

4TH OF JULY IN PHILLY

Philadelphia is set to bestow its 'Liberty Award' on Secretary of State Colin Powell. But anti-war, pro-Mumia protesters will make their demands for freedom and justice ring out louder than the Liberty Bell. 3

JENIN MASSACRE COVERUP

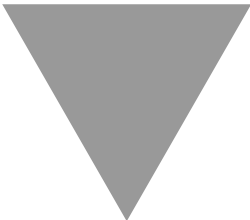
From Ludlow to Sharpeville, historians agree the killing of civilians constituted massacres. By manipulating the UN and the media, the U.S. has erased that word from accounts of Israel's mass killing of Palestinians in Jenin. 6

KASHMIR CRISIS

The roots of the problem go back even before India's partition in 1947. To understand today's grave war danger, WW examines 250 years of colonial divide-and-rule tactics and the class and national struggles that unfolded on the subcontinent. 8

U.S. IN THE PHILIPPINES

The deployment of U.S. troops in the Philippines, as in Afghanistan and other parts of the world, is portrayed as part of the 'war on terrorism.' So far, it has only lead to the death of hostages. What's the Pentagon really up to there? 9



- ▶ **Palestinian solidarity at Boston Pride** 3
- ▶ **New York teachers get tentative contract** 4
- ▶ **Nursing shortage worsens health care crisis** 4
- ▶ **FBI vs 1960s Berkeley free speech movement** 5
- ▶ **Women and the war on Afghanistan** 7

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With restructuring of gov't

Bush takes ax to political, civil rights ANSWER coalition to protest at FBI in D.C.

By Deirdre Griswold

Much discussion and debate is taking place inside the U.S. government, the Congress and the media about President George W. Bush's proposal to set up a cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security that would centralize under its control many police and intelligence functions now distributed across other government bodies.

This debate, however, is almost entirely confined to how to strengthen the repressive apparatus of the U.S. capitalist government.

It is similar in some ways to the debates within ruling circles in other countries who have attempted to suppress serious social problems by expanding the authority of the state to spy on, intimidate, detain, arrest, imprison and even "disappear" people they deemed suspicious or a threat to the established order.

Fortunately, there is another world outside the official or establishment view. Activists are planning a response to growing repression with a major demonstration at FBI headquarters in Washington on June 29.

Thousands of detentions

Since Sept. 11, and especially since the start of the Pentagon war in Afghanistan, the Bush administration has,

by executive decree, imprisoned thousands of people in the U.S., most of them Muslims, and held them for indeterminate periods without a shred of due process. It has in effect torn up the Constitution—especially the Bill of Rights, which itself was added to the founding document of the United States only after a bitter struggle by people who today the Bush administration might well view as troublemakers.

It has also flouted international law by kidnapping hundreds of people from Afghanistan and incarcerating them under appalling conditions at Guantanamo Naval Base, where they have yet to be interviewed by any non-U.S. government source.

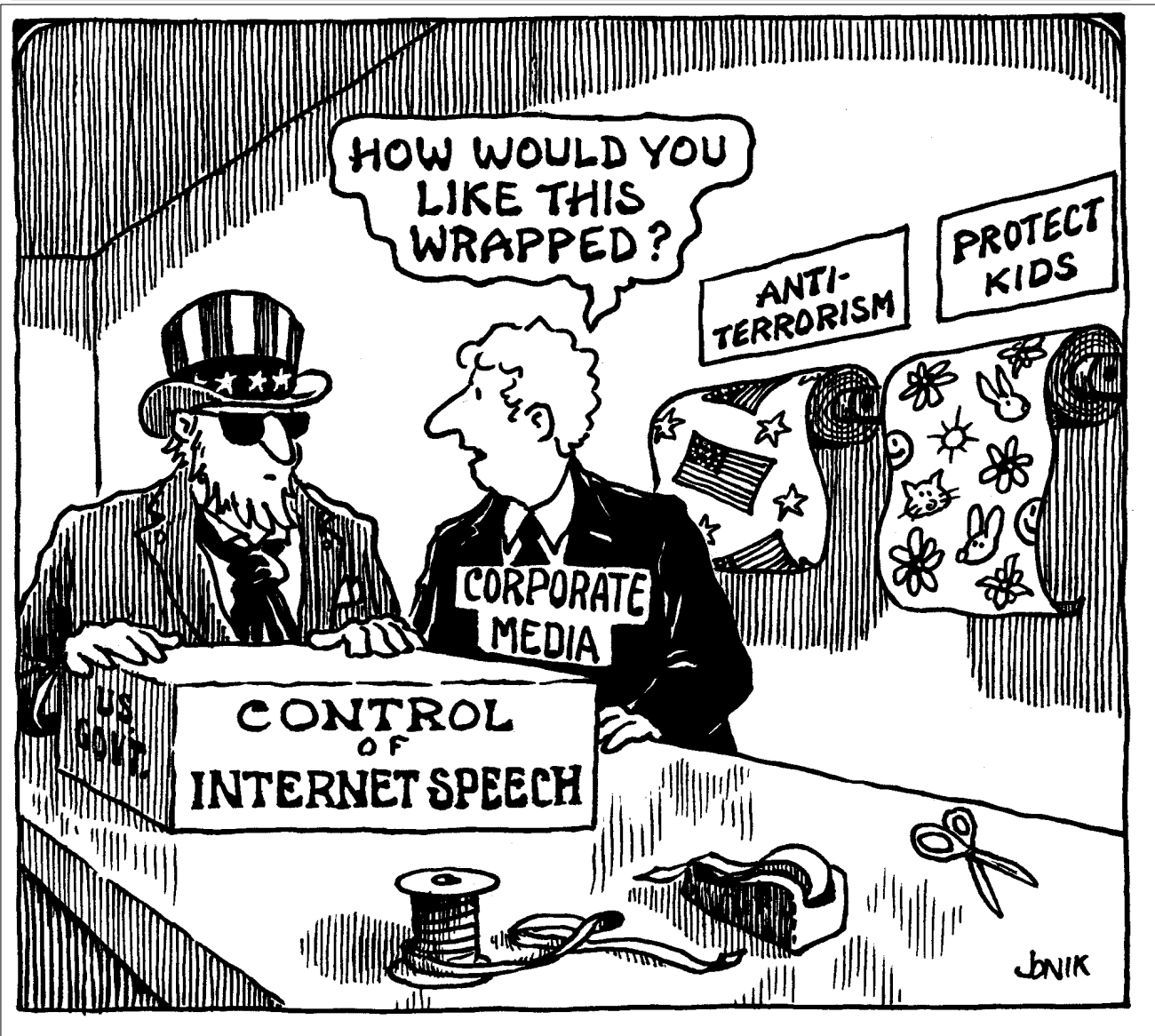
Criticism of all this from liberal capitalist organizations has been muted, even after the latest announcement by Atty. Gen. John Ashcroft that a person held incommunicado in Chicago since May 8, known as Abdullah al-Muhajir, is a U.S.-born citizen originally named Jose Padilla. Picked up as he arrived on a flight from Pakistan, he has had no contact with attorneys, family and friends or the media for over a month.

The public is expected to take on faith everything said about him by the Bush administration, who a month later, and in the midst of criticism of how they handled warn-

Continued on page 5

Is Workers World pornographic?

2



To WW readers Is this pornography?

By Leslie Feinberg

Brave student Matthew Schwartz recently struck a blow for cyber-liberties when he won the unblocking of the Workers World web site at the computer lab in his Plainview, N.Y., high school. ("Student Power," Workers World, June 6, 2002)

The revolutionary site had been red-flagged as unsuitable for youth because it was, allegedly, "pornographic." Not true. Workers World is fiercely opposed to the exploitation of bodies and minds—in any form—for someone else's lucrative profit margin. The many tentacles of the sex industry, like every other capitalist mega-business, exploit the bodies and labor of millions and millions of workers in the United States and around the world—in work that is often dangerous and degrading and vulnerable to police violence and imprisonment.

Workers World newspaper is fiercely anti-capitalist and pro-worker. We seek to replace the private ownership of large-scale industry, where individuals chase after profits, with socialized ownership and planning to meet human needs and desires. Those who devote their lives to birthing a better world, a socialist world, look forward to the day when the nexus of sex is attraction, not compulsion, and pleasure, not the Almighty Dollar, is its reward.

Our subscribers know that we don't use titillation or sexual innuendo to grab readers—as do 95 percent of the capitalist media, especially in advertising.

So how can Workers World be labeled pornographic?

Workers World newspaper is for the liberation of women and all who face discrimination and violence because of their sex, gender or sexuality. It makes no bones about its support for lesbian, gay, trans and bisexual liberation. So those four words are purposefully among its web site keywords. That's what made the censors in cyberspace try to keep a youth from

viewing the socialist web site.

Congress passed legislation in December 2000 requiring schools and libraries dependent on federal funds to employ blocking software programs on Internet terminals. The law requires use of "a specific technology that blocks or filters Internet access"—like over-the-counter filtering software programs N2H2, Cyber Patrol, Websense and Smartfilter.

The software, or a pre-filtering provider, is as subtle as a sledgehammer. It blocks sites that use certain keywords. A woman searching the information highway for breast cancer information, for example, could run into a roadblock: denied access to medical sites because the word "breast" is deemed sexual.

The list of "objectionable" words is often profoundly political, including information on abortion availability.

All too often it's the local City Council or the town's Christian businessmen's association or some other "good ol' boys" network that exerts inexorable pressure to prohibit anyone from reading material on the information highway that includes the words lesbian, trans, bisexual or gay. In reality, they are promoting a right-wing agenda of censorship and repression.

Sexually explicit material is ubiquitous on the Internet. The sex industry, like every other mega-billion-dollar sector of capitalist commerce, is flourishing in cyberspace, where virtual anonymity appeals to desire, and to shame, with the lure of a carnival huckster.

The words used as bait to hook people to these sites are tactile and descriptive at best; crude, lewd and brutally graphic at worst. Does anyone really believe that software is out there screening out sites that contain words like "girls," "wild" and "hot"?

Interdiction against any use of the words lesbian, bisexual, gay, transgender and transsexual doesn't protect young people from age-inappropriate sexual sites. Instead, it isolates

youth and adults who might fit these self-identifications from factual information, community support, resources, self-awareness and pride.

The American Civil Liberties Union won a federal court ruling on May 31 that the government had gone too far with this censorship that forces libraries to "filter" what adults and youth can read on the Internet. "The court today barred the government from turning libraries into thought police armed with clumsy blocking programs," said Ann Beeson, litigation director of the ACLU's Technology and Liberty Program. That program, along with the ACLU of Pennsylvania and other rights groups, had challenged the law.

The findings confirmed that the broad brush of software censors whites out "at least tens of thousands" of web pages.

That round was won within the legal boxing ring.

And Matthew Schwartz scored another impressive TKO. He wasn't going to take it sitting down—at his computer monitor, that is. He stood up and fought back. He threatened to take his school administration to court and "sue them for all they're worth" to secure his right to read Workers World newspaper online. And when the principal's office learned that he was ready to rumble, the web site was swiftly unlocked. Are other Workers World readers ready to put this legal victory to the test in your schools, libraries and work places?

This is ongoing. The battle against censorship is woven with a thousand filaments to the movement against domestic spying and state repression by Big Brother Ashcroft, Bush and Company. That's why Workers World newspaper will be there, on the front lines, when protesters converge on the FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C., on June 29.

Want more news about all these raging struggles? Read Workers World online: www.workers.org.

This week ...



