## **MUNDO OBRERO** WORKERS WORLD

# \$1



Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite!

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**Demanding China's exclusion** 

## U.S. blocks world access to vaccines

#### By Sara Flounders

Just how far is the U.S. government determined to go in the protection of corporate profits?

For the past two years the Biden administration and earlier the Trump administration have blocked every effort to make medicines for the COVID-19 virus widely available. U.S. control of the patents has been ruthlessly enforced.

U.S. trade officials have now announced that the government will veto a global plan that would allow countries on an emergency basis to temporarily ignore patents and make their own COVID-19 vaccines. The U.S. says it will block this plan unless China is explicitly excluded from the waiver of intellectual property (IP) rights. This ultimatum has created

international shock waves.

Health officials globally are concerned because U.S. opposition could kill even a limited international deal. Two years of discussions in Geneva were intensified this month in the hopes of signing a final pact in June.

#### Corporate ownership of patents

Control of patents in technology and medicine play a crucial role in U.S. economic domination. Patents on intellectual property are a set of laws that protect legal rights of products to be privately owned. Even if essential products are developed through the common labor of hundreds of thousands of people, were developed with public funds or are based on science and technology developed over many generations, the corporations that file for the patents can claim ownership of the product and of the manufacturing process.

The idea, first presented by South Africa and India in 2020, of patent or IP waivers, was intended to boost the supply

of vaccines, diagnostics and therapeutics equipment for the prevention, treatment or containment of COVID-19. This emergency step would help developing nations have faster access to lifesaving products. In April of 2021 the Brazilian Senate voted to suspend patents in a bid to widen access to COVID-19 vaccines. (statnews.com, April 30, 2021)

These desperate pleas for a temporary suspension of vaccine patents have become a political football tossed back and forth by the pharmaceutical industries. Politicians and corporations applauded the idea, while moving to block it from becoming a reality.

The U.S. government now says it will block the international agreement, hammered out slowly over two years of negotiations, if China is not excluded from the pact. In response, China said that it did not wish to be excluded but would voluntarily agree not to take advantage of it.

Deputy U.S. Trade Representative

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### **Solidarity with Uvalde**

**WORKERS WORLD** 

editorial

Workers World Party offers our deepest solidarity, love and condolences to Uvalde, Texas, especially to those who able, racist conduct of the 100 federal,

lost loved ones in the May 24 massacre of 19 elementary school children and two teachers. We hope for a recovery for the 17

people injured. But we know they, and all an hour, handcuffing, tackling, pepper those impacted by this tragedy, are traumatized for life.

One cannot imagine the pain felt in this close-knit working-class community of 16,000 people - nearly 80% Latinx and

not far from the Mexican border.

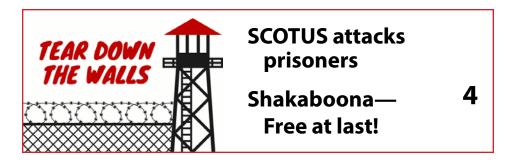
Adding to the trauma was the deplor-

state, local and school police officers on the scene. While the shooter was inside the school, police remained outside for

spraying and tasing parents who were trying to get inside and retrieve their children. Police who did enter stayed in the hallway outside the impacted classrooms, refusing

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### Workers World celebrates LGBTQ2S+ Pride 'We won't go back!'

has covered the global struggle to end all forms of discrimination, persecution and violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and gender-nonconforming communities.

WW consistently backed up our activist coverage with analysis. In the early 1970s, WW ran a series of articles that led to publication of "The Gay Question: A Marxist Appraisal" in 1976. Then in 1993, WW republished it as "The Roots of Lesbian and Gay Oppression: A Marxist View," with the first book's original text and a new preface and afterword. (These and works below are available at workers.org/books.)

In 2004, WW managing editor and globally recognized transgender leader Leslie Feinberg began the "Lavender & Red" series, which ran until 2008 in WW. A group of 25 articles from that series was later published as the book, "Rainbow Solidarity in Defense of Cuba." Notify us if you want a free paper copy.

In 2012 Feinberg engaged in civil disobedience and wrote articles defending Black trans woman CeCe McDonald, who was charged with manslaughter after defending herself from a racist, bigoted attack.

In 2022 WW extensively covered resistance to the current storm of right-wing "Don't Say Gay" and antitrans, anti-youth laws sweeping the U.S. WW articles



A contingent from Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) a youth affiliate of Workers World Party, at the 1974 New York City Pride march.

For over half a century, Workers World newspaper built resolve in the struggle for reproductive justice, pledging "We won't go back," and documented opposition to racist laws limiting the right to vote and the right to teach a people's history of resistance to oppression.

> WW reporters on the ground — from Buffalo, New York, to Portland, Oregon, to Brookwood, Alabama – celebrated the tremendous groundswell of worker organizing that won historic union victories against Amazon and Starbucks – victories fueled by the leadership and solidarity of young, multinational, queer, gendernonconforming workers.

#### Your help is needed!

If you appreciate our coverage, it's time to join the Workers World Supporter Program or renew your membership. The program was established 45 years ago so readers could help WW publish anti-racist, working-class truth and build campaigns needed to fight for revolutionary change leading to socialism.

Since the early 1990s, the fund has helped sponsor the workers.org website. Throughout the pandemic when fewer print issues have been published due to staff health concerns, new articles have been posted daily, and the PDF of the weekly newspaper has been available at workers.org. Not one online issue has been

> skipped throughout this over two-year health crisis.

> For a donation of \$60 a year, or \$120 or \$300, you receive a subscription to WW newspaper and one, two or three free subscriptions for friends, depending on donation. A free download of the "What Road to Socialism?" book, published in 2020, is available at workers.org/books. Or notify us if you want a paperback book.

> Write checks, either monthly or annually, to Workers World. Mail them with your name and address to Workers World, 147 W. 24th St., 2nd Floor, New York, NY 10011. Put "Supporter Program" in the memo line. Or donate online at workers.org/donate/.

> We are grateful for your help in building Workers World!

### Join us in the fight for socialism!

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

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

Capitalism means war and austerity, racism and repression, attacks on im/migrants, misogyny, 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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### The spark that led me to more radical politics

#### By Olijimi Alade

tive autonomy.

The recent leak from a whistleblower that the Supreme Court could reverse Roe v. Wade — ending access to abortion for most people — has put reproductive justice activists on high alert. In the recent pushback, right-wingers like Texas Gov. Greg Abbott and journalist Abigail Shrier came for trans children; then they hamstrung queer and anti-racist teachers from teaching and living their full authentic lives, and now they're threatening to finally remove reproduc-

The feelings I had on May 3, the day of the leaked news, were

very similar to the feelings I had on Nov. 8, 2016, when Trump was elected U.S. president. I feared for my family and for the well-being and safety of marginalized people in the United States.

But the solutions that were presented to me were very similar to the ones now presented to horrified millennials and zoomers: Just double down; join the movement to #resist the Republican party, and, come November, #voteblue no matter who. And then tell your friends to "vote blue no matter who." And tell your friends to tell their friends to "vote blue no matter who."

That was what I believed six years ago. Then as I set about doing my part in righting the wrongs of the Trump election, I slowly started to learn the Democratic Party I was taught to admire and uphold wasn't any different in functionality from the Republican Party.

#### **Democratic Party rhetoric**

My epiphany started with the rhetoric Democrats were using to galvanize their voter base. One of the reasons I was a Democrat was because I saw the party as the beacon of progressivism and the defender of women. However, rather than look in the mirror and reflect why (mostly white) people were voting in droves for Donald Trump, the Democratic Party leaders decided to point the finger at two women: Jill Stein and Susan Sarandon. They blamed Stein for taking away Hillary Clinton's votes, and they attacked Sarandon as "mentally unstable and psychotic" for saying what so many dedicated anti-imperialists already knew: Clinton is a war hawk.

The Democrats dismissed their critics from oppressed nationalities as "Bernie Bros," even though many are real socialists (and not the diet version that Bernie pedals). This was what really got me to reconsider my dedication to the Democratic Party: If it could be this dismissive to marginalized people with everything on the line, imagine how the Dems would act once they are in power.

Well, I didn't have to imagine for long. Once I started to become skeptical, I began to look at all Democratic actions (and inactions).

#### The party of the working class?

COMMENTARY

You probably heard at some point in your life that the Democratic Party is the party of the working class, and that they are the source of all the social support programs we take for granted.

But in the 1990s, President Bill Clinton, rather than

fight to reverse the agenda of neoliberal austerity kick-started by Ronald Reagan, abetted it by signing welfare "reforms" under the guise of "personal responsibility."

Ever since 1996, when the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act was signed into law, income levels of female-headed households have plummeted, and the number of extreme-poor U.S. households living on a cash income of less than \$2 per day per person climbed, reaching 1.65 million households in 2011. (The Economist)

As disheartening as his actions were, Bill Clinton was a bit before my time, so he didn't impact me much. What did strike me, however, was hearing who deported the most immigrants. Was it George W. Bush? Nope. Was it Ronald Reagan? Nope. Was it Donald Trump? Despite his "pro-America," crypto-fascist rhetoric, no. It was Barack Obama. The man who campaigned on hope and change. Obama—the man who peddled his life story as a son of a Kenyan immigrant who overcame the odds to become the "leader of the free world"—deported over 2.5 million people between 2009 and 2015. (tinyurl.com/teyar839)

Realizing that the Democratic Party was effectively the same as the Republican Party was the spark that led me to pursue more radical politics.

#### Needed: mass political awakening

Now the attack on access to abortion has the potential to awaken more "recovering liberals" like me. However, the messaging from the politicians in blue is redirecting the energy that could lead to a mass political awakening, back into a bourgeois and capitalist party that offers only empty rhetoric and false promises.

During his "Hope and Change" world tour in 2008, Obama promised to sign the "Freedom of Choice" bill into law, which would have guaranteed that reproductive rights would be constitutionally protected in the U.S. When asked about that same bill during his first-100-days press conference, he offered this pathetic cop-out:

"Now the Freedom of Choice Act is not my highest legislative priority. ... I think the most important thing



May 14 pro-lega abortion protest, New York City

VW PHOTO: BRENDA RYA

that we can do to tamp down some of the anger surrounding this issue is to focus on those areas that we can agree on. And that's where I'm going to focus." (tinyurl.com/4m5cj22a)

Eight years later, Democrat Hillary Clinton, whose presidential campaign was poised to shatter the glass ceiling, selected as running mate Tim Kaine, a senator from Virginia whose stance on abortion was not solid and consistent. This could have been an issue with a Republican majority, forcing a Clinton Administration to "compromise" in the Senate.

Last but not least, Ruth Bader Ginsburg — yes, the notorious RBG — had every opportunity to retire before the end of Obama's second term to allow for the opportunity for a Supreme Court justice who would not vote to overturn Roe v. Wade. But she didn't, laying the foundation for Trump to pack the court with Brett Kavanaugh, an outright sexual predator, and Amy Coney Barrett, with her strong and public stand against reproductive rights and abortion.

With all that inaction and indifference, it is infuriating to hear the Democratic Party leaders repeat platitudes about the coming November vote like: "This is the most important election of our lifetime"—as if voting for Democrats has really changed things in a substantial manner.

The Democratic Party leaders have proven that it is willing to let reproductive autonomy and other human rights fall by the wayside in favor of the capitalist status quo. It does not have the masses' interest at heart—only those of the big corporations, oligarchs and defense contractors.

It's time to divest from the Democratic Party, once and for all, and build solidarity with proletarian movements of all stripes in the fight for a better life for all.  $\Box$ 

## Hoboken, New Jersey, rally defends abortion

By Marsha Goldberg Hoboken, N.J.

Over 100 people rallied in Hoboken, New Jersey, May 26 in support of right to abortion and reproductive justice. "We are devastated; we are furious, and we are fighting back!" shouted Bethany Diaz from Planned Parenthood Action Fund of N.J., with Stephanie Mills from Hudson Pride Center, who spoke of the importance of including people of all genders who can get pregnant.

