

# U.S.-backed coup in Bolivia Indigenous, workers resist

By John Catalinotto

Nov. 12 — From La Paz, journalist Marco Teruggi writes that 24 hours after the U.S.-backed coup in Bolivia, “There is no formal government, but there is the power of arms.” ([pagina12.org](http://pagina12.org)) Police and soldiers patrol at the behest of the coup leaders, while fascist gangs roam, beat and burn, the coup having

“opened the doors to absolute impunity for those who are able to exercise power.” But, Teruggi adds, “[The] half of the country that voted for [President] Evo Morales exists and will not stand idly by.” Formal and informal organizations of Indigenous peoples, campesinos and workers are blockading roads, setting up self-defense units, and calling for “general resistance to the coup d’état throughout the country.” (Follow more coverage at [workers.org](http://workers.org), including English translation of Teruggi’s on-the-ground reporting.)

Nov. 11 — In a message from his base in the Chapare region in central Bolivia, President Evo Morales said on the evening of Nov. 10: “I want to tell you, brothers and sisters, that the fight does not end here. We will continue this fight for equality, for peace.” (Al Jazeera, Nov. 11)

Earlier that day, a fascist-led coup backed by the Bolivian police and military, and receiving the full support of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in the Organization of American States, had forced Morales to resign from office.

Fascist gangs had been moving toward La Paz, Bolivia’s administrative capital, from their anti-Morales strongholds in the

east of the country. Since Oct. 20, when Morales won re-election, these gangs have attacked and beaten pro-Morales elected political leaders, burning their homes and offices across the country.

Immediately, the imperialist-controlled media worldwide tried to give their unanimous spin to the event, slandering the Morales government and its Movement toward Socialism (MAS) party, and charging it with electoral fraud, even though no evidence was ever given. Reporters repeated the lies of those who led the coup — ultra-rightist Fernando Camacho and former president and servant of the oligarchy, Carlos Mesa — to confuse the people of the world and accuse the MAS government of illegal activities.

Progressive governments, organizations and media worldwide have begun to fight back against this counterrevolutionary offensive. They have given priority to mobilizing to defend the life and liberty of Morales and those in his government.

They are also exposing the lies of the coup-makers, showing that what

*Continued on page 6*



WW PHOTO: G. DUNKEL

On one day’s notice, on Nov. 11 in New York City, activists in opposition to the U.S.-backed coup in Bolivia gathered at the U.N. and marched to Trump Tower and ...



WW PHOTO: JOE PIETTE

... in Philadelphia marched from City Hall to Amtrak’s 30th Street Station. Read more, pages 6-7.

Organizing the South 4-5

**Lessons of the Greensboro  
Massacre**

**Gay men for Civil Rights  
1960-64**

Subway struggle:  
‘No cops, no fares!’ 2

A Chavista speaks  
in Portland 3

The unfinished revolution 8-9



Harriet Tubman

**Movie honors  
abolitionist ‘Moses’  
‘A different Civil War’  
Atlanta anti-racist actions**

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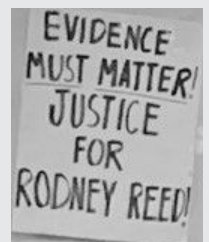
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**ACT NOW to save  
Rodney Reed! 3**





# NYC subway protest demands: No cops, no fares, full access, full service

By Siddika Degia  
New York

As New York City ends “stop and frisk” police harassment, the city implements another program to target Black and Brown people — the “fare evasion” campaign. Throughout subways and buses, commuters are seeing ads calling for people to pay the \$2.75 fare or get ticketed \$100.

At Metropolitan Transit Authority stations, commuters saw 500 new police last year to make sure people were not “fare beating.” Now New York Gov. Cuomo has a plan to add 20 percent more cops in the subway system.

The MTA claims that it is hundreds of millions in debt. Yet it would cost \$663 million to put those 500 extra cops on the subway to catch “fare beaters.”

Cops target Black and Brown people, as shown in statistics released by the New York Police Department itself. Some 682 arrests were made in the second quarter of 2019 for “fare evasion.” Of those arrested, 414 were Black people and 175 were Latinx.

All this is a way to police poverty. As the NYPD and the MTA crack down on policing poverty, various instances of resulting cop brutality have been posted on social media.

One video shows the NYPD pulling a gun on 19-year-old Adrian Napier in the MTA as commuters run to take cover. Another video shows the NYPD tackling and punching children at the Jay Street Metrotech stop. Other videos



Brooklyn, Nov. 1.

WW PHOTO: HENRY LUNA

show cops harassing, tasing and brutalizing people over their use of subway cards or because of playing music or just looking wary about being in the subway.

These videos were upsetting to many New Yorkers, who on Friday, Nov. 1, took to the streets of Brooklyn. They called together NYC Shut It Down, the People’s Power Assembly/NYC, Why Accountability, Take Back the Bronx, Decolonize This Place and the South Asia Solidarity Initiative.

As 2,000 people marched, their rage could be felt in the chants: “No justice, no peace, f — k these racist police” and “How do you spell racist? NYPD.” They called for “NO NYPD in the MTA” and “From the A to the Z, the subway should be free.”

As people continued marching, they ended up at the Hoyt-Schermerhorn subway station, where people jumped over turnstiles on an already packed platform to show the NYPD that they were not afraid and that they will fight back.

As the march ended, people wanted to do more, as shown at a packed People’s Power Assembly/NYC meeting on Nov. 6 in Manhattan. In response to questions on what to do next, the PPA answered that it is backing a campaign for “Full access, full service, no cops, no fare,” and will continue this fight until that is won through peoples’ power. PPA and other groups are planning another action for Nov. 22.

For more information, go to peoplespowerassemblies.org/new-york-city-ppa/ or Facebook. □

## WORKERS WORLD this week

### In the U.S.

New York City subway protest .....	2
Interview with a Chavista .....	3
Call to action: Free Rodney Reed! .....	3
Gay men led 1960s Civil Rights fight .....	4
Lessons of the Greensboro massacre .....	5
NYC: ‘U.S. hands off Bolivia!’ .....	6
Solidarity with Chile .....	6
WW commentary: A powerful ‘Harriet’ .....	8
‘The unfinished revolution’ .....	9
Atlanta anti-racist actions .....	9

### Around the world

After Bolivia coup, Indigenous, workers resist .....	1
Mass protests in Chile .....	6
Why U.S. imperialism hates Evo Morales .....	7
Cuba defended in the U.N. ....	11
Italy’s army recruits: ‘See Naples and die!’ .....	11

### Editorial

Working-class youth want socialism! .....	10
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### Noticias en Español

En Bolivia solo existe el poder de las armas. ....	12
El juicio político no es suficiente .....	12

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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

people are gunned down by cops and bigots on a regular basis.

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.

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# Interview with a Chavista: Temir Porras

By Lyn Neeley  
Portland, Ore.

Hands Off Venezuela PDX sponsored an Oct. 9 Skype event with Temir Porras, a revolutionary Chavista who served as a former chief of staff to both President Hugo Chávez and President Nicolás Maduro. He is a knowledgeable economist, who also served as Venezuelan deputy minister for higher education and in the foreign ministry. Porras pointed out that the desire for independence and national sovereignty runs deep among the Venezuelan people. The Americas were the first place in the Global South to achieve independence from colonialism. Simón Bolívar, the inspiration for the current Bolivarian revolution in Venezuela, began a continent-wide movement for independence from the Spanish empire in 1808. Porras outlined the history of U.S. aggression toward Venezuela, including the U.S. idea of manifest destiny, the aggressive Monroe Doctrine, and the U.S. chauvinist aim to “civilize” the Western Hemisphere. He pointed out the onslaught of U.S. repression against any country where popular forces demonstrate against imperialist penetration, and the U.S. portrayal



Temir Porras, inset, and speaking as a Chavista to Portland activists, Oct. 9.

of popular leaders, like Chávez, Maduro and President Evo Morales of Bolivia, as enemies of so-called liberal democracy. In 1999, when Chávez was elected president, Porras began working with the Venezuelan government. He said that when Chávez called for a National Constituent Assembly, he was supported by 75 percent of the country. Porras called this Chávez’s democratic period which

vindicated workers and poor people in Venezuela. Porras said Chávez understood the importance of building a broad base of support. He made an effort to reach out to the most conservative factions to bring them into the conversations and to help them embrace the Constituent Assembly. Chávez also reached out to members of the upper classes who had much needed skills and expertise. Porras recounted the history of the illegal U.S. sanctions imposed on Venezuela beginning in 2006. In January 2019, Trump increased the sanctions formerly imposed by both the Bush and Obama administrations. Porras explained that any sanctions are illegal — that they are not authorized by the international community through the U.N. In August the U.S. voted to impose secondary illegal sanctions which prevent other countries and businesses outside the U.S. from trading with the Venezuelan government. At the end of his talk, Porras emphasized that U.S. sanctions have hurt the Venezuelan people on many levels and that the role of the U.S. left is to oppose any attempts to undermine Venezuelan democracy and to fight for Venezuela’s right to self-determination. □

# A call to action: Save Rodney Reed!

By Gloria Rubac  
Houston

Thousands of protestors demonstrated outside the Texas Governor’s Mansion for three hours Nov. 9 to demand “Free Rodney Reed!” Reed’s execution is scheduled for Nov. 20. A busload of students from Prairie View University, one of the Historically Black Colleges and Universities, were there. A young man from Wisconsin drove to Austin with hundreds of large white flags — which he printed himself — reading INNOCENT! with a silhouette of a man behind bars. He was attaching them to 10-foot poles for all who wanted one. The Texas Death Penalty Abolition Movement took carloads from the S.H.A.P.E. Center in Houston to Austin. One of the drivers was Ozell Brandley, brother of Clarence Brandley, who was freed from Texas death row in 1990 after wrongfully spending 10 years awaiting execution. Reed’s case has become the most publicized and well-known death penalty case in recent history. From celebrities like Oprah Winfrey, Beyonce, LL Cool J, Rihanna, Dr. Phil McGraw and Kim Kardashian to national media like CNN, The New York Times and Democracy Now! Reed’s case is being recognized around the country as one of injustice. Support keeps pouring in: from Steve Adler, the mayor of Austin; Texas Sen. Ted Cruz; Joe S. Vasquez, the Catholic Bishop of Austin; and the dozens of Texas legislators from both parties who have contacted the governor. Sister Helen Prejean, known for her book opposing the death penalty, “Dead Man Walking,” is an advocate for Reed.

about 50 feet tall outside the Bastrop County Court House is a towering obelisk, a monument engraved with the Confederate battle flag erected by the local Daughters of the Confederacy in 1910. The majority in the town want to keep it there. Less than a mile away lives Reed’s mother, Sandra Reed, on Martin Luther King Drive. She and her whole family have fought for two decades to stop the injustice against Rodney Reed. A racist frame-up to protect violent cop

The real reason Reed took the hit for this murder is that the actual killer was very likely the white cop who was engaged to Stites, Jimmy Fennell. All evidence points to him, and in the last few weeks people have given sworn statements that he confessed to the killing. Fennell recently served 10 years in prison for kidnapping and raping a woman he stopped for a traffic violation. But at the time of the crime against Stites, local cops were covering up for him. The Death Penalty Information Center’s Executive Director Robert Dunham told the Texas Observer, a progressive news magazine, that the Reed case has generated so much attention because it “has all the characteristics of what used to be lynchings. ... This looks like an African-American man is being railroaded to his death because of a consensual relationship with a white woman who was cheating on a dirty cop.” So many facts have come out recently

that anyone with a clear mind can see that the wrong person is awaiting execution. The murder weapon, a belt that was used to strangle Stites, has never been tested for DNA despite the defense’s requests. The highest court in Texas has denied testing. In 2018 the U.S. Supreme Court declined to directly review the Texas courts’ denial of DNA testing. Forensic experts say Reed is innocent