★ National

- Bush takes axe to political, civil rights 1
- Is this pornography? 2
- July 4 protest in Philly 3
- Baltimore protest of gov't repression 3
- NYC teachers get contract, at a price 4
- NYC students, teachers against budget cuts 4
- Nursing shortage causes more patient deaths 4
- How gov't tried to stifle free speech 5

★ International

- Palestine solidarity in Boston 3
- U.S. maneuvers to cover up Jenin massacre 6
- Women's movement and U.S. Afghan war 7
- Texas rally hits persecution of Muslims 7
- Roots of crisis over Kashmir 8
- What's Washington up to in the Philippines? 9
- Hundreds protest peace prize for Del Ponte 10
- Fidel Castro speaks 11

★ Editorials

- Worker unity in India and Pakistan 10

★ Noticias En Español

- Conflicto India-Pakistán 12

WW CALENDAR

NEW YORK

Sat., June 15
WWP summer classes on socialism. For info (212) 255-0352 or ww@workers.org.

Sat., June 23
Forum on U.S. War Crimes Against Korea. Program includes reports from a fact-finding delegation to south Korea and "Kill 'em All," a BBC documentary on the Nogun-ri massacre. 1 p.m. At UN Church Center, 777 UN Plaza, 44 St. & 1st Ave. For info contact Korea Truth Commission (212) 633-6646.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Sat., June 29
March on the FBI and Justice Department headquarters. Say no to the FBI attacks on

civil rights and civil liberties. Stand up against racism and racial and religious profiling. No new Cointelpro. Defend the Arab-American, Muslim and South Asian communities. Stop the new witch hunt against political and religious organizations. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal, Leonard Peltier & all political prisoners in the U.S. Money for jobs, education and health care—not repression and war. Noon. Pennsylvania Ave. between 9th and 10th St. NW. For info email ANSWER@afgj.org, or call New York (212) 633-6646, Washington (202) 332-5757, Chicago (773) 583-7728, San Francisco (415) 821-6545.

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Workers World Party Annual Conference Sept. 21-22, 2002 New York City

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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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July 4 protest In Philly

Stop the war—and free Mumia

By Betsey Piette
Philadelphia

U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell is to receive Philadelphia's "Liberty Award" here on July 4. It is given annually to "an individual or organization...that has demonstrated leadership and vision in the pursuit of liberty of conscience; or freedom from oppression, ignorance, or deprivation."

Plans are underway to protest the hypocrisy of bestowing that award on Colin Powell, because he is part of an administration that is hated as the world's most belligerent warmonger and is assaulting civil liberties at home.

In addition to his current support for Israel's war against Palestine, Colin Powell has a long and bloody history in the service of U.S. imperialism. He was a Pentagon military advisor in Vietnam and later attempted to cover up reports of routine

U.S. brutality against civilians, including the My Lai massacre. Powell's only criticism of the Vietnam War was: "Politicians should not have restrained the military high command."

Powell served under Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan and George H. Bush, helping to oversee U.S. military operations in Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Iran, Lebanon and the 1989 invasion of Panama. His mentors included such notorious rightwingers as Caspar Weinberger and Frank Carlucci. In 1987, Oliver North testified that Powell was his "original point of contact" in the shipment of missiles to Iran—the infamous Iran-Contra scandal.

As chair of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff from 1989-93, Powell oversaw the murderous bombing of Iraq during Operation Desert Storm and was credited with engineering the slaughter of tens of thousands of Iraqi soldiers who were retreating from Kuwait.

The July 4 protest will gather at 10:00 a.m. at City Hall and march to the Liberty Bell. Because of Powell's presence, the rally will raise opposition to the Bush administration's policy of "endless wars," call for freedom for Palestine and no new war against Iraq. Since Powell boycotted the world anti-racism conference in Durban, South Africa, last August, protesters plan to bring the issues raised there to him.

'Free Mumia!'

Demonstrators will also call for the release of Mumia Abu-Jamal. July 3 marks 20 years since the African American political prisoner was unjustly sentenced to death row.

In a statement of support for the July 4 rally, Abu-Jamal wrote: "Where is liberty



Download Mumia's anti-war pamphlet at Millions4Mumia.org.

in a nation that is keeping 2 million men, women and juveniles inmates? In the prison-house of nations, there is plenty of law, but very little liberty. People are told about liberty, but they ain't shown it. They experience the repression of the system, the brutality of the cops, the legalized terrorism of the courts, and the blindness of corporate media. You can give out medals made of platinum, but liberty is still an illusion."

The rally will raise the issues of political prisoners, racism and reparations for African Americans. It will point out that Philadelphia's historic Liberty Bell is due to be moved to a new building under construction over the site of slave-quarters kept by George Washington at this country's first "White House."

The National Parks Service wants to whitewash and re-bury this history. But community activists are demanding the NPS build a monument to the memory of the eight slave ancestors whose remains were uncovered there. Ironically, its use as the symbol of the anti-slavery Abolitionist movement is what first brought the Liberty Bell to the world's attention.

Rally organizers plan to give out their own awards—Liberation Medals—to recognize groups or individuals representing genuine struggles for freedom and against oppression. Organizers plan to have someone dressed as abolitionist Frederick Douglass present the awards.

For information on the July 4th protest, telephone the International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal at (215) 476-5416.

From pride to protest

Palestine solidarity in Boston



Boston protest hits Israeli occupation June 9 (left). ANSWER's Stonewall Warriors salute Palestinian resistance June 8 (above).
WW PHOTOS: RACHEL NASCA

By Elijah Crane and Steve Gillis
Boston

Activists from the ANSWER—Act Now to Stop War & End Racism—coalition here brought solidarity with Palestine, as well as the struggle against Bush's war and Ashcroft's racist round-ups, to two Boston events on June 8 and 9.

Tens of thousands of people came out from all over New England on June 8 for Boston's 32nd annual lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans pride parade. Before the event, LGBT members of Boston's ANSWER learned that the corporate-sponsored pride committee had chosen "American Pride" as the theme of this year's parade.

With a Pentagon war drive raging and racist roundups of Arab, South Asian and Muslim immigrants hitting the headlines, that theme appealed to national chauvinism and racism. So LGBT activists in Boston ANSWER formed Stonewall Warriors and publicized their organizing of a strong anti-racist, anti-war contingent in this year's pride march that resulted in the Pride committee officially changing the theme.

On the actual day of the event, many groups reflected the original theme with red, white and blue floats. But Stonewall Warriors built a revolutionary float on which the Palestinian flags and rainbow flags flew side by side. The contingent's theme—"From Stonewall to Palestine, people fight back"—was well received, winning cheers from onlookers along the entire route of march.

Members of the group Rainbow Flags for Mumia Abu-Jamal took part in the contingent. They carried a banner demanding, "End the racist death penalty and police brutality." The Women's Fightback Network also marched with the contingent, linking Bush's war abroad to the war at home.

The next morning, Stonewall Warriors and their float joined the New England Committee to Defend Palestine, Boston Labor's ANSWER, and Al-Awda/Palestine Right to Return Coalition-Mass., in confronting the "Israel Independence Celebration" organized by the New England Israeli Consulate.

More than 500 Palestinians and their supporters from a broad range of labor union, religious and community organizations circled the pro-Israeli festival that was barricaded inside the Boston Commons by police.

Despite constant harassment of the pro-Palestine marchers by police forces on smog-belching motorcycles and on horses, by bomb-sniffing dogs and threats of arrest, songs of the Palestinian Intifada and the roaring chant "Shame, shame USA: funding Israel this way!" could be heard everywhere in and around the Commons.

At the closing rally, held at the entrance to the fortified festival, Rima Anabtawi of Al-Awda vowed to pursue "these supporters of occupation and massacres until we all can return to our homes to celebrate a truly free and independent Palestine."

Black, Arab, white say no to gov't repression

By Sharon Black
Baltimore

Community activists at a June 6 meeting here gave a resounding "yes" to mobilizing for the June 29 Washington, D.C., protest against the FBI. The local meeting, organized by the All Peoples Congress, was called to discuss civil rights for Arab and Muslim people.

The APC has announced plans to become a mobilizing center for the June 29 protest called by the International ANSWER coalition and to bring buses filled with activists to D.C.

Dr. Hasan Jalisi spoke to the June 6 meeting. He is director of Baltimore Muslim Community Support Services, which has helped many of those falsely imprisoned after Sept. 11. Jalisi gave a moving account of the plight of many of those he visited in jail. He described prisoners forced to endure continuous solitary confinement, daily body cavity searches and denial of commissary items.

But perhaps the worst hardship these prisoners face is the lack of information or any concrete charges. Prisoners are left with the possibility of unending jail terms with no rights of any sort.

Many of those in the audience were shocked and outraged by this information. Mary Morant, a bus driver and member of the Amalgamated Transit Workers Union, exclaimed, "We must do something."

Mara Verheyden-Hillard and Carl

Messineo, civil rights attorneys from Washington, D.C., who represent the Partnership for Civil Justice Legal Defense and Education Fund, reviewed the "Patriot Act," the recent strengthening of the FBI and how it all impacts on everyone.

Messineo explained that many elements of the "Patriot Act" predated Sept. 11. He discussed how government repression has been historically used and how the best antidote is struggle in the streets.

Activists cheered as he discussed plans to oppose any new Cointelpro by the FBI. Many in the audience had endured the period when the Black Panther Party was under attack. The group became even more determined to oppose government repression after one of its victims, Yusuf Alim, took the floor. He had heard about the meeting through a friend.

Alim is an African American carpenter and construction worker who many years ago converted to Islam and adopted its style of dress. He described to the audience a terrifying experience he had with police in Ohio immediately after Sept. 11.

He had been traveling from Detroit to Baltimore with his wife and children. When he left his car for evening prayer, police helicopters swooped down. Police surrounded him and his wife and children. All were taken to jail. None were charged with any crime.

Alim then spent six weeks in jail for "looking suspicious."

NYC mayor to take over schools

Teachers get contract, at a price

By Greg Butterfield
New York City

New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg and the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) reached a tentative contract agreement on June 10. Eighty thousand public school teachers represented by the UFT have worked without a contract for 19 months. The agreement comes as the city faces a severe teacher shortage for the coming school year.

The long-delayed settlement follows a massive protest against threatened budget cuts to city schools. Responding to Bloomberg's plan to chop another \$350 million from classrooms, hip-hop artists and celebrities joined students, teachers and parents who rallied at City Hall June 4.

The rally was cosponsored by the UFT, Alliance for Quality Education and Hip-Hop Summit Action Network. Estimates of the turnout ranged as high as 100,000. It was by far the biggest protest against budget cuts in recent years and the largest demonstration in the city since the events of Sept. 11, 2001.

Bloomberg held the education budget hostage to get full control of the public school system. On June 6 he got his wish. Republican and Democratic leaders in Albany, the state capital, agreed to end some of the last vestiges of community control of schools won by communities of color in the 1960s.

The power to make policy decisions, allocate school funds, and much more will be stripped from the Board of Education

and given to the mayor. Thirty-two community school boards will be abolished next year.

More than 84 percent of the city's 1.1 million public school students are people of color—nearly all from working class families.

Their teachers are among the lowest paid in the state. Their schools are overcrowded and often dilapidated. Their classrooms consistently receive less money per student than schools in predominantly white, affluent and suburban areas.

Will this white billionaire mayor make decisions that benefit these students and their desire to get a good education and good jobs? Or will he make decisions that benefit his ruling-class friends looking for fat contracts at public education's expense?

Teacher pay to rise

The UFT announced the tentative contract on its Web site. It includes an across-the-board pay increase of 16 percent. Some published reports say newer teachers would receive bigger increases. The starting salary for new teachers would be \$39,000 per year, a 22-percent increase.

