

# Eviction resistance

By Workers World Bureau  
Philadelphia

A long anticipated confrontation between residents fighting for housing justice and the Philadelphia Sheriff's Department, protecting gentrifiers' interests, broke out Aug. 8 — 30 days after the start of a protest "tent city."

Around 70 low-income Black and Brown residents of the University City Townhomes, on the corner of Market and 40th Streets, had protested their pending eviction, scheduled for Sept. 8. To draw public and media attention to their struggle to retain affordable housing and remain in their community, the residents and supporters set up 15 to 20 tents on the site July 9. Large banners around the area proclaimed it "the People's Townhomes."

A barrier fence made from wooden pallets secured together and painted with colorful slogans surrounded the complex. Some of the signs attached called out the



UC Townhomes tenant organizer Darlene Foreman addresses protest, Aug. 8.

owner Brett Altman: "Shame on Altman; Don't treat us like trash!"

The protests drew broad support from community members, particularly other housing activists. Information tables at the site were maintained throughout the month-long protest.

On July 22 a Common Pleas Court of Philadelphia judge granted a request by property owner Altman Group to dismantle and remove all tents, tables, chairs and canopies used by the protesters. After residents and their supporters continued to defy the court order, on Aug. 5 the

same judge issued a final order for the Sheriff's Department to remove the protest encampment Aug. 8.

**Cops do gentrifiers' work**

Expecting the Sheriff's Department to show up to remove the tents, residents and their supporters put out the alert to gather early in the morning of Aug. 8. Around 100 people responded, prepared to defend the camp.

They started with a rally at 40th and Market streets at 8 a.m. before the sheriffs came. Residents Darlene Foreman and Melvin Hairston led chants and thanked everyone for coming. They noted that the fight for housing is a national struggle, one that will break out beyond Philadelphia, and that this is just the beginning.

Pam Africa spoke, reminding people that this was the anniversary of the police eviction of MOVE members from

*Continued on page 9*

# Palestine will be free!

By Richie Merino  
New York City

Thousands of supporters of the Palestinian struggle for liberation from Zionist settler-colonialism marched through the streets of midtown Manhattan occupying the steps of the Israeli Defense Forces office, Grand Central Station, the Egyptian Consulate, Mayor Eric Adams' International Affairs Office and the United Nations headquarters for nearly three hours.

Workers World Party members marched alongside Palestinian-led organizations, including Within Our Lifetime, Samidoun Palestinian Prisoner Solidarity Network, the Palestinian Youth

Movement and Existence is Resistance, who organized the demonstration in response to the three-day bombing campaign waged by Israel against occupied Gaza, in which 43 civilians were killed, including 15 children.

As supporters marched through the streets waving Palestinian flags and chanting "resistance is justified, when people are occupied!" they were met with applause by pedestrians and enthusiastic honks by passing cars.

There was a group of pro-Israeli Zionists who tried to disrupt the rally, but they were far outnumbered by the thousands of supporters of Palestine chanting "Palestine will be free, from the river to the sea, within our lifetime!" □



Palestine supporters outside the U.N. in New York City, Aug. 8.

WW PHOTO: RICHIE MERINO

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Albert Woodfox, presente!

TEAR DOWN THE WALLS

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# Michigan primary election

## Rep. Rashida Tlaib wins, Zionists lose

By Martha Grevatt

Rashida Tlaib of Detroit made history Jan. 3, 2019, when she became the first Palestinian-American Representative in the U.S. Congress. Rep. Tlaib and Rep. Ilhan Omar were also the first two Muslim women elected to the House. Using her position to denounce Israeli apartheid, Rep. Tlaib has drawn the ire of Zionist organizations. But she was reelected in 2020 and will most likely be returned to the House Nov. 8, having won the Michigan Democratic primary election Aug. 2.

Tlaib is member of the Progressive Caucus among house Democrats, and one of the Squad, which is composed of women of color including Rep. Omar, Rep. Cori Bush, Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Rep. Ayanna Pressley. Rep. Bush of Ferguson, Missouri, also won the primary election Aug. 2.

In typical racist fashion, Rep. Tlaib’s Zionist opponents played the game of pitting the African-American and Arab communities against one another. In an attempt to draw Black voters away from Tlaib — whose redrawn 12th District now includes Dearborn and Dearborn Heights, the heart of Michigan’s Arab community — a group calling itself Urban Empowerment Action PAC promoted the candidacy of Detroit’s African-American City Clerk Janice Winfrey.

The group, claiming to be a collaboration between Black and Jewish businesspeople, ran full-page ads in the Detroit newspapers, attacking Rep. Tlaib for, among other things, advocating defunding the police. The PAC claimed this would hurt the Black community. One of Winfrey’s campaign priorities was “supporting Israel as a free state.” (ballotpedia.org)

The tactic failed miserably. Rep. Tlaib, whose campaign site calls for “racial and immigration justice, economic and housing justice, health care for all, human rights around the world, environmental justice and



PHOTO: REBECCA COOK

Rep. Rashida Tlaib at Palestinian protest, Dearborn, Michigan, May 16, 2021.

LGBTQ+ and gender justice,” received 65% of the vote in her multinational district. (rashidaforcongress.com)

### Racism and voting rights

Historically the electoral process in the U.S. has been set up to block or limit the representation of Black and other communities of color. Rich white men have dominated the executive, legislative and judiciary branches of government.

Detroit is disenfranchised under the new Congressional district map that reduced the number of Black-majority House districts in Michigan. When Rep. Brenda Lawrence retires next year, there will be no Black representatives in Congress from south-east Michigan — for the first time since 1955. The new Michigan state legislature, whose districts were also remapped, will have fewer Black representatives.

The election and reelection of members of the Squad represent a win against the historic, systemic disenfranchisement of Black, Latinx, Indigenous, Asian and Arab voters.

But to bury systemic racism once and for all, the multinational working class must put an end to the capitalist system that profits from all forms of oppression — including Israeli apartheid. □

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Capitalism means war and austerity, racism and repression, attacks on im/migrants, misogyny, LGBTQ2S+ oppression and mistreatment of people with disabilities. It means joblessness, increasing homelessness and impoverishment and lack of hope for the future. No social problems can be solved under capitalism.

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

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

Since 1959, Workers World Party has been out in the streets defending the workers and oppressed here and

worldwide. If you’re interested in Marxism, socialism and fighting for a socialist future, please contact a WWP branch near you. □

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# Victory brings smiles to Uvalde families

By Gloria Rubac

“What joy! Finally! To see Uvalde families smiling,” exclaimed Angela Villescaz, a founder of Fierce Madres in Uvalde, Texas. Villescaz explained to Workers World that a planned fundraiser by the Medina County Friends of the National Rifle Association had just been canceled, and this victory was joyous.



PHOTO: CHAVEZ LOPEZ

Outside Hondo City Council meeting, Aug. 1.

The NRA support group had planned a fundraiser in Medina County, next to Uvalde, at a time when families in that area are still reeling from excruciating pain and sorrow, which evolved into anger following the May 24 murders of 19 young school children and two teachers at Robb Elementary in Uvalde. At the fundraiser they had planned to raffle an AR-15 weapon, the same gun that the killer had used in Uvalde.

Uvalde families, led by Fierce Madres, along with Hondo residents protested at a special Hondo City Council meeting Aug. 1. After a raucous meeting with tempers flaring and cops standing at the ready, the council decided to cancel use of city facilities for the planned Aug. 6 NRA event.

Longtime Chicano activist in Hondo, Chavel Lopez told Workers World: “They must have looked at the whole picture and realized it would have been hard to control things if they had allowed

this fundraiser to happen. I didn’t really expect the vote to be good, since many on the City Council are conservative. So, I was surprised. But it was just not right to host a pro-NRA organization.”

Angel Garza, stepfather of victim Amerie Jo Garza, a 10-year-old girl killed May 24, was escorted out of the contentious council meeting after confronting a speaker supporting the NRA.

“My daughter’s dirt hasn’t even settled in her grave yet,” Garza told San Antonio Express reporters, cradling a framed color photo of his little girl.

According to the Aug. 2 San Antonio Express, “After a 53-minute closed-door session the evening of Aug. 1, the council voted 4-1 to rescind the rental contract, drawing cheers and applause from Uvalde residents and some from Hondo, who filled the small chamber, making it one of the most crowded meetings here in years.”

### A blow against racism

Fifty years earlier in Uvalde, there was a historic school walkout over racism in

the Uvalde school district, where students were segregated by race and the schools in the Mexican neighborhood were not properly funded compared to the one in the white neighborhood.

Mexican families participated in the walkout, considered a defining moment in civil rights history, after a Latinx teacher at Robb Elementary was dismissed. Josue Garza, one of the few Spanish-speaking teachers, was speaking with parents in Spanish to encourage their students to continue their education. He had also held voter registration drives.

When Garza’s contract wasn’t renewed, hundreds of students boycotted Uvalde schools for six weeks in the spring of 1970, “putting the small town in the history books for staging one of the longest walkouts of the Chicano civil rights movement.” (Washington Post, June 23)

Fierce Madre Villescaz said that after the victory in Hondo, the NRA folks are now going into other small towns to raffle their AR-15s. □

# Bill Russell was a revolutionary

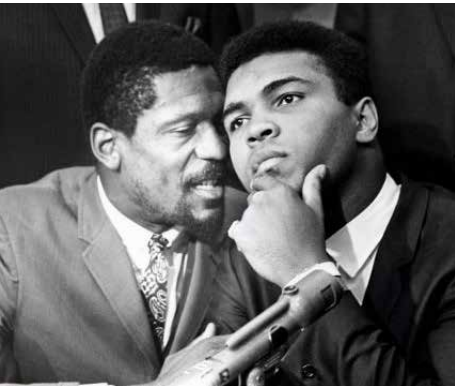
By Dave Zirin

Dave Zirin is the sports editor of *The Nation* and the author of “*The Kaepernick Effect: Taking a Knee, Changing the World.*” The following article first appeared at [thenation.com/article/society/bill-russell-obituary/](http://thenation.com/article/society/bill-russell-obituary/).

William Felton Russell revolutionized basketball with a simple innovation: jumping. In an era when players were told to stay fastened to the ground when playing defense, he jumped. And when Bill Russell jumped, he blocked shots. He blocked so many shots — while averaging an astounding 22.5 rebounds a game — that even though the blocked shot was not a stat that was kept during his day, it is widely assumed that he is the all-time leader.

Russell turned the blocked shot into an art form and played unselfish basketball en route to 11 championships and five MVPs in 13 years with the Boston Celtics. He also played a role in revolutionizing politics, and at this moment when the GOP is trying to roll back time — to in effect kill the reforms and memory of the Black freedom struggle — remembering his legacy is especially vital.

Russell flourished in a climate, both in Boston and around the country, that was relentlessly hostile toward him and his family because he was a famous Black man willing to speak his mind. Russell held a mirror up to this country. He once said, “We have got to make the white population uncomfortable, because that is the



Bill Russell and Muhammad Ali at historic 1967 summit in Cleveland, Ohio.

only way to get their attention.” He believed that the discomfort he caused among white Bostonians in particular counted as progress, because they were far too comfortable with their own racism. Russell, of whom there is now a statue in front of the Celtics arena, was treated terribly during a career that spanned the core years of the Black freedom struggle.