Renowned forensic pathologists, including Michael Baden, M.D.; Werner Spitz, M.D.; LeRoy Riddick, M.D.; and Cyril Wecht, M.D., have all concluded that Reed’s guilt is medically and scientifically impossible. The state’s three forensic experts have admitted on record to errors in their trial testimony, which led to Reed’s conviction and death sentence. Fennell’s best friend at the time of the crime, Bastrop Sheriff’s Officer Curtis Davis, has now revealed that Fennell gave an inconsistent account of where he was the night of the murder. On Oct. 29, Arthur Snow, who was in prison with Fennell, disclosed a conversation in which Fennell confessed to murdering Stacey Stites, stating, “I had to kill my n-loving fiancée.” Reed will likely be present for a hearing on his case on Nov. 13. He asked his family during a visit Nov. 1 to gather people to rally outside at noon and then attend the 1:30 hearing. The Rev. Al Sharpton will be one of many speakers. An all-night protest outside the



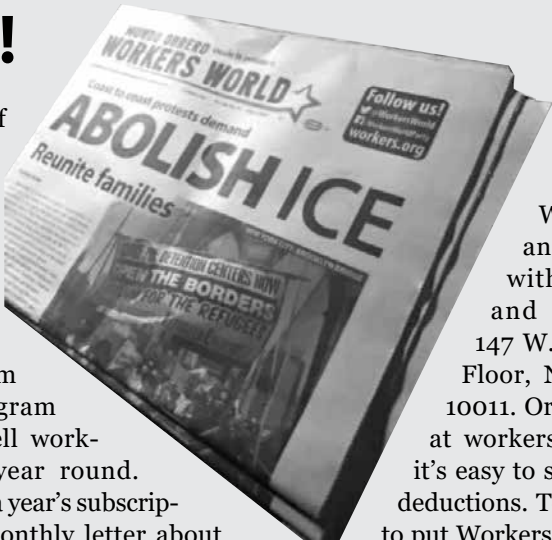
Rodney Reed  
WW PHOTO: GLORIA RUBAC

governor’s mansion in Austin will begin Nov. 14 at 7 p.m. and end at 7 a.m. on Nov. 15. Another all-nighter, also beginning Nov. 14 at 7 p.m., will be held outside the U.S. Supreme Court and will end the next day at 10 a.m. As Reed’s brother Rodrick Reed has explained many times, this isn’t just about his brother. There are many Rodney Reeds wrongfully imprisoned. We must fight for all of them. The people aren’t asking Gov. Abbott for anything special, only that he do the right thing. “We’re asking for justice, for integrity. We have to bring my brother home,” says Rodrick. As the thousands chanted on Austin’s streets, “Brick by brick, wall by wall, Free Rodney Reed, free them all!” Follow events on Facebook at Reed Justice Initiative. Drop Reed a note: Rodney Reed #999271, Polunsky Unit, 3872 FM 350 South, Livingston, TX 77351. □

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Civil Rights era

# Gay men, Black and white, led North Carolina fight

Lavender & Red, part 56



By Leslie Feinberg

*This is an edited version of an article published on March 10, 2006.*

Gay youths, Black and white, led breakthrough struggles against racism and Jim Crow apartheid in North Carolina — the Durham and Chapel Hill freedom struggles — during the early 1960s, and won victories that reverberated throughout the Deep South.

Historian James T. Sears, a significant white contributor to Southern struggle history, devotes a chapter about three main organizers of the North Carolina movement in his book, “Lonely Hunters: An Oral History of Lesbian and Gay Southern Life, 1948-1968.”

Quinton Baker, African-American and gay, was a key leader. Baker was born on the coastal plain of North Carolina in 1942. While not transgender in today’s terms, Baker explained: “When you speak the way I speak in the South, you stand out. For a lot of people my speech pattern was feminine. The attitude was one of quiet acceptance.”

Baker was a senior in an all-Black high school on Feb. 1, 1960, when four African-American students at Agricultural and Technical College ordered coffee at a Greensboro, N.C., restaurant from a counter that only served whites. They were refused service.

The next morning, 27 Black A&T students ordered coffee at that counter. “We are prepared to keep coming for two years if we have to,” vowed one youth.

The “sit-ins” electrified the South. One week later, the sit-in movement sparked similar protests in North Carolina cities with historically Black colleges: Durham, Elizabeth City, High Point and Winston-Salem. The sit-ins at lunch counters spread from Nashville, Tenn., to Tallahassee, Fla.

Sears noted, “By the end of March, 68 cities in 13 Southern states reported sit-ins, including a wade-in at the all-white swimming pool in Biloxi, Miss., a read-in at the library in St. Petersburg, Fla., and kneel-ins at all-white churches.”

Hundreds of youth activists were arrested and locked up, where they faced serious charges. City officials in Orangeburg, S.C., gave the go-ahead to turn power hoses on student demonstrators and then held them in an open stockade in 40-degree weather. Tallahassee cops tear gassed youth activists. Klan mobs met Civil Rights demonstrators with bats and pipes in Bessemer and Montgomery, Ala.

This struggle marked the qualitative opening of a youth-led Civil Rights Movement. It [began] the larger student struggle of the 1960s and 1970s. By May 1960, a few businesses [ended]

white-supremacist segregation of their lunch counters. Within one year, the struggle won desegregation of lunch counters in 126 Southern cities.

Baker was drawn into this vortex of struggle. He [awaited] the fall of 1960 when he would enter North Carolina College in Durham. Black college students were organizing. Lacey Streeter, another native of Greenville, led the NAACP chapter at NCC.

Baker later recalled, “By the time I got to college I was so ready [for struggle] that it became almost more important to me than the academic work. My first semester I was in the NAACP and demonstrating. I didn’t stop for the four years I was there!”

As Baker organized boycotts, sit-ins, rallies and street demonstrations, his tactical and organizational skills became renowned. He helped other young leaders to develop. He became president of the NAACP state youth organization and an NAACP Commando.

Baker later recalled, “A lot of student leaders and activists were often gay men,” adding that the men weren’t often aware of lesbian activists. [He] worked closely with two gay, white anti-racist activists.

### Anti-racist struggle awakens white activists

Pat Cusick, like other white youth [active] in the struggle, had grown up under white supremacist indoctrination. These youth had to break with racist ideology ... to put their bodies on the line to end Jim Crow laws.

Cusick worked at a General Electric plant in Rome, Ga. The voice of Lillian Smith, a Southern anti-racist white writer, reached Cusick after she sent a letter to the New York Times hailing the 1954 Supreme Court decision that ended racist segregation in schools. Smith, [who] did not use the word lesbian to describe herself, had a female life-partner.

Cusick [attended] the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. He worked as a campus custodian in 1962 while he studied mathematics.

When the writer James Baldwin, African-American and gay, came to Durham to speak to the students, Cusick traveled from Chapel Hill to hear him.

Baker was there, too. He explains: “We were interested in [Baldwin] because of his racial analysis and his analysis of our condition, more so than his writing having sexual undertones. He came [to] support what we were doing.”

Cusick became an activist in the “ban the bomb” movement. He later said, “It was easier for me to [oppose] the war in Vietnam and form the Student Peace Union than to get involved in civil rights. I never even considered gay rights.”

An openly gay white youth, John Dunne, also joined the SPU. Sears wrote, “John’s apartment was the first place where Pat [Cusick] talked with other gay men who shared his passion for social justice. ...”

The white SPU activists began a systematic desegregation effort in Chapel Hill, including organizing boycotts of white-segregationist businesses.

Dunne returned to Chapel Hill on May 20, 1963, from Birmingham, Ala., where he had been arrested [for] loitering and failure to obey a police officer. [There,] he worked to locate Black youth who [were] arrested after Bull Connor’s police force

turned power hoses on 600 schoolchildren. ...

Martin Luther King Jr. wrote his “Letter from a Birmingham Jail” after being arrested for leading the Good Friday march there. The powerful impact of the Birmingham demonstrations was felt throughout the South, including Durham, where young Civil Rights activists readied themselves to wage “an all-out war against segregation.”

### Baker helps lead Chapel Hill movement

Baker [became] a prominent, tireless organizer of the deepening Durham protest movement. He agreed in 1963 to work with the Chapel Hill movement, too.

“With Baker and the Chapel Hill Black teens involved,” Sears explained, “tactics changed from picketing to sit-ins and marches.” As the summer of 1963 began, activists were organizing three marches a week, while picketing numerous white-owned segregated businesses.

Cusick recalls Baker teaching demonstrators how to fall and protect themselves from the police. When criticized by more liberal elements [from Chapel Hill] for using these tactics to break the law, Baker said, “We would reply, ‘If you agree with my cause, then you need to act on [that] fact. Don’t worry about my tactics. Concentrate on what you’re doing that supports the cause that we both believe in.’”

Cusick described the impact of the arrest of 34 demonstrators, including himself, on July 19, in what [became] a turning point in the Chapel Hill freedom movement. “Like most whites, [for me] a policeman was a friendly image. There is nothing like [getting] your head whipped, your teeth knocked in, and your ribs kicked. You come to a [different] knowledge. ...”

In jail, Cusick and fellow activist prisoners discussed Baldwin’s “Another Country,” which wove themes of societal racism and homophobia.

Cusick said, “There were more gays than people realized in the Civil Rights Movement. [Within] a movement that was not directly related to sexual orientation but more involved in day-to-day social justice issues with a common enemy, the movement would bring you closer together. [T]here was not a great deal of conversation about sexual orientation.”

Baker was also imprisoned for his activism in 1963, in Morgantown Prison Camp, a desegregated federal prison facility in West Virginia. He observed, “The chain gang was one of those experiences you say, ‘I’m glad I had it; I never want to do it again.’ It was there I really learned



Leslie Feinberg

PHOTO: ANH ĐÀO KOLBE

about the struggle of what it means to be human.”

Baker wrote letters for Black prisoners and at least one white. He said, “I learned a lot about people. Having to read, talk to, and see people, and understanding what kinds of lives they have, I began to appreciate what being human is about. It was an incredible beginning for me in my quest to understand about being a human being and how to put into that context my blackness and my sexual orientation.”

In August 1963, as the March on Washington was drawing huge numbers, the impact of the gay-baiting and red-baiting attacks on Bayard Rustin, the march’s leading tactician, was felt by Civil Rights activists of all nationalities and sexualities in the Deep South, including Baker. ...

### ‘The tactician who brought the connection’

Baker noted: “There were really some good solid white people who came into the [Civil Rights] Movement. Those white people who got beat up with me, went to jail with me, sat down with me, it is very difficult to question their commitment.”

As civil disobedience spread, more activists — Black and white — went to jail. On Jan. 12, 1964, the Chapel Hill Freedom Committee organized a 13-mile march from Chapel Hill to Durham. There, at least 500 crowded into the First Baptist Church to hear CORE national chairperson, Floyd McKissick, and John Knowles, a gay white author of “A Separate Peace,” speak.

CORE leader James Farmer told the cheering crowd, “Unless Chapel Hill is an open city by Feb. 1, it will become the focal point of all our efforts. All our resources, staff funds and training will be centered here.”

In April 1964, Baker, Cusick and Dunne were sentenced to six months, one year and three years of hard labor, respectively. By July 2, the struggle had forced President Lyndon Johnson to sign the Civil Rights Act that barred racist segregation of public accommodations.

Cusick concluded: Quinton Baker was “the tactician who brought the connection to the [North Carolina] statewide movement.” □



### Rainbow Solidarity in Defense of Cuba by Leslie Feinberg

This ground-breaking book is a compilation of 25 articles about same-sex love and sex/gender variance in Cuba’s pre- and post-revolutionary history.

