of non-tax provisions including elimination of the Affordable Care Act's individual mandate. However, the addition of ANWR to the bill is not as unrelated to tax re-

#### The politics of "protection"

form as it might initially seem.

In 1980, Congress passed the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act against the wishes of oil companies interested in drilling in Alaska. The Act protected nearly 70,000 acres of Alaskan wilderness through the establishment of many new national parks

and wilderness areas. To appease the Act's opponents, one part of the Arc- Pipeline-an issue activists on both tic National Wildlife Refuge, "Section

The Refuge is home to over 200 species of birds as well as moose, arctic foxes, wolves,

and polar bears, many of which are endangered.

1002," was left only partially protected to leave open the possibility of oil exploration and drilling in the future.

Since the Act was passed, tensions have repeatedly arisen between conservationists and oil industry proponents. According to NPR's Scott Detrow, "ANWR has long held an outsized symbolic role in the tug-of-war between environmental protection and the desire to increase domestic oil and gas drilling. In that regard, you could

sides could rally, fundraise and organize around."

#### Alaskan opinions on drilling in the ANWR

Democratic presidents and members of congress have successfully blocked earlier attempts to open Section 1002. Since 1988, members of the Gwich'in tribe have also organized to keep the entire Refuge

closed to drilling-their goal being to protect the wild caribou that annually calf there. Many of the Gwich'in plan to actively resist the drilling provision of the new law and may visit Washington D.C. in early 2018.

The Inupiat people, many of whom live and work within ANWR Section 1002, remain divided on the issue of drilling. Some members of the tribe have expressed enthusiasm about the

▶ Arctic, continued on page 4

#### Works In Progress

Works In Progress is a free, volunteer-operated progressive community newspaper based in Olympia, Washington. Established by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition, the paper published its first issue in May 1990.

Mission Statement: The aim of WIP is to confront injustice and encourage a participatory democracy based on justice in the economic, social, and environmental realms and across races and genders. WIP does this in part by providing a voice for those most affected by systems of inequity and the exclusionary practices that seek to silence the victims of injustice and the powerless.

Submissions: Our goal is to publish stories that are ignored or misrepresented by the mainstream media. We seek local, well-researched news stories, serious analyses of issues confronting our communities, and accounts of personal experience or reflections by local authors. Informed opinion pieces are also welcome, especially when accompanied by facts, examples and sources. We are also looking for graphics, poetry, cartoons, and articles that push the boundaries of conventional journalism. WIP reserves the right to publish any material submitted in whole or in part.

Submit writing in the following format: Attach your work in a separate word document attached to an email that goes to: olywip@gmail.com. Please use Calibri (body) 12 pt. type, no paragraph indents. Artwork and photos can be sent electronically. Include your name and phone number and a brief bio. WIP's volunteer editors will contact authors if there is any significant editing proposed. If you wish to submit an article to be reprinted, include the permission and original location. Send submissions to olywip@gmail.com or mail to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507-0295

Back Issues. WIP is archived by the University of Washington Library. The last 5 years are online at www.olywip.org

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**Submission Deadline Next Issue** 

Sunday, January 21 olywip@gmail.com

**Proofreading Meeting** 

Sunday January 28, 1 pm Buck's 5th Avenue Loft

How WIP is supported. WIP is volunteer run, but essential expenses must be covered by donations, subscriptions and some generous advertisers. We also receive support from the Workers' Defense Fund whose purpose is to strengthen organizations that engage in struggle against the powerful for the empowerment of the powerless. Subscriptions are \$35 per year. Advertising rates are approximately \$10 per column inch, with discounts for long-term advertisers (see below). To donate, subscribe or advertise: Contact us at olywip@gmail.com, or write to Works in Progress, Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

#### **Advertising Rates**

Quarter page	. \$135
2 column square (5"x5")	\$90
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Business card size	\$30
Have a subscription mailed to	you or
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Help keep WIP in print - donate at Works in Progress, Box 295 Olympia, WA 98507

Special advertising rate for nonprofits and small businesses\*

On the front cover photo by Shutterstock.

# **The Works in Progress** mission and guidelines

and encourage a participatory democracy based on justice in the economic, social, and environmental realms and across races and genders. WIP does this in part by providing a voice for those most affected by systems of inequity and the exclusionary practices that seek to silence the victims of injustice and the powerless.

#### Guidelines for writing for WIP

Our priority is to focus on stories that are ignored or misrepresented in the mainstream media. To this end, we seek well-researched news stories, serious analyses of issues confronting our communities and accounts of personal experiences or reflections by local authors. We also consider poetry, graphics, cartoons and articles that challenge conventional journalism.

We discourage writing where a key point is stated as fact when it is unproven or in serious dispute. Once we receive a submission, we may choose

The aim of WIP is to confront injustice to publish it or not. Articles that relate to the theme will have preference,

but other topics are also welcome, as usual. Editing that extends beyond that needed for clarity will be reviewed with the author.@@

Theme for February issue The theme for WIP's February 2018 issue is work.

#### Submissions should:

- ▶ Offer a unique progressive perspec-
- ► Appeal to local and regional readers
- ▶ Range between 750–1200 words
- ▶ Be sent as an email attachment in Word (see formatting specs at www.
- ▶ Include a one- or two-line bio of the author
- ▶ Include an email address for contacts if you wish

Send submissions to Olywip@gmail. com with the word "SUBMISSION" in the subject line.

# Criminalizing poetry, imprisoning poets

Palestinian poet Dareen Tatour is seen in an Israeli courtroom with her family and supporters before a hearing in the northern city of Nazareth on November 20. Tatour was arrested in a pre-dawn raid on her home on October 11, 2015 for a poem she published on social me-

dia. She spent three months in jail and for a year and a half since then has been under house arrest.

Confined now her family home, she is under constant surveillance and forbidden to use a computer or

smart phone. As one consequence, she can no longer support herself (prior to her arrest she managed a beauty salon), nor is her family allowed to have a computer in their home.

The reason given for Tatour's arrest is a poem she wrote and recited on the internet, called "Resist My People, Resist Them." Israel's effort to convict Tatour has included bringing a series of experts in both Arabic and Arabic poetry to dissect the words of this 35year poet who was largely unknown before her arrest.

Over her 3 months in jail, Tatour was interrogated and transferred several times. "After the third interrogation, when they brought the poem in for the first time, it was like watching myself in a movie. I am going to sit in prison because of a poem. ... The serious problem was that they mistranslated [the poem]. It isn't even an issue of interpretation—the translation was wrong and thus the police's interpretation was completely off."

Hundreds of writers, poets, translators, editors, artists and others signed a petition in 2015 urging Tatour's release. PEN America describes to Tatour's case as just one of several cases of administrative detention of journalists and others using social media to publish their writing, including the cases of Palestinian journalists Muhammed al Qiq and Omar Nazzal.

According to the Israeli human rights organization B'Tselem, administration detention in Israel is used to hold thousands of Palestinians for lengthy periods without trial or charge. It alleges that a person plans to commit a future offense, has no time limit, and the evi-

> dence on which it is based is not disclosed. The court review of detention ders is merely symbolic - as individual detained doesn't even know why they are being held and thus can mount no

#### I'll forget it, as you wish

As you wish,

I'll forget it.

The story of us that's now part of the past

And the dreams that were once the fill of our hearts

We would have liked to make them come true,

But we killed them.

I'll forget things, O love of my life Things we said.

The poems we wrote on the walls of our hearts

And drew in colors.

So don't be angry.

The trees under which we sat for a time,

And the names we carved. I'll forget them, As you wish.

-Dareen Tatour

Translated by Jonathan Wright and reprinted from Nomadics, New Poems by Darreen Tatour.

Quoted statements by Dareen Tatour are from an August 2017 interview in +972, an on-line platform that presents independent journalism in Israel-Palestine. Additional references are from Electronic Intifada.

# Special events

Fri., Jan 5. 8:00- 10:00 am. The Harbor House on the waterfront in Olympia.

Contact Mike Coday,

envirotalk@yahoogroups.com.

#### **New Skills for Liberation** and Ending Oppression. Fri-Sat, Jan 5-6, 9 am -5 pm. Workshop presented by

Backbone Campaign, Sliding scale \$155-\$500. On Vashon Island - location info upon registration. Register at www.backbonecampaign. org/leticianieto.

#### 2018 Climate Resilience Summit,

Sat Jan 6, 8 am - 6 pm. Seattle University, 901 12th Ave, Seattle. Health benefits of climate change mitigation. Washington Physicians for Social Responsibility (WPSR).

#### "Social Ecology and the **Syrian Revolution**"

Sun., Jan 7, 4 pm, Burial Grounds Coffee House, 5th Ave, Oly. Monthly Reading Group. Two short pieces on ecology and municipal socialism.

Climate Countdown Day 1. Mon., Jan 8, 10 am – 1:30 pm. State Capitol, 416 Sid Snyder Ave SW. Major mobilization of climate change activists: jumpstart climate legislation with Democrats in control of the state legislature.

"The Doomsday Machine," Tues, Jan 9. University Temple Church, 1415 Northeast 43rd St, Seattle.

Book discussion & steps to dismantle the nuclear doomsday machine. Sponsored by Washington Physicians for Social Responsibility (WPSR)

**CCC Volunteer Basic** Training Day 1

Thurs, Jan 11, Noon - 4 pm, First United Methodist Church 1224 Legion Way SE. Day 2, Sat, Jan 13, Noon- 4 pm, Providence Community Care Center, 225 State Ave NE.

Learn volunteering for the Community Care Center in downtown Olympia. SideWalk/InterFaith Works. Sign up at http://walkthurston.org/volunteer

**Playback Theatre,** Fri, Jan 12, 7:30 pm. Traditions

café - 300 5th Ave SW. Focusing on interactions with immigrants. In collaboration with CIELO.

Meditative Walk for Peace, Sun. Jan 14, noon-1:30 pm. Honoring Dr Martin Luther King Jr. At Capital Lake. South Sound Buddhist

#### **Lobby Day for NARAL Pro-Choice WA and WA** Community Action

Peace Fellowship.

Network, Thurs, Jan 18, 11 am -4pm. Focus on reproductive freedom. Ro-

tunda at the Legislative Building. Sign up at https://actl.myngp.com/ Forms/-7266276523785584640.

**Women's March Anniversary** Rally & Walk for Women. Sat, Jan 20, 11 am = 1 pm, State

Capitol, 416 Sid Snyder Ave SW. Honoring sisters who have died at the hands of others; showing that domestic and other forms of violence against women still happens. Oly Embrace.

#### **Workshop in Nonviolent** Communication (NVC).

Mon, Jan 22, 6:45 - 9:00 pm. Cafeteria at Lincoln Elementary School, 213 21st Ave SE. Presenting Marshall Rosenberg's radical

process for healing relationships and resolving conflict. 360-357-4503 or livmonroe@gmail.com

Climate Lobby Day,

Mon, Jan 22, 8:30 am - 4 pm. Start at St John's Episcopal Church, 114 2th Ave SE; proceed to the Capital.

\$10 includes lunch. Sign up at https://100forclimate.brownpapertickets.com/ Ben Silesky, 425-830-5753

**Protecting Our Public Lands** Tues., Jan 23, 7 pm. George

Wuerthner at the Olympia Center, 222 Columbia St NW. A defense strategy we can employ against the federal onslaught. Sponsored by Sierra Club South Sound. Contact

anniecubberly@gmail.com.

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# When felons can vote their convictions

#### Bethany Weidner

The recent US Senate election in Alabama focused some attention on the fact that "felons" (or at least some felons) in Alabama) can—and did—vote.

If you want to see who these people might be, to find out what makes a person a felon—or what crime constitutes a felony—don't expect any clarity. It turns out that a felon is someone who is in prison, and a felony is "a serious crime."

Who goes to prison, of course, varies from state to state; and whether someone is charged with a felony for a crime they commit depends substantially on the attitude of the District At-

In Washington, you have the right to vote... Even with a criminal record.



As the Chief Elections Official for Thurston County, I empower all eligible people to vote. It's your right, and your voice is important!"

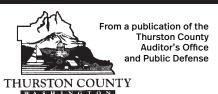
> —Mary Hall Thurston County Auditor



#### Yes, you can vote!

- You maintain the right to vote with a misdemeanor conviction, or a conviction in juvenile court, even if you are still in jail.
- Citizens with felony convictions have their right to vote restored automatically when they come out of the criminal justice system
- Individuals can register to vote once they are no longer under state-supervised parole or probation.
- You may register to vote if you have existing court-ordered legal financial obligations (LFOs), such as fines, fees, and restitution. If you do not comply with all the terms of your LFO, you may lose your right to vote.

Learn more about your right to vote at: thurstonvotes.org/voting rights



Register at ThurstonVotes.0rg 0r call (360)786-5408 torney. The DA's discretion to decide whether to go for a misdemeanor or felony charge is as broad and deep as the Grand Canyon.

The federal government uses a specific but circular definition of a felony: a felony is a crime punishable by death or imprisonment in excess of one year. So for the feds, you're a felon if you're convicted of something that merits a year in prison (maybe tax evasion, animal cruelty, drugs) and you're a felon if you're convicted of murdering your neighbor. A lot of leeway there.

An example of prosecutor's discretion can be seen in the situation of the 200 people arrested for protesting at the January 20, 2017 inauguration of Donald Trump; as well as that of the Water Protectors protesting construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline.

The J-20 protestors were charged with "felony rioting, inciting to riot, conspiracy to riot and destruction of property" among other charges, carrying a maximum sentence of 70 years. (The first 6 to go to trial were acquitted of all charges by a DC jury in December.)

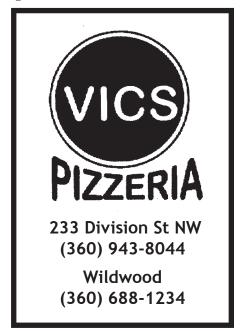
Various individuals from the Water Protector's stand have also been subject to multiple charges. One defender had his misdemeanor case dismissed and then refiled as a felony. Other charges brought were felony reckless endangerment, and felony terrorizing of law enforcement – plus additional misdemeanor counts (obstruction of a government function, preventing arrest, disorderly conduct). (1)

Historically, the US has denied felons the right to vote, but in recent decades the trend is toward restoration of that right, but how and how quickly varies from state to state.

