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Vol. 61 No. 8 Feb. 21, 2019

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#### The world demands

# NO WAR ON VENEZUELA!

#### By Sam Ordóñez

Feb. 17 — Nearly a month since the start of the U.S.-orchestrated coup attempt in Venezuela, the conflict remains primarily international because the coup plotters from the Venezuelan oligarchy and their U.S. masters have failed to gather forces within Venezuela capable of toppling the legitimate Bolivarian government.

Massive demonstrations have shown that the majority of the population continue to support Maduro. And despite repeated calls by the counterrevolutionary self-proclaimed government, the Bolivarian National Armed Forces (FANB) have not split or joined the traitors, beyond a handful of individuals.

The plotters are now openly inviting the U.S. military to intervene. The coup leaders have relied on the false claims of a humanitarian crisis, with the full cooperation of the U.S. and European news agencies, to justify the delivery of "humanitarian aid" as a way to open the gate to counterrevolution.

But international organizations have objected to this ploy. "Humanitarian action needs to be independent of political, military or other objectives," U.N. spokesman Stephane Dujarric told reporters in New York. (Reuters, Feb. 6)

The Red Cross, which recently expanded its programs with several Venezuelan hospitals, rejected the mission of the U.S. Agency for International Development. "We will not be participating in what is, for us, not humanitarian aid," stated Colombia's International Red Cross (ICRC) spokesperson Christoph Harnisch. (tinyurl.com/yxm6phtu)

The counterrevolutionaries around Juan Guaidó, the U.S. puppet who got no votes for president in last May's elections, have focused their media campaigns on convincing FANB troops to defect and allow the aid through. Guaidó has announced that Feb. 23 is the deadline for the delivery of humanitarian aid; and he has gone as far as to openly call for the U.S. to use military force to deliver it.

#### Venezuela needs sanctions lifted, not phony aid

The total amount of aid being delivered from the U.S. is estimated at \$25 million, and it is stated to be enough food and hygienic products to last several thousand people 10 days. In comparison, the latest sanctions announced by U.S. National Security Adviser John Bolton targeting Venezuelan oil assets are estimated to cost working and poor Venezuelans \$30 million a day.

The Bank of England has frozen \$1.4 billion worth of Venezuelan gold, which the bank says it will release to Guaidó. Washington also froze \$7 billion assets of Citgo, a subsidiary of the Venezuelan state oil company, under the latest sanctions. This means that in the past month, Washington and its allies have stolen \$8.4 billion, or more than 350 times the promised "aid."

The meager aid currently being gathered in the Colombian border town of Cúcuta is insignificant compared to the long-term damage that U.S. sanctions have already done to the Venezuelan economy since 2015.

Venezuela sits on the largest certified reserves of oil in the world. Due to the legacy of colonialism and U.S. imperialism, the Venezuelan economy relies heavily on the oil industry and imports many essential consumer products.

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Haitians rebel against their government, raise Venezuelan flag in solidarity.

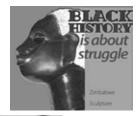
Demonstrators in Philadelphia protest Trump's Emergency Declaration.

WW PHOTO: JOE PIETTE

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Pauli Murray

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## ICE ramps up state terrorism in the South

By Rachel Utz Durham, N.C.

Feb. 16 — The Immigrations and Customs Enforcement agency has ramped up its presence in the South, specifically in North Carolina, over the past couple weeks. ICE has begun their known terrorism tactics of separating families and attacking Black and Brown workers.

The raids started Feb. 5 at a workplace in a gun-manufacturing center in Sanford, where 27 workers were detained. They continued with arrests of parents attempting to drop off their children at a high school in Durham.

There have been reports of ICE raiding homes and knocking on doors in neighborhoods with Black and Brown residents, specifically in the Latinx community. These neighborhoods are also heavily terrorized by a police presence.

Even when im/migrants are doing everything "right," they are punished and oppressed by the state. As of Feb. 12, ICE had detained more than 200 people across North Carolina. At least 60 of these arrests were collateral arrests of people who were not targeted, but who were simply in the wrong place at the wrong time.

During a Feb. 8 press conference, ICE Atlanta Field Office Director Sean Gallagher admitted these raids are in direct response to several North Carolina sheriff's departments' refusal to collaborate with federal immigration officials, specifically in reference to the controversial Section 287(g) of the Immigration and Naturalization Act. This section allows state and local law enforcement departments to voluntarily enter into a formal contract with ICE. Gallagher plans these raids to be the new normal.

To avoid run-ins with ICE, undocumented immigrants have resorted to drastic measures. These include not going

to work, keeping children out of school and fleeing their homes. Many of those living in Durham and other parts of the triangle area — which includes Raleigh, Chapel Hill and Carrboro — are afraid to drive and have been resorting to ride-shares.

#### **Community fights back**

Although ICE is attempting to maintain its campaigns of tyranny and manipulation, people have been fighting back.

Since learning of the ICE raids happening across the state, activists have been coordinating rapid-response measures and demonstrations to keep communities safe. The most recent tactics are volunteer ICE verifications, ride-shares and "know-your-rights" trainings and

Other groups have assembled vigils and actions in response to the raids. Several im/migrant-led organizations, such as Alerta Migratoria, Mijente, El Siembra and Comité de Acción Popular, have been pulling together groups over social media to respond and verify any known or suspected ICE activity. These organizations' goal is to prevent rumors that may ignite more fear among undocumented communities.

Another newly established online network is RadarSafe, which was created to inform communities about ICE raids, its whereabouts and how to identify ICE. RadarSafe also provides know-your-rights resources.

Even though ICE remains present, the community in the South is determined to keep their people safe. They demand an end to the attacks on undocumented workers, families, children and undocumented LGBTQ people. They call for the abolition of ICE, demand that local politicians and sheriffs end any collaboration with ICE and put people's safety first.  $\Box$ 

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## WORKERS WORLD

Workers World Party is a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party inside the belly of the imperialist beast. We are a multinational, multigenerational and multigendered organization that not only aims to abolish capitalism, but to build a socialist society because it's the only way forward!

Capitalism and imperialism threaten the peoples of the world and the planet itself in the neverending quest for ever-greater profits.

Capitalism means war and austerity, racism and repression, attacks on im/migrants, misogyny, LGBTQ oppression and mistreatment of people with disabilities. It means joblessness, increasing homelessness and impoverishment and lack of hope for the future. No social problems can be solved under capitalism.

The U.S. is the richest country in the world, yet no one has a guaranteed right to shelter, food, water, health care, education or anything else — unless they can pay for it. Wages are lower than ever, and youth are saddled with seemingly insurmountable student debt, if they even make it to college. Black, Brown and Indigenous youth and trans

### Join us in the fight for socialism!

people are gunned down by cops and bigots on a regular

The ruthless ruling class today seeks to wipe out decades of gains and benefits won by hard-fought struggles by people's movements. The super-rich and their political representatives have intensified their attacks on the multinational, multigender and multigenerational working class. It is time to point the blame at — and challenge — the capitalist system.

WWP fights for socialism because the working class produces all wealth in society, and this wealth should remain in their hands, not be stolen in the form of capitalist profits. The wealth workers create should be socially owned and its distribution planned to satisfy and guarantee basic human needs.

Since 1959, Workers World Party has been out in the streets defending the workers and oppressed here and worldwide. If you're interested in Marxism, socialism and fighting for a socialist future, please contact a WWP branch near you.

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### **WW Commentary**

## No walls, no wars

**By Teresa Gutierrez** 

On Feb. 14, Valentine's Day in the U.S., the world once again witnessed a president with no heart. One might even argue with no brain.

If this was Oz, it would be entertaining. But it's the belly of the imperialist beast, so when President Donald Trump announces any edict, it is ominous.

The workers and oppressed here and around the world are suffering. Migrants are agonizing at the southern border of the U.S. Yet on Feb. 14 Trump—calling up his signature campaign issue—declared that the national emergency that needed the most attention and funding was—the Wall at the southern border.

Sarah Sanders, Trump's press secretary, stated the emergency was needed "to ensure we stop the national security and humanitarian crisis at the border."

#### More, more, more money and lies for the Wall

At the Valentine's Day press conference, Trump, being his usual demagogic self, used racism and lies as arguments for more money and for the "emergency."

Making white-supremacist slurs that undocumented workers in the U.S. are all gang members, rapists and killers, Trump invited the "Angel Moms" to the event to prove his lies. These are mothers whose children were allegedly killed by migrants.

Everyone mourns the loss of a child. But when tragedies are weaponized and used as political pawns, they should be opposed. One of the "Angel Moms," Maureen Maloney from Massachusetts, lost her son in a motorcycle accident when he collided with a car driven by an undocumented worker. This is certainly no argument for racist pandering.

Congress has already approved a spending package of \$1.38 billion for the Wall. However, this massive amount is short of the \$5.7 billion that Trump demands.

Buoyed by his right-wing base, egged on by his reactionary friends on Fox News, Trump is determined to undermine even his own capitalist government to get his

By declaring a national emergency on the border, he aims to use executive action to put together \$8 billion to build his Wall.

#### **Both parties built the Wall**

In a joint statement, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer stated, "Declaring a national emergency would be a lawless act, a gross abuse of the power of the presidency and a desperate attempt to distract from the fact that President Trump broke his core promise to have Mexico pay for his wall." (NBC News, Feb. 14)

This is what some liberals call the "Resistance" today!

What if Trump had gotten Mexico to pay for the Wall? Would that have made the Democrats happy?

But despite the divisions between Trump and the Democrats-and now even some Republicans—both parties are responsible for the modern war on migrants. Both parties have paid for the militarized Wall that already exists.

The American Friends Service Committee has pointed out: "[P]olicies under every administration ... have systematically militarized southern border communities, criminalizing millions of immigrants and creating repressive conditions from California to Texas. ... Many of these efforts have been couched in the language of war," such as "the war on drugs ... the war on crime ... and the war on terror."

(tinyurl.com/yyj7yl4c)

Pedro Rios, director of the AFSC's U.S.-Mexico Border Program in San Diego, emphasizes that "today U.S. Customs and Border Protection, which includes the Border Patrol, is the largest law enforcement agency in the country."

Rios elaborates, "They use military-style enforcement tactics, equipment, and strategies to 'control' the border, including drone planes, military helicopters and the coordination of local law enforcement and federal forces that embolden vigilante groups."

#### **Humanitarian crisis at the Wall**

Clearly, the real crisis at the border is a humanitarian one that both parties created and that Trump has accelerated.

Families have been teargassed; legitimate asylum seekers have been locked up. Families have been torn apart, placed in cages and in detention centers that are cold and unbearable.

Children have died in custody-alone and afraid.

It is still not known how many children have actually been taken from their parents and placed in foster care. Officials say that many of these children will never be returned to their parents, many of whom have already been deported.

Despite the current posturing by Democrats, it was under the Democratic administration of President Barack Obama that more immigrants were deported than ever before or since in U.S. history.

Currently, liberals are up in arms about Trump's declaration of a national

emergency, worried about the alarming scope of his powers and violations of the U.S. constitution.

Yet the people of the border in south Texas, primarily Mexicans, live in an area that has been transformed, according to the National Network for

Immigrant Rights, "to a zone of permanent vigilance, enforcement and violence. ... [I]t has become an imagined war zone ... where the U.S. Constitution has little to no value." (tinyurl.com/y6nb24or)

Where is the concern for the constitutional rights of the Rio Grande Valley residents of south Texas?

