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Beyond ego, beyond self-centered fear, beyond exceptionalism, beyond individualism, beyond headlines, this is Beyond Borders, brought to you by Listen and Be Heard Network. Welcome back, my friends, to another wide-open conversation.

that will truly stretch around the globe today. And I hope bring a little light where there's darkness, a little more understanding for us all where we might have a lot of doubts and confusion about what's really going on.

And I don't promise to explain all of it to you, but we are going to go to various places on the globe to talk with people who do have years, actually, of working on the ground in the areas of which they speak. And all of this brought to you by my co-producers, Judy Talaugon.

and Hernan Ramiro, formerly known as J. Rodriguez Sierra. So Judy, out there on the west coast of Turtle Island, has spoken with Angela Marino about a lot of what's going on in Venezuela, giving us background about the reality of what...

has been going on for decades and building up to this moment. Judy also spoke again with Seth Donnelly, who gave us an update on taxpayers against genocide. As well, Hernan spoke to Olga Kavran, who was visiting New York, but is an expert on criminal justice. And I'm going to tell you more about her background a little later.

I think you'll be able to connect the dots between the events going on in the Americas and other parts of the globe, like Eastern Europe, for instance. My name is Martha Cinader, and I'm really glad to bring to you now Judy Talaugon, my teacher and co-producer. Hello, this is Judy Talaugon from Beyond Borders.

With me today is Seth Donnelly and Angela Marino, Professor Angela Marino from UC Berkeley, co-authored and or authored the Tribunal Rising, which I'm going to be obsessed with talking about, the book that we both collaborated on through UC Berkeley, and our students are young apprentice researchers from the LRC, the Latin Research Center.

And introducing Angela today is her husband, Seth Donnelly, retired 8th grade teacher, amazing leader with the Taxpayers Against Genocide, a movement right now that visited Beyond Borders and listened and be heard just not long ago. So here I'm going to hand it to Seth to introduce his beautiful partner, my colleague, my comrade, Angela Marino. Seth.

Thank you, Judy. It's good to be back. And shout out to Martha and the people with whom you're collaborating. And in addition to working with Taxpayers Against Genocide, I'm also

really honored to be working with the tribunal project that you've initiated and with the Haiti Action Committee. I'm also very honored to be Angela's husband, as you mentioned, and her comrade.

And a little bit on her background for your listeners. Her research focuses in on contemporary Venezuela and political cultures of the Southwest, Caribbean, and Latin America. Her book, *Populism and Performance in the Bolivarian Revolution of Venezuela* from 2018, examines theater, festivals, political speeches, and visual language during the first decade of 21st century socialism, refuting the loose claims.

of quote-unquote authoritarian populism quote-unquote that were devised by the imperial core to target the chadis presidency and undermine popular democracies of the left as you mentioned judy she's also co-editor of the amazing book that you co-edited with eastland press tribunal rising

And we encourage all the listeners to look that up. It's a remarkable book. Angela's also co-edited *Festive Devils of the Americas* from 2015 and is published in the journals *Cultural Politics*, *Latin American Perspectives*, *Harvard Revista*, and *Cultural Anthropology*. Dr. Marino is the faculty lead of the UC Berkeley Critical Perspectives on Democracy Plus Media of the American Hemisphere, known by short as the Democracy Media Lab, with which, of course, Judy Youfton is a fellow. And Angela's very engaged.

and community activism here in Northern California. That's right. All three of us are residents in the Northern California region, just north of San Francisco, approximately 60 miles north. We are comrades. We are collective. Center for People's Power, right here in the Valley of Sonoma, the Valley of the Moon, an impacted area. We live and work in an unincorporated part of the community, which I have been raised in and I consider to be a border town.

where we've met many challenges with the police state, many challenges with race and class questions. Here with me today is my comrade, Angela Moreno. We've been really focusing for a couple years now on our young mentors. Angela's class, her beautiful work around festivals, theater, media, and street protests.

I have a question today, Professor. I'm wondering, given the current instability in Venezuela, political landscape as it is, what performance repertoires or artistic practices do you see emerging as forms of resistance for survival? And I kind of want to keep you in that sort of creative space because we have been so inundated by the compacted political situation that is weighing on us all now.