In Maine and Vermont, felons never lose their right to vote, even while they are incarcerated. In 14 states and the District of Columbia, felons lose their voting rights only while incarcerated, and receive automatic restoration upon release.

In 22 states, including Washington State, felons lose their voting rights during incarceration, and for a period of time after, typically while on parole and/or probation. Voting rights are automatically restored after this time period. Former felons may also have to pay any outstanding fines, fees or restitution before their rights are restored as well.

In 12 states felons lose their voting rights indefinitely for some crimes, or require a governor's pardon in order for voting rights to be restored, or face an additional waiting period after completion of sentence (including parole and probation) before voting rights can be restored.



Prior to the summer of 2017, Alabama had a law that denied voting rights to felons guilty of crimes "involving moral turpitude" leaving interpretation of exactly what crimes to local registrars. Threatened with a lawsuit claiming that the provision was discriminatory, Alabama Republicans passed a bill clarifying which convictions would cost someone the right to vote. For example, crimes such as murder, rape and "enticing a child to enter a vehicle for immoral purposes" would result in the loss of voting rights; offenses such as drug possession or third-degree burglary would not.

In Alabama, an organized effort resulted in significant participation by "felons" (aka citizens, aka voters) in the December 2017 special election that put a member of the Democratic Party in office for the first time in a generation.

There are about 17,000 individuals incarcerated in Washington prisons at this time. All of them will be able to exchange their status as a felon for a new identify as a voter once they are no longer under the authority of the Department of Corrections.

<sup>1</sup>See **www.sacredstonescamp.org** for more on the charges against Water Protectors.

The federal definition coupled with changes in immigration policy led Washington state legislators in 2011 to change the maximum sentence for a gross misdemeanor to one day less than a year to protect non-citizens from summary deportation. Whether that still helps is unclear...

RCW 9.20 footnote: "The legislature finds that a maximum sentence by a court in the state of Washington for a gross misdemeanor can, under federal law, result in the automatic deportation of a person who has lawfully immigrated to the United States, is a victim of domestic violence or a political refugee, even when all or part of the sentence to total confinement is suspended. The legislature further finds that this is a disproportionate outcome, when compared to a person who has been convicted of certain felonies which, under the state's determinate sentencing law, must be sentenced to less than one year and, hence, either have no impact on that person's residency status or will provide that person an opportunity to be heard in immigration proceedings where the court will determine whether deportation is appropriate. Therefore, it is the intent of the legislature to cure this inequity by reducing the maximum sentence for a gross misdemeanor by one day."

# It's up to Inslee: Fate of what would be the largest oil export terminal in the US

#### Dan Leahy

Governor Inslee has 60 days to approve or reject an application by the Tesoro oil company to build the nation's largest crude oil export terminal on the Columbia River at the Port of Vancouver.

Over the past four years, a potent, onthe-ground coalition led by the SW Sierra Club and the local Longshore Union mobilized the people of Clark County, along with other statewide and regional organizations, to oppose the proposal.

At the county level, a strategic accomplishment was to elect a majority of Commissioners to the Port of Vancouver—despite heavily funded opposition by Tesoro. The two new Commissioners, Eric LaBrant and Don Orange, oppose the Tesoro project.

At the statewide level, this coalition focused on the environmental review by the State's Energy Facility Site Evaluation Council (EFSEC). EFSEC published its Final Environmental Impact Statement in November and then voted unanimously to recommend that Governor Inslee reject Tesoro's application.

One of the many groups who wrote to Governor Inslee after the EFSEC decision is the Washington State Council of Fire Fighters (WSCFF). In his letter to Governor Inslee, Dennis Lawson, President of the WSCFF, said that "We see this project as a fundamental threat to our members, other first responders, and the communities we serve."

President Lawson continued, "We have written to you before about the dangers of 120-car unit trains that carry 3.7 million gallons of Bakken crude oil through our communities each week. Approving Tesoro's project would more than double the number of weekly oil trains in our state from 24.5 to 52.5. The expanded train traffic along the length of the 445-mile stretch of track called the Columbia River Alignment would negatively im-

pact our members.

"It would increase by 73% the risk of a crude-by-rail spill; escalate the risks to motorists and pedestrians at 200 atgrade rail crossings; slow down emergency vehicle response by 41 minutes along the Alignment and elevate the health risks to communities, causing greater demand for emergency responses. In addition, every community within a quarter mile of the track from Spokane to Vancouver - in conjunction with first responders—would be required to prepare 'specific evacuation plans.'"

The 60-day period for the governor's decision began December 19th, when Inslee received the EFSEC recommendation to reject the project application.

# Special events

From previous page

MLK Peace and Justice Rally, Noon – 4 pm. Legislative Building, State Capitol, Rotunda.

WA State Commission on African American Affairs.

# Restoring Health to Healthcare

Fri, Jan 26, 5:30 pm to Sat, Jan 27, 4:30 pm. UW South Campus Center, Seattle.

Workshop facilitated by the estraordinary Dr Stephen Bezruchka, limited to 30 participants. To register (\$25 for all) or to pay tuition (sliding scale), https://pay-pal.me/unitedweprosper. Sponsored by Washington Physicians for Social Responsibility (WPSR)

#### **Democracy Lobby Day,**

Fri, Jan 26. 9 am – 4 pm.
Legislative focus on election and voting rights issues. Venue TBD. Learn more and register at http://www.lwvthurston.org/democracy\_lobby\_day\_League of Women Voters of Thurston County.

#### For other events,

check www.thurstontalk.com. For events scheduled after WIP goes to print, visit the WIP Facebook page.

# The Alabama Senate election and the power of grassroots organizing Black leadership and "Southern People Power"

#### **Project South**

There will be countless opinion polls and number crunching about why and how it happened that Roy Moore was defeated in Alabama last night. But just like last year, crucial lessons will be missed unless we take the long view

#### The Ordinary Peoples Society

Pastor Kenneth Glasgow, Director of The Ordinary Peoples Society (TOPS), has worked tirelessly for over 15 years to pass legislation and win lawsuits so that people with felony convictions could vote. Those efforts also meant that people with misdemeanors and felonies and those who sit in jails because of criminalization and poverty could vote from INSIDE the prison system. Only two other states in the US allow that (Maine and Vermont). Over the last month, Glasgow registered 5,000 people in 22 jails and 10 prisons: he worked the streets, he ensured that absentee ballots were distributed, he organized vans and carloads to get voters to the polls. When two guys didn't have drivers' licenses, he drove them back to the prisons they were caged in, got Xerox copies of their mug shots, and used those as "state-issued photo ID" at the polling station so the men could vote.

TOPS and Project South have been rolling together since 2005 when we first met at a BAM (Building A Movement) Organizing Retreat. Pastor Glasgow told us, "All this week, every lesson from the BAM trainings was coming back to me. Y'all said that it's not a true win unless everyone feels like they're a part of it. Everyone feels like they made this happen. Because we did."

## SNCC voter registration and the Freedom Organization

Before Democrats were considered any kind of win in the South, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization was launched by SNCC in 1965 to register Black voters and elect Black people as independents into critical political positions. The original Black Panther was part of the ballot in

Lowndes County, an animal that only attacks to defend itself, Dr. Gwen Patton, Project South founder, told us. Project South was founded in 1986 in Epes, Alabama during the fight when Reagan era rollbacks led to direct attacks on vot-

ing rights gains made during the sixties and seventies. US Attorney Jeff Sessions, then occupying the very seat that was replaced in December, arrested Black elected officials on false charges of voter fraud. He was defeated that time as well.

### The legacy of the Southern Freedom Movement

In 2012, we regenerated the spirit and legacy of the Southern Freedom Movement. On the grounds of 1965's Tent City in Lowndes County SNCC veterans Gwen Patton and Scotty B addressed the young, multiracial, multi-generational crowd, going over the lessons of self-defense, grassroots organizing, and independent political power.

#### Lessons to take from this moment: Leadership Development is required.

Leadership development is not a onetime training but a multi-year, strategic support system that builds political leadership, organizational scope, and cross-issue, cross-community relationships that strengthen the whole. Pastor Glasgow cites the BAM and the Southern Movement Assembly as the places he learned how to work with LGBTQ communities, Latino immigrants, and all religious affiliations to build a stronger united front.

#### Invest in long-term infrastructure.

Social movement infrastructure is what prepares us for flashpoint moments

"' Y'all said that it's not a true win unless everyone feels like they're a part of it. Everyone feels like they made this happen. Because we did."

like this and carries us through and beyond the media blitz. Pastor Glasgow and TOPS fed over 300 people two hot meals starting the day after the election, and for the next 100 days. TOPS will continue to register over 200,000 potential voters stuck inside prisons and jails who ar eligible to vote in the 2018 primaries and November midterms. That work needs support—unrestricted, general operating support.

#### Free the airwaves.

Communications infrastructure in the South exists through Black and community-owned radio stations, small town papers, and a digital presence that is a counter-strategy to Right Wing messaging that bombards our communities. TOPS' LPFM radio station in Dothan, WKCG, was started a few years ago. It reaches all of Houston County and beyond. Resources are required to coordinate, support, develop and share high-quality content, and increase amplification beyond state and regional borders.

#### The ground is our power.

These parties and candidates are not the focal point. How we build #SouthernPeoplesPower over the next year will be measured not only in election wins and losses. It will also be measured in how we hold and gain ground for our people to exercise power on daily issues of survival to municipal and education fights to flipping seats of judges, DAs and sheriffs. Local leadership will guide and win those battles.

There are no national groups who have relationships with every warden in every jail in Alabama. There are local leaders who know how to navigate the churches, the jails, the nuances of a fragmented and contested ground like Alabama. Local leadership knows how to move and how to win. Local leadership in the South also knows how to move with losses so that we keep moving forward towards much

larger wins for all people.

The lessons from Alabama are about trusting Black leadership and leadership in the South. The lessons are about a long history of structural racism, intimate violence, and power. The South was not surprised

by Moore's riding into the polls on a horse. The South was not surprised by Trump last year because there are many Trumps and a growing number of armed, emboldened racists in our region (and all regions in this country).

But today we are emboldened. We are victorious, not because we slimmed a Senate majority or there's a new Democrat on the scene, but because movements are alive and rising in the South. We came together. We fought back. We are stronger together, and we won a battle last night in a long fight for fundamental systemic transformation to achieve racial, social, and economic justice.

Project South: Institute for the Elimination of Genocide and Poverty is a Southern-based leadership development organization that has been working with communities pushed forward by the struggle for over 30 years, to strengthen leadership and to provide popular political and economic education for personal and social transformation. Contact them at https://projectsouth.org.

# **Arctic National Wildlife Refuge**

from page 1

economic advantages and jobs that drilling could bring to the area, while others have voiced concern about the potential for oil-related environmental disasters. Both camps have claimed the support of the majority of the tribe and no official opinion- polling data

exists to corroborate either claim.

# Dangers to the ecosystem

Thirty-seven leading Alaskan wildlife biologists are campaigning against drilling. They have warned

Alaska's politicians of the significant dangers oil development could pose to the ecosystem. Former Alaska Department of Fish and Game biologist John Schoen describes the ANWR as "one the last significant wilderness areas left in the United States, if not North America." The Refuge is home to over 200 species of birds as well as moose, arctic foxes, wolves, and polar bears, many of which are endangered.

# Why was drilling in Section 1002 included in the Tax Bill?

It is widely accepted that the opening of Section 1002 to drilling was included in the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act to secure the vote of Alaska Republican Senator Lisa Murkowski. Murkowski broke from the majority of the Republican Party when she voted against repealing the Affordable Care Act earlier this year. She followed that by airing

hesitations about supporting her party's tax bill.

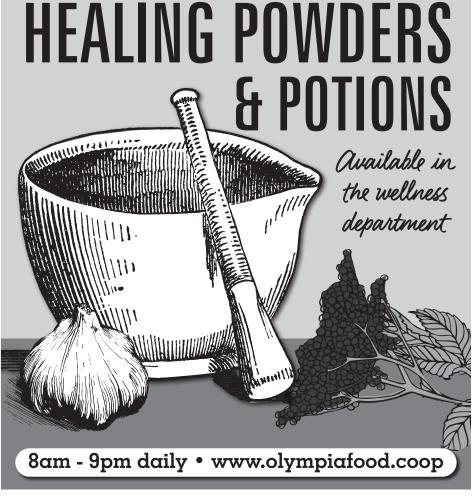
Republican senators McCain, Corker, Collins and Lee also suggested that they were uncertain about voting "yes." Since Republicans have only a

52-48 majority in the Senate, finding a concession that would secure Murkowski's vote was crucial. Murkowski has long been in favor of drilling in the ANWR. The Senate Energy

and Natural Resources Committee, which Murkowski chairs, soon moved by a vote of 13-10 to add an oil drilling provision to the bill.

#### The politics of "cost-covering"

After the congressional Joint Committee on Taxation reported that the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act would add at least a trillion dollars to the national deficit by 2027, cost-covering measures had to be found to maintain the Bill's viability. The bill's advocates claim that projected tax revenue arising from new oil production in ANWR's Section 1002 will contribute 1.1 billion dollars to the US Treasury in ten years. It's not clear that this claim is realistic. What is clear, however, is the threat that oil drilling in the ANWR poses to the environment and to the health and safety of local people.