The starting salary would be more competitive with schools in nearby cities and towns, but still significantly less than affluent upstate districts.

Other features of the contract are not favorable to teachers. Their workweek would increase by 100 minutes. Superin-

tendents of the city's 32 school districts will decide whether teachers should work 20 extra minutes each day or two 50-minute blocks per week.

The union also made concessions on work rules. It would be easier for management to fire teachers or suspend them for up to 90 days. It would be easier for school administrators to assign teachers to non-teaching tasks.

The union's delegates assembly is scheduled to vote on the contract June 12. If they approve it, the offer must still be ratified by the membership.

Bloomberg, who stonewalled the teachers' union all winter, didn't want to give them as much as he did. And he didn't get all the concessions he wanted, either.

In May the UFT delegates' assembly overwhelmingly authorized a strike vote. Prior to the settlement, the union predicted a large majority of its members would back a strike, despite the harsh penalties imposed on public workers who strike under New York State's Taylor Law. Two-thirds of New Yorkers polled said they would support a strike.

The mayor goaded the union, daring the teachers' union to strike, while holding the Taylor Law over their heads: lose two days' pay for every day on strike and face jail time.

But Bloomberg ran into a brick wall: the teacher shortage. Low pay and bad working conditions have led to an exodus of teachers from city schools. The city needs 10,000 new public school teachers for fall 2002.

Danger ahead

Rudolph Giuliani, Bloomberg's predecessor, had long sought to dismantle the Board of Education and 32 community school boards. Giuliani and his Wall Street backers viewed mayoral domination of the public schools as a means to introduce pri-

vatization, vouchers for religious schools, and as a weapon against the UFT.

Under Giuliani and Gov. George Pataki, standardized testing became the be-all and end-all of public education in the city, forcing teachers to "teach to the test." Many educators say the tests are culturally biased against students who are not from white, affluent backgrounds.

Bloomberg picked up these crusades. He said his term of office should be judged on whether scores rose on standardized tests. He also said he wants to run the schools like a business.

And he held the schools budget hostage to get his way.

The June 11 New York Times noted, "now that Mayor Bloomberg is poised to win control of the school system... the mayor has agreed to restore the roughly \$350 million that he had previously planned to cut from the Board of Education."

He reserves the right to make cuts in case of "economic emergency."

This should be a warning signal to the UFT that Bloomberg is not to be trusted. The bipartisan agreement to give the mayor's office complete control of the public schools will give Bloomberg more leverage to hire and fire teachers, force educators to "teach to the test" and demand more union concessions.

The tentative contract, if approved, is mostly retroactive. It will expire in May 2003. That means contract negotiations will start again by the end of the year.

Bloomberg's supporters are already laying out their priorities for the next contract: undermining seniority rights, for example, and introducing merit pay for teachers in schools that focus on higher test scores only.

But already the potential for a community/labor fight-back is evident. This tentative contract is not the end, but the beginning of a new struggle to save and improve public education.

Students, teachers rally against budget cuts



Young protesters, like those pictured above, joined forces with the New York City public school teachers' union and popular hip-hop performers to lead a massive June 4 rally for better funding for city schools. They all descended on City Hall to protest a scheduled June 5 budget vote to ratify massive cuts from education.

At some schools students walked out of classes early to join the protests. Many reported physical abuse and racist slurs from police. The Associated Press and an eyewitness account on the New York City Indymedia Web site both reported that police maced some Black youths.

Many who marched across the Brooklyn Bridge were blocked from joining the rally. On the day of the mobilization, police made it difficult to enter the rally area and gave conflicting directions. But few were discouraged.

Thirteen people were arrested, including musician Wyclef Jean, who lay down on the street in civil disobedience after cops refused to let him near the stage.

A who's who of hip-hop and R&B artists came out to support the students' and teachers' demands, including Alicia Keys, P. Diddy, Chuck D, LL Cool J, Erykah Badu, Jay-Z and Dead Prez.

—Sara Catalinotto

For-profit health care crisis

Nursing shortage causes more patient deaths

By Sharon Eolis, RN

The diagnosis of a nursing shortage leads to the prognosis of patient deaths. That was the conclusion of a patient-care study published in the May 30 edition of the New England Journal of Medicine.

Jack Needleman, an economist at the Harvard School of Public Health and the lead author of the report, said, "I estimate that hundreds and perhaps thousands of deaths each year are due to low staffing."

He added, "Nurses are the eyes and ears of the hospital."

It's true. Nurses spot changes in patients' conditions that can be early warnings of complications. Patients in facilities with more registered nurses had shorter stays and fewer complications—2 percent to 9 percent less—than hospitals with less staff.

Mary Foley, president of the American Nurses Association, said, "We're pleased that another large set of research data has validated what the ANA has been saying since the mid-1990s—that there is a direct effect on the outcome of patient care when

you have enough nurses."

The national shortage of nurses affects both the quality and quantity of care. Today nurses are frequently forced to work additional shifts when they are exhausted. This impedes critical thinking and can lead to mistakes.

The workload increase and mandatory overtime are results of massive hospital layoffs to save money. The hospitals have frequently brought in technicians and others help to replace nurses.

Many studies have shown that the nursing shortage has contributed to more complications, longer hospital stays and more deaths because overworked nurses were unable to intervene and reverse early symptoms of complication.

The American Hospital Association acknowledged that there is a severe nursing shortage: 126,000 job vacancies nationally, which is equivalent to 12 percent of hospital capacity.

Higher death rate in for-profit hospitals

Hospital management, insurance com-

Continued on page 11

FBI vs. Berkeley students in 1960s

How gov't tried to stifle free speech

By Monica Moorehead

On June 6 President George W. Bush announced plans to establish a cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security in order to combat "domestic terrorism." The estimated cost of consolidating dozens of intelligence agencies under one department is over \$37 billion.

This announcement came just a week after a press conference by U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft and FBI Executive Director Robert Mueller announcing that both the CIA and FBI would suspend any remaining limitations on surveillance and spying. Their unstated target is progressive movements and individuals, especially if they oppose war and government repression.

There is a precedent for this: the FBI's counter-intelligence program known as Cointelpro.

On June 9 the San Francisco Chronicle published a special report, "The Campus Files," by staff writer Seth Rosenfeld based on 200,000 pages of FBI documents the newspaper had obtained. The report was about a counter-intelligence campaign against the University of California (UC) campus movement during the 1960s and 1970s. The Chronicle first applied for these secret records back in 1985, using the Freedom of Information Act. The paper finally obtained them 17 years later after three lawsuits. A number of important sources have clearly been eliminated from these files.

The report shows that while today, the excuse is fighting "terrorism," the FBI decades ago was a brutal suppressor of the right to free speech, protest and expression under the guise of fighting communism. The report can be found at

www.sfgate.com.

These particular FBI records date back to the 1940s, when the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) was established as the Cold War was being ushered in. The FBI was run with the iron fist of its first executive director, the fanatical anti-communist J. Edgar Hoover.

The campaign against the California student movement began on Nov. 9, 1945, when FBI agents began surveillance of George Eltenton, a suspected spy for the Soviet Union who lived on the Berkeley campus. Five years later, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were arrested and tried on charges of being spies for the Soviet Union. Three years later, they were legally lynched.

Besides going after trade unionists, artists and civil rights activists during the witch hunt, the FBI also targeted radical campus professors and students who were members of socialist and communist organizations or who were generally sympathetic to the plight of workers and the downtrodden. A Feb. 17, 1951, secretive directive sought to remove them from their jobs and schools, along with state and local agencies and public utilities.

California State Senator Hugh M. Burns, a noisy anti-communist, issued a June 1951 report that the UC had "... aided and abetted the international communist conspiracy in this country" and that this was especially true of the Berkeley campus, which Burns accused of being a base for Soviet spies seeking U.S. atomic information.

The FBI then decided to target UC Berkeley's first chancellor, Clark Kerr, who grew up in a pacifist family. Kerr could hardly be characterized a radical. In fact, he signed the loyalty oath and also upheld a university policy that teachers who believed in



communist ideas were "too biased to teach."

What raised the ire of the FBI was that Kerr did defend the right of professors not to sign the loyalty oath. For the next several years, the FBI did everything it could to force Kerr out of office because he might be "an undercover Communist." Besides Kerr, the FBI accused other UC faculty members of subscribing to radical publications, approving a play that supported the Chinese Revolution, and being gay.

Anti-HUAC protests launched student movement

On May 13, 1960, hundreds of demonstrators, a large number of them from UC Berkeley, staged a protest against HUAC hearings being held at San Francisco City Hall. The police fire-hosed them as they attempted to crash the hearings.

This vicious attack along with the arrests of dozens of protesters brought out 5,000 anti-HUAC demonstrators the following day, shocking the FBI and local authorities.

This outpouring led to the demise of the HUAC hearings and helped to launch the powerful Free Speech movement on Cali-



An FBI witch hunt fueled protests by the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, a forerunner of the radical youth movement of the 1960s and 1970s

fornia campuses, especially Berkeley. Hoover sent out a memo entitled, "Communist Target—Youth: Communist Infiltration and Agitation Tactics."

Coupled with the sit-in movements begun by Black college students against segregated lunch counters in the South, campuses throughout the country were emerging as important organizing centers for social change.

Reagan and the FBI

The files confirm that former President Ronald Reagan had a very cozy relationship with the FBI dating back to 1947, when he was president of the Screen Actors Guild. Reagan and his wife of that time, Jane Wyman, testified before HUAC, providing names of fellow actors they thought were communist sympathizers. Reagan went out of his way to prove how virulently anti-communist he was. He even tried to directly contact Hoover on more than one occasion. Once he became California's governor in 1966, Reagan became a target of the campus movement, which organized massive protests against the Vietnam War and in support of Black, Latino, women and lesbian and gay liberation movements.

ANSWER calls rally against repression

Continued from page 1

ings of potential terrorist attacks before Sept. 11, are now trumpeting his arrest as having prevented a diabolical plot to, somewhere down the line, produce a "dirty bomb"—a conventional explosive device laced with radioactive components.

We are expected to believe that the FBI and other federal agents briefing the media on this case are infallible investigators with no political agenda.

Many, many people do not believe. As the Bush administration piles one assault on civil rights and civil liberties on top of another, those who see this as a dangerous effort to stifle dissent are preparing for action.

ANSWER launches civil rights campaign

Workers World spoke with Brian Becker, a co-director of the International Action Center and a central organizer and spokesperson for the International ANSWER (Act Now to Stop War & End Racism) coalition. Becker described how, on June 1, some 600 people attending an ANSWER conference in New York had decided to launch a "defend civil rights" campaign by organizing a large demonstration at the FBI and Justice Department headquarters in Washington.

"We expect buses and car caravans will

be coming from all over the East Coast on June 29," said Becker. "We've initiated the campaign because Bush and Ashcroft are trying to silence critics of their foreign and domestic policies. They want to stifle dissent by combining the tactics of J. Edgar Hoover's vicious reign at the FBI with a new kind of McCarthyism—a witch hunt against people who are targeted for their political and religious convictions.

"June 1 was the first opportunity for organizers and activists who have participated as part of ANSWER since last September to come together and strategize to build on the momentum of our past actions. We adopted a six-month action plan, which will include a focus on mass actions in opposition to imperialist war and racism and in defense of civil rights."

What is ANSWER's take on the new Department of Homeland Defense?

Becker noted that "It was just days after the June 1 conference that the Bush administration announced a dramatic restructuring of so-called domestic security. This was a transparent attempt to opportunistically divert attention away from the growing congressional and media scrutiny of mistakes made by the FBI and CIA prior to Sept. 11."

