

An unnatural disaster

# Climate crisis wrecks Bahamas

By G. Dunkel

When Hurricane Dorian stalled over Grand Bahamas and the Abacos Islands in the Bahamas for nearly 40 hours on Sept. 1-2, with sustained wind speeds of 185 miles an hour, it left piles of houses and buildings reduced to kindling and rubble, along with an untold number of deaths.

Dorian left no grocery stores, no gas stations, no electricity, no water, no food, no sanitation, no telephone or internet service for thousands of people. After a week, only very limited services have been restored. Rescue workers had not reached some of the more remote communities on the Abacos Islands as of Sunday, Sept. 8.

The extreme character of Dorian indicates that the crisis of climate change has made hurricanes hotter, wetter and slower — wreaking even more destruction. Small countries like the Bahamas, even if they are able to get their carbon footprint to negative, have little influence over the world's climate.

Small countries are unable to change the conditions that the capitalist system has created worldwide. They certainly have the right to demand refuge from the storm's destruction and aid from the big capitalist powers that are devastating the global environment. This is an issue for the progressive movement here in the U.S. to vigorously take up.

Haitian migrants hit hard

While all the communities in Marsh Harbour, a large town in the Abacos Islands, suffered substantial damage, the Marsh Harbour community called "The Mudd," where many Haitian immigrants lived, many without documents, was completely demolished. Not a single house was left standing.

Bahamian Prime Minister Hubert Minnis, speaking through a Creole interpreter, tried to reassure Haitians waiting for a boat to Nassau, the capital of the Bahamas, that the government would treat them fairly. This was a hard sell, as in 2018 the Bahamian Royal Defense Forces helped deport 1,172 Haitians.

The Family Action Network Movement of Miami, together with a number of

Haitian community organizations, wrote an open letter to PM Minnis, asking for "a moratorium on all deportations and refrain from asking for work permits when immigrant families seek assistance."

Help from Cuba, China

A number of countries are in the process of sending aid to the Bahamas. According to Telesur English, Cuba immediately sent 60 doctors and teachers to help. They will stay as long as is needed.

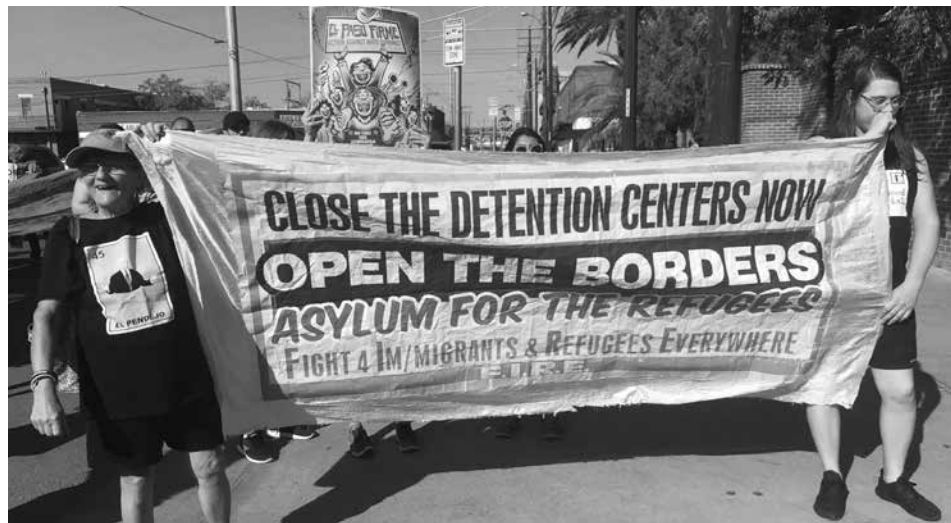
Socialist Cuba has much experience in minimizing the danger to its people from intense storms. It is recognized internationally for its ability to relocate people away from the coast when a hurricane

Continued on page 7



This aerial image shows the flattened homes and rubble of a region in Abaco, Bahamas, that was home to many Haitian migrants.

# El Paso, firme!



WW PHOTO: JUDY GREENSPAN

Delegation of FIRE (Fight for Im/migrants and Refugees Everywhere) in El Paso Sept. 7-8 in solidarity with mobilization against white supremacy after racist mass shooting.

By Gloria Rubac  
El Paso, Texas

The chants rang out loud and clear all weekend: "El Paso!" Then: "Firme!"

After the racist mass murders on Aug. 3, when a gunman killed 22 people and wounded 24 more, El Paso activists issued a call to action against white supremacy. This was followed by a weekend of actions to organize and educate people around the world about this important fact: What happened in Walmart wasn't just a lone racist carrying out his twisted white supremacist ideas, but a continuation of a long history of anti-Mexican violence that has pervaded Texas at every turn.

Fernando Garcia, executive director of the Border Network for Human Rights, explained that talk in the media and by politicians blaming video games, mental health issues and availability of guns

ignores the true issue of the ongoing history of racism against Mexicans, which has existed for centuries and is now being reinforced by the White House. "We challenge white supremacy," said Garcia.

The events were organized by the Border Network, along with the Refugee and Immigrant Center for Education and Legal Services (RAICES) and National Day Laborers Organizing Network (NDLON). They were supported by dozens of organizations, from the Poor People's Campaign, the Coalition to End Child Detention, Centro de Trabajadores Agrícolas Fronterizos, La Mujer Obrera, Planned Parenthood and Usual Suspects.

Beginning with a press conference on Sept. 5, Garcia explained why the organizations planning the flurry of events were not using the popular slogan of "El Paso Strong."

"I'm very disappointed with politicians

Continued on page 11

Opioid epidemic 3

Prisoner exposes 'reform' 3

Critique of 'Socialist Manifesto' 4

NYC Labor Day 5



Climate Crisis 6-7

Youth perspective

Bears Ears

BlackRock protest

China goes green

EDITORIAL Democrats

avoid debate 10

Subscribe to Workers World

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Email \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City / State / Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Workers World Weekly Newspaper  
147 W. 24th St., 2nd Floor, New York, NY 10011

workers.org  
212.627.2994

Mexico 8 Venezuela & Colombia 8  
Hong Kong 9 Robert Mugabe 10

# Southern revolutionaries meet in Atlanta

By Dianne Mathiowetz  
Atlanta

A much anticipated gathering of Workers World Party members, candidates and friends met Sept. 7 in a local community center for all-day discussions on political questions, strategies and tactics facing revolutionaries in the South.

With participants' ages ranging from 17 to the 70s and job experience from union autoworker to house cleaner, education worker and part-time wait staff — as well as a range of genders, sexualities and nationalities — the day-time meeting reflected the breadth of today's working class.

Participants shared their experiences of organizing in North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Washington, D.C., and New York City against police killings, anti-immigrant violence, gentrification, low wages, imperialist war, anti-trans bigotry, homelessness, lack of health care, mass incarceration and white supremacy. In other words, the crimes of capitalism and imperialism were indicted by the lives and experiences of those in the room.

The format was designed to encourage the widest participation on the main topics of the day: "What is the role of a revolutionary party?" and "What does it mean to be party cadre?"

A public program that evening on "What Road to Socialism?" was anchored by an opening talk by Workers World Party national leader Larry Holmes. The event brought a mix of seasoned Black community organizers, Pan-African and Latinx activists, queer youth looking for answers and those curious about socialism to a stimulating dialogue that lasted well past its planned ending time.

The meeting opened with a message of solidarity to the march and rally against white supremacy taking place at the same hour in El Paso, Texas. It was noted that a Workers World Party delegation of Texas, California and NYC comrades was participating in that community-called and -led struggle against racist anti-immigrant violence. (See the solidarity statement issued by FIRE — Fighting for Im/migrants and Refugees Everywhere — in this issue.)

As the program closed, interest in the "Road to Socialism" was confirmed by the concluding questions raised by many: "When is the next discussion?" and "How can I get involved?" □



Their main discussion was on "What road to socialism?"

WW PHOTO

## WORKERS WORLD this week

### ◆ In the U.S.

- El Paso, Firme! . . . . . 1
- Southern revolutionaries meet in Atlanta . . . . . 3
- States launch lawsuit over opioid epidemic . . . . . 3
- Prison 'reform' still a struggle in Pennsylvania . . . . . 3
- 'Socialist Manifesto' & the rise of social democracy . . . . . 4
- Italian communist discusses European imperialism . . . . . 5
- New York City's Labor Day . . . . . 5
- Climate crisis cries out for social change . . . . . 6
- BlackRock billionaire hit for rainforest destruction . . . . . 6
- 'It is not too late' to solve climate crisis. . . . . 7
- Bears Ears exposes energy companies, U.S. genocide 7

### ◆ Around the world

- Climate crisis wrecks Bahamas . . . . . 1
- The struggle continues for Ayotzinapa 43 . . . . . 8
- Dialectics of change in Hong Kong . . . . . 9
- How should Robert Mugabe be remembered . . . . . 10
- Is internationalism terrorism? . . . . . 11

### ◆ Editorial

- Democrats: No debate on Climate Change . . . . . 10

### ◆ Noticias en Español

- ¡Abolir la supremacía blanca! ¡Abolir ICE!. . . . . 12
- La lucha de clases y la crisis climática. . . . . 12
- Regalos venenosos de Koch . . . . . 12

## WORKERS WORLD

### Join us in the fight for socialism!

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

Capitalism and imperialism threaten the peoples of the world and the planet itself in the never-ending quest for ever-greater profits.

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

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

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

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

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

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

**If you are interested in joining Workers World Party contact: 212.627.2994**

**National Office**  
147 W. 24th St., 2nd floor  
New York, NY 10011  
212.627.2994  
wwp@workers.org

**Atlanta**  
PO Box 18123  
Atlanta, GA 30316  
404.627.0185  
atlanta@workers.org

**Austin**  
austin@workers.org

**Boston**  
284 Amory St.  
Boston, MA 02130  
617.522.6626  
boston@workers.org

**Bay Area**  
P.O. Box 22947  
Oakland, CA 94609  
510.394.2207  
bayarea@workers.org

**Buffalo, N.Y.**  
335 Richmond Ave.  
Buffalo, NY 14222  
716.883.2534  
buffalo@workers.org

**Charlotte**  
charlotte@workers.org

**Cleveland**  
216.738.0320  
cleveland@workers.org

**Dallas**  
dallas@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

**Knoxville, Tenn.**  
knoxville@workers.org

**Minneapolis**  
minneapolis@workers.org

**Pensacola, Fla.**  
pensacola@workers.org

**Portland, Ore.**  
portland@workers.org

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

**Salt Lake City**  
801.750.0248  
slc@workers.org

**San Antonio**  
sanantonio@workers.org

**San Diego**  
sandiego@workers.org

**Tucson, Ariz.**  
tucson@workers.org

**Washington, D.C.**  
dc@workers.org

**West Virginia**  
WestVirginia@workers.org

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. 61, No. 37 • Sept. 12, 2019  
Closing date: Sept. 11, 2019

Editor: Deirdre Griswold

Managing Editors: John Catalinotto, Martha Grevatt,  
Monica Moorehead, Minnie Bruce Pratt  
Web Editors: Ben Carroll, John Steffin

Production & Design Editors: Gery Armsby, Sasha  
Mazumder, Scott Williams

Copyediting and Proofreading: Paddy Colligan,  
Sue Davis, S. Hedgecoke

Contributing Editors: LeiLani Dowell, G. Dunkel,  
K. Durkin, Teresa Gutierrez, Betsey Piette, Gloria  
Rubac

Mundo Obrero: Alberto García, Teresa Gutierrez,  
Carlos Vargas

Supporter Program: Coordinator Sue Davis

Copyright © 2019 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 last week of December by WW Publishers,  
147 W. 24th St. 2nd Fl., New York, NY 10011. Phone:  
212.627.2994. Subscriptions: One year: \$30; institu-  
tions: \$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.

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.

# States launch lawsuits over opioid epidemic

By Princess Harmony

If you ask people with substance use disorders — more colloquially, addictions — what caused their disorders, you'll most likely get answers like chronic or acute pain, mental illness, alienation, isolation, hopelessness and anguish — things specific to an individual's life.

However, bigger forces are at play in the addictions of many people. One is the complex network of drug dealers, kingpins and cartels. The other force, the one most responsible for the latest drug epidemic, is Big Pharma. The equally labyrinthine network of big pharmaceutical companies, bribed doctors and other medical personnel, as well as "pain association" front groups, put their profits and financial gains above honesty and the safety of the public.

Each and every pharmaceutical company has essentially deceived the public about the addictive nature of its drugs. For example, Purdue Pharma misused two studies to attempt to show that the risk of addiction to OxyContin (oxycodone) was less than 1 percent. Yet this study was intended to show only the risk of addiction in patients with acute pain, not chronic pain, or in people who had consumed diverted (stolen or sold) OxyContin.

