



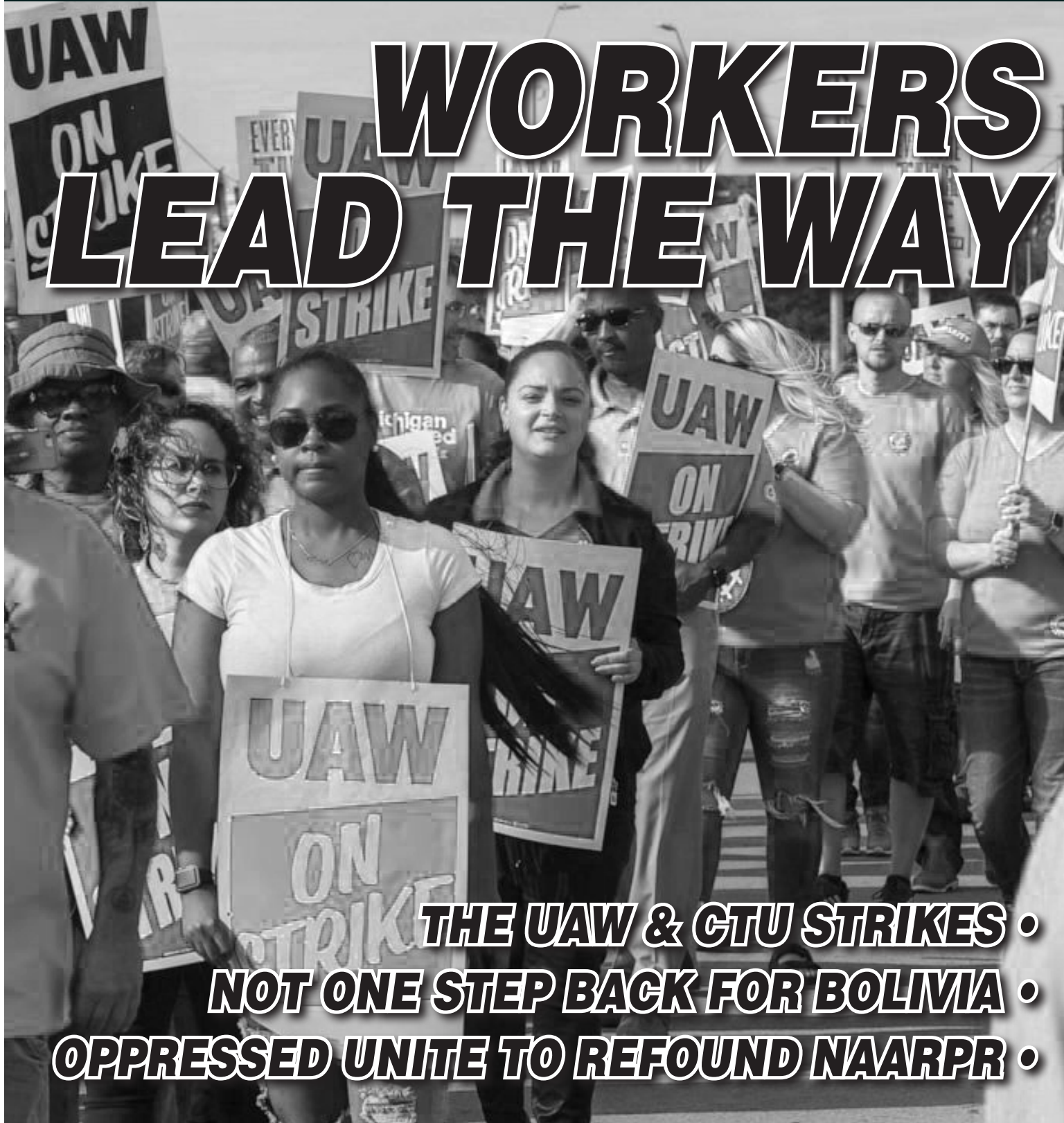
THE RED PHOENIX

NEWSPAPER OF THE AMERICAN PARTY OF LABOR

PEACE
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THE WORKING
PEOPLE!

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WORKERS LEAD THE WAY



**THE UAW & CTU STRIKES •
NOT ONE STEP BACK FOR BOLIVIA •
OPPRESSED UNITE TO REFOUND NAARPR •**

THE UAW & CTU STRIKES AND THEIR LESSONS

Rank and File Forge Ahead, Moderate Leadership and Capitalist Government Pull Them Back

By Doug Palamede

The past months saw some of the most significant labor strikes in recent American history. Across the country, nearly 50,000 UAW workers struck against General Motors, demanding a clearer road to full-time employment for temps, pay improvements, and the restoration of shuttered factories. Just weeks later, over 35,000 teachers and support staff with the Chicago Teacher's Union and Service Employees International Union Local 73 went on strike to demand better pay for support staff, better support for students (nurses, counsellors, social workers, etc.), and a financial commitment away from police and towards students. The UAW struck for a remarkable and harrowing 40 days, and the CTU and SEIU strike lasted a record 11 days.

The amount of workers who have gone on strike this year rivals the numbers of the golden age of organized labor in the United States in the early-20th century. It is not only the number of workers who march together that gives us inspiration, hope, and an occasion for reflection as working people in the United States, but also the nature of their demands and collective action. Each strike saw varying degrees of success, but there were two major takeaways for working class people, socialist organizers, and unionists: one encouraging, and one challenging.

Part-Time and Full-Time Workers Unite for Larger Demands

Both strikes saw full-time and part-time workers unite and fight for each other, a rare occurrence in the labor struggles of the mid to late-20th century. In an economy that increasingly fractures workers' lives into multiple part-time trades and jobs, the unity of part-time and full-time labor in both the UAW and CTU strikes should be an example to follow for subsequent strikes.

While Trump and his capitalist allies continue to brag about record-low unemployment, workers understand that this does not mean prosperity for working class people. Instead, it means that people are working for Uber or Lyft in highly exploitative environments, working several demanding part time jobs, delivering for Amazon in inhumane conditions, and others, to pay the rent, support their families, and finance their educations. The UAW and CTU strikes mobilized thousands of workers to reckon this problem, and foster unity between full-time and part-time labor. The "I made it" mentality of full-time workers, and the reluctance of contingent workers to strike given their precarious employment, was in this powerful moments of working class unity, vanquished.

And in both cases, these united forces argued not simply for wage increases, but for fundamental changes in the way their workplace was run. The UAW fought for 40 days to see shuttered factories re-opened, and for a more robust profit-sharing system to proof against skyrocketing corporate salaries. The CTU struck for over a week to secure increased funding so that every school, despite its location and racial composition, would have a nurse, counsellor, and social worker, to decrease class size, and fight against bloating police budgets while schools suffer. Alex Fogue, a physics teacher in the Chicago Public Schools, told the Red Phoenix that he and his colleagues were striking to push City leadership to "invest in putting staff that heal our students (both emotionally he physically) and the staff that educate our students rather than incarcerate them. Our students deserve better. We are telling her that the status quo policies and the austerity of the past are no longer acceptable.