But, said Becker, "Bush's proposal should not be understood as simply a political ploy. It accelerates the tendency to-

wards centralism and repression in the capitalist state apparatus. Just as the corporate capitalist economy centralizes, with greater and greater concentration of monopoly domination in the economic sphere, there is a corresponding centralism in the government apparatus and in the institutions of repression.

"The consolidation of so many government agencies into one department is another substantial move taken by the Bush administration toward accruing semi-dictatorial authority for the executive branch of government.

"Since Sept. 11 the administration has opportunistically secured for itself all powers available to the president during wartime. The difference today is that now Bush has declared that it is wartime all the time, and he and his team are preparing to consolidate as much power as possible without congressional or judicial review. That includes undermining the separation of powers, checks and balances, congressional oversight of the executive branch and the right to privacy from unfettered government spying on individuals and organizations."

Is there historical precedent for this?

"Richard Nixon tried a similar consolidation of executive power in the early 1970s, which at least partly explained the opposition that developed in Congress and

even inside the government apparatus, leading to his resignation. Nixon's efforts were small in comparison to what Bush is attempting."

But, he cautioned, "It would be an act of extreme folly on the part of the progressive movement to expect that opposition within the Congress or the larger political establishment will stop Bush's power grab. The significance of our demonstration on June 29 and the campaign to defend civil rights and civil liberties is that it aims to mobilize the grassroots of the unions; the Black, Latino, Arab and other communities of color; the lesbian, gay, bi and trans movement; the students and youth. This is who can stop Bush's war drive at home and abroad.

"The ANSWER coalition, along with others, organized 100,000 people to demonstrate on April 20, less than nine months after the Sept. 11 attacks. It's remarkable evidence that we can build a mass people's movement in spite of the conservative political climate generated by the Bush administration after Sept. 11."

More information on the ANSWER coalition's plans is available online at www.internationalanswer.org or by calling (212) 633-6646 in New York, (202) 332-5757 in Washington, (773) 583-7728 in Chicago, or (415) 821-6545 in San Francisco.

After massive destruction by Israel

U.S. maneuvers to cover up Jenin

By Sara Flounders

Flounders, a co-director of the International Action Center, was part of a delegation organized by the International ANSWER coalition that visited Gaza, Bethlehem, East Jerusalem, Ramallah and Jenin in occupied Palestine from May 17-24. She is currently helping organize an inquiry into U.S.-backed Israeli occupation crimes.

President George W. Bush has been busy, meeting with President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt on June 8 and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon on June 10. A whole new round of phony diplomacy is underway. At the same time, Israeli troops, tanks and helicopter gunships are again occupying Ramallah, Bethlehem, Jenin and every Palestinian city on the West Bank.

Anyone calling on Washington to broker a deal or help negotiate a cease-fire or an agreement should first consider the fate of a simple, U.S.-sponsored United Nations resolution on Jenin.

Just two months ago the U.S. wrote and proposed a resolution in the Security Council calling for a "fact-finding" report on the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian refugee camp named Jenin. It passed unanimously on April 19.

It was the mildest possible wording, introduced to obstruct a much stronger resolution put forward by the Arab members of the Security Council.

The tougher resolution called for sending a multinational force to defend the Palestinians from the Israeli onslaught in the occupied West Bank. And it proposed organizing an inquiry into Israeli occupation crimes.

Pressure on the UN to act was especially strong because Israeli forces were shelling refugee camps that the United Nations Relief and Works Agency had administered for 54 years. UNRWA, a UN agency, was issuing almost daily press releases describing the horror in the refugee camps as its schools and health clinics were destroyed and its ambulances and food trucks were fired on and turned away from West Bank camps. Even members of its staff were rounded up.

By April 7, UNRWA Commissioner General Peter Hansen said the Israeli Defense Forces had made the Jenin and Balata refugee camps a "hellish battleground ... we are getting reports of pure horror—helicopters are strafing civilian residential areas, systematic shelling by tanks has wounded hundreds, bulldozers are razing refugee homes ... food and medicine are running out, ambulances don't have passage ... a humanitarian disaster is in the making."

By April 10, UNRWA described "catastrophic conditions" in Jenin. Its April 16 report to the UN used the term "monumental destruction."

It is important to recall that the most damning reports came not only from Palestinians but from the UN's own



agencies.

And, by Israel's own admission, thousands of Palestinian men had been rounded up.

Major media coverage about the overwhelming destruction and scale of the onslaught in the West Bank described reports of an Israeli massacre in Jenin.

An international outcry rose up against the brutal invasion, targeting of civilians and calculated destruction of the entire infrastructure. In April, millions of angry people in militant demonstrations worldwide denounced Israel and, increasingly, the U.S. role in financing and equipping the settler military machine.

Even watered-down resolution dies

The U.S. government financially, militarily, politically and diplomatically supports Israel and its continuing attacks on the Palestinian people. That's because Israel is considered the best defense of U.S. corporate interests in the region.

But Washington did not want to be in the position of publicly vetoing an Arab resolution in the UN Security Council at a time of international outrage.

On April 4, the U.S. had pushed through UN Security Council Resolution #1403, "welcoming the mission of the U.S. Secretary of State to the region as well as efforts by others ... to bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East." Washington had claimed it was brokering a deal to end the Israeli siege.

So a backroom deal was made to avoid a U.S. veto and yet ensure that no significant action was taken. The stronger Security Council resolution of the Arab Group was withdrawn and the U.S. crafted the watered-down resolution that would pass with unanimous support.

The U.S.-authored resolution shifted attention away from the real issues. It did not deal with the Israeli onslaught. Nor did it take up the crime of illegal Israeli oc-

cupation. The resolution didn't even suggest an inquiry into the destruction of the 3,000-year-old "Old City" in the center of Nablus. It made no mention of the siege against Ramallah, Bethlehem, Qalqilya, Tulkarm or Hebron. It only dealt with the much smaller issue of what Israeli forces did in Jenin refugee camp.

The mild U.S. resolution "emphasized the urgency of access of medical and humanitarian organizations to the Palestinian population." The only action it called for was to "welcome the initiative of the Secretary General to develop accurate information regarding recent events in the Jenin refugee camp through a fact-finding team and requests him to keep the Security Council informed."

Israeli leaders claimed they welcomed the U.S.-worded resolution because their hands were clean and they had only acted in self-defense.

But immediately after its passage, the Israelis began a series of demands: change the composition of the delegation, add military personnel, not allow interrogation of Israeli troops. Finally they decreed that the report could reach no conclusions or call for any specific action.

To each new demand, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan acquiesced. Yet Israel still denied the UN team entry into the refugee camp. Israel could not have taken any of these actions without the full support of Washington.

Finally, on May 3, at U.S. urging, Annan officially disbanded the "fact-finding" team.

Tunisian representative to the UN Nouredine Mejdoub stated in a special Security Council session, "Let us imagine that an Arab state had committed an act many times less grave than those perpetrated by Israel. Immediately a coalition force would have been formed, the rule of law would have been invoked, the binding nature of council resolutions would have been reaffirmed and sanctions would have been imposed."

The Bush administration, which scripted and then dropped its mild resolution after just two weeks, is nevertheless still demanding full enforcement of sanctions resolutions imposed on Iraq—12 years after Iraqi troops left Kuwait.

Buckets of whitewash

But even after the UN dropped any implementation of its resolution, the U.S. was faced with a political problem.

It was beyond dispute that the Palestinian refugees in the densely populated cinder-block housing in the center of Jenin had been attacked with tanks and missiles and their homes then bulldozed into rubble. And there was still the stench of the charge that Israeli troops had committed massacres in Jenin and in other camps.

This is where another arm of U.S. policy comes in.

On the very same day that the UN secretary general moved to disband the fact-finding team, all the corporate media were conveniently running banner headlines claiming no massacre had taken place in Jenin. They gave as the authority for this the organization Human Rights Watch.

This let the Israeli Defense Forces and the U.S.—as author of the resolution and primary support of Israel—off the hook.

In fact, the Human Rights Watch report identifies 52 Palestinians killed during the Israeli operation and devotes 42 pages to describing a whole series of "possible" war crimes and violations of international law that the Israeli forces committed. But all this is buried in its report.

The story that CNN, BBC, AP and all the other big-business media reported globally in headlines was that Human Rights Watch confirmed "No Jenin massacre." As CNN



WW PHOTOS: SARA FLOUNDERS

Israeli destruction in Jenin left 5,000 homeless. Houses were hit by tank shells and missiles, then bulldozed flat. Many Palestinians now live in rubble of partially destroyed homes.

massacre

reported on May 3, "Human Rights Watch found no evidence that Israeli troops massacred Palestinian civilians in Jenin ... said Peter Bouckaert, senior researcher for the group and a member of the investigative team."

Who is Human Rights Watch and how were they able to gain access to Jenin for an inquiry at the very time that Israel was denying entry to a delegation chosen by the UN Security Council?

Human Rights Watch, founded by multi-billionaire George Soros, was created to monitor "human rights abuses" worldwide. In reality, it is an institution that has acted at every turn to reinforce the policies of the United States and justify its "humanitarian interventions." Its board includes multi-millionaires and former U.S. government officials.

Human Rights Watch claims its reports are objective, balanced and evenhanded. When it comes to Palestine this has meant equating the violence of the Israeli occupation with the resistance of Palestinians to overwhelming military force.

Once Human Rights Watch declared that "no massacre" had occurred in Jenin, the demand for an inquiry and international action against Israeli crimes virtually disappeared.

Massacre at Jenin

The use of the term "massacre" is not an argument over semantics. The decision to reject the apparent evidence of a massacre at Jenin is a political decision to immunize Ariel Sharon, the Israeli government and its U.S. backer from responsibility for this unconscionable and indiscriminate military attack against Palestinian civilians.

The dictionary definition of massacre is "killing with indiscriminate violence, killing a number of people where much resistance can not be made and reckless murders."

During this 18-month Intifada, or uprising, IDF forces have killed more than 1,500 Palestinians. It is beyond dispute that Israel, using overwhelming force against an unarmed population resisting occupation, has committed many hundreds of "reckless and indiscriminate murders where much resistance can not be made"—many massacres.

That is the truth that Human Rights Watch, Israel and the U.S. government were so anxious to dispel.

It is hard to find another example where even the use of the term massacre has been so disputed.

Some of the best-known massacres in history involved similar numbers of people killed, or even fewer, than the number that Human Rights Watch attributed to Jenin.

In the 1770 Boston Massacre, British troops shot into a crowd of protesters, killing five.

In the 1914 Ludlow Massacre in Colorado, the National Guard killed 20 coal miners and family members during a United Mine Workers strike.

In the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre, apartheid troops in South Africa fired into a crowd of Black demonstrators, killing 69. The demonstrators were protesting pass laws that restricted the movement of Africans, not unlike the restrictions now imposed by Israel on Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza.

In 1953, Ariel Sharon carried out the "Qibya Massacre." That Israeli military operation killed 67 people, mainly women and children.

There has been no dispute among historians that these indiscriminate killings were massacres.

Ariel Sharon, who directed the Jenin massacre, is also guilty of far larger massacres. Even a commission set up by the Israeli government found him guilty of orchestrating the 1982 massacre at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in southern Lebanon, in which up to 2,000 civilians were killed.

The abandoned UN resolution—and hundreds more passed on Palestine and then ignored—along with the Human Rights Watch whitewash confirm the importance of an independent peoples' inquiry into the crimes of the U.S.-backed Israeli occupation.

The most important lesson is that the world movement standing in solidarity with the Palestinian people can't rely on Washington or the United Nations or any other political institution that has a stake in defending U.S. corporate rule in the Middle East.

