Follow us!

@WorkersWorld
Fi/WorkersWorldParty
workers.org

Workers and oppressed peoples of the world unite!

workers.org

Vol. 59, No. 29 July 20, 2017

Autoworkers on road to historic union vote

By Dante Strobino

In a historic action on July 10, workers at the Canton, Miss., Nissan automobile manufacturing plant filed a petition with the National Labor Relations Board for a union recognition election with the United Auto Workers union.

The plant is one of the largest automobile plants in the U.S. South, with 6,400 workers. Eligible voters in the election are Nissan production technicians and maintenance workers totaling around 3,800. The overwhelming majority of workers at the Canton facility are African American.

Most autoworkers in the South are not represented by unions. A few facilities for companies like Freightliner, Ford, General Motors, Chrysler and other smaller parts plants in the region are organized. But automakers — including Honda, Hyundai, Kia, Mercedes-Benz, Nissan, Toyota and Volkswagen — are building factories in this region because of generous state and local incentives, right-to-work (for less!) laws and state governments eager to publicly oppose unions.

Business interests want the plants free of union organizing that builds worker solidarity and counteracts the brutal racism and continued inequalities left from the history of enslavement and Jim Crow segregation of African Americans in the South.

If the union wins the election, the Mississippi plant will be the first "foreign transplant" facility to be fully unionized. At the Volkswagen plant in Chattanooga, Tenn., the UAW only represents skilled trades workers, a small minority of the total workforce. VW is still refusing to recognize them as a bargaining unit.

With the exception of two Honda plants in rural Ohio, every U.S. auto transplant factory is in the South. A union victory at Nissan will boost organizing efforts at all of these plants.

Winning at Nissan will also put the UAW in a stronger bargaining position with GM, Ford and Fiat Chrysler at the national level. These companies typically use competitive pressure from the transplants

Continued on page 4

Subscribe to Workers World

☐ 4 weeks trial \$4 ☐ 1 year subscription \$30
☐ Sign me up for the WWP Supporter Program: workers.org/articles/donate/supporters_/

workers.org/articles/donate/supporters_/
Name
Email
Phone
Street
City / Ct-t- / 7i-

Workers World 212.627.2994
147 W. 24th St., 2nd Fl, NY, NY 10011
workers.org

MISSISSIPPI



PHOTO: JOHNDAVIS

L.A. Block Club beats back cops 2

Black trans woman targeted in prison 3

1937

Steel workers battle bosses 4

Nurses strike for health 5



PHOTO: BILL HACKW

U.S. workers embrace Cuban union leader 6-7

World War 1 and Russian Revolution 8



WW PHOTO: BRENDA RYAI

The People's Power Assemblies called an action at Flatbush and Nostrand Avenues, Brooklyn, N.Y., on July 13, the date of the second anniversary of Sandra Bland's death. People marched through the streets despite constant police harassment and threats. A young African-American woman, Bland died in police custody in Waller County, Texas, after racist harassment and brutal arrest.

Why bosses mourn Liu Xiaobo 9

Mosul, destroyed 10



Defend Bolivarian Venezuela! EDITORIAL 10

Palestinian struggle and Reem's Bakery 11

Los Angeles neighborhood self-defense stops cops

By John Parker Los Angeles

July 14 — Tonight in my neighborhood I witnessed yet another example of the police as the occupying force in Black and Brown communities.

About 10:30 p.m., I was alerted to the situation when my dog barked — because cops were outside our window. There were nine cop cars in front of my house and my neighbor's house, with about 13 cops in my neighbor's

In a later conversation with my neighbor's grandson, D'Andre Coleman, I found out what had happened. D'Andre, who is about 28 and Black, was going to his car, parked in front of his house, to get his shoes. As he was

putting them on by his car, another car rolled up to him and flashed a light in his face, so he knew it was the police. The cop asked if it was his car and he said it was. She asked again and he repeated that it was. When he began walking back to his house, she told him he couldn't leave. Self portrait, He asked her if he was being detained and she D'Andre Coleman. didn't answer, so he continued to walk.

Without warning and before he could reach his porch steps, the cop got out of the car, ran towards him and pulled on his leg, making him trip and hit his head on the mailbox. He managed to get into his house, but the cop and another cop pulled him out, handcuffed and detained him in the driveway.

Then the sergeant cop said to D'Andre Colman: "It's all fun and games until I shoot you. Then they have to call for backup." The lieutenant cop was standing there and heard the sergeant but said nothing.

When I saw the cops outside, I went over to my neighbor and heard the young man's grandmother, Edith Simpson, distressed and angry, trying to explain to the cops her concern. She said she's seen many Black young men shot by the cops, in the funeral parlor where she works, so she was concerned about her grandson in handcuffs who had just been assaulted.

I told my neighbor I'd get help from the other neighbors, and I went and got my son Sekou and also our Harvard Blvd. Block Club president, Joe Crosby, who then got others to stand in our neighbor's yard even though the



Some members of the L.A. Block Club that defeated the cops, with Edith Simpson in the middle, Joe Crosby, club president, second from left, and Sekou and John Parker on the right with Diamond.

cops were trying to get us to leave.

We repeatedly told the cops that the person they had in handcuffs lived here, in our neighborhood, and it was his car. He even had the keys to the car in his pocket. Their excuse was that he was suspected of stealing the car.

So, we asked, now that they knew who he was, why were they still here and why was he still in handcuffs?

The fact is they wanted to escalate the situation and probably arrest him. If it were not for the community coming out to show "we ain't havin' it" that would have

Finally, after about 30 to 40 minutes and lots of insults hurled their way, the cops let him go. D'Andre emphasized to me: "If it wasn't for everyone coming out, I'd be dead because there were a lot of cops refusing to de-escalate, Continued on page 3

MUNDO OBRERO WORKERS WORLD

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

Capitalism and imperialism threaten the peoples of the world and the planet itself in the never-ending quest for ever-greater profits. Capitalism means war and austerity, racism and repression, joblessness 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.

Join us in the fight for socialism!

Wages are lower than ever, and youth are saddled with seemingly insurmountable student debt, if they even make it to college. Black and Brown youth and trans people are gunned down by cops and bigots on a regular basis.

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.

Contact a Workers World Party branch near you: workers.org/wwp

National Office 147 W. 24th St. 2nd Fl. New York, NY 10011 212.627.2994 wwp@workers.org **Atlanta** PO Box 18123

Atlanta, GA 30316 404.627.0185 atlanta@workers.org **Baltimore** c/o Solidarity Center

2011 N. Charles St. Baltimore, MD 21218 443.221.3775 baltimore@workers.org

Bay Area 1305 Franklin St. #411 Oakland, CA 94612 510.600.5800 bayarea@workers.org **Boston** 284 Amory St. Boston, MA 02130 617.286.6574 boston@workers.org

Buffalo, N.Y. 712 Main St #113B Buffalo, NY 14202 716.883.2534 buffalo@workers.org

Chicago 312.630.2305 chicago@workers.org Cleveland P.O. Box 5963 Cleveland, OH 44101 216.738.0320

cleveland@workers.org Denver denver@workers.org

Detroit 5920 Second Ave. Detroit, MI 48202 313.459.0777 detroit@workers.org

Durham, N.C. 804 Old Fayetteville St. Durham, NC 27701 919.322.9970 durham@workers.org

Houston P.O. Box 3454 Houston, TX 77253-3454 713.503.2633 houston@workers.org

Huntington, W. Va. huntingtonwv@workers.org Lexington, Ky. lexington@workers.org

Los Angeles 5278 W Pico Blvd. Los Angeles, CA 90019 la@workers.org 323.306.6240

Milwaukee milwaukee@workers.org

Philadelphia P.O. Box 34249 Philadelphia, PA 19101 610.931.2615 phila@workers.org

Pittsburgh pittsburgh@workers.org Portland, Ore. portland@workers.org

Rochester, N.Y. 585.436.6458 rochester@workers.org Rockford, III. rockford@workers.org

Salt Lake City 801.750.0248 SLC@Workers.org

San Diego P.O. Box 33447 San Diego, CA 92163 sandiego@workers.org

Tucson, Ariz. tucson@workers.org

Virginia

Virginia@workers.org Washington, D.C. P.O. Box 57300 Washington, DC 20037 dc@workers.org

WORKERS WORLD this week

★ In the U.S.

Autoworkers in Mississippi to vote for union
L.A. neighborhood self-defense stops cops
Eyricka King, Black trans woman prisoner needs freedom.
Oakland City leadership promotes rapist cops
Little Steel Strike: Murders, arrests and union militancy
Tufts nurses strike for patient safety, pensions
Charlottesville, Va., acts to 'Smash White Supremacy'
L.A. crowd salutes sovereignty of DPRK
Arab bakery defended against Islamophobic attack1
Hundreds block Brooklyn gentrification: 'Kill the deal!' \dots 1
Newark, 50 years after 'A rebellion, not a riot' 1

Cuban labor leader's U.S. tour

Unions, communities in U.S. embrace Cuban labor leader. 6
an Diego, July 5: Latinx group, union members welcome 6
os Angeles: July 6
Chicago, July 7: Cuban unions as the voice of the workers. 7
NYC, July 8: Labor leader defends Cuba's sovereignty \dots 7
Baltimore, July 10-11: an attentive, exciting reception 7

* Around the world The July Days, Petrograd 1917.....

★ Editorial
Mosul: a city destroyed
Why U.S. media mourn death of Liu Xiaobo9
The Macron-Trump visit: U.S. role in World War 1 and now 8

★ Noticias en Español	

Workers World 147 W. 24th St., 2nd Fl. New York, NY 10011 Phone: 212.627.2994

E-mail: ww@workers.org Web: www.workers.org Vol. 59, No. 29 • July 20, 2017 Closing date: July 18, 2017

Editor: Deirdre Griswold

Managing Editors: John Catalinotto, LeiLani Dowell, Kris Balderas Hamel, Monica Moorehead, Minnie Bruce Pratt; Web Editor Gary Wilson

Production & Design Editors: Coordinator Lal Roohk; Andy Katz, Cheryl LaBash

Copyediting and Proofreading: Sue Davis, Bob McCubbin, Jeff Sorel

Contributing Editors: Abayomi Azikiwe, Greg Butterfield, G. Dunkel, K. Durkin, Fred Goldstein, Martha Grevatt, Teresa Gutierrez, Berta Joubert-Ceci, Terri Kay, Cheryl LaBash, Milt Neidenberg, John Parker, Bryan G. Pfeifer, Betsey Piette, Gloria Rubac

Mundo Obero: Redactora Berta Joubert-Ceci: Andrea Bañuelos, Ramiro Fúnez, Teresa Gutierrez, Carlos Vargas

Supporter Program: Coordinator Sue Davis Copyright © 2017 Workers World, Verbatim copying and distribution of articles is permitted in any medium without royalty provided this notice is preserved. Workers World (ISSN-1070-4205) is published weekly except the first week of January by WW Publishers, 147 W. 24th St. 2nd Fl., New York, NY 10011. Phone: 212.627.2994. Subscriptions: One year: \$30; institutions: \$35. Letters to the editor may be condensed and edited. Articles can be freely reprinted, with credit to Workers World, 147 W. 24th St. 2nd Fl., New York, NY 10011. Back issues and individual articles are available on microfilm and/or photocopy from NA Publishing, Inc, P.O. Box 998, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-0998. A searchable archive is available on the Web at www.workers.org.

A headline digest is available via e-mail subscription. Subscription information is at workers.org/email.php. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Workers World, 147 W. 24th St. 2nd Fl. New York, N.Y. 10011.

Eyricka King, Black trans woman prisoner,

needs'Freedom to Live'

By Nathaniel Peters

Tonight, some 2.3 million people in the United States will fall asleep in a prison, jail or juvenile or immigrant detention facility. (prisonpolicy.org) Many will suffer terrible violence while incarcerated.

One of those 2.3 million is Eyricka King, a Black trans woman incarcerated at Franklin Correctional Facility in Malone, N.Y., where she has experienced beatings, sexual harassment, solitary confinement and denial of medical treatment. Franklin is located near the Canadian border, over 300 miles from King's home and supporters in New York City.

King is being housed in a men's prison, which is the typical treatment for trans women in New York state, and places her at extreme risk of sexual violence. In order to cover up beatings by prison staff, King has been moved into solitary confinement on a trumped-up infraction. Solitary confinement punishes her for being trans and makes her more vulnerable to abuse by corrections officers. It is crucial for her health and safety that she be let out and moved to another facility.

