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School funds are being slashed while the brass get their biggest budget boost in 20 years.

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## AFL-CIO & Venezuela

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## In name of 'security'

# Israel sets up apartheid zones

By Sara Flounders  
Occupied Palestine

*From May 17 to 24, a delegation from International ANSWER visited Gaza, Bethlehem, East Jerusalem, Ramallah and Jenin in occupied Palestine. This report by delegation member Sara Flounders of the International Action Center focuses on the lockdown of Palestinian communities.*

At every checkpoint and roadblock you can feel the rage and frustration. The Israeli military lockdown controls every aspect of life in occupied Palestine.

To travel a 10-mile stretch of road between East Jerusalem and Ramallah involves long waits, numerous ID checks, changing cabs and vans up to three times, taking back roads and no roads, then walking for a mile past Israeli army tanks and heavily fortified gun emplacements.

This is daily life for tens of thousands of Palestinians.

In Gaza on the only road running from north to south, the line of stalled traffic stretches over a mile. For more than seven hours the hot sun has beat down on thousands of angry drivers and their passengers. While young chil-

dren run up and down the gridlock of cars, trucks, buses and vans, many older people try to find some shade. The waiting is all the more

painful because no one knows when he or she will be allowed to pass—or, if they pass, whether they will be able to return. For hundreds of feet on both sides of the road we see gashed, barren fields. Homes and groves of orange and olive trees have been bulldozed for "security."

### Apartheid roads

An 8-foot wall of cement barricades stretches into the distance, dividing the highway into an Israeli settler road on one side and a Palestinian road on the other.

On the Israeli side of the wall, the cars and trucks of settlers with yellow Israeli license plates zip past. Israeli tanks move back and forth into position.

On the Palestinian side of the wall, all traffic is choked off at the checkpoint for most of each day.

After hours of waiting, the road may open for a couple of hours. There is no schedule, no way of knowing when

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## Why Israel can't achieve its goal

by Richard Becker

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WW PHOTO: SARA FLOUNDERS

Hours-long traffic jams like this at Israeli checkpoints are a fact of everyday life in occupied Palestine.

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## Reparations & Black Liberation

By Monica Moorehead

Lawsuits have been filed in New York and New Jersey targeting corporations that profited from the slave trade. One, a class action lawsuit filed in Brooklyn, N.Y., names three companies: Fleet Boston Financial, Aetna and CSX.

Fleet Boston grew out of a bank established by a merchant whose ships transported African slaves.

Aetna is an insurance company that encouraged slave owners to insure human property—not to protect their slaves, but to protect their investment in case of the slaves' deaths.

CSX emerged from another company that used slave labor to build railroad lines.

The lawsuit estimates that the wealth in the United States created by the unpaid wages of slave labor is today worth \$1.5 trillion.

Deadria Farmer-Paellman is the lead plaintiff and initiator of this suit. At a recent press conference, she stated, "My grandfather always talked about the 40 acres and a mule we were never given. These companies benefited from working, stealing and breeding our ancestors, and

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# WWP summer classes on socialism

By Greg Butterfield and Deirdre Griswold

This summer, Workers World Party in New York will be sponsoring classes on socialism. Is socialism just a utopian idea? Is it realistic to fight for socialism in the world's most powerful capitalist country?

To answer these questions, it helps to know some history.

The movement for socialism goes back to the early days of industrial capitalism in Europe, when fierce class struggles began to break out because of the glaring contradiction between the tremendous productive potential unleashed by capitalism and the growing misery of the working class.

It became clear to millions that while the new science and technology held the promise of eradicating the age-old scourges of poverty, disease, hunger and ignorance, their control by a small privileged class subverted that goal.

The socialist movement grew into a powerful force in Europe in the 19th century, and was able to win some improvements for the workers. But it underwent a transformation as capital began scouring the earth in search of super profits. The new imperialist stage of the system exported the worst features of capitalism to the oppressed colonial world. At the same time, the Western ruling classes did all they could to tame the workers' movement at home while cultivating racism and national chauvinism in the population.

Of all the socialist parties in Europe, the one that most successfully resisted this was in Russia. It refused to go along with the imperialist war of 1914-18, and used the war crisis to organize for a workers' and peasants' revolution.

With the Russian Revolution in 1917, the center of the world movement for socialism began shifting from the industrialized West to the op-

pressed nations of the East. Russia was a bridge between the two. It had a revolutionary industrial working class in several large cities, but most of the people, scattered over a vast territory, were peasants living in pre-capitalist conditions. With no help from workers' revolutions in the West, the new Soviet Union barely survived civil war and imperialist encirclement.

The years since have seen both triumphs and defeats for socialism in many parts of the world. It is very difficult to build a new, higher system of human relations on a low-tech material foundation, but it is exactly those conditions, accompanied by foreign imperialist oppression, that generated the great revolutionary movements of the 20th century.

At the same time, the contradictions of capitalism have become even more acute on a world scale, and continue to generate not just class struggle but movements seeking total social transformation.

Imperialist wars, the degradation of the environment, racism and national oppression, sexism, the oppression of lesbian, gay, bi and transgender people—all these problems added on to the exploitation of the workers are generating social movements looking for answers that can't be found in capitalism.

So people want to know, would socialism in the U.S. be like Cuba, or China, or the Soviet Union? Or would it be different?

Would it be limited to economic changes, or would it address the causes of special oppressions?

If the means of production—the factories, mines, stores, hospitals, etc.—are socially instead of privately owned, how would the workers participate in planning their use so as to best solve the needs of the people?

What is the role of a revolutionary party in this process, or is one even necessary?

These are the kinds of questions that

will be addressed in the WWP classes.

## Defend the socialist countries

With all their difficulties, the socialist revolutions to date have clarified many things. Take Cuba, for example. It has shown that, even with a formidable enemy just 90 miles from its shores, the socialist revolution has made possible great achievements for the people in health, education and the direct participation of the workers in solving large and small problems.

Its National Assembly is an example of people's power, where all the important questions are discussed and acted upon. Its members are chosen in competitive elections in the neighborhoods and workplaces. This is a totally different process than the high-priced elections in the U.S. that guarantee victory for candidates anointed by the wealthy.

When Cuba faced hard times during the 1990s because of the loss of the USSR as a trading partner and the tightening of the U.S. blockade, assemblies of workers were held throughout the island to discuss and decide on emergency economic measures.

Can anyone imagine George W. Bush or Bill Clinton calling for such assemblies?

What should progressives here be doing to support the socialist gains in countries like Cuba, Vietnam and north Korea, which have suffered so much at the hands of imperialism?

Ultimately, the hope for socialism everywhere is linked to the struggle in the big capitalist powers that dominate the globe—especially the United States. A socialist revolution here will face many challenges, but by mobilizing the greatest popular participation it will have at hand all the necessary resources to quickly meet the people's needs.

If you would like to learn more about WWP's summer classes, call (212) 255-0352 or email [ww@workers.org](mailto:ww@workers.org).

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### NEW YORK

#### Fri., June 7

Workers World Party Forum: A socialist analysis of the U.S. war drive. Hear Fred Goldstein. 7 p.m. At 55 W. 17 St., 5th Fl., Manhattan. For info (212) 627-2994.

### HIGHLAND, N.Y.

#### Sun., June 2

"What is Bush up to in Latin America?" Hear WW editor

Deirdre Griswold on the White House plan to deepen its military involvement in Latin America. Sponsored by the New Paltz-based Caribbean and Latin America Support Project. Admission free. Potluck dinner at 6 p.m. Meeting begins at 7 p.m. At Boughton Place meeting hall, 150 Kisor Rd. For info and directions (845) 691-8289.

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Spend a weekend learning, exchanging views and information, and networking with others who are fighting for socialism and liberation. If you're looking for analysis and a guide to action on how to turn back the militarist, racist tide coming from Washington and Wall Street, this is the place to be.

There will be plenary sessions, workshops, and many opportunities to share experiences with Marxist thinkers and fighters of all ages. Catch the spirit of a party that has been on the cutting edge of the struggle against capitalism since 1959. For more information and how to register, call, email or write us.

JOIN US. Workers World Party (WWP) fights on all issues that face the working class and oppressed peoples—Black and white, Latino, Asian, Arab and Native peoples, women and men, young and old, lesbian, gay, bi, straight, trans, disabled, working, unemployed and students.

If you would like to know more about WWP, or to join us in these struggles, contact the branch nearest you.

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## With social programs on chopping block

# Bush feeds billions to Pentagon hogs

By Greg Butterfield

The Bush administration's plan to increase spending on military adventures and repressive measures at home will mean more hunger, homelessness and suffering for workers and poor people here.

Under Bush's plan, the Pentagon stands to see the biggest increase in its budget in 20 years—up 14 percent in fiscal year 2003, to \$379 billion.

On May 10 the House of Representatives approved an even bigger military budget—\$383 billion—pending Senate approval.

Annual U.S. military spending is already more than that of the next closest 15 countries combined.

But even that's not the whole story. The budget for "homeland security" will dou-

ble, to \$38 billion next year. And then there are the FBI, the CIA, secret intelligence slush funds and interest payments to the banks for the cost of past wars.

It all amounts to a giant giveaway to military contractors like Lockheed Martin, Boeing and Raytheon. A third of the proposed 2003 Pentagon budget—\$123 billion—is slated for research, development and procurement of new weapons.

Neither Democrats nor Republicans voiced any opposition to this outrageous corporate welfare for the military-industrial complex. In fact, they are practically tripping over one another to pledge their fealty to the generals.

Meanwhile, mass layoffs continue. Unemployment was at its highest level in nine years in April. Yet Bush's budget plan calls

for axing 20 job-training programs.

Homelessness has grown 13 percent in the past year. In cities like Boston, homeless shelters are overflowing—squeezing in people at a rate 60 percent above their maximum bed space, according to the May 1 Boston Globe.

But Bush wants to cut more than \$400 million from public housing.

Bush also wants to increase, from 50 percent to 70 percent, the portion of single parents receiving welfare who must work for their benefits. He wants to take away education and job-training options.

But he doesn't want to provide additional money for childcare or transportation costs. The welfare budget is frozen.

On May 16, House Republicans approved a \$2-billion package for increased child-care spending. The money is not enough to cover the child-care needs of welfare recipients just in California, much less all 50 states. (Los Angeles Times, May 17)

After-school programs won't be able to

pick up any slack, either, since Bush wants their funding frozen. (San Francisco Chronicle, Feb. 5) Meanwhile, of course, the rich are wallowing in their tax cuts.

Hit by falling tax revenues and federal budget cuts, cities and states across the country have taken the lead of the federal government. Job programs, job training, public housing, food, education—all the things millions of people desperately need—are on the chopping block.

With all the money being lavished on the Pentagon, you'd think the government must be rolling in dough. But it's not. In late April the Congressional Budget Office nearly doubled its estimate of this year's budget deficit from \$46 billion to \$80 billion. Some experts think it could reach \$100 billion. (Washington Post, April 26)

The new deficit estimate is nearly equal to the \$77-billion, pro-business "economic stimulus" package proposed by Bush—more slop for the corporate hogs.

## STUDENT POWER

One day while surfing the Web at my high school I decided that I wanted to read the latest edition of Workers World online, as it would be a few days until I could get to the International Action Center to pick up a copy. I hopped on a computer at one of the school's many computer labs, opened up my web browser and directed it to the Workers World Web site at workers.org.

I found that since September 2001 (when I regularly read the Web site online, instead of by email) and now, someone had blocked the Workers World Web site on all the computers at our school. All that came up on my computer screen was a sign saying "Bess can't go here." (Bess is a friendly dog that prevents students from visiting sites our school deems "unsuitable.") Curious, I ran the URL checking program that comes along with the blocking software, to tell me why the Workers World Web site was blocked. The reason given was that it was classified as "pornography."

I was incensed. Immediately I went straight to my assistant principal's office and began to foam at the mouth; rattling off, I began, "Just because it doesn't agree with the school's current political views doesn't mean that you have the right to block it!" I continued to dust off my soapbox and to use everything I had on the First Amendment, much to the dismay of the poorly prepared school administrator.

The assistant principal removed his glasses and asked me, "Well, does it display pornography?" at which point I shouted, "Of course not!" He clearly had no idea what was going on, or the ramifications that this situation could have had.

Trying to placate me, the assistant principal told me that he would speak with Arthur Jonas, the school principal, regarding the issue and that I would be "called down." Which has become a code word in our school for "forgotten."

Arriving at school the next day, I planned to be called down immediately, so this matter could be resolved in an expedient manner. However, no such call was made. It was at this point that I proceeded to go back to my assistant principal's office on my own, where I was informed that the "principal agreed with me" and that they just had to meet with their computer technician.

However, Friday came, and then the weekend, and there was still no change in the Workers World Web site status. I decided to take a little more action. Going to the blocked Workers World Web site at one of the computer labs, I requested a "review" of the Web site. I checked the "unblock" button and in the comments field on the "review site" I posted a note informing the powers that be that if they didn't unblock the Workers World Web site, I would bring them to court and sue them for all they're worth.

Magically, the Web site was unblocked by school operating hours the next day, without another word said by either an administrator or other school official.

However, what is important about this story, as well as scary, is that it clearly proves that capitalism needs censorship to survive; and that it is our public (and possibly private) schools that purvey this, by censoring what the students can read and even think as well as knowingly, and blatantly, violating the Constitution in the hopes that they can bully students into acquiescing, and let capitalism survive for another day. It is an odd time, perhaps even scary, when schools block out logic, and only allow the unintelligible system of capitalism to be taught.

— Matthew L. Schwartz (action.mail@zeusnyc.com)  
Plainview, N.Y.

## In city that grew on military contracts

# \$385M cut from L.A. schools budget

By Adrian Garcia  
Los Angeles

"Imagine the day schools receive all the money they need while the military resorts to bake sales for its funding." This thought-provoking message was prominently displayed on car bumpers on the streets of Los Angeles a decade ago. Ten years later, we continue imagining.

The Los Angeles United School District (LAUSD) board approved \$384.6 million in budget reductions on April 30. These reductions will have especially detrimental consequences for students of color in inner-city schools.

In a "coincidental" move, on May 10 the House of Representatives approved the greatest increase in military spending in decades. The \$383 billion—yes, billion—measure was sent to the Senate for final approval. It's almost exactly 1,000 times larger than the school budget cuts.

Included in the House's generous offer is money for a new mobile artillery cannon that the Pentagon has explicitly stated it is not interested in developing. The price for the development of this self-loading Crusader is \$475 million.

Imagine schools receiving money that administrators didn't ask for?

"It's a whole plot. The budget cuts didn't start with the district. It's the ruling class's attempt to maintain its oppressive rule over minorities and those less capable of defending themselves," commented Juan Fernandez, an LAUSD fifth-grade teacher, when asked about the school board's decision to cut the budget.

"The budget cuts will force schools to eliminate enrichment programs for students and badly needed supplies, like books," added another LAUSD teacher who chose to remain anonymous.

The budget cuts approved by the Los Angeles school board have serious implications for students and teachers alike. A \$48.3-million cut will force an increase in class size up to two students in grades 4 through 12. Never mind that

classrooms throughout inner-city schools are already overcrowded.