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# **Punishing dissent**

#### **Emily Lardner**

"It's often said of the Trump era that the Republic has drifted into uncharted waters, but the more damning estimation is that we are mindlessly revisiting some of the darker regions of our historical map." Jelani Cobb

Jelani Cobb's December 2017 article in the New Yorker Magazine compares this era with one a hundred years ago,

soon after the founding of the FBI, when that agency was, Cobb writes, "obsessed over all manner of 'radicals,' but particularly those African-Americans whose meekest protests of racism were regarded as subversion. African-American news-

papers that reported on lynchings were deemed destructive to wartime morale, and the Post Office threatened seizure of subscription copies. This narrowing of free expression had wide-ranging implications, especially for civil-rights organizations and activ-

Cobb goes on to compare the 1919 Military Intelligence Document titled "Final Report on Negro Subversion" which portrayed the civil-rights movement as "potentially Bolshevikinspired" and suggested that black discontent "might easily turn into support for Communism" with the August 2017 F.B.I. report titled Black Identity Extremists Likely Motivated to Target Law Enforcement Officers. When Attorney General Jeff Sessions appeared before the House Judiciary Committee to testify about potential contacts between the Trump campaign and representatives of the Russian government, Representative Karen Bass (CA) asked Sessions about the report. Sessions replied that he hadn't read it, but he supported its argument.

Mon-Fri @ 9am Mon-Fri @ 3pm Tuesdays @ 5:30pm FREE SPEECH Mon-Fri @ 5pm KAOSRADIO.ORG The 2017 FBI report constructs the category of "black identity extremists"-a mythological category that will, based on history, have material consequences for black people in the US. While Sessions worries about the rise of this phantom group, better thinkers are mindful of facts about domestic terrorism. In a report issued in April 2017, the Government Accountability Office noted that since September 12, 2001,

Local and state lobbying to criminalize and prosecute pipeline activists just got easier.

> "fatalities resulting from attacks by far right-wing violent extremists have exceeded those caused by radical Islamist violent extremists in 10 of the 15 years, and were the same in 3 of the years since September 12, 2001. Of the 85 extremist violent incidents that resulted in death since September 12, 2001 far right-wing violent extremist groups were responsible for 62 (73 percent) while radical Islamist violent extremists were responsible for 23 (27 percent)."

#### Silencing climate activists

Racism, and specifically the repression of Black Lives Matter activists is alive and well and supported by the Trump administration. So too, is the repression of activists aiming to slow and even halt the ongoing production and use of fossil fuels.

In an October 23, 2017 letter to Jeff Sessions, 84 members of Congress (all but 4 of them Republicans, and all of them beholden to oil and gas companies for election contributions) asked the DOJ to address four questions:

- ▶ Do existing federal statutes, including the Patriot Act and Pipeline Safety Act, adequately arm DOJ to prosecute criminal activity against energy infrastructure at the federal
- ▶ Has the DOJ taken any prosecutorial or investigative actions against those involved with the highly publicized October 11, 2016, attempted sabotage of four major crude oil pipelines in multiple states? If not, please explain the DOJ's reasoning for not pursuing this case.
- ▶ Does the DOJ intend to pursue prosecutorial or investigative action against of any individuals who knowingly and willfully damaged or destroyed interstate or international pipeline infrastructure?
- Do the attacks against the nation's energy infrastructure, which pose a threat to human life, and appear to be intended to intimidate and coerce policy changes, fall within the DOJ's understanding of 18 U.S.C. Section 2331 (5)?

Section 2331 (5) defines domestic terrorism. "Terrorist" and "ecoterrorist" were terms used by the prosecutors in the North Dakota trial of valve turner Michael Foster and Sam Jessup, who attempted to live stream that action. Both men will be sentenced in February for felony and misdemeanor convictions related to the action.

#### History repeats itself: corporateinduced silence

At the same time the newly formed FBI was investigating black activists, they were also investigating labor organizers. In new book called Red Baiting and the Birth of Modern Conservatism, Kathryn Olmstead argues that two key things contributed to the demise of the New Deal and the rise of conservatism. First, business leaders lobbied hard at state and local levels to outlaw picketing and imprison

union leaders. Second, they worked in a concerted way to persuade the public that "labor organizers were part of an extensive Communist conspiracy to overthrow capitalism" and

[or substitute the appropriate State equivalent thereof]} for a term of {length of time}, or by both such fine and imprisonment."

- "Any person who shall willfully damage, destroy, vandalize, deface or tamper with equipment in a critical infrastructure facility shall, upon conviction, be guilty of a felony punishable by a fine of {dollar figure}, or by imprisonment in the custody of the {Department of Corrections [or substitute the appropriate State equivalent thereof]} for a term or not more than {length of time}, or by both such fine and imprisonment."
- ▶ "If any organization is found to be a conspirator with persons who are found to have committed any of the crimes described in subsection A or B of this section, the conspiring organization shall be punished by a fine that is {number} times the amount of said fine authorized by the appropriate provision of this

The valve turners in ND were charged with conspiracy, a term defined for the jury as knowing about and not stopping. Under ALEC's model policy, any organization that knew acts of civil disobedience or other forms of protest were planned and didn't try to stop them could be fined.

#### Washington state's chilling dissent bill still pending

Senator Doug Ericksen (R-Whatcom County), short-term employee of the Trump administration--long-time advocate for the gas and oil industry and, according to Sightline.com, a major beneficiary of campaign contributions from those industries, put forth his Preventing Economic Disruption Act (PEDA) last year. The bill didn't get out of committee, but Ericksen filed to have the bill stay on the docket for the upcoming legislative session.

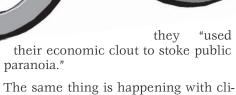
Ericksen's PEDA demonstrates a current version of stoking paranoia and fighting communism. Here's the official summary of the bill: "The Legislature recognizes and supports the ability of individuals to exercise their rights of free speech, press, and peaceful assembly. A prosecuting attorney may file a special allegation alleging that a person committed a criminal offense to cause economic disruption. If the defendant is convicted of the underlying criminal offense and the court finds, by a preponderance of the evidence, that the offense was committed to cause economic disruption, the following mandatory periods of total confinement are added to the underlying sentence...'

The real rhetorical hook comes in the definition of economic disruption, which includes committing a crime to influence the policy of a government:

mit a crime intending to: influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion by obstructing, hindering, or delaying the passage of any train, truck, car, ship, boat, aircraft, or other vehicle or vessel engaged in the carriage, hauling, transport, shipment, or delivery of goods, cargo, freight, or other item, in commerce; or interfere with, tamper with, damage, or obstruct any pipeline facility, bulk oil terminal, marine terminal, tank car, waterborne vessel or barge, or power plant."

Jelani Cobb is right. This administration isn't clueless. Where I differ from Cobb's analysis, however, is that based on the evidence we have, the journey back into the parts of our historical map where the rights of capital ascended and dissenters were fined and imprisoned is deliberate.

*Emily Lardner is a regular contributor to* Works in Progress



mate activists. In a blog post on the site Desmog, Steven Horn documents collaboration between oil and gas companies and members of Congress responsible for the letter to Jeff Sessions. Horn's article includes an extensive set of links-for example, a May 2017 letter from the American Petroleum Institute to Kevin Blanco, Acting Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, US Department of Justice. The letter essentially previews the case made in the October letter to the DOJ, and links to a new database called the Energy Infrastructure Incident Reporting Center, sponsored by the Energy Equipment and Infrastructure Alliance (EEIA), which according to the EEIA website, is "dedicated to tracking and exposing attacks on critical energy infrastructure."

# Ratcheting up the pressure: enter

Local and state lobbying to criminalize and prosecute pipeline activists just got easier. The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), which drafts and circulates sample legislation for conservatives, released its version of the "Critical Infrastructure Protection Act," a model policy, on December 7, 2017. After defining critical infrastructure in very broad terms, the model policy moves into punish- "Economic disruption means to com-

For trespassing or entering a critical infrastructure facility without permission, a misdemeanor punishable by a fine, jail time, or both. If it is determined that "the intent of the trespasser is to willfully damage, destroy, vandalize, deface, tamper with equipment, or impede or inhibit operations of the facility, the person shall, upon conviction, be guilty of a felony punishable by a fine of not less than {dollar figure}, or by imprisonment in the custody of the {Department of Corrections



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# Lessons on the anniversary of the Greensboro Massacre

#### Flint Taylor

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Thirty-eight years ago, on November 3, 1979, 35 heavily armed members of the Ku Klux Klan and American Nazi Party drove nine vehicles through the city of Greensboro, North Carolina, and opened fire on a multiracial group of demonstrators who were gathering at a Black housing project in preparation for an anti-Klan march. In the most deadly 88 seconds in the history of the city, the KKK and Nazi marauders fired over 1,000 projectiles with shotguns, semi-automatic rifles and pistols, leaving five of the march leaders dead and seven other demonstrators wounded. Most of the victims were associated with the Communist Workers Party (CWP) -- a militant, multiracial organization which had been organizing in the South against the Klan.

The Greensboro police, the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (ATF) were all aware of the plan to attack the march. However, no law enforcement officials were present except for a police informant-provocateur, Edward Dawson, who led the caravan into the housing project, and his control agent, Jerry "Rooster" Cooper, a Greensboro intelligence detective who followed the caravan and reported on its progress to the Greensboro police. Four television crews were on hand and captured the attack on video

Greensboro's official position was that the CWP had sought a confrontation with the Klan and were responsible for the "shootout." The city declared a state of emergency in response to the funeral march and quickly issued a report absolving its police department of any blame.

Out of the violence emerged the Greensboro Justice Fund, which was organized by the widows of the victims and was supported by many organizations and people across North Carolina and the country. The public outcry and the shocking video tape evidence helped compel the reluctant local district attorney to obtain indictments against six of the Klan and Nazi members on murder charges.

The six-month-long murder trial began in the summer of 1980, with the chief prosecutor making anti-communist remarks to an all-white jury. The lawyers for the Nazi and Klan defendants used every emotional weapon at their disposal - anti-communism, racism and patriotism, wrapped around a

self-defense claim. The jury acquitted all six defendants.

The acquittal fanned the flames of outrage. The decidedly unsympathetic Reagan Department of Justice originally resisted this pressure, but finally, in March of 1982, the DOJ convened a special grand jury, and, a year later, obtained civil rights conspiracy indictments against nine Klansmen and Nazis. This trial began in January of 1984. The jury was secretly selected and was again, all white. The Klan and Nazi lawyers argued that their clients' motivation was patriotic anticommunism rather than racism. acquitted all of the defendants.

On the first anniversary of the massacre, the Greensboro Justice Fund had filed a civil rights suit on behalf of the 16 victims. As plaintiffs, the victims alleged a broad-based conspiracy by the Nazi and Klan defendants under

the 1871 anti-Klan Act, which provided victims of racially motivated conspiracies the right to sue the conspirators for money damages. They also alleged that the law enforcement and informant-provocateur defendants officially encouraged and participated in the conspiracy, and that they conspired to cover up their involvement. Their complaint also incorporated newly revealed information that informantprovocateur Dawson had obtained the demonstrators' march plans from the Greensboro police and used them to plot the attack, and that ATF undercover agent Bernard Butkovich had infiltrated the Nazis and had encouraged them to bring weapons to Greensboro.

As the civil suit proceeded, the depth and contours of official involvement became even clearer, revealing that Dawson had also been a longtime FBI agent provocateur in the Klan and had encouraged other acts of violence by his longtime associate, Grand Dragon Virgil Griffin, with whom he planned the November 3 attack. It was also revealed that Dawson had not only been acting with the knowledge of the Greensboro police in planning the attack, but had also informed his FBI contact that violence was likely on November 3, and that Greensboro police had been informed that the Klan was coming to Greensboro with a machine gun "to shoot up the place."

This newly discovered evidence also showed ATF provocateur Butkovich had informed his superiors of the Na-

zis' plan for violence and of their possession of several high-powered weapons, and that Klansman Jerry Paul Smith had bragged at the Nazi planning meeting on November 1 that he had manufactured a pipe bomb that "could work good thrown into a crowd of n\*\*\*\*\*s." Butkovich's testimony further showed that his encouragement of violence was pursuant to ATF policy and with his superior's advice and consent.

The civil rights case went to trial in March of 1985. The judge examined more than 300 potential jurors. Most of the prospective white jurors exhibited a great degree of racism, anticommunism and tolerance for the Klan, so the judge was compelled to disqualify more than 250 jurors. Consequently, the selected jury included a Black man who had participated in civil rights demonstrations, and had boldly said in voir dire that he "can't respect any man who has to hide his face to express his beliefs."

The 10-week civil trial had numerous moments of high drama, as the victims presented their case of conspiracy, back dropped by the news video that chillingly showed the murderous attack. One of the most dramatic scenes came late in the trial. The victims' lawthe New York Times editorializing that "the recompense for the victims may be limited as well as late, but this is no time to complain about inadequate justice. The criminal acquittals set back American principles of law and civil rights; the civil verdict goes a long way to reassert them." Appropriately, a picture of the plaintiffs walking triumphantly out of the courtroom with their hands clasped together over their heads ran on the front page of the Sunday Greensboro News and Record. The verdict placed the Greensboro massacre in the long-running historical context of racist Klan violence that was all too often fomented by FBI and police provocateurs, and countenanced by law enforcement officials who would make themselves conveniently absent.

Now, in the era of Trump and a white supremacist resurgence, the lessons taught by the Greensboro case are particularly important to remember. The Charlottesville case is a prime example of this history repeating itself -- the coming together of emboldened white supremacist organizations, heavily armed and looking to engage in deadly violence; a militant opposition to those organizations; and law enforcement agencies conveniently enabling the white supremacists and

> looking the other way while they wreak their bloody and murderous terrorism. The reactions of Attorney General Jeffrey Beauregard Sessions and President Donald Trump to Charlottesville foreshadow an official response that may well make the DOJ's response in Greensboro look tame

by comparison -- they have already started to blame the victims and promise an aggressive investigation of the counterdemonstrators.

This response is in keeping with the tenor of this administration, under which white supremacy is finding full-throated encouragement and official protection in the halls of power. Whether it be the Muslim ban, taking the "gloves off" local police, targeting "Black Identity Extremists" [1] -a move that smacks of the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO program—defending Confederate symbols of slavery, or moving to reinstate draconian sentencing laws, the dog whistle of officially countenanced racism has been supplanted by an overt ideology of white supremacy.