People broke into his home, scrawled racial epithets on the walls and even defecated in his bed. He once told a story about his car breaking down in Boston in a thunderstorm and his being unable to flag down a ride but hearing people curse at him as they drove by.

During the Russell dynasty, most Celtics games didn’t even sell out. That is why when his career was over, he said “I am a Celtic, not a Boston Celtic.” That is why he called Boston “a flea market of racism.” That is why he did not show up in 1972 when the team retired his num-

ber. But that is also why, when he reconciled with the team in 1999, and the fans stood and cheered, it was more than just a basketball honor.

This was a special person, the kind of human being who would walk alongside Dr. Martin Luther King at the March on Washington but then declined to be on stage, because he had no patience for celebrity culture and thought that if he stood at the front, he would be disrespecting those risking their lives to end American apartheid.

This quest to draw the good from this country by making the white majority uncomfortable was also seen in 1967 when Russell stood with Muhammad Ali, who was reviled for resisting the draft and refusing to fight in Vietnam. His solidarity led to one of my all-time favorite Russell quotes. A reporter asked him, “Are you concerned about Muhammad Ali?” Russell paused and responded, “I’m not worried about Muhammad Ali. He is better equipped than anyone I know to withstand the trials in store for him. What I’m worried about is the rest of us.”

He also famously would make autograph seekers uncomfortable, refusing — even when criticized for it — to be treated like a commodity or anything less than a full human being. I can say from experience that approaching Russell for an autograph was a mistake, but approaching him and sharing that you agreed with his political commitment? That would earn you a smile and maybe a friendly, infectious laugh.



Bill Russell takes a knee in solidarity with Colin Kaepernick

Russell never stopped defending what was right. He took a knee in solidarity with Colin Kaepernick while wearing his Olympic gold medal, in a viral photo. In 2020, he spoke out in support of the NBA players who went on strike after the police shooting of Jacob Blake in Kenosha, Wisconsin, backing them with moral authority and helping force the NBA and then most of the professional sports to almost entirely shut down in protest of racialized police violence. He would introduce himself as a civil rights activist.

Russell was a giant in the truest sense: fearless in the face of injustice — and never cared that he made bigots uncomfortable. □

# Nichelle Nichols: aiming for the stars

By Mumia Abu-Jamal

Almost nine decades ago, a few years shy of a century, in fact, a Black girl was born in Robbins, Illinois. The year: 1932. That girl was actor Nichelle Nichols, who blazed to television fame in the series, “Star Trek,” which debuted in 1966. She played the role of Lieutenant Nyota Uhura, the communications officer for the Starship Enterprise. An actor, singer and dancer, she was discovered by the legendary jazz and big-band composer Duke Ellington. Her stunning beauty and dancer’s carriage

struck young boys and also inspired many young girls who aspired to a life on the



stage. Although the original TV series only lasted until 1969, it sparked a franchise that continues to this day.

As July marked its last Saturday, Nichelle Nichols left this life. Her son, Kyle Johnson, wrote the following message on her Facebook page. He wrote, “Last night, my mother, Nichelle Nichols, succumbed to natural causes and passed away. Her light however, like the ancient galaxies now being seen for the first time, will remain for us and future generations to enjoy, learn from and draw inspiration.”

Nichelle Nichols played several other roles in her long career, one that played on her science fiction role in “Star Trek.” She called for applications from women and people of color to join NASA, and thousands of applications poured in. Because of reruns, new generations saw and enjoyed her “Star Trek” performances.

She lived to see 89 summers. As Lieutenant Uhura would’ve said, “hailing frequencies are now closed.”

For love, not fear, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal. □



# ‘Indomitable spirit that refuses to be broken’: Albert Woodfox and Mumia Abu-Jamal



By Mumia Abu-Jamal

*Workers World was saddened to learn of the death of Albert Woodfox Aug. 4 from COVID-19-related complications. Woodfox was released from prison in February 2016, after spending nearly 45 years of incarceration, most in solitary confinement. This exchange between Woodfox, of the Angola Three, and political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal was recorded by Prison Radio. It aired April 23, 2021, as part of an evening of solidarity with Abu-Jamal.*

**Mumia Abu-Jamal:** You and the other Angola Three did an ungodly bid in the hole. How did the state justify locking you cats up for so long?

**Albert Woodfox:** Given the unchecked and unchallenged power of the prison system in Louisiana, their justification was the fact that myself, Herman and Robert were fighting for humanity — the fact that we were fighting to maintain our big identity, pride, self-respect and a sense of self-worth. They felt it was a threat to what they considered to be the only function of a prison. That was the “justification” here. The warden made a statement in a deposition that I was the most dangerous man in



Albert Woodfox

America. And since I’ve been out, I would like to think that my attitude has proven him to be right.

**MAJ:** How did y’all endure 40 years in the hole?

**AW:** That’s a more difficult question to ask. I guess having political consciousness was inspired by being members of the Black Panther Party. They say knowledge is power. We had a sense of what solitary confinement was designed for, so over the decades I would guess strength, determination, values or principles. We stayed active, and we looked to society for inspiration — the men and women, in some cases children, fighting inside to be heard, to change conditions, rather than turn inward and allow prison culture to set examples of how we should live our lives.

**MAJ:** What gave y’all hope?

**AW:** I had a wonderful family, wonderful comrades who made up the International Coalition to Free the Angola Three, a wonderful legal team. But more than anything, what gave me hope was the guys I lived around. The social struggle that was being waged, sacrifices that were being made, the indomitable spirit that refused to be broken.

Now those are some of the things that inspire me. One thing in particular was

the development of Black Lives Matter, which I think is a tremendous movement. And I was so proud to see all the young men and women involved in that movement come forth. As a matter of fact, before the pandemic when Robert and I were traveling together and speaking, we always asked the host to arrange it so that we could meet with some of the young leaders in the movement.

Those are the things that gave me hope, you know, a love of humanity, the indomitable spirit of the people and the continual struggle that was going on in society. Mumia, my brother, given the preponderance of evidence exonerating you and lack of evidence against you, how does it feel to still be in prison?

**MAJ:** Brother Albert, and in the spirit of all the Angola Three, I salute you. You know, I think of early days, even before the trial began. There was a pretrial hearing. I had read a law book showing cases from the U.S. Supreme Court. So it was based on the Constitution, right? I went to the law library, read those actual cases and then drew up motions that I made in court. Judge [Albert] Sabo promptly denied the motions. I couldn’t believe it.

But it made me understand that the legal system most people meet, when



Mumia Abu-Jamal

they first go into court, wasn’t bound by a Constitution or Supreme Court rulings. They do whatever they want to do, because it really ain’t about the law. It’s about power.

The same judge, Sabo, would later say in open court, 15 years later in my appeal case, “Justice is just an emotional feeling.”

To quote Malcolm X, “Don’t be shocked when I say I was in prison. Long as you’re south of the Canadian border, you’re still in prison.” So, all power to the people.

**AW:** My brother, what is your most painful personal loss?

**MAJ:** My mother and daughter, Edith and Samia. I had dreams of walking with both of them in freedom. And, of course, other family members, brothers, sisters, cousins, brothers-in-

law. They live in our memory and in our hearts.

**AW:** Again, my brother, what is your number one priority when freedom finally comes?

**MAJ:** The same, as it’s always better to serve the people. To work on their behalf, to work for a world where true Black liberation is a reality, not just words. As for us to say freedom is a must. Thank you, Brother Woodfox. □

## Boston Starbucks Workers United brings strike line to NLRB

By Steve Gillis  
Boston, Aug. 7

Disgusted by the National Labor Relations Board and its entire federal enforcement apparatus seeming to stand by, while billionaire Howard Schultz publicly and flagrantly wages illegal attacks against them, at 8:00 a.m. Aug. 1, Boston Starbucks Workers United (SBWU) took its strike line to the regional NLRB’s front door. At the Tip O’Neill Federal Building, strikers and their supporters alternated chants of: “Marty Walsh, we say no! Union busting’s got to go!” with “Howard Schultz, you can’t hide. We can see your greedy side!”

In addition to waging an escalating war of firings of over 100 union leaders nationwide and a slash-and-burn scheduling campaign leaving thousands of baristas without food, rent money and health insurance, on Aug. 1 Starbucks announced to the world’s media that it was raising wages, installing tip apps on registers, enhancing gender-affirming health insurance and other benefits — FOR NONUNION SHOPS ONLY!

Boston SBWU responded to this illegal provocation by initiating five-day strikes at four high-volume stores in greater Boston and Worcester. All of them rallied in solidarity with the workers at 874 Commonwealth Ave., who are on an unprecedented Unfair Labor Practice-strike for three weeks as of this report. ([workers.org/2022/07/65640/](http://workers.org/2022/07/65640/))

Boston’s multifront strikes and flying squadrons coincided with a wave of dozens of strikes and job actions coast-to-coast Aug. 1. The rank and file-led SBWU burst onto the U.S. labor scene only eight months ago, with its first union vote in

Buffalo, New York. The prairie fire of nearly 300+ unionized Starbucks shops has swept through Schultz’s empire of over 9,000 U.S. stores (34,000+ stores worldwide), posing a “Which Side Are You On?” crisis for leaders of the Democratic Party, like Labor Secretary Marty Walsh, once Boston’s “labor” mayor, and Schultz himself, who ran for President in 2020.

### Photo ops for do-nothing politicians

Indeed, the week’s Boston strike lines saw a parade of local Democratic Party politicians — mayors, state representatives, attorneys general, city councilors and district attorneys — show up and post great pictures. All of them have the



WW PHOTO: STEVE GILLIS

**Anthony McWhorter, Young Black Panther Party Boston, leading chants at Aug. 7 Mega Strike Picket at Starbucks’ 874 Commonwealth Ave. shop.**

governmental authority and power to legally shut down Starbucks’ Pinkerton-style union-smashing. They could rule all fired workers eligible for unemployment benefits, based on the blatantly retaliatory mass terminations, including the Memphis 7.

In response to Starbucks’ threatening to run shops with scabs — like at the struck and closed-tight 874 Commonwealth Avenue, where a 24/7 encampment has stopped all Teamster driver deliveries — any one of these politicians could declare Starbucks’ violent plan a public safety threat and officially prohibit it.

Speaking at the NLRB’s front door, Tyler Daguerre, a barista at the struck Coolidge Corner store and a Boston SBWU leader, declared: “This is our power right here on the strike line! We can’t rely on government agencies like the NLRB and politicians like Marty Walsh, the Secretary of Labor, in his own city to come down here and show us some support, while we’re fighting for our lives out here with this union busting, here and around the country. They’ve been dead silent. No more performative White House ops. No more sweet tweets. We need substantive action to enforce workers’ rights law, now!”

### ‘Mega-picket’

On Aug. 7, the union massed its forces and supporters at a “Mega-picket,” at the strike line entering its fourth week. Strikers blasted worker-power songs at the thousands of supporters passing by in the Boston University neighborhood and played water balloon games in the 100 F heat under the awning of the shop’s locked doors — decorated with “Howard Schultz WANTED” signs and a giant rainbow flag.

The moving picket alternated with rounds of militant karaoke, with young workers representing a rainbow of nationalities and genders, jumping on benches and taking turns belting out their favorite songs of celebration and defiance with the crowd dancing and chanting in

response. Despite weeks of picket duty in intense heat and extreme sacrifice, most of the performers reveled in a message of making history by taking action.