Another \$19.2 million in cuts will require special education classrooms and programs to also increase in class size. Never mind that special education classrooms and programs have been suffering from financial neglect for years.

A \$17-million cut will eliminate per-pupil surplus funds. Never mind that students in East Los Angeles are already required to share textbooks that are in tattered conditions and that their schools are in grave disrepair.

The most menacing attack directed at teachers is a \$52-million cut of money needed to cover health and welfare benefits increases. Prior to the proposed budget cuts, teachers were informed that they should not expect an increase in salary for the next five years.

The budget cuts proposed by the district will also affect the number of teacher's aides, nurses and counselors allocated to schools—this despite claims by Stephanie Brady, LAUSD board member, that the board did not approve any layoffs.

Despite the budget cuts, Superintendent Roy Romer has announced his goals for Los Angeles schools: improving reading, math and professional development opportunities for teachers, as well as building and expanding schools. As always, students and teachers are expected to perform without the necessary funding.

As a result, teachers are leaving the profession. Schools are in dire need of new teachers. A school union representative commented that this is exactly what the school district desires and is promoting. "The school district is purposely trying to hire a lot of new teachers for the purpose of exploiting them," stated a United Teachers Los Angeles representative.

It is essential that members of the working class join teachers and parents in a united struggle against these reactionary policies—policies that endanger the livelihood of children in the richest state in the U.S.

## Stephen Jay Gould

# Scientist who battled racist ideology

By Bill Massey

Those who struggle for a world free from racism, sexism, and bigotry suffered a loss with the death on May 20 of noted paleontologist and author Stephen Jay Gould.

The grandson of Jewish immigrants, Gould attended public school in New York before going to Antioch College in Ohio, where he received a degree in geology in 1963. He was the first member of his family to go beyond high school. His mother, Eleanor, was an artist, and his father, Leonard, a court stenographer. Leonard was also a Marxist, according to his son. In 1967 Gould received a doctorate in paleontology

His works became intellectual bullets to fight off the ruling class weapons of racism and sexism

and collections of essays will live on and provide future generations with an education. Works such as "Ever Since Darwin" and "The Panda's Thumb" were college for many, like this reporter, who never got to a campus.

Most impressive was Gould's "The Mismeasure of Man," which ripped apart the pseudo sciences that try to say that poor people are poor because they are inferior, not because they live in an oppressive society. He took aim at the charlatans throughout history who have used biased I.Q. testing, the shape of your skull, the bumps on your head and the weight of your brain to justify institutional racism against Native Americans and African Americans and the gross inequality suffered by women.

Gould showed how these "theories" were used to whitewash genocide and slavery.

He also helped destroy the arguments in the richly bankrolled book, "The Bell Curve," written by crackpots Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein. Their intent was to prove that Black people and work-

ing people in general are genetically inferior and that programs to educate or improve conditions of life are a waste of funds. This book came out right when both Republican and Democratic administrations were cutting all social programs in order to finance the military-industrial complex and the prison-industrial complex.

Gould also campaigned against the right-wing attempt to get public schools to teach Christian fundamentalism as "creation science" on an equal footing with evolutionary biology. He proved with overwhelming facts and logic that there was no basis to treat it as a science.

Stephen Jay Gould grew up and went to school at a time when the Soviet Union had pushed back the Nazi war machine, the Chinese and Cuban revolutions were new, the colonial masses were struggling for their freedom, and in this country there was a mass civil rights movement and a huge struggle against the U.S. war in Vietnam. It was the time of emergence of both the women's liberation struggle and the lesbian and gay struggle.

His ideas grew out of the struggles waged worldwide by the masses seeking their liberation and he put those ideas at the service of those in struggle. His works became intellectual bullets to fight off the ruling class weapons of racism and sexism and anti-working class propaganda.

Others from the scientific community continue the struggle. Among them are Richard Lewontin, who has written several books well worth reading, such as "The Dialectical Biologist," co-authored by Richard Levins and dedicated to Frederick Engels.

Lewontin, who also teaches at Harvard and was an endorser of the April 20 ANSWER demonstration, has co-authored with Steven Rose and Lon J. Kamin "Not in Our Genes—Biology, Ideology and Human Nature." Other books of note are Hilary Rose's "Love, Power and Knowledge" and Steven Rose's "Lifelines—Biology Beyond Determinism."

Finally there are the writings of Anne Fausto-Sterling, an outspoken advocate of reform in the treatment of intersexuality. She wrote the pioneering essay, "The Five Sexes," as well as "Myths of Gender, Biological Theories about Women and Men" and "Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality." This last book takes note of the groundbreaking work in this field by Leslie Feinberg.



WW PHOTO: BEV HIESTAND

Julius Dykes interviews community members at rally to keep neighborhood clinic open.

## BUFFALO, N.Y.

# 'Don't shut down our clinic'

By Bev Hiestand and Julius Dykes  
Buffalo, N.Y.

A May 21 rally to save a local health clinic in a poor community drew those who cared most about the facility. The crowd that assembled to demand that the Kaleida Health Corp. keep the clinic open reflected the diversity of those who depend on it: African American, Asian, Latino and white families. Ages ranged from babies in strollers to grandmothers. Members of Nurses United from Local 1168 of CWA also turned out to offer their support.

They all articulated one message: "Keep the Upper West Side Family Health Center open in our community."

Kaleida is the largest health care corporation in Western New York. Since it consolidated previously independent hospitals and health care services, Kaleida has attempted to reduce its costs through downsizing, layoffs and proposing closing of "nonprofitable" facilities.

Most recently, a successful campaign prevented Kaleida from closing Children's Hospital here, a facility that offers the most comprehensive pediatric care in the region. A demonstration to block the closure drew 25,000 people.

Now Kaleida bosses want to close the Upper West Side Family Health Center and move its services to the Niagara Family Health Services Clinic located in another community.

Workers World spoke to protesters at

the May 21 rally about why they felt it was so urgent to save the center. Several people stressed that the facility offers culturally sensitive care and treatment that is accessible to people who have no transportation.

One woman noted, "Staff treat people like family. They know us on a first-name basis. And we all feel very comfortable with them. We do not want this taken away."

A Latina with two small children said that when she had a miscarriage in the middle of the night in her home, one of the doctors came to her house to assist her.

Another Latina explained that although she doesn't live in the neighborhood she travels to the clinic because of its exceptional care.

An elderly white woman stressed, "Some people are too sick to travel distances on buses. I am unable to climb the steps of the buses. And I have trouble breathing when I walk."

Buses here are expensive and run infrequently due to recent cutbacks. Many people have children at home who they have to bring with them because daycare is priced out of reach. And winter weather in Buffalo makes even short travel more difficult for the ill, injured and disabled.

The buzz at the rally was: "What can we do next?" and "When's the next action?" Their anger and determination were apparent. They want to fight to keep their clinic open in their neighborhood.

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#### WORKERS WORLD

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## After failed coup in Venezuela

# Unionists question AFL-CIO role

By Milt Neidenberg

A controversy has landed squarely in the laps of the AFL-CIO hierarchy in Washington, D.C., involving the labor federation's international bureau—the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS). Was ACILS connected with the counter-revolutionary forces that sought to overthrow Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez and his democratically elected government?

John J. Sweeney became AFL-CIO president in 1995 when he defeated a right-wing bureaucracy led by Lane Kirkland and Thomas R. Donahue that had been in power for over 17 years. Optimism grew as Sweeney cleaned house of the “old guard,” including in the international section, which had been a front for U.S. foreign policy and participated in the overthrow of progressive governments. The old name of that section, the International Affairs Department, was discarded to remove the stench that had arisen from its activities.

Now the Sweeney leadership is coming under scrutiny. Unionists are asking, what did they know, and what did they do, during the fateful days that led to a short-lived coup in Venezuela?

It is indisputable that the failed coup exposed the machinations of the Bush administration, which had given aid and comfort to the coup leaders before and during the 48-hour takeover. Washington praised the fascist coup in its early hours of control. It then hastily retreated when it failed, hiding behind a façade of arrogant, pseudo-democratic muttering.

The Bush administration openly hates the Chávez regime for its warm relations with Cuba and Iraq, its independent oil policy, and its opposition to the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), the centerpiece of Washington's trade strategy for this hemisphere.

Did the AFL-CIO leaders get caught up in this web of a fascist coup? On Feb. 12, a month before the coup, the AFL-CIO, in collaboration with the National Endowment for Democracy (NED)—which is well known for providing a moral-sounding cover for CIA-type activities—sponsored a closed, high-level meeting featuring Venezuelan Labor Federation (CTV) representatives. The CTV leaders had recently participated in a number of lockouts and other activities in collusion with Fedecámaras, the main organization of Venezuela's business oligarchy, and a sector of the military, to shut down the Venezuelan state oil company (PVSA). In retrospect, these activities were a dress rehearsal for the coup.

NED funded the entire event, which included meetings with several AFL-CIO leaders, according to Katherine Hoyt, coordinator of the Nicaragua Network. Hoyt was an organizer of a picket line at the AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington to protest that Feb. 12 meeting. The ANSWER coalition also participated in the picket.

### Labor group relies on gov't funding

NED is a government agency created and financially endowed by Congress during the Reagan administration in 1983. It and the Agency for International Development have been the main funders of ACILS.

NED has rich experience in subverting governments resistant to U.S. imperialism's demands—Nicaragua in 1989, for example. With an annual appropriation of \$33 million and much more from private

sources, it conspires with the U.S. government to scour the globe, from Africa to Asia to Latin America and the Caribbean, seeking allies where direct U.S. government officials might be unwelcome. Its reputation for subversion and bribery is widespread.

Much of this has become public since the fascist coup failed and Chávez was returned to power. The New York Times of April 25, embarrassed by the turn of events, carried a banner headline, “U.S. Bank-rolling Is Under Scrutiny for Ties to Chávez Ouster.” The article said that “as Mr. Chávez clashed with various business groups, labor and media groups, the endowment stepped up its assistance, quadrupling its budget for Venezuela to more than \$877,000.”

The article mentions that ACILS received \$154,377 from NED for its Venezuela project—just part of the reported \$4 million a year the NED puts into this AFL-CIO center. Predictably, the Times steered away from covering the larger role the Bush administration played. Its intent was to expose only NED and its link to the AFL-CIO.

Shaken by these revelations, the AFL-CIO decided to issue a statement: “The AFL-CIO and Worker Rights in Venezuela,” which can be found on its web page. The thrust of the statement was to strike out wildly against President Chávez.

“From the moment he took office in 1999, Hugo Chávez led an assault on freedom of association, attempting to weaken or eliminate the principal institutions of Venezuelan society including the unions.” Defending the role of the CTV, the statement goes on: “In the midst of this assault, the CTV conducted an impressive process of internal democratization with the assistance of the AFL-CIO and the Solidarity Center.”

The statement also “unequivocally condemns the coup attempt” and tries to clean up the CTV's participation. “There is no evidence that the CTV or its leaders went beyond the democratic expression of discontent,” it concluded. “The AFL-CIO will continue to support the CTV.”

There is much in the statement that is disingenuous, misleading and disturbing to many progressive unionists who have been following the Venezuelan events. It is undeniable that the CTV did participate in the coup and that NED was intimately connected with the CTV, financing its counter-revolutionary operations. The AFL-CIO statement covers this up. Nor is there a comment or an attack on the Bush administration for its open support of the coup.

### CTV close to coup leader

Even the New York Times of April 25 had admitted, “The union leader, Carlos Ortega, worked closely with Pedro Carmona Estanga.” Carmona, the head of the big business group Fedecámaras, was chosen to head the short-lived fascist government along with sections of the military. It was responsible for the 48-hour reign of terror against the working class and the progressive movement, who supported President Chávez. The workers came into the streets by the hundreds of thousands to return him to power.

Venezuelan Minister of Education Dr. Aristóbulo Istúriz, himself a former teachers' union leader and vice-president of the Constituent Assembly, gave a vivid account of the coup to an audience of progressive unionists gathered at AFSCME District Council 1707 in New York on May 10. He said that during the coup, “Carmona went to Miraflores [the presidential palace] and he brought together all the oligarchy who

were in control of the economy, but, interestingly, he left the mafia leaders who control the unions outside, basically because they looked too much like us.” It was a wry comment on how the big bourgeoisie have no respect for their own lackeys in the labor movement.

The AFL-CIO leaders have put themselves in an untenable position. Their ties to NED have put them on the wrong side of the class struggle in Latin America. The workers throughout the hemisphere have demonstrated deep hostility to U.S. intervention. They are opposed to the role of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and, most important, to the threat the FTAA poses to their lives.

Since Sept. 11, the AFL-CIO has been weakened by President George W. Bush, who has seized the moment to unleash a racist, anti-labor offensive. The leaders have succumbed to the Bush administration's decision to trigger a wider war abroad and to justify an “anti-terrorist” campaign at home.

Hundreds of billions of dollars have been shifted from people's needs to the Pentagon and “homeland defense.” Both major parties have initiated cuts in social programs, a more repressive welfare bill, and, more recently, support for FTAA by giving Bush more power to expand his globalization strategy. To add to Sweeney's woes, his base within the bureaucracy is under attack from right-wing Teamster President James Hoffa, who is collaborating with the Bush administration. Hoffa sat in Bush's box at the inauguration and has demanded more support for Republican candidates.

It's a sorry situation all around.

However, repression breeds resistance. Movements against these pro-imperialist, corporate/banking policies continue to grow. One example is the turnout of 100,000 activists on April 20 in Washington to oppose the war on the workers, the immigrants and the poor at home and its expansion abroad, particularly against the Palestinian people.

The development of technology has revolutionized the means of production but has brought immeasurable misery to the working class, so many of whom are unable to buy the necessities of life while the idle rich and their oligarchy feed insatiably off the laboring masses.

The class struggle is contagious. It is worldwide. It will continue to feed on this discontent and strengthen the development of international solidarity.

The promise of international solidarity is building from below. Due to the insatiable appetites of profit-driven Wall Street and the corporate/banking establishment, resistance will grow among the 13 million multinational members of the AFL-CIO, women and men.

Can the AFL-CIO find its way to these forces and break with the pro-war, anti-labor policies of both capitalist parties? It is best to view the current AFL-CIO position from the perspective of the global class struggle that is unfolding. On May Day, a day born in class struggle, tens of millions of workers, socialists, progressives and class-conscious activists spilled into the streets around the world to raise the many issues confronting their class. Much of it was against U.S. imperialist war aims. The events were inspiring and exemplary.

## You can help free Leonard Peltier!

By Leslie Feinberg

American Indian Movement Warrior Leonard Peltier has been in prison since 1976, convicted for the shooting deaths of two FBI agents during a U.S. government siege on the Pine Ridge Reservation the year before.