Trans and gueer people of color fight back

Fortunately, King is not alone in her fight to survive prison. A network of individuals called F2L (Freedom to Live) is "doing support work for queer and trans Black, Indigenous and criminalized people of color facing time in the New York State prison system." It has been fighting to improve King's conditions and win her release as soon as possible.

Through pack-the-court actions, letters, briefs and tireless organizing, F2L has successfully lobbied for her current sentence to potentially be reduced by

Continued from page 2

which is part of the problem."

The cops didn't care about any legal rights or laws they were breaking. Not only did they threaten to kill D'Andre Coleman, they also searched his car with no warrant. D'Andre told me: "While I was on the porch, I saw them searching my car and I told them, when I was in handcuffs, that I did not consent to that. Later, I found things from my glove compartment and trunk on the floor and seat of my car."

As for cops standing around and watching injustice happen during this and many other incidents of police terror, D'Andre commented to me: "If you simply watch someone get pushed and fall off a cliff without helping, then you might as well have been the one pushing."

D'Andre noted that the police have gotten worse in our community: "Having it happen here, it's unnerving and unsettling. I live here and they [cops] live 30 miles away."

It really is a frightening thing when 13 trigger-happy cops are targeting a young Black or Brown person. But, most importantly, we gathered as many people as possible together to show solidarity and "discourage" the cops' rabid instincts.

This victory was a good education in solidarity and the power of communities coming together in self-defense against these pigs. Our block club is now in the process of organizing a rapid response network for any future violations by the cops, and the family is getting legal help from Justice Warriors for Black Lives organizer Nana Gyamfi.

John Parker was Workers World Party candidate for the U.S. Senate in California in 2016, and WWP candidate for U.S. president in 2004.

two to four years. F2L has gotten a social worker assigned to King, and makes regular calls to Franklin Correctional Facility and officials in Albany, pressuring them to improve her conditions, and letting them know they are being watched. F2L's primary goal is to move King to another facility where she would be safer and closer to New York City.

Letter from prison

On July 11, supporters received a letter from King detailing the most recent violence she has endured at Franklin. It was her fourth attempt to send a letter — the first three were shredded by guards and returned to her.

The letter says that on June 30, after returning from a court date in New York City, she alerted corrections officers that inmates in her dorm had threatened her. Three officers arrived, cuffed King and began beating her, slamming her into a brick wall while shouting transphobic slurs.

King's letter continues: "They then threw me in the back of the van beat up and still cuffed, and drove me to the box [solitary confinement] and stripped me naked and threw me in a cell. I've been in the same cell since. They are denying me medical treatment. I've been in so much pain and so out of it I haven't eaten since Friday morning June 30th. I'm so scared, I think they are going to really hurt me and try to say it was a suicide."

King's right breast implant was ruptured during the assault, a fact not discovered until almost two weeks later, when a flood of calls from her supporters forced Franklin prison to investigate and



Eyricka King

provide medical treatment.

King's letter ends with an appeal for supporters to call prison officials.

What you can do

As of this writing, King is being held at the Downstate Correctional Facility in Fishkill, N.Y., awaiting a hearing in New York City later this month. After the hearing, she is expected to be returned to Franklin. In a second letter, received July 17, King described being transported to court by the Emergency Services Unit handcuffed and shackled in a pitchblack, windowless, unventilated van. "It's complete torture," she wrote.

Please call and demand that Eyricka King (DIN: 16A4486) be permanently moved to a facility where she can be in protective custody and not solitary confinement. In addition, demand that the force order be cancelled that allowed King to be transported in the manner described above.

To report cases where a person is not being given appropriate medical attention, call the Health Services Office in Albany at 518-445-6176; Jason Effman, head of Prison Rape Elimination Act at 518-457-3955; Office of Special Investigations at 518-457-2653; Office of the Inspector General at 518-474-1010; Prison Rape Elimination Act Deputy at Downstate Correctional Facility at 845-831-6600, ext. 2160.

F2L encourages people to call and donate: "Eyricka is facing extreme anti-Blackness and transmisogyny and needs all the support she can get. Please make it part of your daily routine to call in until she is either released or allowed to move to a less horrible facility. Also, please send money to Eyricka's commissary through F2L."

Supporters can donate to F2L at generosity.com/community-fundraising/f2l.

Funds can be donated through King's mother, Kelly Harrison, at gofundme. com/aid-for-eyricka-king. There are also numerous online services to donate directly to King's commissary using her DIN (16A4486).

Follow @Justice4Eyricka on Twitter and @JusticeForEyrica Instagram. Spread King's story over social media with the hashtag #JusticeForEyrica. You can also follow F2L on Facebook for updates on King's condition.

Sign a petition for King at change. org/p/franklin-correctional-facilityjustice-for-eryka-king. □

Oakland City leadership promotes rapist cops

By Terri Kay Oakland, Calif.

Mayor Libby Schaaf and her new Chief of Police Anne Kirkpatrick demonstrated a blatant disregard for the failure of the Oakland Police Department's leadership in the investigation of the 2015 rape and sexual abuse of minor "Celeste Guap," as they promoted two of those responsible to high leadership positions on July 14.

The teenager had been raped and sexually abused by Bay Area police officers. Despite the fact that she was a key witness in as yet uncharged cases against at least eight officers, "Guap" was sent off to a Florida rehabilitation center before a single charge had been filed. "Celeste Guap" is a pseudonym used after Florida law enforcement released the teenager's real name. (Workers.org, 9/8/2016)

Yet city officials went to great lengths to protect the police officers. Not even the mainstream media were allowed inside the secretive promotions ceremony for Officers John Lois and Roland Holmgren. The promotions seemingly occurred under the radar of Federal Judge Thelton Henderson, who held a hearing July 10 related to failures of the city leadership and the Oakland Police Department to properly investigate the child rape and trafficking scandal, brought to light in the federally sponsored Swanson-Barron report. The OPD is still under federal monitoring from the 2003 Negotiated



The Anti Police-Terror Project pickets the Oakland Police Department promotion of rapist cops on July 14.

Settlement Agreement (NSA).

promotions for the very officers who, the Swanson-Barron report found, failed to properly investigate the rape scandal, notify the federal monitor, the district attorney and mayor, and even encouraged destruction of evidence in the case.

Schaaf closed her investigation before findings were even issued. Lois was promoted to assistant chief, the second-highest post in the department. Holmgren was promoted to captain, overseeing the criminal investigation division.

According to the East Bay Express, the Swanson-Barron report documented the failings of Lois, Holmgren and Captain Kirk Coleman of the criminal investigation division to sufficiently investigate officer wrongdoing during the Guap case in 2015. The three were the most senior personnel overseeing the sex-crime allegations. (July 10, 2017)

A brief filed by civil rights attorneys Jim Chanin and John Burris, who originally brought the class action which led

to the NSA, noted: "There is no evidence Chief Kirkpatrick has approved major that any of the officers engaging in this behavior, or any of the supervisors who observed it and apparently failed to report it, stop it, or discipline their subordinates, were ever investigated, and if appropriate, disciplined by the Oakland Police Department." (East Bay Express, July 6, 2017)

> The Anti Police-Terror Project staged a picket line outside the outrageous OPD promotions ceremony held on the outskirts of Oakland calling for "Prosecution not promotion" and the firing of rapist cops.

> The APTP challenged Mayor Schaaf's and Chief Kirkpatrick's ability to get a handle on the blatant culture of sexual abuse and general disregard for the rights of the Black community, people of color, LGBTQIA, undocumented, disabled and unhoused people of Oakland. Endorsers of action also included the National Brown Berets, the People's Commission for Justice, Peace Out Loud and Workers World Party. □

July 20, 2017

Little Steel Strike, Part 2:

Murders, mass arrests and union militancy

'1937 Little Steel Strike, Part 1: Capitalists expose their brutality' is available at tinyurl.com/ycpzt3y7.

By Martha Grevatt

In 1937, Youngstown, Ohio, had a population of 170,000. On May 26, almost a fifth of the residents — 33,000 workers walked out on strike, bringing the mills of Republic Steel and Youngstown Sheet and Tube to a standstill. Youngstown was the heart of the famous Little Steel Strike, when 92,000 workers struck four anti-union steel companies that also included Inland and Bethlehem Steel.

From the beginning of the strike, mill owners implemented the Mohawk Valley Formula, a union-busting strategy developed by professional strikebreaker Pearl Bergoff during the 1935 Remington-Rand strike in upstate New York.

In this strategy, company unions, illegal under the 1935 National Labor Relations Act, were replaced with "independent" unions and a "Citizens Committee" was formed to oppose the strike. A "backto-work" movement of "loyal employees" usually mostly supervisors — attempted to sway the public against the strike and to demoralize the strikers. Vigilantes and special deputies supplemented the work of the police, and sometimes the military, in repressing the strike. Then a date was chosen to reopen the struck facility with great fanfare.

In Youngstown in 1937, with the strike just underway, the phony unions at Republic and Sheet and Tube had already acquired office space. Hundreds of their "missionaries" were visiting strikers' homes. Sheriff Ralph Elser had deputized 100 men to break the strike.

June 19 was declared Women's Day by

the strikers. About 30 women, many with children alongside them, were picketing the gate at Republic. When a few sat down on some boxes situated a few inches onto company property, Police Capt. Charley Richmond ordered the women to move. When they didn't move fast enough, he fired three shots into the air.

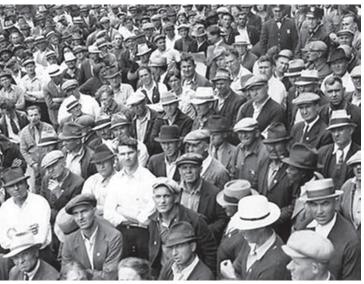
This was a signal to police to fire tear gas directly at the women and children. Striking men, meeting across the street, rushed over. Police fired over 200 tear gas grenades in

less than two hours. Carloads of deputies started to arrive. By midnight, the deputies began shooting, leaving two strikers dead and over 50 wounded. The killings came just 20 days after the infamous Memorial Day Massacre, when Chicago police killed ten Republic strikers and wounded over 100.

The struggle to keep the mills closed

On June 21, company officials announced the mills would be reopened. Strikers telegraphed an appeal to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, urging him to prevent the reopening and "immediately intervene in this critical hour and avoid a calamity and disaster that Ohio may remember for decades to come." (Mary Heaton Vorse, "Labor's New Millions," 1938)

The Youngstown steelworkers were then joined by 3,000 striking truck drivers. Supporters poured in from Ohio and



Strikers of Republic Steel leaving Cleveland City Hall in Ohio after being addressed by a leader of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC), 1937.

Pennsylvania. As talks with the Mediation Board appointed by U.S. Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins collapsed, strikers began an all-night vigil, prepared to resist the opening of the mills. At 3 a.m., they learned there would be no reopening. Gov. Martin L. Davey, acting on orders from President Roosevelt, was sending the Ohio National Guard to strikebound cities, purportedly to maintain the status quo of closed mills. Strikers went home.

Then the mass arrests began. Strikers and sympathizers were dragged out of their homes and cars and arrested at funerals for the slain pickets. Possessing a knife, fork or toothpick were grounds for arrest. Strike leaders, who had persuaded pickets to go home, were accused of "inciting to riot."

The union soon realized the Ohio Guard had come to break the strike. In the towns of Youngstown, Warren, Canton and Massillon, the troops - some of them quartered inside a Republic mill — beat up, gassed and arrested strikers.

On July 11, several hundred strikers and family members were gathered around strike headquarters in Massillon; children danced while a band entertained. Police appeared and ordered the driver of a vehicle to turn its lights off. They then riddled the car with bullets and began gassing and shooting as people fled in all directions. Three were killed and more wounded; again, state violence was followed by mass arrests.

Massillon Police Chief Stanley Switter later testified before the National Labor Relations Board that Republic's district manager demanded to know why he hadn't performed in the manner

of the Chicago police.

The strike-breaking violence continued. In Beaver Falls, Pa., a union sympathizer was killed when a sheriff fired a gas gun at his head at close range. In Cleveland, a picket was crushed against a fence by a scab-driven vehicle.

The brave strikers held out, but by August the strike was broken and the mills were running full steam. Hard-nosed union-buster Tom Girdler of Republic and his cohorts accomplished their immediate goal of keeping their mills union-free.