Anthony McWhorter of the Young Black Panther Party joined with barista chant leaders demanding “Contract Now!” and “Union Busting is Disgusting!” through United Steelworkers Local 8751’s powerful sound system, reaching the block of Target, Amazon, Chipotle, Taco Bell and UPS storefronts. Workers from these stores have been providing material assistance to the strike encampment since day one. Jamie Wallace, President of Boston’s Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Ed Childs of UNITE HERE Local 26 and many young and talented worker-fighters fired up the crowd with words and songs of union power.

Spencer Costigan, a shift manager at the three-week-struck store, told the cheering crowd at today’s rally: “We are here to put Howard Schultz on notice that our strike will continue until the union’s demands are met. We deserve to come back to work free from an environment of racism, transphobia and constant retaliation and harassment that threatens our health and livelihoods just for democratically voting to join a union.”

To donate to Greater Boston Workers United’s emergency strike fund, set up with the solidarity of the Greater Boston Labor Council, readers are encouraged to go to [tinyurl.com/yc57wu2t](http://tinyurl.com/yc57wu2t). Check for updates and solidarity opportunities on Twitter @BostonSBWU.

*Steve Gillis is a 37-year elected leader of the Boston School Bus Drivers Union, USW Local 8751, now retired from driving, and is working for the union’s members.*



# Twenty years ago

# Nigerian women took over ChevronTexaco, won concession

By Monica Moorehead

The following article first appeared on workers.org in two parts, dated Aug. 1 and 8, 2002. In honor of Black August founded in 1979, WW is reprinting slightly edited versions of both articles which can also be found in “Marxism, Reparations and the Black Freedom Struggle” at workers.org/books.

The quest for reparations by nationally oppressed peoples worldwide takes many forms. But the basis for this fundamental right is universal: just compensation to help bring about long overdue economic and political rights. Bold, heroic actions initiated by a group of African women in recent weeks must be viewed within this context and will certainly inspire the most oppressed everywhere to take similar actions, as capitalist greed allows the rich to get richer as the poor get poorer.

Hundreds of Nigerian women staged two separate dramatic takeovers of a U.S.-owned ChevronTexaco oil subsidiary called Escravos, south-east of Lagos, Nigeria’s capital. Escravos is a former slave pickup site, and the name itself means slave in Portuguese. What a tragic irony.

This takeover included taking a couple of thousand employees and managers hostage. In two separate takeovers, these indigent women brought oil production virtually to a halt. This subsidiary normally produces half a million barrels daily. Nigeria as a whole produces 1.8 million barrels of oil a day, creating billions in profits for Big Oil.

Why have these women risked their lives to carry out these actions? They simply wanted to force a written agreement from ChevronTexaco, a multibillion-dollar global conglomerate, that it would provide their communities with electricity, schools, water systems, health clinics and other infrastructure to raise the level of their living standards. The women are also demanding that jobs be provided, including to their unemployed sons, and that pensions be provided for people over the age of 60.

The women protesters also decided to take these actions, because when their male counterparts attempted similar actions, they faced a greater risk of being arrested or physically harmed by police.

This protest took place in the heart of the Niger Delta. Like so much of the African continent, this region is super-



PHOTO: ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE ATLAS

Nigerian women stage protest in Escravos, near Lagos, Nigeria, against ChevronTexaco in July 2002.

abundant in natural resources — in this case oil — but superunderdeveloped because of the legacy of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, colonialism and neocolonialism. It is considered one of the poorest regions in Africa.

Any commodity production within the developing economies exists mainly for export on the world capitalist market and not to serve the interests of the Indigenous population. For instance, Nigeria is the world’s sixth-largest exporter of oil and the fifth-largest supplier of oil to the U.S.

### ‘Why do they treat us like animals?’

The first stage of the takeover took place on July 8, 2002 when an estimated 150 women took over four stations at the refinery. One of the brilliant tactics the women used was to occupy the aircraft runway, helipad and dock at the facility. No roads lead to this plant — only swamps and rivers. This technological underdevelopment, rooted in imperialist plunder, is the root cause of this protest.

An engineer among the hostages told Agence France-Presse that the women “are complaining that their children have not been given employment. They are not armed or violent. Most of them are women over 45, and there is no way we would lay a finger on them.” The majority of the workers in this plant are from the U.S., Canada and England. There are some Nigerian workers as well.

This particular phase of the protest ended on July 17, 2002 when protesters won a verbal agreement from ChevronTexaco that their demands would be met.

Another takeover by women occurred on July 18, 2002 at four more ChevronTexaco facilities, 50 miles east of the first protest. Their demands were similar to the ones that inspired the first takeover.

These women demanded that the Chevron officials visit their village to see firsthand the unspeakable poverty they have been forced to endure, compared to the state-of-the-art hospital, cafeteria, satellite television and other modern conveniences provided for the Chevron employees.

Athonia Okuro, a 28-year-old protester, suffered the loss of her husband from an unknown disease. Her children are chronically sick from mosquito bites that are the main transmission route of malaria. She commented, “I don’t know how [ChevronTexaco] can allow other human beings to live like this. Why do they treat us like animals?” (Associated Press, July 18, 2002)

The protesters also charged ChevronTexaco with environmental damage, especially the destruction of fish and cassava crops, both main staples of the Nigerian people, by the flaring up of natural gas.

Anunu Uwawah, a leader of the first takeover, stated, “I give one piece of advice to all women in all countries: They shouldn’t let any company cheat them.” (Salon, July 19, 2002)

### Takeover yields victory

Nigerian women protesters who had taken over five fuel stations owned and operated by ChevronTexaco declared victory on July 25, 2002. The women

said they decided to end their eight-day siege of the stations because management had agreed to meet their demands to build schools and hospitals and provide jobs, electricity and clean water to their poor villages. It remains to be seen if ChevronTexaco bosses will actually live up to their end of the deal.

This was the second siege of ChevronTexaco within a two-week span. The first took place at the Escravos station when another group of Nigerian women made the same demands on the multimillion-dollar conglomerate. These women won concessions as well.

The women were highly organized during both protests as they blockaded entrances and took hundreds of mainly foreign oil workers hostage. The siege brought oil production to a virtual halt.

The Niger Delta, where both protests took place, is rich in oil reserves. But it is also one of the poorest regions of Africa due to the tragic legacy of colonialism and Western imperialist plunder.

The women understand the despicable role ChevronTexaco plays in taking the precious resource of oil from their community while not helping to create an economic infrastructure for the well-being of everyone in the region. The women used direct action to say, “Enough is enough.”

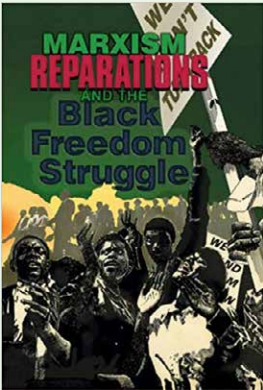
Esther Tolar, one of the protesters, said: “History has been made. Our culture is a patriarchal society. For women to come out like this and achieve what we have is out of the ordinary.” □

## Marxism, Reparations & the Black Freedom Struggle

An anthology of writings from Workers World newspaper  
Edited by Monica Moorehead

**Racism, National Oppression & Self-Determination** Larry Holmes • **Black Labor from Chattel Slavery to Wage Slavery** Sam Marcy • **Black Youth: Repression & Resistance** LeiLani Dowell • **The Struggle for Socialism Is Key** Monica Moorehead • **Black Reconstruction: The unfinished revolution** Minnie Bruce Pratt • **Black & Brown Unity: A Pillar of Struggle for Human Rights & Global Justice!** Saladin Muhammad • **Harriet Tubman, Woman Warrior** Mumia Abu-Jamal • **The U.S. role in Darfur Sudan** Sara Flounders • **Haiti Needs Reparations, Not Sanctions** Pat Chin • **Alabama’s Black Belt: Legacy of Slavery, Sharecropping & Segregation** Consuela Lee • **Africa needs reparations, not occupation and sanctions** Deirdre Griswold • **The May Day uprising of 2006** Larry Holmes

Available at [workers.org/books](http://workers.org/books).



COVER GRAPHIC: SAHU BARRON

# Grieving family wants killer-cop fired

By Gloria Rubac  
Houston

Jalen Randle was only 29 years old when he was murdered by Houston cops on April 27. His parents, Tiffany Rachal and Warren Randle, want answers. They want Shane Privette, the cop who killed their son, fired and prosecuted. They want justice.

And they are using every method they can come up with to get to the truth.

There’s been a demonstration outside the Harris County District Attorney’s office. There was a march from City Hall to the Houston Police Department headquarters. There was a press conference at the courthouse.



Jalen Randle

There was a town hall meeting with the HPD chief and a representative from the DA’s office.

And the parents want it known who their son was. He was a son of Pleasantville, a working-class Black neighborhood in a thriving Black community. Pleasantville was the first Black deed-restricted neighborhood in the U.S., a place where homes are passed down through families. The neighborhood was annexed

by Houston in 1949 and built during the 1950s. Randle and his friends were raising their children where they grew up.

The Houston Chronicle reported June 3: “When Houston police officer

Shane Privette shot Randle in the neck, Pleasantville lost a son. It lost a father and a youth sports coach. It lost an amateur veterinarian, a man who loved dogs and would help his friends give them shots when their own pets got sick.”

Jalen Randle spent his last weekend in Pleasantville, doing what he so often did — volunteering at the Judson Robinson Sr. Community Center. He spent several days a week there coaching a youth football team with friends.

When asked about the town hall meeting, Tiffany Rachal told Workers World: “I felt like Chief [Troy] Finner told us what he thought we wanted to hear. But I



Banner made by Jalen Randle’s friends, Houston.

need action. You can talk all day long, but we need action. My question to Finner is how many bad police in your time have you released? So, we are still searching for answers.”

The next event will be Friday, Aug. 19, at 9:30 a.m. at Houston City Hall. The demands: Get Shane Privette off the streets and stop recycling bad cops. □



# Starbucks recruits CIA goon for union busting

By Arjae Red

An Aug. 2 post on twitter from @UnionBustingBot, revealing Starbucks had recently hired former Pinkerton employee and CIA agent Amanda Stanfill as the Manager for Global Intelligence for Retail Operations, went viral. Stanfill has quite an impressive resume as an agent of the imperialist U.S. security state and a union-buster.

For the past year and a half, Stanfill was listed as a full-time Intelligence Analyst for Pinkerton. In the previous 12 years, she worked multiple U.S. government jobs, including Collection Management Officer for the CIA, Political Affairs Foreign Service Officer for the U.S. Department of State — where she managed information collection programs on three continents — and two other CIA jobs as a Counter-Narcotics and Organized Crime Program Manager and Northeast Asia Political Analyst.

This hiring comes right in the middle of the ruthless union-busting war Starbucks is waging against its own workers. Howard Schultz has now made a name for himself as an anti-worker tyrant, so that few people who’ve been keeping up with the campaign are surprised to hear about even the most blatant examples of union busting, such as store closings and mass firings, which have become routine over the months since the start of the union campaign.

But this most recent hiring of a former Pinkerton and CIA operative is so cartoonishly sinister, it’s astonishing even to many Starbucks workers like myself, who’ve seen the union busting firsthand.