Probably in the same place where Democrats talk about the rights of Black and Brown youth gunned down by racist police. Nowhere.

#### End the war on migrants, end all wars

Today, the Mexico/U.S. border in south Texas is the most militarized region in the country-because despite their bickering, both parties are united in defending the capitalist system.

According to the National Priorities Project for 2015: "[M]ilitary spending is projected to account for 54 percent of all federal discretionary spending, a total of \$598.5 billion." (tinyurl.com/pr7w8ml)

These billions should be spent on the people, on social services, not for the Wall or for wars-certainly not for a war on



McAllen, TX.

Venezuela.

In a statement Senator Schumer released on "the crisis in Venezuela," he repeatedly lied to justify U.S. intervention and to rally other countries to the attack, while claiming that this was to support the Venezuelan people "in their efforts to restore democracy." (tinyurl.com/yxnxd2k7)

Yet the administration of President Nicolás Maduro is a democratically elected government that, if allowed to live in peace, would continue to create conditions that prevent migration.

Not one more cent should be spent on

Democratic party allies were scheduled to rally nationally Feb. 18 under the call "No Racist Wall, No Power Grab." They have finally been moved to call it a racist

Who will actually stop the Wall and the wars? The movement of the workers and oppressed must fight to dismantle the current militarized Wall and to end the war on migrants and all wars.  $\Box$ 

#### **MINNEAPOLIS**

## Trump's 'national emergency' protested

**By Wyatt Miller** Minneapolis

Article published first in fightbacknews.org.

Hundreds of people poured into the streets Feb. 16 to demonstrate against the latest escalation of President Trump's anti-immigrant policies.

The day before, Trump had declared a so-called "National Emergency Concerning the Southern Border of the United States." Under the National Emergencies Act, the declaration could grant Trump new executive powers to allocate billions of dollars in funding toward further militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border. Trump claimed these measures will allow him to fulfill the racist "build the wall" narrative that he has used to mobilize his white-supremacist base.

With only a day's notice, several hundred local residents and dozens of organizations responded to the call to protest Trump's declaration, issued by the Minnesota Caravan Solidarity coalition, which includes the Minnesota Immigrant Rights Action Committee (MIRAC), the Anti-War Committee, Hands off Honduras and many more local organizations. Demonstrators took to the streets - marching through the immigrant-rich neighborhoods of South Minneapolis before packing the Walker United Methodist Church for speeches and planning further militant actions.

"It's a political strategy. It's to get re-elected," Jorge Mújica Murias said of the national emergency declaration. "Donald Trump offered a wall to people who don't know what's going on in this

country, who don't know what's going on at the border and who don't know what's going on with people who make their meals at restaurants, who make their beds at hotels and pick their food in every field in the United States."

"We the immigrants, we built this country," agreed MIRAC organizer William Martinez, an immigrant from El Salvador.

"We are union members, teachers, nurses, people in construction and in the office. These are the people who built this country."

A student, who had recently travelled to Tijuana, Mexico, to observe the conditions of refugees seeking asylum at the U.S. border, denounced the emergency declaration. "This is a deliberate abuse of power that is going to hurt the most vulnerable in Tijuana right now," she said. "People fleeing violence have the right to go to a port of entry and ask for asylum, and that's not what's happening at our borders. Young people, LGBTQ people are being denied this right."

The national Legalization for All Network put out a call for local protests after Trump declared a state of emergency, as have other national organizations and networks. Actions happened in several cities this weekend, and many more are planned around the country on Monday.

The Minneapolis event featured lively discussion of next steps in the fight against racist political attacks on immigrants.

"The media is going to be talking a lot



Minneapolis, MN

about legal challenges

to Trump's declaration and also about legislation in Congress to stop it," said Joe Callahan of Minnesota Caravan Solidarity. "But we don't want to rely on those things, especially those legal challenges ending up in a Supreme Court that is very conservative."

"A lot of the crises in Latin American countries that lead to their people seeking asylum in the United States are the result of aggressive U.S. foreign policy and military intervention," said Autumn Lake of the Anti-War Committee. "When we are mobilizing in the streets, when we are voting, if we care about the plight of our migrant brothers and sisters from Latin America, it is imperative that we also put pressure on politicians to adopt anti-war, anti-imperialist stances."

"This manufactured crisis is nothing more than a pretext to criminalize our immigrant neighbors, militarize our borders and erode our constitution," said David Gilbert-Pederson, a trade unionist with Minnesota Workers United. "But we say no. We will march, we will rally, we will sit in, we will strike and we will shut this whole damn system down."



## Chicago charter teachers win historic strike victory!

Education workers, parents and students won the second-longest charter-teacher strike in U.S. history on Feb. 18. Teachers and paraprofessionals, represented by the Chicago Teachers Union, reached a tentative agreement with Chicago International Charter Schools that will give teachers the limited class sizes they demanded. In addition, their pay and that of counselors and social workers will rise to the level of their Chicago Public School colleagues. Both sides agreed to a tentative contract after nine days of picketing, which began Feb. 5. (Chicago Sun Times, Feb. 16)

After nine months of contract negotiations, around 200 teachers withheld their labor at four CICS unionized schools. Five independent "school management organizations" operate these campuses with taxpayer dollars. The education workers won by securing the support of parents and students, who joined them on picket lines. Politicians also tweeted support; on Feb. 15, the Rev. Jesse Jackson urged parents and students to take their picket lines to the highways.

CTU leaders accused Civitas Education Partners, CICS's management firm, of siphoning off \$36 million in public money to line executives' pockets while keeping teachers' pay down. As CTU President Jesse Sharkey told the Sun-Times, "[We struck to] make sure funds go to our classrooms, not the three different layers of boardrooms this company uses to run its schools."

Thanks to the strike, educators will see a pay raise of 35 percent by the last year of the 4-year contract and a reduction in class sizes to 28 students, capped at 30. Workers also won "sanctuary language" to protect undocumented students from federal immigration agencies. CTU spokesperson Chris Geovanis said, "This is a huge step forward in terms of reforming the charter industry, which basically banks its own personal profits on the fact that it pays workers less to do more." (CTU.org, Feb. 18)

#### Southern unionization holds the line

2018 marked a disappointing year for labor nationally, due to the Supreme Court's setback in the Janus decision. (WW, June 27, July 3) But a Feb. 4 Louisiana Weekly article shows why unions should have hope, given that union membership held ground in the South for the second straight year. (The South has traditionally had the lowest level of unionization in the U.S. due to its history of slavery and white supremacy, and the Taft-Hartley union-busting legislation of 1947.)

Chris Kromm's article cited Bureau of Labor statistics showing the share of Southern workers belonging to unions barely declined between 2017-18, from 5 to 4.9 percent, while the number of organized workers there held steady at 6.1 percent. The number of organized Southern workers is 2.3 million, with another 546,000 workers in unions but not official members — due to Taft-Hartley "right to work" (for less) laws. This compares to the national average for union membership of 10.5 percent, which fell from 10.7 percent. (BLS.gov, Jan. 18) The author expects the gap to grow as a result of Janus.

Kromm reminds us of the successful struggle of the West Virginia teachers' strike in February 2018: That struggle continues today. (WW, Feb. 12) The strike sparked large-scale protests in seven more states, including Kentucky, North Carolina and Virginia. Kromm stresses: The rest of the U.S. should take its cues from the South!

## Mass. energy workers win improved 6-year contract

After a 7-month lockout, 1,200 members of Steelworkers (USW) Locals 12003 and 12012 voted overwhelmingly on Jan. 7 to ratify a 6-year agreement with National Grid. The contract includes significant wage increases, preserves affordable benefits, provides additional health and safety provisions, and other protections for the natural-gas workers and residents. "The bottom line is when working people stand together and fight for each other, they win," said District 4 Director John Shinn. "This contract is a win for these workers and for the entire community." (usw.org, Jan. 7)

The contract struggle with National Grid, a British-owned energy company also serving three northeastern states, began when the contract expired June 24. Instead of respecting "both public safety and economic justice," NG chose to lock the workers out and use "a combination of contractors and management staff, neither of whom have the experience with live gas lines required to ensure public safety." (usw.org, June 26)

That decision cost NG big time on Sept. 13, when dozens of explosions and fires in three towns north of Boston were triggered by a ruptured natural gas pipeline, killing at least one person, injuring 12 and forcing the evacuation of hundreds of residents from 39 homes. (Reuters, Sept. 13)

Capitalists beware: This is why it doesn't pay to try to save money by shortchanging highly skilled workers in life-or-death jobs!

#### **Enough is enough!**

#### Oakland teachers set Feb. 21 strike date

By Judy Greenspan Oakland, Calif.

At a Feb. 16 press conference Oakland Education Association President Keith Brown said, "Enough is enough. Bargaining with our school district has not worked. The only option that Oakland teachers, parents and students have left to win the schools Oakland students truly deserve and to take control of our district back from the billionaires is for the 3,000 OEA members to go on strike." (ktvu.com, Feb. 16)

Brown announced that teachers will strike Feb. 21, following over two years of Oakland teachers having bargained for a fair contract

and support services for students. Brown said, "Oakland teachers cannot afford to live in Oakland. One out of five leaves each year. Our students do not have adequate supports. Oakland Unified School District schools are not failing; OUSD is failing our schools. This is a racial justice issue in a school district that is overwhelmingly students of color. We have been fighting for two years for justice."

On Feb. 15, a three-member "neutral," fact-finding commission released a report validating all the OEA contract demands for higher salaries, smaller class sizes and more nurses and counselors in the schools.

In the midst of contract negotiations, the OUSD came out with a five-year "blueprint" plan to close or consolidate 24 neighborhood schools. The first school closure announced was Roots International Academy, a predominantly African-American public school. Despite a strong community-led campaign by Roots teachers, students and parents, the school board voted 6-1 to close Roots. The teachers' union quickly responded by opposing all plans to close Oakland public schools.

OEA President Brown made it clear that the union is opposed to the unregulated growth of charter schools in the district at the expense of public schools. Thirty percent of all schools are currently charters. OUSD priorities are clearly



Feb. 16, Keith Brown: 'We will strike for the future of education in Oakland.'

not the students. OUSD priorities are billionaire donors who have funneled over one half a million dollars through Go Public Schools and the California Charter School Association into school board races in the last three years alone.

Brown explained that the Oakland school superintendent and school board are implementing a so-called "portfolio district" plan like ones forced upon poor communities in New Orleans, Detroit and Newark, N.J. This model mandates public school closures in Black and Brown communities despite lack of evidence that closing schools saves money.

Several Oakland parents spoke at the press conference, calling upon parents to not send their children to school in support of the strike. They urged parents, community members and students to join the teachers on the picket line.

Union leader Brown reminded everyone that on Feb. 21, "We will strike with our parents. We will strike for our students. We will strike for education and racial justice. We will strike for the future of public education in Oakland."

Greenspan is a middle school public school teacher and a member of the Oakland Education Association. Follow the struggle at its website: oaklandea.org/ or the Stand with Oakland Teachers Facebook Page: tinyurl.com/y6kzvmn9/.