Available, along with complete Lavender & Red series, as free download at [workers.org/books](http://workers.org/books).

# 40th anniversary: Greensboro Massacre provides lessons for today’s movement

By Dante Strobino  
Greensboro, N.C.

Hundreds of labor and community activists gathered at Bennett College Nov. 1-3 in Greensboro, N.C., to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Greensboro Massacre. On Nov. 3, 1979, the American Nazi Party and Ku Klux Klan of North Carolina ambushed a Communist Workers Party rally in Greensboro and shot several demonstrators, killing five textile plant union organizers in broad daylight.

The massacre was captured by TV cameras. Due to the collusion of the Greensboro Police Department, FBI and the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, then a division of the U.S. Department of the Treasury, with the Klan and Nazis, the murderers were acquitted by two all-white juries.

The recent conference honored the contributions of the five members of the CWP who were killed: Sandra Smith, William Sampson, Dr. James Waller, Dr. Michael Nathan and Cesar Cauce.

Rev. Nelson Johnson and Joyce Johnson hosted the conference, along with many other local activists from the Greensboro community who built the Beloved Community Center and the Faith Community Church to continue the pursuit of justice and reconciliation. Cultural and faith-based programs were featured to draw a wider community base, including a play by Emily Mann and a dance performance by Contra-Tiempo. There was also a memorial day of praise and worship church services. Rev. William Barber II, leader of the Poor People’s Campaign of 2018, addressed the crowd via video.

The conference hosted eight workshops on “Educational and Movement Building,” taking up the role each sector plays in building the movement. Workshop topics included youth and intergenerational organizing, labor and worker justice, legal and policy work, and faith-based and religious work. Other major focal points were climate change and environmental justice, struggles against racism and white supremacy, gender equity, justice for im/migrants, building local power, and cultural work and the arts.

Remembering the five labor activists

Conference participants continually stressed that the CWP 5 had all focused on labor organizing in the South before they were murdered. Sandra Smith, who was African American, had been the Bennett College student body president, a worker at Cone Mills Revolution plant in Greensboro and chairperson of the union organizing committee there, and then a worker at Cannon Mills in Kannapolis, N.C.

William Sampson led a surge of rank-and-file union activity for worker health and safety at Cone Mills White Oak plant. He was president-elect of Clothing and Textile Workers (ACTWU) Local 1391.

Dr. James Waller, a founding member of the Carolina Brown Lung Association, screened workers for byssinosis (a lung disease caused by inhaling textile fiber dust), and fought for compensation for those sickened by it. Waller worked at Cone Mills Granite plant in Haw River, N.C., was elected president of ACTWU Local 1113-T and led the local in a strike against pay cuts in July 1978. Later that year, he was elected national president of the CWP-led Trade Union Educational League (TUEL).

Dr. Michael Nathan was chief of pediatrics at Lincoln Community Health Clinic in Durham, N.C., which was instrumental in serving Black and low-income children. He played an important role in helping workers unionize at Duke Hospital. He was also a main organizer of a major medical aid effort for freedom fighters in Zimbabwe in 1977-78.

Cesar Cauce was a data terminal operator at Duke Hospital and a leader of the union organizing drive there in 1978-79. He was also active with the Duke Workers Organizing Committee, which united hospital workers with members of American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 77 and Operating Engineers Local 465 at Duke.

Conference participants stressed that the CWP 5 were doing more than organizing unions. They sought to build a broad movement to challenge white supremacy and capitalism by building a mass base of resistance among the most oppressed workers.



Members of UE Local 150 attend the Greensboro Massacre conference and commemoration, Nov. 2.

Eric Gill, financial secretary of UNITE HERE Local 5, stated at the labor workshop: “They were not just organizing a union, but organizing a revolutionary core of workers to fundamentally transform society.” He referred to the seven-city strike that UNITE HERE led in 2018, which involved 7,000 workers at Marriott hotels. Their slogan was “One job should be enough,” which Gill said is “our generation’s fight for the eight-hour workday.”

Carrying forward workplace organizing today

Bertha “Cookie” Bradley, a 21-year worker at Wendy’s, was a CWP member in Durham in 1979. Her experience helped her become a leader of the Fight for \$15 per hour — today’s minimum wage movement. She stated that her long-term political commitment helped her fight the bosses, who offered her a \$50,000 salary as district manager to stop her from speaking out publicly and organizing her co-workers. She refused the offer in solidarity with the workers and also to maintain her role as a worker in the movement.

Bradley stressed the importance of one-on-one organizing as critical in building broad workplace and community involvement in the working-class movement. She also stressed the need to connect workplace struggles with community movements for social justice. “We must organize the unorganized. Invest in the dis-invested. Our society has dis-invested in low-wage workers. You can see this dis-investment in schools, neighborhoods and housing,” she stated.

Jim Wrenn, who survived multiple gunshot wounds from the massacre, pointed out, “We were on the verge of launching an independent, progressive rank-and-file textile workers union in North Carolina.” He spoke of the TUEL’s efforts to build rank-and-file leadership, increase democracy inside unions, including the



Some coverage of the Greensboro Massacre in 1979 issues of Workers World newspaper.

ACTWU, and expand union organizing among the state’s textile workers.

TUEL activists won leadership in several union locals in North Carolina and organized support for six labor strikes around the state in 1978 and four in 1979. Early in 1979, in reaction to TUEL’s emphasis on rank-and-file leadership, ACTWU’s top leaders placed five Cone Mills union locals under receivership; they suspended local officers and took control of finances and decisions.

The ACTWU had recently lost an election at Cannon Mills in Kannapolis, N.C., but was engaged in a nationwide boycott supporting unionization at J.P. Stevens plants in Roanoke Rapids, N.C. The TUEL, led by Waller, Sampson and Smith, was preparing to launch a state-wide independent textile workers union prior to their murders in Greensboro.

Black Workers for Justice founded

Wrenn explained that the Greensboro massacre was a setback to union organizing in North Carolina, which unleashed a period of intense anti-union and anti-communist attacks on labor. After the decline and collapse of TUEL and an intense period of red-baiting — but influenced by the victorious 1978 Rocky Mount sanitation workers strike — workers in eastern North Carolina organized Black Workers for Justice in 1981.

The BWFJ’s community-based, rank-and-file, in-plant organizing committees across the state led to the establishment of the N.C. Public Service Workers Union, United Electrical Workers (UE) Local 150 in 1997. During 35 years working at Cummins Rocky Mount Engine Plant, Wrenn built the union there. He is now the N.C. statewide UE Local 150 secretary-treasurer.

Mavis Stith, a UE Local 150 member at the Cummins plant, and Wrenn, led the successful effort this year by the Phoenix Historical Society to persuade the state to erect a historical marker commemorating the sanitation workers’ strike, one of six strikes in the state in 1978. The marker says the strike “reshaped the labor movement in N.C.”

Wrenn explained his view that UE Local 150 is an independent, progressive, statewide social justice union, and it is a legacy of the 1970s workers movement that was attacked 40 years ago in Greensboro. In spite of the state making collective bargaining for public workers illegal, UE Local 150 has successfully organized thousands of municipal and state mental health and university workers, as well as manufacturing workers at over 15 N.C. workplaces. UE Local 150 efforts have won many crucial victories, such as raising wages to \$15 an hour in five cities — and for all state employees. The local has also won reinstatement of unfairly fired workers.

UE Local 150 and BWFJ joined with the International Longshoremen’s Association Local 1422 in Charleston, S.C., National Nurses United and other forces to form the Southern Workers Assembly, which seeks to organize workers across the South and host workers’ schools. The SWA launched the Southern Workers Medicare for All campaign.

Wrenn called on everyone to support the SWA as a way to carry on the struggle for which the CWP 5 gave their lives 40 years ago.

‘Shoutout to Chicago Teachers Union!’

The conference labor panel also discussed the growing strike wave across the U.S. Todd Warren, a Greensboro elementary school teacher and president of the Guilford County Association of Educators, raised the Chicago Teachers Union’s actions. He praised their recent strike, which not only took up workplace concerns, but raised major issues affecting students and their communities, such as smaller class sizes and affordable housing.

“The 1979 attack was an attack on organized labor,” stated Warren. “Shoutout to the Chicago Teachers Union which struck in 2012, setting off a wave of teacher strikes across the country. They were bargaining for the common good.”

Warren related the recent Chicago organizing to work in North Carolina and throughout the South: “Teachers and public workers have many restrictions on our union organizing like right-to-work and a ban on public sector collective bargaining. These are all Jim Crow laws.” He connected these struggles to the CWP 5, whom he praised as leading the way in North Carolina in fighting against racism and for workers power to push back white supremacy and capitalism. □



# Emergency march to Trump Tower: ‘U.S. hands off Bolivia!’

**Special to Workers World  
New York**

Nov. 11 — An emergency rally and march against the Nov. 10 right-wing coup in Bolivia that forced President Evo Morales to resign took place in New York City on one day’s notice. Over 200 activists gathered at the Bolivian Mission to the United Nations on Second Avenue and then marched to Trump Tower on Fifth Avenue in midtown Manhattan for a rally. The crowd chanted, “Evo, amigo! El pueblo está contigo!” (Evo, friend! The people are with you!)

An Ad Hoc Rapid Response Network of activists came together to oppose the U.S.-backed coup against the first elected Indigenous president of a South American country. The activists represented the Bolivarian Circle, Call to Action on Puerto Rico, International Action Center, Acción Revolución de

Ecuador, December 12th Movement, Peoples Forum, Workers World Party, BAYAN-USA, Pakistan USA Freedom Forum, Samidoun: Palestinian Prisoner Solidarity Network, La Lucha, Party for

Socialism and Liberation, Answer, U.S. Peace Council, United National Antiwar Coalition, Code Pink, People’s Power Assemblies/NYC, Fight for Im/migrants and Refugees Everywhere, Committee

to Stop FBI Repression, Freedom Road Socialist Organization and many others.

Marches and rallies are being held throughout the U.S. and globally in solidarity with Evo Morales and his party Movement Toward Socialism and against the U.S.-backed coup.

Sara Flounders, speaking on behalf of the IAC at the New York rally, emphasized: “Our unity is the most powerful response. It is the weapon that has enabled the movements in Latin America to survive and rebound time after time. We need to know and be confident that resistance in Bolivia is continuing right now. This struggle isn’t over. What is Evo Morales and the Movement Toward Socialism’s great crime? They united the poorest, most oppressed, the Indigenous against the capitalist class. Their unity won real gains. Our solidarity here and across the country and throughout Latin America matters.” □



## In Bolivia, Indigenous, workers resist

*Continued from page 1*

happened was a fascist takeover with the collusion of the police and military — and imperialist backing — that has crushed all democratic norms in Bolivia. The charge of electoral fraud is a phony pretext for the coup.

### World leaders denounce coup

Among those denouncing the coup d’état are Cuban President Miguel Díaz-Canel, the recently freed Brazilian leader Lula Da Silva, President-elect Alberto Fernández and Vice President-elect Cristina Fernández de Kirchner of Argentina, Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro, Colombian political leader Gustavo Petro, social-democratic leaders Pablo Iglesias of Spain and Jeremy Corbyn of Britain, and many other social movements, political parties and well-known individuals worldwide.

The Mexican foreign minister, in addition to denouncing the coup in Bolivia, has offered Mexico’s Embassy in La Paz as a secure place for persecuted Bolivian politicians to seek asylum. Already about 20 members of MAS are there.