In the months ahead it is important to record and document the crimes of the U.S.-financed and supported Israeli occupation. But it is essential to make this a political struggle so that the full impact of the occupation and the U.S. role is understood.

The women's movement and the U.S. war in Afghanistan

By Minnie Bruce Pratt

A group of leaders of women's rights organizations took out an ad in the New York Times May 24 that urged President George W. Bush to "expand the size and scope of peacekeeping [sic] forces in Afghanistan." Their reason? That this U.S. intervention would "protect the lives and secure the future of Afghan women."

Signers included Kim Gandy, president of the National Organization for Women, Gloria Steinem of Ms. magazine, Jane Fonda—once a staunch opponent of the Vietnam War—and Robin Morgan, editor of the seminal anthology of Second Wave feminism, "Sisterhood Is Powerful."

In a letter to Bush, they stated that "unlike most wars, U.S. women supported the war [on Afghanistan] ... because they believed your promises that it would liberate Afghan women from abuse and oppression." They are disappointed because, in their view, Bush should intervene more, not less, in Afghanistan.

However, many women do not believe the war propaganda that promises U.S. troops will bring women's liberation, in Afghanistan or anywhere, especially since the Bush administration has in fact been waging both a domestic and an international war on women.

One of the first acts of the Bush administration was to try to bar U.S. funds from international family planning organizations that even mentioned abortion as an alternative. Before becoming U.S. attorney general, John Ashcroft, as a U.S. senator from Missouri, supported the deceptively named "Infant's Protection Bill." That piece of legislation "was the most egregious assault on reproductive rights of any of them—even going so far as giving a defense to those who might engage in violence," said Kate Michelman, president of the National Abortion Rights Action League. "It was an extraordinary bill. And Ashcroft supported it fully." (Salon, Jan. 18, 2001)

In other words, the attorney general who now wholeheartedly supports a massive military expansion, in the name of fighting "terror," supported terror against women's clinic workers.

Another law he favored would penalize abortion providers and their patients with life imprisonment.

Despite the pretense that being anti-abortion is to be pro-child, this administration has no concern for mothers or children. It has wiped out whole villages in Afghanistan while attempting to cut funds for WIC food supplement programs in the U.S.

U.S. toppled pro-woman government

In fact, the U.S. engineered the overthrow of the only government in Afghanistan that worked for the liberation of all women—not just of a privileged few. In 1978, a revolutionary government led by a young socialist movement, the Progressive Democratic Party of Afghanistan, abolished the bride price so women could be free to choose their marriages, prohibited the punishment of women for losing their virginity before marriage, and trained women of all classes, not just the elite, as doctors, teachers and lawyers. In this movement, a



An Afghani victim of Pentagon 'humanitarianism.'

wide spectrum of Afghan women were fighting for and winning their own liberation, as part of larger social change.

The U.S. began funding a massive counter-revolutionary army of religious fundamentalists in 1979. After six months of defending itself from this covert assault, the Afghan government called for Soviet assistance. But it did not survive the CIA-orchestrated war, which lasted more than 10 years as the Taliban, the Northern Alliance and other factions, all of which drew their power from the feudal landlord class, fought for supremacy—which they are continuing to do under the shield of the U.S.

This situation—which the ad signers refer to as greatly endangering women with "rapes, lootings, beatings, kidnappings"—will not be remedied by more U.S. intervention, directly or through so-called "peacekeeping forces" of the UN. When has an imperialist army not brought with it rape and crimes against women?

In the aftermath of the U.S. bombing war on Yugoslavia, for instance, the sex-slave traffic in East European women accelerated into a major problem in Kosovo. An April 24, 2000, Washington Post article described a situation where "porous borders, the presence of international troops and aid workers, and the lack of a working criminal-justice system" created "almost perfect conditions for the trade." The article continued, "The first case of sex-slave trafficking came to light—four months after NATO-led peacekeepers entered the province."

So much for imperialist troops "protecting women."

Even U.S. newspapers like the Washington Post admitted that the strongest supporters of the 1978 Afghan revolution were women. Liberation for all women, the poorest and the illiterate, could happen only with a change in property relations and land ownership. U.S. intervention interrupted this revolutionary process.

Can the U.S. feminists who signed the letter to Bush really think they are advancing the cause of women's rights? By aligning themselves with a U.S. government that has unrelentingly bombed the men, women, and children of Afghanistan for nine months? By implying that women's rights is something that must be exported into Afghanistan at the end of an imperialist gun barrel?

These women do not represent women's liberation. Instead, that spirit lives on in pro-women organizations that are also against imperialist war. Groups like Boston Women's Fightback Network (www.iacboston.org). They say, "Money for food, childcare, jobs, hospitals, schools, parks—for welfare, WIC, Section 8, youth services, recovery programs and AIDS funding." They hold high signs reading, "No racist war!" Their chant is "Housing and health care! Not warfare!"

Texas rally hits persecution of Muslims

By Kaz Susat Irving, Texas

Over 7,000 mostly Arab-American Muslims rallied against racism here on June 9 in Texas Stadium, home of the Dallas Cowboys. The event was called the Muslim Ballot Box Barbeque.

The event emphasized registering to vote rather than independent action. However, cheers and applause rang out whenever a speaker condemned discrimination, harassment or bigotry. Fourteen-year-old Bushra Ammass brought the crowd to its feet when she said, "We've been put down since Sept. 11. People haven't

been looking at us. We're not wanted in America. We want our rights back."

The Dallas/Fort Worth area is home to over 100,000 Arab-Americans. In the days following Sept. 11 several area mosques were vandalized or burned. Pakistani immigrant Waqar Hassan was gunned down and murdered at the gas station in Irving where he worked.

All the local and state politicians running for office this November were invited to attend and address the rally, but few actually showed up. Arch-racist and war monger Dick Arme, whose district includes Dallas and Fort Worth, refused to even send a representative.

Colonial rule, class and national oppression

Roots of the crisis over Kashmir

By Fred Goldstein

U.S. and British imperialism are working overtime to utilize the present crisis between India and Pakistan to their own advantage. Meanwhile, the reactionary regimes in Islamabad and New Delhi are vying with one another to gain the favor of the Bush administration in their struggle against one another in general and in the struggle over Kashmir in particular.

It is possible to engage in extended analysis and speculation about the immediate cause of the crisis. There is of course a decade of reactionary, anti-Muslim, Hindu revivalism led by India's ruling Baharatiya Janata Party since 1990—including the destruction of the Babri Masjid Mosque in 1992.

There is also the ascendancy of reactionary Islamic fundamentalist forces that had been nurtured and supported by the CIA and Saudi Arabia. Pakistan was the staging ground for an \$8-billion counter-revolutionary war against the progressive socialist Afghan government and the Soviet Union. These forces, many now opponents of the U.S., have inserted themselves into the struggle against the repressive Indian regime in Kashmir.

Some try to explain the present struggle over Kashmir by starting with 1947, when India was partitioned, Pakistan was created, and Kashmir became a disputed territory occupied by both countries.

However, one can't understand the 1947 partition and the horrendous religious conflict that followed—which dealt a great blow to the world forces of national liberation—without taking into account the 250 years of machinations by British colonialism that preceded.

British East India Company

It is useful to start the analysis in the middle of the 18th century with the predatory campaign of the British East India Company to conquer and plunder India. The EIC, which dated back to the days of Queen Elizabeth, was given a monopoly to conduct business in India by the British Parliament, acting on behalf of the financial and commercial interests of London. It was backed by the Royal Navy. It was given the right to raise troops and to undermine the Indian economy, to interfere in social and political relations and do anything necessary to bring a handsome profit back to its investors in London.

But military force alone was insufficient for a small island in the North Atlantic to dominate such a vast landmass as India. Fortunately for the British ruling class, the EIC found a society that was fragmented into hundreds of states ruled over by a variety of petty rulers, held together only

Divide and conquer was the preferred British colonial method—placing a Hindu ruler over a majority Muslim population or vice versa

nominally by the declining Mogul empire.

The British conquered Bengal in 1757 and embarked on a century of creating “subordinate alliances.” The EIC would bestow local sovereignty on a ruler, make him subordinate to the company and to the British government, allow him some autonomy and guarantee protection against his enemies.

Whenever possible, the company would try to place a Muslim ruler over a majority Hindu population or a Hindu ruler over a majority Muslim population. They carried on this policy for over 100 years as they consolidated their conquest over the country. These subordinate alliances came to be known as “princely states.”

When India was partitioned in 1947, 550 such “princely states” were divided between India and Pakistan. This was the product of centuries in which the British colonialists brought the art of “divide and rule” to perfection.

British sold Kashmir in 1846

Kashmir is a vivid, concrete example of such subordinate alliances. With the infamous Treaty of Amritsar of 1846, the British created the present-day state of Kashmir, both geographically and socially, by selling part of the state of Lahore, which they had conquered, to a Hindu maharajah. This was in a territory that had been ruled historically by a Muslim empire and was predominantly Muslim in population.

The Treaty of Amritsar of 1846 declared that “The British government transfers and makes over, forever, independent possession [of the territory between the Indus River which constitutes Kashmir] to Maharajah Gulab Singh, and the male heirs of his body.” The surveying of the land was done by the British and the Gulab Singh was obliged to recognize the British-defined borders. Gulab Singh paid the British government 7.5 million rupees and agreed there would be no changes without the consent of the British.

The British had the right to settle any disputes with neighboring states. The ma-



At the battle of Chillianwallan in 1849, 30,000 heavily armed British troops overwhelmed 60,000 Sikh liberation fighters after a two-hour artillery barrage.

harajah was required to send his military to serve the British military in case of any conflict. The maharajah could not hire any European or American without British permission. And in exchange “the British government will give its aid to Maharajah Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.”

It was not long after the creation of Kashmir that the greatest uprising in Indian history took place, the Great Rebellion of native-born soldiers in the 150,000-man British colonial army. It is derogatorily called the “Sepoy Mutiny” by the colonialists. But it was a rebellion against the brutality and racist insensitivity of the British rulers, and it lasted from 1857 to 1859. In this rebellion Indian troops took over New Delhi and other cities and were only defeated after a furious struggle.

The rebellion was the first major manifestation of broad anti-British resistance, spontaneous and not politically organized. Soon a nationalist movement was born. It was moderate at first, seeking incremental change by which Indians could gain representation in the governing of India. By 1885 the first meeting of the Indian National Congress took place.

Formation of Congress Party

The Congress was composed of a majority of upper-caste Hindus. While there were Muslims in the Congress, other elements within the Muslim upper classes formed the Muslim League in 1906, with the encouragement of the British. For the following decades the fate of the anti-colonial movement in India hung on the relationship between the League and the Congress. Progressive forces in both organizations strove for unity. There were many progressive-minded Muslims with the Congress Party on the basis of secular national unity.

Once they felt the rumblings of even the moderate bourgeois nationalist, reformist movement, the British imperialists went to work trying to divide it. On the one hand they showed their utter intransigence. Lord Hamilton, then secretary of state, sent a message to the viceroy in India on April 14, 1899, saying: “We cannot give the Natives what they want: representative institutions or the diminution of the existing establishment of Europeans is impossible.”

On the other hand, they created separate election rolls in 1909 where those few who could vote—

1 percent—had to vote for candidates by religion. Under the guise of insuring the rights of minorities, the British channeled politics into the confines of religious rivalry rather than genuine representation. This process was deepened in 1919 when the colonial authorities were compelled to make reforms under the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia.