## NYC nurses picket for better staffing ratios

The New York State
Nurses Association held
informational picket lines
in front of 13 New York City
hospitals on Feb. 13, six
weeks after their 2015-18
contract expired on Dec. 31.
The contract is with the
New York City Hospital
Alliance, a bargaining group
that includes Montefiore,
Mount Sinai and New
York-Presbyterian, as well
as three independent NYC

hospitals. On top of wanting a raise, the nurses are demanding adequate staffing ratios and caseloads, which presently are "overwhelmingly high in both volume and acuity." Statistics were compiled from nearly 3,800 official "protests of assignment" signed by over 20,000 nurses from January to December 2018. (nysna.org, Feb. 13) The union says this situation "challenge[s] the dedicated registered nurses who work tirelessly to protect and



PHOTO: NYSNA TWITTER

advocate for the patients, families and communities they serve."

The union has not yet held a strike vote. Meanwhile, the NYSNA-supported Safe Staffing for Quality Care Act, with a proposed nurse-to-patient ratio of 2 to 1 in intensive-care units, failed to pass the state Legislature in 2018. (Crain's NY Business, Feb. 13) Stay tuned.

workers.org

#### Lessons of the Amazon struggle

## Mass movement stops corporate behemoth

#### By John Steffin **New York**

To the surprise of almost everyone — from the bourgeoisie to the forces opposing Amazon - the behemoth announced Feb. 14 that it would not be building its promised HQ2 in Long Island City, in the Queens borough of New York.

And why was everyone surprised? To put it into perspective: Amazon CEO Jeff Bezos is the wealthiest man in the world, and his company recently exceeded \$1 trillion in wealth. In this high-tech era of capitalism, Amazon is a major part of the system. Not only do nearly half of all e-commerce transactions go through Amazon, but it has also expanded into webhosting, data storage, facial recognition technology, and, now with the acquisition of Whole Foods, brick-and-mortar retail.

In other words, a large segment of private capital depends on Amazon for its profitability. So do many branches of the bourgeois government, like the State Department, for their continued rule over the masses of people.

On top of this, New York politicians Gov. Andrew Cuomo and Mayor Bill de Blasio bent over backwards to attract Amazon. Not only did they put together one of the largest packages of corporate welfare in history - worth nearly \$3 billion in government handouts - but Cuomo even offered to change his name from "Andrew" to "Amazon" if it would get Amazon to set up shop here.

Most people assumed that if Amazon wanted something, it would get it. But that wasn't the case.

Now, instead of preparing for what many expected would be a long campaign against one of the most powerful corporations in the world, people are saying, "Bye Jeff!" and throwing farewell parties.

#### How did we get here?

In its official statement on the decision, Amazon claims that 70 percent of New Yorkers had said they looked forward to the company's arrival, but some pesky state and local politicians made it feel unwelcome. (tinyurl.com/yxrby6xk)

This statement — setting aside the dubious origins of the 70 percent figure — reverses what actually happened. The politicians in question, who definitely had strong words for Amazon in recent City Council meetings and in the press, were pushed into saying these things by the mass grassroots struggle that was coalescing against Amazon.

Some of the politicians who became the biggest critics of the \$3 billion handout to Amazon, including New York City Councilman James Van Bramer and State Sen. Michael Gianaris, originally supported Amazon coming to New York. They, along with most New York politicians, signed a welcome letter to Amazon in 2017, when Amazon kicked off its bidding war to

see which city would offer the best deal for its new headquarters.

That these politicians reversed their positions, and did so quite strongly, is a testament to the mass movement, which had been building momentum for several years, but which exploded after news broke that Amazon had chosen Long Island City in Queens for HQ2.

Even before the bidding war for Amazon began in 2017, New York real estate developers and politicians had been trying to get the company to build an office along Brooklyn's Sunset Park waterfront. Amazon has always been seen by the ruling class as the magic bullet for the New York economy, which to them just means further gentrification and more profits.

For example, getting Amazon into Sunset Park could, many politicians and real estate developers had hoped, give Amazon an incentive to fund the construction of the BQX, the "gentrification train," as activists call the state-of-the-art streetcar system that would connect every piece of waterfront property between Long Island City and Sunset Park. This would, of course, not help the communities displaced in those areas. For that reason, the plan was bitterly opposed.

By the time of the Jan. 30 City Council meeting, the attempts to attract Amazon had united opposition from a broad layer of working-class and oppressed people in New York City.

A recent rally outside the City Council meeting included frontline communities composed primarily of people of color and migrants, as well as unions, tech workers, students and housing and transit advocates. ("New York: Mass



Protesters at New York City Council meeting, Jan. 30.

WW PHOTO: SARA FLOUNDERS

**Amazon battles unions** 

Feb. 4, workers.org)

The day before the surprise pull-out announcement, Gov. Cuomo hosted an "11th hour meeting" with Amazon and labor union representatives, including the AFL-CIO, which represents 50 national unions; New York State Teamsters; and the Department Store Workers (RWDSU). Cuomo presented a framework for Amazon to cooperate with the unions.

movement builds against Amazon HQ2,"

RWDSU President Stuart Appelbaum said the meeting had seemed to be productive, that the parties had agreed to stipulations of fair union elections, hostility-free and retaliation-free environments, and union access to communications with workers.

The next day Appelbaum commented: "I think the anger is about the way the whole process was done - that Amazon did it in a way that ignored the communities, ... ignored stakeholders, shrouded the whole process in secrecy. ... They do not listen to anybody's concerns. They refuse to even discuss what these concerns are." (tinyurl.com/y2jm2ttq)

With Amazon HQ2 no longer coming to New York, one question is: What will become of this mass movement? From Sunset Park to Long Island City, from higher paid tech workers to lower-paid workers in Amazon storefronts and warehouses, as well as the unemployed living in public housing who faced displacement, what will be the afterlife of the connections built through this struggle?

As Leon Trotsky wrote in his "History of the Russian Revolution," it was the masses who led the February Revolution in 1917,

guided by their own experience from past struggles. So the other question is: What did we learn from this experience?

#### What Amazon's decision tells us about current conditions

Despite Amazon's attempt to revise the story, people are discovering the power they have. The masses - not politicians - scared the wealthiest man in the world who owns the wealthiest corporation in the world out of town only three months after his company decided to build a headquarters here. The lesson is clear: The ruling class is not invincible.

What's also clear, however, is that the ruling class realizes this power, too. In the last several months, we have seen again and again how the ruling class, not just in the U.S. but around the world, has conceded just before a major struggle breaks out.

In France this December, Macron offered a string of concessions before the unions went on strike in solidarity with the Yellow Vests. In January, Trump announced an end to the government shutdown just as unions began talking about a general strike. And then, in New York City, we've seen Cuomo reverse the L train shutdown and Bezos reverse Amazon's course since the start of 2019.

The system is more decayed than ever, and the material conditions are not in the ruling class's favor. These concessions are buying time, but until when it's not clear. The bourgeoisie is deeply divided over how to manage the overall system of capital accumulation, and as a result, the system is more anarchic than ever. But one thing they all agree on is that a major working-class revolt would be bad for all segments of the capitalist class. And so they are doing everything they can to prevent that, including offering concessions.

It's still too soon to see what impact Amazon's decision will have on the struggle. Will this movement dissolve, or will it find new targets?

Undoubtedly, Amazon's war on our class will continue, not just wherever it decides to build HQ2. But even in New York City where Amazon still has 5,000 workers — like those facing horrible conditions in the Bronx and Staten Island fulfillment centers. Amazon says it will continue to expand its presence here.

Given the number of issues raised during the Amazon struggle - from crumbling transit infrastructure to criminally underfunded public housing and **Immigration and Customs Enforcement** deportations — the mass movement may shift its focus elsewhere.

What's important, however, is that we maintain our unity and continue the struggle. Today, let's celebrate our victory.  $\Box$ 



Protesters at New York City Council meeting, Jan. 30.

WW PHOTO: JOHN STEFFIN

## **ALERT! Danger of U.S. military confrontation on** Venezuelan-Colombian border! All out for Feb. 23!

The following is based on an email from the No War on Venezuela coalition issued Feb. 18.

Global solidarity actions with Venezuela on Feb. 23 have taken increased urgency as the U.S. intensifies its military presence in the Caribbean and Colombia.

The people of the world are saying, "No war on Venezuela! No war for oil!"

More than 70 actions are planned for Feb. 23 across the globe against U.S. military intervention in Venezuela. (nowaronvenezuela.org)

See the growing list of actions and find one in your area, or submit details on an activity you're planning in your city. Tell Trump: No wall! No war!

#### U.S. is ramping up — so is the movement for Venezuela

The Cuban government has warned that the U.S. military is taking positions in strategic locations throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. The U.S. military is currently flying so-called "humanitarian aid" in military aircraft into Cucuta, Colombia, on the Venezuelan border.

The aid is likely a ploy to cover smuggling arms into Venezuela and a tool to provoke confrontation to justify greater U.S. intervention - a strategy that mirrors many previous U.S. military aggressions in Latin America and across the world.

While the U.S. offers paltry Trojan Horse "aid," the U.S. simultaneously levies sanctions that cost Venezuela \$20 billion a year, while the Bank of England steals \$1.2 billion in Venezuelan gold reserves.

Opposition leader and U.S. puppet Juan Guaidó has called for the "aid" to be brought across the border Feb. 23, one month after his failed coup attempt. His announcement, as well as the U.S. military buildup, are warnings of imminent military action against Venezuela.

On Feb. 22, English billionaire Richard Branson is organizing a propaganda spectacle on the Colombia-Venezuela border, "Venezuela Live Aid," as a cover for war. This mega-media event will push the U.S. imperialist lie that the Venezuelan people need and want U.S. intervention.

U.S. National Security Advisor John Bolton has admitted what U.S. intervention is really about: "It will make a big difference to the United States economically if we could have American oil companies invest in and produce the oil



capabilities in Venezuela." (tinyurl.com/yb83kchq)

Just as with the invasion of Iraq, this is U.S. intervention for oil profits. Venezuela's oil belongs to the Venezuelan people, not U.S. oil companies!

Meanwhile, U.S. President Donald Trump has announced a declaration of a "national emergency" to move billions in funds and even more U.S. troops to the U.S./ Mexico border to build the racist border wall. U.S. Marines have also recently been deployed to Haiti to repress a growing uprising by the Haitian people.

#### Global call for actions for Venezuela on Feb. 23

Over 200 organizations and thousands of individuals from across the world have endorsed the call for actions on Feb. 23. Actions have been announced in a growing number of U.S. and Canadian cities, as well as Australia, Azerbaijan, Ecuador, India, Iran, Italy, Mexico, Scotland and many other countries.

The actions on Feb. 23 are part of an international movement to shut down U.S. imperialism and the destruction it has brought to peoples across the planet.

We say: No U.S. troops on the border with Mexico, in Haiti or Venezuela!

No wall, no war! No war for oil! All out Feb. 23 for Venezuela!

Many new resources for Feb. 23 have been added to Nowaronvenezuela.org, including large posters with room to add your local event, a leaflet on the impact of sanctions on Venezuela produced by the Latin American and Caribbean Solidarity Network, a fact sheet on Venezuela and more.

We will be adding placards and other materials, so check the Resource page for regular updates.

Every action during the weekend of Feb. 23 — no matter the size or scale — will have an impact. Consider a smaller-scale action to raise awareness:

- Read the call and add your name or organization as an endorser at NoWarOnVenezuela.org.
- Link up with a few like-minded allies to print our fact sheets on Venezuela and pass them out in public places, such as a mall or public transit stop.
- Consider a banner-drop, a picket or holding signs and distributing fact sheets near a busy intersection or overpass. Get slogans or pre-made placards from our Resource page.
- Wear red with your friends and take a photo while holding pro-Venezuela messages and tag the photo on social media as #HandsOffVenezuela or #23feb.
- Picket your local gas station with messages that convey: NOT ANOTHER WAR FOR OIL!
- Screen "Venezuela: La lucha sigue," "The Revolution Will Not Be Televised" or other films that tell the truth about the Bolivarian Revolution at a public space or in your home. Invite like-minded activists to link up and begin to plan the next day of action in support of Venezuela.