FBI higher-ups, court rulings and government officials have confessed they have no idea who shot the agents. Here are just a couple of these admissions:

**“[W]e can't prove who shot those agents.”**

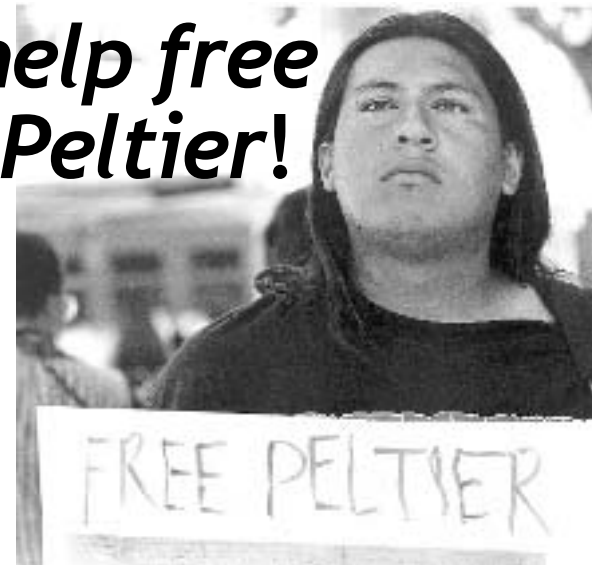
— U.S. Prosecutor Lynn Crooks  
(Eight Circuit 1985, Oral Arguments)

**“The killing of FBI agents at Pine Ridge was reprehensible, but the government now admits that it cannot prove that Mr. Peltier killed the agents.”**

— Congressman Don Edwards,  
former FBI Agent

**“There is a possibility that the jury would have acquitted Leonard Peltier had the records and data improperly withheld from the defense been available to him in order to better exploit and reinforce the inconsistencies casting strong doubts upon the government's case.”**

— Eighth Circuit Opinion, 1986



WW PHOTO: BILL HACKWELL

Millions around the world charge that the government framed Peltier. He has been officially declared a political prisoner by Amnesty International, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, National Congress of American Indians, the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Center for Human Rights, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev. Jesse Jackson and many others.

So why is Peltier still behind bars? Ask his parole board.

Peltier's next interim parole hearing is on July 1. Letters of support are urgently needed. The Leonard Peltier Defense Committee says, “Please send your letters to the LPDC so that we can track how many were submitted and compile them for presentation to the Parole Commission.”

For more information, or for a sample letter, contact the LPDC: P.O. Box 583, Lawrence, KS 66044.  
Phone: (785) 842-5774;  
fax: (785) 842-5796;  
e-mail: lpdc@freepeltier.org.

# Heroes at home, five Cubans languish in U.S. prisons

By Gloria La Riva

Nothing exposes the hypocrisy and lies of Bush's "war on terrorism" more than the case of the five Cuban political prisoners currently incarcerated in U.S. federal prisons.

These five men made a commitment to stop anti-Cuba terrorists who operate with impunity from Miami.

The five are Gerardo Hernandez, Antonio Guerrero, Ramon Labanino, Fernando Gonzalez and Rene Gonzalez. Their duty was to infiltrate Ku Klux Klan-like Miami groups and keep a careful eye on their activities. If they learned of any violence planned against Cuba, the men gave warnings to help keep their country safe.

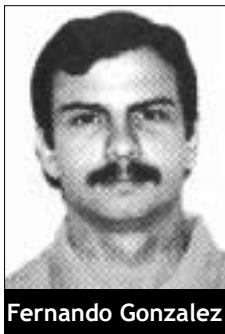
For precisely that reason, the U.S. government has condemned the five Cubans to long prison terms.

Why has the U.S. imprisoned the anti-terrorists instead of the fascists in Miami?

None of these fascist groups could exist without the backing, funding and training of U.S. agencies like the CIA. They openly boast of their murderous actions and run militia-type training camps in Florida with no fear of prosecution from the U.S.

Terrorism against Cuba was dreamed up in the White House and the Pentagon early in 1959.

No sooner was the murderous Fulgencio Batista overthrown by Fidel Castro's rebel forces on Jan. 1 than the Eisenhower administration set in motion a terror campaign that has never ceased to this day.



Fernando Gonzalez

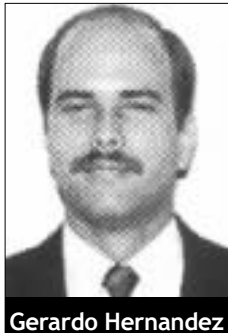
Then CIA leader Allen Dulles developed the plan: Take Batista's former police agents and other right-wing forces and mold them into a permanent battering ram against the island nation. Provide them automatic weapons and planes, train them in bombings and sabotage.

Make Cuba pay a heavy price for its independence from the United States. Supplement it with economic blockade and political harassment.

Create so much havoc and destruction that a U.S. military invasion can be justified to overthrow the new government.

Well, 43 years have passed and Cuba has not been defeated. Yet it continues to be plagued by U.S. aggression and Miami terrorism.

In a telling indictment of the FBI's real role in fostering terrorism, the five were rounded up in pre-dawn raids on their homes on Sept. 12, 1998. After a seven-month trial filled with judge and prosecutor misconduct and an anti-Cuba hysteria generated by the media, they were convicted on all 23 counts of the indictment. The charges were supposedly for espionage



Gerardo Hernandez

on the United States, but their attorneys showed they were strictly involved in surveillance of the terrorist organizations.

## New phase of struggle

Inspired by their selfless actions, the Cuban masses and government have raised their fight for freedom to an international level. Designated as "Heroes of the Republic, Prisoners of the Empire," the five are remembered in daily media coverage on the island and massive rallies every Saturday. There are posters in every neighborhood.

In the United States and around the world, defense committees have been formed to raise public awareness of their case and build support.

The National Committee to Free the Five Cuban Political Prisoners Held in the U.S. was inaugurated in an Aug. 1, 2001, meeting in San Francisco. Since then forums, protests and press conferences have been held in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, Boston, San Diego, Seattle, Miami, Hartford, and Philadelphia. Members include Pastors for Peace, International Action Center, National Lawyers Guild, Venceremos Brigade, National Network on Cuba, and many individuals.

Lawyers of the NLG, Partnership for Civil Justice, Center for Constitutional Rights and others are helping to develop the appeals arguments and prepare a "friends of the court" brief.

In a particularly malicious and illegal action by the U.S. government, Rene Gonzalez's wife, Olga Salanueva, was denied a visa to visit her husband in MacKean Federal Prison in Bradford, Penn. She and

Gonzalez are being punished because

the FBI was never able to force them to falsely testify against the other four. Their four-old-daughter, Ivett, is a U.S. citizen, having been born in the U.S. when Gonzalez and Salanueva were living in Miami.

By the government's actions, Ivett is denied the right to see her father. She was only four months old when the FBI raided their home and took Gonzalez away.

## Cuban Five are political prisoners

The five Cubans are not criminals, they are heroes. That is why the U.S. government wants them imprisoned.

Cuba has never failed to extend its solidarity to the struggles of political prisoners in the United States. When Black activist Angela Davis was facing life in prison on trumped-up charges, the solidarity she received from Cuba was instrumental in her exoneration.

In 2000, when Mumia Abu-Jamal was in renewed danger of execution by the state of Pennsylvania, the Cuban leadership made him a household name

throughout the country. Roundtable discussions, the national airing of "A Case for Reasonable Doubt" on Cuban television, and constant updates on his fight helped build critical international support for Abu-Jamal.

Now the five Cuban patriots are in a very difficult phase of their struggle. Progressives in the U.S. are being asked to respond with equal solidarity.

The National Committee can be contacted by email at [freethethefive@actionsf.org](mailto:freethethefive@actionsf.org), or by phone at (415) 821-6545 in San Francisco or (212) 633-6646 and (212) 926-5757 in New York.



Antonio Guerrero

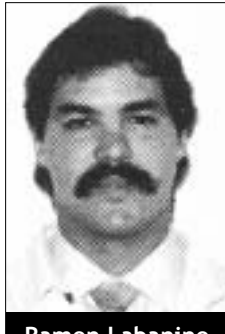


Rene Gonzalez

## Anti-Cuba terrorism made in USA

It is a well-documented fact that the U.S. government is responsible for the creation and existence of violent anti-Cuba groups like Omega 7, Alpha 66, Brothers to the Rescue and Cuban American National Foundation. These groups have a long history of sabotage, assassination and biological warfare against Cuba.

Coupled with outright U.S. military operations like the Bay of Pigs invasion, the acts of these terrorists are responsible for the deaths of hundreds of Cuban citizens.



Ramon Labanino

## Justice delayed is justice denied

# After 40 years, Birmingham bomber convicted

By Leslie Feinberg

Too little, too late and hard, hard won. An Alabama jury of nine whites and three African Americans finally found Bobby Frank Cherry guilty on May 22 of dynamiting the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church on Sept. 15, 1963. The powerful blast killed four children from the all-Black congregation: 11-year-old Denise McNair and 14-year-olds Addie Mae Collins, Cynthia Wesley and Carol Robertson. Scores of others were injured.

It took decades of protest to bring this Klan member to face a jury for this horrendous act of white supremacist terror at the height of the U.S. civil rights movement.

The eyes of the world were on this trial, and nowhere was it scrutinized more closely than within Black communities in Birmingham and around the country. Newsweek notes that, until the verdict was announced, "there was widespread speculation—especially in Birmingham's Black community—that Cherry might yet escape justice; that instead of a conviction Birmingham would find itself with a hung jury—which, many in Birmingham feared, would mean not only another painful trial, but public protests, and maybe riots." (Newsweek, June 3)

The testimony of five family members and acquaintances hammered the nails that helped seal Cherry's fate. They all avowed on the witness stand that Cherry had confessed in one form or another over the years. "Even Cherry's granddaughter, a witness you would think would want to help and support her kin, told the jury that her grandfather 'seemed rather jovial, braggish' when he told her about his role in the bombing." (CBSnews.com, May 24)

Fellow Klan members Robert Chambliss and Thomas Blanton were convicted in 1977 and 2001. Chambliss died in custody in 1985; Blanton is serving a life sentence. A prime suspect, Herman Cash, died in 1994 without being charged.

Birmingham, the industrial heart of the state, was also the heartbeat of the civil rights movement. The Sixteenth Street Baptist Church was the nerve center of this mass struggle to defeat Jim Crow segregation. Activists, especially Black youths, gathered there to chart strategies to win basic democratic rights denied to African Americans.

The year 1963 saw the newly elected governor of the state, George C. Wallace, boast at his inaugural that there would be "segregation forever." He made an unsuccessful "stand in the schoolhouse door" to bar two Black students from attending the Uni-

versity of Alabama. And he unleashed snarling attack dogs and fire hoses on Black protesters in Birmingham.

In May, thousands from the city's Black community flooded into the streets of Birmingham in response to a call for a mass march by Martin Luther King Jr. Fifteen hundred youth overflowed local jails there within three days. Black people, angered by the repression of Police Chief Eugene "Bull" Connor and his storm-trooper police, hurled rocks, bricks and bottles at the cops. The rebellion that erupted was so powerful that President John F. Kennedy had to address the country about the crisis in Birmingham.

The bomb was detonated inside the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church just days after six years of protest had won the integration of Birmingham's public schools.

African American columnist Gregory Kane recalls, "KKK members were the shock troops used in the campaign of state terrorism throughout the South designed to keep blacks subjugated and submissive. In September 1963, Blanton, Chambliss and Cherry figured that bombing the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church would strike a blow for state's rights, segregation and white supremacy in one fell swoop. All they did was bring about the demise of all three of those things much more rapidly." (sunspot.net, Maryland News, May 26)

(sunspot.net, Maryland News, May 26)

The Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, a renowned civil rights leader from Birmingham, concluded after the Cherry conviction, "The Birmingham of yesterday is no more. The Birmingham where the Klan rules is no more."

## Case not closed

The media is saying little about the role of the FBI. The evidence that convicted Cherry didn't suddenly come to light. In the trials of both Cherry and Blanton, jurors heard old FBI tapes of both men bragging about their role in the killings to an informant. Those tapes are now almost four decades old. (CNN.com)

The civil rights movement was the target of a "dirty war" waged by the FBI, with neo-fascist J. Edgar Hoover at its helm. In order to infiltrate the progressive movement, the FBI had worked hand-in-hand with racist state and local authorities throughout the South. The Klan, and other white supremacist night riders, not only worked closely with these authorities—in many cases they were one and the same.

The case cannot be closed until an independent, community-led commission is empowered to investigate the role of the FBI in the 1963 bombing and its cover-up.

## Profits from slavery run through corporate USA's veins

# Reparations and Black Liberation

Continued from page 1

they should not be able to benefit from these horrendous acts."

Political activist and attorney Roger Wareham filed this lawsuit on behalf of all African Americans. According to Wareham, the lawsuit is not about demanding monetary compensation for the descendants of African slaves in the U.S. Any money won from the lawsuit would go to a collective fund to help improve the housing, health care and education of African Americans.

Wareham, on a recent interview on the Black-oriented WABC-TV show "Like It Is," told host Gil Noble, "Our strength is that the reparations lawsuit is part of a movement. The stronger the movement, the greater the possibility of the success of the suit. The most important thing is the success of the movement. The suit is just another part of that river of struggle that we are involved in."

The December 12th Movement and the National Black United Front have called a "Millions for Reparations" national rally to take place in Washington, D.C., on Aug. 17, the 115th anniversary of Black nationalist leader Marcus Garvey's birth. The National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America is also building the demonstration.

### Gov't fears exposure of slavery's legacy

The U.S. government has a despicable history of downplaying and outright dismissing the issue of reparations. To grant compensation to millions of descendants of African slaves would expose the institutionalized racism that African Americans and other peoples of color still suffer today.

The disproportionate number of African Americans populating U.S. prisons is just one glaring example of the legacy of slavery.

Congressional Black Caucus member John Conyers from Michigan back in 1989 introduced bill HR 40, called "Commission to Study Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act." Conyers said that, "African slaves were not compensated for their labor. More unclear, however, is what the effects and remnants of this relationship have had on African Americans and

our nation from the time of emancipation through today. I chose the number of the bill, 40, as a symbol of the 40 acres and a mule that the United States initially promised freed slaves."

Conyers cited a number of objectives of the bill—including setting up a commission that "would then make recommendations to Congress on appropriate remedies to redress the harm inflicted on living African Americans."

Malcolm X also raised the question of reparations in a speech on Nov. 23, 1964, in Paris. "If you are the son of a man who had a wealthy estate and you inherit your father's estate," he said, "you have to pay off the debts that your father incurred before he died. The only reason that the present generation of white Americans are in a position of economic strength ... is because their fathers worked our fathers for over 400 years with no pay."

The reparations struggle began with the military defeat of the Confederacy at the hands of the Union Army at the end of the Civil War. The victorious Northern government promised the newly freed slaves in the South "40 acres and a mule," in effect acknowledging that brutal slave labor had not only greatly enriched the coffers of the former slave masters but also the emerging U.S. capitalist economy.

This just compensation for the freed people never came to fruition due to the counter-revolution that destroyed Reconstruction. In the Compromise of 1877, the Union Army abandoned the freed slaves, who had tried to bring about real social equality in the South by establishing their own institutions for political empowerment and elevation of their living and educational standards. For 10 years, the Union Army had played the role of a buffer between this progressive, democratic process and the former Confederate forces, who regrouped during Reconstruction.

The counter-revolution then evolved into a bloody terrorist campaign that drove the freed slaves to accept semi-slavery conditions. Under sharecropping, which still exists today, the former slaves went back to tilling the land of their former owners.