Even now, even as fentanyl is ravaging both cities and rural areas, new formulations are being released by irresponsible drug manufacturers, with the blessing of the Food and Drug Administration. Although these new formulations have yet to be diverted, they eventually will be.

The fight against drug addiction under capitalism looks different from the fight against drug addiction under socialism. Under capitalism, we have few weapons which we can use to stop drug pushers, including the bourgeoisie in the boardrooms. One such weapon is the lawsuit, and states have been pursuing exactly that

against the drug manufacturers who knew how dangerous their products were.

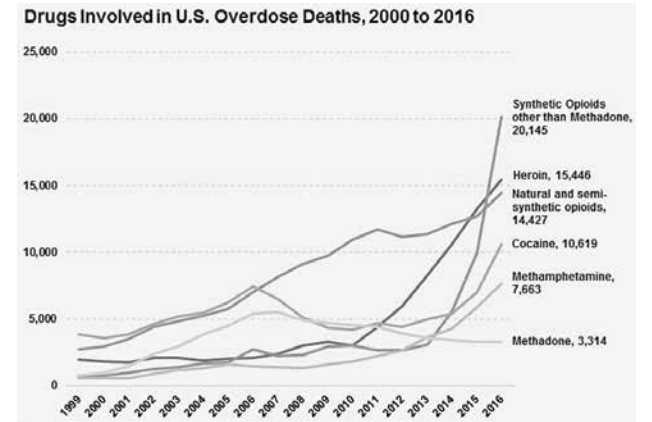
Despite diversion being one of the reasons why these powerful drugs came out onto the drug market, ultimately the manufacturers are responsible, because they downplayed the serious risks involved with the drugs they made. They fostered an environment where people thought that, because they were prescription pills, they were safe.

There are over 2,000 opioid-related lawsuits, many of which originated from the state at the behest of survivors of the opioid epidemic. The main legal argument used in lawsuits against drug manufacturers is that they downplayed the risk of the drugs' addictiveness and overhyped their safety, along with manufacturing such an overwhelming amount of opioids that diversion was inevitable.

The ultimate hope of the drug lawsuits is that not only will opioid manufacturers be required to pay for the choices they made, but they will also stop the actions that caused the epidemic in the first place.

The first lawsuit and ruling to come against the big pharmaceutical companies was Oklahoma's lawsuit against Johnson & Johnson. Previously, the state of Oklahoma had settled with Teva Pharmaceutical Industries Ltd. for \$85 million, despite Teva claiming that it had no role in fueling Oklahoma's opioid epidemic. Purdue Pharma had also settled with Oklahoma for \$270 million.

Originally, the state had decided to sue Johnson & Johnson for \$17 billion, the amount it estimated would be needed to fund drug treatment, drug courts and other services in the wake of the epidemic. Unfortunately, Oklahoma was awarded only \$572 million on Aug. 26 as a result of the lawsuit. But despite it generating less than the desired amount, this lawsuit sets down a legal pathway for other states to sue drug companies for their actions.



CREDIT: NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH

Much like Teva, however, Johnson & Johnson claims that it had no role in the state's opioid epidemic and that Oklahoma's failure to act is what caused the drug epidemic. The company says it will aggressively appeal the decision.

For what it's worth, these drug companies know they've already lost in the court of public opinion and are on the losing end of these lawsuits, which is why they continue to settle rather than fight on. Purdue Pharma is facing so many lawsuits that either bankruptcy or a single, large settlement are its only options.

Under capitalism we will never see true justice for all the lives that have been taken as a result of the reckless, selfish actions on the part of drug companies, and indeed all drug pushers. But these lawsuits are a start. Under socialism, we would like to see a People's Tribunal that oversees justice for survivors of the epidemic and those victims who were lost to it. Until then, we must keep our eyes on what little justice we can eke out of this system. □

## Commentary

# Prison 'reform' still a struggle in Pennsylvania

By Jerome "Hoagie" Coffey  
SCI Albion, Erie, Pa.

After almost three decades in the jurisdiction of the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections, I see more criminal justice reforms being proposed by Pennsylvania state legislators. From governors Robert Casey (1987-95) to Tom Wolf (2015-present), when I read these current proposals by some of the Pennsylvania legislators — Republicans and Democrats — it's déjà vu all over again.

Allow me to give the historical backdrop. First and foremost, see through the political con games and fear mongering that politicians have used for almost three decades to pass draconian legislation in Pennsylvania; for example, conservative politicians' doublespeak with Willie Horton and super-predator propaganda tactics. And the Pennsylvania District Attorneys Association (PDAA) and the Pennsylvania State Corrections Officers Association attempt to persuade the Pennsylvania State Parole Board to reevaluate parole applications, in particular of violent offenders, and keep them incarcerated after they show signs of rehabilitation.

District Attorney Larry Krasner, a progressive, removed the Philadelphia District Attorney's office from the PDAA. Krasner said "he believed that the Pennsylvania District Attorneys Association was at least partly responsible for an explosion in the state's prison population over several decades, and that it continues to back ideas that would make the problem worse." (Philadelphia Inquirer, Nov. 16, 2018)

### Prisons hold up rural economies

In Pennsylvania, the majority of state prisons are in economically disadvantaged rural communities. In fact, from 1987 to 2018, Pennsylvania built 19 state prisons. When they closed SCI Greensburg and SCI Cresson, Patrick Mulhern, mayor of Cresson, said, "It's going to hurt the restaurants, the hardware store, every business place here is going to be affected. Five hundred employees in one fell swoop — that's an awful lot." (Wall Street Journal, Feb. 10, 2013)

These rural communities, where the state prisons are located, benefit economically off of poor people — like "Huntingdon County, a region once powered by the Broad Top bituminous coal fields, but where state government is now the largest employer and criminal justice the top-ranking industry. State prisons there

employ 1,126 people with a payroll totaling \$5.1 million biweekly. That's one job for every 40 county residents." (Philadelphia Inquirer, June 10, 2018)

Some state legislators were disappointed with Secretary of Corrections John Wetzel for closing these state prisons, so they introduced legislation to let the community know in advance before closings. (Citizens Voice, Jan. 7, 2017)

### Don't be co-opted by rhetoric promoted by oppressors

Today people are tired of hearing that law-and-order rhetoric. The United States has nearly 5 percent of the world's population and nearly 25 percent of its incarcerated people. More than 2.3 million people are behind bars in the U.S. on any given day, and the number of Black people incarcerated or under correctional control exceeds the total number of adults enslaved nationwide in 1861.

And Pennsylvania [Department of Corrections] — when it comes to rehabilitation — they living in the dark ages! Meanwhile, the Pennsylvania District Attorneys Association and the Pennsylvania State Corrections Officers Association are running late, trying to instill fear in Pennsylvania constituents.

In 1995, Gov. Thomas Ridge's campaign strategist, American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), provided propaganda so he could win the state's highest office. The campaign motto was "Toughen our criminal statutes!"

After being sworn in Jan. 17, 1995, Ridge ain't waste no time. A day later, he signed a proclamation that the General Assembly be convened in a special and extraordinary session to consider "legislation on crime." The session began Jan. 23 and ended Oct. 31, 1995 — during which 30 crime bills passed. ALEC was responsible for 18 bills. ALEC used Pennsylvania as a test run to pass draconian legislation. Of course, Pennsylvania District Attorneys Association is responsible as well.

Gov. Edward Rendell, in his second term as governor when Sgt. Stephen Liczbinski from the Philadelphia Police Department was murdered in 2008, placed a moratorium on the Pennsylvania Parole Board under false pretensions — creating overcrowdedness in the Pennsylvania DOC.

At the same time, the Auditor General issued a \$800 million revenue bond to build four new prisons, on top of paying \$250,000 to a criminal justice professor at Temple University to write a 30-page report pertaining

to "violent offenders eligible for parole."

That recommendation was "risk assessment technologies," which allowed correctional "experts" such as Unit Managers who chair the Prison Unit Team, Correctional Counselors (part of the Unit Team), Commissioned Correctional Officers, Psychology Staff and Administrators to have heavy input for parole candidates.

### It's all about the money

The criminal justice reform movement is gaining momentum because young activists are intelligent and unraveling the trickery and propaganda that politicians once manipulated the public with, using fear mongering, such as "soft on crime" rhetoric, to get elected.

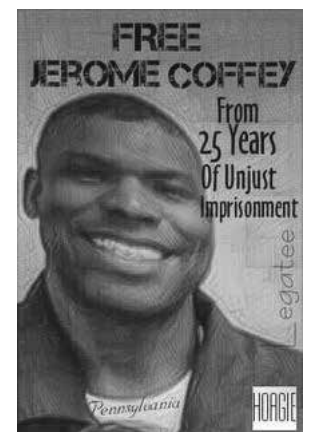
In addition, warehousing people in prisons has always been a lucrative business for profiteers such as corporations and these "economically disadvantaged" rural communities.

"By counting prisoners as living in their prisons and not at their home addresses, Pennsylvania's system for drawing political maps benefits white, rural voters at the expense of voters in urban areas, disproportionately affecting people of color," said a study by two Villanova University professors of criminology, Brianna Remster and Rory Kramer, in reference to the 2020 Census Bureau's count. (Philadelphia Inquirer, July 11)

State Rep. Joanna McClinton (D-Phila.) has introduced a bill to have prisoners counted at their home address, not prison.

The Pennsylvania District Attorneys Association is nothing but a lobbyist arm for prosecutors and the Pennsylvania State Corrections Association is just along the way. The bottom line is: It's all about money.

For change, I recommend prison opponents read two good books: "Charged: The New Movement to Transform American Prosecution and End Mass Incarceration" by Emily Bazelon and "Until We Reckon: Violence, Mass Incarceration and a Road To Repair" by Danielle Sered. □



Jerome Coffey

# 'The Socialist Manifesto' and the rise of social democracy

By Scott Williams

Writers across the range of socialist and communist groups are openly grappling with strategies to achieve socialism. Every viable socialist organization needs an analysis of the past in order to look toward the future. With the growth of social-democratic organizations, how should revolutionaries view the path toward socialism?

Bhaskar Sunkara, the founder of Jacobin magazine as well as a former vice chair of the Democratic Socialists of America, is one of the most influential leaders in the growing U.S. socialist movement. Jacobin, with over 40,000 subscribers and millions of online views a month, is a major venue for ideological and practical debate. With 60,000 members, DSA has become the largest organization publicly identified with socialism. Sunkara's book, "The Socialist Manifesto, The Case for Radical Politics in an Era of Extreme Inequality," reviews the history of various trends within the socialist movement from a social-democratic viewpoint.

Originally titled "Socialism in Our Time," "The Socialist Manifesto" is part historical analysis of workers' states and capitalist social democracies, part hypothetical social-democratic future, and eventually a 15-point call to action which synthesizes Sunkara's interpretation of the past and compels the development of "class struggle social democracy."

## Electoral road to 'democratic socialism'

Sunkara has never argued for a socialist revolution similar to those led by the Bolsheviks, the Chinese Communist Party or the July 26th Movement in Cuba. Throughout his book, Sunkara goes to great lengths to reiterate numerous popular talking points on what he considers the limitations of these revolutions. One could find these in any bourgeois newspaper.

Sunkara acknowledges some failures of social-democratic parties to build socialism. He acknowledges the shortfalls of the Social Democratic Party in Germany which enabled World War I, the rise of Hitler and the annihilation of German communists.

Seeking a hopeful example of successful social democracy leading in the direction of socialism, Sunkara looks fondly at the five decades of social democracy in Sweden — or in his words, "the most humane social system ever constructed" (p. 14). Sunkara laments the lost potential for 1970s Sweden to transition from social democracy to democratic socialism. The main components of the capitalist economy — the banks, major industries and the state — still remained under the control of a few Swedish families. Unsurprisingly, the 15 families who owned the vast majority of the economy blocked legislation to create wage-earners' funds which would allow workers eventually to collectively own these industries.

There is no mention of Sweden's supplying the Nazis with iron ore, its pillaging of African nations, its sending of over 6,000 troops to Congo in 1960 in an effort that led to the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, or of Sweden taking control of Congo's copper mines. Swedish imperialism's junior partnership with other leading empires is omitted, much in the same way that the Marxist-Leninist concept of imperialism is ignored.

Sunkara sees the transition from social democracy to democratic socialism in hypothetical thought exercises like this



The author of this "Manifesto" ignores the control by the corporations and ruling billionaires over the state apparatus — the FBI, COINTELPRO, the Pentagon, the police, the courts and the prisons. Here, police prepare to attack Indigenous and others protesting the Dakota Access pipeline in 2016.

one about the U.S. in 2036: "With more decisions in the hands of ordinary people, civil life is full of political debate and new ideas. Even distributional questions are still not settled: a center-right party advocates for more market incentives and a reduction in the basic income; a center-left party questions traditional metrics of growth, proposing a happiness index instead; an internationalist left calls for more vigorous support for the workers' movement abroad and more extensive democratic planning at home. And yes, there is a Right calling for the restoration of capitalism, but its support diminishes over time, much like monarchism slowly lost supporters in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" (pp. 27-28).