In both strikes, the goals leaped over the traditional demands of wage increases and better pensions. Organized laborers in 2019, of all types, ranks, and backgrounds, reckon that their problems have a systemic root. To succeed and win its demands, teachers in Chicago knew that they would have to unite with movements against police violence, racism, and oppression, leading ultimately to the CTU sponsoring and hosting the Conference to Refound the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression in November of 2019. Thus, both strikes laid out the path forward: unity between all kinds of workers, towards more general aims against austerity, racism, sexism, anti-LGBTQ+ bigotry, and all forms of separatism and oppression.

Moderate Leaders and "Budget Realities"

Martin Tutwiler, a 42 year old UAW worker, said after the strike "that it lasted 40 days, and cost GM an estimated \$2 billion dollars, shows how hard a fight it was," concluding ultimately, though, that "that there was some doubt whether it would be ratified, that it wasn't ratified in every factory, indicates that the issues raised have not been fully settled." The end of the UAW strike saw mixed feelings and reactions across the diverse body of UAW workers, with many feeling that leadership had compromised too much. The shuttered factories were not re-opened, and the part-time to full-time path was only marginally improved.

Facing real financial difficulty after 40 days off the job, the conflict over the leadership-endorsed contract underlines both the militancy that had developed, and the simple fact that the proposal would likely have been rejected in the previous weeks when rent and grocery payments did not cast as profound a shadow. Thus, as was seen in the #CountMeIn labor movement in New York City, a rift between leadership and members has developed within the UAW. Like most progressive people in the US, organized labor has now grown more militant than extant political institutions. In Chicago, too, while the new contract was hailed as "the most progressive" contract in CTU's history, and it won key staff additions, aid for homeless students, and pay increases, failed to achieve all of the striker's aims due to budget realities in the city of Chicago.

Thus while these strikes showed us the way forward as organized workers in the United States, they also underlined the real obstacles the union movement will face as it moves forward. Even as part-time and full-time workers unite to demand institutional change, those institutions will resist us bitterly, and test our resolve in prolonged strikes. So long as the capitalist class wields the purse strings and state power, the union movement will face an up-hill battle. But the growth of that union movement and its increasingly radical demands, underlines the way to remove that obstacle.

The Task of Communists

Both strikes are an occasion for self-reflection and criticism from the Communist left in the United States. In the UAW strike particularly, Communists were slow to respond and support the strike in meaningful ways. This is in part due to the general skepticism amongst Communists regarding the potential of unionism in the US given the long history of the Democratic Party's co-opting of the labor movement, and also due to the particularly moderate UAW leadership.

But the failure and lack of action of moderates and democrats should not push the communist left away, but rather attract it. Where moderates tell a worker that the raise is generous, a Communist must organize and keep the fight alive for greater changes that will bring about real workplace changes. Where concessions are praised as great victories, a communist must record and amplify the voices that say no.

And not only should Communists be willing to enter these spaces, they must be relevant in those spaces. They must provide financial support for striking workers, bring food, items, and solidarity of all kinds to the picket line. They must circulate papers that resonate with working class people and their concerns, and actively include and be a platform for their voices.

The growing rift between leadership and members should be for communists a wake-up call. The historic role of the Communist movement has been as a leader of the working class rights movement, doing things no other political forces can, or will do. Fascists will and are attempting to make in-roads in the labor movement—it falls to us to seize on the history of radical American unionism, and the great courage and initiative of striking workers across the country today, in reforging a diverse, active, militant, and powerful labor movement to openly confront growing fascist bigotry.

UAW STRIKE PUSHES UNIONIZATION STRUGGLE FORWARD



by Leonard Zorfass, SEPTEMBER 16, 2019

On Sunday, Sep. 15, The United Autoworkers took up the mantle of class once again and authorized a strike against General Motors with the ending of their contract the previous night before. On Monday, Sep. 16, the strike began with a force unseen in decades in the US. The UAW is not standing alone.

As of Monday morning, over 48,000 American autoworkers went on strike, shutting down GM's domestic production.

GM's management has been dragging their autoworkers around for better conditions amid false promises and deceptive negotiating at the table. GM brought in over \$8 billion dollars in profit in 2018, while simultaneously attempting to shrink the share that the workers – those who make such profit possible – are able to take home to their families.

On average, a factory worker at GM makes \$13 dollars an hour, while producing nearly \$128 dollars worth of value every hour; reinvesting, on average, \$63 dollars on that hour. The GM executives make over \$50 dollars for every \$1 dollar made by the worker, a 50:1 ratio in favor of the bosses. GM CEO Mary Barra's compensation was \$21.87 million in 2018, 281 times median GM worker.

GM is attempting to bring their capital-investment (variable capital) into hourly wages and benefits down over 13% so that they match the lower investment of foreign-owned companies. This takes the \$63 dollar reinvestment of variable-capital return down to \$50 dollars.

In America's "Rust Belt", GM is closing four plants, causing them to sit idle and leaving the workers without productive jobs. Without active work, auto workers lose their pension and healthcare (both of which GM is attempting to raise the pay-in of the worker on). The UAW is demanding that the factories be allowed to begin production on new car models to keep said factories going, keeping people in work and maintaining their pensions. With each of the four factories hiring between 3,000-5,400 workers, the risk is great for the literal tens of thousands of workers depending on this for their livelihood.

It's clear that GM grows its profits off of the turmoil and exploitation of the American worker. Lay-offs in the thousands, higher medical insurance costs, more intense production for active workers, the shrinking of factory by factory production.

But the UAW does not stand alone. Over the past two years, the United States has been seeing waves of strikes, the likes of which it hasn't seen in decades. Steelworkers, teachers, teamsters, and electrical workers have made massive waves as a testament to labor rising against capital. Through these practical struggles, the American working class continues to grow in its ability to function, and more importantly, to see itself as a class united by a common plight, as well as common goals. The current UAW strike only exemplifies this development.

Sunday night, on the eve of the strike the Teamsters Union, the union agreed to halt transportation of GM goods in solidarity with UAW workers. Over 1,000 Teamsters have pledged not to move GM commodities, so as not only to bring production to a halt, but cease the transportation of already produced goods. This directly interrupts the circuit of capital and, as a result, also directly breaks the flow of profit.

By 6:00 AM Monday, the UAW workers striking outside of the GM plant in Flint, Michigan (a city in the grip of the struggle for clean water), along with community members, blocked the entrance to the GM factory. This prevented the salaried workers (whose salary primarily comes from the stolen value of hourly workers) from entering the factory, bringing the third halt to GM – a total halt in administration.

The UAW strike exemplifies the growing consciousness of the American worker – not just a worker, or a person with a job, but a person who is a member of the working class. A class which creates all value. A class which maintains, grows, and propels society, but is unfortunately exploited and degraded for the sake of power and control of management, executives, and the ruling class they belong to.

But now in America, the working class is coming together as a class. Unions are joining together in solidarity against the "bosses" – the capitalists. Working people from working communities are standing together in defense of one another, in defense of their class. The contradictions of capitalism have become more visible, less and less obscured by failed manipulation and attacks, and therefore it's only natural for the working class to see what's front of their eyes. The working class is not a class of armchair complainers, but of action. Bills need to be paid. Families need to be fed. Enjoyment deserves to be had.