Yet the ruling class failed to achieve its broader goal of pushing back the militant Congress of Industrial Organizations. By December 1937, the CIO's Steel Workers Organizing Committee had organized over 800 mills and shops and negotiated nearly 450 contracts. Not even three years old, the CIO had signed on nearly four million members. \square

Mississippi: Autoworkers on the road to historic union vote

Continued from page 1

as a club to force concessions from UAW members who work at the Detroit Three.

While the Mississippi workers are hoping the union will help them fight the expansion of the lower-paid temporary workforce in the Nissan plant, the recent contracts for UAW-represented autoworkers in other regions have allowed the bosses to hire more temporary workers, who are paid less and have fewer benefits.

It is imperative for every autoworker, inside and outside the U.S., to be in solidarity with the Mississippi Nissan workers. But this solidarity must be free of the chauvinistic, anti-Japanese, "buy American" rhetoric that the UAW has employed in the past.

Workers' Rights = Civil Rights

Organizing at the Mississippi plant has been going on for over 12 years. On March 4, there was a mass, community-worker "March on Mississippi: Workers' Rights = Civil Rights." Several hundred people gathered in Canton to draw public attention to this struggle, including actor Danny Glover, U.S. Sen. Bernie Sanders and Clarence Thomas, former officer of Bay Area dockworkers' International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10, spark of the 1934 West Coast General Strike.

The marchers demanded that Nissan respect employees' right to vote for a union without fear of retaliation.

In an interview with Workers World, Ernest Whitfield, a 13-year employee and press operator in the Canton plant, was clear: "We state that workers rights are civil rights. Right now our state and



Ernest Whitfield, autoworker and organizer for UAW vote at Canton, Miss., Nissan plant, speaking at Southern Human Rights Organizers' Conference in Jackson, Miss., Dec. 10, 2016.

threatened and suppressed."

Whitfield added, "The tactics that they are using is nothing short of what they were doing in the 1950's and 1960's as voter suppression and intimidation against Black people. That is why we link workers rights with civil rights. This is an 80 to 85 percent African-American plant."

By Tuesday, July 11, company intimidation of the workers had already started. "This week there has been a difference in the plant," said Whitfield. "Some of management's reaction has been a Mr. Nice Guy role: come out on the line, asking if there is enough air, because usually it is pretty hot. They are catering to workers in an abnormal way." Then on Wednesday, the plant manager, Steve Marsh, published an anti-union video.

The workers didn't let those tactics go unnoticed. On Wednesday, July 12, a group of workers drove down to New Orleans to drop off a box of union cards at the local National Labor Relations Board, requesting they monitor and help with a free and

fair election. On Thursday, July 13, two workers, Travis Parks and Eric Hearn, walked into the bosses' office at the Canton plant and delivered a letter to demand that they recognize and bargain with the UAW.

By Friday night, at shift change, workers were passing out union fliers to their

that night, supervisors brought out fliers listing so-called facts about the UAW to scare workers.

According to Whitfield: "It was typical playbook stuff from other anti-union campaigns. Our manager spoke directly about the election, saying that the temps were left out, stating that they will not be able to vote, but that is not the case."

Temp, two-tier, all workers in organizing drive

The union has been organizing workers in the temp agencies, and close to a majority in some have filled out union cards.

Out of the roughly 6,400 workers in the plant, over 2,600 are temps who work for contractor companies. The company hires workers through the temp agencies to keep the workers divided, in an attempt to weaken them and make it more difficult to organize.

Temporary agencies inside the Canton Nissan plant include Kelly Services, Minact Yates (with about 640 workers in plant) and Yates Services. There are also subcontractors under Kelly Services, including Onin and Excelsior Services.

According to Whitfield, "Contractors do the same work that we do. We work side-by-side with them in all job categories." But there is a tiered system of pay and benefits.

Even for workers that are employed directly with Nissan there is a two-tiered system, including a lower tier called "Pathway." This is for former temps now hired by Nissan who are not offered the same health insurance, pay and other federal rights to have a fair vote is being co-workers at the turnstiles. Later on benefits as other Nissan employees. For instance. Nissan workers are offered a Healthcare Reimbursement Account (HRA) with a \$1,500 annual deductible, while Pathway workers are only offered a Healthcare Saving Account (HSA) with a \$2,600 annual deductible.

'Bring the weight of the community onto this plant'

The projected date for the union election is for the second week of August. The UAW is waiting on the NLRB to confirm the exact date.

"Our goal is to win the election and bring the union into the plant, regardless of tactics management is doing," emphasized Whitfield. "We need to bring the weight of the community onto this plant. We are inviting social justice and civil rights and other community activists to let this management team know they need to back off these tactics. United we can win!"

Martha Grevatt, trustee of UAW Local 869 and 30-year UAW Fiat Chrysler worker, contributed to this article.

HEALTH CARE CRISIS:

Tufts nurses strike for patient safety, pensions

By Boston Workers World Bureau

Hundreds of cheering nurses streamed into the lobby of Boston's Tufts Medical Center at 7 a.m. on July 17, wearing "Safe Patient Limits Save Lives" buttons on their scrubs and carrying "Tufts RNs: Protecting Patient Care" signs. They were reporting to work after being illegally locked out for four days, following a courageous 24-hour strike.

This historic strike by union members began on the morning of July 12, as overnight, third-shift Tufts nurses emerged from the hospital's front doors to join co-workers on spirited picket lines. It was the first nurses' strike in Boston since 1986.

In retaliation, Tufts management enlisted 350 scab nurses and deactivated the badges of 1,200 Tufts employees represented by the Massachusetts Nurses Association. Tufts' actions violated federal labor regulations.

Ninety-five percent of MNA members had voted to strike. They organized picket lines in response to Tufts' refusal to address unsafe hospital staffing practices and improve its pay and benefits offer during over 30 contract negotiation sessions. Tufts nurses had worked for 14 months without a contract.

Boston's corporate media tried to paint the MNA nurses as "greedy" for defending quality patient care and cost-saving, fixed-benefit pensions. In vain, they attempted to foment anti-union public sentiment and fabricate a basis for police repression by blaming and sensationalizing creative attempts to keep scabs away.

Working-class solidarity

But Boston's multinational, multigender, multiability, intergenerational working class wasn't buying the anti-worker smear campaign. Instead, organized labor answered MNA's call to join its picket lines.

Team Solidarity - United Steelworkers Local 8751, Boston School Bus Drivers; UNITE HERE Local 26, Hotel and Food Service Workers; International



WW PHOTO: LIZ GREEN

Working-class solidarity with striking nurses outside Tufts Medical Center, Boston.

Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 2222, telecommunications workers; and other union locals - issued statements of support and came out in force throughout the five days of picketing. Health care workers joined from other area hospitals and clinics.

Delegations of Boston's Workers World Party, labor union and youth militants took shifts on the picket lines. Additionally, strikers' families, neighbors, former patients and many others supported the strike. The Washington Street underpass that runs through the downtown medical center teemed day and night with honking vehicles and resonated with chants in solidarity.

This support grew daily until even Boston Mayor Marty Walsh had to step back from his accusations at the strike's outset that the nurses had contributed to a situation where "patients will lose care."

Rank-and-file nurses and their allies transformed the lockout into a four-day street meeting on working-class solidarity in the age of health care cutbacks.

"Every strike in this city in the last few

years has been about health care," said Ed Childs, of WWP and UNITE HERE Local 26. "It's the number one issue for workers."

'System is broken'

"The same profit system that is trying to take away health benefits from the people is also trying to force health care workers to handle a higher volume of under-insured patients," said Gery Armsby, health care administrative support worker and WWP member, in a discussion with Tufts nurses. "It's a deeply broken system that is trying to fix itself by crushing working and poor people."

Tufts patients, whose lives were saved by Tufts nurses, spoke about the need to fight for quality health care: "They are crying 'the hospital doesn't have enough money!' while they give it all to a few people at the top," said the angry spouse of a Tufts patient.

Tufts CEO Michael Wagner takes home an annual salary of over \$1 million, not counting bonuses. But pay for nurses at Tufts is the lowest in the city. They make

only 87 percent of what nurses are paid elsewhere in Boston. This exploitation is compounded by patient-to-staff ratios that are among the highest in Boston.

At the bargaining table, Tufts management has deceptively argued that the hospital needs to "operate lean" in the face of the uncertainty given the Trump administration's attack on the Affordable Care Act. In a city known for its top-notch research hospitals, Tufts receives a relatively low reimbursement rate from insurers.

But rather than fighting back against Washington and the insurance industry to ensure access to quality care for all, Tufts is trying to pass this burden on to the nurses in an austerity package.

Tufts squandered over \$6 million on rotten anti-strike tactics: an illegal lockout, coupled with costly scab labor. While pouring money

into out-of-state strikebreakers and police, Tufts then used these expenses as a bogus justification for locking out the nurses.

But, as MNA leaflets explained, hiring scabs isn't just expensive and unnecessary it's life-threatening to patients. Multiple cases of patient safety problems were reported during the lockout. Tufts dismissed at least one scab for incompetence.

By bringing in 350 strikebreakers to do the work of 1,200 trained, dedicated, full-time nurses, Tufts management used patients' lives as a bargaining chip. Clearly, the bosses don't care who gets hurt as long as they can try to force concessions from workers.

Nurses say they expect negotiations to resume soon, but as of this writing no timetable has been publicized. Whether or not an agreement will be reached that meets the nurses' demands is unknown. But the broad multinational workingclass solidarity that was palpable in Boston over the last week will be important as bigger battles over health care are coming.

Charlottesville, Va., acts to 'Smash White Supremacy'

By Workers World Staff

Thousands arrived in Charlottesville, Va., on July 8 to protest the Klan and their cop protectors. The city, under the guise of so-called "free speech," had granted a permit to the terrorist Klan to have a "recruitment rally" at the city courthouse.

Those in opposition to the Klan mobilized for weeks beforehand in Charlottesville, throughout Virginia, the East Coast and beyond to build a mighty act of people's resistance. Mass protests have been taking place in the city over the demand of working-class and oppressed people to remove white supremacist Confederate statues memorializing terrorists such as Gen. Robert E. Lee, the commander of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia revered by racists.

In the face of hundreds of fully armed cops from at least seven jurisdictions, including the Virginia State Police, many in riot gear, and with police helicopters overhead, people's fighters took over Justice Park, where the courthouse is located and surrounded the building.

For at least an hour before Klan members arrived, protesters militantly and loudly let it be known that white supremacy in any form, anywhere will be resisted by any means necessary. Protesters joined picket lines and filled the streets adjacent to the park, holding high signs and banners declaring "Jobs Not the Klan," "Kops and the Klan Go Hand in Hand," "Black Lives Matter," "Ban Racists, Not Refugees," "Smash White Supremacy" and other slogans.

Due to the people's protest, Klan members were delayed in arriving at the park and were only able to get inside fencedin barricades with assistance from hundreds of cops. Protesters blocking an entrance to prevent Klan members from entering the park were brutalized by cops and then arrested.

While inside the barricades and protected by the cops, the Klan was drowned out by protesters' militant chants. After the cops allowed the Klan to go over



Protest in Charlottesville, Va., on July 8.

their permit time by at least 20 minutes, they escorted Klan members to their vehicles, parked in a city-owned garage. While protesters were objecting to this outrageous process, they were attacked by cops physically and with tear gas. At least 23 were arrested and at least two have been charged with felonies.

Despite the cop attacks, protesters militantly defended their space and remained until the last arrested person was out of jail on bond at midnight.

Anti-racist protesters are now mobilizing for another fightback against white supremacists from a variety of terrorist organizations that claim they will have a so-called alt-right demonstration in Charlottesville on Aug. 12.

To make a contribution to the legal fund, visit tinyurl.com/yagsa8wn/. □

Page 6 July 20, 2017 workers.org

Highlights of Cuban labor lea



Unions, communities in U.S. embrace Cuban labor leader

By Minnie Bruce Pratt

Victor Manuel Lemagne Sánchez, secretary general of Cuba's hotel and tourism union and elected delegate to Cuba's National Assembly, recently completed a triumphant two-week tour of 11 U.S. cities. After landing in northern California on June 27, Lemagne Sánchez concluded his travels in the Baltimore/Washington, D.C., area on July 11.

In the West Coast segment of his tour, Lemagne Sánchez met with leaders of the San Francisco Labor Council, the San Jose/South Bay Central Labor Council and the University of California/Berkeley Labor Center. He became the first Cuban elected official to be invited and received onto the floor of the California Senate and Assembly in Sacramento.