### Sharecropping perpetuated slave-like conditions.

They weren't owned outright anymore, but had to work on the plantations for slave wages.

In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court legally sanctioned segregation as "separate but equal."

### Reparations struggle has taken many forms

In his 1903 masterpiece, "The Souls of Black Folks," W.E.B. Du Bois wrote, "the problem of the 20th century is the color line." Many Black activists and writers have looked to Du Bois's words for inspiration in the continuing fight for Black liberation. Reparations became a very important focus in the Black struggle for the right to self-determination.

The Back to Africa mass movement in the 1920s and 1930s, led by the charismatic Marcus Garvey, was in its own way a demand for reparations. When the Black Panther Party created free breakfast programs and free access to clinics in the inner cities during the 1960s, this was another unique call for reparations. Affirmative action programs are also a form of reparations.



WW PHOTOS: MONICA MOOREHEAD

Brenda Stokely, president of AFSCME DC 1707, and Ossie Davis. The TV to the left of Stokely was used to show the confession of Arnold Beverly.

## Camacho Negrón released after 16 years

On May 24, after 16 years in U.S. prisons, Puerto Rican freedom fighter and prisoner of war Antonio Camacho Negrón was finally released. His release had been scheduled earlier in the week, but was delayed by the government.

The next day, surrounded by family and supporters, Camacho Negrón addressed a large crowd at a welcome home event at St. Mary's Church in Harlem. Arrested in 1986, he was sentenced to 15 years for allegedly participating in a "conspiracy and inter-state transportation of money" in a Wells Fargo robbery in Connecticut. In fact, his arrest and that of 15 others was

part of a U.S. government dragnet against the independence movement of Puerto Rico.

Camacho Negrón thanked the heroes behind the scenes for their fight to win his freedom and vowed to continue the struggle to free Puerto Rico from U.S. colonial hands. He also read a poem he wrote to his son, Esteban.



Camacho Negrón

—Imani Henry

By Osborne P. Anderson, a Black revolutionary who was there. With an essay on 'The Unfinished Revolution' by Vince Copeland & new prefaces by Mumia Abu-Jamal and Monica Moorehead. 128 pp, photographs. WORLD VIEW FORUM, 55 W. 17th St., 5th FL., N.Y., N.Y. 10011

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## Funds raised for Mumia's defense

By Monica Moorehead  
New York

Actor Ossie Davis, former New York Mayor David Dinkins, and Brenda Stokely, president of AFSCME District Council 1707, were among the speakers at a solidarity event May 23 at historic Riverside Church for African American political prisoner and journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal. The event was organized by the New York Free Mumia Coalition to help raise funds for the legal defense of Abu-Jamal, who was railroaded to Pennsylvania's death row almost 20 years ago.

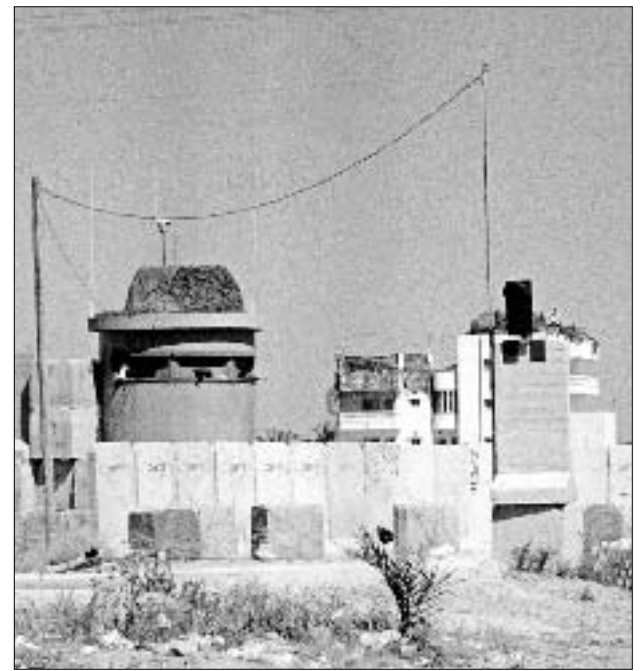
Abu-Jamal's lawyers are attempting to introduce important factual evidence in both the state and federal appellate courts to prove that the former Black Panther is

innocent of killing a white Philadelphia police officer on Dec. 9, 1981. Checks for Abu-Jamal's legal defense should be made out to "Black United Fund/Mumia Abu-Jamal account" and sent to National Black United Fund, 40 Clinton St., 5th floor, Newark, NJ 07102.

Rev. James A. Forbes also spoke on behalf of the Riverside Church and its Social Justice Ministries. The program included two representatives of International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal—Sam Jordan and Pam Africa. Jordan gave a legal update on the case and Africa read a greeting from Abu-Jamal.

Former political prisoner Safiya Bukhari and Suzanne Ross, both co-chairs of the coalition, also gave remarks. A cultural presentation was provided by Will Calhoun.

**A VOICE** from  
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IAC PHOTOS: SARA FLOUNDERS

## Report from occupied Palestine

# Apartheid roads and walled ghettos

Continued from page 1

or why or how many cars will be allowed through. Fruit sits rotting in the hot sun. Truckloads of cattle and chickens can die before they reach market. Medicines and other fragile materials are spoiled.

Because we had U.S. passports, the Palestinian truckers we talked to suggested we try approaching the cement bunker to ask how long the blockade would last. Although we weren't hopeful of receiving any information, we agreed. Our hands high in the air, holding up our passports, we slowly approached the gun barrels poking out of slits in the round cement bunker at the checkpoint. Behind them was a line of tanks.

The Israeli soldiers yelled to us that as Americans we could come to the front of the line and then travel on the Israeli side of the walled road. We declined. They didn't know or care how long the Palestinians would have to wait. They were "just following orders."

Because of the closure the ANSWER delegation was able to visit only half of the

30-mile sandy strip of land along the Mediterranean known as Gaza. The people who live there are unable to leave. Palestinians from the West Bank cannot enter Gaza.

The day after our wait at the checkpoint, Gaza was further divided into two parts. It is no longer possible for Palestinians living in Jabalya Camp or Gaza City to travel a few miles south to Rafa or Khan Younis. Only Israeli settlers and a few Palestinians with special permits can move around. Only restricted amounts of food are let in to prevent the population from stockpiling food for use during an Israeli offensive.

Social cohesion and mobilization of the entire population are used as a form of mass resistance. Based on the experience in the West Bank, where medical staff and ambulances were prevented from reaching injured people, medical care in Gaza is being reorganized and widely dispersed. Hundreds of emergency medical kits have been distributed throughout many neighborhoods.

### Walled ghettos

The roadblocks and checkpoints are part of the U.S.-supported Israeli effort to totally strangle the Palestinian Intifada, or uprising, of the past year and a half. Now even the limited autonomy of the Palestinian Authority in the cities of the West Bank and Gaza has ended. During our visit we saw that the policy of checkpoints had evolved into a total lockdown of the population into small ghettos, surrounded by barbed wire and cement walls.

Israeli tanks and troops move at will into and out of Zone A areas, that were to be administered by the PA. Apache attack helicopters swoop in to carry out missile strikes and assassinations.

The 2.1 million Palestinians who live on the West Bank have been walled off into eight ghettos, where Palestinians are totally surrounded and locked down.

The average Palestinian is no longer permitted to move anywhere outside his or her area of residence. Even traveling 10 miles for work or school is prohibited; so is an emergency visit to check on an aged parent.

Under the newest restrictions trucks throughout the West Bank will not be permitted to enter the eight zones. The entire

contents of each truck will have to be unloaded, inspected and transported to another local truck authorized to operate within the zone. This time-consuming and expensive process will add to the cost of basic food and daily necessities. This systematic strangulation of the local economy is already in place in Gaza.

No Palestinians will be permitted into Israel at all. Already tens of thousands of Palestinians who used to line up for day labor in Israel have been unemployed for over a year.

The restrictions will totally cut off East Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank. East Jerusalem, the largest concentration of Palestinians, is the political, economic, cultural and religious center of Palestinian life. The Palestinian residents of East Jerusalem hold Israeli residency papers but are not Israeli citizens. They will no longer be permitted into the West Bank.

The many hundreds of Palestinians who work for international aid agencies based in East Jerusalem, along with teachers, technicians, doctors and medical staff who work in the major hospitals and schools in East Jerusalem and live in Ramallah or Bethlehem, will be unable to get to work.

The delegation was unable to reach Nablus. The city was totally locked down following an Israeli assassination of three resistance organizers. One bystander was also killed in the attack by Apache helicopter gunships.

On May 25 Israeli forces again swept into Bethlehem, Tulkarm and Qalqilya searching houses, making arrests and tightening still further the restrictive curfews.

The Israeli offensive has not ended. The international corporate media pulled back after reporting that Sharon had released President Arafat from the siege at his compound. However, the Israeli forces in most cases pulled back only several hundred feet to the perimeter of encircled, locked-down cities.

International solidarity is more important than ever in the face of the continuing and overwhelming Israeli violence. Everywhere we traveled in the West Bank and in Gaza Palestinians had heard and seen coverage of the demonstration of over 100,000 people in solidarity

with Palestine in Washington, D.C. Even though they are surrounded on every side, the resistance continues because they know they are not isolated.

## LGBT Muslims meet in D.C.

Special to Workers World  
Washington, D.C.

Al-Fatiha held its Third International Retreat in Washington, D.C., on May 24-27. The group describes itself as an international organization dedicated to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and questioning Muslims and their allies. The event drew participants from the United States and at least five other countries.

The retreat was closed to the public and media. But public events were scheduled to allow members of other communities to learn more about the important work of Al-Fatiha and the international LGBTQ Muslim movement.

Panel discussions and a film showing on May 24 were packed with an overflow crowd. The first panel theme was "Creating an International Progressive LGBT Movement." The speakers were Surina Khan from the International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, Joo-Hyun Kang from the Audre Lorde Project, and Leslie Feinberg, a managing editor of Workers World newspaper.

Feinberg, who is lesbian and transgender, told the Muslim group, "I am a working-class, secular Jewish socialist.

So let my first words be these: I stand shoulder-to-shoulder with Arab and Muslim people in this room and around the world in the battle against the real axis of evil: the White House, Pentagon and Justice Department. And with every breath and every sinew, I fight for Palestinian liberation."

She received much applause when she added, "I do not believe that our sexuality, gender expression and bodies can be liberated without making a ferocious mobilization against imperialist war and racism an integral part of our struggle."

The second panel, "Hidden Lives: The Voices of LGBT People Living in Muslim Countries," included speakers from Egypt, Indonesia and Pakistan.

The moving work-in-progress film entitled "In the Name of Allah," by Parvez Sharma, was shown at the event. It gives voices to LGBT Muslims from around the world.

The international retreat concluded with a community discussion focusing on the relationships of LGBT Jews and Muslims.

Al-Fatiha will have a contingent in the massive New York City Pride march on June 30—the first time that an LGBTQ Muslim organization has taken part in this event.



### Eyewitness Gaza

Photos, clockwise from top left: Israeli tanks menace West Bank town; machine-guns jut out of silos at Gaza checkpoint; poster honors Aida Daoud Fatheya, a Palestinian American mother gunned down at a checkpoint.



# Why Israel can't achieve its goal

By Richard Becker

In the occupied West Bank and Gaza many aspects of Israel's latest offensive against the Palestinians are obvious: the devastating destruction to refugee camps and cities; the deliberate targeting of infrastructure and government institutions; the omnipresent "check-points" isolating all the major Palestinian population centers.

But not apparent to the eye is the most important aim of the Israeli offensive: the destruction of the Palestinian resistance, dubbed "Operation Defensive Wall." The primary objective of the ongoing operation is to destroy the organizational structures of the resistance by the killing and capturing of leaders and activists.

A number of key leaders of such organizations as Fatah-Palestine National Liberation Movement, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Hamas-Islamic Resistance Movement and Islamic Jihad have been assassinated or imprisoned in the operation.

At the same time, it is clear that the heightened repression has by no means halted the struggle. In the past week, in fact, there has been an intensification of attacks on Israeli targets.

The goal of liquidating the Palestinian Revolution is hardly a new one. Israel has sought to wipe out all resistance to its colonial seizure of Palestine for more than half a century.

Nor is it Israel alone that desires to crush the Palestinians. Both the U.S., and reactionary Arab governments like those in Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, have long viewed the Palestinian movement as a threat to their interests.

However, the militant mass demonstrations in many Arab capitals in April in solidarity with the besieged Palestinian people were the largest in many years. The April protests showed once again the organic link between the Palestinian struggle and the broader Arab national movement, and were seen as a threat to the pro-U.S. monarchs and dictators in the region.

U.S. plans for a new war against Iraq were derailed, at least temporarily, by the manifestations of mass anger in many Arab countries. Popular outrage in the region was focused not only on Israel, but also on Washington, due to the enormous U.S.

military, economic and diplomatic support of the Israeli state.

## Offensive ends Oslo 'peace process'

The new phase of the war began with the invasion of the Balata refugee camp on Feb. 27, followed by the massive Israeli army assault on Ramallah, Jenin, Nablus, Bethlehem and other cities and towns on March 29.

The Israeli offensive effectively put an end to the Oslo "peace process." Under Oslo, eight West Bank cities—Jericho, Hebron, Bethlehem, Ramallah, Qalqilya, Tulkarem, Nablus and Jenin—as well as 60 percent of Gaza, were designated Zone A.

Zone A areas, comprising less than 5 percent of historic Palestine, were placed under Palestinian security and administrative control. By reoccupying the Zone A cities, Israel demonstrated that it no longer pretended to respect Palestinian sovereignty over even a tiny fraction of the land.

Although the Israeli army pulled back to the edges of most West Bank cities in late April and early May, there have been repeated incursions since then in Nablus, Jenin, Tulkarem, Qalqilya, Ramallah and elsewhere.

On May 27, the Israeli army indefinitely reoccupied Bethlehem, "to search for militants."

In both the massive invasion begun on March 29 and in the subsequent attacks, the primary objective has been to kill or arrest targeted activists.

## Military order #1500: 'Detention for selection'

A key element of the Israeli operation is the mass roundup of Palestinian men under the new Military Order #1500. As the Israeli army with its overwhelming firepower swept into Zone A in early April, it ordered all males between the ages of 15 and 50 years of age (in some cities from 16 to 55) to surrender themselves.

Soldiers then conducted house-to-house searches, destroying and stealing property and viciously beating any man or boy who had not given himself up.

Military Order #1500 was based on the old Emergency Laws implemented by the British military when it colonized Palestine in the early 20th century. The Israeli army

frequently resorts to using such laws in the occupied West Bank and Gaza.

Order 1500 allows "detention for selection," a novel "legal" concept, to say the least.

Under the order, an individual can be arrested and detained simply because he or she is Palestinian. Any military officer of the rank of captain or above can order a detainee held incommunicado for up to 18 days. During that time, the detainee has no access to a lawyer or family members, nor is the military required to inform the family of the whereabouts of the prisoner.

