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The right-wing billionaire grip on government must be broken

By Joe Sims

Keynote address to the CPUSA National Committee by Joe Sims on Feb. 2, 2025.

Well comrades, we're in for a fight aren't we? But that doesn't surprise us. The initial days with Mr. Trump and Company are playing out just as we said they would. Today, we want to address some of the key questions before us as we confront the most right-wing administration in our memory, and perhaps the most right wing in the history of the country. And while it likely is the most right-wing administration — Trump's Executive Orders already underscore that — we hasten to add it is not the strongest, nor is it the most powerful administration.

Let's remember that this was an election won on the margins by less than 1.5% of the vote. There was no national realignment. There was no move to the right among the working class. Nor did the election provide MAGA with a compelling mandate — and we'll be damned if they're going to shove one down our throats! The American people showed that the other day by their widespread reaction to the spending freeze. The freeze was cruel, it was unusual, and tactically, it was just plain stupid. The rejection of the proposed freeze in broad quarters resulted in the first major defeat for the Project 2025 agenda — but it won't be the last.

However, the new administration's weakness is not only a matter of percentages. If you think about it, it's a product of what got it elected in the first place: mass alienation from the political process and from both political parties; working-class anger at high prices; extreme wealth inequality; and the ongoing wars and genocides. Add to that the whipping up of racist, sexist, and homophobic hate which was central to the GOP campaign. In other words, Trump's victory is based on the unstable ground of U.S. imperialism's deep systemic crisis.

A dangerous situation

That said, with MAGA controlling all three branches of government, the situation is extremely dangerous. It would be beyond foolish to underestimate it.

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Our friends in the labor movement are calling what has happened since January 20th "shock and awe." To me, a better word was introduced into the English language from the original German by the Nazis — blitzkrieg — an attempt to overcome the opposition by the use of overwhelming force. And that's what we're seeing: an attempt by means of Executive Orders and legislation to overcome the democratic opposition with overwhelming force.

As expected, immigrant labor is the first, and what MAGA expects to be the easiest, target. But if easy is what they expect, they have another thing coming. All across the country, immigrant rights organizations and their allies in labor and other movements are joining together to defend migrant families.

We're proud that some of our clubs and districts are on the frontlines of this fight, but others have to get up to speed. We can't say we're on top of this issue the way we need to be.



The Laken Riley bill, which requires the indefinite detention without trial of any non-citizen accused of theft, is a case in point. They are treating migrants like enemy combatants and terrorists. It's a shame and disgrace that Democrats in the House and Senate allowed this to occur. Some 48 voted for it in the House. It had two co-sponsors and 12 votes in the Senate.

The truth is that some in the Democratic Party are moving to the right and bowing down to the MAGA billionaire power. The Crucial Communism Teaching Act is another example of this capitulation.

This McCarthyite legislation passed the House of Representatives in December with only 62 dissenting votes, some of whom were Republicans.

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CONTINUING THE DAILY WORKER



For over a century, People's World and its predecessor publications have taken the side of the 99 percent and worked to promote the struggle for a sustainable environment, jobs, democracy, peace, and equality.

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Then there's the Stop Terrorism Financing Bill, aimed at non-profits. And while after a mass campaign, 40 Democrats changed their vote, 15 voted for it, providing MAGA a bipartisan cover. That's the MAGA strategy: lay the basis for a MAGA governing majority with a sliver of Democratic support. In the absence of a strong counter movement to stiffen the spine of some Democratic politicians, it could work. That's why the January 18th protests in D.C. and around the country were so important. What hammered in Trump in his first term were the demonstrations that emerged the day after the election and that continued through the inauguration and beyond.

Resistance 2.0

Those protests didn't happen this time around. Their absence was interpreted as a defeat for the resistance and a grudging acceptance of the Trump victory. But nothing was further from the case. The anti-MAGA movement was not rolling over. Just after the election, 120,000 met online in a mass meeting organized by the Working Family Party and 200 other organizations. In addition, several other mass online meetings organized by Win With Black women, MoveOn and others brought together tens of thousands. The point here is that folks are taking stock, making plans, and preparing for what's to come in hopefully smarter, better coordinated, and more strategic ways.

The fightback going forward will occur over a wide terrain and on multiple fronts: political, economic, legal, ideological, cultural. It will be largely, but not entirely, defensive in character. Coalitions will come together in response to the various points of the MAGA attack. Initial responses as measured by the People's March, were from the women's movement, environmental groups, the ACLU, nonprofits and community-based organizations. A few local labor unions participated. Many of the tens of thousands who showed up did so spontaneously. Our party, which had an outstanding contingent of over 100, and DSA were apparently the only organized socialist and communist organizations that participated. We salute all of those who showed up for their courage and their initiative and leadership, particularly the Women's March initiators. To show up and protest was no small thing, particularly when compared to those who didn't.

On the other hand, we should be careful not to draw the wrong conclusions. Of course, there's some confusion, disarray, and hesitation in the camps of the democratic opposition. At the same time, the people's movement knows it's going to be playing defense. A long and protracted struggle lies ahead. Given the nature of what we're fighting, some may be thinking it's smart not to rush headlong into battle without first taking measure of the class enemy's initial points of attack and its relative strengths and weaknesses. They may be thinking, "Better to conserve one's forces and carefully consider how and when to respond."

Depending on the issues and circumstances, some will take the initiative and lead, while others will hold their fire. And that's okay. Movements take time to gather strength and momentum. We cannot control the pace of struggle. What we can control is how we respond as the pace unfolds. And that means working in the communities, campuses, neighborhoods, and workplaces, building unity and taking action in defense of our class around the basic issues. That's critical — initiative is in the hands of those who take it.

Some are preparing to do just that. We have heard from some elected officials and a few in the labor movement that they are ready for the MAGA offensive. With respect to the labor movement, the recent decision of SEIU to rejoin the AFL-CIO is an encouraging sign as the unions get ready for attacks on immigrant workers and public employees who are now in MAGA's crosshairs.

As the struggle unfolds, the Communist Party's role is to keep close to the grassroots and take initiative in concert with others, keeping uppermost in mind the unity and interests of the broader movement.

What are the features of the new political moment?

A new political moment

Here, our strategy and tactics must take careful measure of what is new and different in the current situation. Can it be said that with the last election we have entered a new political moment that in many ways breaks sharply with the election of past administrations? If so, what are its features and what does it mean for our political work going forward?