Your work has deep roots. I ask that question because I feel like you might have something to offer us right now. Well, thank you so much for the invitation to be on this podcast and in

this conversation with you and with the listeners of this program. So thank you. And it is a time to talk about Venezuela, also the Caribbean, and about geopolitical shifts that are happening in the present moment.

And I'm very grateful for the question about arts and what we do with the arts, because as we know, the arts is where we build a language and the language of poetry is the way that we can actually comprehend and in a sense confront what are sometimes traumatic, very traumatic conditions that are taking place in the international arena.

So colleagues, comrades in Caracas have been sharing with me how intensely traumatic it was to have their entire city blown up by bombs. You know, there were hundreds of helicopters that were descending onto the city at dusk. The IVIC, which is a major research university, had the mathematics department.

completely destroyed. This is a building that's now in rubble. Now in rubble. And so as people are recovering from it, what we're also seeing on the other side of the firewall of the media are millions of people taking to the streets. And I'm not using the number millions in an overly inflated or exaggerated way.

We have been seeing on, and if people are privy to social media to be able to get past the global media censorship, really, of what lived reality is on the ground, you would be seeing a city that has contingents of...

rallies that are performances in themselves. They are performances where people know to come together. They have chants. They have songs. They have their practice, their daily practice of coming together. We're doing it actually on a weekly basis for many of the most intensive periods of time when the United States and other global media had

put focus on Venezuela charging the government with repression of dissent, when in fact, the actual repression really could be re-characterized as, and now we're maybe more familiar with it in the United States, to see what's happened with right-wing insurgency, fascist violence in the streets. So if people, listeners, can think about January 6th,

and what that looked like. You know, when you have the direct sabotage and insurgent coup attempt by a fascist right-wing, you know, so-called popular rally, what the intent of that was was to produce terror. That's right. And so...

In response to that, when people come together, their collective practice has been to really come to the streets shoulder to shoulder and to say, we're here. We want respect. We want sovereignty. We want the right to live in peace. We want the dignity to be seen.

As sovereign people of the world who have a right to be able to determine our own economic partners, our own way of being able to handle our internal affairs, and for the rest

of the world to recognize that they're not seeing the whole story. That's right. This is Beyond Borders, an entirely commercial-free podcast and syndicated radio show on the Pacifica Affiliate Network.

Beyond Borders is brought to you by Listen and Be Heard Network, which is a project of Sound System Culture, Inc. My name is Martha Cinader, and I'm the executive producer of Beyond Borders, as well as the Listen and Be Heard Hour, which comes out weekly as well on the Listen and Be Heard Network. Please visit us.

at listenandbeheard.net, where you can donate to our efforts through Sound System Culture, Inc., and we would be most grateful. We've been listening to a conversation between Judy Talaugon, Angela Marino, and Seth Donnelly about conditions in Venezuela leading up to this moment we're all living now.

We return to Judy to Logan and more of that conversation. The highlighting, the elevating of self-determination, the highlighting and the elevating of sovereign and the sovereign being, this food sovereignty, it was cultivated and continuous, a part of the continuum in the South, in the so-called Southlands. So, you know...

It is us in the North who maybe even compacted those definitions, but now we're in an era where we have professor and war collectives that are expanding that understanding. That understanding is broad and great and indigenized for us. We were raised by a *vallala* and not by an algorithm. So you see, that's what we bring in today. That's what we bring in today. There you go. Your work was critical perspectives.

in democracy at the Media Lab speaks directly to media and, you know, how it shapes public understanding for democracy and performance. What responsibilities do researchers and artists and public intellectuals, and I know I'm asking this question after quite a battle for a lot of the faculty and the campus community who've simply survived the attack during this time.

But, you know, with public intellectuals, what are some of the conjuring distorted narratives, you know, about Venezuela today? I mean, I'm going back to Venezuela because here we are. Okay, here we are. Well, I think one of the misconceptions is that the...

Government is merely exercising violent repression against the people, that the people are starving, that they're helpless against that government. That's a total misperception and really false mythology that the United States has attempted to place onto Venezuela in order to make it.

expedient for us to imagine that there's some kind of humanitarian benefit for their invasion. The truth is that since 1998, being enacted in 1999, a constituent assembly was put into place.

There are 545 representatives on this constituent assembly, and they come from every sector of society. So afro-descendiente, indígena, there's eight seats on this that are reserved only for the pueblos of the indigenous nations of Venezuela. They're all considered sovereign. It is a plurinational assembly.