Further elaborating, at the end of the book, Sunkara writes: "Our task is formidable. Democratic socialists must secure decisive majorities in legislatures while winning hegemony in the unions. Then our organizations must be willing to flex our social power in the form of mass mobilizations and political strikes to counter the structural power of capital and ensure that our leaders choose confrontation over accommodation with elites. This is the sole way we'll not only make our reforms durable but break with capitalism entirely and bring about a world that values people over profit."

## 'Denial of class dictatorship'

This conception of a multiparty U.S. Congress striving toward democratic socialism denies the reality of the class dictatorship in which we currently live. This democratic transition to socialism ignores the control by the corporations and ruling billionaires of the state apparatus — the FBI, COINTELPRO, the Pentagon, the police, the courts, the prisons, etc. — and the impact of bourgeois control over education, the media, and religious and cultural institutions. This state enforces all forms of racist, ableist, misogynist, patriarchal, class oppression.

While it may be attractive to imagine a peaceful transition to socialism, this exercise denies that the history of the U.S. is one of occupation, economic sanctions, police and military violence, and genocidal attacks on every country that has attempted to break free from Wall Street domination. The question of which class will control the state — the billionaires or the working class — is not resolved by Sunkara's imagined scenarios. His gradualistic hypothesis at best mediates class conflict, but it cannot lead to the establishment of a bonafide workers' state.

V.I. Lenin's classic "The State and

Revolution," based on lived, revolutionary experience, reads like a direct response to "The Socialist Manifesto" as it answers such utopian visions of socialist transformation. Lenin writes in the first chapter: "If the state is the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms, if it is a power standing above society and 'alienating' itself more and more from it; it is clear that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class and which is the embodiment of this 'alienation.'" Lenin goes to lengths to challenge writers of his day who, like Sunkara, advocated for reform of capitalist governing structures.

## Imperialism, national liberation and opportunism

Leninists have always pointed to how national liberation and socialism have been vitally connected over the past 100 years of socialist revolutions. Sam Marcy, the founding chairperson of Workers World Party, explained this significance in 1983, writing: "Of all the great domestic political problems facing the working class and the oppressed people, none surpasses in importance the relationship of national oppression to the class struggle. Indeed, one may say that it is at the heart of the basic social problem in the United States. It touches every form of social existence, and no sector of society is free from it."

Sunkara says the left should be "universalist" and that a "democratic class politics is the best way to unite people against our common opponent and win the type of change that will help the most marginalized" (p. 236). This represents a dominant view within the DSA, which has downplayed the relevance of special oppressions like racism, sexism, ableism and anti-LGBTQ2S+ oppression ("identity politics") in favor of a purportedly class-focused approach.

Sunkara rarely mentions fighting racism or other forms of oppression as a key component of fighting for socialism. Throughout his chapter on the history of socialism in the U.S., the vast majority of his discussion focuses on Eugene Debs, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, and later Michael Harrington and DSA. There is no mention of the Black Panther Party, the Brown Berets, the Young Lords or any other national liberation struggles inside the U.S. which combined the struggle against racism and the struggle for socialism.

In the era of imperialism, supporting

national liberation and fighting racism are fundamental to an international socialist strategy. Sunkara discounts the efforts of China, Angola, Vietnam, Korea and beyond, calling them using socialism to command a type of authoritarian capitalist development. Cuba, covered in a scant, disparaging four paragraphs, is considered a "revolution from above" whose future is in the "hands of a new generation of state bureaucrats and reemerging business interests" (p. 155). This analysis is shocking to those who have seen Cuba's radical democracy firsthand and admire the leaders' ability to mobilize and unite with the people to defend their revolution.

Venezuela, perhaps the greatest example in recent history of how mass socialist parties can use existing electoral processes to win major gains and expand true democracy and human rights for the most oppressed, is not mentioned once. Yet the challenges currently facing Venezuela demonstrate exactly the need for a socialist revolution to disarm and dismantle the oligarchy and the imperialists, who bear responsibility for Venezuela's problems today.

Sunkara holds the view that socialism can only be built in "developed" imperialist countries. This, like his elevation of Swedish social democracies over the victories of billions of people from countries oppressed by imperialism, and the way he and others in DSA promote class over identity politics, reeks of chauvinism.

At the same time, Sunkara's "class-based," social-democratic gradualism represents a negation of the foundation of scientific Marxism: the irreconcilability of class antagonisms between labor and capital. To argue that socialism can be achieved peacefully via the bourgeois electoral process is to mislead and disorient the working class and the oppressed. History — consider the bloody 1973 CIA coup in Chile — has proven the opposite.

Ultimately, Sunkara's brand of socialism seeks to be respectable to bourgeois, anti-communist intellectuals as well as the more privileged sectors of the working class, who see no future beyond imperialism and thus seek an opportunist compromise on essential socialist values.

Opposing U.S. imperialism at every turn; supporting the abolition of the capitalist police, military and state structures; fighting racism and all forms of oppression; and defending countries that are building socialism from imperialist attacks are key principles of a revolutionary strategy.

## Turning back the clock on imperialism's decay

"Social democracy was always predicated on economic expansion" (p. 123). Sunkara is correct in that social democracy has made gains in periods of imperialist expansion.

Unfortunately for social democracy, the owners of capital face a systemic crisis. The growth of high-tech capitalist production — originally designed to maximize profits by minimizing the number of workers — has become so capital-intensive that it leads to what Marx explained was "the falling rate of profit." In fact, this is the terminal period of imperialism, a decadent system which has plundered the earth so thoroughly that all life is threatened.

As Marx explained, the capitalists must "expand or die," and at this time they are struggling to open new markets and grow their profits. Precisely because the system is so productive, capitalism has entered

Continued on page 5

## New York City

# Italian communist discusses European imperialism

By John Catalinotto  
New York

Alessio Arena, secretary general of the Italian communist group Fronte Popolare (Popular Front), spoke to a full house at the Solidarity Center in Manhattan on Sept. 5 about the role of European imperialism in the world and the central role of German imperialism in controlling the direction of the European Union.

For U.S.-based anti-imperialists it was educational to examine the role of imperialism from a perspective that doesn't place Washington at the center of every struggle, despite the predominant military role of the Pentagon in the world.

As Arena pointed out, the EU is the largest single economic market in the world. It plays a reactionary and oppressive role in Africa and Central Asia, sometimes allied to the U.S. and sometimes in competition with the U.S., but always against the interests of the working class and all oppressed nations.

One example Arena gave of the competition is the EU countries' push to continue the pact reached with Iran regarding nuclear arms at a time when the current U.S.

government has broken that pact. Another was his description of the complex relationship of German imperialism with capitalist Russia.

Much of the Sept. 5 talk can be read in an article by Arena published in the Sept. 5 Workers World (read online at [tinyurl.com/yymux8cs](http://tinyurl.com/yymux8cs)).

Workers World Party and the Freedom Road Socialist Organization, both of which have fraternal relations with Fronte Popolare, sponsored the meeting. Arena thanked both organizations and expressed the wish to continue to share experiences. He expects that all the experiences of organizations with communist goals in this difficult post-Soviet period will be useful in building a new movement striving for socialism and communism worldwide.

FRSO member Michela Martinazzi introduced Arena, while Blair Bertaccini provided consecutive



Alessio Arena (right) holding Fronte Popolare banner, with some of the audience at Sept. 5 forum.

interpretation of Arena's talk from Italian to English. Sara Flounders of WWP added an announcement about the many public demonstrations planned for late September at the United Nations, particularly those in mass response to the climate crisis. Richard Kossally chaired the meeting. □

# New York City's Labor Day

## CWA District 1 and Association of Flight Attendants are fired up

The Association of Flight Attendants-CWA led a delegation of Communications Workers locals marching with District 1 at New York City's Labor Day on Saturday, Sept. 7. Militant AFA International President Sara Nelson, with Vice President Dennis Trainor, CWA District 1 (left), and a third CWA member, were there, fired up and ready for action.



Association of Flight Attendants-CWA and Communications Workers District 1, Sept. 7.

Nelson is the union leader who confronted President Trump on the lockout he imposed on workers during the 35-day federal government shutdown of 2018-19. With Nelson urging tough action, AFA issued a joint statement, along with unions representing U.S. pilots and air traffic controllers, that air travel had become unsafe, as unpaid air traffic controllers and Transportation Security Administration workers refused to show up for work, shutting down air travel and some airports. The day after Nelson's public call for a general strike, led by the flight attendants, Trump's shutdown ended.

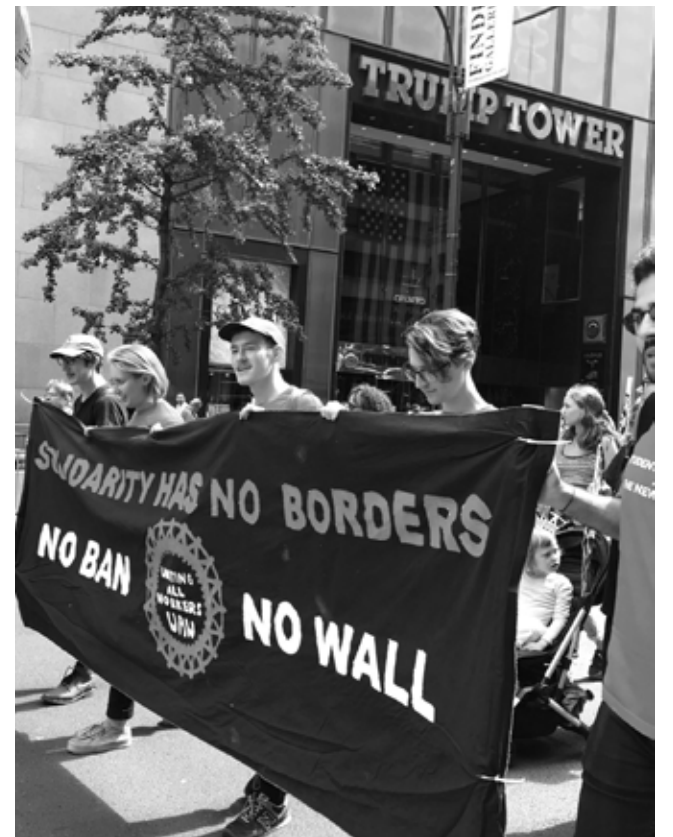
— Report and photo by Stephanie Hedgecoke, CWA Local 14156

## UAW members say 'Solidarity has no borders'

United Auto Workers members brought a message of international solidarity with immigrant workers and their families to New York City's Labor Day on Sept. 7. Marching behind the banner "Solidarity has no borders – No Ban – No Wall" and carrying signs that read "Close the Camps! Amnesty for All! No Deportations!" the contingent stopped outside Trump Tower, where their loud chants of "No Trump, No KKK, No Fascist USA!" rang up and down Fifth Avenue.

In a call to action, the National Writers Union, UAW Local 1981 urged union members at the march to join the contingent to support "tens of thousands of workers and their families, locked up and locked out at the U.S./Mexican border ... to demand an end to racist raids and deportations against immigrants already here, and to abolish ICE [Immigration and Customs Enforcement]. These are not slogans we raise once a year, but demands we fight for all year long."

The Legal Services Staff Association, UAW Local 2320 has taken a strong stand against ICE raids of immigrant poultry plant workers in seven Mississippi towns. ([tinyurl.com/y4q36ow6](http://tinyurl.com/y4q36ow6)) UAW Region 9A has seen an influx of new, young members in New York and New England due to organizing among graduate students, museum and cultural workers, clerical and technical workers, and more. Their



United Auto Workers members marching Sept. 7.

militancy and energy enlivened the union's contingent this year.

— Report and photo by Mary Owen, UAW Local 1981

# 'The Socialist Manifesto' and the rise of social democracy

Continued from page 4

a period of permanent overproduction. There is little room for the "economic expansion" that is the material basis of social democracy.

For the past two decades of "jobless recoveries," workers have continued to be thrown out of the labor market while capitalists invest stolen wages in the financial sector rather than the productive economy.

The global labor market has doubled in the past 30 years, meaning the capitalists have at their disposal a larger "reserve army of labor," as Marxists put it. They

no longer need as many comparatively privileged workers in the imperialist countries. White supremacist terror, permanent austerity, low wages, shorter life expectancies and the expansion of mass incarceration are symptoms of the crisis of imperialism.

Given this context, Sunkara has absurdly sought to turn back time to an idealized compromise between the capitalists and the workers.

### Rebuild the communist movement

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote "The Communist Manifesto" in the revolutionary period of 1848. "The

Communist Manifesto" represented a leap forward in the science of revolution which has inspired billions of people to this day. "The Socialist Manifesto," written in a time when the international socialist movement has suffered serious losses, reflects the weakness of the left and the inability to see beyond capitalism.