As the working class moves forward, the American Party of Labor stands behind the efforts of organized workers for their victory. Not just contract negotiations, but in the growing consciousness of the class. Just as the fight for better pay and workers' conditions have brought the working class together (despite attacks to diminish them), it will soon force the working class to move from demands of wages to demands of control. Demands regarding building a revolutionary movement against the capitalist class (and their selfish chaotic system of profit), demands for their overthrow, and demands for an overhaul of the system: a new system of worker control, a system of planning and rationality, a system of people over profit.

UPDATES AS OF 9/18: Two days into the strike of now over 50,000 workers and the power of labor has already shown its strength and that it is the source of all value. Conservative estimates put GM monetary losses at around \$100 million dollars a day. Some analysts have suggested the number may be as high \$200-250 million dollars.

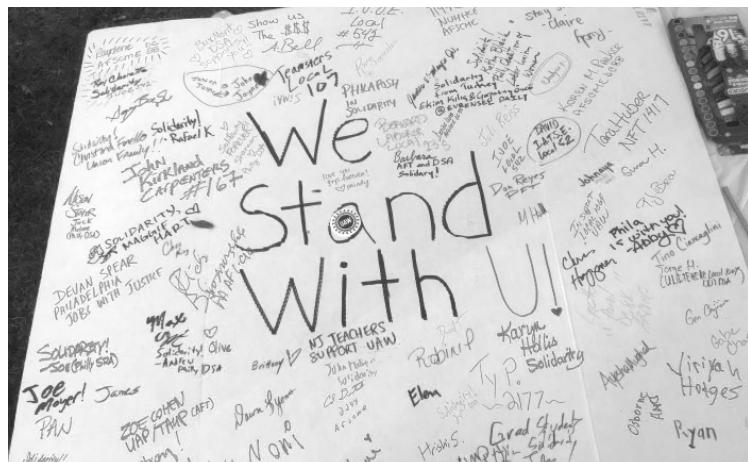
GM confirmed late Tuesday night that the healthcare of striking workers had ended. The healthcare of strikers and their families will be provided for, at least in part, by the union's healthcare fund COBRA. The UAW has a strike fund of around \$850 million dollars, allowing striking workers a supplemental income of \$250 dollars weekly.

Details of GM's offer to the union have leaked confirming that GM only offered a 2% raise to workers while profits have been quite high, 2018 reported \$8 billion in profit, and high margins due to downsizing, the closing of four plants.

After a Politico article on Tuesday, the White House (Trump Administration) was reported to be working directly with GM. Both the White House and GM have denied this. Given the Trump Administration's anti-labor agenda, the particular history of the U.S. State acting against workers with and for the capitalists, and the general precedent of the state is the executive branch of the ruling class, such allegations, and denials must be expected.

GM is attempting to hire scabs.

RIGHT SILENT AS NEW JERSEY ATTEMPTS TO CRIMINALIZE SPEECH IN SUPPORT OF PALESTINIAN PEOPLE



Despite support, the strike becomes harder as time passes and unmet needs accumulate. Although the workers are ready and willing to continue, if need be, they want the strike to end soon. They are exhausted. Bitten by flies in the heat of the day, and freezing at night, they persist in solidarity.



The passing of this bill into law would be somewhat unprecedented. New Jersey would not be the first state with such a bill, but it would be the first blue state. Florida and South Carolina have already passed bills that were nearly identical. Other forms of anti-Palestinian legislation and resolutions are on the books in the majority of US states, but they often lack the teeth that this bill has. Fighting against this bill is crucial. If it can be passed in New Jersey, one of the bluest of states, it can pass almost anywhere in the country. Anti-imperialists and anti-racists must mobilize against this anti-Palestinian bill which, like most anti-Palestinian legislation, makes no mention of the suffering of the Palestinian people.

STRIKE AGAINST GM INTENSIFIES AT HOME AND ABROAD



by Leonard. Zorfass, OCTOBER 3rd, 2019

Since going on strike two weeks ago, the UAW workers of GM are showing a courageous example to workers across the United States and the world. The struggle has shown and exemplified a great variance of topics and principles.

The solidarity amongst union workers has given a great example for an America so divided. Members of the UAW and the communities built around the auto plants of striking workers are coming together, against a common enemy. Workers, their families, and communities of different races, ethnicities, and religions are coming together on the picket line, hand in hand, and song in song. While it is certainly true that a strike does not end racism, chauvinism, selfishness, and other disgusting bourgeois traits, it does exemplify how labor, the core of the human experience, can unify the divided. How labor can overcome race-baiting, red-baiting, and social sabotage. As the labor movement grows, as the working class becomes a conscious class, unity, working-class values of unity and equality will only become the most practical conclusion of America's working class.

The solidarity amongst workers is not bound to the United States. In another example of working-class unity, workers of GM in Mexico and South Korea. Several workers in Mexico were fired last week for refusing to work overtime and holding meetings to organize in aid of the strike against GM. In South Korea, workers are joining the strike, spreading not just the solidarity around the globe, but pushing the advance of the class struggle with their own strike demands.

Once again, the common enemy of capital unites labor.

GM has certainly taken a hit. The conservative estimate places the GM's loss at over \$1 billion dollars. That's more than 11% of GM's reported \$9 billion dollar profit in 2018. Soon, other capitalist enterprises in heavy industry and manufacturing will start to report losses due to the idle demand of GM. From steel to glass, from parts to their transportation, many industries will be hit from the strike. Once again the strike exemplifies a great truth, the Labor Theory of Value. If the value profited on by the capitalist did not come from the laborer, how could such a huge loss in profit become reality in only two weeks of a work stoppage?

While the strike continues, so does the capitalist offensive against it. As of 10/1/19, the UAW has rejected the latest contract offer from GM. As the strike continues, so does the day to day struggle of survival of those striking. The bravery of action and sacrifice of the workers on strike must be celebrated, supported, and learned from. It must not, however, be romanticized.