Over the last few days, Starbucks has escalated union busting to an unprecedented level by pressing charges

of assault and kidnapping against union organizers in South Carolina, after workers engaged in a march on the boss to peacefully deliver grievances. Ten of the 19 workers at this store have received a call from Starbucks Partner Resources representatives telling them that they’ve been placed on indefinite paid time off and will not be allowed to enter any Starbucks store in the country. This leaves one wondering if this is a new move out of the Pinkerton playbook.

At the time of this writing, Stanfill’s LinkedIn profile that the screenshots were derived from has been taken down, likely an effort by the company to clean up after her profile went viral. There was also a page on the website Apollo that listed much of the same information on Stanfill’s employment history and current job at Starbucks, which has now been removed or edited heavily. But the screenshots still exist.

### CIA and Pinkerton legacy of brutality against workers

It’s no mystery why Starbucks would want to cover its tracks. The bloody history of these agencies speaks for itself and tells you everything you need to know about how the company views its own workers.

Both the CIA and Pinkerton have an extensive history of violence and brutality against workers and union organizers. The Pinkerton agency started out in the mid-1800s as a private investigator firm and has expanded to all sorts of activities related to espionage, security and strikebreaking. They laid the framework for what modern government intelligence agencies have become today. Pinkerton has at many points historically been used to violently repress the labor movement.

Pinkerton has taken part in numerous high-profile massacres of workers, such as in the Great Railroad

Strike of 1877, where Pinkerton agents alongside federal troops violently put down a nearly 70-day strike of railway workers across the country, killing around 100 people. Pinkertons played a role in the famous Battle of Blair Mountain, where a violent struggle ensued between



some 10,000 West Virginia coal miners and 3,000 law enforcement officers, soldiers and mercenaries with Pinkerton and other outfits.

Pinkerton agents took part in the Ludlow Massacre of 1914, where the Colorado National Guard set fire to a mining encampment, killing 66 people. These are only a few of many violent acts perpetrated by Pinkertons against workers and unionists.

The CIA has its share of blood on its hands. The CIA has been a tool for upholding U.S. imperialist interests in countries all over the world, including the coup that placed the Pinochet regime in power in Chile, resulting in the mass killing, torture and disappearances of socialists and labor organizers and the total dismantling of Chile’s economy for plunder by the United States. The CIA armed and trained right-wing contra forces in Nicaragua, which carried out assassinations and other terrorist attacks against labor organizers, schools, health care centers and even U.S. citizens like Ben Linder, who was killed as a volunteer building electrical grids for rural villages.

Both the CIA’s and Pinkerton’s history have been well-documented and would take far too long to lay out in full here. But one does not need to know the whole history to recognize this hiring, coupled with extreme crackdowns on the union, as nothing short of a declaration of war by the company against Starbucks Workers United (SBWU).

So far, much of the repression at Starbucks has actually pushed workers who were formerly on the fence to join the side of the union, by exposing the true nature of the company — which has put so much time into building a reputation as an inclusive, progressive workplace. If anything, these developments reveal how truly afraid the company is of the union, and that true strength lies in a united working class. □



By Marie Kelly

## United Farm Workers march to secure voting rights

The United Farm Workers (UFW) union is marching to Sacramento, the state capital of California, to pressure the governor to sign the Agricultural Labor Relations Voting Choice Act, legislation that would make it safer for farmworkers to vote in union elections. Dolores Huerta — co-founder with Cesar Chavez of the National Farm Workers Association, which later joined with the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee to form the UFW — spoke at the march starting point in Delano, site of the historic 1965 Grape Strike.

Huerta had a message for the bosses: “We want to give a message out there to the growers that it’s time that they recognize the farmworkers, because they’re the ones that make them wealthy ...” The workers want the same rights as other union members in the state; agricultural workers have historically been excluded from the rights recognized under the 1935 National Labor Relations Act, as well as the California Labor Code.

Currently, farmworkers face intimidation and retaliation from the grower bosses, because union votes are

held at the workplace. Farmworkers want the right to vote by mail and by secure drop-off ballots. The 35-mile march will reach Sacramento Aug. 26, gathering support and solidarity along the way. (tinyurl.com/2p88wxnu)

## Dollar General workers strike in South Carolina

The workers at the Holly Hill, South Carolina, Dollar General have been on strike since July 16 to force Dollar General management to meet their demands. These demands include a living wage and worker safety. Workers want their hourly wage bumped up to \$15 an hour. Minimum hourly wage in South Carolina today is a measly \$7.25, the federal minimum. (tinyurl.com/ym64yacy)

Safety concerns center around fire hazards and management’s failure to secure the store following a robbery. A petition from workers to the company demanded “that our safety be taken seriously and changes be made as soon as possible,” including measures so that workers can see more clearly outside the store.

The next step is organizing a union campaign.

## Reuters journalists strike to protest stalled contract negotiations

Journalists held a one-day strike Aug. 4 at Reuters, one of the largest news agencies in the world. The 300 workers, represented by NewsGuild, say Reuters is dragging their feet in contract negotiations. The last contract expired in December 2020.

Reuters has offered an insulting 1% pay increase, which translates to a pay cut, given the rising cost of living today. “While we reporters are called away

from our families in the middle of dinner, something we gladly do for the job, Reuters executives sit in the comfort of their home offices managing the profits we bring in for the company,” Reuters video reporter Julio-César Chávez noted in a NewsGuild statement. The company’s second quarter revenues were \$1.6 billion. (tinyurl.com/4x5923vp)

## Verizon wireless union drive spreads to three states

Verizon Wireless retail workers in Washington, Oregon and Michigan all filed with the National Labor Relations Board to vote to be represented by the Communications Workers (CWA). The Seattle workers won their union vote already, and Everett and Lynnwood, Washington, workers voted to ratify their new contract Aug. 4. Portland Verizon Express retail workers and two Flint, Michigan, stores have not yet had their election. (cwa-union.org/news/bargaining-update-211)

Demands include fair compensation, safety on the job and consistent scheduling. Workers cite a corporate culture that undervalues employees and is aggressively anti-union. In 2014, the Brooklyn, New York, wireless store became the first Verizon Wireless location to unionize, despite Verizon’s nasty union-busting campaign, and those CWA workers have also ratified the new contract Aug. 4.

Flint Verizon Wireless retail worker David Vanderstelt said, “... from speaking with my fellow Verizon workers in Washington and Oregon, I know this toxic culture isn’t unique to Flint — it’s an issue at Verizon retail stores across the country. With our growing union momentum, I know we can build a better Verizon, both for ourselves and our customers.” (laborpress.org/44289-2/). □



# Global warming causing worldwide heat-wave crises

By Paddy Colligan and G. Dunkel

Fiddling while the Northern Hemisphere burns, roasts, melts and drowns. That’s what is going on in Washington, D.C., now. (In a few months, it will be the turn of the Southern Hemisphere, which is now experiencing winter.)

If global warming/climate change has remained abstract up until now, this summer has brought its meaning home to billions of people, who now have glimpsed the future. And rest assured, there is worse to come.

Conditions this summer have produced record temperatures that have left thousands dead from triple-digit temperatures in Africa, Asia, Europe, the Middle East and North America. Some of the record temperatures include, for example: England, 104°F; Spain, 115°F; Portugal, 117°F; Seattle, 108°F; Portland, Oregon, 116°F; British Columbia, Canada, 121°F; India 123°F; Iraq 125°F; and China 111°F.

Worse, in many places these record-breaking temperatures have continued without respite for days on end. In Austin, Texas, temperatures were over 100°F for 54 days. In Jacobabad, Pakistan, 121°F temperatures combined with high humidity made working during the day deadly.

Hundreds of millions of people must endure without air conditioning, some because these temperatures are unheard of where they live, and some even lack electricity to run fans. Many more lack air conditioners because of poverty, lack of power or because their housing structures are inadequate to support these cooling units. Worse still, millions of workers must continue to work despite sweltering heat, because their livelihoods are at stake.

In some areas of the world, climate migrants have already left their traditional homes in search of more habitable lands.

It is not only very high temperatures that are causing great suffering. There have been devastating wildfires in France, Greece, Portugal and the Western U.S.



Muslim charity giving passersby cold water in Jacobabad, Pakistan, July 2022.

And France, Portugal and the U.S. West are experiencing long-term and widespread droughts. Floods have raged in Kentucky and in South Asia, as a result of greater and more frequent storms.

The intense heat waves have caused road surfaces to melt. Forests are lost to fires and to pest infestation. Hundreds of thousands of homes and millions of acres of crops are burned; water supplies dry up, and wildlife is driven from traditional habitats. Soon hurricanes will be blowing through the Caribbean and the North Atlantic.

### South Asia: record-breaking heat

South Asia is the home of over 2 billion people. Countries in the region include Pakistan with a population of 235 million, India, where 1.4 billion people live, and Bangladesh, in which 165 million people reside. Many people who live in South Asia earn less than \$2 a day; if they don’t work, they starve. Most people living in this region are familiar with very hot weather and can usually cope with it.

Beginning in March, earlier than usual, the temperatures in South Asia rose so high that birds fell out of the sky, because the hot air didn’t supply their wings with enough lift. The temperature grew so hot in the spring — the hottest on record in India — that on April 26, the Bhalswa landfill, which handles about half of Delhi’s waste, burst into flames. Thick clouds of dark, noxious smoke filled the air. Previous fires in Bhalswa were quickly extinguished, but this blaze burned for weeks.

Brahmdeep Sindhu, chief medical offi-

cer of Civil Hospital located outside of Delhi, told the New Yorker magazine, “We are moving to a hotter, more dangerous world. We have damaged the environment so much. Now the environment is damaging us.” (July 25)

This heat wave ended with torrential rains, which came sooner than the usual summer monsoons and were much heavier. Over 2,000 villages in India were actually submerged. Mawsynram, a village in the country’s northeast, got nearly 40 inches of rain in one day. Thousands of houses, roads, bridges, schools and other public facilities were damaged or destroyed. (Inside Climate News, Aug. 2)

### What can be done

These are the weather conditions today. What can be done about them?

The approaches fall roughly into two categories of action: 1) cut back and ultimately eliminate burning fossil fuels — oil, gas, coal; find ways to increase carbon absorption — plant millions of trees, stop cutting down forests and develop sustainable/regenerative agricultural practices; and 2) develop effective warning systems and build resiliency into landscapes and essential infrastructure.

Unfortunately, many processes of climate change are already impacting the Earth, with melting of the glaciers and ice sheets, changes in major ocean currents and extreme weather events. These will not end, even if or when the levels of greenhouse-gas emissions stop increasing.

What is the mighty U.S. government — whose main mission is to preserve and expand U.S. capitalism — doing about this crisis? Washington’s efforts can be characterized at best as ineffective and late in the game. Take the Inflation Reduction Act, now ready for the final vote in Congress.

### ‘A Faustian bargain’

This package incorporates billions of dollars worth of tax credits and subsidies to rescue the climate and to support “green energy” producers. Yet the hypocrisy and cynicism of this bill is astounding. Forbes Magazine, a ruling-class organ, calls the

bill a Faustian bargain: “Tradeoffs in the Inflation Reduction Act of 2022 between climate protections and fossil fuel interests could be dire for offshore wind projects and for solar and wind projects on federal lands.” (Aug. 3)

This legislation is not the result of the normal process of wheeling and dealing by competing ruling-class factions. Instead, the bill is the product of a process that has enshrined provisions within it ensuring the fossil fuel industry’s vast profits would continue, while intentionally hamstringing the green energy sector.