Consider, for example, the open, undisguised entry of right-wing tech and banking billionaires into government. According to the New York Times, the tech billionaires have stepped in to provide "elite human capital" to staff the new administration. It's these forces, at Musk's direction, who are dismantling the Department of Education, USAID, and other agencies. Then, of course, there are the already vetted fascist-minded MAGA personnel lined up to enter government with the goal of implementing the Project 2025 agenda. Both the tech right and MAGA forces have openly expressed their goal of not only gutting the government but also of becoming the dominant force in the ruling class. With their newly acquired hegemony, they hope to redesign society as a whole. Musk calls it "saving civilization." I take him to mean saving Western, white, Christian civilization.

Have we appreciated the deep level of anger?

We have to consider what's new with respect to the Democratic Party. With rare exceptions, its leadership seemed completely unprepared for MAGA's ascendance. The issue is not just the role that it has now and will play in the future. Clearly it has a role: what other electoral vehicles are there at this stage? Deep thought must be given as to whether we have sufficiently appreciated the level of anger in important sections of the working class directed at the Democrats, particularly in the midwest. Do we understand the fury that has led workers in several election cycles now to vote for the GOP? And do we realize that the fury is not just directed at the Democratic Party, but at the system as a whole, at what they call "the establishment"? We're talking about government, business, the mass media — you name it. In his inaugural address, Trump called it "the radical and corrupt establishment [that] has extracted power and wealth from our citizens."

Folks are "too through"

Clearly there's a strong feeling that the system isn't working: that it needs to be torn down, broke up and changed fundamentally. And folks don't care who brings that change. During the subprime crisis, a young Black Democrat named Obama promised he would deliver it. And some of the same workers who are now voting GOP held on to that promise and elected him twice. But in the eyes of many, nothing happened. Now, simply put, folks are "too through." And they've turned to Trump now twice. He has taken that anger and twisted it — blaming immigrants, woke politics, China, everything and anything except those really responsible.

But here's the thing: isn't this anger, this fury, this desire to tear the system down, a symptom of a deep radicalization in the working class that's taken place, notwithstanding its being hijacked by the right? And when we say radicalization, we don't necessarily mean radicalization to the left, but rather a deep and abiding anger at the top, at what Paul Robeson used to call "big white folks," an anger that could go in either direction. And if it does indicate such a radicalization process, how do we respond to that desire for change? Do we write these workers off? Some would like to. But if in the 1930s we had taken this attitude toward a section of white workers, the mass production industries would never have been organized. So that's clearly not an option.

But here's another thing to consider: are we ourselves calling for such basic change? The Democrats aren't — at least not most of them. They've been busy defending the system, the status quo, against the looming right-wing threat. But why aren't we? After all, we're a revolutionary, working-class party. Or does our campaigning for democracy appear to be a defense of the status quo that many have given up on and implicitly a defense of the Democratic Party? That's the subjective side of the problem.

Objectively, however, there's another issue: Today fascist-minded billionaires — with two of the wealthiest hailing from South Africa — have openly seized hold of the reins of state power. There are some 13 right-wing billionaires presently in the Cabinet. Given their predominance, how can the struggle against the MAGA right be waged, without addressing their grip on the White House, Congress, and the judiciary? Is it possible to defeat the MAGA fascist power, without defeating the billionaire oligarchy? And when we say the billionaire oligarchy, aren't we talking about sections of monopoly?

And therefore, isn't it the case that anti-fascist tasks must be coupled with anti-monopoly tasks, including public ownership and democratic control? Crazy? Perhaps. But for us, not as crazy as eliminating the 14th Amendment and birthright citizenship, which are a bedrock of bourgeois democratic rights, not to mention DEI programs, abortion rights, the NLRB, etc. Will our taking up these anti-monopoly demands result in a narrowing of the anti-fascist coalition? If we were bigger and more influential, perhaps. But we have to be guided by what's best for us and the class.

Building the party

What's best for us — and the working class — is to build the party as rapidly as possible in all directions. And to do that, we must feed into the anger that is brewing where we work, live, and struggle. That means fighting like hell at the local level, including running for office. Such campaigns must go after both the GOP and the Democrats. We're not proposing to treat them equally — we know where the greatest danger lies — but not giving the Democrats a pass either. There's a way to run by focusing on the issues, stressing the main danger, but also pointing out all who are complicit with the MAGA agenda, including the corporate Democrats and others. The issue is how to do so without falling into a narrow, hopeless, left sectarianism.

Admittedly, it's a difficult balance to strike. One the hand, to recognize the fascist threat, but on the other, not to be seen as defending a status quo that is indefensible.

As you can see, these issues are opening up basic questions about the electoral process and how we comport ourselves in relation to it. As we have said from this platform many times before, we cannot fully be a political party if we don't stand for elections. The fact that we haven't done so for many years now — decades even — has been an unfortunate side effect of our decision not to mount national campaigns in the late 80s. What began as a temporary tactic, sadly turned into a longstanding policy, the result of which is that our political profile has largely disappeared from the national, state, and local political scene. When combined with a conscious deemphasis on taking initiative, the inevitable result was a tailing of the Democratic Party.

A related problem was the simultaneous watering down of Marxist basics and the unmistakable seepage of anti-working class concepts into our ranks. And yes, I'm talking about what we used to call right opportunism. I know this is a loaded term for some, but how else do you account for the pressure to change the name and nature of the party, the rejection of the Communist plus concept, the lack of party initiative, the appearance and toleration of competing concepts of party organization, the questioning of the need for clubs, the dissolving of the YCL and youth work, the complete cessation of our organized theoretical work and our journal, *Political Affairs*?

Importantly, we have taken a number of steps over the last several years, beginning with John Bachtell's tenure as Party chairman, to course correct by elevating our organizational work, rebuilding our club and district structures, restoring our public presence and yes, encouraging Communist candidacies. We've also reintroduced the systematic introduction of Marxist-Leninist educational basics. Taken as a whole, we described all of these measures as part of the Party's rebuilding process. One thing that we haven't rebuilt, however, is our theoretical work. Think about it: when was the last time we had a basic article on women's equality, the national question, changes in the working class, new aspects of imperialism, etc. On the struggle for women's equality, it's been at least 40 years! It's way past time, comrades, that we relaunch *Political Affairs*, and direct a collective to organize our theoretical work.

Comrades, all this points to a basic precept: the battle of ideas is a fundamental feature of the global fight between labor and capital. Ever present in this struggle is the danger of dilution from the right and distortion from the left — right opportunism and left sectarianism. We can't pretend that they don't exist. At any given moment, one becomes more prominent than the other, but attention must be paid to both. We neglect doing so to our everlasting peril. It's true that in a period of rapid growth, addressing immature left sectarianism among new cohorts will be an ongoing issue. And we've had our share of these problems. But it's also true that liquidationist pressures abound, particularly during ebb periods of slow, gradual development. The collapse of the USSR accentuated these tendencies as Parties sought to overcome both a staid and ossified Marxism and the revisionist "new thinking" that replaced it. At the center of the attack was Lenin, a creative Marxism-Leninism, class and democratic struggle, and the role of the Party.