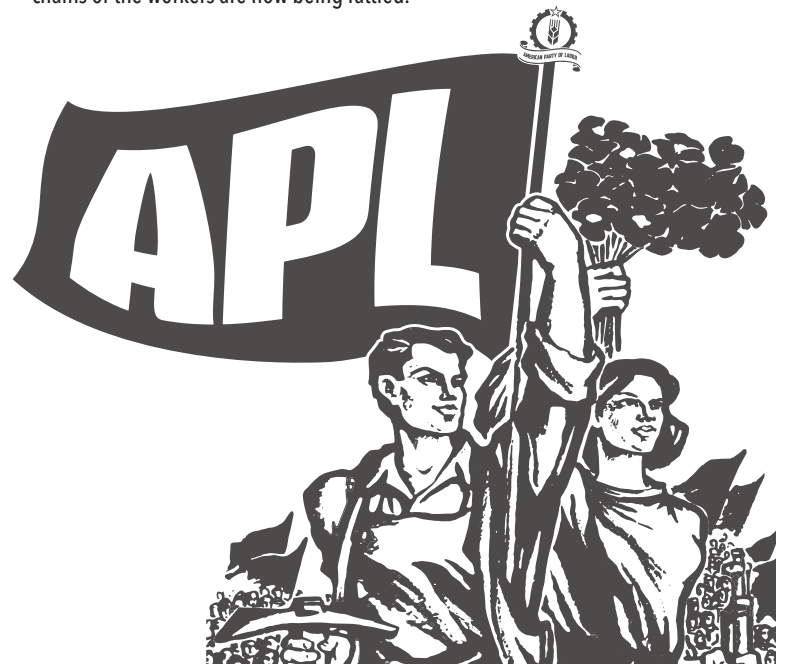
The strikers can only receive \$250 a week from the UAW's strike fund. Up until only a few days ago, the workers and their families were ruthlessly denied healthcare coverage by GM when their contract expired. The very next week, GM paid over \$2 billion dollars to shareholders and executives in dividends. On 9/26/18, GM made a concession to the

workers and restored their healthcare coverage for the time being. If the concession was meant to bribe to the workers, it did not work. The situation does, however, exemplify the literal power of life and death the capitalist holds over the working class, and the literal life and death struggle the workers face against the capitalist.

Layoffs have also begun to be used by the rusty blade of GM against the workers. GM has furloughed over 1,600 workers in the United States and Canada. GM has laid the most venomous strike against its more vulnerable workers. In Mexico, GM has decided to idle a plant, putting over 6,000 people out of work.

The capitalists are vicious and unrelenting, wielding a seemingly infinite power. But it is not infinite, it is not even stable. The power of the capitalists is held on by a thread. The strength of the workers can break the faulty power of the ruling class. The power of the workers can bring an end to the capitalist class, rendering it helpless. The unity of the working class can take production out of the realm of chaos in the pursuit of profit and utilize production instead of for good of humanity.

The working class and oppressed can only lose its chains if it knows that those chains are around their wrists, they can only know if they are there if they are rattled, and the chains of the workers are now being rattled.



TURKEY'S EUPHRATES OPERATION IN SYRIA: ERDOGAN'S GOALS AND REALITIES

By Yusuf Karatas, Originally published in Evrensel (10/08/2019)

Translated by Tim Drayton.

At the time of writing, even if the operation Turkey has for some time been gearing up for east of the Euphrates had yet to start, developments suggest the onset of this operation is imminent. With the US side making an announcement granting "approval" to the operation following the phone call between Erdoğan and Trump whereby it spoke of the start of the operation being imminent but the US not being part of the operation, and subsequent news of US troop withdrawals from the border regions, the moment is being anticipated at which the Erdoğan administration will press the button.

The data to hand permit us to say that neither the aims nor the potential consequences of this operation, dubbed "Fountain of Peace" before it has even commenced, will be as affable as its name.

To understand the extent to which the goals proclaimed by Turkey's power holders with reference to this operation are realizable, we first need to turn and examine the developments that led to this operation.

Leaving Idlib to one side, where the Syrian government and Russia display their determination at every opportunity to liquidate jihadist groups, the greatest uncertainty over Syria's future finds expression in the question of what is to prevail east of the Euphrates, where the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) are cooperating with the US.

Ever since it gave Turkey permission for the Afrin operation, Russia has followed a strategy in Syria designed to bring NATO-member Turkey and the USA into mutual confrontation and foil the US's plans. There can be no dispute that Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov's latest comments that the US was not prepared to countenance Turkey's legitimate demands in the region and President Erdoğan's stance was understandable serve the aim of bringing Turkey into confrontation with the US by goading it into a unilateral operation.

For its part, the US has until now, while on the one hand using cooperation with the Kurds as a trump card in its negotiations over Syria's future, tried to pursue a policy based on bringing Turkey into alignment with it especially with regard to the strategy of besieging Iran. The negotiations held with Turkey over the "safe zone" and the latest position granting "approval" to Turkey's unilateral operation must be perceived of as a continuation of this policy – and the SDF, too, clearly has lessons it must draw from this policy, having gradually become more engaged with the US ever since the Raqqa operation. Trump's invitation to Erdoğan for talks in Washington next month and Erdoğan's pronouncements that he trusts Trump's good faith at every opportunity show that, despite the considerable tension that has been experienced, relations between the two countries may be transported onto a new dimension following this operation.

If so, the first thing that can be said about Turkey's operation east of the Euphrates is that this operation is an operation that is bound up with the struggle for dominance between the US and Russia and has been facilitated as a result of these two imperialist forces' wish to use Turkey to counter one another. Hence, the granting of "approval" to this operation does not mean Turkey's power holders will be able to realize its professed goals under this operation. On the contrary, the extent to which these goals will be realized depends on the struggle for dominance between the US and Russia.

Turkey's power holders declare their operation-related goals to be to create a "safe zone" 30-32 km deep east of the Euphrates, to neutralize the SDF and divest it of its heavy weaponry and to settle two million refugees in the proposed "safe zone."

The realities on the ground show that it is/will not be so easy for Turkey to realize its goals.

In the first place, it may be misleading to look at the Afrin operation and expect an easy "victory" east of the Euphrates, because the SDF (Kurdish forces) were in a position at the time of the Afrin operation that enabled them to withdraw their forces to positions east of the Euphrates. However, considering the absence of another area to which the forces currently here could be withdrawn and the heavy weaponry with which they are equipped, intervention here will inevitably lead to serious and long-lasting conflict.

On the other hand, if the "approval" granted by the US to this operation does not mean that it has abandoned its designs in the region – and thinking so would at the very least be political naivety – it is not beyond the bounds of probability that this move will both bring Turkey into confrontation with the Syrian government



This operation is an operation that is bound up with the struggle for dominance between the US and Russia and has been facilitated as a result of these two imperialist forces' wish to use Turkey to counter one another.

and its allies and also force it into compromising on the US axis as the course of the conflict with the SDF dictates.

Russia, in turn, wants a Turkish intervention to bring it into confrontation with the US and to force the Syrian Kurds to compromise with the regime. It is not hard to guess that both Russia and the Syrian government as well as Iran will oppose Turkey setting up 30-32 km "safe zone" and also settling two million refugees in this zone – and these forces are known to counter the "safe zone" plan by citing the Adana Agreement and argue that the border regions should be transferred to the Syrian government.

Against such a background, first of all the Euphrates operation will embroil Turkey even further within the struggle for dominance between two imperialist forces.

Secondly, the ensuing conflict will increase instability and lack of safety in the region rather than foster safety and also bring about the conditions for a resuscitation of the ISIS threat.

Thirdly, the plan to settle two million refugees will bring Turkey into far greater confrontation with the Syrian government and lead to results that increase the risk of conflict.

The question that must be asked here is why Turkey's power holders are so insistent on this operation despite all these risks?

In the first place, it is seeking to unite the whole of society around its policies by portraying this operation as a "survival matter" and create a bit of breathing space for itself at a time of dire political and economic straits. On the other hand, it sees this operation as being necessary for the success of the policy it is pursuing domestically over the Kurdish problem.