That being said, Greensboro offers other, more positive lessons as well. Not only did courageous militants oppose the resurgence of white supremacy in North Carolina, they refused to be silenced even after five of their brothers and sisters were murdered and many others were injured and terrorized. Instead, they came together with other progressive activists, lawyers, legal workers and journalists to successfully change the official Greensboro narrative; to fight for some modicum of justice; to continue to oppose white supremacy; and to take on the governmental leaders and agencies who enabled, encouraged and covered up the wanton white supremacist violence.

On the anniversary of the Greensboro Massacre, let us remember the work of these brave activists, and let us draw strength from them as we move forward in the current repressive political climate to continue the crucial fight for racial justice. G. Flint Taylor, a founding partner of the People's Law Office in Chicago, has been counsel in numerous important civil rights cases over the past 48 years, including the Fred Hampton assassination case, the Ion Burge torture cases and the Greensboro civil case.

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After a threemonth trial, the jury The reactions of Attorney General Jeffrey **Beauregard Sessions and President Donald Trump to Charlottesville** foreshadow an official response that may well make the DOJ's response in Greensboro look tame by comparison

> vers called victim Paul Bermazohn to the stand. He told of his background as the son of Holocaust survivors, his role in organizing the "Death to the Klan" rally, and how he was shot in the head. Next was Roland Wayne Wood, who was one of the main shooters. He was confronted with some of his prior anti-Communist and anti-Semitic statements, his previous wearing of a "Eat lead you lousy Red" tee-shirt to court, a Nazi song that included the chilling refrain "kill a Commie for Christ," and the five white skulls that he had pinned to his lapel. His denial that the skulls represented the five slain demonstrators rung coldly hollow.

> On June 7, 1985, the jury returned a compromise verdict. After nearly six years and three trials, a southern jury had finally convicted a good number of the main actors in the November 3 massacre and had found a conspiracy between police officials, their provocateur, and several of the Klan and Nazi killers. An intense six-year struggle -waged by the widows, the families, the survivors and numerous political, religious and community organizations, and prosecuted by people's lawyers, law students and paralegals -- had resulted in a seldom seen victory against the Klan and the police. The Klan could no longer claim, as they had previously, that November 3 stood for the principle that they could kill Black people and communists with complete immunity.

The verdict was national news, with

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# Olympia fracking blockade: Indigenous peoples speak out

#### Mitchell Verter

On November 18, 2017 activists in Olympia, Washington erected a blockade to halt trains delivering chemicals to the oil fracking fields along the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL), the epicenter for last year's struggles at Standing Rock. The encampment lasted for twelve days until a heavily armed police force dislodged it.

In order to prepare for this protest, activists listened to the voices of indigenous people, for they are the most threatened by the fossil fuel industry's extraction of life-energy from the earth.

#### Mni Wiconi

Many protesters define their indigenous identities not simply through tribal affiliation, but also as how their people have lived in harmony with nature throughout generations. This awareness is what fuels the Lakota cry Mni Wiconi, "Water is Life." This slogan announces how water provides the irrigation for life; how air provides the inspiration of life; how the earth provides soil for growing life - and, most gravely, how we humans can choose whether the energy that fuels life will be sustainable or will poison water, air and earth.

#### "Our lands and waters are filled with toxic waste"

The environmental impact of the fossil fuel industry has been felt throughout Washington State, particularly in indigenous communi ties who have struggled against exploitation of the land since the Eu Puyallup ropean invasion. For PORT OF example, the 1855 Point TACOMA Elliot Treaty granted natives of March Point Quin rights to hunt, fish, and harvest on the entire

land, but this agreement was broken by an illegal government seizure that allowed indus-

tries to despoil nature.

The family of Michael Vendiola, an enrolled member of the Swinomish tribe, has suffered directly from this exploitation. The Swinomish are a "water people" who have traditionally sustained their communities by living off the natural resources provided by the land and the "magic" Skagit River. Vendiola's father provided for his family and his community by gardening in his yard, trapping crabs in the bay,

Vendiola explains just how this has changed: "Our lands and waters are filled with toxic waste." Washington State authorities allowed Texaco and Shell to build oil refineries. These refineries have polluted the land and water so badly that the town has forbidden harvesting of shellfish.

#### "It is going to poison all of my people"

The fossil fuel industry's destruction of the earth and water has intensified due to its recent innovation of fracking. Rather than pumping oil from liquid wells, fracking drills down to strata

of oil-rich earth, and then cracks open the earth at that depth, creating fissures A mixture of chemicals, proppants, are used to keep open these cracks.

As with previous resource extraction and natural exploitation, much fracking

occurs on the lands of natives, who are again displaced from their traditional habitats and exposed to a variety of industrial contaminants. Benita Moore, the founder of Native Daily Network and a member of the Standing Rock Sioux, warns, "It is going to poison all of my people." Less than a year after the US government uprooted protesters at Standing Rock, a rupture in the Keystone Access Pipeline leaked over 200,000 gallons of oil nearby in South

moreover; I feel a responsibility to my grandchildren and the next seven generations to stand up to the economic machinery propped up by the government, specifically the Port of Olympia, in perpetuating the warming of this planet and the poisoning of water, essential to life. We call ourselves Water Protectors and we were especially inspired by the courageous stand taken at Standing Rock during DAPL. We in-

Washington State authorities allowed from which the oil can flow. Texaco and Shell to build oil refineries that have polluted the lands and waters so badly that the town has

> sist the Port of Olympia's forced complicity in propping up dirty hydraulic fracturing in North Dakota that these proppants support."

#### "Heal the women, heal the world"

The despoliation of earth by fracking has also objectified and dehumanized indigenous women, the traditional protectors of the earth.

> Earth-Feather Sovereign, member of the Okanogan and Sanpoil bands of the Colville Confederated Tribes and the founder of the Indigenous Women's rior Society, explains that blocking the trains halts the patriarchal colonial violence perpetuated against indigenous women. "Indigenous women and chil-

dren are trafficked through these mining places, these fracking places. This is a war on our native women, the backbone of our nation: indigenous women are murdered and children are kidnapped and sold as sex slaves."

The spread of the fracking industry has led to economic booms in the Dakotas and elsewhere, providing transient employment to mostly men who are housed in oil company trailers. Around these "man camps" have formed sex trafficking rings to provide these exploited men with women to exploit. Native women and girls as young as ten are abducted from surrounding reservations by men who befriend and groom them for a brutal life of sex slavery.

Earth-Feather explains that this attack on women is also an attack on the earth. "We give birth to the next seven generations. If there are no more women, there will be no more indigenous people of the land. Then [the oil companies] will be able to do whatever they want with the land." We must choose whether we will allow corporations to defile nature and to rape native women or whether we will instead create a world of nurturance and care." She affirms, "Native women are the most oppressed members of our society. If we help them to heal, everyone can heal."

#### "Those who fight against the industrial mega-machine"

The Olympia 2017 blockade of trains bringing proppants from the docks of the Puget Sound to the Dakota Access

Pipeline celebrated the anniversary week of last year's blockade, which lasted seven days until it was broken up by fierce street fighting with the police.

Published by members of this year's encampment, The Olympia Communard declares, "We wish to send greetings and express solidarity with Indigenous resistance to capitalist expansion across Turtle Island ... we wish to acknowledge and honor those whose land we currently fight on and those who fight against the industrial mega-machine alongside us." In addition to supporting the native protectors of the earth, the occupation created new forms of association based upon mutual aid and mutual care.

#### "I don't feel worthless here"

Alongside the Nisqually, Squaxin, and other descendants of the 1854 Medicine Creek Treaty tribes, Olympia contains at least one other indigenous band: a shifting population of houseless inhabitants who

roam the city streets, watching out for each other. Many of them are sustained by Rosie's Place, a center that provides services for youth, as well as by anarcho-communist initiatives such as Food Not Bombs and The Emma Goldman Youth Outreach Proj-

These houseless inhabitants held the encampment together with their consistent presence, sleeping under the tarps and warming themselves by the fire every night. Houseless persons cleaned the camp, did construction, stood watch, greeted newcomers, and performed the tasks necessary to keep the occupation going. Given this sense of purpose and belonging, one houseless resident remarked, "I don't feel worthless here." Mutual aid kept the camp supplied with tents, mattresses, socks, pizzas, tobacco and other necessities and luxuries.

Dubbing these houseless persons the "Romeo Crew," one of their poets, Starchild, declared, "I've never seen something like this, something that could bring everyone together like that. When I came to Olympia this summer, everyone was closed up to each other. At the blockade, everyone shared freely. It really opened up my

#### "Against all of this globalist, neocapitalist, neoliberal bullshit"

On November 29, a sizable police force massed to uproot the camp. A little after 4:30 a.m., police gathered on the highways and at the capitol. Undercover police waited downtown in cars, bike police patrolled the alleyways, two Cessnas and a helicopter hovered above, a tank mounted by a pepper ball gun stood ready to poison and pacify the population, and a phalanx of armored SUVs populated by SWAT Teams, bomb squads and police brandishing AR15s surrounded the tank. The camp had already been alerted by discerning scouts to the impending invasion, and all occupants were able to exit successfully, with no arrests or injuries.

Although they were dislodged from the train tracks, protesters vow to continue the struggle to protect the earth and to create new possibilities for living. One organizer asserts: "There will be continued action against all this globalist, neo-capitalist, neoliberal bullshit. We will continue to force the fossil fuel infrastructure out of Washington State. We will continue to build solidarity with our indigenous allies and with the houseless of Olympia. We will continue to build a new and better world for everyone."

Mitchell Verter is the author of "Dreams of Freedom: A Ricardo Flores Magon Reader" (AK Press: 2006)

# forbidden harvesting of shellfish digenous peoples came together with our allies here at Olympia Stand to re-

STOP OUR PORT'S COMPLICITY LOVE WATER, NOT OIL IN OIL FRACKING FERNDALE PORT OF

> Dakota, contaminating the land, the water, and the atmosphere.

#### "Our planet is on fire"

Indigenous protesters consider themselves the original stewards of the land, a responsibility that connects them to their ancestors and their descendants, as well as to other indigenous caretak-

Kyle Taylor Lucas, an enrolled member of the Tulalip Tribes (USA) and the Nlaka'pamux First Nation (Canada), speaks eloquently on the importance of the Olympia Port Blockade. "This struggle is important because our planet is on fire. As an indigenous woman, I feel a duty to honor my elders and the legacy of my ancestors in caring for this mother earth - and,

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# The jungle

From page 1

We call upon all parties, and the larger community, to seize this opportunity to move forward together in a manner that will enable all of us to look back upon our efforts with a shared sense that we rose to the challenge, that our efforts enhanced our sense of community, and that all parties felt they had been treated with profound dignity and respect in the process.

### We invite you to work with us in this important effort!

Check the Just Housing FB page https://www.facebook.com/JustHousingOly/ for updates, meeting times and locations, upcoming actions, and information about how you can support our houseless community members. You can also donate to Just Housing online at https://paypal.me/justhousing.

Signed by Just Housing, a local advocacy group made up of houseless community members and housed allies. Contact Just Housing at justhousingolympia@gmail.com.

# The Jingle of Hopea collaborative community cleanup

Between 50 and 60 volunteers participated in the weekend effort on December 16-17 to support Jungle residents who have been working under extremely adverse conditions to remove shopping carts and garbage from the woods, much of it accumulated over many years. Originally the brainstorm of a Jungle resident, this event was co-organized by the United Love in Action Coalition, the Socialist Party USA, and Just Housing, with the support of numerous other community groups and individuals.

Housed volunteers and Jungle residents returned over 150 shopping carts to their respective stores of

origin, and removed 16,520 pounds of garbage from the woods (that's 8.26 tons), one wheel barrow or gorilla cart at a time.

Many thanks to the Pacific Avenue property owner for permitting us to use the old Desire Video parking lot as a staging area; the Martin Way property owners for expressing their support; Yelm Safeway for donating bottled water and cookies; Albertson's for donating two days of Starbucks coffee and cups; Mullinax Ford on Pacific Avenue for letting us use their public bathrooms during the cleanup; GRuB for loaning us their indispensable wheelbarrows; and Our Revolution for loaning us their canopy and tables.

Finally, our heartfelt appreciation to the many community members who donated their time and over \$1,800 to make this event possible!

One Jungle resident summed up the weekend by explaining that most Jungle residents were initially quite nervous and skeptical of the idea of a bunch of outsiders coming into the woods to clean up other people's garbage. Why would they do this? By the end of the weekend, many residents were feeling inspired enough by both the high level of visible community support and the significant improvement of conditions in the woods to ask, "When can we do this again?" What a transformation from feeling otherized by the city as an unwanted social burden to having a sense of agency and ownership over one's immediate living space and a sense of genuine support from community allies.

# Anti-gentrification resistance: Rent-control, public space and houselessness

Robert Gorrill

Anti-gentrification movements exist in a multitude of forms in most cities across the US.

While these movements have been unable to stop the decline in the quantity of rent-controlled dwellings, they have slowed it. In cities with a history of strong tenant movements like New York and San Francisco, anti-gentrification battles have been fought to preserve existing regulations, most notably rent control. In New York, nearly one million apartments are rent stabilized; and due to grassroots pressure, the Rent Guidelines Board in 2015 made the rare decision to ban rent increases on many stabilized apartments for the next 2 years. In the minority of states where municipalities can legally enact rent control, the movement has soared. Richmond, CA has recently imposed rent controls, and organizers in cities from Chicago to Long Beach, CA to Providence, RI are campaigning for rent control..

# Linking anti-gentrification and houselessness

In Seattle, a new coalition called Housing For All/Stop the Sweeps has formed with two demands: end the city and police sweeps of houseless camps; and build 24,000 units of affordable housing. In New York City, the group Brookiyn Anti-Gentrincation Network organizes protests linking racism and police violence to gentrification. "Springfield No One Leaves" in Springfield MA, prevents the eviction of foreclosed homes by occupying banks and blockading evictions. "Homes Not Jails" in San Francisco has organized covert squats that directly house people, and engaged in public protest squats in vacant public housing units. The Boston Displacement Mapping Project is an educational tool collecting data on the eviction and housing crisis in Boston.