The trick is to tie leases for new wind and solar projects on public land and offshore locations to the granting of leases for guaranteed fossil fuel projects. In fact, fossil fuel leases must be sold in the year before the green projects can be awarded leases. Billions of acres of federal lands the size of entire states must first be offered for oil, gas and coal development!

These giant criminal enterprises are not so interested in new, uncertain investments. This new legislation appears to jeopardize the timely initiation of green projects, which are critically needed now!

### Workers take action

The climate crisis is affecting workers everywhere. The Teamsters union, which represents the 240,000 UPS drivers and package handlers, is leading a struggle to get UPS to mitigate the effects of heat on working conditions. A video showing a UPS driver collapsing from the heat in Scottsdale, Arizona, has gone viral.

The workers are calling on the company to provide water in every truck and warehouse and to give drivers cooling neck towels and uniforms suited for hot weather. They demand that drivers be allowed to work at a pace that allows them to take breaks.

Teamsters Local 804, which represents New York UPS drivers, has organized demonstrations to build support for this campaign. Progressive forces should back these workers and build a united fight-back against corporate greed and destruction of the planet. □

# Israel bombs Gaza — where is the Western outrage?

By Richie Merino

On Friday, Aug. 5, Israeli occupation forces launched another bombing campaign in residential neighborhoods of the besieged Gaza Strip. By Sunday,



Five-year-old Alaa Abdullah Riyad Qaddoum was killed by an Israeli airstrike Aug. 5.

31 civilians had been killed, including six children, and more than 265 seriously wounded, according to the territory’s health ministry.

This latest Zionist attack on Gaza follows a series of home raids, arrests and assassinations targeting Palestinian resistance leaders throughout occupied Palestine and specifically the arrest of the leader of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad movement, Bassam al-Saadi, in Jenin refugee camp, in which Israeli snipers assassinated another child, 17-year-old Dirar al-Kafrini.

Amid upcoming Israeli elections and internal political chaos amongst Zionist forces, the assaults on Gaza give current Prime Minister Yair Lapid and war minister Benny Gantz the opportunity to “campaign” for votes through violence against the Palestinian people. Israeli politicians regularly brag about their willingness to shed Palestinian blood as a way to win votes. Gantz, overseeing the current attack, previously ran for office by boasting that in 2014 he had bombed Gaza “back to the stone age.”

### Largest open-air prison

The Israeli occupation is once again using “Palestinian terrorism” and “self-defense” as a pretext for their war crimes; but in reality, it is an attack on the entire Palestinian people — in Gaza and

throughout occupied Palestine, from the river to the sea — for their steadfastness and principled commitment to Palestinian liberation. The Palestinian people in Gaza are incarcerated in the “world’s largest open-air prison” and denied their right to return home for 75 years.

The Zionist entity bears full responsibility for the escalation in violence against Gaza, which it is carrying out in an attempt to undo the rebuilding efforts and political reunification that have taken place since the popular uprisings of May 2021.

While Zionism killed 5-year-old Alaa Abdullah Riyad Qaddoum, the warplane, jet fuel and airstrike that landed on her and five other children, were funded by billions in U.S. tax dollars, with the support of the European Union and Canadian governments, as the U.N. kept its long-standing pattern of racist double standards.

Alaa is the 19th Palestinian child killed by Israeli occupation forces in 2022, according to documentation collected by Defense for Children International Palestine. (tinyurl.com/2s42p79x) By making the murder of Palestinian children possible, these Western imperialist governments and international bodies are as complicit in the war crimes as the murderers themselves.

Gaza remains the heart of Palestinian resistance. Palestinians remain united in

their effort to beat back yet another show of Zionist terror and stand unequivocally with their resistance as they attempt to repel the occupiers. No bombing campaign or siege from air, land or sea has ever, or will ever, succeed in dampening the spirit of Gazans or thwarting their collective determination to resist until all of Palestine is free.

Workers World urges all supporters of the Palestinian liberation struggle to take action to defend Gaza, the Palestinian people and their resistance against this Zionist onslaught. Mass rallies and solidarity actions in support of Gaza are taking place across the world in cities including New York, San Diego, Rotterdam, Maastricht, Vancouver and Montreal. Several governments including South Africa, Turkey, Malaysia, Pakistan, Iran and Jordan have condemned the apartheid Zionist regime’s ongoing and murderous siege.

We demand an end to the attacks on Gaza, an end to the siege and blockade and an end to the occupation forces and all Zionist structures and institutions. We stand with the Palestinian people in resisting settler colonialism by any means necessary.

Gaza will be defended, and Palestine will be liberated! Within our lifetimes, from the river to the sea! □



# Ayman al-Zawahiri killing proves the ‘war on terror’ was never over

By Maha Hilal

*This lightly edited article appeared in MiddleEastEye.net Aug. 4, 2022. Dr. Maha Hilal is a researcher and writer on institutionalized Islamophobia and author of the book “Innocent Until Proven Muslim: Islamophobia, the War on Terror, and the Muslim Experience Since 9/11.” Her writings have appeared in Vox, Al Jazeera, Middle East Eye, Newsweek, Business Insider and Truthout, among others.*



Over half a million people have died violently in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan due to the US ‘war on terror’ that was launched following the 9/11 attacks in 2001.

Those prosecuting this war want Americans to believe it has come to an end, while the U.S. continues to inflict massive violence abroad. In an uncharacteristic afternoon address in August, U.S. President Joe Biden announced the killing of Ayman al-Zawahiri, the successor to the al-Qaeda leadership after the killing of Osama bin Laden and previously his right-hand man.

Killed 11 years apart, both of their deaths were communicated in speeches by Biden and former President Barack Obama, respectively — in very similar language — under the guise of attaining justice. After the killing of Zawahiri, two things beg our reflection: What does “justice” mean in the “war on terror” — and does the “war on terror” have any conceivable end?

In order to understand the first issue, it’s helpful to look back at the words of former President George W. Bush, whose administration built the apparatus for the “war on terror.”

In his speech nine days after the 9/11 attacks, on Sept. 20, 2001, to a joint session of Congress, Bush asserted that “whether we bring our enemies to justice or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done.” He did not specify how enemies would be brought to justice but nevertheless established that “justice” would be inherent to any and all U.S. interventions to combat the terrorist threat.

### Malleable justice

When his administration extrajudicially assassinated al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, Barack Obama gave a speech announcing his death, saying: “And on nights like this one, we can say to those fam-

ilies who have lost loved ones to al-Qaeda’s terror: justice has been done.” Similarly, when the Trump administration extrajudicially assassinated Islamic State leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, he declared: “Last night, the United States brought the world’s number one terrorist leader to justice.”

When Biden delivered the news that Zawahiri had been assassinated, he said: “Now, justice has been delivered. And this terrorist leader is no more.”

If these statements make anything clear, it’s that justice is malleable; that these killings — and not, for example, legal proceedings like criminal trials — are the only way to obtain justice; that those killed were pure evil and deserving of their fate; and finally, that the assertion that justice has been served is subject to the U.S. government’s interpretation, regardless of any other considerations.

But extrajudicial assassinations contradict any meaningful semblance of justice, especially for a country that constantly parades the superiority of its values, legal system and adherence to the rule of law.

### Eternal victimhood

Underscoring these repeated triumphalist proclamations of justice, Biden and his predecessors have continued to justify U.S. actions by highlighting the U.S.’s eternal victimhood, as a way of legitimizing the never-ending war of avenging the wrongs done to the United States. In this case, the U.S.’s victimhood was used to justify a targeted assassination — absent any stated legal process — nearly 21 years after the 9/11 attacks.

When Biden announced the killing of Zawahiri, he stated that “the United States

did not seek this war against terror. It came to us; we answered with the same principles and resolve that have shaped us for generation upon generation to protect the innocent, defend liberty; and we keep the light of freedom burning — a beacon for the rest of the entire world.”

Even though Zawahiri was central to the 9/11 attacks, this narrative promotes the problematic assumption that these killings are the only form of “justice” that the U.S. has pursued in more than two decades of the “war on terror.”

However, the path to “justice” in the killing of Zawahiri was paved with the blood of millions of people — disproportionately Muslims — who have been harmed along the way. Moreover, the U.S. leadership and public have never reckoned with the killings of innocent civilians in the “war on terror” in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere or asked what justice looks like for them.

### No end in sight

Inevitably emerging, after the U.S. killing of Zawahiri and “justice” served, was the omnipresent question of what could or would mark the end of the “war on terror” — and whether this was it.

In the wake of Zawahiri’s death, assessing the U.S.’s ongoing and rampant infliction of state violence, we should no longer ask whether the “war on terror” is over; it’s not, and it’s unclear whether it ever will be. Instead, we should understand that the unmitigated violence it has unleashed is the new status quo. There is no going back.

Contrary to arguments from mainstream U.S. outlets that “America has finally moved on from 9/11,” what has actually happened is that U.S. violence in the “war on terror” has become so firmly entrenched into our daily lives, that what counts or doesn’t count as war hardly seems visible any more.

When Bush gave his speech after the 9/11 attacks, announcing the nebulous and what would become the forever “war on terror,” he was laying out a blueprint for hegemonic U.S. violence, which would cross administrations and become so normalized that speeches celebrating extrajudicial assassinations could be done without so much as a mention of the legalities, much less any

consideration of them.

Moreover, the U.S. has continued to define war so narrowly that troops on the ground count as active warfare; whereas, sovereignty-breaching drones are merely considered limited counterterrorism tactics.

This was made clear when Biden announced the end of the war in Afghanistan, as he pulled troops out last August while still relying on drone strikes to target the country.

But Biden’s war on Afghanistan hasn’t ended there — it also includes his decision earlier this year to block funds to the amount of \$3.5 billion from going to the Afghan people and instead directing them to 9/11 families, using the Taliban’s leadership as an excuse. In other words, Biden has chosen to rely on collective responsibility, the modus operandi of the “war on terror,” to justify the economic strangulation of the Afghan people — all while claiming the war is over.

### A watershed moment

Viewed more broadly, therefore, the Biden administration’s killing of Zawahiri has thus only been part of the sprawling “war on terror” — with Biden proving that under his leadership, the war will continue with just as much force.

Far from being a watershed moment, Zawahiri’s killing is an indication that those who are prosecuting the “forever war” are intent on continuing it less visibly, so that Americans can believe it is over while the U.S. continues to inflict massive violence abroad.

As Biden has cemented his commitment to the “war on terror,” it’s unlikely that many Americans are aware of the fact that this war has involved the expansion of military bases into the Sahara and the return of U.S. troops to Somalia — a country that the U.S. never officially declared war on, post-9/11, and in which counterterrorism operations were ordered ended under former President Donald Trump.

Whether through over-the-horizon capabilities meant to dissuade the American public of a nation no longer at war in Afghanistan or other covert tactics, one thing is clear: a war that has caused so much terror for communities domestically and across the globe is here to stay — and justice is as nebulous as ever. □

# End the Korean war — 70 years is enough!

By Richie Merino

*The following remarks were prepared by International Action Center member Richie Merino for the “Denuclearization and Peace on the Korean Peninsula” event at the United Nations Aug. 4, co-organized by Solidarity for Peace and Reunification of Korea (SPARK) and People’s Solidarity for Participatory Democracy (PSPD).*

The key actors in Korea’s reunification are the Korean people on the peninsula and in the diaspora. The role of allies in the belly of the beast, like myself, is to fight U.S. imperialism while defending the Korean people in their struggle for sovereignty, peace and reunification.