Fighting U.S. imperialism

Speaking of ideological issues, Trump's inaugural address revealed the importance of continuing to refine our approach to U.S. imperialism. It was an inaugural address brimming with an undisguised, insurgent white nationalism. "We're going to take the Panama Canal, make Canada the 51st state, snatch up Greenland, rename the Gulf of Mexico" Trump maintained. He continued, "The Monroe Doctrine is back." But Latin and Central America never accepted that they were U.S. imperialism's backyard and exclusive sphere of influence. And the national democratic and left movements in the Americas are deeper and more developed than ever before. Mexico is a case in point. They're not going back either.

Our responsibility in combating this new imperialism means that our priority is to defeat U.S. imperialism here at home. It has not changed its nature, nor can it. But there's a lot of confusion about this issue. Imperialist globalization has brought with it a host of ideological challenges, including the notion that imperialism no longer exists. For example, the term "empire" has replaced imperialism as an operative concept in wide circles and with it a rejection of agency for the working class in the developed capitalist countries. In this fanciful scenario, workers are part of a Western labor aristocracy, whose class interest aligns with the imperialist bourgeoisie.

Related to this is the idea that the U.S. is the planet's only imperialist country and that inter-imperialist rivalries are a thing of the past. But what happened to the European Union and Japan as centers of inter-imperialist rivalry? Then there is the concept of multi-polarity and its application to the current international balance of forces with some not seeing that U.S. imperialism, while still dominant, is being challenged by both traditional and emerging imperial powers. Here it is vital to be objective and see points of convergence and difference between various imperialist groups and countries.

The Trump administration has its sights set on China. And as we know, there is a consensus in the ruling class on confronting the People's Republic, whether it was the social democratic foreign policy of Biden or the white nationalist one of Bannon and Trump. With Trump, the Cold War 2.0 is sure to be intensified. Gaza, Ukraine, the placing of Cuba back on the "State Sponsors of Terrorism" list, along with Venezuela remain key issues upon which vigilance must be maintained. Needless to say, the achievement of the Gaza ceasefire is an important development. However, Trump's proposal to relocate the Palestinian people cannot be ignored.

A big fight ahead

So we've got a big fight ahead around a broad range of issues. The next 100 days will be critical as will the following couple of months when the campaign for the 2026 midterm elections will begin.

Let us pledge this afternoon to continue the course set by the 32nd Convention: to build the party, to fight the MAGA right tooth and nail by strengthening the people's front, and to fight U.S. imperialism with everything we have. If we do that, and do it well, we'll be well on the way to building the mass party of action our country so desperately needs.

Chicago gathering notes Labor's stake in fight for immigrant rights

By Mark Gruenberg

CHICAGO—With millions of migrant workers caught between corporate exploitation and GOP Trump regime deportations, activists gathered last night at the first-ever Chicago Labor Forum to brainstorm ideas for the entire working class to come to their aid and protection.

And if there was one theme that ran through the hour-long session at the Unity Center on Chicago's South Side, it was that given that the Trump tyranny is thinking "outside the box" in rounding up anyone and everyone with brown skin—including kidnapping kids from schools, invading hospitals and dragging drivers from cars—defenders must "think outside the box" for new tactics, too.

Trump's tactics aren't new, but they are intensified, one of the two guest speakers, Chicago Federation of Labor Secretary-Treasurer Don Villar, himself from a migrant family, told the group on February 18.

"We saw this played out in 2017" with "the drama of a 10-year-old kid coming out of school and finding there's no one there to pick him up" because Trump's federal agents during the convicted felon's first term in the White House had arrested and deported the kid's parents.

For that kid, "it was having your world turned upside down," and now the situation has gotten even worse with Trump's return to the presidency and with his "enforcer" making migrants in Chicago their #1 national target, due to the Windy City's "sanctuary city" status and active resistance.

Among the new ideas floated, and in some cases, implemented, and discussed at the session:

Mass education of the migrants. The Chicago Federation of Labor pioneered that with "know your rights" cards for migrants, telling them the law protects them from federal agents without a warrant, from being split from other workers, from being denied a lawyer and it mandates they can demand immigration hearings.

Trump "wants to scare us and push us back," declared the other guest speaker, veteran journalist, labor book writer, and filmmaker David Bacon, a sector chair of the Northern California Media Workers Guild.

Training began in January

CFL's training of migrants, and other unionists, began on January 3, even before Trump took over the White House. The CFL's know-your-right cards, since adopted by other local federations and labor councils, are in English, Spanish, Vietnamese, Polish, Tagalog, and Creole.

Organize, organize, organize. Migrants seeking protection are increasingly turning to unions for aid, support, and structure against the Trump-named raiders. That's particularly true for another group of workers, most of them non-migrants: Federal workers.

The federal government is an "open shop" and Trump and his minions have been firing workers in droves. Remaining workers are now ringing the phones off the hook at federal worker unions. Though nobody mentioned it, the main union, the Government Employees, had 300,000 members at the start of 2025, and set a goal of 325,000 net by the end of this year, after retirements and recruitment. It's already passed that figure.



Get out in the streets and put on bottom-up pressure to change immigration laws, making it easier to help people without documents attain them or adjust their status.

Bacon pointed out that the civil rights revolution of the 1960s produced an end to both discriminatory white nationalist immigration "quotas," which existed since 1924, and the hated "bracero" system which began two decades later to provide imported Spanish-speaking farm workers. That legalized corporate exploitation lasted through 1964.

But when those workers began to organize for themselves, their leaders—and often their native allies, too—were detained and deported, just as alleged Communists were deported at the same time, during the Joe McCarthy era of the 1950s. Deportations reached a high of a million a year in the Eisenhower administration in 1954, at the same time growers imported 450,000 *braceros* yearly to work the nation's farms.

"Trump is trying to bring us back to the Cold War and McCarthyism," with migrants and labor leaders, rather than Reds and labor leaders, as targets, Bacon said.

Trump's hatred of migrants was reinforced even as the Chicago session concluded. The White House gleefully posted on social media a video of migrants, in chains, forced onto a jetliner at Boeing Field outside Seattle. Destination not reported, but some migrants have wound up behind barbed wire and living in tents at the leading relic of U.S imperialism in Cuba, the Guantanamo Bay Naval Station.