The forced participation of Indian troops on the side of their British oppressors in World War I, the support of the Russian Revolution for oppressed peoples of the world struggling to overthrow colonialism, and the 1919 anti-imperialist upsurge in China reverberated in India. The first trade unions were formed and mass resistance to British rule flowered. But Indian communists were unable to take root in a political environment dominated by the entrenched bourgeois nationalist movement led by the Congress.

Mahatma Gandhi put himself at the head of the mass movement. He brought pacifist tactics and moderate religious ideology to the struggle. His economic goals were reactionary: going back to a village economy.

Communist Party—gains and setbacks

In the late 1920s the Communist Party of India (CPI) made progress in the trade union movement and the organization of the workers. In the 1930s it made a leap forward as a mass party in the struggle for class unity and national independence. But it suffered a huge, historic setback during World War II.

The war was a time of tempestuous mass struggle. Despite its moderate inclinations, the Congress was compelled to militantly oppose the British war effort. It had agreed to support the British if London would promise India independence. Whitehall stonewalled the movement and the Congress withdrew from all government posts. It began the “quit India” movement to force the British to withdraw.

By 1942 the British imperialists were in the worst crisis of rebellion since 1857. They had jailed over 60,000 people, including the entire Congress leadership. The Muslim League supported the British war effort and did not participate. The Soviet leadership pressed the CPI to support the war effort and suspend its struggle for independence until the war was over. The rationale was that since British imperialists were fighting the Nazis and the German imperialists were invading the Soviet Union, suspending the national struggle would be in defense of socialism.

This policy had similar tragic implications for the struggle of communists elsewhere in the British Empire, and in the French colonies and Latin America as well.

What Moscow did not take into account was that a revolutionary India could have been the greatest asset to the world revolution since 1917. In any case, the CPI lost an opportunity for revolutionary leadership at a moment of mass struggle.

The Congress, in spite of its militancy, was preparing for a negotiated withdrawal of the British and a managed transfer of power, rather than a revolutionary victory in the spirit of a genuine national liberation struggle. Bourgeois forces, dedicated to the preservation of capitalism, were fully in command and, as subsequent events proved, even the most progressive of them, represented by Jawaharlal Nehru, were incapable of overcoming the communal di-



British troops execute prisoners following the Great Rebellion of 1857-59.

visions sown by British colonialism.

In 1940, at the Lahore conference, the die was cast when the Muslim League and its leader, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, abandoned once and for all its ambivalence about staying within a united India and declared for a separate Muslim state. Although this split was managed behind the scenes with the connivance of British imperialism, the groundwork was laid by the Hindu bourgeoisie, particularly the right-wing nationalists, who promoted religious chauvinism and persecuted the Muslim majority.

The last act of the British imperialists in India was to dictate the terms of the division between India and Pakistan. Lord Mountbatten, the last British viceroy, laid down the rules and they were accepted by the League and the Congress. All majority Muslim provinces under the British crown would go to Pakistan. All majority Hindu provinces would go to India. And the 550 "princely states" would choose, the decision being made by the ruler of each state.

Kashmir, strategically situated between India and Pakistan, was one of the largest "princely states." It was over 70 percent Muslim and ruled by a Hindu feudal landlord, Maharajah Hari Singh, a descendent of the original ruler who had bought Kashmir from the British in 1846. Singh was trying to preserve maximum power and was toying with remaining independent.

The most popular leader in Kashmir, Sheik Abdullah, was a secular Muslim, the head of the All Kashmir Conference, which had had previous alliances with Nehru. Abdullah was dedicated to land reform and even raised the slogan of "Land to the tiller." He was leaning towards independence because he was opposed to being put under the landlord regime of the Muslim League in Pakistan but was also opposed to being ruled by a landed aristocracy represented by the maharajah. He was thrown in jail.

The Pakistanis, using British military vehicles, sent military forces into Kashmir. Nehru consulted with Mountbatten and airlifted thousands of troops. Hari Singh, afraid for his throne, acceded to India. Sheik Abdullah was let out of jail and sent to New Delhi, where he agreed to accede to India on the basis of autonomy for Kashmir and the promise of a plebiscite to determine the final status. He became prime minister.

The war ended in 1948. The Indian forces gained the lion's share of the territory. The issue was referred to the UN, dominated by U.S. and British imperialism. There never was a plebiscite. The autonomous provisions agreed to by the Congress were gradually violated and the Indian bourgeoisie consolidated its control over Kashmir. A Hindu ruling group controlled a majority of Muslims. Sheik Abdullah was jailed off and on throughout the years by Nehru.

The issue of Kashmir stands unresolved today.

Nehru, the most progressive of the bourgeois leaders of the Congress, justified the takeover of Kashmir on his historic position that India should be united and that it was possible to build a democratic, secular society of national unity in which Muslims would be equal with the Hindu majority.

However, the deadlock gave rise to a national struggle and to repression by the Indian government.



A scene from the siege of Lucknow during the Great Rebellion, 1857.

A tide of reaction has now swept over the region; fundamentalist forces from Pakistan and Afghanistan are waging a struggle that amounts to an annexationist war, just as the Indian bourgeoisie de facto annexed its portion of occupied Kashmir in 1947. The genuine struggle for self-determination of the Kashmiris has become more and more difficult.

But the fundamental reason why the Congress in its most progressive phase could not win the hearts and minds of the oppressed people of Kashmir is the same reason that it could not win the struggle for a unified India against the machinations of British imperialism: it represented the exploiting bourgeoisie.

India under Nehru

The Indian state was founded in a global environment of socialist revolution and national liberation. The Soviet Union had defeated the Nazis and was once again championing the anti-colonial struggle. The Chinese Revolution had driven out the landlords and, like the USSR, was embarking upon constructing a planned economy with cooperatives and collectives in the countryside and five-year plans in industry.

Under Nehru's guidance India was declared to be "socialist oriented." But this was just a cover for the Indian bourgeoisie and landlords to use state capitalist methods to overcome the deficit in industry and infrastructure inherited from British rule. Private Indian industrialists drew up three five-year plans for national development based on retaining capitalist exploitation. Known as the "Bombay Plan," the first was drawn up in 1944. It was modified after the new state was established.

The most urgent question in India for the masses was the land. Some landowners lost their most outrageous privileges. The government bought out many of the richest feudal landlords. But when the issue of limiting the amount of land that one person could have came up, the landlords in the Congress vetoed it.

The only way to overcome the 200 years of division sown on the Indian subcontinent by the British was to appeal directly to the class needs of the Indian workers and peasants of all religions, languages and nationalities. This was impossible for the exploiting classes of India, in spite of their socialist rhetoric and their diplomatic friendship with the USSR and with China in the early years. They had made a political transformation, not a social revolution.

Bourgeois experts will cite the complexities of Indian society and politics as the fundamental reason for the failure to unite. To be sure, India is an extremely complex social formation. It has 17 major languages and 35 others spoken by more than a million people. It has most of the

Continued on page 10

Pentagon in the Philippines

What's Washington up to?

By Lydia Bayoneta

A year-long pursuit by the Philippine government of Abu Sayyaf guerrillas and their Filipino and U.S. hostages ended June 7 in the deaths of Filipina nurse Ediborah Yap and U.S. missionary Martin Burnham and the wounding of Gracia Burnham. A great deal of speculation has ensued in Washington as to whether the hostage rescue attempt would have ended differently if U.S. troops had been directly involved in the ground combat effort.

Some analysts blamed the tragic outcome—they mostly talked about the death of Burnham—on the reluctance of the Philippine government to allow open combat operations by foreign troops on its soil. This is "a common problem in hostage rescue when the host countries assert their sovereignty," said Michael Vickers, a former U.S. Army Special Forces soldier quoted in the San Francisco Chronicle of June 8.

Soon after U.S. troops arrived in the Philippines six months ago, Pentagon officials questioned the Philippine forces' ability to mount a successful rescue operation. They cited the troops' "lack of experience and suspected ties between some soldiers and the guerilla group." U.S. Rep. Todd Tiahrt (R-Kansas) said he had asked the Pentagon to investigate the Philippine Scout Rangers' training.

This kind of talk reflects more than anything the arrogant, paternalistic attitude of the U.S. towards its former colony after more than 100 years of intervention. No mention was made of the fact that 10 experienced U.S. instructors died earlier this year in an accidental crash in the Southern Philippines.

The deployment of U.S. troops in the Philippines, as in Afghanistan and other parts of the world, is portrayed as part of the U.S. war on terrorism. In reality, this is part of the Pentagon's plan to achieve greater hegemony across the globe. In the Philippines, U.S. imperialism would like to reestablish its military and nuclear presence.

A decade ago, the U.S. lost its two largest military bases outside North America: the Subic Bay Naval Base, encompassing 37,000 acres, and Clark Air Base, whose 132,000 acres made it larger than the District of Columbia. These two bases in the Philippines had been used as a springboard for U.S. intervention and aggression throughout Asia and the Western Pacific.

U.S. Under-Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz has described the new U.S. presence in the Philippines as "a strike against the extended Al Qaeda network." In reality there is not much connection between the Abu Sayyaf guerrillas and Al Qaeda, according to the San Francisco Examiner of May 25.

Big money for a bigger objective

What is undeniable, however, is that the U.S. is pouring massive amounts of money into the Philippines. Following the visit of Philippine President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo to the U.S. last November, the Philippine government received \$100 million in military aid plus a pledge of \$4.5 billion in economic aid. This will be used to fight Muslim insurgent groups in Mindanao—not just Abu Sayyaf—and the New Peoples



Mass action by the Filipino people got rid of U.S. bases before. That, reinforced by international solidarity, is the only way to stop U.S. terror

Army, which has been waging a struggle for socialism and real independence for the Philippines.

The deployment of U.S. troops has already sparked a growing opposition movement and charges that Arroyo has violated the 1987 constitution, which forbids the stationing of foreign troops on Filipino soil.

The real U.S. motives could be seen in a statement by Arroyo's chief foreign policy advisor, Roberto Romulo. "A strong U.S.-Philippine relationship," he argued, "would balance any hegemonic tendencies from China, to discourage them from ambitions in our part of the world." (San Francisco Examiner, May 25)

Who really has "hegemonic" intentions? China is much closer to the Philippines than the U.S., yet it has never controlled the Western Pacific, while U.S. imperialism has had a dominating presence there for over 100 years.

Nevertheless, the reference to China is interesting, to say the least. While the U.S. media has focused on U.S. combat troops and Abu Sayyaf, the U.S. has been quietly seeking an agreement to store military equipment throughout the Philippines and secure the rights for military overflights. It is also negotiating a return to the Subic Bay Naval Base, as well as securing "temporary" basing rights for U.S. troops.

The ultimate goal of all this maneuvering is twofold: One is to dominate and crush the national liberation struggles in Southeast Asia and use the Philippines as a launching pad for operations against struggling socialist countries such as Vietnam and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Another is to encircle the People's Republic of China with hostile bases, much as the U.S. did with the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

The Bush administration has already said that it is willing to use nuclear weapons against China. The new anti-ballistic missile system being built in Alaska is also directed at China. Once again it appears that the U.S. is intending to use the Philippines as its "unsinkable aircraft carrier" in the Pacific.

Mass intervention of the Filipino people got rid of the bases last time. That, reinforced by the solidarity of progressive people around the world, is the only way to stop U.S. terror in Asia and the Pacific.



Worker unity in India & Pakistan

It's bad enough that there is a dangerous confrontation between the reactionary classes ruling India and Pakistan that threatens the lives of millions. To make it worse, the imperialist militaries of the current Washington-based world empire and the remnants of the former British Empire have forced these reactionaries to open wide the doors of the Asian subcontinent to them. In effect, they are reopening the path to colonial slavery.