Meanwhile, the earth is on fire because of the policies of the Pentagon, U.S. banks and corporations. We don't have time to compromise with these capitalists. To defend the future of humanity, we must fight for working-class control to defeat the very banks and corporations that threaten life.

Revolutionary socialist, Leninist and communist parties have seen growth in recent years, although, for now, nothing as dramatic as DSA. These organizations, like Workers World Party, tie their politics to the experiences of successful revolutions across the world that have occurred since the Bolshevik Revolution, including their analysis of capitalism; imperialism; racism; gender, sexuality and ableist oppressions; defense of socialist countries; and solidarity with the most oppressed. We must dedicate ourselves to popularizing these principles of Leninism and continue fighting for socialist revolution. □

# Climate crisis cries out for social change

By Joshua Hanks

The climate crisis has surged to the forefront of many discussions recently, from mainstream news networks to everyday conversations between individuals concerned about the alarming state of the climate and environment.

Massive wildfires are raging in Africa and the Amazon. The latter were likely started by wealthy landowners, backed by Brazil's far-right, fascist Bolsonaro administration, to clear more land for ranching and development. Iceland's Okjökull glacier has disappeared. Municipal water sources are running dry in Chennai, the capital of India's Tamil Nadu state. Hurricane Dorian has just ravaged the Bahamas. These are just a few recent examples of a growing and compounding climate crisis.

Despite the severity of the crisis, developed capitalist nations — which are overwhelmingly responsible for creating the climate crisis — are either not moving fast enough to decarbonize or, in the case of the U.S., are actually moving backward.

## U.S. and Germany spew out emissions

Under the Trump administration, the U.S. has abandoned its climate commitments made as part of the 2015 Paris Accords. In 2018, carbon emissions surged 3.4 percent, the largest increase in eight years, after having fallen slightly since 2005.

Germany, often touted as the gold standard for “green” capitalist countries, has seen its carbon emissions stall at 2009 levels, barely budging in the past decade. It remains Europe's largest producer and user of coal, which still accounts for over a third of German electricity production, despite it having built more than 30,000 wind turbines over the past two decades. Just 10 nuclear reactors could produce the same amount of carbon-free energy as all the wind turbines in Germany, yet the country decided to shutter its existing reactors as fast as possible after the Fukushima multiple-reactor meltdown, while keeping its heavily polluting coal power plants and mines open.

New coal mines have even been opened in this allegedly “green” country, and emissions from the transport sector have shot up 20 percent since 1995, despite over 20 years of pushing the so-called Energiewende, or energy transition ([tinyurl.com/ya23wv6d](https://tinyurl.com/ya23wv6d)). German leaders have resigned themselves to the fact that they will not meet their carbon reduction goals in the timeframe originally set out. The path forward for capitalist countries like Germany is murkier than ever.

Yet not all countries are stuck in neutral or reverse when it comes to addressing the climate crisis. Socialist countries with economies that incorporate significant

degrees of public ownership and economic planning, like Cuba and China, have proven capable of making rapid, drastic changes, the kinds of changes necessary to keep the environment from facing total catastrophe.

## Cuba, China restore forests

According to a report by the Cuban Ministry of Agriculture printed in the newspaper Granma, the nation has nearly tripled its forested area in the socialist period that began in 1959, from 13 percent to over 30 percent today. ([tinyurl.com/y6qgbmkw](https://tinyurl.com/y6qgbmkw))

The World Economic Forum reported last year that China deployed 60,000 troops to plant millions of new trees, targeting heavily industrialized Hebei province, which has been the source of much of nearby Beijing's air pollution woes. The government plans to increase the forested area of Hebei province to 35 percent by the end of 2020. It also seeks to increase forest cover to 26 percent nationwide by 2035. From 1990 to 2015, it added half a million square kilometers of forest area, with a goal of adding 4.5 million square kilometers by 2030. This amounts to new forested areas the size of Ireland — part of a “Great Green Wall” to hold back desertification and clean up the country's air. ([tinyurl.com/y4rdavoo](https://tinyurl.com/y4rdavoo))

The early results are not going unnoticed. Since the mid-1990s, NASA satellites have observed an overall increase in global foliage, with China being largely responsible. “China's outsized contribution to the global greening trend comes in large part (42%) from programs to conserve and expand forests. These were developed in an effort to reduce the effects of soil erosion, air pollution and climate change.” ([nasa.gov](https://nasa.gov), Feb 11)

Meanwhile Canada, which like Germany is often held up by the corporate media as an example of a “green” capitalist country, contributes more to the deforestation of primary, untouched woodland than any other country. A 2014 study by the University of Maryland, Greenpeace, the World Resources Institute and other groups found Canada responsible for 21.4 percent of the world's total forest degradation. “There is no political will at federal or provincial levels for conserving primary forests,” Peter Lee of Forest Watch Canada told [Canada.com](https://canada.com). “Most logging done in Canada is still to this day done in virgin forests.” ([tinyurl.com/y375ovp6](https://tinyurl.com/y375ovp6))

## China's 'war on pollution'

Political will (or lack thereof) forms the underlying cause of both the capitalist West's inability to address the climate crisis and socialist nations' ability to act in a big way on environmental issues. After announcing a “war on pollution” in 2014, major Chinese cities have achieved an average 32 percent reduction in air pollution. While the Western media pumped out

sensationalized story after story on Beijing's infamously smoggy skies, they're almost silent now that blue skies are the norm in the Chinese capital. Yet the remarkable, rapid cleanup of Beijing's air (and the air in virtually every other Chinese city) should be headline news in all the world's papers, because it presents a real environmental success story that other countries can learn from, especially developing countries.

In a scholarly article titled “China: Reform and Revolution in the People's Republic,” Ajit Singh of the University of Manitoba quotes Michael Greenstone, director of the Energy Policy Institute at the University of Chicago: “We don't have a historical example of a country achieving such rapid reductions in air pollution. It's remarkable. What these last four years have demonstrated quite loudly is that things can change and they can change rapidly — it just requires political will.” Singh adds, “China is quickly becoming the world leader in environmental protection. In 2017, China led the world in renewable energy investment — accounting for 45 percent of the global total — and produced over half of new global solar capacity.” (United Nations Environment Programme, 2018)

Another more controversial part of China's overall strategy to combat global warming is its growing use of nuclear energy. This sets it apart from Germany and many other Western capitalist countries, which have chosen to move away from nuclear power. Yet the evidence is clear: China has made rapid progress on the environment while capitalist states have not, and nuclear energy plays a key role in this.

Nuclear reactors produce massive amounts of carbon-free energy, and can be built much faster and with far fewer resources than relying solely on wind and solar, which require huge amounts of land, steel, concrete, silicon and rare earth metals. The waste products from installing wind and solar contain toxic heavy metals that are often dumped in poor countries like Bangladesh. ([tinyurl.com/yxcf5dsq](https://tinyurl.com/yxcf5dsq))

Chinese cities like Shenzhen are moving to all-electric transportation systems. For example, all the buses in Shenzhen, some 16,000, are now totally electric, along with its 21,000 taxis, making the city quieter and cleaner. ([tinyurl.com/ybyjgd4y](https://tinyurl.com/ybyjgd4y)) But electric vehicles are only as clean as the energy they're charged with; charging an electric vehicle with electricity produced by coal actually produces more pollution than a conventional vehicle with a gas- or diesel-powered combustion engine.

## Electric vehicles and nuclear power

Surrounding Shenzhen, however, are four nuclear power plants, which supply the massive amounts of electricity necessary to charge the city's electric buses and taxis and provide a modern standard of living for its people, all without producing any carbon emissions or particulate air pollution.

With 800 million Chinese people lifted out of poverty in the past several decades, the country's energy needs are increasing, requiring rapid and massive increases in electricity production to keep up with demand, which nuclear power plays an increasing role in meeting.

After the 2011 Fukushima incident in Japan, China paused all nuclear construction and conducted a thorough safety review. Earlier this month, China's State Council Information Office issued a white paper on nuclear safety, highlighting the measures the country has undertaken to guarantee a safe supply of carbon-free nuclear power and reflecting on the areas that still need addressing.

“China chooses to continue the development of nuclear power in order to better protect the environment,” reported China Global Television Network on

Sept. 3. “In the wake of the Fukushima nuclear accident, the Chinese government organized a nine-month safety inspection of the country's operating nuclear power plants, those under construction, research reactors, and other key nuclear facilities. China has also been ensuring nuclear safety through round-the-clock radiation environment monitoring. The country has established a three-tier radiation environment-monitoring system at state, provincial and municipal levels. Safety levels at China's nuclear power plants are now the highest in the world, Xue Xiaogang, president of the China Institute of Atomic Energy, told CGTN in an exclusive interview.” ([tinyurl.com/yrrcnsf](https://tinyurl.com/yrrcnsf))

## New reactors improve safety

Engineered and built domestically by China's publicly owned industries, the new reactor types move away from the reactors designed by for-profit private Western companies, like the GE-built reactors at Fukushima. Last year the Shidao Bay nuclear power plant in Shandong province, a joint venture by China Huaneng Group, China Nuclear Engineering & Construction Group (both publicly owned industries) and Tsinghua University, completed the world's first fourth-generation reactor, a high-temperature, gas-cooled reactor (HTGR) that cannot suffer a meltdown and does not create a radioactive coolant. ([tinyurl.com/bnkqks7](https://tinyurl.com/bnkqks7)) This is because it uses helium as the coolant, which does not become radioactive, unlike the water coolant used in other reactor types.

The plant will ultimately feature 10 reactors of this type and the technology is expected to be exported. As part of China's Belt and Road Initiative, up to 30 reactors will be built around the world, opening up huge amounts of carbon-free nuclear energy to many developing countries that face acute electricity shortages and rely on heavily polluting coal for their electricity needs.

On Hainan island, China is planning a small modular reactor (SMR), which can be inexpensively mass-produced in factories to exacting standards and can provide reliable, carbon-free electricity to remote areas or localities with limited resources. China is also exploring the development of molten-salt reactors (MSR) and reactors that use thorium instead of uranium as fuel, which could offer many benefits in terms of safety and fuel efficiency. MSRs cannot melt down, plus thorium is less radioactive than uranium, with a much shorter half-life, and is about three times more abundant. ([tinyurl.com/y5c2kvcj](https://tinyurl.com/y5c2kvcj))

China's medium-term strategy is to create a “closed loop” fuel cycle, building reprocessing facilities with French expertise that recycle spent nuclear fuel into new fuel, both effectively dealing with the waste issue and largely eliminating the need for new uranium inputs from mining.

Nuclear power isn't a silver bullet and the country's nuclear regulators freely admit that there are issues which remain to be addressed and improvements to be made. Nuclear power forms just a part of the energy mix which China plans to use to overcome the climate crisis.

The climate crisis presents a key test by which we can compare the effectiveness of capitalism versus socialism. The results are there for anyone to look at. Given that countries like China and Cuba are far less developed in general than countries like Germany, which have enriched themselves by centuries of imperialism and colonialism, the progress they have made is truly remarkable. Poorer capitalist countries in the Global South, like Brazil and India, have not made the same progress and today deal with rampant air pollution and massive deforestation.

The facts are clear: The only path out of the climate crisis lies with socialism. □

## BlackRock billionaire hit for rainforest destruction

Demonstrators gathered outside the Circa Center in Philadelphia on Sept. 5 where BlackRock, the world's largest investment firm, has a regional office. With more money invested in the fossil fuel and agribusiness industries than any other company in the world, BlackRock's responsibility for the current climate crisis is huge. After Brazil's far-right President Jair Bolsonaro was elected, BlackRock announced plans to expand its operations there.

Speakers called on BlackRock billionaire CEO Larry Fink to use his clout to curb Amazon rainforest destruction, not to encourage further forest clearing. The action, across from Philadelphia's busy Amtrak station, received broad support from drivers passing by. The event was initiated by local activists with family in Brazil.

— Report and photo by Joe Piette



## WW Commentary

### To solve the climate crisis

# 'It is not too late'

By Lizy RD

The climate crisis looms overhead like the Grim Reaper for us all, especially young people. We have been born into this crisis. Many of us are growing up in fear and anxiety about what will happen to us in a few short years.

This fear is so strong and overwhelming that people have even started calling it “climate despair.”

In response, many make individual choices such as going vegan or carpooling to cut down on emissions. While such efforts and intentions are commendable, we must acknowledge that these individual acts are not and cannot be enough.

And ultimately, poor and working-class people are being blamed for the crisis, which is an act of gaslighting by the capitalist class, who are the ones actually responsible for this. Just 100 oil corporations were found responsible for 70 percent of the world's carbon dioxide emissions. The sheer scale of this destruction will ensure wealth is passed into fewer and fewer hands.

We must acknowledge that capitalism is responsible for this crisis. An economic system that prioritizes profits above all means that capitalists see our earth's natural resources, ecosystems and animals as disposable.