Progressive constitution in the Americas. Exactly. One of the most progressive constitutions that includes the right for people to live in an unpolluted environment. That meant that when fisher people came out and made complaints against the trawlers that were destroying the reefs, they had a legal mechanism to fight that.

protect their oceans because that's the livelihood of the people on the coast. When I was traveling in Colombia, just a few hundred kilometers on the other side of the border on the same coast, I also interviewed fisher people and those people were facing mass die-off of the fish because of a coal company that was called the

Drummond Coal Company, right off every coast near Santa Maria. And it was based in the United States. And they had left these enormous mounds of coal open to the wind to blow that dust over and onto the ocean. And the result of that was the die-off of the fish. And so this was the total contamination of the shores in Colombia. Again, this is prior to Gustavo Petro.

who is currently the president so this is prior to that and one of the reasons that petro and Francia Marquez who is afro colombiana organizer of the coast was able that the two of them are able to you know bring their their party to um to electoral victory with the the presidency i'm now in colombia

And so that's a good thing. It's a good thing that Gustavo Petro and Francia Marquez are now there in Colombia to protect some of these same communities from the abuse by mining, by, you know, coal companies in this case. And what we're seeing in Venezuela is a very direct attack for the resources and also for geopolitical positioning.

the Trump regime about their intent to, you know, rule Venezuela and determine the terms of these oil companies. We have to be very aware that what they're trying to do is eliminate these environmental controls. They want to have a total free monopoly of corporate.

extraction that has massive implications for eroding the kind of law that has come out of popular democracies from below to create these. And people have died for this. They have fought for this for decades. That's right. You know, it took so much for them to get to an

electoral place. So I realize I'm moving through some periods of time, but I want to emphasize that these elections have been happening from 1998. It was 56 percent win.

Even with one year after the Constituent Assembly, again, huge referendum, massive turnouts. At that moment, early on, was when the media campaign in the United States discredited, undermined, sabotaged, put their full weight into establishing a narrative that they were a dictatorship.

So the first time that I remember seeing this come into the media was when I started a PhD program in New York, and this was in about 2006. And I remember seeing everywhere across the media, CNN, big blasted graphics across the entire screen, saying that Charis was a menace, a dictator, a fool. And we have to remember this is at the height of the Democratic.

participatory democracy when we're seeing turnouts of over 70, 80 percent of the population. People who have been entirely marginalized were coming into the forefront and recognizing that the power that they had to self-determination of their own communities all throughout the country. That's right. So this is the mechanism that we're dealing with and also the context in which Maduro comes in.

to the presidency as someone who is carrying on with the Chavista laws and programs that are now at a different point. Now it is the communes have really been able to establish themselves. So these are collectives and communes that have, you know, exchange going on so that they've been able to resist the U.S. sanctions by their own exchange themselves. That's right.

They are no longer in dependency. The sanctions are no longer working. And so what we're seeing is the ratcheting up of the U.S. to destroy really what is the example of that way of being able to live that doesn't have corporate capitalism at the apex of their value systems. That's right.

And they're very explicit. We watched the interview last night of the Secretary of Energy, on Trump's Secretary of Energy, where he was explicitly saying, we have to rewrite the hydrocarbon laws. There you go. And Trump has declared himself on truth, one of his recent posts, the acting president of Venezuela. And just last Friday, which would have been like January 10th, I suppose, the top seat oil executives, ExxonMobil and...

Others saying, come on down, it's the largest reserves on the planet, and we're going to help you take it over. And I think that's why one of the ways that imperialism is operating right now is the full erasure of the popular power that's happening there. And part of the history and the context that we speak from as a collective is that a lot of the work was already...

being established in the 80s, the terminology for indigenous people's rights. And some of our wonderful students from law school in the north here traveled on down, could afford to. We're going to be quite frank about that. And some of us trailed along with them, preliminary to 92, did the work and understood that the intersections and created intersections between race, poverty, and the environment.

Something that we were not really familiar with in our work up here, right? And that came through. And I want to name the person. He's no longer with us. And that would be Luke Cole, who said we needed attorneys on tap. Attorneys who can give and provide and serve on tap and minute, you know, and pro bono.

and that the community should care for that individual as well. So these are the things that I always want to intercede, interject. Thank you, Angela. I just feel like, you know, we're going to probably do more segments. We have to continue the updates and having someone in our presence that has direct aligned to Caracas, to what showered upon those people.