Since 1945, the U.S. has unilaterally divided Korea, has installed puppet governments in the south in defiance of the Korean people and has refused to sign a peace treaty with the Democratic People’s

Republic of Korea (DPRK) for over 70 years — an essential precondition for denuclearizing of the Korean Peninsula. The U.S. must immediately end its sabotage of inter-Korean efforts to build peace and advance reunification.

Despite what the U.S. government says, our enemy is not the DPRK but U.S. and Western imperialism. The DPRK has never attacked the U.S., while the U.S. from 1950-1953 leveled the DPRK through a bombing campaign that killed millions. And it is the U.S. military occupation of Korea that installed corrupt, repressive governments that do the bidding of Western imperialists, divide the people and protect the capitalist exploitation of workers in the south.

In showing solidarity with all workers of the world, it’s important we break the silence around the Republic of Korea’s



Reunification flag.

violent past and present under U.S. imperialism. We must demonstrate the urgency of the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle to liberate Korea.

A liberated Korea means an end to the military occupation through a total and complete U.S. withdrawal from the peninsula, the closing of all U.S. military bases and ending the sale of ultra-offensive weapons to ROK. It means an end to

the demonization of the DPRK, and their socialist construction, and a lifting of all deadly economic sanctions on the DPRK. All military aggression against the DPRK including provocative war games, military exercises and nuclear threats must end.

A liberated Korea means ending the repression against workers advocating for stronger labor rights and protections and allowing the ROK and DPRK to negotiate peaceful reunification free of Western interference.

The people of Korea deserve peace, autonomy and self-determination! As a unified peace movement and anti-imperialist coalition, the International Action Center stands in solidarity with and will always defend the Korean people in their struggle against U.S. war, sanctions and the division of the Korean Peninsula.

End the Korean War! No more war drills! 70 years is enough! Peace agreement now! One unified Korea! □



# First COVID-19, now monkeypox

By Olujimi Alade

The first years of the 2020s were plagued by the coronavirus. As the months wore on, COVID-19 has not only devastated people’s lives, over 1 million people have died, and it has brought the country to a complete fracas both financially and in a social manner.

COVID-19 exposed the limitations of the capitalist-driven health care system in the U.S. Doctors and nurses were overworked throughout the two years, as President Donald Trump and now President Joe Biden did little to support health professionals or aid the working masses, as they risk not only their own lives but their families’ lives in order to earn a living.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention has given very flimsy advice in recent months, including ditching masks, apparently not knowing how rapidly the coronavirus could mutate into new variants. The working masses ultimately paid the price for the U.S. government’s carelessness.

Just when we thought we couldn’t catch a break with COVID-19, we have yet another potential pandemic on our hands. Monkeypox, which first gained prominence in Europe, is now threatening the U.S.

Monkeypox is a viral disease in the same family of viruses as variola virus, the virus that causes smallpox; and according to WebMD, it is transmissible through close contact with another person, in many ways, including the air. Monkeypox was first documented in humans in 1970



and was previously only endemic to countries in Central and West Africa. It is capable of being spread via contact into a wide range of other mammal species, many of which are apparently susceptible to infection. (tinyurl.com/hf27y2ym)

Monkeypox seemed to have burst onto the scene in the spring of 2022, just as another strain of the coronavirus-causing COVID-19 was developing. In the face of what is shaping up to be another pandemic that could put many people’s lives at risk, U.S. employers and businesses are doing nothing to ensure the welfare and safety of workers.

Many service industries are still open for business, allowing workers to be exposed to the general public. Offices are not allowing their employees to work from home, instead demanding that they commute to work using transit systems

that are underfunded and decaying. Few can afford a car or the gas to run one.

Instead of addressing the situation holistically and with integrity, the right-wing media is deciding to attack the LGBTQ+ population with the same callousness that it has over the past two years. Even though the virus can be spread through close contact of any kind, statistics have shown that gay and bisexual men are one of the populations most affected by monkeypox so far.

Reactionaries and right-wing talking heads have used this opportunity to stigmatize monkeypox as a “gay disease.” This is potentially dangerous for several reasons. Among others, it could cost queer-coded people jobs and gainful employment. Through association with the disease, the stigmatization of having a “gay disease” could force people afflicted

with it to hide it and potentially infect others.

Combine the reputation of monkeypox with rising anti-LGBTQ+ sentiment, it is not irrational to predict a lot of queer youth being physically and psychologically harassed and disowned and cut-off by their families, leaving them in an even more precarious position.

**Money for tests and vaccines not a priority**

Unlike COVID-19, tests to detect monkeypox and vaccines to treat it have been available for years. Yet as predicted, the Biden administration is dragging their feet in response to the monkeypox outbreak. Testing has been slow and inadequate.

As subpar as the testing has been, access to vaccines has been just as mediocre, with the U.S. government purchasing only 300,000 doses of the Jynneos vaccine this month. Yet this is the same government willing to send billions of dollars to Ukraine in service of proxy wars. The low quantity of vaccines is unlikely to match the exposure of people to the monkeypox virus, as numerous epidemiologists are saying that the official CDC estimate of 7,509 cases, as of Aug. 5, is a severe undercount. (tinyurl.com/6rpb4z28)

The monkeypox global health emergency is shaping up to be a repeat of COVID-19; and as the days turn into months, this current outbreak will further lay bare the tragic inadequacies of U.S. capitalism and the cultural superstructure it breeds. □

# Eviction resistance

Continued from page 1

their house in nearby Powelton Village on Aug. 8, 1978. Police destroyed the home, and nine MOVE members were imprisoned for over 40 years.

At 9:00 a.m., demonstrators stood along the pallet fencing, as 20 to 30 armed men and women wearing Sheriff’s Department badges marched to the encampment entrance. One of the plainclothes officers confronted resident organizer Foreman, telling her they were going to remove the tents. Foreman abruptly ended their conversation, picked up a bullhorn and started chanting: “We ain’t going nowhere!” and “Who do you protect? Who do you serve?”

The cops then moved into the grounds of the UC Townhomes and began knocking down the tents and canopies and hauling them away. Protesters resisted throughout the process, sometimes pulling on one side of tents as the cops pulled on the other. Some held on to canopy stakes as the cops tried to move them.

Two residents remained in their seats, refusing to move as the sheriffs had to lift the canopies over their heads.

As the sheriffs moved through the area, demonstrators confronted them with chants and frequently circled around them. Many carried signs reading: “You can’t tear down community,” “Evict the developers; Save UC Townhomes” and “Housing is a human right.”

According to the court order, none of the tents are to be destroyed, and people have 30 days to claim them.

### Workers refuse to assist racist gentrifier

Historically in Philadelphia, public sanitation workers have been made to dismantle houseless peoples’ camps and destroy their belongings. Anticipating that city workers would again be made to do the gentrifiers’ bidding, residents and activists issued an appeal to area workers to refuse any orders to dismantle the protest, noting that affordable housing is a workers’ issue. The appeal garnered over 400 local, national and even international



Residents and supporters defend protest tents, Aug. 8.

WW PHOTO: JOE PIETTE

signers.

Further strengthening residents’ voices, the Labor for Black Lives Coalition sent a strong statement of solidarity with the UC Townhomes residents to Philadelphia Mayor Jim Kenney and other city officials. Signed by 16 labor organizations representing tens of thousands of Black and Brown workers — including some of the largest unions in Philadelphia — the statement called on the city to “immediately block the sale of UC Townhomes.”

Their statement read in part: “As a coalition of labor unions representing Black and Brown workers, we know that securing safe and affordable rental housing is a constant struggle for working-class people of color in the city. A large number of the workers we represent are required to reside in the city as a condition of their employment; but rising rent costs, a shortage of affordable housing and structural barriers embedded in the rental application and affordable housing voucher process make securing housing increasingly

difficult. We need our city’s leaders to stand with our Black communities so that our workers are able to continue living and working in Philadelphia for years to come.” (The complete statement is available at workers.org/2022/08/65911/.)

When the sheriffs and later bicycle cops finally retreated, residents and supporters took to the streets, marching behind a huge banner with the slogan: “UC Townhomes tenants say ‘We ain’t goin’ nowhere!’” They marched through sections of the University of Pennsylvania campus before returning to the UC Townhomes site.

At several major intersections demonstrators blocked traffic and kept up a steady stream of chants. Speakers called out Mayor Kenney and members of the city council for failing to support residents, noting that city officials, the gentrifiers and the University of Pennsylvania all point the finger at each other, while doing nothing to stop the pending evictions. □



‘We ain’t goin’ nowhere!’

WW PHOTO: JOE PIETTE



# The importance of the Kansas vote

A major victory for women and all who can become pregnant happened when Kansas voters voted NO Aug. 2 on a constitutional amendment that would have given the green light to the state legislature to vote against access to abortions. With 90% of the votes counted, 60% voted to maintain the constitutional guarantees for abortions. If the amendment had passed, major protections for abortion would have been in danger of being eliminated from the state’s constitution, which allows abortions up to 22 weeks of pregnancy.

This vote was clearly a major rebuff to the draconian decision by the Supreme Court that overturned Roe v. Wade in late June. The court eradicated an almost 50-year federal protection to this fundamental right to abortion access and placed the fate of abortions in the hands of states, almost half of which are in the



process of either overturning or severely curtailing the right to abortions, even in cases of rape and incest.

Those who need access to abortions, but who live in states with these restrictions, are faced with the harsh reality of being forced to travel hundreds or even thousands of miles to a state that provides this vital health care procedure.

Three days after the Kansas vote, the Indiana state legislature passed a bill

outlawing abortion except in very narrow cases of rape, incest, lethal fetal anomaly or when the procedure is warranted to prevent severe health risks or death. Prior to this vote, a 10-year-old pregnant rape victim was recently forced to travel from Ohio to Indiana to have an abortion due to Ohio’s horrific abortion restrictions.

How was this major victory won in Kansas? Millions of dollars were raised in a grassroots effort to defeat this reactionary referendum. Kansans for Constitutional Freedom was a major backer and organized volunteers to go door to door, in both urban and rural areas, to reach out to voters no matter their political affiliation — Democrat, Republican or independent. This electoral outcome reflects the view of the majority of people in the U.S. who support the right to abortion.

NARAL Pro-Choice America President

Mini Timmaraju stated: “At a time when reproductive freedom is under unprecedented threat across the country, Kansans said loud and clear at the ballot box, ‘We’ve had enough.’ In the heartland of the United States, protecting abortion access is galvanizing voters like never before.” (Washington Post, Aug. 3)

The main lesson learned from the Kansas vote is not the form of the struggle, the electoral arena. It was the essence of the struggle to organize a mass mobilization to speak in one united voice and beat back political reaction — to help safeguard a life-and-death health care service for the multigender, multinational working class.

Just as the struggle historically won Roe v. Wade in the streets, the Kansas victory will be an important catalyst to continue the struggle beyond the outcome of the Nov. 8 midterm elections. □

# Breonna Taylor: still fighting for justice

Breonna Taylor was a 26-year-old, African American emergency medical technician, whose life was tragically cut short by a hail of an estimated 32 bullets fired by white police officers in Louisville,

Kentucky, on March 13, 2020. Ms. Taylor was in her bed, when the officers used a “no-knock” warrant to invade her apartment for so-called drug possession. As it turned out, the officers had the wrong apartment.