In the United States, numerous anti-imperialist and anti-war organizations are supporting emergency demonstrations on Nov. 11 — for example, one in

New York City at the Bolivian Consulate — to protest the coup. Workers World Party issued a call to its members and friends around the country “to support any demonstrations defending the life and freedom of Evo Morales and other members of his government and protesting the U.S.-backed coup in Bolivia.”

### Why the rich hate Morales

Evo Morales was the first Indigenous person to become Bolivia’s president. First elected in 2006, he was in charge of this pluri-national country until Nov. 10. Some 55-60 percent of Bolivia’s 11.6 million people are Indigenous.

Bolivia’s tiny oligarchy of super-rich, mostly of European descent, have imposed an ideology of anti-Indigenous racism that is now aimed at Morales. Naturally, the rich also hate him for his policies. Over the last 13 years, the MAS government has used some of Bolivia’s wealth to lift 20 percent of the people out of abject poverty. But the rich want it all for themselves.

Morales also joined Venezuela, Ecuador, Cuba and Nicaragua to establish Latin American organizations that allowed some economic sovereignty, instead of being subservient to U.S. and EU imperialism. In 2008, he stopped sending Bolivian Army officers to the infamous “School of the Americas,” where

the U.S. trained them in repression. These steps, along with MAS’s nationalization of what had been big profit centers for imperialist-based monopolies, made Morales a target of U.S. imperialism.

Long before the Oct. 20 vote, the Bolivian right wing made it clear they would not respect the results of the election. Their coup had nothing to do with electoral fraud, which was never proven. Even an OAS declaration on Nov. 10 — which was issued two days early in order to pile on pressure for Morales to resign — vaguely referred to “irregularities” and not fraud.

Immediately after the Oct. 20 election showed that Morales had won another five-year term, Bolivian counterrevolutionaries, from their bases in eastern cities like Santa Cruz — stronghold of coup leader Camacho — mobilized fascist gangs. They marched toward La Paz, their “shock troops” wearing face masks as they beat people and torched homes, including the house of Morales’ sister.

In La Paz these gangs took to the streets and fought to wrest control of public places from the government’s supporters.

Above La Paz is the city of El Alto, a nearly 100-percent Indigenous city more than 13,000 feet above sea level. It is a stronghold of support for the government. Reports and videos showed tens

of thousands of people in the streets supporting Morales, including Indigenous organizations and the Confederation of Bolivian Workers.

By Nov. 8 and 9, elements of the police had not only refused to stop the fascist gangs from destroying parts of La Paz, they had joined the gangs.

On the morning of Nov. 10, the Army clarified its position. General Williams Kaliman, the top commander of the Bolivian Armed Forces, “suggested” to the president that he resign his mandate. The threat was clear.

While the scenario might differ from a classic army coup in which the officers order their troops to seize the government, it is still a fascist coup based on anti-Indigenous racism, financed by the oligarchy and by imperialism, and supported by the police and the army.

Demonstrations Nov. 11 in New York City and elsewhere will underscore that every progressive person and organization should condemn the coup and defend the lives and freedom of Evo Morales and other MAS leaders, in solidarity with the people of Bolivia.

*Workers World has covered these events in more detail online, mainly in translations of articles by Marco Teruggi, which are available at workers.org.*

## Mass protests in Chile slam growing inequality

**Special to Workers World**

Beginning in mid-October, and continuing every Friday since then, hundreds of thousands of Chileans have been demonstrating against government neoliberal

policies that have transformed their country into one of the most economically unequal in Latin America. The protests, initiated by youth over increases in transit fares, have spread from Santiago to other areas despite heavy government repression — reports claim at least 42 dead and 121 missing at the hands of police in the first two weeks.

These demonstrations are the largest since a fascist coup, led by General Augusto Pinochet in 1973 with U.S. backing, crushed the progressive government of President Salvador Allende and opened up a reign of terror. What followed was massive privatization of the country’s wealth, even affecting access to water. After Pinochet’s retirement in 1990, a supposed democratic government was restored, but the country remains in the grip of a small wealthy ruling class that relies on the military and police to maintain power over an increasingly impoverished working class. □



### NYC: Solidarity with Chile

About 200 people gathered in protest in Union Square in New York City Nov. 4 to support a general strike in progress in Chile. Many were Chileans exiled during the U.S.-backed military dictatorship of Gen. Augusto Pinochet, which lasted from 1973 to 1990. Nieves Ayress, a former political prisoner under Pinochet, spoke [with flag in photo]. Militants from Mexico and Puerto Rico gave solidarity statements with Chile’s current mobilization against neoliberal austerity measures. Organizers stated they intend to keep up the solidarity gatherings.

— Report and photo by G. Dunkel



Mass protest, Santiago, Nov. 8.

PHOTO: TELESUR

# Why U.S. imperialism hates Evo Morales

*A look at these excerpts from Bolivian President Evo Morales' speech to the U.N. General Assembly on Sept. 24, shows why the U.S. State Department and the CIA targeted the progressive Latin American leader.*

Once again we meet in the most important multilateral organization of humanity to reflect and analyze collectively on the global problems that concern the peoples of the world.

We note with concern the multilateral system's deterioration, which is the product of unilateral measures promoted by some states that have decided to ignore the commitments, good faith and global structures built for a healthy coexistence between states, within the framework of international law and the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

We meet in this forum to discuss and find solutions to the serious threats facing humanity and life on the planet.

## The threat to Mother Earth

Our house, Mother Earth (Pacha Mama), is our only home and is irreplaceable. It increasingly suffers more fires, more floods, hurricanes, earthquakes, droughts and other catastrophes.

Each year is hotter than the previous one, the thaws are greater, the level of the oceans grows. Every day we suffer the disappearance of species, soil erosion, desertification and deforestation.

Sisters and brothers, we are warned that if we follow this course of action, by the year 2100 we will reach an increase of 3° Celsius. That would imply massive and devastating changes.

The consequences of climate change will condemn, according to data from our organization [the U.N.], millions of people to poverty, hunger, no potable water, losing their homes, forced displacement, more refugee crises and new armed conflicts.

Sisters and brothers, in recent weeks we have been surprised by the forest fires that have been unleashed in different parts of the planet: in the Amazon, in Oceania and Africa, affecting flora, fauna and biodiversity.

In recent weeks, fires have broken out in Bolivia, which we have been fighting against, using our financial, technical and human resources. To date, our country has spent more than \$15 million to mitigate fires.

We thank the International Community for their timely cooperation in our fight against the fires, as well as their commitment to participate in postfire actions.

## Military spending and world poverty

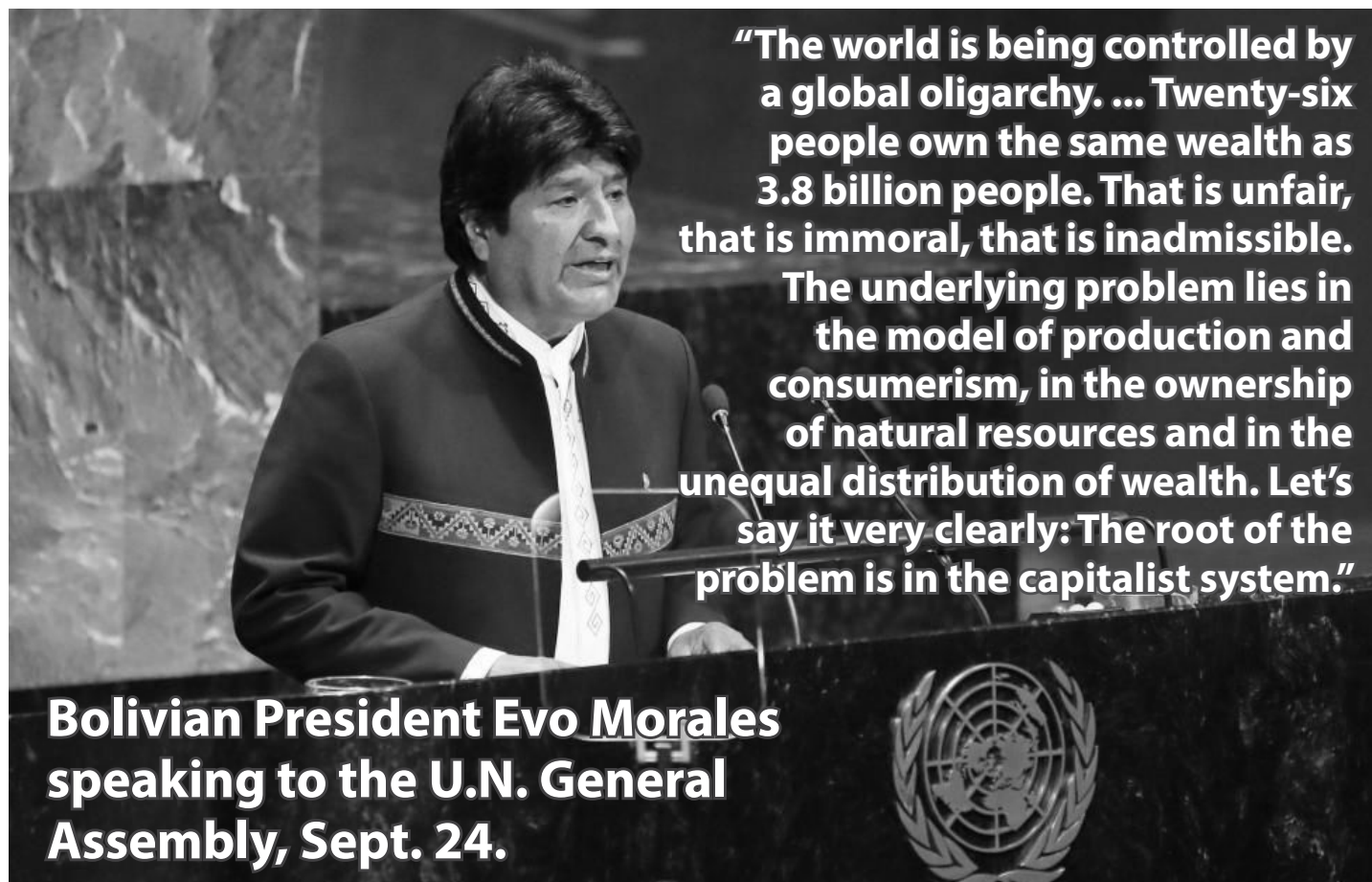
The arms race, military spending, technology at the service of death and the unscrupulous arms trade have increased.

The financial system remains undemocratic, inequitable and unstable, which privileges tax havens and the banking secrecy that subjects weak countries to accept conditions that perpetuate their dependence.

We note with sadness that the great social asymmetries continue. According to Oxfam, today 1.3 billion people live in poverty, while 1 percent of the richest kept 82 percent of the world's wealth in 2017.

Inequality, hunger, poverty, the migration crisis, epidemic diseases, unemployment, are not just local problems, they are global problems.

On the other hand, the creative capacity of humanity every day surprises us with new inventions and new technological applications. They have offered great



solutions to very complex problems. Technology has meant a qualitative leap for humanity. However, it is necessary that from this multilateral body agreements on the matter be established with the participation of all States.

## The root problem: The capitalist system

Sisters and brothers, it is essential to talk about the structural causes of the different crises.

Transnational companies control food, water, nonrenewable resources, weapons, technology and our personal data. They intend to commercialize everything, to accumulate more capital.

The world is being controlled by a global oligarchy, only a handful of billionaires define the political and economic destiny of humanity.

Twenty-six people have the same wealth as 3.8 billion people. That is unfair, that is immoral, that is unacceptable.

The underlying problem lies in the model of production and consumerism, in the ownership of natural resources and in the unequal distribution of wealth. Let's say it very clearly: The root of the problem is in the capitalist system.