That includes people, too — as Bolsonaro's government in Brazil lets the Amazon burn and leaves Indigenous people to die. As it currently stands, poor Black, Indigenous, Latinx and people of color will see the worst consequences of this crisis, such as extreme heat, water



Young people rally against climate change in central London, February 2019.

shortages and loss of shorelines, while wealthy whites will have the means to escape it. This is not conjecture — this comes from the mouths of climate scientists and their reports.

A young person named Greta Thunberg from Sweden has become a prominent figure as of late, having started a movement of students striking every Friday worldwide for the climate. Thunberg will be attending the climate strikes starting Sept. 20 in New York City, as well as the 2019 UN Climate Summit. She has called for civil disobedience and for politicians to “take the science seriously.”

Her movement constitutes a fantastic starting place, as strikes are one of the most effective tools of the people. What would make her movement even stronger would be embracing the overthrow of capitalism.

IT IS NOT TOO LATE. We can still turn the direction of this global crisis around. Young people need to mobilize for the climate crisis. We, the working class, can bring down the capitalist class. This world will soon be ours, and it is up to us to lead it into a future where capitalism has been abolished and the worst of the climate crisis has been mitigated. □

## Climate crisis wrecks Bahamas

Continued from page 1

approaches. Every family is paired with another further inland, who shelter them until it is safe to return home.

China is preparing to make a major infrastructure investment in the Bahamas and will help with recovery efforts. Caricom — the Caribbean Community — has had a presence in the Bahamas even before Dorian hit.

Imperialist countries with colonies in the Caribbean — France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, the United States — have promised money and sent rescue teams.

Although press releases from U.S. government agencies have touted their assistance during the climate catastrophe, the efforts made and the money spent are pitifully small when compared to the huge Pentagon budget for wars and interventions on behalf of U.S. imperialist profiteers.

### Florida and the Bahamas

Florida only became part of the U.S. in 1821. While slavery existed there, enslaved people fled for their freedom to the British Bahamas, only 40 miles away.

This was especially the case after 1834, when England abolished slavery. Many Bahamians later migrated to southern Florida in the 1930s and 1940s when it was developing its tourist and citrus industries.

However, hundreds of Bahamians hoping to reach Florida after the hurricane were forced off ferries on Sept. 8 for lack of a U.S. visa, a previously unnecessary document. ([tinyurl.com/y3zn9zyt](http://tinyurl.com/y3zn9zyt))

The Washington Post reported on Sept. 6 that 26 overloaded small boats had been seen leaving the Bahamas and heading west. Bahamian Prime Minister Minnis has made it clear that the capital city, Nassau, can't accept all the people who now want to leave the islands of Grand Bahama and the Abacos.

The official death total was 44 as of Sept. 8, but Minnis said this preliminary figure will rise — likely significantly — once heavy equipment needed to remove debris reaches the islands. A nonofficial website collecting the names of all the missing has 6,500 entries. Anecdotal press accounts mention many bodies scattered about. The full horror of this disaster is yet to be revealed. □

## Bears Ears fight exposes energy companies, U.S. genocide

By Stephanie Tromblay

This article is excerpted from an earlier version published Dec. 19, 2017, in *Workers World* ([tinyurl.com/y4d7yeff](http://tinyurl.com/y4d7yeff)). The writer is of Huron/French Canadian and mixed Southeastern Native heritage.



Massive protests stream through Salt Lake City on Dec. 4, 2017, against the Trump administration's seizure of Indigenous land at Bears Ears Monument.

Trump's plan to steal 1 million acres from Bears Ears National Monument laid bare the entire history of U.S. genocide against Native nations in the interests of imperialism, energy companies and the military-industrial complex, all of which have been based on that genocide.

The 2-million-acre reduction of Bears Ears and the Grand Staircase/Escalante monuments was the largest cut to federal land protection in U.S. history and an unprecedented takeover in the interests of mining, fossil fuels and uranium corporations.

Five Native nations — the Navajo, Hopi, Zuni, Ute Mountain Ute, and Uintah and Ouray Ute Nations, united as the Bears Ears Inter-Tribal Coalition — had won monument status for 1.3 million acres of their sacred ancestral lands with unprecedented Indigenous oversight. Trump's proclamation was meant to strip control from these Native nations over uranium, oil and gas deposits, as well as the cultural heritage of their ancient ruins. Bears Ears is densely packed with ancient cultural resources. Puebloan ruins in the area are thousands of years old.

Trump and former Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke's attack on Bears Ears is U.S. imperialism's continuing genocidal warfare by deadly toxic resource thievery and cultural annihilation. During Zinke's review of national monuments, the Utah legislature filed a 49-page comment alleging Bears Ears National Monument would destroy the state's uranium industry. Energy Fuels Resources, owners of the White Mesa Uranium Mill and the Daneros Uranium Mine, lobbied the administration to give them use of monument lands. Chief Operating Officer Mark Chalmers said there are “many known uranium and vanadium deposits located within [Bears Ears].”

The Ute Mountain Ute community is directly threatened by the Daneros Mine and the White Mesa Mill. Energy Fuels wants to increase capacity to haul up to 500,000 tons of uranium through Cedar Mesa, a mountain just below the two buttes called the Bears Ears. Both the Navajo Nation and the Ute Mountain Ute have suffered devastation from uranium waste and its refinement.

Since 2013, energy companies had asked the Bureau of Land Management to open 100,000 acres of land within the Bears Ears area to oil and gas leasing, according to the Center for Biological Diversity — this though oil has not been pumped in the area since 1992.

### History of uranium mining, impact on Diné/Navajo Nation and the arms race

The history of uranium mining is one of total thievery and devastation of Native lands and absolute disregard for its impact on the health of all who live in proximity. Uranium mining is the basis of the infrastructure of the nuclear arms military industry, and the Navajo Nation has taken the brunt of the extraction of this deadly mineral. Uranium is not just poisonous; it is radioactive. Miners are exposed to radiation and carry it home on their clothing

to their families and growing children. The winds blow the tailings from the mines across the lands and into nearby waters.

A University of New Mexico study recently found 85 percent of Diné homes are contaminated with uranium, and Navajos living near uranium mines have higher levels of the mineral in their bones than 95 percent of Americans. They even found uranium in Diné infants' urine.

After the U.S. bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, some 30 million tons of uranium was mined on the Navajo Nation reservation. Diné miners were hired as cheap labor and not informed of the risks to their health. By the early 1960s, miners were getting sick and dying. Survivors, widows and family members in the Uranium Radiation Victims Committee began to fight the corporate abuse of the community and started a 30-year legal battle for workers compensation and damages. By 1993, the Navajo Nation president declared a moratorium on uranium mining.

There have been clusters of birth defects and stillbirths in Diné children in the Shiprock, N.M., uranium mining area. The National Institutes of Health reported in 1992 that more than 320 kinds of congenital conditions had been detected in Indian Health Service hospital records from Shiprock — in these cases the mothers lived near uranium mine dumps and tailings. Some of the fathers had worked in the mines; the report on the NIH website states: “Birth defects increased significantly when either parent worked in the Shiprock electronics assembly plant.”

Uranium prices remain low, but Trump has talked about producing more nuclear weapons. The nuclear arms race began with the intention to make a first-strike attack against the former Soviet Union. After the fall of the USSR, due in part to the relentless economic and political impact of the arms race, nuclear weapons stocks were downsized globally. But the U.S. still has more than all other countries combined; it surrounds the Korean peninsula with nuclear arms, and Trump has spoken of his desire to use them.

The nuclear energy industry exists because the military-industrial complex required it to process enough refined uranium to make thousands of nuclear weapons. Uranium ore is processed into yellowcake to use in nuclear reactors; the chain reaction generates heat in the reactors and produces fissile material required to make nuclear bombs. The military also uses leftover depleted uranium in armor plating and bullets. The use of DU by the U.S. military has left parts of Iraq thoroughly poisoned to the extent that women in Fallujah have been warned to not get pregnant due to the resulting horrendous birth defects.

Sources for this article include [bearssearscoalition.org](http://bearssearscoalition.org), *Deseret News*, *High Country News*, *Indian Country Today*, *The Navajo Nation*, *Salt Lake City Tribune*, *Washington Post* (Dec. 15, 2017).

# The struggle continues for the Ayotzinapa 43

By Teresa Gutierrez

This year marks the fifth anniversary of the disappearance of the Ayotzinapa 43, an event which unleashed a movement for justice in Mexico that inspired the world.

On Sept. 26, 2014, six people were murdered and 43 students from the Raúl Isidro Burgos Normal Rural School in the small community of Ayotzinapa in Iguala, Mexico, were disappeared.

The case soon became known as the Ayotzinapa 43, as the families and indeed the nation organized and demanded to know what had become of the “normalistas.”

The students—dedicated activists and revolutionaries—had commandeered several buses to travel to Mexico City to participate in a commemoration of the 1968 Tlatelolco Massacre. Commandeering buses in Mexico for political work is common and an example of how strong the resistance is in that country.

The Burgos Normal Rural School, activists relate, has a long history of student and teacher activism. Subjects are taught from the point of view of the working class, not the bourgeois class. It is not a surprise that the students left southern Mexico to go to Tlatelolco.

But they never arrived.

Their disappearance sparked a national movement. Families of the Ayotzinapa 43 traveled throughout not only Mexico but the U.S. as well. Throughout their tours and in all the demonstrations, the movement declared, “Fue el estado!” (“It was the state!”)

Indeed, all the facts pointed to a state coverup. The movement forced the government to allow an independent



Mexican students missing since 2014.

investigating team to enter the country to examine the remains and the crime scene. But their efforts were stonewalled. Bodies found in the area with sickening proof of mutilation and torture did not add up for the investigators as those of the 43.

Five years after the incident, justice remains as intangible as it was back then.

## Mexico: in the shadow of the imperialist beast

Mexico shares a 2,000-mile border with U.S. imperialism. Nothing that happens there can be separated from that fact. It is in imperialism's best interest that capitalist powers reign in Mexico—which means instability, repression and exploitation.

This is why a lucrative drug industry is so strong in Mexico. It explains why drugs can cross capitalist borders easily, while workers cannot.

Independent journalists and human rights activists point out that there is indeed a coverup in the case of the Ayotzinapa 43.

Anabel Hernández, author of “A Massacre in Mexico: The True Story Behind the Missing Forty-Three Students,” writes: “This case is about how the army, the federal police, and the federal government had been protecting organized crime in different parts of Mexico—and how in trying to protect organized crime they sacrificed these 43 students and tried to cover up what really happened that night.” (Los Angeles Magazine, April 11)

From Mexico City, Associated Press reporter Maria Verza wrote Sept. 3: “One of the main suspects in the 2014 disappearance of 43 teachers' college students in southern Mexico has been acquitted,

a human rights attorney said, as justice remains elusive for one of the darkest moments of the country's recent history. Santiago Aguirre, director of the human rights center known as Prodh and a lawyer for victims' relatives, said the judge absolved Gilberto López Astudillo due to ‘insufficient evidence.’” The attorney said the case was “marred by sleaziness, human rights violations and irregularities.”

## What now?

The election in 2018 of Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO) as president of Mexico brought high expectations that his administration would not be more of the same: repression, coverups and so on.

Hernández states that AMLO promised amnesty to the corrupted groups and said he would not prosecute cartels. She said that AMLO does not “want revenge.”

Hernández, however, believes that “the truth is there. The government [behind] Enrique Peña Nieto [president of Mexico at the time] tried to destroy all the evidence [from the night the 43 students disappeared], they tried to cover the truth but despite their efforts, the truth is still there.”

Although the wheels of justice are dragging, AMLO did say he would challenge the decision to release the main suspect.

Upon his election, López Obrador established a truth and justice commission to investigate the case. As of now, this commission has not uncovered any new information.

What is encouraging is that the families of the Ayotzinapa 43, as well as the people themselves, continue to demonstrate what the Mexican people have long expressed: The masses will never give up. □

# Tension spikes between Colombia and Venezuela

By Marco Teruggi  
Caracas

*This article first appeared Sept. 1 in pagina12.com.ar. Translation by Michael Otto.*

The relationship between the Venezuelan and Colombian governments took new confrontational steps this week. Colombian President Iván Duque made the first accusation after a sector of the FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia] announced a return to arms. Duque asserted that the group, which he called “a gang of narco-terrorists,” has “the shelter and support of [Venezuelan President] Nicolás Maduro's dictatorship.”

The Venezuelan government responded with a communiqué rejecting the accusations. “It is bizarre that Iván Duque, with absolute audacity, intends to shift to third countries and third parties his sole responsibility for the planned dismantling of the peace process and for blocking compliance with the commitments assumed and signed onto by the State of Colombia.”

This is not the first time that the Colombian government has accused Venezuela of letting insurgent forces operate in its territory, particularly the National Liberation Army (ELN). In addition to this, it had been alleged that FARC leaders Iván Márquez and Jesús Santrich—present in the video that was released to announce the return to arms—were in the neighboring country [Venezuela].