All the speakers stressed making abortions accessible to anyone who needs one. There were many handmade signs in the crowd that showed people were also protesting the mass killings in Buffalo, New York, and Uvalde, Texas.

Mayor Ravi Bhalla chaired and also spoke. The featured speaker was Tammy Murphy, the spouse of New Jersey Governor Phil Murphy. She spoke about keeping abortion legal in the state and protecting anyone coming here to seek an abortion. Robert Menendez Jr., who is running for his father's seat in the House, spoke.

Emily Jabbour, a City Council member and member of Moms Demand Action, which was formed after the 2012 Sandy Hook school killings, was a last-minute speaker. And a high school student sang "This is my fight song."

The NJ-12 TV coverage showed Diaz speaking so militantly into the microphone, saying: "We are devastated; we are furious, and we are fighting back!"  $\Box$ 



### Every struggle is a woman's struggle

This compilation of articles on the breadth and depth of women's oppression and struggle appeared in Workers World from late 2016 through Women's History Month 2018.

FREE download at workers.org/books



Student walkout for reproductive rights, Philadelphia, May 25.

### Youth walk out for abortion rights

#### By Betsey Piette Philadelphia

Several hundred high school students demanding abortion rights walked out of their classrooms and marched to City Hall for a rally May 25. Starting at noon, the rally grew in size as more contingents of youth joined in. The energy level was electrifying.

Rally participants were majority youth of color, reflecting the concerns of communities already lacking adequate access to maternal health care and most likely to be hardest hit by any abortion bans.

Participants included students from Masterman High School and Middle School, Franklin Learning Center, Friends Select High School and Middle School, Philadelphia High School for Creative and Performing Arts, The University School, Science Leadership

Academy, Central High School, Girls High and the University of Pennsylvania-Penn Med.

Demands included free abortion and gender-affirming health care under a Medicare-for-all system; make Roe v. Wade the law; full funding for schools, including nurses and counselors in every school, every day; and comprehensive, inclusive sex education with free confidential STI testing.

The students called for ending attacks on LGBTQ+ rights and for support for queer youth, along with living wages and union rights for all workers.

Workers World Party flyers headlined "We Won't Go Back!" handed out by this reporter were quickly snatched up.

The protest was part of a national call for student walkouts in response to the threatened SCOTUS ban on abortions. More walkouts are expected.  $\Box$ 

### **Supreme Court rules** 'ineffective counsel' doesn't matter



By Joe Piette

The list of incarcerated people who have been unjustly convicted because their attorneys were poorly paid, overloaded with cases and unprepared for trial is very long. The Sixth Amendment to the Constitution supposedly guarantees every defendant the right to a competent attorney; but for poor and working people, particularly people of color, well-funded prosecutors have an inherent advantage over court-appointed public defenders.

The opportunity to challenge convictions because of "ineffective counsel" has always been difficult for impoverished incarcerated people to prove, but a May 23 U.S. Supreme Court decision now makes it an almost insurmountable task.

In the case of Shinn, Director, Arizona Department of Corrections, Rehabilitation and Reentry v. Ramirez (2022), SCOTUS ruled that the two Arizona death row inmates - David Ramirez and Barry Jones - may not raise evidence of their lawyers' ineffective counsel in their federal habeas corpus petitions. The two defendants argued that the process of obtaining their convictions or sentences violated the Sixth Amendment.

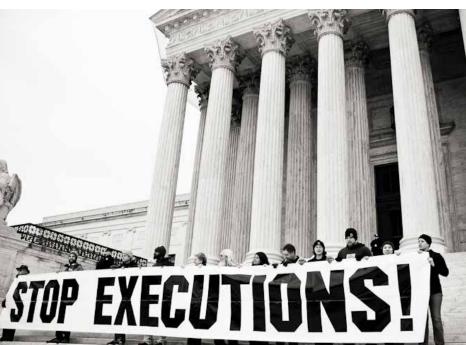
Jones maintained that his lawyers were so ineffective, they failed to uncover evidence that he was innocent of the crimes. Jones was convicted at trial and sentenced to death. The SCOTUS decision means Arizona may now proceed with his death sentence, even though new evidence would prove he is not guilty.

Ramirez argued that his lawyers failed

to uncover mitigating evidence that would have persuaded the jury to sentence him to a term of years in prison, rather than the death penalty he now faces.

Referring to statutes in the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996, signed into law by President Bill Clinton, Justice Clarence state sovereignty ... [that] overrides the state's sovereign power to enforce societal norms through criminal law." The Supreme Court ruling set aside the judgfederal district court and the federal court

ments of four federal judges on both the of appeals. (bit.ly/3t3DbA1) Joined by Justices Stephen Breyer



Thomas wrote: "a federal habeas court may not conduct an evidentiary hearing or otherwise consider evidence beyond the state-court record based on ineffective assistance of state post-conviction counsel." (bit.ly/3t5Z7KF)

Thomas called federal judicial intervention to overturn a state prisoner's conviction and sentence an "intrusion on and Elena Kagan, Justice Sonia Sotomayor opposed the decision with a 20-page dissent, which read in part: "The decision is perverse. It is illogical. ... It is hard to imagine a more 'extreme malfunction' ... The Court's decision will leave many people who were convicted in violation of the Sixth Amendment to face incarceration or even execution, without

any meaningful chance to vindicate their right to counsel." (bit.ly/3t5Z7KF)

#### **SCOTUS condemns innocent** people to death

Robert Loeb, who represented Ramirez and Jones in the Supreme Court, issued a statement saying the ruling "leaves the fundamental constitutional right to trial counsel with no effective mechanism for enforcement in these circumstances. ... It means that a federal court can have evidence that someone, like Barry Jones, did not commit the crime supporting the death sentence, but that the court then is helpless to offer any relief." (bit.ly/3GC9yLx)

Indigent defense — defense for people who lack the resources to hire their own lawyer — is woefully underfunded. Public defenders handle hundreds of cases per year, many more than they have the time or resources to manage effectively. And states heavily restrict the procedures and resources that would allow public defenders to develop their cases in greater depth.

By making it nearly impossible to challenge the fact that many innocent people are convicted because of improper defense by court-appointed lawyers, the U.S. Supreme Court has condemned innocent people to death or incarceration.

This latest court ruling points out once again how unjust the U.S. legal system is, particularly for poor and oppressed people. It is one more reason why the whole capitalist system needs to be overturned. The SCOTUS decision lays bare the hypocrisy of this court which claims 'concern for life' as grounds to overturn Roe v. Wade but would see innocent people put to death.  $\square$ 

### Shakaboona—Free at last!

**By Betsey Piette** 

Kerry "Shakaboona" Marshall walked out of the Federal Detention Center in Philadelphia May 11, after serving an unconditional sentence of life without parole (LWOP) since 1988. The sentence was imposed when he

Pennsylvania has sentenced more children to die in prison than any other U.S. state or country on the planet. Statewide over 500 people are serving these unconstitutional sentences. More than half are from Philadelphia, where Shakaboona is from.

Sentenced to die in prison, and incarcerated more than 33 years, recent U.S. Supreme Court decisions gave Marshall the opportunity to be resentenced and eventually released.

In 2012, in the case of Miller v. Alabama, SCOTUS found mandatory LWOP sentences to be unconstitutional when imposed on children. In 2016, in Montgomery v. Louisiana, the court held that its decision in Miller applied retroactively to convictions, including Shakaboona's, that had long been considered final.

The rulings entitled him to be resentenced in 2018, to 29-to-life. Upon parole in 2021, Shakaboona was transferred to federal custody to serve time on a 110-month federal sentence imposed in 2001. After a successful

petition under the federal First Step Act, that sentence was revised to time served, during a federal court hear-

A press release from the Abolitionist Law Center (ALC) addressed Shakaboona's many contributions to the movement for human rights advocacy, within and outside the prison walls. In 2000, he and his mother Patricia Vickers co-founded the Human Rights Coalition in Pennsylvania along with other incarcerated and impacted community members. He is the founder or co-founder of several groups located outside prison walls, including Families United and Families of Prisoners and Communities Union.

Shakaboona co-founded the Coalition to Abolish Death by Incarceration and established HRC's "The Movement" magazine. He was Vice President of the Pennsylvania Lifers Association at SCI-Huntingdon, Committee Chairperson of the NAACP Graterford Branch, President of the Paraprofessional Law Clinic at SCI-Graterford, and Secretary of the Regents Betterment Organization at SCI-Mahanoy.

He has published over 120 commentaries on Prison Radio and was a lead plaintiff, along with former juvenile-lifer Robert Saleem Holbrook and political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, in a 2015 lawsuit filed by the Abolitionist Law Center that successfully overturned a



Shakaboona and his mother Patricia Vickers outside the Federal Detention Center in Philadelphia, May 11.

Pennsylvania statute designed to silence prisoner free speech and censor publications of their writings.

Shakaboona's family and movement supporters packed the courtroom May 4. ALC Legal Director Brett Grote stated: "Their presence and participation showed that further incarceration was not warranted. They came to court to request that Shakaboon, who has given himself in tireless service to our movement, be returned to us, and the judge was more than happy to oblige." (abolitionistlawcenter.org, May 12) □

### 'White supremacy is terrorism'

**By Minnie Bruce Pratt** Syracuse, New York

Central New York activists and community members marched in Syracuse on May 25 to memorialize and protest the deaths of 10 Black people — who were family, friends and regional neighbors — in the May 14 white-supremacist

massacre in Buffalo. The rally was held on the second anniversary of George Floyd's murder at the hands of Minneapolis cops.

A crowd of over 50 Black and white people gathered at the Victory Temple Fellowship in the Hawley Green neighborhood with banners: "Stop racism," "White supremacy is terrorism" and "Black Lives Matter." They then marched downtown to the main police headquarters, the "Public Safety Building," chanting "No justice, no peace, no racist police!" Called by the city's chapter of the National Action Network, other groups attending were Black Lives Matter-Syracuse, Rebirth SYR and Veterans for



Syracuse, New York, May 25

workers.org

### Rehire the Memphis 7 and stop union busting!

#### **By Tony Murphy**

On May 24, a union vote was scheduled at a Memphis, Tennessee, Starbucks.

This particular store was where the Memphis 7 were fired. The Memphis 7 were the seven Starbucks organizing committee members fired all-at-once on bogus charges in February.

The racist character of this retaliation, directed at the people of color-led organizing committee, was clear - and only served to make the workers at the Memphis store angrier. A union election victory was expected.

However, a mere seven minutes before the vote count was scheduled to begin, organizers were informed that the National Labor Relations Bureau had only received three of the 31 ballots, which were supposed to have been mailed a month earlier but weren't. The vote count was rescheduled for June 7.

The May 24 election was delayed as both the growing union movement and the bosses' union-busting campaign intensified. Three days later, Seattle's Eastlake Avenue Starbucks became the 100th store to win a union vote, joining Cleveland; Chicago; Birmingham, Alabama; and numerous other cities to score a first win in May.

Coming in the coffee giant's hometown,

Seattle, the 100-store milestone showed the dynamic, exponential character of the Starbucks' union drive.

On December 1, there were no unionized Starbucks stores. Within just five months, by May 3 there were 50. Before the end of that month, on May 27 that number doubled to 100. More stores have followed since Seattle, and dozens more will vote to unionize in June.

#### **Union-busting counterattack**

Along with the explosive growth of union campaigns at Starbucks, Amazon, Apple, REI Co-op and Dollar General, the bosses have been mounting a counterattack. It starts with anti-union propaganda and lies and then extends to harassment, cuts in hours and benefits and outright

Amazon has fired union supporters in Staten Island and Liverpool, New York; Shakopee, Minnesota; and Bessemer, Alabama. Starbucks has done the same in Memphis, Tennessee; Overland Park, Kansas; Buffalo, New York; New Orleans; and Scottsdale, Arizona.