That is why the United Nations is more relevant and important than ever. Individual efforts are insufficient and only joint action and unity will give us an opportunity to overcome them.

As we have already said, the responsibility of our generation is to give the next a fairer and more human world.

That will only be achieved if we work together to consolidate a multipolar world, with common rules, defending multilateralism and the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and International Law.

## Bolivia's achievements

Sisters and brothers, in Bolivia we have taken very important steps:

- We are the country with the highest economic growth in South America, with an average of 4.9 percent in the last six years.
- Between 2005 and 2019, the gross domestic product increased from \$9.574 billion to \$40.885 billion.
- We have the lowest unemployment in the region. It fell from 8.1 percent in 2005 to 4.2 percent in 2018.
- Extreme poverty fell from 38.2 percent to 15.2 percent in 13 years.

- Life expectancy increased by nine years.
- The minimum wage rose from \$60 to \$310.
- The gender gap in land titling for women was reduced; 138,788 women received land in 2005 and 1,011,249 up to 2018.
- Bolivia ranks as the third country in the world with the highest participation of women in Parliament. More than 50 percent of Parliament is made up of women.
- Bolivia was declared a territory free of illiteracy in 2008.
- School dropout rate fell from 4.5 percent to 1.5 percent between 2005 and 2018.
- The infant mortality rate was reduced by 56 percent.
- We are in the process of implementing the Universal Health System, which will guarantee that 100 percent of Bolivians access free, dignified service, with quality and warmth.
- We passed a law to provide free health care for cancer patients.

The above data are part of the achievements of our democratic and cultural revolution, which have given Bolivia political, economic and social stability.

Sisters and brothers:

How did we achieve these achievements in such a short time? How is it that Bolivia has taken the path to defeat poverty and underdevelopment?

Thanks to the conscience of the people, of the social movements, of the Indigenous, peasants, workers, professionals, of men and women of the countryside and of the cities.

We nationalized our natural resources and our strategic companies. We have taken control of our destiny.

We are building a Community and Productive Social Economic Model, which recognizes basic services (water, electricity, telecommunications) as a human right.

Today we can say with pride and optimism that Bolivia has a future.

## Bolivia's right of access to the Pacific Ocean

Sisters and brothers, there is a pending issue in the region, the sea is

indispensable for life, for the integration and development of the peoples.

Therefore, Bolivia will not give up its right to sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean.

In 2015 and 2018, the International Court of Justice of the Hague, through its decisions, ruled on this. [Morales here cites rulings that show that Bolivia has the right to a coastline, which was lost to Chile in a late 19th century war, but which can still be resolved by negotiations between the two countries.] Sisters and brothers, this judicial decision has not ended the controversy. On the contrary, it is explicit in recognizing that it continues and emphasizes that it does not close off the possibility of both states finding a solution.

Therefore, the United Nations Organization must monitor and demand full compliance with the decisions of the court, so that both peoples continue negotiating in good faith, to close open wounds. It is possible to promote a good neighborhood spirit, and open a new time in our relationship, to forge mutually acceptable and lasting solutions.

Sisters and brothers, our countries face diverse and conflicting situations, which must be approached in a sovereign manner and solutions must be found through dialogue and negotiation, in favor of the interests of the people.

Bolivia, in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations, ratifies its rejection of the economic and financial blockade imposed against Cuba, which violates all human rights.

Finally, sisters and brothers, I take this opportunity to thank all member countries for their support in the various initiatives promoted by Bolivia.

This year: The International Year of Indigenous Languages, The Declaration of the Rights of Peasants and the Declaration of June 21 as International Solstice Day.

To conclude, we ratify our commitment to consolidate a new world order of peace with social justice, in harmony with Mother Earth to Live Well [Vivir Bien], respecting the dignity and identity of the peoples.

*Complete speech available in English at [undocs.org/en/A/74/PV.3](https://undocs.org/en/A/74/PV.3) pp. 36/60.*



WW commentary

‘Harriet’ — A powerful depiction of the legendary abolitionist

By Monica Moorehead

Institutionalized bigotry, be it racism, gender oppression or LGBTQ2S+ oppression, has impacted every sector of U.S. society. The form may vary, but the intent is the same — to promote racial, patriarchal and other divisions to keep the bosses and bankers in power and the multinational working class powerless, with miseducation.

Hollywood movies cannot be separated from this stark reality, especially where cultural racism is concerned. For many years, people of color—be they Black, Brown, Latinx, Native, Arab or Asian—were invisible when it came to being seen at all on the big or small screen (television). And once they got a rare chance to perform, they were forcibly locked into playing meaningless and degrading roles. These portrayals have evolved over time, thanks to social progress, but all too often the results have remained the same. Only the forms of negative typecasting have changed.

The limited roles for people of color in the movie industry reflect that despite any progress made in promoting “diversity” in front of or behind the camera, the fact remains that Hollywood studios — in terms of money and which films get produced — are still controlled by rich, white, male studio executives.

Therefore, it is within this historical and political context that whenever a progressive film comes out of Hollywood,

especially if the center of attention is a person of color, it deserves special recognition.

“Harriet” meets those criteria and has gotten rave reviews from critics. Directed by Kasi Lemmons, an African-American woman who wrote and directed the critically acclaimed “Eve’s Bayou,” “Harriet” is a depiction of the former enslaved woman, Harriet Tubman, who became the most famous conductor of the Underground Railroad before the U.S. Civil War. Debra Martin Chase, a Black woman, is the producer of “Harriet.”

Lemmons says about “Harriet”: “[I]t’s a freedom movie; it’s not a slavery movie. It exists in a very perilous and conflicted time in our country, but it’s really about freedom and what you’re willing to do for it — not just for you, but for others. To live free or die is a very powerful concept.” (The Atlantic, Oct. 30)

Harriet escaped from slavery on a plantation in Dorchester County in Maryland in 1848 while in her early twenties. She reportedly rescued 70 or more other enslaved people from plantations on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, including family members.

The screenplay is mainly based on a book, “Bound for the Promised Land: Harriet Tubman, Portrait of an American Hero,” written by Kate Clifford Larson, who was a consultant on the film.

Cynthia Erivo, the Tony award-winning actor from the Broadway musical “The Color Purple,” provides a gut-wrenching,

moving and riveting portrayal of Harriet. In fact, during the ending credits, when they show an actual photo of the abolitionist, there is a striking resemblance between Erivo and Tubman.

The movie also stars Tony winner Leslie Odom Jr. as Harriet’s mentor; Vondie Curtis-Hall, the real-life spouse of director Lemmons, as a preacher who helped Tubman escape to freedom; and the pop singer icon Janelle Monáe as a freed woman who befriends and houses Tubman in Philadelphia.

There is one scene that subtly points to the class divide between enslaved and freed women. When Monáe’s character, Marie, first meets Tubman, she tells her to take a bath because she stinks. Tubman proudly rebuffs Marie, telling her that she has never had to deal with the stench of slavery. Marie immediately apologizes to Harriet for her insensitive remark.

The movie has exceeded initial box-office expectations. With an operating budget of \$17 million — a mere pittance compared to the usual \$100 to \$200 million budgets of blockbusters — “Harriet” has made over \$23 million at the box office since it first opened widely in theaters Nov. 1. This means that both Black and white people are supporting the film.

The movie’s powerful soundtrack was written by Terence Blanchard and the stunning cinematography was done by John Toll. There is a beautiful scene showing Tubman leading enslaved women, men and children to freedom as the voice of the great Nina Simone singing “Sinnerman” is heard in the background.

But the heart and soul of the movie is Erivo’s marvelous performance. There isn’t one moment throughout the film that you don’t believe she is actually Harriet Tubman or, as she came to be known, “Moses.” The ending scene of the movie shows her leading a squad of Black Union Army troops into battle against Confederate soldiers in South Carolina.

Some controversy

Like any other movie, “Harriet” is not without some controversy. Some have criticized that Tubman is played by Erivo, because she is of Nigerian and British descent. This is an unjustified criticism, since clearly Erivo is a person of African descent.

Another controversy centers around a particular protagonist. Along with the brutal plantation owners who exploited Tubman and her family, there is a Black bounty hunter of runaways: Bigger Long, acted brilliantly by Omar J. Dorsey. Lemmons explains, “In the corrupting system of slavery, there were people who worked for the wrong side.” (BuzzFeedNews.com, Nov. 6) A younger



Harriet Tubman and actor Cynthia Erivo.

bounty hunter, Walter, played by Henry Hunter Hall — Lemmons’ and Hall’s son — is won over to Tubman’s cause.

Whether the Bigger Long character is historically accurate or not, such traitors to the cause of freedom unfortunately did exist. Dorsey’s character is a reminder that not all roles played by actors of color are heroic, one-dimensional or appealing to all, compared to the ones that Black pioneering actors like Sidney Poitier were forced to play to win over the sensibilities of white audiences.

With all the accolades “Harriet” has won from critics and audiences, the next big test will come with award season in the coming few months. We’ll see if Erivo, Lemmons and the film itself receive Golden Globe and Academy Award nominations. The Academy has a notorious history of excluding the performances of actors of color, especially in the Best Acting categories.

Forerunner to Black Lives Matter

Before she died at the age of either 91 or 93, Harriet Tubman was a supporter of the women’s suffrage movement. She founded a home for infirm former slaves in Auburn, N.Y., where she is buried. In many ways, Tubman gave birth to the current-day Black Lives Matter movement, founded in 2012 by Black queer women after the racist murder of 17-year-old Trayvon Martin in Florida.

Tubman put the fear into white supremacist slave owners everywhere with her daring raids into the South to free her people. She was a friend of the great abolitionist John Brown, assisting him in the plot to raid Harpers Ferry to arm enslaved people. There is a fleeting glance of Brown in the movie once the Fugitive Slave Act was passed.

To quote Larson from the introduction to her book: “Tubman has been guided by an interior life shaped by a particular slave experience. Suffering under the lash, disabled by a near-fatal head injury, Tubman rose above horrific childhood adversity to emerge with a will of steel. Refusing to be bound by the chains of slavery or by the low expectations limiting the lives of women and African Americans, Tubman struggled against amazing odds to pursue a lifetime commitment to liberty, equal rights, justice and self-determination.”

Hurry to see “Harriet.” You will be inspired, educated and transformed once you see it. □

Since 1970, Indigenous people & allies have gathered at noon on Cole's Hill in Plymouth to commemorate a National Day of Mourning on the US thanksgiving holiday. Many Native people do not celebrate the arrival of the Pilgrims & other European settlers. Thanksgiving Day is a reminder of the genocide of millions of Native people, the theft of Native lands, and the relentless assault on Native cultures. Participants in National Day of Mourning honor Indigenous ancestors and the struggles of Native peoples to survive today. It is a day of remembrance and spiritual connection as well as a protest of the racism and oppression that Native people continue to experience.



50<sup>th</sup> NATIONAL DAY OF MOURNING
Thursday, November 28, 2019
12 Noon - Cole's Hill (above Plymouth Rock)
Plymouth, Massachusetts

Unite with us in our struggle to create a true awareness of Native peoples and demonstrate the unity of Indigenous peoples internationally. Help shatter the untrue glass image of the Pilgrims and the unjust system based on racism, sexism, homophobia and the profit-driven destruction of the Earth.