Venezuela's Defense Minister Vladimir Padrino López denounced Iván Duque's accusations as an attempt at

warmongering: “The political problem facing Colombia cannot and must not lead to a military confrontation. We urge you not to seek excuses or pretexts with false positives to try to violate our territorial sovereignty, either by conventional forces or by irregular groups.”

In that context, on Aug. 31, Venezuelan Minister of Communication Jorge Rodríguez denounced the operation of three military training camps in Colombia where terrorist actions against the Venezuelan government and society are being prepared.

Rodríguez affirmed that one is located in the city of Maicao, 2.5 kilometers from the border, another in Río Acha and the third in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. He explained that the first two are training for the use of explosives, and the third is for military training. Rodríguez charged that “they are training more than 200 people there to carry out paramilitary actions, terrorism, selective assassinations, and aggression on the border.”

“Iván Duque, what are you going to do?” the Minister of Communication declared when exhorting the president of Colombia to dismantle the training centers, which makes him an accomplice to these crimes, he said.

Rodríguez explained that the Venezuelan authorities were able to confirm the existence of the facilities after disrupting three actions involving explosives. The first two were to occur on Aug. 17, when [terrorists] had planned to detonate explosives loaded with C4 in front of the headquarters of the Special Action Forces and a building in the 23 de Enero

neighborhood, a Chavista stronghold. The third action had been scheduled for the end of August, with the detonation of an explosive in the Palace of Justice of Caracas, located in one of the busiest areas of the city center.

“All of this is part of a plan that would culminate in the next two weeks. They intended to perpetrate actions of greater and greater magnitude against the people of Venezuela and the president of the Republic,” Jorge Rodríguez charged.

The intersecting accusations marked a return to the highest level of tension since Feb. 23 when the Colombian government opened two international bridges to try to bring trucks and demonstrators by force into Venezuelan territory. The following night there was an attack by a group of 60 paramilitaries on a Bolivarian National Guard post a few kilometers from the international bridge.

This is not the first time that the Venezuelan government has accused Colombia of playing an active part in the attempts to overthrow Nicolás Maduro. In August 2018, Venezuela pointed out that the perpetrators of the president's assassination attempt had entered a camp in Colombia, more precisely in Chinácota. From there they had also brought the drones that were carrying the bombs used to carry out the action.

The escalation occurs at a time of crisis for the Venezuelan opposition, which has lost its ability to mobilize and to raise the expectations of its supporters. Its initiatives have been reduced in recent weeks, as well as its national and international media impact.

The counterpart on the international scene could be seen in two major news items. The first one was similar to what Cuba, Iran, Syria and North Korea are facing. The second one was political, with recognition of the existence of direct dialogue between the U.S. and Venezuelan governments.

The latter occurred after Maduro decided to withdraw from talks with the opposition in Barbados, due to the latest unilateral actions of the United States. The confirmation of back-channels dialogue between the two governments showed that the resolution of the conflict depends on an agreement with the U.S. government, the real decision-maker, financier and coordinator of the attempt to overthrow Maduro.

The possibility of such an agreement still appears to be far away in a deadlocked game. The U.S. claims that it will be unwilling to negotiate unless the Venezuelan president leaves office prior to an election. As for Maduro's government, one of their demands is the withdrawal of the blockade against the country.

How will the new escalation between Venezuela and Colombia play out in this context? The Venezuelan government has denounced the labyrinthine war plans being prepared from the neighboring country on several occasions. Venezuelan Vice President Delcy Rodríguez announced that she will present evidence to the United Nations on “the protection and shelter provided by Iván Duque to terrorists and armed groups in Colombia which are authorized by him to attack our constitutional order.” □



# Dialectics of change in Hong Kong

## The contradiction of two antagonistic systems

By Sara Flounders

What is the biggest problem that months of increasingly violent protests in Hong Kong have exposed?

Many people, especially younger people, are trying to understand the turmoil in Hong Kong. A Sept. 4 Workers World article traced some roots of the current uprising to reactionary connections with imperialist agencies and ideology. (“Hong Kong: Google Censors China”)

Examined here is how the “One Country, Two Systems” agreement for Hong Kong, a 1997 compromise, was an attempt to freeze in place in that city the capitalist property and social relations that existed under the decaying British empire.

Now, with a changed global relationship of major proportions, a sharpening conflict has broken out because of the contradictions between the “two systems” — China’s and that of the capitalist/imperialist countries.

### Background to ‘One Country, Two Systems’

The One Country, Two Systems agreement is by its very name a contradiction. To assume that this inherently unstable formulation could continue for the 50-year duration of the agreement would be a static and idealistic view of social development. Every relationship in society is subject to constant change, contention and struggle — in this case, a struggle between two contending social systems.

In 1997, the shrinking British empire was no longer able to hold any of its former possessions in the form of outright colonies. Instead, British imperialism had hammered into place, through British Commonwealth arrangements, neoliberal policies that guaranteed continued British economic domination throughout its former African and Asian colonies.

The People’s Republic of China, consolidated through the victory of the Chinese Revolution in 1949, was seriously underdeveloped in comparison to the imperialist countries, a legacy of China’s former subordination. This gave China an interest in continuing to encourage economic investment from Western powers, as long as China could control these investments. These funds came through the major banks in Hong Kong.

With the 1997 agreement, Britain agreed to respect China’s sovereignty in Hong Kong. British and U.S. imperialists assumed that China’s reliance on Western investment would favor and facilitate continued imperialist dominance of the

city and its institutions.

It is abundantly clear now that, from the very inception of the 1997 agreement and even during the negotiations, those administering British and U.S. imperialism also planned to violate the agreement. By their aggressive funding of thousands of educational and social programs in Hong Kong, the imperialist powers showed that they had no intention of abiding by a pledge of 50 years of economic and political stability. Nor did they intend to respect China’s sovereignty in Hong Kong — or in the rest of China.

### Organizing for capitalist restoration

In the 1990s, before the signing of the agreement, Britain rushed to put political parties in place in Hong Kong stacked with loyal collaborators. During this time, when the Chinese Communist Party was still banned in the city, Britain set up a partially elected legislature that had never existed before.

Half the seats in the legislature were guaranteed to the bankers and top real estate capitalists. Britain also established a new educational curriculum to enshrine concepts of bourgeois democracy in the school system. These concepts had been prohibited in colonial-run schools.

The British established a court system to guarantee archaic capitalist property relations — a court system still in place. To this day, the overwhelming appointments to the Hong Kong High Court are not Hong Kong citizens. They are foreign British and British Commonwealth judges.

These machinations of British and U.S. policy makers were based on the premise that the capitalist market would quickly overwhelm China’s socialist revolution and negate the agreed-upon sovereignty of China over Hong Kong. The city was to be a wedge of capitalism into China. Its millions of English-speaking, well-educated young people were nurtured to be for pro-capitalist “democracy” and to be “Western” collaborators in the project to turn China over to capitalism.

The global capitalists assumed that what had happened in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics would be repeated in China. Only six years before the 1997 agreement, imperialism had succeeded in overturning and completely breaking up the USSR. Imperialism seemed all-powerful.

But the imperialists of capital have been unable to overtake or overturn socialism in China, and are now provoking political turmoil in Hong Kong in order to discredit socialist China on the political front. This turmoil is accentuated by pro-capitalist

legal, financial and cultural structures put in place by the city’s former colonizers and also by the present extremes of wealth and poverty in a city with its roots in capitalism, but, according to the agreement, governed by China.

### Uneven socialist development

The development of socialism in China is hardly a finished process. From 1979 on, People’s China focused on its own internal development and did not attempt to speak in the name of world revolution.

The 1979 meeting of Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping with President Jimmy Carter in Washington, D.C., followed by China’s invasion of Vietnam three weeks later, signaled an abrupt break with China’s past revolutionary standards.

Many revolutionary forces around the world, engaged in the class struggle in their own countries and opposed to their own ruling class, assumed that China had moved decisively toward capitalism. Imperialist forces made the same assumptions.

For two decades after the 1997 agreement, China was absorbed in the monumental task of raising hundreds of millions of people out of poverty and illiteracy. China’s economy has developed extremely rapidly since 1997, facilitated by ties to capitalist entities in Hong Kong.

But China’s economy remains under the control of the socialist superstructure — both the workers’ state and its Communist Party.

Now, British and U.S. policy strategists see that the state-owned banks and industries of the People’s Republic of China are likely to surpass the decaying capitalist societies of the West in almost every field within the next five years.

In 1997, Hong Kong accounted for 27 percent of the gross domestic product of all of China and was the access point to billions flowing into China. Capitalism seemed impossible to dislodge.

At present, Hong Kong accounts for less than 3 percent of China’s GDP and that proportion is still decreasing.

### The dilemma today

It is of historic and decisive importance that the Chinese leadership did not yield the Communist Party’s hold on the development of Chinese society and the economy. China continues to be committed to using central planning to guide the development of essential infrastructure and central banks.

The Chinese Communist Party has

made it abundantly clear that it is building socialism — with Chinese characteristics. It relies on socialist planning, but takes into account the underdevelopment and poverty inherited from old China. Its objective is to build socialism, while making compromises with the dominant force globally — the G7 imperialist powers. These capitalist economies, led by U.S. imperialism, have had a lock on modern industry and technology.

The unsolvable problem facing the Hong Kong capitalists and the entire web of global pirates is that, as much as they are faced with critical problems of infrastructure, environment and housing in the city, they are driven by the competitive nature of the capitalist system to maximize their individual profits for survival in competition with other capitalists.

In Hong Kong, capitalist property relations in the ownership of every square foot of land are still firmly established. Landlords, banks, laws and the legal apparatus of an antiquated system make even the most basic planning almost impossible.

For instance, the 2008 global economic crash stopped any plans for capitalists to improve conditions in Hong Kong.

But in that very year, the Chinese government was injecting billions into state planning for vast infrastructure projects to help China ride out the sharp cuts in Western investments and international bankruptcies.

Now the problem for the People’s Republic of China is how to find a path to peacefully restore its sovereignty over both Hong Kong and Taiwan, when these two outposts are completely controlled by imperialism and by archaic capitalist property relations enshrined in layers of legal protection.

At the same time, China is faced with an escalating trade war initiated by the U.S., as well as expanded U.S. military operations in the South China Sea and attempts to militarily encircle China.

Along with these factors, the bitter turmoil in Hong Kong stems from imperialism’s effort to create a crisis to stop China’s steady development.

As long as investment funds and technical development were taking place through connections in Hong Kong, the Chinese Communist Party gave a lower priority to influencing social development among Hong Kong youth.

China approached Hong Kong with the facts of socialist planning — and the tremendous gains the country was making — as the basis on which to win enthusiastic support among a new generation of Hong Kong youth.

But for 22 years, since 1997, a generation of youth in Hong Kong has been raised with hostility to socialist planning and denial of the fact that Hong Kong was part of China. Hundreds of millions of dollars of Western money has funded this political offensive, promoting the illusion of Western “democracy” and waving the British Union Jack and the U.S. flag.

Millions around the world understand that U.S. imperialism — with its endless wars and 800 international military bases, its starvation-sanctions policies, regime-change interventions and profit-driven, climate-crisis policies — is the greatest threat facing humanity. Capitalist “democracy” is the veil of illusion thrown over this reality.

Opposition to Western-funded intervention in Hong Kong belongs on the agenda of all those who are fighting to prevent a future of capitalist chaos. □

## Fight the power! Build Workers World!

Workers World newspaper has a point of view. Unlike the corporate press, we report events from the perspective of the workers and the oppressed. But you already know that.

But you may not be aware that our purpose goes beyond passive reporting. Our Marxist-Leninist vision of an equitable, just world based on socialist planning and plenty for all peoples spurs us to advocate in workplaces, communities and streets for drastic change.

That’s why the newspaper will show solidarity with labor marches all over the country on Labor Day, the first Monday in September. That’s the federal holiday the ruling class “gave” U.S. workers in 1894 to distract us from memorializing May Day. However, May 1, promoted

by socialists and communists, is celebrated by workers all over the world, as well as in the U.S., in honor of the 1886 Haymarket strike when Chicago workers shook the bosses with their determined fightback.

Later this month the youth-initiated Global Climate Strike, Sept. 20-27, will draw millions of people of all ages on all continents demanding action to save all forms of life on this increasingly vulnerable planet. A special issue of WW will be there, discussing strategies to help working people, young and old, wrest the reins of power away from the imperialist ruling class and implement changes that defend the environment and save lives.

It’s essential for Workers World not to be a bystander, but to take action in

defense of our Marxist-Leninist principles and beliefs. If you agree, then it’s time to join the Workers World Supporter Program, which since 1977 has been helping to get out the paper. Members receive a year’s subscription to WW, a monthly letter about timely issues and five free subscriptions to give to friends, all for a donation of a minimum of \$75 or \$100 or \$300 (only \$25 a month) or more.