Nevertheless, thanks both to the dire conditions the country finds itself in and also the impossibility of the goals being realized, unlike the Afrin operation, it will not be surprising if the power holders' policies end up being exposed to even greater debate – and, here, the stance that pro-labour, peace and democracy forces in the country adopt will most certainly also play a decisive role.

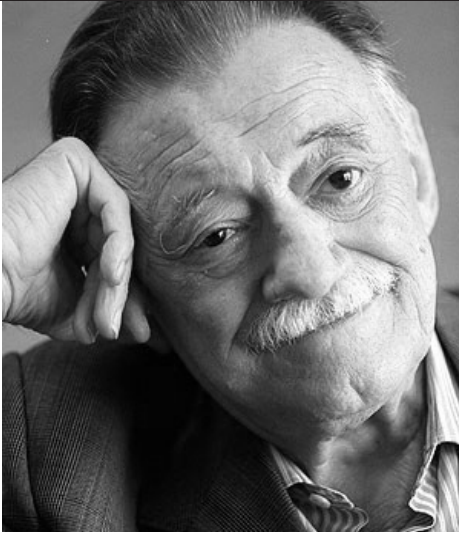
Finally, even if developments east of the Euphrates have impacts on the Kurdish problem in the country, it would nevertheless be wrong to index the problem to this. Moreover, the intervention policy will neither solve the problem, nor will it weaken hopes and expectations for a cohabitation-based peaceful solution to the Kurdish problem domestically.

Let us assume that Turkey's power holders achieve all their goals east of the Euphrates. If an election is held tomorrow in Diyarbakır, let President Erdoğan stand against Selçuk Mızraklı, if he likes.

Will the result change?

So, why then do the country's power holders insist on descending into the pit of hell on Bahçeli and Perinçek's rope?

PROLETARIAN POETRY: WRITING FOR AND OF THE PEOPLE:



"Distressed, Enraged"

(a poem on the death of Che Guevara)
by Mario Benedetti

Translated from the Spanish by Alfonso Casal

Here we are
Distressed
Enraged
Although this death was one of the
absurdly predictable ones
It's shameful to look
At pictures
At chairs at rugs
To take a bottle from the refrigerator
To type the three global letters of your name
On the rigid machine
Whose ribbon was never
Ever
So pale
It's shameful to feel cold
And sidle next to stove as always
To be hungry and eat
Such a simple thing
To open the record player and silently listen
Especially if it's a Mozart quartet
Comfort is shameful
And asthma is shameful
When you, Commander are falling
Bullet-ridden
Fabulous
Irreproachable
You are our conscience, torn apart
They say they burned you
But what fire
Could burn your good
Good news
The irascible tenderness
Which came and went
With your cough
And your wheeze

They say they incinerated
All of you
Save one finger

But that's enough to show the way
To accuse the monster and its lackeys
To squeeze the triggers yet again

You are dead
You are alive
You are falling
You are cloud
You are rain
You are star

If you are
You are arriving

Take the opportunity
To breathe easily at last
To fill your lungs with heaven

Where you are
If you are
You are arriving

It's a pity that god doesn't exist

But there will be others
Surely there will be others
Worthy to welcome you
Commander



Langston Hughes on the meaning of Lenin to
the people of the world:

"Lenin"

Lenin walks around the world.
Frontiers cannot bar him.
Neither barracks nor barricades
impede.
Nor does barbed wire scar him.
Lenin walks around the world.
Black, brown, and white receive him.
Language is no barrier.
The strangest tongues believe him.
Lenin walks around the world.
The sun sets like a scar.
Between the darkness and the dawn
There rises a red star.

"We'll Go Together"

by Mario Benedetti

Translated from the Spanish by Alfonso Casal

With your "I can" and my "I will"
We'll go together, comrade.

Comrade, the same restless
Fate awakens us
You promise and I promised
Together to light this flame.

With your "I can" and my "I will"
We'll go together, comrade.

Death kills and listens
Life follows later
The only worthwhile union
Is that which unites us in struggle.

With your "I can" and my "I will"
We'll go together, comrade.

Like a bell
History sounds its lesson:
To enjoy tomorrow
We must fight today.

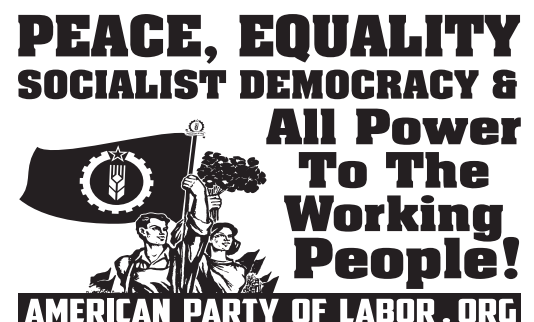
With your "I can" and my "I will"
We'll go together, comrade.

For good or bad
We're innocent no more
Let each take their place
For in this there can be no surrogates.

With your "I can" and my "I will"
We'll go together, comrade.

Some cry "Victory!"
Because the people pay in lives
But these beloved deaths
Are writing history.

With your "I can" and my "I will"
We'll go together, comrade.



THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE AGAINST RACIST AND POLITICAL REPRESSION IS REFOUNDED!



On Sunday, November 24, 2019, the Final Plenary of the Conference to Refound the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression approved the following Resolution:

"Whereas we called this conference to re-found the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression as its central purpose, therefore it is our collective resolve that we reaffirm that is the purpose of this conference; and

Whereas we issued the Call with a sense of outrage in the face of increasing racist violence and political repression towards working class and Black and Brown communities; and

Whereas we are facing a national epidemic of state sponsored violence perpetrated by police and vigilantes targeting the oppressed Black, Latinx, immigrant, indigenous, LGBTQ, non-binary, gender non-conforming, and gender fluid communities. Furthermore, Black Trans women are being harassed and killed at record rates; and

Whereas we see blatant police occupation in such major urban areas as Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, Dallas, Detroit, Jacksonville, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, New York, Oakland, St. Paul, St. Louis, and Washington, D.C. with police being permitted by city government to commit unspeakable crimes against the people. Murders by the police, even when video-recorded, go unpunished. Police are the cutting edge of mass incarceration and the school to prison pipeline; and

Whereas, we are outraged that a detainment-to-deportation pipeline persists and grows, featuring local police working side-by-side with ICE to racially profile, hunt, and detain immigrants and then subject them to unlawful deportation with impunity. An unprecedented level of state violence has been unleashed on our southern border with Mexico, forcing masses of children, their parents, and all adults to live in wretched concentration camp conditions. Trans asylum-seekers and members of LGBTQ caravans have also been hurt and killed by border patrol police; and

Whereas, we are witnessing and fighting against the institutionalization of a U.S. police state fusing local, state and federal law enforcement in the name of countering terror under the so-called "Patriot Act." More money goes toward police budgets while the Black community suffers from severe underdevelopment.

We continue to stand in unconditional solidarity with the Black Lives Matter movement, which is currently facing blatant racist repression through the attacks by the Department of Justice branding them

"Black Identity Extremists."