#### Social media actions

- Make sure to post pictures of the actions you hold on Feb. 23 on social media with #HandsOffVenezuela and #23feb, and send them to info@nowaronvenezuela.org.
- Use our Facebook page to link up with like-minded allies, post a message on Twitter, tag our account or send an email to our international organizers. We will be glad to assist you in planning an action in your area and connecting with others in your area.

Please consider making a donation to support the organizing for the Feb. 23 global day of action: No War on Venezuela! Every mobilization has many hidden costs for websites, social media, signs, banners, printing, producing materials and more. Click here! tinyurl.com/yywot3dr/. Help us keep mobilizing against U.S war: No war on Venezuela!

## Venezuela's 'Caracazo' and imperialist hypocrisy

#### By Deirdre Griswold

This month marks the 30th anniversary of the "Caracazo" - a spontaneous uprising of the poor in Caracas, Venezuela, which lasted for days and had a tremendous impact on all lavers of society.

In February 1989, Caracas was a modern city of highrise apartment buildings and well-stocked stores, which catered to an affluent upper class who enjoyed the fruits of Venezuela's oil wealth. They were cosmopolitan and could afford to see the world. To American and European tourists and oil functionaries, Caracas was a delightful place, close to the Caribbean Sea but cooled by its 3,000-foot elevation in the mountains.

But tucked in and around the capital were impoverished neighborhoods where hungry people barely eked out an existence from day to day.

Many low-paid workers, priced out of the city, lived in surrounding areas and relied on buses to get to their jobs. Others lived inside the city, but were too poor to enjoy any of the benefits of urban life.

Then the government announced it would raise bus

#### Hunger brought people to boiling point

That was the last straw. While the wealthy could zip around in their high-end imported cars, those living on the edge had to choose between food and getting to work.

The fare increase led to an outburst of fury. Hungry people of all ages broke into stores and took whatever they needed or could drag home. At first it was food, but as the rebellion broadened, the stores were emptied of everything that could be carried away.

The Caracazo, or "Caracas smash," revealed the deep chasm between the social classes in Venezuela and showed — as the government mobilized the police and then the military to put down the rebellion — that these bodies of armed men existed to protect the property of the rich and put down any challenges to the status quo.

Venezuela has the largest oil reserves in the world. The Rockefeller empire, at that time called Standard Oil, began exploiting them in 1921. The Venezuelan government nationalized this valuable resource in 1976, supposedly for the benefit of the people. But at that time little changed for the hungry poor in Caracas.

#### U.S. oil companies suck out Venezuela's wealth

By the early 1990s, changes in the nationalization law had allowed U.S. companies like ConocoPhillips and ExxonMobil (originally Standard Oil) to

regain effective control of Venezuela's oil reserves. But even before the law was changed, the Caracazo had shown that this great wealth was benefiting only the few and not the

At the time of the Caracazo, Hugo Chávez was an officer in the Venezuelan army. Born into a working-class family, he sympathized with the plight of the workers and poor. He and a number of fellow soldiers had formed a secret organization within the military, known as the Bolivarian Movement 200, to spread revolutionary ideology among their peers.

The Caracazo of 1989 signaled to them that the masses were ready to rebel, and they must either try to take power or be used against the people.

On Feb. 4, 1992, Chávez and a group of his fellow officers led an attempt to overthrow the government of President Carlos Andrés Pérez. It failed, and Chávez agreed to



Feb. 27, the anniversary of the 'Caracazo,' is celebrated nationally as the day on which the Bolivarian Revolution was born in Venezuela.

surrender — but on the condition he be allowed to address his fellow officers on national television. He told his comrades that regrettably — "for now," he said — their goal of taking power could not be accomplished.

Chávez spent two years in jail, and he emerged in 1994 as a hero of the people. He formed a new political party, and in 1998 he was elected president of the country with 56 percent of the vote. He continued to be re-elected until his death, when he was succeeded by former bus driver and union leader Nicolás Maduro.

Today, after years of attempting to drown the Bolivarian Revolution through economic sanctions and direct sabotage, the U.S. imperialists, who have fattened for almost a century off Venezuela's oil, are trying to carry out a rightwing coup that would turn back the clock to the days of total rule by a hated U.S.-backed oligarchy.

And the hypocritical imperialists claim they are doing it to end hunger.

## U.S. military adventure against Venezuela must be stopped



PHOTO: CUBAMINREX

The Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba condemns the escalation of pressures and actions by the U.S. government in preparation for a military adventure under the guise of a "humanitarian intervention" in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, and calls on the international community to mobilize in order to prevent its being carried out.

Between Feb. 6 and 10 of 2019, several military transport aircraft flew to the Rafael Miranda Airport in Puerto Rico, the San Isidro Air Base in the Dominican Republic, and other strategically located Caribbean islands, most certainly without the knowledge of the governments of those nations. These flights took off from U.S. military facilities where Special Operations troops and U.S. Marine Corps units operate. These units have been used for covert operations, even against leaders of other countries.

Media and political circles - including within the U.S. — have revealed that extremist figures of the government with a long history of actions and slander aimed at causing or instigating wars, such as John Bolton, U.S. National Security Advisor: and Mauricio Claver-Carone, director of the National Security Council's Office of Western Hemisphere Affairs, while counting on the connivance of Senator Marco Rubio of the anti-Cuban mafia in Florida, designed, directly and thoroughly organized, and funded, from their posts in Washington, the attempted coup d'etat in Venezuela by means of the illegal self-proclamation of a president.

They are the same individuals who, either personally or through the State Department, have been exerting brutal

pressures on numerous governments to force them to support the arbitrary call for new presidential elections in Venezuela, while promoting recognition for the usurper, who barely won 97,000 votes as a parliamentarian, against the more than 6 million Venezuelans who elected Constitutional President Nicolás Maduro Moros last May.

Since the resistance mounted by the Bolivarian and Chavista Venezuelan people against the coup, evidenced by the mass demonstrations in support of President Maduro, and the loyalty of the National Bolivarian Armed Forces, the U.S. government has intensified its international political and media campaign, and strengthened unilateral economic coercive measures against Venezuela, among them the freezing of Venezuelan funds in third countries' banks, worth billions of dollars, and the theft of this sister nation's oil revenue, causing serious humanitarian damage and harsh deprivation to its people.

In addition to this cruel and unjustifiable plunder, the U.S. intends to fabricate a humanitarian pretext in order to launch a military attack on Venezuela and, by resorting to intimidation, pressure, and force, is seeking to introduce into this sovereign nation's territory alleged "humanitarian aid" — which is one thousand times inferior compared to the economic damages provoked by the siege imposed by Washington.

The usurper and self-proclaimed "president" shamelessly announced his disposition to call for a U.S. military intervention under the pretext of receiving the aforementioned "humanitarian aid," and has described the sovereign and honorable rejection of that maneuver as a crime against humanity.

High-ranking U.S. officials have been arrogantly and blatantly reminding us all, day after day, that when it comes to Venezuela, "all options are on the table, including military action."

In the process of fabricating pretexts, the U.S. government has resorted to deception and slanders, presenting a draft resolution

at the U.N. Security Council which cynically and hypocritically expresses "deep concern" for human rights and the humanitarian situation and what it calls recent attempts to block the delivery of humanitarian aid, the millions of Venezuelan refugees and migrants, the excessive use of force against peaceful protesters, the breakdown of regional peace and security in Venezuela, and then calls for taking the "necessary steps."

It is obvious that the United States is paving the way to forcibly establish a humanitarian corridor under international supervision, invoking the obligation to protect civilians and take all "necessary steps."

It is worth recalling that similar behaviors and pretexts were used by the U.S. during the prelude to the wars it launched against Yugoslavia, Iraq, and Libya, which resulted in tremendous human losses and caused enormous suffering.

The U.S. government attempts to remove the biggest obstacle — the Bolivarian and Chavista Revolution — to imperialist domination of Our America and deprive the Venezuelan people of the largest certified oil reserves on the planet and numerous strategic natural resources.

It is impossible to forget the sad and painful history of U.S. military interventions perpetrated more than once in Mexico, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Cuba, Honduras, and, most recently, Grenada and Panama.

As Army General Raúl Castro Ruz warned on July 14, 2017: "The aggression and coup violence against Venezuela harm all of Our America and only benefit the interests of those set on dividing us in order to exercise their control over our peoples, unconcerned about causing conflicts of incalculable consequences in this region, like those we are seeing in different parts of the world."

History will severely judge a new imperialist military intervention in the region and the complicity of those who might irresponsibly support it.

What is at stake today in Venezuela is the sovereignty and dignity of Latin America

and the Caribbean and the peoples of the South. Equally at stake is the survival of the rule of international law and the U.N. Charter. What is being defined today is whether the legitimacy of a government emanates from the express and sovereign will of its people, or from the recognition of foreign powers.

The [Cuban] Revolutionary Government calls for an international mobilization in defense of peace in Venezuela and the region, based on the principles established in the Proclamation of Latin America and the Caribbean as a Zone of Peace, which was adopted by heads of state and government of CELAC [Community of Latin American and Caribbean States] in 2014.

It likewise welcomes and supports the Montevideo Mechanism, an initiative promoted by Mexico, Uruguay, the Caribbean Commonwealth (CARICOM), and Bolivia, which seeks to preserve peace in Venezuela based on the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of states, legal equality of states, and the peaceful resolution of conflicts, as stated in its recent declaration.

It welcomes the positive consideration given to this initiative by President Maduro Moros and the international community, and expresses its concern given the U.S. government's categorical rejection of the dialogue initiatives promoted by several countries, including this one.

The Revolutionary Government reiterates its firm and unwavering solidarity with Constitutional President Nicolás Maduro Moros, the Bolivarian Chavista Revolution, and the civic and military unity of its people, and calls upon all peoples and governments of the world to defend peace and mount a joint opposition, over and above political or ideological differences, to a new imperialist military intervention in Latin America and the Caribbean, which will damage the independence, sovereignty, and interests of all peoples, from the Rio Bravo to Patagonia.

Havana, Feb. 12, 2019 ☐

## The world demands NO WAR ON VENEZUELA!

Continued from page 1

While the Bolivarian Revolution has made great strides in food autonomy and developing non-oil industries, Venezuela still needs to import certain products. Instead of lifting the sanctions that block Venezuela from buying needed medicines, the United States is delivering a token amount of aid at gunpoint.

#### Venezuela, Haiti and Palestine

At the same time as Washington calls for this delivery to Venezuela, the people of Haiti have been in open revolt against a government the U.S. installed when it twice kidnapped and deposed President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. The corporate media in the U.S. have barely covered the mass revolts in Haiti, in which U.S.-backed police and army shot dead at least seven protesters as of Feb. 16.

The current insurrection in Haiti is directly linked to the Venezuelan crisis. A major issue in Haiti has been the theft of funds from PetroCaribe, an economic alliance established by Venezuela to allow Caribbean nations to purchase discounted oil products.