Solidarity with Indigenous struggles throughout the world!
We welcome all our Indigenous relations who have been crossed by the US border and ICE. #closethecamps

\*Special message from Leonard Peltier\* \*Respectful allies welcome\*
For More Information/Orientation:
United American Indians of New England (decolonizing since 1970)
info@uaine.org www.uaine.org facebook.com/groups/UAINE
No Drugs or Alcohol Allowed Social to Follow
#NDOM2019 #NoThanksNoGiving Donate: gf.me/u/vumxka



www.iacenter.org

Bus from New York City

Departs from/organized by:
Solidarity Center / International Action Center
147 W. 24th St. 2nd floor, New York, NY (212) 633-6646
Tickets \$45 to \$30 (sliding scale) on sale Mon – Fri, 2 – 8 pm;
Departs NYC 6:00 am;
Leaves Plymouth ~ 4:30 pm; Returns to NYC ~ 9:30 pm

The Klan & the Government Foes or Allies?

By Sam Marcy

Examines the special relationship with the state that has allowed the Ku Klux Klan to exist for over a century despite its criminal history of lynchings, murders, and intimidation. Published in 1983.

Read it free at www.workers.org/marcy/klan/





# The U.S. Civil War: ‘The unfinished revolution’

*The slightly edited two chapters below are from a 1974 essay written by a Workers World Party founding member, Vincent Copeland, who reintroduced the pamphlet, “A Voice from Harpers Ferry,” by Osborne P. Anderson, a former enslaved Black man, who wrote a firsthand account in 1861 about the raid on Harpers Ferry, led by John Brown in 1859. Anderson was one of the few survivors of the raid. Go to [workers.org/book/a-voice-from-harpers-ferry/](http://workers.org/book/a-voice-from-harpers-ferry/) to download or to order the 2000 edition of the book.*

By Vince Copeland

Much has been written about the Harpers Ferry raid. But Osborne P. Anderson’s story — in the words of W.E.B. Du Bois, “the most interesting and reliable account of the raid” — has a special significance that has been too long neglected.

First, Anderson was one of the actual participants, and being Black, he might be expected to have a somewhat different view of the affair than even the most inspired white supporters of John Brown.

Second, he apparently wrote the pamphlet with the hope of encouraging a general slave insurrection.

And third, he obviously expected other whites to imitate the action of John Brown and help supply the arms for the insurrection, as well as take up arms themselves.

He was interested, like most other Black and white abolitionists of that very revolutionary period, in continuing the revolution that John Brown’s band had begun. But he seems to have based his optimism upon the possibilities of a slave insurrection, rather more than upon white support, which he must have thought of as an important auxiliary force rather than as the main body of struggle.

He took pains to emphasize the number of slaves who accepted guns the moment guns were offered to them. He pointed out what few subsequent narrators of the event have: namely that of the seventeen

revolutionaries who died at Harpers Ferry (before the legal lynching of Brown and the others after the trial), nine were Black. Eight whites and two Blacks of the original band were killed in the conflict in addition to the hastily armed seven Black slaves. Two other Blacks were executed with Brown.

History has finally given Brown tremendous credit for what was indeed a tremendous feat. But Brown had been planning it for decades and the others in the band had been thinking for months and for years about how to strike this dramatic blow.

What about the seven nameless Black people who died for Black freedom with no prior notice whatever? They, too, no doubt, had thought for years about freedom — their own freedom. They had lacked all possibility, all weapons, all communication for struggle. But confronted with an opportunity given them by strangers, most of whom were of the same race as the hated master class, they gave their lives in a moment and apparently without a qualm.

History, even revolutionary history, treats them as fillers of blank spaces. Did they simply take the guns and shoot and get shot like so many extras in the movies?

Anderson did not think so. Although he does not expand upon the facts when he refers to the number of “colored” men killed, his emphasis upon the number is obviously not due just to his racial pride.

It must always be borne in mind that he was speaking to a generation to which this incident would conjure up an extremely earthshaking perspective. And even the slightest emphasis would go a long way.

### A different Civil War

The Civil War may have begun by the time his story was published, but it is clear from the text that it had not begun when he wrote it. It is also clear that he was not thinking of that kind of civil war; he had a different concept of how the war would be fought, who would fight it, and who would lead it.

The war that Anderson had in mind would have required not just a few Black and white guerrillas, no matter how brave and ready to die, but an all-out participation of the slave population, along with fairly massive support from the North. He must have felt — and with good reason — that this would paralyze the U.S. government (which was already divided between “free soil” and pro-slavery forces) so that especially with Lincoln now president, it would not be able to intervene powerfully on the side of the South, as it had done in the case of Brown’s raid.

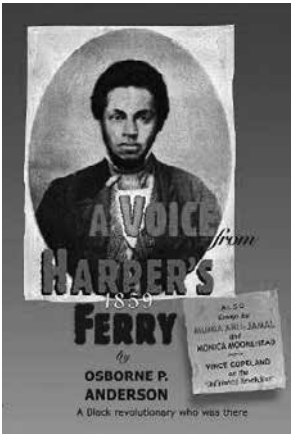
What actually happened was that the South seceded before such a war could get started and in effect, started its own counterrevolutionary war. When the fighting erupted, it was counterrevolutionary war.

When the fighting erupted, it seemed at first to have very little to do with slavery. The official battle cry in the North was not “Liberate the Slaves,” but “Preserve the Union.”

Right up until Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861, it must have appeared to Anderson (and many thousands of other passionate Black and white abolitionists in the North) that the Northern capitalist government would never fight. Even after Lincoln’s election and even after several states had seceded, it must have appeared that the U.S. government would never wage ruthless war against the slave owners of the South.

The formal Confederacy was already established before Lincoln was inaugurated. And Lincoln waited more than a month before he acted. And even then he acted only under the prod of South Carolina’s provocative attack on Sumter. It was, of course, a war against slavery when it did come, regardless of the will of most of its official leaders.

In spite of its defects, it was a revolution against the slavocracy that had ruled the whole country. It was a revolution



that destroyed forever the power of the slave owners as a class and chattel slavery as a system. But it was a revolution most unsatisfactory to the slaves themselves. The ending of slavery as an institution, as is well known, did not lead to any real amelioration of the actual conditions of life, particularly the economic conditions, for the vast majority of Black people at that time.

What would the conclusion have been if the war had been fought as a revolution from start to finish?

First, the slaves would have been freed simply by striking off their own shackles. Second, they would have enforced their freedom by expropriating the plantations of the masters and dividing up the land. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, if they took that form, would merely have been legal afterthoughts.

The former slaveholders could never have made a comeback of the proportions they actually did, and the whole system of racial inequality that prevails today would have no material basis at all.

We are apt to think of the United States as being the capitalist country, as completely money-oriented, nonfeudal, dynamic, etc. But in the more historical sense, it is not so purely capitalist after all.

Probably no bourgeois revolution in history was a completely “finished” one that definitively settled all questions of bourgeois democracy and made social and political conditions thoroughly consistent with bourgeois revolutionary ideas.

But the Southern United States, and in fact the whole United States, in spite of some small and temporary advances during Reconstruction, is to this day a classical example of the most unfinished of all bourgeois revolutions. And one of the fundamental reasons for this is that there was no general, thoroughgoing slave insurrection, no division of the land. □

# Atlantans hold back-to-back anti-racist protests

By Dianne Mathiowetz  
Atlanta

Donald Trump chose Atlanta to launch “Black Voices for Trump” on Friday, Nov. 8. That 2020 election appeal was rebuffed by all but a few residents of this majority Black city.

In order to gather the 400 people reported on the front page of the Nov. 9 Atlanta Journal Constitution, Black people were bused in from other states to the invitation-only event. Prominent members of the Grand Old Party, including Georgia Gov. Brian Kemp, helped increase the audience.

Outside, several hundred people marched from nearby Centennial Olympic Park to the Georgia World Congress Center to denounce Trump’s racist policies and rhetoric and call for his removal from office. Organizations that initiated the demonstration included the Georgia Alliance for Social Justice, the Georgia NAACP and Refuse Fascism.

Opponents of white supremacy took to the streets again on Nov. 9 when the United Daughters of the Confederacy held their national convention at the Atlanta Marriott Northeast hotel.



Protesting the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Atlanta, Nov. 9.

PHOTO: FLOWER

The UDC was founded in 1894 and to this day has been a champion of the “Lost Cause” version of Civil War history, erecting some 450 monuments, buildings, plaques and other tributes to the Confederacy across the country. As the movement to remove these vestiges of racist propaganda grows, the UDC has filed countless lawsuits to prevent universities, cities, counties and states from altering their “public donation” in any way.

Scores of Brookhaven and Chamblee police barricaded the streets leading into

the business complex where the hotel is located, preventing demonstrators from taking their anti-racist message to convention attendees. Reporters were also denied access to the venue.

Numerous drivers on busy Clairmont Road honked their horns in support of the signs denouncing racism and white supremacy.

The protest to expose the ongoing racist activities of this organizational relic of the past was called by the Front Line Organizations Working to End Racism (FLOWER) Coalition. □

## Marxism, Reparations & the Black Freedom Struggle

Edited by Monica Moorehead

An anthology of writings from Workers World newspaper.

Racism, National Oppression & Self-Determination • Black Labor from Chattel Slavery to Wage Slavery • Black Youth: Repression & Resistance • The Struggle for Socialism Is Key • Domestic Workers United Demand Passage of a Bill of Rights • Black & Brown Unity: A Pillar of Struggle for Human Rights & Global Justice! • Harriet Tubman, Woman Warrior • Racism & Poverty in the Delta • Haiti Needs Reparations, Not Sanctions • Alabama’s Black Belt: Legacy of Slavery, Sharecropping & Segregation • Are Conditions Ripe Again Today? Anniversary of the 1965 Watts Rebellion

Available as a free PDF download at [www.workers.org/books](http://www.workers.org/books)



# Working-class youth want socialism!

According to a poll by YouGov in September 2019, 70 percent of millennials—people between 23 and 38—would vote for a socialist. One-third view communism favorably compared to capitalism. What this poll implies is that young people in the U.S. increasingly believe in a socialist future for humanity and the planet.

Trust in the basic institutions and the founding mythology of the United States is crumbling. Only 57 percent of millennials favored the U.S. Declaration of Independence over the Communist Manifesto as a document that would “guarantee freedom.” That’s compared to 94 percent of people over 74 choosing the Declaration over the Manifesto.

Communism’s popularity among millennials is growing quickly, with their support increasing by 8 percent in the last year. Meanwhile, 35 percent of millennials view Marxism favorably. One in five believe the world would be better off if private property were abolished. When it comes to reforms, totally free college has 45 percent support, and 50 percent believe the government should guarantee everyone a job.

What are the conditions and experiences that created all these “red millennials”?

This is the generation that occupied Wall Street, that led Black Lives Matter, that goes on strike for climate justice, that votes for Bernie Sanders and candidates

further to the left, and that continues to fight every racist, fascist attack by Trump.

This is a generation that is pro-union, pro-im/migrant, pro-LGBTQ2+ and pro-gender equality, as well as anti-war and anti-racist.

This is also a generation that is under-employed, faces trillions in student debt and can’t pay down their credit cards or medical bills. Children of millennials, those born today, face a lower life expectancy than their parents. This crushing statistic is an indictment of the criminal capitalist system that caused the decline — an indictment of capitalism at a dead end.

Despite the annihilation of living standards by capitalism, the impact of anti-communist propaganda over the past century — a response by capital to the victorious Bolshevik Revolution — is still a reality. For example, 61 percent of people polled deemed the word “communist” to be an insult. Significantly, though, only 37 percent of all people found the word “socialist” insulting.

A majority of those polled viewed Donald Trump as the greatest single threat to world peace. He continues the classic anti-communist crusade, calling Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and other progressive elected officials “Communists” and “anti-American.”

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party leadership faces a challenge from “democratic

socialists” within their party, creating a divide over whether they continue to be the unapologetic party of neoliberal imperialism or cede ground to those pushing a more progressive agenda. Old Guard Democratic Party leaders such as House Speaker Nancy Pelosi continue to defend market-oriented, capitalist perspectives.