In Sacramento, Lemagne Sánchez spoke at a reception sponsored by UNITE HERE, which organizes U.S. hotel, restaurant and casino workers. The union hosted other receptions for the Cuban labor leader throughout northern California, and later in Los Angeles and San Diego.

A June 29 public event in Berkeley featured Lemagne Sánchez and Clarence Thomas, retired International Longshore and Warehouse Union militant and former Local 10 secretary-treasurer. The event was sponsored by the International Committee for Peace, Justice and Dignity, and supported by many Cuba solidarity organizations.

That meeting, held at the hall of the University Professional and Technical Employees, Communication Workers Local 9119, highlighted the support for Cuban workers by the ILWU International and Local 10 over the last 70 years.

Lemagne Sánchez also addressed the ILWU's Bloody Thursday commemoration on July 5. This annual event honors two dock workers killed by police in 1934; their deaths unleashed the historic San Francisco general strike. Delores Lemon-Thomas documented Lemagne Sánchez's tribute in videography available at facebook. com/2017CTC, along with photographs and other video highlights of the tour.

Other events took place July 6 in Los Angeles at the University of California at Los Angeles Labor Center; July 7 in Chicago at Workers United with Service Employees Union Local 1 and the Latino Caucus; July 8 in New York at the New York State Nurses Association hall with 1199 SEIU; and July 10 in Baltimore at the Amalgamated Transit Union hall.

On July 10, in Washington, D.C., Lemagne Sánchez met with the executive vice president of the AFL-CIO, Tefere Gebre, and Cathy Feingold from the International Department of the AFL-CIO. Afterwards, Lemagne Sánchez lunched with representatives of AFL-CIO constituent organizations, including its LGBTQ unit, PRIDE at Work; the A. Philip Randolph Institute; the Coalition of Labor Union Women; and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

Between union and community events in Baltimore, Lemagne Sánchez was welcomed on July 11 at the Cuban Embassy in Washington, D.C., where he met with the Cuban ambassador to the U.S., José Ramón Cabañas Rodríguez.

The voice of the labor movement's resolutions, like the one passed in San Francisco, can be an important tool pushing city councils and state legislatures to take a position opposing the blockade of Cuba. A 2016 California Labor Federation resolution called on affiliates to withhold endorsement of candidates who don't oppose the blockade. Already three state capital cities have passed resolutions: Hartford, Conn.; Sacramento, Calif.; and Helena, Mont.

The impact of Lemagne Sánchez's visit has been felt in a recent act of U.S. labor solidarity. On July 10, the San Francisco Labor Council unanimously passed a resolution noting that it has "gone on record calling for an end to the U.S. blockade, travel ban and trade embargo against Cuba since July 26, 1993, and along with other labor unions, supported the many successful challenges to the blockade by grassroots organizations including the Pastors for Peace Friendshipment caravans to Cuba."

The SFLC resolved that it "reaffirm its support for ending the trade embargo, travel restrictions and all aspects of the U.S. blockade against Cuba, and oppose efforts by the Trump administration to tighten the blockade." The SFLC sent this resolution to its affiliates, area labor councils, the California Labor Federation, Change to Win and the AFL-CIO, urging concurrence. It is formally submitting this resolution to the 2017 AFL-CIO convention and the 2018 convention of the California Labor Federation. □

San Diego, July 5



On July 5, San Diego welcomed the historic visit of Victor Manuel Lemagne Sánchez, a representative of the Cuban Workers Central Union (La Central de Trabajadores de Cuba). A reception and discussion were hosted by UNITE HERE at the Local 30 headquarters, and sponsored by Unión Del Barrio and Workers World Party. Opening remarks were made by a representative from UNITE HERE, and the meeting was chaired by Benjamin Prado of Unión del Barrio.

Lemagne Sánchez, who is the secretary-general of the International Union of Hotels and Tourism for the Americas and the Caribbean, began his presentation by pointing out that this is the first time since 2000 that a representative of the Federation of Cuban Workers has been granted a visa to meet with the U.S. labor movement. Many times in his presentation he spoke of conversations during his U.S. tour with workers who were not getting the basic benefits that are guaranteed in Cuba. These include education, health care, vacation time, child care and paid time off.

One example he used was the amount of rooms cleaned per worker per day in hotels, and the attention paid to the chemicals used cleaning the rooms. All of this is evaluated scientifically in Cuba because the workers are the first priority. The workers are in control, which is why they take pride in their work. It is important and encouraged that workers actively participate in all the decisions that are made concerning the work and the workplace.

Lemagne Sánchez emphasized that 95 percent of Cuban workers belong to a union and that belonging to a union in Cuba is a conscious, voluntary decision that is made by every worker. This is the result of educating the workers, which is done by the union organizers door-to-door.

Prior to discussion, Lemagne Sánchez handed out a tourism brochure to everyone, along with a sticker referencing Auténtica Cuba, a website guide to Cuban tourism in English. (tinyurl.com/y77anvzv)

The meeting and presentation were in Spanish and there were transceivers available for translation. After the presentation, Prado opened the floor to discussion and emphasized that this was the most important part of this reception: the exchange of ideas. Some of the local community organizations present included the Association of Raza Educators, All of Us or None, the Chicano Prison Project, the Free Mumia and the Free Leonard Peltier coalitions and individuals from Friends of the Malcolm X Library.

Prado ended the discussion by asking that all organizations write a letter or sign on to a statement supporting the movement to end the U.S. blockade of Cuba.

- Photo and story by Gloria Verdieu

Los Angeles, July 6



PHOTO: UCLA LABOR CENTER

Kent Wong, director UCLA Labor Center and Cristina Vazquez, Workers United, with Victor Lemagne. The public event at UCLA Labor Center followed meetings with UNITE HERE, United Food and Commercial Workers, Roofers and SEIU activists and leaders.



On July 26, 1953, Cuban revolutionaries stormed the Moncada Barracks in Santiago, Cuba. Less than six years later, Fidel and his guerrillas ousted the U.S.-backed dictatorship, marching into Havana in early January 1959.

That same year, Workers World newspaper began to publish. After more than a decade of anti-communist reaction in the U.S., the Cuban Revolution helped revive interest in revolutionary socialism. The more outrageous the anti-Cuba propaganda in the corporate press, the harder Workers World has worked to tell the truth about this great victory over U.S. imperialism.

In 1961, when the U.S. announced that it was breaking diplomatic relations with Cuba, WW's first editor, Vince Copeland, led a protest inside the United Nations,

WW Supporter Continue defense o

his booming voice proclaiming the U.S. "speaks for the bankers, not the people."

In the early 1990s, Cuba endured great economic hardships after the Soviet Union fell and the U.S. tightened its blockade. Workers World helped build the Peace for Cuba International Appeal to end the blockade, the travel ban and all intervention against Cuba.

Despite the choking blockade, the Cuban Revolution only grows stronger and more respected as it



May Day, Hav

ider's triumphant tour in U.S.

Chicago, July 7



The flag of revolutionary Cuba.

Over 60 people came out in Chicago on July 7 to greet Cuban labor leader Victor Manuel Lemagne Sánchez. A reception was held at the hall of the Chicago and Midwest Joint Board of Workers United, with Service Employees Union Local 1 and the Latino Caucus. Lemagne Sánchez described how unions in Cuba serve as the voice of workers both with regard to control over their workplaces and in making their views known to relevant levels of government. He also explained the adverse impact on the Cuban economy from the U.S. economic blockade and called for renewed efforts to end it. His remarks were greeted enthusiastically by an audience made up largely of union and community group members, who then presented him with a Cuban flag cake.

— Photo and story by Jeff Sorel

New York City, July 8

The New York City reception for Comrade Victor Manuel Lemagne Sánchez was held on July 8 in the spacious conference room at the midtown offices of the New York State Nurses Association, one of the two organizations sponsoring the

Karen Jarrett, NYSNA's downstate director of political and community organizing, opened the meeting by welcoming Lemagne Sánchez and the labor leaders, community activists and members of progressive organizations who support the Cuban revolution and were eager to hear him. Estela Vasquez, executive vice president of 1199 SEIU, the other sponsoring organization, extended the health care union's support and spoke enthusiastically about her trips to Cuba.

During his initial talk Lemagne Sánchez spoke about Cuba's strong response to President Trump's reversal of President Obama's initiatives increasing U.S. travel to and exchange with Cuba. Then the labor leader gave a detailed Power-Point presentation on the history of U.S. attacks on Cuban sovereignty, tracing the increasing severity of the blockade, which seeks to isolate Cuba and prevent global trade relations. But despite constant aggression by the U.S., the socialist country has prevailed at the United Nations where it has won international condemnation of the U.S. blockade.

During the question-and-answer period, members of the Laundry, Distribution and Food Service Joint Board, a division of SEIU, spoke about how much their members have learned about universal, preventive health care delivery during twice-yearly trips to Cuba. Jarrett noted that NYSNA was interested in such educational trips.

An elaborate variety of delicious finger food sustained the crowd and heightened the celebratory mood of the gathering. The meeting shows that more such global solidarity exchanges between unions would certainly be welcome in New York City.

— Story by Sue Davis

Baltimore, **July 10-11**

By WW Baltimore Bureau

Victor Manuel Lemagne Sánchez, a high-ranking union leader representing workers in Cuba's hotel and tourism industry and also an elected deputy in that country's National Assembly of People's Power, was greeted in Baltimore on July 10 by a packed meeting of enthusiastic community, youth and union activists.

President David McClure of the Amalgamated Transit Workers Local 1300 opened the meeting by welcoming everyone to the union hall. He described some of the struggles his membership is engaged in, along with bus riders in Baltimore.

Sharon Black, an organizer with the Peoples Power Assembly here who chaired the gathering, called up three very important representatives to formally greet Lemagne Sánchez: Fred Mason, former president of the Maryland/District of Columbia AFL-CIO Council; Jermaine Jones, president of the Baltimore Metropolitan AFL-CIO; and Basma Gregg, 19, representing youth of the Peoples Power Assembly and Workers World Party.

Gregg presented Lemagne Sánchez with the book "El capitalismo en un callejón sin salida/Capitalism at a Dead End." She explained how youth in Baltimore, especially Black youth, must endure unemployment, racism and police terror.

Lemagne Sánchez presented an indepth slide presentation on the U.S. blockade of Cuba and also shared some impressions of his coast-to-coast trip meeting union members in the United States. He explained how one woman told him she had to pay \$200,000 for openheart surgery, while if she lived in Cuba she would receive medical care for free.

Lee Patterson of Workers World Party thanked Cuba for giving asylum to Black Liberation exile Assata Shakur. Dr. Ken Morgan, a Cuba solidarity activist, asked Lemagne Sánchez about Cuba's policies on racism.

Hearty welcome from Baltimore labor leaders

The next day, approximately 35 to 40 Baltimore union leaders met with Lemagne Sánchez in the large conference room of the Service Employees Union in downtown Baltimore. SEIU 1199 represents nursing home and hospital workers in the city, the largest being Johns Hopkins and Mount Sinai hospitals.

Among those greeting the Cuban labor leader were Fred Mason, president emeritus of the Maryland/DC AFL-CIO; Courtney Jenkins, president of the Baltimore Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and member of American Postal Workers Union Local 181; the Rev. Cortly "C.D." Witherspoon of the Peoples Power Assembly; Lena Redman of Workers United; David McClure, president of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1300; Royce Adams of the International Longshoremen's Association; and Ricarra Jones, political organizer with SEIU 1199.

Of special significance is the fact that many of the labor leaders at the reception have led delegations to Cuba in the past, including Fred Mason and Mike Smith of the National Association of Letter Carriers.

It has been nearly 20 years since the last multicity visit of a Cuban labor representative. Brother Lemagne Sánchez stated that he was closing his 15-day tour of U.S. cities with "a golden stamp of approval" and that "it has been amazing to see the amount of people in Baltimore

in solidarity with the Cuban Revolution. There has been a great exchange in terms of a working relationship with groups and organizations in both Cuba and the U.S."

He added, to the applause of the audience, that Baltimore had been "the most attentive and exciting reception during my visit to the U.S." The following day, he said, he would be returning to the National Assembly of People's Power, Cuba's legislative body, in which he participates as a delegate from the municipality of Trinidad.

Goals of the Central Union of Cuban Workers

Lemagne Sánchez narrated a slide presentation on the structure and functions of the Central Union of Cuban Workers (CTC) in which he emphasized the three major ongoing goals of the organization: (1) organizing the development of the economy and enhancing the productive capacity of the workers, (2) providing ideological education for the workers, and (3) increasing the role of women in unions and Cuban society in general.