"They tried for years to deport" legendary and radical International Longshore and Warehouse Leader Harry Bridges, plus "the New Mexico Empire zinc mine movie *Salt of the Earth* actress Rosaura Revueltas, and [organizer] Claudia Jones of New York," said Bacon. "That's what Trump has in mind, now."

Campaign in the streets to modernize migration law. The 1965 immigration reform and its 1986 successor, which further reformed migration, had one big loophole, Bacon said. It legalized the undocumented people already in the U.S. at that time, but made employment of future undocumented people illegal.

Chicago gathering notes Labor's stake in fight for immigrant rights

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Those undocumented people are the ones Trump hates and rounds up. They're also the most exploited since employers seeking to maximize profits pay them starvation wages, often house them in hovels, and threaten them with deportation should they speak up or go to the authorities. The flaw must end, Bacon said. Marching and pressuring for legalization should be a top goal.

He gave an example of how public political pressure worked. The "Dreamers" had been getting nowhere with their demand for "green cards," work permits to let them get Social Security numbers, and driver's licenses and live and work openly in the U.S. Democratic President Barack Obama, who had promised such reforms in his 2008 campaign, was stalling.

The Dreamers staged a sit-in at Obama's 2012 Chicago campaign office. The publicity highly embarrassed Obama, a Chicago resident in a tough re-election drive. Bacon said the sit-in won them the right to stay—and work, go to school and even join the military—in the U.S.

May have to do it again

Though he did not say so, the Dreamers may have to do so again. Trump has vacillated back and forth about letting the Dreamers stay in the country. He plans to arrest, detain, and deport all other migrants, including asylum seekers and people fleeing wars, gangs, and natural catastrophes. Left unsaid: All those migrants, like the Dreamers, are people of color.

As one participant in the session put it, if Trump can succeed in deporting migrants, what's to stop him from deporting anyone he hates: LGBTQ people, union leaders, civil rights warriors, workers, members of U.S. Labor Against War, and unionists who banded together to demand a ceasefire in the Middle East, for example.

Seek corporate partners, who will be stuck without a labor force if Trump deports all the migrants. Agriculture leads the list, said Bacon: One million of all farm workers, he stated, are undocumented migrants. But other industries that would suffer labor shortages include meatpacking, construction, day labor, and health care, especially home care. Migrant advocates can make the case to businesses that they can't survive without enough workers, paid living wages.

If their workers are deported, Bacon said, "There would be massive dislocation...Make it clear to employers that we'll stop production if there are those raids."

And if those migrant workers were all paid the median U.S. wage of \$66,000 each—more than twice their median now—it would boost their income by \$250 billion.

- Use the power of the ballot box and the threat of voter retribution. "We think of voting as a privilege. We need to think of it as a weapon for working people," Bacon said.
- Reach and work with advocacy groups, such as workers' centers and pro-migrant organizations. Bacon stressed there are more potential allies out there than the migrants realize: Women's rights groups, LGBTQ rights groups, groups representing people of color, minority religious groups, civic groups, environmentalists, and unions.

There are two catches to that plan, though, as some participants at the session pointed out. One is the tendency of the separate groups to retreat into their own "silos," concentrating on their own issues alone, once a mass campaign is over—and despite foreseeable backlashes.

The other, as one participant from Service Employees Local 73 put it, is that too many union members view their union strictly as a service organization where they pay their dues and let the staff do all the work. That's not good for a mass movement.

The Chicago Federation of Labor's Secretary-Treasurer Villar had one final warning for the workers at the session: Be prepared in case they lose what little legal protection exists from the boss-tangled and Republican-weakened National Labor Relations Act.

That New Deal-era law, though shot full of holes, still stands. Three top anti-union oligarchs and their companies are challenging it: Trump puppeteer Elon Musk, head of Tesla, SpaceX, and Twitter/X, Amazon anti-union hater Jeff Bezos and Starbucks founder and former CEO Howard Schultz.

The corporate honchos and their companies declare the NLRA—and the National Labor Relations Board—unconstitutional. It's before Trump-named judges in deep-red Texas and Louisiana. It could eventually hit the Supreme Court and its right-wing majority, including three Trumpites. Another of the rightist bloc, Samuel Alito, is the leading labor hater among the jurists. The majority could well side with the oligarchs.

"It'll be like when they overturned Roe v Wade," stripping women of the federal constitutional right to an abortion in most circumstances, said Villar. "Then we're back to the law of the jungle," and to "The Memorial Day massacre" when rented cops shot down peaceful worker picnickers, who also had been striking for union recognition, near what was then the phalanx of steel plants on Chicago's Southeast Side—in 1937.

'Night Flyer' book review: Grounding the mythos of Harriet Tubman with her political influence and worldview

By Joel Wendland-Liu

Harriet Tubman is often recognized as one of the top ten most famous Americans. Her impact on our historical memory runs so deep that a popular initiative to replace Andrew Jackson with Harriet Tubman on the \$20 bill in 2016 was blocked by Donald Trump, who, by openly expressing his racist preferences, praised Jackson, the architect of the genocidal Indian Removal Policy and a federal fiscal policy that directly contributed to the collapse of the U.S. economy in 1837. A 2019 biopic about the woman who led a network of abolitionist activists and supporters to free over 70 enslaved people received critical acclaim and several Academy Awards.



Famously, Tubman, the courageous and skilled escape artist, military intelligence agent, warrior-abolitionist, women's rights activist, and working-class hero, is reputed to have said, "I shall fight for my liberty, and when the time comes for me to go, the Lord will let them kill me." Tubman passed away at approximately 91 years old in her home in 1913. One day in the fall of 1850, Tubman left with two family members and escaped enslavement in Maryland. While this initial attempt failed, she later tried again on her own to flee to Philadelphia, encountering the network of Black and white households that would come to be known as the Underground Railroad. After working for two years in restaurants, hotels, and resorts, she returned to Maryland to lead many of her family members and other willing escapees to freedom.

Her feats became so famous that enslavers placed thousands of dollars in bounties on her life. Her expert knowledge as a woods person, her extensive experience with the geography of the South, her keen insight into the social relations of slavery, and her strategic thinking skills led to her recruitment into the U.S. Army as an intelligence agent and leader of the renowned raid at Combahee River in South Carolina.