Some of the most important and explosive examples of anti-gentrification resistance have occurred in the realm of public space. During the Tompkins Square riots in New York in 1988, an eclectic grouping of houseless people, punks, squatters, radicals and neighborhood youth confronted police after the city government attempted to enact a curfew in Tompkins Square. After the riots, the city backed off, and

the curfew was not enforced until years later. Recent years have seen a spike in houseless solidarity organizing. In Berkeley, organizers with "First They Came for the Homeless" have been organizing protest encampments throughout the city. Across the bay, San Francisco's Coalition on Homelessness organized demonstrations with others during the 2016 Super Bowl highlighting its role in contribut-

Downtown Olympia is currently host to various "market-rate" (luxury) housing developments. The 1-2-3 4th Project at 4th/Columbia St. and the 321 Lofts at Legion/Adams are completed. 2017-2018 promises to see massive redevelopment with the construction of nearly 100 units of market-rate housing on an empty lot on State Ave. and the conversion of the Mistake-on-the-Lake to almost 150 units of market-



ing to displacement and criminalization of houseless people.

# Gentrification in Olympia: public space and luxury development

Gentrification is currently concentrated in downtown Olympia, though rents are increasing throughout the city. In downtown, there is little rental housing and a large houseless population. Thus, criminalizing houselessness and policing public space are fundamental to gentrification in Olympia. Multiple city ordinances ban or limit public camping, loitering and sleeping in cars. Public bathrooms are inadequate and often close by 8 or 9 pm. Public benches are routinely removed or fitted with dividers to prevent people sleeping on them. This winter, the government will not open its Warming Center, which has been a vital resource for houseless people. In this context it is crucial to organize on the terrain of public space in Olympia, and to see that struggles over public bathroom access, or against the removal of a park bench, are as essential as organizing to stop evictions or rent increases.

rate housing, known as the "Viewson-Fifth" project. Developers Walker John (a Thurston Co. resident who also built the 321 Lofts) and Ken Brogan are responsible for these projects, respectively. These developments increase property values, and with them rents and prices, leading to displacement and the shuttering of local businesses. Currently there is little organized opposition to luxury development, and less that is informed by a radical critique of gentrification.

#### Solidarity organizing in Olympia

Currently, much of the resistance to gentrification in Olympia is expressed through houseless solidarity organizing. During the past year, the group Just Housing has made a name for itself with its tireless advocacy and innovative direct action tactics. Just Housing has occupied public bathrooms to protest early closures; shut down the OlyFed bank after they evicted houseless campers on their property; disrupted City Council meetings and city hall functions and staged perhaps two dozen "camp-ins" on city property in opposition to the camping ban. Just Housing also engages in advocacy, such as City Council speak-outs and writing letters-to-the-editor, which, while unable to obstruct the operation of institutions in the way that direct action can, is useful in reaching a broader base of supporters.

The recently re-formed Olympia Solidarity Network (OlySol) also seeks to confront gentrification and the housing crisis by organizing direct action campaigns with tenants against landlords' greed and abuse. OlySol could fight rent hikes or unmet repair needs by picketing a landlord's home, occupying a landlord's office, distributing flyers discouraging prospective tenants from renting from a particular landlord or by destroying a landlord's online reviews. OlySol's current campaign is demanding that a property management company return a stolen deposit to a former tenant.

Although little resistance to luxury development currently exists, Olympia Assembly has taken the lead in organizing against the luxury redevelopment of Mistake-on-the-Lake. Thus far a range of educational, advocacy and direct action tactics have been deployed or discussed, including antigentrification workshops and poster campaigns, City Council speak-outs or protests like shutting down city meetings where building permits are issued, or occupying project construction sites.

# To get involved, reach out to one of the following groups:

**Just Housing** 

Weekly Meeting: Monday 3-5PM United Churches 110 11th Ave SE, Olympia

Facebook: facebook.com/JustHousingOly

Email: Justhousingoly@gmail.com

#### Olympia Solidarity Network:

Email: olysolidarity@gmail.com Facebook: facebook.com/olympiahousingsolidarity

#### Olympia Assembly Email: '@gmail.com

Facebook: facebook.com/olyassembly

Robert Gorrill is active with several housing justice groups and projects in Olympia. This essay is the second part of an essay published in WIP's December issue entitled "Causes and mechanisms of gentrification—a process inherent to capitalism."

# America and the prisons we inhabit

#### **Enrique Quintero**

Jails and prisons are designed to break human beings, to convert the population into specimens in a zooobedient to our keepers but dangerous to each other.

(Angela Davis)

#### There is no justice in this world or the other

It may sound like a political heresy, but contrary to what many well-intended liberals say, there has never really been Justice, particularly if the concept is understood as a universal idea that somehow can guarantee just behavior or just treatment around the planet. What humanity has witnessed so far have been historically and socially constructed judicial forms and practices, by which groups or classes exercise their power over others in order to consolidate their own status. In other words, justice has varied both in form and content depending on the classes in control of society at a given

Currently we live in capitalist times and our existence is marked by the capitalist society we inhabit. Only the disingenuous or those affected by chronic historical naiveté can be surprised by the following affirmations: first, there is a general 'lack of justice' in American society, a fact empirically verifiable on an almost daily basis through the media and characterized by the deep inequalities that mark the nation.

The second affirmation is the realization that the bulk of legislation and

laws existing in the country are meant to protect big property or to expand it (for example, the newest tax bill which among other things cuts corporate income tax by 14%, repeals the 20% alternative minimum tax that ensured profitable corporations pay at least some symbolic tax, and the territorial tax exemption for money made by American corporations overseas). In the words of the Marxist sociologist Harman Mannheim: "The history of criminal legislation in England and many other countries shows that excessive prominence was

given by the law to the protection of property." Mannheim's perspective illustrates that the idea of justice-criminal legislation—does not occur in the abstract, but is permeated by the material interests of the rulers in power who are typically interested in perpetuating their economic privileges.

Conversely, there is no evidence that there is justice in the afterlife either, no matter how strong a believer or righteous practitioner of any given religion you may have been. That is to say, no matter how well you have combined both the theory and practice of your beliefs throughout your life- a hard to find combinationthere is no warranty for a favorable verdict that will sentence you to spend

eternity in unending bliss without get- This is defined as a circular prison ting bored with the passing of time. Ironically, the existence of multiple religions claiming at the same time a monopoly on truth, and to be the sole beneficiaries of a 'divine judicial system' in the hands of their own deity leaves much to be explained. How can non-members of the religious organization find any justice at all, since each religion claims to be the right and accurate one?

#### The penitentiary society

When it comes to incarceration, we are number one! We have indeed the highest incarceration rate in the his-

tory of the planet. We may have no justice but we sure have prisons and lock up people. According to the NAACP, in 2014 the correctional population in the US was 6.8 million. A similar report by The Prison Policy Initiative, a non-profit organization aiming to put the problem of mass incarceration on the national agenda, points out that the American criminal justice system has more than "1,719

state prisons, 102 federal prisons, 901 juvenile correctional facilities, 3,163 local jails, and 76 Indian Country jails as well as military prisons, immigration detention facilities, civil commitment centers, and prisons in US territories." While these figures are record high, they nonetheless fail to reflect the uneven distribution of incarceration affecting communities of color, particularly black and Latino communities. According to the Guardian, in

with cells around a central observation well from which prisoners could be observed at all times creating a situation in which the prisoner is seen but doesn't see or know when he/she is being observed.

According to Thomas McMullan, writing for the Guardian (7/23/15), the panopticon is based on "the principle of central inspection," which, given the current development of digital surveillance and data capture, can be also recreated in a variety of less intrusive forms. Suffice here to mention a report by HIS Markit, which indicatand oppressive than their physical counterparts. It was the Italian Marxist revolutionary Antonio Gramsci who used the concept of 'cultural hegemony' to point out the different ways that dominant classes are able to impose their world views, interests, values, morals, explanations of events, perceptions, and ideas in general, so they can become universally accepted and unquestioned by most of society. This was possible, according to Gramsci, through the use and manipulation of the different ideological apparatuses of the state such as government institutions, educational institutions, religious organizations, and the media.

The advantage of this

approach is twofold.

On the one hand, it

allows the dominant

classes to make their

own ideology the

norm" of society, or

to put it in Marx's

words: " the domi-

nant ideology of a

society is the ideol-

ogy of the dominant

class of such society."

"cultural

accepted

Second, it allows domination and con-

trol of its citizens, via control of their

minds. They need not have recourse

to the direct use of force via what

Gramsci called the 'repressive appara-

tuses of the state' such as the police,

the military, the judicial system, the

penal system, etc. Political hegemony,

under this light, really aims to im-

prison and control the minds of the

The Trump administration recent-

ly provided a glimpse of the role of

language and ideological manipu-

lation when it became public that

some CDC (Center for Disease Con-

trol) officials discouraged includ-

ing in the institutional language key

word words such as "vulnerable,"

der," "fetus,""evidence-based,"and "sci-

Similarly, in March of this year, the

Department of Energy (DOE) banned

its members from using phrases like

"Paris Agreement" or "climate change."

By consciously eliminating concepts

from the public discourse, the admin-

istration is limiting the human, politi-

cal and scientific understanding of the

American people. The anti-scientific,

bias-based policies of the administra-

tion bring to mind the famous apho-

rism by Ludwig Wittgenstein: " the

limits of my language mean the lim-

its of my world." In other words, the

more limited and restricted the vo-

cabulary of an individual, the more

limited and restricted his/her vision

and understanding of reality. This is

the newest prison house of language

the administration wants us to inhabit.

What's going to be banned next? Poly-

"diversity,""entitlement,"

ence based."

The cruel irony is that a society with a constant gaze on its citizens has decided at the same time to close its eyes when it comes to acknowledging the basic needs of its members such as health care, livable wages, housing, education, social security, etc.

> ed that "the installed base of surveillance units in North America is expected to grow from just 33 million in 2012 to nearly 62 million by the end of 2016." A different report, this time by Statista, a company specializing in the creation of dossiers for the industrial world, noticed how in 2014 the United States had the largest number of video surveillance cameras per thousand people - 125; followed by the UK with 91, and China with 97.

> > This gloomy scenario that government HomeKit,

toys will soon be able to communicate, creating a vast amount of data about our lives. And this deluge of data won't only be passed back and forth between objects but will most likely wind its way towards corporate and government reservoirs." The cruel irony is that a society with a constant gaze on its citizens has decided at the same time to close its eyes when it comes to acknowledging the basic needs of its members such as health care, livable wages, housing, education, social security, etc.

#### The prison house of language (with apologies to Frederic Jameson)

A prison is not only for material bodies. There are prisons of the mind and these are perhaps more dangerous

gets worse when we consider surveillance data has transcended the limits of the reached the world of profit ruled by corporations. In the words of McMullan, 'with the advent of wider network systems, heralded by the likes of Google's Brillo and Apple's everything from washing machines to sex

#### The gaze of the people

syllabic words?

It is important for all of us to reinforce our forms of struggle and resistance against the penitentiary society in which we all live. We must let all our watchers know that we are also keeping an eye on them-that our collective memory will preserve their names and their actions, that we are not willing to peacefully fall into the abyss of their jails or mental prisons, that we are willing to re-create, and re-incorporate in our vocabulary and political practice words such as class struggle, rebellion, resistance, civil disobedience, and the possibility of constructing an egalitarian society for a free humanity.

Enrique Quintero lives and writes in Grays Harbor County.



2016 black Americans were incarcerated at a rate five times higher than white people and three times higher than Latinos. The penal system in America, as Michelle Alexander, Angela Davis, and others have argued, is part of larger disciplinary network of punishment within a certain class/ race system that works against black and brown bodies

#### The panoptic society

According to the French philosopher Michele Foucault, disciplinary societies have a tendency to develop extreme and sophisticated methods of surveillance to subdue their citizens. He illustrated this predisposition by using the image of the "panopticon."





# Crime does pay

Since you can simply

for being classified

minimum security is

that you don't have a

long time left to serve.

Dana Walker

Back in the 90's, Charles Keating got four years in federal prison for stealing \$200 million. (In contrast, I got six years for selling some marijuana.)

How many of you would give up four years of your life for \$200 million? And referring to the prison experience as 'giving up your life' is actually misleading as you don't really 'give up

your life' — you are still 'living' when you go through it and going to pris- walk away from a camp, on also provides a great opportunity one of the requirements to catch up on your reading!

why Anyway, should anyone deal with all the problems associated with actually making things (and

thus having to deal with all of the taxes and regulations and labor problems and all the other problems involved in actually producing actual wealth) why should they do all of that when it is so easy to simply steal things?

Especially when the consequences for getting caught are often so laughably small?

The federal prison system has various levels of security. Basically, they are minimum, low, high, maximum—and the fairly recent new classification of 'super-max' (i.e. solitary confinement with absolutely no human contact).

Thanks to the Shawshank Redemption, everyone thinks that everyone in prison claims to be innocent when actually they are all guilty. While Shawshank Redemption is one of my favourite movies I've ever seen—that part is total bullshite. Most people who are guilty not only freely admit their guilt but they often boast of it—and most of those who claim to be innocent actu-

I myself spent two of my six years in one of these federal minimum-security camps. While it definitely did not resemble a country club (though I have heard that those do indeed exist) the fact is that there are no fences or guard towers at federal minimumsecurity facilities.

If you care to-you can simply walk

Since I had four different charges in four different jurisdictions it took me

nearly three years simply to get convicted for everything that they threw at me, and since I had pending charges for that entire time this meant that I had been classified as 'medium' security for that entire time. This meant that I was constantly either surrounded by several layers of razor wire and armed guards or-whilst in transport I was draped in chains and surrounded by armed guards.

> When I was transferred to the camp I was, as usual, draped chains and surrounded by armed guards for the two-day bus trip. (The armed guards sit in a cage inside the bus.) Then, after I was processed into the camp, they told

me to simply walk out of the front door and across the street to the housing facility.

I walked outside alone without any

chains or armed guards for the first time in three years.