The intention of these union-busting tactics is to intimidate workers. That has worked in some cases - but overall it has had the opposite effect. Amazon Labor Union (ALU) President Chris Smalls reports he's been contacted by 100 Amazon locations wanting to follow ALU's example. Workers at 274 Starbucks stores in 37 states have filed to unionize.

Was the postponement of the May 24 Memphis vote just a mistake, simply the result of untimely mailing of ballots? Union leaders don't think so, characterizing it as a union-busting delaying tactic. "This gives Starbucks more time to intimidate and scare employees to vote no," said Beto Sanchez, one of the Memphis 7.

Both Starbucks and Amazon are using every dirty union-busting trick in the book to stop the runaway unionization. The bosses want to stop workers from joining the union - plus they want to delay having to recognize the unions and bargain contracts with them. Amazon has filed 25 bogus objections against ALU's successful union campaign and later this month will be tying up the union in legal proceedings over them.

All of this is why organizers with the Workers Assembly Against Racism (WAAR) have called for a march set for June 9, from the Manhattan penthouse of Starbucks CEO Howard Schultz to the luxury residence of Amazon CEO Jeff

The point of the march, "Stop Union Busting and Rehire the Memphis 7," is to keep classwide solidarity alive and in the streets. WAAR has held a series

of militant, dynamic actions hitting the Starbucks and Amazon bosses' swanky New York residences. The date of the next one, June 9 – starting at 6 p.m. at 155 West 11th Street, between 6th and 7th Avenues — was chosen, because that's when the NLRB will meet on an injunction reinstating the Memphis 7.

"The bosses want us to forget about the Memphis 7," said WAAR activist Alex Pazcka. "We're going to stay in the streets until the Memphis 7 and all fired unionizing workers are rehired and until the bosses recognize the unions!" □



Memphis Starbucks 7 leader Beto Sanchez speaks outside union-busting Starbucks boss Howard Schultz's Manhattan apartment on May Day.

#### WW COMMENTARY

### Starbucks, Amazon workers need a rainbow of class solidarity

#### **By Martha Grevatt**

"We stand as an ally to the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer community — affirming every way people may choose to identify."

So says Starbucks. (stories.starbucks.

But at one Starbucks store after another, LGBTQ+ workers are among those voting overwhelmingly for a union. They know that nice, "affirming" platitudes are no substitute for union wages and benefits, safe working conditions and a voice at work. LGBTQ+ workers are among those union organizers fired by Starbucks — which for trans workers

means losing coverage for gender-affirming care, including surgery.

A trans worker in Ithaca, New York, was misgendered by her supervisor and threatened with loss of trans-affirming care if her store unionized.

Amazon is even more aggressive in portraying itself as LGBTQ-friendly so much so that they proposed Seattle Pride rename itself "Seattle Pride Parade Presented by Amazon." But the committee that has organized the annual march in Seattle since 1974 declined Amazon's proposal, along with the \$100,000 donation attached to it. Seattle Pride cited Amazon's \$450,000 in campaign contributions to anti-LGBTQ+

politicians in 2021.

The only way to really beat back bigotry is to take on the capitalist system, which uses racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia and every kind of hatred imaginable — with tragic ramifications as exemplified by the massacre in Buffalo, New York, home of the first Starbucks union — to keep workers divided.

What workers at Starbucks, Amazon and scores of other capitalist corporations need is not a rainbow flag flying atop corporate headquarters. They need mass solidarity from the LGBTQ2S+ community – which is overwhelmingly working class.

Likewise it is in the best interest of the

community to join with workers fighting for a union. Following the money makes it clear that we all have the same enemies. And a rising tide lifts all boats!

As Arjae, a bisexual non-binary Starbucks worker and union organizer in Buffalo said: "There can't be any hope for LGBTQ2S+ liberation through capitalism. Queer and trans people face the same kind of discrimination and oppression in Starbucks as we do in every other company, despite Starbucks' self-proclaimed allyship." They concluded, "At the end of the day, Starbucks' commitment to LGBTQ2S+ liberation begins and ends where a dollar can be made."  $\square$ 

### Tour of Shame' condemns renters' displacement

#### By Workers World Philadelphia bureau

UC Townhomes residents and supa "Tour of Shame" to call out city and federal officials, real estate developers and gentrifiers responsible for displacing 68 families from low-income rentals in the next few months unless stopped.

The UC Townhomes units, subsidized by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) for nearly 40 years, was denied that support by owners in 2021 and is slated to be put up for sale.

Targets of the "Tour of Shame" included City Council member Jamie Gauthier and Mayor Jim Kenney, for their actions that benefited developers, as well as HUD, the Altman Group currently owning the townhomes and Daniel Killinger, president of the National Real Estate Advisors, who hopes to purchase the property.

Rally organizers stressed that what happens to UC Townhomes will set the stage for over 1,600 subsidized housing units at 37 sites around Philadelphia, as their HUD subsidies are scheduled to end over the next five years.

Marching from City Hall to the former HUD office, demonstrators picked up 37 boxes representing the threatened porters gathered at City Hall May 25 for units and then blocked the street outside struct the low-income houses. Killinger's office. At 2 p.m. participants mass-called the NREA offices, demanding the deal be ended.

Save UC Townhomes and Families 4 Housing organized the event, part of nationally coordinated demonstrations in Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and

#### Historic Black neighborhood displaced

UC Townhomes, built in 1983, is a 70-unit Low Income Housing Tax Credit development located at 40th and Market Streets in a West Philadelphia neighborhood once known as the Black Bottom. Now called "University City," the historically Black neighborhood was displaced in the late 1960s through government use of eminent domain to clear the area for the expansion of Drexel University and the University of Pennsylvania.

After being found guilty of housing discrimination by federal courts, in the early 1980s notoriously racist Mayor Frank

Rizzo sold the land where the townhomes are now located for \$1 to IBID Associates, a subsidiary of the Altman Group, to con-

On July 8, 2021, owner Brett Altman informed HUD that his development firm would not renew its federal tax subsidy and would put the property up for sale July 8, 2022. The estimated sales price could yield around \$100 million. Plans are to demolish the units and build luxury condominiums on the site.

UC Townhomes tenants were given notice they would have to move by July 8. But as of late May, they have yet to receive housing vouchers from HUD to enable them to find new places to live. Affordable housing is nearly impossible to find in Philadelphia, especially due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

#### Residents organizing to save homes

UC Townhomes residents have been actively organizing to halt the sale and demolition of their homes. They are calling on Altman and NREA to meet with residents, while demanding that the University City site be kept 100% affordable for low-income families, with necessary repairs made on existing units.

Save UC Townhomes is demanding that sidents be given a two-year extension if forced to leave, with just compensation and first preference to one of the many Altman luxury properties in the area.

The group's website states: "Given the history of the land being twice stolen, once from Indigenous peoples during colonialism, and once from the Black homeowners of the Black Bottom in 1968 through eminent domain, we demand financial compensation for all residents being forced from their homes.

"Brett Altman's family, having received the land for \$1 and benefiting from 40 years of state and federal financial assistance in the form of tax credits and housing subsidies, now stands to sell the same land for up to \$100 million, thanks in part to the City of Philadelphia's CMX4 zoning designation, as well as deliberate city planning goals made with the University of Pennsylvania, Drexel University and the University City District. This dollar amount reflects the current prices for the most modest housing in University City."  $\square$ 

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### Anti-gay, anti-trans laws rooted in class rule

By Leslie Feinberg



The following is one installment of Feinberg's "Lavender & Red" series on the intersection of LGBTQ+ and socialist history, which appeared Sept. 21,

2007, in Workers World newspaper. The 120-part series was published between 2004 and 2008 and can be downloaded *free at workers.org/books.* 

In today's capitalist citadels, lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans mass political movements have overturned many oppressive laws against same-sexuality, cross-dressing [and transgender lives].

The imperialist ruling classes would be relieved if these movements would now redirect their collective ire against laws still on the books in today's former colonies and neocolonies.

What the official imperial histories have all but obscured, however, is that these same colonial and imperialist powers were the ones that [first] imposed laws against same-sexuality and narrowed gender/sex expression all over the world.

The policing of sexuality and gender expression – and the very existence of police as a repressive force — are rooted in the development of class society.

Reactionary laws that narrowly defined the sexes, degraded the economic and social status of women and justified state repression and harsh penalties for same-sex love and gender diversity were instituted around the world wherever patriarchal class rule overturned matrilineal pre-class societies.

In some societies the change was slow and gradual. Labor techniques over centuries became more productive, leading to the accumulation of surplus. The struggle that ensued over control of this surplus resulted in the overturning of cooperative economic and social relations.

In other cases, pre-class communal societies were conquered by the armies of patriarchal ruling classes. In those instances, matrilineal kinship lines were severed abruptly.

In both instances, the "new world order" served the dictates of patriarchal private ownership of the new social wealth.

#### Laws aimed at same-sex love, trans expression

Lex Scantia — one of the earliest known laws against same-sex love — was written during the early Roman Empire in the third century B.C.E. The Roman Emperor [in the East] Justinian blamed homosexuality for floods and earthquakes — not unlike today's U.S. theo-cons who claim AIDS and Hurricane Katrina are the wrath of an avenging Jehovah against gay men and lesbians.

The Roman Code of Theodosius in 390 C.E. is an example of the historical intertwining of anti-homosexuality laws with gender/sex enforcement. The edict stated that "All of those who are accustomed to condemn their own manly body, transformed into a womanly one, to undergo sexual practices reserved for the other sex, and who have nothing different from women, will pay for this crime among the avenging flames, in front of the people."

The feudal ruling classes of Europe also developed harsh domestic laws as part of their conquest of communal peasants and consolidation of overall class rule.

Spain enforced its "Seven-Part Code" during the rule of Alfonso X of Castile from 1252-1284 C.E. The code was one of the

first on the continent to call for castration and then stoning to death for "sins against nature," which included "sodomy."

France instituted a legal code in 1260 that made same-sexual acts punishable by amputation of clitoris or testicles for the first "offense," penis or breasts for the second conviction and death by burning at the stake for the third. A decade later under Louis IX, anal intercourse was proclaimed a capital crime mandating the sentence of burning at the stake.

In what is today Belgium, the first execution in Western Europe for a same-sex act between two men was carried out in 1292.

#### Political weapons against LGBTQ+ lives

In one example of how the charges of "sodomy" and "heresy" were used as political weapons in an economic war, Philip

IV of France called for the roundup arrests of all Knights Templar in 1308. The charges were a cover to appropriate the considerable wealth of the knights.

Queer Heritage's online timeline notes that in 1432: "Florence becomes the first European city to set up a special authority to prosecute crimes of sodomy. Called the Uffiziali di Notte (Officers of the Night), this special court prosecuted more than 10,000 men and boys over the next 70 years. About 2,000 are believed to have been convicted. Most avoid further punishment by paying fines."

In 1451 Pope Nicholas V empowered the Inquisition to hunt down and punish male sodomy. In 1476, Leonardo Da Vinci was twice anonymously reported to Florentine authorities on the charge of "sodomy" but was acquitted both times, because no witnesses came forward.

King Henry VIII's government codified the "buggery" civil law in 1533 that called for death by hanging as punishment for anal intercourse. The slur "buggery" derived from the old French term "bougre" for heretic and the Latin word "bulgaris" for Bulgaria - a country rumored to be full of heretics. By the 13th century, the word "buggery" had become synonymous with sodomy in English.

Historian Douglas Sanders explains that [English anti-gay] legislation "cannot be understood apart from the break of the English church from Rome and the confiscation of monastic properties. It was a first step in justifying the dissolution of the monasteries and the seizure of their endowments." (fridae.com)

While charges of "sodomy" were often political in nature, these and other laws restructured sexuality and sex/gender to facilitate the new patriarchal class economic relations.