Taylor’s partner, Kenneth Walker, attempted to defend himself and her from the police with a licensed gun. He was arrested but later released.

The police who invaded the apartment were never arrested or charged with anything more serious than “wanton endangerment,” when some of their bullets were lodged in Taylor’s next door neighbor’s apartment. It took the public execution of George Floyd in May 2020, as well as local protests, to help bring national attention to Taylor’s murder.

Over two years later on Aug. 4, the officers Kelly Goodlett, Joshua Jaynes, Kyle Meany and Brett Hankison were arrested and charged with civil rights offenses, unconstitutional use of force, obstruction and conspiracy — on a federal level. One of those charges includes falsifying an affidavit for the warrant that led to Ms. Taylor’s death.

Benjamin Crump, a prominent civil rights attorney representing Ms. Taylor’s family, stated in response to the charges: “This day is about (Taylor’s mother Tamika Palmer), her family. It’s about Breonna and all the other Breonnas across America. The Black women who have been denied justice throughout the history of this country, when they have been abused, assaulted, murdered, raped and disregarded. Because of Breonna Taylor, we can say this is a day that Black women saw equal justice in the United States of America.” (kentucky.news, Aug. 5)

Just to be clear, these federal charges

are just that, charges. Whether these charges will actually lead to convictions is anybody’s guess. It took more than two years just to bring about these arrests. A secretive grand jury refused to consider any murder charges against these killer cops, because the laws under capitalism protect their lawlessness and brutality, especially when Black, Latinx and other people of color are the victims.

At least 50 Black women have been killed by the police from February 2015 to March 2021, and not one officer has been convicted of their crimes. (insider.com/black-women-killed-by-police-database-2021-6) This number includes Breonna Taylor, showing once again that losing her life to state-sanctioned violence is not an isolated situation.

In order to win real equal justice for ALL the Breonna Taylors, we must not only abolish the police but abolish the system that perpetuates their terror — capitalism. □



Mural honors the memory of Breonna Taylor in Annapolis, Maryland.

## Honor the legacy of Black August – Support Workers World

Did you know the month of August holds special meaning for the Black Liberation struggle? This August marks the 403rd anniversary of the arrival of the first ship of Africans brought in chains to the shores of the British colony of Virginia in 1619. And this August marks 246 years of the enslavement underlying the establishment of the U.S. colonial state — with its countless injustices, brutality and institutionalized crimes against humanity. Those atrocities continue in this white-supremacist, capitalist society to this day.

But August is also a time to commemorate the Black Resistance Struggle, from the Haitian Revolution of 1791-1804 to the Nat Turner Rebellion in 1831, from the Fugitive Slave Law Convention of 1850 to the Underground Railroad that ran from the late 18th century to 1865, from the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in 1925 to the March on Washington in 1963, the Watts Uprising in 1965 and the National Prison Strike from Aug. 21-Sept. 9 in 2018.

A number of freedom fighters were born in August, including Marcus

Garvey, Fred Hampton and Russell Maroon Shoatz, while a number died in that month: W.E.B. Du Bois, Huey P. Newton and Jonathan Jackson. Jackson was killed Aug. 7, 1970, while attempting to free the imprisoned Soledad Brothers, who included his brother, Black Panther leader George Jackson. One year and two weeks later on Aug. 21, 1971, George Jackson was executed by prison guards. His assassination was an important spark leading to the heroic Attica Prison Rebellion in September 1971.

### Your donations matter!

Workers World depends on your help. The WW Supporter Program was founded 45 years ago to help build this revolutionary socialist newspaper. Since the early 1990s, the fund has supported the website workers.org, where WW articles are posted daily and the PDF file of every weekly paper is displayed.

Staff health concerns during the pandemic caused us to reduce the number of printed issues to once a month. But the weekly online newspaper has never been skipped during this 2 ½ year health

crisis. And while WW’s staff is voluntary, both the printed newspaper and the website require monthly expenses.

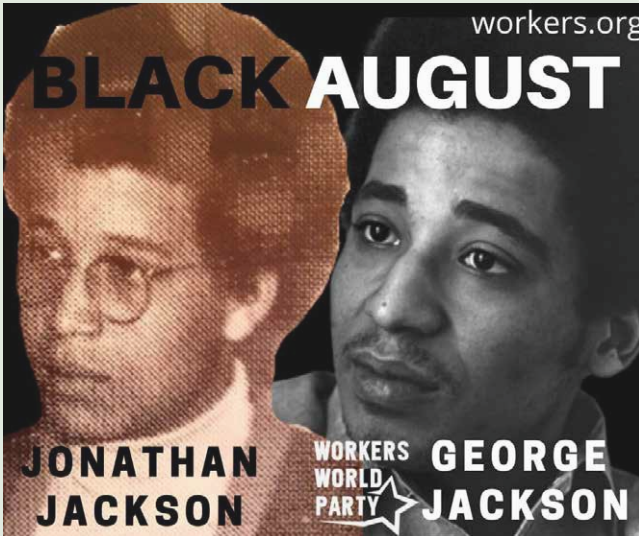
Workers.org contains news and analysis of global and U.S. events and struggles and is a resource for political activists. The website posts first-hand accounts by writer-activists in many countries, with translations by our staff. Timely articles by worker-organizers keep the newspaper up to date on what is happening in key U.S. union drives, led by young people of many nationalities and genders. Workers World cheers them on.

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## Nicaragua

# 'The most beautiful day in my life'

By Hernán Cano

*The author, an Argentine journalist in Venezuela, conducted this interview with Venezuelan Sergio Rodríguez Gelfenstein for the news agency Sputnik in preparation for the July anniversary of the 1979 Nicaraguan Revolution. Its introduction noted that Rodríguez Gelfenstein, whose guerrilla father was forced out of Chile by the 1973 coup led by Augusto Pinochet, was, at 22, an officer in Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces and participated in the last month of Nicaragua's war of liberation with an international contingent fighting the Somoza dictatorship and later in the training of the national army. Translation: John Catalinotto. The following is part 2 of 2.*

**Hernán Cano:** How was the victorious march to Managua?

**Sergio Rodríguez Gelfenstein:** We started the march north after noon on July 19, [1979], because once they gave us the order to get ready to go to Managua, we had to store the ammunition, box it up, secure it for the trip; we had mortars buried, etc. And it was a very slow march, because people came out to the road to greet us; they gave us mangoes, coffee; they wanted to get on the trucks with their children.

We advanced, but they gave us the order to turn off and go to the city of Granada, which was the cradle of the Nicaraguan oligarchy, a very reactionary city, and I think the Sandinista Front wanted to make a show of force. So we slept there, and we left very early for Managua.

There, in the final stretch we made toward Managua, the massiveness of the people in the streets was impressive. At the end, they told us that we had to go to what was called "Somoza's bunker," the National Security Office. There we left the artillery, the trucks, the ammunition; and the comrades began to go to the plaza, because it was known that a big celebration was being organized in the plaza.

And that day, which was July 20, was impressive — the guerrilla fronts were in the square, the national leadership of the Sandinista Front, the Government Junta of National Reconstruction, and the people were totally involved.

**HC:** How do you feel about that day?

**SRG:** I say that it was the most beautiful day of my life. For the march, for the outpouring of people, for the happiness of the elderly and the children, for seeing so many happy people and for feeling that we had managed to help make the ignominy of decades disappear.

### Transform the guerrilla army into a regular army

And there begins another story, since we had to transform the guerrilla army into a regular army. And we were the ones who knew how to do it. We did, because we had training from the military academies.

**HC:** What was that process like?

**SRG:** It was up to us, the artillery



Sandinistas march into Managua July 19, 1979, and celebrate the revolution.

soldiers, to train the artillery school; we made plans, schools and the structuring of the Armed Force that was needed to defend that country. That was the task of July and August. And on August 27, the heroic day of Pancasán was commemorated in Nicaragua, in which they celebrated some important struggles that had taken place in the past and which is a very important anniversary for the Sandinista Front — and it was decided that year to hold the first military parade of the then Sandinista Popular Army.

So, the tank mechanics started to fix the tanks; we fixed the artillery, and the infantry people taught the soldiers, who were guerrilla kids, to march in formation for the parade. And the parade was impressive; a little more than a month had passed since the triumph of the Revolution.

That is how we began the military training, the methodology, the study of what is called the theater of military operations: the study of the terrain and the enemy, the capacity of our troops, and that year 1979 was all about that.

At the end of 1979 in December, the first manifestations of counterrevolutionary action began to take place.

**HC:** Were there still remnants of Somocismo?

**SRG:** No, there was nothing left of Somocismo. But there was a right wing that was anti-Somocista and was also part of the Government Junta of National Reconstruction. And in the first days of December '79, I was sent with a battery of artillery to reinforce an infantry battalion on the border with Honduras, because

there were some provocations by the Honduran army.

They sent us to make a show of force. We even made an extraordinary move there, because we closed the highway

where trucks go to all of Central America; and with the infantry battalion, the artillery and the truckloads of soldiers, we left the highway to a side road and re-entered further on. And we did it again and again. The next day the newspapers reported a large contingent of thousands of soldiers arriving at the border, and it was just us.

**HC:** When did you decide to leave Nicaragua?

**SRG:** I stayed until 1983. I went through several assignments — we restructured the army; I went to work in the General Staff, then in the Air Force General Staff, and at the end I was sent to a school created for the training of sergeants. But there,

Cuban officers with a lot of experience were already in Nicaragua; they were our teachers.

The head of the mission was a colonel, and all the others were colonels and lieutenant colonels — even our first chief had fought in the Cuban Revolution against [Fulgencio] Batista. The structure of the mission had already been set up in accordance with the requests made by the Sandinistas, according to the army they wanted to have.

Then in the '80s, I was part of the contingent of the Communist Party of Chile; and in the restructuring that we did, I was in charge of political relations, which were not public. And some Salvadoran collaborators arrived and contacted us to have a meeting with a leader from

El Salvador. We went, and the meeting was with Schafik Handal [1930-2006, leader of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN)].

Schafik told us that progress was being made toward the construction of the unity of all the forces, that an organization was being created, the FMLN, and that an offensive was being prepared for the first days of 1981. And he asked us for help, because the Communist Party had great experience in mass struggle, workers' struggle and great organizational capacity, but not military. And then we supported the construction of the General Staff of the Armed Liberation Force, which was the armed wing of the Salvadoran Communist Party.

And I was there for three years because when the war began, the General Staff of the FMLN continued to function in Managua with Schafik until they created conditions and moved that structure. But our eyes were set on Chile, on the struggle against the dictatorship, so we began to put pressure on our leadership to leave.

In 1982 the first comrades who returned founded the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front. I returned to Cuba in 1983 and entered Chile in 1984.

**HC:** And what is your assessment of these long 43 years?

**SRG:** Nicaragua has a very particular pull, which makes you always feel linked to it. I have many great friends there — note that today's army generals were combatants 43 years ago; they were soldiers. And when you forge bonds of friendship in war, in insurrectional struggle, in that beautiful period of construction of the Army, they are bonds that do not fade. For me they are eternal, and I believe that is true for the Nicaraguans too.