My people, your people, all our people come from the outside. We all know this has been going on since the beginning. Our time is domination and control. We're good at recovering and we're good at restoration. Thank you, Judy, to Logan and Angela Marino for that enlightening conversation.

If you want to find out more about Tribunal Rising, the book that they both are editors of, you will find information about it at listenandbeheard.net. We archive all of our shows as well as compile a master reading list of every book that we've ever...

talked about really on the Listen and Be Heard network. So if you're looking for something to read, it's a great resource of, you know, enlightened writing and writers. And you'll find conversations with many of those writers also archived at listenandbeheard.net. So this is Beyond Borders, season two.

Episode 2, we were listening to Judy in conversation with Angela Marino. And in the second half of this show, we will listen to an update from Seth Donnelly.

who we had as a guest previously on season one of Beyond Borders.

when he explained to us at length the whole idea behind taxpayers against genocide. So I invite you to visit our archives and listen to that previous episode in season one of Beyond Borders. But we're going to get an update from Seth a little later in the show.

And as well, we're going to hear a conversation between Hernan and Olga Kavran, one of the many people he's made friends with around the world during his travels as a world-

class soloist on many different instruments. Olga Kavran completed a PhD on the topic of international criminal courts.

obligation to provide information to the public. And she's the founding director of Eustacom, which was established in 2021 as the first non-governmental organization dedicated to communicating justice. And she was the head of outreach and legacy at the Special Tribunal for Lebanon.

And there's much more that we can tell you, and we hope to have her as a guest on a future episode. For now, we're going to bring to you a little bit of a conversation that she had with Arnon while she was visiting New York back in November of 2025.

And I think her comments about some of the events in Yugoslavia and Serbia are very apropos to some of the conversation that we just heard about what's going on here in the Americas. If there's something that I've gotten out of pulling together this episode these past couple of weeks, it's that

This idea of reaching beyond borders is really important, and I believe that we're exercising our muscles here, and perhaps they haven't actually been used that well. And maybe it's not entirely our fault, because our imaginations have to stretch beyond.

the things that are freely available to us. And we have to question those things that are, you know, presented to us as if they are the truth. And I think one of the best ways to question things is to be able to get different perspectives and understand from people like you and me who are somewhere else what's going on somewhere else from their perspective and not necessarily what we're being.

fed by different sources that we don't know exactly what their motivations are or why these things are being presented in the way they are. So to go to Venezuela to talk about the native experience here on Turtle Island, to

then go to Eastern Europe and talk about Yugoslavia and Serbia and how the events there relate to Palestine and the word genocide even, how to think about genocide with a global perspective.

And I suppose that's what we're reaching for here when we say beyond borders is that we want to embrace ourselves as one and get beyond these things that cause so much destruction and harm. So I will stop with that for a moment. Let's take...

a little music break. And when we return after station identifications, we will return to Judy Talaugon, who will talk with Seth Donnelly about taxpayers against genocide. And then we will go on to a conversation between Hernan Romero and Olga Kavra.

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facet of being a human being. I want to share the moment here with Angela's partner and amazing comrade who's been leading the conversation nationally now gone international on taxpayers against genocide. A preliminary conversation to this conflict that we're facing now this horrible attack by tyrants and billionaires who should not even be part of our agenda.

a part of our existence. Seth is a retired teacher from Los Altos and came on over to Northern California and continued that amazing work with Kataria High School, which is important to me because I'm from here. And this type of teacher, I must say to my audience, is the one that you remember. And this is...

Yeah, no, the educator, absolutely, Seth. Seth Donnelly has been deeply entrenched in the movement, as I am also a childhood activist. I'm using that term freely nowadays because we want to teach our young mentors that this all comes from someplace. We all have deep, original stories to do with the revolution. I wanted to interrogate the educator's lens.

you know on civic responsibility and moral formation and that your work for taxpayers against genocide has now not just uh opened the dialogue and the ongoing discourse that has been ongoing but we haven't really brought it forward we hadn't really elevated that dialogue

How does that feel for you right now? And what has the U.S. education system failed to teach now that you're really speaking to the climate and really speaking to my contemporaries? We've come up really hoodwinked on a lot of things. What does it feel like talking about the empire? Right, right. Well, thank you for your question. It's good to be back, too, on this program. Just shifted from teaching within the last year or so. So my teaching...