But a good development has begun to provide an answer for this bad one. For the first time, working-class organizations in Pakistan and in India have planned coinciding anti-war demonstrations across the subcontinent that place the blame for the drive toward war where it belongs: on the ruling classes of each country and on the imperialists.

Responding to a call from four left parties of Pakistan, four in India—the Communist Party of India ML (Liberation), the Socialist Unity Center of India (SUCI), the Communist Party of India ML (Red Flag) and the Communist Party of India ML (Unity Initiative)—have agreed to organize peace demonstrations on June 13. These demonstrations will be held across India and will call for an immediate end to the war threats, pulling troops back from the borders and an end to imperialist intervention in the region.

On that same day at Lahore, Pakistan, representatives of the National Workers Party, of the Labor Party of Pakistan, of the Communist Mazdoor Kissan Party

and of the Pakistan Peoples Party will be holding a joint peace rally. There are reports that several national trade union federations have agreed to support the peace demonstration.

These mass workers' organizations point out that while both the Pakistani regime and the Indian regime speak in the names of their respective nationalisms, both have allowed the military intervention of U.S. and British forces to overturn the sovereignty of their countries.

It is the duty of progressive, anti-war and especially anti-imperialist organizations and individuals inside the imperialist countries and especially in the United States to take a clear stand on these issues. First of all, we condemn the military and other intervention of Washington and its London junior partner in the region. It was the U.S. so-called war on terror on Afghanistan that brought instability to the region in the first place. There is no way these imperialist predators can make a "humanitarian" intervention.

Second, we extend our full solidarity to those organizations in India and Pakistan that are attempting to stop the drive toward war. We salute their effort to point out that the major enemy of the working class and peasantry of each country is not the regime across the border but the one right at home, along with the enemies in Washington and London.

This internationalist solidarity is the best antidote to the poison of reactionary nationalism in the region and the poison of imperialist intervention.

Anti-NATO

Hundreds protest peace prize for Del Ponte

By John Catalinotto

Hundreds of people marched from the central station through downtown Muenster, Germany, on June 8 to protest the awarding of the Westphalien Peace Prize to Carla del Ponte, chief prosecutor of the pro-NATO tribunal in The Hague, Netherlands.

The court in The Hague, known as the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, is currently in the midst of putting former Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic on trial. Del Ponte doubles as chief prosecutor, as well as chief propagandist for the anti-Milosevic forces in Europe.

Progressive activists in Germany see the trial as an attempt by German, U.S. and NATO imperialism to blame its wars in the Balkans on the Yugoslav leader, and through him on all Serbs, or at least on all Serbs who refuse to submit to their colonial rule.

Klaus Hartmann, president of the World Union of Free Thinkers and spokesperson for the German section of the International Committee to Defend Slobodan Milosevic, pointed out the close relations between the tribunal and NATO representatives like former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and NATO spokesperson Jamie Shea.

The role of the tribunal, said Hartmann,

was to legitimize a war of aggression against Yugoslavia and achieve a final propaganda victory against the Yugoslav people.

At a meeting and discussion the night before the demonstration, peace activist and editor of the magazine Konkret, Juergen Elsaesser, made the point that the tribunal was failing in this role and that this had created a problem for Del Ponte.

Milosevic has made such a careful and fact-filled defense that he has turned the tables on the prosecution. Nowhere could anyone find that Milosevic had ordered actions against civilians in Kosovo. Even in secret documents, Yugoslav leaders ordered that civilian casualties were to be avoided on pain of punishment to the troops and officers involved.

This and other problems in the trial made the situation so bad for Del Ponte that she had to worry that the prosecution would fail to convince anyone of Milosevic's guilt. Thus a peace prize in Muenster was supposed to help her reestablish some credibility.

But Muenster residents paid more attention to the protest than they did to the prize ceremony for Del Ponte.

From an article in the German daily, Junge Welt, by Cathrin Schuetz and Peter Betscher, writing from Muenster.

Colonial rule, class and national oppression

Roots of the crisis over Kashmir

Continued from page 9

major religions on the planet—Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, Jainism, Christianity, Judaism and more. It has numerous national and linguistic groups. Furthermore, it is torn by the caste system, with thousands of sub-castes.

But for all its complexity, the problem in India reduces itself to the problem of class exploitation and private property. All propertied classes, no matter how oppressed and abused they may have been by imperialism, require the obfuscation of class relationships of exploitation. They require the fog of religion, or ideological backwardness and confusion, to mask the fact that the substructure of society is built on accumulating the labor of the workers and the peasants in one form or another—on appropriating to the ruling class the social surplus.

Why Bolsheviks could but India couldn't

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was confronted with enormous national, linguistic and religious complexity that had been compressed into the tsarist empire, the "prison house of nations." The revolution unearthed over 200 distinct language groups in its early days.

The Bolshevik government under Lenin declared to all the oppressed peoples of the empire that the Russian proletarian revolution would honor their right to self-determination. They had the right to decide whether to leave or join the Soviet Union—even though this ran the risk of having the oppressed nations abandon the revolution and leave the USSR truncated.

In fact, many of the national groups were Muslims who had been oppressed by the tsar

and persecuted by the Russian military. They also had to fear the Russian Orthodox Church. The Bolsheviks called a conference of Muslim communists in 1918 in order to show solidarity and make them feel comfortable within the framework of the new proletarian revolution, which was thoroughly internationalist.

Why could the Bolsheviks solve the national question, bringing all the oppressed peoples into a secular Soviet state with a Great Russian majority, while the Indian bourgeoisie could not? Because they not only offered to do away with tsarist oppressors, they also eliminated the exploiting capitalists and landlords. They could offer to honor all the national, linguistic, ethnic, and cultural characteristics without qualification. In other words, the Bolsheviks could overcome all divisions and antagonisms by meeting the concrete national demands of the oppressed. The proletariat, as a revolutionary class whose mission was to destroy class exploitation, had no interest in dividing the oppressed and the exploited.

National antagonisms only reemerged in the Soviet Union when capitalist elements took hold of the apparatus, beginning the degeneration that ultimately led to its collapse.

This historical experience is priceless, not only for oppressed countries like India and Pakistan, but for the United States, which has truly become the oppressor of all nations both at home and abroad. A class understanding of the national question shows that the struggle against national oppression is the indispensable first step on the road to uniting the workers and oppressed. But it cannot be fully consummated unless it is indissolubly linked to the struggle to end class exploitation.



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Fidel on:

What can stop Bush's war

The following are excerpts from remarks by Dr. Fidel Castro Ruz, president of the Republic of Cuba, at a rally in Santiago de Cuba on June 8.

This is an unprecedented confrontation that is taking place in a new historical stage between the force of just ideas and the murderous ideas of the brutal force.

When the arrogant use of force is imposed in violation of every right, ethic and reason, demagoguery and lies remain the only possible ideological support.

Hardly two thirds of a century has passed since humanity went through the bitter experience of Nazism. Fear was Hitler's inseparable ally against his adversaries.

I don't think that a fascist regime can be established in the United States ... the American people still have a number of institutions and traditions, as well as educational, cultural and ethical values that would hardly allow that to happen. The risk exists in the international arena.

The power and prerogatives of that country's president are so extensive, and the economic, technological and military

power network in that nation is so pervasive that due to circumstances that fully escape the will of the American people, the world is coming under the rule of Nazi concepts and methods.

Last Sept. 20, 2001, when Mr. Bush proclaimed that those who did not support his war project against terrorism would themselves be considered terrorists and exposed to his attacks ... based on his military power he was assuming the role of world master and policeman.

Such conceptions and methods contradict the idea of a democratic world order based on principles and norms that ensure safety and peace for all of the peoples.

Long before the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, Bush had promoted enormous budgets for the research and production of more deadly and sophisticated weapons, although the cold war was over, the old adversary no longer existed and the weak state that replaced it lacked both the economic resources and the will to face up to the overwhelming force of the sole hyperpower.

In a recent speech made on the occasion of the bicentennial year of the West Point Military Academy, an institution well

known for its remarkable role in the military history of the United States, Mr. Bush threw a fiery harangue at the graduation ceremony of 958 cadets.

Some of the ideas expressed there are a reflection of his thinking, and that of his closest advisers, long before the brutal attacks of Sept. 11, which now serve as an excellent pretext to justify what was already then a rather dangerous, inadmissible, unsustainable and peculiar idea of the world. He said for example:

"If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long."

"Our security will require transforming the military you will lead, a military that must be ready to strike at a moment's notice in any dark corner of the world. And our security will require ... to be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and to defend our lives."

"We must uncover terror cells in 60 or more countries.... Along with our friends and allies, we must oppose proliferation and confront regimes that sponsor terror, as each case requires."

He only talks of alliances between powers, and of war and more war.

What is the difference between that

philosophy and methods and those of the Nazis? Why is it that so many governments are trembling with fear and keeping silent?

It is not a simple coincidence that the fascist right forces are gaining ground in various European countries.

In the face of such cowardice, many peoples of the world will look hopefully to the American people as the only one capable of putting a straightjacket on, or stopping, the bigots in their lust for power, abuse and conflict. Many peoples in the world showed their unanimous solidarity with the American people after the attacks of Sept. 11; our noble and generous people did too, and certainly not out of hypocrisy or fear.

Who has actually reaped the benefits of the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11? Those that President Eisenhower defined as the military-industrial complex; those whose authority had been called into question by the electoral fraud; the Miami terrorist mob; those who want to destroy the United Nations; those who advocate the predominance of hegemonic policies and who want to reshape the world as they wish.

Conflicto India-Pakistán

El papel jugado por el imperialismo

Continúa de página 12

manes fue la persecución que sufrieron como una minoría en la India a manos de los sectores reaccionarios de la clase dominante hindú. Pero fueron los británicos los que promovieron el avance de la clase dominante hindú con su sistema opresivo de castas. Estas mismas autoridades coloniales alentaron la discriminación contra los musulmanes y se aprovecharon de esta persecución para establecer el antago-

nismo que desviaría la lucha de las masas fuera de la dominación de la clase imperialista y las clases indígenas dominantes, los terratenientes y los capitalistas hacia una lucha religiosa.

Las autoridades colonialistas durante un período largo establecieron la base por los antagonismos que resultaron en el sufrimiento de millones en la hora de la partición. Esos antagonismos han sido prendidos de nuevo en años recientes por el Partido Congreso y, en forma extrema, por el derechista PBJ.

Cuando ocurrió la partición, los británicos anunciaron que estaban saliendo y decretaron que todos los estados mayormente Hindú directamente bajo el dominio británico pertenecerían a la India, y todos los estados mayormente Musulmán pertenecerían a Pakistán. Todos los estados bajo el mando de un príncipe podían pertenecer a cualquier de los dos países que escogiera el príncipe.

El maharajá feudal no hizo una decisión por un período. Él escogió a la India súbitamente cuando brotó una lucha sobre Cachemira y su autoridad estuvo en peligro. El cuerpo de oficiales militares británico participó en las dos partes de esta lucha.

Cachemira fue dividida entre la India y Pakistán. La India se quedó con la parte mayor y más desarrollada. En el territorio ocupado por la India, una mayoría de la población musulmana fue gobernada por una dinastía aristocrática feudal hindú. El gobierno de la India prometió un plebiscito para determinar la voluntad de la población de Cachemira, pero nunca ocurrió y la burguesía india gradualmente consolidó su dominio represivo.

La lucha sobre Cachemira ha dominado las relaciones entre los dos países desde 1947. Fue más fácil para los imperialistas controlar dos estados pequeños que un solo país grande, y aún más fácil sojuzgar a los pueblos del subcontinente asegurando que el conflicto sobre Cachemira jamás tendría una resolución.