#### Laboring class resistance

Persecution of same-sex love sparked some forms of resistance. For example, in the late 15th century, the campaign led by Florentine monk Savonarola against "sodomy" as an "abominable vice" was met with rebellious anger by the Compagnacci, a group of young men led by those who had been convicted of such charges.

Queer Heritage reports that in 1497: "The youths jeer and harass the preacher's followers in the streets and squares of [Florence]." In the same city 15 years later,

"A large group of young men converged on in Wiltshire, England, in 1631. Also in the government palace to protest the current crackdown on sodomy and to demand the release of men recently arrested."

Overall, state repression and the dominance of the patriarchal family and marriage drove same-sex love underground.

However, from the Middle Ages to the 16th century, masking and cross-dressing as another sex continued to be woven into urban carnivals. These festivals had ancient pagan (pre-class rural) roots and were organized by all-male semisecret societies.

Some of these enduring, defiant customs from pre-class societies in Europe can still be seen today in Halloween, Mardi Gras and other traditions.

Sometimes, the days of festival "misrule" authorized by the ruling feudal

> institutions as a social safety valve exploded into actual rebellions. In those instances, cross-gendered leaders of the festivals led the charge.

> In France, for example, male-bodied "Mére Folle and her children" publicly humiliated the King's Grand Master of Streams and Forests in Burgundy in Dijon in 1576, because the latter beat his wife and destroyed the local forests. In Lyon in the 1580s, the "Lord of Misprint" used the cover of the festival license to protest war and the high cost of bread. In 1630, another "Mére Folle" and her infantry led an

uprising against royal tax officers in Dijon. Cross-dressed males who called them-

against the king's enclosure of their forests

England, "To cite but four examples, toll gates were demolished by bands of armed men dressed in women's clothing and wigs in Somerset in 1731 and 1749, in Gloucester in 1728 and in Herefordshire in 1735."

#### Cross-gendered workers lead

"General Ludd's wives" — two male-bodied weavers dressed as women – led an enraged crowd of hundreds of workers to destroy the owner's looms and burn down the factory in Stockton, England, in 1812.

And when in 1725 repressive campaigners raided a Covent Garden "molly house," in an attack against "effeminate sodomites among the London poor," those inside, "many of them in drag, met the raid with determined and violent resistance."

In other historical reports, crossdressed female leaders described as "masculine" were on the front line of rebellions. An account from England in 1531 noted an unruly crowd of cross-dressed females, together with cross-dressed males.

In Essex, England, female-bodied "Captain" Alice Clark led a group of women and cross-dressed male weavers in an uprising over grain shortage in Essex in 1629. A report from France stated, "The tax revolt at Montpellier in 1645 was started by women and led down the streets by a virago [masculine woman] named La Branlaire, who shouted for death for the tax collectors who were taking the bread from their children's mouths.'

As the ruling classes of Europe expanded beyond their borders to colonize peoples around the world, they brought these same laws against same-sex love and gender variation with them and enforced them even more viciously. And then, as now, the colonialists and imperialists met with fierce resistance.

Unsourced accounts can be found selves "Lady Skimmington" fought back in Feinberg's "Transgender Warriors" (Beacon).



Luisa Capetillo, one of Puerto Rico's most famous labor organizers and women's rights leaders in the 20th century, was arrested and jailed for wearing men's clothes in public.

#### Washington

### **Disability rights activists** demand services now!

#### **By Workers World Boston bureau**

Brian Shea, a longtime disability justice leader and WWP member in Boston, participated in these actions.

Fifty disability rights activists from across the country converged on Washington, D.C., and joined in direct actions from May 8 to 11. American Disabled for Attendant Programs Today, an organization of national disability justice activists, mobilized for these actions.

ADAPT's demands focused on ending institutional bias; the need for home- and community-based services; affordable, accessible, integrated housing; expanding personal care attendant services; and ensuring living wages for these workers.

The organization is demanding funding for support and services for people with disabilities to live in their communities with family members, loved ones and friends, instead of being institutionalized in nursing homes. Medicaid prioritizes funding for nursing facilities and institutionalization, as these are viewed as mandatory services, but community-based services are considered optional. Medicare and private insurance companies do not fund

home- and community-based services. This is institutional bias.

In order to live in the community, people with disabilities would need to be provided with long-term services and supports. These include durable medical equipment, peer specialists, mental health services, personal care attendants and support from Independent Living Centers.

ADAPT demands that home- and community-based services become mandatory Medicaid services funded by the federal government. The group demands an end to discrimination in eligibility for long-term services and supports, based on type of disability, age and other factors, and calls for eliminating service or cost caps. Medicaid should be required to fund programs that assist disabled people with parenting and taking care of pets, so they can stay in their homes and communities.

#### Fund human needs, not war!

Shea stressed, "\$4 billion was given to Lockheed, Grumman and Raytheon to carry out NATO's expansion and war on Russia in the Ukraine. Congress authorized the funds right away, and Biden signed it. They actually gave more money

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### Residents, activists vs. greenwashing corporation

#### By Linden Jenkins and Phebe Eckfeldt **Boston**

Protesting corporate greed and destruction of the environment, a crew of activists from Vermont, Rhode Island, Maine, and western and southeastern Massachusetts gathered May 4 outside Boston Westin's Seaport Hotel to demonstrate against A.D. Makepeace, a corporation based in Wareham, Massachusetts.

The action, organized by Save the Pine Barrens, was joined by members of Extinction Rebellion Boston; Mass Peace Action-Indigenous Subgroup, Community Land and Water Coalition; and Workers World Party.

At the hotel, Makepeace was receiving the "Private Company Board of the Year" award from the National Association of Corporate Directors. Makepeace produces voluminous public relations material that green-washes its rampant destruction, over decades, of hundreds of acres of mature forests, globally rare pine barrens and Wampanoag Indigenous cultural sites in southeastern Massachusetts, where the corporation's mining, sand and gravel sales and real estate developments are located. Pine barrens—plant communities that occur on dry, acidic, infertile soils—are estimated to be 2.6 million years old.

This region is the ancestral and current home of the Wampanoag Nation, which, despite some 400-plus years of sustained genocidal treatment, continues to exist in several tribal communities, including the Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head (Aquinnah), the Mashpee Wampanoag Tribe and the Herring Pond Wampanoag Tribe.

These groups say that the Massachusetts Historical Commission is not protecting evidence of Indigenous settlements and activities from Makepeace's wholesale destruction and disposal of uncounted artifacts, possibly including human remains. As early as 2012, investigations by the Public Archaeology Laboratory "recovered cultural materials" from several locations at a site in Plymouth.

Owning about 7,000 acres, accumulated since the company's founding in the mid-1800s, Makepeace is the largest landowner in the southeastern region and one of the largest in the state. Jim Kane, formerly of MassDevelopment, is the corporation's President and CEO. Well-connected politically and socially, Makepeace has used its profits to enter into financial transactions with municipal board members, creating conflicts of interest so that local boards look away from this plunder.

This confluence is a microcosm of the paths and pedestrian walkways and corruption driving the global climate emergency, with all its accompanying oppressions and distortions.

#### Endangering people — and species

In 2016 the Massachusetts Division of Fisheries and Wildlife (MassWildlife) granted Makepeace a Conservation and Management Permit to "take" — that is, kill — 12 endangered, threatened or special concern species to build a 50-acre solar project on priority habitat in Wareham. Priority habitat is based on the known geographical extent of habitat for all state-listed rare species.

Now Makepeace has applied to amend the permit to build another 70-acre solar project on abutting priority habitat. Some of the threatened species include Eastern Box Turtle, Barren's Dagger Moth, Frosted Elfin, Pine Swallow Moth, Northern Tiger Beetle which are included in the 220 species of plants and animals protected by the state's Endangered Species Act.

The relevant southeastern region contains unique deposits of "silica" sand, a globally rare commodity, which is the second-most extracted substance in the world after water, according to an April 26 United Nations report. (U.N. Global Perspectives, news.un.org)

The sand is used in concrete, cement, glassmaking, roadbuilding, fracking, water filtration and manufacturing of such diverse commodities as toothpaste, elastic and others. Because its extraction is unregulated, it is being used up faster than it can be replaced by geological processes, at the rate of 50 billion tons per year. Because of its scarcity, sand is becoming increasingly profitable to extract and sell.

#### **Green-washing environmental crime**

Makepeace uses "cranberry farming" as a cover for its mining operations, but earth removal is not necessary to grow cranberries, contrary to statements the company has made to state agencies and municipal land use boards to get approval for activities which have been ongoing for years. Makepeace actually gets subsidies and exemptions from environmental regulations for its "agricultural activities."

Makepeace has created a subsidiary, Read Custom Soils, with several locations in southeastern Massachusetts, where extracted sand and gravel is conveyed to be sold. The Read Custom Soils website says it is "New England's leading provider" of a number of soil types specialized for "green roof installations," as well as "stabilized stone dust" used in "nature other specialized soils."

The company obtains these materials seemingly without paying property taxes or extraction fees to the municipalities where their mines are located. The company gets agricultural exemptions, because the mines adjoin cranberry bogs. Municipal officials look the other way as hundreds of 18-wheeler open trucks pound over the narrow rural roads every day, carrying sand and gravel from the mines to Read Custom Soils and other locations.

In addition to these harms, mining silica sand means the dust-sized particles are released into the air and breathed in by humans, causing toxic health problems. Dust covers the vehicles, yards and homes of the nearby residents, making it impossible for them to have open windows and creating inevitable, but as yet undocumented, respiratory and other health problems.

Makepeace actively green-washes its activities, promoting itself as "sustainable," citing a recent project with Brightview Landscape, a multistate commercial landscaping corporation, to provide "engineered soils" to Harvard University's Science & Engineering Complex in Cambridgeearth materials obtained by destroying biodiversity and Indigenous cultural sites.

#### 'Solar' gone bad, poisoning water

With Borrego Solar, another corporation, again under cover of cranberry bog farming, Makepeace has combined its lucrative strip-mining business with the clear-cutting of over 350 acres for 13 large industrial solar projects. In at least one situation, 3,000 toxic copper-chromated-arsenic treated poles were installed in spring 2021. Still standing almost a year later, sunk 20-30 feet down, these poles endanger a single-source aquifer that serves seven area towns.

Big corporations make lots of profit building ground-mounted solar systems, instead of on rooftops or already cleared land like power-line and highway easements. Massachusetts energy subsidies are given to such corporations. The groundmounted panels consume acres of land, forest and farmlands. Over 4,000 acres of forests in Massachusetts have been eaten up by solar panels, and another 100,000 acres are targeted. (savethepinebarrens. org, May 2)

Clearing trees and vegetation creates increased stormwater runoff, damaging wetlands and polluting water. Companies like Makepeace get permits to fill in the wetlands and alter the riverfronts.



**Boston Westin Hotel protest** against Makepeace CEO, May 4.

Batteries used to store solar electricity can leak toxic materials onto the ground, polluting groundwater, rivers and wetlands. Storage of these and other types of batteries is another problematic issue municipalities are facing. Concentrations of these batteries are documented to spontaneously explode and ignite.

When Makepeace and Borrego decide there are no more profits to be made from solar panels, what will happen to them and the batteries? How will this hazardous waste be disposed of? The towns of Carver and Wareham are the site of hundreds, if not thousands, of solar panels.

#### Solidarity for people and the environment

In those towns a dozen residential wells have been ruined, angering homeowners in this rural, working-class community and activating some of them to unite with Indigenous and white residents and environmental activists. They have formed a coalition, made up of Save the Pine Barrens, Environment Watch of Southeastern Massachusetts and Land & Water Protectors Plymouth & Beyond, to try to stand against this mammoth company with the misleading name, Makepeace.

The coalition has taken action on multiple fronts, appealing to state agencies to do their jobs to oversee and enforce local and state land-use laws and regulations. The coalition has appealed the nonactions of town boards to the state's attorney general, as well as bringing lawsuits in state courts. Protests have become more frequent.