He explained that there are 16 national unions in the CTC with more than 2.9 million workers. Of those, 2.7 million are employees of the state. Altogether, more than 90 percent of Cuban workers are organized in the CTC.

Asked if this is compulsory, Brother Lemagne Sánchez explained that union membership is voluntary. The union leaders at the base are responsible for both recruiting as well as accepting the dues from each member by hand. The CTC has a congress that is elected every four years. At the base level, union leaders are elected every two and a half years by secret ballot, and at the leadership level they are elected every five years, including the president of the CTC.

At the last congress of the CTC, its 20th, the two main resolutions discussed and passed were to mobilize the workers ideologically in the present stage of Cuban socialism, and to increase productivity with the goal of greater efficiency, along with an increased amount of autonomy and flexibility in the workplace. As an example, he cited the case of women workers who have to drop their children off at schools. The time they have to arrive at their workplaces was adjusted.

Visit to Freddie Gray Memorial

Immediately following the union luncheon, despite 106-degree weather, Lemagne Sánchez traveled with activists to the site where Freddie Gray was beaten and arrested by police before he died in 2015. The Rev. C.D. Witherspoon, who lives in the neighborhood, welcomed the Cuban unionist. Courtney Jenkins of the American Postal Workers Union and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists explained that he grew up in this community.

Mike Smith from the National Association of Letter Carriers, who is also an official with the Baltimore Metropolitan AFL-CIO Council, explained that Freddie Gray's sister was a member of his union. The group presented Lemagne Sánchez with a Peoples Power Assembly banner reading "Justice for Freddie Gray" that had been in the forefront of countless demonstrations during the period after Gray's death.



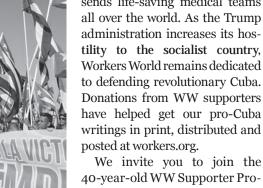


WW PHOTO: CHERYL LABASH



Lemagne Sánchez with New York City supporters, including those from the sponsoring organizations, the New York State Nurses Association and 1199 SEIU.

Program at 40 Cuban Revolution



ana, 2017.

sends life-saving medical teams all over the world. As the Trump administration increases its hostility to the socialist country, Workers World remains dedicated to defending revolutionary Cuba. Donations from WW supporters have helped get our pro-Cuba writings in print, distributed and

40-year-old WW Supporter Program to help us continue to publish articles in solidarity with workers and oppressed peoples

worldwide and in opposition to U.S. wars. The newspaper is a source of anti-racist, anti-sexist, pro-LGBTQ news and working-class truth, while it supports immigrants, opposes Is-

lamophobia and helps build pro-socialist campaigns.

To join, write checks to Workers World and mail them, with your name and address, to 147 W. 24th St., 2nd floor, New York, NY 10011. Or donate at workers. org/donate/. Supporters who contribute \$75 a year receive a year's subscription, a monthly letter and five free subscriptions. Sponsors who contribute \$100 also get a book published by World View Forum. Sustainers who contribute \$300 or more receive five books. Thanks for your help in building the revolutionary press in the U.S.

Page 8 July 20, 2017 workers.org

The July Days, Petrograd 1917 Sometimes a revolutionary party has to flip its tactics

By John Catalinotto

On July 16 a hundred years ago, about four months after deposing the Russian czar and four months before making the world's first socialist revolution, tens of thousands of workers and soldiers in Petrograd (St. Petersburg) grabbed their rifles and machine guns to march on the headquarters of the Soviet (Council) and demand that the workers' parties take power away from the pro-capitalist government.

To do this, these workers and soldiers had to defy not only the government, which refused to end Russia's participation in World War I. They had to defy the workers' and peasants' parties in the Soviet that had submitted to capitalist rule. And they even had to challenge the Central Committee of the most revolutionary workers' party in the world at that time, the Bolsheviks.

The Bolshevik leaders had asked that there be no demonstration. Despite this, the Putilov factory workers and their armed Red Guard, the Machine Gun Regiments of the Petrograd garrison and other units that had made the February revolution and later came over to the Bolsheviks, plus the fiery sailors of the nearby Kronstadt island base — all were ready to march with their arms and go all the way.

At least that was their will. But they didn't have step-by-step plans for how to do it. They were on the march to demand that the Soviet take power from the capitalists. Or, as one of the thousands of angry workers yelled to a leader of the Social Revolutionary Party, Victor Chernov: "Take the power, you S.O.B., when they give it to you."

This important episode in the Russian Revolution, known as the July Days, is significant for the way it illustrates the uneven, spontaneous and even chaotic development that a revolutionary process can take. The best workers' party then in existence, one in close contact with the class it represented, was unable to con-



Workers and soldiers take cover — or fall shot — after hidden snipers fire on the July Days protest in Petrograd, July 17, 1917, at the Nevsky Prospect.

trol the ebb and flow of the battle.

The Bolshevik leadership's cool evaluation was that while in Petrograd itself they might have sufficient support to take and hold power, that was not true elsewhere in Russia. Yet they still had to answer to the hot, revolutionary fervor of their most ardent supporters among the workers, the soldiers and sailors in and around Petrograd.

The Bolshevik leaders had to flip their position at the last minute. They did this to avoid disappointment, disillusionment and discouragement among their supporters or, worse, to leave them disorganized and vulnerable to reactionary attack.

February-March 1917, the first revolution

Following the uprising in the winter that overthrew the Russian monarchy and nobility, two separate centers of power replaced Czar Nicholas's rule. One was the Provisional Government, where the pro-capitalist parties took the lead and collaborated with the remnants of the old czarist state — the bureaucracy, the police and courts, and the regular army generals. The Provisional Government acted as the center of capitalist power.

The other center was the Petrograd Soviet, an elected body in which the main parties represented the peasants, workers and soldiers. At the time the czar was deposed, none of these poor-people parties, not even the Bolsheviks, had a program calling for a socialist revolution

in Russia. By June, however, Bolshevik demonstrations were calling for "All power to the Soviets!" but mainly as agitation to gradually build support.

The Provisional Government was formed from the old parliament, which had been powerless when the monarchy existed. Its leader was Alexander Kerensky, a lawyer who became Russia's war minister. Kerensky faced a great dilemma: Either he must break with the masses — who wanted to end Russia's participation in the war — or he must break with the capitalists and Russia's imperialist allies in France and Britain — who wanted Russia to keep fighting Germany and Austria-Hungary.

On July 1, Kerensky made his decision. He broke with the Russian masses when he ordered Russian troops to go on the offensive against Austrian lines to capture the city of Lvov, in what is now western Ukraine. The broad Russian offensive disintegrated within five days, eventually collapsing before a counteroffensive. It cost 400,000 casualties on the Russian side.

This military disaster won even more support within the army for the Bolsheviks and their leader, V.I. Lenin. It was the only party in the Soviets that promised over and over that it would end Russia's participation in the war.

The Petrograd garrison, to whom war meant death, exploded against Kerensky's offensive. The Putilov munition workers were also angry, armed, organized and pro-Bolshevik. The Kronstadt sailors, for their part, had been ready since March to demand that the Soviet take state power and end the war.

Kronstadt leads the way

Raskolnikov (F. F. Ilyin), a 25-year-old sailor who was a Bolshevik leader in Kronstadt, wrote in his memoir that in the eyes of the Russian capitalist class: "Kronstadt was a symbol of savage horror, the devil incarnate, a terrifying specter of anarchy, a nightmare rebirth of the Paris Commune on Russian soil." In contrast,

for the workers, soldiers and peasants "Kronstadt in 1917 was the impregnable citadel of the revolution ... the vanguard of the revolution."

Raskolnikov added that the total number of sympathizers with the Bolshevik Party at that time in Kronstadt reached 35,000, with 3,000 formal party members.

The Bolshevik central leadership was often in the unenviable position of having to hold back the Kronstadt sailors until the rest of the country — or at least the rest of Petrograd — caught up.

One can only imagine Raskolnikov's turmoil that July 16 when his orders from Bolshevik headquarters were to avoid bringing the Kronstadt sailors to the demonstration in Petrograd. From the other side, he faced thousands of sailor comrades demanding the Bolsheviks authorize the demonstration and distribute arms. Add to this a few anarchist agitators who chided the Bolsheviks for being "sellouts," and you can feel his frustration.

Though he believed in party discipline, Raskolnikov argued with the Bolshevik leaders. He said that the armed demonstration was inevitable. Their only choice was stand with it or stand aside.

At Bolshevik headquarters — a small palace formerly occupied by a ballet star who had been the czar's lover — the central committee was also beseeched and partly besieged by the Machine Gun Regiment, which was also demanding authorization for an armed demonstration.

The leaders rediscussed their decision, then authorized the demonstration (one can almost hear Raskolnikov's sigh of relief on the phone). Still they tried to cool it down, make it peaceful.

Street clashes

The highpoint of the demonstration was on July 17 when 10,000 armed sailors joined the march through Petrograd. There was sporadic fighting as unidentified reactionaries fired on the masses

Continued on the next page

The Macron-Trump visit: U.S. role in World War I

By Henry Hagins

"As through this world I've wandered I've seen lots of funny men. Some will rob you with a six-gun and some with a fountain pen."

> Woody Guthrie in his song "Pretty Boy Floyd."

The visit of U.S. president 45 with the French president on Bastille Day brought together two imperialist leaders who rob both by force and by putting something over on the people. That they celebrated with pageantry the World War I landing of U.S. troops as France's ally shows how they still combine both tactics.

Whole nations, peoples and territories have been robbed by these thieves. They continue to rob with six-guns carried by armies, battalions of corporate and private lawyers, and even presidents over centuries. It became popular for them to plunder the world in the name of peace, justice, patriotism and liberty as a smokescreen for their hypocrisy, greed and relentless drive for imperialist profits.

Millions have been fed its intoxicating bait. Untold millions have perished as a result. Countless millions today agonize and suffer this human-made fate, which need not go on, and respond with greater organized resistance.

World War I

In August 1914, the European rulers went to war with each other over land that did not belong to them — on the continent and overseas. It was called World War l, or the Great War. Though the rulers declared the war, all people and even babies were dramatically impacted.

One hundred years later, and it's still being remembered and commemorated. Everyday people, for the most part on both sides, paid the highest price in this war. But who benefited the most? The ruling class and its war profiteers made out like the bandits they are!

The underlying causes of the Great War were protracted in the making, and are very complex, but as a shorthand, it can be summed up with the letters MAIN, as follows:

Militarism: The enthusiastic build-up of armies and weapons/technology; war glorification.

Alliances: Europe's system of alliances turned it into an armed camp; an attack on one country was an attack on all its allies. No wonder Europe in this period is often described as a powder keg.

Imperialism: The merger of financial and industrial capital to exploit the world's labor, usually accompanied by land and resource theft by strong coun-

tries over weaker ones at grand larceny levels.

Nationalism: Chauvinism in the oppressor states, claiming their own people are above all others ("We're #1!"); unthinking loyalty.

Prior to the outbreak of the war, Lenin and the Bolsheviks saw it as the colossal con game it was, and strongly urged European workers' parties, which were then usually called Social Democrats, to reject support for the war that was enthusiastically promoted by the imperialists. There was no good side in the upcoming war. Both sides were alliances of countries that exploited their own workers and oppressed toiling people abroad.

The Social Democratic parties, at their pre-war Stuttgart and Basel congresses, adopted paper resolutions to resist both sides of the two alliances. But after war was declared in 1914, nearly all of them followed "their own" bourgeois leaders and joined the chorus of war hawks from their respective countries.

Sam Marcy's 1985 book, "The Bolsheviks and War" (tinyurl.com/y9pvhakf), which reviews the pre-World War I socialist congresses, remains a must-read for political activists interested in strengthening their ideological anti-imperialist fortitude. He shows that workers get no

benefits from misguided pro-imperialist patriotism.

U.S. entry into World War I

Although President Woodrow Wilson promised to keep the U.S. out of the European meat grinder, the material interests of U.S. monopolies and banks drove Washington into siding with the Triple Entente of Britain, France and Russia. Finally, on April 6, 1917, the U.S. officially declared war on Germany.

In June 1917, U.S. troops landed in France, and the following month General "Black-Jack" Pershing set up the European Command of U.S. forces. The relatively untrained U.S. troops first saw combat in France against German troops in October.