Venezuela's Bolivarian government has also used its wealth from natural resources to offer material aid to the people of Palestine. In contrast, U.S. puppet Guaidó has announced that he is "rebuilding ties with Israel" and alludes to opening an embassy there.

In a move that blatantly shows the Trump administration's hatred of the Venezuelan people, it has appointed Elliott Abrams as special adviser on Venezuela, adding this war criminal to the gang that includes Bolton, Marco Rubio, Mike Pence and Mike Pompeo.

Abrams was convicted on two counts of lying to Congress about his role in the Iran-Contra affair, which was part of a plot to overthrow the government of Nicaragua. He was later pardoned by George H.W. Bush. Abrams brought major U.S. backing to genocidal right-wing governments in Central American republics like El Salvador and Guatemala.

While preparing to deliver supposed "humanitarian aid" to Venezuela, the Trump administration continues to display its contempt for all Latin Americans, most recently declaring a national emergency to divert billions of dollars to build a wall along the southern border.

The wall is supposed to prevent migration from Central America, where people



flee the results of the geno- People's Militia training on Venezuelan-Colombian border.

cide and war crimes backed by Abrams during the 1980s, as well as the more recent U.S.-engineered coup in Honduras in 2009.

Inside its borders, the United States continues the murder and mass incarceration of Black and Brown people. The U.S. ruling class refuses to fix deadly levels of water contamination in Flint, Mich., and towns all across the Midwest. The number of empty homes in the U.S.

is greater than the number of homeless people.

In light of this grisly humanitarian record, it is clear that the U.S. government has no authority or desire to truly improve the lives of Venezuelans. What the U.S. ruling class wants is to plunder the natural resources of Latin American countries and crush the momentum of anti-imperialist liberation movements there.  $\square$ 

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## The urgency of the 'Great Debate' about the European Union

#### By Rémy Herrera

Herrera, a Marxist economist, a researcher at the Centre national de la Recherche scientifique (CNRS), who works at the Centre d'Économie de la Sorbonne, Paris and often contributes guest articles to Workers World, wrote this article for Unsere Zeit, the newspaper of the German Communist Party. WW staff translated and excerpted it for print—the entire article is on workers.org.

Jan. 23 — A recent, significant opinion poll revealed how French people currently feel about the European Union. When asked, "Which geographical unit do you feel you primarily belong to?" 39 percent of respondents answered France; 23 percent named their city or locality; 18 percent named their region, province or department; and 11 percent responded the world. Only 6 percent, the smallest percentage, replied that they identified primarily with Europe! This shows how far the image of the European ideal has sunk in continental France today!

A majority of French people still remember that on May 29, 2005, nearly 55 percent of the electorate voted "no" in the referendum on the treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe. This was despite the flood of pro-Europe media propaganda and the mobilization of many leading intellectuals to support a "yes."

In many parts of the country, the negative vote was over 60 percent: in the north as well as the south, as well as in the underpopulated rural regions situated along a line from the Meuse to the Landes departments (the "diagonal of the void"). In fact, only the departments of Bas-Rhin (bordering the German states of Baden-Württemberg and Rhineland-Palatinate), Yvelines, Hauts-de-Seine and Paris — among the richest [departments] in France — as well as the Caribbean Antilles and French Guiana in South America clearly voted "yes!"

Yet in a disgraceful and particularly outrageous denial of democracy, the ruling elites—then President Nicolas Sarkozy, supported by the high European authorities—signed the Lisbon Treaty in 2007. This affirmed France's participation within the European Union's Constitution.

This act of betrayal of the French people's will was symbolically carried out on Feb. 4, 2008, at the Palace of Versailles. This is the same place where President Emmanuel Macron held a reception in mid-January for the big bosses of the most powerful transnational corporations—to convince them to invest in France and establish their companies there.

If proof was still necessary, this proved that the consolidation of the European Union has been carried out in ways that are anything but democratic.

On the French side, it is true that the "founding fathers of Europe" were not great "progressives." Jean Monnet, anti-parliamentary to his core, was the key figure in the Anglo-American political-financial networks. Robert Schuman, an ultra-conservative and anti-secular politician, served the steel magnates and was a fervent admirer of the corporate Christian fascists of the 1930s—the Austrian Engelbert Dollfuss and the Hungarian Miklós Horthy.

Then there was Maurice Lagrange: Barely 10 years before he drafted the treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951, he was one of the leading figures and zealous executors of the anti-Jewish laws of the "National Revolution" under the Nazi-collaborator Vichy regime.

The extreme harshness of the anti-social policies carried out by the EU in this era is too well-known to require extensive discussion here. People have been subjected to violence for four decades, with deregulation and decline of the government's participation in the economy, wage austerity, reduction of budgetary expenditures, dismantling of social protections, "flexibility" in the labor market, job precariousness and unemployment, facilitation of capital transfers and more.

#### The people denied a voice

As if the implementation of such neoliberal programs in the name of European integration were not enough, all the steps were conceived of and carried out by high officials with no participation by the people in what directly affects them. No priority has been given to ensuring popular well-being or providing any means for the people to make their voices heard and enable them to protest against unacceptable policies.

logical that increasingly this order has been openly and massively rejected.

#### **But the Yellow Vests protest!**

Some people on both sides of the Rhine River, especially on its western banks, dreamed for a while that President Macron would be the long-awaited leader who would finally succeed in reinvigorating a now dusty and contested European project. Who could be better than a former investment banker to breathe new life into ruling-class confidence and carry out their wishes?

But this was not to be! The French president's pretty "federal rocket" took off from the Sorbonne in September 2017, but had to return to the mainland a year later to face booing by the Yellow Vests. The "little Napoleon" of the "French startup nation" wanted to conquer "an Empire," as his Minister of Economy and Finance Bruno Le Maire said in an interview with the German daily Handelsblatt. Le Maire stated, "Europe must be an empire."



'United, change is possible,' say Yellow Vests.

The terminology usually adopted by the Brussels bureaucracy when speaking of governments that won't listen to popular demands and don't respect the verdict of the ballot box is to call them "authoritarian" (if their regime is on the right) or "dictatorial" (if they judge it to be on the left). Following this pattern, it can be said that the EU mode of governance has been "authoritarian" since its origins.

The European gift package was presented to the public in a beautiful blue wrapping decorated with gold stars and tied up in benevolent and pacifist slogans. Its primary objective was nonetheless clear: To offer transnational corporations from partner countries exorbitant power on European soil, with the added bonus of a legal framework designed to make private property sacred and to make any transition to socialism illegal.

With the aim of imposing on all Europeans the leaden blanket of a capitalist market dominated by oligopolies exempt from accountability to the people (or their parliaments), the heads of states and governments in the EU adopted the "Unique Law" in 1986.

The trap closed completely on the people when they were led to believe the great fiction that a single currency could be created without a state power — or even that a political Europe really existed. Herein lies a basic mistake: that this Europe could bring together different economies, using force, without strengthening regional political institutions or promoting social harmonization, however desirable that might be.

This "bad Europe," inherently anti-democratic and anti-social, turned against its own peoples, and forced the peoples and the Eurozone's member countries and the entire hierarchy of national laws and rights to submit to its merciless order. It is therefore quite

Fortunately for Macron, the police are still with him, although who knows for how long. The police are silencing protesters with batons, tear gas, high-pressure water jets and flash balls! The repression has resulted in more than 2,000 wounded, including over 100 people maimed and disfigured. Eighteen have lost an eye, four a hand. Some 6,475 have been arrested and 5,339 detained in police custody. There were more than 1,000 convictions from Nov. 17 to Jan. 7. This is the France of Kinglet Macron!

The people's legitimate anger will not be calmed. It is rooted in their radical, definitive refusal to accept injustice.

To say that Macron disappointed the German elites is an understatement. Perhaps only Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel and Peter Altmaier, her minister of economic affairs, showed magnanimity. They need Macron if they hope to save what can still be salvaged from the European project.

Others showed less pity and attacked

someone who took himself for a monarch. Jans Weismann, Bundesbank president, criticized the French president for his budgetary slippages and the concessions he has allegedly granted to the Yellow Vests. But were these concessions real? A close examination shows that he gave almost nothing to the protesters.

The German media have spoken on this. A Der Spiegel editorial stated that the supposedly overly generous French social state should come to its senses and reduce the minimum wage, pensions and unemployment benefits. Bild's columns stress that it is not possible to "work less and earn more." Die Welt's columns say that France has become a "risk factor."

It is in this unique context that the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle/Aachen has just been signed in January 2019. This was done to make us believe that European integration — traumatized by the shock of Brexit and abused by worrisome centrifugal forces in Italy, Poland and Hungary — was continuing to move forward. The grandeur of Macron's vision contemplates the possible salvation of the European idea through the more complete submission of France to Germany.

#### New Deutschmark: The euro

Disgusting! To tell the truth that all capitalists know will not be offensive to either Germany or the Germans: The neoliberal EU is, above all, a space for the exercise of German oligopolies' hegemony, which, in order to assert the interests of the national ruling classes, defends this new Deutschmark: the euro.

For this reason — and because of congenital Atlanticism [special relations with the United States — WW] — Britain has chosen to remain outside the eurozone and has recently reactivated, despite intense internal tensions, the jurisdiction of its national sovereignty. It is for the same reason that all the peoples of Europe, including Germans, are condemned to neoliberal purgatory.

On Jan. 21, 1793, the French masses beheaded a king and queen at the Place de la Révolution in Paris. After the Yellow Vests mobilized for more than 10 weeks, President Macron declared in front of 150 blissful global capitalists: "If they [Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette] came to such an end, it is because they renounced reform. France is on the path to reform."

By "reforms," President Macron means "destruction" of state and public ownership, unemployment insurance, pensions and the heart of France. This began when he was minister of economy, industry and digital affairs for President François Hollande. He authorized the sale of entire sectors of domestic industry to foreign transnational corporations, favoring U.S.-based companies.

## Belgian unions stage general strike

#### By G. Dunkel

Over 50 percent of Belgian workers are unionized, so when the unions went out on a 24-hour strike on the evening of Feb. 12, they shut the country down.

Air traffic controllers struck, so airplanes had to fly around Belgian airspace. Some 30 ships in the port of Antwerp, among the busiest in Europe, had to wait to be unloaded. Buses and trains didn't run; schools and day care centers didn't open. Police replaced prison guards who walked out. Most supermarkets closed.

Factories closed. The country lost millions of euros in canceled production.

The strike coincided with a NATO

defense ministers' meeting. Even the NATO officials were not exempt. They had to land in nearby countries and drive to their meeting.

Robert Verteneuil, president of the General Federation of Belgian Labor, a trade union with about 1.2 million members, said in a 15-minute interview on public radio: "What we want is to tell employers, whoever they are, that we're sick of them putting all the dough that we create in their pockets. It's time to give some of it back to the workers."

If Belgian workers don't get a raise, there will be more strikes, according to Verteneuil.  $\Box$ 

## Haitian masses shake U.S.-backed regime

By G. Dunkel

Tens of thousands of people took to the streets for 10 days beginning Feb. 7 in every major city of Haiti - Cap Haïtien, Jeremie, Gonaïves, Jacmel and the capital, Port-au-Prince. In a series of hungry, angry marches they demanded President Jovenel Moïse resign.

Haitians want enough income to pay their rent, feed their families and send their kids to school. French TV reported people lining up to buy propane for their stoves, water to drink, gasoline for their generators and cars, and whatever food they could scare up from depleted supermarket shelves.