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 online at [workers.org/donate](http://workers.org/donate) — it’s easy to set up monthly deductions. Know that we’re grateful for your help in building Workers World — for today and for the future! □

# WORKERS WORLD

## editorial

# Democrats: No debate on climate crisis

In a small room at Hudson Yards, a ritzy, new Manhattan retail and housing complex, 10 Democratic candidates for president took turns Sept. 4 presenting their programs on the climate crisis. Each candidate was questioned separately by CNN moderators and audience members for 40 minutes in a televised seven-hour “Climate Town Hall.” The event was not an official campaign debate.

Only a preselected audience was allowed entry into the venue, in a complex designed and built to protect the wealthy from climate-related havoc and deemed an example of “eco-apartheid.” (Democracy Now, Sept. 5)

This event followed the Aug. 31 vote by the Democratic National Committee not to hold a candidates’ debate specifically on climate. A single-issue debate, first proposed by candidate and Washington state Gov. Jay Inslee (who has since dropped out) was rejected by DNC Chairman Tom Perez. “I concluded the DNC could not allow individual candidates to dictate the terms of debates or limit the topics discussed,” Perez stated June 11. (medium.com)

Youth climate justice activists, including leaders of the Sunrise Movement, took up the demand for a climate debate, plugging it during a mass march outside the July 30-31 debates in Detroit. Most of the candidates voiced support.

But over two-thirds of DNC delegates voted not to hold a climate debate, permitting candidate participation only in forums such as the CNN-controlled Town Hall.

What are the Democrats so afraid of? Are they afraid of the emerging, comparatively progressive grouping inside their own party? Are they afraid of a Green New Deal — even though, like Roosevelt’s New Deal, the proposed GND leaves capitalist exploitation in place? Are their well-heeled campaign donors putting the screws on them?

Perhaps they feared embarrassing Joe Biden. The former vice president, who pledged not to take money from the fossil fuel industry, was confronted by a Town Hall audience member about an upcoming Biden fundraiser, hosted by Andrew Goldman of natural gas company Liquid LNG. Biden immediately became defensive, insisting the company founder was not currently an executive of the corporation.

Does that make a difference? Goldman has not disassociated himself from that company or the harm it helped cause. How can you say you are for climate justice and then turn around and hobnob with a fossil-industry bigwig?

### ‘Climate pricing’ a safe ‘solution’ — for capitalism

Despite the socialist baiting by Trump and his ilk, none of the 10 Democratic candidates participating in the climate forum want to get rid of capitalism. This includes Bernie Sanders. Calling for deprivatizing utility companies is as far as he’ll go — and that’s farther than any other candidate.

Although she said she would hold corporations accountable, Elizabeth Warren balked when an audience member asked if she would challenge capitalism. Most of the candidates did not support an all-out ban on fracking. Although natural gas is touted as a clean alternative to petroleum and coal, the fracking process, through the release of methane gas, actually contributes to global warming.

While Sanders proposes a \$16 trillion version of the Green New Deal, front-runner Biden would spend only a little over a tenth of that to address the climate crisis.

Nine of the ten called for “climate pricing,” formulas including “cap-and-trade” that charge companies a “price” based on carbon emissions. The World Bank has a web site promoting carbon pricing!

There are two carbon-pricing bills in Congress now. One is a Republican-sponsored bill, which has the backing of Shell, Exxon-Mobil and other Big Oil companies. The other, bipartisan bill comes with a higher emissions price tag — but eliminates Environmental Protection Agency oversight for 10 years.

There is no proof that these formulas work to cut emissions. The tax could be treated as merely a cost of doing business — a cost that will, if possible, be passed on to the consumer. Isn’t that how a typical capitalist handles fines when they violate workplace safety laws and environmental regulations? While doing nothing at all to remedy the underlying problem.

Granted, even the weakest Democratic platform contrasts with that of climate-denying, fascist Trump. Many of the new climate action organizations are making voter registration a priority, specifically to vote for the most climate-friendly candidate in the Democratic primary. Then they will work “to beat Trump” no matter what.

But both the Democratic and Republican parties are capitalist parties. The most important thing young climate radicals can do is to stay in the streets. Strike, march, rally, sit-in, occupy, do whatever is necessary — to “shut it down” — to halt the climate catastrophe! □



News item: Greyhound is defending its capitulation to ICE Gestapo raids by saying it is passing out “Know Your Rights” flyers.

## WW Commentary

# How should Robert Mugabe be remembered?

By Monica Moorehead

When Robert Mugabe, the first democratically elected president of Zimbabwe (formerly white supremacist-governed Rhodesia), died on Sept. 6 at the age of 95, every pro-imperialist, bourgeois media united in demonizing him as a “tyrant” and “dictator” in the most vile manner. Mugabe has even been accused of starving the masses, as if he single-handedly caused systematic droughts in the southern African region that are due to the global climate crisis. This begs the question: Why does the ruling class hate Mugabe so much?

For progressives, socialists and communists, it is important to defend this great revolutionary leader for the contributions he and others like him made to the ongoing struggle for national liberation of the entire African continent. Africa, including Zimbabwe, deserves reparations for the unpaid debt due from the centuries-long super-exploitation of colonialism and imperialism rooted in the monstrous Trans-Atlantic slave trade.

The following is excerpted from a talk given by Moorehead at a Dec. 21, 2017, forum, “How imperialism undermined Zimbabwe,” following Mugabe’s resignation from the presidency. Read other excerpts at [tinyurl.com/y5jwf4m4](http://tinyurl.com/y5jwf4m4).

The Berlin Conference in 1884-85 — the “Scramble for Africa” conference — is where the European capitalist countries met to carve up virtually the entire African continent in order to expand their markets for profits by super-exploiting African labor and plundering its super-rich mineral resources.

In the case of Zimbabwe, it was Cecil Rhodes who became the British colonizer of what was called Rhodesia in the late 1800s. Rhodes established the DeBeers Mining Company, known for its stolen diamonds from Zimbabwe. He treated the entire country as his private slave plantation, with the backing of state brutality.

By 1914, white settlers, numbering just 23,730, owned slightly more than 19 million acres of land in Rhodesia, while an estimated 752,000 Africans occupied a total of 21,390,080 acres of land. (“A brief history of land in Zimbabwe: 1890-today,” [focusonland.com](http://focusonland.com)) Eventually thousands of white farmers (colonizers) carried out a systematic campaign of wars and massacres to uproot the indigenous African population from their lands.

Ian Smith was proclaimed prime minister of Rhodesia in 1964 and confiscated 6,000 acres for himself. His apartheid policies codified white farmers’ use of the land for commercial farming of crops like tobacco to be sold as commodities on the



Robert Mugabe mural, Harare, Zimbabwe.

world capitalist market. So while these farmers were enriching themselves, the people of Zimbabwe faced starvation and were reduced to being “tenants” on their own lands.

Carrying forth the legacy of the first two phases of the liberation struggle, the Third Chimurenga (liberation struggle) created two fronts which arose in the late 1960s — one was ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) led by Robert Mugabe and the other was ZAPU (Zimbabwe African People’s Union) led by Joshua Nkomo. These two guerrilla factions joined forces as the Patriotic Front to force the Smith government to the negotiating table in Britain and to sign the 1980 Lancaster House Accords, which was a compromise that supposedly held the British government accountable for financially compensating white farmers so that Black farmers could reclaim their lands.

A large sector of those who fought for the liberation of Zimbabwe were landless Black farmers or war veterans. Twenty years later, these same war veterans pressured the Mugabe government to remove the commercial farmers, by force if necessary, because the British government had reneged on the Lancaster accord.

Mugabe then established a radical land redistribution program, allowing war veterans to take back their stolen lands, including by force.

Tony Blair and George W. Bush imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe starting in 2002 as an act of war against the population. These sanctions [that still exist today] slashed fuel and food subsidies with the aim of turning the masses against Mugabe by making him the scapegoat for any economic hardships imposed by imperialism.

Why have U.S. and British imperialism hated Mugabe? Mugabe is a former leader of a national liberation movement that helped to bring an end to a racist, apartheid-like regime. He backed the war veterans taking back their land from the white colonizers and was unapologetic about doing so. With all his political contradictions, Mugabe was willing to stand up against U.S. and British imperialists. □



WW PHOTO: TERESA GUTIERREZ

WWP members Monica Moorehead and Richard Kossally (far right) with Dr. Frank Guni, ZANU-PF representative, at African Liberation Day march and rally in Washington, D.C., May 25, to demand an end to sanctions against Zimbabwe.

# Is internationalism terrorism?

By **Angeles Maestro**  
Madrid

*The author, a spokesperson for the organization Red Network (redroja.net) based in the Spanish state, faces charges based on her organization's collection of funds in solidarity with Palestine, specifically to repair health care facilities in Gaza. Translation by John Catalinotto.*

Aug. 29 — Recently, the National High Court charged two other compañeras and me with the crime of financing terrorism. The events took place in 2014 and 2015 when, on the occasion of brutal invasions of Gaza by the Israeli army with terrible consequences of death and destruction, the Red Network decided to request financial contributions to help the Palestinian people through a current account installed on its website. The facts are the same as in the documentary film “Gaza,” which received the Goya award last January.

Last June, Court Number 6 of this High Court, claiming it found “sufficient evidence of criminality,” refused to dismiss our case and issued an Ordinary Summons. Its pronouncement took place even after our defense presented a document that proved the destination of the funds in question was the reconstruction of health care facilities destroyed in the attacks.

The argument for the accusation made by the New York-based [pro-]Israeli organization Lawfare Project, and accepted by the National High Court as an indication of criminality, was the delivery of the first amount to Palestinian leader Leila Khaled, herself a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The rationale is that this organization has been included since 2003 in a European list of terrorist organizations. The U.S. had encouraged putting the PFLP on the list following the attacks on the Twin Towers in September 2001.

This list has not been transposed into the legislation of each EU member state, so there is no legal obstacle for representatives of this organization [PFLP] to act freely in the EU. This right was recognized in 2017 by the same National High Court, which, through Judge Carmen Lamela, rejected the complaint of Israeli organizations against Leila Khaled herself and allowed her free entry into Spain.

These [Zionist] organizations also

accused the Barcelona City Council, sponsor of the Literary Fair in which Palestinian leader Khaled finally participated, of crimes of “integration into a terrorist organization, collaboration with a terrorist organization, apology and exaltation of terrorism, financing of terrorist activities, embezzlement of public funds and prevarication.” All these charges were based on the alleged terrorist nature of the PFLP.

The PFLP is a founding member and a prominent part of the Palestine Liberation Organization, recognized since 1974 by the United Nations General Assembly as “the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.”

Beyond the specifics of the case against us, the central issue underlying this whole matter is the insurmountable difficulty in finding a definition of terrorism that meets the primary legal requirement of general applicability. Countless questions come to mind.

Can resistance against Nazi occupation in World War II be considered terrorist?

Was the Vietnamese people's struggle against the American invader terrorist, or that of the African National Congress against the apartheid regime in South Africa, or that of the Algerian people against the French occupation?

The historical examples are numerous and varied, and the attempt to give to the victor or to the strongest party the right to decide who is a terrorist, as the state of Israel claims, contravenes the very basis of international law. This has been recognized in hundreds of resolutions by the United Nations General Assembly, which has always affirmed the legitimacy of the Palestinian people's struggle.

The case against us, as well as the legal proceedings against representatives of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement, aims to criminalize international solidarity with the Palestinian people and to assure that the daily crimes that Zionism perpetrates against Palestinians are both hushed up and unpunished.

It also persecutes not only solidarity with the Palestinian people, but internationalist solidarity in general, as is reflected in the orders issued by the court carrying out the accusation against us. The “signs of criminality” that it considers us guilty of are based on the internationalist solidarity exercised by Red Network with Cuba, with Venezuela, with Bolivia, with Western Sahara.

Euro-U.S. imperialism, in desperate search for cheap raw materials, has multiplied its extortions and aggressions and has disguised them as interventions in defense of human rights, in addition insisting that humanitarian aid — alms intended to cover up the horrors created by them or support for refugees fleeing wars provoked by the “West” — must come through NGOs [nongovernmental organizations] financed by their governments, their bankers and their multinationals.

What they are trying to wipe out is political solidarity that takes sides [with the oppressed]. And always this solidarity means standing against the aggression of imperialism and Zionism, regardless of the political orientation of the government of the country being attacked. Internationalist solidarity is located at the very opposite end from charity, in that it considers the struggle against oppression and injustice anywhere in the world to be its own struggle.

And this attitude is especially incumbent upon the various peoples living within the Spanish state, who had the privilege of living through, up close and personally, the greatest example of internationalist solidarity, strictly political, that humanity has experienced: the International Brigades [during the Spanish Civil War, 1936-39]. With them came thousands of young men and women from all over the world, ready to



Angeles Maestro

PHOTO: RESUMEN

give their lives to fight fascism. Arabs also arrived, and in particular Palestinians, and many Jews fleeing Nazi persecution in their countries.