There are some rays of hope-giving light. In early May 2022, two coalition members were elected to the local governing boards of selectmen for two of the affected towns, including Melissa Ferretti, president and chairperson of the Herring Pond Wampanoag Tribe.

Increasing numbers of affected residents are helping to build the capacity of the coalition. Communities in the western part of the state, as well as in Maine and New Hampshire, are facing similar projects proposed by corporations from New York and other distant areas. They are coming together in weekly zoom calls to share stories, strategies and tactics and to show up for each other in the fight to educate and mobilize the public and demand that the powers-that-be stop these nefarious activities.

These volunteer groups are mobilizing to take on the voracious corporations in scenarios all too familiar, replicating struggles in geographic areas all over the world.

The need to connect the dots — to recognize the deep roots of the white-supremacist culture that permeates the late-stage heteropatriarchy of global capitalism afflicting us all—has never been greater.

Connecting the dots will only be effective if it motivates us to find common ground and rise up together to protect and safeguard the land for our children and their children. Water is Life.

K. James contributed to this article. Linden Jenkins is a member of Save the Pine Barrens and Boston Extinction Rebellion.

### Disability rights activists demand services now!

Continued from page 6

than was requested, but the waiting lists for affordable housing and home- and community-based services are years-long."

On May 8, Mother's Day, ADAPT organized a speak-out focused on the vast majority of people doing home care and personal care who are women, particularly women of color.

Shea explained, "In Massachusetts, personal care attendants are organized by SEIU 1199, but they still do not have vacation time and only limited sick time. They managed to get COVID-19 pay but will lose this at the end of July, which can mean a cut of \$2 an hour.

"We are demanding personal care attendant services be required under the Affordable Care Act and in the Medicaid and Medicare programs. We want these workers to be paid \$20 an hour. It is a

dire situation in a state like Texas, where these attendants are paid \$8 per hour. Universally, there is trouble finding people to work these shifts, because of low pay and the precarious nature of the work.'

#### Wheelchair users' militant action

On May 10, 50 people in wheelchairs blocked the entrances to the American Health Care Association, the largest lobby for nursing homes. They were chanting "I'd rather go to jail than die in a nursing home!" When they refused to move, 16 people were arrested.

Shea explained, "This communicates what a life-and-death situation we are in. The American Health Care Association purchases politicians, keeps profits high, and regulations or oversights low-to-nonexistent and keeps wages of workers as low as possible."

National ADAPT's website states:

"COVID-19 has killed over 32,750 disabled people in substandard nursing homes in the United States, with a disparate number of those being people of color. National ADAPT is compelled to speak out against this widespread and horrifying human rights catastrophe."

The National Council on Disability reported Oct. 29, 2021, that 181,000 people with disabilities living in longterm care homes died from COVID-19 by March 2021. Shea stresses the number of COVID-19-caused deaths in these facilities is vastly undercounted.

Shea concluded: "In a society driven by profit like capitalism, some people are disposable, because we are not creating profits for the system. Our needs are turned into commodities. But in a society driven by human needs like socialism, every social resource is put towards keeping relationships and communities together."  $\square$ 

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### U.S. blocks world access to vaccines

Continued from page 1

Maria Pagan stated that China's offer was not good enough. Washington would not accept Beijing's offer to voluntarily opt out of the agreement. China must be excluded in print. (Bloomberg, May 16)

#### An agreement planned to fail

World Trade Organization (WTO) deals are structured so that pacts must be unanimous, and any one of the 164 members can block a deal for any reason. The WTO has failed to advance any multilateral agreements for a decade.

China has objected to a key provision of the WTO agreement that will, in reality, discourage shipments of doses to poorer nations. The current proposal contains a footnote that excludes China, because it is the only developing country that has exported more than 10% of global COVID-19 vaccine doses. China was initially even excluded from the talks on vaccine access.

In fact, China has exported far more vaccines than any other country. This global contribution to health throughout the developing world is the reason for China's exclusion.

Claiming that China would gain an unfair advantage, U.S. policymakers want to prevent China from obtaining access to any technology, including vaccine technology.

In March of 2021 India, which is a major vaccine manufacturing hub in the developing world, imposed an export ban on vaccines they produce due to their own overwhelming outbreak of COVID-19. So India remains below the 10% eligibility threshold.

#### China — world's largest producer of vaccines

China is now the world's largest provider of COVID-19 vaccines, said Zhang Yesui, spokesperson for the fifth session of the 13th National People's Congress, at a news briefing on March 4.

In total, China has provided over 2.1 billion doses to more than 120 countries and international organizations, accounting for one-third of the total number of vaccines administered outside China. The majority have been provided to



China has objected to a key provision of the WTO agreement that will, in reality, discourage shipments of doses to poorer nations. The current proposal contains a footnote that excludes China, because it is the only developing country that has exported more than 10% of global COVID-19 vaccine doses.

developing countries, Zhang said.

"China's vaccines have played an important role in helping many developing countries to build immunity barriers, resume normal lives and boost their capacity, confidence and determination to beat the pandemic," said Zhang. He added that China will continue to prioritize developing countries and make them major partners in vaccine cooperation.

President Xi Jinping announced recently that China will provide a further 1 billion doses to African countries, with 600 million to be given as donations and the other 400 million provided through joint production between Chinese companies and African countries. China will also build 10 health projects in Africa and send 1,500 health experts. (tinyurl.com/2zfntmuu)

This is the real crime that China has committed. It is providing the technology for countries to manufacture their own vaccines. The emphasis is on developing partnerships in sales and manufacturing with low- to medium-income materials while helping to develop manufacturing breaks the monopoly of the U.S. and European Union pharmaceutical industries.

The extensive cooperation to scale up the manufacture of Chinese vaccines overseas has resulted in a total of 17 manufacturing agreements with 15 countries-with an anticipated production per year amounting to an additional 2 billion doses.

#### **COVAX protects medical monopoly**

Politicians in all the imperialist countries have publicly denounced vaccine inequality and pledged billions of dollars in donated vaccines.

With great publicity and as a way to head off the call to give developing countries access to vaccine technology, COVAX, a program administered by the World Health Organization (WHO), announced it would deliver vaccines developed by U.S. and EU corporations. COVAX set an initial goal of equitably distributing 2 billion donated doses of a variety of corporate-owned vaccines. These vaccines were not scheduled to be available until the end of 2021. COVAX cut its forecasts by 25% and then cut the promised delivery by more than 50%. Many vaccines were out of date when delivered, and there had been no planning for distribution networks.

Doctors Without Borders/Medecins Sans Frontieres denounced the COVAX program as "a failure and a broken promise to the world." Their report explained that the private-sector pharmaceutical industry had the upper hand. Vaccines were hoarded and a source of speculation and profit. The public-sector partners of the West were unwilling to challenge this power and push for conditions that might ensure broader access. The countries in need of vaccines had no say in the distribution of essential supplies. (tinyurl.com/2p95vrap)

Big pharmaceutical companies and countries, including the United Kingdom, Canada and Germany, had originally opposed the waiver on patents or IP protection. Now they claim to be on board with COVAX as the global distribution structure that protects their property

countries. Sharing technology and raw rights and with the limited proposal at the WTO to suspend intellectual property protections for pandemic shots. This is because WTO added provisions and clauses that make any kind of agreement an impossibility in fact.

> Big pharmaceutical industry lobbyists such as the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America oppose, with multimillion-dollar lobbying campaigns, any measures that open patents. The corporate stockholders are more than willing to pay several million dollars to lobbyists in order to protect profits of \$20 billion

> Moderna's CEO said that the pharmaceutical industry wasn't losing sleep over WTO talk of vaccine waivers, because most other countries don't have the raw materials, the technology, the scientists or the connections to meet the array of clinical trials and authorizations needed. The investment in technology is enormous and the waiver is only temporary. It is this monopoly of power that China is challenging.

#### Protecting profits, not people

While global plans are being sabotaged, there is less and less media coverage of the continuing deadly toll of the COVID-19 virus in the U.S. and throughout Europe.

U.S. and EU corporate protection policy is not in the interests of working people anywhere in the world. With over 1 million COVID-19 deaths, the U.S. leads the world in this grim statistic. The toll here is still more than 2,500 deaths a week, as of May 22, 2022. (tinyurl.com/2p88xjr6)

According to the WHO, China, in the 2 ½ years from Jan. 3, 2020, to May 27, 2022, has had a total of 16,258 COVID-19 deaths. (tinyurl.com/yh79pt86)

China is protecting not only its own population; based on socialist planning, China has thrown its full weight behind the developing world. It has provided billions of vaccines. What is an even greater contribution is that it has moved far beyond temporary intellectual property waivers for its vaccines. It has provided public access to the technology, along with raw materials and manufacturing ability.

This is why China is targeted by U.S. imperialism — the world's main defender of corporate power.  $\square$ 

### Where is war in Ukraine going? How should the peace movement respond?

By G. Dunkel

ing-class activists, a May 23 webinar on ruling-class monopoly on propaganda and the role of the U.S., NATO and Ukrainian neo-Nazis in provoking and prolonging the war in Ukraine provides an antidote to the poisonous propaganda in the U.S. corporate media.

Those who missed the webinar live can catch it by visiting the home page of the United National Antiwar Coalition (UNAC) at unacpeace.org. Hundreds of people are viewing it daily, and millions could learn from it.

The webinar's strength was that the speakers were not only knowledgeable, articulate and convincing, they covered the questions from diverse angles exposing media lies, explaining military plans, presenting geopolitical strategies of Washington, the European Union, Russia and China. Its organizers were aware that even within the antiwar movement, there was confusion about the role of Russia as well as the other states involved, and the webinar clarified many of those issues.

the U.S. and Europe, the speakers under- lions of dollars of damages in Ukraine. that, while not answering every question, For antiwar, anti-racist and work- lined the need to counter and break the Disruptions in the supply chain, caused smashes the obscene avalanche of promobilize popular resistance to the war, based also on its disproportionate costs to communities of color and the working class in general.

Webinar speakers included Ajamu Baraka, national organizer for Black Alliance for Peace; Sara Flounders, co-director of the International Action Center; Scott Ritter, a career U.S. Marine officer and former U.N. weapons inspector turned anti-imperialist lecturer; and Alan Freeman, representing the International Manifesto Group.

Facilitating the discussion was Joe Lombardo, coordinator of UNAC, a coalition that has opposed militarism, racism and the threat to the environment. with a focus on Palestine, Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, from a consistent anti-imperialist perspective.

The ongoing war in Ukraine has cost tens of thousands dead - 14,000 in the eastern Donbass region from 2014 until

Most important for the movement in the Russian intervention — and bilby the war and even more by sanctions, threaten to limit food exports from Russia and Ukraine to East Africa, raise the price of wheat and starve hundreds of thousands of people, mainly children.

With support from an almost unanimous U.S. ruling class and both the Republican and Democratic Parties, the Biden administration has committed \$54 billion in aid, both military and economic, to Ukraine. Washington plans to fight this war to the last Ukrainian, and it may drag the rest of the world behind them.

The media in the United States has gone all-out to present this support for Ukraine as expressing the near unanimous feeling of people in this country — all-out for the people of Ukraine - and suppressing voices in opposition. Social media, like Twitter, Facebook and Google — also owned by big, profit-driven capitalists has found ways to censor opposition with clever algorithms that don't remove posts but make them hard to find.

All the more important is this webinar war propaganda and makes it clear that in the imperialist United States, the main enemy is the ruling class at home.

John Catalinotto contributed to this article.



The webinar's direct link on YouTube is tinyurl.com/2p8824a7.

### Sanctions — wrecking ball in a global economy

**By Sara Flounders** 

Read the entire article at workers.org/2022/05/64273/

Part 2

Commentators in many countries of the Global South made note of the hypocrisy of silence and lack of any condemnation of the lawless conduct of the U.S. in unleashing wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria and providing the blockade and tactical support for Saudi Arabia in Yemen. This was compared to condemnations and harsh punishment of Russia for responding to military attacks on its borders.