U.S. troop strength rose from 200,000 to 4 million by war's end. Some 117,000 troops died, and double that number were wounded. They suffered so that the U.S. rulers could get their seat at the imperialists' table.

This writer paraphrases an observation by Malcolm X that astutely summarizes this topic: The Man doesn't care if you're for right or wrong, as long as you're for Him. After that he doesn't care what you're for! Many U.S. veterans of the

from hiding. In what every account described as chaotic, the armed but untrained demonstrators fired back.

By the third day, forces still obeying orders of the Kerensky government were arresting Kronstadt sailors and Bolshevik leaders. The government, which really knew better, cast the Bolsheviks as "German agents," especially Lenin, since he had arranged with German imperialism in April to let him ride on a sealed train from Switzerland through Germany to Russia.

The Bolsheviks had not called out the protest, but they stayed in the streets with the masses, signed a "ceasefire" truce with the government and organized an orderly retreat when the government broke the agreement. The sailors, for the most part, made it back to Kronstadt, the soldiers to their regiments and the Putilov workers back to the factory.

All the Bolshevik leaders, including Raskolnikov and his comrade Semyon Roshal from Kronstadt, Leon Trotsky and others, were sent to prison. Lenin and Zinoviev fled to Finland, where they stayed in hiding for fear of assassination. The Bolshevik headquarters was seized.

The Bolsheviks' real crime, of course, was not that they served the German Kaiser, but that they stood up with the revolutionary proletariat in Russia instead of abandoning them.

After a month, another turn in the course of the Russian Revolution reversed this partial defeat and most of the leaders were freed. That gave the Bolsheviks another chance to show, under greatly improved conditions, that any hesitation on their part in July was merely tactical. Just months later they led an insurrection that created the first workers' state and showed that a successful revolution needs both a disciplined leadership and a mass uprising.

Catalinotto wrote this article based on quotes and outtakes from his book, "Turn the Guns Around: Mutinies, Soldier Revolts and Revolution," which included research from Raskolnikov's "Kronstadt and Petrograd in 1917," Leon Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution" and Nikolai Sukhanov's "The Russian Revolution 1917."

Why U.S. media mourn death of Liu Xiaobo

By Stephen Millies

The world capitalist media are filled with tributes to Liu Xiaobo and attacks on the People's Republic of China. Liu, who was convicted of counterrevolutionary acts in 2009, died of liver cancer on July 13 in Shenyang.

The Economist magazine's front cover calls Liu "China's conscience." What did Liu stand for?

Liu supported the U.S. invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan. He declared: "No matter what, the war against Saddam Hussein is just! The decision by President Bush is right." Liu also supported the U.S wars against Korea and Vietnam, which killed millions of people.

The world bourgeoisie bestowed its Nobel Peace Prize — named after the inventor of dynamite — upon Pentagon cheerleader Liu in 2010.

Liu despised the Chinese people, whom he described as "wimpy and spineless."

In 1988, Liu said that "given the size of China, certainly it would need 300 years of colonization for it to become like what Hong Kong is today. I even doubt whether 300 years would be enough." (The Guardian, Dec. 15, 2010)

What colonialism brought to China

China suffered over a century of colonialism, from the end of the first Opium War in 1842 to the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

Britain invaded China because the Qing Dynasty said no to drugs. Hong Kong was seized by Britain as compensation for opium that China destroyed.

Under the banner of "free trade," British and U.S. merchants flooded the country with opium, leading to mass drug addiction. One of the biggest drug pushers was Warren Delano, a grandfather of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. (Hudson River Valley Heritage)

During the 1850s and 1860s, British and U.S. mercenaries helped crush the

Taiping Rebellion, in which at least 20 million people were killed. During the Second Opium War, French and British troops looted the Summer Palace in Beijing and destroyed the old Summer Palace.

European countries and Japan demanded colonial outposts. U.S. Navy gunboats patrolled the Yangtze River. Japan seized Taiwan in 1895; it still hasn't been reunited with

China. U.S. Marines looted Beijing during the Boxer Rebellion in 1900.

Shanghai became the symbol of capitalist misery. The bodies of homeless people who starved to death overnight were stacked on street corners.

Liu Xiaobo wanted 300 more years of such humiliation.

The Chinese Revolution, led by the Chinese Communist Party, swept this filth away. On Oct. 1, 1949, Mao Zedong declared: "The Chinese people have stood up!" and the People's Republic of China was born.

Charter for counterrevolution

Shanghai today is a gleaming metropolis. Its metro system carries more passengers than New York City's subways.

Life expectancy In China has risen from 45 years in 1950 to over 75 years today. The 1950 Marriage Law helped liberate Chinese women. Millions of people belonging to national minorities were encouraged to speak their own languages and develop their own culture.

Mass literacy campaigns were conducted. Over 20 million students are currently attending universities.

Liu wanted to overthrow the revolution that made this progress possible. In 2008, Liu helped initiate Charter 08, modeled after the anti-socialist Charter 77 in the former Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

Charter 08 declared: "the Communist defeat of the Nationalists in the civil war thrust the nation into the abyss of totalitarianism." In other words, the bloody rule of Chinese dictator Chiang Kai-shek was preferable to the victory of the Chinese Revolution.

Chiang's Kuomintang had killed tens of thousands in massacres, from Shanghai in April 1927 to Taiwan in 1947.

Liu's charter demanded "the transfer of state-owned enterprises to private ownership," and "land reform that promotes private ownership of land." (New York Review of Books, Jan. 15, 2009)

What does a fire sale of socialist industry — like what happened in the former Soviet Union — have to do with democracy? Charter 08's proposed "land reform" would have guaranteed tens of millions of landless peasants.

Liu Xiaobo wanted to return to the days when landlords ruled the country-side and Chinese comprador capitalists served as front men for colonial invaders. A Chinese court sentenced Liu to jail for his attempt to turn back the clock.

Available at online booksellers



trolled the Yangtze River. Japan seized Taiwan in 1895; it of Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba.

Full-throttle hypocrisy

The capitalist media claimed that Liu, 61, had been denied medical care. In fact, after he was diagnosed with late-stage liver cancer, he was granted medical parole and moved to a hospital in the Chinese Medical University in Shenyang. (CNN, June 27) Before the revolution that Liu hated, few Chinese had any medical care or lived beyond 45.

There is no media spotlight for U.S. political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was denied treatment for hepatitis C until he was found to have cirrhosis of the liver. Abu-Jamal got treatment only because of a struggle that has also benefited thousands of other prisoners with the disease.

The Economist didn't put Ethel Rosenberg on its cover after she was burned to death in the electric chair.

The New York Times didn't run editorials about Black U.S. Communist leader Henry Winston, who went blind because he was denied medical care while jailed under the thought-control Smith Act. Winston later fought to save his comrade Angela Davis, whom Ronald Reagan wanted to send to California's gas chamber.

The New York Post demanded that people's lawyer Lynne Stewart be kept jailed even though she had late-stage breast cancer. The U.S. media have been silent about the Palestinian parliamentarian and women's leader Khalida Jarrar and 6,200 other Palestinian political prisoners.

Ahmad Evans deserved some media publicity, too. The Black leader died of cancer in prison after being sentenced to the Ohio electric chair as a scapegoat for the 1968 Cleveland uprising. Ted Dostal, a founding member of Workers World Party who died in 2003, was sent to jail for protesting Evans' frame-up.

Herman Wallace, a member of the Angola 3, spent 40 years in solitary confinement after being framed for killing a Louisiana prison guard. His real crime was forming a chapter of the Black Panther Party.

After many appeals, Wallace was released from prison and died three days later, on Oct. 4, 2013, from liver cancer.

But the capitalist mouthpieces demand that we mourn Liu Xiaobo.

In "Serve the People," Mao Zedong wrote: "to die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather."

Herman Wallace died for the people. Liu Xiaobo died for the exploiters and oppressors. □

and now

Vietnam War can so testify to this day.

World War I came to an end in November 1918. Yet the seeds for World War II were already planted because the underlying inter-imperialist conflicts were unresolved. The issues of capitalist expansion and control remained a question to be resolved by war.

The U.S.-French alliance goes back at least to the U.S. War of Independence, when France, due to its rivalry with Britain, supported the settlers in the U.S. colonies. To this day U.S. and French imperialism — economic competitors in some respects — work hand-in-glove with each other to maintain their economic dominance over oppressed peoples in Africa, the Middle East, Asia and Caribbean.

The Bastille Day visit

Donald Trump's visit to France to celebrate Bastille Day is filled with irony. In the main, it was the poor people of Paris who stormed the much hated Bastille prison, having become infuriated with the abuses of the French monarchy and demanding "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity."

As described in a July 14 WW article by Stephen Millies, the people of France and Haiti inspired each other to overthrow the oppression of French colonial rule. The age of rule by royalty had come to an end.

However, the French merchant and capitalist class, along with remnants of the old nobility, were able to hijack Bastille Day's symbolism, then and now.

Emmanuel Macron is a servant-technocrat of France's imperialist ruling class. For its class interests, the empire must be maintained.

Compared to U.S. imperialism, France is a lesser oppressor. But together, they play destructive, anti-popular roles in the oil-rich Middle East and in Africa. Look at the dismembering role they played in Libya and Syria, and they remain staunch members of imperialist NATO.

France and the U.S. celebrate their revolutions of over 200 years ago, yet deny independence and revolution to others. Notably, after the Vietnamese revolutionaries defeated French imperialism at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the U.S. took over the occupation of southern Vietnam and devastated the country until it was defeated two decades later.

The Trump-Macron get-together simply reaffirmed the two powers' longstanding imperialist commitments around the world. Empire does not retire of its own accord. □

Turn the Guns Around Mutinies, Soldier Revolts & Revolutions

"If schools in the United States really wanted to impart historical truth, Catalinotto's 'Turn The Guns Around' would be required reading. He tells the true story of this epoch. Few participants know more about the massive GI rebellion against the Vietnam War, the anti-war veterans' movement or the history of soldier revolts from the Paris Commune to the Portuguese coup."

- Pvt Larry Holmes GI resister and organizer for the American Servicemen's Union 1972-74.



Page 10 July 20, 2017 workers.org

workers world deditorial

Defend Bolivarian Venezuela!

The Venezuelan government of President Nicolás Maduro is being blamed for the shortages of food and other necessities plaguing that oil-rich South American country. But for the majority of Venezuelans, shortages are nothing new. What is new is that it's not just the poor who are affected.

Back in February 1989, the rich in Venezuela were riding high under President Carlos Andrés Pérez. But the poor were hit with a sledgehammer when he initiated an austerity program that cut government spending and raised gasoline prices. Hunger grew into starvation for many, and the result was the "Caracazo." Thousands broke into supermarkets and other stores in Caracas and surrounding towns to get food for their empty bellies. Some estimates put the number of people killed by the police and army at 2,000 in the repression that followed.

It was that violence by the state that deeply affected a young officer named Hugo Chávez, who said later that for him and his comrades "we had passed the point of no return and we had to take up arms. We could not continue to defend a murderous regime." Chávez went to jail for attempting a coup, but came out a hero to the Venezuelan people, especially the poorest.

Behind the huge class disparity in Venezuela was its long history of being used as a cash cow by the Rockefeller-owned Standard Oil companies. At one time the second-largest producer of oil in the world, Venezuela was milked for tens of

billions of dollars by the Yankee exploiters, even as the vast majority of its people lived in deep poverty.

Fast forward to today. Standard Oil morphed into Esso (SO — get it?), then into Exxon, then after it merged with another giant, Mobil, it became ExxonMobil. For nearly a century, the Rockefellers have picked the secretaries of state who craft U.S. foreign policy. And who might today's secretary of state be? Why, none other than Rex Tillerson, former head of ExxonMobil. Small world.

U.S. oil companies and their banks are still trying to take Venezuela back. But, meanwhile, the Bolivarian Revolution, begun with the election of Chávez as president in 1999 and continuing today under President Maduro, has brought health care, decent housing and schools to people who had struggled without them before.

Venezuela's oil was nationalized way back in 1976, but most of the economy is still in the hands of the capitalist class, who are doing everything they can to sabotage any attempted social transformation. And the Venezuelan bourgeoisie have the U.S. behind them, putting the squeeze on the country while building up the counterrevolution.

Trump is now threatening Venezuela with sanctions. We know what a counterrevolution is like. Chile in 1973 is one horrendous example that led to the massacre of thousands.