I taught for several decades and it's still very fresh. And what I can say is that within, even within the quote-unquote liberal Bay Area of California, where I taught in public school during those years, is that the constraints are still very real, that it's permissible to raise questions about particular officials or particular administrations, but a more deeper interrogation.

of the nature of the U.S. system, the civics, the system of power, or the nature of capitalism, because I also taught economics for, economics, civics, and U.S. history, that

there's certain sort of invisible but understood boundaries you don't cross, right, as a teacher. If you cross them, you start raising questions about capitalism or about...

is the U.S. really democratic after all, as opposed to just a flawed system, but is it actually democracy in the first place, then the educator who does that can be viewed as being too, quote, political, even if it's done in the most dialogical, participatory manner with the students. So that's like, I guess, what you call hegemony, right? Like there's an ideological set of assumptions that the U.S. is a flawed democracy, that capitalism is the best of all possible economic systems.

And that U.S. history is linear, this march of this flawed democracy. So when I taught, I definitely, I was able to move beyond those boundaries in a lot of ways, both in terms of guest speakers. Unfortunately, I didn't know you yet, but our comrades and mutual comrades, people from the Black Panthers, I would invite to come in and speak to the students.

I took over 12 delegations of students to Haiti, where we have ties to the people's movement in Haiti. Tell me. And it really blew open those boundaries and invited genuine critical thinking about the kind of world we're living in and the role of the U.S. I got some blowback and some complaints, but I had tenure and I had, fortunately for most of my career, I had an administration to have my back.

But a lot of teachers aren't so lucky, right? They're shut down or they internalize, just like the journalists working for NBC and the corporate media. They internalize. They know what the boundaries are. But I think that's our fundamental task, whether it's in public school or beyond, is to raise those deeper questions. And the last thing I'll say in response to what you've asked is, you know, a lot of times I see people creating educational spaces outside of the public system because of these boundaries. And one of them is our mutual friend, Jose Lopez.

Your listeners might be interested to know that in the 90s, I lived in Chicago and worked very closely with the Puerto Rican Cultural Center, which set up an alternative high school for a lot of Puerto Rican youth that were pushed out of the public system in West Side Chicago. And it turns out, when I met you, that those folks in that movement, you worked very closely with them organizing the tribunal in 1992. Absolutely. And it was the same thing. You know, whether it was the tribunal in 1992 or there were alternative high schools, we have to move and create the spaces.

where people are going to get the education they need. The education and the critical of the moment to really think, you know, of involuntary complicity. You know, teachers are faced

with having to provide that analysis or an analysis for students. You've never been shy of offering that in your classes, you know, to discuss really truly like, you know.

tax, paying taxes. I don't want to say that I'm not trying to quote your curriculum, what your class studies were, but I've been there and I've been a participant in some of what you present to the students. And this is what I wanted to bring to the show is that while Seth is retired and fully active in leading the dialogue and the charge for, I would say, everyone who is questioning their tax dollars.

financing a military machine, weaponizing aerospace, where I go completely violating treaties left and right by privatized companies, we're a little out of whack. So, you know, I just feel like more instructors in education to really argue really...

what the next round, the next level of a generation of participation in architecture, in a new society. Right. And I just feel really blessed to be with you, to be able to talk about these things, because this is, as you know, is probably my priority as a student. I'm all about the student. I mean, you are absolutely, I see you in action. You're as good as it gets. So is there something right now that I would like, you know, is there a strategic pressure?

You know, I can imagine, right? Yes. What can we tell the audience? Sure. How can we align ourselves? So I think what CAG, what we're at right now, so in case your listeners missed the earlier program, TAG now is a grassroots movement without any kind of staff, or it's just a movement of thousands of taxpayers across the United States, from New York to California and in between, who first and foremost are opposed to our tax orders being used to fund genocide.

And the initial impetus of that was and remains the ongoing genocide of Palestine. But we also recognize that our tax dollars have been used consistently to fund genocide right here in Turtle Island. It was in the 19th century. It was U.S. tax dollars that were being used literally to the federal tax dollars being used to pay people in this state in California money who brought the scalps of indigenous peoples. Thank you. And that was an ongoing tax subsidies for.

big projects like the Dakota Access Pipeline in more recent years. So we don't see genocide as something far from North America, but actively ground zero is right here in North America, as well as, of course, perpetuating other forms of white supremacy in North America. So we're opposed to...