Within Europe, Serbia, Belarus and even Hungary an European Union and NATO member - refused to join sanctions, representing internal cracks in the sanctions' regime. (Boston Globe, March 16)

With SWIFT bank transactions cut by U.S. sanctions, Europe was unable to pay for Russian gas and oil. This created a crisis throughout the EU. Russia's response was to continue contracts in gas and oil at the same rates but to now demand payments in rubles, the Russian currency.

The U.S. and the EU reacted with outrage. But 10 European countries have quietly complied. It is the only way to keep their industries supplied with energy.

Accepting payments in Russian rubles and allowing countries not enforcing sanctions to pay in Chinese yuan, Indian and Pakistani rupee and other currencies meant that both the dollar and the euro were no longer the currencies for major trade transactions.

The result is that the Russian ruble has rebounded as of mid-May, while the U.S. dollar and especially the euro have been sinking.

The capital controls imposed by Russia, maintained until May 16, have turned the ruble into the world's best performing currency this year, up more than 11% against the U.S. dollar since the start of the year. "A total of 20 European companies have opened accounts" to pay in rubles. (Bloomberg.com, May 11 and 12)

Italian Prime Minister Mario Draghi said that

U.S. policy is to expand

By trying to create an

Asian version of NATO,

the U.S. intent is to

and geoeconomic

seriously undermine

economic cooperation

and prosperity in Asia and

bring about new divisions

landscape. China's views

are well-known and are

the increasing target

of U.S. sanctions since

the Pivot to Asia in the

to the regional geopolitical

NATO to China's periphery.

Germany has already started paying for Russian gas in rubles. He asserted that other countries will also be able to pay for gas in rubles without breaching sanctions, dismissing the European Union's decision.

#### U.S. provoked proxy war

U.S. policy is to seek to grind down Russia's resources in a long and costly military onslaught. The U.S. had instigated the crisis by encircling Russia with NATO bases, organizing constant military operations and supplying heavy weapons to Ukraine to fire near Russia's borders.

Washington orchestrated a "color revolution" in Ukraine in 2004 and a far more extreme coup in 2014, using pro-fascist forces. This U.S. intervention has systematically destroyed the sovereignty of Ukraine and turned its people into a proxy force to fight Russia. Thousands of U.S./NATO military train-

ers, mercenaries and equipment had already destroyed Ukraine's neutrality.

By placing nuclear weapons on U.S. and NATO bases in Europe and setting up nuclear-capable weaponry near Russia's borders, NATO openly provoked Russia to strike in self-defense.

#### **Biden threatens World War**

Russia finally responded Feb. 24, as Moscow had warned for many months would happen if Ukraine's attacks continued.

U.S. corporate power benefits from energy sanctions on Russia, but this comes at an aggravated price for European consumers. The sanctions will do more harm to the EU than to Russia. How did Washington force the EU to go along with sanctions against their own immediate economic interests?

Biden issued a public ultimatum Feb. 26 declaring that the only alternative to the EU joining U.S. sanctions against Russia "would be the Third World War."

You have two options. Start a Third World War; go to war with Russia, physically. Or, two, make sure that the country that acts so contrary to international law ends up paying a price for having done it. ... I know these sanctions are the broadest sanctions in history and economic sanctions and political sanctions." In this interview with blogger Brian Tyler Cohen, Biden further stated that his "goal from the very beginning" was to keep NATO and the European Union "on the same page." (Fox News, Feb. 26)

The European Union quickly got the message. In essence, the U.S., through its command of NATO, is holding all of Europe hostage in order to reestablish its economic dominance and expand its military might on the continent.



Within a week of Russia's intervention in Ukraine, all G7 countries had moved to freeze Russia's foreign currency reserve assets. Switzerland joined Feb. 28. The seizure of \$500 billion dollars in Russia's funds held in U.S. and other Western banks added to the awareness that no country's assets were safe from seizure.

The billions seized of Iranian funds, despite every signed

agreement to release the funds, and the billions seized from Venezuela had already undermined confidence in the security of Western capitalist banks.

#### Who pays the price inside the U.S.?

The costs of the U.S. military offensive will wipe out many of Biden's election promises. Build Back Better infrastructure programs, COVID-19 relief and preparation for other health emergencies, student debt relief and every other promised social program have been pushed off Washington's agenda.

The sanctions have to be reinforced with an endless war - asure profit maker for the U.S. military-industrial complex. By April 11 Bloomberg News reported \$8 billion in additional money to military contractors for war against Russia, along with \$2.8 billion from EU countries and \$1.4 billion from EU institutions.

By April 28 President Biden enlarged the military handouts for the weapons makers to another \$33 billion and sent the package to

Congress, which within days increased this to a \$40 billion package on top of funds already provided.

The Biden administration's response, with overwhelming support of Republicans and Democrats in Congress and major banking and industrial corporations, along with the largest military machine in human history, has been to double down on rushing more and more advanced weapons, NATO troops labeled as "trainers" and escalating military maneuvers and "war games" on Russia's borders.

#### **Targeting China**

U.S. policy is to expand NATO to China's periphery. By trying to create an Asian version of NATO, the U.S. intent is to seriously undermine economic cooperation and prosperity in Asia and bring about new divisions to the regional geopolitical and geoeconomic landscape. China's views are well-known and are the increasing target of U.S. sanctions since the Pivot to Asia in the Obama Administration.

"Developing countries should jointly fight the consequences of Western sanctions against Russia," the Chinese state publication Global Times stated May 6. (tinyurl.com/yc6x6u87) "It became clear that Western

sanctions against Russia will remain a long-term negative factor for the global economy. This will also lead to the further dominance of the West in the global financial, economic and trading systems.

"Therefore, developing countries, including China, India, Indonesia, Brazil and others that have refused to take sides over Western sanctions against Russia, need to consider ways to strengthen their economic coordination to weather the consequent shocks brought about by the West.

"It is important to note that developing countries need to seek a solution through financial and trade cooperation. It's time for the BRICS to take the first step by creating their own financial coordination mechanism."

Beijing is making preparations to withstand further U.S. sanctions arising from China's refusal to adhere to U.S.-imposed sanctions on Russia. Even banks in Hong Kong, a global financial hub, and the Hong Kong Monetary Authority are making emergency plans should they be cut off from SWIFT transactions.

The Financial Times reports April 30 that China is meeting with banks to discuss protecting China's overseas assets from U.S. sanctions. An internal conference held April 22 included officials from China's central bank and finance ministry and executives from local and international banks.

Top regulators, including Yi Huiman, chairman of the China Securities Regulatory Commission, and Xiao Gang, who chaired the CSRC from 2013 to 2016, asked bankers in attendance what they could do to protect the country's external assets, especially its \$3.2 trillion foreign reserves.

China's massive dollar holdings range from more than a trillion dollars in U.S. treasuries to New York office buildings. That decoupling of Chinese and Western economies would have a much more severe impact than [decoupling with] "Russia, because China's economic footprint touches every part of the world."

The ability of Washington and its allies to freeze the Russian central bank's dollar holdings had alerted Beijing to the danger.

On April 27 the U.S. House of Representatives passed "The Assessing Xi's Interference and Subversion Act," or the "AXIS Act," requiring the U.S. State Department to submit ongoing reports to Congress on China's support for Russia's invasion of Ukraine, initially within 30 days of the enactment of the law and every 90 days thereafter.

Even the acronym for the act spells out U.S. hostile intentions, recalling the World War II Axis alliance and the "Axis of Evil," of George W. Bush's propaganda attempting to justify the U.S. invasion of Iraq and other aggression.

#### New wars, new sanctions

A Washington think tank, Center of Strategic and International Studies, recently defined how to prepare for sweeping sanctions on China, based on sanctions on Russia.

In 2021 China's GDP was roughly 10 times larger than Russia's. China is the world's top trading economy and the number-one exporter of manufactured goods.

Every U.S. plan for sanctions on China starts with a manufactured crisis over Taiwan. In violation of 40 years of past agreements with China, Washington is rapidly increasing military aid to Taiwan.

All U.S. strategists admit that sanctions and military confrontation with China will be massively disruptive on a world scale. But that prediction does nothing to slow their preparations.

The international movement opposing NATO's current war in Ukraine needs to know what else is on the imperialist drawing boards.

There is an urgent need for a global campaign against economic sanctions — a crime against humanity.  $\Box$ 

#### **WAR** WITHOUT VICTORY by Sara Flounders



"By revealing the underbelly of the empire, Flounders sheds insight on how to stand up to the imperialist war machine and, in so doing, save ourselves and humanity."

- Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann, President, U.N. General Assembly, 2008-2009; Foreign Minister, Nicaragua's Sandinista government.

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### **WORKERS WORLD** *editorial*

### **Solidarity with Uvalde**

Continued from page 1

to intervene despite repeated calls to 911 from children inside. After nearly 70 minutes a U.S Border Patrol cop entered the classroom and fatally shot Salvador Ramos.

The message sent is that the lives of Mexican children are expendable.

Remarkably – or maybe not so, considering the fascist he is — Texas Gov. Greg Abbott praised the "amazing courage" of the police. His blatantly false statements were matched by Texas Department of Public Safety director Steve McGraw. Now these two are trying their hardest to walk back their outlandish comments.

The abuse of desperate parents once again explodes the myth that police are there "to protect and serve." They are part of the repressive state apparatus that under capitalism represses the working class, especially the most oppressed. The militarized state employs the most unthinkable violence, in the U.S. and around the globe, to maintain its hegemonic control over the world's labor and resources.

The pervasive violence in television and movies serves to create a culture that normalizes and legitimizes violent acts. Young people — troubled, abused, exploited and alienated - are saturated with this culture at an early age.

At the same time, many children are taunted and bullied by their peers if they don't "fit in," i.e., they don't measure up to a racist, patriarchal, misogynist and ableist standard of beauty. Others are abused by parents within the "traditional family" structure that

is like a microcosm of the capitalist workplace — the head boss being the father. Some experience both of these forms of psychological assault.

In this context, coupled with an inadequate mental health infrastructure, a handful of youths lash out at the most vulnerable and commit massacres.

If they fit the profile of most mass shooters - white and male and embracing fascist ideology like Dylann Roof and Payton Gendrun—they will likely be arrested alive and be afforded their day in court. This was not the case with Salvador Ramos.

#### Violence generates profits

If we are to understand the rising number of "senseless" mass killings, we have to "follow the money." Billions in profits are made in the manufacture, sale and resale of guns, including the assault weapons used in mass shootings. Gun manufacturers sold over 11 million guns in 2020 alone. The more permissive the law, as in "open-carry" states, the more money to be made.

Hiding behind the Second Amendment, the National Rifle Association is one of the most powerful lobbying groups in the U.S. Its annual budget hovers around a quarter-billion dollars. While it claims most contributions are from individual donors who buy into its propaganda, the NRA receives millions of dollars from weapons profiteers.

After the Uvalde massacre, the NRA callously went ahead with its plans to hold its convention in Texas. Former President Donald Trump and Senator Ted Cruz — who currently represents Texas — were keynote speakers.

The NRA, a blatantly racist organization, has never supported the Second Amendment when it comes to the right of Black, Brown and Indigenous people to self-defense against racist attacks.

And it's not only gun manufacturers raking in profits. As the saying goes, "violence sells." Billions are made in the name of "entertainment," with the most graphic depictions of people and imaginary creatures brutalizing and killing one another.

But the ones who profit the most from violence are those capitalists intertwined with the military-industrial complex. They do so with bipartisan support for the bloated Pentagon budget - seizing the money needed for health care, including mental health care. To sell their profitable wars of conquest, they need to win cultural acceptance of that slaughter, committed in the name of "freedom and democracy."

#### Stop the purveyors of violence

It is worth recalling the words of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who in his famous speech 55 years ago, "Beyond Vietnam − A Time to Break Silence," called out "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today - my own government."