Between 5,000 and 8,000 boys and men were taken into custody under Order 1500. All were blindfolded, tightly handcuffed and held under terrible conditions. In the newly opened Ofer detention camp outside Ramallah, thousands were detained outdoors for days in unseasonably rainy and cold weather, without even the benefit of tents. For days there were no toilets, little food and virtually no medical attention, even for those badly wounded or suffering from life-threatening health conditions.

Many of the prisoners were badly beaten and otherwise abused by the soldiers guarding them. (For more details, see the web site of the Addameer Prisoners Rights organization, [www.addameer.org](http://www.addameer.org).)

All the detainees were subjected to interrogation. Some were then sent to the infamous Moscobiya torture center in Jerusalem for more questioning and abuse. Most were released after several days of severe mistreatment.

Between 1,200 and 1,500 prisoners were held over for military "trials" inside the detention camps. A typical "trial" lasted about five minutes, before a panel of three Israeli military officers. Neither the detainees nor lawyers trying to assist them were notified ahead of time. Often the proceedings took place in the middle of the night.

The military prosecutor presented to the judges—and only to the judges—an intelligence report on the detainee. Neither the detainee, nor—if he was lucky enough to have one—his lawyer were allowed to see this secret evidence.

Following the inevitable verdict, the defendants were then sentenced to three-month or six-month terms of administrative detention. Administrative detention sentences can be renewed indefinitely at the sole discretion of the Israeli military.

## The more Israel jails and assassinates Palestinian leaders, the more new recruits join the liberation struggle

As part of Israel's apartheid system, the "legal process" described above is reserved for Palestinians only.

## U.S. pressures PA to turn over militants

During April and May, world attention was focused on the sieges of Palestine Authority (PA) President Yasser Arafat's compound in Ramallah and the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.

The Israeli army attack on the compound completely destroyed a building housing four men jailed by the PA. The four were members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a secular leftist organization. They were accused of killing former Israeli tourism minister Rehovam Ze'evi. Ze'evi, an extreme right-winger and Arab-hater, was shot last October in retaliation for the Israeli military's assassination of PFLP leader Abu Ali Mustafa inside his Ramallah office in August 2001.

While offering no apologies for the murder of Mustafa, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon had demanded that the PA arrest and hand over the four accused PFLP members. Sharon also demanded that Arafat turn over the new leader of the PFLP, Ahmed Saadat. In response to this demand, the PA arrested Saadat several months ago, and was also holding him inside the compound.

Throughout April, Sharon repeated his position that for the siege to end, the PFLP leader and members must be turned over, along with an official of the PA, Fuad Shubaki.

The U.S. intervened and negotiated a deal that called for the six to be transferred to a PA jail in Jericho, under the supervision of U.S. and British officials. Other elements of the arrangement included: 1) calling off the United Nations investigation of the Israeli army destruction of the Jenin refugee camp, and 2) Arafat's support for ending the siege of the Church of the Nativity by accepting the expulsion to Cyprus of 13 Palestinian fighters.

While the PA president's public standing had risen while he was held prisoner inside his compound, the deal for his release was very unpopular. At the urging of his advisors, Arafat cancelled a visit to Jenin refugee camp in early May due to fears that he would face popular disapproval.

The deals in Ramallah and Bethlehem, as well as a surrender by PA security forces of their building in Beitunia early in the offensive, which allowed Israeli forces to capture several Hamas leaders held captive there, were widely viewed among Palestinians as unwarranted concessions to the U.S. and Israel.

The concessions by the PA leadership are seen in many quarters as endangering Palestinian unity. One response has been moves toward stronger cooperation among militant resistance organizations.

And as even the Israeli media and military must concede, the Palestinian resistance groups immediately began taking measures to recuperate from the blows they have suffered.

After the widespread destruction and humiliation inflicted by the Israeli army in recent months, there is no shortage of new recruits eager to join the struggle.

# Chicago conference hits U.S. investment in Israel

By Beth Semmer  
Chicago

The Israeli occupation of Palestine has been bankrolled by direct U.S. aid. In the last three decades this has totaled roughly \$100 billion. Billions more in indirect support have been invested in Israel Bonds, Israeli companies and U.S. companies that sell weapons and goods to Israel.

All this despite the fact that the Israeli government's treatment of Palestinians is nothing short of apartheid. It systematically tries to displace Palestinians from their homeland, deny their basic rights and rob them of their future.

Activists dedicated to changing the current relationship between the U.S. and Israel came together in Chicago May 25 to sharpen their understanding of Palestine and to discuss the growing movement to divest from Israeli apartheid. The newly formed Chicago Palestine Solidarity Net-

work sponsored the mini-conference.

Plenary sessions and workshops included histories of both Palestine and U.S. involvement in the Middle East and drew parallels between the divestment movement in support of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa and the developing campaign in support of the Palestinian struggle. Mark Lance of Stop U.S. Tax-Funded Aid to Israel Now (SUSTAIN) and Snehal Shingavi of Students for Justice in Palestine/Berkeley spoke, among others.

Palestinian feminist Rafeef Ziadeh, a survivor of the Sabra and Shatila massacre and member of the New Jersey Coalition for Peace with Justice in the Middle East and of SUSTAIN, addressed both plenary sessions and led a workshop on women in Palestine. She answered the racist imperialist image that reduces the role of Palestinian women to having lots of babies so they can grow up to be "suicide bombers."

She described how women have been the continuators of the struggle in Palestine since 1948 and have sustained Palestinian society through both intifadas.

Elias Rashmawi of the Free Palestine Alliance and a steering-committee member of the International ANSWER coalition was the featured speaker at the closing plenary and in a workshop entitled "Global Justice and the Palestinian Struggle." Rashmawi spoke eloquently about how the struggle in Palestine is for much more than inches or meters, or even the right of return or to end the Israeli occupation. He said it was a struggle for the international defeat of imperialism and global justice for all the oppressed. He told the rapt audience how, just as Palestinians had been inspired by Che Guevara, Augusto Cesar Sandino and Nelson Mandela, others around the world will be inspired by the struggle of the women and men of Palestine.

# Europeans tell Bush: 'We don't want your war'

By John Catalinotto

Since May 22 President George W. Bush has visited Germany, Russia, France and, on May 28, Italy for a NATO summit. His goal in Western Europe has been to arm-twist his European allies into supporting U.S. plans for aggression against Iraq as part of his "war on terror."

His efforts have met resistance at two levels. The West European ruling class, smarting from Bush's farm subsidies and unilateral tariffs on steel products, and from his arrogant attempt to subordinate Wall Street's imperialist rivals on every front, have criticized him in their big-business press. Heads of state, without openly confronting the president of the world's overwhelming military power, have refrained from joining him too enthusiastically.

On a more important and basic level, tens of thousands of people have come into the streets—and some have come out in the parliaments—to oppose the U.S. war drive.

## Germany: Tens of thousands hit Bush visit

On May 21, tens of thousands of demonstrators marched through eastern Berlin, chanting "Yankee go home" and waving

banners reading "No blood for oil" and the "Axis of Evil runs through the Pentagon." Ten thousand cops patrolled Berlin's streets to prevent the protest from getting close to the U.S. president.

In at least 60 cities across Germany, marches and meetings protested Bush's 20-hour visit. In Berlin, protesters carried placards reading, "War is terror" and "Stop the global Bush fire."

The Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) supported the demonstration. Even Green Party activists joined in, although Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer, who led the war drive against Yugoslavia in 1999, tried to discourage them from taking any militant action.

When Bush was speaking to the German Bundestag (parliament) to encourage backing for actions against Iraq, PDS Bundestag members Ulla Jelpke, Heidi Lipp-



Berlin

mann and Winfried Wolf held up a banner reading "Mr. Bush + Mr. Schroeder, Stop Your Wars!" It was a strong show of how left, anti-war fighters should act in parliament, which unfortunately the PDS leadership criticized and apologized for.

## Protests in France and Italy

In France, over 4,000 people protested in Paris as Bush was meeting with French President Jacques Chirac. Another 2,000 rallied in Caen in Normandy, where Bush was trying to use ceremonies commemorating U.S. intervention in World War II to justify his wars in the Middle East and against the so-called axis of evil.

According to an article in the web edition of the Belgian weekly *Solidaire*, the main slogan at Caen was "U.S. Army go home!" Another slogan raised was "From Jenin to Bogota, down with imperialism."

A NATO summit set for outside Rome on May 28 prompted a shutdown of civilian aircraft at Rome's airport and a general clampdown on movement. The summit was to discuss NATO expansion to include the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe and former Soviet republics.

The Social Forum, independent unions known as COBAS and anti-imperialist organizations set demonstrations for the

evening of May 28 in downtown Rome.

## Madrid: 200,000 protest globalization

In an earlier action, nearly 200,000 anti-globalization demonstrators had marched and rallied in central Madrid on May 19, dancing to drumbeats as they chanted against capitalism and war. Their banners read: "No to the exploitation of Latin America" and "Against war and a capitalist Europe."

While the action was not directed specifically against Bush, the enormous number of demonstrators carrying Cuban flags showed their strong opposition to Bush's policies. Many also carried Palestinian flags. Some carried a banner reading, "Colombia—state terrorism—no to the paramilitaries" (death squads).

This was the third and largest demonstration to be held in the Spanish capital to protest the European-Latin American summit of about 50 government leaders from the European Union, Central and South America and the Caribbean. Protesters say the European powers were using the summit to organize more intensive exploitation of Latin America.

The Social trans-Atlantic Forum, which includes some 60 to 70 social and political groups, coordinated the demonstrations.

## In little Iceland

# Anti-war sentiment is big as NATO ministers meet

By Michael Kramer  
Reykjavik, Iceland

The struggle against war, and in particular against the aggressive NATO alliance, is robust in this island nation about the size of Kentucky, located in the northernmost part of the Atlantic Ocean.

Since 1949 the people of Iceland have strongly resisted membership in NATO and U.S. military occupation. In 1972 the Campaign Against Military Bases (SHA) was formed.

On May 10 and 11 SHA organized a conference in the capital of Reykjavik to precede a meeting of the foreign ministers of the NATO member countries. Sara Flounders of the International Action Center (IAC), Tony Simpson of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation in Britain, Joseph Gainza of the Vermont Chapter of the American Friends Service Committee, and Jan Oberg of the Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research based in Sweden presented papers to the conference that were translated into Icelandic. They were also given the opportunity to speak at length to the Icelandic peace community. SHA General Secretary Stefan Pálsson chaired the conference.

All the presenters attacked NATO for instigating the breakup of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and all opposed U.S. plans for war against Iraq. The presenters also focused on and denounced the Pentagon's goal of world domination as set out in its Joint Vision 2020 policy paper calling for "full spectrum dominance—the ability of U.S. forces operating unilaterally or in combination with multinational and interagency partners, to defeat any adversary

and control any situation across the full range of military operations."

Solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people was not only expressed by the presenters but was also raised by an Icelandic medical doctor who worked as a volunteer in a hospital in the Gaza Strip. Solidarity with the Palestinian cause can be seen in the slogans on tee shirts and buttons worn by many ordinary Icelanders.

On May 14 the SHA organized a demonstration of over 500 people outside the hotel where U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, British Foreign Minister Jack Straw and other NATO war criminals were meeting. According to the organizers, the size of the turnout far exceeded all expectations.

Coverage of the anti-NATO conference and demonstration was widespread in Iceland. Sara Flounders was interviewed for a half hour on the main Sunday morning news program and by a number of local newspapers and a radio station. "It is so important that in Iceland, as in every country where NATO is holding its planning meetings and war councils, there are meetings, actions and protests to alert the population to the predatory nature of this aggressive military alliance," Flounders told listeners.

Iceland touches the Arctic Circle and is one of the most volcanic regions in the



WW PHOTO: MICHAEL KRAMER

'Iceland out of NATO' read the signs in many languages.

world. Hydroelectric and geothermal energy are abundant. The warm waters of the Gulf Stream temper the weather, while its rich fishing grounds of haddock and cod have provided the population of 280,000 with a high standard of living that is not drained by a military budget. Iceland has no military forces and the police do not carry weapons—except during NATO conferences.

After centuries of oppressive Danish colonial rule, Iceland declared independence on June 17, 1944. At that time the country was occupied by thousands of U.S. and British ground, air and naval personnel, who were part of the massive worldwide military deployment during World War II. In 1949 Iceland was pres-

sured into becoming a founding member of NATO.

Today, in 2002, thousands of U.S. military personnel continue to occupy Iceland while based at the U.S. Naval Air Station of Keflavik. Icelandic air traffic controllers even have to get permission from U.S. military personnel before they can guide aircraft to land at their international airport or fly over their airspace.

The conference and demonstration in Iceland showed that the struggle against the Pentagon is worldwide. The people of Iceland identify with the people of Puerto Rico, Korea and Okinawa as they all fight to close down the U.S. bases that are a daily insult to the sovereignty of their nations.

## Peace it's not

# U.S.-Russia nuke agreement frees Pentagon for more war

By Fred Goldstein

A new act in the post-Sept. 11 ascendancy of U.S. imperialism has just been played out on the stage of NATO. Announcing Russia's new junior membership, President George W. Bush triumphantly declared that "two former foes are now joined as partners."

In fact, this new step marks a further stage in the subordination of the Russian capitalist government to U.S. imperialism. The step of including Russia was only possible because Washington sponsored it, with the consent of the Pentagon.

So-called membership is crafted so that Russia will be given a "consultative role in forging NATO strategy on nuclear non-proliferation, crisis management, missile defense and counter-terrorism," according to the New York Times of May 28.

However, continued the Times article, "Moscow will not have a role in NATO's core military alliance, in which all members pledge to protect the others from attack. Nor will Russia have a veto over NATO decisions or a vote in the expansion of its membership, including NATO's plans to invite new nations to a Prague meeting in November."

Bush came to the NATO meeting in Rome after having signed an agreement with President Vladimir Putin on the reduction of nuclear arms. This agreement was a defeat for Russia and a victory for the most militaristic forces in the Bush administration.

### Agreement on nuclear warheads

Under the agreement, Washington got everything it wanted and the Russians got almost nothing, save to be allowed to sit at the table of the imperialist powers in NATO.

The document, which was 475 words long, gives legal force to verbal agreements made by the two leaders for each side to reduce their stockpile of nuclear warheads from a level of 6,000 to somewhere between 1,700 and 2,200 within the next 10 years. It was basically a codification of U.S. government demands.

The Russians wanted verification. Bush said no. The Russians wanted the warheads to be destroyed. Bush said no. The agreement, such as it is, allows both sides to decide what their nuclear forces will be. Either side can pull out at any time after 90 days' notification—meaning Washington only recognizes the weakest ties to the agreement.

This comes on the heels of Russia yielding and accepting the U.S. pullout from the ABM treaty. Furthermore, Russia not only gave up its opposition to the Pentagon's plans for a Missile Defense System, but is going to collaborate in it.

Putin also gave up his opposition to the expansion of NATO into the former Soviet republics that border Russia. And he left the Moscow meetings without any economic concessions, such as a timetable to bring Russia into the World Trade Organization, where it could avoid trade discrimination by the imperialists. Putin also swallowed the fact that the 1974 Jackson-Vanik law directed against the USSR, which restricts normal trade with the U.S., is still on the books despite Bush's suggestions that he would get it removed a long time ago.