It was amazing. I never had any intention of walking away from that camp but the knowledge that I could if I wanted to radically altered the entire psychology of being 'locked up'.

Since you can simply walk away from a camp, one of the requirements for being classified minimum security is that you don't have a long time left to serve. When I was there, I don't remember anyone else at the camp who had more than four years left on their

Anyway, a few years ago a local gentleman named Frederick Darren Berg stole \$150 million in a Ponzi scheme. He became known as Washington State's 'Mini-Madoff'. In 2012 Mr. Berg was given an 18-year prison sentence and since the feds only give 15% 'good time' then that meant at least 15 years actually in prison.

(I am thinking it very likely that the relatively harsh prison sentence came about because — like Mr. Madoff — Mr. Berg made the mistake of pissing off the wrong people by ripping off other rich people. He probably should have confined himself to stealing pension funds or your grandmother's life savings or whatever.)

While Mr. Berg lost most of his loot when he was caught trying to transfer it into a Cayman Island bank account, a court-appointed bankruptcy trustee for Mr. Berg's old company said that there was "at least a couple million" dollars still unaccounted for.

However: Even though Mr. Berg is only 55 years old and even though Mr. Berg still had eight years left on his sentence and even though the feds knew that Mr. Berg had very likely squirreled several million dollars away somewhere - Mr. Berg was placed in a minimum security camp.

He promptly walked away and has now disappeared without a trace. One thing that was true in Shawshank Redemption: Regular prisoners have to crawl through sewer pipes or something like that in order to escape. Rich people get to simply walk away...

Dana Walker lives in Olympia and produces The Thunderbolt, an on-line compendium of news, commentary, events and jokes...

More on Berg at https://www.seattletimes. com/seattle-news/crime/official-prisonescape-of-washingtons-mini-madoff-likeshawshank-redemption-without-sewerpipe-crawl/

# The criminalization of environmental protest in Trump's America

[Climate Defense Project] co-founder Kelsey Skaggs was extensively featured in a ThinkProgress article on government and corporate crackdowns on protesters; co-founder Ted

Hamilton was also quoted:

'This crackdown is happening because activists have been successful, and because industry realizes that protest is a threat," Kelsey Skaggs, executive director of the Climate Defense Project, told Think-Progress. "We've seen it begin, and now we've seen it worsen."

"The conditions now are perfect for an increased crackdown, because the Trump administration is so friendly in terms of pro-policing, pro-business attitudes, and because a lot of state legislatures are controlled by Republicans," Skaggs said.

"This suit is part of a rising tendency on

This crackdown is happening because activists have been successful, and because industry realizes that protest is a threat...

> the part of government and industry to demonize activists and to criminalize free speech activity," Ted Hamilton, co-founder of the Climate Defense Project, told ThinkProgress in August when Energy Transfer Partners first filed their lawsuit. "Fossil fuel compa

nies know that they're losing public support for their poisonous activities and so label their opponents 'terrorists' and seek gag orders in court."

"Legally, many of these proposed bills are clearly unconstitutional and many of them have failed to be passed into law," Skaggs said. "But their existence, even as proposals, can certainly create fear and chill First Amendment activity."

Still, with the Trump administration leaving little hope for environmental and climate groups that once saw the federal government as a potential ally, Skaggs said she views protest as

an important tool for activists, despite the increased threat of pros-

"The elected branches of government are not responsive to the will of the people, by and large. They are responsive to the interests of powerful industry. And in that situation, I think that people believe that dissent is critical," Skaggs said.

-PressCDP [Climate Defense Project] December 20, 2017

https://climatedefenseproject.org for more stories about CDP work.



# A Playback Theatre performance Walking side-by-side with our immigrant neighbors

Friday, January 12, 2018 • 7:30 p.m. Traditions Café - 300 5th Ave. SW downtown Olympia

Cost: Suggested Donation \$7.00-\$12.00

(No one is turned away)

Each month we invite a guest artist(s), community organization, arts program or social service agency to be a part of our

performance. Through this collaboration we acknowledge and honor the work individuals and organizations do in our community.

This month we collaborate with Centro Integral Educativo Latino de Olympia (CIELO.) Their mission is to promote community, selfsufficiency and leadership of Latinas/os and the extended community in the South Puget Sound area with educational and mental health services and social and cultural activities.

**Playback Theatre** is a spontaneous collaboration between performers and audience. People tell moments from their lives, then watch them re-created with movement, music and dialogue.

# The Doomsday Machine: **Confessions of a Nuclear Planner**

# A book by Daniel Ellsberg. (Bloomsbury, 2017)

#### Dan Leahy

#### We are very lucky in this state.

The Washington Physicians for Social Responsibility (WPSR) began a campaign last year to abolish all nuclear weapons globally and prevent nuclear war. They initiated this campaign as President Obama authorized a trillion dollar program to rebuild the US nuclear weapons arsenal. That program is now in the hands of President Trump.

I hope many of you who read this review will contact Lilly Adams, co-chair of WPSR's "Nuclear Weapons Abolition Task Force" and help them implement their well thought out strategic plan. (Lilly.wpsr@gmail.com. (206) 547-2630. Without the presence of this campaign and task force, which is why I think we are lucky, I doubt I would write this review.

#### Ellsburg will speak in Seattle

On January 9th in Seattle, the WPSR's campaign is co-hosting Daniel Ells-

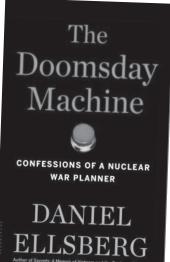
berg. His new book, The Doomsday Machine: Confessions of a Nuclear War Planner, is a frightening, but probably necessary read. If you can't read it, ask me for my five pages of notes. (danleahy43@yahoo.com)

We all probably believe that nuclear weapons could kill 'a lot" of people, but that those in charge have them locked down tight. Neither is

true, according to Ellsberg.

#### Not "a lot of people," but actually Omnicide

A nuclear exchange between the US and Russia would lead to "Omnicide" as a result of the now scientifically verified nuclear winter. The smoke and soot lofted by fierce firestorms



main for a decade, lowering temperatures to the level of the last Ice Age, killing all harvests and causing nearuniversal starvation within a year or two. Ellsberg calls this "an existential danger to the human species."

from burning cities would

block most sunlight and re-

WWII

The capability and system delegation of both US and Russian nuclear arsenals headed by ICBMs equals two

Doomsday Machines. Ellsberg says the road to doomsday began with the shift to strategic bombing of civilian

populations in WWII-from precision bombing to firebombing. Like Hamburg where the firestorm with winds

of 150 mph reached temperatures of

1500 degrees Fahrenheit and killed

45,000, or the firebombing of Toyko

when 334 bombers carrying incen-

diaries created a firestorm reaching

temperatures of 1800 degrees Fahr-

enheit making the canals boil. After

WWII, General Curtis LeMay, head of

the Strategic Air Command, designed

a "massive retaliation" war plan which

by 1960 targeted every city in the So-

Ellsberg calls for dismantling all the

ICBMS, Tridents and strategic bomb-

ers whose use would lead to a nuclear

winter and nuclear famine, but wants

to keep submarine launched ballistic

missiles as a deterrence force. He says

this dismantling will require a new

level of pressure on Congress, as well

as courageous whistle-blowers who

can bring greater public awareness of

viet Union and China.

the threat.

#### Not "locked down" but on hair-trigger alert

Nor are these thermonuclear H-Bombs locked down tight. Ellsberg spent years as a RAND corporation employee with security clearances above Top Secret work-

forthe Air Force and Defense Department. These are some of his conclusions: Our nuclear weapons are on hair-trigger alert for a First Strike capability. The public rationale of deterrence is a "deliber-

ate deception."

#### Continually threatening "first strike"

authorization to pull the trigger has never been exclusively that of the president nor even his highest military officials due to our system of delegation. This hair trigger alert system is subject to false alarms, accidents and unauthorized launches due to a commander's inherent right to protect his forces, poor communication, non-observance of safe guards, "Go Or-

ders" taking precedent over "Return Orders," an ethic to complete one's mission and the distrust of civilian commanders. In addition, for the past 72 years, we have 25 times threatened—and continue to threaten—"first use" of our tactical nuclear weapons, leading to more proliferation.

The road to Doomsday began in

#### Let us pursue Eros over **Thanatos**

I wish we were just up against the "normal, ordinary politicians, analysts and military strategists" who created this "nuclear threat to the existence of humanity," as Ellsberg says. But we are up against an entire political economy, evidenced in this book, that is bent on profiting from both the exporting of fossil fuels and nuclear weapons. Fighting

forces, as we well know here in Washington state, requires not only on the ground organizing, but the creation of new institutions that will promote, as Erich Fromm noted, Eros over Thana-

Dan Leahy lives on Olympia's Westside and has a 4-year old granddaughter named Elsa Rae Georgiou.

# Nonviolence is ethical, practical, powerful

The January 2018 episode of "Glen's Parallax Perspectives" TV series (replacing the longrunning Olympia FOR series) focuses nonviolence. Many people assume that nonvio-

ïve to be useful in the real world. Actually, nonviolence works better than violence in achieving good goals. This hour explains what nonviolence really is, dispels the myths and misunderstandings about nonviolence, and explains why and how it works in the real world. The program ends with resources that people can explore on their own.

Although the new TV series-"Glen's Parallax Perspectives"—will typically feature guests (just like the Olympia FOR's TV series did), this first episode features Glen Anderson explaining nonviolence in clear and compelling ways. This is similar to Session #1 of his 6-session workshop series "Nonviolent Grassroots Organizing," which he is presenting to groups of people locally and throughout our geographical region. These workshops are well suited for groups of people



who care about multiple issues, and Glen can tailor them to specific groups working on any specific issue (e.g., raising the minimum wage to \$15 or promoting universal single-

lence is nice and moral but too na- payer health care or abolishing nuclear weapons).

> People anywhere can watch this January 2018 TV program at any time and also read a thorough summary of what the guests said (including links to sources of more information). Simply visit www. parallaxperspectives.org and click TV Programs" or "Nonviolence." Look for this TV episode's title, "Nonviolence Is Ethical, Practical, Powerful."

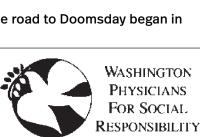
> Also, cable TV subscribers in Thurston County have 14 opportunities during January to watch it. It will air on TCTV cable channel 22 every Monday at 1:30 pm, every Wednesday at 5:00 pm, and every Thursday at 9:00 pm.

> Questions? Contact the producer/ host of "Glen's Parallax Perspectives," Glen Anderson, at (360) 491-9093 glenanderson@integra.net

For nearly 31 years the Olympia Fellowship of Reconciliation has been producing powerfully informative TV programs on important issues. You can watch our current program and more than 160 of our previous ones through the Olympia FOR's website at your convenience, even if you don't watch our current program on TCTV cable channel 22 in Thurston County (Mondays 1:30 pm, Wednesdays 5:00 pm, Thursdays 9:00 pm).

Simply visit www.olympiafor.org, click the "TV Programs" link, and scroll down past the brief description of the current month's program. Previous programs are listed chronologically. Click the link for the program you want to watch. Also, next to each program's link is a link to a thorough summary of the program. Read that by clicking the "Word" and/or "pdf" link. You can watch more than 160 programs through www.olympiafor.org.

Questions? Contact Glen Anderson, at (360) 491-9093 glen@olympiafor.org



#### Daniel Ellsberg is at it again.

In 1971, Ellsberg released classified documents on the Vietnam War, known as the "Pentagon Papers," showing that the US government had deceived the public about the war. His actions earned him the title "the most dangerous man in America" from Henry Kissinger.

He's continuing his legacy as a whistle-blower with his brand new book. *The* Doomsday Machine: Confessions of a Nuclear War Planner. In it, he gives a firsthand account of the dangers of the US nuclear weapons complex and policies. In 1961, Ellsberg drafted plans for nuclear war, for Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara.

We're excited to invite you to a rare opportunity: a conversation with Daniel Ellsberg, hosted by Seattle Town Hall and WPSR, to discuss this chilling and important issue.

> Daniel Ellsberg with Daniel Bessner Tuesday, January 9, 2018, 7:30 PM

> University Temple Church 1415 NE 43rd St, Seattle, WA 98105 Doors at 6:30 PM Tickets: \$5

# **Experiencing wins by working together**

# The Olympia Assembly and the Olympia Solidarity Network

Interview with Franz Carroll by Matt Lester

#### What is Olympia Assembly?

Olympia assembly is an organization that has several different projects. There are the neighborhood action councils (NAC), which create a space where people come together and talk about issues facing their communities and how to address those issues through direct action and mutual aid and network building. Methods that don't go through existing capitalist markets, government channels, or requests from so-called representatives.

## How is this different than a neighborhood association?

Neighborhood associations can be NIMBY—not in my back yard. Often they're focused on how to make their neighborhood look better, and that can mean kicking out homeless people. Or they prioritize safety, but that often means bringing more police into the neighborhood, which can make it more dangerous for people.

We want to create a space for all people to come together—that means including homeless people and renters. The space is for people to bring up issues and talk about how to resolve them on our own without politicians, bosses, and landlords.

# Where do you want Olympia Assembly to go?

Having recently passed our bylaws, refining our organizational structure with clear channels for new projects and decision-making we can start doing great things with the organization. An example is the Olympia Solidarity Network.

Ideas get brought up at an assembly in the abstract. At the NAC meetings later, if you liked one of those ideas you ask "what needs to be done to make this happen?" A committee is then formed to carry it out. That's how we formed the Olympia Solidarity Network.

# How did you get the Olympia Solidarity Network started?

Robert Gorrill and I sat down and wrote up a few documents that laid out the roles, the meetings we needed to have, and the steps we needed to take to get up and running. We had a couple interest meetings. People that came filled the roles we needed. After that we came up with a weekly meeting time and it took off from there. It's only been a few months but I feel like we've been building something really strong and something that can continue.

# Can you tell me about a recent victory that you had?

In mid-October we received an email from Denise describing how the management company of the apartment she moved out of had not returned a majority of her deposit. This was despite the fact that there were essentially no damages. She had a video of a representative of the management company saying the apartment looked great, and they would only take 75% of the deposit. They returned basically none of it.