We stand with the indigenous people of this country, facing continued and heightened assaults as they defend their lands against destructive industries, especially oil and gas companies.

We stand with the Puerto Rican people in their anti-colonial resistance to the unelected fiscal control board. The nightmare of 3000 deaths resulting from devastating hurricanes, followed by neglect at the hands of the Trump regime, which exposed that Puerto Rico is not treated equal to the member states of the US.

And we stand against the intensification of national oppression of the Chicano people, who face not only the racist attacks from the White House, ICE raids, separation of families at the border, and mass deportations, but also mass incarceration and police murders; and

Whereas, we continue to struggle for our comrades who still languish in U.S. prisons after 40 years of incarceration or in exile, including: Leonard Peltier, Mumia Abu Jamal, Jalil Muntaqim, Mutulu Shakur, MOVE prisoners Delbert and Chuck Africa, and Assata Shakur and Pete O'Neal.

We also continue to fight for the pardoning of all torture survivors who were framed and kidnapped by Chicago Police officers, tortured into "confessing," then wrongfully convicted. Our movement needs to make this an issue across the country; and

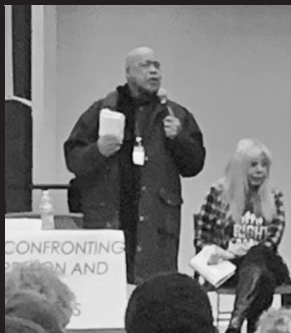
Whereas, in Chicago, our campaign for an all elected Civilian Police Accountability Council (CPAC) has become a mass demand of the people advancing the struggle for community control of the police like never before. In the city-wide elections recently held in the winter, we had 68 candidates running with a plank in their platform for community control of the police. We now have 19 members of the city council supporting CPAC; and

Whereas, the Islamophobia unleashed across the country after September 11th is now being ramped up to new heights under Trump. His presidency is the domestic reflection of the so-called War on Terror. We have stood together with Arabs and Muslims here, including in defense of our Palestinian sister, Rasmea Odeh, against deportation; at the airports against the Muslim Ban; and we have rallied around Ilhan Omar and Rashida Tlaib as they speak out against racism and Zionism; and all progressive, democratic forces against imperialism...

continued on next page

THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE AGAINST RACIST AND POLITICAL REPRESSION IS REFOUNDED!

"When the Black Panthers and Black Liberation Army were walking around with guns, the cops weren't too happy, and there weren't as many killings as there are today." - Ralph Poynter



**"These white supremacists had the nerve to come to our campus... so we organized...and mobilized hundreds to face their four."
- Monique Sampson, University of North Florida, Jacksonville SDS**



"We understood that if we wanted to free the 15 Puerto Rican political prisoners, we had to make people understand the colonial nature of Puerto Rico, and tell the story that history ignores."

- Jessie Fuentes, Puerto Rican Agenda

...continued from page 8

Whereas, militarization of our Southern border with Mexico is no longer a question of policy debated back and forth between Democrats and Republicans. It is an accomplished fact that must be confronted and changed by our movement; and

Whereas, we continue to stand in unconditional solidarity with the national liberation movements of Palestine, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, as well as the anti-imperialist struggles of South Africa, Venezuela, and all progressive, democratic forces against imperialism.

Therefore, be it resolved that this conference reestablishes the National Alliance, and a renewed Black-led, Left-led, multi-racial, multi-national movement to stop police crimes, mass incarceration, and to end racist and political repression; and

Be it further resolved that we will establish a Continuations Committee that will communicate with every organization that has endorsed and is participating in this conference to become a part of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, and everyone who has registered to become members of NAARPR; and

Be it further resolved that to achieve these ends, the Continuations Committee will engage member organizations and individual members in creating rules and bylaws and electing a national board to carry out the goals set forward by this conference; and

Be it further resolved, to achieve these ends, the conference choose an executive director. "

Long-time activist and veteran communist, Comrade Frank Chapman was then elected Executive Director of the newly reestablished NAARPR.

The American Party of Labor is proud to have endorsed the call to refound the NAARPR, honored to have participated in the activities and proceeding of the refounding Conference, and committed to serving as members of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.



"Trump ought to be impeached, not just for high crimes and misdemeanors, but for crimes against humanity...[and] being the commander in chief of klansmen, Nazis, and white supremacist terrorists."- Frank Chapman



Angela Davis finished the opening ceremony of the conference to refound the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression by declaring that the struggle of the Refounded NAARPR is against racism and political repression in the US is one with the struggles in Palestine, Rojava, Brazil, the Philippines, and beyond.

ICMLPO: THE PEOPLE OF BOLIVIA ARE FIGHTING AGAINST FASCISM



The coup d'état promoted by U.S. imperialism and executed by the Bolivian right-wing, the police and the military, supported by the OAS and the reactionary governments of the continent is being rejected by the workers, peasants, youth, revolutionaries, leftists and democrats of that country, of the region and the world. It is an anti-communist and reactionary offensive, which calls the government of Evo Morales revolutionary and socialist and calls for a holy alliance to affirm the interests of the international monopolies and the Bolivian oligarchy.

The workers and peoples of Bolivia are standing up, mobilized for the defense of their interests and rights that reaction and imperialism are trying to eliminate. After several years of its administration, the government of Evo Morales and his MAS movement have reaped criticism and demands by large sectors of the population, who saw how he carried out a policy contrary to his "leftist" and "anti-imperialist" speeches, while applying a policy of division in the popular movement, created parallel unions and destroyed undisciplined union leaderships.

But they did not listen to these demands, nor did they heed the warnings that this road separated them from much of the people and placed them at the mercy of the right wing. The atmosphere of social discontent had been expressed for a long time, clearly becoming evident when he lost the referendum calling for reform of the Constitution and allowing him to stand for a new reelection. The results of the October elections sharpened these tensions and helped to create the environment for the coup d'état.

The communists and the left in general will have the opportunity to evaluate this experience, to draw conclusions and guidelines that will contribute to giving a consistent revolutionary orientation to the process in Bolivia.

And, for now, it is necessary to reject this action of the right wing and U.S. imperialism, as we stand in solidarity with the struggles of the working class and working masses, the peoples of our sister country and our sister party, the PCR which is fighting together with them in order to guarantee a revolutionary direction and course.

Today the people are fighting in the streets against fascism. The organizations of the left that fought against several of the economic measures of a neoliberal type promoted by Evo, are leading the discontent and are working to give leadership to the anti-fascist resistance. The government, the army and imperialism are exerting a strong repression that has cost the lives of more than 30 people.

The will to struggle of the Bolivian peoples, expressed during these last days, reflects the tradition, experience and lessons of the fight against neoliberalism and for social liberation.

Together with the comrades of the PCR of Bolivia, we reject the agreements at the top between the government and sectors of the MAS itself, to call for elections, with new rules and courts, without the participation of Evo Morales. It is an agreed upon way out of the crisis, which does not take into account the interests of workers and peoples.