Protesters set up flaming barricades of tires and trash and burned fancy cars and government vehicles. Even after police fired at them, they kept returning to the streets; people would disperse and then regroup. The cops reported that they killed seven people and injured dozens.

The protests did not let up until Feb. 16. Besides demanding Moïse resign, protesters want to know: "Where is the

PetroCaribe money?" Beginning in 2005 under President Hugo Chávez, Venezuela financed an alliance that gave Caribbean and Latin America nations low-cost oil and loans for economic development. The PetroCaribe Alliance eventually spread to 17 countries.

Haiti joined in 2006 - much to the displeasure of Washington - and after two years of back-and-forth struggle, the Haitians began to get some benefits. After the 2010 earthquake, ex-President Bill Clinton used his near-total control of Haitian finances to put the U.S.-backed candidate Michel Martelly in as president in the 2010-11 election. (All this maneuvering is documented in the Wikileaks reports published by Haïti-Liberté.)

Martelly used his position to embezzle, misspend and misplace about \$4 billion of Haiti's PetroCaribe Fund as documented by several Haitian Senate investigations. Then Martelly got his protégé Moïse in as his successor.

When the Trump administration started turning the economic screws on Venezuela in 2017, it affected Haiti. The Haitian government was already in arrears on its loan from Venezuela. Now the government had a good excuse to stop paying entirely and end the PetroCaribe deal.

Washington's financial enforcer, the International Monetary Fund, had a solution for Haiti regarding this loss of funding: austerity. When Moïse tried to double the price of fuel in July 2018, the reaction was so sharp and militant that he backed

down almost completely after three days. But the political and economic changes that losing PetroCaribe funding created led to the latest challenge to the U.S.sanctioned Haitian regime.

The connections between Haiti and Venezuela are older and deeper than the PetroCaribe Fun d. Simón Bolivar, the liberator of Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador, got money, arms and a printing press when he took refuge in Haiti after being forced out of Jamaica in 1816. The electoral victory of Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 1990 was an inspiration to Hugo Chávez



in his electoral campaign of 1998.

Some progressive forces in the streets of Haiti are not only raising the issue of "Kote kob PetroCaribe a" but are also calling for solidarity with the Bolivarian revolution and saying Jovenel Moïse is Haiti's Juan Guaidó. (For a video recorded in Creole, see tinyurl.com/y34pyh3c/.)

Haiti doesn't have Venezuela's oil reserves, but it does have a long history of resistance to Washington's intrigues and attempts to control its destiny. Its dire situation shows what the U.S. has planned for Venezuela.

## FRANCE Yellow Vests movement battles repression

By G. Dunkel

For the 14th consecutive Saturday, tens of thousands of Yellow Vests marched throughout France on Feb. 16. The cops gave the number of marchers as 41,500, while the Yellow Vest movement claimed the figure was 104,070.

While the major focus of media attention was on Paris, there were also significant marches in Rouen, Lyons and Bordeaux, where the main slogan was "Death to the rich." The cops broke up the march in Bordeaux with water cannons and tear gas grenades. (Le Monde, Feb. 16)

The French government, under highly unpopular President Emmanuel Macron — whose approval index has dipped as low as 24 percent – has attacked the Yellow Vests from three directions: physical, legal and political.



Over 2,000 people have been seriously injured by French cops during Yellow Vest protests, most of them by "flash balls," hard rubber projectiles copiously fired by the cops, or by GLI-F4 grenades, which combine a loud bang (165 decibels), tear gas and a hard blast. From pictures on Google and Flickr, most of the injuries have been to eyes and limbs.

The intensity of feeling by Yellow Vest protesters is such that even after they have been severely injured, they keep on protesting.

#### Legal and political reprisals

In legal reprisals, Éric Drouet, a truck driver and prominent member of the Yellow Vests, was recently convicted of organizing two demonstrations in January without "prior notification." Under the state of emergency in force in France because of the threat of "terrorist attacks," this charge carries major penalties. Drouet has thus far received only a month in prison, perhaps because of the ferocity of the protests. He has another trial set for June. (Le Huffington Post, Feb. 17)

Christophe Dettinger, an ex-champion boxer, was arrested when he kicked a cop during a demonstration in January and then punched another one, over his shield and through his face mask, down and out. Dettinger was sentenced to a year of prison, though he will be able to work during the day and be locked up at night.

Government political pressure has come down on the Yellow Vests. Minister of the Interior Christophe Castaner has regularly denounced the movement in Parliament. On Feb. 14 he announced he was "watching" Christophe

Chalençon, a Yellow Vest member, on the far-fetched charge that he was planning a coup and organizing a paramilitary band.

On Feb. 16, a well-known right-wing member of the French Academy, Alain Finkielkraut, got out of a Paris cab when it was stopped by the Yellow Vest march. Protesters recognized him and began calling him a "dirty Zionist."

Some cops who escorted him out of the crowd said they heard an anti-Semitic epithet, which, if uttered in a public place in France "with the intent to injure or defame someone," carries a penalty of 12 years in

prison and a 45,000 euro fine. However, Finkielkraut did not file a complaint.

Nevertheless, the whole bourgeois political establishment piled on, treating the incident as being essentially anti-Semitic. Those feigning outrage included Emmanuel Macron, his Prime Minister Edouard Philippe, Marine Le Pen, head of the Front National – whose roots are anti-Semitic and neo-Fascist — and every other right-wing party. It was a clear case of the French establishment working as hard as they could to take down the Yellow Vests. □

## **Honor Black History Month — Support WW**

Fighting racism in February 2019, Black History Month, means starting at the top of the political ladder and denouncing the openly racist, white supremacist in the White House. It means opposing and exposing his administration's racist policies, like shutting down the government for 35 days, which put 800,000 government workers, many of whom are African American, in dire financial straits because he demanded \$5.8 billion to build a racist wall on the Mexican border.

Workers World makes a big deal of the struggles of African Americans to erad-Black History Month because racism pervades every aspect of life in this country. Everything from fighting for living-wage jobs to ending mass incarceration to having affordable housing and fully-funded public schools is rooted in the centuries-long struggle to end this vicious history of racism, rooted in slavery.



icate institutionalized, systemic racism. Case in point is our continuing coverage of the struggle to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. The latest chapter involves calling out the Philadelphia courts for hiding evidence about Abu-Jamal's case that could lead to a name and address, to 147 W. 24th St., 2nd new trial and eventually his freedom.

That's why every month, not just Black Black struggle in the U.S., and in the Know that we're grateful for your help in History Month, the newspaper chronicles African diaspora to throw off imperialist building Workers World! World!

chains, on the principle of self-determination - that oppressed people have the right to fight to end all forms of inequality and injustice by any means necessary.

If you appreciate our coverage, it's time to join the Workers World Supporter Program established 42 years ago so readers could help us publish anti-racist, working-class truth and build campaigns needed to make revolutionary change leading to socialism.

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## Capitalism at a

**Dead End** 

Job destruction, overproduction and crisis in the high-tech era

**By Fred Goldstein** 

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in the market and overproduction kicks

in to block further growth. Then come

stagnation, economic contraction, and



## 'A fabulous achievement'

Elliott Abrams, the architect of Ronald Reagan's "dirty war" in Central America, is an undisputed war criminal and blatant

In 1991 he pleaded guilty to two counts of withholding evidence to Congress about the notorious "Iran-contra affair." Earlier, Abrams had dismissed as "communist propaganda" a factual report on the infamous El Mozote massacre in El Salvador, in which U.S.-backed paramilitaries had slaughtered over 800 people, including children as young as 2 years old.

In 2002, as Bush Jr.'s special assistant, he orchestrated a failed coup attempt aimed at toppling the elected government of Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez.

These are just a few "achievements" of the man the ultra-right Heritage Foundation calls "a patriot and dedicated voice for repressed communities."

Thus it was hard not to jump up and cheer when newly elected Minnesota Congresswoman Ilhan Omar grilled Abrams, Trump's recent appointee to again oversee U.S. efforts to "restore democracy"-read regime change-in Venezuela.

As a member of the House Foreign Relations Committee, Omar reminded Abrams of his notorious statement that U.S. policy in Central America under Reagan was "a fabulous achievement." She asked him point-blank if he considered El Mozote to be "a fabulous achievement" and if genocide would be permissible if it furthered U.S. interests in Venezuela.

This forceful questioning, which Abrams failed to answer, would have been a courageous act for any House member to engage in. However, for Congresswoman Omar — a Black woman, a Somali immigrant and, along with Rashida Tlaib of Michigan, one of the first two Muslim women ever elected to the House — it was especially bold.

Not surprisingly, this multiplyoppressed sister has been ruthlessly criticized, not only by Trumpites and conservatives but by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and other establishment Democrats.

Antiwar activists, on the other hand, couldn't help but feel glee seeing Abrams put in the hot seat. The video, which has gone viral, depicts a real "fabulous achievement." (tinyurl.com/y46p436h) For this, for criticism of Israel and for other political stands, Congresswoman Omar has been viciously attacked - and must be defended!

#### Seattle

## **Black Lives Matter fights** racism in schools

By Jim McMahan

Black Lives Matter at School was held Feb. 4-8 and beyond at schools all across the U.S., including Seattle. This widespread week of action in cities both big and small was scheduled to coincide with Black History Month. (blacklivesmatteratschool.com)

Growing out of the Black Lives Matter protest movement since 2016, BLMatSchool involves education workers in collaboration with teacher unions, teacher caucuses, community groups and others, especially students.

BLMatSchool fights for an anti-racist agenda and curriculum in public schools and the teaching of Black history and ethnic studies. Many schools hold events every day of action week, especially classes teaching anti-racism. To stimulate student involvement and leadership, activities range from student discussions and artwork to protests later in the week. In New York City, students and teachers held a large protest at the Board of Education.

The four basic demands of BLMatSchool are ending zero-tolerance discipline, replacing it with restorative justice; hiring more Black teachers; mandating Black history and ethnic studies in schools; and funding counselors, not cops.

BLMatSchool has influenced and been involved in teacher strikes across the country. Statements supporting the striking Denver Public School teachers were posted on the website.

A statement for the striking United Teachers of Los Angeles said their demands "were directly aligned with BLMatSchool Week of Action."

UTLA's demands were more nurses, counselors, school psychologists, librarians; smaller class sizes; sustainable community schools; an end to privatization and charter expansion; and an end to criminalization of students.

BLMatSchool sent a resolution to support Teachers Against Child Detention, a nationwide organization that held a Feb. 17 rally and teach-in at the border in El Paso, Texas. BLMatSchool supported TACD's "demands for an immediate release of all immigrant children in U.S. government custody and to shut down all detention centers housing immigrant children."

Jesse Hagopian, a Seattle teacher and a founder of BLMatSchool, said, "With racist hate crimes on the rise and the president who makes openly racist comments about Africa and Haiti, it is vital that we transform our education to be about uplifting Black lives and undoing racism." (The Seattle Medium, Jan. 30)

## Say her name: Sandra Bland



Dawn O'Neal at the podium.

By Atlanta Workers World Bureau

Feb. 16 -The room at the Auburn Avenue Research Library for African-American History and Culture was filled to capacity, with over 100 people seated and others standing to watch the documentary film "Say Her Name: The Life and Death of Sandra Bland." While the audience was diverse, the largest group was Black women of all ages.