Despite her fame, there are alarmingly few scholarly books about Harriet Tubman. Of the five published in the last 25 years, one is a reference guide to the primary sources discussed here, while another examines how the myths surrounding her life were created. Most biographical works target a young audience of children and teenagers. Popular Front-era novelist Ann Petry's biography, *Harriet Tubman: Conductor on the Underground Railroad*, remains the definitive account of Tubman's life. *Daughters of Harriet*, by Cynthia Parker-Ohene (2022), and *They Shall Run: Harriet Tubman Poems*, by Quraysh Ali Lansana (2004), serve as admirable tributes to Tubman in verse.

Harvard University historian Tiya Miles's new book, *Night Flyer*, is a valuable addition. It challenges perceptions of Tubman's legendary status as a solitary figure with "superhero" powers, a leader among the "abolitionist avengers." This book is particularly relevant at a time when, despite Americans' generally waning interest in organized religion and traditional faiths, we have turned to beliefs in magic and gods depicted in Hollywood movies. Popular culture is filled with fantastical savior stories where a magical "one" confronts the forces of darkness; the police solve a crime through sheer intellect, or a superhero scientist helps us escape the hellscape of a dying Earth.

The widespread popularity of such myths may have their origins in the fables and legends shaped around the life of Harriet Tubman. Instead of drawing on this well of archetypes and engaging with the appeal of magical individualism, Miles presents a "faith biography" of one of several "Black holy women" who lived in a cultural environment that depended on careful attention to the arbitrary moods of white enslavers, the gifts and resources of nature, knowledge of geography and topography, and a profound connection between the present world and "spiritual reality." "Tubman was heroic," writes Miles, "but she was not a superhero beyond the reach of our understanding, identification, and compassion."

Black culture in the early 1800s displayed a direct and widely perceptible synergy between the worldviews imposed by Christianity and those received from spiritual practices rooted in West Africa, the birthplace of many enslaved people living in the Americas. Miles's exploration of Tubman's "religious" cosmology provides a fresh and innovative research approach that helps create a clearer understanding of the abolitionists. While several biographies and "as-told-to" autobiographies were published during Tubman's lifetime, a relatively small batch of archival sources (newspaper articles, transcribed letters, records of speeches, military records, and legal documents) illuminate her life significantly. Tubman never learned to write in English, so her self-authored accounts were confined to her speeches and sermons.

In addition to her careful analytical reading of this limited documentary record—shaped by the perceptions of sympathetic but generally patronizing Euro-American writers—Miles interprets Tubman's thoughts and words through the lens of four other "spiritual biographies" authored by Black women who escaped slavery or other racist forms of servitude during Tubman's lifetime. These women include Jarena Lee, Zilpha Elaw, Old Elizabeth, and Julia Foote. Each wrote "slave narratives" in the 1800s that helped to establish Black literature and contributed to Black radical political theory of human, gender, and racial equality. Miles argues, "Harriet Tubman was a member of a regional and racial collective, not a lone ranger or solitary hero of the deep woods."

Miles reveals that the "centrality" of Tubman's spiritual life—her faith in God and her connection to the rituals and practices of her inherited syncretic traditions—influenced her political theory, her focus on nature's signs and wonders, and her dependence on carefully honed instincts and insights into human behavior and motives. Tubman's "eco-spiritual worldview" was not uncommon among "Black women prophets." This way of understanding the conditions of one's life, one's natural surroundings, and the social world necessarily translated into a political theory rooted in liberation and justice. Why could God attend to the needs and lives of a tiny Black person trapped in an unfair condition of violence and servitude if that person was not as valuable in his sight as any other person on the planet? And, how could white people's professions of adherence to religious doctrines be, therefore, anything but hypocrisy and falsehoods?

Tubman's unwavering faith in God, commitment to spirituality, and adherence to rituals and practices demonstrated their real power in her life. She viewed them as sources of physical protection, emotional nourishment, and communal ties with others. Instead of feeling distant from God, Tubman's closeness deepened her lasting connection to the transcendent realm. Miles highlights this remarkable reversal of false white Christian pretenses that Black people were so far removed from God's grace that bondage was warranted. Acknowledging the falsehood inherent in this ideological stance allowed Tubman to strengthen the link between religious experiences, imagery, and language to her emergent political and social analysis.

Through these experiences—her interactions with enslavers, her family and community life, and her shared reliance on natural settings for refuge and nourishment—Tubman developed "a political realization about the unfair nature of power" upon which slavery and U.S. society were founded. "There are two things I've got a right to," she later told a biographer, "and those are Death and Liberty—one or the other I mean to have. No one will take me back alive." In other words, there is no partial freedom or "second-class citizenship." Either one is free, or one is enslaved. And Tubman intended never to return to the latter.

Night Flyer, with its carefully crafted and well-documented arguments, helps us understand how Tubman's worldview and political and religious commitments were shaped and sustained. While many readers may never share Tubman's spiritual beliefs or experience the transcendent world that influenced her reality, we can certainly appreciate and grasp the significance of a life devoted to the singular pursuit of freedom for herself and her people.

We may even envision ourselves as part of the clandestine network of activists, organizers, educators, and movement builders that made her repeated journeys to freedom possible. We may picture ourselves developing our own strategic, intellectual, and collective resources, as Tubman had done, which might lead to one or another heroic action significant enough to be remembered in the historical accounts of our times.

Trump seizure of Post Office aims to kill vote-by-mail nationwide

By Mark Gruenberg

WASHINGTON—Chaos broke out around the U.S. Postal Service on February 20 as the Trump administration announced plans for a direct hostile takeover of the institution, which has been a key to democracy in the nation for some 250 years.

Obvious among the purposes of the latest agency takeover by Trump and Musk is the ease with which it will enable them to end the voting by mail across the country that they detest so much. Vote-by-mail brings millions of working class and poor voters into the electorate, voters the extreme right would prefer to keep out.

Eight states—California, Colorado, Hawaii, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Vermont, and Washington, plus D.C.—mail ballots to every voter regardless of whether they request such ballots.

Still other states with vote-by-mail require voters to ask, with restrictions. The system of mail-in voting benefits turning out of early voters that often, Trump believes, helps Democrats. It's something that Trump and Musk would like to end forever.

The latest move to take over the Postal Service is not the first attempt by Trump to damage an institution so important to democracy in America. During his first term, the anti-worker Republican President Trump wanted to privatize the USPS, turning its profitable parts over to corporate chieftains, eliminating universal service and trashing its unions on the way. Now he plans to fire its board and end USPS's independence. Several critics call that an actual towards privatization.

And if Trump tries to dismantle the USPS, its board has already voted to sue him.