While the Democrats flounder, socialist and communist parties in the U.S. are growing as the entire world grapples with the demise of capitalism.

## Capitalists celebrate fall of Berlin Wall, but socialism advances

When the Berlin Wall came down 30 years ago, it ushered in a global counter-revolution and the collapse of the Soviet Union. Capitalist apologists proclaimed the end of history, declaring capitalism to be the world’s permanent economic system.

Yet after three decades of capitalism in the former German Democratic Republic, Eastern Europe and the former USSR, polls show a majority in those countries prefer the life they had under socialism. They have experienced the contrast between a system which guaranteed jobs, inexpensive housing, universal child care, free quality health care, versus the ills of capitalism: unemployment, homelessness, wage theft, low pay, illiteracy, right-wing nationalism, lack of mental health support, to name a few.

In China today, hundreds of millions of people have been lifted out of poverty and serious steps are being taken to address the climate emergency. The people of Cuba live longer than people in the U.S.

Reality runs counter to all the capitalist propaganda that “socialism is a good idea, but it can’t work” or that the U.S. “saved the world” from communist “slavery” and “dictatorship.”

Pro-socialist governments in countries like Venezuela and Bolivia, currently under siege by U.S.-backed, right-wing forces, have made tremendous gains for the people and built grassroots movements after winning bourgeois elections.

However, the primary question remains: Which class will control the banks, major industries, the media and civil society — along with the state apparatus? This question will be decisive for the survival of humanity and all life on the planet.

Socialist revolution is, in fact, the only real alternative to the capitalist system of exploitation and the growing danger of fascism.

Since our founding 60 years ago, Workers World Party has steadfastly defended the socialist camp and its endeavors to transform the world. We look forward to many young millennial communists joining our ranks and fighting in the streets to build a workers’ world! □

## Haiti A rain of protest as poverty worsens

By G. Dunkel

Haiti is devastated. The poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, one of the poorest in the world, is getting poorer.

Some 3.67 million people — 35 percent of all Haitians — are food insecure. They don’t have enough money to guarantee enough food for their households. This flows from the fact that 60 percent of all Haitians live on less than \$2 a day, according to the U.N. Development Program.

While some neighborhoods in Port-au-Prince, especially Cité Soleil, have large concentrations of poor people, most of the poverty in Haiti is found in rural areas. Heart-wrenching reports describe people with treatable cuts or contusions dying from their wounds because they don’t have the few dollars to pay for a doctor. ([haitiliberte.com/erasing-the-dead/](http://haitiliberte.com/erasing-the-dead/))

The Haitian government’s National Coordination of Food Security office calculates the country’s inflation rate at 22.6 percent. It reports that drought, caused by global warming, has lowered crop production in many parts of the country by as much as 12 percent.

For the past two months, hundreds of thousands of Haitians all over the country have marched, protested, built barricades and road blocks, shut down schools, factories and transportation, and kept up the pressure even as the cops killed over 35 people and wounded over 200, according to Amnesty International. ([tinyurl.com/sk5p2y5/](http://tinyurl.com/sk5p2y5/))

The Haitian people are not just protesting because they are hungry. They want jobs, health care and housing to replace the hundreds of thousands of homes destroyed in the 2010 earthquake.

The New York Times, in a long, detailed Nov. 4 editorial, acknowledges the

“rampant corruption” and “lawlessness and endless other indignities” that have “have steadily worsened the lives of people.” While the Times does fault the U.S. government for only calling for “dialogue” and not showing much concern, it proposes “long-term international assistance” to get Haiti “back on its feet.”

Haiti has a long experience with international “assistance.” Former President Bill Clinton, who proclaimed his long-term “connection” with Haiti, was basically in charge of spending \$13 billion of international relief aid raised after Haiti’s devastation from the 2010 earthquake. He made certain that almost all of this vast sum never passed through Haitian hands. It circulated through U.S. businesses and banks with a strong presence inside the Capitol Beltway, as Jacob Kushner details in the Oct. 11 Guardian. ([tinyurl.com/ty9te5v/](http://tinyurl.com/ty9te5v/))

Kushner also details a \$70 million port project created by the U.S. Agency for International Development to replace the port facilities destroyed by the 2010 earthquake. Haitians had no input into the design or location of this new port. The project fell apart, and USAID was so embarrassed that it didn’t inform its Haitian partners.

What Haiti needs is not aid — designed more to benefit the countries granting it than Haiti — but reparations controlled by the Haitian people, used to remedy all the damages inflicted over nearly four centuries by U.S. and French imperialism. □



Haitians march in Brooklyn, Nov. 6.

PHOTO: HAITI LIBERTÉ

## El juicio político no es suficiente

Continúa de la página 12

propio destino.

Entre los muchos pasos tomados por la Comuna para trasladar el poder político a la clase trabajadora estaba la elección directa de quienes los representarían en la Comuna, y la capacidad de retirar inmediatamente del cargo a cualquiera que no cumpliera con la voluntad del pueblo.

No hubo que esperar seis años (el mandato de un senador de EE.UU.), Cuatro años (el mandato de un presidente de EE.UU.) o incluso dos años (el mandato de un representante de EE.UU.) para

deshacerse de las figuras elegidas que traicionaron sus promesas. Una vez que la gente de la Comuna decidió que estos “representantes” no los representaban, quedaron fuera.

La Comuna de París fue uno de los cuerpos políticos más democráticos que el mundo había visto hasta ahora. Ahora, 148 años después, en un país donde ambos partidos capitalistas afirman defender la democracia, pero de hecho sirven a los intereses de los plutócratas multimillonarios, necesitamos luchar por nada menos que el gobierno de la mayoría: el poder de los trabajadores. □



# ‘U.S. does not have the moral authority to criticize Cuba’



Bruno Rodríguez Parrilla speaks at U.N. on Nov. 7.

The following was edited from a statement made by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cuba, Bruno Rodríguez Parrilla, during a presentation of the U.N. resolution, “The necessity of ending the economic, commercial and financial blockade imposed by the United States of America against Cuba,” in New York City, Nov. 7, 2019, Year 61 of the Revolution. Go to the Granma English website at [tinyurl.com/txl8ce2/](http://tinyurl.com/txl8ce2/) to read the entire speech.

The U.N. vote on the resolution to end the blockade was 187 “yes” votes to 3 “no” votes cast by the U.S., Israel and Brazil.

The government of President Donald Trump has initiated an escalation in its aggression against Cuba, with the adoption of unconventional measures to prevent the supply of fuel to our country from various markets, through sanctions and threats to vessels, shippers, and insurance companies. Its objective, in addition to affecting the economy, is to damage the living standard of Cuban families.

In April of this year, the filing of lawsuits in U.S. courts against Cuban, U.S. and third-country entities was authorized under Title III of the Helms-Burton Act.

Remittances to Cuban citizens were restricted; the granting of visas was reduced and consular services limited; an agreement between baseball federations was canceled; individual trips by U.S. citizens were canceled, along with cruise ship stops and direct flights to Cuban airports, except for Havana; the leasing of airplanes with more than 10 percent U.S. components and the acquisition of technologies and equipment with the same was prohibited; commercial promotional activities and cultural and educational exchanges ceased.

The United States government does not have the least moral authority to criticize Cuba or anyone else in the area of human rights:

### Article 3: Right to life [of the 1948 U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights]

The deaths of civilians caused by U.S. troops in various latitudes, and the use of torture merit condemnation; as well as the murder of African Americans by police and migrants by border patrols; the deaths of unaccompanied minors in immigration detention, and the abusive and racially disproportionate use of the death penalty, applicable to minors and the mentally handicapped.

### Article 9: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest

In the United States, there are 2.3 million individuals incarcerated, a quarter of the planet’s prison population, and in one year 10.5 million arrests are made.

### Article 25: Right to health

There are 28.5 million citizens without medical insurance, and millions with low incomes will be deprived of coverage with the measures announced.

### Article 1: Right to dignity and freedom

Repression and police surveillance of immigrants, the separation of families, the separation of parents and indefinite detention of more than 2,500 children, and the deportation of 21,000, and brutal measures that threaten the children

of illegal immigrants who were raised and educated in the United States are abhorrent.

### Article 11: Due process

This [U.S.] government holds prisoners indefinitely, in legal limbo, without defense, courts, or due process, in the Guantanamo naval base prison, on our territory usurped by the United States.

### Article 25: Right to personal well-being.

In the richest country, 40 million U.S. residents live in poverty, 18.5 million of them in extreme poverty. 25.7 percent of those with disabilities lived in poverty at the end of last year. More than half a million of its citizens sleep on the streets.

### Article 26: Right to education.

Quality education is not accessible to the majority. Half of adults cannot read a book written at an eighth grade level. Adolescents and youth rightly protest against their government for stripping them of environmental rights.

### Article 2: Non-discrimination

Women earn approximately 85 percent of average male income in the United States, and must work 39 more days a year to match them. There are widespread complaints of sexual harassment.

The average wealth of white families is seven times greater than that of Afro-descendant families. [In those families] the death rate of children under one year of age and mothers in childbirth is twice that of whites.

There is a disproportionate racial pattern in the U.S. prison population and in the length of prison sentences.

### Article 13: Freedom to travel

The illegal Helms-Burton Act guides the aggressive conduct of the United States against Cuba. Its essence is the open pretense of violating the right to self-determination and independence of the Cuban nation. It asserts U.S. legal authority over the commercial and financial relations of any country with Cuba, and establishes the supposed primacy of the law and the jurisdiction of the United States over third countries.

The blockade is a serious violation of international law, the United Nations Charter, and the postulates of the Proclamation of Latin America and the Caribbean as a Zone of Peace.

It is the effectiveness of the Cuban socialist system, the state and the patriotism, revolutionary convictions, solidarity, consensus and unity of our people that, despite the limitations, has allowed Cuba to overcome the serious challenges imposed.

The United States government presumes to exercise imperialist domination in our America, again invokes the outdated, aggressive Monroe Doctrine and “gunship diplomacy,” deploying the Fourth Fleet and increasing the presence and power of its military bases in the region.

The United States representative offends this Assembly with unacceptable interventionist language to refer to the heroic Venezuelan people, their civic-military union, and the Bolivarian Chavista government, headed by President Nicolás Maduro Moros, to whom we express unwavering solidarity.

As Army General Raúl Castro pointed out on April 10, before the National Assembly of People’s Power, “Despite its immense power, imperialism does not have the capacity to break the dignity of a united people, proud of its history and the freedom conquered with so much sacrifice.” □

## Italian army recruiting drive

# ‘See Naples and die’

By Manlio Dinucci

Published in the Italian web newspaper, *Il Manifesto*, Nov. 5. Translation by John Catalinotto.

Naples, and not Rome, was the focus of Armed Forces Day on Nov. 4 [in Italy]. Five battalions of troops paraded along the Caracciolo seafront. But the highlight was the interforce exhibition area, which for five days drew mainly young people and children to Piazza del Plebiscito, the largest square of the city, near the waterfront.

They could board a fighter [plane], fly a helicopter with a flight simulator, admire a Predator drone, enter a tank, train with military instructors, and then go to the port to visit an amphibious assault ship and two missile frigates.

It was a huge “War Festival” set up for a specific purpose: recruitment. Seventy percent of young people who want to enlist in Italy’s military live in the South, especially in Campania and Sicily, where youth unemployment is 53.6 percent, compared to the European Union average of 15.2 percent. For these youth, the only source of “secure” employment is the army. However, after the screening [process], the number of recruits has been less than needed.

The Armed Forces need more personnel, as they are engaged in 35 missions in 22 countries from Eastern Europe and the Balkans to Africa, the Middle East and [other regions in] Asia. These are the “peace missions” carried out where NATO, under U.S. command, has unleashed — with Italy’s active participation — the wars that have demolished entire states and destabilized entire regions.