As taxpayers, is our money being used for empire at the expense of basic human rights and the expense of planetary survival? What Angela was saying a few minutes ago is it's our tax dollars that have funded those bombs that fell on the universities and that have involved this big Keiko or Venezuela for oil. So our sense is if we organize collectively and start

demanding accountability, we have a lot more power than we realize. Some of us are in a position where we can refuse to pay taxes.

Not everybody can. That's right. But all taxpayers can come together and we're now engaged. TAG is engaged in an effort with the National Lawyers Guild to seek international litigation against U.S. officials for genocide. And we're not going to stop until we see arrest warrants. I was going to say, what pressure points are underutilized? Yeah. What would you say as TAG? Yeah. What would you give to the audience right today?

Well, one of the mechanisms, so we started with a class action lawsuit right here in California, you know, which you know so well. We filed against our converse peoples in the Northern California Court District. All of them that had voted in April 2024 to re-up billions in military aid to Israel at the time, we said that was illegal in violation of international law, the U.S. Constitution. It's illegal to violate treaties, and the U.S. did ratify the genocide.

So that got shut down predictably because the federal court system is set up to protect the U.S. government and especially its practice of genocide. We anticipated that we would be shut down, but it was an organizing tool. And we also were fighting to win. We believe we had a strong legal argument since then. And that was shut down in last February. So almost a year ago. We then were working with Haweda Araf, who's an amazing Palestinian attorney out of Detroit and other guild attorneys.

That's the moment we need, and I feel like when I speak to our apprentice researchers, when I speak to graduate students, and I'm going there, when I speak to even my own colleagues, my contemporaries,

in the community, we've been organizing for decades. This is a long time coming. We didn't come here to not continue and to pick up the ball and continue the race, if you will. Such a tremendous appreciation for your generation coming in.

You know, you're like my son's age. I was completely proud of y'all. That the young mentors that you've been, you know, really cultivating a tremendous consciousness with here in probably one of the most, you know, Sonoma County can be very isolating and it's not the Bay Area. I don't mean to be so...

harsh about it, but it really is a direct region. And it deserves more teachers like yourself to come into, or at least educators coming into the community. Seth Donnelly and I will continue to bring to the Valley here and the Northern California events and educational opportunities to share in reception and festivity, you know, fair, you know, that diamond dip and that whole kind of, so we come over with some nice ideas.

in community organizing, encouraging people to keep it at the grassroots, and that this is part one of several segments. We want to keep our audience in tune to what they can do as taxpayers. I want to address the fact that I am Native American. I am here in unceded Miwok territory. I am a Shumash from...

A land that is completely occupied by Vandenberg Air Force Base, the Space Center. We have UCSB, which is a hub for biology and study of nature. So a lot of our land is occupied by research. And I am very interested in not just land back, but rematriating land. And so we're very, very in a tribunal with SAS students.

The panels that he designs for us to educate the public. Join us. Find Seth at 10. Join us. If I could give it to the listeners. Thank you for the shout out. It's taxpayersagainstgenocide.org. Again, taxpayersagainstgenocide.org. Please check us out. Join. We are all hands on deck. And I don't know if the listeners fully know.

but not just reciprocating your kindness, but when we talk about gifted educators bringing up multiple generations, I'm thinking of Judy to Logan. I've seen how you operate with the current generation, the young mentors, Angela's students, and then my generation, you know, and all the people you've influenced, all from the 90s and all that. It's phenomenal. And I had the opportunity right before I stopped teaching to take my last group of students.

You were on one of those panels. That's right. And to see you in action. So I want to really give a shout-out to Judy Talaugon and to the Tribunal Project. What is the website of the Tribunal Project? It is thetribunalproject.org, and you can find it also under any...

label to do at Berkeley. But the Tribunal Project as a brand and as a label is very easy to find. Tribunal Rising is under East Wind Books' website. We'll throw those up. We'll throw those with the statement today. And if I could just give one other shout to our dear comrade, who's not with us right now, but Pierre Lebocier from AD Action Committee, because when we talk about what the U.S. is trying to do in Venezuela...