We met with her and discussed what she wanted from a direct action campaign. With her and her husband Dale's consent, we decided to go forward with a public pressure campaign against Targa Real Estate, the management company that had stolen the deposit.

We used a similar model that the Seattle Solidarity Network uses. We even had some guidance from their organizers.

#### What did that look like?

We went forward with a demand de-

livery action. We helped Denise write a letter to the management company telling them the exact amount of her deposit she wanted back, and that they had two weeks from the time the letter was delivered to respond or we would take further action.

We emailed the letter both to their local office and to their headquarters

in Federal Way. Our next step was bringing people to their office in West Olympia.

Denise read the letter out loud to the employee that was there. They were just a reception worker not the manager, but we still talked to her. We read the let-

ter, 25 people filed into their tiny office, and then after the letter was read we all clapped and chanted and marched out. I think we really freaked them out. These small management companies aren't used to being targeted. Obviously the city and state governments are used to marches and protests. Even bigger businesses like banks and corporations can expect it. So in a sense we had the advantage of surprise because despite screwing people over, they usually don't get targeted.

#### What were your next steps?

We waited the two weeks and we didn't hear anything. So we got the same amount of people to come back again and demand the deposit. We also put up flyers reaching out to some other tenants who lived in the same apartment complex. We heard they had similar complaints.

The second time we went, they saw us coming.

We carpooled together so a group of us were waiting outside. Workers in the office locked their doors and turned off all their lights. They weren't fooling anybody though. They forgot to switch their open sign to a closed sign and their office hours clearly said they were open. Several other tenants went up to the door and they tried to get in. They were surprised it was locked as well.

While outside we called their office and left a voicemail reading the letter. Everyone who was there signed the letter and we slipped it into their rent payment slot. We took some pictures to post on Facebook, we had a bunch of picket signs that we ended up just taping those up to the office, and one we taped over a lease sign. It said "return the stolen deposit."

We were disappointed that the management wasn't there. It felt anticlimactic, pointless, and a waste of time. Then two days later we got a call from Denise saying Targa was returning the deposit. They also told her that they considered leaving the signs vandalism and if we ever showed up on their property again it would be trespassing.

That's a small price. The deposit was returned. This was our first tenants campaign and it was our first victory as well.

# Beyond getting the deposit back what do you think that means to Denise and Dale? Did they share how they felt?

I know they're really excited to get it back and Dale specifically is excited about this group existing. Since we started this campaign he started showing up to every meeting and he wants to continue being a part of the organization.

This is why I like the model of the Olympia Solidarity Network. It's us working together to make wins. If we find a campaign, we want the people we help to be involved every step of the way as much as they can. We show up for them and then they show up for other tenants in whatever capacity they're able and willing to.

Dale said he hasn't been involved in this kind of activism in a really long time and it makes him feel young

again. He feels like one of the good guys standing up to the bad guys.

# How would someone replicate this model? Are steps to follow published somewhere?

Even if you're not near Seattle you can still benefit from the work of some members of Se-

attle Solidarity. They put out a packet called "So you want to start a Solidarity Network." Before we ever had actual person-to-person contact with their organizers, we used that. It is a thorough step-by-step guide.

The first step was getting a group of organizers together that were able to dedicate a significant portion of their time. The next step was getting flyers out there. What Seattle Solidarity suggested and what we did was getting a big flyer that listed some of the grievances people might have like stolen deposits, evictions, foreclosures, or even stolen wages.

# Sometimes people rationalize what are basically crimes committed by landlords or employers by saying to themselves "oh, you should have known to not smoke in the apartment or taken better care of it." But the tenants you helped are adults who have rented before.

I hate to to moralize it by saying there are some good tenants that don't deserve to be cheated and then there are bad tenants who got what was coming. I will land firmly on the side of the tenant basically every time because of my politics and ethics. Seattle Solidarity does turn down cases that don't seem winnable because they have limited resources and they don't want to sink all of their effort into something they're going to lose. We plan to have the same practice. Having to say "no"

is hard but necessary sometimes.

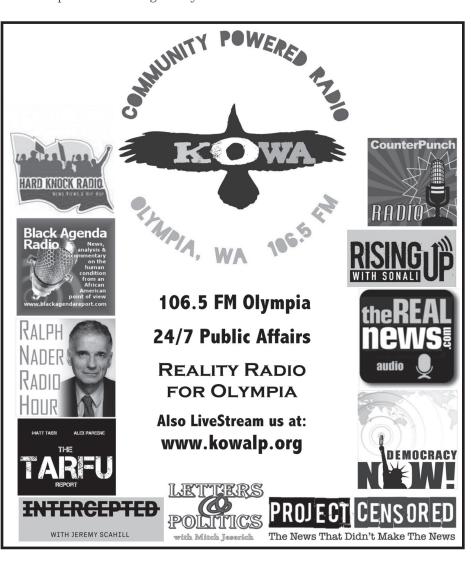
# When you do turn someone down, would you still point them towards resources?

That is actually the first thing we are going to do. Robert is our incoming communication guy—there's probably a better name for that, but that's what we call him—so he's the primary person who will be responding to emails, taking phone calls, and setting up meetings with grievance holders. If we get an email he will respond by giving them an idea of the laws in Washington State, such as what landlords are allowed to do. He also clarifies what Olympia Solidarity does. Sometimes people mistakenly think we're a legal organization. We try to be very clear up front about what we do and what we can potentially do. Some people end up not being interested. They just want to sue their landlord and we're not going to be much help for that

#### Because you're so involved, where do you think Olympia radical politics is at right now and what do you think it needs?

One problem in Olympia is the turnover rate of people. I came here to go to Evergreen just a couple years ago, so I could easily fit into that category—a student who does some organizing for a while and then leaves projects. I don't want to be that person. I feel like I'm making a community here in Olympia and getting involved in projects that I want to see last for years. I would hate to see them fall apart when I leave.

The second issue is not having easy ways for people to get involved. It's not sufficient to have pathways only for students and friends of radical organizers. We need paths for the general public. I think one of my primary motivations for helping start Olympia Assembly was having an above-ground big tent organization that anyone can join. I want an organization that is open to newly radicalized freshmen at Evergreen or your neighbors that go to church every week and feed the homeless. I think many people have a set of leftist ethics and morals. They just don't have a political framework for them. I want to change that.



# To the fabulous supporters of Stonewall Youth...Here are three ways you can help Stonewall Youth this year

- to come to any of our monthly potlucks in 2018. Our multigenerational community potlucks for LGBTQ+ folks and allies have definitely been a highlight of 2017: it has been great to feast, share food, and learn from discussion with community members of all ages about a wide range of issues, from the somewhat silly ("what superpower do you most want?") to the very serious, such as racism in the LGBTQ+ community.
- 1 Hang out with us! You're welcome 2 Learn about the needs of LGBTQ+ youth in our community, and get to know Stonewall Youth's work. This newsletter tells you some of the highlights of our year at Stone wallYouth, and suggests some ways you can support LGBTQ+ youth in our communities.
  - 3 Participate in our work by volunteering, getting involved in our Capital Campaign, and/or donating to support our vital programs for LGBTQ+ youth in 2018.

2017 has been a phenomenal year for Stonewall Youth! We provided our usual dazzling array of ongoing weekly programs: support groups; art and writing programs; drop-in hours three days/week; leadership, educational and professional development; social change projects; mentorship, advo-

cacy, and much more. New programs including weekly Music Drop-ins for youth to jam on our large collection of instruments, and we also hosted

Necklace

project,

Women's fistula rehabilitation

Ojoba Collectiv

Cotton batik dress

Ghana Global Mamas

a series of music workshops, along with our regular writing and art programs. As you'll read below, youth leadership continued to expand at Stonewall Youth, and we had two sessions of Glitter Camp.

Oh, and we also moved this year! We love our new building, and launched a Capital Campaign to purchase it to serve as our HQ and to be an LGBTQ+ community center and workspace for other social justice organizations. Currently, we have a Lease to Own agreement with the owner, and are on track

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to sign a Purchase Agreement with the owner by the end of this month. We've already raised more than \$100,000 towards the purchase! You can find out more below and at our Campaign website: Trans & Oueer Generations.

Stonewall Youth continued to col-

with laborate statewide organizations this year to fight for the basic rights and safety of trans people, opposing legislation and Initiative 1152, which would have blocked

trans people from using bathrooms, locker rooms, shelters for homeless people, and other facilities appropriate to their gender identity. Thanks to the dedicated labor of those of us who opposed I-1152, it was finally defeated. But as you'll read below, the struggle continues.

For 26 years, Stonewall Youth has supported LGBTQ+ youth to survive, thrive, and build sustainable lives. We provide a safe, sober, and supportive space for LGBTQ+ youth to talk about their experience, make friends, make art and music, build job and personal skills, and to get the support, referrals, knowledge, confidence, and mentorship that assist them to successfully navigate the struggles they face. This year, about 450 youth from Thurston, Mason and Lewis Counties participated in Stonewall Youth activities.

Stonewall Youth depends on folks like **you** to support the critical work we do for LGBTQ+ youth in our community: we can't do it without you! Please consider making a donation. It's tax deductible. info@stonewallyouth.org Thanks!

We wish you all the best in the new year! Take good care of yourself. Thanks for for being you.

Lili, Isabelle, Jax, Masa & Bryn Stonewall Youth Staff Collective



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Anna

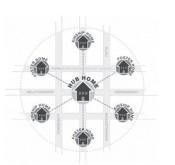


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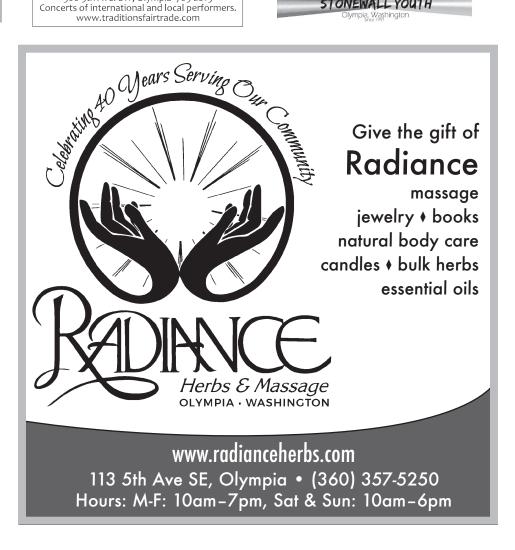
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# We must protect public lands from Trump's assault on our national monuments

To the Readers of WIP:

In 1906, Congress passed the Antiquities Act and President Theodore Roosevelt signed it into law. This Act established the authority of a president to create national monuments to protect certain public lands and waters for historical, cultural, natural or scientific reasons. As an aside, these are not related to the monuments to the Confederacy that have been much in the news this year. Mount Olympus National Monument (now Olympic National Park) was one of the first monuments created by President Roosevelt. Over the years, more than 100 sites have been designated as national

#### Taking aim at our monuments

In April of this year, Donald Trump issued an executive order directing the

Interior Department to review certain

monuments. Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke identified 27 monuments for review and in August submitted his recommendations. While the list has not yet been made public, based upon leaked information, Zinke is recommending changes in 10 monuments. Slated for significant reductions in size are: Bears Ears (as much as 85%) and Grand Staircase/Escalante (by as much as 50%) in Utah; Cascade/Siskiyou in Oregon and Gold Butte in Nevada.

Other monuments that are recommended for change are: Organ Mountains/Desert Peaks and Rio Grande del Norte in New Mexico; Katahdin Woods and Waters in Maine; Northeast Canyons and Seamounts in the Atlantic Ocean; Pacific Remote Islands and

Rose Atoll in the South Pacific. The proposed changes would open the land-based monuments to corporate purposes, including coal mining, oil and gas drilling, logging and livestock grazing. The changes to the ocean-based monuments would allow for corporate industrial fishing, further damaging the health of our fisheries.

## Looting and industrial-scale exploitation

These monuments are unique, valuable and irreplaceable national treasures. They need to be protected from looting and industrial-scale exploitation by commercial interests. One of the original purposes of the Act was to protect historical artifacts from people who were damaging these sites in search of hidden treasure. Now the extractive industries are looking for opportunities to exploit our resources at

These monuments are unique, valuable and irreplaceable national treasures. They need to be protected from looting and industrial-scale exploitation by commercial interests.

discount prices and to pass the costs on to the rest of society.

#### From the Congress to the Courts

Representative Rob Bishop of Utah, one of the most notorious opponents of protecting public lands, has introduced HR 3990 to modify the Antiquities Act to greatly reduce the protec-

tions of public lands provided in the Act. Fortunately, Representative Kilmer and Senators Murray and Cantwell are strong supporters of our national monuments and will do what they can to prevent these dangerous proposals from taking place. But with Republicans in charge of Congress, the courts may be the only way to stop these attacks on our public land.

# "Ignite Change" to preserve our precious heritage

While Trump will soon announce changes to these monuments, his order will certainly be challenged by a variety of concerned groups which will limit his ability to accomplish anything in the short term. There is no provision in the Antiquities Act, or any subsequent legislation, that allows a president to alter or eliminate any monument. While there have been changes in monument

designations in the past, these changes have never been challenged in court—until now.

Now is the time to act. The Center for Biological Diversity has begun a program called "Ignite Change" to develop grassroots support for protecting our precious national monuments; I am coordinating the effort here

in our area. For more information, please go to www.ignitechange.org or contact me at 360-589-5805.

David Linn

David Linn is a resident of Ocean Shores, WA.

# Restoring my indigeneity:

# Reflections on South Africa Agroecology Exchange by a Queer Black Urban Farmer from Tacoma

#### Dean Jackson

[Ed. Note: In October 2017, seven delegates from the US representing farmworker and African-American farmer organizations participated in the second South Africa-US Agroecology Exchange. For 10 days, the delegates visited the provinces of Gauteng, Limpopo, and the Western Cape to meet with small farmers, farmworkers, Agroecologists, and organizers in the Food Sovereignty movement. Two leaders in Washington's local food sovereignty movement participated in the Exchange: Edgar Franks with Community to Community in Bellingham, and Dean Jackson with Hilltop Urban Gardens in Tacoma.