El legado del imperialismo británico fue heredado por el imperialismo estadounidense, que absorbió el imperio británico después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial mientras que una Bretaña debilitada se retiró de posiciones en el Golfo Pérsico, el Océano Indico y Asia

Central.

EE.UU. presentó horror nuclear al mundo

Si el imperialismo estadounidense ahora está tratando de volverse en "mediador" para evitar que una guerra masiva comience, no es por compasión o preocupación por las masas de la India o Pakistán. Claro, este es el gobierno que hizo los únicos ataques nucleares de la historia en Hiroshima y Nagasaki. De verdad, cuando los medios de comunicación capitalistas describen las fuerzas destructivas de las bombas nucleares en el arsenal de la India y Pakistán, las cuantifican en comparación con la devastación hecha en el bombardeo nuclear del Pentágono contra Japón.

La clase dominante de los EE.UU. llevó el mundo a la cuerda floja de conflicto nuclear cuando amenazó el uso de armas nucleares contra la Unión Soviética en 1962 durante la crisis de misiles en Cuba. Es solamente porque una facción prevaleció sobre otra en el despacho presidencial y en el salón de guerra del Pentágono que el mundo se ahorró del holocausto nuclear. La pandilla en la administración de Bush es más a la derecha de la administración de Kennedy de 1962. De hecho, el gobierno recientemente publicó una Revisión de Postura Nuclear abogando por el uso extendido de armas nucleares.

Todas las fuerzas progresistas de la India, Pakistán y Cachemira están opuestas a que colonizadores se inserten en la situación actual. Pero los regímenes reaccionarios burgueses de Pakistán y la India van a competir entre sí para ganar el visto bueno de Washington. Esto va a fortalecer el dominio de Wall Street y el Pentágono sobre la región a plazo largo y avanzar sus planes de guerra.

Nursing shortage causes more patient deaths

Continued from page 4

panies and HMOs all blame each other for the shortage. The truth is that they all share in the blame as proponents of for-profit health care that puts patients' needs and workers' rights far down on the list of priorities.

A study by Canadian researchers released May 28 showed that for-profit hospitals in the United States have a patient death rate 2 percent higher than public hospitals. This despite all the cutbacks that have devastated public health care over the last two decades.

Dr. P. J. Devereaux of McMaster University in Ontario, the lead author of the Canadian report, said the 2-percent higher death rate might seem slight. But it translates into many patients.

The study in the New England Journal of Medicine concluded with its own shocking statistics. In low-staffed hospitals, lack of nursing care contributed to a

2.5-percent higher rate of "failure to rescue" than in hospitals with more staff.

This means that patients died at a higher rate from conditions that might have been reversed had they been treated in time.

Racism, sexism and anti-gay/anti-trans bias impede access to health care for many in the United States. There are tens of millions of people—including low-wage earners, undocumented workers, welfare recipients and their children—who are uninsured or underinsured.

Health care should be a right for all, not a privilege.

Hospital workers, patients and communities must fight for a national health-care system and laws that provide care for all people, as well as staffing ratios that safeguard patients' lives. This includes providing funds for nursing students and opportunities for health-care workers to expand their skills.

Conflicto India-Pakistán

El papel jugado por el imperialismo

Por Fred Goldstein

Conforme las nubes de guerra se forman más oscuras sobre los pueblos de Sur Asia, Washington y sus socios en Londres se presumen de ser los hechores de la paz. Sin embargo mientras que ellos sermonean a estos pueblos sobre abstinencia, aquellos que han sido histórica y contemporáneamente instigadores de las guerras y conflictos en el Sub continente indio están intensificando sus intervenciones imperialistas en la región.

Los británicos ha enviado a su Secretario de Relaciones Extranjeras, Jack Straw a la región y Washington al Sub Secretario de Estado, Richard Armitage, supuestamente para tratar de aplacar la situación. El Secretario de la Defensa de los Estados Unidos, Donald Rumsfeld está programado a visitar a India y Pakistán durante el fin de semana del 8 de junio.

Por supuesto, los regímenes de India y Pakistán son representantes de las clases explotadoras en sus países respectivos. Ambos están enamorando al imperialismo de los Estados Unidos para que este dicte su demanda sobre la crisis actual. Y ninguno está verdaderamente interesados en permitir una genuina auto determinación para el pueblo de Cachemira—o sea, el derecho del pueblo de poder escoger, sin presión de Pakistán o India, que tipo de relaciones tener con sus vecinos, incluyendo la opción de una independencia completa sin interferencia del imperialismo estadounidense o británico.

La actual crisis fue precipitada cuando las fuerzas anti-India, se supones que son fundamentalistas islámicos asociados con Pakistán, llevaron a cabo un ataque contra las familias de soldados hindúes cerca de una guarnición militar india en Cachemira, la cual está bajo ocupación india. La historia de este ataque es de una disputa de 55 años sobre el estatus dividido de Cachemira. Más reciente es una serie de masacres en las cuales quizás un mil de musulmanes han sido víctimas de asesinatos y de heridas graves y del desamparo en Gujarat, India. Los ataques han sucedido con la complicidad del partido nacionalista derechista y gobernante, el Partido Bahatiya Janata (BJP) del Primer Ministro Atal Behari Vajpayee.

Por el momento hay un gran espacio para una amplia especulación sobre las movidas militares y diplomáticas de ambos lados detrás de los movimientos de guerra. Muy cierto que la actitud del imperialismo estadounidense y británico ha sido claramente la de desviada hacia India y a mantener un ristra constante de advertencias para el gobierno pakistaní del General Pervez Musharraf para que pare los ataques contra la presencia india en Cachemira.

Este énfasis unilateral hasta ahora es algo notable ya que India ha amenazado iniciar un conflicto que podría resultar en una guerra nuclear. Ha movilizado 700.000 tropas hacia la frontera, con dos millones más en estado de alerta y tiene una defensa superior. Claramente que el régimen nacionalista derechista de Vajpayee ha puesto al gobierno de Musharraf contra la pared en la actual situación. Al momento de esta escritura, Vajpayee de la India ha rehusado todas las ofertas de negociaciones.

Si Washington en realidad estuviera buscando la uniformidad y no tratar de manipular la crisis para su ventaja en su fraudulenta “guerra contra el terrorismo”, sería muy simple para la prensa capitalista y el Departamento del Estado de denunciar “intransigencia” por India en tan peligrosa situación. Pero no es así.

Washington usa amenazas de guerra para apretar a Pakistán

Efectivamente el grupo estrategico de Austin, Texas, Stratfor, el cual tiene fuentes en la administración Bush, puso un reporte el 28 de mayo, indicando que los Estados Unidos ha usado las amenazas de apoyar un ataque por India sobre Pakistán para forzar al gobierno a que de permita tropas estadounidenses en territorio pakistaní. A pesar de los riesgos políticos de Musharraf.

Stratfor escribió “mientras que públicamente ha buscado como desactivar la crisis, Washington ha usado las amenazas de India para cambiar la igualdad hacia Pakistán. Los oficiales hicieron bien claro que permitir al grupo al Queda a operar en Pakistán es una amenaza mucho más grande a la sobrevivencia del régimen [los nuevos términos de los Estados Unidos para amenazar el derrocamiento de un gobierno -

F.G.] que permitir que las fuerzas estadounidenses operen contra Al Qaeda. Si India atacara a Pakistán y los Estados Unidos permanecieran neutros o participan activamente, las consecuencias para Pakistán serían catastróficas.

“Musharraf cedió y las fuerzas estadounidenses entraron en Pakistán. Obviamente, con India y los Estados Unidos involucrados, Musharraf tuvo que reevaluar el valor de su capacidad nuclear. Los Estados Unidos claramente tenía la habilidad de destruir las facilidades nucleares de Pakistán con más efectividad que India. Cuando Washington anunció su cambio en su política nuclear para permitir los primeros golpes, Pakistán fue el objetivo inexpressado.”

Mientras que esta información no ha aparecido en los medios de comunicación capitalistas, esta es consistente con la orientación de la administración Bush, tanto en la crisis actual como en el período más reciente. Washington ha buscado más firmemente como atraer a la clase gobernante de India hacia su campo. Rumsfeld se reunió con oficiales de India y prometió vender a Nueva Delhi sistemas de radar avanzados por primera vez. En mayo por primera vez hubieron ejercicios militares colectivos.

Pero por supuesto, Washington podría voltearse completamente de la noche a la mañana si tuviera que actuar para alinear al gobierno de Vajpayee.

Bush tiene sus propios planes de guerra

El problema para los Estados Unidos, desde que forzó a Musharraf a colaborar, es cómo presionar a Musharraf sin ocasionar su caída. El criterio supremo para dirigir la crisis en cuanto se refiere a Washington es sus intereses imperialistas propios.

Su principal inquietud para Washington es la guerra en Afganistán, la cual requiere de la colaboración pakistaní. Esto tiene que se coordinado con la lucha contra al movimiento nacional palestino y todas las maquinaciones que se tienen que llevar a cabo para tratar de imponer un protectorado sobre el pueblo palestino. Además están los planes de guerra contra Irak, los cuales han sido pospuestos, indudablemente que no ha sido guardados perma-

nentemente; la profundización de la intervención en las Filipinas; la guerra contra las fuerzas de liberación en Colombia; los planes de un próximo golpe militar contra el régimen progresista de Hugo Chávez en Venezuela; y todos los otros planes ocultos para guerras o intervenciones que se encuentran en las mesas del Pentágono y la CIA.

Este conflicto entre India y Pakistán resultó y ha interferido con el programa de guerra del Pentágono. Washington está tratando de poner las cosas de nuevo en línea y evitar una desestabilización desastrosa en la región. En el proceso de alinear las cosas, la administración Bush, vía Armitage y Rumsfeld, usará la crisis para avanzar sus propios planes de guerra.

Para poder realmente entender este conflicto, es de poco uso en solo ver las maniobras actuales de las varias potencias envueltas. De hecho, los que Londres y Washington han hecho por generaciones es preparar el campo para el conflicto actual. Ellos han hechado leña a los conflictos étnicos, religiosos y nacionales; ellos han promovido a las fuerzas reaccionarias a la vez que alientan la supresión y exterminación de fuerzas progresistas revolucionarias; ellos desembocan armas y agentes de la CIA en el área y más recientemente han llevado a cabo guerras masivas de terrorismo contra Afganistán, con el efecto desestabilizador sobre la región.

El conflicto sobre Cachemira en si es una bomba de tiempo, el legado de la partición de India en 1947 inspirada por los británicos. El arte de los colonialistas británicos de dividir y conquistar fue perfeccionado después de que India fuera conquistada por la Compañía Británica del Este de India en el siglo 18. Inglaterra era una pequeña isla con fuerzas productivas avanzadas y armas, pero con una población limitada. Para poder gobernar al vasto continente de India, la clase gobernante de británica tuvieron que inventarse maneras de cómo tirar un estado contra el otro, pueblo contra pueblo, religión contra religión en combinación con una fuerza brutal y una represión de hierro.

Partición y fe de Cachemira

Los británicos desarrollaron un plan estratégico para fomentar las divisiones nacionales de los Hindúes y Musulmanes a comienzos del siglo 19, cuando las autoridades británicas coloniales comenzaron a sentir los temblores del movimiento nacional hindú para la autodeterminación después de la Gran Rebelión de 1858.

El resultado final fue la partición. Pasó 50 años en la construcción. La creación de India y Pakistán fue el último decreto de la oficina colonial británica antes de que Londres formalmente entregara su dominación sobre India bajo el impacto del movimiento masivo anti colonial.

La justificación por la fundación de Pakistán como un refugio para musul-

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