We can see it's what they did. It's exactly what they did in Haiti nearly 22 years ago from this February, which is in 2004, February 29th. It was a leap year. That's right. The U.S. military kidnapped the duly elected president of Haiti, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, and his wife, Mildred Aristide, the first lady, and abducted them from Haiti into forced exile and installed a dictatorship in Haiti that resulted in the initial immediate aftermath of around 10,000.

murders. The Lancet Journal alone said just outside the greater Port-au-Prince there was 10,000 killings. This is a scale of repression greater than what happened in Pinochet's Chile. That's right. But Haiti often is marginalized even from the perspective of the West. And yet Haiti was the first country in the Americas to overthrow slavery and colonialism. It gave everything to support Simon Bolivar when he was trying to free the Americas.

And right now, 22 years later, after this coup,

There's not a single elected official left in Haiti, not even a mayor. Half the population, 5.7 million people, is on the edge of starvation. Being punished. And it's relentless violence. But the people are organizing. And when I mentioned Pierre, Pierre is a Haitian-American who works in steadfast solidarity, a close comrade of Judy's and myself here in the Bay Area. And he's co-founder of the Haiti Action Committee. So we encourage folks to check him out, too.

Haiti solidarity. I will post that. There's not one bit of the tribunal rising and the project that does not place the Haitian, the IT at the front end of this incredible new time to do the solidarity work necessary, the unifying that is necessary, the new friend making that is necessary. Pierre is extremely important to the work that we do. And I can't wait to bring that.

across the United States on tour, that is a dream of the Tribunal Project. And that is our first segment for now. Thank you, everyone. Thanks, Judy. Thank you so much. Yes, thank you, Judy Talogan and her special guests, Angela Marino and Seth Donnelly here on Beyond Borders. My name is Martha Cinader, and I am a co-producer with Judy Talogan.

and Hernan Ramiro of this show, Beyond Borders, now in its second season here on the Listen and Be Heard Network, which is now supported and sponsored by Sound System Culture, Inc. You can go to listenandbeheard.net or soundsystemculture.world and donate to this commercial-free podcast and radio show.

We're going to continue now with a conversation that Hernan had with Olga Kavran while she was visiting New York back in November of 2025. For democracy to work at all.

The individual has to be educated enough. And I'm not talking about the Greek. People don't make educated choices in elections. They need to understand some basic things. So they need to learn the basics about how the society functions, how economics function, you know, so that they cannot be told stupid stories like, oh, yeah, communism is the worst thing. Yeah, well, yeah, it is in the way that people have tried to implement it. Well, when you think extreme, I mean, yes.

I mean, to me, it's so obvious that the system we live in right now, which is capitalism, especially neoliberal capitalism, you know, is broken. That is broken. That will not help us. Right. So we do I have a solution? No. Have I seen anybody proposing a solution that seems workable to me right now? No. We're all the solutions that that that seem to be.

offered at the moment are some correctives on a system that's already broken. I'm not sure how that's going to work, but I'm not an expert on that. But if you remember when we were in Belgrade, that one time when you were in Belgrade, Thomas Piketty, the French...

economist who wrote a very interesting study about, you know, the capitalists. Oh, that's right. Remember? Yes, he was speaking and he's great. His analysis is great. But I don't know if he has offered and I'm...

Take the caveat of not really reading everything he has written. I would like to see solutions that he offers on the basis of that analysis. So his analysis is very important of how the system is broken. Now we need to, you know, figure out ways which we can make it practical.

Fix it, right? We need to fix it. Otherwise, we're screwed. But just going back to your earlier question, how do I see this going and stuff? It's really, I mean, Serbia is a tiny little place halfway across the world. So for most people here, it's not relevant as an experience. What is, however, relevant is the universality of it. So what you see when you get to the point of us and them.

To the point that them, whoever they might be, like if you're a Democrat, then them are the Republicans. If you're a mega, then the lefties or whatever. However you call them, right, that you start hating as a classic, it leads to war. Of course. Full stop. My friend Yudita Logan says, you know, we're all experts in genocide as human beings. And she takes it from that place to be able to grow out.

so that don't excuse yourself what that means when it comes where again we keep saying never again and it happens again and it's in the alb color i mean we all are experts we see it we've experienced it it somewhere black white of course and everywhere and that people hear but i'll say what strikes me but uh like you have hope

I'm going to ask you, is there hope? I absolutely do. But I'll tell you why I have hope. I have very concrete reasons for hope. Because, because, so, you know, we've been talking about this from, you know, the early 90s. So I was first a peace activist when I saw a war coming. Of course, that didn't work, unfortunately. The war happened anyway. And then I've been dealing with the aftermath of it when you're talking about dealing with the crimes.