Bush rubbed it in after the meeting in Rome. According to the New York Times

of May 28, he said, "I see no reason why any future Russian leader with a state that is only roughly 55 percent of the size of the Soviet Union would find it in its interests in any way to act in an aggressive manner." Of course, Bush left out the fact that the antagonism between socialism and capitalism has been eradicated—that the power of the USSR, a much poorer country than the U.S., was largely based on its centralized planning and socialist economic foundation, and that Russia has been reduced to the status of a satellite of the capitalist West.

### A gift to the Pentagon

It would be illusory to think that President Bush signed the nuclear reduction agreement in Moscow out of any desire to reduce the threat of nuclear weapons or to reduce world military tensions. The fact is that the nuclear agreement, should it ever be implemented, is fully in accord with the general designs of the Bush administration's plan for military "transformation."

The USSR collapsed under the pressure of world imperialism. This pressure had caused drastic distortions in socialist construction and led to internal degeneration of the Soviet leadership. Since then a section of the U.S. military planning establishment has pressed very hard for a revamping of the U.S. arsenal and strategic planning in accordance with the new world relationship of forces.

Such a transformation is calculated to serve monopoly capitalism's worldwide domination over oppressed peoples everywhere who do not confront imperialism with massive conventional or nuclear forces. The significant obstacles to imperialism abroad come from smaller states struggling to maintain their national independence, such as Iran, Iraq, Syria, Libya, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), Cuba and Vietnam. To these will undoubtedly be added states in the future that attempt to break with imperialism.

Challenges also come from liberation movements, which rely on mass organization, rural and urban guerrilla warfare, small-scale conventional warfare and various forms of people's war.

Some current examples are the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia battling the U.S.-backed death squads of the Colombian military; the New People's Army in the Philippines fighting the U.S. puppet government in Manila; the Palestinian national movement battling Israeli occupation.

As exploitation by the transnational corporations expands on a global scale along with the expansion of the Pentagon, the CIA and other counter-revolutionary forces, the growth of national resistance is inevitable—and Washington knows it. That is what is behind the so-called drive for military "transformation."

The massive nuclear forces capable of destroying the USSR are not only unnecessary when waging war against popular mobilizations for national liberation and small independent states struggling to maintain their sovereignty and independence. They are also difficult to use and very costly.

The Moscow agreement signed by Bush and Putin allows Washington to redeploy funds tied up in maintaining an excessive nuclear stockpile into the further high-tech

modernization of its conventional forces and the development of smaller, more "usable" nuclear weapons now on the Pentagon's drawing board. Putin had nothing to say about this.

The agreement leaves the Pentagon with a still massive arsenal of nuclear weapons fully capable of large-scale nuclear attack if Washington deems it necessary—for example, to threaten the People's Republic of China. It insures that the only nuclear power that has been on a par with the U.S. will bring down its own nuclear arms level, and it gives the U.S. the right to tear up the whole thing whenever it sees fit.

The Moscow agreement will actually contribute to the advancement of the U.S. imperialist military machine, including the development and eventually the testing of small-scale nuclear weapons.

The Moscow agreement makes no mention of the Pentagon's recent Nuclear Posture Review leaked to the capitalist press in March. The NPR, as it is known, "proposes lowering the overall number of nuclear warheads, but widens the circumstances thought to justify possible nuclear response and expands the list of countries considered potential nuclear targets." (New York Times, March 12)

These include Iraq, the DPRK and Iran. Nor was there any discussion of the NPR proposals to integrate smaller nuclear weapons with conventional weapons, including cruise missiles and nuclear "bunker busters."

This agreement is no more a peace move than the decision by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld to cancel the \$11-billion Crusader tank project. The Crusader would be the most modern tank in the world, with a killing range of 30 miles and all the modern technology available. But it weighs 70 tons and as such is not deemed suitable to the task of mobile, high-speed deployment in difficult terrain, which is essential to the post-Soviet struggle against small states and liberation movements.

### NATO: Tool of U.S. colonization

It is also clear that bringing Russia into NATO was in no way a military concession by Washington. Not only does Russia have no access to the inner military circles; not only does it not have a vote; but, in addition, the U.S. has relegated NATO itself to a completely subordinate role in its plans for global rule.

The basis of the NATO alliance, founded in 1949 under U.S. auspices, was the need for a military, political and economic united front in the struggle against the Soviet Union, socialism in general, and the European working class. Once the USSR collapsed and the U.S. made enormous strides in military development, the basis for concessions by the superpower to its imperialist rivals dissolved. Their relations were reduced to undiluted domination.

Washington has waged its war against Afghanistan and spread its forces all over Central Asia and fanned out elsewhere without so much as asking for one word of approval from NATO.

After Sept. 11 the Pentagon almost refused to accept the invocation of the mutual defense provision in the NATO charter, by which the European members of NATO sought to express their solidarity with U.S. imperialism in a time of crisis. Rumsfeld and his cohorts did not want any

The Moscow agreement allows the U.S. to redeploy funds into high-tech weaponry aimed at smaller states and liberation movements

gesture of solidarity that might require them to consult with NATO and thereby act as a restraint on the U.S. military. They only relented and accepted the gesture after they were convinced that NATO would not interfere.

The New York Times wrote on May 19 that, "Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld is said to have been unimpressed with the alliance when he served as ambassador to NATO in 1973-74. Douglas J. Feith, the under secretary of defense for policy, has joked about NATO, 'Keep the myth alive!'" Thus Russia has become a member without rights in an organization that has been reduced to a peripheral servant of its U.S. master.

Washington is now putting a new emphasis on NATO as an arena to strengthen the colonization of the former Soviet republics and Eastern European countries. It is planning to go right to the Russian borders with a November meeting in Prague at which time Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Romania and possibly Albania and Macedonia will be incorporated. They will all become training grounds and markets for the U.S. military and serve as forward bases to the east.

The kind of colonial subservience that has developed is illustrated by the case of Hungary. "Hungary's officers were so eager to work with the United States," wrote the Washington Post of May 28, "that they even blasted a huge crater in the tarmac of the base [a former Soviet base in Kecskemet in central Hungary—F.G.] so U.S. Army combat engineers could practice patching it with earth-moving equipment dropped from a C-141 Starlifter."

"'Look at the access they've given us,' said Army Maj. Gen. Robert W. Wagner, who jumped in with the troops and took command of the exercise. 'They blew a hole for us to fix. I can't think of anywhere else you'd be given permission to do that sort of thing.' ..."

"'It's the Eastern European countries that are desperate to have a relationship with the United States,' said retired U.S. Army Gen. Wesley Clark, the former supreme allied commander in Europe. 'They understand how difficult it is for the [Western] Europeans to do anything. They know it is the Americans that make things happen. They trust us.'"

To be sure, the Eastern European counter-revolutionary capitalist governments know that it was the U.S. ruling class, its military and CIA that overthrew socialism and allowed the bourgeoisie to come back and establish capitalist exploitation. They are rushing to become military satellites and cash in on the largesse of the U.S. military-industrial complex. This is why Washington is not so quick to drop NATO altogether.

## NATO and Yugoslavia

# Dismantling socialism was far from peaceful

By John Catalinotto

What is the relationship between Washington's endless "war on terror," the expansion of NATO, and the so-called war-crimes trial of Slobodan Milosevic in the Netherlands?

Until Bush's European trip brought it back into focus, people might even have forgotten that the NATO war alliance still existed. Though the most aggressive elements in the Bush administration would like to avoid consulting the U.S.'s NATO allies, Washington still has a NATO strategy.

That strategy is aimed at completing the recolonization of Eastern Europe and of the former Soviet Union. NATO expansion does this while keeping West Europe tied behind its U.S. imperialist senior partner.

Pentagon analysts made this strategy public by leaking a document to the media in 1992. Printed in the New York Times that March, it made it clear that Washington sought hegemony in all regions, and would carry this policy out in Europe through NATO.

Yugoslavia was the last of the once-socialist countries to resist NATO's eastward expansion. The U.S. and NATO bombed the Belgrade government into accepting occupation of the province of Kosovo in 1999. The Western powers organized a coup to overthrow the Socialist Party government in that country in October 2000.

### Eastward sweep of NATO

In 1991, the U.S. and NATO had no bases in Eastern Europe. In the Balkans there were only bases in Greece, a NATO member. During 10 years of wars and subversion against Yugoslavia, the Pentagon managed to get troops stationed at military bases in Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Albania, Croatia and Bulgaria. Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland became NATO members just in time to help attack Yugoslavia.

Since that setback, the pro-capitalist regimes in all the other countries once part of the Soviet bloc—except for Belarus—have been clamoring to join the imperialist alliance.

By November, NATO may ask Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and

Bulgaria to join, plus maybe Slovakia. Albania, Macedonia and Croatia have also applied, and Ukraine will apply in July.

The leaders of these countries are willing to give up to Western imperialism the little sovereignty they have left now that their national economies have been "globalized," that is, integrated into the imperialist-dominated world market.

They see NATO membership as a military guarantee against a mass pro-socialist upsurge. But their strained national budgets will now be buying U.S.-made weapons instead of providing funds for health care, education and welfare.

The U.S. war on Afghanistan and new U.S. military bases in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan have been steps to recolonizing Central Asia and the Middle East. In a similar way, the war on Yugoslavia and NATO expansion has turned the formerly independent socialist republics into neocolonies.

### Baghdad conference defends Milosevic

Since mid-February, Slobodan Milosevic, who was president of Yugoslavia when that country was attempting to resist U.S./NATO attack, has been on trial before a court in The Hague, charged with war crimes and genocide regarding civil wars in Kosovo, Bosnia and Croatia.

Though the court pretends to be impartial, it was set up by NATO powers to try only people from the former Yugoslavia for war crimes. U.S./NATO crimes are conveniently out of the court's jurisdiction.

The Seventh Session of the Follow-up and Coordination Committee of the Baghdad Conference, meeting in that city May 7-9, not only issued statements condemning globalization but defended Milosevic against this court. The conference had 160 representatives of 90 political parties and organizations from over 40 countries, including all Arab states.

What makes the statement interesting is that while Milosevic has been charged with crimes against mostly Muslim populations in Kosovo and Bosnia, these charges have not confused the representatives of countries that are mostly Muslim.



IAC PHOTO: SARA FLOUNDERS

The town of Aleksinac after NATO bombs.

The conference adopted a statement saying it did "not accept the legality of the tribunal because it is politically motivated and not legally constituted," that only the people of Yugoslavia are competent to deal with any matter pertaining to Yugoslavia, and that "President Milosevic should be released immediately from illegal detention."

At another conference, held by the European Peace Forum in Athens May 17-19, participants from 20 countries recognized that the trial of Milosevic was not just an attack on an individual but on "an individual, who, for numerous reasons, has become the symbol of resistance against NATO's conflict-fomenting policy of intervention into the internal affairs of Yugoslavia and against the NATO war."

According to this Europe-based anti-war coalition, "In the eyes of NATO, this war will only be won, and the dismemberment of Yugoslavia only accomplished, if and when this symbol has been brought into discredit."

### Milosevic defends himself

In other words, the U.S. and NATO planned a show trial in The Hague to discredit Milosevic and punish him, and thereby discredit the Yugoslav resistance. But Milosevic has surprised them. He has refused to recognize the court's authority and is waging a strong political and legal defense.

In his opening statement in February, the Yugoslav leader turned the tables on NATO politically. He exposed the subversive activity of German imperialism in recognizing and prompting those elements trying to break apart Yugoslavia, thus fomenting civil war. Then he told how the U.S. eventually led NATO in a murderous war that included 78 days of high-tech bombing of the nation's infrastructure and killed or wounded thousands of civilians.

The prosecution then presented witnesses who tried to show war crimes were committed or that Milosevic was responsible. The Italian daily *Il Manifesto* reported Feb. 27 that through his cross-examination Milosevic had discredited five witnesses in the first two weeks of the trial.

Milosevic continued to challenge all witnesses in his cross-examination. Some retracted their statements. Others had to admit they were connected to groups like the KLA (Kosovo Liberation Army), who were actively fighting the Yugoslav authority with U.S. and German-supplied weapons.

During all this, Milosevic's Socialist Party of Serbia was no longer in power. He was working out of a 9-foot by 15-foot cell with an insecure telephone line. He was nevertheless able to prepare for witnesses through strong support from researchers and experts in Serbia who sympathized with his resistance, whether or not they supported his politics. This itself was a sign that within Yugoslavia the spirit of resistance to imperialism had not died out.

Even his political enemies in the media were forced to recognize that Milosevic was winning support, especially in the state of Serbia, but also wherever his arguments got publicity. A March 1 article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported, "Serbs following the trial say Milosevic is winning."

With a staff of 1,100 and all of NATO's power behind them, the prosecutors at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia at The Hague were still unable to keep Milosevic on the defensive. Faced with this situation, the media simply stopped giving the trial daily coverage. In the U.S., it will get into the major newspapers at most once a week. It is a show trial with no show, because it would convince few people that Milosevic is guilty.

The one recent major article on the trial, written by former New York Times executive editor Joseph Lelyveld in the May 30 *New Yorker*, was an undisguised attack on Milosevic. Lelyveld accused Milosevic of "bullying" witnesses, despite his complete lack of real power.

Lelyveld wrote that U.S. Gen. Wesley Clark was considering being a witness at the trial and "sounded as if he relished the prospect of being cross-examined by Milosevic." Anyone who read Clark's book, "Modern Warfare," knows that Clark virtually admitted NATO waged a colonial war against Yugoslavia and that a goal of U.S. bombing was to intimidate civilians and force surrender.

A lot of people who opposed U.S./NATO aggression in Yugoslavia might be hoping Gen. Clark gets his wish. Then there will be at least one time a real war criminal stands before the court. And an opportunity to show how Bush's worldwide war grew out of Clinton's aggression in Yugoslavia.

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In memory of my son,  
Bob Tischler, who never  
wavered in his loyalty to  
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## Report from south Korea

# A mountain gives up its secrets

By Sharon Ayling  
Kwang Ahm-ri,  
South Cholla Province,  
south Korea

May 20 was a beautiful spring day as a group of international visitors, Korean activists and members of the Korean media gathered in the tiny farming village of Kwang Ahm-ri in southwestern Korea. The group was making final preparations for a hike up a nearby mountain.

Those gathered were somber, for this hike was not for recreation.

The guide, Kim Young Sung, met the delegation in the front yard of a local farmer. Kim explained that in 1951, in the middle of the Korean War, a terrible massacre of civilian villagers had occurred on the top of Bulgap Mountain. The delegation, which was on a national tour of massacre sites organized by the Korea Truth Commission, would be the first investigative team to uncover the remains.

Kim had first-hand knowledge of the mountaintop massacre because he was there. As a young man before the war, he had joined the partisan guerrillas resisting the U.S. military occupation and division of Korea. When the war broke out on June 25, 1950, a small band of partisans retreated to this mountain. For nearly a year, they battled the south Korean military and paramilitary forces until they were overwhelmed. One of the few to survive, Kim was jailed for 36 years as a political prisoner.