The workers and the peoples, the political organizations and parties of the revolutionary left, the Revolutionary Communist Party, will continue in the struggle and will not renounce the objectives of the revolution and socialism.

**Coordination Committee of the
International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations**

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF BOLIVIA: NOT ONE STEP BACK!



Revolutionary Communist Party of Bolivia: Not One Step Back! Defend the Rights That we Have Won!

Translated by *Red Star Publishers*

The burning of the Wiphala [national and indigenous flag of Bolivia – translator's note] and its rapid removal from the dais of the Plurinational Legislative Assembly is a lack of respect for the patriotic symbol that represents centuries of resistance of the indigenous peoples. It has created a reaction to demand for the symbol and fight against racism from those who have violated it. The participation of indigenous peoples and nations, from the west to the east within the Plurinational State, have been trampled upon and repressed (clear examples were the TIPNIS and Achacachi). We believe that the Plurinational State should not be limited to a symbolic representation but that the existence and full self-determination of the peoples must be respected. We demand full respect for the Wiphala as well as the patujú [national flower of Bolivia – translator's note], symbols of the resistance of our peoples.

They tell us that God has returned to the government palace and we see the bible and crucifixes in official acts of the "transitional government," trampling completely on the secular State recognized by the Political State Constitution. Likewise, the "new cabinet" is made up of nefarious characters such as Justiniano (defense lawyer for the violators of the pact in Santa Cruz [headquarters of the right-wing – translator's note]) and Murillo (who from the Senate floor called for women to commit suicide rather than have an abortion).

Rest assured that we will fight to defend the rights we have won and prepare a strong defense to improve the conditions of the workers of the city and countryside; respect for the secular State, the effective separation of church and State, within the framework of full respect for individual freedom of worship, as well as the rights of women and the LGBT population, and the full respect for all democratic freedoms. We reject any possibility of political persecutions and the excessive use of force against protests that have resulted in injuries and deaths throughout the country.

Given the economic situation of the country, with a pattern of increased external debt and a decrease in Net International Reserves, in the context of the trend of economic recession at the international level due to the law of the tendency of the fall in the rate of profit, a series of economic measures are coming. We must enlist our strong defense of labor and social rights won by the working classes. After years of privileges to the union bureaucracy and in the absence of a real struggle of the workers against the lack of action of the populist government, there has been created a disorganization of the popular movement; we parent organizations, unions, federations and centrals must organize ourselves in defense of the rights that have been won and recover the service to the people.

La Paz, November 14, 2019

**Central Committee Secretariat
Revolutionary Communist Party – Bolivia**

REMEMBERING AND UNERASING TRANS HISTORY: TWO MEDIEVAL WRITINGS ON TRANS IDENTITY



By J. PALAMEDA, NOVEMBER 20, 2019

One of the most prevalent attacks on trans people in the US, from both the left and the right, is that trans identity is a product of modern times and cannot be found in preceding eras. This is a product of selective history at best and intentional erasure at worst. On trans day of remembrance, we present two medieval texts that directly address and express trans identity or gender dysphoria.

The Questioning of Eleanor Rykener 1395:

One of the most famous accounts of trans identity in Medieval England, the questioning of Eleanor (John) Rykener was deliberately erased by 20th century literary critic A.H. Thomas. In his exhaustive and intricately detailed early 20th century catalog of medieval law documents, he only vaguely summarizes this case, and actively sought to remove Eleanor Rykener from the historical record.

The account of her escapades with various churchmen is written by her interrogators who very likely utilized torture and should thus be taken with a grain of salt, but her identity is interestingly mentioned in some detail by her interrogators.

On 11 December, 18 Richard 11. were brought in the presence of John Fressh, Mayor. and the Aldermen of the City of London John Britby of the county of York and John Rykener., calling [himself] Eleanor, having been detected in women's clothing, who were found last Sunday night between the hours of 8 and 9 by certain officials of the, city lying by a certain stall in Soper's Lane" committing that detestable unmentionable and ignominious vice. In a separate examination held before the Mayor and Aldermen about the occurrence, John Britby confessed that he was passing through the high road of Cheap on Sunday between the abovementioned hours and accosted John Rykener, dressed up as a woman, thinking he was a woman, asking him as he would a woman if he could commit a libidinous act with her. Requesting money for [his] labor, Rykener consented, and they went together to the aforesaid stall to complete the act, and were captured there during these detestable wrongdoings by the officials and taken to prison. And John Rykener, brought here in woman's clothing and questioned about this matter, acknowledged [himself] to have done everything just as John Britby had confessed. Rykener was also asked who had taught him to exercise this vice, and for how long and in what places and with what persons, masculine or feminine, [he] had committed that libidinous and unspeakable act. [He] swore willingly on [his] soul that a certain Anna, the whore of a former servant of Sir Thomas Blount, first taught him to practice this detestable vice in the manner of a woman. [He] further said that a certain Elizabeth Bronderer first dressed him in women's clothing; she also brought her daughter Alice to diverse men for the sake of lust, placing her with those men in their beds at night without light, making her leave early in the morning and showing them the said John Rykener dressed up in women's clothing, calling him Eleanor and saying that they had misbehaved with her. [He] further said that certain Phillip, rector

of Theydon Garnon, had sex with him as with a woman in Elizabeth Bronderer's honse outside Bishopsgate, at which time Rykener took away two gowns of Phillip', and when Phillip requested them from Rykener he said that [he] was the wife of a certain man and that if Phillip wished to ask for them back [he] would make [his] husband bring suit against him. Rykener further confessed that for five weeks before the feast of St. Michael's last [he] was staying at Oxford, and there, in women's clothing and calling himself Eleanor, worked as an embroideress; and there in the marsh three unsuspecting scholars - of whom one was named Sir William Foxlee, another Sir John, and the third Sir Walter - practiced the abominable vice with him often. John Rykener further confessed that on Friday before the feast of St. Michael [he] came to Burford in Oxfordshire and there dwelt with a certain John Clerk at the Swan in the capacity of tapster for the next six weeks, during which time two Franciscans, one named Brother Michael and the other Brother John, who gave [him] a gold ring, and one Carmelite friar and six foreign men committed the above-said vice with him, of whom one gave Rykener twelve pence, one twenty pence, and one two shillings. Rykener further confessed that [he] went to Beaconsfield and there, as a man, had sex with a certain Joan, daughter of John Matthew, and also there two foreign Franciscans hall sex with him as a woman. John Rykener also confessed that after [his] last return to London a certain Sir John, once chaplain at the Church of St. Margaret Pattens, and two other chaplains committed with him the aforementioned vice in the lanes behind St. Katherine's Church by the Tower of London. Rykener further said that he often had sex as a man with many nuns and also had sex as a iman with many women both married and otherwise, how many [he] did not know. Rykener further confessed that many priests had committed that vice with him as with a woman, how many [he] did not know, and said that [he] accommodated priests more readily than other people because they wished to give [him] more than others.