But when the war was happening, I had no idea in my mind that these people would ever be held responsible. So from my perspective, the fact that we had the tribunal that I worked for for many years and the fact that, you know, it put away more than 90 people for horrible crimes, to me, that's reasons for optimism, right?

So you believe it's possible. First of all, people were held accountable and people who never, anybody, nobody thought would be held accountable. That's one thing. Secondly, think about even now, right? So yes, of course, it's not expected that the ICC will ever arrest Netanyahu, or at least not for the time being. But I'll say two things about that. Back in the former Hugo, there was a general by the name of Ratko Mladic. He was on the run for 16 years.

And then he was caught and then he was tried and now he's in prison. So who can say what will happen in 16 years? What will happen in 16 years? Nobody can say. So that's one reason to be optimistic. Secondly, another thing is...

Look at how he has to plan his travel. Whenever they're talking about him traveling somewhere, all the media are talking about where is he going to fly, how is he going to fly. The world is no longer accessible to him in the way that it has been. And it will never be again.

There is already beginning. That's already important. And the most important thing, and this is something that's directly connected to what was happening in the Balkans, or rather what was happening with the trial when the Serbian president, Milosevic, was on trial.

He kept saying that this is not, it's not him who's on trial, that it's in fact Serbia that's on trial. It's the same rhetoric. It's the same rhetoric. Netanyahu is saying it's not me, it's Israel, you want to destroy. He was saying you want to destroy the Serbs. And it's like, no, we just want to put you in prison for what you did.

And it's the same story. Netanyahu is now, you just want to destroy Israel. No, we want to put you in prison where you belong. So this is the whole point. And in that way, it's exactly the same. So they just need to be not allowed to get away with that stuff. And people need to accept the fact that there's a difference between the regime. I mean, the stuff that's going on, right? The regime, which is the government of Israel and the people. There's a difference. There's not every Jewish person is responsible for this. God, no.

It's the regime that is responsible. We're having this, of course, we're having these issues. And this is not to let him hijack that story. And I have a lot of friends here in New York, very proudly Jewish, who resent the fact that Netanyahu has hijacked that story. And they're saying, he doesn't speak for me. It made it in the spiritual aspect. And they say... The beauty of the Jewish religion.

And they're saying, he doesn't speak for me. He doesn't speak for me. And I get upset. And I'll tell you what a friend of mine told me, which is really interesting as well, is in the 90s, when I would meet people here, this is 91, 92, whatever. And when I was outside of Serbia,

they would ask me, where are you from? And I would say, I'm from Serbia, but I do not support.

Milosevic. And I always would say that in the same sentence. I come from Belgrade. I wouldn't say I'm from Serbia necessarily. That was still the former Yugo. I'd say I'm from Belgrade, but I do not support Milosevic, right? And this friend of mine said to me, she said, I used to wonder why you would say that. I used to kind of like wonder to my wife. And then she said, now I understand because as of the last few years, not just now, but, you know, for the past, I don't know, six, seven, eight, nine years, whatever, she said that she had felt the need to say I'm Jewish, but I do not support what the Israeli government is doing. And she says, and all of a sudden I understood your story from 30 years ago. And this is all to say that human experiences are the same. Thank you to Olga Kavran for bringing us a bit of her own human experience and perspective to Beyond Borders.

And to my co-producer and co-host, Hernan Ramiro, for bringing us that conversation with Olga. And we hope to have her again on this show. Thank you also to my other co-producer and my mentor, Judy Talaugon, who spoke with Angela Marino and Seth Donnelly on the west coast of Turtle Island.

And you'll find more information about Tribunal Rising, the Tribunal Project, Taxpayers Against Genocide, Olga Kavran, the Fundamental Rights Research Center, all of that, the information in our archives for this episode two of season two of Beyond Borders.

which is brought to you by Listen and Be Heard Network. My name is Martha Cinader, and it is my pleasure to bring these programs to you, and I want to thank you for listening and for the opportunity to be heard.

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