Until the revelations two years ago that U.S. officers at Nogun-ri had ordered their soldiers to machine-gun civilians in a train tunnel over a two-day period, no one in south Korea spoke about what happened during the Korean War. An estimated 1 million civilians were killed in south Korea during the war, either directly by U.S. occupation forces or indirectly by south Korean forces under U.S. command.

Only once before—in 1960—did survivors and families of victims publicly reveal the horror that they had witnessed. But the military seized control that same year. Those who had dared

speak were severely punished and the evidence they gathered was suppressed.

Now thousands of elderly people are courageously speaking out about their bitter suffering. Over 100 massacre sites have been identified so far.

Encouraged by this growing movement, Kim recently returned to the area to search for anyone who might remember what happened on the mountain so many years ago.

The truth about  
the Korean War

That is how he met Choi Jong Nam, in whose yard the delegation was gathered. Kim introduced Choi to the visitors. Choi explained

that during the war U.S. planes repeatedly bombed the villages in this valley. Many homes were burned down, hundreds of people were killed, and the survivors were forced to flee into the mountains.

Before the war, about 120 people had lived in Choi's village in about 30 houses. At the end of the war, 20 people remained alive and two houses remained standing.

It was Kim and Choi who this past January located the massacre site the delegation would be investigating. Nine members of Choi's family had been killed on the mountain; only he survived. Taking leave of Choi after thanking him and picking up some tools, the delegation started on its journey.

It was a slow climb. Kim led the group up an overgrown path, with many pauses to clear away the brush. The path, which in the past had been used by villagers to visit a small shrine, had fallen into disuse.

After climbing for nearly an hour to the top of the mountain, Kim announced that they had reached their destination and asked everyone to sit on the forest floor. He then continued his story.

During the first months of the war, the guerrillas had engaged small numbers of south Korean troops in combat and were able to repel them. They dug a long defensive trench near the top ridge of the mountain.

On Feb. 20, 1951, about 1,500 south Korean troops and U.S. military advisors

charged up the mountain to seize it from the partisans, who by then were down to 40 fighters. Also on the mountain were nearly 2,000 unarmed civilian refugees, including many women with young children. The guerrillas knew they would be forced to withdraw from this overwhelming force, so they urged the villagers to flee. Most did not, because they feared returning to their bombed-out villages.

When the south Korean troops reached the top of the mountain, they found only civilians. Using the partisans' trench as a mass grave, they lined up the villagers by the hundreds and executed them, filling the trench. They then chased down and executed hundreds more, leaving their bodies scattered over the mountainside.

After the slaughter, some people who had remained in the valley gathered up what bodies they could find and gave them a proper burial. But many remained, including those buried in the trench.

Over the years, local villagers gathering firewood on Bulgap Mountain would chance upon remains. There was always whispered talk of a mass grave. But until Kim, no one who had lived on the mountain at the time of the massacre had taken up a search.

Kim led the delegation to an indentation running along the forest floor about 300 feet long and a foot and a half wide. With small gardening tools, some members of the delegation began the painful search for human remains. It didn't take long. Just below the surface, human bones, shreds of old clothing, and shoes were unearthed. They were carefully placed on a burial sheet.

Though no one was a forensic expert, it seemed apparent that the remains found in one small section of the trench represented many bodies and were being disturbed for the first time.

After a simple ceremony honoring the dead, the remains were wrapped in the cloth and reburied in the same spot. The delegates dried their tears and promised to work hard to expose U.S. responsibility for this terrible crime when they returned home.

Kim explained that on Sept. 8, the Korean Truth Commission would begin a public excavation of the site. Then the delegation began its descent back down the mountain.

The team's efforts received extensive coverage in the south Korean media.



PHOTO: KIM HAESOOK

Korean Truth Commission delegation unearths human bones on Bulgap Mountain: Sharon Ayling (with cap) and Yoomi Jeong (far right).

## Nerve gas, anthrax and what the Pentagon knew when

By Deirdre Griswold

If the Pentagon will use its own personnel as guinea pigs to test the effects of nerve gas and germ warfare, then what wouldn't it do to people—military or civilian—whom it considers “the enemy”?

On May 23 the Pentagon made public documents showing that it had “sprayed live nerve and biological agents on ships and sailors in cold war-era experiments to test the Navy's vulnerability to toxic warfare.” (New York Times, May 24) The documents describe 12 tests carried out in the Pacific Ocean from 1964 to 1968 that exposed hundreds of sailors to the poisons.

In a belated gesture to soften this shocking news, the Defense Department said the sailors could be eligible for health care benefits. This only came after veterans bombarded their representatives with health complaints. The Pentagon says it doesn't know if the sailors gave their “consent” to the tests or not.

Three of the tests used sarin or VX, among the deadliest nerve agents con-

cocted. Altogether, it is believed that 113 secret tests were planned under Project Shipboard Hazard and Defense (SHAD). Some used harmless simulants, but others used deadly chemicals and germs.

These tests were conducted during the Vietnam War. Even today, the people of Vietnam are suffering high rates of birth defects and chronic illnesses from toxic substances, like the defoliant Agent Orange, sprayed by the millions of tons on that agricultural country. They charged at the time that other, deadlier substances had also been used against them.

Like so many other murderous secrets held by the U.S. imperialist government, it took over 30 years for this to become public.

In light of this admission, any thoughtful person must rethink the charges leveled against the Pentagon by China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea at the time of the Korean War. A whole book has been written recently (“The United States and Biological Warfare: Secrets from the Early Cold War and Korea” by

Stephen Endicott and Edward Hagerman) substantiating their charges that the U.S. used germ warfare against the north Koreans. Up until now, the Pentagon has denied it.

And what about the recent anthrax scare? Someone in the United States with access to the same strain of anthrax as that produced at Ft. Detrick, Md., sent deadly powder through the mails, resulting in several deaths. There is a short list of government employees with the ability and means to do this. Why is it that the government can round up thousands with Muslim surnames and hold them indefinitely on some vague suspicions in the name of “homeland security,” but it seems to be able to do little on the anthrax attacks?

Dr. Barbara Hatch Rosenberg, a noted molecular biologist, leading expert on biological weapons and professor at the State University of New York at Purchase, says the FBI knows who sent the anthrax, but is stalling because of what the man knows about U.S. biological weapons research

and production.

The U.S. signed the 1972 Biological Weapons Convention and promised not to develop biological weapons. But Washington's continued refusal to have its facilities independently monitored has led many scientists and activists to believe it is violating the convention.

Rosenberg published her information on the American Society of Scientists web site. The New Yorker magazine of March 18 reported: “She is persuasive in arguing that sending the anthrax letters required not just access to the ‘Ames strain’ of anthrax, but also knowledge of the weaponization technique developed by Bill Patrick.” Patrick is head of biological weapons research at the U.S. Army Medical Research Institute of Infectious Diseases at Ft. Detrick, Md.

All this should be kept in mind as the Pentagon tries to corral support for a war against Iraq—all in the name of preventing the proliferation of “weapons of mass destruction.”



## Crushing the poor

The ballyhoo surrounding “welfare reform” died down quickly after then-President Bill Clinton, a Democrat, signed the bill into law on Aug. 22, 1996. Let no one forget that the goal of abolishing welfare assistance to the already impoverished was at the core of Newt Gingrich’s 1995 “Contract with America.”

Clinton and his coterie claimed that the new law would move women from the despondency of destitution into rewarding jobs. Children would be released from a cycle of pauperism. Clinton vowed the new law would “end welfare as we know it.”

Well, the latter claim is the only one that turned out to be true. Now that all the puffery surrounding the pushing of poor people off welfare has quieted down, women and children have been left to suffer in silence.

The welfare bill Clinton penned into law expires this year. So a new law is required to enforce the draconian measure. Among those assailing the bill is Peter Edelman, a professor of law at Georgetown University Law Center. Edelman had the mettle to resign as assistant secretary at the Department of Health and Human Services in protest over Clinton’s welfare law.

Edelman points out that on any given day, some 40 percent of former recipients—well over a million women—are jobless. Many of those who have found work, catch as catch can, have not escaped poverty in dead-end, low paying jobs. This leads

Edelman to conclude, “The main lesson of the 1996 law is that having a job and earning a livable income are two different things.”

The welfare program, meager as it was, was never a gift from on high. It was the mighty, mass labor upheavals of the 1930s that wrested a social contract between labor and bosses to guarantee a minimal living standard for the poorest of the working class. These millions of impoverished workers and oppressed people are those who the capitalist profit-driven economy can’t find jobs for, even in an economic upturn.

They become a reserve army of unemployed workers. The bosses have always tried to use this segment of the working class—hungry and desperate for a job to eke out a living—against wage laborers whose struggles have won higher wages and safer and more humane working conditions. “There are plenty out there who will take your job for a lot less,” employers threaten the employed.

When Clinton was able to abolish this hard-won contract with the stroke of a pen, without provoking resistance from the union movement or large women’s organizations, all workers were dealt a setback.

Clinton’s rotten and heartless law expires this year, and Bush has already indicated that his welfare law will be even more rotten and heartless. It’s time to unite and fight for all those bearing the heaviest brunt of capitalism’s people-be-damned economy.



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## Behind Colombia election

# U.S. pushes for wider war

By Andy McInerney

The victory of Alvaro Uribe in the May 26 Colombian presidential elections is being widely touted as a popular mandate for an all-out war against the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia—People’s Army (FARC-EP).

Nothing could be further from the truth. Uribe reportedly received 53 percent of the vote in the elections, enough to avoid a runoff. But the highest vote went to none of the candidates. The Washington Post reported on May 27 that over half the electorate—54 percent—abstained from voting. Colombian sources say the abstention was 55.5 percent. And it was far higher in the countryside, reaching up to 80 percent.

In an April statement, the FARC-EP called on Colombians “not to support with your vote the presidential candidates of the right and of the neoliberal status quo, and not allow yourselves to be led like a herd to the polls.”

With a 60-percent abstention rate in the March congressional elections, tainted by fraud and vote buying, the recent presidential elections confirm the corrupt and anti-democratic nature of “democratic elections” in Colombia.

Tanks patrolled the streets and soldiers patrolled polling places in the major cities to intimidate anyone who turned out at the polls. In the countryside, government-backed paramilitary units threatened to carry out massacres in towns where the turnout for Uribe was light.

In this climate of official military and paramilitary threats, alongside the corruption that is routine in Colombia’s official political system, any notion that the elections can be an indicator of popular opinion is absurd.

Rather, Uribe’s election reflects the mood of Colombia’s ruling class and their backers in Washington.

Uribe was an early critic of the talks carried out between current President Andrés Pastrana and the FARC-EP. He proposes doubling the size of the Colombian army and creating a million-person militia, like the Peruvian “rondas campesinas” or the earlier Convivir death squads in Colombia, to fight against the insurgency.

He was governor of the northern province of Antioquia in 1995, overseeing a vast expansion of paramilitary death squad activity in the Urabá region. Retired Gen. Rito Alejo del Río, then military commander in the region and now under investigation for links to death squads, told the Los Angeles Times on May 26 that Uribe “fully backed his efforts.”

The Colombian human rights groups CODHES reports that some 200,000 people, mostly poor peasants, were driven off their land and into internal exile during Uribe’s term as governor, most by military-backed Convivir units and death squads.

The Los Angeles Times quoted Uribe’s campaign treasurer saying that most of his financial backing came from “Colombia’s top 300 companies.”

A March 25 Newsweek feature on Uribe details charges of his and his family’s links both to paramilitary units and to drug lords. He denies these charges—in fact, he cancelled his interview with the Newsweek reporter, refusing to respond to the detailed charges.

**‘Congratulations! We’ve elected you’**

Uribe’s support was not restricted to the Colombian ruling class. An April 26 AP dispatch notes that, “before Uribe was even declared the winner, U.S. Ambassador Anne Patterson went to a hotel where he was holed up with his campaign workers to congratulate him.” She predicted Washington would have “very close relations” with Uribe.

Washington’s backing is based on the fact that Uribe’s program coincides with U.S. plans to escalate military intervention in Colombia. The U.S. government has funneled over \$2 billion to Colombia in the past two years, mostly under the guise of the “war on drugs.” The Bush administration is pushing to drop the fig leaf of the drug war and to expand military aid into an open counterinsurgency role.

While the U.S. government reluctantly backed Andrés Pastrana’s policy of talks with the FARC-EP, beginning in 1998, it did so with the aim of bolstering the Colombian military with a massive infusion of military aid and training. Following the Sept. 11 attacks in the United States, the Pentagon’s attitude toward the insurgency hardened, leading to the February collapse of the talks.

Uribe has not ruled out new talks with the FARC-EP. But he promises to hinge the talks on a cease-fire and other conditions that the insurgency has ruled out.

The FARC, for their part, issued a statement on May 15 reiterating their willingness to enter into talks with the new president, “whoever that maybe,” provided the talks would be based on the Agenda for a New Colombia, the basis for the last talks, and that the government demilitarize the two southern provinces of Putumayo and Caquetá.

The Bush administration clearly hopes that Uribe will be a figure like Roberto d’Aubuisson in El Salvador during the 1980s or Alberto Fujimori in Peru during the 1990s, giving a civilian face to the military’s brutal war against the peasants and workers.

The problem that both Uribe and the Pentagon face is that the balance of power is far different in Colombia than in Peru or even in the 1980s civil war in El Salvador.

The FARC-EP is a sophisticated political-military force, basing itself on Marxism-Leninism and decades of experience in combat with the Colombian ruling class. Far from being on the wane, the revolutionary insurgency is gaining both numerically and politically. There are increased reports of actions carried out in Colombia’s urban centers.

Further, the economic policies imposed on Colombia by Wall Street and the International Monetary Fund have created an unstable social climate for the local ruling class. Unemployment is over 20 percent, and over half the country lives in poverty. Strikes and protests have been growing in recent years.

Finally, the momentum across Latin America has shifted in favor of the revolutionary movements. Venezuela’s deepening revolution, the social crisis in Argentina, massive protests from Bolivia to Puerto Rico—all these factors make it impossible for Washington to isolate the Colombian revolution from its natural allies.

# Reportaje desde la conferencia en México

*Continuación de la página 16*

nacional a que tomen la responsabilidad de exigir a Israel a que se retire inmediatamente de las tierras árabes y palestinas ocupadas desde la guerra de Junio de 1967.”

El representante del Frente Popular para la Liberación de Palestina dijo: “En nombre del Departamento de Relaciones Internacionales del FPLP nosotros estamos aquí para expresar nuestro reconocimiento y gratitud por la creciente solidaridad prestada por las personas que ustedes representan aquí hoy. Hoy la causa palestina no es tan solo una causa de los pueblo árabes y palestinos; es una causa mundial. Nuestro heroico pueblo confronta y continuará confrontando, a este genocidio con la determinación y decisión revolucionaria de luchar y ganar sin importar el precio que tenga que pagar o sacrificar.”

“Nuestro pueblo revolucionario que es anti Sionista y anti imperialista rechazan y condenan todas las maniobras y planes de Israel y los Estados Unidos. Es válido recordar las famosas palabras del Comandante Ernesto Che Guevara: ‘No se puede confiar en el imperialismo enemigo—ni siquiera un poquito.’”