To maintain adequate forces and armaments, such as the Italian F-35 deployed by NATO in Iceland, as shown on the TV

station RAI on Nov. 4, Italy spends about 25 billion euros per year of public tax funds. [1 euro = \$1.11 as of Nov. 6]

In 2018, Italian military spending rose from 13th to 11th place in the world, but the U.S. and NATO are pressing for a further increase, especially as a result of their escalation against Russia.

Last June, the first government of Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte “unblocked” 7.2 billion euros to add to military spending. Last October, in the prime minister’s meeting with NATO Secretary General [Jens Stoltenberg], the second Conte government pledged to increase military spending by about 7 billion euros starting in 2020. (La Stampa, Oct. 11)

Thus, [spending] is going to go from a military expenditure of about 70 million euros a day to one of about 87 million euros a day. These are public funds taken away from fundamental productive investments, especially in regions such as Campania [where Naples is located] to reduce unemployment, starting with the youth.

### Naples: U.S./NATO military hub

The “investments” made in Naples are quite different. The city has acquired a growing role as the seat of some of the most important U.S./NATO military commands. The Command of the U.S. Naval Forces in Europe is based in Naples-Capodichino, operating under the orders of U.S. Admiral [James Foggo III], who also commands U.S. Naval Forces for Africa and the Joint Allied Force (JFC



‘No to NATO’ protest in Naples, Oct. 26, 2015.

Naples), with headquarters at Lago Patria (Naples).

Every two years, JFC Naples takes command of the NATO Response Force, a joint force for military operations in the “area of responsibility” of the Allied Supreme Commander in Europe, who is always a U.S. general.

Since 2017, the hub of strategic direction has been operating in the Lago Patria headquarters. NATO for the South is a center of intelligence — that is, of espionage — concentrated on the Middle East and Africa.

The U.S. Sixth Fleet, based in Gaeta [about 60 miles north of Naples on the coast], is subordinate to the command in Naples. And, as U.S. Vice-Admiral Lisa Franchetti informs the public, it operates “from the North Pole to the South Pole.”

This is the role of Naples in NATO’s framework, as defined by Italian President Sergio Mattarella, in his Nov. 4 message: “[It is] an alliance to which we have freely chosen to contribute for the protection of peace in the international context, to the protection of the weakest and most oppressed and of human rights.” □





Bolivia, 11 de noviembre.

## En Bolivia solo existe el poder de las armas

Por Marco Teruggi  
La Paz, Bolivia

Publicado el 12 de noviembre por  
pagina12.com.ar.

El centro de La Paz se ha transformado en un escenario de barricadas, colas para comprar en los pocos negocios que abren, transporte detenido, vecinos apostados en las esquinas atravesadas por alambres de púas y chapas de zinc. Cerca de la Plaza Murillo, centro del poder político, pasan grupos con cascos, escudos, máscaras antigás, banderas de Bolivia, contingentes de policías apostándose y pidiendo refuerzo a la Fuerza Armada Nacional (FAB).

Es lunes a la noche y corre un miedo: que baje la ciudad de El Alto. Las escenas vistas durante la tarde volvieron a recordar a muchos del centro y la zona sur de La Paz que la mitad del país que votó a Evo Morales existe y no se quedará de brazos cruzados.

Lo que se pensaba que pasaría en El Alto sucedió, y fueron miles de vecinos, en su gran mayoría de la nación aymara, que salieron a las calles a hacer frente al golpe de Estado, a defender el proceso de cambio, y algo muy profundo: la bandera wiphala [de indígenas], que durante las horas de la ofensiva golpista fue quitada de instituciones y quemada en la calle por manifestantes de derecha.

Lo que sucedió no formaba parte del plan de quienes encabezan el golpe de Estado que, a estas horas, presenta más elementos de confusión y violencia que de proyecto planificado. Un elemento resulta claro: el objetivo central era derrocar a Evo Morales y perseguirlo, como denunció al hacer público que un oficial de la Policía Nacional Boliviana (PNB) tiene una orden de arresto ilegal contra su persona, se encuentra en un sitio desconocido.

La situación de Morales era ayer por

la noche incierta. El canciller de México, Marcelo Ebrard, anunció que el expresidente estaba en un avión que lo llevaría a ese país.

Su seguridad personal es objeto de mucha preocupación en un contexto donde su casa fue asaltada por grupos violentos y donde no existe ninguna autoridad pública dentro de quienes realizaron el golpe. El estado de derecho ha sido roto y eso ha abierto las puertas a la impunidad absoluta de quien logre ejercer poder.

Durante el día, Morales envió mensajes desde su cuenta de Twitter para denunciar la represión en El Alto que se cobró varias vidas, entre ellas la de una niña, y para pedir no caer en enfrentamientos “entre hermanos”. Por la noche, antes de subirse al avión, tuiteó: “Hermanas y hermanos, parto rumbo a México, agradecido por el desprendimiento del gobierno de ese pueblo hermano que nos brindó asilo para cuidar nuestra vida. Me duele abandonar el país por razones políticas, pero siempre estaré pendiente. Pronto volveré con más fuerza y energía”. La propuesta de asilo en México será una salida posible para el presidente derrocado y bajo peligro.

### Sin gobierno

En Bolivia, el bloque golpista no logró aún conformar gobierno. Luego de la renuncia de Evo Morales, el vicepresidente Alvaro García Linera y la presidenta del Senado renunciaron también. La segunda vicepresidenta del Senado, [un líder de la oposición] Jeanine Áñez, la tercera al frente, debería asumir la Presidencia de Bolivia.



Buenos Aires, 8 de noviembre.

Sin embargo, debería asumir con acuerdo del poder legislativo, donde en ambas cámaras tiene mayoría el Movimiento al Socialismo, es decir el partido que fue desplazado por la fuerza.

No existe entonces gobierno interino golpista visible luego de más de 24 horas de consumado el golpe de Estado. Existen en cambio poderes que se despliegan en acciones represivas y persecutorias, con los anuncios en redes sociales de Fernando Camacho, cara visible del ala civil del golpe, las acciones de la PNB y de la FAB.

Esta última emitió un comunicado el lunes en la noche bajo la lectura del comandante general Williams Kaliman: la FAB desplegará acciones de despliegue en las calles para acompañar a la PNB. No existe entonces gobierno formal, pero sí el poder de las armas.

El escenario no es como el que tenían previsto quienes encabezaron el golpe de Estado. La pregunta es en realidad: ¿tenían un escenario organizado que no fuera solamente derrocar y perseguir a Morales y los dirigentes del proceso de cambio?

El bloque golpista es heterogéneo, contiene sectores civiles, empresariales, policiales, militares, religiosos e internacionales. Esta última dimensión

quedó expresada en la complicidad de la Organización de Estados Americanos (OEA) que no calificó a lo sucedido como golpe de Estado, y en las mismas declaraciones de Estados Unidos que presentó el derrocamiento como regreso a la democracia.

La conjunción de fuerzas que logró el golpe parece tener un objetivo claro: descabezar al proceso de cambio, desde sus funcionarios hasta los dirigentes políticos. Eso se ha traducido en las persecuciones, como dan cuenta las solicitudes de asilo en embajadas, centralmente en la de México.

Existe entonces una inestabilidad dentro de quienes condujeron la ofensiva, a la vez que una reacción que se pone en marcha, no solamente en El Alto –con un nivel fuerte de radicalidad– sino en varias partes del país.

Así, por ejemplo, la Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CSUTCB) anunció bloqueos en toda Bolivia en las carreteras troncales, “resistencia general al golpe de Estado en todo el país”, así como la expulsión de dirigentes que se hicieron parte del derrocamiento.

La situación es más inestable que la promesa vendida por Camacho y quienes festejaron en la tarde y noche del domingo. Existe un país que negaron, despreciaron, a pesar de sus esfuerzos por mostrarse democráticos e inclusivos, y ese país comenzó a moverse, a impugnar, a enfrentar la restauración conservadora que busca una revancha.

Por el momento no existe, de manera visible, una dirección de los procesos de resistencia. Lo que resulta claro es que la decisión de quienes conducen el golpe será responder con represión en todas las escalas posibles. Ya en la noche del lunes se veían las tanquetas en las calles de La Paz y los vecinos que celebraron el derrocamiento y quema de wiphalas ahora aplauden la militarización. □

## El juicio político no es suficiente

MUNDO OBRERO  
editorial

Hay tantas razones para sacar a Donald Trump de la Casa Blanca que no sorprende en absoluto que haya comenzado un movimiento en la Cámara de Representantes para acusarlo. En este punto, es un esfuerzo totalmente partidista, con casi todos los demócratas por el juicio político y casi todos los republicanos en contra.

El gobierno ha herido profundamente a tantas personas que se animan ante la posibilidad de que Trump pueda verse obligado a dejar el cargo, incluso antes de las próximas elecciones presidenciales. La mayoría de ellos quiere ver prevalecer al Partido Demócrata.

Por supuesto, el juicio político dejaría a Mike Pence, no a los demócratas, a cargo del gobierno.

La acusación de funcionarios públicos en los EE.UU. ha ocurrido raramente. En general, ha tenido éxito solo en casos como deshacerse de los jueces que estaban visiblemente borrachos mientras presidían los juicios.

Si bien cualquiera que sea medio progresista se alegraría de sacar a Trump del cargo de una forma u otra, es importante tomar nota de cómo y por qué podría ser derrocado. ¿Se debe a todos sus movimientos súper reaccionarios que han hecho un daño terrible a millones de personas en este país, especialmente a los más oprimidos?

Trump ha dado luz verde al racismo y los ataques contra los inmigrantes, envaletonando a los elementos de extrema derecha más violentos. Esto ha llevado a las condiciones más dolorosas e incluso letales en la frontera de Estados Unidos con México y en las casas infernales para migrantes llamadas “centros de detención”, en donde los niños, incluso los

bebés, han sido separados de sus padres.

Trump ha socavado los programas sociales destinados a aliviar la pobreza. Ha ignorado, e incluso ridiculizado, la contaminación ambiental, al tiempo que se ha puesto del lado de las compañías multimillonarias de energía responsables de la crisis climática.

¿Pero es por eso que Trump enfrenta un posible juicio político? ¿O es porque los verdaderos gobernantes de este país y el gobierno lo han considerado ineficaz para proteger sus intereses, hasta el punto de la bufonada? El tema por el que han elegido atacarlo es su intento de obtener ayuda de los políticos en Ucrania para desacreditar a un posible rival político, Joe Biden. Seguramente, ese es el menor de los crímenes de Donald Trump.

¿Es solo la personalidad errática y grandiosa de Trump lo que estaría en juicio? Eso dejaría a Pence, que lo discreta mientras persigue su propia agenda derechista, sentado en el asiento del gato.

Incluso si Trump fuera expulsado antes de las elecciones de 2020, lo cual no es muy probable, los políticos de derecha y la clase multimillonaria que representa seguirían dirigiendo el programa.

En otros países, en tiempos más revolucionarios, la gente ha ideado procedimientos para expulsar de inmediato a los funcionarios que los traicionaron. Un buen ejemplo es la Comuna de París, que decretó que los representantes elegidos estaban sujetos a revocación en cualquier momento.

En 1871, se libraba una guerra entre Francia y Prusia (Alemania). Mientras París estaba bajo el asedio de las tropas prusianas, y el ejército francés estaba preocupado y rebelde, el pueblo de París se levantó y estableció su propio gobierno, un gobierno republicano del pueblo que se conoció como la Comuna de París. Por un breve tiempo, los trabajadores de París se hicieron cargo de su

Continúa en la página 10