There was a slogan popular at the time with the most militant antiwar youth: "2, 4, 6, 8, organize to smash the state!"

Until capitalism and its repressive state machinery are overthrown, violence – by the cops, the military and individuals - will continue to claim lives, including those of children.  $\Box$ 

### **Feeding from** the NRA trough

#### **By Betsey Piette**

Time and time again, efforts to get both bourgeois parties in Congress to consider legislation to ban or restrict the commercial sale of assault weapons like the AR-15-style rifle, used by an 18-year-old to kill 19 children and two teachers in Uvalde, Texas, have unraveled despite broad public support. In every case this was the result of the powerful National Rifle Association and other gun advocates voicing opposition. It appears that many politicians are more beholden to the interests of the NRA, the gun lobby and weapons manufacturers than to their own constituencies. To understand why, just follow the money.

High among the dozens of Republican Senators whose political careers have relied heavily on NRA funding are Mitt Romney (UT) - \$13,647,676; Richard Burr (NC) -\$6,987,380; **Roy Blunt (MO)** – \$4,555,722; Thom Tillis (NC) - \$4,429,333; Marco **Rubio** (FL) - \$3,303,355; **Joni** Ernst (IA) - \$3,129,723; Rob Portman (OH) -\$3,063,327; **Todd Young (IN)** — \$2,897,582; Bill Cassidy (LA) - \$2,870,574; Tom **Cotton (AR)** - \$1,971,214; **Pat Toomey** (PA) - \$1,475,448; Josh Hawley (MO) -\$1,391,548; Marsha Blackburn (TN) -\$1,306,130; and Mitch McConnell (KY) - \$1,283,515. Dozens of others received lesser amounts. (BradyUnited.org)

Texas representatives in Congress received over \$14 million in contributions from gunrights lobbyists over the course of their careers. The state ranks second among 19 states tracked by OpenSecrets for state-level gun rights lobbying, with more than \$3 million in spending between 2015 to 2021. During that time, the NRA spent more on state-level lobbying in Texas than in any other state. Contributions were not limited to Republicans.  $\square$ 

### Biden's Summit of the Americas in deep trouble

By Sara Flounders and Lyn Neeley

Biden's grand expectations that hosting the Summit of the Americas this year will demonstrate U.S. influence in the Western Hemisphere is eroding.

Most countries in the Western hemisphere have pulled out of the Summit after Biden's refusal to invite Cuba, Venezuela and Nicaragua. Fifteen CARICOM (Caribbean Community) countries are boycotting the summit.

On May 27 the 21st summit of the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of our America (ALBA) met in Havana, Cuba. ALBA rejected the unilateral measures against Venezuela and Nicaragua and the economic blockade against Cuba. ALBA, created by Venezuela and Cuba in 2004, is a coalition of 11 anti-imperialist Latin American countries with independent López Obrador announced at the ALBA Summit in Tijuana, Mexico, is June 10-12,



YAMIL LAGE / ASSOCIATED PRESS

Cuban President Miguel Díaz-Canel, right, with Mexican President Andrés Manuel López Obrador at the Alba Summit in Havana, Cuba.

trade agreements that build independence, solidarity and cooperation.

Mexican President Andrés Manuel

Biden's summit but may instead send Mexico's foreign minister.

Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro called the gathering "a firm, forceful and absolute rejection of the imperial vision that seeks to exclude peoples from the Americas." (tinyurl.com/yc6phn8z)

Guatemala, Argentina, Bolivia and Honduras are not going to the Summit either, because of their own disagreements with the Biden administration. This underscores the inability of the U.S. to offer the kind of trade agreements and support those countries are getting from China.

### The Workers' Summit and

Two coalitions are organizing to oppose Biden's summit: The Workers'

summit that he was not going to attend WorkersSummit.com; and The People's Summit in Los Angeles is June 8-10, PeoplesSummit2022.org.

The Workers' Summit is a coalition of U.S. and Canadian leaders in trade union, social justice and workers' organizations opposed to U.S. sanctions and intervention. Speakers at the Workers' Summit from Venezuela, Cuba and Nicaragua include the Vice-President of the Working Class of the Socialist Party of Venezuela, Francisco Torrealba, and the ambassadors of Venezuela, Nicaragua, Cuba and

Both actions plan to stream their program live: the People's Summit (peoplessummit2022.org) June 8-10 in Los Angeles at Trade Tech College; and the Workers' Summit (workerssummit.com), June 10-12 in Tijuana at the East Campus of the University of Tijuana. □

### Haiti needs reparations, not sanctions

By Pat Chin

This slightly edited article first appeared in Workers World on July 17, 2003. The writer, Pat Chin, was a contributing editor of WW until her death on May 16, 2005, at age 56. Chin was of Jamaican and Chinese heritage and visited Haiti a number of times. She was also a contributing editor of the 2004 book, "Haiti: A Slave Revolution — 200 Years After 1804." Go to iacenter.org/ wp-content/uploads/Hait-Book.pdf to read the book. Almost 20 years after this article first appeared, the Haitian people are still owed billions of dollars in reparations by French and U.S. imperialism.

The Republic of Haiti will mark the 200th anniversary of its independence on Jan. 1, 2004. Preparations for celebrating the bicentennial are being made against the backdrop of a deepening economic crisis in that oppressed country, exacerbated by economic sanctions.

"For over two years," reported the May 23 Inter Press Service, "the United States, the European Union and multilateral lenders have been holding up some \$500 million in aid and loans, because they say Aristide's government and Lavalas Family party have failed to reach a compromise with opposition parties, which boycotted the 2000 Presidential race after protesting allegedly fraudulent parliamentary contests in 2000."

The Washington-backed "Democratic Convergence" is made up of 15 tiny bourgeois opposition parties, ranging from hardcore Duvalierists to social democrats, with no real support in the popular masses. The group is similar to the imperialist-backed

"Democratic Coordination" in Venezuela that has unsuccessfully tried to oust progressive Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez. The Convergence has reportedly received some \$120 million from the U.S.based right-wing National Endowment for Democracy.

In response to the imperialist maneuver to force a "regime change" by tightening the economic squeeze, Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide has called on France - the original colonial power — to make restitution for an

Continued on page 11

### Famine in East Africa hundreds of thousands threatened

By G. Dunkel

Food prices are soaring worldwide. Not just prices of wheat and other grains, which is where the U.S. and its allies in the European Union have focused their attention, but also on products like industrial butter and milk powder, whose prices have jumped 70% in a year. (Le Monde, May 21)

Secretary of State Antony Blinken has pointed to the price of wheat, claiming that "Russia is weaponizing global food supply" in a conference he had with U.N. officials May 20. (New York Times video, May 20)

But experts in the field of crisis management point to other factors that have affected the prices of wheat and the foods wheat is used in. The price of the energy used to prepare the fields, plant and harvest the crop, and then transport it to market has shot up, And of course the companies that supply the energy aim to see their profits climb along with their prices.

The truth is that Blinken and the U.S. media machine are weaponizing the threat of famine in parts of the world in order to score propaganda points against Russia in the U.S./NATO's ongoing proxy war in Ukraine.

Much of the fertilizer that farmers need for good yields comes from natural gas, potash and fixing nitrogen, all processes that require extensive energy. A good deal of the world's fertilizer supply used to come from Belarus and Russia, before sanctions were applied to these countries.

COVID-19 has affected the production of food, with bottlenecks in farm labor, processing, transport and logistics, as well as momentous shifts in demand. Regulations designed to slow or stop the spread of COVID-19 sometimes hindered the production of food.

Farming is a seasonal affair; crops must be planted, cared for, harvested at fixed times of year based on weather. The

droughts that have hit many wheat-ex- Russia and Ukraine contribute about half porting areas of the Northern Hemisphere have severely limited production, reducing supply — which has resulted in higher prices. The extreme heat waves that hit India this spring and the heavy rains that struck China when its winter wheat was being planted — both phenomena associated with global warming - have had major impacts reducing the harvest.

According to the U.N.'s Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), the decline in food exports from the Black Sea region has been partially offset by increased exports from the EU and India, leaving a gap of about 3 million tons.

That's small on a global scale. But

the cereals imported by Lebanon and Tunisia and two-thirds of those imports for Libya and Egypt. Ukraine's food exports normally provide the calories to feed 400 million people. These four countries that import cereals are facing severe difficulties finding alternative suppliers.

The FAO is urging countries to be very careful about imposing export restrictions which "exacerbate price increases and reduce trust." António Guterres, U.N. Secretary General, recently warned of the threat that a global food shortage could last for years. Around the world, 181 million are forecast to be in crisis levels of hunger in 2022.

While a famine has not been officially called in East Africa, people – mainly children – are dying of hunger. Oxfam estimates that 350,000 children are likely to die by the end of summer.

Oxfam and Save the Children estimate that across Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia, on average six people die every five minutes from acute hunger linked to conflict, COVID-19, the climate crisis and inflationary and market pressures accelerated by the current conflict in Ukraine.

There is enough food to feed everybody a decent diet. The big problem is that the big capitalists haven't figured how to do this profitably.  $\Box$ 

### Africa Day: No to French imperialism

By G. Dunkel

On the occasion of Africa Day, several hundred South African radical left activists gathered May 25 in front of the French Embassy in Pretoria to condemn French interference in the African continent. This is the first event of its kind in this country.

Hundreds of people were carrying red placards in party colors with anti-French slogans: "France is responsible for genocide in Africa," "West Africa is not a French colony," "Wealth of France on the backs of Africans," and even "France Out!" Under the theme of the fight against Western imperialism, the march had France as



its main target.

Economic Freedom Fighters, a South African anti-imperialist political party, organized the march.

Several hundred people demonstrated May 14 in N'Djamena, capital of Chad, against the presence of France in north-central Africa and in support of the anti-French struggle in Mali.

Demonstrators burned at least two flags of the former colonial power and vandalized several Total service stations, a "symbol" according to them of France, tearing off gas pumps.  $\Box$ 

### Haiti needs reparations, not sanctions

Continued from page 10

indemnity Haiti was forced to pay after militarily defeating the French, forcing slavery's end and declaring independence.

The French government in 1825 had demanded 90 million gold francs to "compensate" white planters for property loss, due to the revolutionary war. It was decades later that Haitian independence was recognized and devastating sanctions lifted. The Aristide administration calculates the sum owed Haiti by France, including interest, to be well over \$21 billion.

The indemnity insured that Haiti would remain in debt to French financiers for most of the 1800s.

Reparations for hundreds of years of forced labor are also being demanded. This call is supported by African American organizations that have launched a movement for reparations in the U.S. Aristide first sounded the call on April 7 at a massive gathering in front of the National Palace marking the 200th anniversary of the death, in a French prison, of revolutionary leader Toussaint L'Ouverture.

Almost two months later, at a June 3 press conference during the G-8 summit of capitalist vultures in Evian, France, French Foreign Ministry spokesperson François Rivasseau arrogantly rejected the demand. The summit was protested by thousands of antiwar and anti-globalization

demonstrators. Rivasseau cited loans made to the Haitian government, while blaming alleged corruption and mismanagement by the Aristide administration for Haiti's economic problems.

At a May 23 "Flag Day" celebration attended by thousands of students and other supporters, Aristide condemned global poverty and the Third World debt. "Two hundred years after the victorious revolution," he said, "the bull that turns the mill doesn't get to drink the sugar syrup. We refuse to be slaves to subhuman misery." (Inter Press Service, May 23, [2003]).

#### Why is Haiti so poor?

The main political point made by the bourgeois "National Convergence" — like that of the racist white colonizers and imperialists — is that Haiti is wrenchingly poor because the slaves killed all their white masters to gain independence and liberty. Haiti has consequently remained poor and dependent and in need of U.S. resources and technology. Government corruption is also a fundamental part of the problem, they say.