Dawn O'Neal, an Atlanta Black Lives Matter activist, and Monica Moorehead, Workers World Party national leader, provided introductory remarks about Sandra Bland's case in the context of growing consciousness around police violence and mass incarceration.

Moorehead explained, "The murder of

Sandra Bland was the lightning rod for the hashtag #Say Her Name as a component within the Black Lives Matter Movement. It was a grim but important reminder that her case shined a bright light on how Black women/ women of color are victims of police terror, but many still don't get the national and international attention that Bland's case did."

Both she and O'Neal cited the names of several other women and girls killed by police as well as the disappearances and deaths of thousands of Indigenous women and gender-oppressed people, which underscores the need for more community organization and mobilization.

Following the film, Sandra's older sister, Sharon Cooper, joined the program



Monica Moorehead and Dianne Mathiowetz chant, 'Say her name, Sandra Bland' in solidarity with Sharon Cooper, seen on screen.

by teleconference, answering questions and sharing her family's experience in fighting for answers about why and how their loved one died in jail.

This amazing dialogue, sponsored by Workers World Party in collaboration with the Auburn Avenue Library, was chaired by Dianne Mathiowetz.  $\ \square$ 

### Cuba: Urge detener la aventura militar imperialista contra Venezuela

Continúa de la página 12

contra manifestantes pacíficos, la situación de ruptura de la paz y la seguridad regionales" en Venezuela e insta "a adoptar las medidas necesarias".

Es evidente que Estados Unidos prepara el terreno para establecer por la fuerza "un corredor humanitario" bajo "protección internacional", invocar la "obligación de proteger" a los civiles y aplicar ""todas las medidas necesarias".

Es indispensable recordar que conductas similares y pretextos parecidos fueron adoptadas por Estados Unidos en el preludio de las guerras que lanzó contra Yugoslavia, Iraq y Libia, al precio de inmensas pérdidas de vidas humanas y de enormes sufrimientos.

El gobierno estadounidense intenta eliminar el obstáculo mayor que representa la Revolución Bolivariana y Chavista al ejercicio de la dominación imperialista sobre "Nuestra América" y al despojo al pueblo de Venezuela de la primera reserva certificada de petróleo

estratégicos recursos naturales.

No puede olvidarse la triste y dolorosa historia de intervenciones militares de los Estados Unidos, en más de una ocasión en México, Nicaragua, República Dominicana, Haití, Cuba, Honduras y más recientemente en Granada y Panamá.

Como alertó el 14 de julio de 2017 el General de Ejército Raúl Castro Ruz: "la agresión y la violencia golpista contra Venezuela dañan a toda "Nuestra América" y solo benefician los intereses de quienes se empeñan en dividirnos para ejercer su dominación sobre nuestros pueblos, sin que les importe generar conflictos de consecuencias incalculables en esta región, como los que estamos presenciando en diferentes lugares del mundo".

La Historia juzgará severamente una nueva intervención militar imperialista en la región y la complicidad de quienes irresponsablemente lo acompañen.

Se decide hoy en Venezuela la soberanía

del planeta y de otros cuantiosos y y la dignidad de América Latina y el Saluda la favorable acogida a dicha Caribe y de los pueblos del Sur. Se decide también la supervivencia de las normas del Derecho Internacional y la Carta de las Naciones Unidas. Se define si la legitimidad de un gobierno emana de la voluntad expresa y soberana de su pueblo o del reconocimiento de potencias extranjeras.

El Gobierno Revolucionario llama a la movilización internacional en defensa de la paz en Venezuela y en la región, basada en los principios de la Proclama de la América Latina y el Caribe como Zona de Paz adoptada con la firma de los Jefes de Estado y Gobierno de la CELAC en 2014.

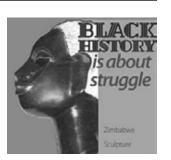
Expresa su bienvenida y apoyo al Mecanismo de Montevideo, iniciativa de México, Uruguay, la Mancomunidad del Caribe (CARICOM) y Bolivia, que busca preservar la paz en Venezuela basado, como dice su reciente Declaración, en los principios de no intervención en los asuntos internos, la igualdad jurídica de los Estados y la solución pacífica de controversias.

iniciativa por parte del Presidente Maduro Moros y la comunidad internacional y expresa preocupación ante el rechazo categórico del Gobierno estadounidense a las iniciativas de diálogo promovidas por varios países, incluida esta.

El Gobierno Revolucionario reitera su firme e invariable solidaridad con el Presidente Constitucional Nicolás Maduro Moros, la Revolución bolivariana y chavista y la unión cívico-militar de su pueblo y hace un llamado a todos los pueblos y gobiernos del mundo a defender la Paz y a oponerse unidos, por encima de diferencias políticas o ideológicas, para detener una nueva intervención militar imperialista en la América Latina y el Caribe que dañará la independencia, la soberanía y los intereses de los pueblos del Río Bravo a la Patagonia.

La Habana, 13 de febrero de 2019. □

# A young Black activist's appreciation of Malcolm X



By Makasi Motema

Feb. 21, 2019, is the 54th anniversary of the assassination of Malcolm X.

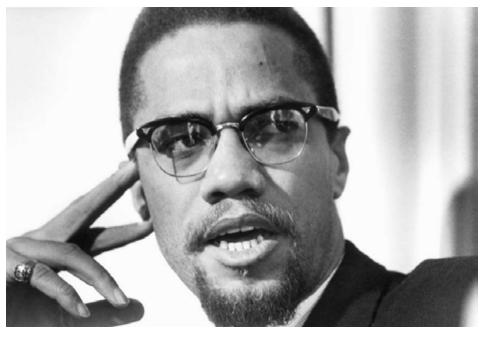
"Who told you to hate the color of your skin?" Malcolm's words always cut like a knife. That's because Malcolm X understood that in order to destroy the citadel of white supremacy which rules this country, Black Americans must first destroy the fortresses of anti-Blackness which occupy our own minds.

I was 12 years old when I was first introduced, via the Spike Lee film, to the ideas of Malcolm X. It was a shock to the system. Here was someone who did not bother to defend Black people from racist slanders. He never tried to justify why we deserved to be free. Instead, he delivered a scathing indictment of "the White Man," an indictment of the settler-colonialist U.S. society which had no greatness but that which it stole.

Growing up with the belief that I must do my best to prove that I was as good as my white peers, to prove that my parents "raised me right," I never could have conceived of such a line of argument.

Laboring under respectability politics and the burden of representation, I never imagined that it was white "America" who needed to justify their actions to us. But Malcolm said it, and the bell could not be unrung. From that day I on, I could not help but view the world differently.

That was the effect that Malcolm X had on Black Americans—then and now. With no delicacy or trepidation, he snatched away the Black inferiority complex and



tossed it in the gutter. In its place, he gave us a worldview that identified—with laser-like precision—the sources of systemic oppression and paired that insight with the courage to call oppression what it is.

Malcolm X did not believe in making apologies for the conditions under which the Black community lived. He spoke often of the effects that drugs and crime had on Black neighborhoods, but he placed them within the proper context of white oppression.

He was never ashamed of the six and a half years he spent in prison. Rather, he used his life experience to demonstrate how African Americans, when separated from their history and culture and placed in an impoverished internal colony, will inevitably suffer from alienation and adopt anti-social tendencies. He asserted the only means of deliverance for Black people was to separate from white supremacy and connect with a sense of pride.

#### Perspective on self-worth

And therein lies the fundamental difference between Malcolm X, along with the Black Power movement he inspired, and the Black liberal civil rights tradition. It was not Malcolm X's perspective on violence that set him apart, but his perspective on self-worth.

He was against passively submitting to beatings and attack dogs, not because he believed in violence, but because he believed in himself. He believed that he, along with every other Black person in the U.S., was a human being with dignity who did not deserve to be degraded by gangs of angry racists.

Self-defense, then, is not an act of resistance against the other, but an affirmation of the self. The preservation of life is the preservation of the dignity and worth of that life. Suffering is only redemptive to those who are in need of redemption, and we who have been tortured by the lash of inequality have no such need.

Che Guevara said that the true revolutionary is guided by love. If that is so, Malcolm X would make us all revolutionaries by teaching us to love ourselves enough to defend ourselves.

That — under the teachings of Malcolm X — is the meaning of self-defense: Not a commitment to radical violence, but a commitment to radical self-love in the face of overwhelming anti-Black hate.

Liberals will never canonize Malcolm X as a patron saint of "racial progress" or equality. Malcolm X's message cannot be whitewashed. The white supremacist capitalist state cannot rehabilitate the image of Malcolm X because that image stands in inflexible opposition to racial and class oppression.

Malcolm X never compromised with the oppressor, and so he left nothing behind that could be appropriated and defanged.

To me, Malcolm X is a reminder to never compromise in the face of that oppression. To always see the world as it is, and yet have the courage and the determination to make it how we believe it should be. As he said, to "make it plain."

# Pauli Murray, gender-nonconforming Civil Rights, women's rights activist

By Minnie Bruce Pratt

Civil Rights and women's rights activist Pauli Murray was the brilliant theorist who laid the intellectual foundation for some of the most important Civil Rights victories of the 20th century.

Born in 1910 in Baltimore and raised in Durham, N.C., by her maternal grand-parents, she went on to become the first African American to earn a Doctor of Juridical Science degree from Yale Law School in 1965.

Long before that, however, Murray had made her mark on history. In 1940, she refused to leave her seat in the whitesonly section of a Virginia bus and was arrested for violating segregation laws. In 1944, graduating as valedictorian of her Howard University law class, she argued in her senior thesis — to public derision — that the 1896 "separate-but-equal" segregationist Supreme Court ruling in Plessy v. Ferguson should, could and would be overturned.

The late Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, while chief counsel for the NAACP, called Murray's 1951 book, "States' Laws on Race and Color," the "bible" of the Civil Rights Movement. (tinyurl.com/y3af8h84)

But Murray's skill went beyond merely compiling existing laws. In 1954 Marshall actually used Murray's senior law school thesis as the blueprint for his argument before the Supreme Court in Brown v. Board of Education, leading to the historic 1954 victory overturning "separate-but-equal" segregation in public education.

In the 1960s, Murray began to argue that the Equal Protection Clause of the U.S. Constitution, in the Fourteenth Amendment, should be applied to cases of sex discrimination in the same way it was applied to racial discrimination. She coined the term "Jane Crow" in a 1965 essay to describe the sexist and racist discrimination she experienced. (Salon, Feb. 18, 2015, tinyurl.com/yykzkzf5) Murray went on to become one of the co-founders of the National Organization for Women in 1966.

In 1967 Murray co-wrote a brief in White v. Crook that ultimately struck down the constitutionality of the all-white, all-male jury system in the South. Gardenia White of Lowndes County, Ala., was the lead plaintiff in the case.

The case was initially filed to put Black people on the jury rolls in Alabama and then expanded to challenge a law that kept all women from serving on Alabama juries. Jury selection had become a movement focus because all-white juries were acquitting white supremacists in the murders of Civil Rights workers in Lowndes County.

The White v. Crook decision in 1971 not only brought an end to the systematic legal exclusion of Blacks from jury service. It also became the first U.S. case in which "a federal court relied on [equal protection in] the 14th Amendment to declare a state law unconstitutional because of sex discrimination." (Dr. Susan Mallon Ross, "Dialogic Rhetoric," tinyurl.com/zjjkzvw)

Ruth Bader Ginsburg, currently sitting on the Supreme Court, named Murray as one of the co-authors of her 1971 brief in Reed v. Reed, even though Murray had not actually helped write the brief. Ginsburg argued and won that case, which marked the first time the U.S. Supreme Court applied the Equal Protection Clause to a federal case of sex discrimination. Ginsburg wanted it on the record that

Murray had laid the groundwork for the historic ruling.