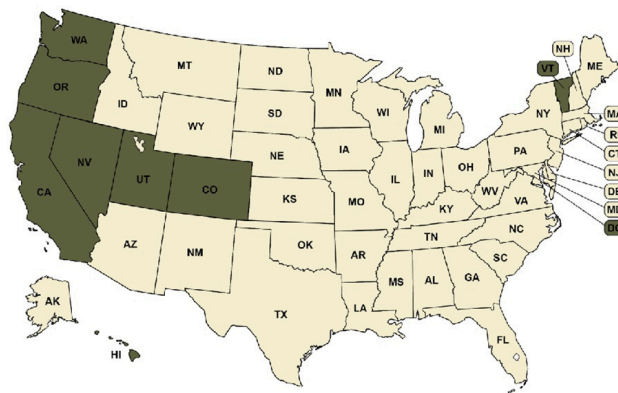
The man Trump named in July 2020 as Postmaster General, GOP big giver Louis DeJoy, the former XPO Logistics package company CEO, announced he plans to quit. His "reorganization plan," implemented after he took over, is—after mass closures, forced departures of workers, service slowdowns and postage rate hikes—seen as a controversial flop.

Both big postal unions, the Letter Carriers (NALC) and the Postal Workers (APWU), having gotten wind of Trump's takeover scheme, through a Washington Post article, hit the ceiling. NALC converted its "Fight Like Hell" campaign for improved working conditions, launched on February 13, into "HELL NO! to dismantling the Postal Service."

And talks on a new contract between NALC and DeJoy's corporate team reached an impasse, Letter Carriers President Brian Renfroe announced. So it's off to arbitration both sides go. NALC members had voted down Renfroe's first try at a new contract. That pact's 1.3% annual raise was too small.

Postal Workers President Mark Dimondstein was caustic at greater length. He called Trump's plan to dump the USPS into the Commerce Department "part of the billionaire oligarch coup" Trump and multibillionaire Elon Musk, are carrying out government-wide, and "a hostile takeover."

"It would be an outrageous, unlawful attack on a storied national treasure, enshrined in the Constitution and created by Congress to serve every home and business equally," Dimondstein declared. Attacking the USPS would be attacking not just the union, "but the millions of Americans who rely on the critical public service our members provide every single day.



"Efforts to privatize the Postal Service, in whole or in part, or to strip it of its independence or public service mission, would be of no benefit to the American people." The 1970 law making the USPS independent freed it "from the shifting political winds, and dedicated [it] to serving the public."

Joined chorus of critics

Two top congressional Democrats on postal issues, Sen. Gary Peters, D-Mich., and Rep. Gerry Connolly, D-Va., joined the chorus of critics.

"If President Trump moves forward with this action to take over and privatize the Postal Service, not only will it be completely illegal, it will harm veterans, small business owners, rural communities, and all Americans who depend on the Postal Service for timely and reliable mail delivery," said Peters.

Trump "is clearly only interested in boosting private companies and leaving Americans without the critical lifeline the Postal Service provides."

Connolly said the USPS is "a nonpartisan, Constitutionally authorized, self-sustaining agency that serves the people. Millions of Americans rely on the Postal Service every day to deliver mail, medications, ballots, and so much more. Only the Postal Service delivers everywhere...no matter how remote.

"Now two billionaires"—Musk and Trump—"are following through on their plot, developed at" Trump's Florida estate, Mar-a-Lago, "to put tax cuts for the rich ahead of everyday Americans who rely on the Postal Service. Privatizing the Postal Service is an attack on Americans' access to critical information, benefits, and life-saving medical care. Trump and his cronies value lining their own pockets more than the lives and connection of the public."

All this overshadowed DeJoy's decision, announced earlier in the day, to step down. His excuse was that after almost five years, someone else with fresh eyes should take over the reorganization plan. Just a month before, though, DeJoy had vowed to stay on the job "until I'm carried out."

The unions waved DeJoy good-bye and demanded a better service commitment from his successor. As NALC's Renfroe said, they want a new Postmaster General "who values the workforce," and the work.

Lawmakers, including Peters, Connolly and several other caustic House critics of DeJoy, had no immediate comment on DeJoy's departure. Not so Sen. Jon Ossoff, D-Ga.

He's been demanding for more than a year that the postal board fire DeJoy. He also introduced legislation to limit future Postmasters General to five-year terms and subject to presidential nomination, Senate confirmation and subsequent accountability to Congress and the public.

Ossoff has good reason. The Postal Service's own Inspector General said USPS was failing its own delivery standards, which DeJoy had reduced. The failures are especially acute in two metro areas whose center cities, Baltimore and Detroit, are majority-minority. And in the entire state of Georgia.

There, during the holiday season a year ago, on-time delivery under DeJoy slid to an abominable 36%.

"USPS leadership failed Georgia for over a year, leading to abysmal on-time performance and hardship for families, businesses, seniors, and veterans. That's why I've led aggressive oversight to demand better performance and prevent disastrous delays across our state," the senator said.

"As the USPS board begins its search for a replacement, I urge them to find new leadership that will swiftly restore normal service that Georgia families and businesses can rely on, and I will continue holding them accountable."

Sanders speech on Trump takeover is good medicine for socialists

By W. T. Whitney Jr.

Senator Bernie Sanders [spoke](#) in the Senate on February 11, warning of the "authoritarianism" of "modern day kings," namely President Trump and Elon Musk. He highlighted violations of the U.S. Constitution and abuse of American workers.

We look at how U.S. socialists ought to react to a flood of outrages from on high. Speaking out, Sanders implies that U.S. socialists are uniquely qualified for defending both the U.S. Constitution and the working class.

He vigorously defended the workers' cause, warning that people "will remember whether we stood with President Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg who in 1863 ... stated ... 'that a government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish' ... Or do we allow this country to move to a government of the billionaires, by the billionaires and for the billionaires?"

"Meanwhile, while the very rich become much richer, 60% of Americans live paycheck to paycheck, 85 million are uninsured or under-insured, 25% of seniors are trying to survive on \$15,000 or less, 800,000 are homeless and we have the highest rate of childhood poverty of almost any major country on earth."

And the essence: "As modern-day kings, who believe they have the absolute right to rule, they will sacrifice, without hesitation, the well-being of working people to protect their privilege. ...Bottom line: The oligarchs, with their enormous resources, are waging a war on the working class of this country, and it is a war they are intent on winning."

That Sanders with his remarks bore down on protecting working people was consistent with his [advocacy](#) for democratic socialism. He also vigorously defended the U.S. Constitution.