Selection, "Prayer for Transformation," from Evan Bohan, by Kalonymus ben Kalonymus ben Meir, French Hebrew Poet, 1322

In this remarkable 14th century Hebrew poem by Frenchman Kalonymus ben Kalonymus, the poet describes gender dysphoria with remarkable accuracy and power. For Kalonymus ben Kalonymus, there was no hope of becoming the person they wanted to be, so the poet laments and underlines feelings of powerlessness.

What shall I say?

why cry or be bitter?

If my father in heaven has decreed upon me

and has maimed me with an immutable deformity

then I do not wish to remove it.

the sorrow of the impossible is a human pain that nothing will cure

and for which no comfort can be found.

So, I will bear and suffer until I die and wither in the ground.

Since I have learned from our tradition

that we bless both, the good and the bitter

I will bless in a voice hushed and weak:

blessed are you YHVH who has not made me a woman.

Read the entire poem here:



The American Party of Labor is...

a revolutionary working class organization. Our aim is to abolish the capitalist system and all its horrors by replacing it with socialism, a system based on the principle laid out by Marx, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work." This is the first phase toward the higher phase of communism, defined by the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Who Can Join? How Do I Get Involved?

Every working person who is sick of being abused by capitalism, is open to our plan for change, agrees with our Program and Platform and is over the age of 18 is welcome to join.

We recommend that you check out our publications page to get a more in-depth look at the Party. Another good place to look is our online library. The cornerstones of our Party are the works of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin, and Enver Hoxha.

You can find everything that you should know about us here, and you can join online or contact us and connect to members in your area.

If we don't have a presence in your city, we'll get to know you and help you establish one.

Why is Marxism-Leninism the Best Answer? Can't We Regulate Capitalism or Try to Create Some Kind of Third System That Isn't Fully Communist or Capitalist?

One must understand there is an important fundamental difference between Marxism and other so-called anti-capitalist or "third way" theories. Marx, unlike many thinkers of his day, did not just see a problem with capitalism and start proposing an alternative system. Instead, he and his compatriots analyzed capitalism itself to understand how the system worked. Marx's ideas for revolution are based off of that analysis, not ideas he dreamt up on his own. Solutions to the problems of capitalism can only be reached by understanding and observing the system itself, not by dreaming up some wonderful Utopian alternative. As for regulating or restraining capitalism, this has been done many times before.

Oftentimes the governments of capitalist states must restrict the private sector for various reasons. The problem is that political power is still stacked in favor of the ruling class, and if you slap regulations on big business, they have every avenue and all the resources necessary to see those regulations overturned in the long run. What truly led to the collapse of the old socialist bloc was not that these countries followed Marxism-Leninism, which was ultimately too radical, but rather quite the opposite- that these nations all came under the impression that they needed more and more market style reforms, until they had more or less become capitalist countries.

Nowadays, ideas such as "21st century socialism" would have us do basically the same thing, if not less - regulate capitalism, nationalize some industry, and try to maintain a welfare state- without expropriating the ruling class, without giving the nation a clear direction for the future, and worst of all, without putting the working class in power. This kind of idea can only lead to temporary gains for the workers.

How is the American Party of Labor Different than Other Socialist, Communist, or Left-Wing Parties or Organizations?

First of all, the main difference is that we see the solution to the problems of the working class in revolution and the seizure of state power by the working class and its political organizations. The methodology by which we strive for revolution is Marxism-Leninism—that is, the scientific methodology of social/economic revolution first devised by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and contributed to by figures such as Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin and the late Albanian leader Enver Hoxha. This does not mean, however, that we look at these figures the way religions look at their own prophets, nor do we see their every written word as some kind of Holy Scripture or their every action as blameless and divine.

That being said, we critique their actions from the Marxist methodology of historical dialectical materialism, analyzing actions and events in their historical context, taking into account the benefit of hindsight and trying to avoid idle speculation about what could have been if certain events had or hadn't happened, etc. Because we uphold the general line of these figures, from Karl Marx to Enver Hoxha, we consider ourselves "anti-revisionist," and it is in this way that we differ from most communist parties or organizations in the United States.



"You can cut all the flowers, but you can't stop spring."

- Pablo Neruda



Legalize Workers - No More Detentions, No More Deportations, Abolish I.C.E.!

Guaranteed Work and a Livable Income!

Socialized Healthcare For All!

Nationalized Healthcare!

Free Education For All!

Equal Rights, Pay, and Housing For All!

End All Wars of Aggression!

Abolish Private Prisons, Free All Political Prisoners!

No Platform for Fascists!

Abolish Profit Made By the Exploitation of Labor!

Our General Line.

1. The American Party of Labor comes from and represents the American working class. From time to time and place to place there may be individuals who are admitted to the Party who do not have a working class background, or are not currently considered to be working class by Marxist-Leninist ideology and principles. Such individuals are exceptions to the general rule, as they have in effect transcended their class through conscious application of Marxist-Leninist ideology.

2. The American Party of Labor maintains that value in society is produced by human action within the material world. That is to say, value is created by the consumption of labor power. The working classes, which have only their labor power to sell for their daily sustenance, therefore make production possible. We call for the reorganization of society to provide the means of production to the working class to be administered either under an elected or selected management or collectively through a council system.

3. The American Party of Labor demands the abolition of private property and that all means of production be in the hands of the working class. Profit under capitalism is extracted surplus value from the consumption of labor power and constitutes a theft from the working class by the capitalist ruling class. Under our system, the working class will be paid the full value of their production less the necessary deductions to support the state and its various cultural, economic and social support projects.

4. The American Party of Labor demands that all oppressed nations within the context of the American Empire, including, but by no means limited to, Indigenous peoples, Native Hawaiians, Guamanians and Puerto Ricans (within the context of Puerto Rico), be given national self-determination as to whether or not they wish to remain in the American socialist state, which shall be constructed on the remnants of the United States. We call for the end of the so-called commonwealth system in all U.S. imperial possessions. The nations in these political organizations should either choose to become a U.S. state or an independent country.

5. The American Party of Labor demands the cancellation of all current debt held by developing countries to the U.S. These loans were not made with the intention of helping the people of these countries, but rather to enslave those countries with debt.

6. The American Party of Labor is a party against all imperialism. We are opposed to all wars of aggression on the world stage and all other threats of war and military intervention. We call for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from abroad. We stand shoulder-to-shoulder with all occupied peoples and with all nations living underneath neo-colonial regimes. We call for the end of foreign aid to Israel, Colombia and other outposts of capitalist and imperialist aggression.

7. The American Party of Labor is an internationalist party. All peoples around the globe struggling for their emancipation from their own systems of exploitation are our allies. We extend our hands to all revolutionary organizations guided by Marxism-Leninism worldwide and to national liberation movements of exploited peoples of all countries because our cause is one and the same.

8. The American Party of Labor demands the U.S. withdrawal from NATO and other imperialist alliances.

9. The American Party of Labor stands fully against the militarization of the U.S.-Mexican border. It supports the rights of immigrants and the ending of neo-liberal policies in other countries, particularly in Latin America and the Caribbean, that drive sustenance farmers off their lands and to the United States due to a lack of economic opportunity in their native countries.

10. The American Party of Labor has a more generalized list of our demands and positions in a separate document called the Party Platform.

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