In all these years, there are three well-marked stages:

From 1979 until they lost the elections in 1990, a stage of revolution under harassment, aggression, blockade, with armed mercenaries, the Sandinistas had almost no time for peace in the midst of a war supported by the United States. And yet all social and economic levels of Nicaragua grew. Despite the devastation of the war, the revolution made the country literate.

And in the second stage, when neoliberalism was enthroned in the 1990s, all of the gains of the first period went backwards. Nicaragua is the only country in the world where two literacy campaigns had to be carried out, because when Sandinismo returned in 2007, [the earlier campaign] had to be started again.

Since 2007 different international organizations began to talk about the Nicaraguan miracle. In 2018, the United States and Europe [imperialist regimes] instigated, organized and financed an attempted coup. This stopped everything that had been going well up to that point, and did so much damage that the aftermath of that coup attempt is still being felt.

Now Nicaragua is beginning a fourth period that we can call recovery: the fight against poverty and resistance. □



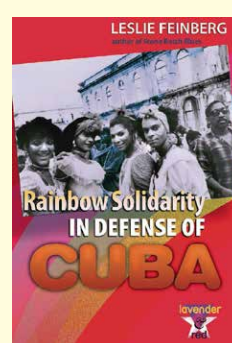
## 100 Years Later

### Some Lessons of the Great Bolshevik Revolution

By Deirdre Griswold

**Contents:** From Marx's view of social evolution to Lenin's 'Imperialism' ♦ Social gains in the early years of Soviet power ♦ 'Whose state? Our state' — meaning all nationalities ♦ External and internal problems, strengths and setbacks ♦ To the 0.001 percent: You are cheering too soon

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By Leslie Feinberg, author of *Stone Butch Blues*

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Boston

# Huelga a Starbucks

Por Mairead Skehan Gillis  
Boston

Fue una semana histórica para el movimiento de trabajadores en los Estados Unidos, ya que los trabajadores de Starbucks Workers United (SBWU) en el 874 de la avenida Commonwealth en Boston, MA, cerraron su tienda para la primera huelga indefinida del SBWU que comenzó el 17 de julio de 2022. Su línea de piquete, que funciona las 24 horas del día, se compone de trabajadores sindicales, organizadores y simpatizantes que han mantenido diligentemente las puertas de la tienda cerradas a los clientes, a las entregas entrantes y a los esquiroles.

Los trabajadores en huelga reclaman un entorno de trabajo más inclusivo y libre de prácticas laborales injustas, en el que los gerentes les trate con dignidad y respeto y la corporación les pague un salario digno. Los trabajadores se mantienen firmes en no volver a hacer café hasta que se cumpla su demanda de un contrato adecuado que apoye las identidades del personal, muchos de los cuales son parte de la comunidad LGBTQ, y satisfaga las nece-

sidades de los trabajadores de servicios oprimidos con salarios bajos, cantando “¿Qué es asqueroso? La destrucción del sindicato”. ¿Qué es indignante? Salarios de pobreza!”.

El calor no impidió que se unieran al piquete innumerables simpatizantes de otras tiendas Starbucks, tendencias progresistas, estudiantes de universidades vecinas y representantes de sindicatos locales de otras cafeterías sindicalizadas, los Steelworkers, el Sindicato de Pintores, el Local 25 de Teamsters, el Sindicato de Conductores de Autobuses Escolares de Boston, el Sindicato de Maestros de Boston, el Sindicato de Trabajadores de Comedores de Harvard, el Sindicato de Estudiantes de la Escuela de Posgrado de Harvard (UAW), el Sindicato de Estudiantes de la Escuela de Posgrado del MIT y el Sindicato de Educadores de Brookline.

Los que recorrieron la línea de piquete fueron bien atendidos por el SBWU y sus aliados, que organizaron comida, refrescos y entretenimiento para todos cada día. El Greater Boston Labor Council llevó un camión de helados gratuito al “MegaPicket” el domingo 24 de julio. A lo largo de la

semana hubo actuaciones en la calle, desde música revolucionaria en vivo cantada por Kristen Turgeon, miembro del Partido Mundo Obrero, hasta discursos subidos al camión de sonido, y también cantos de karaoke dirigidos por los trabajadores del SBWU de esta tienda. Todo esto fue un esfuerzo para mantener a los piquetes seguros en el calor y también para mantener el impulso y el entusiasmo en la línea de piquete, ya que los huelguistas entran en su segunda semana de cierre.

Equipos dirigidos por los organizadores locales del SBWU visitaron a las otras tiendas de Starbucks en el distrito hacia el final de la primera semana para conversar con los trabajadores de Starbucks de turno y extender su solidaridad, tanto en las tiendas sindicalizadas como en las que aún no lo están. Mientras la corporación se prepara para reclutar trabajadores esquiroles para el local cerrado en la Avenida Commonwealth, es de suma importancia pedir a los trabajadores locales de Starbucks que no crucen la línea de piquete, sino a unirse al movimiento de defensa de los trabajadores en huelga y a la organización del personal en sus propios locales.

Estos esfuerzos para hacer crecer la solidaridad serán de suma importancia ya que los trabajadores continúan el paro de trabajar por el tiempo que sea necesario. Para los revolucionarios dedicados a la construcción de un mundo obrero, es esencial conectar con estos organizadores y ofrecerles apoyo, tanto a nivel de calle como a nivel nacional.

Las actualizaciones de la huelga se publican regularmente en la página de Twitter de Starbucks Workers United (@BostonSBWU). En el sitio web de SBWU, [www.sbworkersunited.com](http://www.sbworkersunited.com), se comparten recursos que incluyen un compromiso de #NoContratoNoCafé (#NoContractNoCoffee) para los aliados que pueden “tomar la iniciativa de los trabajadores y responder a las llamadas a la acción de los trabajadores para impulsar su campaña [sindical]”, así como un formulario de contacto para trabajadores de Starbucks que estén dispuestos a empezar a organizar en sus propias tiendas. El mensaje de unión coreado directamente desde el piquete es un recordatorio para todos de que “¡el pueblo unido jamás será vencido!” □



WW/MO FOTO: STEVE GILLIS

‘MegaPicket’ a Starbucks en Boston, 7 de agosto.

# Una victoria indiscutible y en unidad del pueblo panameño

By Polo Ciudadano  
Panamá

La gran explosión social del pueblo panameño, que salió masivamente a las calles a repudiar el alza indiscriminada de los precios de la comida y los combustibles, ocurrida durante la primera quincena del mes de julio de 2022, ha obtenido una victoria indiscutible.

La fuerza combinada del paro de educadores, que abarcó a todas las escuelas del país, junto con la combatividad de los pueblos originarios, en particular de la nación Ngäbe-Buglé, así como la participación decidida del movimiento obrero organizado y popular, han doblegado al gobierno neoliberal de Cortizo-PRD obligándolo a negociar con la totalidad del movimiento, sin divisionismo, y ante las cámaras de televisión nacional.

“Sin luchas, no hay victorias”, dice la consigna, y una vez más se ha demostrado cierta. Una de las principales conquistas de esta lucha ha sido la rebaja (del 30%) y congelamiento de precios de una canasta básica de alimentos y bienes de primera necesidad compuesta por 72 productos, que superan ampliamente el popular “arroz con tuna”. Una canasta variada y saludable, que incluye proteínas y vegetales, y no solo carbohidratos, como pretendía el gobierno de Cortizo.

La rebaja de la gasolina en todas sus variantes hasta B/. 3.25 por galón es otra victoria importante que hay que reivindicar. Aunque la demanda original del movimiento era una reducción hasta B/. 3.00, lo conquistado hasta ahora es un ahorro significativo si lo comparamos con los B/. 3.95 que pretendía el presidente

Cortizo. (B/. = U.S. \$)

Se ha logrado que esta rebaja sea reconocida incluso para los motores de pescadores y maquinarias agrícolas con la sola presentación de la cédula del consumidor. Los transportistas y productores que se quejan de los bloqueos le deben esta conquista al movimiento sindical y popular, como a la población indígena Ngäbe-Buglé.

A la fecha en que redactamos este comunicado se siguen avanzando acuerdos sobre precios de medicamentos y el presupuesto para la educación pública, del que se exige cumplir con un presupuesto equivalente al 6% del PIB.

El conjunto de todas estas medidas concretas, que implican un importante alivio para el sufrido bolsillo de las clases populares, son producto de esta lucha y no una dádiva del gobierno.

Pero la victoria popular va más allá: el país entero ha empezado a comprender que el problema no está solo en el gobierno de turno y su corrupción, sino que el problema es el “modelo económico” del país, que está puesto al servicio de un puñado de monopolios que controlan la distribución de combustibles, alimentos y medicinas.

Tanto en las calles, como en la mesa de diálogo televisada, el pueblo panameño ha empezado a caer en cuenta que las alzas de precio que le agobian son impuestas por capitalistas extranjeros y nacionales para cuyos intereses trabajan los gobiernos.

La movilización y la mesa de diálogo han permitido avanzarla conciencia popular para comprender que incluso las conquistas alcanzadas son efímeras,

son parciales, mientras subsista el actual modelo económico capitalista neoliberal.

Que mientras manden los políticos y partidos al servicio de este sistema corrupto que permite el enriquecimiento de unos pocos a costa del hambre del pueblo, el congelamiento de la gasolina y la comida, en realidad se transforma en un “subsidio a los ricos”, que pagaremos las clases explotadas indirectamente con impuestos.

Que la solución de fondo es limitar los márgenes de ganancia que sacan estas empresas, llámese importadoras y distribuidoras de gasolina, de alimentos o medicinas. Que los “intermediarios” y cadenas de supermercados son los responsables de imponer precios de quiebra a los productores agropecuarios y venderle caro a los consumidores.

Que las importaciones desmedidas, y no los bloqueos de las organizaciones indígenas, son los que llevan a la quiebra a los productores. Que hay que acabar con los Tratados de Libre Comercio que solo benefician a los comerciantes. Que hay que hacer una reforma fiscal en que quienes más ganan paguen más, que se acaben las exoneraciones y la evasión fiscal.

Poner sobre la mesa de diálogo esta discusión ha sido un acierto de los negociadores que representan a los y las indígenas de la Comarca Ngäbe Bugle, las dos “alianzas” populares por el impacto educativo que tiene ante la opinión pública.

Pero, desde el movimiento popular y sindical también debemos comprender que, reconociendo las conquistas logradas en esta lucha, el fondo de la cuestión va más allá de la mesa de diálogo, pues



WW/MO FOTO: DEBORAH RODRIGUEZ

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el gobierno, apoyado en las quejas de los empresarios, que ahora exigen ser incluidos, no van a cambiar el “modelo”, porque no les interesa resolver la situación socioeconómica del pueblo panameño.

Para cambiar el modelo económico antipopular, para cambiar el régimen político corrupto, para construir un país más justo, democrático, inclusivo e igualitario debemos organizar un movimiento político que aspire a ser gobierno. Un movimiento político que supere el divisionismo y el sectarismo, así como se ha logrado en la actual mesa de diálogo.

Al gobierno como a los empresarios y empresarias, que se preocupan ahora por el “modelo” y que dicen querer “dialogar” sobre eso, les expresamos que la ocasión para hacerlo es en el marco del debate y la constitución de una ASAMBLEA CONSTITUYENTE ORIGINARIA, que debe convocarse cuanto antes, en el contexto del clamor popular por un mejor país.

Panamá, 28 de julio de 2022