In October I was honored to join seven



other delegates on a US-South Africa Agroecology and Food Sovereignty Learning Exchange. As a Black queer and non-binary person who is work-

ing to remember and restore my Indigeneity through the work I do in community and at Hilltop Urban Gardens, this trip held both personal and organizational meaning for me. My ancestors were forcibly removed from their homelands. The intergenerational trauma from that displacement and subsequent horrors and enslavement, Jim Crow Laws, sharecropping, and into modern day anti-Blackness, modern day displacement through gentrification and the ongoing fight against white supremacy and white nationalism stay in my consciousness as I work to live my life for liberation and freedom. In 2017 I also committed to find Black joy and healing justice practices.

This was my first trip to Africa and off the North American continent, and Hilltop Urban Garden's first opportunity to connect with other food sovereignty and agroecology farmers internationally. I brought this all with me as I left Seattle-Tacoma International airport with my friend Xolotl Edgar Franks from Community to Community Development. I also brought the intention of coming open and ready to be filled with all that our South African comrades had to share with us.

Our first visit was to Sibhale Community Food Project in Soweto. SCFP grows food that is used for meals at the health clinics and shared with some of the families that visit the clinic. We met with the Project Coordinator, Calvin Moloto Makgaila. Calvin also helps people grow food at their homes and

teaches children about the importance of nutrition. Since HUG does similar work in our community, I felt a special connection to Calvin's work with



SCFP. He's an awesome agroecologist! We are staying connected through social media and I expect that we will nurture and grow our relationship in the coming years. Hilltop Urban Gardens holds an annual Beloved Community—Food Sovereignty Day of Action in our neighborhood in honor of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr's vision of radical transformation. This year we will be raising some cash for SCFP.

That same day we visited the Greenhouse Project in downtown Johan-



nesburg. One of the things I learned is that after apartheid supposedly legally ended, and Black\* people start-

ed moving into the cities, there was massive white flight from the city center of Johannesburg. (Sound familiar?) There are now many areas where white folks still own buildings, but have disinvested financially. Because economic apartheid still continues, these largely all Black areas are in a great struggle. (Sound familiar?) Forty percent of the country is unemployed. I also learned that much like the United States, the best land was given to white settlers and Indigenous communities were forcibly removed to the poorest lands in the country

I don't claim that in 11 days I understand much. I got brief snapshots. My goal is to share what I learned and witnessed and, in some cases, give my analysis. I was surprised at the many similarities between postcivil rights era US and post-apartheid era South Africa. There's much more to learn, process, and share.

\*I'm using Black like we do in the US. It includes Black/African and Colored people, which are the racial designations in South Africa.

Dean Jackson is Executive Director of Hilltop Urban Gardens in Tacoma, Washington.

The 2017 Agroecology Exchange was co-organized by US Food Sovereignty Alliance members WhyHunger (NY), Community Alliance for Global Justice (WA), and Farmworker Association of Florida, and South Africa-based Surplus Peoples Project. This is the first article in the series South Africa-US Agroecology Exchange.

# There are no political prisoners, only prisoners of war

August O'Claire

"I am not a crook." —Richard M. Nixon

Between the realm of criminality and that of the political there is a wide chasm. Politicians make the law, criminals break it. In this context, the idea of the political prisoner emerges as a contradiction in terms. In fact, the contradiction is so fundamental that it forms the basis for many appeals for the liberation of political prisoners. The argument is made that political prisoners are a special class of prisoner who are not criminals at all, but people who engaged in legal political action.

This is one understanding of a political class of prisoners-they have not infringed upon the law, but rather the law has been wielded against them in order to prevent their political activity. The reason political prisoners exist is because revolutionaries are a threat to the law as it exists, and the law imprisons them out of its own self-interest. This understanding is most applicable prisoners who are clearly innocent--Leonard Peltier, Mumia Abu Jamal; in the United States, the list is not long.

But while the image of innocence is appealing to those who love the law, and although the air of innocence is routinely deployed in campaigns to defend comrades who have committed crime, this notion of innocence makes no stab at the law which decides innocence and guilt. The law not only acts in its own defense, it also ensures that revolutionaries commit crime. So revolutionaries outline a theory of illegal morality--in order to change the law, one must break the law. Criminality, then, is not an inherent desire of the revolutionary, but a condition placed upon her by the state. Political prisoners are not only composed of the innocent, but also of people who broke the law for the "right" reasons. They are prisoners of war. Defined in this way, the list of prisoners of war remains small-one hundred prisoners in the United States, give or take. One half of one hundredth of one percent of the incarcerated population.

The categorization of political prisoners as revolutionaries who have committed moral crimes does not appeal to those who love the law, but it resonates with individuals who take sides in a war to change the law. The demand for the release of a prisoner of war cannot be based on innocence, and so it is based on amnesty. Amnesty is the process of releasing of prisoners



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who have been taken hostage during a war between states, after the war has ended. It is remarkable how easily the practice of amnesty can be translated to prisoners of a war within a state, particularly when the prisoners considered themselves a different nation or sought through revolution to establish a new government. Although the revolutionary war is a civil war, it is fought between two states-- one established, and the other in attempted uprising.

Political conflict is always fought between states that are either existent or revolutionary. A conflict in which the insurgents are not a government-inrising themselves--if we can imagine such a conflict--would not be called political conflict, but social war. Social war is the expanded form of class war; class no longer marks the limits of social struggle, if it ever did.

Amnesty is an inherently defeatist position to take, one that is contingent upon surrender. In order for prisoners of war to be released, the war must be over, the prisoners no longer combatants, and they must be released into a climate of social peace, a peace their comrades will maintain.

The approaches of innocence and amnesty shouldn't draw a kneejerk criticism, but rather should be placed in the context of the politics from which they are derived--a politics that appeals to those who love the law, and a politics of war between different forms of government. Without passing judgment on the former approaches, let us say that they fit their positions, and then consider our own position. Specifically, we should look again at the distinction between political conflict and social war.

#### All prisoners are political - various

There exists a third definition of political prisoners. As the movement for prison abolition has grown on the Left, there has been a tendency to radically expand the bounds of who are designated as political prisoners. And a radical new phrasing has been inscribed in the pages of the Leftist Bible: "All prisoners are political." It is a kind gesture, but only because it is made by people for whom the label 'political' is a compliment. Perhaps we should have first asked the prisoners if they wanted to be political. What, and stop saying 'bitch'? What word could be more degrading than 'political' to apply to people without their consent?

This tendency seems to overlook that the original reason for describing some prisoners as political was to illuminate our bonds of affinity--to identify prisoners of a war that we are fighting on the same side of. There are Nazis behind those walls. Let them free, certainly--the better to crack their skulls--but surely we can express our desires without expressing solidarity with our

"Any movement that does not support their political internees ... is a sham movement" -- Ojore N. Lutalo, anarchist and former prisoner

And now we come to the crux of it. The recognition that prison is bad for our friends, the disgust and anger we feel at the incarceration of people we care about, is the grounding for any desire to do away with prisons entirely. Underlying the various classifications of 'political" prisoners is an urge that is human and natural--the urge to support our imprisoned comrades, as well as the recognition that they are often treated more harshly by the state because of their position in war. We have no shit to sling at solidarity, only at

the hordes who have wrung that word dry of every drop of meaning it once had, and at the idea that this practice is inherently radical.

In fact, solidarity has nothing to do with what side one is on, and everything to do with the understanding that one is on a side--that is, at war. For anyone who comes to life as in a state of war, there is nothing more natural than to support their comrades in prison. While some anarchists are regrettably devoid of a practice of solidarity with their imprisoned comrades, that serves as a reasonable indication of their position toward war as well as friendship. Either they witness no war, or they do not seem themselves in it, or they do not see prisoners as their comrades. So it goes.

There are many prisoners of war, and their nations have their backs as a matter of course. From the POW/MIA flags one sees flying at veterans' posts across this nation, to the revolution-

ary solidarity with prisoners of the Irish Republican Army, to the Cuban Five freedom campaign, to the prison support networks of the Nazis and the mafia, everyone supports their family, their nation, their army

Some of us, however, are fighting a different kind of war. One in which we are not fighting for a nation, an ideology, or political power, but in a struggle to destroy all of those. A war that is qualitatively distinct. The only war that could not only free our own prisoners of war, but destroy the prisons.

In the war against all that, we do not perceive criminality as the infringement of just law, nor as a necessary and just means to revolution. Crime is anti-political desire, our engagement in rediscovering our bodies and living energy. Insurrection will never be the political activity of revolutionaries, for it is the criminal activity of becoming human.

This essay is an excerpt from the zine "Take Your Mark, Get Ready, Ablate: Three Positions on Prison Abolition" by August O'Claire. It can be read in its entirety at sproutdistro.com/catalog/ zines/3-positions-prison. It is reprinted here with permission from "Fire to the Prisons," #10.

# **Trump Administration** grants permits to extend **DAPL through Louisiana's Atchafalaya Basin**

Waterkeeper Alliance

The New Orleans District of the United States Army Corps of Engineers today issued a permit authorizing Bayou Bridge Pipeline, a subsidiary of Energy Transfer Partners, to construct a 162-mile crude oil pipeline through irreplaceable wetlands, communities, and farms stretching across Louisiana. The pipeline is the final leg of a cross-country mega-pipeline that connects the controversial Dakota Access Pipeline, originating in the Bakken oil fields of North Dakota, to refineries and export terminals in Louisiana.

The controversial pipeline has been vigorously opposed by a broad coalition that includes Atchafalaya Basin crawfishers and conservation organizations. The groups have asked for a rigorous review of environmental risks as well as efforts to restore environmental damage from past pipelines in the Ba-

"The Atchafalaya Basin has sustained family's crawfishmy ing business for generations," said Jody Meche, President of Louisiana Crawfish Producers' Association—West. "But our way of life is under threat from irresponsible oil development, which has left whole parts of the Basin toxic for crawfishing. Until we resolve these legacy problems of irresponsible development, we're saying no to a new pipeline through the Atchafalaya."

The Bayou Bridge Pipeline is the controversial southern leg of the Dakota Access Pipeline, this portion jointly owned by Energy Transfer Partners (ETP), Sunoco and Phillips 66. The current pipeline runs from North Dakota to Patonka Illinois, then down to Lake Charles, Louisiana. This new leg would extend through eleven Louisiana parishes to the terminus in St. James. Some opposition groups pleaded with regulators to restore the areas in the Atchafalaya Basin already severely damaged by pipelines before considering yet another pipeline that will ensure further wetlands loss. ETP has a strong history of violations, including in the Atchafalaya Basin.

The Atchafalaya Basin is the largest wetland and swamp in the United States and is the main floodway for the Mississippi River. "The Basin is one of the nation's ecological crown jewels," said Dean Wilson, Executive Director of Atchafalaya Basinkeeper, which works to protect the Basin's unique environment and wildlife habitat. "The Army Corps is supposed to protect its water quality but instead has worked hand-in-glove with the oil industry to treat it as a sacrifice zone for irresponsible oil development. We won't tolerate it any longer."

Federal law requires a full environmental analysis, and consideration of alternatives, prior to authorizing actions that have "significant" environmental

impacts.

Even though studies reveal that crude oil pipelines in Louisiana leak regularly and gravely disrupt water flows and wildlife habitat, le Army Corps determined that the pipeline did not have significant impacts, qualifying it for streamlined permitting. The organizations vowed legal action if the Corps does not reverse this unlawful decision.

"Energy Transfer Partners has a deplorable record of accidents and spills, with 329 incidents since 2006- why would we allow such an irresponsible company to build yet another pipeline in a place of incalculable value?" said Larissa Liebmann, staff attorney for Waterkeeper Alliance.

"The company is already out of compliance for their Florida Gas Transmission pipeline that dams the waterways of the Atchafalaya. ETP promises more of the same—we can't afford to forsake our waterways and our local economies for an out-of-state company that provides hardly any jobs or economic benefit to the residents of Louisiana," said Cyn Sarthou, executive director of Gulf Restoration Network.

# FDR's Economic Bill of Rights

The following is an excerpt from Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1944 State of the Union Address in which he stressed the need for financial security for all citizens—an expansion of his call for "freedom from want" in his 1941 address.

It is our duty now to begin to lay the plans and determine the strategy for the winning of a lasting peace and the establishment of an American standard of living higher than ever before known. We cannot be content, no matter how high that general standard of living may be, if some fraction of our people—whether it be onethird or one-fifth or one-tenth—is ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill housed, and insecure.

This Republic had its beginning, and grew to its present strength, under the protection of certain inalienable political rights—among them the right of free speech, free press, free worship, trial by jury, freedom from un-

reasonable searches and seizures. They were our rights to life and liberty.

As our Nation has grown in size and stature, however—as our industrial economy expanded—these political rights proved inadequate to assure us equality in the pursuit of happiness.

We have come to a clear realization of the fact that true individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. "Necessitous men are not free men." People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.

In our day these economic truths have become accepted as self-evident. We have accepted, so to speak, a second Bill of Rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all regardless of station, race, or creed.

Among these are:

The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the Nation;

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation;

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living;

 The right of every businessman, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad;

The right of every family to a decent home;

 The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health;  The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment;

The right to a good education.

All of these rights spell security. And after this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being.

America's own rightful place in the world depends in large part upon how fully these and similar rights have been carried into practice for our citizens. For unless there is security here at home there cannot be lasting peace in the world.

One of the great American industrialists of our day—a

man who has rendered yeoman service to his country in this crisis—recently emphasized the grave dangers of "rightist reaction" in this Nation. All clear-thinking businessmen share his concern. Indeed, if such reaction should develop—if history were to repeat itself and we were to return to the so-called "normalcy" of the 1920's—then it is certain that even though we shall have conquered our enemies on the battlefields abroad, we shall have yielded to the spirit of Fascism here at home.

— Franklin Delano Roosevelt

January 2018

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# Works In Progress