"President Trump," he pointed out, "attempted to suspend all federal grants and loans – an outrageous and clearly unconstitutional act. As I hope every 6th grader in America knows, under the Constitution and our form of government the president can recommend legislation, he can support legislation, he can veto legislation, but he does not have the power to unilaterally terminate funding passed by Congress."

Elon Musk, according to Sanders, is "attempting to dismantle major agencies of the federal government which are designed to protect the needs of working families and the disadvantaged. These agencies were created by the U.S. Congress and it is Congress' responsibility to maintain them, reform them or end them. It is not Mr. Musk's responsibility. What Mr. Musk is doing is patently illegal and unconstitutional – and must be stopped."

Additionally, Musk "proposed that 'the worst 1% of appointed judges be fired every year,' and demanded the impeachment of judges that have blocked him from accessing sensitive Treasury Department files ... Mr. Musk, you don't impeach judges who rule against you. You may or may not know this, but under the U.S. Constitution, we have a separation of powers, brilliantly crafted by the founding fathers of this country in the 1770s."

Sanders laments that the oligarchy in charge disregards formative principles and constitutionally imposed checks and balances. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, products of the American Revolution, provided the principles and restraints. In this sense the Trump government is pursuing counterrevolution.

Not all socialists realize that the new autocrats are fighting a battle that began long ago and whose outcome is still contested. A victorious political revolution, we suggest, is no short-term happening, but actually represents a process, usually a prolonged one.

The values and ideals reflected in the Declaration of Independence had taken shape over the course of decades, even centuries, while the Constitution, as approved, was far from complete. The concept of a long, multi-faceted process of change is essential.

As feudalism waned, new horizons — geographical, intellectual, and aspirational — were in sight. Onerous demands of a land-based aristocracy, subservience to the Church in Rome, and obstacles to social and economic advancement weighed heavily. Kingly rule and feudal remnants were out of sync.

The rising bourgeoisie were restless. New knowledge, the dynamism of growing cities, entrepreneurial possibilities, new religious currents, and free expression of ideas had their appeal. The new class latched on to burgeoning technologies, possibilities for political participation, and new legal resources and financing modalities. Societal institutions were in flux.

The so-called American Revolution ran its course and brought change. A people's army won the war; the king and his ministers were out. The people's representatives governed. The Constitution outlined how government would work, who would participate, what they would do, how they would be selected, and how to avoid autocratic rule.

Revolutionary change continued. Capitalism emerged. Factories spread, production and commerce expanded, and wealth accumulated.

The unleashing of productive forces fostered exploitation of factory workers, plundering of overseas resources, and enslavement of workers in the cotton economy. Revolutionary socialism arrived, assertive in thought and action.

With his speech, Bernie Sanders was addressing still unsettled issues tending to disturb this long process of change and revolution. He discussed social and economic rights not yet guaranteed to working people, and due now. Equally, he expressed support for political freedoms and constitutional provisions, each the product of that early phase of revolution.

U.S. socialists following Sanders' lead would regard constitutional violations and war on the working class with equal seriousness. Helping them along would be greater appreciation of unfulfilled revolutionary purposes, also of the long duration of struggle. Unbalanced focus on class war may be distracting or interfere with perspective.

U.S. socialists owe much to their revolutionary ancestors, whose concepts of political rights and equality still inspire. Socialists defending working-class victims rely on notions of equality and guarantees of rights conveyed by the founding documents. They themselves, when facing political repression, look to constitutional protections.

Sanders finished with an observation on tactics: “[T]his is what I do know: The worst fear that the ruling class in this country has is that Americans ... come together to demand a government that represents all of us, not just the wealthy few. Their oligarch’s nightmare is that we will not allow ourselves to be divided up by race, religion, sexual orientation or country of origin and will, together, have the courage to take them on.”

His plea for unity is a reminder that the idea of socialists attending to both constitutional crisis and working-class needs is incomplete. A future agenda item might center on what to do about wishful thinking. The remedy may lie in rigorous attention to the reality, as per the historical record, that goals and purposes may be undermined by opportunism and inappropriate compromise.

GOP-run Budget Committee slashes Medicare and Social Security

By Mark Gruenberg

WASHINGTON—House Budget Committee Democrats went 0-for-32 in trying to halt the Republican majority’s budget blueprint steamroller, which includes cuts in Medicare, Social Security and education—all to pay for their top addition: A further tax cut for corporations and the rich.

“This plan prioritizes a \$4.5 trillion giveaway for billionaire donors over the needs of hardworking Americans, stealing taxpayer dollars away from the middle class to benefit the ultra-wealthy,” said the top committee Democrat, Rep. Brendan Boyle of Philadelphia.

All the House Democrats are expected to oppose the GOP blueprint. But one—Rep. Henry Cuellar, D-Texas—defected as recently as the day of the budget panel’s vote. Cuellar was the lone Democrat to support a GOP-passed measure to let lawmakers run roughshod by repealing all federal rules, including those to cut prescription drug costs and cap credit card fees, in one giant omnibus bill.

“The resolution calls for at least \$1.5 trillion in spending reductions and \$4.5 trillion in tax cuts,” the Consumers League said. It “would eliminate core manufacturing and clean energy policies established in the Inflation Reduction Act and severely weaken Medicaid, which provides health insurance for nearly 72 million Americans.

“Social Security is a solemn promise between the American people and the government. We pay for Social Security’s guaranteed benefits with every paycheck and expect them to be there when we retire, lose a spouse or parent, or become disabled.

“No one voted to phase-out Social Security or let Wall Street gamble with their earned benefits. Older Americans will rightly punish any politician who tries to cut their benefits or gut the system that has worked for generations.”

The Republican budget blueprint “will slash funding for Medicaid, food assistance and other vital services to fund tax breaks for the wealthy,” SEIU said. “It’s a cruel reminder of where our country is under this new administration.

“So much for America first,” Sally Greenberg, NCL’s CEO, said sarcastically. “The House Republican budget resolution puts everyday Americans last and corporate interests first. No matter where you live—in a red state or blue state—this budget will hurt consumers. The proposed draconian cuts to Medicaid could deprive millions of hardworking Americans of access to affordable, quality healthcare.

“Eliminating vital manufacturing and clean energy policies will harm our nation’s competitiveness, workforce, environment, and health. All of this for the sake of tax breaks for ultra-wealthy corporations that merely pocket the taxes and ship jobs overseas anyway. This is bad for consumers and bad for America.”

“Working people of every background, occupation and political affiliation have been urging our leaders to stand up for them and 80 million children, pregnant moms, veterans, and grandparents at risk of having their Medicaid ripped away. Instead of listening, Republicans are putting billionaire desires ahead of the needs of their constituents.