Defend Bolivarian Venezuela! Say no to U.S. imperialism! □

IRAQ

Mosul: a city destroyed

By Chris Fry

Nine hundred years ago an Arab traveler, as he walked through what is today Iraq, observed: "To the right of the road to Mosul is a depression in the earth, black as if it lay under a cloud. It is there that God causes the sources of pitch, great and small, to spurt forth." (washingtonpost. com, Oct. 21) That pitch was oil, which should be a source of wealth and prosperity to all of Mosul's and Iraq's residents.

But the craving by U.S. imperialism for control over the ocean of oil in Iraq, which led to the overthrow of the Iraqi government in 2003 and long years of the Pentagon's occupation of the country, has wreaked terrible death and destruction on the Iraqi people. And nowhere is that suffering more clearly evident than in the city of Mosul.

For nearly nine months, 100,000 troops from the Iraqi central government and from the Kurdish region, supported by 5,000 U.S. trainers and special troops and U.S. air power, battled the Islamic State group (IS) that had seized and occupied the city of Mosul since 2014. This "coalition" dropped 29,000 bombs on the city. The second largest city in Iraq, Mosul had a population of 1.8 million in 2003.

But the 2003 U.S. invasion and occupation took a terrible toll on the city's residents. And in the battle with IS, some 897,000 people were made homeless, with just 600,000 remaining in the city. (pri.org, July 13)

During an eight-year occupation of Iraq, U.S. and British officials maintained their rule by creating and exacerbating religious and ethnic conflicts in the country. When the bulk of U.S. forces left in 2011, the imperialist-supported Iraqi government, and reactionary sectarian militias associated with it, carried out punitive measures against the resistance forces close to the former ruling Ba'ath

Party, which were often majority Sunni Muslims. Thus, when IS forces invaded the country in 2013 and took control of Mosul in 2014, Mosul residents hostile to the Baghdad regime at first gave them some support.

But over time the fanaticism and brutality of the IS regime caused Mosul residents to drop their support. And as the battle raged for control in the city, the population became hostages of the war between IS and the U.S-supported Iraqi government.

Airwars, a group that monitors casualties caused by the anti-IS coalition, estimates that at the least nearly 6,000 civilians were killed in the western Mosul battle between February and June. Some 1,200 were killed by the U.S. bombing. Uncounted thousands of bodies still lie under the rubble. (pri.org, July 13)

On March 17, a single 500-pound bomb dropped by a U.S. war plane on Mosul's al-Jadidia neighborhood killed some 200 civilians

A report by Amnesty International, released a day after Iraqi forces declared victory in Mosul, stated that it had "identified a pattern of attacks by Iraqi forces and the U.S.-led military coalition backing them that violated international humanitarian law and may amount to war crimes." The report also accused IS of committing war crimes by deliberately using civilians as human shields. (aljazeera.com, July 11)

In the same Aljazeera article, United Nations human rights chief Zeid Ra'ad al Hussein told reporters: "The women, children and men of Mosul have lived through hell on earth, enduring a level of depravity and cruelty that is almost beyond words." He said that thousands of residents will not be able to go back to the city because of "extensive damage caused during the conflict."

The destruction of Mosul is of concern to neither the tycoons on Wall Street nor the generals at the Pentagon. They only care about the unimpeded flow of oil from the region and profits into their banks. But the terrible suffering caused by their wars and occupations must be recognized by all those who oppose their rule here and abroad. U.S. out of the Middle East!

Los Angeles

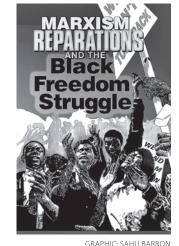
Crowd salutes sovereignty of DPRK

A packed audience met the call issued by the International Action Center-Los Angeles for "No war on north Korea!" They heard longtime anti-war activist Ken Roh speak from his experience of many trips to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and from his writing for Minjok Tongshin, an anti-imperialist Korean web news outlet reporting on the DPRK. Also defending the DPRK's right to sovereignty was Maggie Vascassenno, who reported on the history of U.S. aggression there, including the recent placement of U.S. THAAD war missiles in south Korea and provocations against north Korea.

— Report by John Parker



WW PHOTO



MARXISM, REPARATIONS & the Black Freedom Struggle

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

Racism, National Oppression & Self-Determination Larry Holmes

Black Labor from Chattel Slavery to Wage Slavery Sam Marcy

Black Youth: Repression & Resistance LeiLani Dowell
The Struggle for Socialism Is Key Monica Moorehead

Domestic Workers United Demand Passage of a Bill of Rights Imani Henry

Black & Brown Unity: A Pillar of Struggle for Human Rights & Global Justice! Saladin Muhammad

Harriet Tubman, Woman Warrior Mumia Abu-Jamal

Racism & Poverty in the Delta Larry Hales
Haiti Needs Reparations, Not Sanctions Pat Chin

Alabama's Black Belt: Legacy of Slavery, Sharecropping & Segregation Consuela Lee **Are Conditions Ripe Again Today? Anniversary of the 1965 Watts Rebellion** John Parker

Available at major online booksellers

WORKERS WORLD MUNDO OBRERO

Haití y Día de la Bastilla

Continua de página 12 y todavía lo ocupa.

La clase capitalista estadounidense es tan obsoleta e inútil como la aristocracia francesa de hace 228 años. Los capitalistas quieren quitar la atención médica, privatizar la Seguridad Social y reducir los salarios aún más. Una revolución socialista es necesaria incluso para detener que el capitalismo cocine la tierra.

La clase obrera multinacional en EUA se verá forzada a levantarse, como hicieron las masas francesas y haitianas. Un requisito absolutamente necesario para su éxito es que millones de trabajadoras/ es blancos, parte de esta clase multinacional, rompan con el racismo. Necesitan ver, y verán, que están siendo utilizados como ganado político por los ricos y poderosos, como Donald Trump, quien en realidad les desprecia.

iAbajo Bastillas! iAbajo la aristocracia de la piel! iReparaciones para Haití! □

Arab bakery defended against Zionist, Islamophobic attack

By Terri Kay Oakland, Calif.

Four Zionists blocked the entrance to Reem's California Bakery here on July 8 in an effort to immediately discourage clients from entering and to ultimately put the bakery out of business. Reem's is modeled after a typical Arab street corner bakery.

According to Chris Lymbertos of the Arab Resource and Organizing Center: "The attacks coming against Reem's are part and parcel of the increased attacks we are seeing against Arab and Muslim communities, even more so under Trump.

"Not only did they physically attack three community members, they tried to incite us into responding with violence by using racist, homophobic and transphobic verbal attacks on many of us. We did not engage but asked them to leave."

Lymbertos, who described Reem's as "a bakery upholding values of love, culture, community and pride of our people and our lands," added: "Our community is strong, it is resilient, and there are thousands of allies that stand in solidarity with us, our people and Reem's.

"If anything, these attacks are compelling more folks to come to the bakery as an act of solidarity, in support of Reem's and its values, and to show the Zionists that we will not be intimidated by their hatred."

A particular target of the Zionists' attacks on Reem's is a beautiful mural of Palestinian community leader Rasmea Odeh. The mural depicts Odeh wearing the traditional Palestinian keffiyeh and a button commemorating Oscar Grant. Grant was a 22-year-old Black Oakland resident murdered by police in 2009 on the Fruitvale BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit) station platform, just above Reem's.

The mural by the artist collective Trust Your Struggle features Odeh, a former political prisoner who has spent her life empowering women in Palestine, Jordan and Chicago. For over 20 years she has

led the Arab Women's Committee of the Arab American Action Network in Chicago, which offers social services to 700 immigrant women and organizes them to be active community members.

Honoring Oscar and Rasmea

In 2013, the U.S. government targeted and arrested Odeh, accusing her of falsifying information on her citizenship application 20 years earlier. This was part of a nationwide sweep against immigrants, Arabs and activists. Despite unimaginably difficult circumstances, Rasmea Odeh continues to speak out against the unjust attack on her and her community.

The mural description reads in part: "We remember and honor Oscar and commit to creating a world where young Black and Brown people can live in dignity. We honor our beloved leader, Rasmea Odeh, and all those who continue to struggle against racism and oppression and fight for the well-being of all our communities."

Zionists also attacked Reem's by slamming the bakery with bad Yelp reviews, claiming there is blood in the bakery's dough and alluding to the Odeh mural. After a story about Reem's appeared on Breitbart News, the white-supremacist mouthpiece for the "alt-right," so many fake reviews were sent in that this triggered Yelp's Active Cleanup Alert, designed to prevent attacks against businesses that have appeared in the news.

The International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network reported seeing similar targeted attacks against the Arab Resource and Organizing Center and against local professors at both San Francisco State University and University of California, Berkeley. The center credits the current political climate for emboldening Islamophobes into waging a serious effort to destroy this business and other positive examples of organized Arabs creating resources for their community.

When bakery founder Reem Assil was

asked to respond to the backlash she said: "Reem's is about building strong community, especially in the face of hate. As unfortunate as these racist attacks are, we are not surprised given the current political climate, and we are committed to standing strong. We are continuing to thrive because of the support of our communities and for bringing the authentic Arab cuisine that people love, and are grateful for all."

Community members packed the house at a July 14 benefit show at Reem's hosted by Anakbayan East Bay and BAYAN-USA. The fundraiser featured the musical group Mass Bass, youth organizer Sharif Zakout and the Debke Palestinian Dance Troupe. The goal was to help people get to the International League of Peoples' Struggle conference in Toronto August 5-7 and also to support Reem's California Bakery.



Mural of Rasmea Odeh, Palestinian woman leader and former political prisoner in the U.S., inside Reem's Bakery.

Hundreds block Brooklyn gentrification:

'Kill the deal!'



Tenants taking over Brooklyn Borough Hall in fight for affordable housing on July 10.

Newark, 50 years after 'A rebellion, not a riot'

Over 100 people gathered on July 12 to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the 1967 Newark Rebellion against racism. People convened at a small triangle on Springfield Avenue, close to Irvine Turner Boulevard. where a monument has been erected.

rebellion started The nearby when cab driver John Smith was arrested and brutalized by police. The late poet, playwright and activist Amiri Baraka father of Newark mayor Ras Baraka — was vicious-

ly clubbed by police during the uprising. Twenty-four people were killed.

The People's Organization for Progress organized the rally. POP leader Larry Hamm spoke, as did Pam Africa from the International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Hamm emphasized that the Newark uprising "was a rebellion, not a riot."

Copies of the July 20, 1967, issue of Workers World newspaper were handed out. In that issue, the late Workers World



WW PHOTO: TARYN FIVEK

A child lays flowers on July 12 to remember the martyrs of the Newark Rebellion.

Party Chairperson Sam Marcy declared that those gunned down by police "did not die in vain." One woman bus driver stopped her bus to get a copy.

Despite the 90-degree heat, people marched to the 1st police precinct house on 17th Street, their ranks swelling to 150 people. Many organizations and individuals were represented, including the International League of Peoples' Struggle and Workers World Party.

- Stephen Millies

By Anne Pruden

Hundreds of angry protesters against gentrification lined the steps of Borough Hall, Brooklyn's city hall, on July 10. Inside, the city Planning Board was about to convene a hearing on the future of the New York City-owned Bedford Union Armory. Developers were licking their chops over the chance to turn the building into high-priced condominiums.

Outside, numerous speakers exposed the racist gentrification of Brooklyn and how developers are displacing working-class people who can't afford to own a house, much less a condominium, and who now can't even afford the fast-rising rents. Speakers also denounced the use of nonunion labor for building the new high-rise luxury buildings.

As community organizer Bertha Lewis of New York Community for Change declared at the rally: "I'm sick and tired of being sick and tired!"

Inside Borough Hall, at the hearing over the armory's future, the profit-hungry developers filled the front row. But nearly 500 people soon packed two large rooms, including people who had come in five school buses from the Brooklyn Latinx community to join the Blackled delegation of protesters from the Crown Heights and Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhoods.

These predominantly Black and work-

ing-class neighborhoods have for years demanded the use of the armory for much-needed affordable housing.

At the hearing, the first speaker from the audience was Jose, wearing a Black T-shirt, "Bad for Crown Heights," like those worn by many others. Jose was the voice of a community outraged about overpriced rental apartments and displacement. When he was quickly informed that his allotted time was up, Jose refused to stop speaking, and authorities sent security his way.

Jose started chanting, and when he began to march through the room, hundreds of fed-up tenants stood up to follow. The entire crowd soon occupied two floors and the stairs of Borough Hall, including supporters from Construction and General Building Laborers Local 79 and Service Employees Union Local 32BJ.