Murray was also a groundbreaker in her personal life within the movement. She was a gender-nonconforming person who "favored a masculine-of-center gender performance during her 20s and 30s" and changed her name from Anna Pauline to be more gender neutral. She was open with friends, family and other Civil Rights leaders about her "passionate, romantic partnerships and friendships with women." Her past participation with the



PHOTO: PAULI MURRAY PROJECT

Telling Stories of Community Life Project, located at 1101 West Chapel Hill St., Durham, N.C.

Communist Party USA left her open to Red Scare harassment.

In 1977 Murray became the first African-American woman to be ordained an Episcopal priest and continued trailblazing until her death in 1985. Her childhood home in Durham is now a National Historic Landmark of the U.S. Park Service.

A loving tribute by local activists on "The Bulls of Durham" blog sums up her life of action against racism and sexism: "Pauli Murray had an incurable case of can't-stopwon't-stop." (tinyurl.com/yxeb7hoo)

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## Cuba: Urge detener la aventura militar imperialista contra Venezuela

El Gobierno Revolucionario de la República de Cuba denuncia la escalada de presiones y acciones del Gobierno de los Estados Unidos para preparar una aventura militar disfrazada de "intervención humanitaria" en la República Bolivariana de Venezuela y llama a la comunidad internacional a movilizarse para impedir que se consume.

Entre el 6 y el 10 de febrero de 2019, se han realizado vuelos de aviones de transporte militar hacia el Aeropuerto Rafael Miranda de Puerto Rico, la Base Aérea de San Isidro, en República Dominicana y hacia otras islas del Caribe estratégicamente ubicadas, seguramente sin conocimiento de los gobiernos de esas naciones, que se originaron en instalaciones militares estadounidenses desde las cuales operan unidades de Fuerzas de Operaciones Especiales y de la Infantería de Marina que se utilizan para acciones encubiertas, incluso contra líderes de otros países.

Medios políticos y de prensa, incluso norteamericanos, han revelado que figuras extremistas de ese gobierno, con una larga travectoria de acciones y calumnias dirigidas a provocar o alentar guerras, como el Asesor de Seguridad Nacional John Bolton, el Director del Hemisferio Occidental del Consejo de Seguridad Nacional, Mauricio Claver-Carone, con la participación del Senador de la Florida, Marco Rubio, diseñaron, gestionaron el financiamiento y organizaron directa y detalladamente, desde Washington, el intento de golpe de estado en Venezuela mediante la ilegal autoproclamación de un presidente.

Son ellos mismos los que, personalmente o a través del Departamento de Estado, vienen realizando presiones brutales contra numerosos gobiernos para forzar su apoyo al llamado arbitrario a nuevas elecciones presidenciales venezolanas, mientras promueven el reconocimiento al usurpador que apenas cuenta con 97 mil votos como parlamentario, frente a los más de 6 millones de venezolanos que el pasado mes de mayo eligieron al Presidente Constitucional Nicolás Maduro Moros.

Tras la resistencia al golpe ofrecida por el pueblo bolivariano y chavista, demostrada en las masivas manifestaciones de apoyo al Presidente Maduro y en la lealtad de las Fuerzas Armada Nacional Bolivariana, el Gobierno de los Estados Unidos ha intensificado su campaña política y mediática internacional y recrudece las medidas económicas coercitivas unilaterales contra Venezuela, entre las que puede citarse el bloqueo en bancos de terceros países de miles de millones de dólares pertenecientes a Venezuela y el robo de los ingresos de las ventas de petróleo de esa hermana nación, lo que está provocando graves daños humanitarios y duras privaciones a su pueblo.

Junto a este cruel e injustificable despojo, EE.UU. pretende fabricar un pretexto humanitario para iniciar una agresión militar contra Venezuela y se ha propuesto introducir en el territorio de esa nación soberana, mediante la intimidación, la presión y la fuerza, una supuesta ayuda humanitaria, que es mil veces inferior a los daños económicos que provoca la política de cerco, impuesta desde Washington.

El usurpador y autoproclamado "presidente" declaró desvergonzadamente su disposición a reclamar una intervención militar de Estados Unidos con el pretexto de recibir dicha "ayuda humanitaria", y ha calificado el rechazo soberano y digno a esa maniobra como "un crimen de lesa humanidad".

Altos funcionarios estadounidenses recuerdan cada día, con arrogancia y desfachatez que, en relación con Venezuela, "todas las opciones están sobre la mesa, incluida la militar".

En el proceso de fabricación de pretextos, el gobierno de Estados Unidos ha acudido al engaño y la calumnia al presentar un proyecto de resolución en el Consejo de Seguridad de las Naciones Unidas que, cínica e hipócritamente, expresa una grave preocupación por "la situación humanitaria y de derechos humanos..., los intentos recientes de bloquear la prestación de ayuda humanitaria, la existencia de millones de migrantes y refugiados..., el uso excesivo de la fuerza

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### Pandilla de siete estadounidenses ataca Venezuela

#### **Por John Catalinotto**

A principios de la década de 1960, un grupo de altos funcionarios de la administración John Kennedy, conocidos como los "genios" por su presunto desempeño en la universidad, como oficiales industriales o como funcionarios de EUA, intensificaron la guerra de agresión de Washington contra Vietnam.

El reportero del New York Times David Halberstam en su libro de 1972, "El mejor y el más brillante", un título que pretendía ser irónico, describió cómo los genios sobreestimaron la capacidad de los EUA al tiempo que subestimaron a los vietnamitas y su liderazgo.

Ahora, casi 60 años después, otro grupo de altos funcionarios de EUA está liderando el cargo de una nueva cruzada reaccionaria. Nadie los llamaría los mejores o los más brillantes, incluso irónicamente.

Estos siete funcionarios están librando la agresión más abiertamente de lo habitual. Han declarado públicamente su objetivo: conquistar a Venezuela y aprovecharse de sus recursos, especialmente sus reservas de petróleo y oro, y también restablecer la dominación completa de EUA sobre el hemisferio occidental mediante el derrocamiento de los gobiernos de Cuba y Nicaragua.

Lejos de ser genios, son personas cuya principal y, a menudo, única cualificación es su disposición a decir las mentiras más extravagantes y cometer los crímenes más atroces para lograr sus objetivos reaccionarios y anti pueblo. Son los alimentadores de fondo en la cloaca de funcionarios imperialistas.

Estos criminales incluyen:

El asesor de seguridad nacional John Bolton, quien constantemente agita la guerra contra Irán, amenaza con la aniquilación de la República Popular Democrática de Corea y es un perpetuo belicista.

Elliott Abrams, el enviado especial que supervisa la política de Venezuela, a quien tuvieron que arrastrar desde la trinchera de Mariana. El record de Abrams data de la década de 1980, cuando armó a los "contras" contra Nicaragua y puso al genocida régimen de Ríos Montt en el poder en Guatemala. Abrams incluso fue condenado por mentir ante el Congreso de los EUA, pero fue indultado por el presidente George H.W. Bush.

El senador Marco Rubio, de Florida, cuya historia y creencias personales coinciden con la conveniencia política de ponerlo del lado de los exiliados cubanos, nicaragüenses y venezolanos. Estos antiguos oligarcas, capitalistas y sus seguidores ahora habitan en el estado de Rubio.

Mike Pence, el vicepresidente evangélico, anti-mujer, anti-LGBTQ, que telefoneó a Juan Guaidó para que anunciara al día siguiente, 23 de enero, que era el "presidente interino" de Venezuela.

El secretario de estado Mike Pompeo, ex jefe de la CIA, y el secretario de Hacienda, Steven Mnuchin, también anunciaron su intención de movilizar a todos los títeres de América Latina y a los socios menores imperialistas en Europa mientras intentan bloquear a Venezuela y robar sus propiedades.

El propio Trump hace que su odio hacia todos los que se encuentran al sur de la frontera de los EUA (excepto sus lacayos) sea enfático cada vez que tuitea. Uno se pregunta si sus "asesores" lo han convencido de que será bienvenido en Caracas para arrojar toallas de papel a las multitudes, como lo hizo en Puerto Rico luego de ser devastado por los huracanes.

#### No menos peligroso

Cualquier venezolana/o u otra/o latinoamericano con conciencia política reconocerá fácilmente a esta pandilla estadounidense como enemigos de su pueblo. Esta banda de siete puede ser menos hábil para llevar a cabo una intervención, que al final puede ser derrotada. La incompetencia de esta pandilla y su congénita subestimación de las masas, sin embargo, no significa automáticamente menos daño al pueblo de Venezuela bolivariana o a toda América.

Los líderes del Partido Demócrata aquí, Nancy Pelosi, Chuck Schumer, etc., que conocen muy bien el sórdido historial político de la pandilla Trump descrito anteriormente, sin embargo apoyan la intervención de los EUA contra Venezuela. (Ver tinyurl.com/yx9xr2o3)

Razón de más para aquellas/os dentro de los EUA que queremos defender a Venezuela de estos criminales para reconocer la desconfianza masiva de la administración Trump y movilizarnos contra la intervención de los EUA.

Manifestémonos el fin de semana del 23 de febrero en nuestras ciudades. iVaya a No War on Venezuela! (NoWarOnVenezuela.org) para ver las acciones. Movilícese a una manifestación nacional en Washington, DC, el 16 de marzo y otra el 30 de marzo. Y prepárese para discutir, luchar y ganar para detener una nueva calamidad.

El presidente venezolano, Nicolás Maduro, el verdadero presidente, advirtió de un conflicto "peor que Vietnam" si Estados Unidos invade. Ese mensaje debe ser tomado en serio. 🗖

#### Comentario de Mumia Abu-Jamal

#### Venezuela y la legitimidad presidencial

#### Por Mumia Abu-Jamal

El siguiente comentario, ligeramente editado, fue escrito por el preso político Mumia Abu-Jamal y publicado en Prison

Ahora el presidente de los Estados Unidos (Donald Trump) ha decidido que determinará quién es y quién no es el líder legítimo de un país extranjero.

Dijo que Nicolás Maduro, de Venezuela, era ilegítimo y apoyó al opositor de Maduro para el liderazgo nacional del país.

¿Qué pasaría si Maduro declarara que Trump, quien recibió unos 3 millones de votos menos que su oponente, Hillary Clinton, era ilegítimo?

¿Quién escucharía?

En realidad, Trump se sienta en la Casa Blanca solo por el artefacto de la era de la esclavitud conocido como el Colegio

Electoral, una institución diseñada para negar la democracia a millones de africanos y asegurar la hegemonía del sur.

¿No es el supuesto Colegio Electoral fundamentalmente ilegítimo? ¡El Colegio Electoral debería ser abolido de inmediato!

En una edición del 9 de septiembre de 2018 del New York Times, se reportó que funcionarios de Trump se comunicaron con oficiales militares venezolanos para apoyar un golpe de estado contra el presidente Maduro.

Durante gran parte de los siglos XIX y XX, los EUA decidieron quién debería gobernar en América Latina, basándose en disparates como la Doctrina Monroe, un pretexto para el imperialismo estadounidense.

No nos equivoquemos, Monroe está de vuelta.

iQué lástima!