Un tema que se discutió en los tres días de la conferencia fue la defensa de derecho de auto determinación del pueblo palestino y la ayuda incondicional al derecho de llevar a cabo cualquier forma de lucha contra el régimen israelita apoyado por E.U.

Varios oradores pusieron la responsabilidad total de la actual guerra en la

región sobre los regímenes de Bush y Sharon. Muchos señalaron la relación cómplice entre Israel y el gobierno de los Estados Unidos: El estado ocupante no soportaría un día sin la ayuda de \$10 millones regalados diariamente a Israel por los Estados Unidos.

Varios oradores también pidieron boicotear a Israel y demandaron a que este fuera expulsado de las Naciones Unidas.

Un representante del Premio Benito Juárez anunció que el prestigioso premio fuera presentado a Yasser Arafat.

La declaración final de la conferencia lee en parte: “Los participantes de la Segunda Conferencia de Solidaridad con el Pueblo Palestino ha analizado la situación dramática del pueblo palestino quien, sujeto a un genocidio criminal por el gobierno terrorista de Israel, están heroicamente luchando y resistiendo bajo extrema condiciones sin entregar sus derechos legítimos y justos.

“Los participantes han confirmado que cuan actitud criminal y derrelicta del gobierno conservador del gobierno de Israel no podría ser posible sin el apoyo absoluto de Washington, el cual, además de dar billones de dólares en ayuda económica y militar, provee protección política y diplomática.

“La Conferencia a aseverado con gran consternación e indignación el carácter fascista adoptado por las acciones del gobierno sionista de Ariel Sharon contra el pueblo palestino y la indiferencia cómplice encontrada en la mayoría de los gobierno occidentales.

“Así mismo, los participantes de esta

Conferencia acordaron en denunciar las campañas imperialista distorsionadas que intentan presentar a los patriotas palestinos como terroristas quienes con mucha justicia luchan para recobrar sus territorio que ilegalmente fuera tomado por Israel.

“De esa misma manera, ellos denuncian el papel jugado por los medios noticieros que silencian y distorsionan los eventos, como lo hicieron durante la Guerra del Golfo, en Afganistán o durante el golpe fascista de Venezuela; estos constantemente enfatizan las acciones desesperadas de los jóvenes palestinos que cometen suicidios, porque ellos causan la muerte de israelitas civiles, sin explicar que los culpables por aquellas acciones son los extremistas sionistas y terroristas que han estado negando al pueblo palestino el derecho de existencia por más de 50 años.

“La Conferencia emite una petición a todos los partidos, políticos, de masas populares, profesionales, organizaciones sociales y NGO, personalidades de diferentes caminos de vida y en general a la Comunidad Internacional a que se movilicen para poder prevenir la continua comisión de crímenes contra el pueblo palestino, para denunciar y presionar a los gobiernos de Israel y los Estados Unidos para que den un fin al genocidio y barbarismo.

“Es de igual importancia demandar a que Israel sea sometido a inspección por las Agencias Internacionales pertinentes para que pongan fin a su arsenal nuclear y de armas de destrucción masivas ilegales. Los gobiernos de las potencias occidentales deben actuar de manera ética y aban-

donar su complicidad sigilosa.

“La Conferencia concluye en que la única forma para dar fin a la violencia es la justa solución al conflicto, basado en las resoluciones de la ONU, especialmente la Resolución 194 de la Asamblea General la cual establece el derecho de los refugiados palestinos a que regresen; y las Resoluciones 242 y 338 del Consejo de Seguridad exigiendo el retiro de Israel de los territorios árabes ocupados en 1967. Esto permitirá el establecimiento de un estado palestino independiente en Gaza y la Unión del Oeste, con Jerusalén árabe como la capital, una justa inspiración que tiene casi todo el apoyo de la Comunidad Internacional.”

Varios planes de acción fueron acogidos y aceptados, incluyendo manifestaciones el 17 de septiembre, la fecha de aniversario de las masacres de Sabre y Shatila, y el 29 de noviembre, el Día Internacional de Solidaridad con Palestina.

*Gutiérrez participó en la Conferencia como representante del Centro de Acción Internacional. Ella reportó a los participantes sobre la manifestación histórica del 20 de abril en Washington D.C. y San Francisco que conglomeró a 130.000 manifestantes. Un tema de gran importancia por la protesta patrocinada frente a la Casa Blanca y San Francisco por la coalición ANSWER fue la libertad para Palestina y un fin a la guerra de Israel apoyada por E.U. Gutiérrez reporta que muchos participantes en la Conferencia de México han sido inspirados por la noticias sobre las acciones del 20 de abril.*

# Trabajadores argentinos quieren deshacerse del FMI

*Continuación de la página 16*

## ¿Poniendo al país a la venta—literalmente?

Juan Gabriel Labak, un ex oficial y miembro del Partido Justicialista de Duhalde, presentó una queja en una corte de Buenos Aires este mes alegando que algunos prestamistas estuvieron sugiriendo la posibilidad de cambiar territorio argentino para pagar la deuda externa. Él denuncia que el FMI, el Banco Mundial y el gobierno de los Estados Unidos quieren recoger a los préstamos en esta forma.

El texto de la queja alega que existe una campaña iniciada por el Secretario del Tesoro de los EE.UU. Paul O'Neill para permitir que continúe la crisis con la propuesta de “hacer creer a los argentinos que son incapaces de gobernarse”. Él acusó la “insinuación permanente de métodos que van a permitir el pago de la deuda externa en cambio de territorios y reservas ecológicas”, incluso la provincia de Chabut y áreas de Antártica que actualmente pertenecen a la Argentina.

Residentes de la región de Patagonia protestaron contra la circulación de una encuesta por la empresa consultora Giacobbe y Asociados en Chabut y tres otras provincias. La encuesta sondeó la voluntad de la gente de aceptar que el país pague la deuda externa con algunos de los territorios nacionales.

El presidente de la compañía respondió en términos muy vagos cuando se le preguntó quien había contratado a la empresa. El sondeo no solamente preguntó sobre el pago de la deuda externa con territorio nacional, sino también exploró la reacción del pueblo a la sugerencia que la Argentina fuese administrado económicamente por un funcionario del FMI o otra insti-

tución internacional.

Al mismo tiempo, el FMI está demandando al gobierno argentino que modifique la ley de bancarrotas para incluir un mecanismo que permitiera a un prestamista o otra persona apropiarse de una empresa en quiebra para satisfacer la deuda. Según expertos locales, esta maniobra permitiera al capital estadounidense aprovecharse de la desvalorización de la moneda argentina para poder apoderarse de empresas nacionales y europeas.

En protesta de esta ley, a mediados de mayo, la legisladora Alicia Castro colocó una bandera de Estados Unidos sobre la mesa de la presidencia de la legislatura.

La ley de subversión económica, que quiere ver derogada el FMI, fue promulgada bajo presión popular después del colapso de diciembre para castigar a los dueños de empresas, ejecutivos, gerentes y administradores quienes eran responsables de fechorías. Fue apuntado en particular en contra de los bancos, bajo la sospecha por haber enviado millones de dólares fuera del país en anticipación de la congelación de cuentas bancarios conocido como el “corralito”.

Una cantidad de ex oficiales del gobierno fue arrestada bajo esta ley. Su derogación pueda resultar en su excarcelación, incluso lo del ex ministro de la economía Domingo Cavallo. Su nombre se ha convertido en un sinónimo con la corrupción masiva de gobiernos previos, comenzando con el régimen de Carlos Menem durante los años 1990.

## Miseria se extiende

La administración de Bush aconseja al gobierno argentino someterse a las demandas del FMI, que han traído una desesperación siempre incrementando entre los trabajadores y desempleados,

quienes constituyen la gran mayoría de los argentinos.

La mitad de los 36 millones de argentinos actualmente viven bajo el índice de pobreza. El porcentaje de gente pobre creció más rápidamente que nunca en abril, cuando el costo de bienes subió por un 18 por ciento. La crisis es peor en la región norteña del país, en las provincias como Corrientes, Formosa, Misiones, y Chaco, donde dos de cada tres habitantes son pobres.

Mientras que el consumo de alimentos y medicinas está en declive, el nivel de desempleo ha alzado vertiginosamente a una tasa oficial de un 30 por ciento.

Mal nutrición y hambre son galopantes, con 6 de cada 10 niños en Argentina viviendo en condiciones de pobreza. Estos niños nacieron en un país dotado con grandes recursos naturales e industriales suficientes para proveer comestibles y satisfacer a todas las necesidades básicas para la población entera. Pero en vez de eso, están sufriendo la estrangulación de las políticas neoliberales demandadas por el FMI y el Banco Mundial.

Una de las ironías más grandes del neoliberalismo se puede ver a las 2 de la madrugada frente del restaurante en la Calle Corrientes en un distrito popular de Buenos Aires. Niños jóvenes pelean sobre las sobras de esta cadena de restaurantes odiada.

## Presión de las masas sube

El gobierno de Duhalde está tratando de agarrar maneras para responder a las demandas del FMI mientras que desvía las presiones de las masas. Ellos saben bien que si cumplan con todas las demandas del FMI, pueden enfrentar el mismo destino que sus antecesores. Duhalde mismo asumió el poder

después de que masas de trabajadores, desempleados, y sectores amplios de las clases medias airados derrocaron al gobierno previo. Todavía millones de argentinos están tratando de obtener el dinero que tienen en sus cuentas bancarias congeladas.

Una medida provisional que está considerando Duhalde es de compensar a los argentinos con cuentas de ahorros con propiedad estatal.

La única fuerza verdadera prohibiendo al gobierno argentino de vender el país a precios de liquidación a los capitalistas extranjeros es la lucha actualmente llevado a cabo por los trabajadores, desempleados, y todas las fuerzas progresistas. Estas fuerzas están organizándose en Asambleas Populares masivas.

El 20 de mayo, decenas de miles de trabajadores salieron a las calles de Buenos Aires y a través del país demandando comida y trabajos. El 23 de mayo, se espera que miles de piquetes van a bloquear a las carreteras y celebrar mítines alrededor del país.

Estas protestas están conduciendo hacia una huelga general llamado por la Confederación de Trabajadores Argentinos (CTA) el 29 de mayo. El paro general de 24 horas, el primero desde que Duhalde asumió el poder, tiene el propósito de protestas el hambre, desempleo y las políticas económicas del gobierno actual.

La solución a los problemas de la gran mayoría del pueblo argentino no es re negociar la deuda con el FMI. Es un gobierno con los trabajadores en el poder y donde las riquezas de este país suramericano rico serán repartidas entre todo el mundo, y no unos pocos ricos.

*Jrapko acaba de volver de una visita extensiva a la Argentina.*

## Reportaje desde la conferencia en México

# ¡Que viva Palestina, libre y soberana!

Por Teresa Gutiérrez  
Ciudad México

Más de 500 personas de Latino América y el Caribe y de muchas otras naciones del mundo, participaron en la Segunda Conferencia Internacional en Solidaridad con el Pueblo de Palestina del 15 al 17 de mayo aquí.

La conferencia fue patrocinada por la Organización en Solidaridad con los Pueblos de Asia, Africa, y América Latina, el Partido de los Trabajadores de México, y varias otras organizaciones políticas y solidarias de México.

El lema fue: "¡Qué viva Palestina, libre y soberana!"

Aunque es ocultado por la prensa capitalista, existe un gran movimiento en solidaridad con el pueblo palestino en toda América Latina. Una de las piezas de información más importantes que resultó de la conferencia es que han habido un sin número de manifestaciones y eventos en todo el continente

en solidaridad con Palestina.

Activistas reportaron que manifestaciones de 5 y 20 mil personas se han dado lugar en países de la región. Estos incluyen a Ciudad México, Ciudad Panamá; Caracas, Venezuela; San Salvador, El Salvador; Santiago, Chile; Ciudad Guatemala; Santo Domingo, República Dominicana; y San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Delegaciones de alto nivel de muchos países vinieron a la conferencia, una indicación de la prioridad que los movimientos progresistas y revolucionarios están dando a Palestina.

El Frente Farabundo Martí de Liberación Nacional representado por el líder político, Shafik Handal del El Salvador habló en la conferencia. Al igual que Miguel D'Escoto del Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional de Nicaragua.

Un representante de Venezuela leyó un mensaje de solidaridad a los delegados de la conferencia por parte del pres-

idente venezolano, Hugo Chávez. Cuba Revolucionaria envió representantes, incluyendo a miembros del Partido Comunista de Cuba, el Instituto Cubano de la Amistad con el Pueblo, varios periodistas y otros.

Otras naciones que enviaron representantes incluyeron a Brasil, España, la República Dominicana, Vietnam, Mozambique, Laos, Libia y Tunisia.

Mensajes de solidaridad fueron leídos por parte de las Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia-Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP) y del Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN). El gobierno de México, en otra demostración de que la administración de Vicente Fox está tomando ordenes de Washington, cerró recientemente las oficinas de las FARC en Ciudad México.

Y varios otros delegados reportaron que incurrieron varios problemas en las aduanas de México. Una activista de Guatemala dijo que ella había viajado a México docenas de veces y nunca había

tenido problemas. Pero en este viaje ella fue detenida por varias horas por los agentes de las aduanas.

Las presentaciones por los Palestinos fueron el punto de relieve de la conferencia.

El Embajador palestino en México, Dr. Fawzi El-Masheni expresó su solidaridad y más sinceras gracias a los organizadores de la conferencia y todos aquellos que asistieron por parte del pueblo palestino.

El representante del Frente Democrático por la Liberación Palestina dijo: "Las acciones llevadas a cabo por el gobierno de Israel en las ciudades, pueblos y campos de refugios solo pueden ser caracterizadas como crímenes de guerra. Esto requiere que Ariel Sharon y sus comandantes militares sean juzgado por una corte internacional."

"El FDLP pide a la comunidad inter-

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## Mientras que miseria se vuelve en insoportable

# Trabajadores argentinos quieren deshacerse del FMI

Por Alicia Jrapko

Económicamente la Argentina es como un prisionero esperando su inminente ejecución. La tercer economía más grande de Latinoamérica llegó a esta condición no como resultado de sentencia de jueces sino por el Fondo Monetario Internacional y los banqueros y financieros del Banco Mundial.

A pesar de concesión tras concesión a los banqueros, la única esperanza de una suspensión de cumplimiento de la sentencia por el gobierno por defacto del Presidente Eduardo Duhalde, es un rescate económico de parte de los mismos magnates ladrones que les hundieron a los argentinos en una deuda de \$141 mil millones en el primer lugar. Hace meses que la Argentina no ha podido hacer los pagos de su deuda debido al colapso económico que comenzó en diciembre.

Las páginas financieras de los periódicos capitalistas han guardado un silencio conspicuo mientras que la situación por los millones de trabajadores argentinos se empeora a diario. Algunos argentinos ahora están acusando que la estrategia de los buitres de Wall Street es de no hacer nada, demorando hasta que la crisis llegue a un extremo permitiendo que ellos entren y se apoderen de los recursos vastos de Argentina sin pagar casi nada.

*Continuación a la página 15*



Las fuerzas de los trabajadores, desempleados y progresistas están organizándose en Asambleas Populares masivas.

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