The most important thing that they contributed to the struggle of the Spanish republic against fascism was not the military support, just as the essential economic aid that reached the Palestinian people through Red Roja was not its quantity. It was the observation that, in the unequal fight against tyranny, those who legitimately fight against it are not alone.

The arrival of the International Brigades was what pulled from the people of Madrid, devastated by the bombardments and crushed by the feeling of defeat before the advance of the fascist troops, the inalienable will to struggle expressed in the cry: “They shall not pass.”

Some of that gift of internationalist oxygen must continue to reach the Palestinian people and all the peoples of the world who resist imperialism and Zionism with more force every day. □



Chanting “From Kashmir to Palestine, occupation is a crime,” over 100 people, mostly immigrants from Kashmir, rallied on Sept. 6 outside the Masjid Al-Madinah Upper Darby Islamic Center near Philadelphia to call attention to India's recent human rights' abuses and violations of Kashmir's sovereignty.

— Report and photo by Joe Piette

## El Paso Firme!

Continued from page 1

who wear El Paso Strong buttons, yet they sit on City Council or the school board and they carry out attacks against our immigrant communities through displacement, gentrification, environmental racism and school closures in the poorest neighborhoods,” said Garcia. “White supremacy doesn't only come from the outside.”

Leading up to the music fest, a mural was unveiled that was dedicated to the shooting victims, a community reception and a private meeting between the artists and victims of the shooting. The musicians also visited a detention center and shot a video against childhood detention and family separation.

On Sept. 7, an early crowd gathered at the farmworkers' center for a spirited march to Sacred Heart Church for breakfast and a community rally in the church hall.

The El Paso Firme Musicfest and Action drew thousands from throughout Texas, as well as from Mississippi, New Mexico, Arizona and California, to declare war on white supremacy.

Featuring popular artists from California, Mexico, Guatemala and Chile, the music was interspersed with testimonies from some of those who survived the shooting on Aug. 3; victims of Immigration and Customs Enforcement raids and family separation; Central American refugees in Juarez; and residents of Sunland, N.M., who deal with border militarization and Border Patrol abuse.

Before the final act, as teens were chanting “Cuco! Cuco!,” survivors of the shooting, who had been trapped inside the store while the massacre was going on, walked onto the stage and the crowd fell silent. Guillermo Glenn, 78, spoke of the terror he had felt and then challenged the crowd to heed the call to action against white supremacy. □

## Regalos venenosos de Koch

Continúa de la página 12

difunde ideas aceptables para los capitalistas. Las donaciones de los Kochs se centran en la promoción de ideas de derecha, con una apariencia de libertarismo.

A pesar de la cobertura libertaria, la filantropía de Koch no solo es anti-trabajadora y anti-ambiental, también es racista y misógina. Debido a que las fundaciones de Koch promueven candidatos de derecha, abandonaron las ideas libertarias clásicas contra la intervención del gobierno para respaldar el ataque contra las mujeres contra los derechos al aborto.

Los Kochs atacan toda intervención gubernamental que ayude a los trabajadores y a los pobres. Denuncian cualquier regulación de la industria por razones sanitarias o medioambientales. Promueven grupos que intentan evitar que los afroamericanos y otras personas oprimidas voten.

Además, los Kochs no quieren una

regulación que pueda reducir las ganancias obtenidas por sus extensas propiedades en la industria del petróleo, el gas y la química. Esto incluye pagar a los investigadores para ofrecer argumentos contra el cambio climático.

La riqueza heredada de David Koch trabajó para implantar las ideas políticas venenosas de su familia súper rica en la sociedad, haciendo de esas ideas una versión de la ideología de la clase dominante. Su muerte no hace nada para cambiar este proceso.

Quienes luchan para derrocar a la sociedad capitalista deben luchar contra esas ideas procapitalistas, así como luchar para separar a los ricos de las riquezas que les permiten controlar las ideas. Finalmente, para derrocar al capitalismo, los trabajadores y los oprimidos también tendrán que luchar contra el aparato del poder estatal que protege la riqueza de los ricos. □



MO FOTO: JUDY GREENSPAN

## Solidaridad de Workers World con la marcha de El Paso:

# ¡Abolir la supremacía blanca! ¡Abolir ICE!

El 3 de agosto de 2019, un individuo intentó aplastar el espíritu de millones. Intentó, a través de la malicia y la violencia, hacer retroceder a aquellos que solo buscan refugio y seguridad. Pero su intento ha fallado. El tirador de El Paso, el último de una larga línea de asesinos supremacistas blancos, utilizó las tácticas del terrorismo en un intento inútil por detener la migración de personas latinx y preservar su visión de un etnoestado blanco.

Pero la fuerza impulsora de la

migración es fuerte, y la voluntad de sobrevivir es aún más fuerte. El 7 de septiembre, la Red Fronteriza para los Derechos Humanos, RAICES Texas, la Red Nacional Organizadora de Jornaleros y sus aliados se reunirán en El Paso para marchar en la Acción Nacional contra la Supremacía Blanca.

El Partido Mundo Obrero orgullosamente marchará hombro con hombro en solidaridad con esta acción y más allá. Sabemos que el único antídoto contra la plaga de la supremacía blanca es

un compromiso inquebrantable con el antirracismo.

También entendemos que la violencia supremacista blanca va más allá de la pesadilla de El Paso. Sabemos que el dominio de la supremacía blanca se extiende más allá de los tiradores solitarios, con sus tentáculos que alcanzan las filas de las agencias estatales de aplicación de la ley en los Estados Unidos y el mundo. Sabemos que dejar que los/las niños/as mueran en jaulas es un acto de terror tan grande como matarlos a

tiros en un centro comercial. Y sabemos que no puede haber justicia en un mundo donde el capital cruza las fronteras libremente, mientras que los seres humanos, especialmente los que pertenecen a la clase trabajadora global, no pueden hacerlo libremente. Así que nos unimos con una sola voz para decir: “¡Abolir ICE, abolir la policía, terminar con encarcelamientos masivos, cerrar los campamentos, abrir las fronteras, El Paso Firme!” □

## La lucha de clases y la crisis climática

### MUNDO OBRERO editorial

Los hechos son irrefutables. Selvas tropicales ardiendo, glaciares derritiéndose. Las inundaciones de “una vez en cien años” están ocurriendo con una regularidad aterradora.

Nadie puede discutir seriamente contra el pronóstico de la catástrofe climática.

La conversación que importa ahora es: quién es responsable y quién puede solucionarlo. El clima es uno de los temas apremiantes sobre el que todos los líderes sindicales debieron hablar el pasado Día del Trabajo.

La crisis climática es en todos los sentidos, un tema de la clase trabajadora. Los patrones climáticos salvajes y los desastres antinaturales resultantes dejan su marca más fuerte en los trabajadores, los pobres y las comunidades de color. Solo los ricos tienen los medios para escapar de las consecuencias.

Los trabajadores jóvenes tienen mucho que enfrentar: trabajos sin salida, deudas estudiantiles impagables, abuso policial, de todo, ellos están lidiando con eso.

Pero una de las preocupaciones más graves de los jóvenes es la crisis climática

y lo que presagia para su propia existencia, y la de todos los seres en la tierra, se lee en los carteles de protesta, “No hay planeta B”. Esta tierra es el único cuerpo celeste de soporte vital que tenemos.

Es la clase capitalista la que calcula el beneficio económico a corto plazo sin tener en cuenta la enorme huella de carbono que están dejando sus acciones pro ganancias.

Los barones del carbón y el petróleo quieren vender los productos no renovables que queman carbón que extraen del suelo. Las compañías automotrices quieren hacer vehículos que obtengan las mayores ganancias, no aquellos con las emisiones de carbono más bajas. Los contratistas militares se alinean para subir al tren de mermelada monetaria del mayor contaminador del mundo: el Pentágono.

¿Y qué hay de las empresas de servicios públicos? First Energy presionó a la legislatura del estado de Ohio hace solo dos meses por un proyecto de ley que rescató las plantas de energía nuclear y de carbón (incluida la suya), al tiempo que eliminó los incentivos para las fuentes de energía renovables como la energía solar y eólica. First Energy es un importante donante de campaña para los legisladores que aprobaron el proyecto de ley 6 de la Cámara.

Todo esto apunta a lo que los marxistas

llaman antagonismos de clase irreconciliables. En “Anti-Duhring”, Friedrich Engels se refirió al “antagonismo, agudizándose día a día, entre capitalistas, disminuyendo constantemente en número pero constantemente enriqueciéndose, y trabajadores asalariados sin propiedades, cuyo número aumenta constantemente y cuyas condiciones, tomadas como en su conjunto, se están deteriorando constantemente”.

La crisis climática ha exacerbado esta contradicción hacia escenarios peligrosos y previamente inimaginables.

Sería ingenuo pensar que podemos detener el cambio climático apelando a la motivación de ganancias. Los capitalistas causaron el calentamiento global y difícilmente se puede confiar en que lo revierta, incluso si uno argumenta que un ambiente limpio es bueno para los negocios.

La clase trabajadora, por otro lado, tiene el poder de proteger la vida en el planeta. Es el trabajo el que produce todo. ¡Nada se mueve sin nosotros!

Activistas ambientales, en su mayoría jóvenes, han pedido “huelgas climáticas” a fines de septiembre. Las huelgas de estudiantes pueden ser mucho más extendidas que las huelgas de trabajadores esta vez. Pero la huelga es mejor

conocida como el arma del trabajo, ejercida en el punto de producción para forzar el cambio.

Las huelgas han ganado salarios más altos, pensiones, reconocimiento sindical y similares. Pero también hay huelgas políticas, como el Primero de Mayo de 2006, que forzaron la derrota de un proyecto de ley antiinmigrante en el Congreso.

Necesitamos mantener viva la táctica de la huelga climática más allá de la huelga climática global del 20 al 27 de septiembre, no solo en las escuelas, sino también en el trabajo y en los sindicatos. Y la necesidad de luchar contra el racismo ambiental debe ser parte de la discusión.

La crisis climática ha hecho que estas palabras de Engels sean más ciertas que nunca: “Las colosales fuerzas productivas creadas dentro del modo de producción capitalista, que este último ya no puede dominar, sólo esperan ser tomadas por una sociedad organizada para el trabajo cooperativo, sobre una base planificada, para garantizar a todos los miembros de la sociedad los medios de existencia y el libre desarrollo de sus capacidades, en una medida cada vez mayor”. (Anti-Duhring)

Los trabajadores tienen el mundo para ganar. □

## Regalos venenosos de Koch

### MUNDO OBRERO editorial

La muerte en agosto del multimillonario derechista David Koch desató inmediatamente una serie de obituarios extensos en los medios corporativos. Estas mini biografías lo describen a él y a su hermano Charles Koch como “filántropos” y financieros de ideas derechistas y movimientos políticos.

La atención de los medios sobre la muerte de David Koch hace recordar una cita de Karl Marx: “Las ideas de la clase dominante son en cada época las ideas dominantes” (“La ideología alemana”,

1845).

Las fortunas capitalistas provienen de la explotación del trabajo, es decir, de robar a la clase trabajadora la riqueza que solo los trabajadores pueden producir. Los ricos a veces dejan de lado una pequeña parte de este botín y lo donan. Usualmente evitan pagar impuestos cuando donan a cambio de esta “filantropía”, obtienen sus nombres en edificios de hospitales y universidades, museos y salas de conciertos.

Con la “filantropía” compran el respeto de los círculos creativos e intelectuales por los que no han hecho nada para ganar. También compran intelectuales que justifican la riqueza maltratada de la clase dominante.

La cita de Marx fue sutil. Aplicado a

la sociedad contemporánea de EE.UU. dominada por una clase dominante capitalista que apoya diferentes modelos políticos, todos ellos procapitalistas, significa lo siguiente: dado que esta clase paga a los intelectuales por su producción, esa producción no debe desafiar la propiedad privada y la capacidad de los capitalistas para explotar el trabajo.

David Koch fue menos sutil. Su padre, Fred Koch, hizo negocios con Adolf Hitler y más tarde fundó la Sociedad ultra derechista y anticomunista John Birch. David y Charles Koch no fueron rebeldes de esta historia familiar. Aceptaron su herencia (su riqueza combinada se estimó recientemente en \$100 mil millones) y usaron una parte de sus ingresos anuales para promover las ideas de su sección

particular de extrema derecha de la clase dominante capitalista.

Los hermanos Koch, y otros grandes capitalistas, han llevado esta “filantropía” a un nivel más directo y descarado. Establecieron centros de estudios, fundaciones que otorgan subvenciones a universidades e investigadores, y grupos de acción política, todo para promover sus ideas muy reaccionarias. Incluso utilizan organizaciones como el American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), un partidario del Tea Party, para que se apruebe la legislatura y consagran estas ideas como regla política.

Toda “filantropía” capitalista construye la reputación del donante y, en general,

Continúa en la página 11