Enjoying the strength of working-class unity, the protesters shouted bilingual chants: "Hey, hey, ho, ho! Luxury housing's got to go!" and "'Kill the deal!" The real estate developers were prevented from taking the floor to argue for their application to sell off the armory to private owners.

The movement won that hearing, just as protesters had also won a big "no" on selling the armory in a packed June 27 Community Board hearing. There are plans for more organizing for affordable housing. The struggle continues.

Correspondencia sobre artículos en Workers World/Mundo Obrero WORKERS WOR pueden ser enviadas a: WW-MundoObrero@workers.org Vol. 59 Núm. 29 20 de julio 2017 \$1 workers.org

¡Proletarios y oprimidos de todos los paises unios!



Batalla final de la revolución haitiana, 1804.

Haití y Día de la Bastilla

Por Stephen Millies

El 14 de julio es el Día de la Bastilla. Ese día en 1789, decenas de miles de pobres de París atacaron una odiada prisión llamada Bastilla y comenzaron la Revolución Francesa. La continua intervención de pobres en ciudades y campos, particularmente en París, impulsó la revolución.

Karl Marx y Frederick Engels -los fundadores del comunismo- vivieron en el resplandor de esa revolución. Lenin y otros líderes de la Revolución rusa estudiaron la Revolución Francesa. Lenin se convirtió en presidente del Consejo de Comisarios del Pueblo, término derivado de la palabra francesa "commissaire".

Incluso los términos "izquierda" y "derecha" derivan de la insurrección francesa. Cuando la Asamblea Nacional se reunió en 1789, los partidarios del rey se apoderaron de la parte derecha de la cámara y obligaron a los revolucionarios a sentarse a la izquierda. Lo hicieron debido a un antiguo prejuicio contra las personas zurdas.

La Revolución Francesa comenzó en Europa, pero pertenece al mundo. Y no hubiera habido una Revolución Francesa sin Haití.

Riquezas capitalistas fruto de trabajadores esclavizados

La Revolución Francesa fue una revolución capitalista, o burguesa. Barrió toda la vieja basura feudal, como la relación entre señores y siervos, que oprimía al pueblo. Hasta la creación de un mercado nacional, una necesidad para el capitalismo, tuvo que ser luchada.

La clase capitalista o burguesía no era una clase nueva. Comenzó siglos antes en el comercio mercantil. Sus primeros intentos de desafiar el antiguo orden feudal, usualmente bajo la apariencia de diferencias religiosas, fueron rechazados con sangrientas represalias.

Los reyes borbones y los grandes nobles de Francia eran parásitos aristocráticos que festejaban mientras millones vivían en harapos. Fueron simbolizados por la reina María Antonieta, quien, cuando se les informó que la gente no tenía pan, exclamó: "¡Que coman pastel!", Refiriéndose a los restos quemados de pan endurecido dentro de los hornos comunales.

Durante los 1700s, la monarquía borbónica era cada vez más desafiada por la burguesía. Sus ideólogos, dirigidos por Voltaire, cuestionaban todo y lideraron el gran movimiento intelectual conocido como la Ilustración. Voltaire hizo campaña en contra de ejecutar a la gente en "la rueda", un dispositivo de tortura al que la persona se ataba mientras su cuerpo se destrozaba, a veces sólo por supuestamente burlarse de una procesión religiosa.

Pero lo que dio a la burguesía su nueva confianza para oponerse a la monarquía fueron los beneficios que fluían a sus arcas producto del trabajo de personas esclavizadas.

Como C.L.R. James señaló en su clásico "Los jacobinos negros": "Casi todas las industrias que se desarrollaron en Francia durante el siglo XVIII tuvieron su origen en bienes o mercancías destinadas a la costa de Guinea o a América. El capital del comercio de esclavos los fertilizaba;

aunque la burguesía comerciaba en otras cosas además de esclavos, todo dependía del éxito o fracaso del tráfico.

El sustento de 2 a 6 millones de personas en Francia - de una población total de 25 millones - dependía de la esclavitud y los productos cultivados por personas esclavizadas. La posesión francesa de Haití significaba que poseía la colonia más rica del mundo. Su comercio empleaba a 24.000 marineros franceses en 750 barcos.

Mientras que Bretaña tenía un comercio de exportación de 27 millones de libras esterlinas, los franceses estaban muy cerca, con 17 millones. Sólo la riqueza producida por el pueblo haitiano en esclavitud representaba casi 11 millones de libras.

Pueblo esclavizado toma la libertad

La burguesía francesa declaró "Libertad, Igualdad, Fraternidad" como las consignas de su revolución. Hoy todavía es el lema de Francia.

Pero la mayoría de los capitalistas franceses nunca quiso abolir la esclavitud o conceder libertad a las personas negras secuestradas de África y forzadas a trabajar hasta morir en Haití, Guadalupe y Martinica.

En ese momento las condiciones eran tales en Haití que la esperanza de vida promedio para una persona negra era de 21 años. Pero la noticia de la Revolución Francesa llegó a Haití y creó un fermento político en las personas esclavizadas.

Dutty Boukman, un africano originalmente esclavizado en Jamaica, comenzó una revuelta en agosto de 1791. Más de 1.800 plantaciones fueron quemadas. Boukman eventualmente fue asesinado, luchando valientemente. Pero surgieron nuevos líderes como Toussaint Louverture y Jean-Jacques Dessalines. El levantamiento de los esclavizados de Haití no pudo ser detenido, y encontró apoyo entre los pobres de Francia.

"Los negros estaban tomando su parte en la destrucción del feudalismo europeo iniciado por la Revolución Francesa", escribió James, "y libertad e igualdad, consignas de la revolución, significaban mucho más para ellos que para cualquier francés".

'La aristocracia de la piel'

Aunque la Revolución Francesa fue una revolución burguesa, fueron los pobres de ciudades y campos quienes lucharon por ella. En Europa, no había todavía ninguna clase obrera moderna porque no había grandes industrias. La Revolución Industrial acababa de comenzar en Bretaña hacía pocos años con las primeras hiladoras de algodón.

Haití era diferente. Como señaló James: "Trabajando y viviendo juntos en grupos de cientos en las enormes fábricas de azúcar que cubrían la llanura del norte, estaban más cerca de un proletariado moderno [clase obrera] que cualquier grupo de trabajadores que existiera en ese momento".

Los franceses odiaban a los aristócratas y a la realeza como María Antonieta. Pero fue la "aristocracia de la piel", como se conoció, que se convirtió en la más odiada. La gente pobre en París encontraba detestable que la gente pudiera ser esclavizada, calificada y vendida como ganado solo por su color de piel.

James escribió: "En estos pocos meses de su acercamiento más próximo al poder [los franceses pobres] no se olvidaron de los negros. Los sentían como hermanos, y los viejos esclavistas, que sabían que eran partidarios de la contrarrevolución, los odiaban como si los franceses mismos hubieran sufrido bajo el látigo.

"No era París solamente, sino toda Francia revolucionaria. Los siervos, los campesinos, los obreros, los jornaleros de día en los campos de toda Francia estaban llenos de un odio virulento contra la 'aristocracia de la piel' (James citaba a un partidario de la esclavitud). Había muchos tan conmovidos por los sufrimientos de los esclavos que desde hacía mucho habían dejado de beber café, pensando que estaba empapado de sangre y sudor de hombres convertidos en bestias".

A medida que avanzaba la Revolución Francesa, los líderes políticos burgueses que se oponían a las medidas radicales se conocieron como girondinos. Fueron nombrados por la región que rodea el puerto francés de Burdeos. Al igual que Liverpool en Inglaterra, la vida económica de Burdeos dependía de la trata de esclavos.

Los oponentes de los girondinos eran conocidos como jacobinos. La mayoría de los libros de texto calumnian a los jacobinos como Maximiliano Robespierre u otros radicales como Jean-Paul Marat tildándolos de "terroristas" sanguinarios.

Pero la mayoría de los líderes girondinos que hablaban tan grandemente sobre la libertad, no querían abolir la esclavitud. Sólo cuando Robespierre y los jacobinos radicales estuvieron en el poder, fue que la esclavitud formalmente terminó en todas las posesiones francesas por el decreto del 4 de febrero de 1794.

Esta fue una medida histórica de la Convención Nacional de Francia, pero sólo confirmó la libertad que ya había sido tomada por los esclavos mismos.

Defensa de las revoluciones

A la Revolución Francesa se opuso toda la Europa feudal y Bretaña, su rival comercial. Al igual que la Revolución Rusa, más de un siglo después, Francia fue invadida en una docena de frentes. El duque de Brunswick, comandante del ejército aliado (principalmente austríaco y prusiano), publicó un manifiesto amenazando con la destrucción de París.

Aunque Bretaña financió algunos de los ejércitos que invadieron a Francia, su propio ejército estaba ausente. Eso es porque estaba invadiendo Haití. Esta movida fue un desastre para la clase dominante británica. "A finales de 1796, después de tres años de guerra, los británicos habían perdido en las Antillas 80.000 soldados, entre ellos 40.000 realmente muertos", escribió James.

Si el ejército británico que invadió Haití hubiera marchado en París junto a otras potencias europeas, la Revolución Francesa podría haber sido derrotada. Al defender su propia libertad en una batalla contra los invasores británicos, el pueblo haitiano también defendió la libertad de 25 millones de personas en Francia.

"Fue el decreto de abolición, el valor de las personas negras y la capacidad de sus líderes que lo hicieron", escribió James. El gran gesto de los trabajadores franceses hacia los esclavos negros, contra su propia clase dominante blanca, había ayudado a salvar su revolución de la Europa reaccionaria. Sostenida por Toussaint y sus imposiciones crudas, cantando 'La Marsellesa' y la 'Ça ira', [dos canciones revolucionarias], Bretaña, el país más poderoso de Europa, no podía atacar la revolución en Francia".

En "Una historia del ejército británico", J.W. Fortescue concluyó que las personas que habían sido esclavizadas "habían destruido prácticamente al ejército británico". Admitió que "se puede decir que el secreto de la impotencia de Inglaterra durante los primeros seis años de la guerra radica en dos palabras fatales, Santo Domingo [Antiguo nombre de Haití]."

Dos siglos de venganza

Después de la Revolución Francesa, los jacobinos radicales fueron derrocados y muchos fueron ejecutados. Napoleón Bonaparte eventualmente tomó el poder y se convirtió en un dictador militar.

Napoleón derrotó un ejército feudal europeo tras otro. Pero no pudo conquistar Haití. Napoleón envió un ejército a Haití comandado por su cuñado, Charles Leclerc, y Toussaint Louverture fue secuestrado, muriendo en una prisión francesa.

Pero como Leclerc escribió a un ministro del gobierno francés: "No basta con haber quitado a Toussaint, hay 2.000 líderes que deben ser removidos". Leclerc murió en Haití sabiendo que fue derrotado. (Aldon Lynn Nielsen, "C.L.R. James: Una Introducción Crítica")

A pesar de las masacres que incluyeron ahogar mil personas negras a la vez, así como quemándolas y ahorcándolas en público, el ejército francés sufrió una derrota peor que el británico. De las 34.000 tropas francesas, murieron 24.000.

Dessalines declaró la independencia de Haití el 1 de enero de 1804. Pero la clase capitalista mundial nunca ha perdonado a Haití por su revolución. Los esclavistas de EUA tenían pesadillas sobre líderes del tipo de Dessalines, como Nat Turner que lideró una rebelión de gente esclavizada en Virginia en el 1831. Haití sigue siendo deliberadamente por EUA y otros países capitalistas, el país más pobre de este hemisferio.

Pero la revolución haitiana cambió la historia para siempre.

Abajo paredes

Los capitalistas franceses usan el Día de la Bastilla para glorificar el colonialismo francés. Pero las/os revolucionarios socialistas en EUA debemos celebrar el Día de la Bastilla exigiendo que las/os más de 2 millones de prisioneros encerrados en las Bastillas de EUA sean liberadas/os, empezando por Leonard Peltier, Mumia Abu-Jamal, Aafia Siddiqui y MOVE 9.

El Día de la Bastilla también debe celebrarse debido a la Revolución Iraquí que derrocó a la monarquía apoyada por EUA y Bretaña el 14 de julio de 1958. Los capitalistas nunca perdonaron la revolución de Haití y no han perdonado al pueblo iraquí por recuperar su propio petróleo. El Pentágono ha invadido Irak dos veces

Continua a página 10