“Make no mistake: Radical changes to Medicaid will hurt us all. Cutting Medicaid will shrink funding for other vital services and infrastructure families depend on, from child care to Meals On Wheels, while putting increased pressure on service providers by decreasing resources that are already insufficient. These extreme proposals do nothing to lower the cost of groceries, utility bills, prescriptions, housing or anything else to help working people.

The Republicans certainly didn’t. Among the Democratic amendments they rejected in the House Budget Committee, all on party-line votes were:

- Two amendments to reject the cuts in Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security—among others—and junk the GOP tax cut plan. The GOP also bounced a separate ban on cutting only Medicaid to pay for the tax cuts.
- An amendment by Rep. Pramila Jayapal, D-Wash., to force the wealthiest Americans—Musk included—to pay their fair share of federal taxes. Rep. Ilhan Omar, DFL-Minn., wanted to force corporations to pay their fair share of taxes, too. She lost.
- A try by Rep. Veronica Escobar, D-Texas, to undo the budget plan’s decision to junk Biden-era rollbacks of prescription drug prices.
- Becca Balint, D-Vt., tried to fence off the Affordable Care Act from GOP cuts. She lost. The budget blueprint calls for slashing a program that helps people find affordable care by 90%, from \$100 million to \$10 million.
- Several lawmakers tried to protect Medicare and Social Security from GOP cuts. All lost.

Rep. Marcy Kaptur, D-Ohio, the most-senior female House member tried to “safeguard sensitive taxpayer information and private data from unlawful access by unauthorized people.” In other words, Elon Musk. She lost, too.

Trump-Musk administration halts Agent Orange clean-up and UXO clearing in Vietnam

By Amiad Horowitz

HANOI—Quang Tri Province in central Vietnam is urgently appealing to the United States Embassy to restore funding for Unexploded Ordnance (UXO) and Agent Orange cleanup projects. These critical initiatives have been significantly impacted by funding cuts implemented by the Trump-Musk administration.

Since taking office, the Trump-Musk regime has drastically reduced foreign aid projects, with the exception of those that support Israel's wars in the Middle East. This blanket reduction in aid included the cessation of U.S. support for vital projects aimed at addressing the devastating and lasting effects of the Vietnam War, specifically UXO clearance and Agent Orange environmental clean-up.

During the Vietnam War, from 1965 to 1973, the U.S. military conducted one of the most extensive aerial bombardment campaigns in history, dropping approximately 7.5 million tons of bombs on Vietnam. This staggering total amounts to three times the tonnage used in World War II. The munitions dropped included a wide array of deadly weapons such as conventional bombs, aerial mines, cluster bombs, white phosphorus, and napalm. Approximately 30% of these bombs failed to detonate, leaving large swathes of land contaminated with unexploded ordnance.

As of 2025, it is estimated that 20% of Vietnam's land is still contaminated by UXO. These remnants continue to pose a severe threat to local communities, hindering development and endangering lives. Since 1975, approximately 100,000 Vietnamese have been killed or injured by UXO, with 40% of these victims being children who often encounter these deadly munitions while playing outdoors or assisting their families in farming activities.

The recent freeze in foreign aid funding has forced thousands of specially trained workers—both Vietnamese and foreign—to abandon this critical work due to a lack of resources. The funding cuts have jeopardized years of progress, leaving contaminated areas unaddressed and communities vulnerable to further casualties.

The United States cannot ignore its legal, historical, and ethical responsibilities to address the consequences of its actions in Vietnam. The Vietnam War was an unprovoked conflict, and its aftermath remains a lasting tragedy.

Hermanos, no nos equivoquemos: El enemigo es el mismo a los pueblos de nuestra Indoamérica

By Claudia Sheinbaum

¿Por qué el imperialismo quiere vernos divididos?

Porque sabe que juntos somos invencibles. Estados Unidos, potencia que se viste de democracia mientras exporta golpes de Estado, ha clavado sus garras en nuestra tierra con una estrategia clara: dividir para saquear.

- En Chile, financió el golpe contra Allende para imponer a Pinochet y regalar el cobre a sus corporaciones.
- En Nicaragua, armó a los Contras para ahogar en sangre la Revolución Sandinista.
- En Venezuela, desató una guerra económica y sanciones criminales para robar el petróleo y doblegar a un pueblo que se atrevió a mirar al futuro con soberanía.
- En Brasil, utilizó la Lawfare para encarcelar a Lula y frenar el ascenso de los pobres.
- En Bolivia, apoyó un golpe contra Evo Morales para entregar el litio a sus transnacionales.
- En Cuba, mantiene un bloqueo genocida por seis décadas, castigando a un pueblo que eligió ser dueño de su destino.

Desde las tierras ardientes del Río Bravo hasta las aguas embravecidas de la Tierra del Fuego, somos un solo pueblo, una sola alma tejida con los hilos de la resistencia, la dignidad y los sueños compartidos.

Cada herida abierta en un país es un ataque a todos.

El imperialismo no teme a gobiernos aislados: teme a los pueblos unidos. Nos han impuesto tratados que privatizan el agua, la salud y la educación; han militarizado nuestros territorios para controlar recursos; han manipulado medios de comunicación para sembrar el miedo y el individualismo.

Pero su arma más letal es hacernos creer que somos enemigos, que la pobreza de uno es culpa del otro, y no del sistema que nos desangra.

Es entender que la independencia de Haití, lograda con sangre en 1804, es tan nuestra como la victoria de Ayacucho.

Es saber que cuando Paraguay fue masacrado en la Guerra de la Triple Alianza, no perdieron solo los paraguayos: perdimos todos.

Unidos no somos víctimas: somos titanes.

Hermanos, no nos equivoquemos: el enemigo es el mismo.

Mientras Wall Street especula, nuestros pueblos hambreadan. Mientras Hollywood nos vende falsos ídolos, entierran nuestras identidades.

Pero tenemos algo que ellos jamás tendrán: la certeza de que la historia la escriben los pueblos.

Hoy, cuando el neoliberalismo recicla su rostro con falsas promesas, cuando la Cuarta Flota estadounidense vigila el Caribe y las bases militares se multiplican en Colombia y Brasil, es hora de gritar con una sola voz:

¡Basta de injerencia! ¡Basta de saqueo!

Somos la generación que puede hacer realidad el sueño de San Martín y Manuelita Sáenz.

No esperemos a que nos rescaten: seamos nosotros la trinchera, el poema, la semilla.

¡Que viva América Latina unida! ¡Hasta la victoria siempre!

Porque en nuestra unión está la fuerza, y en nuestra lucha, la libertad.

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