But this grossly distorts reality. Haiti's poverty lies mainly in the centuries-long crime of slavery, which produced enormous wealth for France, followed by 200 years of economic, political and military aggression waged by the European and U.S. bourgeoisies against the first free

Black republic. The only country in the that started at a Voodoo ceremony in 1791. world where enslaved people had liberated themselves by overthrowing their masters, Haiti was a powerful symbol of resistance and had to be punished.

The country's liberation was a beacon of hope for an end to slavery everywhere. It sent shock waves through the Americas and European capitals growing fabulously rich from the brutal trade in human Black cargo. Fearing the implications for their own slave-based economies, France joined forces with the U.S. and other European

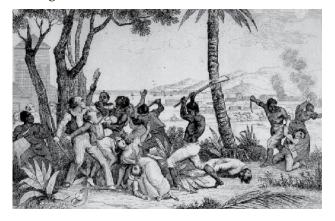
In fact, after the first rebellion in Haiti, U.S. President George Washington — a slave owner himself – directed his secretary of state, Thomas Jefferson — another slave owner — to give the white planters in Haiti \$400,000 for arms and food to resist the uprising. The U.S. did not recognize

Haitian independence until 1862 after its own Civil War had begun. On Jan. 1, 1804, Haitian revolutionary hero Gen. Jean-Jacques Dessalines had declared the country's independence. His proclamation was the culmination of years of a national liberation struggle enacted by enslaved African people, who had freed themselves in a revolutionary upsurge

Voodoo, as a result, has been turned into a pejorative term.

The twisted, sadistic form of colonial logic - where the white oppressors get compensated for their loss of the ability to cruelly exploit, while the Black victims are condemned to punishing poverty – was also applied in Jamaica, under the British colonialists, and in the U.S., after slavery ended.

The foreign imperialists and their collaborators among Haiti's bourgeoisie have a daunting task ahead. It is one that will surely fail as the people — supported by a solidarity movement abroad - continue to draw on their long history of struggle and resistance against racist demonization, neoliberal capitalist exploitation and imperialist plunder. □



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Un centenar de manifestantes marcharon desde la casa del juez del Tribunal Supremo Brett Kavanaugh en Chevy Chase, Maryland, hasta la casa del presidente del Tribunal Supremo John Roberts, el 7 de mayo. Kavanaugh fue desenmascarado como violador durante las audiencias del Senado para su nominación a la Corte.

## No vamos a volver!

#### UN COMENTARIO DE MO/WW

#### **Por Minnie Bruce Bratt**

Traducción al español por Deborah Rodriguez.

La gente se está movilizando en las calles para hacer frente y luchar contra la probable anulación de la decisión Roe v. Wade del Tribunal Supremo que legalizó el aborto en Estados Unidos en 1973.

El actual Tribunal

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Un borrador de la opinión de la SCOTUS en el caso Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization filtrado recientemente - indica que los votos están ahí para acabar con las protecciones federales del derecho al aborto, dejando esta atención de salud esencial como una cuestión de "derechos de los estados".

Crecí bajo los "derechos de los estados" segregados en Alabama, así que sé lo que esa frase significa: supremacía blanca, subyugación de las mujeres, persecución antiinmigrante y la primacía de los beneficios empresariales sobre las necesidades de las personas.

No es la primera vez que el Tribunal Supremo es una máquina de reacciones extremas. Su decisión de 1896 en el caso Plessy vs. Ferguson fue la sentencia de muerte de los logros de la liberación de los negros conseguidos durante y después de la Guerra Civil, estableciendo el sistema estatal de segregación del apartheid bajo el que me crié como niña

Cuando oigo hablar de los "derechos de los estados", veo a los jueces que se ponen la toga negra sobre las sábanas blancas del Ku Klux Klan antes de entrar a sentarse en el banquillo.

¿Parece una exageración? Pero considere esto. El "segundo" KKK – que floreció en todo Estados Unidos de 1910 a 1925 – persiguió, azotó, torturó y asesinó a miles de personas que se desviaban del nacionalismo blanco "cristiano" basado en el dominio patriarcal. En su apogeo, este KKK, que contaba con millones de personas, tenía el poder mayoritario en las cámaras de los estados, desde Alabama hasta Indiana v Oregón. Al menos un juez del Tribunal Supremo, Hugo Black, desarrolló su carrera política como líder del Klan.

Este KKK se propuso "purificar América" y "azotó a los mexicanos, empañó a los médicos que practicaban abortos y amenazó a los políticos. Linchaban a los negros, aparecían en los paseos nocturnos para aterrorizar a las prostitutas, intimidaban a los judíos y azotaban a las jóvenes que eran

encontradas viajando en coche con hombres". (theatlantic.com, 4 de diciembre de 2016)

El actual Tribunal Supremo de Estados Unidos legalizaría el violento fanatismo racista y de odio a las mujeres del KKK vigilante, cuando ese grupo terrorista "limpiaba los pueblos" desnudando y literalmente emplumando a las mujeres que eran sexualmente independientes.

> Si se anula Roe, muchos actos de violencia contra las mujeres y las personas oprimidas por motivos de género siendo las personas de color las que más sufren – pasarán a ser legales en Estados Unidos.

> En virtud de algunas leyes estatales - pendientes o aprobadas -- as mujeres e incluso los niños menores de edad que sean violados serán obligados a llevar a término los embarazos resultantes. En algunos estados, bajo leyes viciosas como la propuesta en Luisiana, las personas que busquen o ayuden a abortar podrían ser acusadas de delitos

graves, incluso de homicidio, con penas de prisión de por vida – o de muerte. Si se anula Roe, las mujeres y las personas oprimidas por el género morirán por el regreso del aborto "clandestino" o autoinducido.

Estamos ante la criminalización de un procedimiento sanitario básico en la mitad de los estados del país. Al menos 23 estados prohibirían el aborto inmediatamente, y otros restringirían aún más el aborto. (workers.org/2022/05/63851/)

¿Hace muy, muy poco tiempo que las mujeres de EE.UU. tenemos voz y voto sobre si vamos a tener hijos, o si los hijos van a ser realmente "nuestros"?

Esto es especialmente cierto para las mujeres indígenas, las mujeres latinas y las mujeres de ascendencia africana, que históricamente y hasta el día de hoy se enfrentan a una terrible discriminación a la hora de tener hijos y de poder mantenerlos y criarlos.

¿Sabías, por ejemplo, que el llamado "Padre de la Ginecología" de Estados Unidos realizaba torturas de "experimentos" reproductivos en mujeres negras esclavizadas sin darles anestesia? ¿Que en el siglo XIX, incluso a las mujeres blancas se les negaba la anestesia para el dolor del parto, porque estaban "bajo la maldición de Eva" y eran castigadas por su "pecado"? ¿Que hasta finales del siglo XIX, los niños se consideraban propiedad de su padre (o del esclavizador de su madre), e incluso las madres blancas no tenían derechos de custodia?

¿Sabías que a finales del siglo XX, las madres seguían perdiendo a sus hijos en el divorcio, si la mujer era considerada "inmoral" por ser sexualmente independiente? Lo sé, porque yo perdí la custodia de mis dos hijos pequeños en 1975 por vivir como lesbiana.

Un movimiento militante de liberación de la mujer consiguió mejorar algunas circunstancias de la atención sanitaria, la sexualidad, el acceso al aborto, los derechos reproductivos y la crianza de los hijos para las mujeres y las personas oprimidas por su género en Estados Unidos.

#### Se necesita: movilización de masas, lucha interconectada

Las fuerzas de la derecha que alimentan al Tribunal Supremo han trabajado durante los últimos 50 años para revertir la justicia reproductiva en nombre de la "vida", al tiempo que han respaldado la pena de muerte y la cadena perpetua, negando a los inmigrantes la entrada para mejorar sus vidas y negándose a hacer que la atención médica, incluida la que salva vidas, esté disponible y sea accesible para todos.

Mientras tanto, la tasa de mortalidad materna de Estados Unidos es la peor de todos los países industrializados, y la proporción de mujeres negras (37,1 por cada 100.000 embarazos) es 2,5 veces superior a la de las mujeres blancas (14,7). (commonwealthfund.org, 16 de diciembre de 2020)

¿Por qué se intensifica ahora el ataque antiabortista? Los supremacistas blancos argumentan la necesidad de más "niños blancos" para contrarrestar su teoría racista de un "Gran Reemplazo" de la población blanca de Estados Unidos por inmigrantes que son gente de color.

Los patriarcas "cristianos" de derechas quieren que las mujeres vuelvan a estar bajo el dominio de los hombres. Y los capitalistas de las grandes empresas viendo la disminución general de la tasa de natalidad en Estados Unidos - necesitan más trabajadores jóvenes en la línea de reproducción, para asegurar un suministro constante de mano de obra que puedan explotar para producir plusvalía y beneficios. Todas estas fuerzas han confluido en al menos cinco de los jueces del Tribunal Supremo que se sientan en ese

Existe un temor fundado de que un voto de la Corte Suprema para anular Roe inicie una reversión de las sentencias progresistas anteriores, desde el derecho a la anticoncepción, la anulación de las leves de sodomía contra las lesbianas v los gays, el derecho al matrimonio entre personas del mismo sexo, la protección de las personas lesbianas, gays, bisexuales y trans en el trabajo o en la escuela, y posiblemente incluso el derecho al matrimonio interracial.

Puede que el Partido Republicano sea la máquina que está detrás del actual ataque al acceso al aborto y a la justicia reproductiva. Pero el Partido Demócrata

ha tenido mayoría en el Congreso muchas veces desde la decisión de Roe, y nunca ha codificado ese derecho judicial en la ley federal.

Ahora es el momento de que quienes buscan la justicia reproductiva se unan en un movimiento militante, masivo e independiente. Unámonos en esta causa común: los que trabajamos por la liberación de las mujeres y de las personas oprimidas por su género; los que luchan contra todas las formas de racismo, incluso bajo el lema #BlackLivesMatter; los que están a favor de la abolición de las prisiones, de la policía y de la pena de muerte; los que luchan contra la falta de vivienda y por el derecho a la misma; los que desean una asistencia sanitaria para todos, con subsidios y ayudas para el cuidado de los niños; los defensores de los discapacitados por los derechos y la justicia; los que organizan a los trabajadores para conseguir condiciones seguras, salarios adecuados y prestaciones sanitarias que cubran plenamente el acceso a la salud reproductiva; los que luchan por construir el camino hacia el socialismo.

#### ¡Exigimos!

En una lucha revigorizada por la justicia reproductiva, el Caucus de Mujeres y Género Oprimido del Partido Mundo Obrero apoya estas demandas:

iAbolir el SCOTUS, no el aborto! iNo retrocederemos!

El aborto es un servicio de salud, que es un derecho para todas las personas. La prohibición del aborto es violencia de estado contra las mujeres y cualquier persona que se quede embarazada. iFinancien la atención sanitaria, en lugar de criminalizar el aborto y financiar la guerra!

La justicia reproductiva incluye puestos de trabajo y salarios dignos, vivienda, servicios de salud, guarderías, escuelas y un medio ambiente sano y libre de crisis

La justicia reproductiva incluye a las personas trans y a las no conformes con el género. La justicia reproductiva debe abarcar a las personas encarceladas, incluyendo la prohibición de encadenar a las personas durante el parto y el fin de otros abusos médicos.

La propuesta de sentencia del Tribunal Supremo es sexista, anti-pobre y racista. Defendamos a la gente de color y luchemos contra la posición supremacista de los blancos en el Tribunal Supremo sobre el aborto. Exigir salarios y beneficios sindicales, como la licencia familiar y la cobertura de los costos del aborto y la anticoncepción. Los trabajadores pueden alzarse por la justicia reproductiva.

Para detener la guerra contra las mujeres y las personas oprimidas por razones de género, hay que construir un movimiento independiente de luchas interconectadas.

iAbajo el patriarcado, la misoginia y el capitalismo! El socialismo puede liberar y liberará a las mujeres y a las personas de todos los géneros. □